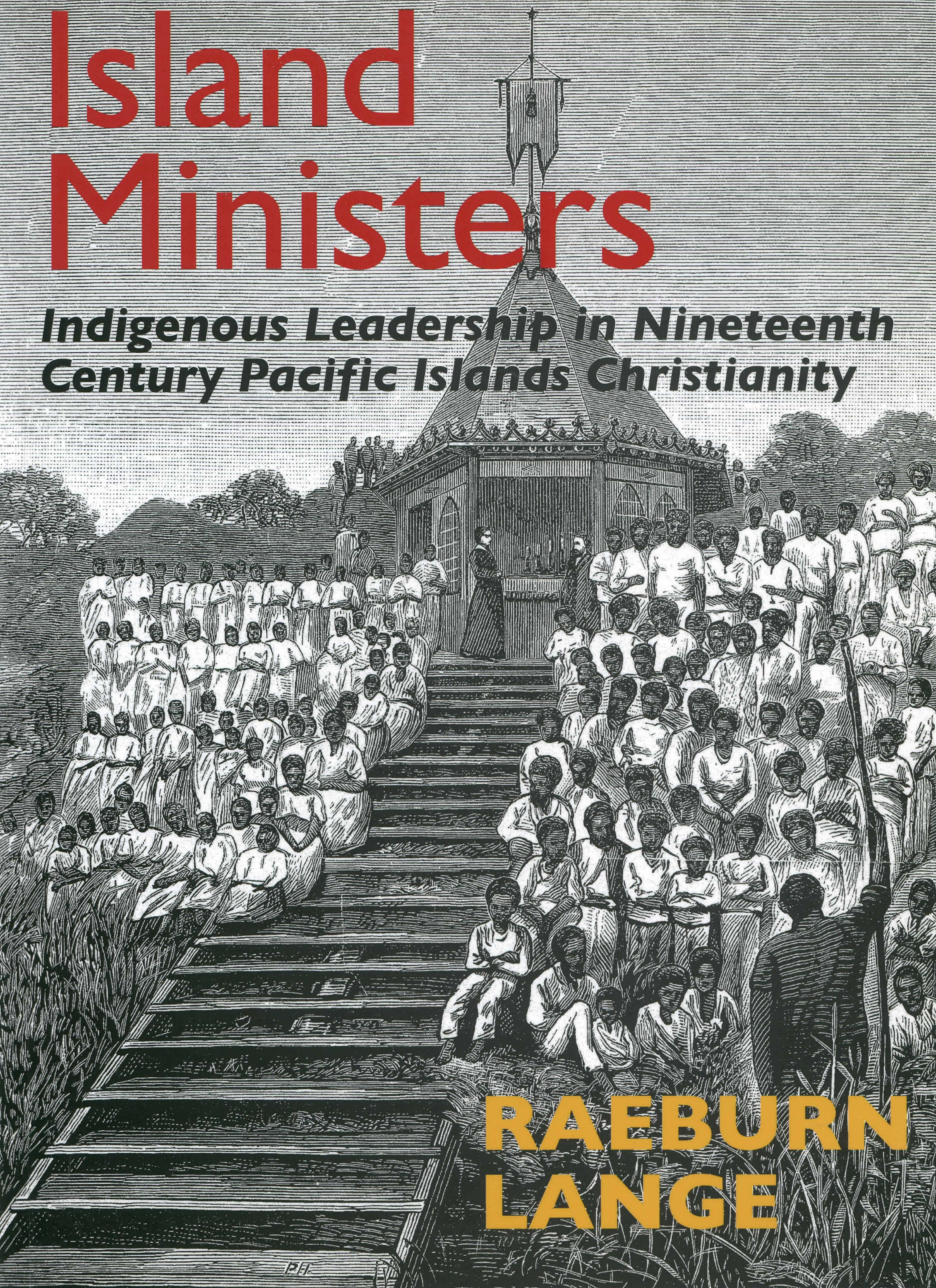


Island Ministers

Indigenous Leadership in Nineteenth Century Pacific Islands Christianity



**RAEBURN
LANGE**





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*Indigenous Leadership in Nineteenth
Century Pacific Islands Christianity*

RAEBURN LANGE

MACMILLAN BROWN CENTRE FOR PACIFIC STUDIES

University of Canterbury

NEW ZEALAND

and

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Cover: A Kanak catechist addresses a crowd at the chapel of Notre-Dame de Salette, Vao, Isle of Pines, New Caledonia, in 1876 (from a wood engraving published in the *Illustrated Australian News* and based on a photograph by Allan Hughan). Native Chapel, Vao Mission, Isle of Pines, New Caledonia, wood engraving, La Trobe Picture Collection, State Library of Victoria.

Inside front and back cover: Maori ministers of the Anglican Diocese of Waiapu, North Island, New Zealand, about 1900. Photographer unknown. Margaret Orbell Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, F- 22632-1/2.

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Preface

THE PACIFIC OCEAN covers a vast area of the Earth's surface and scattered across it are thousands of islands. Though some are very large, most are small, and the smallest are tiny. These 'Pacific Islands', sometimes conceptualised as a collective 'Oceania', are the ancestral home of many peoples. A chapter of their story is told in this book.

European visitors drew lines on the map of Oceania, dividing the islands into Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia. These conventional terms are a way of clustering the multitude of Pacific ethnic and cultural groups. They do so very loosely and often misleadingly, but they are still convenient when description and narrative call for geographical differentiation. I have used the term 'Polynesia' in its pre-colonial sense: no less than the indigenous inhabitants of Tahiti, Samoa and so on, those of Hawai'i and New Zealand were Polynesians, and were very much part of the story I am telling in this book. I have therefore included these islands in my study, although their Polynesian identity has been obscured by the immigration from outside Oceania that occurred during the 19th century and which swamped the original Hawaiians and New Zealanders. Events in the 20th century have similarly removed the Melanesians of western New Guinea from the Pacific world, by incorporating them into an Asian state, Indonesia. Because they too participated in the events described in this study, however, I have included this part of Oceania also. I have used modern nomenclature ('French Polynesia', 'Kiribati', 'Vanuatu' and so on) for the chapter headings, but in the text the labels applied to island groups in the 19th century (for example, 'Society Islands', 'Gilbert Islands' and 'New Hebrides') are often used.

Since the early part of the 20th century, the island populations of the Pacific have been overwhelmingly Christian in allegiance. Church buildings are to be found wherever there is human habitation and Christianity is an important feature of Pacific life almost everywhere. The religion of Christ was brought into the region by Protestant and Catholic missionaries in the 19th and 20th centuries (although there had been an earlier evangelisation by Spanish Catholics in a single location), and appears to have been more universally accepted and integrated here than in any other comparable region in modern times. Pacific people have incorporated Christian ideas, practices and structures into their cultures and communities, so in this book I write of Pacific Christianity as a Pacific religion.

'Mission history' and 'church history' cannot be entirely disentangled, but this study is more church-oriented than mission-oriented. It is concerned with the story of churches rather than of missions. By 'churches' in this sense, I do not mean just the 'independent' bodies created by missionary 'decolonisation' in recent times, when 'missions' gave way to locally directed ecclesiastical structures. 'Churches' are the Christian communities that date from the days of the first response to the new religion. The long history of these churches as indigenous social institutions has been obscured by the mission superstructures that dominated them for so long. In this book, my focus is not on the Western missionaries who originally introduced Christianity, but on the Pacific Islanders who almost universally took it up and made it their own, and specifically on those who became leaders in the Pacific churches. One of the most prominent institutions in most Pacific societies today is the Christian ministry. Almost everywhere the minister, pastor or priest occupies a place of high social status and considerable social importance — certainly a more prominent place in social and cultural life than in today's West. Like many aspects of Christianity and indeed many Western cultural, social and economic innovations, this institution was adapted by Pacific Islanders to Pacific conditions and incorporated into Pacific life. The history of this indigenous ministry is the subject of the chapters that follow.

The word 'ministry' carries considerable theological weight: Christ's ministry to God and to the world was given to the church, the whole people of God. Ministry is thus the totality of the church's activities — its worship, witness and service. But historically, 'ministry' has come to refer more narrowly to a particular function in the church (a function that has seemed at times to constitute the whole ministry of the church): the work of those specifically designated as leaders. Today it is once again widely understood, in both Catholic and Protestant traditions, that these so-called 'ministers' have the task, theologically speaking, of enabling or equipping the other members of the church for the ministry that all Christians exercise. The theology of ministry is not the concern of this book, however, and I am using 'ministry' purely as a descriptive term that refers to functions and offices of leadership in the church. In the Pacific context, pioneer evangelism and teaching were often the first kinds of ministry taken up by island Christians. Before long pastoral leadership ministries were needed, and indigenous people were soon engaged in teaching, leading worship and giving general direction and pastoral care to local congregations and communities. It is this activity as leaders and pastors that is the main concern of this book.

In my account of the participation of Pacific Islanders in pastoral and other ministries I have focused on function rather than status, although in the development of Pacific Christianity questions of status soon became important. The people I have written about were not necessarily full-time, or paid, or ordained, and went under many names (teacher, pastor, catechist, priest and others). No one name can be used for all, or was ever used for all. In his seminal article, 'The South Pacific Style in the Christian Ministry', Charles Forman appropriately applied the word 'pastor' (which originally meant 'shepherd') to all manifestations of leadership in the

local churches. Forman explained that whatever else this ‘pastor’ did, shepherding the Christian flock was always a principal function. In another important article (‘Pacific Islander Pastors and Missionaries’) on Pacific Island ‘pastors’, however, historians Doug Munro and Andrew Thornley used the term to refer mainly to the ‘teachers’ and evangelists who pioneered new mission fields. One of their purposes in employing the word was to indicate that indigenous evangelists and ministers were subordinate to the white missionaries until church authority was localised after World War II — a connotation of ‘pastor’ that does indeed accurately represent much missionary thinking. It is appropriate to use ‘pastor’ to include indigenous evangelists and missionaries when referring to places such as the London Missionary Society’s Samoan outposts in Tokelau, Tuvalu and Kiribati, where indigenous missionaries stayed on after the initial pioneering years, transforming their early evangelistic role into a primarily pastoral one. Usually, however, it is better to distinguish between pastoral and other (usually earlier) forms of ministry, and so I have reserved the word ‘pastor’ for people engaged in local church leadership rather than pioneer evangelism or other ministries.

Although throughout Christian history there have always been ministries other than the leadership of local churches, pastoral ministry is my main concern in this book. It should be noted that the holding of office and the exercise of pastoral and other ministries, in the Pacific churches as elsewhere, has never been restricted to the ordained. Throughout the book I have mentioned the participation of ‘lay’ officers, members and adherents of the churches, but the principal focus is always on the people designated to take the lead. Even these, however, were by no means always ordained.

One important form of ‘lay’ Christian ministry has not been included in my study, but not because it is lay. It is one to which a considerable number of Pacific people (mostly women in this period) dedicated themselves by taking vows, but it does not fall within the parameters set for this investigation and has therefore been excluded. I am referring to lay sisters and brothers (lay members of Catholic religious orders), whose ministries were not concerned primarily with the leadership of local groups of Christians. Nuns and brothers certainly gave service in many activities that were ministries of Christ and useful to the church, such as teaching the young, helping the needy and giving practical help with mission and church property. These activities, however, were normally additional to or even unconnected with the life of the local worshipping community. These ‘ministers’ were adjuncts to congregational life rather than leaders of it, and belonged primarily to ‘religious communities’ rather than to local churches. The few indigenous members of religious communities who were ordained were similarly responsible to their orders, but their ministries have been included here because in the Pacific (unlike many ordained ministries in other places or in other eras) they were almost always directly concerned with the care and leadership of local congregations.

It should be noted that in this book the story of indigenous ministry in the Pacific is taken up to the end of the 19th century only. By 1900, the foundations had

been laid almost everywhere (although there were still a number of communities, large and small, where the history of the church and its ministry had not yet begun). During most of the 20th century, only a few changes — some of them important, but not many fundamental — would be made to the patterns already established. It has been only in very recent times that the Pacific ministry, like many other aspects of Pacific society, has begun to undergo rapid and far-reaching change.

At its most basic level, the aim of this book is to provide factual information about the origins, development and character of indigenous ministry in the Pacific. To accomplish this, a great quantity of historical data has had to be pieced together from scattered references throughout the available archival and published source material. But I have tried to go beyond this, to engage in contextualisation and analysis, inquiring how this innovation fitted into past social, economic, cultural and political patterns, and how it became part of a new Pacific reality. Imported ecclesiastical traditions obviously influenced emergent Pacific ministry patterns. But an important question is the degree to which traditional patterns of religious specialisation also contributed to the character of ministry and leadership as they emerged in the Pacific Island churches.

Analysis is important, but I have presented my findings in primarily narrative form. In a very general way, Christianity moved across the Pacific from east to west (apart from the early isolated case of Guam). To avoid confusion in the story, I have followed this geographical and chronological pattern, dealing with eastern Polynesia first and moving gradually westwards through Polynesia as far as Fiji, New Zealand and Hawai'i, and then to Micronesia and finally Melanesia, so that New Guinea comes last. But, of course, the chronological facts of Christian extension do not exactly match this westward progress, and Christianity did not spring from a single eastern fountainhead and spread uninterruptedly west until the other side of the ocean was reached. It did happen that way in the case of the London Missionary Society (which started in Tahiti and progressed steadily to New Guinea). But there were also separate Protestant starting points in New Zealand, Hawai'i, Tonga and New Guinea, and the spread of Catholicism had its own pattern. Because the cultures of the Pacific are so diverse, and because the historical circumstances of the 19th-century encounter between Pacific peoples and Western visitors have varied so widely, I have written about each island group separately, though always with the same questions in mind. I have put considerable emphasis on the biographical dimension, because the outlines of the life of a real person serve to put flesh on the dry bones of impersonal generalisation. Due to the nature of the sources, the life histories cannot usually be very full. The individuals mentioned might be regarded as exemplars (and, if the reader wishes, models to be imitated or taken as warnings), but very often they are people whose lives made a significant impact on events.

This study originated during my years as a teacher of history at the Pacific Theological College, which is situated in Fiji but serves most of the Protestant churches of the Pacific (and has a friendly relationship with its nearby Catholic

counterpart, the Pacific Regional Seminary). I perceived a need for a teaching resource that would enable the students to increase their historical understanding of the ministry for which they were being trained. The study leave granted by the college gave me a good beginning in the project, making possible a year of research in Australia, Europe and the United States. The project was endorsed also by the South Pacific Association of Theological Schools and the Catholic Bishops' Conference of the South Pacific (CEPAC). I gratefully acknowledge financial support from the Pacific Theological College, the Council for Mission (Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand), the Program on Theological Education (World Council of Churches), the Institute of Missiology (MISSIO), the Board of Mission of the Netherlands Reformed Churches and the World Mission Department of the Northelbian Evangelical-Lutheran Church. I did not realise at that time that the project would be so large and, after leaving the college, I was able only at intervals to concentrate on the necessary research and writing. Assistance from various sources made that possible from time to time. These supporters have included the Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies (University of Canterbury), the Research Enablement Program (Overseas Ministries Study Center, New Haven, Connecticut) and the Council for World Mission (formerly the London Missionary Society) in conjunction with the Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand.

I received generous assistance and hospitality from a number of institutions: I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Paolo Ricca and the Waldensian Faculty of Theology (Rome); the Marist Generalate (Rome); Professor Andrew Walls and the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World (University of Edinburgh); the University of Edinburgh for a Visiting Fellowship in the Faculty of Divinity; Professor Marc Spindler and the Inter-University Institute for Missiological and Ecumenical Research (IIMO), Leiden; the Protestant Mission Service (DEFAP), Paris; the Rev. Gernot Fugmann and the Mission Department of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Bavaria (Neuendettelsau); Dr Barbara Brown Zikmund and the Pacific School of Religion (Berkeley, California) for a Henry Luce Visiting Professorship; the Macmillan Brown Centre (University of Canterbury) and its successive directors (Dr Garth Cant, Dr Ueantabo Neemia-Mackenzie and Dr Karen Nero). My thanks go, too, to many helpful librarians and archivists, including those at the Pacific Theological College Library (Suva); the University of the South Pacific Library (Suva); the Pacific Regional Seminary Library (Suva); the Mitchell Library (Sydney); the Needham Library of the Anglican Board of Missions (Sydney); the Marist Archives (Rome), especially the late Fr Theo Kok, SM; the New College Library (Edinburgh); the IIMO Library (Leiden), especially Ms Leny Lagerwerf; the Hendrik Kraemer Institute Library (Oegstgeest); the DEFAP Library (Paris); the ELKB Mission Department Library (Neuendettelsau); the Graduate Theological Union Library (Berkeley, CA); the Macmillan Brown Library and Central Library of the University of Canterbury; the Alexander Turnbull Library (Wellington); the Methodist Archives (Christchurch); the Hewitson Library, Knox College (Dunedin).

During my work on this book, I was able to publish some of my preliminary findings and I am grateful for permission to present revised versions here: Chapters 2, 3 and 4 are greatly expanded versions of an article that appeared in the *Pacific Journal of Theology* in 1995 and of a *Working Paper* published by the Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies in 1997. An earlier version of Chapter 8 was published as two articles in the *Journal of Religious History* in 2000 and 2003.

Throughout my labours, I have been indebted to many people who took an interest in the project. I gratefully acknowledge the friendly encouragement of my former colleagues at the Pacific Theological College, especially the three principals with whom I served (Sevati Tuwere, the late Sione Latukefu and the late Faitala Talapusi) and Toa Finau, Mark Gallagher, Pothin Wete and the late Jeanette Little. I remember with affection the many students who passed through the college while I was there — I probably learned something from all of them, and a great deal from some. Other friends who encouraged and informed me have included the two enormously respected elders of Pacific Christian history (Charles W. Forman and John Garrett), as well as Ian Breward, Ian Campbell, Andrew Thornley, Doug Munro, J. Graham Miller, Jenny Murray, Allan Davidson and Judy Bennett. Now that I have brought the research and writing to its final stage, I would like to acknowledge the work of Justine Molony and her colleagues at Pandanus Books. During all the years of my work on this book, however, my greatest debt has been to my family — Nushka, Anneke, Miria, Naomi and Robbie — who have waited patiently for me to finish and have given me loving support throughout.

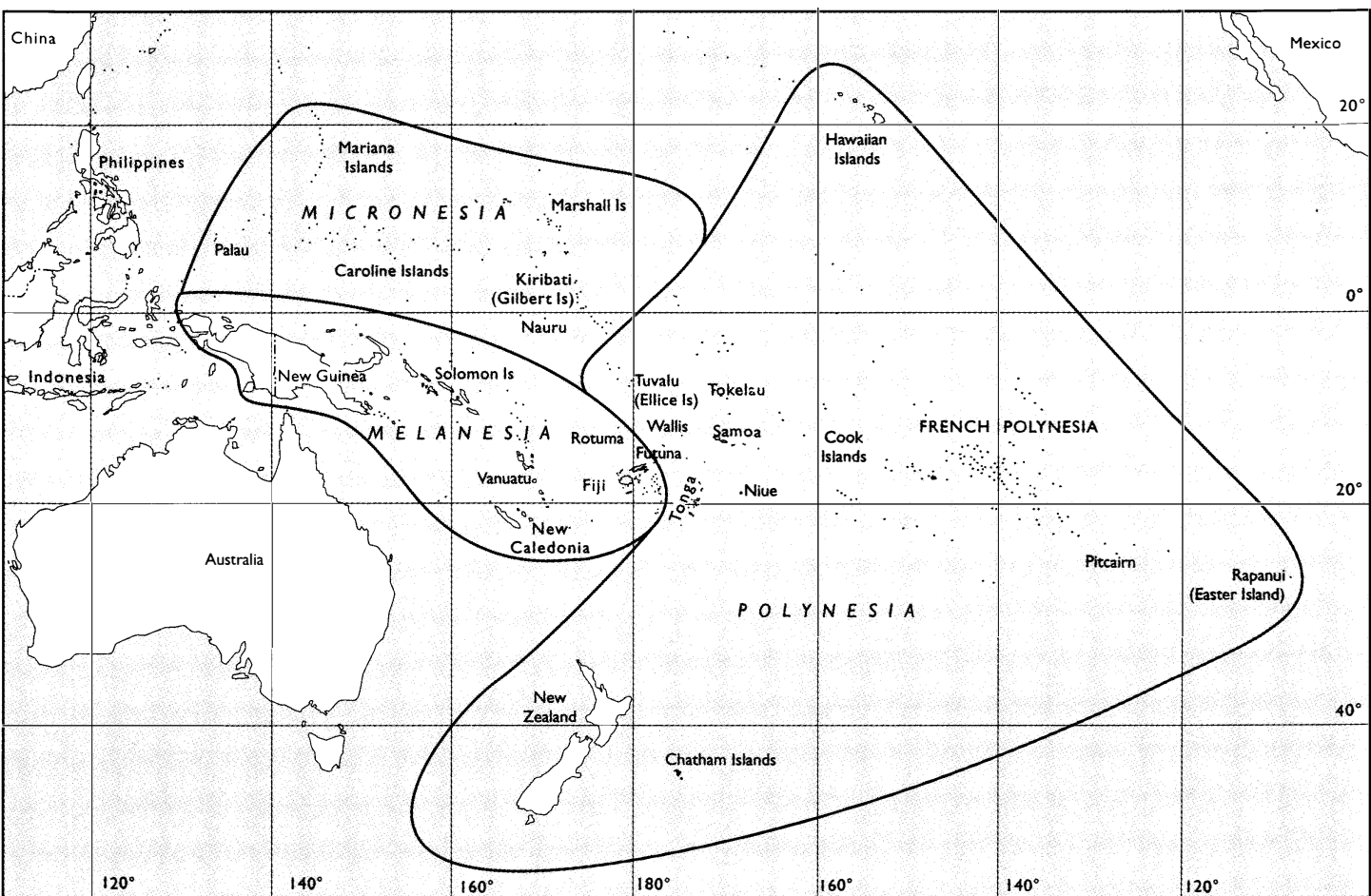
I dedicate this book to the teachers and students of the Pacific Theological College — past, present and future — and to all who seek to minister to the people of the Pacific Islands.

Abbreviations

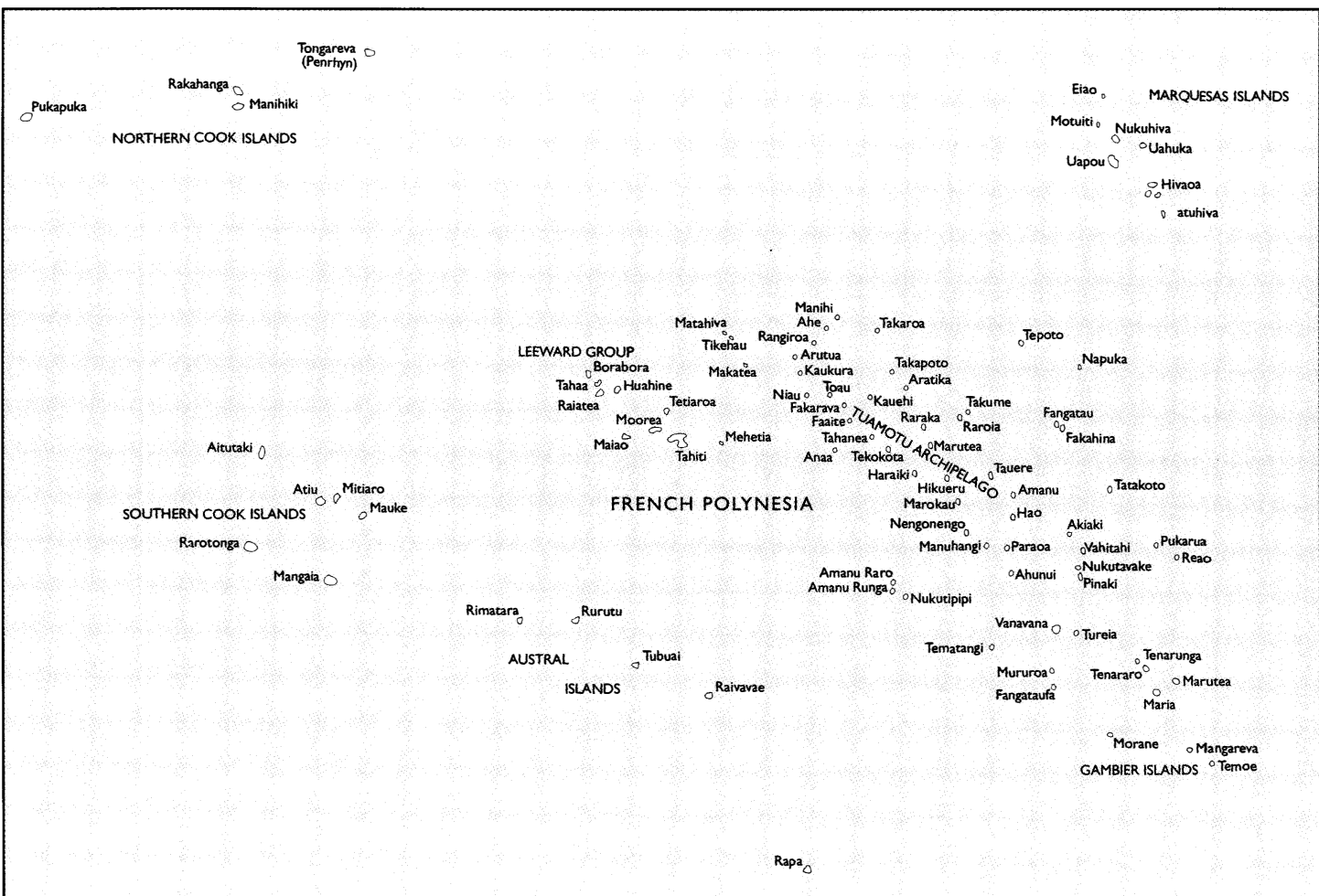
ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
AMMR	<i>Australasian Methodist Missionary Review</i>
AMO	<i>Annales des Missions de l'Océanie</i>
AMSM	<i>Annales des Missions de la Société de Marie</i>
ANDSC	<i>Annales de Notre Dame du Sacré Coeur</i>
ASC	<i>Annales des Sacrés-Coeurs</i>
DNZB	<i>Dictionary of New Zealand Biography</i>
HJH	<i>Hawaiian Journal of History</i>
JME	<i>Journal des Missions Évangéliques</i>
JPH	<i>Journal of Pacific History</i>
JPS	<i>Journal of the Polynesian Society</i>
JSO	<i>Journal de la Société des Océanistes</i>
LMS	London Missionary Society
MC	<i>Les Missions Catholiques</i>
MOM	Methodist Overseas Missions archives
MM	Micronesian Mission papers (ABCFM)
NHPM	New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission
NZJH	<i>New Zealand Journal of History</i>
PJT	<i>Pacific Journal of Theology</i>
PMB	Pacific Manuscripts Bureau
PMS	Paris Missionary Society
PJ	Papua Journals (LMS)
PL	Papua Letters (LMS)
PR	Papua Reports (LMS)
QJ	<i>Quarterly Jottings</i>
SSJ	South Seas Journals (LMS)
SSL	South Seas Letters (LMS)
SSR	South Seas Reports (LMS)
WMMS	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society
WMN	<i>Wesleyan Missionary Notices</i>

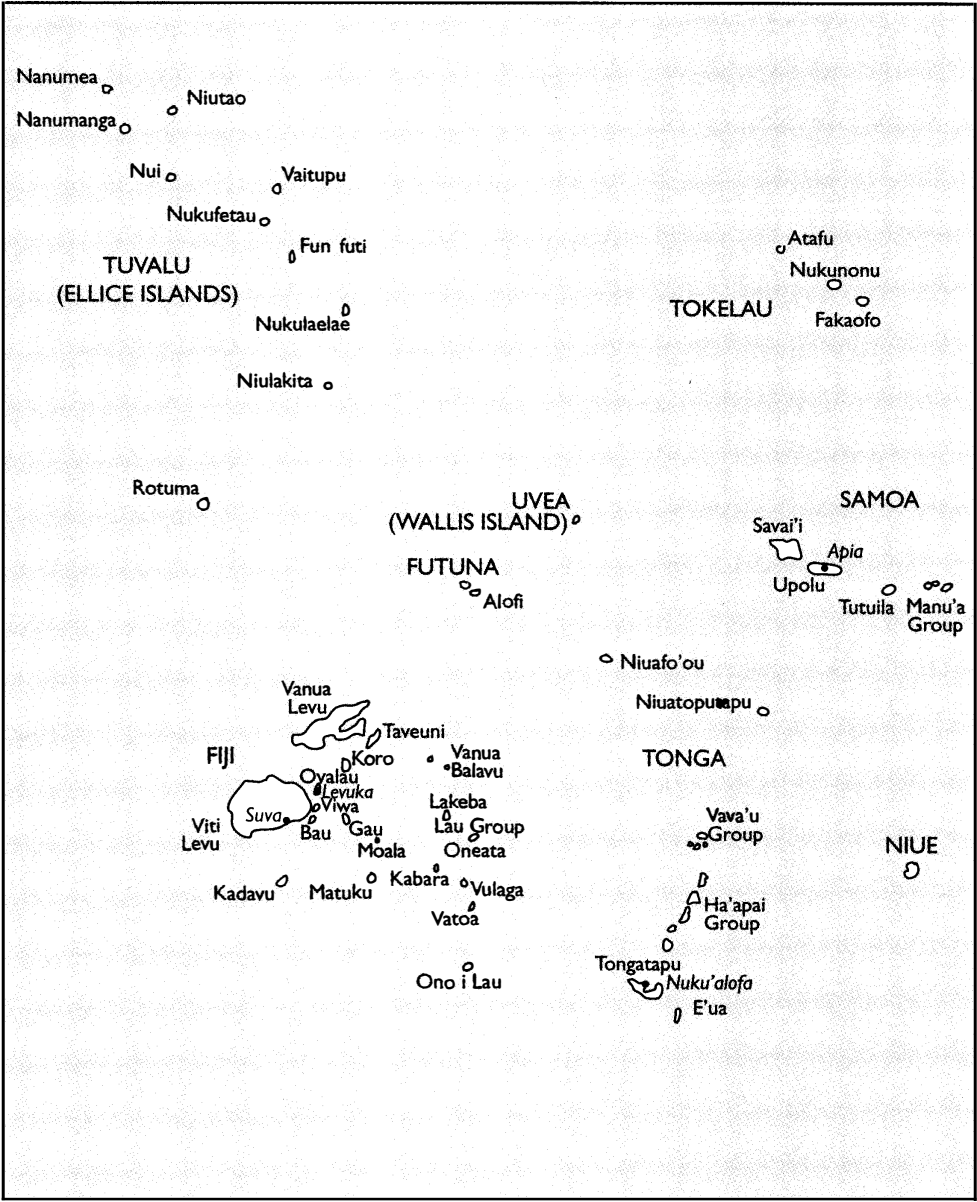
Maps

1. The Pacific Islands: Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia
2. Eastern Polynesia: French Polynesia and the Cook Islands
3. Western Polynesia and Fiji: Samoa, Tonga, Wallis and Futuna, Fiji, Niue, Tokelau, Tuvalu
4. New Zealand
5. Hawaiian Islands
6. Micronesia: Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Mariana and Caroline Islands
7. Eastern Melanesia: New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands, Vanuatu, Solomon Islands
8. New Guinea

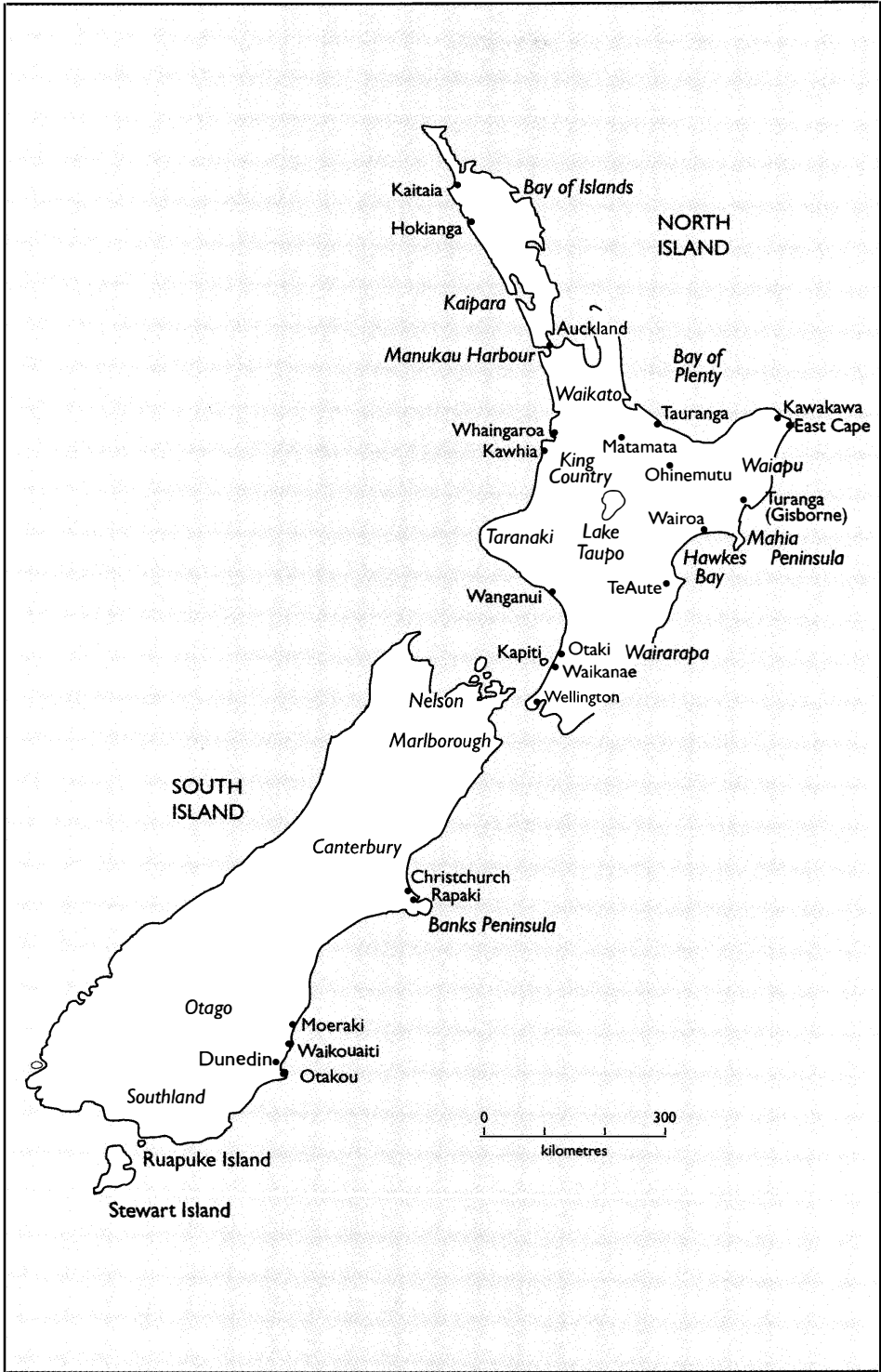


The Pacific Islands: Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia

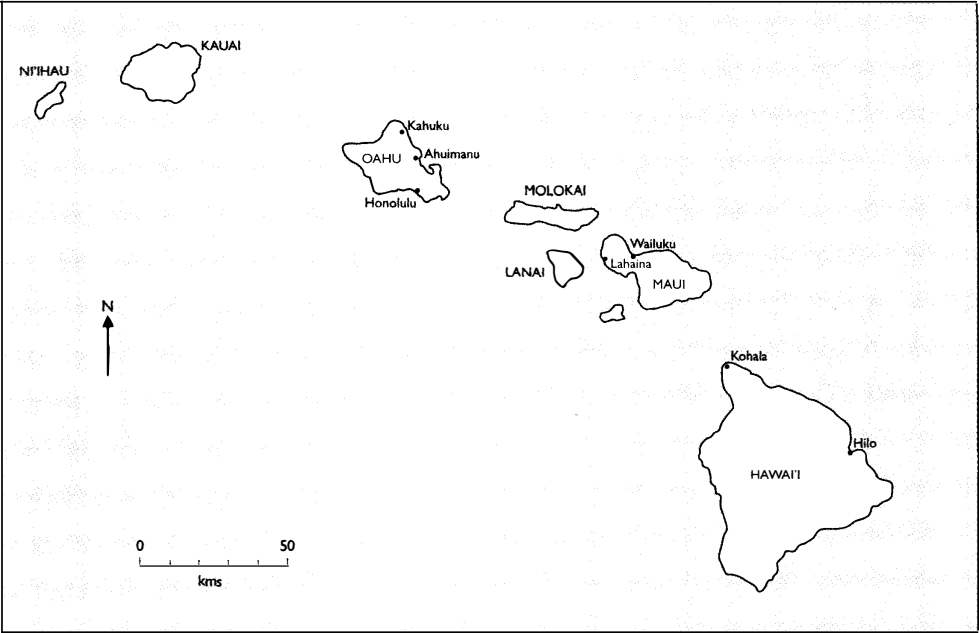




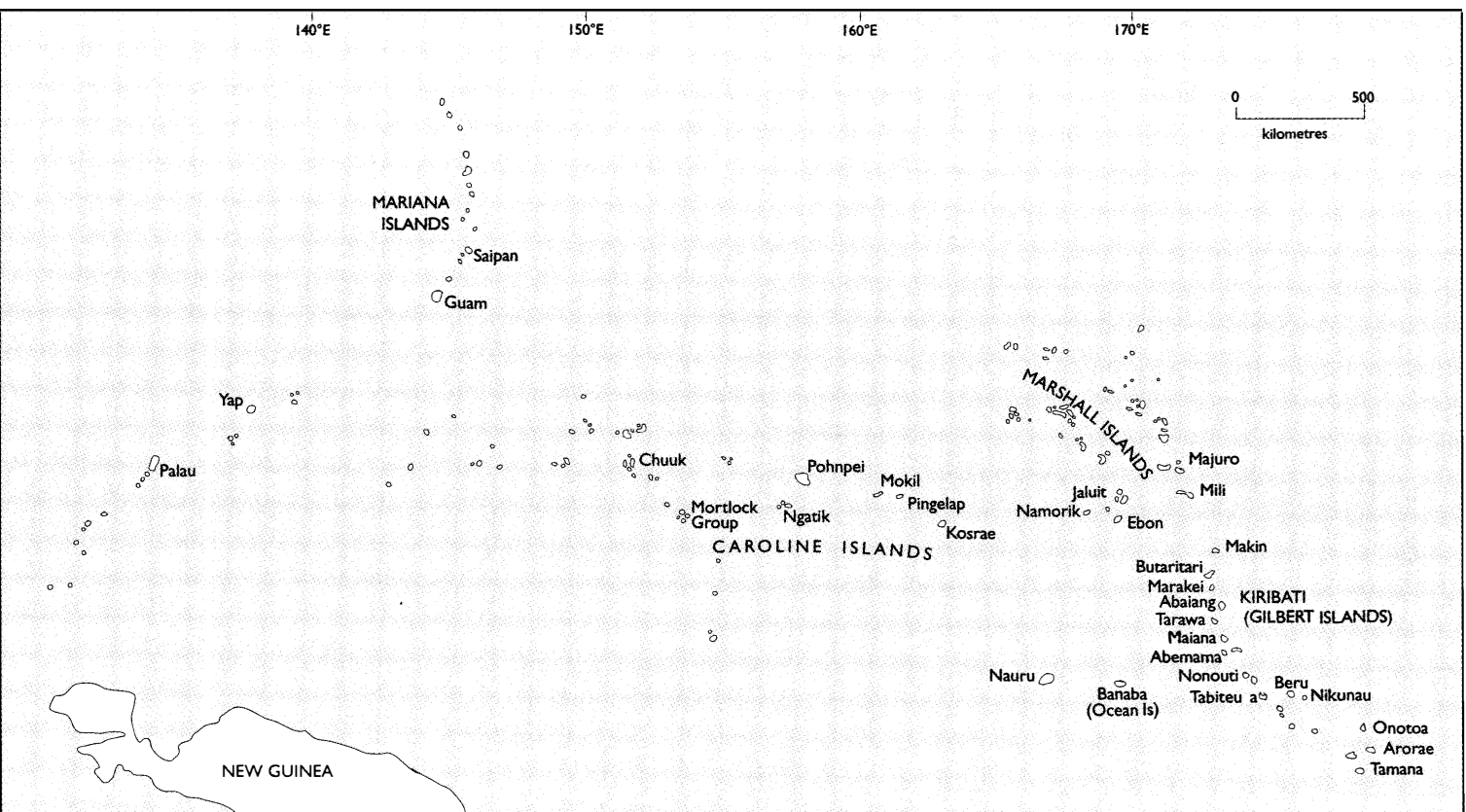
Western Polynesia and Fiji: Samoa, Tonga, Wallis and Futuna, Fiji, Niue, Tokelau, Tuvalu



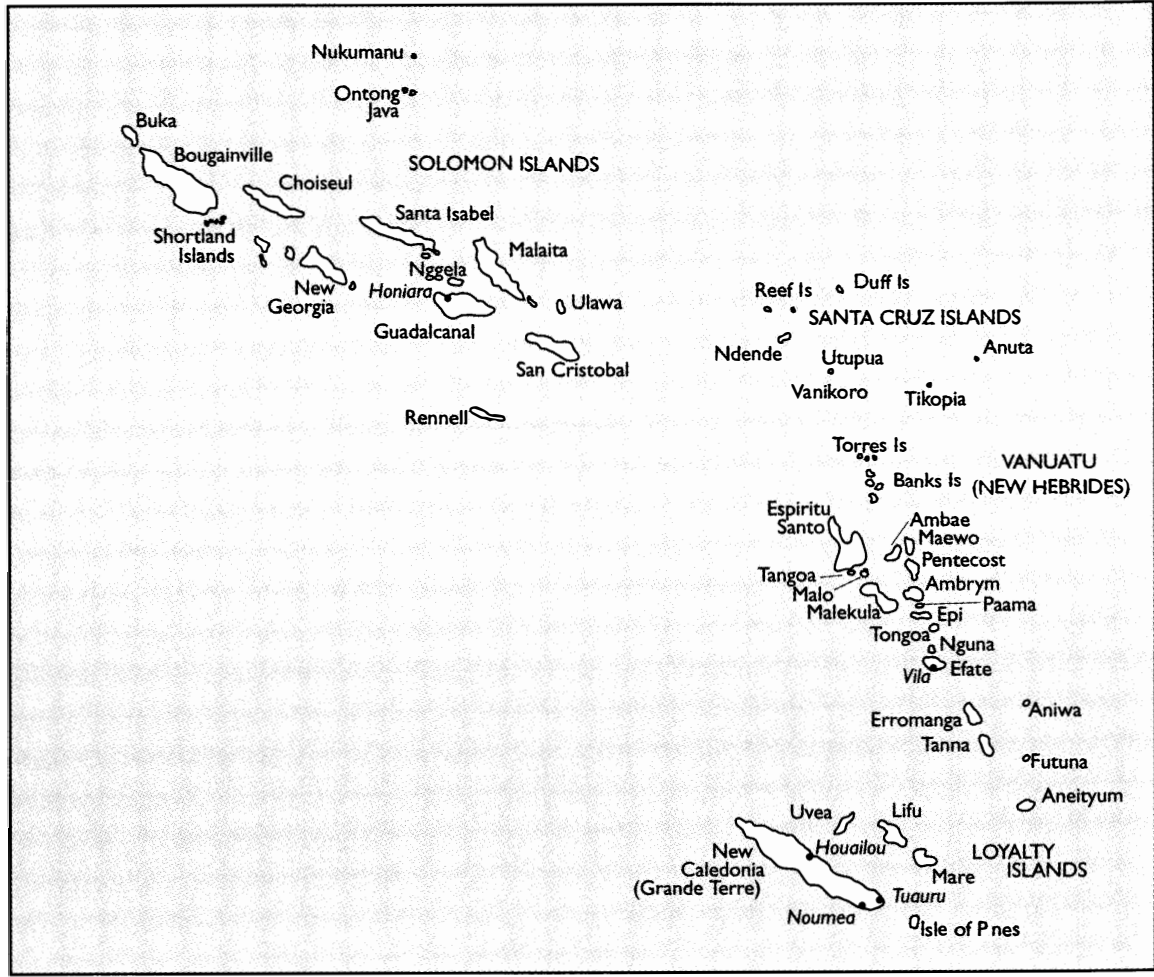
New Zealand



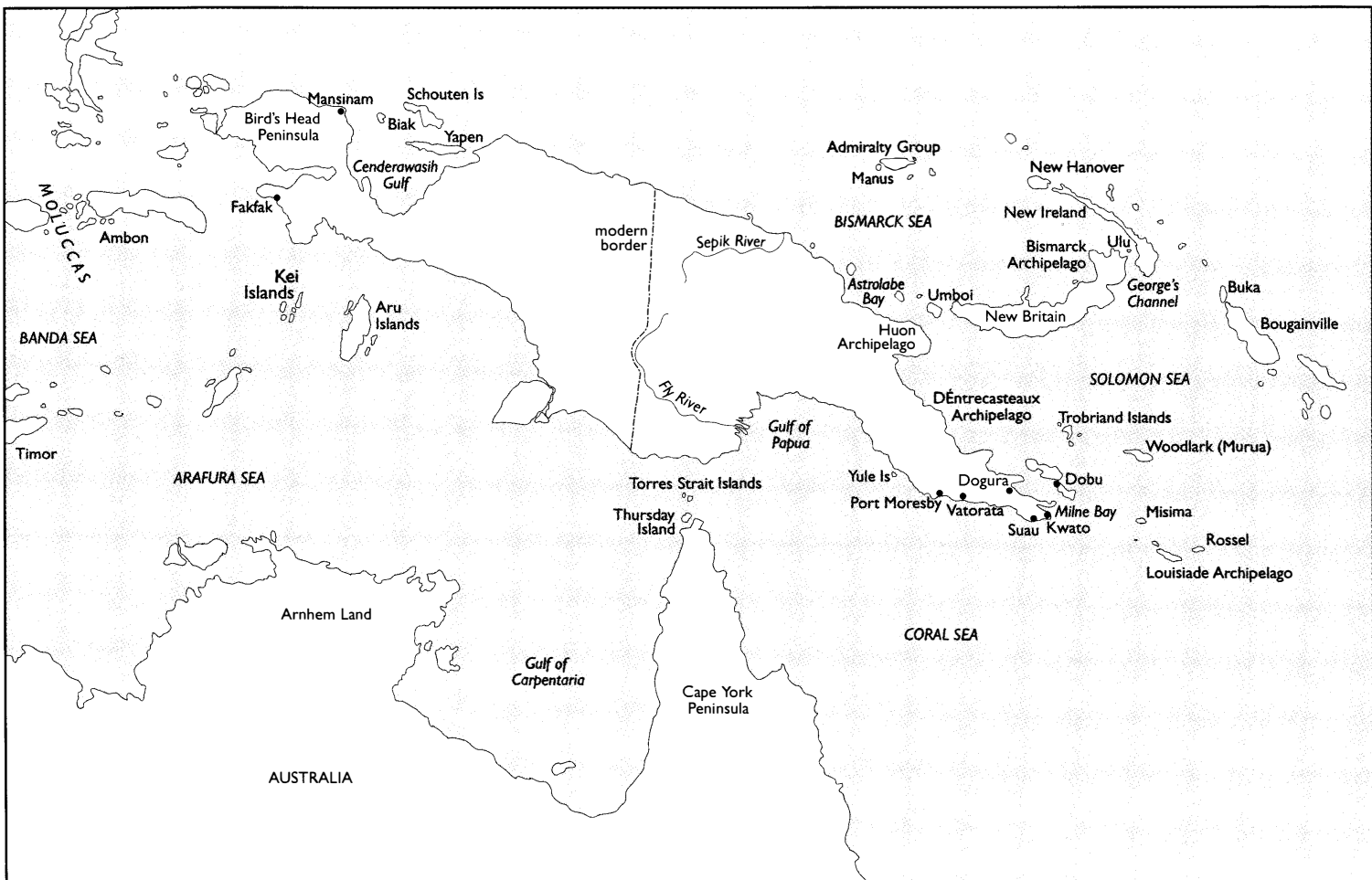
Hawaiian Islands



Micronesia: Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Mariana and Caroline Islands



Eastern Melanesia: New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands, Vanuatu, Solomon Islands



I. Prophets, Priests and Pastors in History

The Antecedents of Christian Ministry in the Pacific

ONE OF THE first Pacific Islanders to become a Christian minister was Patii, a Tahitian who was put in charge of the congregation of converts on the eastern Polynesian island of Raivavae in the 1830s. Some years earlier he had been the high priest of the god 'Oro on Moorea. He had dramatically signalled his conversion by publicly consigning the images of his god to the flames.¹ Patii and other early Pacific Christians had been introduced to structures of church membership and leadership that were innovations in Pacific life, but there are certain threads of continuity linking the figures of 'pagan priest' and 'Christian minister' in this region. In his transformation from priest to pastor, Patii spectacularly embodied these connections in a single life history. It is true that his simple career change from traditional priesthood to Christian ministry was a much more straightforward development than the pattern usually seen in the early history of Christian leadership in the Pacific, and there are important differences between the two forms of specialist religious practice with which he was identified in the separate phases of his life. Patii's story, however, highlights an important feature of social history. Human societies throughout the world and in all eras have almost always found a place for 'religious specialists' of one kind or another. What emerged as the new kind of specialist religious practitioner in the Pacific when traditional religion encountered Christianity in the 19th century is the subject of this study.

Traditional religious specialists

Throughout history, human groups have tried to reach out to the realm they discerned beyond the tangible realities of daily existence. The 'supernatural' universe that exists beyond the physical environment, although unseen by humans and qualitatively different from the 'natural' world, has been perceived in many world views as being connected closely with what happens in the physical and human realms. In the 'primal'

religions practised in the distant past, or in many parts of the world (including the Pacific Islands) until recent years or even to this day, the supernatural sphere is the home of deities and spirit beings who have enormous influence on human destinies and the physical setting of human life. Gods and spirits cannot be ignored, and ways of maintaining proper relationships with them have been developed. In these societies, gods and spirit beings might usually be approached by any person, but it is usual also for certain individuals to be seen as having special powers or rights to engage with the supernatural world.²

Very often the head of a family, clan or tribe is responsible for liaison with the gods and spirits with which his group is concerned. Hereditary chiefs of this kind commonly possess a sacredness reflecting their genealogical descent from the gods and equipping them with a special facility for approaching supernatural beings. This is seen clearly in the high chiefs of many Pacific societies, especially in Polynesia. In less hierarchical societies, too, including the many Melanesian groups headed by 'big men', an important element in the power of individuals who emerge as leaders is the ability to influence the world of spirits.

In innumerable societies practising primal religions there are also religious roles that are clearly distinct from those of chiefs and other politically powerful leaders. In the past, these specialist roles were given a wide variety of names by untrained observers of primal religions, who loosely and unsystematically used all sorts of labels. Academic study of religion, however, has attempted a coherent categorisation of the 'priests', 'witchdoctors', 'medicine men' and other figures portrayed by outsiders when reporting their encounters with primal religionists. The most important distinction made is between 'shamans' and 'priests'.

It is not to be thought, however, that the categories identified by scholars are watertight. There is much overlapping and inconsistency, in the Pacific context as elsewhere. Shamanistic mediums, for example, can engage in 'priestly' activities, and priests in some cultures commonly exhibit shaman-like behaviour. The two basic categories are often useful for understanding particular religious specialists in specific societies, but they are most appropriate for the discussion of activities rather than people.

Most widely noted throughout the world by students of primal and ancient religion are people able to communicate with spirits. There is a sense in which these 'mediums' control and manipulate the spiritual world, so that they are often described as 'magico-religious' practitioners. Often, however, they and members of their communities interpret their behaviour as indicating that they are 'possessed' or 'inspired' by a god or spirit. The term 'shaman' is commonly applied to such people. A shaman is a particular kind of religious specialist in Siberia, but the concept of 'shamanism' has been extended by many scholars to comparable types of religious practice in other parts of the world. This terminology has not usually been employed in studies of traditional Pacific religion, but the form of religious practice to which it refers was certainly prevalent in the Pacific region when Christianity arrived.

People identified as belonging to this category convey messages from the gods and spirits to the human community. In many societies, the state of 'possession' in which this

communication is accomplished might be accompanied by trance-like or ecstatic behaviour, described by scholars as an 'altered state of consciousness'. Features of this condition are a changed voice, facial contortions and bodily convulsions. In a sense, practitioners of this kind are 'prophets', who speak with the voice of the gods and might challenge existing situations and understandings. In primal religions, however, these 'mouthpieces of the gods' communicate the divine will rather mechanically, without the personal and rational involvement characteristic of prophets in some other religious traditions. The information or messages received from the supernatural realm might be relevant to a wide variety of circumstances pertaining to the past, the present or the future. Practitioners of this kind are diviners, using their mediumship (and often other more magical means also) to discover information that is inaccessible to normal inquiry. The practitioner might proceed further by acting on the information received, performing actions that are intended to influence the supernatural. Among the areas in which such information-gathering is useful is the determination of illness causation, so that this kind of practitioner is commonly also a healer.

Mediums of this kind might be of either sex or of any rank in society. They do not usually inherit their position, but emerge from the community as people with a special propensity or talent for communicating with gods or spirits and acting as their mouthpieces. They are 'charismatic' figures, in the sense of being divinely inspired or chosen rather than being appointed by their society. They do not normally engage in their religious activities full-time, but will in many cases enjoy the esteem of the community and receive gifts or payment for their work.

The religious specialists differentiated by scholars from shamans and mediums and described as 'priests' are characterised by their role as intermediaries between humans and the divine, a mediation that they often accomplish by offering sacrifices. The English word 'priest' (and similar words in many other European languages) has a specific Christian etymology and meaning, but students of religion have extended it to other cultures to denote the religious role of intermediary/sacrificer wherever it is found. Priestly contact with the supernatural is not direct like that achieved by the medium. The role of priests is to bridge the gap between ordinary people and their gods, facilitating the appeasement, worshipping or petitioning of the supernatural world by means of sacrifices, rituals or prayers conducted by the priest on behalf of the community.

The presence of priests in a community, or their degree of differentiation from other members of the group, has often been perceived as an indicator of the complexity or otherwise of their host society. This aspect, however, is not relevant to the present study. It is sufficient to note that not all societies, in the Pacific and elsewhere, have priests as separately identifiable specialists. Where priestly activity does exist, it occupies a rather different place in society from the work of mediums. Characteristically, priests require knowledge and expertise, whereas mediums simply need to be available for possession by a spirit being. Priests are skilled in the use of chants, invocations and the ritual actions needed for efficacious offerings and sacrifices. They are often experts in traditional cosmology, genealogy, history and other knowledge. They are custodians of the lore of their society, preserving and continuing the sacred tradition. This learning is acquired

from other priests, to whom the new practitioner might be apprenticed. Priesthood is frequently hereditary, and in many societies priests are exclusively male. They perform their duties in public on behalf of other members of their community, by whom they are often seen as a distinct order in society, high in status and politically powerful. Institutionalisation of their position often sees them taking up their priestly office in a ceremonial manner (described by observers sometimes by means of a word taken from Christianity, 'ordination'). Priests are often attached to a shrine, temple or other sacred place. Their position is not necessarily full-time, but they usually receive recompense for the work they do.

Members of societies practising primal religions perceive mediums and priests as performing useful and beneficial services for the community. Only the activities of sorcerers, whose access to the supernatural is used malevolently to curse or bewitch, are regarded negatively (although sorcery used against enemies might be seen as a beneficial activity).

An aura of sacredness might surround mediums, priests and chiefs, and some specialists are called 'sacred men' in their local language. Sometimes they perform their work under temporary sexual or dietary restrictions, but the ascetic figures seen in some religious traditions are not evident in Pacific primal religions. The role of prophet is present only to a limited degree, and that of teacher only in the transmission of expertise to those in the process of becoming specialists: there is no thought that religious specialists will systematically instruct or counsel the general population, or that the religious beliefs of the community should be presented persuasively to members of other societies. Nor do religious specialists have the responsibility of leading, nurturing and advising a community of devotees, for there is no religious organisation in the sense of a group of believers or followers structured separately within the society as a whole.

While sharing many attributes with the specialist practitioners of religion as a worldwide category, then, the specialists active in primal religions have a distinct character and certainly differ in significant ways from the practitioners seen in the 'historic' religions that superseded them in many parts of the world. In the case of the Pacific Islands, the only such religion to be presented to indigenous societies was Christianity.

Religious specialists in Christianity

Nearly 2,000 years have passed since Christianity first emerged as a new religion in the Near East. During that time it has not only spread far beyond its original homeland into a wide variety of societies and cultures, but has also evolved distinctive patterns of specialist religious practice and leadership. By the time it reached the Pacific Islands, its religious specialists were diverse in character and this diversity was reproduced in the Pacific and also made even more complex by the encounter between Christian forms and pre-existing traditional forms.³

Early Christianity grew from the life and teachings of a Jewish prophet, Jesus of Nazareth, who proclaimed the kingdom of God and came to be known by his followers as the Christ ('the anointed one'). After his death, his small inner circle of disciples,

together with others such as the early convert Paul of Tarsus, played an important role in spreading the nascent Christian faith among the Jews and into surrounding societies. These 'apostles' ('sent ones' or 'messengers') were recognised as having an authority stemming from their close personal association with Jesus and their commissioning by him. They were the first evangelists ('carriers of the Good News') and, according to the New Testament, worked in association with 'prophets' and 'teachers'. In the terminology of a later time, the apostles were 'missionaries' (from the Latin word carrying the same meaning as the Greek-derived 'apostle').

When many small local groups of followers of Jesus sprang up, the leaders of these 'churches' appear to have been simply members who showed leadership skills. Their ministries were understood as responses to God's call and dependent on spiritual gifts bestowed by the Holy Spirit, but their roles in the community developed quite pragmatically. It seems that sometimes they were appointed or had their authority validated by travelling apostles. Despite a long tradition of historical interpretation to the contrary, however, it is difficult to demonstrate that these early forms of local leadership were devised by Jesus or conceived and implemented by the apostles as the only theologically legitimate pattern of ministry. Evidently, there were a variety of forms. At this early stage, the preoccupation in Christianity was the meaning of the life and death of Jesus, not the institutional arrangements for managing the groups of his followers. As is usual in the history of movements, however, it was not long before normal social dynamics came into operation and a hierarchical arrangement started to develop from the early fluidity, evolving into what proved to be an enduring structure of church ministry.

Although no structures of church organisation and leadership were defined by Jesus or even by the apostles, the early Christians were not without models for the local religious specialists they soon found necessary. An immediate possibility was the Jewish religious culture in which Jesus and the apostles were brought up. Jewish history told of many prophets who received messages from God and conveyed them to the people. There were also rabbis, who were teachers, interpreters of the law and spiritual guides. Above all, at least until the temple tradition was swept away later in the first century, there was a hereditary caste of priests who offered sacrifices and through whom the people approached God. Jesus himself was regarded as a prophet and a rabbi, and the prophetic and teaching roles persisted in Christianity, but the teaching of Jesus suggested a radical break from the priestly Judaism of his time. After his death, his followers were soon speaking of Jesus as the new High Priest, the mediator between humans and God. Through him, all could approach God directly, so there was no further need for priests as mediators. His self-offering on the cross was a final sacrifice, ending the need for the sacrifices traditionally made by the Jews. The very early Christians saw human priesthood only in that exercised by the whole 'body of Christ', the church, which comprised all baptised people. As they were told in a letter attributed to the apostle Peter, 'you are a royal priesthood, a holy nation'.⁴ For these theological reasons, the early Christians found no use, when referring to their leaders, for the Jewish name for priest, *kohen* (or for the Greek word for Jewish and pagan priests, *hiereus*).

Prophets, in the sense of people inspired by God to proclaim his message, were still needed. Teachers would pass on and interpret the teachings of Jesus and the apostles after the founder and his early emissaries died — teachings that were soon available in written form as the Christian Scriptures. But the most significant leadership patterns that sprang up in the early years were local and took their quite unreligious forms and names from the surrounding social environment. Local church leaders were designated variously ‘supervisor’ (*episkopos*) or ‘elder’ (*presbuteros*). It is true that Jewish local assemblies (synagogues) were ruled by elders, but the leaders of the new Christian assemblies did more than simply replicate the governing activities of the Jewish elders. The term ‘elder’ might have been taken from the synagogue tradition, but like ‘overseer’ it had a general meaning beyond the religious sphere. Both of these functional Greek terms appear to have originally signified simply ‘local church leader’, but gradually they diverged in meaning. By the late second century, *episkopos* had come to signify the superintendent of other leaders (today’s ‘bishop’, a word directly derived from *episkopos*), and *presbuteros* had become the term for the leader of a local congregation.

An extremely important motif in early Christian understandings of Christian leadership is the concept used as a unifying theme for this book — ministry, a word that means ‘service’. Paradoxically, leaders were seen as ‘servants’. Christ himself took up the role of servant — he ‘came not to be served but to serve’ — and was understood as having passed it on to his followers. Service (*diakonia*) was seen as a defining characteristic of the place of Christians in the world, and not least of those who served by leading in the Christian movement. The concept was handed down into English as ‘ministry’, from the Latin word for ‘service’, which came to be applied particularly to the work of local and other church leaders. It was not always easy to reconcile the call to servanthood (a theological imperative) with the need for leadership (a sociological matter as well), but the idea was never entirely lost. Church leaders were not at this time usually described as ‘servants’ or ‘ministers’, although the word *diakonos* (servant) did find use as a term for a particular helping role in the early church. Later, however, it became merely the name of a third and temporary level of ministry after *episkopos* and *presbuteros*, a usage that survived for many centuries in the word ‘deacon’, signifying a leader who was not yet fully recognised as a *presbuteros* but was still part of the threefold ordained ministry.

Religious specialists in early Christianity were not primarily priestly in character. Rather their function was to provide general leadership for local communities of believers. Within this field of activity the enduring roles of worship leader, preacher, teacher, administrator, spiritual guide, counsellor and authoritative arbiter of Christian behaviour developed. A metaphorical image much used in Jewish and early Christian writings, ‘shepherd of the flock’, came to be used in connection with those who cared for Christian communities in this way. The Latin word for ‘shepherd’, *pastor*, descended into many European languages to refer to this role in the church, although until the Reformation it was not usually used as a title. It has sometimes been pointed out that in the domination of religious office-holding by pastoral ministry Christianity is unique. As C. W. Ranson puts it, other religions have nothing that ‘corresponds precisely to the

work of the Christian pastor as at once the leader and the servant of a worshipping community'.⁵

The word *presbuteros* survived into medieval and modern times as the principal term for a local pastoral leader, but well before the fourth century, the priestly role known in other religions had developed in Christianity also, and the liturgical role of the minister began to dominate. From the beginning, Christians had ritually shared in the eucharistic meal, the highly valued sacrament that originated in the Last Supper of Jesus and his disciples. In the congregations, the *presbuteros* gradually acquired the sole right to preside at the eucharist and to perform other ritual tasks, and the eucharist was increasingly understood as a sacrifice. Certain aspects of the priestly role had always been apparent in the work of pastoral leaders, and are still evident to this day: their work makes them a special link between the assembled people and God; they are skilled in rituals through which people experience a particular closeness to God; and they conserve the heritage of traditional Christian knowledge and practice. But the sacerdotalism (from the Latin word for the priestly role in pre-Christian Roman religion) that developed in the early church made the Christian pastoral office-holder above all a sacramental celebrant. Christian priests were seen as representing Christ's own priesthood. The Greek name of their office came to signify 'priest' in the sacerdotal sense, a meaning perpetuated in English and other languages that inherited the word as a derivation of *presbuteros*.

Connected with the perception of church officers as priests is the rite of ordination. The Jews had practised the 'laying on of hands' when marking the taking up of religious office, and the early Christians continued it as a way of authorising the performance of leadership tasks in the local worshipping community and calling on the Holy Spirit to empower the leader. Little is known about how leaders were installed, but ordination was gradually formalised. It came to signify the transmission of the sacred power and authority to perform ritual tasks, especially to celebrate the eucharistic sacrament, and to pronounce the forgiveness of sins. Becoming a sacrament itself, ordination marked the priest's entry into a distinct and separate order of pastoral officials whose primary function was sacerdotal and who were members of a sacred lineage descended from the apostles and ultimately from Christ. This distinction between 'clergy' (the ordained) and 'laity' (those not ordained) has endured in the Catholic Church until today, and was modified only to a certain extent in Protestantism. Ordination facilitated the protection and preservation of the Christian tradition, but it contributed greatly to the perception of ministry as a status rather than a task or function, and confirmed the increasing clericalisation of the ministry.

The fourth century saw the church in Europe entering its long history as a close associate of the State and a central element in the social and cultural structure of Christendom. It was the 'Catholic' Western section of the medieval church rather than the Eastern 'Orthodox' section that was the European ancestor of Pacific Christianity. In this 'Roman' ecclesiastical environment, the priesthood acquired juridical authority and official status not only in the church but also in the wider community. Being a servant of God did not mean that the clergy were always servants of their fellow human beings. The

relations between church and state were seldom smooth, but in some contexts the clergy enjoyed considerable political power and social status. In the long history of Catholicism in Europe and elsewhere, this high place in society has not been an invariable accompaniment of priesthood, but the authority of the priest in the church was never denied.

The development of the Catholic ministry in a pastoral and primarily priestly direction did not eliminate other kinds of ministry from the church. In the early years and throughout the centuries, prophets made their appearance now and again. Learned or educated people made their contribution to society primarily under the auspices of the church. Teachers of religion played an important part, especially in catechesis, the giving of religious instruction to young or new Christians. 'Catechists' who did this work were often lay people. Ministry of an 'apostolic' nature was a feature of church history in certain periods, with missionaries entering non-Christian societies as promoters of religious and other change. Missionaries were evangelists, prophets, teachers and often eventually pastors. From about the 16th century, they were often assisted in teaching and other work by catechists, sometimes recognised as 'lay apostles', but always regarded as subordinates of the ordained missionaries. Women sometimes exercised non-sacerdotal ministries, usually informally, but only males could be ordained as priests. This marginalisation of the role of women in the church represented a departure from their much greater participation in ministry in the earliest years.

An important development in the early church was the emergence of monasticism. Monks were ascetics who took vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. Originally a lay movement, monasticism soon greatly affected the clergy. Some aspects of the 'religious life', not least the requirement of celibacy, entered the way in which the ordained pastoral ministry was understood, and came to be thought essential for it. Members of religious orders, who could be either lay or ordained, made important contributions to the pastoral, educational and charitable ministries of the church. Their role in missionary work was particularly significant, as the Pope often used the priests and lay members of religious orders as his agents for the missions he sponsored in various parts of the world. Most of the missionaries who brought Catholicism to the Pacific before 1900 were members of religious orders.

Formal training was never a prerequisite for ministry, but one of the outcomes of the tightening up of Catholic church procedures in the 16th century was the emergence of seminary formation for priests. By the 19th century, it was accepted that candidates for the priesthood would be removed completely from their community for several years to be schooled in theological and ecclesiastical knowledge and skills. In the semi-monastic setting of a seminary, spiritual growth would be fostered and socialisation into the clerical role would be promoted. Lay helpers did not receive this level of education or formation. Catholic missionaries trained in this way brought with them to the Pacific the traditions of ministry they knew in Europe (mainly France, but also Spain and Germany and some other places).

The 16th-century crisis of the Catholic Church split the venerable institution in two. While the continuing Roman Catholic strand maintained the traditional patterns of ministry essentially unchanged until after the middle of the 20th century, the new

forms of Protestant Christianity springing from the Reformation brought a number of innovations and modifications to this aspect of church organisation. The Reformers rediscovered and reasserted the idea that Christ is the only priest and that no member of his church is less a priest than the members of the clergy. Rejecting the view of the eucharist as a sacrifice, the founders of Protestantism reaffirmed 'the priesthood of all believers' and denied that the clerical ministry was a priesthood. This repudiation of the hierarchical and priestly character of the ministry was a revolution, but it did not mean that the idea of a clergy was abandoned altogether. Ordination continued, now seen not as creating a new sacral identity in the ordinand but as licensing him to teach and preach. Clergymen, now called 'ministers' or 'pastors', continued to lead the congregations of the faithful. They were now seen primarily as preachers, teachers and pastors rather than as sacramental celebrants, although they continued to administer the sacraments. The traditional requirement of celibacy was abandoned, which opened the way for a new dimension of the minister's clerical identity — marriage and family life. None of this meant that the long-established and deeply rooted distinction between clergy and laity disappeared, but it showed that the priesthood of all believers was, in the words of a modern historian, a 'powerful' but 'elusive ideal'.⁶

Between the 16th and the 19th centuries, ministry was given a wide variety of forms by the many branches of Protestantism that developed during the period. The English (Anglican) Church retained the traditional tripartite structure (bishop, priest and deacon) and terminology, although the word 'priest' was understood by the Reformers as carrying the original non-sacerdotal meaning of *presbuteros*. (In the 19th century, Anglicans holding a 'high' theology of priesthood would re-emphasise some of the more Catholic aspects of ordained ministry, and both this theology and the 'low' evangelical Anglican theology of ministry would be brought to the Pacific.) In some forms of Protestantism, there was more distaste for clericalism than in others. In British Congregationalism, for example, 'setting apart' rather than ordaining was practised, so as to protect the idea of the priesthood of all believers and to minimise the distinction between clergy and laity. The preferred structures of church organisation ranged from episcopal and synodical to congregationalist (independent). Many of the Protestant traditions, particularly those arising in England, Scotland, the United States, France and Germany, were brought to the Pacific.

Most Protestant churches in Europe and North America were greatly affected by the 18th-century rise of evangelicalism. During the heyday of the Protestant missionary movement in the 19th century, the distinctive emphases of evangelicalism, including those concerned with the nature of ministry, were part of the Protestant tradition introduced to the Pacific and other parts of the world. In much of Protestantism, at least as it was represented in the evangelical stream and conveyed by the missionary movement, there was a strong emphasis on active and articulate lay involvement. In contrast with Catholicism (except for the lay element in monasticism), Protestantism had official church structures that included lay ministries (elder, deacon, lay preacher, class leader and so on). It was accepted, however, that even without an official appointment, lay people would actively engage in evangelism, teaching and other

ministries. Women could perform many ministry tasks, but until well into the 20th century, Protestant churches retained the traditional restriction of ordination to males. In Protestantism as a whole, there was a great variation in the level of education required for ministry, ranging from university studies to self-conducted home reading courses. In some situations, all that was required for acceptance of active work in the church was evidence of piety and dedication. Training for ministry became more deliberate in the 19th century, with much more attention being given to pastoral skills.

From its earliest days, the Christian church extended itself into more and more cultures, and the church in each new society normally developed its own ministry. The creation of an indigenous ministry has always been among the objectives of missionary work — Catholic and Protestant — although as an aim it has been more strongly to the fore in some periods than in others. In the 19th century, the Catholic worldwide mission had the example of the indigenous clergy that had emerged in various Asian and other countries in recent centuries, as well as the catechists who had been active in Latin America and Asia since the 16th century and who were now being used in Africa, too. When Protestant missions began in the 18th century, they also began preparing an indigenous ministry in their fields of endeavour. In the Pacific Islands, the emergence of indigenous Christians willing to participate in the ministry of their churches was to have an interesting and important history.

Historical studies of the indigenous ministry in the Pacific Islands

It has sometimes been remarked that in the usual perception of Pacific Christian history, European missionaries have largely overshadowed the Pacific Islanders who participated in the spread of the new religion and the development of the churches. This might be true, though it is truer of understandings held outside the Pacific than of those held in the islands themselves, where there has been much more awareness of the indigenous dimension in Christian history. In fact, Protestant missionary historians writing during the period covered in this book or soon afterwards often made full acknowledgment of the participation of Pacific Islanders. In 1855, for example, William Gill explained in the preface to his history of London Missionary Society (LMS) work in the Pacific that he had written the book to draw attention to the activities of 'Native Teachers and Pastors' in Polynesia and western Melanesia.⁷ A. W. Murray's books (the first published in 1863) similarly emphasised their work.⁸ Writing in 1865 about Wesleyan missions, Thomas West prefaced his book with the comment that one thing stood out in the work of Pacific missions: the effectiveness of indigenous participation in the spread of Christianity and the development of churches.⁹ Robert Steel, a Presbyterian writer, emphasised the same theme in his publications of 1880 and 1906,¹⁰ and it was prominent in the Pacific chapters of Richard Lovett's history of the LMS (1899).¹¹ Joseph King dedicated his *Christianity in Polynesia* (1899) to 'the Memory of the South Sea Island Evangelists'.¹² Many of the books about missions in particular islands or island groups showed a similar

awareness of the indigenous role. In 1912, summing up this era of Pacific Christian history, F. H. L. Paton devoted two chapters of his survey of the region's missions and churches to the indigenous church and its ministry. 'Native Teachers,' he wrote, have been 'the real pioneers'. He declared that 'perhaps the most convincing evidence of the life and power of the native Church is the splendid leadership which has developed among its own members. No Church in the world has a nobler record of heroes of the Cross and martyrs of Jesus than the South Sea Island Church.'¹³

In more recent times, this acknowledgment of the indigenous dimension has continued in the work of mission- or church-oriented historians writing in a scholarly way about Pacific Christianity. Some examples of this among books about particular island groups are Charles Fox's history of Anglicanism in Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands (1958), Harold Wood's histories of Methodism in Tonga, Samoa and Fiji (1975 and 1978), Graham Miller's multi-volume history of Presbyterianism in Vanuatu (1978-90), and Andrew Thornley's work on Fijian Methodism.¹⁴ The topic has also loomed large in books with a wider focus; for example, Alan Tippett's study of Polynesian church growth (1971), John Garrett's pioneering, comprehensive history of 19th-century Pacific Christianity (1982, followed by two books continuing the study into the 20th century) and Charles Forman's study of the South Pacific churches (1982).¹⁵ All of these books are about Protestant churches, although Garrett and Forman include Catholic ministries. Historians writing outside the discipline of church history, too, have often recognised the importance of indigenous ministry in the Pacific and included this topic in their work. An early example was G. C. Henderson's book about Fiji (1931),¹⁶ and prominent among the many other later writers who contributed was Niel Gunson, whose 1960 thesis on Protestant missionaries gave rise to his widely known *Messengers of Grace* in 1978: this book about missionaries from Europe and America included sections on the indigenous churches and their ministry.¹⁷

The first scholar to publish a study concerned solely with the indigenous ministry in the Pacific was Léon Marchand in 1911. His sympathetic historical/ missiological study of the evangelistic activities of indigenous Protestant missionary teachers in all groups from French Polynesia west to Vanuatu consciously attempted to pluck them from relative obscurity.¹⁸ Marchand's book was written in French and was not widely distributed. Furthermore, it was not followed by any other substantial works focusing specifically on indigenous missionaries or pastors until the 1960s. In 1968, Ron and Marjorie Crocombe published a translation of the writings of the Rarotongan missionary and pastor Ta'unga, accompanied by editorial comment.¹⁹ In the same year, the Pacific Theological College chapel opened as a memorial to Pacific Islander missionaries; a record of their names was placed permanently on the communion table. From then on, the topic received attention comparatively often.

Forman's article on the history of pastoral training and theological education in the Pacific (1969) was the first comprehensive published study of this topic. It dealt with Protestant and Catholic training.²⁰ The same author soon produced the first short general survey and analysis of Pacific Islander missionaries (1970). This article made some reference to Catholics but noted that they were much less involved in indigenous missionary work than Protestants.²¹ In 1974, it was Forman who published yet another

pioneering historical article, 'The South Pacific Style in the Christian Ministry'.²² A book published inexpensively for Pacific Island readers in 1977 described the historic role of Pacific Islanders in 19th-century missions and church development. Its author, Tippet, argued that 'the strength of the island churches lay in the fact that they produced their own leaders at every level'.²³ Historical territory that was almost unknown was opened up in 1976 by John Broadbent's thesis on the history of 19th-century Polynesian Catholic priests.²⁴ A French scholar had written articles on aspects of this topic in the 1920s, and another wrote more articles in the 1930s (but the detailed history he completed about 1945 was never published).²⁵

The editing by Ron and Marjorie Crocombe of *Polynesian Missions in Melanesia* in 1982, with its case studies and brief general introduction to the topic,²⁶ seemed to give further encouragement to the study of indigenous Protestant missionaries. Theses, articles, chapters and books about missionaries originating from or working in particular islands or island groups were written in the 1980s and 1990s by authors such as Sione Latukefu, David Wetherell, Doug Munro, Nancy Morris, Marjorie Crocombe, Fele Nokise, Fa'atulituli Setu and others. An issue of the *Pacific Journal of Theology* in 1995 included four articles on 19th-century indigenous missionaries and ministers and their training. The year 1996 saw the publication of *The Covenant Makers*, a collection of essays by various authors on indigenous Protestant missionaries in a number of localities, together with Latukefu's general survey of Islander missionary history, Broadbent's chapter on Polynesian Catholic priests, another chapter on Catholic catechists in Fiji, and a historiographical survey by the editors, Munro and Thornley.²⁷

In 2000, Munro and Thornley published an expanded version of their useful survey and discussion of what had been written about Pacific Island 'pastors and missionaries'.²⁸ Their analysis centred on the role of Pacific Islanders in the spread and consolidation of Christianity in locations distant from their own islands, with only a few mentions of those who served at home. The two authors did acknowledge a need for historians to pay more attention to those engaged in pastoral ministry in their own island churches (and also to Catholic catechists). Indeed, it is noticeable that most of the study made by historians of indigenous ministry in the Pacific has been of missionaries to other islands. Certainly, this is an important aspect of the topic (and one that is not neglected in this book), but it is really only Forman's article of 1974, 'The South Pacific Style in the Christian Ministry', that puts Pacific Islander missionary service in the wider context of indigenous ministry as a whole. Forman's article was concerned with 'ministry' in the same way that the word is employed in this book (though he used the term 'pastor' in order to indicate his focus on the 'shepherding' function in ministry rather than on deployment as evangelists or schoolteachers or on whether ordination had been conferred or not). His relatively brief but comprehensive history and discussion of the distinctive features of indigenous ministry in the Pacific took the subject to a much more advanced stage than it had reached before, but the topic has languished since then. As he remarked in 1990, although political and economic leadership in the Pacific has been much studied, 'religious leadership has hardly been touched'.²⁹ In many ways, the present book is an expansion of Forman's pioneer study of nearly 30 years ago.

2.

French Polynesia

THE PEOPLE OF what is now French Polynesia were not the first Pacific Christians. It is sometimes forgotten that the earliest Pacific Islanders to respond to the Christian message and to be incorporated into the Christian church were the inhabitants of Guam, in the North Pacific. But it was not from these Micronesian Catholics, whose church dated from the 17th century, that an indigenous Christian ministry first emerged. The first appearance of the ministry as a Pacific Island institution is seen not in that earliest and most isolated of Pacific churches but in a very different Christian community, which was born far to the south-east one and a half centuries later.

The inhabitants of Tahiti and adjacent islands in eastern Polynesia who welcomed white voyagers in the middle and late 18th century could not have understood how celebrated they were to become in the annals of European discovery. Nor could they have predicted the ultimate outcome of the arrival of one particular set of voyagers in 1797, the first party of evangelists sent by the LMS. It was not that this pioneering South Pacific mission was immediately successful in interesting the Tahitians in Christianity. Indeed, many long and painful years were to pass before the British missionaries were heartened first by a trickle of inquirers and then, in the second decade of the 19th century, by the adherence of an ascendant chief, Pomare, and an almost overwhelming flood of Ma'ohi (people of Tahiti and nearby islands) into Christian allegiance.

This group movement into Christianity did not affect Tahitian religion only, but, along with other changes in that tumultuous era, it had implications for the whole shape of Ma'ohi society. Prominent among the social innovations of the time was the national church that was formed in the 1820s and which has endured to this day as one of the most important institutions in Ma'ohi life. Naturally, the forms of participation and leadership that developed in the church were determined both by Ma'ohi cultural and social patterns and by European models familiar to the LMS missionaries.

Traditional religious specialists

Ma'ohi could communicate with their gods and spirits as individuals in private prayer and worship, but, as in many other societies all over the world, there had long been certain people identifiable as religious specialists.¹ Some were mediums, who could convey messages from spirit beings when possessed by them. In a state of possession,

these *taura* ‘foamed at the mouth, had their eyeballs distorted and their limbs convulsed, and uttered hideous shrieks and ejaculations’.² The word *taura* literally means ‘rope’, indicating a connection between gods and humans. Usually quite distinct from this category, however, and perhaps much more significant for the development of Ma’ohi religion in the Christian era, were the priests, *tahu’a pure*, who directed the ritual aspects of public religion on the *marae* (sacred worshipping grounds).

The word *tahu’a* referred to masters of any skill, but leadership in prayer (*pure*) and religious ceremonies was a pre-eminent specialist role in Ma’ohi culture. *Tahu’a pure* were experts in sacred knowledge and ritual practice. Their *mana* was a spiritual potency and prestige conferred on them by their training and expertise and by their special role as intermediaries with the spiritual world. Priesthood tended to be handed down from father to son, and those who held the priestly office in a particular area did so with the sanction of the local chief, or of a greater chief in the case of high priests. Priests possessed high status in society and could exercise considerable influence in public affairs. They were not dependent for their livelihood on their own physical labour, but were well rewarded with material contributions from the people.

The training of priests in religious rites, invocations, chants and traditional cosmology, history and genealogy was imparted by celebrated priestly instructors. Having been given this knowledge orally and having committed it to memory, *tahu’a pure* were members of a restricted elite and guardians of the Ma’ohi cultural treasury. Their entry into the respected fraternity of priests was marked by ceremonies of inauguration.³

It is significant that priestly functions were often exercised by chiefs. Some men were priests and chiefs, but chiefs in general, as genealogical links between gods and humans, were themselves sacred in their chiefly identity. Certainly, there was a close connection between priests and rulers. *Marae* were maintained under chiefly auspices. Priests were often members of chiefly families, and it was plain to observers of Ma’ohi society that there was no clear distinction between spiritual and secular authority.

As representatives of a new religion that they believed was far superior to that of the Tahitians, the early LMS missionaries were critical of the *taura* and *tahu’a pure* they encountered. But several priests were among the notable early Christians, including a well-known enemy of the mission on Huahine,⁴ a Raiatea priest who became ‘a devoted Christian’,⁵ and, most notably, Patii, the high priest of ‘Oro on Moorea. This opponent of the mission in 1813 was, with his wife, among the first inquirers at the missionaries’ school two years later, and he made an important contribution to the abandonment of the traditional deities by publicly and dramatically burning the images of his god.⁶ While such priestly converts were regarded highly by the missionaries, they no doubt brought with them into the Ma’ohi church much more of their traditional religion than their mentors realised. It is a distinct possibility that the indigenous pastorate derived its character not only from the British Nonconformist ministry but also from the traditional Ma’ohi priesthood.

Early Christian teachers

Accustomed in their home church backgrounds (in the evangelical and Dissenting streams of British Protestantism) to the nurturing of scriptural literacy, intelligent commitment and active responsibility in new believers, the British missionaries gave careful attention to the first few *pure atua*, 'those who pray to God', who emerged as serious inquirers into Christianity from about 1813. More and more of these people came from Tahiti and other islands to the school the missionaries had started at Papetoai on Moorea, where the teaching of vernacular reading and writing skills was linked with religious education and spiritual training.⁷ Religious training in schools for aspiring disciples was no innovation in Ma'ohi society, though literacy was a new element. The obvious passion for reading and writing was not just a response to the missionaries' concern for it as an essential part of conversion and (later) church membership, but arose from an indigenous perception that literacy, which was firmly linked in the Polynesian mind with the Christian faith, was the 'key to the new world'.⁸

By 1816, many *haapii parau* ('learners of the Word') who had attended this instruction centre and made professions of Christian faith there had scattered throughout Tahiti and the nearby Leeward Islands teaching literacy and Christianity.⁹ Some of these early unofficial evangelists from the Moorea school were later formally commissioned as missionaries to other parts of Polynesia: examples are Porapora, who went to Tonga in 1822,¹⁰ Auna, who went to Hawai'i in the same year, and Tute, Auna's successor there in 1826.¹¹ But before the 1820s, those who went out to teach and preach the faith did so largely as a spontaneous outcome of their conversion. They had become 'teachers as well as learners', wrote John Davies, the founder of the Papetoai school.¹²

Such initiatives were encouraged by the missionaries, whose churches in the British Isles had eagerly adopted the practice of itinerancy during the Evangelical Revival and the time of church growth that followed in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.¹³ Mission to Ma'ohi by Ma'ohi played an important part in the rapid and dramatic incorporation of Christianity into the social, cultural and political life of Tahiti and the Leeward Islands after 1815. It also firmly established the role of 'teachers' in the Tahiti and Leeward Islands mission and the emergent indigenous church. The missionaries valued these energetic converts as evangelists and instructors and appreciated the initiatives they took in their own cultural context, although they had not yet begun to think of them as leaders or pastors.

It was not long before Christian congregations were formed. The first was at Papetoai in July 1819, when 22 adults who had been baptised the previous month were 'formed into a Christian church'.¹⁴ Other congregations soon followed in Tahiti and the Leeward Islands, and the need for local church leaders and office-holders now arose. It was too soon to expect that the pastors of these early congregations would be anyone other than the British missionaries. But the mission had no hesitation in instituting the office of deacon (*diakono*), a lay position that has remained influential in the Ma'ohi church until today. In January 1821, six members of the Papetoai congregation, including two chiefs and the former priest Patii, were 'solemnly set apart to the office of

deacon, by fasting, prayer and imposition of hands'.¹⁵ Soon trusted men were similarly 'set apart' in the other congregations, where they became 'valuable coadjutors' in parish administration and pastoral care.¹⁶ The missionaries paid tribute to deacons such as the diligent and faithful Patii and the 'truly valuable' Tuahine of Raiatea.¹⁷

Ma'ohi teachers in the mission

An indigenous pastorate eventually replaced the missionary pastors in the congregations. But the development of a settled ministry was overshadowed for many years by the sending out of 'teachers', who themselves often assumed a pastoral role and indeed contributed much to the nature of the pastorate of later times.

The appointment, commissioning and deployment of early Ma'ohi missionary teachers to unevangelised Polynesian communities was necessarily a joint enterprise of the mission and the recently formed Tahitian and Leeward Islands congregations. The evangelistic energies of newly Christian Ma'ohi communities dovetailed with the desire of the small missionary band to spread the faith further and consolidate its progress in the scattered archipelagos of the region. The year 1821 saw the Raiatea congregation accepting the offer of two of its deacons, Puna and Mahamene, after being 'set apart' for this work, to travel south to teach Christianity to the people of Rurutu in the Austral Islands, where no white missionary resided. Encouraged by their English pastor, John Williams, and inspired by news of the 'remarkable success' of their envoys at Rurutu,¹⁸ the Raiatea church repeated their experiment many more times, becoming one of the most active sending congregations of the next decades.

In the early 1820s, Ma'ohi teachers were sent out far and wide, succeeding more often than not in founding churches in their island mission fields. In 1822, Haapunia and Samuela and their wives were 'selected by the church at Matavai [in Tahiti] and publicly designated by the Missionaries to instruct the natives of Tubuai', an island far to the south, where they worked until 1830.¹⁹ In that same year, the Papeete church 'publicly designated' two teachers for the Tuamotu atolls to the east,²⁰ the Papetoai people sent two of their founding members and another man as teachers to Raivavae in the Austral Group,²¹ and two pioneer missionaries from Borabora went to another Austral island, Rimatara.²² The southernmost island in this part of Polynesia, Rapa, was evangelised by four male and two female Tahitian teachers from Papara in 1826.²³

Sent even further were Papehia and Vahapata, the two Raiatea church members named by their congregation to be taken westwards by their missionary, John Williams, in 1821 to faraway Aitutaki in the group later to be known as the Cook Islands.²⁴ There were also the 'native Missionaries' who, in 1822, were commissioned from Huahine for the Marquesas but found themselves working in Hawai'i instead. For this venture, 1,200 Huahine Christians held 'a full religious assembly' and chose Auna and Matatore and their wives. All four were 'set apart to this new ministry', with 'special prayer' and 'a solemn charge respecting their future duties among the heathen to whom they were thus ordained to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ'.²⁵ Auna had come over from Tahiti to the early missionary school at Papetoai, Moorea, in 1814.²⁶ Before that he had become

a 'worshipper of the true God' and 'acted as a sort of teacher among a few people at Tautira'.²⁷ Remarkably, this Raiatea chief, warrior and close associate of the great chief Pomare had been a priest and a prominent member of the Arioi, who were devotees of the god 'Oro and lived what the missionaries regarded as a life of 'licentious indolence and crime'.²⁸ Equipped with knowledge from the missionaries' school, Auna returned to Tahiti and again taught the new religion, before moving to Huahine in the Leeward Islands. There he gave valuable assistance to the pioneering missionaries, was baptised and received as a church member, and became a deacon.²⁹ Auna's 'lofty stature and commanding presence' impressed the official LMS visitors from London in 1822. To them, 'the sanctity of his regenerated character' was plainly visible,³⁰ and they fully approved when he and his equally excellent wife, Naomi, were appointed as missionary teachers to faraway islands. The couple's work in Hawai'i was effective at a critical stage in the work of the ABCFM mission, although it was cut short by Naomi's unwillingness to stay there more than a couple of years.

Other teachers were soon commissioned for the Marquesas, Tonga, Samoa and Fiji. If they were married men, their wives were usually regarded as working in a team relationship with the male teachers but were not designated as mission workers in their own right. The unmarried Taamotu of Huahine, who went to Hawai'i in 1823, stands out as a woman unambiguously described as an official mission teacher.³¹ The almost total withholding of teacher status from women was not only a reflection of contemporary European church attitudes but was in keeping with the Ma'ohi perception that teachers could possibly be female but *tahu'a* were always male.³²

A distinction existing among the British members of the Tahitian mission is demonstrated by the report that before a new group of them embarked at Portsmouth and sailed for Tahiti in 1800, they were 'solemnly designated to preach the Gospel to the heathen in the South Seas, and two of their number were said to be ordained'.³³ In Tahiti, the difference in the status and duties of the two categories of missionaries was never very clear.³⁴ With regard to the recognition of Ma'ohi teachers, the use of such varied expressions as 'publicly designated', 'solemnly set apart' and even 'solemnly ordained to the work'³⁵ similarly reflects the flexible commissioning and ordination practices of the Dissenting churches to which most of the LMS missionaries had belonged at home. Theologically, it indicates an unwillingness to identify a mere ceremony as the main authority for apostolic service, and a reluctance to make a clear distinction between 'clergy' and 'lay people'. Such terms were not usually part of the ecclesiastical vocabulary of Dissenters, especially in this evangelical period. At the same time, the words used indicate a concern to authorise and honour the responsibilities to which the teachers were called by God and the church. It is evident, too, that the ceremonial and oratory that were features of these occasions made them all the more satisfying to the Ma'ohi communities by whom the teachers were sent out. Already the role of teacher was becoming something of an office, with a designated place for the office-holder in the changed social order.

Teachers as missionaries to the Pacific

Clearly, John Williams of Raiatea, later to become the most-celebrated missionary in LMS Pacific history, did not by himself originate the mission's immensely effective utilisation of Pacific Islanders as pioneer missionary teachers. But his recognition of the potential of this method, and his energy in practising and publicising it, certainly confirmed its use as a characteristic LMS policy for a century to come. The images he popularised are still powerful in Pacific Protestantism: 'The Tahitian Mission as a fountain from whence the streams of salvation' flowed across the ocean to many islands, and Tahiti as 'a bright speck in the midst of the ocean, whence the light of salvation was to diverge in all directions over that mighty mass of waters'.³⁶ Williams was impatient with the role of settled pastor for a small flock and his restlessness coincided with his understanding of the missionary task as frontier evangelism and with the readiness of Polynesian Christians to go out with the Gospel. The long letter of encouragement and advice he wrote in 1823 to six teachers who had just left Raiatea for the Cook Islands conveys something of the excitement that Williams, the sending church and the teachers themselves all felt as they embarked on the missionary task far beyond their own reef.³⁷

With Pacific Islanders, Williams developed an easy empathy, or what an early biographer called 'a cordial and entire identification of himself with the people ... [He] treated all classes with respect'.³⁸ This gave credence to his theological conviction that the Gospel was capable of the 'elevation' of all human beings to 'the dignity of intelligent creatures and children of God'.³⁹ Asked by a committee of British parliamentarians whether he found Polynesians intelligent, Williams replied:

Particularly so. I think their intellect quite equal to that of Europeans; but they have not the material to operate upon that we have; but everything brought under their notice, they can comprehend and enter into with just as much interest as we do.⁴⁰

His widely read book paid tribute to the 'intellectual capacity' of Pacific people, as demonstrated by

wit, ingenuity, quickness of perception, a tenacious memory, a thirst for knowledge when its value is perceived, a clear discernment and high appreciation of the useful; readiness in acquiring new and valuable arts; great precision and force in the expression of their thoughts.⁴¹

He felt that these capacities — already great — were enhanced by conversion to Christianity.⁴² His son recalled that Williams 'had a good insight into character, and could select and train suitable men for the great work'.⁴³ Certainly, he placed great confidence in the teachers he deposited on faraway shores, and pointed out that the frequently ensuing successful results were achieved in the absence of any white missionary.⁴⁴

'We are using native agency as much as we can,' Williams later said in England, after many years' experience with this strategy. He explained that although some of the

best teachers made excellent pastors for the smaller stations, most were deployed as pioneer evangelists, and superintendence by European missionaries was always necessary. A notable feature of the effectiveness of the method, he pointed out, was that wherever the Gospel was successfully introduced, 'there is a new agency created there for its still further propagation'. Furthermore, he stated, the method was not expensive, since the teachers were soon supported entirely by the voluntary contributions of the inhabitants of their field of mission, and they were given 'little presents, which we receive from England, of jackets and shirts, or a gown for the wife, or a ribbon for her bonnet'.⁴⁵

The contribution of Pacific Islander missionaries who went to their own people and other related or unrelated Pacific communities⁴⁶ was fully recognised by European mission workers and observers at the time. Many individual teachers are named gratefully in missionary correspondence, journals and published writings. Typically, the mission author, Joseph King, dedicated his *Christianity in Polynesia* (1899) to 'the Memory of the South Sea Island Evangelists, who, during this century, have laid down their lives in the effort to spread a knowledge of the Gospel of Jesus Christ throughout Polynesia'.⁴⁷ Many writers since then have also acknowledged the role of Islander missionaries, although the achievements of white missionary heroes have sometimes been permitted to overshadow those of their Polynesian, Micronesian and Melanesian fellows in the consciousness of mission supporters at home and, later, of readers of Pacific history.

Some teachers were unequal to the task, or were dismissed for transgressing the mission's sexual code or breaking other rules, and the realities of life on particular islands did not always permit even capable teachers to succeed in their mission. Some fell sick or died. The early teachers had very little education or missionary training and were known to present a version of Christianity that the European missionaries sometimes regarded as inadequate or distorted. But if the teachers are considered as a group, nothing can obliterate the courage and energy they displayed, the hardships and sufferings they endured and the remarkable changes they achieved. They did not have to learn ways of living in an island environment and, despite the language barriers they often encountered, they were usually able, as people of not too dissimilar world views, to cross cultural boundaries and enter quickly into local situations. Obviously, their work greatly advanced the indigenisation of Christian ideas and practices, and their lives were a major contribution to the development of indigenous leadership in the young churches of the island groups in which they worked.

The teachers were regarded initially by the LMS as groundbreakers, under mission authority and supervision, but it was not always possible to visit them more than occasionally, much less to follow up every pioneer placement with the stationing of a British missionary who would consolidate the teacher's work and provide more advanced Christian instruction. It is not surprising that in many situations the Polynesian evangelist developed into a relatively autonomous substitute for the European missionary pastor. Indeed, even in the 1820s, some teachers were 'authorised to administer the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper', though there was some concern that few teachers possessed the impartial discernment necessary if premature baptism was to be

avoided.⁴⁸ Already some of the missionaries perceived that Polynesian teachers would be faced with the same difficulties they had themselves experienced in achieving a correct relationship between authority in the church and power in society; probably the difficulties would be even greater. 'Do not admit any because they are chiefs, or possess influence,' warned Williams.⁴⁹ What missionaries of Dissenting background regarded as a suitable separation of church and state might also be compromised if mission workers strayed into secular authority. The teachers on Tubuai in 1828 'wish'd the people to consider them above their chiefs', wrote a visitor.⁵⁰

Notwithstanding these early signs of realities that would worry many later mission authorities, the official deputation sent from London by the LMS to inspect the mission at this time expressed its satisfaction with the use of converts as teachers and missionaries and looked forward to a time when all Polynesian congregations would have 'native pastors' and British missionaries would not be necessary.⁵¹

Training for ministry begun

Informal training for Christian service was given by individual missionaries to promising converts in their local setting. This education might have been entirely appropriate for the task, though not enough is known about it to make an evaluation possible. Certainly, it did not impress the Russian naval visitor, Kotzebue, in 1824:

In Russia, a careful education and diligent study at schools and universities is necessary to qualify anyone to be a teacher of religion. The London Missionary Society is more easily satisfied; a half-savage, confused by the dogmas of an uneducated sailor [one of the missionaries], is, according to them, perfectly fitted for the sacred office.⁵²

In the 1820s, as the sending out of teachers became common, there was much talk about the need for a more organised way for preparing mission workers. The deputation participated actively in these discussions and, on leaving the area in May 1824, it made a firm recommendation that a 'college' be set up as soon as possible for 'the education of young men (natives) for the ministry'.⁵³ The institution that had already been established on Moorea for the schooling of the missionaries' children, the South Sea Academy, also took in Polynesian children 'of piety and talent', and, for a time, it was thought that the teaching received there might be a first stage in the training of 'native pastors for the different stations in the South Sea Islands'.⁵⁴ But it was not until the end of the decade that the idea of a purpose-built ministry training institution was seriously taken up.

Few of the missionaries working in Tahiti and the Leeward Islands had received a substantial education in theology and ministry. Williams had almost none. For many years after its foundation in 1795, the LMS had been heavily influenced by the view of some of its leading directors that education and training for missionaries should be a low priority. There was, however, a contrary opinion. The Dissenting churches that supported the

LMS had provided themselves with good educational facilities unconnected with the English universities from which their members were at this time still excluded. This educational tradition had made it possible in 1800 for the Independent (Congregationalist) minister David Bogue and other proponents of ministry training to persuade the LMS to set up a Missionary Seminary in conjunction with Bogue's existing theological academy at Gosport in Hampshire. A good number of LMS missionaries received at least some training there. Some of the workers in the Tahitian mission had attended other Nonconformist ministry training institutions of the type to which the LMS turned after closing its own seminary a few years after Bogue's death in 1825.

Bogue looked back to the time when Puritan leaders had been university-educated; he had himself received a Scottish university education. His Gosport college was small and physically unpretentious, but the education it provided was ambitious (at least in content, since the teaching consisted largely of lectures given by Bogue and copied out by the students). An important influence and model was the new kind of training institution inspired by the Evangelical Revival: the first such college, Trevecca in Wales, was an example to many others for its evangelical emphasis on scriptural studies, spiritual development and training in evangelism and practical ministry. Bogue's courses gave a major place to theological and scriptural studies, and also included rhetoric and preaching, classical languages and Hebrew, pastoral training, church history, geography and astronomy. His comprehensive 'missionary lectures' included a component on the establishment of churches in the mission fields. He strongly advocated the development of a responsible and well-trained indigenous ministry, though he envisaged that missionary supervision would continue for some time.⁵⁵

The main advocate in the late 1820s of a ministry training school in Tahiti was George Pritchard of Papeete, a member of the mission since 1824. His own training in England had included time at the Gosport Seminary, where he had gone with an elementary education described by his tutor as 'extremely deficient'.⁵⁶ Pritchard had been impressed by the achievements of the teachers in Tahiti and the other islands but was convinced of the need to help them become 'better qualified for Missionary labours'. In 1829, he drew up a detailed proposal, clearly owing much to his Gosport experience, for an 'Institution for Native Teachers': candidates would need the approval and recommendation of their missionary and congregation and would be self-supporting for the duration of their course. They would be taught for two hours each weekday, half the course consisting of New Testament study and the rest divided between 'Theology ... the Manners and customs of the Jews, and ... the duties and general deportment of Native Missionaries, and other branches of useful knowledge'. The lectures would be supplemented by daily homework and the summarising of the sermons heard each Sunday. Weekly presentations by each class member of 'an original skeleton of a sermon' and of 'a short discourse written by himself' would be subject to criticism by his fellows and by the tutoring missionary. Wives of married students would be taught reading, writing and needlework by the tutor's wife.⁵⁷

Pritchard submitted his plan to the directors of the LMS in London and to his brother missionaries, reminding the latter that the directors had long wished to see a

system of training that would better qualify men to go as missionary teachers and 'also to succeed the European Missionaries'. He offered his own services as tutor, recognising that he was no better qualified than any other missionary but pointing out that the others' time was taken up by translation work. The programme could start in a small way at his own station and would not need any extra funding or costly buildings.⁵⁸

The response of Pritchard's colleagues was generally favourable, though some said they would prefer the training to be provided by each missionary on his own station, and several were doubtful that suitable students could be found.⁵⁹ Their quarterly meeting approved the plan, and even though he had not yet heard back from the directors, Pritchard lost no time in beginning the 'Institution' on 14 September 1829 with five men from his Papeete congregation. Before long, one was expelled for intoxication and another became seriously ill, but they were replaced by two candidates sent from another Tahiti congregation and one from Moorea.⁶⁰ A year after the programme began, the number of students had risen to 10, and Pritchard reported good progress. Already one trainee had been appointed to Tubuai, and five more were sent out the next year. Having been 'set apart' for their work, they went out equipped with lecture notes on the Bible and missionary work, and were praised by Pritchard for their diligence, good moral character and 'pretty correct ideas of theology'. Included among these early trained workers was the deacon Patii, who, before coming to the Institution, had already moved from his home island to Tahiti to work as a 'catechist', and was now sent out to distant Raivavae.⁶¹

These small beginnings can be regarded as the start of a long history of institutional training for the ministry in the Pacific Islands. Pritchard and some of his colleagues were enthusiastic about the programme and were gratified by the support expressed by the directors of the mission in London. But in 1831, the number of students dropped to three, and there were none by 1833. Pritchard attributed the lack of candidates to a decline in spiritual vigour and evangelistic zeal in the Ma'ohi church, and regretted the people's mistaken notion that 'we want them to go where we dare not go ourselves'.⁶² The experiment had faltered badly and was not resumed in these islands until 1842. By that time, the situation of the Tahitian nation, the LMS mission and the Ma'ohi church had changed greatly.

Ministry training in troubled times

In 1834, a Roman Catholic mission from France entered the eastern South Pacific and established itself in the Gambier Islands, south-east of Tahiti. By 1838, French naval power had forced the Government of Tahiti to permit the entry of Catholic missionaries to that island. Ma'ohi Protestantism was faced with a religious rival, although in the end only a small proportion of the people of Tahiti and Moorea transferred their allegiance to Catholicism. An ultimately more serious crisis for Tahiti and its Protestant church was the imposition of a French protectorate over Tahiti and Moorea in 1842. French imperial power was not to be formalised as annexation until 1880, but even in the 1840s and '50s the LMS mission and the Ma'ohi church found themselves in a new and often restrictive

relationship with colonial authority. This situation had important implications for the development of the Ma'ohi ministry.

As the new political realities became clear in 1842, plans were being made by the missionaries to set up a residential school for the training of 'native pastors' for Tahiti and the Leeward Islands, in order to ensure the continuation of the church if British pastors were no longer available. The new 'Institution' began its work in late 1842 under William Howe, at Afareaitu (on Moorea), a site seen as central yet a little removed from 'native influence'. There were no permanent buildings, and at first only one student, but the missionaries had high hopes that within a few years the training school would be producing a good supply of pastors.⁶³

The number of students had grown by 1844, but in that year Tahiti was plunged into turmoil by the outbreak of warfare against the French authorities. Howe was one of several missionaries who left the Pacific at this time, and the Institution was taken over by the newly ordained John Barff, the island-born son of a missionary. The four students were able to write of their joy in studying to obtain 'true wisdom and knowledge' in order to be ministers and teachers, but they were distracted by political tensions and obliged to spend much of their time in economic self-support. By early 1846, the small and poorly funded school was 'at a stand', and its activities were suspended until the political situation settled down.⁶⁴

After the war ended and Queen Pomare submitted to the French in 1847, the remaining missionaries again turned their attention to the training of pastors. They were more than ever convinced that the future held no place for British missionaries and that hope for the Ma'ohi church lay in 'native agency'. Howe had returned and was asked to take up the task again. The Institution resumed in 1848, this time at Papeete.⁶⁵ But the work of the students (12 by 1850) was disrupted by their government labour obligations, and the school's operation was hindered by Howe's dispute with the missionary Thomson, who for a while ran a rival Institution. Howe was burdened with the many other duties expected of him in the depleted mission, and preoccupied by his battles with French officials over official ecclesiastical policy. There were still eight students by the end of 1851, but conflict with the Protectorate administration forced the Institution to cease teaching in 1852.⁶⁶ Only in the Leeward Islands, where the independence of the chiefly governments had been recognised by the British and French in 1847, and was to survive another 40 years, was it possible for the mission to continue ministry training: Charles Barff ran a weekly class for teachers and deacons on Huahine, and Ernest Krause maintained a training school for 12 or 15 students on Borabora until he left in 1855.⁶⁷

The emergence of a settled Ma'ohi pastorate

Despite the uncertainties surrounding the provision of ministerial training, education had established itself as part of the credentials of those Ma'ohi authorised by the mission to further its work in unevangelised areas and among the people at home. The Christian population of Tahiti and the Leeward and Austral Islands was too large and scattered for the small and declining number of British missionaries to maintain close pastoral contact

with all the people in every locality, and the teachers necessarily became the local representatives of the supervising missionaries. Successful evangelism was not enough: the new Christians had to be provided with regular teaching, formed into churches and given continuing pastoral care. The LMS theology of evangelism and ministry made the emergence of a local pastorate a quite natural development, and the education and authorisation conferred on the pastors made them acceptable to the people as representatives of the missionaries and messengers of God.

The first teacher acknowledged by the mission as a holder of ministerial office in the full sense was Auna. On their return from Hawai'i to Huahine in 1824, he and Naomi had been appointed to the small related island of Maiao, where the population had adopted Christianity some years before. Auna had been stationed there for several years when the missionaries agreed (with the concurrence of the directors) to give him pastoral charge of the island.⁶⁸ He was now described as 'minister of the church' there, and praised as 'an indefatigable, upright, intelligent, and useful man'.⁶⁹ Not long before his death on Maiao in 1835, he was said to be continuing 'to labour with fidelity and success'.⁷⁰ It is interesting to note the comment of one of the missionaries, William Ellis, on Auna and other former Arioi members who became teachers and pastors:

With few exceptions, they have been distinguished by ardour of zeal, and steady adherence to the religion of the Bible. Many of them have been its most regular and laborious teachers in our schools, and the most efficient and successful native Missionaries.⁷¹

From this point on, 'teachers' imperceptibly became 'pastors'. They continued, however, to be known as *'orometua*, a word used in the mission as early as 1801 to denote 'teacher'⁷² and still used today in Tahiti for 'schoolteacher' or 'educator'. The early missionary dictionary defined *'orometua* as 'an instructor of any sort, either of religion, or of any art, or trade'.⁷³ The word clearly referred to an existing instructional role, probably one of high status, in Ma'ohi society.⁷⁴ It was applied by the Tahitians to the British missionaries as teachers,⁷⁵ but also in such a way as to lead the visiting LMS deputation in 1822 to translate it as 'pastor'.⁷⁶ By mid-century, the word was well established in its application to Ma'ohi pastors,⁷⁷ who are still *'orometua* today.

Many of the early pastors were experienced church members and deacons. The former priest Patii, who was 'teacher and pastor' on Raivavae from 1831 to 1840, was praised by the missionary writer Ellis as an admirable and thoroughly reformed man, 'a valuable and steady friend, and an assistant in whom the missionaries can repose confidence'.⁷⁸ His ministry on Raivavae was not free of trouble, however, though it is unclear whether he was the innocent victim of local political rivalries, as Pritchard believed, or had himself caused division by exercising 'undue influence in their civil affairs' and, in the words of another missionary, 'carrying certain privileges to which he thought himself entitled, too far'.⁷⁹ It is interesting to note that throughout this period Patii was an ethnographical informant, one of the 'priests and bards and other learned natives' from whom the missionary J. M. Orsmond collected traditional lore: Patii contributed creation chants, myths and information about religious practices and social structure.⁸⁰

Some pastors had served as missionary teachers in distant parts of Polynesia. Auna, for example, had returned from his missionary work in Hawai'i to become the teacher and then pastor of Maiao. Hape, a member of the church at Papara, served as a teacher in Tonga from 1826 to 1828 before being given a course of training at the Institution and appointed in 1831 to look after the church on Rapa, where he ministered (although apparently without authorisation to administer the sacraments) until his death 20 years later.⁸¹ The origin of the pastorate as a body of teachers, preachers and evangelists left a permanent imprint on the nature of the indigenous ministry in this part of the Pacific.

In the early 1850s, the LMS church and its British and Ma'ohi *'orometua* found their freedom of action increasingly limited as the French administration tried to enhance its control of this important institution of island society. New laws in 1851 and 1852 created a kind of 'established church', in which each district was to be served by a resident pastor, who alone held the right to minister there. Pastors, who could not be 'foreigners' without the Governor's approval, were to be chosen by the chiefs of the district and appointed by the Legislative Assembly. Government salaries were paid to all such officially recognised pastors.⁸² Of the pastors already installed in office, all but two accepted this new understanding of their appointment.⁸³ The wishes of chiefs had long been a factor in the placement of teachers and pastors, but most of the missionaries were dismayed by this open challenge to an ecclesiology that separated church and state and insisted on a congregation's right to choose its own pastor. Their principles led the majority of the LMS missionaries to end their connection with the 'national church'. One of them expressed his belief that true leadership qualities could not be expected when pastors were chosen in such an 'unscriptural manner'. The idea of government salaries was deplored as an undermining of the mission's efforts to instil the principle that a congregation should support its own ministry.⁸⁴ The situation was made even more difficult by the fact that the missionary Orsmond had accepted office under the French as head of the 'national church', and was giving a form of training for pastors whom he ordained for appointments under the official system.⁸⁵

In these circumstances, it is not surprising that the need to develop a trustworthy indigenous pastorate was felt by the missionaries with a new urgency in the 1850s. They freely used the words 'pastor' and 'minister' now, rather than 'teacher', and regarded the four ordinations they conducted in 1851 as opening a new era in Ma'ohi ministry. They contrasted their careful discernment with what they perceived as Orsmond's hasty and indiscriminate ordaining of unsuitable men.⁸⁶ The first of the 1851 ordinations was that of Maheanui, a man of high rank (and a confidant of the Tahitian royal family), who ministered at Faaa for many years and also served later as President of the Legislative Assembly.⁸⁷ Other pastors ordained in this period included Napario, who was installed at Papaoa but refused on principle to accept a government salary: he had to make way for a more compliant appointee, and left Tahiti for Raiatea, where he became pastor at Opoa at the invitation and expense of the people. For some years, he was a trusted colleague of the Leeward Islands missionaries, although his involvement in the civil strife on Raiatea in the 1860s led them to dismiss him.⁸⁸ The number of ordinations in this period was not large, and outlying areas such as the Australs did not always have pastors. The mission

gave attention to the Australs in the 1850s, stationing William Lind there for several years, ordaining a pastor on Rurutu and another (Teurua, a Rarotongan) on Rimatara, and accepting local men for training.⁸⁹

Ma'ohi ministers and their training at the end of an era

Unable to maintain an Institution in Tahiti, and concerned for a future when there would be no British staff there, or even perhaps anywhere in the group, the missionaries began to think about a Leeward Islands location for ministry training. In 1857, they went ahead: John Barff was stationed on Tahaa (a small island near Raiatea) with the task of setting up an Institution 'for the training of young men for the ministry'. The directors in London had suggested continuing with tuition at the individual stations, but the missionaries pointed to the good results produced by the earlier training schools in Tahiti and stated that the other method had been 'tried and found inadequate'. Before the end of 1857, the new Institution had admitted the deacon Narii of Huahine and five Austral Islanders: with their families, the student community consisted of 22 people. The new venture went well, enjoying good support from the missionaries and the congregations. Four days were used for study, and Wednesdays and Saturdays for planting and other work. The students were joined in their classes by 'the most intelligent' of their wives. Trainees came from the Leeward and Austral Islands and also from Tahiti, and the Institution continued on into the next decade, surviving Barff's death in 1860 and numbering 26 in its student community in 1864.⁹⁰

The Institution on Tahaa was the most successful of all the training schools attempted by the LMS in Tahiti and the neighbouring islands, but it was not until later in the century that ministry training for the Ma'ohi church could be provided on a permanent basis. Long before then the LMS and other missions elsewhere in the Pacific Islands had opened Institutions of a similar type and were operating them more successfully than their pioneering counterparts in the Tahiti mission had done. But, at the end of the 1850s, the LMS had become more hopeful about what kind of future the Ma'ohi church would enjoy after the missionaries had gone. Contemplating retirement, one of the missionaries felt he could depart with some confidence now that the Institution was producing trained pastors. 'The people are now in that state,' he wrote, 'in which they seem to derive quite as much benefit from the labours of a faithful native minister, as from any foreigner whatever.'⁹¹ There was a readiness in the mission to trust the people to choose suitable candidates for ministry training. In John Barff's words, 'In regard to talent the missionary may be the better judge; but in relation to character the members of the respective churches have been found to be the best.'⁹² The French pressure on the Tahiti mission in the 1840s and '50s had been providential, an English missions conference was told in 1860 by an LMS official, since it had forced the devolution of authority from missionaries to pastors, and the indigenous ministers had proved equal to the responsibilities they had shouldered.⁹³

Local 'churches' were not, in the ecclesiology familiar to many of the LMS missionaries, merely congregations or groups of worshippers, but bodies of individual

believers bound together in a covenantal relationship with God and each other. The pastors' responsibilities, however, were not restricted to the church members. They were still evangelists and teachers to the whole population of a district, and the Ma'ohi sense of community and of the indivisibility of 'religious' and 'secular' gave them judicial and political functions, too. Certainly, it was hard to sustain a narrowly ecclesiastical role for the pastor.

Nor was it easy for the mission to maintain the theological understanding that ministers were not a separate order but merely individual members called out and set apart for a particular role in the church. A touch of the divine had traditionally been ascribed by Ma'ohi to their traditional chiefs and priests, and the missionaries too had eventually been clothed with a similar aura. Although seen by the missionaries as an entirely new category in Polynesian life, the teachers and their successors, the pastors, soon inherited aspects of the old chiefly and priestly place in society. Probably they were also endowed with some of the identity of the traditional 'teachers' (*'orometua*), whose name they bore, together with the oratorical vocation of the *'orero*, who made eloquent and erudite speeches for the chiefs,⁹⁴ and the prophetic functions of the *taura* as mouthpieces of the gods.

In missionary theology and also in Ma'ohi perceptions, the foreign and local *'orometua* were different only in degree. Potentially, though this was perceived only dimly by the LMS in the 1840s and recognised only partly in the 1850s, and in fact was not achieved conclusively for many years, the Ma'ohi pastor was fully the successor of the European missionary. As the British period in Ma'ohi church history came to an end, the indigenous ministry that had been developing since the earliest days of Tahitian Christianity was already strongly rooted in the local soil and well able to adapt to a new era.

Indigenous ministry in the Catholic mission

Although the LMS church was well established in Tahiti, Moorea and the Leeward Islands by the 1830s, and was making its presence felt in some of the other islands too, its hopes of bringing the Gospel (in Protestant form) to the whole of eastern Polynesia were dashed by the arrival of a rival mission. Franciscan missionaries had come to Tahiti in 1774, but they stayed less than a year and made little impact on the people. It was not for another 60 years that the Roman Catholic presence in eastern Polynesia effectively began. Reinvigoration of the Catholic Church in France after the Napoleonic Wars was expressed in a renewal of Catholic interest in foreign mission. The first European Catholic mission to Polynesia was that sent by the Paris-based Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary (commonly called the Picpus Fathers). Their first Pacific mission (to Hawai'i in 1827) was followed in 1834 by the arrival of three French missionaries in the Gambier Islands, far to the south-east of Tahiti and on the outer fringe of inhabited Polynesia. There, among the people of Mangareva and the neighbouring islands, Catholic Christianity eventually became well established. The Gambier mission was soon the base for the controversial Picpus foray into the LMS-evangelised Tahiti, where, in the face of many obstacles, a minority Catholic Church

slowly emerged. To the north-east, Picpus missionaries planted their church on the islands of the Marquesas Group, where Protestant missions had experienced little success, and Catholicism also spread east to the many scattered atolls of the Tuamotu Group.

Catholic mission strategy for the Pacific in the 1820s had envisaged the preparation of promising converts as evangelists to their own people.⁹⁵ In all the islands of what was eventually called French Polynesia, the European missionary priests acknowledged that the success of their work of spreading the faith and nurturing the young church depended on the efforts of indigenous Catholic lay people known in the vernacular as *katekita* (from the French *catéchiste*).⁹⁶ Particularly in the atolls (more than 80 of them) of the Tuamotu Group, the populations were too numerous to be evangelised easily by the priests themselves, and too small and too distant from each other to then receive individual care by a resident priest. One of many examples of the part played by the *katekita* in this context is the work of Athanase Tuamea of Anaa: left on Tatakoto in 1868 with his wife (who died soon afterwards), he taught the inhabitants, erected a church building and presented 142 people for baptism when the missionaries returned in 1869.⁹⁷ The priest who reported Tuamea's achievements had already written to his bishop praising the work of local lay mission workers; in his opinion, they could usually do more in a village than a missionary, but his suggestion that they be trained and recognised as 'deacons' was not taken up.⁹⁸ In the Marquesas, similarly, the scattered Catholic communities were led in worship by catechists in the long periods between the visits of the priests.⁹⁹ Detailed knowledge of the *katekita* awaits archival research. Some names have been published, and photographs from the 1880s and 1890s show *katekita* such as Karora, a chief of Hivaoa in the Marquesas, and the elderly and much respected Ratepa and his family.¹⁰⁰

The training of *katekita* was informal and uncoordinated for many years. In 1877, the missionary Germain urged the bishop to open a training institution, arguing that the stability of the Christian communities not served by priests could not be assured without good catechists; it would be better, he asserted, to prepare 20 more good catechists than to obtain seven or eight new priests.¹⁰¹ A shortage of missionaries, dissension between them, and other problems faced by the Picpus mission made the provision of training facilities difficult. Only in the 1880s was a school for catechists set up on Moorea (at Varari). It prepared 'the most intelligent and pious' young people as assistants to the missionaries and worship leaders in their absence. The school closed in 1897, still plagued by the same difficulties.¹⁰² The work of the *katekita* continued. There were 114 of them in the Picpus mission area early in the 20th century, it was reported.¹⁰³ The mission's willingness to send catechists to work in new areas outside French Polynesia is evidence of the value of their work. Nicolas Pakarati pastored the people of Easter Island, which the Picpus mission had reached in 1864 — leading prayers, teaching the catechism, baptising, marrying and attending the sick and dying — from 1888 until his death in 1927. He was accompanied to this isolated eastern outpost of Polynesia by his family, but was visited by the Picpus priests only seven times during his residence there.¹⁰⁴ When the Picpus fathers extended their mission to the Cook Islands in 1894,

they were accompanied by Bernard Purana of Tahiti, who was replaced in 1895 by the *katekita* Theophilo Tehema from one of the Tuamotu islands; he and his wife, Helena, were valued co-workers until Tehema's death in 1904.¹⁰⁵

Useful though they were, lay catechists could not perform the priestly acts essential to a Catholic community. Unlike the Protestant system followed by the LMS and other similar missions, in which a 'teacher' could become, imperceptibly or by decree, a 'minister' authorised to administer the sacraments, the Catholic ecclesiastical structure was marked by a divide that could not be crossed: a lay pastor could never become, merely by promotion, an ordained priest. For centuries, Catholic authorities had trained ('formed') Christians of many lands as priests. In 1845, an Instruction from Rome expressed the desire of Pope Gregory XVI to re-emphasise the long-held object of forming an indigenous clergy: missionaries must be guided by principles that motivated them to recruit and form not just catechists but indigenous priests, who would be not merely auxiliaries but could eventually be bishops.¹⁰⁶ This need to equip Catholics with priests of their own race was argued with reference to the Pacific in a pamphlet written in 1849. Declaring that the rapid spread of Protestantism across the Pacific must be arrested, the author suggested that one of the principal means would be the formation of indigenous catechists, schoolteachers and priests. European mission orders would not be able to supply enough missionaries to maintain the churches already founded and press on into new areas, and Pacific Islanders were intelligent and energetic enough to become priests if they were given careful formation. Indigenous priests would have greater facility in the language, would already be acclimatised and would not need to be transported across the world at great cost. The writer pointed to the creditable results already being achieved in preparatory seminaries in the Gambiers and Hawai'i, and urged that the formation programme be expanded.¹⁰⁷

A future indigenous clergy was in the minds of the Picpus missionaries when they established a 'college' in the Gambiers in the late 1830s. It was reported that 17 boys had been chosen for the school, with the aim of giving them a more extended education and making them, if possible, 'students of the sanctuary'.¹⁰⁸ Among the subjects taught were French and Latin. From the correspondence of Father Nicolas Blanc and the well-educated lay teachers who ran the school, it is clear that hopes were held from an early time that a few priests would emerge from this formation programme at Anaotiki.¹⁰⁹ The objective seemed to be within reach when three of the students were sent on to Bishop Jausen in Papeete to be prepared by him for the priesthood. The ordination of one of these young men as a Catholic priest in 1873 was a milestone — the first ordination of a Polynesian to take place within the Pacific Islands (although a Tongan had earlier been ordained in Rome).

The first priest from eastern Polynesia, Mama Taira Putairi, came from a chiefly family. Born in 1846 after the Christian era in the Gambiers had begun, he was 27 years old when the bishop ordained him in Papeete on Christmas Eve in 1873. He was known henceforth as Father Tiripone (the Polynesian version of 'Tryphon', the name of a saint of the early church in Europe). The indications are that Tiripone's superiors were not fully convinced of his reliability, for he was stationed on Tahiti rather than back in the

Gambiers. At Faaone, under the eye of the retired missionary Laval (with whom he recorded the traditional history of Mangareva), Tiripone exercised a priestly ministry that excluded the hearing of confession. Accounts of his life are not very specific as to why he was withdrawn from his post five or six years later, but indicate fears that his personal life was moving too far back towards Polynesian ways and the dangers they posed. The bishop sent him to the Picpus house in Chile — to protect the honour of the church, according to one account. After a few years in Valparaíso, Tiripone fell sick and died there ('piously', the accounts add) in December 1881.¹¹⁰

Even if Tiripone had continued in his priestly duties, it could not have been said that a Polynesian priesthood had emerged in these eastern islands. No more ordinations took place for many years — until 1954, in fact. The mission persevered for a while in the 1870s with formation studies in Papeete — there were 13 students in 1873 — but Jaussen eventually closed the seminary. He was discouraged by the students' admission to him that they did not feel they possessed the virtues necessary for becoming priests.¹¹¹ Catholic authorities and writers later struggled with the question of why the objective of forming an indigenous priesthood failed to be achieved. Better results were obtained in central Polynesia, but there too the difficulties were great and were to provoke much discussion of why Polynesians did not easily become priests. Were the mission's efforts not great enough? Were the studies too difficult? Were Polynesians not suited to the priestly life? (Or was that life incongruous and inappropriate in a Polynesian cultural setting?) In the meantime, the comparatively more successful efforts of the Marists further west probably encouraged the Picpus missionaries not to lose faith altogether that from their Polynesian flock would emerge helpers and — one day — priests.

The Catholic Church in French Polynesia continued to depend on European priests, but, by the late 19th century, *katekita* had become a permanent part of church life. Their role in the villages was in many ways similar to that of the LMS 'teachers' who had given the Protestant Church such a strong foundation in Tahiti and many of its neighbouring islands, and as well as being consciously a counter to the force of Protestant workers the Catholic catechist network probably owed something of its character to the Protestant model it resembled. It would be wrong to suppose that village Christians in this part of the Catholic world in 1900 knew nothing of indigenous leadership, for *katekita* were found throughout the mission's area.

The selection and training of indigenous Protestant ministers in the French mission era

While the Ma'ohi churches of the Leeward Islands continued to be supervised by British missionaries until the 1880s, those of Tahiti and Moorea had seen the guiding hand of the LMS removed by the French authorities in the 1850s. Despite its expressions of confidence in the indigenous ministry it had fostered, the LMS was relieved when new help for the vulnerable Ma'ohi church arrived in the 1860s. The LMS played a willing role in the negotiations that took place between Tahitian political leaders, French

officials and the Paris Missionary Society (PMS).¹¹² The outcome was the replacement of the LMS by French Protestants whose missionary society had long had close links with the LMS and who quickly proved to be sympathetic inheritors of the British mission's role as mentor of the Ma'ohi congregations. The Picpus missionaries had a low opinion of the 'orometua, and expected Ma'ohi Protestantism to fade away under what the priests regarded as ignorant and incompetent leadership.¹¹³ They were dismayed by the arrival in 1863 of Thomas Arbousset, who had been a PMS missionary in southern Africa for many years.

In his efforts to strengthen the churches as Christian communities at the local level and to enhance their cohesion as a national institution, Arbousset paid particular attention to the ministry. In order to act within the law, however, he had to hold a pastoral appointment himself. Daniela, who was 'orometua at Papeete as well as chaplain to Queen Pomare, agreed to step down and act as Arbousset's assistant in the Papeete parish. The new head of the mission praised the work of the man whose local pastoral position he had taken over (a few years later, however, Daniela lapsed in some way and was relieved of his appointments).¹¹⁴ From his Papeete base, Arbousset soon brought the Ma'ohi church leaders together in the first of what was to be a succession of regularly held conferences. Previously isolated from each other in their local churches and unprotected from the heavy hand of French officialdom, the 'orometua who gathered as a group on this occasion were said to number about 20, along with about 40 deacons. At the fifth conference, in August 1864, the numbers had risen to about 30 pastors and 50 deacons.¹¹⁵ When Arbousset left in mid-1865, he was satisfied that by reanimating the churches and linking them together he had accomplished a valuable and necessary work of rescue and reorganisation.¹¹⁶ Indeed, he had reaffirmed the LMS emphasis on the local congregations' responsible leadership by indigenous ministers and lay members, and had in addition given these leaders a forum that developed their role in church leadership at a national level. He had also expanded the body of 'orometua by overseeing the choosing, preparing, ordaining and installing of suitable candidates.¹¹⁷ These patterns were to be continued by his colleague Atger and the other missionaries sent by the PMS in the years to come.

Arbousset had linked the congregation-based 'orometua and deacons in a wider structure supervised by the mission and resembling the synodal organisation of the Reformed Church in France. This development was confirmed in 1876 by French official recognition of the conferences he had begun for Tahiti and Moorea during the previous decade.¹¹⁸ A government decree of 1884 perpetuated this in a structure (to which the churches of the other islands were later added) that lasted essentially unchanged until the church became autonomous in 1963. At the base were parishes, geographically defined areas that were identical for civil and church purposes. The Protestant inhabitants of each parish elected their own pastor and deacons, who constituted a parish council. Several times a year, parish representatives met in district councils. At the topmost level, the districts were represented by pastors and deacons meeting annually with the mission leadership in a *Conseil Supérieur*, a 'Higher Council', which included among its functions the examination and ordination of people chosen as pastors by the parishes and approved by the districts.¹¹⁹

The people's knowledge of the Bible had impressed Arrousset and given him confidence that there was a strong foundation of faith for further development. He observed that many church attenders took notes from the sermon, but he was not convinced that every *'orometua* was providing a high standard of teaching. His approach to the task of lifting the standards of ministry did not interfere with the way in which potential ministers emerged. In his travels, he often participated in the examination and ordination of men proposed by the congregations and he made careful personal assessments of their quality. Devout candidates could meet his criteria even if they lacked formal education or training.¹²⁰ This process had in fact been evident during the years before the PMS arrived, as, for example, when Ariipeu, *'orometua* of Papaoa, had been chosen by the people and ordained by the LMS missionaries in 1856.¹²¹ Arrousset and his successors continued this pattern. The vacancy at Papeuriri in 1870, for example, was filled after the people chose Poheino, who had been a deacon there for many years. When the missionaries gave him a rigorous examination in front of 50 pastors and deacons, he gave clear answers and displayed an excellent Biblical knowledge despite his lack of formal training, and he was duly ordained.¹²² Tuaiva, the schoolteacher and deacon chosen by the Paea congregation in 1871, was similarly examined and ordained.¹²³ A local notable (Nohoraamotu) chosen by another Tahitian parish and approved by the missionaries in 1873 was praised six years later for his great faith, his excellent preaching and pastoral work, and his willingness to stand up to the civil authorities if he felt that to be necessary.¹²⁴ The examinations and ordinations were conducted with great ceremony, and it was probably not unusual for the new *'orometua* to be emotionally moved as they addressed their new flock and asked for their support and prayers, as was reported of Taao when he succeeded the late Poheino in 1875.¹²⁵

In the 1860s, *'orometua* trained by the LMS in the Leeward Islands were often available for Tahiti and Moorea. There were 10 Tahitian students in 1864. Arrousset and the LMS missionaries agreed that the Institution on Tahaa was useful for helping to supply a trained ministry for Tahiti, where the church was less free than in the Leewards.¹²⁶ But civil strife on Raiatea and Tahaa led to the temporary transfer of the Institution to Huahine in 1866, and it was closed altogether in 1869. Reopening on a new site on Raiatea in 1873, it was visited two years later by the PMS missionary Frédéric Vernier, who commented on the neatness of its classroom, printery and bamboo and pandanus houses.¹²⁷ The Raiatea training school was finally closed when the LMS withdrew from the Leeward Islands at the end of the 1880s.

Institutional ministry training was not available in Tahiti and Moorea for some years. In 1877, the deacon chosen by the people of Papeari to be their *'orometua*, Mataitaua, was given a year's tuition by Vernier and the LMS missionary Green at Papeete before he was ordained.¹²⁸ By the 1880s, it was normal for some kind of training to be given, but the part played by the congregation in the choice of their *'orometua* continued: it was common for prospective pastors to be identified by their future flock and sent for tuition before returning for ordination. Informal 'Bible schools' were attached to several PMS mission stations in the 1870s and 1880s. At Papetoai on Moorea, for instance, Prosper Brun ran one from the time of his arrival in 1870. He

reported in 1876 that there were six students, of whom two were zealous and one was studious; at the time of writing, however, the school was temporarily suspended while the students devoted themselves to fishing.¹²⁹ Ten years later, he had 12 students, in four of whom he saw the potential for ordained ministry.¹³⁰

It was only in the late 1880s that the PMS decided to set up a fully fledged ministry training centre. Brun, who believed it was time to replace the old practice of electing as pastor the most worthy member of a parish, was appointed as principal of the 'theological school' established at Papetoai in 1889.¹³¹ He reported in February 1891 that there were five students, all married and over 30 years of age. They were enthusiastic, but would be progressing faster if they were able to learn from textbooks rather than from the copies they made of the teacher's notes. In addition, they gave three days a week to manual labour for self-support, as well as devoting time to pastoral work in the local parish. In these conditions, wrote Brun, the students really needed five or six years for their training rather than the allocated three.¹³² The first four graduates had not quite finished their course when they were ordained in 1892, but the church authorities had felt it necessary to fill some pressing vacancies in the parishes. More students could have been taught if finances had permitted, it was stated.¹³³ In 1899, there were seven students, all studying hard and doing good pastoral work. Their course consisted of doctrinal and biblical studies, early medieval European church history, pastoral theology, Tahitian church organisation and discipline, 'errors of the Roman church', biblical and world geography, arithmetic and elementary science. But much time was still used for the planting and fishing needed for the support of the students and their families, and they were held back by the limited education they had received before coming to Papetoai. It was suggested by the missionary writing this report that better material might be found in the young men emerging from the mission's day schools in Papeete. But these men, lamented the writer, were attracted to schoolteaching more than to the low-paying church ministry, and in any case the parishes still liked to choose their '*orometua*' from among their own people.¹³⁴

The pastoral school was transferred to Tahiti in 1900, where it occupied several sites before being located at Hermon, in the hills above Papeete. There it remains today, the direct heir of the tradition firmly established on Moorea more than 100 years ago and descending from earlier training ventures dating as far back as 1829.

Indigenous Protestant pastors in the late 19th century

The Polynesian Protestant pastors of Tahiti and the other islands ruled by France were a distinctive and well-defined group within Ma'ohi society by 1900. In terms of traditional social rank, some of them were connected closely with families of the highest chiefly rank. Maheanui, who has already been mentioned in this regard, died in 1886 after a long and notable ministry.¹³⁵ Ariipeu was the brother-in-law of Queen Pomare.¹³⁶ Another man of similar rank, Metuaaro, impressed Arbousset when he encountered him in the pastorate of Tiarei in 1864, and a later missionary described him as 'one of the most faithful and influential' of the '*orometua*'.¹³⁷ But others were of more humble origin, and, as a group, the '*orometua*' were not characterised by a lavish style of living. On the

contrary, they lived very much as their parishioners did, spending much of their time planting and fishing in order to provide the daily needs of their families. The Government's salary payments that had begun in the 1850s (and continued to be made until the 1920s) were small, and the annual collections made in the parishes for the pastors could not fully support them.¹³⁸

Although they benefited from official funds and their ordinations and appointments were subject to official approval, the pastors were hardly government functionaries. The large part played by the parishes in the appointment process, and the people's understanding of the pastor's role in community life, ensured that *'orometua* were seen as belonging more to Ma'ohi society and to the divine realm than to the colonial regime. Ambiguities could arise in this area, however: when the *'orometua* on Rapa used his pulpit in 1885 to oppose the Government's social and economic policy for the island, official complaints were made that proper limits had been exceeded and the mission felt it necessary to visit the pastor to elicit a confession that he had indeed forgotten the spiritual nature of his responsibilities.¹³⁹

Once installed in his parish, the *'orometua* often spent his whole pastoral career there. Even in old age, he continued to occupy his post, and ways were found to continue the pastoral work if the incumbent was too old or feeble to exercise his ministry energetically. In 1886, for instance, an aged and infirm pastor, Mahorou, had been confined to his house at Papetoai for some years, but people came to him for teaching and pastoral advice, and, as permitted by the decree of 1884, a 'suffragan' pastor went out and about for him. Tamaii, the incapacitated pastor of another Moorea parish, was similarly assisted by a younger colleague while still exerting a positive influence on the parishioners from his bed.¹⁴⁰

The *'orometua* was far from being an isolated figure in his parish. Living among the people and in close daily contact with them, he was also compelled to work in cooperation with the influential laymen elected as deacons. In continuity with the pattern set at the very beginning of Ma'ohi Protestantism, the *diakono* had a designated function in parish administration and shared actively in the pastor's tasks of worship leadership, preaching, teaching and pastoral care. The deacons and church members had a good knowledge of the Scriptures, and the people expected that the pastor's preaching would be eloquent and based firmly on the biblical text. Even after the end of the 19th century, the missionary Charles Vernier noticed that the congregation commonly took notes as the preacher spoke and that the sermons were constructed on the model established by the LMS long before: they consisted of interrogative propositions called 'trunks', each with several 'branches' and sometimes also 'leaves' and 'fruit'. Vernier conceded that this apparently old-fashioned method fostered clarity of exposition and a focus on two or three main ideas; he also commented on the preachers' ability to draw original images and practical applications from the text, and observed the affinity felt by the preachers and listeners for Old Testament stories of the prophets and elders of ancient Israel, a tribal and patriarchal society that resembled their own.¹⁴¹

The Ma'ohi ministry as a settled pastorate serving church communities had evolved from the work of the earliest converts as 'teachers' among Polynesians who were not yet

Christian. This Gospel-spreading activity did not normally characterise the work of the late 19th-century *'orometua*, but periodically the old tradition of evangelism beyond the Christian population once more became an option for Ma'ohi pastors. The Leeward and Austral Islands churches sent evangelists to the new LMS field of Papua in the 1870s and 1880s (a member of the first group of four couples sent in 1878 was the son of Taua, a pioneer missionary to the Cook Islands half a century earlier), and the Tuamotu Group received Ma'ohi missionary workers from Tahiti and Moorea in the 1890s.¹⁴²

In one part of French Polynesia, the Marquesas, the small Protestant minority church received its main model of ministry from Hawaiian missionaries who came as evangelists in 1853 and remained as pastors until the end of the century. The Hawaiians were the first Protestant missionaries to stay more than a few years, and the first to elicit a positive response from the Marquesans. James Kekela (the first ordained Hawaiian minister) and his wife, Naomi, together with another minister, Samuel Kauwealoha, and his wife, Kaaiwahia, led the mission. Zachariah Hapuku arrived in 1861. Others (nine couples altogether) came and went, but these three ministers endured many decades of setbacks and privations; although they did gather a church, it was disappointingly small. Hapuku's consultation of a Marquesan practitioner of traditional medicine brought him a period of suspension by the Hawaiian mission authorities in the 1890s, but there must have been other ways in which these missionaries entered into the lives of the people to whom they devoted their careers; some of their children married people from these islands and have left descendants there.¹⁴³ It was suggested by a mission writer that one of the reasons for slow growth in the Marquesas was a lack of the supervision that Polynesian missionaries always required.¹⁴⁴ The PMS decided in 1897 to send a mission to the Marquesas to bolster the work of the now elderly Hawaiians. French workers were needed, wrote the PMS missionary who made a reconnaissance: the Hawaiians were doing their best but 'as natives themselves they have not always been able to exert much authority'. The PMS did pay tribute, however, to the Hawaiians for their maintenance of the church for so long in such a difficult situation.¹⁴⁵ It is recorded that when the mission in Hawai'i was considering withdrawing from the Marquesas, Kauwealoha wrote back that whether the mission paid him or not he would continue in his work even if he had to go semi-naked like his ancestors.¹⁴⁶ The Protestant Church in the Marquesas, still a minority today, became part of the wider Ma'ohi church but surely retained the imprint of its Hawaiian founders. Kekela retired to Hawai'i in 1899 and died in 1904; his two colleagues died in the Marquesas in 1901 and 1909.

The extent to which individual *'orometua* in French Polynesia successfully served their people can only be guessed at. Dismissals of pastors for unworthy conduct sometimes occurred, and mission records indicate that parishes suffered on occasions from poor leadership. Missionary assessments provide only part of the picture, but they often open windows into the realities of Ma'ohi church life. Comments made in 1889 might be taken as random examples: a young pastor on Moorea is strong and intelligent but is not yet sufficiently conscious of his great responsibility; another active young man on Tahiti has not yet been able to assert his authority against the deacons of the parish; an old and feeble pastor has let the state of his parish fall very low.¹⁴⁷ Praise and criticism

of pastors, confidence in the indigenous ministry and despondency about its leadership of the church — all these recur regularly in the evaluations made by the French missionaries in the late 19th century and on into the 20th.

In this period and for many years afterwards, the PMS missionaries entertained no thought of relinquishing overall leadership in the church to the indigenous ministers (nor, it seems, was such a prospect in the minds of the *'orometua* and the people). It was not that the mission disagreed with the aim of creating an autonomous indigenous church, a goal that had been spoken of by the LMS and similar missions for many years. The PMS authorities in Europe unequivocally supported the objective and declared that a key element in it was the replacement of missionary leadership with that of indigenous ministers. In Tahiti, however, Brun commented in 1891 that the goal, while scriptural in that the apostle Paul had worked for it in the first century after Christ, was not as easily achievable among people less cultivated than those Paul had encountered: the Tahitians needed not just religious training but intellectual and social development, and too much haste would bring unfortunate results. Brun's participation in the scheme for better pastoral training arose from his desire to see such development.¹⁴⁸ As the century drew to a close, the PMS missionaries were still explaining that they could not relinquish their leadership without endangering the results of a century's mission work; the Ma'ohi church, they warned, was not yet capable of governing itself or of resisting the ever-growing threat posed by Catholic and other missions.¹⁴⁹

As Brun's comment indicates, intense rivalry characterised the relations between white Protestant and Catholic missionaries and Ma'ohi *'orometua* and *katekita* in Tahiti and the other islands of French Polynesia at the end of the 19th century. The competitive heat increased with the arrival of Seventh-day Adventist and Latter-day Saints (Mormon) missionaries in the 1890s. Before long, new forms of indigenous ministry would emerge from these missions, as had already happened among the 'Sanitos' — the 'Saints' church that had sprung from a much earlier mission enterprise. American Latter-day Saints had introduced Mormonism to Tubuai and some of the Tuamotu Islands in the 1840s, making many baptisms and founding several congregations before departing in 1852 when they struck problems with French officials. Many members of their flock were gathered up by missionaries of the Reorganised Mormons, whose teachings more closely resembled orthodox Christianity, after their arrival in 1873.¹⁵⁰ One of the Ma'ohi office-holders in this Sanito church was Tekakahu Metuaore Tekarake (1849-1909), who attended a General Conference in America and returned to Polynesia to be installed in 1901 as the first indigenous Sanito bishop.¹⁵¹ The Mormon missionaries who returned in 1892 ordained Ma'ohi 'elders' to preside over the local congregations they founded.¹⁵²

Ministry in Ma'ohi Society

The number of PMS, Catholic and Mormon missionaries in Tahiti and the neighbouring islands at any one time was always small. They regarded their work as essential to the survival of their Ma'ohi churches, and this evaluation was paralleled by the confidence reposed in them by their flock. When the PMS missionary Frédéric Vernier was welcomed to his post on Moorea in 1868, the assembled pastors and people welcomed him as a 'shepherd' who would lead them 'to the heavenly fold'. 'You will be our father and we will be your children,' they told him;

You come from an enlightened country ... You will make us part of it, we and our children. We want very much to enjoy the enlightenment of your country and to advance in what is good and great, in both the spiritual and bodily realms. For the needs of this life, we will help you to the utmost; you will aid us for the life to come.¹⁵³

In the Protestant churches, the Paris missionaries' paternalistic leadership masked the extent to which the local churches and their ministers were becoming integrally part of the new kind of Ma'ohi society developing after contact with the Western world. The churches' deep roots in the community were given greater significance by the spread of French language and culture and the encroachments of the French civil administration on the power of chiefs, so that the Protestant church in Tahiti and Moorea became one of the principal sites of surviving Ma'ohi culture, as it did also in the outlying islands when French power was extended there, and in the Leeward Islands after 1888. In a colonial situation that persisted largely unchanged until recent times, the missionaries, ministers and deacons of the Protestant church (later the Evangelical Church of French Polynesia, and renamed the Ma'ohi Protestant Church in 2004) constituted an important network of Ma'ohi-oriented leadership in those islands with largely Protestant populations. Catechists working for the Catholic Church in other islands had fewer opportunities for visible leadership, but as indigenous practitioners of religious ministry, they too were part of what had, by 1900, become an institution deeply rooted in Ma'ohi society.

3.

COOK ISLANDS

THE PEOPLE OF the southern Cook Islands first heard the Christian message from Ma'ohi evangelists sent westwards from the LMS churches in the Leeward Islands in the 1820s. At the time of their coming into contact with Christianity and other influences from beyond the Pacific, the six principal southern islands probably supported 12-14,000 inhabitants.¹ Within a few years, the people on all six islands had responded positively to the new religion, and the Polynesians who had evangelised them were quickly transformed into their first Christian pastors. Only in three of the larger islands — and even there not in the earliest years — was the first model of ministry provided for this new Christian population by resident European missionaries.

Ma'ohi missionaries

The evangelisation of the southern Cook Islands began in 1821 when Papehia and Vahapata, two members of the church on Raiatea, were landed on Aitutaki by John Williams. In 1823, missionaries from Borabora went to Atiu, followed soon afterwards by Haavi and his wife (from Tahaa) on Mauke, and Taua and his wife (also from Tahaa) on Mitiaro. At the same time, in the hope that the impressive results of the mission to Aitutaki would be repeated, Papehia was replaced by two new teachers from Raiatea and transferred to Rarotonga. He was soon joined there by Tiberio, another Raiatea man. In 1824, Davida and Tiera, two single men from Tahaa, began work on Mangaia. In this way the successful introduction of Christianity to the whole southern group was accomplished by courageous untrained pioneer evangelists from the young churches of a culturally related archipelago. Their achievements were the essential foundation for the work of the English missionaries whom the LMS stationed on the biggest island (Rarotonga) from 1827, on Aitutaki from 1839 and on Mangaia from 1845.²

Between 20 and 30 Ma'ohi missionaries, many accompanied by their wives and families, were sent to the new Cook Islands field in the 1820s and 1830s. Almost all of them were stationed on islands where there was no resident white missionary. They functioned first as evangelists then as teachers and pastors in the early years of Christianity on each island. Most returned home after a few years, but some stayed on to give many years of leadership and pastoral care. One of the first teachers on Atiu, Upa of Borabora, served there for more than 25 years until his death in 1850. He married into a

local chiefly family and became very involved in the politics of the island.³ Tiere, one of the pioneers on Mangaia in 1824, died after a short time, but his colleague Davida was able to continue his work there until his death in 1849. A bold iconoclast in the early years, he was regarded later as a missionary of limited knowledge but steady reliability.⁴ Haavi, the pioneer of Mauke, made a good start there and served on the island with great dependability for 31 years until he died in respected retirement in 1853.⁵

Even longer resident in his adopted country, and standing out among the Ma'ohi teachers as the resourceful pioneer on two islands and then the beloved pastor of an important Rarotongan district, was Papehia.⁶ Fresh from the emerging Ma'ohi church of Raiatea, and for several years untrammelled by resident European supervision, Papehia put a clear Polynesian stamp on the early development of Cook Islands Christianity. From the very beginning, he worked closely with the *ariki* (high chiefs) of Aitutaki and Rarotonga, and this relationship, which was preserved by the white missionaries when they arrived, was crucial to the conversion of the two islands.⁷ In Papehia's personal history, the link with the chiefs was symbolised by his marriage to the daughter of the first *ariki* to adopt Christianity, Tinomana of Arorangi, by which Papehia became a *rangatira* (chief) himself and eventually an ancestor of titleholders in three Rarotongan *ariki* lines.⁸

The pre-eminent position of Papehia and Tiberio in the Rarotonga mission was challenged by the arrival of the long-serving missionaries Charles Pitman and Aaron Buzacott in 1827 and 1828. It was impossible for the English missionaries not to acknowledge the impressive foundations laid by the two Ma'ohi pioneers, but they soon expressed their reservations about the forceful methods Papehia and Tiberio were said to have used.⁹ The activities of Tiberio (who had married the daughter of another *ariki*, Makea of Avarua) were unacceptable to the new leaders of the mission, and he could no longer be used in its service.¹⁰ But Papehia's prestige in Rarotongan society and his ability and experience as a missionary secured for him an enduring importance in the leadership of the island's church. While not endorsing everything Papehia had done in the pioneer stage of his mission, Williams could still testify many years later to his 'unsullied reputation'.¹¹ Shortly after the arrival of the two white missionaries, Papehia had been put in charge of a third station, Arorangi, the seat of his father-in-law, Tinomana *ariki*, and a base for the pastoral influence he exercised there until his death in 1867. In the eyes of the LMS, his status was lower than that of his English colleagues, one of whom was for some years resident at Arorangi and in charge of the station there. But until ill health forced him to retire in the 1840s, Papehia's role was thought of as at least somewhat comparable with that of the white missionaries, and he was often praised for his dependable and effective work.¹² His aristocratic wife was active in the work of the mission, and 'a truly good woman'; she died in 1886.¹³

Papehia was regarded by the missionaries as somewhat exceptional. They were much less confident in the Ma'ohi teachers who were looking after the other islands. However well they might be 'qualified for commencing the work', wrote Buzacott in 1833, the Leeward Islanders were in most cases only 'indifferently qualified for carrying it on'.¹⁴ In Pitman's opinion, they were rarely satisfactory, since their knowledge was

limited, they had a tendency to pride and they found it hard to distinguish between ecclesiastical and political power, 'these being inseparable in the reign of idolatry'.¹⁵ Reports from the outer islands in 1835 led Buzacott to dismiss some of the teachers and to station Papehia on Atiu for a time.¹⁶ The two Englishmen expressed their relief when Henry Royle arrived in 1839 and could take charge on Aitutaki, where there had been a succession of unsatisfactory Ma'ohi teachers.¹⁷

The stationing of a trusted Rarotongan teacher on Mangaia in 1839 in an effort to improve the quality of the church there was another indication of the missionaries' dissatisfaction with most of the untrained Ma'ohi pioneers. For some years, the mission had felt much more confident about teachers emerging from their own Cook Islands churches. The day of the Ma'ohi pioneer teachers was over, but they had left an indelible imprint on Cook Islands history.

The beginnings of a Cook Islands ministry

Delaying the formation of churches until they were convinced that the level of Christian knowledge and religious sincerity in their early converts was fully adequate, Pitman and Buzacott admitted the first church members in 1833. As in Tahiti, the early Christians of Rarotonga and the other islands were quickly engaged in an enthusiastic sharing of religious knowledge and literacy skills with their relatives and neighbours, and some of them became the first *tiakono* (deacons).¹⁸ The missionaries encouraged such outreach and service to the community and the church, and from this group there emerged on Rarotonga the first practitioners of indigenous ministry. As early as 1831, Pitman was praising Iro, 'a steady excellent man', who was closely related to the Pa *ariki* family of Ngatangiia, where the missionary resided.¹⁹ One of the first members and deacons, Iro was given private studies by Pitman and was put in charge of the large outstation at Titikaveka. His 'active and efficient' ministry there was formalised in 1837 when he was 'set apart' by the Ngatangiia church as Pitman's assistant and went on to serve for many years as the missionary's 'highly valued native brother'.²⁰

Similarly designated on that same occasion in 1837 was another of Pitman's promising helpers, Maretu. Aged about 35 at that time, Maretu was the son of a chief who had been among the first converts. He was one of the first church members at Ngatangiia, received some training from Pitman and emerged as a valuable helper in the mission's teaching and preaching work.²¹ The extent to which the missionaries reposed trust in him is indicated by their sending him to Mangaia in 1839 to inquire into some problems among the Ma'ohi teachers and to advance the life of the church beyond the level to which its current teachers were capable of taking it. To equip him for full pastoral responsibilities, he was 'set apart to discharge the ordinances of the Christian Church'.²² During his five years on the island, Maretu earned the great respect of the people and the high praise of the missionaries. He made sure that the Mangaian vernacular replaced Tahitian as the language of the church, and studied local history and traditions in order to better understand his flock.²³

Returning to Rarotonga in 1845, Maretu again became the indispensable junior colleague of Pitman, who a few years later reluctantly agreed to another secondment of his assistant to a distant place. This time Maretu went for nearly two years (1854-56) to the newly evangelised northern island of Manihiki, where he was expected to 'form a Christian church, watch over its infant growth, and establish social order on a Christian basis'.²⁴ On his return, he found himself in charge of the Ngatangia station, where Pitman, the senior missionary on Rarotonga, had served from 1827 until his retirement in 1854.²⁵ Praised by successive British colleagues in the Cook Islands mission, Maretu pastored his native district for many years. In retirement, he wrote a long autobiography.²⁶ Little is known of his wife, Tanuke, except that she ably shared in his ministries on Rarotonga, Mangaia and Manihiki, and was universally regarded as 'an example to be followed in things good and holy'.²⁷ Their son, Obura, was a notable layman in the Rarotongan church, and married a woman who later succeeded to the *Pa ariki* title.²⁸ Tanuke died in 1874, followed in 1880 by her husband. The missionary James Chalmers described Maretu as 'one of the finest men I have ever known, white or coloured'.²⁹ William Wyatt Gill, another mission colleague, called him a 'noble and apostolic man',³⁰ and wrote that he 'was distinguished by power of intellect, combined with true humility and utter guilelessness. He was of quick perception and ready sympathy ... He was eminently a man of prayer and faith'.³¹ There is no doubt that as one of the first indigenous pastors, and a particularly impressive one, Maretu provided an important model for ministry in the 19th-century Cook Islands church.

As in Tahiti and the Leeward Islands, the emergence of the indigenous ministry in the Cook Islands was closely associated with the young church's own missionary movement to unevangelised places across the sea. Even before the sending of Ma'ohi missionaries to the Cook Islands ceased, Cook Islands evangelists were leaving for foreign destinations. At Aitutaki in 1830, on his way to new islands to the west, Williams suggested to the church members that they should select two men as 'Teachers to cooperate with our [Ma'ohi] Teachers as assistants or to act as pioneers in preparing the way for the labours of better instructed Teachers at a future date'. Raki and Tuava and their wives offered. The two men were found to be theologically well informed and personally suitable, and were publicly 'set apart to their work'. In his farewell speech, one of them

expressed his sincere pleasure at the prospect of being engaged in so good a work, saying there was nothing he so much desired as to be employed in telling others, more ignorant than himself, about Jesus Christ and the way of salvation; that he was willing to forsake friends, and house, and lands, yea, even three of his children.

The new missionaries sailed off to the west with Williams that same day. They landed briefly on Niue but the people there were 'so wild and frantic that the Teachers' hearts failed them'. Instead of evangelising Niue, the teachers from Aitutaki continued their voyage and a month later were landed on Savai'i to participate in the new LMS mission to Samoa.³²

This first Cook Islands missionary enterprise opened what has been called 'a record of missionary activity that is unparalleled in any country of the world for the number of

missionaries in relation to the size of the sending church'.³³ Overseas missionary work was taken up with enthusiasm and the Aitutaki couples were soon followed by other teachers. Maretu recalled that about this time 'a group of young people' were in the habit of meeting in his home to study the Bible; they told the missionaries of their desire to 'take the Word of God to the lands of the heathens'.³⁴ Several of the group did find their way overseas. Among them were two of the most notable missionaries to Samoa: Teava, who served there from 1832 to 1855, and Ta'unga, who was in Samoa from 1847 to 1879 after an earlier stint (1842–46) in New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands. But the main body of Cook Islands missionaries went out after the setting up of a training facility in 1839.

A ministry training college at Takamoa

Pitman and Buzacott had studied at Bogue's institution in Gosport.³⁵ In the Cook Islands, they quickly saw the value of training for potential mission workers. Pitman's relatively good education and strong scholarly inclination led him in the early 1830s into providing special tuition for particularly promising converts. Buzacott began such teaching at his station, too, and his visit in 1834 to Samoa, where his pupil Teava was already working, led him to a decision 'that on his return to Rarotonga he would devote much more time and labour to the training of pious men and women for the work of God among the heathen'.³⁶ Williams sympathised with this kind of activity, and spoke in England in 1836 of the value of 'native agency' and his idea of establishing a Rarotongan training school in which he would participate.³⁷ 'I do not know,' he said as he prepared to return to the Pacific, 'that the inhabitants of any island, with the exception of those of Tahiti,

have been converted to Christianity by the instrumentality of English missionaries; the work has been done by native missionaries. Of course they are conveyed by us, and are under our direction and superintendence; but they are the men who do the work, and therefore it is of the utmost importance that this agency which God has put into our hands should be carried on in the most judicious, the most effective, and the most extensive way in which it is possible to conduct it. We think that the establishment of a native college ... will be one of the most important steps towards the extension of Christianity in the isles of the Pacific.'³⁸

The directors in London reiterated their approval of the use of indigenous mission workers. Apparently not discouraged by the faltering of the earliest LMS training school in the Pacific (the Institution in Tahiti, which had been established in 1829 but was in abeyance in the late 1830s), they lent their strong support to the establishment in LMS mission areas around the world of facilities for the spiritual and theological education of selected indigenous Christians. The training would be provided by missionaries devoting most of their time to this work. The students would be trained on a full-time and residential basis, and would make up 'a future race of pastors and teachers for the native churches and of faithful Missionaries for the regions beyond them'.³⁹

Williams was busy in early 1839 with preparations for the new training centre, 'an absolute, imperative necessity' for the Cook Islands and for other missions.⁴⁰ He then departed for the New Hebrides, where he was tragically killed. When the Institution was inaugurated later in the year, it was headed by Buzacott. Pitman had declined the appointment, but shared Buzacott's 'conviction of the value and necessity of Native Agency' and supported the foundation of the training school, although he personally preferred the old individual tuition method.⁴¹ Buzacott wrote that he saw a good indigenous ministry as the main hope for the future of Cook Islands Christianity in the long term; the inadequacy of some teachers in the past would make the missionaries doubly careful in their training henceforth and the high quality of many untrained teachers promised well for an even more useful contribution from fully trained workers.⁴²

The Institution was established on a site bought from the *ariki* Makea at Takamoa, between the sea and the hills in the Avarua district. Under Buzacott's direction, the people built small student houses of permanent materials, followed in 1843–44 by a particularly solid two-storey main building that still stands today. On this campus, a small intake of carefully selected students entered a four-year course in Scripture and doctrine, with supervised practice in preaching and schoolteaching. Bogue's theological lectures (in translation) were used as texts. House-building, furniture construction and other 'useful arts' were important in the curriculum, and classes were also provided for the wives of married students. The students grew food for themselves on the college grounds.⁴³ By 1857, the year Buzacott retired from Rarotonga, the student roll was larger (there were 15 men and 13 wives), but except for the addition of some general subjects to the curriculum, the pattern of college life had changed very little.⁴⁴ There were 20 men in training in 1860, and 26 in 1878.⁴⁵

Although the course at Takamoa was ostensibly for four years, the need for teachers was so great that many students did not stay that long. The first officially listed students in 1839 were Rupe and Marama, both of Avarua. Rupe, Takamoa's first graduate, was appointed to Mangaia in 1841 and to Atiu in 1844. Later there was conflict between him and the chiefs of Atiu, and he returned to Rarotonga for good in 1856. He ended his days at Arorangi in 1887, praised by the missionary of the time as an excellent deacon and faithful Christian.⁴⁶ Marama went to Samoa in 1842.⁴⁷ Students were sent to Takamoa by the church at Atiu from 1840, Mangaia from 1841, Aitutaki from 1843, and eventually from all the islands.

Takamoa graduates flowed out in a steady stream to lead the churches of the whole southern Cook Group, to continue the mission's work in Samoa and to participate in new LMS missions in Melanesia. Preceded only by Mataio of Avarua, who had been landed at Tuauru in New Caledonia in 1841 (and who had died by 1842),⁴⁸ the first Cook Islands missionaries to proceed to the new fields in 1842 were Takamoa-trained: Rangi of Avarua who went to the Isle of Pines (off New Caledonia); Kapao of Avarua, who went to Tanna (New Hebrides); and Pao of Aitutaki and Zekaria of Arorangi, who went to Mare (Loyalty Islands).⁴⁹

Takamoa also supplied the workers for a successful extension of the mission to the hitherto unevangelised northern Cook Islands. Apolo of Aitutaki and Tairi of Ngatangia

were the pioneers on Manihiki and Rakahanga in 1849. Apolo stayed on these atolls for 40 years, and Tairi nearly 20; both wrote historical accounts of the people they worked among.⁵⁰ Ngatikaro of Arorangi, Iosia of Ngatangia and Taoiti of Mangaia went to Tongareva (Penrhyn) in 1854, and Luka of Aitutaki (who also wrote a history) and Ngatimoari of Avarua were placed on Pukapuka in 1857.⁵¹ No white missionaries ever lived on the four northern atolls. It was never possible for the mission superiors on Rarotonga to visit these islands frequently or regularly, and their congregations were served by southern Cook Islanders. By the end of the century, however, locally born pastors were often available for service on the northern atolls. They had begun to emerge in the 1870s, when four Rakahangans, for example, went to Takamoa (two of them, Zekaria and Asapha, went to Papua in 1876 and died there in 1878).⁵² The first Tongarevan 'set apart for the word of God' was Akorongo, who, after Takamoa training, was appointed to Rakahanga in 1875.⁵³

Cook Islands missionaries were still being sent to Samoa, the Loyalty Islands and the New Hebrides after mid-century, but, from 1872, the new field of Papua replaced the earlier destinations. Enthusiastic support for the new mission was recorded and, at a memorable service, the first group of couples from Rarotonga, Aitutaki, Mangaia and Manihiki were 'set apart' for Papua.⁵⁴ Of these first 12 people sent, one had returned by 1885, one had been killed and six had died of sickness.⁵⁵ The most notable member of the first group was Ruatoka, who had entered Takamoa in 1868 at the age of 22. With his wife, Tungane, like him a Mangaian, Ruatoka made a major contribution to the Papua mission. They never returned to a ministry in their home islands: Tungane died in Papua in 1885, and Ruatoka in 1903.⁵⁶ More than 50 more Cook Islanders had gone to Papua by 1885, and the flow continued until the first decade of the 20th century.⁵⁷ When the missionary Chalmers, who had served on Rarotonga until 1877, was killed in Papua in 1901, Ruatoka wrote to the home churches of his grief at his mentor's death; he appealed to the missionary Cullen to come as a new 'father to care for ... all the children of the Cook Islands who are doing the work of the Lord here in Papua'.⁵⁸

By 1844, 33 men and women had passed through the Institution, and, by 1852, the figure was 100.⁵⁹ After 20 years (by 1860), the total had passed 200, and the Takamoa graduates who were still working at that time were divided more or less equally between the Cook Islands and Melanesia.⁶⁰ 'It is a cause of devout thankfulness and much encouragement that so few of these have proved unworthy,' commented one of the missionaries.⁶¹ The mission pointed out that a good number of those who 'proved unworthy' were later 'restored to church fellowship, on the manifestation of sincere penitence. Though lost to the mission-field, many of them are useful assistants to the missionary at their native places.'⁶² By 1876, the number of men admitted for training since the beginning was 150, of whom 14 had 'disgraced their profession', 56 had died (many in Melanesia), eight had been martyred and 44 were still exercising ministries in the Cook Islands and elsewhere.⁶³ A further 100 men had been trained by 1888, and the number of those who died in Melanesia had risen to 176, including 20 who died as martyrs.⁶⁴ The total number of men and women who had trained in the Institution since 1839 was given in 1893 as 490.⁶⁵

Until the end of the century (and long after that), ministry training at Takamoa continued along the lines established at the beginning. By 1900, five successive missionaries had followed Buzacott as teacher of the students. One of them, James Chalmers, described the routine he was using in 1869:

On Monday at eight a.m., after dispensing medicine, I meet the students for two hours, when we go over part of one of Dr Bogue's lectures on theology, printed by Mr. Buzacott. From nine to ten we go over a Psalm together, and at ten they are free for the day. On Tuesday we meet at the same hour and go over the Scripture lesson for the day. At present we are going through the Book of Daniel. On Wednesday we have no classes ... On Thursday from eight to nine Romans, and from nine to ten grammar. Friday eight to nine church history, and nine to ten sermon classes ... For each of the classes, Psalms, Daniel, Romans, and church history, I write out the lessons, and allow them to take copies for their own use ... They are required to prepare for all the classes.

The wives of the students kept the same classroom hours, being taught scriptural knowledge, arithmetic and sewing by the missionary's wife. When no classes were being held, the students used their time for preparation and for tending their food plantations.⁶⁶ A later missionary conceded that the growing of food in distant plantations was time-consuming, but pointed out that it promoted industrious habits that would be valuable to the students in their ministries later.⁶⁷ At the end of the century, as before and afterwards, the missionary was teaching the men while his wife had 'their wives under her care ... training them to care for their houses and their children, and to be useful as the helpers of their husbands'.⁶⁸

Although the training given was relevant to the tasks expected of pastors in undeveloped rural communities, the mission was aware that the academic level was low and might not be adequate in the future. 'Their education is too limited,' wrote one of the missionaries in 1888; 'they are too near the level of their congregations.'⁶⁹ Very little was done to raise educational standards in the Institution, however, even after the 1890s, when better primary and secondary education became available. But Takamoa continued as the Cook Islands church's respected centre for pastor training, a function it still fulfils today as the oldest continuously operating such institution in the Pacific Islands.

An indigenous pastorate

Throughout this early period of Cook Islands church history, overseas missionary service deflected some of the most promising church leaders from the pastorate at home. One of Pitman's brightest pupils and assistants was Ta'unga, who in his childhood had been the intended successor to a traditional priestly title. As a young convert, he helped Iro at Titikaveka and at the same time excelled as Pitman's private student. Considered too young for Takamoa when it opened, he eventually entered the Institution in 1841, but volunteered for the overseas mission before he had completed the course. His talents

were deployed in a long and notable missionary career in Melanesia and Samoa, but were not available to the home church until 1879.⁷⁰ He served on Rarotonga and Mauke before retiring, and even then did relieving work and participated in biblical translation (he was acknowledged as ‘the best living authority on the Rarotongan language’). He died in 1898.⁷¹

Another of the many experienced missionary teachers who returned and gave responsible service at home was Matatia, a clever and high-ranking Rarotongan from Ngatangia; when he left Samoa after working there from 1839 to 1852, he took up pastoral work at Matavera, but died suddenly in 1855.⁷² Teava returned to Rarotonga in 1855 from Samoa, where he had done highly effective work since 1832. He was ‘worn out with labour’ but worked with Buzacott at Avarua. Suffering much from sickness in his later years, he was described by Chalmers in 1869 as a good old man but no longer very influential.⁷³ When Teava died in 1876, however, Chalmers wrote that he had ‘learned to admire the man. He lived much in prayer, and in the study of God’s word ... He was always ready to speak to the church, ever pointing the members to Christ ... He spoke very plainly, not at all mincing matters when occasion required.’⁷⁴ Among other former missionaries was Obeda, who went to Samoa in 1857; he returned in 1876 and was a pastor on his home island of Aitutaki until 1906.⁷⁵

Some Cook Islands missionaries stayed permanently at their foreign stations. Ruatoka has already been mentioned, and an earlier example is Pao, who pleaded to go overseas in 1842 shortly after he began his Takamoā training; he served on Mare and Lifu until his death many years later.⁷⁶ Many others died prematurely while overseas. One such was Tairi, a Rarotongan, who, at the age of 21, was ‘set apart’ as Maretu’s assistant on Mangaia. He served there very acceptably for two years, returned to become a deacon in his home church at Arorangi, and offered as a candidate for Takamoā training. What might have been a notable life’s work in the Cook Islands church was interrupted, however, when Tairi and his wife volunteered for the New Hebrides in 1846, where they both died at Mele in 1847.⁷⁷

Despite the attraction of overseas service as an alternative destination for trained ministry students, the Cook Islands church was equipped by mid-century with an indigenous pastorate able to provide ministry to the congregations on the many islands scattered over a wide expanse of ocean. The Cook Islanders adopted the word *orometua* used by the Tahiti mission of the LMS; as a Ma’ohi word, it carried the basic meaning of ‘teacher’, and it might well have been an indigenous word with that connotation in the Cook Islands too. The Manganian word *korometua* (or *koromatua*) referred to a ‘wise man’, an ‘instructor of kings’, which was ‘a peculiarly sacred office’.⁷⁸ In Rarotonga, *koromatua* denoted ‘a learned man, a priest’.⁷⁹ Like the Ma’ohi, the Cook Islanders applied the word *orometua* to European missionaries, Polynesian teachers and then locally born pastors. There were 22 active Cook Islander *orometua* by 1859.⁸⁰ They looked after village congregations on the three islands (Rarotonga, Aitutaki and Mangaia) where English missionaries were in charge, and on all the other islands exercised ministries that were only occasionally inspected. Their numbers did not grow beyond this: 20 were listed in 1879 (as well as a number of retired men), and the figure for 1895 was also 20.⁸¹

Maretu was the first unsupervised *orometua* in 1839. Some other pastors given early responsibility included three Takamoa graduates from Avarua: Rupe, who went to Mangaia in 1841, and was installed at Tamarua with a solemn service of 'setting apart', followed by a feast;⁸² Okotai, who took up a ministry on Atiu in 1842 (he later served in Samoa and on Pukapuka, and died in 1879); and 'the prudent, pious and active' Itio, who was appointed to Mauke in 1845 and retired from there in 1879.⁸³ Another Rupe, the son of chiefly parents from Rarotonga and Aitutaki, was sent from Aitutaki as 'a pious youth' to Takamoa in 1845.⁸⁴ He was appointed to Arorangi in 1847, before going to Atiu in 1849 to replace his older namesake. Described as very intelligent, the younger Rupe served on Atiu for many years until his career in the church came to an end in 1866 with his dismissal for immoral behaviour.⁸⁵ Remaining on the island, he was strongly criticised by Gill in 1878 for causing trouble between the people and the mission, but the same missionary later acknowledged him as a valuable source of ethnographical information about Aitutaki and Atiu.⁸⁶

Katuke, the first Takamoa graduate from Atiu, went to Mangaia in 1844; he served there very capably as one of the village pastors under successive white missionaries, and died in 1886.⁸⁷ Anania was also appointed to Mangaia. He had gone to Samoa from Rarotonga in 1839 before Takamoa training was available, and returned in 1846 with an excellent record, taking up a post at Tamarua in 1847. Praised for his zeal and devotion, he brought patient mediation skills to the volatile political situation he found in the village. His superintendent on Mangaia lamented the death in 1848 of this calm and prayerful man.⁸⁸ Anania was succeeded as teacher and pastor at Tamarua by Mamae (also known as Koroa-iti and Sadaraka), a high-ranking Mangaian and first-generation Christian and early deacon. He seems not to have attended Takamoa, but was nevertheless 'well versed in scripture'. Mamae's supervising missionary after 1852, W. W. Gill, paid glowing tribute to his personal and spiritual qualities, and also to his ability as a preacher who expounded the Bible 'with great originality and power, bringing his illustrations not from books or commentaries' but from the natural world and everyday events, using both humour and pathos to great effect. Mamae provided much of the ethnographical information later published by Gill, and wrote several historical narratives himself before his death in 1889.⁸⁹

A succession of *orometua* served in village churches throughout the Cook Islands. Perhaps a typical example is Matavera, on Rarotonga, where, for the period 1839-1900, a commemorative board in the church lists six pastors (two originating from Matavera itself, two from other parts of Rarotonga, one from Mangaia and one from Manihiki). The inner histories of these village congregations and the pastors who came to live and work with them are only partially accessible through the documents that have survived in archival collections. It is clear, however, that close relationships were forged between *orometua* and their people, and that these relationships were sometimes harmonious and sometimes tense.

The infrequent missionary inspections of the northern atoll of Tongareva, for instance, uncovered situations that sometimes pleased the visitors but often worried them. When Peruvian labour recruiters succeeded in luring nearly 500 of the people on

to their ships in 1862-63, two of the teachers accompanied the recruits, leaving only the Rarotongan Ngatikaro ministering to the remnant population.⁹⁰ It became a matter of concern to the missionaries that Ngatikaro, who had married the daughter of a chief on the atoll, was exercising what seemed to be chiefly authority. He was removed in 1870, but soon afterwards returned. In later years, the ex-teacher was reported as helping his successor, Vaka, but his influence among the people was regarded by the mission as harmful. Vaka, too, was soon seen to be acting as a chief, and was dismissed 10 years later when factional strife broke out on the atoll.⁹¹ In the 1890s, the pastor in one of the two villages (Kainuku, from Aitutaki) was described as young, active and doing good work; he was 'on good terms with the people', but his colleague in the other village (Paulo, an Atiuan) was 'constantly at loggerheads with his people about one thing or another'. Later, it was Kainuku who complained that the people were giving him insufficient food and were difficult to get on with, but three years after that he was found to be 'living happily with the people'. As the century ended, the reports were of Kainuku's removal for unsatisfactory work, the people's reluctance to accept the mission's Rakahangan nominee rather than the local man they wanted as Kainuku's replacement, and Paulo's development into a pastor well regarded by the mission as an 'energetic' and 'resolute' leader among a 'quarrelsome and turbulent' people.⁹²

While some *orometua* are known to have been of high rank in the traditional social hierarchy, such origins were not a prerequisite for membership of the pastorate. But in a new kind of hereditary pattern, a number of notable *orometua* had sons who followed in their footsteps. Papehia's son Isaia went to Takamoa in 1858 or 1859 and later ministered at Arorangi. At first, Chalmers did not think much of him, but later said that 'he was a good man, and did good service'. A later missionary found him genial and hospitable, a good preacher, 'a great worker and planter of food', but 'lacking in spirituality'. He could also 'rule men', not just 'through natural ability' but because of his social position as the grandson of an *ariki*. Isaia died in 1890. His son Davida also became an *orometua*, as did Mitikiro, the son of Papehia's daughter.⁹³ The grandson and namesake of another notable early *orometua*, Maretu, also entered the ministry, becoming *orometua* at Ngatangia after he left Takamoa in 1882. This younger Maretu, who died in 1906, earned praise as an 'exceptionally able' pastor and as the respected holder of the Pa *ariki* title in succession to his adoptive mother.⁹⁴ Tamuera Terei, the son of Ta'unga, showed promise as an *orometua*, too, but in 1888 he was dismissed from his post at Titikaveka after serving some years there (later he became a notable official and writer of traditional history).⁹⁵ The Mangaian *orometua* Mamae's son, Aiteina, was described as able and intelligent when he entered the ministry in the 1880s, and, as a retired man, was a valued ethnographical informant in 1930.⁹⁶ There were others, but a final example is Banapa, the son of Apolo, who pioneered on Manihiki. Banapa was the *orometua* on Rakahanga for 28 years until he died there in 1905, still being praised for his wise and tactful leadership; he too was an authority on traditional history.⁹⁷

Pastors in church and society

In the Cook Islands churches, Polynesian respect for oratory was confirmed by the emphasis placed on preaching by the LMS. By the end of the century, preaching was indisputably one of the most important functions of the *orometua*. 'No congregation in Europe or America could hang with more earnestness on the lips of the preacher,' wrote the missionary Gill. 'It is quite a common practice to take down the outline of the discourse on paper or slates, or even rudely to scratch it on the leaf of the banana or the coco-nut ... I have known sermons to be well remembered even ten years after their delivery.'⁹⁸ Gill believed that foreign missionaries could not hope to preach sermons as 'thoroughly adapted to the native mind' as those he was hearing from the mouths of *orometua*. He noted that the preaching was full of proverbs and apt illustrations from local history, customs, traditions and songs, as well as from the natural environment and topical events. Like their counterparts in Tahiti, the Cook Islands *orometua* commonly constructed their sermons from 'trunks' and 'branches'; they finished with a practical application or 'corking' (which was as indispensable in a sermon as the cork was to a container of scented oil).⁹⁹

The LMS did not regard the small payments it made in cash and kind to its Polynesian workers as their main means of support. The mission's expectation that the teachers and pastors would be supported by their host communities was formalised in the 1870s, and fixed stipends payable by each congregation were listed regularly after that. In the late 1870s, a number of *orometua* were paid an annual salary of \$100 in the currency used in the Cook Islands at the time (with Isaia at Arorangi receiving more than \$200), while others received amounts ranging from \$20 to \$60.¹⁰⁰ Chalmers had pushed for this system, wanting the pastors to be well paid so that they would be free of the need to devote time to planting or other means of self-support.¹⁰¹ In addition to paying their pastor's salary, each local church maintained its buildings (including the pastor's house) and contributed to LMS funds.¹⁰² To varying degrees, also, the practice of presenting food and other items to the pastor continued: on Tongareva, for example, there were different kinds of presentations that came to be categorised as *matanga*, *atinga* and *huamua*.¹⁰³

The mission's encouragement of congregational self-support was in keeping with the assumption that the infant churches would eventually grow to adulthood and no longer require the missionary parent. This objective was not always firmly in the forefront of day-to-day missionary thinking, but it was certainly linked with the ideal of an indigenous pastorate. The encouragement of a local ministry by Pitman and Buzacott is evidence of this, and another missionary with great influence on the early Cook Islands church, William Gill, was equally convinced that 'native agency' was not only effective but 'essential'; it was 'the reward and the glory' of the missionaries' labours.¹⁰⁴ When Pitman referred to Iro and Maretu as 'my native assistants, or rather Co-pastors',¹⁰⁵ he revealed his underlying commitment to a responsible indigenous ministry. The change from 'teacher' to 'pastor' in official mission terminology occurred in the late 1860s, in recognition of the fact that *orometua* had been performing pastoral duties for

some time.¹⁰⁶ W. W. Gill warned against raising the status of just a few selected teachers: distinctions between them would be unfair and might also foster pride in the favoured few.¹⁰⁷ Another missionary, Ernest Krause, who clashed with the *orometua* Teaoa over a number of issues and eventually dismissed him, offended Teaoa by denying that an indigenous pastor was fully an *orometua* in the sense that the missionaries were.¹⁰⁸ Krause was not well liked in the church on Rarotonga, and his view that the pastors were only 'helpers' was out of line with the mission's policy. The word 'ordination' came to replace the old 'setting apart', and the full ministerial status of Cook Islands pastors was acknowledged in the 1870s: they were no longer just *taeake* ('brethren'), wrote Gill, but 'full-blown reverends'.¹⁰⁹

The missionaries working in the Cook Islands in the 19th century could not, however, fully trust their local colleagues. They were pained by the moral lapses they felt obliged to record and discipline, and, while allowing considerable freedom to the pastors of local congregations in villages and distant islands, they could not yet contemplate a transfer of overall authority to the church's indigenous leaders. In the 1850s, fearing that the Cook Islands would be increasingly less isolated from contact with foreigners and the outside world, the missionaries warned the directors in London against any thought of prematurely 'abandoning' the young church, and recommended a continuing European superintendence 'to consolidate and secure what has already been gained'.¹¹⁰ The London authorities, while reaffirming the ideal of indigenous church autonomy and reiterating that 'too great attention cannot be given to raising up an educated and efficient Native Ministry', did indeed decide in 1866 that it was too early to reduce the number of European missionaries in any of its fields.¹¹¹ The LMS never lost sight of the ideal of self-governed indigenous churches; the difficult question discussed by administrators and field missionaries throughout these years was when the time would be ripe for relinquishing mission authority.

In the Cook Islands, Chalmers stood out from his colleagues in arguing for an immediate reduction in foreign missionary involvement in churches such as the one in which he was working. 'I think it is time,' he wrote in 1874, '[that] these churches were left to their own resources, under the superintendence of one foreign missionary who could take charge of the Institution. So long as the native churches have foreign pastors so long will they remain weak and dependent.'¹¹² When he revisited the Cook Islands in the 1890s, he again declared that no more supervision was necessary than what could be provided by one missionary who would be concerned primarily with education.¹¹³ But other missionaries were not confident that the churches would be strong enough to maintain the standards of church life if Europeans were no longer there to keep watch. When Aitutaki was without a white missionary for some years after Royle's retirement, for instance, Gill wrote that the church there was 'going to the bad'; another missionary wrote that Royle, who had been 'really a father' to the people, had 'advised them in all matters, and that advice was always taken'.¹¹⁴ It was the opinion of still another of the missionaries, George Harris, that their task of removing unsatisfactory pastors had become more difficult since the churches had taken responsibility for paying their *orometua*.¹¹⁵ Harris believed that Cook Islands pastors were affected by an 'inherent

weakness of the race': they were reluctant to give offence, with the result that 'the whole work suffers through their yielding to the whims and fancies of their people'.¹¹⁶ (It is interesting that at this very time at least two *orometua* in the northern islands were meeting difficulties when they stood out against what their people wanted: the Tongarevans were reported to be 'sullen' because their pastor had opposed their 'lascivious dances', and the pastors on Pukapuka were in trouble for attempting to stop traditional mourning customs.)¹¹⁷

As the 19th century ended, and the level of exposure to outside political and economic forces in the Cook Islands increased, the prevailing view was the one presented by the missionary Lawrence to a British audience in 1895: 'The time has not yet come when we can safely leave these native Christian communities to meet alone, unaided, the difficulties of their position.' The principal mission administrator in London agreed with Lawrence, arguing that the Cook Islanders were just entering the most difficult time of all — the period of transition between tutelage and independence.¹¹⁸

An end to European supervision and control of the Cook Islands ministry, then, was far in the future, and in fact had seemed to become even less likely as the 19th century progressed. The Cook Islanders did not question this, but, obscured by the superstructure of a missionary-dominated church, there was the reality of an indigenous religious institution in which the local teachers and pastors played a leading role. From the beginning of the mission to the Cook Islands, Polynesian *orometua* had been integrated into community life. Permitted at the outset by the chiefs to enter and work, and fed and housed by the chiefs and people, the Ma'ohi teachers bequeathed to their local successors a niche in society that was never seriously questioned by the mission authorities. *Orometua* were sometimes known as the *tama 'ua* (adopted sons, literally 'sons of the lap') of the chiefs.¹¹⁹ It is not difficult to understand why many aspects of the role of the priest in the old religion were eventually assumed by the new religious leaders, the *orometua*.

It seems that the traditional priests of the Cook Islands resembled their counterparts in the closely related Ma'ohi culture to the east. Their appellation, *ta'unga*, similarly referred to their learning and skill in religion or other special arts, crafts or bodies of knowledge. Priestly descent lines were closely connected with the chiefly families, and chiefs themselves exercised some priestly functions. Another word, *taura*, referred to people directly inspired by a god; like its Tahitian cognate, the word meant 'rope', signifying the role of the *taura* as medium.¹²⁰ This pattern was common to all the islands, but on Mangaia there were some distinctive features. The attendants of the island's various tribal gods were known as *pia atua*, 'receptacles of the gods', an expression that is more suggestive of a medium than a priest. Women could be *pia atua*, and could also succeed to the *ariki* title held by the one of the two high priests of Mangaia's 'national' god, Rongo. The functions of the 'inland' and 'shore' *ariki* were partly political, but their religious role was very important and distinguished them from the main 'secular' chief, the 'lord of Mangaia'.¹²¹ When the first Ma'ohi teachers landed on Mangaia in 1824, they were immediately taken by the priestly *ariki* to the *marae* of Rongo 'to invest their persons with a sacred character'.¹²² This not only conferred on them a

protective *mana* but also suggestively foreshadowed what was indeed eventually to occur: a transfer of the priestly office to the servants of a new and more powerful God.¹²³ Throughout the Cook Islands, some *ta'unga* opposed the new religion, while others embraced it.¹²⁴ But the demise of the old gods made their priests redundant. *Ta'unga* faded away, retaining a role, which was deprecated and censured by the mission, only as practitioners of traditional medicine.¹²⁵ The need for religious specialists in society remained, however, and *orometua* filled the gap. They and their activities were validated in Cook Islands eyes not only by European approval, Takamoa training and the mission's ceremonies by which they were 'set apart', but also by their special relationship with spiritual powers and chiefly authorities. They made their contribution to the community through channels that were not as new as they seemed.

Cook Islands chiefs and pastors sometimes competed for power within the framework of authority and influence. A missionary explained the difficulties experienced by Rupe on Atiu in the 1850s as a clash between the pastor and some of the chiefs whose 'questionable practices' he zealously opposed; this had 'so offended them that his residence on Atiu became very uncomfortable and his usefulness much impeded'.¹²⁶ But *orometua* did work within a traditional understanding of the relationship between religious and secular power. Gill described a feast given by a Mangaian chief, in which ceremonial precedence was accorded to the missionary 'and the three native pastors, to evince their respect for the Word of God', followed by 'the king and six great chiefs, whose names were announced in a certain order handed down from time immemorial'.¹²⁷ This ceremonial order is followed in the distribution of feast food on Mangaia even today.¹²⁸ *Orometua* had been fitted into a traditional structure, succeeding the priests whose place in the distribution of feast food had similarly indicated their place in society. Gill observed that throughout the group the *orometua* were often 'closely connected with powerful chiefs ruling the places where they labour'; he lamented in 1878 that an elderly pastor no longer fit for active ministry was 'so linked on to the chiefs that the church could not remove him without great political disturbance'.¹²⁹ In that same year, there was trouble on Atiu when the Aitutakian pastor, Ru, tried to resist chiefly control in the church. The Atiuans wanted the next pastor to be one of their own, as they were 'tired of pastors from other islands'; they went on to demand that one of their *ariki* be appointed. Gill speculated that perhaps the chiefs were wanting to add ecclesiastical prestige to their power: 'In the old times the priest and chief were often united in one person. Why not under the new order of things?'¹³⁰ The missionaries compromised by appointing a trainee from Takamoa, an Atiuian who was related to the chiefs. In Gill's opinion, pastors were usually too ready to permit chiefs to interfere in church matters, but the new pastor, Ngamaru, did stand up to one of the chiefs who was selling alcohol.¹³¹

Late 19th-century changes

When a new form of political power appeared at the end of the century, it was difficult for pastors and missionaries to reduce the political involvement to which they had long

been accustomed. In 1896, for example, the *orometua* Kainuku and Paulo on Tongareva were accused by a British official of ‘meddlesome interference’: they ‘arrogate to themselves temporal powers and interfere in every question affecting the island’. ‘I cautioned them against interfering in questions that did not concern them,’ reported the official, who told them that ‘their duties were connected with the church and the education of the children’ rather than with the governing of the island.¹³²

There were other ways in which the declaration of a British protectorate in 1888 and the annexation of the group by New Zealand in 1901 affected the functions of *orometua* in Cook Islands society. One was the gradual loss of their role as schoolteachers — a loss that occurred earlier in the south than in the north. The LMS was well aware that most of the pastors were poorly qualified for this task, and hoped that the English-language school it established on Rarotonga in the 1890s would produce better-educated candidates for the ministry.¹³³ But it accepted that education would not be retained in mission hands as the new colonial administration established itself and developed education policies.

The exclusive relationship that had long existed between the LMS mission and the Cook Islands chiefs and people finally ended with the arrival of colonial authorities. The relationship was too much a part of the history of the islands, however, for the coming of colonialism to endanger the place of the LMS-founded church in Cook Islands society, and the patterns of church life (including the structures and functions of ministry) were to endure throughout the 20th century. But the establishment of foreign political authority permitted the entry of rival forms of Christianity — Catholicism and Seventh-day Adventism — in the 1890s, and, from these, eventually, new kinds of Christian ministry would emerge.

The Picpus missionary Bernardino Castanié, who arrived from Tahiti in 1894 to begin the Catholic mission on Rarotonga, paid tribute to the devoted and self-sacrificing spirit displayed by Tehema and Helena, the couple who came to assist him. Tehema, a *katekita* (catechist) from the Tuamotu Group, helped to construct the church in a physical sense as a builder and as a worship leader and intermediary between the French missionary and the Polynesian Cook Islanders attracted to Catholicism.¹³⁴ Cook Islander catechists were later to play a part in the Catholic Church in these islands, but it would be many years before a few indigenous priests emerged to work with the foreign missionaries who ministered there. Cook Islands Catholicism never developed an autonomous indigenous leadership in the way that the LMS church (now the Cook Islands Christian Church) did.

4.

SAMOA

GROUPED TOGETHER IN the central South Pacific, about 1,500 kilometres north-west of the southern Cook Islands, are the three moderately large and several smaller islands of Samoa. The Samoans are Polynesians, but their language and their cultural and social forms are only distantly related to those of the Ma'ohi and Cook Islanders. There were about 40,000 Samoans in the early 19th century when they first came into sustained contact with the Western world.¹

When the first missionaries reached Samoa from the east in 1830, they found that interest in Christianity had preceded them and that teachers of the new religion were gladly received. John Williams and Charles Barff of the pioneering LMS party were pleasantly surprised that the eight Ma'ohi and Aitutakian evangelists they landed at Sapapali'i (on the largest island, Savai'i) to inaugurate the mission were 'welcomed with open arms, both by chiefs and people, who vied with each other in expressions of kindness and delight! Instead of losing their property, four excellent dwellings were given to them, and the very best and largest house in the settlement was set apart for public worship and instruction.'²

So great was the interest in religious innovation in these early years of the mission that the few Europeans already resident in Samoa often found themselves sought out by the people to act as leaders of worship, instructors in doctrine and providers of baptism and healing. Most of these men were deserters or renegades, deficient in theological knowledge and Christian commitment.³ But until the mission's claim to be the only authentic supplier of Christian teaching was firmly established, beachcombers such as these helped to meet the widespread demand for religious knowledge and they were given respect and material recompense in return. Another indication of Samoan openness to new religious ideas and practices at this time is the reception given to the cult of the prophet and medium Sio Vili, an Upolu man who encountered Christianity in Tonga and Tahiti and spread his amalgam of Samoan and Christian concepts around Samoa.⁴ Unacceptable though they were to the LMS, Sio Vili and the beachcombers were in fact, no less than the missionaries, part of the process by which Christian teaching and a new kind of religious leadership were introduced to Samoa.⁵ Like that of the LMS workers, their leadership derived a certain authority from its connection with new religious knowledge from the outside. It was a leadership role in which an instructional element was highly visible. In reference to the body of teachers that later

came to be regarded as official — the English missionaries and Polynesian evangelists — Williams recorded a term that had entered Samoan usage by 1832: *tama failotu*, which he translated as ‘worker of religion’ or, less comprehensive in scope but very much in keeping with current LMS and Samoan perceptions, ‘teacher of religion’.⁶

Religious leadership in traditional Samoa

Williams found that his knowledge of Polynesian religion was based on his experience in the eastern islands and was not entirely applicable to Samoa. He seems to have first acknowledged this on his second visit, in 1832, when on arriving at Manu’a he met an Austral Islander who told him that the Samoans had ‘no maraes or houses for their worship ... They have no priests. The Chief prays as well as all the people.’⁷ As he continued his voyage around Samoa Williams found that religious rites were indeed much less visible than in Tahiti and the Cook Islands, and he remembered what he had been told back in Rarotonga about the *amoa atua kore*, ‘godless Samoans’. He soon recognised that in fact the Samoans were far from godless, and he recorded that despite the lack of an elaborate public cult there were certainly priests (called ‘*taula aetu*’) and inspired prophets.⁸

It became clear to later observers that formal religious observance in Samoa was located to a large extent in the household. The head of the extended family, the *matai*, led household worship, ensured that the family gods were honoured, and could express their will: he was thus not only a chief but also a priest and a prophet.⁹ Beyond the household, village gods, too, were served by the *matai*, but sometimes also by an identifiable class of practitioners known as *taula aitu* (literally, ‘anchors of the gods’), who were not necessarily male or of chiefly rank. They received and made offerings at small temples, ascertained the causes of illness and misfortune and, when possessed by the gods, could speak their will.¹⁰ These religious specialists were denounced by the missionaries as cunning and avaricious.¹¹ Their place in Samoan religion appears to have been less central than the position of the ceremonial priests of eastern Polynesia. The *tahu’a* and *ta’unga* of the east were ‘persons skilled in religion’, but the Samoan ‘skilled person’, *tufuga*, was a carpenter or tattooist, and the *taula* was just as much a medium as a priest. More than in the east, religious leadership was undifferentiated from political authority; it was vested in the chiefs and expressed in the complex relationships of the social and political order.¹² These features of religious leadership were later to influence the nature of the Christian ministry in Samoa, but in the beginning the most prominent aspect of Christian leadership was its instructional emphasis.

Polynesian ministry pioneers from the east and the south

The first officially accredited resident Christian missionaries in Samoa were the six Ma’ohi and two Aitutakian teachers brought by the LMS from Raiatea, Huahine, Borabora and Aitutaki in 1830. Six of the men were accompanied by their wives, and some of the couples brought children.¹³ In true chiefly fashion, Williams introduced the teachers to the

important chief, Malietoa, and entrusted them to his protection. This enhanced the security of the missionaries and established their connection with chiefly power, but Williams found on his return in 1832 that Malietoa had monopolised them and restricted their movements.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the teachers were found to have made an excellent start in the work of evangelism and church planting. They had been advised by the mission's Samoan guide, Fauea, to avoid a negative condemnation of the local culture,¹⁵ and Williams was pleased to observe worship being conducted in fluent Samoan.¹⁶ Most of this pioneering group continued their work in Samoa for six, 10 or more years, although some of them ended their careers in the disgrace of dismissal for immoral conduct.¹⁷

Until resident British missionaries arrived in 1836, the LMS teachers from eastern Polynesia were the Samoans' main models for Christian ministry. The mission managed to break free of Malietoa's restrictions on the teachers' movements, and for many decades Ma'ohi and Cook Islander missionaries continued to arrive and work in different parts of Samoa. After the coming of Europeans to take control of the mission, the Polynesian teachers were valuable and experienced assistants, often supervising Samoan helpers or even taking charge of stations.

In 1839, Williams praised the work of Anania, Nehemia and their wives in Manu'a, the easternmost islands, where Buzacott found in 1842 that the people evangelised by these four Cook Islanders had almost all adopted Christianity.¹⁸ Anania returned to a ministry in the Cook Islands, where he died on Mangaia in 1849, but Nehemia continued to work in Manu'a until his death in 1861.¹⁹ When another teacher, Matatia, retired to Rarotonga after working in Samoa from 1839 to 1852, the British missionaries said they would gladly have him back at any time.²⁰ Among other notable Cook Islanders was Ta'unga, who had already served in New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands before coming to Samoa in 1847 to take up a long ministry in Manu'a. Ta'unga and his wife took a particular interest in education, and he studied the history of Manu'a. Described in 1856 as 'superintendent' of the Manu'a station, he had been authorised not long before that to administer the sacraments. In 1866, he was referred to as 'general superintendent of the Manu'a group', and, along with his Samoan colleagues, he was ordained in 1876. Ta'unga retired to Rarotonga in 1879, carrying with him the thanks and praise of the missionaries in Samoa.²¹ Yet another who stood out among the Cook Islanders serving in the early Samoan church was Teava. One of the first members of the Avarua church, on Rarotonga, he was praised by his mentor, Buzacott, as 'a pious excellent man'. He volunteered for evangelism overseas and was 'set apart' for that work; he and his wife 'wept a good deal' on leaving their home island in 1832.²² They were stationed first on the small but politically important island of Manono, and later on Upolu and Tutuila. Energetic, intelligent, fluent in Samoan and 'without one stain upon his Christian character', Teava travelled widely in Samoa and did much to establish the mission among the people.²³ The couple returned to Rarotonga in 1855.

Adding to the range of early instructors in Christianity were the emissaries who travelled north to Samoa from Tonga, where a Wesleyan mission had made a successful beginning in the 1820s. Even before 1830, political and family connections between certain Samoans and Tongans brought word of the new religion in Tonga, and, by the

early 1830s, the activities of travellers and unofficial teachers meant that hundreds of Samoans were adherents of a nascent *lotu Toga* (Tongan Christianity). The Wesleyan mission in Tonga decided to respond to Samoan requests for assistance and, in 1835, Peter Turner and five Tongan teachers arrived to set up a mission in Samoa. When the vexed question of which of the two British missionary societies should operate in Samoa was settled in London in favour of the LMS (which had sent European missionaries in 1836), Turner and his teachers were withdrawn to Tonga. After the departure of the missionaries in 1839, however, the Samoan Wesleyans were determined to retain their distinct identity and continued to look to Tonga for leadership. Their repeated requests for more teachers were received sympathetically by the ascendant Wesleyan chief Taufa'ahau (soon to be recognised as King of all Tonga), who, without the approval of the missionaries in Tonga, sent 16 teachers in 1841, 10 in 1842, and more later.²⁴

For nearly 20 years, at first under the direction of British missionaries but then as workers approved only by their Wesleyan compatriots at home and their scattered flock in Samoa, the Tongan teachers spread Christian ideas and practices and led the congregations of the *lotu Toga*. The LMS missionaries were critical of the level of their religious knowledge and annoyed by their active role in the rivalry of the two missions.²⁵ But some of them were long remembered in Samoa. Penisimani Latusele, a chief and local preacher from Vava'u, came with Turner in 1835 and again in 1841 as leader of Taufa'ahau's teachers. His ability and devotion impressed the missionaries back in Tonga and, after he returned home, he was chosen as the first Tongan Wesleyan to be ordained (in 1847). Appointed to pastor the Tongan island of Niuatoputapu, he left his station soon afterwards and, against the wishes of the mission authorities, worked again in Samoa. His ministry there was a mixed blessing for the Samoan Wesleyans, for he involved himself in factional politics and was accused of illicit liaisons with women.²⁶ Latusele left Samoa in 1852 when Taufa'ahau finally agreed to withdraw the teachers. But his co-worker, Panapasa Ahongalu, another Vava'u man, first served with Turner from 1835 to 1839, returned from 1841 to 1852, and was later (until his death in 1881) a mainstay of the Wesleyan mission that was resumed in 1857. One of his white colleagues called him 'a firm and rugged brother'.²⁷

By mid-century, some Samoans had responded to the Catholic mission that arrived in 1845. The French missionary priests bringing this different form of Christianity were Marists sent from nearby Uvea (Wallis Island), where the Society of Mary had begun its Pacific mission in 1837. To the dismay of the Protestant missionaries, Catholicism established a foothold in Samoa and a small but well-rooted church developed. Its Samoan membership would participate in leadership in ways that were somewhat different from the patterns seen in the two Protestant missions.

The beginnings of the Samoan ministry

The earliest Samoan teachers of Christianity were simply those who emerged spontaneously as disseminators of the new religious knowledge and the accompanying literacy. The eagerness of the Samoans to learn and teach was fully compatible with the

LMS and Wesleyan emphasis on scriptural and doctrinal knowledge as a necessity for every believer, and an educational dimension was present in the work of the missions from the outset. Unofficial teachers were already at work when European missionaries arrived. Turner found more than 40 working for the *lotu Toga* in 1835, and when he left in 1839 he had built the Wesleyan mission structure up to 80 congregations and 197 schools, directed by 1,000 leaders and teachers.²⁸ This body of mission workers, the nucleus of an emerging Methodist church leadership, worked on through the uncertain years of Samoan Wesleyan mission history and was eventually regularised by the new missionary authorities after 1857.

After the arrival of white LMS missionaries in 1836, they too extended and systematised the participation of Samoans in evangelism, teaching and the leadership of worship. A missionary on Savai'i felt that the people still preferred foreign teachers, but by 1837 there were 16 Samoans working for the mission on the island, as instructors in literacy and Christian doctrine and in some cases as preachers.²⁹ On Tutuila two years later, there were 34 teachers, 14 of whom also led worship services and took part 'in the higher departments of Missionary labour'; one of these was named as Taulani of Leone, who served effectively as a teacher for 25 years.³⁰ There were 138 such teachers in Samoa by 1839, and nearly 200 by 1842.³¹

After Peter Turner left, the Wesleyan workers were no doubt given some instruction by the Tongan teachers until they too departed. Teachers in the LMS mission were given training by individual station missionaries: Archibald Murray assembled the Tutuila teachers every Friday for instruction,³² and George Turner spent one day a week with his 'teaching and preaching curates' on Upolu. Murray and Turner helped the teachers with sermon material for the next Sunday, and Turner also tried to provide general education and discussed with the teachers what was happening in their village congregations.³³

Clearly, the Wesleyan and LMS missions had accepted that the Samoan church was to be village-based, requiring the development of a large body of local mission representatives dispersed throughout the land. One of the first British missionaries, Charles Hardie, later described the desire of every village to secure its own teacher:

Each of these little parties is so jealous, so on the alert to discover any thing that would in any [way?] give any one of them an advantage over another, so concerned that any thing should [not?] be done for any one of them that would imply the inferiority of the rest that, generally, each is averse to being taught by the teachers of the others. However near their little settlements may be to each other's, the people of the one will not go to the other for instruction; neither are they willing that teachers from other villages come to instruct them. This isolated and jealous state of the Polynesian tribes obliges us to employ a far greater number of teachers than would otherwise be necessary.³⁴

It is clear that, like the Ma'ohi and Cook Islanders, the Samoans saw their church as a community institution rather than what the Nonconformist missionaries had known in their homeland — a minority group of believers gathered from the general population.

The British missionaries would long have a supervisory and training role, but in the villages the local church would develop in a strongly Samoan context and the shape of its leadership would be moulded by the indigenous culture. The Marist priests, too, saw the Samoan Catholic Church being taken into village structures, and they also were soon relying on Samoan mission workers residing in local communities.

Samoan teachers in the early Christian period needed little encouragement to extend their area of activity from Samoa itself to unknown islands across the sea. John Williams, who had introduced the first Polynesian missionaries to Samoa nine years earlier, took the first Samoan missionary teachers westwards in 1839. There were 30 eager volunteers, 'including our best men', but only 11 could be taken.³⁵ Leiataua and Sau of Manono landed on Rotuma as the earliest evangelists there, and the first of many missionaries to the New Hebrides were Mose, Lalolangi and Salomea, who settled on Tanna two days before Williams was killed on Erromanga. The Samoans who pioneered New Caledonia from 1840 and the Loyalty Islands from 1841 were followed by others, and Niue became a field for Samoan missions in 1849. Dozens of Samoan LMS teachers ministered in these islands during the first decades of Christianity in Samoa, often suffering many privations and sometimes dying of sickness or by violence. The tradition of overseas service, in these and newer fields, continued well into the 20th century.³⁶ Many men who ministered to home congregations had earlier been teachers overseas, and so missionary experience became an ingredient in the development of the LMS pastorate (and later in Wesleyanism also) in Samoa.

Training the LMS Samoan ministry

Hopes that the Samoans would become 'less and less dependent upon Europeans as their spiritual instructors' were expressed by the early LMS missionaries.³⁷ It was not long before they turned their attention to ways of improving the training of the 'native agency' that was so important to the work of the mission. In the late 1830s, Ebenezer Buchanan began to give instruction in pedagogy to the mission's trainee school-teachers,³⁸ but the main concern of the mission was to produce trained pastoral workers for Samoa and overseas. A step beyond the existing tuition by individual district missionaries was the appointment in 1839 of one of them, Charles Hardie of Savai'i, to give short courses of general and theological study to men from different parts of the country (36 in the first intake) in a residential 'Institution for the Education of Native Teachers'.³⁹ William Day later took over this task at his station on Upolu, and Hardie was soon running a residential 'high school' that would give preparatory tuition to 'future teachers, evangelists and pastors'.⁴⁰ In recognition, however, that these arrangements not only rested on ill-defined training objectives but were inadequate for the size of the task, the missionaries decided in February 1844 to set up a central educational facility for the Samoan ministry.

The new establishment would provide preparatory tuition, pedagogical instruction, ministry training and theological education. It would be self-contained, sited away from the pervasive cultural influence of village Samoa. It would be directed by two missionaries

who would give their whole time to the task, and for these appointments Hardie and Turner, both Scotsmen, were selected by their colleagues. Within a few months, an undeveloped site at Malua, on the northern coast of Upolu, had been bought, and clearing and construction began. The 'Samoan Mission Seminary' was able to begin teaching its first 25 students (ranging in age from 12 to 24) on 25 September 1844.⁴¹

Malua was similar to the institutions that preceded it in Tahiti and the Cook Islands, but was much bigger. The number of students (male and female) rose to 53 in 1846, and in 1854 reached 92 (though some of these were in the separate preparatory class for boys), a level that was maintained until the 1880s.⁴² The duration of the study course was four years — 'little enough to prepare them for their responsible work,' wrote the tutors — although the demand for trained teachers for Samoa and overseas meant that some students could not be kept that long.⁴³ The curriculum, which remained essentially unchanged for many years, included general subjects such as reading, writing, arithmetic, geography and science, as well as scriptural, doctrinal and pastoral studies. The students were glad to take away with them large quantities of notes for use in their subsequent preaching work.⁴⁴ Preference was given to married men seeking admission, because (according to Turner) the villages wanted men whose wives could teach the women and girls the literary, religious and practical knowledge they had gained in the Malua classes for wives.⁴⁵ There were 54 women (wives and daughters of the male students) studying in 1861.⁴⁶ This female role in ministry was affirmed by the mission's decision in 1865 not to admit any student whose wife was not a church member.⁴⁷ Within the daily timetable, the physical fitness of the students, and their future usefulness and self-reliance (as well as the financial independence of the institution), were ensured by their labour in the food plantations and construction projects of the seminary.⁴⁸ Practical skills, however, were not part of the formal curriculum. As the missionaries explained, 'Past experience teaches us that the men who give their undivided attention to their work, as evangelists, are by far the most successful, whether in Samoa or the outstations.'⁴⁹

'An efficient native agency for these and other islands is the great object of our daily anxiety, and prayer, and toil,' wrote the Malua staff in 1849.⁵⁰ Believing that 'the prosperity and very life' of the mission depended on the proper training of its 'native agency', the LMS missionaries in Samoa placed enormous emphasis on Malua.⁵¹ They regarded the task of running it as 'the highest and most important in the mission field, next to the translating of the scriptures. To this branch of labour the best talent and attention should be given.'⁵² The value of Malua in Samoan eyes was just as great, for there were always more applicants than could be admitted, and the demand for its graduates was greater than the output.⁵³ In the late 1840s, when Samoa was disrupted by civil war, Malua was allowed to continue its work, and most of the students chose not to interrupt their training.⁵⁴

The patterns set by its first directors (Hardie served for 10 years, but Turner stayed on until 1881) proved to be extremely durable, and the place of Malua in the history of the Samoan church and people was assured. By 1870, most of the mission workers were Malua-trained. Eagerness to enter the institution was not diminished when a written

entrance test and annual examinations (with the results announced publicly) were introduced in the 1870s.⁵⁵ Successful students were given a certificate stating that they had completed four years at Malua and were accredited for 'the work of God'.⁵⁶ Some 263 men had entered the institution by 1859.⁵⁷ By 1870, the figure was 543 (as well as 395 women and 205 boys).⁵⁸ Twenty years later, a total of more than 1,800 was recorded; at that time the roll was 105.⁵⁹

The mission felt satisfied by the late 1850s that its 'cherished aim' of creating an educated indigenous ministry was likely to be fully accomplished; moreover, it would be a ministry made up of Samoans whom the mission had not 'desired to transform ... into foreigners, but to educate and improve them, without injury to that identity of thought and feeling and interest and habits which is necessary to a due and profitable sympathy between teachers, or pastors, and their people'.⁶⁰ Accepting and affirming the cultural affinity of a pastor and his village flock was still the policy at Malua as the 19th century ended.⁶¹ The appointment in 1875 of a Samoan assistant tutor, Timoteo, was consistent with this stance. Timoteo taught reading, writing, arithmetic and geography to a new preparatory class, leaving the two missionary tutors free to concentrate on 'the more advanced branches of study'.⁶² Further appointments of Samoans in 1894 (one of whom, Sa'aga, served the institution for several decades),⁶³ pointed to the staff localisation that would occur gradually in the 20th century. In the 1890s, the mission was conscious also of the need to maintain and improve academic standards in order to keep pace with the rising levels of education among Samoans generally. The LMS high school at Leulumoega (established in 1890) was helping to provide better-educated candidates for Malua, but some of its graduates were being attracted into government or commercial employment rather than the church ministry.⁶⁴ Political disturbances and civil conflict hindered the operation of the institution in the 1890s,⁶⁵ but it weathered these storms and lived on as an extremely important formative influence on the Samoan ministry throughout the 20th century and indeed until today.

The Wesleyan ministry

Reinforced in 1857 by the first of a long series of white mission leaders sent from Australia, the small Wesleyan Church in Samoa continued for many years to rely also on missionaries from Tonga, supplied by the flourishing Wesleyan Church in that neighbouring group of islands. From 1857, Tongans worked with Martin Dyson to reinvigorate the Samoan remnant that had survived the earlier removal of mission support. Two of them were dismissed for immorality and insubordination in 1864, but Dyson described his co-workers as literate in Tongan and Samoan, doctrinally well informed, and (most of them) 'sincere and earnest Christian men'.⁶⁶ The greatest praise was reserved for Panapasa Ahongalu. Dyson called him 'a model native minister and pastor', with gifts of leadership and a fearless determination to demand of his flock the highest Christian standards of behaviour.⁶⁷ Other missionaries wrote of him as a dedicated worker, a dear friend and a saintly Christian.⁶⁸ When Panapasa died in 1881, the missionaries did not hesitate to compare him with his New Testament namesake,

Barnabas, and to inscribe on his gravestone at Manono the same biblical tribute given to the apostle: 'Barnabas was a good man, full of the Holy Spirit and faith.'⁶⁹

The Wesleyan mission continued to receive Tongan workers until after 1900, and many of them gave valuable service in the pastoral and ministry training work of the church. Their names are remembered and honoured even today. But just as the work of Cook Islanders in Samoa gradually ceased as the LMS church developed its own ministry, the participation of Tongans in the Samoan Wesleyan Church was slowly overtaken by the emergence of indigenous leadership. In 1872, the missionary James Wallis felt that the Tongans were being given less respect in the Samoan church. He noted that the teacher Uilamu's denunciations of unchristian Samoan behaviour were often not welcomed; in Wallis's opinion, the Samoans thought that teachers of their own race might be easier to control, and the chiefs, who all their lives had been 'accustomed to listen to the language of compliment and flattery', did not take kindly to reproof at any time and especially not from a Tongan.⁷⁰

When the Wesleyan mission resumed in 1857, Dyson reviewed the work of its 70 Samoan 'native agents' and organised them into a Wesleyan structure. 'Catechists' were put in charge of districts (15 in 1861), giving 'pastoral oversight and management under the general superintendency of the missionaries'. Called *leoleo* ('watchmen', 'guards') in Samoan, they supervised the *a'oa'o* (teachers), *fai'auga* (local preachers) and *ta'ita'i* (class leaders) in the villages of their district.⁷¹ By 1863, there were 11 paid *leoleo* and 37 *a'oa'o*, as well as 64 accredited local preachers. The missionaries and their staff met annually for discussion and disciplinary decisions.⁷²

It was not long before a training programme for Samoan mission workers was set up. At Satupa'itea, on Savai'i, Dyson and Ahongalu began classes in 1859 with 15 'promising young men'.⁷³ Dyson admired the community-based training system used by Lyth in the Wesleyans' Fiji mission,⁷⁴ but in Samoa the LMS college at Malua was acknowledged as an attractive institutional model. The Wesleyans built and formally inaugurated their own 'District Training Institution' at Satupa'itea in 1864. Ten married and six single men were the first students, with the missionary George Brown in charge.⁷⁵ A major change took place in 1868, when the institution was moved to the island of Upolu and re-established at Lufilufi, a place that enjoyed traditional political primacy in the eastern (Atua) district.⁷⁶ Later known as Piula ('Beulah'), the institution has operated continuously on its oceanside Lufilufi site until today. By 1874, there were 36 students (most of them married),⁷⁷ and throughout these years a steady stream of trainee *leoleo* and *a'oa'o* were taught by a succession of missionary principals and Tongan assistants (some of whom were buried there). The first Samoan tutor, Vaasili, was appointed in 1895.⁷⁸

The emergence of Catholic ministries

When writing in French or English, the Marists called the mission's Samoan workers 'catechists'. In Samoan, however, they were termed *fesoasoani* ('helpers'), and it was as assistants that they were usually regarded: in a mission in which there were too few

priests to look after the Catholics scattered throughout the islands, the catechists were 'precious auxiliaries' whose work went some way towards filling the gap.⁷⁹ There were 48 of them by 1874.⁸⁰ In the missionary Bishop Elloy's view, because the people were conscious that catechists were 'sent by the bishop', they were therefore ready to listen to them with respect. He believed that the Catholic emphasis on the transmission of apostolic authority to bishops and priests (and catechists) was attractive to Samoans because of its resemblance to the value they themselves gave to their chiefs' bestowing of powers and duties on their successors. This was a conscious recognition of what was no doubt also happening, despite the lack of such a doctrine there, in the Protestant missions: a kind of apostolic succession was perceived when missionaries gave authority to the Samoan teachers.⁸¹

The importance given by the Marists to the development of a force of catechists reflected their recognition that the strength of the Protestant missions was due to a large extent to their dependence on Samoan teachers. In order to counter the large 'army' of anti-Catholic teachers, a similar body of catechists was found to be necessary in the Marist mission.⁸² Bishop Lamaze repeated this explanation in 1887: the task of Protestant teachers, he wrote, was to read the Bible, interpret it fantastically, sing hymns, teach schools, and turn the Samoans against Catholicism. With amazing arrogance, these teachers thought they knew just as much as priests, and humble Catholic catechists were needed to help defend the mission against the onslaught of the 'heretics'. In fact, he asserted, the work of catechists was even more necessary than that of indigenous priests.⁸³

It seems that this recognition of the potential of catechists did not come until many years after the Catholic mission had begun. Samoan Catholicism began to grow much faster from the late 1850s, with the number of villages in which it had a presence increasing from 10 in 1856 to 60 in 1866. Elloy recorded that each of these villages was served by 'a catechist or a convert performing the functions of one'.⁸⁴ Like the early Protestant missionaries, the Marists gave informal training to promising converts, and an instructional centre, Peteleema, was set up at Saleufi, near Apia, about 1865. Young married couples and some single men were taught there by one of the missionaries.⁸⁵ But it was not until 1874 that Bishop Elloy took decisive steps to establish a catechist training school on a solid basis. On a hill named Vaea, near Apia, groups of Catholic villagers worked with the priests and bishop to clear the land and construct a village-like complex. At the beginning there were about 30 students, many of them married and living at Vaea with their families. After three or four years, there were more than 40 students, and 25 boys in a preparatory class. The formation of each catechist took three years. The day at Vaea began before dawn with attendance at the chapel for meditation and mass. Six hours of work in the plantations followed, and six hours of classes in the afternoon. The teacher until 1890 was Léon Gavet, a well-educated priest who had been in Samoa since 1858 (and died there in 1909). Elloy ensured that public speaking was included in the training, and explained that the catechists at Vaea were being formed not just in personal piety but in the ability to defend the mission: they would be well equipped to teach religion and to stand up to the Protestant teachers' attacks on

Catholic doctrine. Even the teaching of general science to Malua students obliged the Vaea school to follow suit. Gavet was assisted in the teaching by a senior catechist, whose wife gave classes to the wives of the students. Monitors helped maintain discipline by warning those who seemed to be straying from the path they had taken.⁸⁶

For a time (between 1886 and 1902), the Marists ran another catechist school at Lepua, on Tutuila,⁸⁷ but Vaea remained the main source of trained catechists. By 1895, 83 *fesoasoani* had emerged from the school there.⁸⁸ Moved a short distance to more fertile agricultural land at Moamoa in 1908,⁸⁹ the school begun at Vaea in 1874 still exists, having proved just as durable as the Malua and Piula establishments it resembled in so many ways.

Only married men were sent out from Vaea as catechists. Their stationing was decided for them by the mission, but, reported Elloy, the catechists and their wives accepted their placements even when in tears at the prospect of living far from home. Each catechist was given cloth and a fine rosary, as well as a large copper crucifix to be worn on the chest as a symbol of office. His uniform was a black tunic and white *lavalava* (skirt). In his assigned village, visited infrequently by a missionary priest, the catechist conducted daily morning and evening prayers, led worship services on Sundays (reciting the prayers of the mass, reading the lessons for the day and delivering an exhortation), visited the sick and dying, buried the dead, guided and advised the faithful, catechised the adults, schooled the children and tried to interest people outside his flock. Every year the *fesoasoani* and their families gathered in retreat at Vaea; they joined in spiritual exercises, heard announcements of new stationings and enjoyed a feast before dispersing.⁹⁰

The 17 priests working in Samoa in 1886 were assisted by 71 catechists, and reports from the 1890s indicate that there were about 100 catechists serving at that time.⁹¹ The *fesoasoani* had become an essential part of the ministry of the Catholic Church in Samoa, which was served by only about 20 ordained priests. It is clear that catechists and their families had been incorporated, as celibate priests could not easily have been, into Catholic communities in ways at least partly comparable with the integration of the Samoan workers of the LMS and Wesleyan missions into the villages adhering to Protestantism.

In their villages, the Catholic catechist and the Protestant teacher exercised functions as evangelist, teacher, worship leader and pastor. Unlike the Protestant missionaries, however, the Marists in Samoa did not envisage that their force of lay helpers would eventually evolve into an ordained clergy. While in evangelical Protestant practice the additional function of sacramental celebrant could easily be given to a trusted mission worker, the 19th-century Catholic model of ministry restricted the guardianship of the sacraments to those who had undergone a long and rigorous programme of formation that was directed specifically towards ordination as a priest.⁹² This formation was monastic in style, and the ascetic lifestyle continued after ordination. The separateness of a priest from the lay people was symbolised and accentuated by his distinctive clothing and above all by his celibacy. In the Pacific missions, the apartness of priest and layperson was emphasised by the fact that all the European missionary priests were members of religious orders.

In the early decades of the Catholic mission in Samoa, its episcopal oversight was based on Wallis Island, not far to the west. It was soon after founding the first Marist Pacific mission on Wallis and seeing its population adopt the Catholic faith that the missionary Pierre Bataillon began to envision what would be essential to the church on that island and its neighbours in the future — a Polynesian priesthood. In 1844, having become a bishop responsible for the whole of central Polynesia, he wrote of his plans for an educational facility for Wallis and the other islands to which Catholicism was being extended. He went ahead with enthusiasm, and December 1847 saw the opening of a seminary at Lano.⁹³ This establishment on Wallis became the scene of what has been termed ‘the only moderately successful attempt of the Catholic church in the nineteenth century’ to form an indigenous Pacific clergy.⁹⁴ It preceded and surpassed the efforts of the Picpus missionaries to create an indigenous priesthood in eastern Polynesia.

Among the young men studying at Lano in 1850 was a Samoan,⁹⁵ and hopes for the development of a Catholic priesthood for Samoa continued for many years to depend on Bataillon’s formation projects. Lano was not the location of all of them, for the seminary encountered problems in its early years and Bataillon came to believe for a time that it was not possible to ‘make indigenous priests without taking them away from their country for some time’.⁹⁶ He tried this approach by setting up a short-lived seminary in Sydney (1855–56), then by sending students to Rome, and, in 1861, by establishing a seminary at Clydesdale in the New South Wales countryside. Four of the first six students at Clydesdale were Samoans.⁹⁷ Much manual labour was required of the students, and morale was low until Elloy arrived to take charge in 1863. He brought 14 more Samoans. Among them was Vitolio, who later served as a catechist in Tonga and died there while still young.⁹⁸ Another who came at this time was Paul Jeremiah, who had trained at Malua but was converted to Catholicism after he came secretly to see Elloy one night (‘like Nicodemus’, it seemed to the Marists). As a catechist, he preached very well and wrote beautiful hymns. Hopes that he would become a priest were dashed when he died soon after entering Clydesdale.⁹⁹

Elloy returned to Samoa when he was made bishop in 1864. When he visited France in 1868, he took with him Leone Tuala Napo, a boy of about 13, who had been at Clydesdale. Elloy hoped he could become a priest and settled him into a seminary in Provence, but Leone fell ill and died in 1869.¹⁰⁰ Clydesdale was still struggling on, but eventually Bataillon recognised that this venture, conducted on a difficult site far from the students’ tropical homelands, had been a failure; he closed it in 1871.¹⁰¹ Two years later, he reopened the Lano Seminary,¹⁰² and more pleasing results were soon to be achieved. In Samoa, by then, Elloy had begun to plan his school at Vaea and was hoping that alongside the training of catechists the preparatory part of priestly formation could also take place there. In 1877, there were 23 teenaged boys in his ‘minor seminary’, and after his death in 1878 the Marists continued to look for potential priests in this part of their Vaea programme.¹⁰³

It seemed to Elloy that part-Samoan boys who had attended the English-language school run by the Marist Brothers might be good material for further education and seminary formation. Among those he identified for such a future was Louis Godinet of Savai’i, the son of ‘excellent Catholic’ parents (a chief’s daughter and her French

husband). Sent to Europe in 1877 for literary and theological studies in France, England and Spain, Godinet was eventually professed as a Marist and (in 1888) ordained as the first Samoan priest. He returned to a lavish Samoan welcome and appointments in Apia and Pago Pago. But before long the missionaries were writing of his embroilment in family and village matters, his criticisms of the mission and the foreign powers and his breaking of the rule of celibacy. He was sent to the Marist house in Sydney, from where he wrote contritely to his bishop (Lamaze) in 1895, pleading to be accepted back. Soon he left Australia, and, probably not prepared to face the shame of returning to Samoa as an ex-priest, went off to a new life in Canada.¹⁰⁴ The failure of Godinet (and several other overseas-trained priests from other parts of Polynesia) discredited the idea that removing young men from their culture would promote their spiritual and priestly formation.¹⁰⁵

It was from the Vaea preparatory class and the Lano seminary that Samoa's next indigenous priests emerged. In 1882, there were two Samoans among the 40 'Latinists' on Wallis,¹⁰⁶ and the students there witnessed the ordination of Lano's first four Polynesian priests in 1886. By 1900, there were four more priests, including two Samoans. The Samoa mission long remembered the entry of Joane Tofe and Savelio Fa'ali'i into the priesthood and the ranks of those addressed as *Patele* — 'Father', from the Latin *pater*. In the first such Catholic ceremony on Samoan soil, Tofe was ordained at Vaea in 1892. Born into a Protestant family (the son of a chief at Leulumoega), he was about 28 years old before he finished his studies at Vaea and Lano. After the church ceremony, there was dancing and the giving of gifts; his family presented him with a gold chalice that he used until he died. Tofe became renowned as an orator and an authority on Samoan customs and traditions. Grave and devout, he assisted the French missionaries at various stations on Upolu and Savai'i until his death in 1932.¹⁰⁷

Tofe's ordination was followed in 1897 by that of Fa'ali'i at Leulumoega; he too served many years as a well-regarded priest in various parts of Samoa until his death on Savai'i during the influenza epidemic of 1918.¹⁰⁸ Two more Samoans were ordained in the first decade of the 20th century (in 1902 and 1909), and a few progressed a certain distance along the path at Lano, but there was no flow of new priests to replace these pioneers. Many years passed before further ordinations took place.¹⁰⁹ The early priests earned the unstinted praise of a missionary who had worked in Samoa for 40 years and who believed that Samoans were always ready to find the weaknesses of those of their compatriots who had been raised to positions of honour. Tofe and his colleagues had given their people no occasion for destructive talk of that kind.¹¹⁰ Yet it is clear that even such exemplary priests were usually placed in appointments where they were subordinate to the French missionaries. Whether this was because they lacked leadership qualities (or had become passive during their rigorous formation years), or because the missionaries were not prepared to trust priests who were not Europeans (and not Marists), is a matter for conjecture.¹¹¹ In any case, the vision of an indigenous priesthood in Samoa had been realised in only a very small way.

Development of the Protestant village pastorate

It was evident from the beginning that Samoan Christianity was located in the villages. Even in this era of missionary control, the large staff of village-based LMS and Wesleyan teachers (and Catholic catechists) was integrated quickly into the durable structure of relationships and custom — the *fa'a Samoa* — that was built on the traditional foundations of village community life.

The Samoan word *a'oa'o*, literally 'one who teaches', was no doubt used by the LMS in its early days to refer to its village workers (the eastern Polynesian term *orometua* did not become established in Samoa), but the word that emerged in the course of time as the most usual name for the LMS mission teacher was *faife'au*. According to the dictionary compiled by the missionary Pratt, this word for 'missionary' or 'pastor' was simply the verb meaning 'to go on a message',¹¹² and the term probably carried the sense of 'being sent', as in the New Testament word 'apostle', as well as the suggestion of 'doing a task' or 'giving service'. It cannot now be known when the missionaries and people began to use the word in reference to Samoan Christian teachers, but it is interesting that as early as 1832 Williams had heard a Wesleyan teacher in Tonga refer to himself as a 'Faifekau', and it might well be that a Tongan linguistic influence was at work here.¹¹³ Pratt also records '*au'auma* for 'servant' and 'minister',¹¹⁴ and this, together with the word *failotu* noted by Williams in 1832, is still used today in the churches descended from the two Protestant missions as one of the many ways of referring to the ministerial office.

As preachers, the *faife'au* did not merely parrot what they had received from the Europeans. They made what they heard or read their own, commented on one of the missionaries, and presented it to their fellow Samoans 'with a propriety of language and a force of address which the missionary attempts in vain'.¹¹⁵ It was 'illustrative' preaching that appealed to the Samoans, wrote another missionary:

A plain statement of abstract truth to a people who hardly ever open their mouth but in a figure, is dry and uninteresting. The successful preacher in Samoa, whether native or European, must search heaven, and earth, and sea, and bring forth also from every age of the history of his fellow-men with which he is acquainted, facts illustrative of the great truths which he preaches.¹¹⁶

The Wesleyans tried in 1862 to curb the use of legendary material in sermons, believing that it sometimes distorted the scriptural message,¹¹⁷ but reference to the cultural treasury continued. The only non-Samoan resource for preachers, especially after the missionaries ceased to meet them every week for the discussion of sermon themes, and in the absence of published textual commentaries, was the old sermon outlines that had survived and been handed on for years.¹¹⁸

The early *faife'au* was esteemed as a man educated in the new knowledge of the Europeans and of course he was for many years usually the only village resident so educated. 'For Samoans, knowledge is power,' writes a Samoan scholar of today,¹¹⁹ and there is no doubt that the teacher's knowledge gave him much prestige. Throughout this period the simple schools operated by *faife'au* and catechists in hundreds of villages

brought literacy and religious knowledge to the Samoan population. As well as conducting schools for adults and children and explaining the Bible in his sermons, the *faife'au* was prominent in a more general way as the introducer of new ideas and technologies to village communities. His wife, who worked with him in a ministry team, had also been educated at Malua or Piula and was able to teach, too. In her person, she modelled true Christian womanhood and their home was a teaching model of Christian family life. But the 'teacher' was perceived by neither the missions nor the Samoans as solely an educationalist. When writing in English, the mid-century missionaries sometimes referred to the teachers as 'pastors', and with not nearly enough European staff to provide pastoral care and congregational leadership for all the Christian villages, the missions necessarily became dependent on the *faife'au* for the provision of these services in the emerging nationwide church at the local level. Of course, this dependence was fully compatible with the missions' well-known commitment to developing a 'native agency'.

As worship leader, preacher, pastoral visitor, spiritual guide and guardian of morals, the early *faife'au* carried out nearly all the pastoral duties expected of a Protestant minister in Britain. But he was not yet given full responsibility. Naturally, his theological and ecclesiastical proficiency was still regarded as inferior to that of the missionaries, one of whom wrote in 1861 that the teachers were 'perfect babes in religious knowledge and experience, and looked up to me to decide in everything affecting doctrine or discipline'.¹²⁰ The LMS teachers instructed and screened applicants for church membership, but the district missionary made the final decision whether or not to admit each candidate.¹²¹

By 1855, the missionaries had agreed that certain trustworthy *faife'au* in villages distant from the mission stations could be authorised to celebrate the sacraments and be regarded as pastors, though they would not yet confer or withdraw church membership or be formally ordained.¹²² Some of the missionaries were not convinced that this was a wise decision, and even those most committed to the development of a 'native pastorate' could not contemplate the complete withdrawal of the British supervisors. One such advocate of 'native agency', George Pratt, stated that well-trained Samoans could provide preaching that was 'as well liked or perhaps better liked than that of the white missionary', and predicted that British workers would be needed in the future only for writing, translating, ministry training and regulating admission to church membership. He felt, however, that most Samoan teachers lacked discernment and 'weight of character' and were hampered by their respect for chiefs. Even the Samoans themselves, he believed, saw the necessity of 'a directing governing head' from the outside.¹²³ Although this was still a cautious stance, Pratt knew he was ahead of most of his colleagues in asking for more confidence to be placed in the teachers. 'The Gospel has been here for a generation,' he argued a few years later. 'Is it not time the churches should run alone' and even control membership matters? Let the *faife'au* be 'real pastors', he suggested.¹²⁴

As ministry training continued to improve, and the village pastor's dependence on his missionary gradually lessened, it became increasingly difficult to justify a continued

restriction on the granting of full ecclesiastical status and responsibility. In the move towards recognition of the LMS *fāife'au* as a minister in the full sense, the impetus came from the Samoans and from the mission. But it was the directors in London rather than the missionaries in the field who kept up the momentum on the mission's side. In response to prodding from London, the missionaries made a carefully phrased statement in 1867: the subject of responsibility for the Samoan ministry, they wrote, 'has been under our serious consideration for many years, and we have taken in all our districts preparatory steps with a view to the accomplishment of that important object when it may appear called for by the circumstances of the Mission'. By elevating a few teachers in outlying districts, they explained, 'we thus hope to familiarize our natives gradually to the duties and responsibilities of the native office'.¹²⁵ Pratt reminded the London officers of the mission that the missionaries had never been pastors: their function was more like that of bishops, and the issue was not the handing over of pastoral duties but rather the tricky question of ecclesiastical status. He tried to explain why the missionaries were unwilling to grant higher status to a much larger number of teachers, although he confessed that he hardly expected people on the other side of the world to understand such a matter: even if there were teachers 'clearly superior to their fellows', it would be 'a dangerous experiment' to elevate them above others, an action that would be 'almost sure to provoke jealousy'.¹²⁶

The pressure from London was maintained. In a letter written to staff in all the Pacific Island fields in 1868, concern was expressed that the young churches were being kept too long in 'a state of pupilage': attention was drawn to the slowness with which the missionaries were giving the indigenous mission workers full responsibility for the local congregations. As evangelisers of other islands, the teachers had shown themselves to be of apostolic calibre, stated the letter, 'and that they should not be fit to be pastors of churches seems to us inexplicable'.¹²⁷ But by 1869, the number of *fāife'au* who had been authorised to administer the sacraments was still only five and little further progress was made in the next few years.¹²⁸ Stephen Whitmee stated publicly in 1870 that he and his fellow missionaries were not prepared to give ordination to a few select teachers — an action that for 'various reasons, peculiar to the social condition of the Samoans', would not be wise — or to ordain them all. 'We think it unsafe, at present,' he explained, 'to make our native teachers independent. If they had sole responsibility, many errors would be committed, which would not be compensated by the advantages gained.' Like wise parents with the ultimate independence of their children in mind, he continued, the missionaries would only gradually relax their control.¹²⁹ The missionaries were still uncertain about the capacity of Samoan teachers to maintain 'the purity of the churches', a condition that required high criteria for church membership, including the maintenance of an individual religious life and the consistent observance of stated moral standards. They feared that teachers were still unduly influenced by community pressure and the wishes of village leaders and were still developing 'the faculty of discriminating between outward morality and beneficence and inward spiritual life' (in the words of Thomas Powell in 1873). It was pointed out that the missionaries could usually agree to only about one-third of the membership candidates proposed by the *fāife'au*.¹³⁰ Surely

the long practical experience of the field missionaries, they argued, made them better qualified than the board in London to assess the situation. Warning against Pratt's 'rash' and 'premature' recommendations, his colleagues took offence at the board's failure to understand that they were committed to the goal of a self-governing church and were actively working towards it. They continued to insist that while eventually the teachers would be given full responsibility, 'the time has not yet come'.¹³¹

Some progress was made in 1874. At the beginning of the year, the missionaries agreed, in an effort to accommodate the Samoans' aspirations for greater involvement in mission decision-making, to meet representatives of the teachers during the annual District Committee meetings.¹³² When they assembled in November for the next District Committee meeting, the missionaries agreed that their own attendance at meetings for the admission and discipline of church members would still be required but that they would exercise no more than their own single vote in the making of each decision. This development, one of them explained, showed that they were trying to move forward together in the task of 'transferring the churches to the care of native agents'.¹³³ But the pace of change did not remain slow. What was about to happen showed that the shape assumed by the Samoan church was determined more by prevailing social and cultural patterns and preferences than by the wishes of the missionaries.¹³⁴

The decisive moment occurred in 1875. The District Committee held its yearly meeting in November and agreed that the *faife'au* serving in the north-west outstations (the Ellice and Gilbert Islands missions) should be ordained and given all pastoral responsibilities, including the admission and exclusion of church members. But the matter did not rest there. When the joint meeting took place after the missionaries had made their decisions, the teachers' delegates took the opportunity of asking that all *faife'au* be ordained. Anxious not to risk a damaging confrontation, the missionaries gave way. A further resolution was passed:

That owing to the political and other exigencies of the present time, and the need of more formally recognising the position of our native ministers, we deem it expedient to hold ordination services for prayer and the laying on of hands on all those native ministers now in full standing as pastors over villages.¹³⁵

Before they dispersed, the 30 teachers present were ordained and given the appellation *Faife'au Samoa* ('native pastor'). The missionaries noted that the title 'Reverend' would not be used, but they departed from the opinion they had expressed at their meeting the year before — that the laying on of hands was not necessary in the ordination of teachers. During the next few months, ordinations took place throughout Samoa and soon in the distant mission outstations, too. Always less circumspect than his colleagues, Pratt admitted that the concession had been made unwillingly and that the pastors' delegates had been pushing the missionaries to 'carry things of which we cannot approve, and to interfere in matters with which they have no right'. He confessed that at the meeting 'we bought off their opposition ... with ordination — not intentionally but really'. 'What other bribe can we offer next meeting?' he asked.¹³⁶

By the end of 1876, there were 178 ordained *faife'au* in Samoa, vastly more than the handful of British ministers.¹³⁷ One of the missionaries assured the Directors in London that they had no need to worry that the pastors and churches would not quickly gain confidence in the management of their own affairs. 'The veriest novice would not shrink from undertaking the management of the largest church,' he declared. 'Anyone acquainted with the general characteristics of the people could tell you that their "self-reliance" and self-conceit are almost unbounded.'¹³⁸ The same writer explained the sudden decision of the previous year as the achievement of a goal they had sought for many years. It was a decision 'awaiting only a suitable time for its adoption. That time was thought by us all to have come, and we had so prepared our people for it, that it came in as only a natural step.' In fact, he asserted, having an ordained man in almost every village was a fulfilment of the apostle Paul's injunction 'to ordain elders in every city'.¹³⁹ The missionaries adapted to the reduction of their control over congregational matters and their meeting with the pastors' delegates at the end of 1876 was described as very harmonious.¹⁴⁰ Two years later, they were able to state that 'taking all things into consideration', they believed that the decision to ordain all the *faife'au* had 'proved a beneficial one. No doubt these ordained pastors still require very careful oversight and instruction in their pastoral duties, and in their dealings with questions of discipline etc., but we consider that since our pastors have been ordained they have made marked progress in the right direction, and that we will have no cause to regret the action we took at that time.'¹⁴¹

The events of 1875 meant that guardianship of the sacraments passed to the local *faife'au*, and control over local church membership became the responsibility of the *faife'au*, deacons and members. Malua, however, was still under the direction of the missionaries, and only those who completed the four-year course there could be ordained.¹⁴² Beyond the village, the *faife'au* was still restricted by church structures devised and controlled by the mission. The *faife'au* of each subdistrict met every month, and there were quarterly meetings of districts, with all of these meetings presided over by missionaries. In a continuation of what had been started in 1875, the local pastors sent delegates to an annual assembly of the *faife'au* of all Samoa. From this *Fono Tele*, representatives went for discussions with the missionaries in the meeting they were holding at the same time.¹⁴³ A mission deputation from London in 1888 felt it was not right that only the *faife'au* had a voice in the national councils of the church, and in 1893 lay representatives were given a place in the *Fono Tele*.¹⁴⁴ The district and national forums thus established were important contributions to the development of the Samoan church, and particularly to the growing cohesiveness and power of the pastorate as a Samoan institution. After 1900, the authority of senior *faife'au* in the church would be increased by the addition of a council of Elder Ministers, but it would be well into the 20th century before missionary control of the church ended. In 1900, an LMS official told a world missions conference that the Samoans did not want the white missionaries to withdraw their 'protecting care', and that the mission itself was still convinced it must 'continue to ... care for them and ... teach them' until they were 'strong enough' to care for themselves.¹⁴⁵

In the Wesleyan Church, full recognition of indigenous ministry came very slowly. Even the status of the valued Tongan missionary, Panapasa Ahongalu, who became an ordained 'Native Assistant Missionary' in 1862 after four years of probation,¹⁴⁶ was lower than that of his white colleagues. Two teachers from Tonga were admitted as Native Assistant Missionaries on probation in 1876, and were granted full status in 1882 (Auka Taufa died in 1888 and Sioeli Taitua in 1895).¹⁴⁷ The Samoan teacher Esekielu Nu'u was made a probationer in 1881, followed by Viliamu Uikilifi in 1886, and, in 1887, Nu'u became the first Samoan minister 'in full connexion'. Uikilifi was the second, in 1893, but, by the end of the century, Nu'u had retired and there was still only one Samoan Native Minister.¹⁴⁸ Even in the 1950s, the number of Samoans ordained in the Wesleyan Church since its beginning was still small, and this mission, which depended on a large staff of Samoans to provide village ministry, stands out among the others in Polynesian Protestantism in its slowness to confer ordination on its ministers.

Despite the difficulty of generalising about a group of men as numerous as the *faife'au* had become by the second half of the 19th century, the white missionaries continued to offer assessments of their Samoan co-workers. Whitmee believed that some were motivated by a search for status and prestige. Many displayed a lack of energy and zeal, he observed, but the oversupply of Malua graduates meant that the least promising did not secure an appointment.¹⁴⁹ A frequent criticism was that expressed by a non-mission observer in the 1880s: the *faife'au* were not content with their influence in the church and went on to 'assert a sort of temporal authority, ruling the district in which they live with a veritable rod of iron'.¹⁵⁰ The missionary Charles Phillips tried to strike a balance when he wrote towards the end of the century. In his opinion, many of the pastors were affected by 'worldly and unworthy influences', some did not work hard and some became 'grievous moral failures'. But he conceded that 'a great deal of this might apply to the ministry at home' and he did not hesitate to pay tribute to the quality of the pastoral care given by the *faife'au*. Most of them, he believed, were 'earnestly endeavouring to win the people to righteousness and God'.¹⁵¹

Maintaining what had become a notable tradition in the LMS church, Samoans continued to serve as missionaries in the New Hebrides, New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands for a while, and for much longer on Niue. The 1860s saw the beginnings of a long history of Samoan participation in the LMS missions to the small islands north of Samoa — the Tokelau, Ellice and Gilbert Groups. From 1871, far to the west in Melanesia, Papua became the scene of immense labours by white and Pacific Islander missionaries, in which Samoans first joined in 1884: in February that year, Timoteo and Sumeo and their wives landed in Papua,¹⁵² the first of a long line of Samoan evangelists and pastors who helped nurture Papuan Christianity for the LMS until the middle of the next century. Sometimes it was alleged that many of these missionaries carried with them from Samoa the expectations of *faife'au* that they would exert considerable authority, enjoy much prestige and maintain a leisured existence.¹⁵³ But it is clear that many Samoans in the overseas fields successfully adapted to the situations they found and ministered effectively in cultures very different from their own. As in earlier years, many of them died (especially in the Melanesian fields), but a significant number returned to

contribute their pastoral experience to the church in their home islands. It was difficult in the Samoan context, however, commented the missionary James Newell in 1895, for returned workers to be as active in the specifically evangelistic part of their work as they had been in the mission field.¹⁵⁴

Samoans ministered in New Britain and New Ireland right from the start of the Wesleyan mission there in 1875, and in another new Wesleyan mission in the islands east of southern Papua from 1890.¹⁵⁵ In the 1860s, Catholic catechists evangelised the atolls of the Tokelau Group, continuing after that to provide pastoral continuity for the Catholic populations there in the long intervals between the brief visits of Marist priests from Samoa.¹⁵⁶ The Marist mission to the large Melanesian island of Bougainville, too, used the services of Samoan catechists when it began in 1898.¹⁵⁷ Samoans from all three missions, then, offered ministry in places far from their homeland as well as in their own cultural context.

Whether or not he met the expectations of the white missionaries, the indigenous minister had moved into an important place in Samoan life. As a 'teacher' and 'pastor', the *faife'au* had been an innovation in Samoan society. But his duties as worship leader, even in the days before he was permitted the ritual acts of the sacramental celebrant, were comparable with some roles in traditional religion, and although the priestly functions of 'pagan' times fell formally into abeyance, they were to a considerable degree transferred by the Samoans to their new religious leaders. The *faife'au* was no priest in the eyes of the LMS, but to his flock he was the main point of contact between individuals and God, and the one who mediated between the village community and the divine giver of all of life's blessings. Some of these perceptions are implicit in one of the titles still given to the pastor today: the *sui* (representative) of God.¹⁵⁸

In all three missions, it was understood that village ministry required a married couple. Perceived as 'spiritual parents' of the village, the *faife'au* or catechist and his wife presided over a home that functioned as a focus for local hospitality, a community meeting place, an educational centre for adults, youth and children, and a protective sanctuary for young unmarried women and for anyone in trouble or danger. The female partner in the ministry team filled a prescribed role in church and village activities. When her husband was ordained in the LMS or Wesleyan churches, his wife stood near him, and, according to a later observer, it was commonly perceived that she too was being set apart for ministry.¹⁵⁹ One of the objectives of the LMS when it established a high school for girls (Papauta) in 1892 was to ensure that there was a supply of young women suitable for marriage to a *faife'au*, and similar hopes that schools run by the Marist sisters would prepare future wives for catechists were expressed by Bishop Elloy.¹⁶⁰

At first, the LMS teachers were assigned to their stations by the missionaries, but consultation was probably permitted; later, the villages would be able to choose their pastor and formally 'call' him. By the 1880s, it was clear that *faife'au* were called by the 'church members in conjunction with the chiefs of the village', with the wishes of the chiefs looming large in this process.¹⁶¹ The entry of the *faife'au* into the village was seen as a lifelong commitment and it seems that from quite early in the history of the mission his acceptance was perceived as a parallel to the covenantal relationships that

characterised other areas of communal life. Later, this was not just formalised in the church regulations but continually articulated in the cultural terminology of *feagaiga*. Just as the mystical powers traditionally held to reside in women obliged a brother to protect and support his sister, so the Samoans gave the respect and loyalty due to God to his symbolic representative, the *faife'au*. In this covenantal and reciprocal relationship, God recognised the deference, honour and material support received by the *faife'au*, and bestowed divine blessings on the people; the *faife'au* served his people as spiritual guide.¹⁶² The traditional concept of the *feagaiga*, which the missionary Pratt defined as 'an established relationship between different parties, as between brothers and sisters and their children',¹⁶³ had helped to throw light on the relationship between a congregation and its spiritual leader. Pratt noted that the word had also come to denote 'an agreement, a covenant'; no doubt the concept had been infused with covenantal ideas found in the Hebrew Scriptures and also in the Puritan theology and ecclesiology inherited by many LMS missionaries.

The church induction service and the village ceremony of acceptance (in which fine mats were presented) sealed the covenantal agreement between the LMS *faife'au* and his people, and henceforth the *faife'au* himself could be referred to in the language of politeness as a *feagaiga*.¹⁶⁴ This terminology was used also in the Wesleyan Church, although there the ministers were given their positions by central appointment rather than by congregational call.¹⁶⁵ In another indication that important cultural features of Samoan Christianity crossed denominational boundaries, the term *feagaiga* was applied to Catholic catechists and their appointments, too.¹⁶⁶

Early in the history of the LMS mission it was established that teachers would not be appointed to their home villages: they came to their new stations as strangers and were given the hospitality that Samoan custom prescribed for that status. The mission's desire to keep the teachers free from customary requirements for involvement in their own community similarly lay behind the early recommendation, made compulsory in the LMS after Malua training began, that *faife'au* should not hold *matai* titles.¹⁶⁷

Without land, kin, a chiefly title or even the rights of an ordinary villager, the *faife'au* nevertheless acquired high status in his adoptive village. He had no traditional rank, but he was a man of knowledge. He carried the prestige of the missionaries and of the *lotu*. He was a man of God, in touch with the divine, and so was surrounded by an aura of sacredness. His identity had become increasingly distinct from that of the lay people, who, wrote an observer soon after 1900, tended to believe that only *faife'au* could do God's work.¹⁶⁸ The village bestowed on him the respect formerly given to priests and *matai* in their religious capacities, together with their entitlement to receive service and material tribute. He was the 'head of all titles': on him (as if on God) were conferred the highest honours of the village, so that he embodied in himself all its dignity and status.¹⁶⁹ As a 'new kind of sacred chief',¹⁷⁰ the *faife'au* achieved status comparable with that of the chiefs (*matai*). The *matai* still conducted household worship, now Christian of course, and in the LMS had become *tiakono* (deacons) in the village congregations, but the *faife'au* had taken over a large share of their religious leadership and assumed their former ceremonial precedence.

Although the *faife'au* had no official place in the structure of village government and social control, he was able to exercise a considerable degree of informal political influence. Behind his authoritative words lay the power of God and of the chiefs. Sometimes this made him authoritarian rather than authoritative, and of course in this situation there were sometimes conflicts of authority. The story is told of a chief who believed that missionaries were no longer needed; when he offended a *faife'au* and was dismissed from his post as a deacon, however, he began to say that if the missionaries left 'there would be no one to keep the pastors in check'.¹⁷¹ Another observer asserted that the *faife'au* behaved like lords in their villages.¹⁷² But in fact the *faife'au* often found it difficult to censure the behaviour or challenge the wishes of the chiefs, who were not only the sponsors of their presence in the community but also made the decisions in the councils of congregation and village (and eventually also of the church at the district and national level). The ministry of the *faife'au* could not easily be prophetic. Though they had been at the forefront of great social and cultural changes in the early Christian period, the members of the new pastoral elite had already been integrated into a cultural complex that proved, as time went on, to be notably conservative. Though well rewarded socially and materially, the *faife'au* were constrained by restrictive norms of behaviour (and even of dress). They found it hard, in Newell's opinion, to take independent initiatives at congregational level unless supported by the *Fono Tele*.¹⁷³

From the first, the LMS gave its teachers only a small 'annual present of calico and clothing',¹⁷⁴ and expected the villages to provide them with food and housing. The hospitality thus given was in accord not only with the mission's principles of ministry support but also with the way honoured strangers were treated in Samoan custom. The gifts made to the teachers were also probably not unrelated to the traditional sacred offerings presented to the skilled and the priests and so to the gods to ensure the wellbeing of the community. Since God was the source of all blessings, Samoans felt it was entirely proper to offer material wealth to the supreme deity's visible representative, the *faife'au*.

The people also gave annually to the LMS for its worldwide mission, and it was the use of this fund that aroused a controversy in 1850 and brought about an extension of the support given to the pastors. Led by the *faife'au* Vaiofaga (who had earlier been a pioneer missionary in the New Hebrides), most of the teachers of Tutuila went on strike and demanded that the monies collected for the LMS go not to London but to them personally as salaries. The missionaries on Tutuila were able to quell this revolt, but shortly afterwards, in 1852, the mission staff assembled from the whole group decided to institute another annual collection alongside the continuing LMS fundraising festival. The villages were called on to supplement their provision of food, housing and agricultural labour by making a voluntary gift 'of native and other property' to their *faife'au* every January. The LMS believed that support from the people was more scriptural than the payment of salaries by the mission, as well as encouraging the *faife'au* to work harder and the people to appreciate him more. Giving on a large scale had its own religious significance in Samoan thinking, of course. As it turned out, the annual giving to the LMS continued at a high level and the new collection for the *faife'au*, with

the amounts given announced publicly, proved to be a very effective way of ensuring that their material needs were met and that they could fulfil their duties full-time.¹⁷⁵ Indeed, the giving became competitive and the pastorate developed into a comparatively wealthy group. It was recorded in 1876 that the stipends varied greatly from place to place, ranging from £2.10.0 to a high of £70.¹⁷⁶ By the end of the century, the annual collection for the pastors had become entirely monetary, although the regular contributions of food continued: on Saturdays, wrote a missionary in 1890, this could result in 'as many as twenty or thirty baskets of native food at the door of the pastor's house ... to supply the needs of himself, his family and the boarders of his school until the Monday'.¹⁷⁷ These systems of support persisted into the present, and of course further increased the dependence of the *faife'au* on the village rather than on the mission. Similar practices were found among the Wesleyans, and Catholic catechists enjoyed material support from their flock, too.

Even after only 20 or 30 years of Christianity in Samoa, the indigenous ministry was well established. Leaving aside the temporarily interrupted development of Wesleyan church leadership, it can be stated that the number of LMS teachers had grown to more than 200 by 1861.¹⁷⁸ Thirty years later, the number of ordained LMS *faife'au*, within Samoa and in the mission fields, was 189.¹⁷⁹ The LMS church, dispersed throughout the Samoan islands in small village congregations, was served by a high number of *faife'au* in relation to the number of people: in 1895 there were about 180, one for each village, and most of them were ordained (the others were probationers awaiting ordination).¹⁸⁰ The Wesleyan Church was served by 101 catechists and teachers in 1904 (only four of them were full ministers), as well as 205 local preachers.¹⁸¹

It is interesting to note that few named individual teachers and pastors stand out in the documentary record. We read of Mamoe, a chief who became a devout Christian and a 'valuable teacher'; he visited England for the LMS in 1846–47, opposed the Samoan wars of the late 1840s and was drowned in 1856.¹⁸² There was Petaia, one of the first Malua graduates, who assisted with the translation of the Bible, served for many years at Faleasi'u and founded a family of pastors and government officials; he died in 1882.¹⁸³ Penisimani wrote hymns and was noted for his traditional knowledge.¹⁸⁴ Peniamina also wrote hymns; 'a colossal man in physique and equally so in heart and force of character', he was beloved by the people.¹⁸⁵ But compared with their contemporaries in the Ma'ohi and Cook Islands ministry, the early *faife'au* of Samoa were not often singled out by the missionaries for praise of their individual contributions to the development of the church. Rather, they are celebrated as the corporate pioneers of what proved to be a prominent and durable new Samoan social institution.

Only a few Samoans belonged to flocks other than the LMS, Wesleyan and Catholic Churches before the 1890s. Two Hawaiian Mormon missionaries, Kimo Pelio and Samuela Manoa, arrived in 1873; they converted and pastored a number of people on Aunu'u and Tutuila, and their endeavours were boosted by the arrival of American missionaries in 1888. The Mormon converts, many of whom were 'ordained to the priesthood', were encouraged to serve as evangelists and local church leaders, and the mission in Samoa departed from the usual Mormon practice by stationing Samoan

'elders' as branch 'presidents' (pastoral leaders) in villages other than their own. In this way, the Latter-day Saints in Samoa were following the example of the other churches.¹⁸⁶

Although challenged in the last few years of the 19th century by the coming of Mormon and Seventh-day Adventist missions, and by other new arrivals later, the three earliest forms of Samoan Christianity continued to hold the allegiance of the majority of the people. The LMS church (now the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, separated since 1980 from a similarly named church in American Samoa) is still considerably larger than the Catholic and Wesleyan (now Methodist) Churches. During the 70 years since Christianity was first introduced, the Samoan Islands had been politically turbulent and periodically troubled by armed conflict. The rivalry of foreign commercial and imperial interests and their involvement in Samoa's internal struggles culminated in 1899 in the annexation of Upolu and Savai'i by Germany and of Tutuila and Manu'a by the US. Throughout all this tumult, however, Christianity had been becoming more and more an integral part of the Samoan scene, and, by 1900, the place of the churches and their ministers, catechists and priests in Samoan life made it hard to imagine that things had ever been otherwise.

5.

TONGA

ABOUT 30,000 PEOPLE inhabited Tonga when sustained contact with the European world began in the late 18th century.¹ They lived on more than 150 islands mostly clustered in three main groups strung from north to south: Vava'u, Ha'apai and Tongatapu. The Tongans had their own culture and language, related to but distinct from those of other Polynesian societies to the north and east. The Christianity that became part of Tongan culture in the 1820s and 1830s was given many of its outward forms by British missionaries of Wesleyan allegiance. Though influenced like the LMS by the 18th-century Evangelical Revival, the Wesleyans differed in several important respects from their LMS contemporaries, and the church they planted and tended in the soil of Tonga was a religious and social institution clearly distinguishable from the LMS churches of Samoa and eastern Polynesia.

Apart from the unsuccessful work of a party of British LMS missionaries who lived in Tonga for a few years from 1797, the earliest contribution to Tongan church history was made not by Wesleyans but by an LMS community in eastern Polynesia. As part of their evangelistic mission to distant islands in the 1820s, two Ma'ohi churches sent pioneer teachers to Tonga. From Borabora in 1822, three teachers (Taute, Zorababela and Porapora), accompanied by some family members, went to Vava'u, the northern group of Tonga. Their mission was unproductive, but the work of two more teachers, Hape and Tafeta, sent to Fiji in 1826 by the church at Papara, Tahiti (but intercepted in Tonga by an important chief), was the first fruitful missionary activity in the history of Tonga.² The response given to their evangelistic efforts on Tongatapu was much greater than that experienced by a short-lived Wesleyan mission of 1822–23. It is clear that the ministry of the Tahitians played a part in the beginnings of Tongan Christianity, although the Christian interest they aroused was channelled into the church soon founded by a second party of English Wesleyan missionaries who had also arrived in 1826.

Early Tongan preachers and teachers at home and abroad

Apart from this early Ma'ohi involvement, which was undoubtedly significant but was limited to two places and lasted no more than a few years at the very beginning, the only model of Christian ministry offered to the Tongans in the founding years was that of the Wesleyan missionaries from Britain. Very quickly, however, the emerging Tongan church

produced its own teachers and leaders. The missionaries introduced the pattern of Christian leadership and church organisation that had been developed in Britain by John Wesley (1703–91) and his successors. Personal religious development was linked closely with learning to read and write and with continuing self-education in biblical knowledge and Christian doctrine. Participation and progress in the mission's instructional system quickly opened doors to active service and office in the church. In its homeland, Wesleyanism still emphasised lay ministry and bold itinerant preaching and evangelism, and the missionaries brought these expectations with them to the Pacific. From the mission's literacy schools and spiritual growth classes, and from among the 'local preachers' and 'class leaders' of the Wesleyan congregations, emerged a long succession of highly motivated Tongan evangelists, teachers and preachers. With or without formal missionary appointment as 'teachers', they spread the new religion, the *lotu*, throughout the archipelago.

Noteworthy among the earliest teachers was Pita Vi, one of the first seven Tongan Christians instructed and baptised at Nuku'alofa in January 1829. He taught for the mission on Tongatapu, and later that year was sent to Ha'apai, where he played a crucial role in the conversion of the chief Taufa'ahau.³ A class leader and local preacher himself from 1834, Taufa'ahau's enormous contribution to Tongan church history continued after he became paramount chief and King of all Tonga in 1845, and until his death in 1893. Some of the many other class leaders and local preachers were appointed in the early 1830s as the first teachers in unevangelised areas, including Vava'u and the far northern islands of Niuatoputapu and Niuafu'ou.⁴ It is interesting to note that the lapsed Ma'ohi missionary Taute was restored to faith in 1834 and became the Wesleyan teacher Matthew.⁵ The principal missionary, John Thomas, put a great deal of effort into preparing leaders and preachers, and, by 1836, regarded the best of them as unpaid 'assistant missionaries'.⁶ A teacher praised by the missionary Thomas West was perhaps one of these: converted in his 'old age', the reliable and intelligent Jone Fifita drew on his expertise in oratory and traditional lore and became not only a preacher noted for 'the most wonderful flow of language and a mellifluous and powerful delivery', but also a valued helper in the missionaries' language studies and translation work.⁷

The early Tongan teachers did not confine their evangelistic efforts to their compatriots. Unofficial Christian messengers found their way to Samoa and Wallis, and accredited teachers worked in Fiji and Samoa from 1835, Wallis from 1836 and Rotuma from 1841. Some never returned, giving a lifetime of service to the churches of other Pacific people. Joeli Bulu of Vava'u became a Christian in 1834 and, while working as a mission teacher among his own people, heard of the need for teachers in Fiji. 'My soul burned within me,' he recalled later, 'and a great longing sprang up in my heart to go away to that land and declare the glad tidings of salvation to the people that know not God.'⁸ He did go in 1838, and died there nearly 40 years later after a celebrated missionary career. Of course, the departure of Bulu and many others like him deprived the young Tongan church, temporarily or permanently, of some of its best potential leaders. But mission overseas continued to be an important component of the emerging pattern of Christian ministry in Tonga.

Training the Tongan ministry

Residential training for Wesleyan ministers in Britain did not exist when the mission to Tonga began in the 1820s, and, in 1834, the establishment of a theological training school (Hoxton) in England aroused great controversy. Many Wesleyans saw the new Institute as the abandonment of a valued tradition: academic and professional learning (even at the level offered at Hoxton, which was not very advanced) could not be more effective for evangelical leadership and ministry than the supervised self-education and practical experience of committed lay Christians. The leaders of the Wesleyan Missionary Society favoured the new approach, however, and soon most of the missionaries sent to the Pacific had been trained at Hoxton (or at Richmond, where the institution was located after 1843).⁹ That residential training was still a novel idea for Wesleyans is shown by the fact that for more than a decade the Wesleyan missionaries in Tonga trained their teachers by giving them informal tuition at each station, which Thomas (who had little formal education himself) regarded as perfectly adequate.¹⁰

The visiting General Superintendent, John Waterhouse, however, disagreed and, in 1841, the missionaries in Tonga responded to his recommendation by resolving 'that an Institution be commenced for the purpose of communicating to native candidates sound theological instruction, and such general knowledge as may make them useful auxiliaries to the Missionaries'.¹¹ They set up the new 'Friendly Islands Wesleyan Academy for the Training of Native Assistant Missionaries' at Neiafu, Vava'u, where teaching began on July 13, 1841. The training programme enjoyed the interest and support of Taufa'ahau, who arranged the construction of a classroom and often attended the classes himself. There were nine students at first, and 15 by 1844. They were taught by the missionary Francis Wilson, who had studied at Hoxton, until his illness and death in 1846.¹²

The training school was not well supplied with books and equipment, and Thomas was doubtful of its value. 'I fear that too much has been thought of what has been called the Institution,' he wrote, pointing out that the old system of individual training at the different stations had been cheaper and less disruptive to the families of the candidates, who were generally mature local preachers.¹³ After the break caused by Wilson's death, however, the experiment was soon resumed. Ministry training was allocated to the new educational missionary, Richard Amos, a trained teacher who came to Nuku'alofa in 1847 and set up a school that provided a range of education from primary to advanced. In 1850, there were 24 students in the class for the most promising men, who were seen as future teachers and ministers.¹⁴ But continuity could not be maintained in this training system either, for the school appears to have ceased to function after the departure of Amos from Tonga in 1859. Taufa'ahau's interest in education was well known and his sermon extolling the benefits of knowledge is still remembered.¹⁵ But the King's support for education was insufficient to ensure a strong ministry training programme if the missionaries lacked commitment to it.

It was not until 1865 that another new start was made. Again, the King's desire for an educated Tongan people was evident: hearing that a highly educated missionary, James Moulton, had arrived in Australia from England, he asked the mission authorities

to send him not to Fiji as planned, but to Tonga, to educate 'the young chiefs of my land'.¹⁶ When it opened on the site of its predecessor in February 1866, the new Tupou College was quite different from the 'Institutions' previously seen in Tonga and elsewhere. Even the term 'college' was an innovation, and the school provided education that Moulton described as not 'merely or principally theological'. Candidates for the ministry were prepared there, but they pursued their studies alongside students designated for the public service or simply for educated lay membership of the church. Although there was still the usual practical work in workshops and food gardens, the college was pervaded by an emphasis on academic achievement, symbolised by Moulton's use of honour boards and academic regalia. As well as biblical and doctrinal subjects, mathematics, geography, history and science were taught.¹⁷ Moulton brought an original approach, high educational standards and much knowledge from the outside, but he took pains to seat these things firmly in the Tongan world. Teaching with him at the college was Tevita Tonga Mohenoa (David Tonga), whose intellectual and leadership potential Moulton recognised on the young man's arrival as one of the first students. Excelling in the classroom, plantation and workshop, and as a musician and preacher, he became an ordained minister and the senior tutor at Tupou College. Intending to make Tonga his successor, Moulton arranged for him to study for a year in Sydney; many years later, he eulogised him as 'my blameless, noble, matchless son'.¹⁸

The direction taken by Tupou College attracted some criticism from Moulton's colleagues in the mission. Some believed that ministry training was overshadowed by the wider studies undertaken there and that too many of the graduates were made proud and egotistical by the emphasis on academic achievement.¹⁹ Complaints such as these were soon contributing to a wider and more serious rift in the mission (a conflict that was to culminate eventually in the national crisis of the 1880s). Rivalries between Shirley Baker (the mission's chairman from 1870) and Moulton led Baker to find ways of undermining Tupou College and Moulton's influence in the Tongan church. In 1873, Moulton complained that Baker's attitude was reducing the number of entrants to the college.²⁰ A few years later, the Wesleyan role in education at all levels was greatly diminished when Baker assisted the Tongan authorities to set up a government school system, including a rival college (later called 'Tonga College') and to reduce Tupou College to a theological institution only.²¹

A new leadership figure in Tongan society

Distinct from the class leaders and local preachers of the congregations all over Tonga were several categories of workers responsible to the mission as a whole. The largest body of paid 'native agents' in Tonga was the 'head teachers', who were not schoolteachers (a separate category, *faiako*), but people in charge of the preaching and pastoral work in each village.²² They were known as *tauhi*, from the verb 'to look after, care for'. Some larger places were under a 'catechist', and soon there was a higher status too. Comparatively early in the history of the Tongan church, the Wesleyan missionaries felt able to confer full ministerial status on a few men selected from the body of teachers. Ordinary teachers continued to

teach and preach for the mission in the villages, working with the many voluntary local preachers (522 of them in 1855)²³ who emerged from the classes and congregations, but 'Native Assistant Missionaries' were chosen by the missionaries to be 'admitted into the Christian ministry ... by the laying on of hands'.²⁴ In Britain, too, in these years, the itinerant evangelists of classical Wesleyanism were being transformed into ordained pastors. Throughout the Wesleyan world, church workers reaching this status were received first 'on trial'; their progress was monitored for several years and, if found to be satisfactory, they were received by their governing conference as fully recognised ministers.

In Tonga, the first ordination was that of the experienced teacher Penisimani Latuselu of Vava'u, who was 'admitted into the sacred office of Assistant Missionary' in 1847 after his return from missionary service in Samoa. Of high rank in Tongan society, and praised as a man of unusual piety and talent, Latuselu was appointed to take charge of the church on Niuatoputapu, but his subsequent career did not live up to expectations: without mission authorisation, he worked in Samoa again, and some years after his return to Tonga in 1852 he was dismissed for immorality.²⁵

The next men to be accepted as Native Assistant Missionaries, however, gave greater satisfaction. There were three accepted in 1852: Peter Vi was the noted evangelist of the early years; Sione Latu of Vava'u, who was trained by Wilson at Neiafu, served in several appointments;²⁶ Sione Faupula, an early convert in Lakeba, Fiji, was driven away from his home by the opposition of his chiefly relatives and took refuge with kinsfolk in Tonga, where he developed as a lively preacher and ministered in several places after his ordination.²⁷ Two years later, David Kata was accepted. He died in 1883, the first of these four much praised and long-lived early ministers to pass from the scene. In 1855, just before the Australasian Conference took over responsibility for the Tonga mission from the British, there were five in the select band of Native Assistant Missionaries, though only Latuselu was not still 'on trial'.²⁸ Other early Tongan ministers were Elias Langi (received on trial in 1856), Mark Baogo (1858), Naphtali Fifita (1859) and John Mohulamu (1860). The two last-named ministers both died young, in 1863.²⁹

The term *faifekau* was being used for 'teacher' and 'missionary' as early as 1832.³⁰ Denoting 'one who is sent on a message', the word came to be used for the indigenous ministers of the Tongan Wesleyan Church. In mid-century, the ordained ministers were still few in comparison with the army of teachers, from among whom they had emerged as proven workers needing little supervision. The mission leaders in Tonga were committed to the development of 'native agency': indigenous ministers were 'agents designed by the Lord', for they 'know well the way of their own people — their modes of thinking, their exposure to error, their weak points, and the best way to propose to them the Gospel of Christ'.³¹ In words written in 1853, it was envisaged that 'in [the] course of years' the work might be 'carried on entirely by native agency', but no target date for missionary withdrawal was set, since Tongan pastors could not yet equal the knowledge of their British supervisors and so would not be capable of 'sustaining alone the cause of God'.³²

Long before they became autonomous leaders in the church, however, *faifekau* were being integrated into the structures of village society. Religion had never been a separate institution in Tongan life and religious activities had been directed by chiefs (who had

their own qualities of sacredness) and by priests. Public ceremonies were not a feature of Tongan religion, although there were shrines and sacred objects cared for by priests. It was through people known as *taula* (literally 'anchors') that the gods spoke to humans. An early European eyewitness, the sailor William Mariner, who spent four years in Tonga in the first decade of the 19th century, described the behaviour of the inspired medium:

When he speaks, he generally begins in a low and very altered tone of voice, which gradually rises to nearly its natural pitch, though sometimes a little above it. All that he says is supposed to be the declaration of the god. All this is done without any apparent inward emotion or outward agitation; but on some occasions his countenance becomes fierce, and, as it were, inflamed, and his whole frame agitated with inward feeling. He is seized with an universal trembling; the perspiration breaks out on his forehead and his lips, turning black, are convulsed; at length, tears start in floods from his eyes, his breast heaves with great emotion, and his utterance is choked. These symptoms gradually subside.³³

Taula could be men or women. They were not a distinct caste or professional category. As Mariner explained, 'A priest has no other respect paid to him than what his own proper family rank may require. They generally belong to the lower order of chiefs, or to the matabooles [*matapule*], though sometimes great chiefs are thus visited by the gods.'³⁴ Traditional Tongan religious specialists were less visibly prominent than in eastern Polynesian societies, and Mariner stated that 'the priests live indiscriminately with the rest of the natives, are not respected on the score of their being priests, unless when actually inspired, and hold no known conferences together, as an allied body'.³⁵ But the evidence suggests that they were nonetheless recipients of honour, obedience and material gifts from the people, and that their activities were considered essential to the wellbeing of the community.³⁶ The missionaries in Tonga saw no continuity between 'heathen' *taula* and Wesleyan *faifekau*. Certainly, there was much that was novel in the new role of Christian minister as evangelist, preacher, teacher and pastor. But it is highly likely, even in the first few decades of the Tongan church, that the *faifekau* as the emerging focus of church leadership were already being invested with some of the attributes of priests, prophets and chiefs as religious figures in traditional society.

The connection of *faifekau* with the mission, and so with the national monarchy that sponsored the Wesleyan work throughout the land, ensured that they were associated with the highest levels of chiefly power and prestige. Being part of a centralised mission hierarchy, they were relatively free of local power structures and could themselves assume a certain chief-like authority in the congregations and villages.³⁷ Yet the *faifekau* were still Tongans and it would be a long time, wrote a white missionary in 1857, before indigenous ministers would not be 'terrified' of preaching sermons that might offend the chiefs.³⁸ Financial recompense from the mission was very small, but the people gave honour, service and material support (including food and land for gardening) to the men who had become their new religious leaders. Much money was given to the mission headquarters in the annual *misinale*, a collection that resembled the traditional payment of tribute to the great chiefs.³⁹

It became traditional for Tongan ministers to wear black — a style contrasted in 1874 with what was regarded as the more suitable white worn in Fiji.⁴⁰ A few years later, a Melbourne journalist commented on the missionary Watkin's black suit, attributing the wearing of this clothing, so inappropriate to the tropics, to the King's insistence that ministers dress in that way.⁴¹ The distinctive garb of ministers as a group was only one aspect of their prominence in Tongan society by that time. The lives of many individual *faifekau* could be reconstructed from family and church memories and the scattered written records that remain. A few left their own autobiographical notes: Jotame Havea, for example, was born about 1835, became a teacher in 1857 and became a Native Assistant Missionary in 1866. 'I have no wish to choose my own appointment or station but leave it to the will of God and the missionaries,' he wrote. Havea died in 1885; his son and later descendants became notable ministers, too.⁴² Other ministers are given particular attention in missionary writings — Tevita Finau, for example, who was Moulton's colleague in biblical translation and a tutor at Tupou College.⁴³

The tradition of overseas missionary service for Tongan teachers and ministers was continued by the many still serving in Fiji and Samoa in the later 19th century. In 1873, Moulton was urged by the mission secretary in Sydney to include this kind of work in the objectives of an intensified training programme for the Tongan ministry,⁴⁴ and indeed Tongans worked in the new mission to the New Guinea islands, which was begun in 1875. Another new mission, to Papua, included four Tongan couples and their children when it began in 1891. Tongan involvement in these and other Melanesian fields continued into the 20th century.

There were nine Native Assistant Missionaries by 1864, as well as three catechists and 107 *tauhi*.⁴⁵ By 1884, there were more than 20 'Native Ministers' (the appellation had been changed about 1873).⁴⁶ In the 1870s, the Wesleyan missionaries in Tonga, like those elsewhere, had been urged to work more deliberately towards increasing the role of the Tongan ministry in the church. Continued dependence on foreign personnel was 'unscriptural in principle', they were told by the mission's Sydney-based General Secretary.⁴⁷ He had already reminded Moulton in Tonga that God provided from among the members all the gifts needed for the leadership of any church, and suggested that the main task of missionaries should now be the training and development of the indigenous ministry.⁴⁸ These ideas received the support of the Chairman of the Tonga District, Baker, who agreed that the Native Ministers should be given more status and responsibility; '[We must] trust them more than we have done,' he wrote in 1874. In fact, the Tongans were already beginning to demand this, he reported, and 'we had better do so and give it to them gracefully than have it wrested from us'.⁴⁹ Baker stated more than once that the number of white missionaries in Tonga could easily be reduced. He admitted that the Tongans themselves were not asking for a reduction and he believed European supervision would always be needed, but it would be good, he wrote, to build up the local ministry: 'I am doing my best to raise the position of our Native Ministers in the eyes of our people.'⁵⁰

The Australasian Conference was told by Baker in 1873 that the chiefs wanted the Tongan church to be self-governing and to have its own conference by 1876. Baker

expressed his sympathy with this request. It should be noted that by this time he was closely involved with the King's political activities, and also at odds with most of his missionary colleagues.⁵¹ The move towards church autonomy was thus not simply a mission matter, and was made more controversial because Baker's motives were clearly mixed. One historian has written that Baker hoped to be able to control Tongan ministers more easily than European missionaries.⁵² In any case, an important step in the direction of greater self-government was taken when, as from 1875, the Tongan ministers were permitted to attend and participate in the missionaries' annual district meeting, except when certain matters were discussed.⁵³ Further progress towards their full responsibility in the church was dramatically interrupted by the events of 1885.

Catholic ministries

French Marist missionaries sent from nearby Wallis Island secured a foothold in Tonga in 1842, to the great dismay of the Wesleyans. Associated in its early years with the enemies of Taufa'ahau's political ascendancy, Tongan Catholicism later grew in size and acceptance, but it never rivalled the Wesleyan Church in either the number of adherents or connection with the centres of power. Even in the 1890s, Tongan Catholics formed only about one-eighth of the total population (although on Tongatapu they made up about one-third).⁵⁴

As in other parts of Polynesia, the Catholic missionaries made use of indigenous converts whom they sent out as teachers ('following our example,' commented a Wesleyan missionary in 1848).⁵⁵ From this developed a force of catechists, lay mission workers described in Tongan as *tauhi*, 'those who tend or look after', which was also the word used by Wesleyans for a similar office.⁵⁶ They were trained by the missionaries to defend Catholic teaching when it was denounced by the Protestant teachers.⁵⁷ A Samoan, Vitolio, who had been at Clydesdale seminary in Australia, served briefly among the catechists in the 1860s until his premature death.⁵⁸ There were 30 such Tongan workers by 1871, most of them on Tongatapu, where they preferred to reside in their own villages and did not relish being sent elsewhere. In the pattern developed by the priest stationed in the Mu'a district in the 1880s, he visited each village once every two weeks to celebrate mass. Between his visits, the catechists gave instruction, conducted daily prayers and maintained the church building. They also made arrangements for the sacraments and devotional ceremonies and for the reception of the missionary and other church visitors. Every Friday, the priest met with the assembled catechists. They were paid a percentage of the annual mission collection, but this amounted to very little and aroused some dissatisfaction among them, especially when they compared their income with that of the Wesleyan teachers.⁵⁹ The number of catechists and schoolteachers in 1892 was stated to be 60.⁶⁰

The missionaries included the training of catechists in the teaching done at the school for boys they set up at Maofanga in 1865 to match the Wesleyan college. They wanted to establish a training facility specifically for catechists, on the model of Samoa's Vaea, but were not able to do so. In 1888, there were about 25 students at Maofanga. The

missionaries knew that some would emerge as catechists but others as schoolteachers or simply as 'solidly instructed Catholics' working unobtrusively for the church in their villages. The curriculum included reading, writing, arithmetic, history, geography, science, art and music as well as religion. 'The level of instruction is not very high,' admitted the young missionary in charge at that time, 'and the metaphysics I learned at the Roman College will not be very useful to me in my new work ... In general, Tongans have little taste for learning that they do not feel is necessary or useful.' The number of students rose to 45 in 1892, and to about 50 at the turn of the century. The bishop, Lamaze, regarded the *tauhi* working in the mission in the late 19th century as faithful but inadequately trained as pastoral assistants.⁶¹

Only a few years after they had started work in Tonga, the Marist missionaries were urged by their bishop, Bataillon, in nearby Wallis to follow his example and begin a formation programme for indigenous priests. The missionaries in Tonga did not think such a step was possible at that time.⁶² There was a Tongan among the students at one of Bataillon's schools, Kolopelu, in 1850,⁶³ but the first Tongan priest was formed not in the Pacific but in Europe. Gatafahefa (usually called Gata) was from a Tongatapu family related to Taufā'ahau. Before the Marists came to Tonga, his parents migrated to Lakeba in the Lau Islands of Fiji, where Gata was born in 1838. His father became one of the first Catholics there and took his son to Futuna. There the boy passed his childhood years, was baptised (as Joachim, or Soakimi) and attended the Kolopelu school. His potential was recognised by Bataillon and, when he was about 17 or 18, he was taken by the bishop to his new makeshift seminary in Sydney.⁶⁴

Giving up his Sydney venture when he travelled to Europe in 1856, Bataillon took with him three young Polynesians, one of whom was Gata. After visiting France, they went to Rome to meet Pope Pius IX and begin their studies at the Propaganda Seminary. Gata was 18. One of the three left Europe after a while, another died, and Gata was the only one to complete the long years of study. He was ordained by an Italian cardinal in the Lateran Basilica on 10 June 1865, the first Polynesian to become a priest.⁶⁵ Further studies in Rome and a visit to the Marist house in Lyons were followed by his return to the southern hemisphere. Arriving in Sydney in April 1867, Gata greatly impressed the Marist priests, who wanted the students of the struggling Polynesian seminary at Clydesdale to meet the person who had achieved such an honoured status. The young men waited eagerly to see him, wrote Victor Poupinel, and when they came in to Sydney at Easter they celebrated his presence with feasting, speeches, songs, dances and the presentation of kava roots. Gata celebrated mass, assisted by the French clergy, and Poupinel recorded that the young Polynesians were intensely proud that one of them had been elevated to such a responsibility.⁶⁶

Gata's triumphant progress continued when he visited Samoa after leaving Australia. Bataillon was there to see the realisation of his dreams for a Polynesian clergy.⁶⁷ Poupinel reported that the Samoans were very impressed by the sight of the first Polynesian priest and that Bishop Elloy took the opportunity of making a pertinent point in his sermon: 'See if we have wished to belittle your race — your compatriot has been made a priest!'⁶⁸ Finally arriving in Tonga later in 1867, Gata caused a stir there, too.

Many people came to gaze at him, and it was not only the Catholics who felt proud: even the Wesleyan King, who was notorious for his hostility to Catholics, wrote Poupinel, received him graciously and expressed pride that a priest had come from his kingdom. Poupinel saw a great future for the young man and hoped that he would maintain his 'spirit of simplicity and modesty'. There were dangers everywhere for priests, he commented, but particularly for an indigenous priest in Oceania.⁶⁹

Gata's ministry in Tonga began well. 'I like this young priest very much,' wrote the missionary Lamaze:

he has become my companion; he has many good qualities; he has none of the pride of the Tongans ... Our converts are proud to see one of their own at the altar. The Protestants are amazed, and maintain a silence that is a very significant tribute to our *lotu*. They see very well that a long period of study is required to become a Catholic missionary, whereas a Wesleyan missionary can be produced much more cheaply.⁷⁰

But the missionaries soon became uneasy. The Wesleyans were preaching against the Tongan priest, Lamaze reported.⁷¹ It has been suggested that Gata's Wesleyan counterparts were scornful of his poor knowledge of Tongan customs and protocol: it must be remembered that he had probably never been in Tonga before and had spent his whole life in Fiji, Futuna and Europe.⁷² On the other hand, Lamaze noticed that Gata's relatives were placing customary demands on him; he hoped he would not be pulled back too much into the Tongan world.⁷³ Another missionary shared this fear that the new priest was going to be dominated by his relatives and chiefs. He also felt that in Gata's preaching there was a lot of shouting but not much content — 'rather like the Wesleyans' — and that he should write his sermons out.⁷⁴ In general, the French missionaries were probably unsure how to relate to a young man who was neither European nor a Marist, and even Tongan only to a limited extent.⁷⁵ In any case, after less than a year in Tonga, Gata was transferred to Futuna. Tonga's first priest had been given very little opportunity to establish himself as the pioneer of an indigenous Catholic clergy in that island group, and the greater problems he experienced elsewhere after this were tragic for himself and damaging for the Catholic Church's hopes for a Polynesian priesthood.⁷⁶

Efforts to create a Catholic priesthood in Tonga continued after Soakimi Gata's brief ministry there. Not long before the troubled Clydesdale seminary finally closed, two of its students were sent to study in Rome. One of them, Selevasio Soakai, was a Tongan, aged 25. He began his classes in 1870, but a year later was forced by illness to return to Tonga.⁷⁷ This setback, and the problems that were being experienced at the time with Gata, did not prevent Bataillon from asking the missionaries in Tonga to give Latin lessons to selected youths at Maofanga, with a view to preparing for further vocations to the priesthood and a reopened seminary on Wallis.⁷⁸ It has been pointed out that the French priests in this period were themselves rural boys who had been plucked out of their village schools for further education and a career in the church.⁷⁹ When Lamaze became Bishop of Tonga, he too subscribed to the aim of creating a priesthood. In 1882, he wrote that developing a Tongan clergy would be the surest means of ridding the group

of 'the Wesleyan heresy'. In his view, the strength of Protestantism came not so much from the white missionaries as from the well-organised 'army' of Tongan teachers, and the Catholics would always be weak until they had a local clergy. Catechists were only helpers and could not compete against ordained Tongan Wesleyans. Priests were essential, but he warned that they must be formed very carefully and then live together in community.⁸⁰ The renewed seminary at Lano (on Wallis) was earning his praise by 1886, when he again argued the need for carefully formed indigenous church workers (priests, though he still called them 'auxiliaries').⁸¹

The missionaries in Tonga had been sending young men from Maofanga to Lano for several years by 1886. Three went in 1884, but none of them stayed long. In 1886 there were four there, but again they all eventually left before completing their studies. Others went at various times, but it remains a fact that after Gata no Tongans were ordained to the priesthood until 1925.⁸² Creating a Tongan priesthood, then, was an elusive objective. The nearest approach to achieving the aim in this period was the deployment in Tonga of priests from culturally related Wallis and Futuna. One of the first four Polynesians ordained at Lano in 1886, Sosefo Maugateau of Futuna, went almost immediately to the northern Tongan island of Niuatoputapu, where he assisted the French priest Jouny in a mission described as an attempt to convert the 'heretics' of the island. Good reports of his work there and later on Ha'apai were received, but he became ill and died in 1894.⁸³ The missionary with whom he had worked on Ha'apai recorded his misgivings about Polynesian priests: they were usually too familiar with the people and were not easy to direct.⁸⁴ Another priest ordained in 1886, Lolesio Kavauvea of Wallis, also later came to Tonga, where he served from 1891 until his death in the 1918 influenza epidemic.⁸⁵ Lamata, another Wallisian, was sent to Tonga after his ordination in 1891, but he also died young, in 1900.⁸⁶

Wesleyan ministry at the end of the century

Schism tore Tonga's Wesleyan Church apart before the end of the 19th century. In 1885, the King and Shirley Baker (now Premier and no longer a missionary) led most of the country's Wesleyans into a Free Church of Tonga. The church was Wesleyan in doctrine and practice, but entirely independent of the mission authorities and the Wesleyan Conference in Australia (it did, however, retain a former Wesleyan missionary, Watkin, as Chairman).⁸⁷ Of about 20 Native Ministers, 14 (including the pioneers Peter Vi and Sione Latu) went with the King — in the words of the Conference, they 'seceded'. The continuing mission-associated church was left with a greatly reduced membership and only five or six Tongan ministers.⁸⁸

In 1885 and for some years afterwards, ministers and members loyal to the mission suffered harassment and even violence, and some were exiled to Fiji for a time.⁸⁹ Moulton's colleague at Tupou College, Tevita Tonga, and his well-educated wife, Rachel, endured exile in Fiji before returning to ministry in Tonga.⁹⁰ Tevita Tonga's death in 1895 reduced the small group of ministers in the remnant Wesleyan Church, as did the passing of Sioeli Nau, another of the ministers whose refusal to join the Free Church had

brought them harassment and deportation. Nau had entered the ministry in 1864 and served in Tonga and Fiji.⁹¹ Sione Faupula died in 1886.⁹² For some years it was difficult to provide training for church leaders who could replace those who had been lost. The work of Tupou College ground to a halt, but in the 1890s, under another J. E. Moulton (the son of the college's founder, who visited it often from Australia to participate in the teaching), the flow of well-educated trainees into the ministry began again. A photograph taken in 1900 shows the two Moultons, Tevita Finau (the Head Native Tutor) and eight Tongan tutors, all with academic regalia.⁹³ The number of Native Ministers in the Wesleyan Church rose from six in 1890 to 16 in 1901.⁹⁴

Wesleyan patterns of worship, organisation and ministry continued to be followed in the large Free Church, too, except that missionaries were still sent to other Pacific Islands from the Wesleyan Church but not from the Free Church. Ministers were trained for the Free Church in the Government's Tonga College.⁹⁵ Their salaries were higher than in the mission church and their place in national life was closer to the social and political mainstream. Although the life of the Free Church suffered in certain respects from its isolation from the world Wesleyan community (to which it was not reconnected until 1924), the schism did not permanently disrupt the evolution of the Tongan Wesleyan ministry styles that were first seen in the 1820s and are still much evident today. The late 19th century, however, saw the end of the monopoly of religious leadership by Wesleyans and Catholics, for three new missions (Mormon, Seventh-day Adventist and Anglican) were about to make their presence felt.

6.

WALLIS AND FUTUNA

THE TWO ISLANDS of Uvea (known to Europeans since the 19th century as Wallis) and Futuna lie on the edge of Polynesia, west of Samoa. More than 200km apart, Uvea and Futuna have historical links with the cultures of Tonga and Samoa respectively. Although they have separate histories, the two populations speak related languages and contact with the wider world has drawn them into close association with each other. Neither island is more than 100 sq km in area, and probably only about 3,500 people (2,500 on Wallis and 1,000 on Futuna) inhabited them in the 1830s when sustained contact began.¹ Very few outsiders have ever lived permanently on Wallis or Futuna, which were of little commercial interest to Europeans, but the two islands have played an important part in the history of Pacific Christianity and the development of indigenous Christian ministry.

Like other Polynesians, the people of Uvea and Futuna recognised the existence of deities and spirits and turned to religious specialists for much of their interaction with the supernatural realm. Their adoption of Christianity in the 19th century obliterated the traditional religious system, but fragments of information about it have survived. Observers visiting in pre-Christian days, and the earliest missionaries too, wrote of people they described as 'priests'. On Futuna, according to the missionary Servant, there were *toe matua*, male and female mediums who inherited their powers and practised in a family context; they profited, according to this unsympathetic observer, from their deception and exploitation of the credulous.² It seems that on Uvea these practitioners were more differentiated from chiefs than they were on Futuna.³ An account from 1831 portrays the Uveans reverently attending a large temple for daily worship presided over by priests and priestesses who were ceremonially presented with kava and spoke oracularly to the crowd.⁴ A few years later, the first missionary on Uvea, Bataillon, wrote of *tapu*, the temple and its priestess, the role of kava in religious ceremonies, and the contortions and oracles of the priests when in a state of possession; this observer, too, saw cupidity and trickery and claimed that when they were converted later the priests admitted willingly the deceptions they had practised.⁵ Conveying the wishes of the gods, mediating between the people and the gods in cases of illness, and generally facilitating the interaction of the human and divine realms, the 'priests' (*taula atua*) played a visible role in traditional Uvean society. On neither island did they monopolise connections

with the supernatural, however, for the chiefs and 'kings' (one on Uvea, two on Futuna), like their counterparts elsewhere in Polynesia, derived much of their authority from the perception that they represented and exercised divine power in their person and actions.⁶

Early Christian workers

The first representatives of Christianity to reach Wallis were Tongan Wesleyans. A party of converts travelled north-west from Niuatoputapu with their chief in 1835 on a mission that appears to have been both political and evangelistic in inspiration. The expedition was armed, but many of its members were killed after their arrival on Wallis. This did not deter the Wesleyan missionaries in Tonga from sending a group of authorised mission teachers in 1836, and, although this party was rejected too, Wesleyanism eventually secured a foothold among small sections of Wallis society and the mission continued to send teachers.⁷

In the end it was Catholicism rather than Wesleyanism that prevailed on Wallis and its neighbour Futuna. Missionaries of the Society of Mary arrived on Wallis in 1837, inaugurating the Marists' first mission beyond the shores of their homeland, France. Unlike the Tongans, the French missionaries did not arouse suspicion that they were politically motivated, and there were reports that the chiefs of Wallis had decided to accept Christianity only from white men.⁸ In any case, the Catholic missionaries were soon rejoicing in a massive move towards Christianity on Wallis and, despite a setback when the priest Pierre Chanel was killed in 1841, on Futuna, too. Wesleyanism lingered on, embroiled in Wallisian political conflicts and nurtured by teachers sent from Tonga.⁹ By the 1850s, however, the Wesleyans had given up their efforts, and Protestant models of ministry disappeared from Wallis and Futuna.

Catholicism on Wallis advanced under the leadership of the first French missionary, Pierre Bataillon. He became a bishop in 1843, in charge of the whole Central Oceania mission, and while soon relieved of New Caledonia and New Hebrides, and later Fiji and Samoa, he retained episcopal authority over Wallis, Futuna and Tonga until his death in 1877.

On Wallis and Futuna, the care of the flock was in the hands of a succession of French missionary priests, but a role in evangelistic and pastoral ministry was also played by catechists drawn from the local population. In the place they occupied in the mission, and also in the picture drawn in the missionary literature of the time, they were greatly overshadowed by the European priests. Consequently, very little is known about their work in the 19th century. An early appointee was Sam Keletaona, a Futuna chief who had been given instruction by Bataillon on Wallis and played an important part in teaching the new religion to the people of his own island in 1842. The missionaries helped him become King Petelo of Futuna, but he proved a disappointment to them as a Christian and as a king.¹⁰ In 1843, trying to cope with the crowds eager for instruction, the missionaries on Futuna moved around the island to choose suitable young men to act as catechists in each locality. 'We teach these catechists with special care,' they wrote,

‘and they carry out their task every evening.’¹¹ Presumably many such men quietly performed teaching work for the mission on both islands, but their activities were not given a high profile. Because the populations of the two islands were small and easily accessible, the work of the foreign missionaries did not need to be extensively supplemented by the activities of catechists, as it was in places such as Samoa and Fiji. Furthermore, Wallis and Futuna lacked the Protestant model (and challenge) of teachers who were on the way to becoming fully accredited pastors.

It is evident that catechists from Wallis and Futuna often ministered in other fields as mission workers. Pako and Apolonio of Wallis accompanied the first Marist missionaries to Fiji in 1844.¹² Among others known to have served elsewhere are Filipino and Leo of Wallis who went to Rotuma in 1846, followed in 1859 (when there was no resident French missionary there) by Simone and Albano of Futuna and, in 1868, by two men from Futuna.¹³ Many Wallisians had pleaded with the missionaries to take them to Rotuma in 1846.¹⁴ Catechists who had been trained on Futuna are recorded as going to Samoa and Tonga in 1851.¹⁵ This work was an important element in the advance of Catholic missions in central and western Polynesia. For the catechists who served in their own islands of Wallis and Futuna (and also for those who worked in other islands), it is no doubt true that they performed a ‘crucial’ role as ‘indispensable intermediaries between two different conceptions of the world’, as one historian has written.¹⁶ It is regrettable that it is so difficult to document their work.

Towards a Polynesian priesthood

As valuable as catechists proved to be, there was an enormous gulf between their work and that of the missionaries. In 19th-century Catholic thinking, the life of the church depended on the ministry of an ordained priest, and catechists could be no more than support staff — helpers in the work of evangelism, teaching, pastoral care and administration. In their vision for Wallis and Futuna, the Marist missionaries thought more in terms of establishing a Christian realm in this Pacific community than of creating an indigenous church, but hopes that a local priesthood would eventually exercise the indispensable sacramental ministry were expressed before many years had passed. In other parts of the world, the emergence of indigenous priests had accompanied the spread of Christianity since the early centuries of the church and had been more intentionally pursued since the foundation of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (the Propaganda) in 1622 as Rome’s department in charge of foreign missions. When Catholic missions experienced a resurgence in the 19th century, indigenous priesthood as an objective for missionary work again received support at the highest levels. In 1845, during the papacy of Gregory XVI (who had been Prefect General of the Propaganda before he became Pope), the Instruction *Neminem Profecto* urged all Catholic missions to develop a commitment to forming an indigenous clergy and eventually an indigenous episcopate in their fields; the missions were encouraged to move on from the practice of using local people only as catechists, and, having formed indigenous priests, not to treat them as only an auxiliary clergy.¹⁷

On Wallis, Bishop Bataillon was in sympathy with this vision. In fact, more than a year before the Instruction was released in Rome, he had written to Colin, his Marist superior in France, about his plans for a 'house of education' in which would be formed 'good catechists, or even Marist brothers and perhaps even priests'.¹⁸ His hopes and plans were mentioned again the next year (1845), when he looked forward to a time when Polynesians could be ordained or even become Marists. Young Polynesians had much potential, he believed, and the prospect of a large number of indigenous priests in the islands was even greater than in China where clergy development was already well advanced. 'I dream day and night of this establishment,' he wrote, and, by the time he heard from Colin in France that the seminary idea was well received and would be supported with finance and teaching staff, he had already found a site 'in a pretty little bay' on the east coast of the island. Land there had been donated by the local chiefs.¹⁹ There is a story that Bataillon could not forget what a Wallisian chief said to him — we have been taught that there are seven sacraments, but there is one we have not yet benefited from, and so our religion will remain incomplete until we have our own priests.²⁰ The missionaries on Wallis and Futuna at this time reported that many young Islanders were desirous of becoming evangelists, priests and sisters.²¹ In fact, one young Wallisian, Salomone Uhinima, found his way to France in 1846, and Bataillon suggested that the Marists train him there as a priest. Salomone did study for a while at a seminary in Toulon, but did not make much progress and returned to Wallis in 1852.²² In this period, the mission's hopes were placed in an island-based formation programme.

There were delays before the seminary plans could be realised, but by the end of 1847 about a dozen young men were living at the college, which was known from this time on as Lano. Their studies were under the care of the young priest, Joseph Mériaux.²³ On Futuna, boys in a school established at Kolopelu in 1846 had been learning Latin, which suggests that the priests teaching there were thinking of future seminary training for them, and, by late 1848, an institution comparable with Lano was in operation on the Kolopelu site. By 1850, there were 23 students at Kolopelu, from Futuna, Wallis and one each from Tonga, Samoa and Fiji. Some were learning Latin, but their teachers felt it was too early to tell whether any vocations as brothers or priests would be found.²⁴ Lano and Kolopelu were short of funds and had to give many hours every day to growing their own food, so that little time was available for classes. At Lano, Mériaux was single-handedly teaching 20 or more youths and supervising their labour in the school plantations. The missionaries heard that some parents did not want to send their sons there to become slaves.²⁵

Hopes for the formation of a Polynesian clergy had been high, and a booklet published in Rome in 1849 still asserted the potential of Pacific Islanders to become priests. People who had lived among them, wrote the anonymous author, knew that Polynesians were intelligent and energetic; admittedly, they could also be fickle and frivolous, but these faults came not from their character but from their mode of living, and could be changed by careful education of the younger generation.²⁶ By 1850 on Wallis and Futuna, however, the missionaries were becoming less confident. Mériaux still believed that some of the students might eventually be suitable for ordination and priestly duties (under European supervision), but he wondered if a few years of

supplementary formation in the Marist houses of France might need to be added to the Lano training.²⁷ But another missionary felt that a group of mission helpers was as much as they could expect to come out of Lano, and a third hoped the young men would at least later become good parents.²⁸ Bataillon himself admitted the limitations of the institutions, referring to them in 1852 as 'our two seminaries, or rather our two schools'.²⁹

A change of direction

A new approach had already begun to suggest itself to Bataillon. At the end of 1850 he broached the idea of setting up a college in Sydney and forming priests there rather than in the islands. 'I am starting to believe,' he wrote, 'that it will be hard for us to push the young men of these islands very far without removing them from their home surroundings' (the French word he used was *dépayser*).³⁰ Laurent Dezest, the priest in charge of Kolopelu, reported that all the missionaries were in agreement that a Sydney college was a good idea, and that it could cater for students whose preparation had begun in the island schools.³¹ Later that year (1851), Dezest made an assessment of the dozen students left at Kolopelu after the others had been sent to Samoa and Tonga or simply left the school: only six seemed to have any aptitude for Latin, while the others were fitted only for manual labour. The school had originally aimed to produce priests and brothers, he explained, but the missionaries did not now think the formation of priests was possible: 'It seems to us necessary to send away [*expatrier*] those young islanders showing any aptitude for becoming priests.' Islanders (he was referring specifically here to people from Futuna) seemed to need to leave their homeland to gain a proper perspective on the world of which their island was such a tiny part.³² These ideas were what Bataillon was conveying to the authorities in Europe in 1852. He told the Propaganda that the missionaries had found that it would be necessary to take Polynesians out of their own context (*dépayser*) before raising them to the priesthood, 'in order to give them an idea of the civilised world, to enlarge their thinking and develop their faculties'.³³ 'It is recognised now,' he wrote to Colin, 'that one cannot make indigenous priests without taking them away from their own country for some time.'³⁴

The bishop sailed to Sydney in 1852, having it in mind to set up a seminary at the Marist house there and to staff it with missionaries who had worked in Polynesia (and who thus would be better equipped to teach Islanders than the priests who ran seminaries in Europe). He and the dozen students he took with him had to return without accomplishing this objective.³⁵ But in February 1855, a priest and four students arrived from Futuna at the Marist house in Sydney to inaugurate Bataillon's college. The plan had not been approved by the Marist authorities and the group was sent home after two months. Bataillon brought them back to Sydney, along with three priests to teach them. His project had still not been endorsed, however, and when he left for Europe in May 1856 to discuss this and other disputes with the Propaganda, he took the three students (one had dropped out) with him and the Sydney formation venture came to an end.³⁶

Although the school at Kolopelu did not survive the 1850s, the one at Lano continued (now under the missionary Padel).³⁷ But it had been replaced as the venue for

priestly formation, first by the ill-fated Sydney enterprise and then by a new initiative: an attempt to form Polynesian priests in Rome. After travelling around France with Bataillon, the three students went with him to Rome and were enrolled in the Propaganda College, where many international students for the priesthood were in residence, in December 1856. The three Polynesians had all been at Kolopelu before going to Sydney. One of them, Soakimi Gata, was the Tongan who eventually finished the course and was ordained in Rome in 1865 as the first Polynesian to become a Catholic priest. The youngest, a Rotuman named Rafaele, left for home in 1857. The eldest was a Wallisian, Motesito, aged 28, who died in Rome of smallpox in April 1858 and was buried in the Propaganda chapel.³⁸ Bataillon returned to the Pacific in October 1858, leaving only one man (Gata) still studying for the priesthood. Although Gata had been brought up on Futuna, there were still no priests from Wallis or Futuna in sight.

Preparing Polynesians for the priesthood in a location outside the islands yet not as distant as Europe was still attractive to Bataillon. While in France he had collected funds for his Pacific work, including for a seminary in Australia, and in 1859 he bought a large house and 400 hectares of farmland at Clydesdale, 50km west of Sydney. Cold in winter, and ravaged several times by floods and droughts, the 'Nazareth' seminary was not an easy place for the Polynesian students and their missionary teachers to live and work in. Classes (taught mainly in Wallisian) began in November 1861, and there were young men from Wallis and Futuna among the students (rising in number to a peak of 28 in 1864) from the various islands of central and western Polynesia. But manual work on the farm took up much of their time and it was clear long before the college was closed at the end of the 1860s that it was not in any way a successful means of creating a Polynesian priesthood.³⁹ Some of the students became catechists and, in 1870, two young men (one of them a Wallisian, Atelemo Tuiti) did proceed from Clydesdale to the Propaganda College in Rome. But Atelemo, who was described as devout and intelligent, died of tuberculosis less than a year after arriving, and his colleague, a Tongan, went home soon afterwards.⁴⁰

Only one indigenous Catholic from central or western Polynesia had been ordained to the priesthood by 1870 (and the ordination that took place in Tahiti in 1873 was the only one in eastern Polynesia in the 19th century). The missionaries living and working in the islands sometimes expressed their doubts about the possibility of making priests from Polynesian material. Isidore Grézel on Futuna bluntly stated his belief that it would be difficult to create a priesthood while the church forbade clergy to marry, and he also identified 'the demon of laziness' as a Polynesian fault that stood in the way of attaining the objective of forming an indigenous clergy.⁴¹ Gata had successfully studied and been ordained, however, and although his brief ministry in Tonga had been disappointing, his transfer to Futuna in 1868 held promise as the first opportunity for a Polynesian priest to work among the people of that island, a people he knew well and whose language he spoke.

Gata's time on Futuna began well. Sister Marie wrote that he was a 'good priest, simple of heart, affectionate, very sensitive, a forceful and authoritative preacher ... He is loved and appreciated'.⁴² Although grateful for his colleague, however, the missionary

with whom the new priest worked was unsure whether he would be able to take sole responsibility for a parish.⁴³ It was not long, too, before Gata's behaviour was causing grave concern among his French colleagues, for it seems he had departed from his vow of celibacy. Despite his protestations that he was answerable not to Bataillon and the French Marists but to the Pope and the Propaganda in Rome, and although he told Bataillon he regretted being a priest and wanted to live as a Polynesian, he had to accept removal from Futuna by the bishop. Bataillon decided to put Gata in charge of Lano, which had fallen into a serious decline and was barely functioning by this time (1869). Now that Clydesdale was closed, the bishop wanted to re-establish a school for boys and young men in the islands. But Gata again offended against the sexual code of the clergy, and in 1872, amid regrets that he had been allowed to be independent and unsupervised, he was suspended from his priestly functions. Before long, he was removed from the Pacific Islands altogether, being taken off into exile first in New Caledonia and, for the last 20 years of his life, in New Zealand. As a lay brother in the Marist seminary near Napier in the 1890s, he was admired for the devoted care he gave to aged missionaries and for the spiritual guidance he gave to young novices.⁴⁴

Although the celibacy requirement had been a factor in Gata's downfall, the problem was wider than this. The first Catholic writers to analyse what went wrong blamed the young man's pride in what he had achieved: the adulation he was given as the first ordained Polynesian went to his head and led him to ruin.⁴⁵ But in the view of John Broadbent, who has made a close study of Gata's life, the explanation for his failure as a priest lies in the enormous gap that lay between his Polynesian culture and the Roman/French priestly values he had been trained in and to which he was expected to adhere.⁴⁶ Another historian agrees that celibacy was only part of the problem and that Gata's abandonment of sexual asceticism was a symptom of his identity crisis:

He was not Futunian, because born in Fiji of Tongan parents; not Tongan — and harshly rejected by Tongans — because he had never been there; alien even to the Pacific, because he represented that strange status, the Catholic priesthood; not properly a priest like all the others, because his skin was of a different colour, and he was not French like them, and not even a Marist like them.

'The victim of a clash between cultures', Gata entered the priesthood at a time when no 'accommodation to the Polynesian culture' could be expected. On his return to Polynesia he 'found his position intolerable' and the outcome was his scandalous challenge to priestly ideals.⁴⁷

The return to local formation

It is a tribute to the determination of Bataillon to develop a Polynesian clergy that the earlier failures of Lano, Kolopelu and Clydesdale, as well as the strong indications after 1869 that formation in Rome had not produced a satisfactory priest in even the one man who had managed to proceed as far as ordination, did not deter the bishop from making a

new attempt in the early 1870s. Even before Gata's bad example had been removed from the scene, Bataillon had resumed a seminary programme in the boys' school at Lano. He put the school under the charge of a young, newly arrived missionary, Casimir Bouzigue, and classes in reading, writing, scripture, church history and plainchant began in December 1873. By 1876, there were more than 100 students, in whom Bataillon took a close interest until his death at Lano in 1877.⁴⁸ He told the missionaries attending him as he died that the formation project was the work closest to his heart.⁴⁹

The pioneer's vision of an indigenous clergy was not lost, for Elloy (briefly his successor) and Lamaze (bishop from 1879) both recognised the potential of the renewed Lano. Lamaze's support for the programme drew strength from his experience as a missionary in Tonga and his desire to combat the challenge of Polynesian Protestant ministers. He wanted to proceed slowly, but with a firm commitment to eventual ordination. Despite the memory of Gata's failure, and the knowledge that the Picpus missionaries in Tahiti had recently experienced disappointment with their first priest, too, Lamaze asked Bouzigue and two other missionaries in 1881 to give special attention and extra tuition to 16 young men aged from 17 to 23. They were the eldest of about 40 'Latinists' at the college, mostly Wallisians but also including some from Futuna and two from Samoa. The 16 would form 'a kind of novitiate and scholasticate'. The eight eldest, who belonged to the leading families of the island, were anxious to proceed with their formation.⁵⁰ It might be noted that the formation of indigenous sisters on Wallis was proceeding at the same time, with the first four professions being made in 1884. It has been suggested that this success accelerated the formation of the young men as priests.⁵¹ The selected men were following a monastic routine and studying Latin, French, history, logic, philosophy, psychology, scripture, theology and morals. One of their teachers (Jouny) recalled later that the young men did not disdain these studies, but they preferred dogmatic and moral theology to logic and philosophy. Five of them were given the tonsure in 1882, marking their entry to the clerical life, and, in 1884, they were received into minor orders. Alofosio Manuvale died, but by the end of 1885 their teachers and the bishop agreed, with encouragement from Rome, that the next steps towards the full ordination of the remaining four (three from Wallis and one from Futuna) could proceed. They were made subdeacons, then deacons, and, on January 17, 1886, at Hahake, in the presence of the chiefs and people of Wallis, they were ordained as priests. A 'veritable explosion of joy' greeted the ordinations. The missionaries were exultant and the celebrations included an enormous feast provided by the Queen.⁵² 'See how, o most happy Oceania,' wrote the bishop, 'in order to hasten your salvation, the Lord blesses your own children, honours them with the priesthood and joins them with his apostles from afar: and so you will extend the voice of God to your most distant islands.'⁵³

Another Polynesian priest (a Samoan) was ordained in Rome in 1888, but he, like Tiripone and Gata before him, did not remain in the priesthood. The four men ordained on Wallis in 1886 were the first indigenous Pacific Islanders to enter and continue in the priesthood, and Wallis and Futuna were for many years the only islands with a high proportion of indigenous priests in their Catholic clergy. The satisfaction they gave, and the memory of the troubles experienced with Gata and Godinet, confirmed the

preference of the Marists at this time for forming Polynesian priests locally rather than in distant countries. Formation outside the islands had been undertaken either to remove the students from their surroundings (as in the Australian attempts) or, additionally, to take advantage of programmes of a higher standard (as when men were sent to Rome), and the resumption of Lano had been a return to Bataillon's original plan after several experiments (his own included) with these other strategies. There were arguments for expatriate formation, and they sometimes prevailed later, but in the 19th century it was the training of men in their own context that seemed to work best.

The four new priests (Kasiano Malivao, Petelo Likumoakaaka and Lolesio Kavauvea, all Wallisians, and Sosefo Maugateau, from Futuna) now entered into the work of the church in this part of Polynesia. It is plainly evident that the French missionaries did not regard their new colleagues as their equals. Alfred Ollivaux described them as *auxiliaires*, and also as 'our children'. Their 'filial affection' for the missionaries who had taught them was obvious, he wrote.⁵⁴ For his part, Ollivaux expressed his great gratitude for the share his assistant was now able to take in the workload of his parish, where, in the Wallisian heat, his health had been severely strained by the need to hear about 300 confessions every week and give communion to more than 200 of the faithful every Thursday and every Sunday. Ollivaux praised the obedience, piety and goodwill of his helper (Malivao). The other three missionaries on Wallis had similarly each been given a 'deputy' (*vicaire*). The new priests and their French colleagues met together for their devotional exercises and, as far as possible, looked for a life in community.⁵⁵ This was no doubt an attempt to protect the new priests from the isolation and individualism that was at that time usual for a Catholic missionary in the Pacific but was alien to the lifestyle of a Polynesian. A protective motive probably also lay behind the decision to allocate the confessions of the older people to the indigenous priests, leaving those of the young people to the Europeans.⁵⁶

The missionaries helped their assistants in their preaching duties by providing them with material on topics such as symbols, prayer, the sacraments and the commandments, written by Ollivaux.⁵⁷ They also made it possible for their formal studies to continue: the new priests studied for an hour in the morning and again in the evening, spent one day a week at Lano and sat an examination every month.⁵⁸ The pattern of tutelage continued on into the next century. In 1902, it was reported that in each of the Wallis parishes was an indigenous priest who 'seconded' the French missionary in charge.⁵⁹ Twenty years after that, the bishop could still declare that 'indigenous priests are extremely precious co-workers but for a long time they will need the support of the missionaries'.⁶⁰ Perhaps Polynesians found it congenial to avoid exercising the almost autocratic power of a parish priest in sole charge.⁶¹ But the European tendency to regard the French clergy as superior and to patronise the indigenous clergy was practically universal in the mission until much later, and determined the situation more than Polynesian preferences did.

Even in their subordinate position, however, and few though they were, the Polynesian clergy from Wallis and Futuna shared in the sanctity and mystique surrounding the person of the priest in Catholic tradition. They might well also have inherited the sacredness ascribed to the priesthood in the days of their pre-Christian ancestors. French

and Polynesian priests were addressed as *patele*, 'father' (from the Latin *pater*). The missionaries translated 'priest' into Wallisian as *matua tapu*, 'holy father'.⁶² Ordination by the bishop, the representative of the Pope and of God, was seen as conferring extraordinary authority.⁶³ The authority of the church was closely tied to that of the three kings, for the mission's relations with the monarchies of the two islands were cordial and there were no foreign administrators to compete with. Only in 1887 were French protectorates established, and even then the colonial hand was light.⁶⁴ As time went on, the Polynesian clergy in this group would easily assume the position of power and privilege given by the rulers and people of Wallis and Futuna to the French missionaries in the 19th century.

But the indigenous priesthood did not become a large group. It remained small enough for the careers of its individual members to be traced. Among the first four, for example, Malivao, who was aged about 24 when he was ordained in 1886, stayed on at Mua as Ollivaux's assistant for 14 years. He then continued to serve faithfully in that parish, apart from a few months on Futuna and four years in another Wallis parish, until his death in 1933. The praise he was given by Ollivaux in 1886 was repeated by that missionary at the end of the century — 'He has never given me anything other than satisfaction; he edifies everyone, Europeans as well as the local people' — and by others in later years.⁶⁵ The ministry of Kavaueva was at first on Wallis, too, at Matautu, but from 1891 he served in Tonga, where he died in 1918.⁶⁶ Maugateau, the son of one of Chanel's first converts on Futuna, accompanied the missionary Jouny to Tonga a few months after his ordination. For some years, they worked together to strengthen the small Catholic flock on Niuatoputapu, a largely Protestant island, but Maugateau died in Tonga in 1894.⁶⁷

The history of the other Wallisian priest ordained in 1886, Likumoakaaka, was more eventful than those of his three colleagues. Aged about 27 when he was ordained, he began well by helping in the parish work of Wallis, like the others, and additionally by teaching (Latin and philosophy) with Bouzigue at the Lano Seminary. Bishop Lamaze thought him extremely talented.⁶⁸ Bouzigue saw signs of rebelliousness, however, and suggested that some time in a Marist community might do him good. The promising young priest had indeed expressed a wish to become a Marist and undertake further studies, so Lamaze took him to Europe in 1887. His experiences there included a novitiate in England, profession as a Marist in 1889 (making him the first Pacific Island priest to become a Marist), a meeting with the Pope in Rome, and studies in Spain.⁶⁹ In 1890, he had requested a prolongation of his study time, so as to grow still more in 'the spirit of piety' and 'the religious and ecclesiastical virtues', but also to learn more (since God had given him 'a very pronounced taste for study').⁷⁰

On the young priest's return to Wallis in 1892, he resumed his work at Lano. His thirst for study led him in 1895 to ask for a further seven or eight years in Rome or France,⁷¹ but he was already making the missionaries uneasy. He seemed to be claiming that his travels and studies and personal acquaintance with the Pope made him superior to his French fellow Marists, and that a foreign clergy was no longer needed on Wallis. There was evidence that he had broken the vows of chastity and poverty, and, by 1900,

he had lost the confidence of the bishop and missionaries. His challenges to the authority of the mission and its supporter, the King, led the bishop to remove him from Wallis in 1902. After a period in Sydney, he was brought back into the work of the mission, not in his homeland but in Tonga, where he continued as a priest until his death (in 1938, when he was nearly 80).⁷² Unlike Gata and Godinet, Likumoakaaka had not left the priesthood, but the troubles of his early career were in some ways like those of his two disgraced predecessors, who have been described as suffering from cultural alienation.⁷³ Historians sharing the perceptions of the missionaries who worked with Likumoakaaka explained his 'strange pretensions' as manifestations of pride brought on by his European travels and accomplishments.⁷⁴

The four priests emerging from Lano in 1886 were followed by others. A month after the first ordinations, there were 11 tonsured students in the theology and philosophy years, as well as 24 students in the first and second Latin classes and an unknown number of others. It was recognised that most of these would never be ordained, but the missionaries hoped that they would all be useful to the mission in various ways.⁷⁵ A total of 21 men were tonsured between 1882 and 1897, of whom 10 (including six from Wallis and Futuna) were eventually ordained.⁷⁶ The bishop explained in 1893 that prudence demanded a lengthy formation, with long intervals between each stage of the progress towards ordination.⁷⁷ There were four Lano men ordained after the first group in 1886 and before the end of the century: Savelio Lamata (1891), a Wallisian who served in Tonga and died there in 1900;⁷⁸ Salomone Tuialaka (1897), who was a priest on his home island of Wallis until he died in 1929;⁷⁹ and two Samoans (1892 and 1897). But Lano was in decline in the 1890s, partly because of the illness of its director, Bouzigue, who had to be replaced in 1897 and who eventually died in 1907.⁸⁰ It has been argued, too, that Likumoakaaka's behaviour at the end of the century discouraged potential priests and disillusioned the missionary advocates of an indigenous clergy.⁸¹ Lano's productive years in the 1880s and 1890s were followed by a barren period (there being only two ordinations after 1900, both of Samoans, and no more between 1910 and 1922).⁸² The bishop felt in 1905 that the seminary was 'on the point of expiring'.⁸³ It survived and was reinvigorated (and continued its formation programme until 1952), but the successes of the late 19th century by no means meant that creating an indigenous priesthood in Polynesia was henceforth to be easy.

The problems of developing a Polynesian priesthood

Even on the wholly Catholic islands of Wallis and Futuna, the number of men who became priests in the 19th century and for many years afterwards was small. The number in other Pacific Islands was even smaller, and there was a glaring contrast between the large and rapidly increasing number of Pacific Islanders who were ordained Protestant ministers and the few who were Catholic priests. Pacific Catholicism itself was vigorous and growing, and its large force of catechists was engaged in ministries comparable in many ways with those of the Protestant teachers and pastors, but by 1900 Catholic missions were clearly less successful than Protestant missions in preparing a body of

indigenous Christians to take over the sacramental, pastoral and leadership tasks of the European missionaries. In Catholicism, an ordained clergy had to be intentionally trained as such, rather than simply evolving from a company of lay mission workers as it did in Protestantism. The question that arises, then, is what was slowing down the recruitment and training of Catholic Pacific Islanders for ordination, and in some cases preventing retention in the priesthood of those who did conquer the obstacles and arrive at ordination?

Catholic commentators on Pacific mission history sometimes grappled with this problem. Disagreeing with the *dépaysement* approach followed at times by the Marists, Léon Dubois wrote in 1927 that the main mistake had been in sending men to Europe rather than forming them as priests in the Pacific Island context.⁸⁴ But the programme at Lano, situated in the heart of a Polynesian community, had succeeded in forming few more priests than had emerged from the seminaries of Europe. The explanation usually offered found its focus not on the formation facilities but on the culture and personality of the Polynesians from whom the priesthood was to be formed. Immersed in the writings of the 19th-century Marists, Dubois blamed the failure on the Polynesians' lack of persistence, diligence and chastity.⁸⁵ Albert Landès (writing in 1938) presented a summary of the four Polynesian characteristics identified by the missionaries as the main obstacles to the creation of an indigenous priesthood in the Pacific: a lack of self-discipline in the observation of the moral standards of the church (specifically a weakness when sexually tempted, and so a reversion to primitive ways); difficulties with advanced studies, especially when they involved abstract thinking; a lack of perseverance; pride, often caused by the sense of superiority created by ordination.⁸⁶ Similarly well versed in the Marist archives, Guy de Bigault (writing in the 1940s) agreed with this list and elaborated it. He admitted that these 'effects of original sin' were found in men of every culture. 'But in the Pacific Islands, so recently won to the faith, they are felt more,' he declared.⁸⁷ Another writer of the 1940s, Jean-Marie Sédès, explained that the need to struggle constantly against the bad side of human nature was too much for men brought up in cultures like those of Wallis and Futuna, softened as they were by tropical languor.⁸⁸

The failings of Polynesian character became an explanatory 'myth', claims Broadbent, who has made a close critical study of the history of indigenous formation attempts in 19th-century Polynesia. He prefers to point, however, to the faulty realisation of Bataillon's vision — the defects in the policies and procedures of Bataillon and others in the long history of priestly formation in Central Oceania up to 1900.⁸⁹ Underlying all the mistakes made by planners and administrators, Broadbent explains, was the failure of almost every phase of the formation programme to take the realities of Polynesian culture into account. Even when attempts to exclude culture altogether by practising *dépaysement* were abandoned, formation problems were still explained by blaming Polynesian characteristics rather than by recognising how they were different from Marist ones. Using Arbuckle's paradigm of Polynesian character, Broadbent provides a detailed discussion of the way in which young men of Wallis and Futuna and nearby islands differed from the French missionaries. Cultural attitudes in many areas,

including community, sex, discipline and work, meant that the behaviour of Polynesian seminarians and priests often did not meet the expectations of the missionaries, whose own upbringing and formation had given them rather different preconceptions.⁹⁰ The Marists were not conscious of how much the model they prescribed for a Polynesian clergy was determined by culture-specific French patterns of 19th-century seminary formation and the priestly life.⁹¹

Protestant missionary models were culture-bound, too, but they were not limited by the un-Polynesian monastic emphases in Catholicism, especially, of course, the insistence on celibacy for priests. Nor did Protestant training depend on long and arduous studies in alien European contexts, and it is significant that the admittedly meagre successes of Lano were achieved by aiming at standards suitable for a newly literate subsistence society rather than for Europe with its long-established educational tradition. Even the fact that the heavy Protestant emphasis on the Scriptures in church life and ministry training was absent from Catholic formation is significant in explaining the difficulties facing the Marists. 'Being based on concrete situations and stories,' suggests Broadbent, Scripture-based teaching 'must have helped the Polynesian students to grasp theology more easily'; the abstract reasoning needed for philosophical and theological studies made Catholic seminary life very difficult, 'given the Polynesian proclivity for concrete situations'.⁹²

The fact remains, however, that some Polynesians did become priests. Their entry into the closely guarded precincts of Catholic sacramental ministry was, despite all the problems of achieving it, an attainment fully in accord with Marist missionary objectives. The 19th-century men of Wallis and Futuna who predominated in the early Pacific Island Catholic priesthood paved the way for their more numerous successors in the next century.

7.

Fiji

LYING TO THE WEST of the Polynesian groups, the many islands of Fiji were ruled by a number of powerful chiefly confederations. Persistent rivalry made for constantly changing and often violent relations between these political groupings, especially in the east and north. There were more than 100,000 Fijians in the first part of the 19th century. Travellers and missionaries familiar with other islands to the east noted that while Fijian social organisation resembled that of the east, the Fijians themselves differed in appearance from the Polynesians and their vernaculars seemed only distantly related to Polynesian languages.

'Temples' or 'spirit houses' in every village caught the attention of early observers, who quickly encountered the *bete*, priests who mediated between the Fijians and their gods.¹ Visiting in the 1840s, Commodore Wilkes learned that the *bete* was 'held sacred within his own district, being considered as the representative of the kalou, or spirit'.² Almost always male,³ and a member of a priestly clan, a *bete* was designated as the holder of the office by other members of the clan when they were given evidence that he could be possessed by their god.⁴ Joeli Bulu, a Tongan missionary, recalled that in consulting with their gods, *bete* would 'become inspired, and cry out, as they lay convulsed and foaming at the mouth'.⁵ The purpose of such consultations was 'to implore good crops of yam and taro; on going to battle; for propitious voyages; for rain ... for the destruction of their enemies ... [or] to supplicate a god for the recovery of a sick friend, the return of a canoe, or any other desired object'.⁶ On these occasions, and at celebrations such as the harvest festival, the gods and their priests were presented with generous offerings of food and other goods.

Priests were 'generally found acting in concert with the chiefs', wrote Wilkes, 'thus forming a union of power which rules the islands'.⁷ In his view, chiefs and priests were in collusion, seeking to preserve chiefly power. The missionaries agreed, while noting that *bete* could sometimes utter prophecies that were critical of the acts or policies of chiefs.⁸ Wilkes believed that the priests were 'shrewd and intelligent'.⁹ When new religious ideas and practices were introduced in the 1830s, the place of *bete* in traditional Fijian society and religion forced them to decide either for bitter opposition to Christianity and its messengers — they 'hated me, and spoke evil of me continually', said Joeli Bulu¹⁰ — or for conversion.¹¹

Polynesian teachers from the east

The first Christian ministry in the Fiji Islands was exercised by three Ma'ohi LMS missionaries who landed in the Lau Group, in the east, in 1830. Taharaa was a Tahitian, a member of the Papara church, 'a steady man who had maintained a consistent profession of more than 14 years, and had been employed as a Teacher and Catechist'. Perhaps his interest in cross-cultural mission was first aroused by the teaching he had been giving to Tongan labourers in Tahiti.¹² Taharaa's colleagues in Fiji were Fuatai and Faaruea, both of Moorea.¹³ The three missionaries worked first on Lakeba, where, they reported, the Tui Nayau 'is a kind Chief' but 'desires not the Word of God'.¹⁴ They endured many difficulties on Lakeba before moving in 1832 to the small island of Oneata. Their ministry there was well received and their quiet persistence even in the face of continuing language problems and lack of contact with those who had sent them was eventually rewarded with the founding of Fiji's first small Christian congregation. When British Wesleyan missionaries arrived in Fiji in 1835, they soon visited Oneata and the Ma'ohi teachers agreed to place themselves under the Wesleyan mission and even accept a Wesleyan teacher as their resident supervisor.¹⁵ The white missionaries recognised the worth of the three humble Ma'ohi pioneers, who were not fluent in the vernacular but 'taught by the daily exhibition of a virtuous life'.¹⁶ 'The people much respect them,' observed James Calvert in 1840.¹⁷ One of the teachers went elsewhere and his two colleagues died in 1846.¹⁸ They were buried side by side near the church of the Oneata Christians, whose descendants still remember and honour their first pastors.

While the Ma'ohi teachers' ministry was significant for Oneata and some of the other islands of Lau, it was mainly in British and Tongan missionaries that the Fijians saw their first examples of Christian ministry. For several decades after 1835, Fiji was the major foreign mission field of the young church in Tonga and of the Wesleyan mission there. While British (and later Australian) missionaries continued to work in Fiji until recent times, the impact of the Tongans was concentrated in the first few decades. There were Tongan teachers among those who accompanied William Cross and David Cargill to Lakeba in the first missionary party from Tonga in 1835, but their names and activities are unknown.¹⁹ Much more has been recorded about those who arrived on a June day in 1838, when Cargill heard

that a canoe from the Friendly Islands had entered the harbour. On hastening to the beach I found that the canoe belonged to King George [Taufa'ahau], and was sent by him and the brethren in Vava'u for the express purpose of bringing six native Missionaries with their wives and families to assist us in the glorious work of preaching the Gospel to the Feejeeans. Their names are Joeli Bulu, Joni Havea, Juilusi Naulivou, Sailasi Faone, Uesili Langi and Jelemaia Latu. Their hearts seem to be burning with zeal for the glory of God and the conversion of souls, and they express a willingness to labour in any part of the Feejee Islands ... Some of them are Chiefs of high rank ... They have cheerfully left their country and their friends to be 'strangers and Pilgrims' in Feejee.²⁰

Cargill's hopes for the new workers were amply fulfilled. All six of them gave valuable service in the pioneering era of the Fiji mission, and some stayed among the Fijians for the rest of their lives.

Havea was soon sent to work for a while in the southernmost Lau island, Ono, where Christianity had already been introduced by Fijian and Tongan converts.²¹ Admitted into the ministry in 1863, he served in other parts of Fiji until the early 1880s, and wrote an autobiography in Fijian.²² Two of the other Tongans who came in 1838, Bulu and Langi, later became Native Assistant Missionaries, too. The other three did not reach that status. Faone was 'remarkable for his piety and zeal' and 'a man of great power in prayer'. His pioneering work at Rewa on the Viti Levu mainland was praised by the missionaries, who sent him to take charge of Ono in 1842. In his superiors' eyes, however, Faone tarnished his ministry on Ono by relying too much on methods attributable to his status as a Tongan chief: he 'carried matters with a somewhat high hand, assuming great authority, and receiving many presents'.²³ Naulivou was of high social status, too, having been adopted by the Tui Nayau when living on Lakeba during his youth; after his return to Tonga, he had become a Christian and later offered himself for overseas service. Possessing valuable local knowledge, a high position in Fijian and Tongan society (he was Taufa'ahau's brother-in-law), and an intelligent grasp of the Christian faith, he was very effective as a missionary in Fiji, despite his poor health. After he died in 1847, a Fijian teacher, Joeli Keteca (later an ordained minister), told of how Naulivou had taken him by the hand and encouraged him to become a Christian.²⁴

None of the Tongans who came in 1838 or in later years gave more remarkable service to the Fiji mission or greater leadership to the Fijian Christians, however, than Joeli Bulu. The young man who, in 1838, was 'earnest in his endeavours to acquire the language',²⁵ had not returned to Tonga by 1853, when he said that his desire was 'to die in the work of the Lord in this Feejee. As Jesus gave himself to die for the people going astray, I give myself as a sacrifice to him.'²⁶ His wife had made a similar commitment by then, although at first she had been 'restless and dissatisfied'.²⁷ When she died, she was buried at Wairiki, remembered by her husband as 'a place of much rain and of burning heat'.²⁸ Bulu married again; he became the senior minister of the Fijian church, the writer of an autobiography in Fijian, and, at the time of his death in 1877, the chaplain of Fiji's paramount chief, Cakobau.²⁹ In the pioneering period, he was a courageous evangelist in several districts, and valued also as a careful pastor. He had been nervous about his appointment to Ono in 1848, remembering the offence given to the chiefs and people by the political interference of the Tongan missionary Faone.³⁰ But his ministry there was a happy one and, while on the island, in 1850, he was the first teacher in Fiji to be ordained. 'The work of God prospers at Ono,' he reported. 'The people are in earnest. I also endeavour to be in earnest. I visit the towns, and from house to house. I question them, instruct them, and pray with them, and we are at rest in the love of God.'³¹ To a visiting mission official in 1853, Bulu was impressive: he 'possesses a fine, open, and intelligent countenance; is consistent in his deportment; and a most eloquent and powerful preacher'.³² A missionary who worked with him in the field was equally laudatory, calling him 'a thoroughly consistent Christian' and 'a man to be fully trusted

with the charge of any of our Mission stations'.³³ Another white colleague recalled his powerful prayers and his 'enthusiastic and warm-hearted' preaching; he was 'gentle in judgement' and a great encourager when things were not going well.³⁴

The white missionaries had good reason to be pleased when, over the years, about 20 more Tongan teachers took up work for the mission in Fiji. Some of them came directly from Tonga, while others were members of Fiji's resident Tongan community.³⁵ There were 15 Tongans at work in 1853,³⁶ and some were still ministering in the 1880s. Some were highly praised; a few were dismissed. At least 11 rose to full ordained status.³⁷ Sometimes their wives are mentioned, like the 'excellent' Karolini, wife of Mosese Kaulamatua.³⁸ Most of the Tongan teachers never lived in their homeland again and their descendants (such as Mataiasi Vave's son, who became a notable minister, too) were absorbed into Fijian society. A career like that of Paula Ve'a, who served in Tonga, Samoa and Rotuma before coming to Fiji, and who was made a Native Assistant Missionary in 1850 during his extremely effective years of service on the southern island of Kadavu,³⁹ was no doubt an impressive model for the Fijian ministry students who knew him at their training school in his last days. When he died in 1865, it was noted that he 'was very intelligent, was wise in his management of rival chiefs, was incessant and persevering in his work, and was invincible in the face of persecution, danger, and death. As a preacher, he was earnest and impassioned.'⁴⁰ He had shown great skill in using traditional procedures for reconciling people who quarrelled.⁴¹

Tongan teachers also worked far to the north on the isolated island of Rotuma, which was associated later with Fiji although it was culturally quite different. Four Tongan couples were landed there in 1841, followed later by others.⁴² They had been preceded by LMS Samoan teachers left on the island in 1839 by John Williams (and removed by the LMS in 1845 as part of a comity agreement with the Wesleys).⁴³

Early Fijian teachers

Ministry by Fijians themselves dates back to the earliest days of the Wesleyan mission. Accompanying the first European missionaries from Tonga in 1835, and playing an essential role as their language teacher, advisor and interpreter, was Josua Mateinaniu, a member of a chiefly family on Vulaga in southern Lau. He had been converted to Christianity in Tonga and now acted as *matanivanua* (spokesman or herald in Fijian custom) in the missionaries' approach to the Tui Nayau in Lakeba.⁴⁴ As a class leader and local preacher, Mateinaniu stayed on Lakeba to evangelise and pastor the Tongan residents of Lau.⁴⁵ On several occasions he made the mission's first foray into new territory, including to the war-torn chiefdom of Rewa on the large island of Viti Levu in 1836, and later to Somosomo and Bua on two of the other main islands.⁴⁶ It was Mateinaniu, regarded by the missionaries as an able teacher and 'a man of prudence and meekness', who was entrusted in 1838 with the task of taking Oneata over from the Ma'ohi pioneers and bringing it into the Wesleyan fold.⁴⁷ He had returned to Lakeba by 1840, when he visited Australia and preached impressively in Hobart.⁴⁸ It is not surprising that Mateinaniu, then serving on Viwa, was in 1848 chosen, along with three

Tongans, to be one of the first Native Assistant Missionaries in the Fiji mission.⁴⁹ By that time, however, his course was nearly run, for his health was declining and, in 1852, described as 'nearly worn out', his active service came to an end.⁵⁰ It seems that he retired to his home island and died there.⁵¹

Other Fijian mission workers emerged quickly from among the early converts. Their entry into active service was assisted by the Wesleyan programme of class meetings, in which any serious convert could participate actively and develop the skills of evangelism, teaching and preaching. Chiefs and commoners alike could progress up the Wesleyan scale, always on a probationary basis and with the understanding that spiritual development would occur at a comparable rate, and assume responsibilities in the mission and church. Even so, the demand for Christian teaching sometimes outstripped the supply of even minimally prepared indigenous evangelists. The spread of Christianity to all parts of the Fiji group in the first decades of the mission was spearheaded by countless Fijian evangelists, often unofficial, and even when duly appointed, frequently nameless or only casually mentioned in the contemporary record. Solomon Radawa received a little more mention than most, but only on the occasion of his death (in Bua in 1848): 'He was a valuable man, active, zealous, and persevering in all he undertook. In his person, family, house, gardens, and general habits, he was a pattern to the native converts.'⁵² A short obituary was written for Stephen Cevalala of Wakaya, who was converted on Lakeba and died in Bua in 1851.⁵³ Abraham Navukitu's conversion story was recorded, together with anecdotes of his work as a teacher on Ovalau and Bau and his death in 1857.⁵⁴ Many teachers worked in districts other than their own, at a time when active Fijian rivalries often made such boldness unsafe, and they successfully founded small communities of Christians in the face of opposition and hostility. In the 1840s, teachers were sent as far away as Rotuma, where a completely different language was spoken.⁵⁵ They were the forerunners of the many Fijian missionaries who went to New Guinea later in the century. In this period, courage and initiative were needed alongside the pastoral skills that were more important later when Christianity had become the religion of the majority.

Where community Christianity was established early, service to the mission and leadership in the church quickly became a highly regarded choice. Ono, which had been under the charge of Tongan and Fijian teachers since the time of the first conversions, was almost wholly Christian and had 81 local preachers in 1845; a visiting European missionary was impressed by their testimonies to faith, but thought it necessary to reduce the rank of all but 10 to 'prayer leader'. Eight of the approved local preachers were selected to leave Ono for missionary service in other areas of Fiji. 'More agents have been raised up here than at any other Station; probably not less than 50. Some of these have proved zealous and acceptable labourers at home, and others have gone forth to distant parts of Fiji, hazarding their lives.'⁵⁶

Native Assistant Missionaries

A momentous step in the development of the ministry of the Fijian church was taken by the mission in 1848. The missionaries' annual district meeting created a new category of

Native Assistant Missionaries who would be selected from the teachers then at work and appointed to supervisory positions. Calvert recalled later that he and his colleagues had been 'somewhat timorous' about such a bold stride forward, but admitted that it had turned out well in the end.⁵⁷ Three Tongans (Bulu, Langi and Vea) and a Fijian (Mateinaniu) were selected. In accordance with the Wesleyan system, they were 'received on trial', with a view to their being fully received and ordained after a period of probation.⁵⁸ All four satisfactorily passed through the probationary stage and at the district meeting in 1850, it was agreed that they should be received into 'full connexion'.⁵⁹ Six more teachers (Tongans and Fijians) were received as Native Assistant Missionaries on probation.⁶⁰

The next step was ordination of the four who had been received into the full ministry, and the missionary David Hazlewood went immediately to Ono for the first such ceremony in the history of the Fijian church. Joeli Bulu, who had been sent to Ono in 1848 to succeed Hazlewood himself, was, on 18 August 1850 'ordained by the imposition of hands'.⁶¹ 'When the people saw me place my hands on his head,' wrote Hazlewood, 'to my no small surprise there was a general burst of loud weeping; a solemn awe rested on them.'⁶² Bulu himself rejoiced but did not claim the glory for himself: 'I ... gave it all,' he said, 'to God, who, I well knew, had done this great thing for me.'⁶³

Surprisingly, the other three ordinations did not proceed. The missionaries explained nearly three years later that they had not acted on their earlier decision because only Bulu had been stationed in a place needing an ordained minister: Mateinaniu was in poor health, Langi had died and there was a plan to station an ordained missionary with Vea on Kadavu. In their letter, they went on to express their conviction that a carefully prepared programme of leadership training was needed before ordination became a normal practice.⁶⁴ No further action had been taken with the six probationers, either. It seems that at the 1850 district meeting the missionaries' caution had been overcome by the enthusiasm of the visiting General Superintendent, Lawry, but that second thoughts after his departure had revived their caution and caused them to plan for more substantial ministry training.⁶⁵

By June 1854, the missionaries felt confident enough in the preparation of the probationers to authorise the ordination of three of them. Two were Tongans (Jeremaia Kienga and Mosese Mamafainoa), and Joeli Keteca became the first ordained Fijian. Calvert thought they acquitted themselves very well at their examination, reflecting 'great credit on the patient toil of Mr Lyth and his colleagues'.⁶⁶ Keteca, from Waciwaci on Lakeba, was one of the first Fijian converts on that island. He died on Kabara in 1875.⁶⁷ On that same day in 1854, two more Fijians were received into the ministry on probation,⁶⁸ and were subsequently ordained. Nacani Cataki of Ono (who died on Lakeba in 1864) was 'a powerful preacher, a man of earnest piety, mighty in prayer, and greatly respected wherever he laboured'.⁶⁹ Eliesa Takeko was the son of a converted *bete*, Kau of Lakeba. He was young but impressed the missionaries with his dedication and his knowledge of doctrine and the Scriptures. His first stationing was on Rotuma, where Christianity had as yet made only limited progress. He learned the language, but after a few years the hostility of some of the chiefs forced him, together with the Tongan and

Fijian teachers, to leave. Returning to minister in the Fijian church, he worked on a Rotuman translation of the Scriptures, became the most senior Native Minister by 1878, and died in 1886.⁷⁰ Soon there were three more ministers (Aisake Rawaidranu of Rakiraki, Peni Buidole of Matuku and Konilio Musuka of Lakeba),⁷¹ and many others followed in subsequent years. The ordained Native Assistant Missionaries (later called Native Ministers) became a category ranked above the mass of 'native teachers' but still subordinate to the European missionaries and not members of their annual district meeting.

The beginnings of formal education for ministry

In the earliest years of the Fiji mission, as elsewhere in the Pacific, effective ministry was offered by indigenous Christians with no theological education other than what came from earnest private study of the Scriptures and the missionaries' provision of teaching in their sermons and informal classes for inquirers and converts. Practical experience was usually their only 'training' for ministry tasks. The time came, however, when the need for more formal ministry education was recognised. In Fiji, the catalyst was (as it was in Tonga) the visit in 1841 of the General Superintendent, John Waterhouse. With his encouragement, the district meeting resolved to set up a 'Feejee Islands Wesleyan Academy for the Training of Native Assistant Missionaries' under John Hunt, who would move to Lakeba to establish the school.⁷² But circumstances forced a different stationing arrangement. Hunt was not convinced that a central school would be better than training at stations where the students would be close to the real work of the mission,⁷³ and, in 1842, he went to Viwa. The planned central facility in Lau did not eventuate.

Viwa is a small island close to south-eastern Viti Levu and near the heart of the great confederation of Bau. Hunt made many enduring contributions to the development of the Fijian church during his years there, not least in the ministry training operation he energetically began. He valued his own Hoxton education in England, which had taken him from a limited educational background into a deep interest in theological learning.⁷⁴ As well as schools for children and adults, Hunt taught a theological class in the early morning three times a week. With varying numbers of students (in some years up to a dozen), he offered a few general subjects but concentrated mainly on scriptural and doctrinal studies, always in an atmosphere of prayer and spiritual commitment.⁷⁵ He prepared lectures on theological topics, with illustrations from Fijian life. 'Our plan,' he wrote,

is to read the short sermons together, and make remarks on them as we proceed. These remarks lead to others ... When we have read, explained, and conversed about our sermon for the day, I examine them on what they have heard and read, explaining still further the meaning of anything not fully understood ... I endeavour to apply the subjects to their personal experience.⁷⁶

A later theological teacher in Fiji, Joseph Nettleton, recorded that he was still using the printed collection of Hunt's lectures in the 1860s and '70s. 'That book, next to the Bible,

has become the seed-basket for the Fijian sower,' he remarked at the end of the century; it was written 'in the purest and most beautiful Fijian. New editions have been published from time to time, and it is still the chief textbook for training native pastors and catechists.'⁷⁷

Hunt's colleagues recognised that he was gifted at teaching and inspiring his students. Years later, Nettleton was able to acknowledge that Hunt's trainees, 'well grounded in theology, and with a marvellous knowledge of the Scriptures', had 'never been surpassed for practical work by any more fully educated and trained men' emerging from the bigger training centres of later times. 'John Hunt put himself into these men. He inspired them with a thirst for knowledge, a passion for souls, and an intense desire to experience and preach Scriptural holiness.'⁷⁸ In the 1840s, the missionaries still believed that station training by each individual missionary was the most practicable method, and Hunt's outstanding course at Viwa was regarded as a model for the other stations.⁷⁹ There were 40 students there by 1847.⁸⁰ Perhaps it would eventually have been formally acknowledged as the central training institution for the whole mission, but Hunt died prematurely in 1848, and leadership in ministry training was taken over by others.

In mid-century, the best-known trainer of Fijian mission workers was Richard Lyth, an experienced missionary who moved to Lakeba in 1844. He began to devote much of his energy to the development of 'Native Agents of all classes, whether visitors of the sick, Class-Leaders, Prayer-Leaders, Exhorters, Local Preachers, or those who were more fully given up to the work as Evangelists, Pastors, Superintendents of islands or districts'.⁸¹ Insisting always on evidence of spiritual progress in his students, Lyth taught his class three times a week, and prepared for their use a printed 'Teacher's Manual' in Fijian. He was assisted in this work by John Malvern, from 1847, and by John Polglase, from 1853.⁸² Their efforts were well received by their students, whom Calvert observed to be 'pious and devoted, ardent in their desire to be instructed and become useful, — the hope of our Churches in Fiji'.⁸³

What was distinctive about Lyth's methods was his conscious integration of academic learning with practical church work that was not merely 'training' but continuing involvement in the real life of the Lakeba Christian community. He firmly believed that bringing church leadership candidates into a central school for teaching and training was much less effective, at this stage in Fiji's Christian development anyway, than concentrating on improving the qualifications of people who were already active leaders in the church: 'Training them *for* their work, by training them *in* it.' The students came in from their continuing church duties and returned to feed back into the community the teaching they were given at the training centre. 'What is quickly communicated is twice learnt,' wrote Lyth. The curriculum did not depart from the usual study of doctrine, Scripture, preaching, pastoral ministry and general subjects, but he believed that it could be taught far more successfully when students were not forced to 'endure the close study and confinement' of conventional residential institutions.⁸⁴

Circuit-based training for church workers continued while Lyth was chairman of the Fiji mission. In the Lakeba model, Native Assistant Missionaries made closely supervised progress along a defined route: class leaders and local preachers could become

mission teachers, from among whom, wrote Lyth, 'some will be distinguished for superior piety, ability, diligence and faithfulness that will mark them out as being qualified and designed by the great Head of the Church for a higher and more responsible sphere of usefulness'.⁸⁵ But after Lyth's departure from Fiji in 1854, it was not long before the district meeting decided to insert a central training facility into this pattern. One of the advocates for such an institution was the young missionary Joseph Waterhouse, son of the late General Superintendent. He feared that poorly trained teachers would lead the Fijian church into 'a mongrel Christianity'. 'I could tell you tales of Native Teachers,' he confided to the mission headquarters, 'that would fill you with alarm and cause you to object to their employment altogether.'⁸⁶

A new era began in 1857 when 28 students were taken into the new Theological Institution under a full-time tutor.⁸⁷ Founded at Mataisuva in the Rewa circuit, the Institution was later moved several times, but it had a continuous existence and has been the main provider of theological education and ministry training for Methodism in Fiji since that date.

'Native agency' in the early Fijian Wesleyan Church

The Wesleyan mission had more than 100 'native agents' (eight Native Assistant Missionaries and 107 teachers) by 1856.⁸⁸ In mid-century, the immense value of their work as evangelists, teachers and, increasingly, pastors was constantly acknowledged by the small resident European staff and the mission's administrators overseas.⁸⁹ It was recognised that the Tongan and Fijian workers had been essential to the success of Christianity since the 1830s and that further progress and consolidation still depended on effective indigenous ministry. There was little hope that the sending church (the Australasian Wesleyans from 1855) would be able to provide a substantially greater number of white workers, but commitment to 'native agency' was due more to the mission's experience of the value of local participation, and to faithfulness to Wesleyan theological principles, than to financial difficulties at the mission base. Those who controlled the mission, however, were unanimous, at headquarters and in the field, that close supervision of the indigenous workers was still necessary. It could not be expected that 'unguided native efforts' would always be 'directed aright', wrote the General Superintendent in 1850: 'The helm must always be in a skilful hand, or the object will not be attained.'⁹⁰ Lyth felt that 'we without them or they without us' could not accomplish the task.⁹¹ Calvert, while paying generous tribute to the value of indigenous 'helpers', bluntly asserted that they were 'not equal to the management and control of an infant Church'. Writing in 1858, he predicted that 'the time is very far distant, — if indeed it should ever come, — when this valuable force will be able to labour effectively without the direction and oversight of the missionary'.⁹²

As the years passed, it became increasingly evident that while in missionary eyes the Fijian teachers and ministers were still 'auxiliaries' in the mission enterprise, in Fijian communities they were being integrated into indigenous society. From the beginning, villagers provided housing sites and materials for the teachers who resided among them,

and allowed them to use plots of land for subsistence gardening. They brought them gifts of food and eventually began to take over the mission's responsibility for giving them a small quarterly allowance in the form of clothing and other goods. In the 1850s, this development occurred in the Lakeba and Bau circuits,⁹³ and soon in other places, too. On the principle that Christian people should support their own ministry (and conscious also that salary costs would soon be unsustainable), the mission encouraged this kind of church self-support. Offerings to the gods and *bete* of pre-Christian times were a precedent that allowed the people to give to their Christian teacher without any sense that they were being subjected to a missionary innovation.⁹⁴ In the 1850s, the mission still made an extra payment to the Native Assistant Missionaries in the form of 'suitable articles from the Mission store' to the value of three to five pounds,⁹⁵ but this grade of minister had only a few members as yet.

Teachers (*vakavuvuli*) were known in most parts of the Fiji Islands by the middle of the century. The missionaries (*talatala*, literally 'messengers') had created a small body of ordained assistants who also used the title *talatala*. They were clearly distinguished in Wesleyan ecclesiology from the larger body of teachers from which they emerged, but in the understanding of Fijians, at this early stage anyway, indigenous *talatala* and *vakavuvuli* were all specialist practitioners of the new religious system they had accepted into their society. Ordinary people were influenced by their traditional religious background (and inadvertently by mission practices also) to see the teachers and ministers as holding a greater share in divine power than they themselves did. As messengers of God to the world, *vakavuvuli* or *talatala* could easily be seen by Fijians as God's representatives and they were placed in the traditionally important role of skilled and knowledgeable mediator, in this case between humans and their God.⁹⁶ The traditional role of the *bete* was not forgotten. At another level, the Wesleyan emphasis on preaching accorded well with the value given to oratory in traditional culture.

It is not possible to know how many of the early teachers and ministers came from chiefly families,⁹⁷ but ministering in Fijian communities with the sanction of the chiefs, *vakavuvuli* and *talatala* certainly became people of status. Their association with human and divine power was understood to be not unlike the traditional close connection between the spiritual world and chiefly prestige and authority. Chiefs, however, even in the new Wesleyan Fiji, did not forfeit their place in the traditional social and political structure. Nor did they immediately lose their influence in the spiritual realm, and, after two decades of mission activity, the boundaries between ministerial and chiefly authority in church and community affairs were far from clear. Ministers were associated with chiefs, sometimes too much so in the opinion of the white missionaries, but at the same time they were often constrained by chiefly insistence on a voice in church affairs.

Fijian ministry in the Catholic Church

Wesleyan Christianity in Fiji entered a period of growth in the 1850s, due partly to the conversion of the great chief Cakobau in 1854. Indigenous ministry, as an institution that was already in place, was extended and consolidated in pace with the expansion of

the church. The entire population did not, however, become Wesleyan. Marist priests had begun a Roman Catholic mission in 1844 and, after a slow start, Catholicism grew to encompass nearly one-tenth of the Fijian population by the end of the century. The Catholic Church was also established on Rotuma.

The Marist mission was conducted and directed by French priests until well into the 20th century. But, as in the Marist and Picpus missions further east in this period, Fijian Catholicism drew strength from indigenous ministries from an early date. In 1842, before the French missionaries began their work in Fiji, Mosese Monatavai, a Tongan converted on the island of Wallis, had been brought back to Lakeba where he had previously lived. In the face of great opposition, he tried to interest the people of Lakeba in his new faith. When the Marists took up residence two years later, they brought with them two Wallisian catechists, Pako and Apolonio, whose roles in assisting the entry of the priests into the new field are scarcely mentioned in the records but must have been significant.⁹⁸

In the late 1850s, steps were taken by one of the pioneers of the mission, Jean-Baptiste Bréhéret, to train Fijians as catechists, and, in the 1860s, Alfred Deniau was engaged in training programmes at Marist stations in Rewa and Verata (on Viti Levu) and at Wairiki (on Taveuni). Twenty-eight catechists had been trained by 1870. It was the island of Ovalau that saw the first designated catechist training school, 'Nazareth', set up in 1878. Religious and general education were provided and the students stayed three or four years. There were 60 trainees by 1880, all single males, originating from all parts of Fiji. The day began with prayers at 5am, followed by scheduled classes and times for devotional exercises, manual labour and recreation.⁹⁹ Bréhéret believed that 'the heart, the hope, the future of our mission' was in the training school, and its director, Simon Montmayeur, stated his opinion that a catechist in Fiji was worth just as much as a missionary, and sometimes more. Montmayeur was an experienced missionary who worked hard to establish the new venture, which survived the shock of his death in 1880.¹⁰⁰ The training centre later moved to another site on Ovalau, and was finally relocated in 1893 to a large property at Cawaci (near the island's main town, Levuka), where the mission also ran a secondary school. There were 40 students training as catechists in 1896. By this time, the majority were married men, and instruction was provided for their wives, too. The missionaries hoped that most of the students would indeed serve the mission as catechists, while others would be good family heads in their villages. 'Some, perhaps,' wrote Bishop Vidal in 1889, 'the most devout and intelligent, will be called to enter the seminary at Lano.'¹⁰¹

Catholic catechists in Fiji (including Rotuma, which in earlier years had been given catechists from Futuna),¹⁰² numbered 102 by 1885. Eight years later there were 184.¹⁰³ Known, like their Wesleyan counterparts, as *vakavuvuli* (teachers), they were essential agents in the spread of Catholicism to new areas in the later part of the century. When a chief at Ba asked for a priest, for instance, a catechist and his wife, Elia and Serena from Rewa, were sent instead, and a priest followed later to build on their work.¹⁰⁴ Dressed in white and given much respect in the villages, catechists were supported entirely by the people among whom they worked, who provided them with

houses, gardening land, food and goods such as mats, pots and clothing.¹⁰⁵ The mission found that single catechists often did not stay at their posts, so before long only married men were appointed.¹⁰⁶ As well as leading village worship, teaching the children and adults, giving pastoral care and evangelising the neighbourhood, catechists were expected to provide a model of Christian religious and family life in their communities.¹⁰⁷ It is recorded that some catechists in this period — for example, Elia Beraki and Petero Vulaloa — were of chiefly birth.¹⁰⁸ The most senior worker was the chief catechist, who assisted in the training centre and went out to visit the men at their stations; ultimately, however, they were all ‘precious helpers’ of the French missionaries, who, in 1890, stated their expectation that the great faith of the catechists would lead them to obey the priests as they would the Lord Himself.¹⁰⁹ Bishop Vidal valued the work of the Fijian catechists enough to take eight of them with him to the Solomon Islands when he settled three priests in a new Marist mission there in 1898. Others followed later, and their experiences were described in the Fijian language in the mission’s newspaper.¹¹⁰

The importance of the work of the catechists in Fiji was acknowledged freely by the Marist bishop and his priests, and this ministry has continued until today. Despite its comparatively long history in Fiji by 1900, however, Catholicism had not produced any indigenous priests. A Rotuman youth of chiefly birth, Rafaele, who appears to have been a pupil at the mission school on Futuna, was one of three Pacific Islanders taken to Rome for priestly formation by Bishop Bataillon in 1856, but he returned to the Pacific before long. Bataillon took him to Rotuma in 1859 as a catechist, but it was reported that he was not bold enough for active evangelism.¹¹¹ Apart from this isolated instance, the missionaries in Fiji and Rotuma apparently took no practical action to develop an indigenous clergy, and it was 1939 before the first ordination took place.

Indigenous ministry in the Wesleyan Church after 1860

The annexation of Fiji by Britain in 1874 (and of Rotuma in 1881) greatly influenced the economic, social and political future of the islands. But the Wesleyan Church had already become a prominent institution in Fijian society and the patterns of church life already established persisted after 1874 and throughout the colonial period.

One of the most far-reaching changes attributable to British rule was the introduction of Indian labour to Fiji in 1879. Later, some of these new residents would have their own distinctive Christian ministry, but only the beginnings of Indian Christianity in Fiji could be seen before 1900. Correspondence between the Wesleyan missionaries and their counterparts in India led to the arrival of an Indian catechist (John Williams) in 1892. He tried to interest his compatriots in Suva and the Rewa district, but returned home in 1894.¹¹² The work of the Australian missionary sister Hannah Dudley from 1897 laid the foundations for a small Indian Wesleyan community that would later produce its own leadership.

The Tongan contribution to ministry in Fiji lessened as the teachers and ministers from Tonga aged and died. Tomasi Viomua came in 1855, was admitted to the ministry in 1862 and died about 1870.¹¹³ Zerubbabel Mafi was the teacher of the chiefs at Lakeba

and earned their great respect, although he was never admitted into the ministry ('It was thought best not to receive him because he spoke Fijian with the tongue of a stranger,' wrote a colleague); he died in 1870.¹¹⁴ Mosese Mamafainoa died in the measles epidemic of 1875.¹¹⁵ Aaron Fotofili arrived in Fiji as a warrior in 1855, offered himself to the mission after recovering from his wounds, and soon became a Native Minister. He served at the difficult station of Somosomo, cheerfully remaining there year after year because no suitable replacement could be found, and died in 1876.¹¹⁶ The most well-known of the Tongans, however, was Joeli Bulu. Constance Gordon Cumming, a Scottish traveller who met him at Bau in the 1870s, thought he looked like the biblical patriarch Abraham. Tall and stately, with a long white beard, he was 'a man whose faith is evidently an intense reality', she wrote. Bulu's death in 1877, and the grief of those who knew him and his work, were recorded by the same writer.¹¹⁷ She also wrote favourably of Akesa, whom Bulu had married after the death of his first wife;¹¹⁸ revered for her own sake and as Bulu's widow, Akesa lived on at Bau until her death at a great age in 1910.¹¹⁹ One of the last Tongan ministers in Fiji was Sioeli Nau, who arrived about 1865 and served in various places including the training institution; after returning to Tonga in 1877, he ministered again in Fiji from 1885 to 1890.¹²⁰

It was the men who had grown up in the Fijian village congregations, however, who provided most of the ministry of the Wesleyan Church in the last part of the century. The majority of these 'agents' in this period, including the years of great church growth after mid-century, were lay 'teachers', for the increase in ordinations could not keep pace with the spread of Christianity.¹²¹ The mission had introduced elementary education wherever it went, and, even after 1900, was still providing it to at least 90 per cent of the Fijian population.¹²² Men who taught in the mission's village schools also acted as preachers and pastors in the hundreds of small communities that provided houses, plantation land and other contributions as the entire support of these workers. 'The work of a native teacher is no sinecure,' wrote Gordon Cumming, who visited the island of Nairai with the mission chairman in the 1870s. She thought them 'such a fine sensible body of men', and described their work:

Once appointed to a district, the teacher has to hold school three mornings a week for children, three evenings for adults, one week-day service with address, two Sunday services with sermon, and early prayer-meeting in church. He must conduct daily morning and evening prayer in several houses; must visit the sick; pray and read the Scriptures with them; look after the people generally; bury the dead, and travel once a week to report himself to the native minister, who perhaps lives at a considerable distance.¹²³

From 1876, senior teachers were selected from the ranks and appointed by the district missionary and his circuit meeting as 'catechists'. Called *vakatawa* in Fijian and *fa hua'i* in Rotuman — both expressions signify 'a guard or watchman', 'one who looks after or watches over' — each catechist was a teacher in the village where he was stationed and supervised the work of the other teachers in his section of the circuit.¹²⁴ The number of teachers grew rapidly in this period: it more than doubled between 1856 and 1859 (from

107 to 267) and again between 1864 and 1869 (from 379 to 839). There were more than 1,100 by 1884 (including 32 catechists), after which the numbers changed little until after 1900.¹²⁵

Ordained ministers, *talatala*, were drawn from this large force of lay pastoral workers. Ministers thus entered into their duties as men of considerable experience (and often of considerable years: as a missionary history later pointed out, ministers were often grandfathers by the time they had risen through the ranks of teachers and been received into 'full connexion').¹²⁶ The possibility of becoming a lay preacher, then a teacher and finally a Native Minister was no doubt an incentive to aspiring mission workers, and comparisons were made between the Wesleyan system and that of their rivals: 'Among the Catholics there is no *torotoro* [promotion],' said a Fijian Wesleyan.¹²⁷ Native Ministers quickly became more numerous than the small group of white missionaries. From 13 in 1862, the number rose quickly to 28 in 1864; it reached 66 in 1875 but was reduced by the disastrous measles epidemic of that year, in which nine ministers and 200 teachers died. The total rose again to nearly 80 by 1900.¹²⁸ The creation of the *vakatawa* position in 1876, however, had reduced the need for *talatala* as supervisors and absorbed many promising teachers who might otherwise have been admitted into the ordained ministry.¹²⁹

Some teachers and ministers served in communities outside their own Fijian culture. Fijian teachers in Rotuma in the 1840s were followed there by other teachers and Native Ministers who worked alongside white missionaries (the first of whom went there in 1864) or looked after the island church themselves. Esala Seru, for instance, took charge from 1887 until 1901, and was highly praised for his ministry.¹³⁰ When opposition to their work had forced the retreat of the Fijian teachers in the 1850s, a courageous Rotuman, Sorpapel, had kept the infant church alive until the return of the mission in 1864.¹³¹ As late as 1879, however, the missionary William Fletcher emphasised that Rotuma was 'deeply indebted' to the Fijian teachers: 'Without them we could not do our work.' He went on to say that he saw no prospect of many local workers, 'certainly not of men to take a judicious and independent position or lead others'.¹³² But the Rotumans did eventually produce their own teachers and ministers for the Fiji Wesleyan Church of which they were a part. Two students went for training in Fiji in the 1880s and, in 1897, one of the Rotuman teachers, Kitione Kauata, became the first indigenous Native Minister and was given a position on the island.¹³³

From 1875, Fijian teachers and ministers took a prominent part in the Wesleyan mission to the New Guinea Islands. This ministry was publicised widely in Fiji by means of the mission's monthly newspaper, which often included letters from Fijian missionaries in their own language.¹³⁴ Fijian Methodists still recount the story of George Brown's visit in 1875 to the training centre at Navuloa, where he was met with the offer of all 83 students to go on the new mission.¹³⁵ Nine were selected, followed by many others in subsequent years.¹³⁶ Four Fijians were killed in New Guinea in 1878 and a number of men and women died of malaria and other diseases. The importance of the Fijian contribution to the work of the New Guinea mission (and of the Papua mission begun in 1891) is beyond doubt, and in many cases their experience was fed into the home church

when they returned. Two of the first Fijian missionaries to New Guinea, who later served at home, were Pauliasi Bunoa and Aminio Baledrokadroka: both were praised in 1881 by the missionary Isaac Rooney in his journal. Baledrokadroka, who came from the island of Vulaga, was described as 'the pick of all the men we have in this Mission'. Rooney had known him since he was a student at the circuit training school on Lakeba in 1869, and had recently been happy to recommend him for admission to the ordained ministry: 'His praise is in all the churches in this far off land.'¹³⁷ After returning to Fiji in 1893, he served in various appointments — 'a wonderfully wise and capable leader' — and died on Lakeba in 1925.¹³⁸

In Fiji, the Native Minister looked after the congregations in his section of the white missionary's circuit: he visited the villages to hold meetings, officiate at communion services, examine candidates for local office and supervise the teachers.¹³⁹ A minister wore a white shirt and *sulu*. He was usually known for his vigorous preaching, in which he freely quoted the Scriptures and made much use of analogies from the natural world. Fijian preachers 'have all been students of nature from childhood', one of the missionaries remarked;

the jungle is their almanack ... The habits and peculiarities of plants, insects, birds, fishes, and all manner of life in the wonderland of a coral reef give a never-ending supply of illustration. Their language lends itself to oratory, and their rhetoric never fails ... Their native proverbs are often used with more effect than an argument. A proverb clenches the teaching and presents the truth like a flash-light. People trying to evade the consequences of sin, or to get away from its punishment, are likened to the flying fish, that leap out of the water to escape the bonita, and are gobbled up by the seagulls.¹⁴⁰

Another missionary commented that the preachers could 'take another man's ideas and deliver them in such a natural way that you have not the heart to accuse them of plagiarism. And though the plumes may be most of them borrowed ones, yet are there mixed therewith some bright feathers of their own.'¹⁴¹

Native Ministers continued to depend on their flock for much of their material support, but they also received a small annual salary from mission funds. In the 1870s, the salary was £5 (rising to £15 after 15 years of service), with all other moneymaking activities prohibited.¹⁴² In 1900, the Native Ministers formally requested a salary increase.¹⁴³ It seems that their dissatisfaction had begun many years before and that their repeated requests had always (like this one) been refused. The reason given by the missionaries for the refusal was that many chiefs and other Fijian officials on government salaries were paid less than ministers and would be displeased if church salaries were increased.¹⁴⁴

There were many other indications that the authority of missionaries in the church, and that of Native Ministers even more, was constrained by the power of the chiefs. 'Many things we dare not say to our chiefs,' the ministers admitted in 1888. 'The chiefs hear our word but do not regard us.' Against the chiefs, the ministers told the missionaries, 'We are strong' only to the extent that 'your presence makes us strong'.¹⁴⁵

Only a few of the Native Ministers were of chiefly rank by birth and the chiefs retained the authority they had exerted in religious affairs ever since Christianity had been adopted by communities throughout Fiji. Office in the church gave ministers considerable status in society, but chiefs often reminded them that authority in the church was inferior to traditional chiefly authority. Pretensions to chief-like power were checked by the mission, too: in this period some ministers were disciplined for exacting labour or goods from their people in the manner of chiefs.¹⁴⁶

Although they constantly expressed their satisfaction with the work of Fijian ministers among the people at grassroots level, the missionaries often pointed to certain characteristics of their ministry that sometimes detracted from its effectiveness. As Europeans, the missionaries were unsympathetic to traditional Fijian religion and expected their indigenous colleagues to share this attitude. They were disappointed when the otherwise exemplary Kelepi Tuvuniwai failed to oppose the 'flagrant absurdities' of a 'superstitious' movement that emerged in the church on the island of Matuku where he was the ordained minister.¹⁴⁷ There is evidence that many teachers and *talatala* did not feel able to oppose the sorcery that was still widely practised.¹⁴⁸ In this and other matters, the 'native agents' were expected to use the authority they had been given in the village churches, but the missionaries sometimes expressed concern that Native Ministers were apt to 'rule the teachers under their care with an oppressive hand',¹⁴⁹ or that some teachers and ministers were carried away by 'self-conceit and an exaggerated estimate of their own vast erudition'.¹⁵⁰

Outside observers made their criticisms, too. Fijian ministers had a bad name among the white residents, reported a pair of British travellers in the 1870s.¹⁵¹ Another visitor was more sympathetic to the mission but still commented that appointment to office in the church tended to 'foster vanity in ignorant minds'.¹⁵² This was repeated in the 1880s by a journalist who wrote of teachers and ministers who put on airs, abused their authority and expected comfort and honour.¹⁵³ But a European who had lived in Fiji for 40 years and travelled constantly around the group dismissed the flippant and disparaging remarks of globetrotters and superficial journalists who knew nothing of the real work of the teachers and ministers. He testified to the esteem in which they were held by the people, the energy and dedication they displayed in their work, their trustworthiness and sincerity, and their contribution to peace and order in the community. 'These men are of the people,' he wrote; they were 'in constant and sympathetic touch with their everyday life'.¹⁵⁴ This positive assessment (made in 1899) coincides with that of Tippet, a modern scholar who has written that the strength of the Fijian church in this period was due to the fact that its lay and ordained ministry was drawn from the people and possessed only a little more knowledge and training than members of the communities they served.¹⁵⁵

The lives of only a few of the Native Ministers have been described in any detail, although scattered biographical information is available for some.¹⁵⁶ Among these snippets is the obituary of the 'mild and amiable' Livai Seru, a Native Minister from 1861 until his death a few years later. He was 'a man of much prayer, and lived in constant and close communion with God. Those who lived near him felt that he was a man of God,

and were favourably influenced by his precept and example.’¹⁵⁷ We learn that the elderly Tomasi Se, who had been made a Native Minister 10 years earlier, was of enormous assistance to the young Arthur Small (later chairman of the mission) when the missionary took up his first post at Bua in 1879.¹⁵⁸ A similar debt was owed by William Slade, who arrived in 1886, to Eliesa Bula, a Native Minister since 1866. ‘How great a service a cool-headed, true-hearted, experienced native minister can render a missionary during the early years of his service,’ wrote Slade, who believed that Bula stood out for his willingness to confront the chiefs and his kindly treatment of the teachers serving under him.¹⁵⁹ Another missionary, William Heighway, recorded the life of Jutasi Boginiso, who as a youth ‘consecrated himself to Jesus and became a member of the church’, served as a teacher and catechist for about 30 years, became a Native Minister in 1888, retired in 1907 and died in his nineties in 1929.¹⁶⁰ Throughout the period, some ministers were disciplined or dismissed, but in reviewing the career of Eliesa Bula (1839-1915), the historian Thornley was sure that ‘the faithful life’ of this man was ‘very typical of many of the ministers in the foundation years of the church’s history’.¹⁶¹

Preparation of the Wesleyan ministry for responsibility

Formal instruction for ministry tasks in the Fijian church began in the small training centres attached to each circuit and directed by the district missionary. As well as acquiring biblical knowledge and learning the skills of a village teacher, the young men who lived at these centres were incorporated into the mission culture by crewing the missionary’s boat and working around the station. A Native Minister usually participated in the teaching work and the quality of the training depended on the ability of this instructor and the commitment of the station missionary to the programme.¹⁶² One of the missionaries, Small, wrote that he always devoted much attention to these institutions, believing them to be a highly effective means of developing leadership in the church.¹⁶³ Most of the students never rose above the rank of village teacher, but the most promising went for further training at the central institution and many of these eventually became Native Ministers. Academic ability played its part in their promotion, but it remains true, as Tippetts writes, that ‘the test for candidature for the ministry was not an academic standard but a proven ability as an evangelist and pastor ... When such men were brought in for a good biblical training ... they made a particularly relevant indigenous ministry’.¹⁶⁴

In 1861, the missionaries affirmed the value of the central training facility at Mataisuva in eastern Viti Levu. They agreed that the task of developing an excellent Fijian ministry demanded more attention than busy district missionaries had been able to devote to it before 1857 when Mataisuva was established. But the decision was made to move the school from its ‘very unsuitable’ site. A new Institution was built on the southern island of Kadavu, where more agricultural land was available. A contemporary drawing shows the principal’s house on a hill and the students’ houses among the trees along the shore below. Soon there were more than 40 students in residence; some were married, and the women were taught by the principal’s wife. A Native Minister was also

on the staff. Captain Hope of the Royal Navy was impressed by what he saw: 'The whole establishment forms a model village, whose inhabitants are trained to habits of cleanliness, order, and decency, as well as method and industry.'¹⁶⁵

By 1870, the number of students at 'Richmond' (the Institution had been named after the Wesleyan ministry training college in England) had increased to more than 50,¹⁶⁶ but the mission was beginning to look for a new site capable of supporting many more than that. An increase in the number of well-trained teachers and ministers was regarded as the key to assuring the strength of the Fijian church in the future.¹⁶⁷ In the meantime, the Kadavu institution continued to form the students sent there from all over Fiji, using a timetable described by its principal in 1871. A bell at 5.30am (5am in summer) called them together for work in the food gardens. After breakfast at 7am, followed by family prayers, classes began. The first task was to copy notes of the previous day's lecture, compiling material that was taken away when the students left and used by teachers and local preachers throughout the land: the Institution was thus able to feed the multitude with 'a few loaves and a few little fishes'. The morning's work continued with the exposition of a Scripture passage, which the students enjoyed and their teachers thought very important — 'it is good for their hearts as well as their heads'. Revision of previous lectures was followed by new teaching in theology and church history as well as in geography, natural history and arithmetic. The afternoon and evening were taken up with more outside work, evening prayers and study, and 'lights out' at 9pm.¹⁶⁸

The limitations of the site on Kadavu, and its distance from the main population centres of Fiji, led to the relocation of the Institution to the Rewa Delta area on Viti Levu in 1873. At its reopening on land at Navuloa donated by Cakobau, who performed the opening ceremony, the missionaries spoke of their intention to require three years of study and to admit only those who had been at a circuit school for two or three years.¹⁶⁹ The number of students had risen to 80 or more by the 1880s; about half of them were married.¹⁷⁰ A traveller several years later was shown around 'with just pride' by the principal. 'Choice shrubs and trees' dotted the site, where a grassed area was lined on one side by 'wicker' houses for families and on the other by dwellings for the single men. 'It is a splendid sight,' enthused the visitor, 'when the hall is occupied by its hundred students, dressed in white, all at work within. They sit upon forms, and write upon well-made desks. The drawing on the blackboard and writing was wonderful, such writing that any clerk might envy.'¹⁷¹

The well-educated Lorimer Fison directed the Institution from 1877 to 1884. Small recalled that this principal was 'honoured, admired and beloved' by the students, and later it was asserted that in his time Navuloa 'reached its zenith' as a provider of theological education.¹⁷² By the end of the century, however, it was recognised that the quality of the training had declined. It was said that the only material being taught was biblical history (using Fison's old lectures).¹⁷³ A visitor who was impressed by the students' biblical knowledge suspected that the only reading material they had was the Bible, and in fact there was a recognised lack of theological writings and biblical commentaries in the Fijian language.¹⁷⁴ In the mission there was a desire to appoint a more highly qualified missionary than the late William Lindsay, who had succeeded

Fison.¹⁷⁵ After 1900, improvements did eventuate at Navuloa, where the Institution continued for only eight more years before being moved to Davuilevu. The old coastal site had been attractive for its plentiful fish and its isolation from the distractions of more populated places, but the training facility has remained at its new location until today.¹⁷⁶

Despite their increased numbers, improved training and well-attested record of achievement in the last four decades of the 19th century, Fijian ministers had not by 1900 been permitted to advance far towards greater responsibility in the national church. A small but symbolic step was taken in 1865 when Joeli Bulu was the first non-European to participate, along with six white missionaries, in the ordination ceremony for two new Native Ministers.¹⁷⁷ It was more difficult for the missionaries to admit their local colleagues into the councils that governed the church. In the 1860s, provision was made for the Native Ministers to meet in order to frame submissions, which the missionaries would consider when they conferred in their annual district meeting soon afterwards. From 1865, the Native Ministers were permitted to be present at the district meeting, but the demands of the missionary Waterhouse, that the Fijians attend and participate as equals of the European members, were resisted by most of his colleagues.¹⁷⁸

Difficulties surrounding the specific matter of representation were symptomatic of the wider question of indigenous responsibility for church leadership. The extent to which Native Ministers should share in mission decision-making became controversial again in the 1870s, and the issue was complicated further by an acrimonious personal relationship between Waterhouse and Frederick Langham (chairman from 1869). With regard to the issue itself, it was not that the missionaries were opposed in principle to a self-governing church. The veteran Calvert, now retired, had modified the very cautious opinion he had expressed in 1858: he now favoured a deliberate granting of responsibility to the ministers and thought that ultimately, perhaps, they could be 'left mainly to themselves, to manage the work in their own country'.¹⁷⁹ As in other Pacific missions, administrators outside the islands exerted pressure on the field staff to expand the indigenous ministry and increase its responsibilities. 'The history of all foreign missions,' the General Secretary pointed out from Sydney, 'has proved that our hope for the permanent evangelization of any country must rest to a very large extent on a native ministry.'¹⁸⁰ Another official in Australia declared that continued dependence on foreign personnel was 'unscriptural in principle'.¹⁸¹ In Fiji, Fison was bolder than many of his colleagues, but he was not misrepresenting the goal of the missionaries when he declared in 1871 that 'one of the most earnestly followed ends of our work has been, and still is, to put it out of our hands into the hands of the natives themselves. "A Fijian Ministry for the Fijian Church" has long been our motto; and we hope that we are fast approaching the realization thereof in actual fact.'¹⁸²

The prevailing stance of the missionaries in Fiji at this time was articulated by Carey in 1869. As principal of the Institution, his stated aim was to train ministers 'to direct and govern their own church'.¹⁸³ In supporting the objective of making the church self-governing, however, he added the phrase 'except perhaps in its superintendence': 'The firm administration of discipline and the conservation of pure doctrine,' he explained, would require the oversight of missionaries for perhaps 'many years to come'.¹⁸⁴ This

opinion was supported by the elderly Joeli Bulu, who, when told by a missionary in 1872 that the church was in good hands as the number of Native Ministers increased, retorted: 'All babes in the ministry ... they want your wisdom to guide and your influence to support them. They would be orphans indeed if they were left. The weakly banana falls when you take the prop away.'¹⁸⁵

The cautious attitude of the mission leadership in Fiji was sharply challenged by Waterhouse in the 1870s. 'What instrumentality has hitherto been most effectively used by the Divine Spirit?' he asked. 'Foreign or Native? Without the slightest hesitation, I reply that the labours of the native agents have been the more abundantly blessed by God.' He offered a long list of the ways in which an indigenous pastor was more effective than a foreigner, and argued that while the achievements of white missionaries had been enormous, 'to localize, naturalize, *nationalize* Christianity there must be a native ministry'. As soon as possible, the foreign missionary must 'lay down his pastorate and let the church be instructed and governed' by well-qualified local leaders. In the Fiji mission, unless the ordained Fijians were 'treated as Methodist ministers' in the fullest sense, the indigenous ministry would remain stunted. Waterhouse was well informed about the worldwide missionary discussions of how a 'mission' became a 'church'. In the context of Fiji, he was arguing again that the Native Ministers should participate fully in the district meeting, so as to learn the essential Wesleyan task of exercising collective oversight of each other.¹⁸⁶

Waterhouse's demands were viewed not unsympathetically by Benjamin Chapman, the Missionary Secretary in Australia,¹⁸⁷ but the missionaries in Fiji, as well as being alienated by Waterhouse's attacks on them, were anxious not to proceed too rapidly. John Leggoe, for example, assured Chapman that they were in full sympathy with the aim of building up the indigenous ministry but wanted to give it time to develop (under supervision).¹⁸⁸ They felt that in wanting to appoint Fijians as circuit superintendents Waterhouse was going too fast: the Native Ministers were not ready for this, wrote Leggoe, and were not seeking it, as 'few if any of them think themselves qualified for it'.¹⁸⁹ Carey feared that the proposed appointments would open the door to syncretistic acceptance of pagan religious practices in the church, and Langham was worried that Fijian superintendents would have trouble standing up to the chiefs.¹⁹⁰ The missionaries at this time felt a sense of superiority over their Fijian colleagues, who reserved for them something of the deference due to chiefs. Right up to the end of the century, recorded a later mission writer, 'the Native Ministers, on coming into the presence of the European Missionary, would squat with knees under their chins, or at least would sit Fiji-fashion on the mat while the European sat on a chair'.¹⁹¹ Waterhouse reported that at the district meeting in 1874 'there was a disposition on the part of some of our English brethren to ride rough-shod over the native clergy, and the latter were quite aware of it'.¹⁹²

The outcome of this protracted controversy was an arrangement that fell far short of what Waterhouse wanted (and was different from the decision made in Tonga at the same time — to admit all Tongan Native Ministers to the mission's district meeting). It was decided in 1875 that the annual district meeting would be preceded by meetings of all the Native Ministers in each circuit. Presided over by the district missionary, each

circuit meeting would discuss all matters coming before the district meeting, and also elect one Native Minister to accompany the missionary to that meeting. There the Fijian representatives would have the right to speak and vote on all matters affecting the Native Ministers and their work, but not on other matters. Waterhouse protested until he left Fiji in 1878, but the arrangement was eventually confirmed by the Conference in Australia.¹⁹³ For the rest of the century, the missionaries and an equal number of representatives of the far bigger group of Native Ministers made up the district meeting — a situation with no precedent in Wesleyan history. This protected the missionaries from being outvoted and ‘trapped the Fijian ministry in a subordinate position for almost seventy years’.¹⁹⁴

The accepted wisdom of the mission after the failure of Waterhouse’s campaign continued to be that the Fijians were not yet ready to undertake the management of their church. From conversations with the mission chairman in the late 1870s, Gordon Cumming understood that only a few teachers and ministers were believed capable of holding responsible positions: ‘They always require the direct guidance of the missionary, and if this is long withheld, difficulties almost invariably arise.’¹⁹⁵ It has been suggested that in the late 19th century the mission became more paternalistic and so even more distrustful of Fijian participation in decision-making.¹⁹⁶ Certainly, the missionaries strongly opposed a proposal to reduce their numbers: such a decision, they asserted in 1888, would put the mission in ‘gravest peril’. As well as pointing to the ever-increasing threat from Catholicism, they again advanced the argument that in the absence of missionaries the Native Ministers would be overawed by chiefs, especially in cases of church discipline. It was ‘too early to entrust the guidance of our work solely to native agents’, they said once again.¹⁹⁷

There is evidence that the Native Ministers themselves were not satisfied with what had been decided, but they do not appear to have been prepared to speak out openly against the missionaries’ attitude. A senior *talatala* was dismissed, however, when he sided with students who refused to perform manual work for the mission at Navuloa in 1892. He had been associated for years with pleas for better conditions for Native Ministers, and his action in 1892 has been interpreted as ‘the culmination of growing frustration with domineering mission authority’.¹⁹⁸ The mission’s leadership in the 1890s was again resisting efforts from Australia to create a greater role for Fijians in the administration of the church, and this debate continued on into the early 20th century.¹⁹⁹ At the turn of the century, the missionaries were able to convince a deputation from Australia that Fijian church leaders were not yet ready to take charge at circuit or national level. Increased responsibilities could be conferred in the future, they suggested, but to take this action now would be ‘most disastrous’.²⁰⁰ It seems that this oft-repeated warning was accompanied by few deliberate efforts to prepare the Fijians for the promised ‘right time’.²⁰¹

Indigenous ministry at the end of the century

Despite the slowness of the Wesleyan missionaries to concede to their Fijian colleagues a proper share in the governance of the church, no one denied ‘the immense value of

native labourers' (to use the language of 1884). Clearly, wrote Calvert in that year, 'the blessed work of God in this large group of islands is mainly done by natives'.²⁰² By 1900, the foundations of a future self-governing Methodist Church in Fiji had been soundly laid. The Catholic Church depended for much longer on foreign priests, but there too indigenous catechists provided much of the church's ministry at the grassroots level.

Other smaller churches began to emerge about the turn of the century. Seventh-day Adventist missionaries arrived in the 1890s, and a stir ran through the Wesleyan mission when a well-known Native Minister, Pauliasi Bunoa, was converted to Adventism. Bunoa was one of the first missionaries to New Guinea in 1875. Returning to Fiji in 1884, he was admitted to the ministry and, in 1898, was stationed near Suva. In that year, he became interested in the teachings of the Adventist missionaries working there and soon adopted them himself. He resigned from the Wesleyan ministry but continued in evangelistic and pastoral work for the Adventists, who, in 1906, ordained him — the first ordained indigenous Seventh-day Adventist minister in the South Pacific.²⁰³ Bunoa now propagated a new variant of Christianity, but the pattern of his ministry and that of others in the new church was not very different from what had become characteristic in Wesleyanism (by this time called Methodism). The emergence of the *talatala* in early Fijian Wesleyanism had created a distinctive new element in the social structure, a deeply rooted element that, by 1900, appeared to be a permanent feature of Fijian life throughout this group of islands.

8.

NEW ZEALAND

OCEANIC VOYAGERS in ancient times had found their way as far as the southern, northern and eastern extremities of the ‘Polynesian triangle’ — the large islands later to be known as New Zealand, the Hawaiian islands and isolated Rapanui (Easter Island). In the 19th century, their descendants in New Zealand and Hawai’i were among the earliest Pacific Islanders to receive the Christian Gospel.

When missionaries arrived in New Zealand from England in 1814 and in Hawai’i from the US in 1820, there was no indication that the experience of the indigenous Christian communities that were to result from their work would be any different from that of their fellows also being evangelised during the first half of the century in Tahiti and other parts of eastern and central Polynesia. But by 1900, the indigenous people of New Zealand (the Maori) and Hawai’i, unlike other Polynesians, had become marginalised minorities in lands colonised by immigrants of other races. Their swamping by newcomers greatly affected every aspect of their lives, including their participation in the Christian Church.

During the early formative years of their response to mission activity, however, Maori and Hawaiians had developed their Christian identity largely free of any outside influence other than that of their missionary mentors. In New Zealand, this period of relatively autonomous indigenous Christian history was shorter than in Hawai’i, but even as late as the 1850s, some years after New Zealand became a British colony (in 1840) and large-scale settlement by Pakeha (Europeans) began, Maori Christianity still possessed the comparative independence it would soon see disappearing in the overwhelming current of colonisation.

In early 19th-century New Zealand there were probably about 100,000 Maori, divided into a large number of distinct tribes. The Christian message was first proclaimed in this land to a northern tribe, Nga Puhi, in the Bay of Islands on Christmas Day 1814. The evangelists were envoys of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), an arm of the evangelical movement within the Church of England. Founded in 1799, the CMS was a foremost 19th-century missionary force in many parts of the world, but its mission to New Zealand — one of its earliest enterprises — was the only activity it ever developed in the Pacific Islands region. Measured in numbers of converts, success did not come quickly to the CMS mission, nor to the Wesleyan missionaries (also British) who arrived in 1822. But by the 1830s, a breakthrough was evident in the far northern districts where

the two Protestant missions were operating. At that time, too, some communities responded to the French priests (members of the Society of Mary) who brought Catholicism in 1838. Before long, Christianity had spread to almost every tribe in the three islands.

Early Maori messengers of Christianity

As evangelicals, the CMS and Wesleyan missionaries sought to develop an intelligent and heartfelt Christian faith in their converts, and to encourage them to participate actively in the evangelisation of their own people and the building up of the life of the Christian community. They placed great store on the imparting of biblical and doctrinal knowledge and the skills of literacy, and were pleased when their first converts seemed willing to follow their example by becoming teachers themselves. As early as 1831, Henry Williams, the leader of the CMS missionaries in the Bay of Islands, was sending young men out to preach in nearby villages, and this soon became a standard practice at the stations of both missions.¹ One of the missionaries later recalled what he learned in 1832 when he travelled with English colleagues and Maori Christians to a previously unevangelised northern district: 'It became abundantly apparent how great is likely to be the value of native agency. An intelligent New Zealander, if only his thoughts are directed into a right channel, is much better able than a foreigner to adapt his language so as to arrest the attention of his countrymen.'²

In the 1830s, the rapid emergence of a great Maori thirst for reading and writing skills and the successful efforts of the missionaries to translate and print the Scriptures made Maori teachers welcome even in areas far from the northern missionary base. The men who gave instruction in Christianity and literacy all over the country in these enthusiastic early days had often gone off on their teaching missions without formal appointments and even without the knowledge of the missionaries.

It seems, for example, that Christian teachings were first brought to the eastern-most part of the North Island by Taumata-a-kura, a man from the Waiapu River area. With other members of his tribe (Ngati Porou), he had been captured in the 1820s by Nga Puhi raiders and taken to the Bay of Islands. While in the north, he had been exposed to mission teaching, but he was not known to be particularly interested in Christianity. He was probably among a group of liberated captives returned to the east coast by the CMS in 1834. There he began instructing his fellow Ngati Porou in the rudiments of literacy and Christian doctrine and practice, and was credited with supernatural powers that included invulnerability to physical harm during battle. News of Taumata-a-kura's spontaneous mission and the 'truly astonishing' response of Ngati Porou reached the missionaries, who went to see for themselves in 1838 and later that year formally stationed three teachers at the East Cape and three at Turanga (later known as Gisborne). The way had been well prepared for the stationing of the first white missionary in this area, and William Williams came to Turanga in 1840 to oversee the new Christian movement there. He immediately sent Maori teachers out to the tribes in many parts of the large eastern district.³

Similarly, on the south-western (Kapiti) coast of the North Island, the early evangelisation of the three resident tribes (Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Toa and Te Ati Awa) was accomplished by a man who had been a captive of Nga Puhi in the Bay of Islands. Matahau (or Ripahau) had been instructed in Christianity by the CMS missionaries during the 1830s. On his return to the south, his own Ngati Raukawa showed little interest at first, but the son of the great Ngati Toa warrior chief, Te Rauparaha, eagerly listened to Matahau's Christian teaching and learned from him how to read and write. Requests were made for a white missionary and Octavius Hadfield took up residence at Waikanae.⁴ The missionaries who came in 1839 to set up the station found that Matahau had been teaching with 'astonishing zeal and perseverance'; 'many tribes for some distance around' wrote Henry Williams, 'call themselves believers, keep the Sabbath, assemble for worship, and use the Liturgy of the Church of England. The schools are numerous.'⁵ Matahau was now baptised. 'He is not well instructed,' commented Hadfield, but the missionaries were impressed with his strong faith and exemplary conduct and convinced that the Christian progress evident in the area was due entirely to the work of this unofficial teacher.⁶ Hadfield remained to direct the work of the mission on the Kapiti coast for many years, while Matahau married the daughter of a chief (Wiremu Kingi of Te Ati Awa). He died in 1840.⁷

Further up the west coast of the North Island, Christianity was introduced to the Wanganui tribes about 1836 by Wiremu Te Tauri, a Maori messenger from the inland district of Taupo. Of chiefly rank, he stayed on after the arrival of CMS missionaries in 1840 and was still a much-valued head teacher in the early 1850s. He was appointed to a local government position by officials, who knew him as 'a most exemplary and deserving chief'.⁸ Still further up the coast, south Taranaki was first evangelised about 1837 by a Ngati Ruanui man who had returned home from captivity among Nga Puhi. He too had been attracted to the new faith while in the north, and had been baptised Wiremu Nera (William Naylor) by the Wesleyans. After five years, the Wesleyan mission was able to station a white missionary among Ngati Ruanui to build on the pioneer's work.⁹

It was a Wesleyan convert from Nga Puhi's tribal area who passed on the Christian message to a certain Taawao, who in turn transmitted it to Ngai Tahu people living on the east coast of the South Island. Taawao's evangelisation of the Maori communities of the Banks Peninsula occurred in 1839 or 1840. He and another Maori Christian, Hohepa Korehi, who joined him soon afterwards, were baptised and formally appointed as Wesleyan teachers at Koukourarata (Port Levy) by the missionary James Watkin when he visited the area.¹⁰ Across the island on the west coast, the explorer Heaphy found in 1846 that the people living there, who were also Ngai Tahu, all professed Christianity, and many were literate; he noted that 'the imperfect knowledge they have acquired has been imparted to them solely by native teachers, no missionary having as yet been able to visit them'.¹¹ The coming of Christianity to the southernmost Ngai Tahu arose from a Maori initiative, too. Pohio, a man of high rank, came north from Ruapuke Island in the Foveaux Strait to learn about the new faith from Watkin soon after the Wesleyan mission was established at Waikouaiti (in Otago) in 1840. He and others conveyed the Christian message to the people of Ruapuke and Rakiura (Stewart Island) before the arrival of the first white missionary.¹²

There are many other examples of Maori who emerged spontaneously as teachers of Christianity in this period of rapid religious change. A good number of them were, in the words of a Wesleyan missionary on the west coast of the North Island, slaves who had been 'liberated by their masters, and returned well supplied with prayer books, hymns and portions of scripture to their own country and people; there they have instructed their friends to the best of their ability, [and] established the worship of God and the means of Grace'.¹³ Evangelistic success achieved in this way by 'native agency' was acknowledged by the missions as remarkable evidence of the wisdom of God. Richard Taylor was in no doubt that 'the Gospel could not have made the progress it did, or have obtained such a permanent hold upon the native mind, had it not been for the agency of the native teachers'.¹⁴ Even at the time, however, it was recognised that along with the 'simple faith' of the evangelists there was, in the words of Richard Davis of the CMS, 'doubtless some error mixed up with their proceedings'.¹⁵ The missionaries still made assessments like this in later years when they looked back to the 1830s and 1840s. When William Williams evaluated the work of Taumata-a-kura, for instance, he described the teaching given as 'a mixture of truth and error, of superstition and of Gospel light'. But, explained Williams, God had been 'pleased to make use of this man to prepare the way'.¹⁶

Early Maori agents of religious change were participating in something more than just the transmission of Christian doctrinal tenets. As teachers of reading, they were closely involved in an important dimension of the Maori response to Christianity. 'Everyone must be struck with the assiduity and perseverance with which mutual instruction is carried on amongst the natives,' wrote an observer who was unconnected with the missions. 'They will often sit for hours together criticizing the meaning of a phrase in their books.'¹⁷ Maori interest in literacy might be understood as indicating a desire not just for information about the content of Christian teaching but for access to the sources of European power and wealth.¹⁸ Teachers were essential providers of literacy skills. Furthermore, because of their association with the impressive God of the missionaries, teachers were seen to be imbued with the power and prestige that in the Maori world was ascribed to people closely in touch with the gods. This *mana* was great enough to replace that lost by men who had been subjected to the humiliation of capture and slavery. As possessors of prestigious new skills and knowledge, the former captives and other early teachers were people of no small account, and were well placed to arouse Maori interest in the prayers and teachings of the new religion.

Mission teachers appointed

The spontaneous effectiveness of the early unofficial advocates of Christianity was continued and to some extent formalised during the period of mission expansion that began in the late 1830s. As the British missionaries ventured out from the Bay of Islands and established themselves among the tribes living in other parts of the country, they invariably appointed 'native teachers' (termed *kaiwhakaako* in Maori) to assist them at their stations and to represent them in outlying areas. This permitted their work to

advance more rapidly than it had in the north during the long years before anyone there professed Christianity. In favour of the speedy development in new believers of a sense of service and responsibility, both missions used teachers extensively. The Wesleyans were perhaps more deliberate; their policy, explained Nathaniel Turner, was one of 'uniting the people in classes in every place as soon as they have received the Gospel, and placing leaders over them from among themselves ... We as at home endeavour to encourage and make use of every degree of Talent we can for spreading the work in the land'.¹⁹ In the CMS mission, the movement towards formalising the work of teachers was exemplified by an event reported in 1840: aiming to end the previous practice, in which any teacher went anywhere 'just as he liked', a missionary 'publicly set apart' 13 teachers at Kaitaia and Waimate, presenting each with a written licence.²⁰ By the 1840s, almost every region was well supplied with teachers, either CMS or Wesleyan. On the west coast of the North Island in 1841, for example, a traveller found that there were teachers from one mission or the other in 31 of 32 villages he visited.²¹

Many of the appointed mission teachers in this period survive in the records as little more than names, but personal details are sometimes extensive enough to help convey a general impression of this early group of Maori Christian leaders. Among them were many men of rank. Notable teachers and preachers, for example, emerged from the earliest group of chiefs responding to the Wesleyans in the north in 1833, including those baptised as Simon Peter Matangi, William Barton and Abraham Taonui. The converted warrior, Matangi, accompanied the Wesleyans south to Kawhia, where he was 'universally respected by the people ... although he was formerly dreaded by them as one of their worst enemies'.²² Matiu Tahu was the first convert in Tauranga. For 25 years the most steadfast associate of the CMS missionary Alfred Brown, who baptised him in 1839, Tahu was at the time of his conversion already middle-aged and a prestigious chief and priest of his tribe, Ngai Te Rangi. Brown greatly valued his wisdom as a leader and his tirelessness as a teacher.²³ Also baptised by Brown in 1839 was Ngakuku (William Marsh), a chief living at Matamata and later at Maungatautari. He became known as a peacemaker within his tribe (Ngati Haua) and between his tribe and others, and as a teacher and evangelist working with Ngati Haua and in distant tribal areas.²⁴ Another CMS teacher of chiefly rank working in the 1840s was Renata Kawepo of Ngati Kahungunu.²⁵ In the South Island, the earliest baptisms performed by Watkin in 1843 were of a group of chiefs who went on to become valued Wesleyan teachers in Canterbury, Otago and Southland and notable leaders in the dealings of Ngai Tahu with the Government and European settlers. The first man to come to Watkin at Waikouaiti for baptism was Rawiri Te Maire, who lived until 1899. He was followed five months later by Horomona Pohio of Ruapuke (who died in 1880), Hoani Wetere Korako of Otakou (who died in 1873) and Tare Wetere Te Kahu of Otakou (who died in 1906). The most prominent of several other chiefs baptised that year was Matiaha Tiramorehu of Moeraki, a former warrior who became, like the others, a highly respected Christian teacher and Ngai Tahu leader; he died in 1881.²⁶

Another early convert who became a CMS worker was Rawiri Te Mania, who came from the Manukau Harbour area. A conscientious teacher and attractive personality, he

married 'a clever notable woman' and stayed faithful to the work until his death in 1859.²⁷ The first missionary at Te Aro, where the city of Wellington was soon to be built, was Minarapa Rangihatuake of Taranaki. He had been a captive in the Waikato and then in the Hokianga, where he had become a Wesleyan teacher and volunteered to accompany the white missionaries when they went to found the Wellington station in 1839. Minarapa was their spokesman and, when the people agreed to accept a mission, he was left in charge of it.²⁸ An unhappier experience was that of Te Manihera Poutama and Kereopa, Ngati Ruanui teachers who volunteered for an extension of the CMS mission to Ngati Tuwharetoa, an inland tribe at enmity with their own. They were killed near Lake Taupo in 1847, and were acclaimed as martyrs whose blood was the seed of the church soon to be founded there. The teacher Wiremu Te Tauri presented a more indigenous simile: a minister or teacher lost in this way, he said, was 'like a lofty Kahikatea tree full of fruit, which it sheds on every side around, causing a thick grove of young trees to spring up; so that although the parent tree may be cut down, its place is thus more than supplied by those which proceed from it'.²⁹

When Pita Whakangaue died in 1855 after 10 years as a teacher near the East Cape, the CMS missionaries praised him as a model. 'By diligence and perseverance,' they wrote,

he had acquired a very considerable acquaintance with the Scriptures. Ardent in the pursuit of knowledge, quick in perception, and earnest in application to his studies, he was, at the same time, characterised by a deep-wrought piety and singleness of purpose which showed that his desire for improvement arose from no selfish motive, but from anxiety to be useful to his countrymen ... [When left for long periods in sole charge of the station], he did not prove unequal to the occasion. The regular public services continued to be held, the adult schools and Bible classes were continued, and his energies were wholly given to the improvement of the people. The Missionary of the adjoining district, one who knew him well, mentions ... the cleanliness of his person, and comparative neatness of his dress; the order with which he proceeded with his public duties; the superior style of his house and premises; and the commanding respect which he secured from others.³⁰

The missionaries' writings contain many other such tributes to teachers whose characters they admired and whose work they valued.

The recognised importance of the teachers in the spread and development of Maori Christianity among a large and widely dispersed population gave rise to many evaluations by missionaries of their indigenous co-workers as a group. The assessments varied from highly positive to strongly negative, reflecting not only the range of abilities and attitudes found in the teachers but also the missionaries' diverse expectations of their subordinates and often their imperfect understanding of the dynamics of Maori conversion. Criticisms such as those made by Edward Shortland, who was writing from outside the missions, were sometimes made by missionaries, too: teachers were ignorant, presumptuous and greedy.³¹ Shortcomings of a more tangible nature could bring dismissal, as in the cases mentioned by Williams in 1840 (a 'grievous fall'), Selwyn in

1843 ('deposed for gross sin') and Grace in 1851 (three dismissals: two for adultery and one for 'want of attention to his duties and general bad conduct').³² But the worth of Maori teachers as a group was consistently asserted by Walter Lawry, who was Wesleyan General Superintendent from 1844 to 1854, and a missionary such as Joseph Matthews, who spent five decades in the field (at the CMS Kaitaia station, from 1833 to 1883), could build his whole mission strategy around the nurturing of teachers for the emerging Maori church.³³

Commentators usually tried to balance the faults of the teachers against their strengths. The missionary Johann Wohlers noted that teachers he encountered were poorly instructed and often presumptuous, but he acknowledged that 'they did a great deal of good, in so far as they spread the spiritual movement all over New Zealand and kept it alive'. He accepted and 'honoured' them for their sincerity and for the value of their work, in the recognition that God used even 'weak tools ... in his well-ordered economy'.³⁴ The comments of Lady Martin, who knew the Maori church at close hand, discriminated between good and bad teachers. Some sank back into slovenly uncivilised ways, some 'pushed their way in the world and neglected their work', some grew conceited, but others stayed humble, faithful and dedicated.³⁵ In the early experience of Thomas Grace in eastern and inland North Island stations of the CMS, only a few mission workers were satisfactory, but as time went on his opinion of teachers improved.³⁶ William and Jane Williams on the east coast described Marsden Tukareaha as 'a native teacher of sterling character', 'entirely looked up to by the people', but when he wanted to set up a Maori whaling venture the mission was not pleased.³⁷ Williams praised the work of Eruera, the teacher at Waipiro and 'an energetic man', but found it necessary to spend 'some hours with Moses the teacher & a party from Taikawakawa respecting some unpleasant quarrels he has had with his people, in which he has shown a spirit not altogether consistent with christian character'.³⁸ Other comments in the journal of this missionary show that he recognised the important role of these leaders in the new Christian communities but felt that as 'babes in Christ' the teachers themselves needed continuing education and constant pastoral guidance and encouragement.³⁹

There were large numbers of teachers in the two Protestant missions by the 1850s. The CMS listed 295 'native agents' in 1844, and 440 in 1854 (or 558 by another count).⁴⁰ The Wesleyans had 322 'local preachers' and five 'catechists' in 1853.⁴¹ There were also, by this time, a considerable number of Maori working as Catholic catechists. French missionaries led by Bishop Pompallier, who was in charge of the new Marist mission in western Oceania, had entered the north of the country in 1838. The spread of Catholicism to many other regions owed much to the evangelising activities of converts appointed as *katekita*, but little has been recorded about their work in the early period. One of the few names known is that of Romano, who was baptised and taught by Pompallier in the north. Romano spoke to the bishop about the needs of his tribe in the Bay of Plenty and was sent to assist a French priest to begin a mission there in 1840.⁴²

Teachers and catechists employed by the three missions worked in most parts of the country, often among tribes other than their own. In contrast with other Polynesian churches, however, it did not become the practice for Maori Christians to travel to other

Pacific Islands as missionaries. Of course, the CMS had no other missions in the Pacific. But the teacher Riwai Te Ahu accompanied Bishop Selwyn, who was preparing him for the ordained ministry, on one of the bishop's mid-century missionary voyages to Melanesia,⁴³ and Henare Taratoa worked for several months with the Anglican missionary Nihill on Mare in the Loyalty Islands.⁴⁴ But these were isolated instances. In 1900, the Wesleyan writer Morley drew attention to the lack of Maori participation in missions beyond New Zealand, and saw it as one of the reasons for the weakness of Maori Wesleyanism.⁴⁵

Maori teachers in the community

While missionaries were continuously influential only in the vicinity of their own stations, 'native teachers' were resident in almost every village community. As school-teachers, catechists, worship leaders, preachers, pastors and moral guardians they and their daily activities had a continuing impact on local life and facilitated the steadily proceeding incorporation of Christian ideas and practices into Maori society. Together with their 'religious' work, they introduced European knowledge and skills such as literacy, agriculture and carpentry. Paul Pomare at Ahuriri (Hawkes Bay) 'constructed one of the best chapels in the country', and the teacher at Korotere (Waiapu) was one of the many mission workers who built furnished houses of European style and materials.⁴⁶

The authority exerted by a teacher over his flock was often considerable. 'Though he may be of the lowest rank of the slaves,' observed the missionary John Whiteley, 'yet if his superior attainments have raised him to that office, the most respectful deference is paid to his Authority and his word is law.'⁴⁷ The prestige of the Gospel and the attractions of literacy in this early period were the principal factors in the teachers' influence, but in a great many instances their power was also attributable partly to inherited chiefly status. The CMS flock at Oraka on the Mahia Peninsula, for example, was described by its visiting missionary supervisor as 'well attended to by Isaac the teacher who keeps the village in good order, and being also the chief of the tribe is able to carry out his plans with effect'.⁴⁸ Integrating Christian religious authority into the existing structure of local leadership in this way had practical advantages for the missions and their advance, as well as being consistent with traditional Maori understandings of power. When chiefs were faced with teachers of commoner status or from other tribes, however, conflict sometimes ensued. Pita Whakangaue experienced this as a teacher stationed in the Waiapu area: his plans for the building of a church at Rangitukia were challenged by the chief, Mokena Kohere, who wanted a much larger and grander edifice, and was displeased by the eventual arbitration of the missionary Baker (who at first had given in to the chief) in favour of the teacher.⁴⁹ On the other hand, teachers who were also chiefs could clash with unyielding missionaries, as Renata Kawepo (later an important tribal leader) did with William Colenso in Hawkes Bay.⁵⁰

The Christian values of humility and servanthood, in the view of European missionaries, were often compromised by teachers who did not employ their authority wisely. George Selwyn, who arrived in the country in 1842 as Bishop of New Zealand,

formed an opinion before long that a teacher enjoyed 'a power and influence often exceeding that of the chief of his tribe'.⁵¹ Contemporary remarks about the exercise of discipline in the Maori church are complicated by theological differences between commentators, but there is no doubt that the teachers used a firm hand to control membership. William Williams of the CMS noted that the teachers in the Turanga district were vigilant in their scrutiny of candidates for admission to the Lord's Supper, and that many were 'kept back from this ordinance' because of their 'inconsistency of conduct'. 'The discipline is salutary,' he wrote approvingly.⁵² But Selwyn was critical of 'that excessive rigour of discipline which we find so difficult to control in the native teachers when they are left to their own discretion'. This comment was occasioned by his encounter with a baptised woman who had been expelled from her village 'for an act of sin'. He acknowledged that the teachers were 'often offended' with him 'for what they considered a mistaken lenity', but in his view a compassionate stance was the more Christian one.⁵³ In the bishop's view, the teachers were too ready to exclude erring members from the Lord's Supper. 'I find that the native mind has run wild upon the love of power,' he told his white clergy in 1847. In their 'eagerness to wield the censures of the Church', using a 'public and unscriptural mode of trial', the teachers were exceeding their authority (and also hardening the hearts of sinners rather than gently preparing them for reconciliation and rehabilitation).⁵⁴

As well as locating itself within the traditional hierarchy of power and status, the corps of teachers as a new institution in Maori society needed to find its place in relation to the existing religious leadership. It was not a simple case of collision between religious functionaries old and new, or the complete replacement of one category with the other. What is clear is that the teachers did take over at least some aspects of the role of religious experts in the traditional order. This was all the more significant when it is understood that the activities of those who dealt with the gods in the pre-Christian era were not narrowly confined to the 'religious' dimension but were crucial to all political, economic and social matters.

The early missionaries had of course often encountered the specialist practitioners of traditional Maori religion. The founder of the CMS mission to New Zealand, Samuel Marsden, recorded his observation that all Maori 'firmly believe that their priests have communication with their god'.⁵⁵ It was clear that a 'priest' was above all a mediator between the human and supernatural worlds. He could receive messages from the *atua* (gods) and knew how to influence them by uttering the correct *karakia* (incantation). He could explain omens and was able to perform vital rites in connection with activities ranging from hunting, fishing and agriculture to navigation, construction, war and healing. European observers soon learned that his appellation, *tohunga*, denoted (to use Dieffenbach's definition) 'a wise, skilful man'.⁵⁶ *Tohunga* were indeed learned people, having at their command the words of many rituals, the oral texts of cosmological and historical traditions, and the ordered names contained in long genealogical narratives. Their knowledge and skills were carefully passed on to their designated successors. They were closely associated with chiefs and seem most often to have been male.⁵⁷ Possessing power to control evil spirits and safely manage the fearsome world of *tapu* (the dangerous

sacredness associated with the supernatural), *tohunga* were powerful figures in the Maori society now confronted with the Christian religion.⁵⁸

In 1830, Marsden was pleased to note that, as far as he knew, *tohunga* had not 'made any opposition to the doctrines taught by the missionaries or cast any odium upon those who regularly attend upon their instructions and openly confess to the Christian religion'.⁵⁹ William Williams, too, observed that in the early days of the Maori adoption of Christianity, the traditional 'priests' were 'as forward to take this step as any others'.⁶⁰ Among others to notice the readiness of *tohunga* to profess Christianity was Dieffenbach, who wrote that they were 'not at all intolerant towards the new doctrine' and added that they 'became the most successful teachers of their countrymen'.⁶¹ Notable examples of *tohunga* who became teachers in the 1840s were Matiu Tahu for the CMS in the Bay of Plenty, and Matiaha Tiramorehu for the Wesleyans in Otago. Tiramorehu was a learned authority, who, in 1849, wrote down the creation myths of his tribe and later, with his fellow teacher Rawiri Te Maire, set up a school of traditional learning.⁶²

The conversions of *tohunga* were understood by the missionaries as simple rejections of heathenism and superstition, but they probably signified at least in part a recognition that the '*Atua*' spoken of by the missionaries was a god more powerful than (but not fundamentally different from) the many *atua* with whom the *tohunga* had long been dealing. Much of the existing Maori approach to the supernatural could be taken into the new religion, and the *tohunga* could extend his sacred knowledge into the new realms of biblical history and Christian doctrine and liturgy. Whether they had formerly been *tohunga* or not, the new Christian teachers filled the gap left by the move towards new forms of religion and away from the old rituals and their traditional guardians. Within Maori society, teachers rather than *tohunga* were now the main keepers of the door to the world of the supernatural and the divine, but the new keepers inherited some of the attributes of the old.⁶³

Of course, the Christian teachers were also preachers, instructors, worship leaders and pastors — roles unknown to the *tohunga* — but their religious leadership did not represent a clean break from the assumptions and practices of the traditional religious specialists. This continuity was especially noticeable in the earliest days of Maori Christianity. On his conversion, the teacher Matiu Tahu had called the people together and placed a cooking vessel — an item highly antithetical to *tapu* — on the most sacred part of his body, his head, thus dramatically breaking the *tapu* surrounding him as a chief and *tohunga*.⁶⁴ Similarly, Wiremu Nera dealt with the *tapu* attached to his converts by washing their heads in water warmed in a cooking pot. Henry Williams recognised that this rite, which he heard was called *kokiro*, was 'very much according to native custom', in that it represented a release from *tapu* as well as a cleansing from sin in the Christian manner, but he could not approve such 'an abominable perversion of baptism'.⁶⁵ Edward Shortland (not a missionary), was more accepting of a ceremony he witnessed in an unidentified Christian village, where a former sacred site was to be added to the area used for habitation. 'I was curious to see in what way the land required would be made *noa* [free from *tapu*],' he wrote.

In the morning when I went to the place I found a numerous assembly, while in the centre of the space was a large native oven, from which women were removing the earth and mat-coverings. When opened it was seen to contain only kumara, or sweet potato. One of these was offered to each person present, which was held in the hand while the usual morning service was read, concluding with a short prayer that God's blessing might rest on the place. After this each person ate his kumara, and the place was declared to be noa. I could not but think that the native teacher had done wisely in thus adopting so much of old ceremonial as to satisfy the scruples of those of little faith.⁶⁶

This ritual was reported much more negatively by Taylor, who, in 1851, wrote disapprovingly of what had been done by the teacher Pirimona at Tawhitinui in Taranaki.⁶⁷

The use of traditional rituals in a new Christian context did not arise from the advice of missionaries, and was much criticised by them. Nor was approval given to the continuing readiness of many teachers to adhere to traditional ideas about sickness and healing. Grace felt that his flock had 'embraced Christianity, but without giving up idolatry ... If sickness appears they [the teachers] think it is the work of a Native god and resort to some old priest'.⁶⁸ In James Hamlin's view, former *tohunga* were particularly wedded to pre-Christian medicine. 'In times of sickness they either secretly or openly practise that deception for the cure of their diseases.'⁶⁹ The new religious leaders were at the forefront of much innovation in religious belief and practice, but their part in the survival and continuation of certain aspects of the traditional religion indicates that a synthesising process was occurring.

It was only to be expected that the new religious message would not be conveyed and accepted unmodified by what the Maori teachers and their hearers already knew. Especially in the days when teachers received only rudimentary training, they must constantly have linked what they knew of Christian teaching with the Maori ideas and practices they had known since infancy. Such integration is hard to measure, as much of it must have occurred without being recorded by the missionaries. But a case that did come to light and was documented at the time shows what was probably often happening. The teacher Daniel at Table Cape was found by William Williams to have 'been grievously led away by the native priest, giving his assent to certain heathenish practices in the case of some natives who were afflicted with sickness'. Although he had been an effective teacher for three years, he had recently been 'mixing up with christianity a great deal of native superstition'. Williams discussed the matter fully with him, but felt in the end that he had no alternative but to suspend him. Despite further talks later, Daniel was never reinstated as a teacher.⁷⁰

It is likely that many attempts to reconcile Christianity with aspects of the traditional religion were unobtrusively made by teachers in the course of their preaching and teaching. More extreme manifestations of this included syncretistic movements such as the 'Tikanga Hou' founded in the 1840s by the CMS teacher Hakaraia in Taranaki.⁷¹ Furthermore, it is clear that the Old Testament was particularly attractive to Maori

Christians, and it is likely that Hebrew religious stories and ideas were given greater emphasis in what Maori missionaries taught than in the preaching of Europeans.⁷² As time went on, Maori prophets emerged; in many cases their Christianity strayed from orthodoxy in the eyes of the missionaries, but in some cases mission teachers were leaders or supporters of prophetic movements. Abraham Taonui, an early Wesleyan convert in the Hokianga district, briefly alarmed the missionaries by prophesying in 1834, but was later a class leader and trained teacher. From the 1850s until the 1880s, however, he was well known as a prophet, political leader and repository of traditional knowledge.⁷³ In his later years, in the 1870s, the Wesleyan teacher Horomona Pohio became a leading supporter of the South Island prophet Te Maiharoa, whose teachings combined Christianity with elements of the traditional religion in such a way as to brand the movement in the eyes of the orthodox as a syncretistic heresy. Pohio was joined in Te Maiharoa's movement by at least two other prominent teachers, Rawiri Te Maire and Tare Wetere Te Kahu, and many other Ngai Tahu.⁷⁴ Later in the century the emergence of more such movements posed many challenges for Maori Christians and their leaders.

In these early years the work of Maori teachers was not motivated by financial reward. CMS appointees received trade items such as clothing; monetary salaries were not yet paid to them, although Wesleyan teachers were granted a small sum (£5 per annum) from 1845.⁷⁵ Nor were teachers admitted to the committees that directed church work in New Zealand. Individual Wesleyan missionaries could include teachers in the governing bodies of their own stations, as Samuel Ironside did in 1842 when he established a leaders' meeting in which he and 30 Maori teachers, leaders and local preachers assumed responsibility for mission work in the Cloudy Bay area.⁷⁶ The CMS missionary Taylor annually gathered all his teachers, whom he called 'fellow labourers', and of whom he had 150 in 1849. He fostered the development of 'Runangas' — meetings of chiefs and teachers for the direction of local church and community matters — and wrote that Governor Grey's *runanga* system was modelled on his.⁷⁷ Lacking substantial formal remuneration or, in most cases, any recognised share in church government beyond the congregational level, however, the teachers were clearly subordinate to the white missionaries. But, rewarded by less tangible benefits than money and enjoying a prestige bestowed abundantly by their Maori flocks, the teachers were well placed for better recompense and greater recognition in later times.

The training of Maori teachers

Throughout the period, teachers were given preliminary training by individual station missionaries. For their continuing education, it was common for all the teachers of a district to be gathered in from their outposts every now and again for training courses lasting a week or more.⁷⁸ In more compact districts, training could be given on a more regular basis: for 45 years after 1838, Joseph Matthews of Kaitaia instructed his teachers for two or three hours every Saturday morning, focusing on the topic of the sermon they would preach the next day and issuing written outlines to which the teachers added their own notes. Thomas Buddle held his weekly classes for the Wesleyan teachers of Waipa

on Saturday afternoons, 'meeting as many teachers as can attend for the purpose of instructing them in the Scriptures and on the subject of teaching'.⁷⁹

Although centralised training establishments were already operating in some LMS missions in the Pacific Islands, and the CMS had had its own 'Institution' at Islington (London) since 1825 (and a 'Christian Institution' at Fourah Bay in Sierra Leone, West Africa, since 1827), no school for the training of mission workers existed in New Zealand when Selwyn came from England in 1842 to take up his appointment as Bishop of New Zealand.⁸⁰ It was not long before the bishop's vision of a Christian educational community for Maori and Pakeha resulted in the clustering of existing and new training programmes coordinated by himself at the CMS station at Waimate in the Bay of Islands.⁸¹ Alongside a theological school for Pakeha ordinands, schools for Pakeha and Maori boys, and an infant school, was a new school for Maori teachers.⁸² Sarah Selwyn reported that her husband regarded the school as very important and taught the doctrine class himself (leaving the rest to William Nihill); the first students were William Jowett of the Waikato, 'one of the best specimens of a Maori', and William Hau of the Bay of Islands, 'the most civilized of our Natives here'.⁸³ A student could not be admitted to the top class unless he undertook to adopt certain 'English habits' ('to divide his house into rooms', 'to wear English clothes constantly'), 'to abstain from smoking, to take care of his wife and children, and attend to their improvement ... and, above all, to be regular in his attendance at Church and School'.⁸⁴

The CMS cooperated with Selwyn's training school for a while, but the bishop was not an evangelical, and the missionaries and their directors in London could not be altogether satisfied with his shaping of the Waimate schools into what a CMS historian called 'a kind of ecclesiastical collegiate establishment with a tone and colour quite different from the tone and colour of a CMS mission'.⁸⁵ Disputes with the CMS directors about his use of the Waimate facilities led Selwyn to move his schools to Tamaki, near the new town of Auckland, in 1844. There his St John's College grouped together a range of educational endeavours for Pakeha, Maori and soon also Melanesians, and included a school for Maori teachers (with 24 students in 1846).⁸⁶ To his great disappointment, the bishop found it necessary in 1853 to close St John's. After it resumed some years later, and indeed for the rest of the century, it did not offer any programmes for Maori students. Even before 1853, however, the missionaries and the bishop had not been working well together in the training of Maori teachers, and, in 1847, much to Selwyn's displeasure, the CMS students had been taken out of St John's and back to Waimate.⁸⁷

Training for mission teachers was not provided on a large scale by the CMS after 1847. Robert Burrows was teaching six students from various districts at the Waimate 'Institution' in 1849. Besides theology, they were studying arithmetic, geography, English and writing. Classes were held in the mornings and for an hour in the evenings, and manual work was done in the afternoons.⁸⁸ In the late 1840s, Selwyn was planning a southern college, to be built at Porirua (north of Wellington) and headed by the CMS missionary Hadfield, but the scheme came to nothing.⁸⁹ St Stephen's, at Parnell in Auckland, emerged in the 1850s as another CMS centre for training. Run by the

missionary couple George and Margaret Kissling, the school was at first mainly for the training of girls as Christian mothers and suitable wives for Maori teachers. Its emphasis shifted gradually to the training of male mission workers, and, in 1859, there were 10 students living there with their families. In 1860, the men were being taught for more than six hours a day, while their wives had two hours in the classroom as well as instruction in domestic skills.⁹⁰ On the east coast, William Williams (joined later by his son Leonard) operated a training school in Poverty Bay, first at Turanga (Gisborne) and, from 1856, inland at Waerenga-a-hika. Williams made this establishment, which was run in conjunction with schools for boys and girls and a farm, his main priority. 'The best hopes for the future prosperity of the native church,' he wrote, 'depend upon such institutions.' In 1856, Williams was teaching 12 students, of whom seven were in their third year of training; in 1858, there were 21 students. A steady stream of well-prepared workers for the Maori ministry in this part of the country was produced, but the school did not survive the political and military disturbances of the 1860s.⁹¹

The Wesleyans in England had had a training institution since 1834. Recognising the need for better trained Maori teachers and aware of 'Institutions' recently set up by their colleagues in Tonga and Fiji, the Wesleyan missionaries in New Zealand moved into residential ministry training at this time, too. In 1844, under the leadership of their new General Superintendent, Walter Lawry, the Wesleyans approached the Governor for a small grant of land in Auckland (at Grafton). Thomas Buddle, who had been a missionary in the Waikato area since 1840, took charge of the new Native Teachers Institution, and was soon attending to the educational and spiritual development of 10 students. In 1849, the teaching was moved to Three Kings, a few miles south of the town, where a much bigger piece of land had been granted. Alexander Reid, a missionary who was also a trained educator, was sent from Britain to direct the school, which he did very energetically and effectively until 1859. The Institution had 22 Maori teacher trainees in 1849, and before long also a farm and more than 100 pupils in state-aided schools for boys and girls. Some notable Maori Wesleyan teachers and ministers were trained at Three Kings in this period, but, like the CMS institutions, the school was not large and was adversely affected by the wars of the 1860s. It was forced to close during that decade and, when it reopened later, it was facing a very different situation.⁹²

Towards ordination

As the principal task of mission workers gradually changed from the evangelisation of non-Christians to the pastoral care of churchgoing communities, the ecclesiastical status of Maori teachers became an issue for consideration. As laymen, they exercised a ministry that not only excluded an essential part of church life — the celebration of the sacraments — but was also plainly of lower rank in the church than that of their colleagues, the ordained British missionaries. Anglican ordination was a highly significant ecclesiastical recognition and validation of ministry. The ancient threefold structure (bishop, priest and deacon) had been retained in the Church of England even though its theology of ministry had been reformulated during the Reformation, with the

word 'priest' understood as simply the descendant of the Greek word for the non-sacerdotal church leaders of the first century. By the mid-19th century, ordination had become an important part of Wesleyan life, too. It was only to be expected that the need for an ordained ministry in the emerging Maori Anglican and Wesleyan Churches would eventually be recognised, especially as the number of Maori Christians grew and there seemed to be little prospect of more white missionaries.

In the Anglican Church, only a bishop could ordain, and Selwyn's arrival in 1842 as Bishop of New Zealand made possible the creation of an ordained Maori ministry in the CMS mission field. Selwyn was highly conscious of his responsibility for steering the Maori Anglican community in the ecclesiastical directions he considered proper. The CMS missionaries liked his friendly down-to-earth manner and respected his vigorous leadership, but were sometimes alarmed by what they regarded as his high churchmanship and were often annoyed by an authoritativeness that seemed to verge on autocracy. Selwyn upset the Wesleyans by throwing doubt on the validity of their ordination. Within the Anglican mission, too, ordination quickly became one of several sensitive issues between the bishop and the CMS missionaries.⁹³

The fact that many of the CMS missionaries were themselves not ordained — at the beginning of 1838, there were four clergymen and 22 lay catechists⁹⁴ — meant that Selwyn had to formulate a policy for the ordination of British laymen before he could give thought to the ordination of Maori teachers. Some of the white catechists had worked for the CMS for many years and were very experienced in ministering to the Maori Christian communities among whom they were stationed. But requests to confer ordination on these men were closely scrutinised and often declined by the bishop. It was not that he scorned the low social origins of most of the catechists: on the contrary, although his own social background was one of privilege, he more than once boldly stated his belief that the clergy should be drawn from all social classes and that education for men with a vocation in the church should be available to the poor as well as to the wealthy.⁹⁵ A well-educated clergy was his ideal and, while he could not in New Zealand insist on extensive literary and theological studies for faithful catechists worthy of being raised to deacon's orders, he asserted for many years that full priestly ordination required a knowledge of scriptural Greek.⁹⁶ Among the experienced CMS workers from whom full ordination was long withheld, Joseph Matthews did not receive priest's orders until 1859 (27 years after his arrival, and after 15 years as a deacon); after beginning their service, Charles Baker and James Hamlin waited 32 and 37 years (until 1860 and 1863) respectively.⁹⁷ Naturally, this stance aroused considerable resentment among the missionaries, and helps to explain Selwyn's approach to the ordination of Maori and why the CMS in London was critical of his policies.

In the 1840s and 1850s, the CMS was anxious to create an indigenous ministry in its mission fields. In New Zealand, the need to minister to the large Maori Christian community was absorbing scarce financial and manpower resources that could be deployed in new fields elsewhere.⁹⁸ But transcending a mere cost-cutting motive was the missiological vision of Henry Venn, who was a CMS administrator from 1841 to 1872. Venn argued that a mission, brought by foreigners to an unevangelised people, was

fundamentally different from the local church that was brought into being among that people as an outcome of missionary efforts. There was therefore, he wrote, an important 'distinction between the office of a *Missionary*, who preaches to the heathen, and instructs inquirers or recent converts, and the office of a *Pastor*, who ministers in holy things to a congregation of Native Christians'. As soon as possible, missionaries should entrust pastoral care of the converts to 'Native Teachers' and then to 'Native Pastors' supported by the local church rather than by the mission. The desired 'euthanasia of a Mission' would take place 'when a Missionary, surrounded by well-trained Native Congregations, under Native Pastors, is able to resign all pastoral work into their hands, and gradually to relax his superintendence over the Pastors themselves, till it insensibly ceases; and so the Mission passes into a settled Christian community'.⁹⁹

Indigenous ministers had been ordained in India, West Africa and other CMS fields by mid-century, but the number was still small (12 by 1849 and 21 two years later).¹⁰⁰ In the 1850s, Venn and the London committee saw the Maori mission as a promising location for pushing ahead with the creation of a local ministry. In an article published in 1856, the CMS protested at the 'retardation in the development of a native pastorate' in New Zealand: suitable men were available, including a large number of experienced teachers whose work would be greatly enhanced if they were ordained, and excessive caution would stunt the church's growth. The opinion of the experienced missionary Joseph Matthews that ordinations should proceed immediately was quoted approvingly.¹⁰¹ It became well known that the CMS was blaming Bishop Selwyn for the delay.¹⁰²

It is beyond doubt that Selwyn was committed to the ideal of an indigenous ministry for the Maori church.¹⁰³ But the high standards he set for entry into the Anglican clergy prevented him from quickly identifying candidates. Early in his New Zealand career he told the CMS that Maori teachers (and their wives) had not yet made enough progress in civilisation to be considered for the ordained ministry. He hoped his educational project would rectify this deficiency.¹⁰⁴ Clearly, the low academic qualifications possessed by Maori mission workers were an important part of what stopped Selwyn from pursuing indigenous ordinations more rapidly. Critics seized on this: they declared that the bishop was setting unreasonably high educational standards, even requiring Maori candidates to show proficiency in Greek, Latin and English. Asking for unnecessarily high scholastic attainments, it was pointed out, would eliminate many able men of strong Christian character, and if academic achievement did become the criterion for ordination, over-educated clergymen would 'be too much in advance of their flock'.¹⁰⁵ It is likely that some of the missionaries shared Selwyn's doubts about the adequacy of the training and preparation many of the potential clergymen had been given.¹⁰⁶ But it cannot be said that training for ministry had been made a matter of high priority in the Anglican Maori mission. The bishop, the CMS and the missionaries had argued over authority and control, as well as differing in theological and ecclesiastical matters, and this had played its part in the failure to produce large numbers of indisputably well-qualified candidates for the indigenous ministry required by the Maori church as it entered the second half of the 19th century.¹⁰⁷ No Maori were ordained by

Selwyn until 1853 (when he had been in New Zealand for more than a decade) and, by 1860, there were still only six Maori clergy in the Anglican Church.

Maori ordained as Anglican and Wesleyan ministers

The first Maori Anglican ordinand was Rota Waitoa, who had long been a close associate of the bishop. Selwyn had first met him in 1842 at Otaki, where the young Waitoa had been baptised by Hadfield in the early days of his mission to Ngati Raukawa. The bishop took him away as a helper for the journey back to the north, and he stayed with the Selwyns in the Bay of Islands and Auckland for the next 10 years. 'Maori in his habits for a time,' recalled Sarah Selwyn, Waitoa became the bishop's constant travelling companion. After their first journey together, Selwyn referred to him as 'my faithful Maori Rota (Lot)', and some years later wrote of him and another fellow traveller, Henry Mauhara of Otago, as 'the most helpful, the least self-seeking, and the best tempered of all companions'.¹⁰⁸ This warm personal relationship helped Waitoa develop as a pupil and protégé of the bishop at St John's College. Studies were followed by responsibilities as a steward, and for several years he was in charge of the school for Maori boys. Selwyn's associate Charles Abraham testified to the respect in which his fellow Maori held him, his adoption of 'every Christian and civilized habit', his extensive knowledge of the scriptures, and his excellent teaching; his mentors approved of his marriage to Terina, a young Ngati Porou woman and good Christian pupil of St Stephen's School.¹⁰⁹

Selwyn might not have been grooming Waitoa for ordination, but the urgent need for a Maori clergy was being pressed on him by some of the missionaries. Pressure was being exerted even by the Governor, George Grey, who also testified to the CMS in London that there were many Maori worthy of being ordained.¹¹⁰ Selwyn had himself suggested ordination for Hakaraia Kiharoa, the son of a Ngati Raukawa chief and one of the first people baptised at Otaki. Hadfield valued his head teacher as a reliable man and 'a sincere humble unostentatious Christian', but knew he was chronically ill and would not live long. He did not take up the suggestion, and Hakaraia did indeed die in 1852.¹¹¹

When St John's College closed, the bishop was concerned for Waitoa's future as a teacher in some Maori community; he is said to have thought that if his young friend went out from the civilised St John's milieu 'as only a catechist, he might sink down again to the low native habits, whereas if he were a clergyman, his own people would take a pride in making him the equal of the English clergyman, and instead of drawing him down would hold him up'. After deciding to ordain him, Selwyn arranged for special tuition and preparation. The three Archdeacons who examined him were impressed with his knowledge, sincerity and humility. The ordination of the first Maori minister in St Paul's Church, Auckland, on May 22, 1853, was a notable moment in the history of Maori Anglicanism.¹¹² It is true that Waitoa's ordination was at this stage only as a deacon — a circumstance highlighted by the ordination during the same ceremony of two European deacons as priests — but in Anglican thinking entry into even the first division of the ordained ministry was an event of great significance.

As an ordained minister, Rota Waitoa was regarded by Maori and Pakeha as a success. To the satisfaction of his white clerical brothers, he did not lose his much-praised humility and cheerful helpfulness. Abraham recorded his delight, two years after the ordination, 'to see how perfectly unchanged Rota is in the simplicity of his character, notwithstanding his raised position to be a Deacon in the Church'.¹¹³ 'You always felt so sure about Rota, and he never did fail,' reminisced Sarah Selwyn; he was 'intelligent and good, [and] so open and simple'. He lived on in her memory 'as a beloved personal friend'.¹¹⁴

Waitoa was now sent out to do what many teachers had done before him, but with ecclesiastical validation and with emphasis on the pastoral role he would play. A senior missionary was confident he would do well, describing him as 'a very humble, devoted Christian, one who loves his Saviour, is fully acquainted with all the leading doctrines of the gospel, and deeply feels the reality and blessedness of those truths that he is going forth to proclaim to his countrymen'.¹¹⁵ Countrymen they were, but not of his own tribe. His station was Kawakawa (now Te Araroa), on the east coast, the home of his wife, Terina. Waitoa did well there, earning the respect of the few Pakeha (Europeans) who lived in the area — they were former whalers who brought their problems and disputes to him — and, with tact and patience, winning over the chief, Houkamou, who had been unsympathetic to Christianity and at first resented the presence of a Maori minister from an enemy tribe. In the view of an east coast missionary who knew his work well, he was 'a faithful native clergyman'.¹¹⁶

In 1855, Waitoa visited his own people at Otaki, where Hadfield, a foremost advocate of indigenous ministry, was impressed by the young clergyman's ability as a preacher.¹¹⁷ Many years later, Hadfield wrote that he had observed throughout his life that only a Maori could fully understand the Maori point of view; he was convinced that 'a native ministry is essential ... and that to obtain such a ministry ought to be the ultimate aim of all missionary efforts'.¹¹⁸ From time to time, the first Maori minister travelled to Auckland to see the Selwyns, Martins and Abrahams. As Waitoa himself put it, 'His bag was empty, he had sown all it had contained, and now he wanted more seed'.¹¹⁹ These informal refresher courses were supplemented by the further studies he undertook in Auckland in preparation for his being made a priest by his new bishop, William Williams, on 4 March 1860. Waitoa's premature death (in 1866) was widely lamented. He was injured in a fall from his horse, went to Auckland to convalesce and died there.¹²⁰ His tombstone in St Stephen's churchyard in Auckland acknowledges him as *Te Matamua o nga Minita Maori*, the firstborn of the Maori clergymen.

Two years passed after Waitoa became a deacon before another Maori teacher, Riwai Te Ahu, was ordained. Te Ahu was a man of rank in his tribe, Te Ati Awa. He was about 20 years old when Hadfield met him in 1839, and had been taught to read and write by the pioneer Matahau at Waikanae. As well as becoming Hadfield's instructor in Maori, the young Te Ahu began his long career as a teacher in the mission. Te Ahu and his work became known to Selwyn, who called him 'an excellent man' and a 'faithful friend'. In 1848, the bishop expressed a hope that one day he would ordain him, but it was not until 1855 that he took him to Auckland for studies with George Kissling and

Sir William Martin (the Chief Justice, who was an Anglican layman). The bishop's wife thought him 'one of the best — a true gentleman and so good'. Abraham commented that Te Ahu's training had been less extensive than Waitoa's, but in his opinion Te Ahu was 'of superior abilities to Rota'. His ordination as a deacon took place on 23 September 1855.¹²¹

Te Ahu returned to the Kapiti coast and took up his work again, stationed now at Otaki among Ngati Raukawa. 'His faith, and love, and earnestness, and zeal, are very evident, and are questioned by none,' wrote Hadfield. 'He is highly esteemed by all the natives in this part of the country, of whatever tribe they may be, and he is much regarded by all the English who know him.'¹²² A few years later, the same missionary stated that Te Ahu was intellectually far above the average English clergyman and that his conversation was full of 'fine thoughts and noble Christian sentiments'.¹²³ Abraham, who had become Bishop of Wellington in 1858, described him as 'a high-minded yet humble Christian, an earnest minister of the Gospel, a perfect gentleman in mind, feeling and manner'.¹²⁴ As Te Ahu's bishop, Abraham could have raised him to the priesthood, but perhaps he was deterred by the increasingly poor health of the valued minister. Te Ahu's illness became worse and he died in October 1866 (a few months after Rota Waitoa).¹²⁵ Hadfield wrote sadly to his brother: 'My dear faithful friend Rev. Riwai Te Ahu died last Monday ... I had known him for 27 years. I never knew a better man, more devoted to his work, more unselfish. He had but one object in life to serve God and His Church.'¹²⁶

When the 1850s ended there were still only two ordained Anglican Maori, both deacons. One of the reasons why the CMS favoured the subdivision of New Zealand into several bishoprics and supported the choice of William Williams as Bishop of Waiapu was the hope that new bishops would be more willing than Selwyn to ordain Maori.¹²⁷ But of the new bishops, only Williams proceeded with Maori ordinations. Even he was cautious: during 1860, the year after he became bishop of the largely Maori diocese of Waiapu (comprising the east coast and the Bay of Plenty), he ordained one new deacon. This man, Raniera Kawhia, had gone to Auckland for pre-ordination studies before Williams became bishop. He was ordained at Whareponga on the east coast on 17 February 1860. Williams raised Waitoa to the priesthood on 4 March 1860; on the same day in Auckland, Selwyn was ordaining three new Maori deacons. 'Our native church therefore,' commented Williams, 'is beginning to assume the form which has long been desired.' Williams made Kawhia a priest in December 1861; he was to ordain two new Maori deacons in 1861 and five more by 1866. From 1861 until his departure in 1868, Selwyn ordained four new Maori deacons, and raised two deacons to the priesthood (Williams ordained one other priest in this period). During Selwyn's episcopate, then, 17 Maori had been ordained: two in the 1850s and 15 in the 1860s; Selwyn himself had ordained nine of these, and Williams eight.¹²⁸

Waitoa and Te Ahu were the first of a long line of Maori clergymen in the Anglican Church. The four new deacons of 1860 continued the pattern that had first been followed by their two predecessors in the 1850s and was to persist into the 20th century. Raniera Kawhia of Ngati Porou was an experienced teacher and highly regarded

by Williams, who called him 'the most superior native I know'. Of chiefly rank in the Waiapu area, he had first heard of Christianity from Taumata-a-kura. He had studied with Williams at Waerenga-a-hika and then for a year at St Stephen's with Kissling and Martin. After his ordination, he was to minister at Whareponga until his death in 1884; a younger Ngati Porou minister remembered him as 'a venerable, fully tattooed Maori clergyman'.¹²⁹ Hohua Te Moanaroa of Ngati Tipa was a little younger (probably nearly 40 years old), a protégé of the Waikato missionary, Robert Maunsell. Like his three colleagues, he was given training at St Stephen's.¹³⁰ Heta Tarawhiti came from the Waikato, too, and had been nurtured as a Christian and teacher by Benjamin Ashwell, who called him his 'fellow labourer'; 'a more faithful man could not be, or a more consistent Christian', he wrote. Tarawhiti and Te Moanaroa died in 1898.¹³¹ In due course, these three deacons became priests, but the fourth deacon, Pirimona Te Karari, was drowned in 1864 while visiting his parishioners.¹³²

The Anglican authorities did not, of course, describe the Maori clergy as *tohunga*, which referred to the 'priest' of pre-Christian times (although it is interesting to note the statement of one observer that older Maori often used the word *tohunga* for their clergymen).¹³³ The deacons and priests were *minita* (a transliteration of 'minister'). After 1860, they gradually assumed responsibility for local leadership in the Maori Anglican Church, replacing the missionaries, who steadily diminished in number, and the teachers, whose contribution belonged mainly to the earlier era. As this first period of Maori church history closed, the CMS in London was scaling down its contribution of personnel and funds and endeavouring to put into practice Henry Venn's vision of a self-governing, self-supporting indigenous church. Steps were taken in the late 1850s to institute in Sierra Leone the 'settled ecclesiastical system' envisaged by Venn, and developments soon afterwards in the Diocese of Waiapu were in tune with the aim of the CMS to create a church based on 'native pastorates'.¹³⁴ Waiapu, the new diocese created in 1859, had few Pakeha residents, and the first synods held there under the new constitution for the Anglican Church in New Zealand were a conscious attempt to build a largely Maori church in the eastern region. The first synod, meeting in December 1861, consisted of Bishop Williams, two Pakeha clergymen and 20 Maori (of whom three were ordained ministers).¹³⁵ 'Presumably,' notes the historian Morrell, 'it was the first time an Anglican synod had deliberated in a non-European language.'¹³⁶ A few years later, after three more synods had been held, Williams recorded his opinion that the experiment had been successful.¹³⁷ Although there was no talk yet of a Maori bishop for Waiapu, the *minita* of this area had been given a formal role in diocesan self-government.

Little attention had been given to the payment of mission teachers, but the advent of ordained *minita* led the Anglicans to consider how Maori clergymen should best be supported. On the east coast, Bishop Williams spoke to the people in favour of the CMS principle that Christian communities should maintain their own pastors. At the first synod, he explained that *minita* should not be 'distracted' by the need to support themselves. The synod members decided that parishioners should work in food gardens for their teachers and ministers every Friday, and Williams was pleased with the willingness of many districts to contribute to a diocesan endowment fund for clergy

support. The CMS in London contributed £1,000 from its Jubilee Fund.¹³⁸ Hadfield's efforts to promote a similar fund in his area were unsuccessful.¹³⁹ There and elsewhere proper arrangements for maintaining the Maori clergy were not made until later. In fact, even before ministerial support and most other aspects of Maori church development were disrupted by the political unrest of the 1860s, the rapidly increasing Pakeha preponderance in New Zealand was already reducing the likelihood that a self-supporting and self-governing Maori church would be able to emerge and mature within New Zealand Anglicanism.

Similar developments and limitations were experienced in the Wesleyan mission. Most of the white missionaries had themselves been ordained, and a special status for ordained 'Native Assistant Missionaries' was available for selected Maori mission workers. The first teacher singled out in this way was a chief from Whaingaroa (Raglan), Hoani Ri Tutu (John Leigh), who was working in the Waikato coastal areas in the 1830s and was 'recommended to the Conference' as a Native Assistant Missionary in 1840. He then worked in Taranaki, but his progress towards ordination did not continue.¹⁴⁰ After the Wesleyan work in New Zealand was transferred by the Conference in Britain to the new Australasian Conference in 1855, a number of trained Maori teachers were given recognition as Native Assistant Missionaries. In 1856, Piripi Hana (Philip Hannah) and Hamiora Ngaropi (Samuel Honeybee) were received 'on trial'. Ngaropi, a man of humble birth, had been one of the first to respond to the mission at Whaingaroa (on the Waikato coast), and was now an experienced teacher. 'A man of middle age and of sound judgment', he was to serve in the ministry for many years (he died in 1887), but Hana, who was stationed on the Chatham Islands, died after just a few months.¹⁴¹ Hone Eketone (who died about five years later) and Hohepa Otene were received on trial in 1857.¹⁴² Wiremu Te Koti Te Rato joined them in 1859. A member of Ngati Kahungunu who had been taken from his Wairarapa home by enemy captors, he had met Wesleyan missionaries and was baptised in 1841. He attended the Three Kings Institution and deepened his Christian faith under the guidance of the principal, before being accepted for the ministry and stationed on the Chatham Islands. In 1864, he began a long ministry at Rapaki (Canterbury), where he married a local woman.¹⁴³ Wiremu Patene (also received in 1859) was a Waikato warrior and chief who became a preacher and teacher before training for the ministry in Auckland.¹⁴⁴ Patene, too, had a long ministry, as did Hone Waiti, a chief from Kaipara (lower Northland), who was received in 1860.¹⁴⁵ Ngaropi, Eketone and Otene were admitted as Native Assistant Missionaries in 1861, followed by Te Rato in 1863 and Patene and Waiti in 1864. The work of these early products of the Institution at Grafton and Three Kings, the first group of ordained Maori Wesleyan ministers (known in this church too as *minita*), was praised by the missionaries. By 1864, however, the list of Maori clergy recognised by the Wesleyan Conference was still very short.

Wesleyan *minita* continued the work of the teachers and took on additional liturgical and supervisory functions. In 1857, Hohepa Otene identified 12 *mahi*, 'tasks', that he was performing at his station on the Manukau Harbour:

The first task is preaching. The second task is to turn people to the true God. The third task is to ensure that the conduct of service in the churches is correct. The fourth task is to write down the names of the people in the churches of Jesus Christ. The fifth task is to catechise the classes gathered in the churches. The sixth task is to organise some of the people from among their churches as monitors [teachers]. The seventh task is to give out class tickets to people in the churches. The eighth task is to return evil doers to the church of the true God. The ninth task is to seek for fruit within the church, that is, to collect money. The tenth task is to marry a man to his wife. The eleventh task is to baptise and name children. The twelfth task is to strengthen the Word so that the love of the churches may grow for the true God of Heaven.¹⁴⁶

For duties such as these, Wesleyan *minita* were paid a small salary, which they supplemented by growing their own food.¹⁴⁷ Their status as Native Assistant Missionaries was distinct from that of other ordained Wesleyan ministers.¹⁴⁸

Wesleyan and Anglican *minita* drew the praise of their white colleagues. After he returned to England, Bishop Selwyn kept himself informed about New Zealand and often expressed his deep satisfaction that the Anglican Maori clergy had all remained faithful and steadfast.¹⁴⁹ Assessing the attitude of the Maori among whom they were working is more difficult. One of the most experienced British missionaries, Richard Davis, who came to the country in 1824, observed that the deacons of the early 1860s were 'well received'. 'The natives tell me,' he wrote, 'that their ministrations are full of life, — that they feel their preaching.' Davis felt that the ordinations had 'introduced a new era amongst us', and hoped that they would be a divine means for deepening Maori Christianity.¹⁵⁰ Maori ministers had been very carefully selected, and given more intensive training than the great army of teachers had received. But it is unlikely that the way they approached their work and the way it was understood by the people under their care was substantially different from what can be said about the teachers whose work they continued. The history of the Maori ministry began not with ordination, which had a significance defined by Pakeha, but with the emergence of the earliest unofficial teachers, whose activities represented a Maori initiative. Maori ministry later developed a shape that was as European as the missionaries could make it, but it had a strong Maori character and retained deep roots in the Maori social and religious world.

Much of this could be said of Maori Catholic ministries, too, but they did not yet develop beyond the work of catechists. This is not to say that an indigenous priesthood was absent from the Marist missionary vision for Maori Catholicism. The order's founder, Jean-Claude Colin, wrote in 1839 that a school for Maori boys, 'some of whom might go on to the priesthood', was essential. 'The first consideration of the missionaries should be a native clergy,' he declared. Pompallier lamented, however, that a shortage of missionary personnel prevented him from setting up the schools and seminary that were expected of him. In 1841, he did select two youths to take with him to France for seminary training, but the voyage had to be cancelled. A few years later, the New Zealand mission was criticised for not heeding the papal wish that an indigenous clergy be developed in all

parts of the world.¹⁵¹ The Marist Bishop of Wellington expressed his doubts that this could be accomplished in New Zealand. Even the catechists, he complained, suffered from 'great weakness of character, excessive pride and a pronounced aversion to celibacy'.¹⁵²

In the 1850s, however, Pompallier was at last able to establish a seminary as part of St Mary's College in Auckland. Several Pakeha candidates for the priesthood were formed there and, from the Maori catechists being trained in the college, 15 were chosen for the seminary. One of these, Keremeti Pine, a youth from the Hokianga, was taken by Pompallier to Rome in 1859. For three years, he attended the Propaganda College with other international students, but according to the records of the college he was not able to maintain the discipline required for academic study. Pine returned to New Zealand. By this time, the wars there were disrupting mission efforts and pulling the Maori seminary students home, and another small seminary at Rangiaowhia in the Waikato was forced to close.¹⁵³ After the 1860s, the Catholic mission seemed to put little effort into encouraging a Maori priesthood, and it was well into the next century (1944) before the first Maori was ordained.

Maori ministry in a colonised New Zealand

The armed hostilities that broke out between Europeans and some of the tribes in the 1860s marked a watershed in the history of the Maori churches. Church life was disrupted by warfare in some areas and political tensions everywhere. Many members lapsed from their churches and others defected to new religious movements inspired by the threats facing the Maori community. In the war-torn Waikato, the two Anglican *minita*, Tarawhiti and Te Moanaroa, managed to keep in tenuous contact with their flocks, although, as it was recalled later when they died, they were 'placed in a peculiarly trying position — their people as patriots in arms against what they considered an offensive government, fighting for their independence and their national existence. However much their sympathies may have been with their countrymen they used their influence in the interests of peace'.¹⁵⁴ On the east coast, reported Bishop Selwyn, the *minita* 'steadfastly resisted the [Hauhau] delusion which has led away many of their people'.¹⁵⁵ Selwyn was grateful that not one *minita* abandoned the faith or came out against the Government.¹⁵⁶ But although the Maori Anglican, Methodist and Catholic Churches survived, they had suffered a serious setback.

Even when peace returned and a partial recovery of Maori church life occurred, it was soon obvious that in their dominant place in the New Zealand community Maori were fast being overtaken by Pakeha. Increasingly marginalised in politics and the economy, Maori became less central in the churches, too. In the rapidly expanding national ecclesiastical structures, the change of focus from Maori mission to the evangelisation and pastoral care of Pakeha settlers meant that financial and personnel resources were redirected. The 'indigenous church' envisioned by the CMS was less viable and seemed less attractive in a country dominated by Europeans. The ideal itself appeared to be fading in late 19th-century mission policy-making, and in colonial New

Zealand attention turned towards the integration of Maori Christianity with national churches that were oriented primarily towards the settler population.¹⁵⁷ All this had a number of effects on Maori ministry.

Some directions set in an earlier period, however, continued to be followed in the postwar period. It became clear, for instance, that leadership in the Anglican and Wesleyan Maori churches would be given by *minita* rather than by teachers. Ordained Maori clergymen were not numerous before the end of the century, but gradually they replaced the lay mission workers of earlier days. In the Anglican Church, the number of teachers declined steeply — matching a large drop in the number of communicant members — from more than 400 before the wars to 150 in 1873.¹⁵⁸ Some new appointments were still made by dioceses in areas where there were few Maori — for example, the Banks Peninsula, where Haimona Tuangau was a paid ‘catechist’ in the 1880s¹⁵⁹ — but the ‘teacher’ category had disappeared altogether by 1900. There were still many ‘native agents’ (326 in 1894), but this force consisted now of a few *minita* and a much larger number of unpaid *kai-karakia* (lay readers) appointed to lead worship services in the villages when missionaries or *minita* could not be present.¹⁶⁰ The Diocese of Auckland, for example, had 12 *minita* and 162 *kai-karakia* in 1890; the figures for Waiapu in 1892 were 14 *minita* and 149 *kai-karakia*.¹⁶¹ A Northland *minita* acknowledged the work of the lay readers: ‘We all know very much that our vitality today is due to their labours,’ he told a church meeting in 1885.¹⁶²

The later 19th century saw indigenous Anglican ministers being ordained in considerable numbers by the CMS in India and Africa, and at the London headquarters Venn continued to believe that too slow a start had been made in the New Zealand mission: ‘Instead of ten native ministers,’ he wrote in 1866, ‘there should have been and might have been fifty.’¹⁶³ A missionary in the field, Thomas Grace, was of the opinion even in 1859 that much ground had already been lost by failing to provide adequate training for teachers who could later be ordained.¹⁶⁴ Another missionary believed that the great flow of Maori away from the Anglican Church into more Maori forms of Christianity during the 1860s was due in large part to the fact that only a few of the ministers were Maori.¹⁶⁵ Many men did, however, eventually take the same path as the pioneers Waitoa and Te Ahu. The 15 Maori ordained as Anglican *minita* in the 1860s were followed by similar numbers in the 1870s and the 1880s and by more than 20 in the 1890s. By the end of the century, ordination had been conferred on about 70 men, of whom 38 were living in 1899.¹⁶⁶

Maori who became *minita* during these decades were usually men of long experience as teachers in the mission. Tamihana Huata, for instance, had worked among his own Ngati Kahungunu people at Wairoa with the missionary Hamlin for many years before being sent for training. After his ordination by the Bishop of Waiapu in 1861, he continued his ministry in Wairoa until his death in 1908.¹⁶⁷ Ordination similarly came to trusted teachers in other areas where Anglicanism had a long history: examples are Henare Te Herekau, a teacher for 30 years in the Manawatu and Kapiti Coast before his ordination in 1872,¹⁶⁸ and the ‘remarkably clever’ Hare Hukatere (ordained in 1887), who had worked among his own Te Rarawa in the far north since the 1850s and had been

a Native Assessor for the Government.¹⁶⁹ Some younger men entered the ministry also: Wiki Te Paa was a young teacher among Te Rarawa in the 1870s and was in his thirties when he was ordained in 1880;¹⁷⁰ also of Te Rarawa and about 30 on his ordination in 1887 was Hone Papahia.¹⁷¹ It was admitted, however, that many of the *minita* in the late 1890s were elderly and that it was not easy to find enough men willing to take up the work. Increasingly, lamented a report written in 1899, the ministry was not seen as attractive by the better educated men who could be 'spiritual leaders and social reformers' in the Maori community.¹⁷² Younger entrants who did meet these criteria and had notable careers in the church were sometimes the sons of *minita*, including two who attended the church secondary school at Te Aute: Matiaha Pahewa's son, Hakaraia (ordained in 1895), and Tamihana Huata's son, Hemi (ordained in 1898).¹⁷³

The largest number of Anglican ordinations were of men from the Christian communities in the north and east of the North Island. In 1899, the greatest concentrations of serving *minita* were in Northland (11) and in Hawkes Bay and on the east coast (12) — in these areas, the many Maori parishes could usually be kept supplied with a succession of trained and ordained clergymen.¹⁷⁴ Other *minita* worked in areas such as the Waikato, the Bay of Plenty and the south-western North Island. A North Island *minita*, Eruera Te Ngara (ordained in 1874), served Ngai Tahu in Otago for a few years,¹⁷⁵ and another northerner, Frederick Bennett of Te Arawa, was ordained in 1896 by the Bishop of Nelson and entrusted with a ministry to the Maori of that diocese until he was moved to the North Island before 1900.¹⁷⁶ The only South Island Maori to become a *minita* in this period, however, was Teoti (George) Mutu of Ngai Tahu: ordained in 1872 by church authorities who felt great satisfaction that a 'Maori brother' could be raised 'to stand among the authorised ministers of the Christian Church', he ministered in Canterbury for many years but lost the confidence of his diocesan superiors and was never taken past the status of deacon.¹⁷⁷

By 1900, 20 Maori had become *minita* (known in English by that time as Native Ministers) of the Wesleyan Church.¹⁷⁸ Seven men had been given this status between 1856 and 1864, and Hetaraka Warihi was added to the list in 1865. Originally from the King Country, Warihi was another minister who gave long service far from his own people: he succeeded Te Rato on the Chathams and, from 1872, was responsible for the Wellington and Wairau areas (residing first in Wellington and later in Blenheim).¹⁷⁹ It was not until 1878 that more probationers joined the small band of Native Ministers. Seven men were admitted to the ministry between 1878 and 1881. All of them eventually completed their years 'on trial', except Karawini (Calvin) Waiti, who died prematurely. Waiti and his brother, Matena Ruta (Martin Luther), who also died young after a short ministry, were the sons of a senior Native Minister, Hone Waiti. It was noted that while the brothers were 'young in years, their sobriety of judgment, and their zeal, greatly commended them to their tribesmen, and their early decease was much regretted'.¹⁸⁰ Another man accepted into the ministry at this time, Hori Te Kuri, was 50 years old and had already given long service as a teacher and preacher in the Hokianga.¹⁸¹ Two others, Hauraki Paora (the son of the Ngati Whatua chief, Paora Kawharu) and Piripi Rakena of the Hokianga, were younger and more comfortable in European settings.¹⁸² Two more admissions were made in 1893 and 1896.

When the century ended, most of the older Native Ministers had died and, when two more were added in 1900, the number of Maori ministers in the Wesleyan Church was five. Only in the early 1880s had there been as many as 10. Two of them serving large areas with scattered populations (Wellington-Marlborough and Canterbury-Otago) had not been replaced when their ministries ended, but the stationing of Native Ministers among Maori Wesleyans in parts of Northland (the Hokianga, Whangaroa and Kaipara districts) and the Waikato continued throughout the period. The number of Maori attending Wesleyan churches and holding membership and leadership responsibilities in them had declined steeply during the crisis of the 1860s, and while the figures improved in the 1870s and 1880s there were still fewer than 4,000 attenders (of whom 812 were church members) in 1899. Small though it was, the Maori Wesleyan community was scattered and not easily served by the handful of Native Ministers. As in the Anglican Church, lay 'teachers' were no longer deployed. Patoromu Pu had been trained by the Wesleyans and appointed as a teacher for Otago. Later paid a small stipend by the Dunedin Presbyterians, he was a faithful pastor of Ngai Tahu in the Dunedin area until his death in 1877, but he was not replaced.¹⁸³ The work of the *minita* was now supplemented at the local level usually only by the lay ministries of unpaid 'Local Preachers', who were growing in number in the 1890s and totalled 57 in 1899.¹⁸⁴

The training of Anglican *minita* had been brought to a standstill by the wars of the 1860s. To the veteran missionary Hadfield in 1868, the best way to restore the war-damaged Maori church would be to expand the indigenous ministry.¹⁸⁵ But in the New Zealand Anglican Church as a whole there seemed to be no strong will to find a way of establishing or funding an organised training facility for Maori ministers. In 1871 four candidates were being taught in Auckland in an informal programme directed by the bishop.¹⁸⁶ The question of whether Maori should be trained separately from European candidates had already arisen in the increasingly settler-dominated church, and a few Maori students did attend the European-oriented St John's College in the later 19th century.¹⁸⁷ It was commonly thought, however, that Maori ministers would be made unsuitable for work among their people if they were educated too far beyond the levels usually found in Maori communities.¹⁸⁸

Eventually, the initiative was taken by the CMS missionaries to set up a facility specifically for Maori. Growing from the training programme already being offered in his own house by the Bishop of Waiapu, a ministry training school was established in Gisborne in 1883. Under the name Te Rau Kahikatea, the school gave three or more years of training, using the Maori language almost entirely and preparing its students for ministry in Maori parishes. The wives of the students were taught, too. Other dioceses began to send their students there and the CMS in London gave financial support. There were 11 students in 1887, and 18 in 1898. A succession of European principals directed the college, assisted from the late 1890s by Reweti Kohere, a Maori who had attended Canterbury University. It was not until some years after 1900 that moves were made to review the policy of providing Maori ministry training that was separate and different from the preparation of European ordination candidates.¹⁸⁹

How to train *minita* in a church now made up largely of Europeans was an issue for the Wesleyans, too. After their large Maori training centre at Three Kings was closed

during the wars, it was not reopened until 1876. Until 1895, European ministry students were trained there, too, and successive principals were occupied mainly with them and with the teenage Maori boys who were being given a primary education at the school. Theological and ministry studies were nevertheless provided for the occasional Maori ministry student.¹⁹⁰ The difficulties under which this was done are suggested by the report of 1895, which states that the one student being taught at that time had very little English and so could learn little from the principal. His skill as a preacher in Maori was noted, however, and even at the end of the 19th century it was still assumed that the future ministry of this man from rural Northland would be conducted in a largely Maori context.¹⁹¹

Throughout this period it was expected that *minita* would receive assistance with their living expenses from their parishioners. In the Diocese of Waiapu, a high level of contributions to the Maori clergy endowment fund continued into the 1880s, and Maori in all areas were ready to give generously for church-building projects.¹⁹² But the pastorate funds in all districts could draw very little from the resources of the wider church beyond the Maori community, and it soon became clear that Maori ministers were having to survive on very low annual incomes. In the Diocese of Auckland in 1887, the Maori clergy fund (subscribed by the Maori congregations, a CMS contribution and a grant from Sir William Martin's estate) could pay the ministers only £60 each (£50 for deacons), compared with a rural European clergyman's stipend of £300. The bishop explained that supplementary support earned by farming or contributed by the people usually meant that the stipends were sufficient, but he admitted that they should be raised as soon as possible.¹⁹³ At the end of the century, church authorities responsible for the Maori mission were acknowledging publicly that the stipends paid to *minita* were 'miserable pittances' and could not be expected to attract the educated young men emerging from the church secondary schools. Insufficient monetary resources in most Maori communities, poor financial support from European church members and the approaching cessation of CMS funding meant that there was little hope for improvement in this situation.¹⁹⁴

Wesleyan Native Ministers, too, received only small annual salaries from mission funds (usually between £25 and £50, compared with the £200 paid to European ministers working in the Maori mission). It seems, however, that the people were often able to give less than they were expected to contribute to their *minita*, who, like their Anglican counterparts, were obliged to spend a good deal of their time in farming activities in order to support themselves and their families. The Wesleyan Church does not appear to have recognised the difficulties that might be faced by Maori ministers in their attempt to provide religious leadership with such uncertain financial support. Even the £10 paid to lay teachers, who were expected to be 'godly men who stand well with their tribes', was described by the conference in 1875 as enough to 'enable them to appear respectably among their countrymen as their spiritual instructors'.¹⁹⁵

Paralleling the inferior stipendiary status of Maori ministers was their low position in the authority structures of the two churches. When ecclesiastical institutions were restored in the Diocese of Waiapu in the 1870s after the disruptions of the wars it was clear that the synod would no longer be oriented towards Maori. The number of

European Anglicans in the area was rapidly increasing and Maori participation in the synod declined. It was reported that the Maori ministers were affronted that English was used in the meetings despite the fact that about half the clergy of the diocese were Maori and that there were five times as many Maori church members as European; Maori opinion was not consulted when a new bishop was chosen in 1877.¹⁹⁶ In other areas, too, the return of peace made it clear how important a turning point in Maori Anglican history had been reached in 1857 when a constitutional structure for settler Anglicanism in New Zealand was established. The national General Synod and the diocesan synods that worked with the bishops in governing the church did not prove to be effective vehicles for Maori participation in church administration.

The voice of *minita* in the Anglican Church beyond the local level was not silenced altogether. A system of Native Church Boards devised by the missionaries in 1866 was approved by the General Synod in 1868: convened by the bishop of a diocese and subject to its synod, the boards were given responsibility for certain Maori matters and consisted of the ministers and lay representatives of Maori parishes.¹⁹⁷ Bishop Williams, whose diocese (Waiapu) was the first to set up boards (in 1870), was pleased that the *minita* were enabled in this way to exercise their own judgment in Maori matters even in the new situation.¹⁹⁸ In Waiapu, there were three district boards and, from 1890, a diocesan board (Hui Topu). In the Auckland diocese, too, district boards began to meet from 1871, and there was a diocesan board from 1881.¹⁹⁹ The bishop told the first meeting that the objective of the boards was 'to give the Maori members of the church an opportunity of discussing questions of importance to themselves in a manner that is not practical in the Diocesan Synod'.²⁰⁰ Later he commented that while the *minita* of his diocese were entitled to attend the diocesan synod, they stayed away, partly because of their limited English but also because the Native Church Boards were so active.²⁰¹ Board proceedings were conducted and recorded in Maori, and the Maori character of the meetings ensured that they were much valued as opportunities for self-determination in a church that in all other respects was dominated by paternalistic Europeans who envisaged the assimilation of Maori rather than their autonomy.²⁰²

Maori requests that one of their *minita* be made a bishop were heard in the 1870s when Bishop Williams retired. It was known that an African clergyman (Samuel Crowther) had been elevated in this way in 1864. The CMS in London was sympathetic to the idea. In New Zealand, Pakeha church authorities did not reject the suggestion altogether, but believed there was no suitable candidate. Maori opinion was strongly in favour of such an appointment and argued that Scripture itself required it. 'Why,' asked Hemi Matenga, a prominent layman, 'do the Church appointments, with respect to us Maoris, abruptly cease at the office of ordinary minister? Why is there no Maori bishop, since the Natives of these Islands have, for a considerable time, embraced Christianity?' The missionary Grace agreed with him and warned that refusing the request would give Maori church members another reason for joining new religious movements such as Hauhauism.²⁰³ The idea of a Maori bishop came up again in 1880, when the northern Native Church Boards asked the General Synod for a Maori episcopal assistant to the Bishop of Auckland. The request was declined for financial reasons and because it was

felt that giving Maori in the Auckland diocese their own bishop would destroy 'the oneness which exists between the English and Maori portions of the Church throughout New Zealand'.²⁰⁴ Not until the 1920s would there be a Maori bishop.

Wesleyan Native Ministers were not given membership of district synods and the annual Conference until many years after the turn of the century.²⁰⁵ Before that, in 1896, the synods considered a proposal to establish a separate Maori synod. They turned it down in favour of a plan to give Maori ministers and laymen places in a committee reporting to the Auckland District Synod: dealing with Maori church matters only, the committee would be chaired by the Maori Mission superintendent (a Pakeha).²⁰⁶ William Morley, a leading minister in the Pakeha part of the church, affirmed his confidence in the Maori clergy and their capacity for leadership, but emphasised that 'vigilant and constant supervision' was still necessary. In his view, Native Ministers were prone to slipshod management of their parishes, an easygoing attitude to their own continuing study and legalism in church discipline cases. As elsewhere in the Pacific, he asserted, 'the government and direction of the church cannot be safely left in the hands of the Natives for many years after they embrace the Gospel'.²⁰⁷

In the Catholic Church, the priests were still exclusively European at the end of the 19th century, although Maori catechists played an important part in some Catholic communities. In the Hokianga area, for example, Heremia Te Wake not only gave prominent leadership in the economic and political life of his tribe (Te Rarawa), but as a *katekita*, he also maintained the worship life of his people and instructed them in Catholic doctrines for many years. For much of this time there was no resident priest in this district and Maori catechists helped fill the gap in this way in other areas, too. Efforts to set up a catechist training school came to nothing.²⁰⁸

New forms of Christianity entered the Maori community before the end of the century, the Latter-day Saints (Mormons) being the most successful. The spread of Mormonism among the Maori began in the 1880s, and it was not long before Hare Te Katera was ordained to the Aaronic priesthood and made president of the new Maori branch at Waotu in the Waikato area. An elderly man who had been an Anglican teacher was baptised, ordained and made president of another early branch (in the Wairarapa). By the turn of the century, there were 79 branches, with most of the leadership positions (including 175 members of the higher Melchizedek priesthood) held by Maori rather than missionaries.²⁰⁹ The Mormons drew their flock from existing Christian communities, whose concept of ministry seemed to many Maori to be inferior to that of the Latter-day Saints. Piripi Te Maari, a leading member of Ngati Kahungunu, later remembered how he had been impressed by the humility of the Mormon missionaries when they came to the Wairarapa in the 1880s: they were 'unheralded by any pomp or display' and refused the special treatment Te Maari and his people customarily gave their own (Anglican) ministers. He accepted the challenge of giving up smoking and gambling in order to take up what he was told was his God-given right to be a priest and minister to his own people.²¹⁰

Another style of religious leadership that flowered in the late 19th century was more clearly founded on traditional Maori concepts. The 'prophet' figure had precedents

in *tohunga*, who had the ability to obtain messages from the gods, but the many Maori prophets of this period claimed that their inspiration came directly from God. They differed from teachers and ministers, too, in being chosen and appointed not by missionaries but by God Himself. In this they were prophets of the introduced Old Testament type, while still retaining their *tohunga*-like character as religious leaders originating from a Maori rather than a missionary context.²¹¹ Though most prophets were men, the acceptance given to three female prophets in the Hokianga in the 1880s contrasted with the missionary restriction of formal ministry to males.²¹² Most prophets had attended mission schools and some (including Te Ua, the founder of the Hauhau movement) had been mission teachers,²¹³ but their credentials were not from the churches. Their charisma as prophets made them inspirational leaders of movements founded on traditional and Christian religious ideas and they provided answers for the social and political dilemmas facing Maori from the 1860s. That religious authority of this kind could be used in the service of orthodox churches was shown in the 1880s when the prophet and healer Raumati took many of his followers into the Catholic Church and continued his religious leadership there as a catechist.²¹⁴ For a great many Maori, however, the charisma of prophets was attractive enough to draw them out of churches led by missionaries and Maori teachers and ministers and into new religious movements that were unacceptable to the missions.

The rituals and liturgies of the prophet movements usually required worship leaders who exercised minister-like functions, but the institutionalised structures of ministry proved more durable in the Ringatu movement founded by Te Kooti than among the followers of most other prophets. The founder died in 1893, but he had given his people guidance for their future. Ringatu communities had a *poutikanga* (congregational head) and chose worship leaders who were given the ancient title, *tohunga*. Other officers were *ture atua* (scholars), *takuta* (healers) and *pirihimana* (stewards). These ministers wore no distinctive dress, committed the liturgy to memory rather than using written Scriptures and hymnbooks and accepted no payment for their work. Although by 1900 the Ringatu movement lacked any administrative structure wider than the local congregation, it had a clergy and resembled ecclesiastical organisations in other ways. Later it was indeed officially recognised as a church, along with a number of other movements that emerged in the new century.²¹⁵

Even in the orthodox Maori churches founded by the missions, indigenous ministry still displayed many of the non-European characteristics seen from the early days of Maori Christianity. That many ministers shared the ethnicity and culture of their flock was still of fundamental importance. Quick visits from Pakeha missionaries were unsatisfactory, declared the people of Ohinemutu in 1871: 'This is not the kind of thing we want! Rather, let us have Maori ministers. They sit down and talk and eat with us, and are one of ourselves.'²¹⁶ Maori ministers still occupied a high place in the social hierarchy of the tribes, especially if they were of chiefly rank. Hone Papahia, a *minita* in Northland, was described by his bishop as one of the principal chiefs of his tribe,²¹⁷ and it was said of another minister in the far north, Hemi Taitimu, that because he was a chief as well as a *minita* he 'thus possessed a twofold influence' over his people.²¹⁸ But the

words of any *minita* carried much weight, reported a Maori observer in 1897; he went on to deplore a tendency for ministers to be authoritarian.²¹⁹

Maori ministers at the end of the century were acknowledged leaders in the local affairs of their people. Communities often also looked to them for mediation between Maori and Pakeha and for the entertainment of important Pakeha visitors. As educated men, they were seen as links with the future, and a number of *minita* gave support to the Te Aute College Students' Association, a reforming movement later known as the Young Maori Party.²²⁰ As well as campaigning against alcohol abuse by Maori, the Wesleyan *minita* Piripi Rakena opposed the religious movements regarded by the missions as 'fanatical superstitions'.²²¹ His colleague Hori Te Kuri was so convinced that traditional beliefs were foolish and wicked that he built his house on a sacred ancestral site.²²²

But *minita* by no means represented a completely new world. On the contrary, their role and function was so deeply embedded in the traditional tribal world that their influence in late 19th-century Maori society was often a conservative one. More than 70 years of evolution had produced a leadership category that had its roots both in the ancient Polynesian system and in the teachings and institutions introduced by newcomers from Europe.

9.

HAWAII

IN NORTHERNMOST POLYNESIA, the Hawaiian Islanders experienced the same early 19th-century religious revolution as their relatives further south, although the first carriers of the new faith arrived from a different direction and were not formally connected with other missionary societies working in the Pacific.

The Hawaiian Islands supported a population of perhaps 200,000 at the time of contact.¹ The people practised a religion clearly related to that of the Ma'ohi and other Polynesians, communicating with the spiritual realm through specialists known in this part of Polynesia as *kahuna*. Closely associated with the chiefly elite, the *ali'i*, were the hereditary high priests and *kahuna pule*, who were trained in sacred learning and the elaborate ceremonial of the *heiau* (temple). They offered sacrifices to the gods (*akua*) and advised the chiefs in matters of state. Expertise in many other kinds of knowledge was possessed by lesser *kahuna*, including *kahuna lapa'au* (healers) and *kahuna 'ana'ana* (sorcerers). Another figure in Hawaiian religion was the *kaula*, the inspired medium or prophet (sometimes a woman), through whom the voice of a god could be heard. Traditional religion and its specialist practitioners exerted a pervasive influence throughout Hawaiian society.²

In the early decades of the 19th century, the Hawaiian Islands were politically unified by the great chief, Kamehameha, the founder of the Hawaiian Kingdom. As the Hawaiians found themselves in contact with the outside world more and more in these years, aspects of the age-old religious culture were drawn into question and, in 1819, after Kamehameha's death, the traditional structure of public religion was dramatically abolished.³ The *heiau* and their ceremonies and priests disappeared from public life, leaving the religious needs of chiefs and people temporarily unmet.

Americans and Hawaiians from New England

It was just at this time that Christianity, in the form of evangelical Protestantism from New England, was brought to Hawai'i. Congregationalists and others in the north-eastern US provided the funds and personnel for this new venture by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). The missionaries were earnest, determined and well educated, and shared the confident hope of their British evangelical contemporaries that the Gospel was for all people and was capable of transforming the

heathen of every race. Not many years had elapsed after their arrival in 1820 before King Kamehameha's successors and the Hawaiian people accepted the New Englanders as their religious mentors, Jehovah as their new *Akua* and Christianity as the new Hawaiian religion.

The idea of evangelising the Hawaiians had been inspired in the New England churches by the presence in the region of a number of young Hawaiians who had found their way there on ships. Opukahaia and Hopu, for example, had disembarked in New York in 1809 after much voyaging around the world. Their contact with New England church people led to their conversions to Christianity, and gave rise to a plan to educate young Hawaiian converts in America for the purpose of sending them as missionaries to their own people. In 1816, a Foreign Mission School was begun and was kept open until 1826. In Cornwall, Connecticut, far from their own people and cultures, nearly 20 Hawaiian and several other youths were given a Christian education in English.⁴

Opukahaia fell ill and died in 1818,⁵ but his companion, Thomas Hopu, was one of three 'native assistants', 'bright and promising' young Hawaiians who arrived back in their homeland with the first group of ABCFM missionaries in 1820. William Kanui, an Oahu man, abandoned the work almost immediately, but Hopu, John Honoli'i and several others who followed them from the Connecticut school in later years gave useful service as interpreters, intermediaries, evangelists and teachers in the mission's pioneering period.⁶ As the New England mission founders had recognised, the path of struggling new foreign missionaries was made much easier if it was prepared by indigenous converts. Hopu interpreted for the missionaries in their first approach to the *ali'i* Keopuolani, the mother of the new king, Kamehameha II. He announced to her that 'these white people are kahunas of the most high God who have come to tell us of the One who made heaven and earth'.⁷ A contemporary account describes the teaching of a chiefly household by Honoli'i in 1822:

All eyes were bent upon him; and the variously expressive features of each individual marked the degree of interest excited by what was passing in his mind ... The speaker held in his hand the Gospel of St John, as published at Otaheite [Tahiti], and was endeavouring, by signs and familiar illustrations, to render its contents easy of comprehension. His simple yet energetic manner added weight to his opinions, and proved that he spoke, from personal conviction, the sincere and unpremeditated language of the heart.⁸

Polynesian missionaries from the south

The missionaries' evaluation of their Hawaiian assistants was later to influence the development of the indigenous ministry in these islands, but in the meantime an important contribution was made by Polynesian Christians from another group. Two Ma'ohi, Toketa and Kahikona, had found their way to Hawai'i from their Christianised homeland in 1818 and 1819. By 1820, they had already been taken into *ali'i* households and were well placed to teach the new religion to their chiefly patrons when the arrival

of the American missionaries aroused interest in literacy and Christianity. Although not formally mission teachers, Toketa and Kahikona were recognised in missionary writings as valuable participants in the work of evangelism.⁹ An official missionary, although in Hawai'i for only a short time, was the Ma'ohi teacher Auna, who arrived with his wife, Naomi, unexpectedly in 1822 and immediately established communication, as a fellow chief of shared Polynesian heritage, with the Hawaiian *ali'i*. One of the missionaries described him as 'a noble-looking man, a graceful speaker, and an enlightened and zealous Christian'.¹⁰ Culturally and linguistically, Auna was much better equipped than the New Englanders for introducing Christianity to the chiefs and his contribution to their acceptance of the mission and the new religion is well documented.¹¹

The return of Auna and his wife to the Leeward Islands in 1824 was widely regretted in Hawai'i. Before their departure, they had been joined by three more Ma'ohi missionaries. Taua and his wife, together with Taamotu, an unmarried female teacher in her fifties, arrived from Huahine in February 1823. In his homeland, Taua had shown 'an extraordinary desire after Scriptural knowledge'. Now he was 'attached to the retinue of the queen [Keopuolani], in the capacity of private instructor and chaplain', and clearly contributed to her conversion and baptism.¹² Taamotu served in the Hawaiian Group until 1845,¹³ and Taua continued as a valued teacher for even longer, until his death about 1885.¹⁴ Pupuhi (or Popohe), a Tahitian trained at Cornwall, arrived from New England in 1823 and served the mission for some years.¹⁵ The last Ma'ohi to join the mission staff was the highly regarded Tute Tehuiari'i, a member of Pomare's inner circle and one of the earliest converts, who arrived from Huahine in 1826 as Auna's successor and found a role as tutor and chaplain to the young king Kamehameha III, who acceded in 1825).¹⁶ The missionary endeavours of these Polynesian foreigners in Hawaiian chiefly circles undoubtedly facilitated the entry of the new religion to these islands, and might well have helped introduce the idea of an indigenous Christian ministry of high status.

Hawaiian mission workers

It was not in the young Islanders trained in Connecticut that the people of the Hawaiian Group saw their first impressive exemplars of native-born Christian ministry. Honoli'i was well regarded by the missionaries and 'considered useful as a teacher and catechist' at Hilo,¹⁷ but he died relatively young, in 1838.¹⁸ Hopu was active in evangelism and preaching in the early years. His request for recognised ministry status was strongly supported by the visiting British missionary delegation in 1822, but the American mission leaders felt that his educational qualifications, while adequate perhaps for the LMS, did not reach the standards they preferred themselves.¹⁹ Furthermore, the Americans were not fully confident that he had sufficient strength of character, and he did indeed suffer periodic suspensions for moral lapses in the 1830s.²⁰ But he did not give up his ministry altogether and was still active by mid-century as a deacon at Kailua.²¹

Whether or not Hopu, Honoli'i and the others possessed the potential for responsible positions in the Hawaiian church, they were not given the opportunity to

develop leadership skills. Their usefulness as assistants was acknowledged, but the ABCFM missionaries could not repose trust in them. Gerrit Judd wrote in 1830 that the status given by the chiefs to young men who had travelled and trained overseas had overwhelmed them and reduced their effectiveness.²² Sheldon Dibble felt that too much had been expected of them; they knew very little and had lost much of their native language while away from Hawai'i.²³ Years later, the ABCFM Secretary commented that the experience had taught the board that overseas training was not the best preparation for ministry at home.²⁴

Hawaiians converted and trained in their homeland emerged as the mission's force of indigenous assistants. They were evident first as teachers of reading and writing, helping to cope with the tide of enthusiasm for literacy that swept across the islands in the 1820s. By 1831, there were more than 1,000 schools and about 52,000 pupils, mostly adults.²⁵ Only rudimentary instruction could be given to the teachers by the missionaries at their various stations, but until the 1830s nothing more than that was provided for teacher training or 'bringing some of them forward in due time to be preachers of the Gospel'.²⁶

In 1831, however, a 'high school' was set up at Lahainaluna on the island of Maui. The new institution was intended as a place of further education for the newly literate Christian nation, and for the training of schoolteachers. Hopes were also expressed that the school would produce pastoral leaders for the Hawaiian church. At first, the students were married men with families, but after five or six years, when the name 'Mission Seminary' came into use, the focus shifted to boys and youths. The missionary Lorrin Andrews was in charge for the first 10 years.²⁷ As the church developed, and especially after it experienced a surge of growth in the late 1830s, the need for trained Hawaiian personnel increased. After 1840, schoolteaching was distinguished more clearly from pastoral work, as a government rather than a mission activity, and greater recognition was given to Lahainaluna as the source of a future indigenous ministry.

Already, however, a path towards indigenous church leadership had been opened up by one of the many Hawaiian Christians who received no training at Lahainaluna. Puaaiki, a destitute blind man from Maui, first heard about Christianity from Honoli'i at Honolulu in 1821, and became one of the earliest converts and church members. Renamed Bartimeus, he developed as an effective mission teacher and eloquent preacher at Lahaina, Hilo and Wailuku. About 1838, he was given lay office as a deacon and, in 1841, he became the first Hawaiian 'licensed to preach the Gospel'. In the eyes of the American missionaries, this was a significant recognition as a 'publicly accredited preacher', and took place only after Bartimeus had been given special tuition and was 'publicly examined as to his acquaintance with the Word of God, the doctrines of the Gospel, the history of the church, and his experimental acquaintance with the Lord Jesus Christ'. He was appointed as an 'evangelist' to a station of his own at Honuaula (Maui), but served there only a short time before he fell ill and died in 1843 (aged 58).²⁸

Many other Hawaiians were active in teaching and evangelism. Some of them obviously exercised prominent ministries in the congregations as pastoral visitors, 'deacons' or 'elders', and the word 'ordained' could be used of the holders of such lay

offices.²⁹ The term *luna* (supervisor) was often used (and is found in the Hawaiian Bible) for the many such leaders working in the church on the borderline between lay and ordained ministry. By 1848, however, only nine mission workers had been given further recognition as licensed preachers.³⁰ The most notable early Lahainaluna graduate to be licensed was David Malo, an 'intelligent and judicious man' and an 'able and successful' preacher and evangelist.³¹ When licensed in 1843, he was already the respected political adviser of the chiefs, superintendent of government schools and the author of a published critique of atheism. Until his death in 1853, he remained active as a legislative adviser to the king and a collector and writer of Hawaiian history.³² But in the 1840s even Malo was not yet considered for independent responsibility in the church. The American missionaries remained firmly in control.

An ordained ministry

As mid-century approached, the mission leaders became increasingly aware of the need to encourage the emergence of an indigenous ministry. They saw Lahainaluna as a suitable venue for ministry training and, in 1843, appointed one of their number (Dibble) to take charge of a small theological class there. But Dibble died in 1845, and the theological department was not regularly staffed thereafter. Within a few years, a financial shortage had caused the transfer of Lahainaluna to government control as a secondary school, and ministry training was provided by the mission only as one year of post-secondary individual tuition.³³ Preparation of men for ministry throughout this period was complemented by the educating of young women as suitable wives for ministers.³⁴

In 1849, the missionaries chose the first Hawaiian to be raised to ordained status. For two years or so, James Kekela and his wife, Naomi, had been ministering at Kahuku (on Oahu), and after his ordination they continued to serve there. They were described at the time as 'a fine couple' who 'meet our expectations in every way'.³⁵ Their leadership was not available to the Hawaiian church at home for very long, however, for in 1852 Kekela accompanied the mission reconnaissance party to Micronesia,³⁶ and, in 1853, he and his wife were asked to join another new mission, to the distant Marquesas Islands in south-eastern Polynesia. 'I did not assent immediately,' he recalled many years later. 'I stopped to consider carefully, with much prayer to God, to make clear to me that this call was from God, and I took counsel with my wife. It was evident to us that this was a call from God, therefore we consented ... We came away to seek the salvation of the souls of this people, because our hearts were full of the love of God.'³⁷ The couple ministered in the Marquesas until the end of the century.

Samuel Kauwealoha and Stephen Waimalu were ordained in 1850, and David Malo in 1852. There were two more ordinations in 1854, but Malo died. As late as 1863 only 10 men had gone on from Lahainaluna to ordination.³⁸ From the early days of the indigenous ordained ministry in these islands, the supply of ministers had to meet the needs of not only the homeland but also the Hawaiian church's mission fields in other parts of the Pacific. The missionary era had begun in 1852 with the commissioning in a

Honolulu church, in front of 1,000 people, of four lay workers, Daniel and Doreka Opunui and Berita and Debora Kaaikaula, who went to Micronesia.³⁹ In 1853, a few years after his ordination, Kauwealoha and his wife, Kaaiawahia, went with James and Naomi Kekela and two deacons and their wives to begin the Marquesas mission.⁴⁰ An example of the many who went to Micronesia (the Caroline, Marshall and Gilbert Islands) was Hezekiah Ae'a, who, in applying to be a missionary in 1860, expressed a strong desire to 'work among the people sitting in the shade of the night'. Ae'a's work in the Marshall Islands between 1860 and 1871 was much praised, and he was ordained during a visit to Hawai'i about 1868.⁴¹ Many other ordained and unordained ministers and their wives followed the early Hawaiian missionaries to Micronesia and the Marquesas in the years to come. Their work was of great interest to the congregations back in Hawai'i, who gave thousands of dollars to it. It has been stated that one-quarter of all the ministers ordained in Hawai'i in the first 50 years served outside their homeland as missionaries for at least part of their career.⁴² This form of ministry did not come to an end until after the turn of the century.

It is probable that the Hawaiians ascribed spiritual powers of an ancient kind to their new religious leaders — to the foreign ministers who were still dominant in the church and to the Hawaiian church officers who for many years had been entrusted with at least some authority in religious matters. The traditional *kahuna* had lost their prominent role in public life, but their spiritual potency had descended not just to shadowy practitioners of Hawaiian medicine and sorcery, but in all likelihood to those who took the lead in helping Hawaiians to relate to their new Christian *Akua*. Even the word *kahuna* was not rejected in the Christian era: coupled with *pule* (pray), it lived on in the Bible (in I Timothy 3:2, for example) and elsewhere as *kahuna pule*, an appellation for 'Christian minister'. The boundaries between old and new religious practice were clearer to the missionaries than to the Hawaiian pastors. In the 1890s, the American ministers discerned an increase in the consulting of *kahuna* for medical cures and were worried that their Hawaiian colleagues were not strong enough to oppose this trend and in fact were sometimes going to *kahuna* themselves.⁴³

Ministries in other churches

The ABCFM missionaries had not envisaged that the church they founded would eventually have to compete with other forms of Christianity. But by the middle of the century it was clear that a considerable minority of Hawaiians had adhered to Catholicism. The mission that arrived from France in 1827 was the first missionary enterprise of the Sacred Hearts (Picpus) Fathers. They struggled at first for acceptance, but persevered and eventually saw the growth of a Hawaiian Catholic Church scattered across the islands. In the early spread of Catholicism, an important part was played by indigenous converts who acted as evangelists and teachers. In the 1830s, one of these missionary laymen was Hinapapa, who was baptised Valeriano in 1831 and evangelised many parts of Oahu until his death about 1842. Marie-Joseph Kanui, who was unusual in having attended a Picpus school in France even before the missionaries arrived, was

active on Maui and in Honolulu until his death in 1842. Another catechist was Helio Koaeloa, who had prepared 4,000 candidates for baptism by the French priests when they arrived on Maui in 1846.⁴⁴ The priest who later became the first Catholic bishop in Hawai'i, Louis Maigret, recognised that French missionaries would not be available forever. In 1842, he wrote of a future time when there would be 'an indigenous clergy, capable of maintaining the faith among this people'.⁴⁵ Maigret wanted a school that would prepare young men for the priesthood, and was soon able to set up a 'high school' or 'college' at Ahuimanu on the island of Oahu. Teachers for the Catholic primary schools were trained there,⁴⁶ but no indigenous priests emerged in the 19th century. Lay people gave local leadership in the Hawaiian Catholic communities, but priestly ministry was provided only by European missionaries (and later also by local-born men from Hawai'i's immigrant populations).

Another contributor to Hawai'i's growing religious diversity was the Mormon mission sent from the US in 1850. Hawaiians responded to this mission, too, and were quickly given responsibilities in the local congregations. In the Mormon system, males over 12 years of age could be 'ordained' into the 'Aaronic priesthood'. An early 'elder' at a higher leadership level, the 'Melchizedek priesthood', was Jonathan Napela, a prominent man on Maui. By the end of the century, there were about 5,000 Hawaiian members of the church. American missionaries retained control, but nearly every congregation was presided over by indigenous office-holders.⁴⁷

Fewer Hawaiians were attracted to Anglicanism, which entered the islands with the encouragement of King Kamehameha IV in the 1860s.⁴⁸ The only Hawaiian to receive ordination as an Anglican clergyman in this period was William Hoapili Kaauiwai, a member of a prominent Maui family and a legislator before he was 30. As an aide-de-camp of the King, he became interested in the Anglican Church when Kamehameha did. The bishop, Thomas Staley, believed that an indigenous ministry was essential if the church was not to be 'a mere exotic'. He was also of the opinion that the clergy should be educated in English rather than in Hawaiian, which he regarded as inadequate for the purpose though perhaps necessary for teaching the ordinary people. Staley designated Kaauiwai a catechist and licensed him to preach, describing him as a 'man of high character, imposing presence, an English scholar and excellent preacher'. He also started preparing him for ordination. Made a deacon in 1864, Kaauiwai did pastoral work for a time at Lahaina. Later he returned to his political career, and died in 1874.⁴⁹

When does mission give way to church?

As the second half of the 19th century began, there were signs that the economic and political influence of foreign residents in Hawai'i was increasing. The next 50 years would see a continuing diminution of Hawaiian independence and eventually its disappearance. A great inflow of foreigners, including Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese and others, meant that Hawaiians constituted less than half of the population by the end of the century. But long before that, in fact by 1850, the Christian religion had become well

established among the Hawaiian people and part of the fabric of Hawaiian culture and society. The pioneering years were over, and, in 1853, the ABCFM's devolution of mission authority from Boston to an island-based structure, the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, was recognition of the extent to which Hawaiian Christianity had developed. But the American missionaries had become settled, too, as part of the growing white population and as leaders of the Hawaiian church founded by the ABCFM. The indigenous ministry in this, the biggest church, was relatively undeveloped, with a large number of Hawaiian church workers in subordinate positions under the authority of the white missionaries. This was a situation deplored by Rufus Anderson, who was Foreign Secretary of the ABCFM from 1832 to 1866.

In Anderson's opinion, the Americans in the Hawaiian mission (the first of what was now a considerable number of ABCFM missions worldwide) had been far too cautious about entrusting Hawaiian congregations to a fully responsible indigenous ministry. He and the board continually urged the mission leaders to develop a responsible pastorate. 'The great point is,' he told them in 1846, 'to get a NATIVE MINISTRY. In this I understand you to have failed.' Responding to their doubts about the calibre of Hawaiian Christians, he stated that it was 'better to have a very imperfect native ministry, than none at all'.⁵⁰ Later, he commented that the development of the Hawaiian ministry had been retarded by the fact that there were so many American missionaries, whose presence seemed to make an indigenous ministry unnecessary, and whose part or full support by the Hawaiian church absorbed funds that could have gone to local church leaders. He regretted the older missionaries' lack of confidence that Hawaiian leadership would be stable and responsible, and their very 'severe' standards, which led them to fear that giving the Hawaiians responsibility would not be 'safe': this showed too little trust in the Holy Spirit's action in the lives of the Hawaiian church members. Surely there must have been suitable material among such a large Christian community, he wrote, especially in view of the good work being done by unsupervised Hawaiian missionaries in the Marquesas. In keeping with his well-known (and eventually highly influential) opinion that missions everywhere should organise self-governing churches and then be ready to give way to them, he criticised the missionaries in Hawai'i for becoming too permanent a feature of church life. When the conversion of the Hawaiian people had been completed, he wrote, the missionaries should have ensured that the church was staffed with congregational pastors, and then withdrawn.⁵¹

During the 1850s, however, the white missionaries did little to plan for their replacement by responsible Hawaiian church leaders. Anderson found it necessary in 1863 to visit Hawai'i to urge a new approach to missionary policies for the church. Until then, indigenous church leadership had remained largely latent, carried out mainly at congregational level by the many *luna* (deacons, elders and other lay officers), a certain number of *kahu* (a word meaning 'attendant', 'guardian' or 'keeper', which Anderson found was used for licensed preachers or 'sub-pastors', but which came to mean ministers and pastors of all kinds), and a few ordained ministers.⁵² The fact that missionaries still pastored and controlled the Hawaiian church meant that it had not yet moved out of its 'primitive condition', Anderson argued. He warned of the consequences if the Hawaiians

were not given as much self-government in their church as they enjoyed in the state, and pointed to the good work done by the Hawaiian missionaries in Micronesia and the Marquesas and by the few ordained ministers at home.⁵³

The American missionaries allowed themselves to be convinced in 1863. They agreed to start dividing the missionary districts and installing Hawaiian ministers in pastoral charges of their own, supported financially by their congregations and responsible not to district missionaries as before but to district associations and to a national assembly. Hawaiian ministers and lay representatives were admitted to the councils formerly comprised of missionaries, who accepted that these bodies would now deliberate in the Hawaiian language and be dominated numerically by Hawaiians.⁵⁴ In 1868, a Hawaiian was elected as moderator of the annual assembly, the *Aha Paeaina*.⁵⁵ Anderson noted soon after this that the new system seemed to be working well, and another mission observer, Charles Wetmore, described the delegates as 'a very respectable class of men' who discussed and voted intelligently. Wetmore admitted that in 1863 there had been 'considerable trepidation in regard to allowing them to have an equal part and lot in the ministerial work'. But with the experience of several years, he recorded happily, such fears had vanished, 'and the hand of fellowship is extended heartily'. In Anderson's opinion the devolution of authority should have been made much earlier; 'the error was in underestimating the spiritual vitality of the native church and pastorate, and in overestimating the importance of a prolonged discipline and training for the native ministry in a newly formed Christian community'.⁵⁶

At the congregational level, the change to indigenous leadership occurred gradually. At Kohala on the island of Hawai'i, Elias Bond (who had been the missionary there since 1840) felt that only a few Hawaiians had 'the stability of character to endure successfully the strain of sudden elevation to the pastoral office'. But he allowed one of his former students to take charge of the western part of the district in 1864, released the southern part to another man in 1870, and finally (in 1885) put the main pastorate in the hands of a third former student (previously a missionary to Micronesia), who served there for 19 years.⁵⁷ Also on Hawai'i, Titus Coan set up six pastorates in his district of Hilo between 1864 and 1869. He continued to believe, however, that it would have been better to wait longer before conferring full pastoral authority on the Hawaiians. Many of them showed 'a disposition to be assuming and discourteous' when promoted, he wrote, and nearly all of them had been 'slack in church discipline, indiscriminate in receiving to church communion, and remiss in looking after wandering members'. He was not convinced that Polynesians were yet ready for responsible church leadership.⁵⁸ Views of this kind suggest that although they were now a minority among the leaders of the Hawaiian church, the former missionaries did not hesitate to exert a strong influence in the councils that controlled church affairs.

By 1870, there were 58 pastoral charges, served by 36 Hawaiian ministers (there were also three ministers not in pastorates, and nine in the overseas missions) and five licentiates.⁵⁹ Hawaiian ministers were not yet trained in a designated educational facility such as the 'Institutions' that had been established by Protestant missions in other parts of the Pacific. The discussions of 1863 confirmed that the form of training would

continue to be classes run by selected missionaries for suitable graduates of Lahainaluna School. William Alexander taught such classes at Wailuku (on Maui), where his respect for the islands' culture was shown by his inclusion of 'Hawaiian antiquities' in the curriculum.⁶⁰ Classes were also held by Coan on Hawai'i.⁶¹ After Charles Hyde arrived in 1877, training was moved to the 'North Pacific Missionary Institute' run by Hyde in Honolulu.⁶²

Before the new century began, Hawai'i was no longer a Polynesian kingdom. The setting up of a republic in the 1890s, and then the islands' annexation by the US in 1900, reflected the loss of indigenous Hawaiian numerical, political and social preponderance. In the Protestant, Catholic and Mormon bodies to which most of the Hawaiians belonged, people of other races dominated church affairs. Marginalised though it was, however, Hawaiian culture survived throughout the archipelago, with Christianity and its leadership and other structures persisting as important features of the lives of the people.

10.

NIUE

SEVERAL POLYNESIAN PEOPLES were evangelised from the Protestant and Catholic missions and churches of Samoa. The first of these onward movements was to Niue. Messengers of Christianity first came south from Samoa to this raised coral island in 1830. At that time, there were probably nearly 4,000 Niueans, and outside influences had been few. The 18th-century explorer James Cook had called this large isolated island ‘Savage Island’, a name that was regarded as unfair by later Niueans but seemed apt to missionaries experiencing the reluctance of the islanders to receive visitors in the 1830s and ’40s. The LMS missionary Williams attempted in 1830 to leave Polynesian teachers from another island — in this case, Aitutaki, one of the Cook Islands — but the two couples he landed were too intimidated by their reception to remain ashore. Following his policy of using Polynesian missionaries as pioneer evangelists, Williams decided ‘to try and get a native or two to accompany us, and teach them the word of God, and treat them kindly, and after the lapse of a few months bring them back with a native teacher’. Two young men, Uea and Numaga, were taken away to Raiatea and brought back the next year, but they did not succeed in securing a hearing for what they had learned.¹

Early Polynesian ministries

The next 12 years saw a series of attempts by the LMS to introduce Christianity — at first without success but in the end accomplishing their aim — by using two methods that demonstrated the mission’s commitment to ‘native agency’. Niueans were again taken away for exposure to the new faith and subsequent return as missionaries to their own people, and Christian teachers from other Polynesian communities were brought to the island as resident evangelists. Peniamina, who was one of several Niueans introduced to Christianity on other islands during this period — he was baptised in Samoa and given some training there — could not persuade the people to guarantee the safety of Rarotongan teachers brought by Buzacott in 1842.² In 1846, however, the Niueans agreed to allow Peniamina, who had now studied for a while at Malua, to return to the island as a teacher. The work he did after surviving the dangers of his first few days prepared the way for the acceptance of the first Samoan missionary, Paulo, in 1849.³ Peniamina’s achievements were tarnished by behaviour that offended the Niueans and

the missionaries, but he is still remembered on the island as the pioneer Niuean servant of the Gospel.⁴

For more than a decade, the model of ministry displayed to the newly Christian Niueans, succeeding and overshadowing that of Peniamina, was the work of the missionary Paulo and other Samoans who soon joined him. The British missionaries who left Paulo and his wife on Niue in 1849 described him as 'a very promising young man' who had done well during his three years of Malua training.⁵ Before entering the college, he would have had to relinquish the *matai* title he held in his Upolu village.⁶ Nine Samoan missionaries worked on Niue in this 20-year period of Christian beginnings, with the last departing in 1869.⁷ Some, for example, Amosa, Sakaio and Elia, brought experience as mission teachers in the New Hebrides. Paulo was on Niue for 14 years, and Samuela for 15. For much of this time they received only occasional visits from the supervising British missionaries, and it was their work that established the enduring pattern of Christian worship in villages around the island.⁸ They administered the sacraments, the first church members being admitted in 1858.⁹ They even began the task of translating the Bible into Niuean from Samoan: the missionary Pratt was not altogether satisfied with their efforts, but he used them as a basis for his own revisions and encouraged the Samoans to continue this part of their work.¹⁰ Paulo took a leading role in reducing the language to writing and translating the Scriptures, and his leadership of the mission was highly praised by the LMS. When he died in 1863, about a year and a half after the first British missionary settled on the island, his new supervisor paid unstinting tribute to the pioneer: 'He was in the prime of life, and we hoped he would long be spared to carry on the work he so successfully began ... He was faithful and discreet in his work, humble and prayerful in his life, and loving and beloved in his home; he spoke the language like a native'. Many years later, this same writer (W. G. Lawes) called Paulo 'the finest Polynesian missionary I have ever known'.¹¹

The effective nurturing by the Samoans of the rapid growth of Niuean Christianity in the 1850s was praised by the LMS. Visiting missionaries did, however, take note of the high status their Samoan colleagues had been given on the island. In 1859, one gave details of the teacher Samuela's house: 'One of the best teacher's houses I have ever seen — quite a *palace* of a place, eighty feet by thirty, divided into seven apartments, well plastered, finished with doors and Venetians, and furnished with tables, chairs, sofas and bedsteads'; at Amosa's station, there was 'a nice muslin-curtained bedstead, which they kindly spread for me with blanket and sheets, luxuries rarely to be met with in a native teacher's house'.¹² In 1861, five of the villages had a Samoan teacher, each living in a 'mansion' and supplied with servants and a generous supply of food. 'Besides this,' noted the observer, 'I cannot find that they have abused their position.'¹³ The prestigious position occupied by the Samoan missionaries was bestowed on them by the people of Niue, but it probably owed something to the expectations of the Samoans themselves and the confidence placed in them by their European supervisors. In any case, it left a legacy in the high status of village pastors when that role was eventually filled by Niueans themselves.

Niueans take up ministry

It is not easy to identify what was inherited from traditional Niuean religion by the emerging Christian religious specialists. Little is known about pre-Christian religious specialists in Niuean society, but it is clear that the island lacked a highly visible institutionalised priesthood such as was found in eastern Polynesia. *Tufuga*, the Niuean form of the Polynesian word for 'expert specialist', denoted simply a person skilled in a particular practical craft. The Niuean version, *taula atua*, of the other Polynesian expression commonly translated as 'priest', carried the literal meaning 'anchor of the gods'¹⁴ and pointed to the role of such a person as a medium. *Taula atua* were sometimes possessed by the gods, and commonly cursed or bewitched people, or prophesied, or cured the sick. In recognition of their powers and functions, they were held in respect by the people and received gifts from them. But anyone could make offerings to the gods. When the missionaries represented the Hebrew 'priest' in the Niuean translation of the Bible, they devised a new expression, *eke poa* ('one who makes gifts, offers sacrifices'), indicating that they had not seen the traditional *taula atua* as a priest. Like other Polynesians, the people of Niue also recognised divine powers in their chiefs. At the time of contact, authority was exercised by family heads and elders, although in earlier times there had been *patu iki*, paramount chiefs or 'kings' who appear to have acted more as 'high priests' than as temporal rulers.¹⁵ Some of the spiritual and temporal prestige and power possessed by those who were chiefs and *taula atua* in traditional Niue passed to the strong new figure appearing during the era of national conversion to a new religion, the Christian teacher.

Lacking conspicuous and independent power in Niuean society, the traditional religious specialists could not offer effective opposition to the new religion and its authority structures. In the early years, Peniamina and Paulo encountered resistance from *taula atua*, but it could not last long. Oral tradition tells of the *taula atua*, Mulia of Lakepa, who furiously cursed Christianity and the old gods but in a dramatic Saul-like conversion accepted the religion of 'the kind Jesus'.¹⁶ *Taula atua* lingered on, but only as healers dismissively referred to as 'witchdoctors'.

As the first Niuean to engage in Christian ministry, Peniamina was the forerunner of many more men who played a part in creating an important Niuean institution. Another significant early contribution was made by Laumahina, who asked to sail to Samoa on the mission ship in 1849. He was given training at Malua, where there were two other Niueans in 1850, and returned home in 1852. Until his death in 1856, he worked with Paulo as a teacher and worship leader.¹⁷ There were four Niueans training at Malua in 1852, two in 1856 and several in 1858.¹⁸ These trained men returned to serve in the mission at home, working under the supervision of the Samoan teachers. W. G. Lawes, the young Englishman who arrived in 1861 as the first resident European missionary, called them 'native assistant teachers' and reported that there were 11 of them (some of them locally trained) in 1864.¹⁹ By 1867, three of them (Nemaia, Tavita and Solomona) had been raised to the rank of 'teacher' alongside the four Samoans.²⁰

Lawes decided soon after his arrival to work towards the localisation of the ministry: 'I dispensed as early as possible with our foreign teachers,' he wrote later, 'and

filled their places with natives. My seniors in Samoa, I believe, thought it was rash, but the results justified the step.²¹ The progress made towards an indigenous ministry on Niue was indeed more rapid than in most other LMS fields, and a later mission official pointed out that Lawes was notably friendly and sympathetic to Pacific Islanders: not only was he 'an unqualified and unquenchable optimist in regard to the salvability of the most degraded', he 'also had the most generous confidence in, and appreciation of his native fellow-workers ... The result was that he won the complete confidence of the people, and the devotion of the workers whom he trained and led'.²² Almost immediately after his arrival, Lawes began a training class for 15 young men whom he saw as future mission teachers; his wife, Fanny, taught the students' wives.²³ Training a local ministry was a priority for F. E. Lawes, too (Frank Lawes joined his brother on Niue in 1868 and, after the departure of W. G. Lawes for England and Papua in 1872, remained at his post for a further 38 years). Frank's wife, Sarah Lawes, gave instruction to the students' wives in literacy, arithmetic, Scripture, handcrafts and domestic duties.²⁴ There were 25 students in 1877, and 19 in 1886.²⁵ In the 1890s, the students were being taught Scripture, doctrine, preaching, arithmetic and geography, in classes held on three days of the week. There was also a weekly preparatory class for young men aspiring to enter the training school. The missionary himself selected the students for full training from among the candidates put forward by the congregations.²⁶ In a book published in 1889, the non-mission writer Frederick Moss claimed that the mission workers from Niue were of much better quality than those trained in other islands.²⁷ The training school set up at Vailahi by the Lawes brothers became an extremely important part of Niue church life and endured until the 1960s.

One of the purposes of the training institution was to prepare workers for the wider work of the LMS Pacific mission. A. W. Murray had looked ahead to such a future for Niuean teachers even before Lawes established his programme: Niue's own teacher requirements, wrote Murray in 1861, 'will be easily met, and the people are such an energetic, enterprising race, that when under Christian influence, and suitably instructed, they are likely to prove very effective labourers in breaking up new ground and preparing the way for and assisting missionaries in their early labours' in new fields.²⁸ Niue did indeed become an important source of mission teachers beyond its own shores. The teachers were always accompanied by their wives and undertook a team ministry.²⁹ Except for a teacher sent in 1864 to take care of young Niuean migrant labourers in Samoa, the first Niueans to minister on other islands were Fataiki and Sione Paea, who went to Tokelau in 1868 after extra training at Malua. Fataiki was described by Lawes as an intelligent man with gifts of leadership; he later returned to Niue and, after further service as a pastor, was in 1888 elected *patu iki* under the island's resurrected system of kingship.³⁰ Paea later worked in Tuvalu before taking up a ministry at home,³¹ and two men (Solomona and Iona) worked in Vanuatu from 1870 to 1876,³² but the largest number of Niuean missionaries worked in the Papua mission. Twenty-four couples departed for Papua between 1874 and 1900, where they were able to work in the same mission as W. G. Lawes, who was in Papua until 1906; many more followed until 1953.³³ Some of the young men under training in 1873 were 'burning with zeal' to go to Papua.³⁴ Many Niuean

missionaries died in the field, some violently. Hatapu died in 1885 after only a few months in Papua, and his wife followed him to the grave five weeks later. In 1893, Isaako died on the voyage home after 18 years in Papua, and Reboamo, who returned on the same ship, died not long after returning from 17 years of service.³⁵ The contribution of Niue to the development of Papuan Christianity was certainly a notable one.

The ministry in Niuean society

On Niue itself, indigenous ministers led the religious life of the villages from the 1870s onwards. They were still known as *akoako*, 'teachers', as they are to this day. In 1873, F. E. Lawes commented that 'except in name' the *akoako* were 'pastors of churches'; 'We, however,' he added, 'reserve the right of admitting members and meet with the teachers once a month when all matters for church discipline etc. are discussed and settled.'³⁶ W. G. Lawes admitted in 1870 that he and his brother felt 'more at home with these our own children' than they had with the Samoan teachers; '[we feel] more at liberty to give them the work of exhortation and if need be, of reproof than with strangers'.³⁷ The pastors baptised and presided at the sacrament of communion, but were not at first formally ordained. When Frank Lawes was asked by the LMS about ordination in 1877, he replied that it was not yet advisable, as the pastors were not ready for such responsibility.³⁸ The expression 'ordained pastor' is indeed found in church records from 1888, but it is not known when ordination was introduced.³⁹ At the end of the century, an ordained minister pastored each of the 11 villages, with the British missionary residing in Alofi, where he still directed the training school and supervised the mission and its Niuean ministers.⁴⁰ The regular meeting of the ministers with the missionary was the forerunner of a national church *fono* or assembly, but until the 20th century there were few indications that the Niueans wished to formalise the church independence that already existed under the mission-dominated surface. In 1886, the missionary recorded the desire of the pastors and people for a greater voice in membership and discipline matters, but he discouraged the idea and, until he retired from the island in 1910, stood by the opinion he had expressed in the 1870s that the time for dispensing with a resident missionary was still 'in the far off future'. He was not fully confident that the pastors were yet ready for full charge of the church, and pointed out that his own role in training pastors and missionaries was crucial for maintaining the church on Niue and the LMS mission in Papua.⁴¹

Alongside his duties as pastor and preacher, the *akoako* ran a village school for the children (and did so until well into the 20th century). In fact, pastors occupied a leading position in the community life of each village, where their authority was not confined to those who had formally become members of the church (the first candidates were admitted in 1858).⁴² In order to avoid family entanglements, they were normally appointed to a village other than their own. There they were given the respect and reverence owing to a figure regarded as the representative of God, a *tagata tapu* or sacred man; the people accepted the strict discipline exerted by their pastor over those who transgressed the new Christian laws.⁴³

The pastors were provided with housing and food by the villagers, the *fagai* (weekly food contributions) being in accordance with LMS policy in Samoa and also with the traditional Niuean practice of making food offerings to the gods, the *taula atua* and the chiefs. A *poa* (an offering of goods and money, with a strong competitive element) was given to the pastors annually. This responsibility towards the pastors was formalised in 1875 with an agreement between the mission and the people that each pastor be paid a salary by his congregation.⁴⁴ The people took great pleasure and pride in making their gifts, explains a modern Niuean writer, and the pastor reciprocated by 'blessing the giver on behalf of the divine'.⁴⁵ The people's sense of dependence on the pastor for their welfare and prosperity led them to defer to his authority, but at the same time the pastor's reliance on the villagers for his material support could deter him from endangering their goodwill towards him. The authority of the pastor was potentially restricted in particular by the important men in each village who held office as *tiakono* (deacons) and lay preachers in the congregations and who met with him in the village *fono*.

When the 19th century ended, the LMS mission and the Niuean church were still the only non-traditional power structures on the island. Other missions had successfully been excluded and the island was not subject to any foreign power. In 1900, however, Niuean requests for a British protectorate were granted and, in 1901, the island passed under New Zealand control. In the new colonial era, the Niuean church continued strongly in its LMS tradition, moving slowly towards independence under its own pastors and deacons.

II. TOKELAU

THE THREE ATOLLS of Tokelau lie in an isolated group in the central Pacific hundreds of kilometres north of Samoa and east of Tuvalu. Atafu, Nukunonu and Fakaofu together have a land area of slightly more than 12 sq km, on which about 600 people were living in the middle of the 19th century, when Christianity first reached this part of the ocean.¹ The inhabitants of these tiny islands were Polynesians, like their neighbours, but with their own distinct language and culture.

Because only a few literate observers paid even short visits to Tokelau in the years before or soon after conversion, very little documentation of the traditional religion and its specialist practitioners is available. A Tokelauan who spent some time in Samoa told the missionaries there that the chief of Fakaofu was also a high priest; he spoke of another priest whose god brought sickness but could remove it when the priest prayed and anointed the sufferer.² The same informant gave further details to the LMS mission party taking him home in 1858: when there was an abundance of food on Fakaofu, the missionaries were told, prayers were recited and shares were given to the chiefs and 'taula-atuas' (priests) before the remaining food was distributed among the people.³ Old women spoke of this practice to a later visitor (in 1889); he recorded their testimony that in former times the 'king' offered the food to the principal god before the 'taulaitu' had their share, and that the priests were chosen by the king and enjoyed high social status.⁴ With its *aliki*, a 'king' who was also the priest of the principal god, Fakaofu was the religious and political centre of the group. On this and the other islands, some of the understandings of the people about those who exerted religious power and authority survived the passing of the old religion and the adoption of Christianity.

Ministry in the early Christian era

The first Christian evangelists on all three Tokelau Islands were local men.⁵ Preceding the conversion of the group was the exposure of Tokelauan castaways to Catholicism on Wallis in the 1840s, and the Marist-assisted migration of nearly 500 people from Fakaofu to Wallis in 1852. Also in 1852, the young Takua, son of the *aliki* (chief) of Nukunonu, found his way to Wallis. Four years later, he was one of two Tokelauan students in the small seminary operated by the Marists in Sydney in the years 1855–56. It was Takua whose return to his home island in 1861 brought Catholicism to Tokelau. The whole of

Nukunonu became Catholic. Because no priest could be spared for such a small and isolated population, Takua was in effect the pastor of his people, and was still a leading figure in the church when he became *aliki* in the 1890s (he died in 1914).

Even before Takua's return, in 1858, Christianity had reached the other islands from another direction. In that year, Lea, a Fakaofu man who had travelled to Samoa, was taken home by the LMS as a Christian teacher, carrying with him the Samoan Bible and other mission books in Samoan. Lea was a church member and had been trained at Malua.⁶ His mission on Fakaofu was not immediately successful — nor was that of Faivalua, another Fakaofu man who had also been in Samoa and returned home that year. He, too, encountered resistance on Fakaofu, but his message found acceptance on the third island, Atafu, which turned decisively to Christianity in its LMS form.

The pioneers were all Tokelauans, but many of the men who built on what these early ministries had accomplished were outsiders. In 1858, Fakaofu had accepted Lea but not the Samoan teachers brought by the LMS. Again in 1861, teachers sent from Samoa were rejected at Fakaofu, but the people of Atafu accepted them. These first resident ministers from another culture were Mafala of Savai'i (Samoa) and Maka of Rarotonga (Cook Islands). It was not until 1863 that a Samoan group consisting of Mafala and Sakaio and their wives, Hapeta and Tuanai, were able to begin mission work on Fakaofu.⁷ By then, Fakaofu had also received Catholic teaching from returning converts. In 1868, a Samoan catechist, Matulino, came to look after the Catholics, and there have been Protestant and Catholic communities on the island ever since. None of the islands permitted any other mission to enter.

Ministry in Tokelauan society and culture

Christianity became an important part of Tokelauan life, although soon after it was accepted a catastrophe befell the three atolls. Slave ships came from Peru in 1863 and took nearly half of the people away, including almost all the able-bodied males.⁸ The depleted population gradually recovered, however, and the Catholic and Protestant Churches became increasingly integrated into Tokelau society. In the LMS congregations, village elders became lay officers known as deacons. Local participation and leadership was always important, but a significant contribution continued to be made by mission workers from other places. European missionaries made only brief and infrequent visits, and the models of ministry seen by the Tokelauans were Polynesian. The enormous loss of leadership caused by the slavers' depredations allowed the educated teachers from other places to exert considerable influence in Tokelau society, which from this era onwards was governed by councils of elders rather than by chiefs.

Samoan Catholic catechists from Samoa were sent to Nukunonu and Fakaofu. A succession of pastors, usually Samoans but also Cook Islanders and Niueans, led the LMS churches on Atafu and Fakaofu. Some of the Protestant pastors, including Mafala and Sakaio, had to be disciplined and removed.⁹ Even the pioneer on Atafu, Maka of Rarotonga, blemished his long ministry in the end. After training at Takamoa, he served for 12 years on Mare in the Loyalty Islands before being moved to Samoa in 1858 and

Tokelau in 1861. His removal from Atafu in 1872 came after some years of trouble and marital misbehaviour.¹⁰ Later in the 1870s, the deacons of Atafu wrote to the missionaries in Samoa saying they did not want a new pastor because those they had been sent before had been a continual source of trouble.¹¹ Iapesa of Samoa, pastor of Fakaofu from 1880 to 1887, was an energetic leader but quarrelled unduly with the Catholics; the mission authorities thought it best to remove him; Lemuelu, another Samoan who was on Atafu at the same time, was also forceful (a visiting French priest called him 'despotic'), and in the end his flock did not want him to remain.¹²

Because the LMS pioneers were trained in Samoa and used written materials in Samoan, the language of Protestantism (and Catholicism, too) in Tokelau came to be Samoan. The people still spoke Tokelauan, but pastors and catechists from other islands used Samoan to communicate with them; the local language was not written until much later, and Tokelauans used Samoan in religious and educational situations.¹³ The Samoan Bible was (and still is) the only one available. The terminology adopted to designate the Protestant pastors (*fai'feau*) and Catholic catechists (*feho'ahoani*) was the same as that used in Samoa. As in Samoa, a *fai'feau* was 'called' by his congregation and entered into a *feagaiga* (covenantal relationship) with it.¹⁴ The Protestant churches in Tokelau continued to be part of the church structure of Samoa (until 1999), and the Catholic congregations were subject to their bishop in Samoa. Catholic catechists who were Samoan often stayed for many years or even married into the community, while the already married Samoan pastors held their appointments for shorter periods and remained at a certain distance from Tokelauan life.¹⁵ In the 1880s, a visitor was impressed with a Catholic catechist he saw on Nukunonu, 'a fine-looking elderly man not distinguished in dress and manner from the rest of his people'; he was helping to carry copra out to a waiting ship, and the observer compared him favourably with the LMS pastor he had seen on Atafu, a ridiculous figure he caricatured as an imitator of Europeans, 'dressed in ill-fitting black, with orthodox white necktie, creaking boots and white helmet, with Bible under arm and umbrella overhead, walking solemnly from his house to the church'.¹⁶

Notwithstanding the Samoan complexion of Tokelauan Christianity, local people trained in Samoa often held positions as Catholic catechists or temporary Protestant pastors. In the Catholic parishes, the work of a catechist, whether Samoan or local, necessarily fell short of a full priestly ministry, and in this period priests made only occasional brief visits. No Tokelauans were trained as priests. Tokelauan Protestants did train as teachers and pastors in Samoa: early examples from Fakaofu were Timoteo, who went from Malua to Nanumaga (in Tuvalu) in 1871 and back to Fakaofu in 1874 to replace Mafala,¹⁷ and Esekielu and his wife, Lonise, who trained at Malua in the 1870s.¹⁸ The place of LMS pastors in Tokelau village society, however, was shaped by the historical pattern that had developed: the *fai'feau* and his family were foreigners who did not speak Tokelauan, lived somewhat apart from the community and interacted with the people in a rather formal way.¹⁹ Tokelauans could be ministers, but Samoan church policy was to locate pastors away from their village of origin, and Protestant ministry localisation on the three islands themselves was far in the future. Tokelauan ministers

shared in the ordained status conferred on their Samoan brethren after 1875. A greater number of Catholic catechists were Tokelauan. Catechists and pastors received gifts from the people and were housed by their congregations in 'spacious compounds and substantial residences'.²⁰ During the week they taught the children in schools (the entire school system was operated by the catechists and pastors until the 1940s).

In 1889, the three islands became a British protectorate, but the new colonial authority was exerted very lightly. Few resident officials were appointed, not many Tokelauans travelled away and the isolated atolls attracted only a small number of visitors. The people of Tokelau, of whom there were fewer than 1,000, lived on into the 20th century as a wholly Christian society in which their churches and pastors continued to be prominent and influential.

12. TUVALU

MIDWAY BETWEEN FIJI and the equator is a group of nine atolls and low coral islands (one uninhabited in the 19th century) known collectively as 'Tuvalu' by the people who lived on them before contact with Europeans. The total land area is 26 sq km, with none of the islands exceeding six sq km. Situated on the westernmost edge of Polynesia, the group is inhabited by people speaking a Polynesian language and clearly related to their neighbours in Tokelau and Samoa. Only on one island (Nui) is there evidence of significant incursions by Micronesian migrants; on that island, a dialect of Gilbertese is spoken. When contact with European visitors (including missionaries, who first came in 1865) became more frequent in the middle of the 19th century, there were several hundred inhabitants on each island, with a total of about 3,000 for the group.¹ For more than a century after contact, the name 'Ellice Islands' was used by Europeans, although the independent nation of today is called Tuvalu.

Very little about the traditional culture of the Ellice Islands was recorded by early visitors from the outside. The meagre information that has come down to us indicates that the religious ideas and practices of the people were similar in many ways to those found elsewhere in Polynesia. It seems that chiefs had certain divine attributes and that some individuals performed priest-like functions. In the 1890s, a missionary visitor noted the word *vakatua* for 'priest', and another observer writing much later explained *vaka atua* as the term for a man who was in contact with deities and spirits and who could prophesy and heal.² A more detailed description of the 'priests', recorded by a European missionary who visited the group only a few years after its conversion to Christianity began, refers to them as 'sacred men'. Through the priests, he understood, the people communicated with the gods; the priests were chosen from particular families, lived with their families somewhat apart from the rest of the community, and were supplied with food by the people. While in a state of spiritual possession, they conveyed the will of the gods. They uttered incantations for divine blessings on fishing expeditions and promised the favour of the gods to people who contributed plenty of food.³ A modern scholar, however, has argued that it was unlikely that the islands could have supported a separate caste of religious specialists or that they were as powerful as this missionary account suggested.⁴

The first models of Christian ministry

The 1860s saw the introduction of Christianity and the emergence of a religious specialist who was a new figure in Ellice Islands society but probably inherited some of the attributes of the traditional *vaka atua* he supplanted. The people had heard and seen something of the new religion by mid-century, but 1861 is remembered today as the date of its coming to the group. In that year, a Cook Islands Christian drifted far to the west from his home island and was cast up on Nukulaelae, at that time the southernmost inhabited atoll in the group. Known in Tuvalu since then as Elekana, the new arrival was a deacon in the church on Manihiki, an island first evangelised by LMS teachers 12 years earlier. He proceeded to teach Christianity to the people of Nukulaelae, and was the first missionary (albeit an informal one) in the Ellice Islands and the man responsible for interesting the LMS in Samoa in extending their mission to this group. Elekana went to Samoa to find teachers and stayed on to undertake ministry training himself at Malua. When he came back to the Ellice Islands in 1865, he was one of the accredited teachers brought by the first British missionary expedition.⁵

Polynesian teachers trained at Malua were settled on three of the islands in 1865: Ioane (from Manu'a) and his wife, Saili, on Nukulaelae (where they served until retiring 23 years later), Matatia and his wife on Funafuti (where they remained for three years) and Elekana, who was a widower, on Nukufetau (until 1870). Soon other communities accepted teachers and, by 1873, there was a resident Polynesian missionary on each of the eight islands.⁶ No European mission workers resided in the group until after 1900, and the Polynesian missionaries were visited only infrequently by their LMS supervisors. While the resident apostles of Christianity were members of Polynesian societies related to those of the Ellice Islands, they were still outsiders, and this continued to be an important aspect of Christian ministry in the group until comparatively recent times. Except for one Cook Islander (Elekana), one Niuean (Sione Paea on Niutao from 1870 to 1875) and one Tokelauan (Timoteo on Nanumaga from 1871 to 1873), all the foreign missionaries appointed in this period were Samoans. The mission endeavoured to keep each of the eight stations staffed continuously, and a succession of couples selected from the large numbers of people who were trained at Malua proceeded from Samoa to the Ellice Islands until 1900 and well beyond.

For a time in the northern islands, the messengers of the Gospel were actively opposed by the priests of the traditional religion.⁷ But it was not long before Christianity was well established on all the islands and the old religious practices and their specialist functionaries were submerged and suppressed by the leaders and adherents of the new religion. No other form of Christianity was able to challenge the ubiquity of the LMS in the Ellice Islands. Like some other Pacific groups, these islands were visited by Peruvian slavers in 1863, and 445 people (including 250 from Nukulaelae and 171 from Funafuti, a high proportion of the populations of those islands) were taken away.⁸ But this disaster, coming so soon after the introduction of Christianity, did not interrupt its progress. Universal attendance and allegiance made the church the focus of social, political and intellectual life on each of the islands from this time on. The pioneer mission teachers

and their successors became pastors of whole communities, and played a leading role in the post-contact transformation of each island society.

The pastor (*faifeau*, a local form of the Samoan *faife'au*) occupied a position as honoured guest, an outsider but also a chief, who was accepted into Ellice Islands societies by agreement in an arrangement reminiscent of the Samoan *feagaiga* (covenantal relationship).⁹ His wife was given respect as his partner in ministry. Church development enhanced and institutionalised his position: formal church structures were inaugurated according to Congregationalist principles (the first four churches were formed on four of the islands in 1870), and *tiakono*, deacons, were selected from among the leading men in each community to work with the *faifeau* in the administration of church affairs. After 1875, like their colleagues serving at home in Samoa, the pastors enjoyed full ecclesiastical status as ordained ministers, controlling admission to the church and exclusion from it.¹⁰ Until the middle of the next century, they were responsible for the daily teaching of the children in schools, and a high literacy rate was achieved. On Sundays the pastors delivered lengthy sermons that were heard by the whole population and played a highly significant role in the life of the community.¹¹

The long period of Samoan ministry

The Samoan ministers of the Ellice Islands churches in the 19th century included some remarkable and memorable figures. The careers of a number of them have been studied by the historian Munro, who has written about Kirisome (on Nui from 1865 to 1899), Tema (on Funafuti from 1870 to 1889) and Ieremia (on Vaitupu from 1880 to 1895).¹² Stephen Whitmee, a supervising missionary from Samoa, reported that Kirisome and his wife were 'an excellent pair, and models of what our Polynesian pioneers should be'. He was impressed by Kirisome's eagerness to expand his knowledge of the Scriptures.¹³ A visiting missionary from the Cook Islands could see that Kirisome was 'in every way a superior man'.¹⁴ Even a traveller who was unconnected with the mission and often critical of its teachers wrote of Kirisome as 'a fine, frank, open-eyed man, without pretension in manners or dress, keeping a vigilant eye over his flock but avoiding all mean ways in doing so'.¹⁵ Kirisome and his cousins, the brothers Ioane (of Nanumaga) and Tema, were all sons of teachers in Samoa, and the sons of Kirisome and Tema became missionary pastors like their fathers.¹⁶ Ieremia's two predecessors on Vaitupu had been involved in factional disagreements on the island, but Ieremia was much praised for his peacemaking and pastoral work; when he retired in 1895, 'the distress of the people at parting with the old man' was noticed.¹⁷

The record of the Samoan ministers in the Ellice Islands is not, however, unambiguously positive. They were often the subjects of unfavourable comment by outside observers, and the legacy they left to their indigenous successors needs critical scrutiny. The favourable attention attracted by Ieremia is explained partly by the contrast between him and the domineering and avaricious pastor stereotypically described in many contemporary accounts.¹⁸ The pastor on Funafuti in the late 1890s, for instance, was portrayed by a visitor who was not part of the mission (and included her criticisms in published travel books) as lazy, conceited, greedy and dirty. He taught

school when he felt inclined, legalistically applied rules that were imported from Samoa, stopped the children from wearing flowers in school and church, and conducted a shoddy communion service. He lived in the best house in the village, demanded deference and service from the people, and expected food and money from the community as well as supplies from the mission. The chiefs were frightened of him. This observer understood, however, that the pastor's two predecessors were 'real good men who worked hard in their taro gardens, taught the school well and regularly, preached good sermons, visited the sick, looked after the people well, and set them a good example'.¹⁹ Accounts like this (and even the reports of visiting missionaries) do not provide a reliable understanding of the pastors' position in Ellice Islands society. European preconceptions often led observers to focus on certain aspects of their activities and behaviour and to misunderstand the dynamics of the relationship between minister and people.²⁰

The fact that the Ellice Islands churches were pastored for nearly a century by ministers who were usually foreigners is noteworthy. Unlike its practice elsewhere, the LMS took no steps to translate the Scriptures into the local language, and the Samoan Bible was used in the Ellice Islands churches until the 1980s. The closeness of the Samoan language to Tuvaluan enabled the British and Samoan missionaries to make themselves understood in the Ellice Islands without much trouble (except on Nui, where it was necessary to learn the local form of Gilbertese). It was convenient for the mission to use its Samoan personnel, literature and training facilities for the Ellice Islands mission rather than develop yet another language — one used by only a very small population — for mission purposes. Samoan was used in mission, church and school (and later in colonial administration) in the Ellice Islands until well into the 20th century. The language came to be seen as in a sense 'sacred', and much more fitting for use in worship than the vernacular.²¹ This emphasised the foreignness of Christianity and enhanced the perception that the Samoan pastors were superior to local people. The Ellice Islands church received its ministers from Samoa, was ministered to in Samoan and was subject to mission and church authorities in Samoa until long after 1900.

Especially in the early years, ministers in the Ellice Islands played dramatic roles in the religious and cultural changes accepted by the people. The two Samoan teachers who landed on Nanumea in 1873 participated in the destruction of 'the principal idols' and buried 200 skulls that had been used in religious ceremonies.²² On Nanumaga, the teacher (another Ioane), who, in 1875 resumed the hitherto unsuccessful mission there, helped the people through the crisis point of their conversion by destroying their ancient sacred places and objects and burying the skulls.²³ Ioane stayed on Nanumaga for 10 years. His early readiness for iconoclasm did not prevent him later from tolerating traditional songs and dances.²⁴ But in the observation of a visiting scientist in the 1890s, this relaxed approach to pre-Christian custom was not the norm in the Ellice Islands: 'In weeding out the so-called immoral practices of heathen days,' he wrote, the Samoan pastors 'seem, to a casual onlooker, to crush out many innocent recreations, uprooting the wheat and the tares together'.²⁵

Deference to their pastors as knowledgeable outsiders representing a superior God permitted Ellice Islanders to accept wide-ranging intervention in time-honoured

practices. More than that, the people gave their new religious leaders positions of considerable status and prestige in society. A visiting missionary noted in 1872 that on Vaitupu the chief fined a man who insulted the new teacher, Peni, so that others would not think they 'could abuse the teacher with impunity'.²⁶ According to oral tradition, on Funafuti the teachers stopped the ancient practice of presenting turtle heads to the principal chief as a symbol of his supremacy, and on Vaitupu the right to receive the heads was passed over to the pastor.²⁷ In community meeting-houses, the pastors were given the right to sit in places of honour. The Samoan pastors brought with them an expectation of the respect they were given in their own culture, which they regarded as superior, and the Ellice Islanders were willing to venerate what emanated from Samoa (as a scholar noticed even in the 1960s).²⁸

Measuring the extent of the authority exercised by pastors is difficult. The testimony of non-mission observers is sometimes tainted by personal motives that conflicted with mission interests, but should nevertheless be considered. A trader on Vaitupu, for example, grumbled in 1878 that the pastor (yet another Ioane) interfered in political matters. 'The king and chiefs dare not do anything without his consent,' a missionary was told. 'He is very arrogant and overbearing to everyone, to the king and chiefs and to white men.'²⁹ In the opinion of a commentator on a Royal Navy ship that visited the group in 1883, 'the real king and sovereign' on each of the islands was the pastor: 'nothing can be done without his permission'.³⁰ In 1892 on Nanumea, it was a chief himself who complained that when he went to Emosi's house to discuss their respective duties, the pastor 'worked himself into a fearful passion ... and informed me he the Samoan was the ruler of the land, and rudely drove me the king away to my own house'.³¹

In scholars' attempts to characterise the authoritative position of the pastors in the Ellice Islands, the word 'theocracy' has sometimes been used, and attention has been drawn to the way in which the power of the pastor disturbed and severely modified traditional patterns of rank and authority.³² It is a distortion, however, to state that rule by pastors was substituted for the former power of chiefs and elders. Traditional authority survived, although significantly altered by the advent of Christianity and other Western innovations, and the power of the *faifeau*, even at its peak in the late 19th century, is best regarded in terms of influence rather than control or formal rule. Yet the traditional lack of distinction between sacred and secular did mean that the involvement of pastors in activities outside the church sphere was not immediately questioned by the people. The Ellice Islands lacked the presence of European missionaries who would have emphasised the distinction as they did in Samoa and elsewhere.³³ The realities of life on newly converted isolated islands lent themselves to the prominence of pastors, and even when their nominal supervisors did visit they were ready to approve of strong leadership in the developing Christian communities. Only when pastors blatantly overstepped the boundaries of acceptable forcefulness were the mission authorities prepared to terminate their appointments. In any case, even when the power of the *faifeau* seemed strongest it was still limited by the wishes of the people, who were willing to see the spiritual authority of their ministers in the widest terms but would not continue to work with pastors who assumed power that the people regarded as excessive. The Islanders

conferred status and wealth on their *faifeau*, and greatly respected their knowledge and advice, but could withdraw their support and cooperation if a pastor did not fill his role acceptably.

The inability of a pastor to maintain the willing assent of his flock to his ministry was one of the reasons why the mission would remove him from his post. Even when their supervisors were not totally convinced by the people's complaints, action might be taken to send another pastor with whom the people would cooperate better. Matatia, the teacher who pioneered Funafuti in 1865, was dismissed three years later not only because of an unspecified 'error' but also because the misdeed 'deprived him of his influence'.³⁴ In 1870, dismissal came also to Elekana, the pioneer on Nukufetau, after five years in his post. His removal had been requested in a letter from the island, and the mission investigator found he had been unacceptably involved in trading and political matters.³⁵ The pastor (Ioane) who intervened too much in Vaitupu politics in 1878 was removed after the people asked for that action in a public meeting with the visiting mission supervisor.³⁶ Offending the people by being overbearing was the cause of Uele's removal from Vaitupu in 1898, and the missionary Newell commented that this was 'the great fault of some of our Samoan teachers'.³⁷ Sexual offences were of course grounds for dismissal, too, and some pastors were removed for breaking the mission's rule against trading. 'Incompetency' was the reported reason for the removal of the pastor whose unsatisfactory work on Funafuti had been publicised in travel books in the 1890s.³⁸

The tensions that arose sometimes between pastor and people, however, should not obscure the amicable pattern of reciprocity that normally prevailed. The people were willing to free their spiritual leaders from physical labour, not so that they would be idle but to enable them to devote their time to teaching and pastoral work. In return for the pastor's spiritual guidance and the divine blessings mediated through him, the people bestowed material riches on the *faifeau* and his family. Missionary visitors often remarked on the generosity of the people's provision. One of them, observing the quantity of food that was presented to Kirisome and another teacher on Nui in 1872, wryly noted that the two men had become 'so fat that they cannot get into their trowsers [sic]'.³⁹ Kirisome's salary from the people in 1874 was \$133, made up of \$29 in cash, 234 metres of cloth, one vest, five shirts, one necktie, one pair of trousers and one pig, while from the LMS he received soap, stationery, sewing materials and an umbrella; Ioane's income on Vaitupu was comparable, though teachers on other islands received less. Four years later, gifts made to Ioane were valued at \$360, while Tema on Funafuti was given 149 articles (worth \$147.50) and 20,300 coconuts (worth \$101.50); again, the other islands gave less. The missionary who recorded these details was of the opinion that salaries in cash would be preferable so that the pastors would not have to 'soil their fingers' by selling the coconuts and other items they were given.⁴⁰ The pastors lived in large houses and were provided with servants: they were 'better off than many hardworked ministers of the old country', suggested the missionary Samuel Davies in 1880.⁴¹

The comparative affluence of pastors, enhanced by a competitive element in gift-giving, persisted into modern times.⁴² It met the expectations of ministers familiar with church practice back in Samoa, and was in accord with the traditional giving of gifts by

Ellice Islanders to chiefs, priests and honoured guests. The desire to placate the gods in order to avoid disaster probably lived on in Christian willingness to please God by honouring the pastor, as a story from Nanumea indicates: some time after the new religion was accepted and the people began to give food to their pastor, the chief demanded that half the food should go to him; a drought brought famine, and it was only when the chief again permitted the people to support the pastor adequately that the drought broke and life on the island was renewed.⁴³

Ellice Islanders in Christian ministry

The ministry in the Ellice Islands was dominated by Samoans until well into the 20th century. Ellice Islanders did become *faifeau*, however, and their ministries followed many of the patterns established by the Samoans who pastored in the early days. The participation of local people in ministry was overshadowed by the prominence of the Samoans, but right from the beginning of Christianity in this group, Ellice Islanders were engaging in the pastoral care of their own people. Positions as deacons and lay preachers in the congregations were much prized. When Funafuti's Samoan teacher was removed in 1868, the classes and services were led for the next two years by 'four of the most intelligent amongst the community, [who] had been chosen by the rest'. Similarly, when Kirisome was taken from Nui that year to assist the mission in the Gilbert Islands for 12 months, the work was entrusted to four local assistants he had trained as teachers, preachers and prayer leaders.⁴⁴

The entry of Ellice Islanders into full-time ordained ministry began with young couples who were selected for training at Malua. Every year the mission ship took several candidates away to Samoa for this purpose. One of them, Ioane of Funafuti, gained the highest marks in the Malua class in 1875.⁴⁵ Successful Ellice Islands ministry students became *faife'au* in Samoa or (like their counterparts in other Pacific churches) teachers and pastors in LMS mission stations in other groups, as close as the Gilbert Islands or as far afield as Papua. Lutelu, living on Nukulaelae but originally from Tonga, was taken to Malua for training in 1872 and stationed as a teacher on Beru in the Gilbert Islands in 1878.⁴⁶ Among other examples of Ellice Islanders who served in the Gilberts are Sakaio of Vaitupu and Tuiteke of Nui, who went to Onotoa in 1878.⁴⁷ Occasionally, an Ellice Islander trained at Malua would be stationed temporarily on one of the islands of his homeland, as when Iosia (from Nukufetau) looked after Nanumaga in 1888-89 until a new Samoan arrived. Iosia and his wife, Saleima, had served on Nikunau in the Gilberts after their training in Samoa in the 1870s.⁴⁸ An Ellice Islands pastor received a full appointment to a congregation within the group in 1898.⁴⁹ Very few other such appointments were made until well into the new century. Despite the readiness of Ellice Islanders to become ministers and the willingness of the LMS to train and deploy them, the localisation of the ordained ministry in the Ellice Islands themselves is a comparatively recent development.

In 1892, British protection (which endured until the 1970s) was proclaimed over the Ellice Islands. The well-established structures of church life in the eight island

societies were not seriously threatened, although the advent of colonial authority was eventually able to restrain the power of pastors to an extent that had not been possible when the mission in Samoa exercised the only external jurisdiction over the archipelago.⁵⁰

13.

KIRIBATI AND NAURU

LYING NORTH-WEST of the Ellice Islands (Tuvalu) and straddling the equator are another group of low coral atolls, known since the 19th century as the Gilbert Islands (and now called Kiribati). Although sandy soil and infrequent rainfall on these islands made agriculture difficult, fish and coconuts enabled a comparatively large number of people to live there in pre-contact times. When European whalers and traders began to bring them into continuing contact with the outside world in the 1830s and 1840s, the 16 small islands were supporting a population of between 30,000 and 35,000 inhabitants.¹ The people were Micronesians who differed in appearance from their Polynesian neighbours in Tuvalu and spoke a quite different language. The Gilbertese tongue was common to all 16 atolls, but most of the island communities were politically separate from each other. Some were traditional enemies. In the north there were chiefs, but most of the islands of the central and southern districts were governed by councils of elders. A partly related people lived on the raised reef island of Banaba some distance to the west of the Gilbert chain. Nauru, a second (but larger) raised island still further to the west, was the home of another Micronesian people who were culturally distinct from the Gilbertese and spoke a language of their own. To all these islands the new Christian religion was brought after the middle of the 19th century.

The bearers of Christianity to the Gilbert Islands encountered religious ideas and practices that were rooted in tradition. 'Their religion scarcely deserves the name,' a missionary on a fleeting reconnaissance visit in 1852 wrote dismissively; he had seen 'no temples, no idols, no priests, only a loose system of "spirit worship"'.² An earlier observer, however, had gathered information about the religious specialists known as *ibonga*: 'There are priests, but they do not enjoy any particular respect or power on that account. The priests are called *iboya* or *boya*, and are not a distinct class.' He discovered also that priests were entitled to keep the offerings made to the gods, and that they received messages from the spiritual realm and passed them on to the people. On the island of Makin, he wrote, there were no priests and the rituals and offerings were performed by family heads.³ A visitor to the southern islands before Christianity was adopted noted the household shrines at which offerings were made to the gods. He too concluded that most islands had no distinct priestly order, but reported that on Beru the chiefs were priests who 'communicated the will of the gods to the people and were leaders in all the rites performed in their honour'.⁴ It is clear that the people of these islands placed

importance on forming appropriate relationships with gods and spirits and that certain individuals were accepted as having special abilities or powers in the facilitation of those relationships.

Christian messengers from the north

Right from the beginning of their exposure to Christianity, the Gilbert Islanders saw ministry modelled by European and Polynesian missionaries. The pioneers who settled on Abaiang in 1857 were an American couple, Hiram and Clarissa Bingham, and a Hawaiian couple, J. W. and Kaholo Kanoa. Their mission was sponsored by the large Protestant church, Congregationalist in orientation, that had emerged among the Hawaiians and had already (in 1852) sent Polynesian missionaries to other parts of Micronesia. Additional support came from the Boston-based American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). This mission had sent Bingham's father to Hawai'i in 1820 as one of the first missionaries to those islands, and now the second Hiram Bingham was introducing Christianity to another unevangelised people. His ministry in the Gilberts, however, was conducted in partnership with Kanoa and many other Hawaiian missionaries sent south by the church in Hawai'i until the end of the century.

Progress was slow, but gradually the mission was able to expand beyond Abaiang and to place Hawaiians on the other northern and central islands. Nineteen Hawaiian missionaries came to the Gilbert Islands with their families between 1857 and 1903, when the last one, Daniel Mahihila, was withdrawn. Bingham was their supervisor at first, but ill-health forced him to retreat to Honolulu in 1875. He was followed in the Gilberts by one or two other resident American missionaries, but for most of this period the Hawaiians were supervised from afar, with visits every year if possible. Their work was made difficult by food shortages, health problems and political disturbances, but most of them persisted in their mission. They provided the earliest and most continuous Christian ministry to the inhabitants of the northern and central Gilbert Islands (except Abaiang, where Bingham and his successors resided).⁵

Bingham counted himself fortunate in his pioneering associate: Kanoa was 'a humble, patient, persevering, devoted missionary', he wrote in 1858.⁶ Nearly 40 years later, he could still declare that 'the memory of my dear friend and fellow-labourer is very sweet'; he had been 'self-collected, cautious, kind, observant, courageous, industrious, active'.⁷ After his time on Abaiang, Kanoa was ordained (in 1863) and appointed to Butaritari, where his ministry was interrupted in the 1860s by conflict with a leading chief: he and his colleague, Maka, were obliged to move out to mission stations in other parts of Micronesia for a time. Even after resigning from the mission in 1887, Kanoa remained in the Gilberts until he died on Butaritari in 1896.⁸

Robert Maka was made famous by the writer R. L. Stevenson, who met him when staying on Butaritari for several months in the 1880s. Portraying the Hawaiian as cheerful, good-natured, courageous, energetic and persistent in the face of a discouraging response from the people, Stevenson penned a description of his Sunday apparel and

demeanour: he was dressed 'in tall hat, black frock-coat, black trousers; under his arm the hymn-book and the Bible; in his face, a reverent gravity; beside him Mary his wife, a quiet, wise, and handsome elderly lady, seriously attired'.⁹ In 1892, it was reported that this 'faithful Hawaiian veteran', who had arrived in the Gilberts in 1865, was still on Butaritari with his wife, who was now paralysed. After Mary's death in 1893, he retired to Hawai'i and lived until 1907.¹⁰

Two other Hawaiians, W. B. Kapu and H. B. Nalimu, were initially well regarded for the success of their mission on Tabiteuea. A new missionary met them in 1874 and was particularly impressed by Kapu, 'a noble man, modest and unassuming', who ran a very good school.¹¹ Only later did the mission authorities realise that the Hawaiians' leadership on Tabiteuea had been autocratic and that about 1880 they had inspired an armed crusade by their converts against the non-Christian party on the island.¹² The Catholic missionaries who arrived before the end of the century saw the Hawaiians as the main obstacle to their work among the Gilbertese. They regarded them as presumptuous and scheming, and were scornful of their frockcoats, top hats and walking sticks.¹³ The ABCFM missionary who took charge in the 1880s, Alfred Walkup, declared that most of them were 'crooked'. In 1889, they were described as lacking in leadership ability and, in 1892, as 'old and feeble'.¹⁴ It is true that few of them engaged in their evangelistic work as aggressively as Kapu and Nalimu did on Tabiteuea, but their 40 or 50 years of patient and unspectacular ministry to the Gilbertese brought biblical teaching and a Pacific style of Christianity to these islands in ways that were not possible for their American colleagues.

Many of the Hawaiian missionaries received ordination during their time in the field, and missionary documents respectfully affix the title 'Reverend Mr' to their names. Bingham appears to have entrusted a good deal of decision-making to them, and their freedom from close missionary supervision enhanced their status as relatively autonomous leaders of the church on each island. It was difficult for the missionaries to regard the Hawaiians as their equals, however, even when they categorised them in their statistics as 'missionary pastors'. Walkup was a more authoritarian supervisor than Bingham had been, and focused less on guiding and encouraging the Hawaiian missionaries than on developing a Gilbertese ministry.¹⁵ But the indigenous church leadership, when it emerged, could draw on a long Gilbertese experience of ministers who had confidently been given a prominent role in the direction of church life at the local level.

Christian messengers from the south

Lacking the financial and personnel resources to complete their penetration into all the atolls of the Gilbert Islands, the ABCFM were happy to accept an extension into their field of the LMS missionary movement from Samoa. The LMS and the Samoan church had begun work in the atolls of Tokelau and Tuvalu in the 1860s, and soon their missionary enterprise moved further north into the southern islands of the Gilbert chain. Arorae, Tamana, Onotoa and Beru all accepted Samoan teachers in 1870 and, by the

end of 1873, Arorae and Tamana had one teacher each, Onotoa two, Beru four and another island, Nikunau, also four.¹⁶ A visiting missionary (based in the Cook Islands rather than Samoa) was not very impressed by Sumeo, the teacher on Onotoa, whom he described as 'an awfully sleepy fellow'.¹⁷ In 1874, another missionary found the Samoan teachers on Nikunau very discouraged and reluctantly agreed to take them home.¹⁸ Kirisome, a teacher who had accomplished much on Nui, in Tuvalu, was not a success on Tamana.¹⁹ Periodically, the mission withdrew a teacher for unacceptable behaviour,²⁰ but it is clear that as a group the Samoans who ministered in the southern Gilberts between 1870 and 1900 (and for many years afterwards) made an enormous contribution to the beginnings of Gilbertese Christianity and the emergence of the Protestant church in this area. No European missionary resided in this part of the group until 1900, and the tasks of evangelism and pastoral care in these years were taken up almost entirely by the Samoans. A total of 69 Samoan missionary teachers and pastors served in the Gilberts until their deployment ceased in the 1950s.²¹ It should be noted that some of these pastors, although trained in Samoa and sent from there, were Ellice Islanders from the atolls just south of the Gilberts.²²

The impact of the Samoan teachers and pastors on the southern Gilberts seems to have been greater than that of the Hawaiians on the northern islands. Like Pacific Island teachers in most parts of Oceania, they did not hesitate to engage in dramatic iconoclastic challenges in the early years of their work: the teacher on Arorae, for instance, destroyed sacred relics and used materials from shrines he had demolished for building his house. 'Logs which had represented the spirits became a frame for his grindstone; a clam-shell receptacle for offerings became a wash-tub for his clothes.'²³ Demonstrations of Jehovah's superior power made sense all over the Pacific and were not confined to Samoans in the Gilberts, but what did stand out about the Samoan teachers in this field was the degree to which their authority as pastors became a feature of community life on the Christianised islands. Egalitarian societies formerly governed by councils of elders were now willing to give a leading role to the new God's confident foreign representatives, who were usually benevolent in the exercise of their authority but at the same time ready to receive the deference and status customarily given to ministers in their homeland.²⁴ A Gilbertese teacher who visited Beru in 1894 noticed a contrast with what he knew in the north: 'The work is quite different from our end of the group. The rulers (old men) also the people are more under the direction of the missionaries than on any of our islands.'²⁵ Receiving gifts of food and service in return for their educational work and spiritual leadership, the teachers lived comfortably, administered strict new laws and presided over regimes to which the word 'theocracies' has sometimes been applied.²⁶

Although the supervising missionaries in Samoa were sometimes worried by the aristocratic style of the Gilbert Islands pastorates, they acknowledged the success of the teachers' mission to bring Christianity into Gilbertese life and were prepared to seal the teachers' autonomy and authority as pastors by conferring ordination on them. An account of a tour of the north-west outstations of the Samoan mission, made after the momentous decision of 1875 to recognise the teachers in Samoa as an ordained clergy,

describes the solemn ceremonies in which a large number of missionary teachers were 'invested with the pastoral title and functions'.²⁷

Undoubtedly the teaching, preaching and pastoral work of these expatriate ministers in the villages of the southern Gilberts was performed patiently and faithfully by most of the Samoan missionaries, but their prominent role in society, while inherited to some degree by their Gilbertese successors, has left them with an image that has often been less than positive. Much of this is due to the negative publicity given to them by William Goward, who arrived on Beru from Samoa in 1900. This first resident white missionary in the LMS islands of the south went so far as to describe many of the Samoans as 'inconsistent, incompetent and un-Christ-like men'.²⁸ In words that drew attention to the Samoan church background of the teachers and aroused the indignation of the missionaries working in that church, he declared that not one Samoan teacher dared 'to be true to that which is best in him. He is a slave of *fa'a Samoa*, one of a clique. Hard work is a degradation. Eating, speechifying, sleeping, magnifying office and attending functions — these are placed first.'²⁹ It is not surprising that Goward was not easily able to establish a good working relationship with his Samoan colleagues in the Gilberts, but in the long run the most significant part of his work there was the preparation of Gilbertese teachers and ministers who would gradually take up the position (if not the full status) of the Polynesian missionaries.

Early Gilbertese ministry

From the early days of his time on Abaiang, Bingham picked out promising pupils from his schools and those on the other islands for further training at his station. The mission hoped that 'teachers and pastors' would emerge from this 'Training School'.³⁰ Gilbertese teachers were indeed being sent to the various islands of the group in the 1870s. Moses Kanoaro, who went out in 1873 as the first missionary to Abemama, greatly disappointed the mission with his misdemeanours, but Bauro (Paul) died at the turn of the century as an 'assistant teacher' after serving for more than 25 years 'without a known stumble'.³¹ Bingham's training programme was continued by other missionaries after his departure, but the difficult living conditions experienced by Europeans in the Gilberts led to a suggestion in 1878 that it be transferred to Honolulu, where Bingham could teach a Gilbertese class within the new North Pacific Missionary Institute.³² Later it was realised that this would be too expensive and it was decided in 1882 to transfer the mission's headquarters and training work to the island of Kosrae (then called Kusaie), 1,200km to the west in the Caroline Group.³³

The missionary Alfred Walkup took three couples and five single students to Kosrae with him when he moved there from Abaiang in 1882, and after only a few months he was able to report that they were making much better progress in the new training school than they had in the old.³⁴ For the rest of the century, he and other ABCFM missionaries trained Gilbertese there and later visited them back in their homeland on the islands to which they were appointed as assistants. They were known as *kawaerake marairai*, 'long trousers', after the garment they wore along with the American and Hawaiian missionaries (but not the Samoans of the southern islands).³⁵

The Kosrae training school had its problems, and was closed for a period before 1892.³⁶ When it reopened, four students had to be disciplined. They seemed to be truly repentant, but while the missionaries were confident that they would do well as teachers in the future, they found it hard to fix on an appropriate policy in disciplinary matters. 'The sin of sensuality is strong with all the natives,' wrote Irving Channon. 'Few of them seem strong enough to resist it. Sometimes I feel that we must be more rigid in disciplining those who fall, but if we did there would be few teachers left in the field today.' At that time, there were 20 male and five female students in the school.³⁷ Two years later, the roll had risen to 29 (seven married couples and 15 single students) and, in 1895, there were more students (43) than ever before. Most of them studied for three years, but a fourth year of study, more theological in content, was available for those with potential for ordination as pastors after they had proved themselves with five or more years of good service after graduation. The need for teachers was great, but the missionaries lamented that with a reduced grant for the school the intake of students would need to be reduced. The roll did indeed decline to 31 in 1896.³⁸

By the middle of the 1880s, there were 12 Kosrae-trained Gilbertese working as evangelists and schoolteachers.³⁹ Nearly a decade later, there were 13 'catechists' (senior teachers) and 30 'teachers'.⁴⁰ At that time there were six 'ministers', of whom only some were Hawaiians. In 1876, Bingham's successor, Horace Taylor, had thought of ordaining his promising student, Tem Birirake, a teacher on Abaiang.⁴¹ The first ordained Gilbertese, however, was Mote (Moses) Kaure of Abaiang, who, as an 18-year-old student in 1872, had impressed Bingham in the training school. In the 1880s, he had given satisfaction as a teacher on Marakei, Makin and Butaritari (although in 1882, ominously, one of the missionaries had thought him 'a doubtful character for a teacher'). In 1886, he was working with his mentor, Bingham, in Honolulu on the translation of the Bible into Gilbertese, a project that was finished in 1890. Ordained in Honolulu that year amid great hopes, Kaure returned to Abaiang. Soon, however, he apostatised dramatically when he fell into 'gross sin' as the leader of a revival of erotic dancing. Later, he was restored to church membership and helped in the mission schools. The missionaries hoped for a while that he might 'yet be a power for good', but his days of Christian leadership were over (although he later returned to Honolulu to assist Bingham with his Gilbertese dictionary).⁴² This was not a good start for ordained ministry in the Gilbert Islands, but other ordained men were soon providing satisfaction.

For a few years after the loss of Kaure, the only Gilbertese in ordained ministry was John Teraoi, who served at Tarawa for many years after 1893. He was the son of a 'good old deacon' of Tabiteuea, who could recite long scriptural passages from memory (he was a 'walking Bible'). Teraoi had been trained on Abaiang in the 1870s, beginning his work as a teacher on Maiana in 1879. In 1881, he went to Abemama with his wife and their baby. 'They are faithful earnest Christian people,' wrote Taylor. Plans to ordain 'this promising teacher' had been put on hold in 1885 when his wife died while they were on Kosrae for further training. He was eventually ordained (the date is not known) and was described as 'a man of sterling worth', a 'patient faithful pastor', who persevered even when his flock was not very responsive. His ministry came to an untimely end when his

canoe was lost at sea in 1907.⁴³ Before that, however, he had been joined by other ordained 'pastors', of whom there were four by 1900; Walkup thought of them as 'bishops' over the 23 other mission workers (catechists and teachers).⁴⁴ In the Gilberts, these ordained men were known as *minita*, a transliteration of 'minister'. By 1903, when the last Hawaiian left, the development of an indigenous ministry was well advanced. The training of Gilbertese teachers, catechists and ministers continued on Kosrae until it was transferred a few years after the turn of the century to Banaba and later to Abaiang once again.

One of the most highly regarded teachers, Timoteo Tabwia, was spoken of as a candidate for ordination in the 1890s. He had entered the training school on Kosrae in 1882 and was appointed to Abemama in 1885. The chief there told Walkup he preferred Tabwia to his predecessor, Teraoi, who had denounced some of the customs favoured by the chief (and had also refused to teach him arithmetic). Tabwia 'seems to understand me and my people better than Teraoi', wrote the chief in his letter. Soon after this, Tabwia was the pioneer missionary to Nauru and, on his return to the Gilberts about 1894, he helped out on Makin for a while before resting from his labours. A good preacher and teacher, he came back to the work in 1900 as a teacher on Maiana and then on Abaiang, his home island. Nearly 50 years of age by 1900, he was still described as a possibility for ordination.⁴⁵ His achievements as the first bearer of Christianity to Nauru had been paralleled earlier by Itaaka Kinta of Tabiteuea. Kinta was a student on Abaiang in 1881 when his wife, Rebecca, died. Remarried, he was a teacher on Tabiteuea when he went to Banaba (Ocean Island) on the mission vessel in 1885 and was accepted by the people there as their first teacher.⁴⁶ He taught on the island for some years before returning home, succeeded on Banaba by Taremon, a Gilbertese teacher who was ordained in 1896. Before the end of the century, young Banabans were attending the training school on Kosrae in preparation for taking up ministry among their own people.⁴⁷

In the southern islands, little was yet done to develop a ministry that would build on the foundations laid by the Samoan pastors, although some Gilbertese students were sent to Malua for training.⁴⁸ It was only in 1900, when Goward set up his station on Beru, that a training school was begun in the LMS area of the Gilbert Islands. Goward's concern for localisation of the ministry was fuelled by his dissatisfaction with the Samoans. The school (Rongorongo) on Beru later trained students from the northern (ABCFM) islands as well.

Throughout the group, teachers and ministers not only conducted worship services on Sundays, but also operated primary schools on weekdays. It would be the middle of the 20th century before the Government took over this aspect of their ministry. Beyond the church building and school classroom, the pastors were prominent in many aspects of community life. Their small salaries from the mission were supplemented, especially in the south, by the villagers' provision of food and other supplies. This kind of local support continued even when the congregations later began to contribute much of the salary finance also. When colonial government officials entered Gilbert Islands life after the declaration of a British Protectorate in 1892, they had to compete with this group of

men who were already well established in community affairs. Although challenged by the advent of Catholicism as a rival religious organisation in 1888, the Protestant ministry of north and south entered the 20th century as a significant new leadership category in Gilbertese society. In 1917, it was to be unified by the ABCFM's handing over of all its Gilberts work to the LMS. The ministry of the Protestant Church — the name assumed by the former LMS mission in 1968 — still occupies an important place in the life of today's independent Kiribati.

The beginnings of Catholic ministry

Catholicism entered the Gilbert Islands as the result of an indigenous initiative. When two men returned home to Nonouti in the early 1880s after working as labourers in Tahiti, they began teaching people about the Catholic faith they had encountered in Polynesia. Although untrained laymen, the former labourers baptised hundreds of their countrymen and built places of worship. As later bishops remarked, it was appropriate that a church founded by lay people would be characterised by active lay participation throughout its subsequent history. The two unofficial missionaries, Betero Terawati and Rataro Tiroi, have come to be regarded as the first catechists of the Gilbertese Catholic Church.⁴⁹ Their mission had the blessing of the Picpus missionaries in Tahiti, but in the end it was the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (MSC) who answered Betero's repeated calls for European priests by sending three French missionaries to Nonouti in 1888.⁵⁰ The new mission met with a good response there and on many of the other northern and central islands, much to the dismay of the American, Hawaiian and Samoan missionaries of the ABCFM and LMS. Competition for converts at this time left the rival missions with a legacy of mutual hostility for many years.

The earlier role of Betero and Rataro, as well as the example of the many Polynesian and Gilbertese teachers working in these islands, no doubt encouraged the Catholic missionaries to develop a comparable force as soon as possible. Even when writing in French, they often used the word 'teachers' to refer to their catechists.⁵¹ 'This force of workers is the strength of Protestantism,' wrote a later MSC priest.⁵² One of the first missionaries, Edouard Bontemps, believing that an 'army' of catechists was needed to teach schools, support the converts, gather the faithful for prayers and bury the dead, had trained a considerable number of new believers as paid evangelists and schoolteachers by 1892. He and his colleague Joseph Leray had seen the Marist training school in Samoa, but they could not spare the time to operate a comparable centre in the Gilberts. Leray admitted in 1899, some years after becoming the first bishop, that the training of the 57 catechists then at work had been rudimentary. 'We have done our best in their formation,' he wrote, 'a little fast, it is true', but necessarily so in view of the urgency of the situation. The bishop estimated that about 100 catechists were needed, and made plans for a special training school in a central location, in the charge of a chosen priest who would give the candidates three years of general and religious education and spiritual training. The school would be 'a kind of minor seminary where they will be initiated in a more serious and practical way into their future ministry'.⁵³

An institution like this would be expensive, Leray admitted, and although he made an attempt on Abaiang in 1901, it was not until 1914 that he could put into effect his plan for a proper catechist training centre.⁵⁴ In the meantime, catechists provided a local ministry that supplemented the visits of the priests to the scattered villages of the atolls. The prominence of their work in the mission continued into modern times. Although the Catholic Church grew to be larger than the Protestant, there was no indigenous priesthood until 1964.

Ministry on Nauru

The isolated island of Nauru lies far to the west of the Gilbert Islands and is much bigger in land area than any of them. Its people are not closely related to the Gilbertese, by whom they were first evangelised. Timoteo Tabwia of Tarawa was landed there by the ABCFM in 1887, and was joined later by other teachers. Tabwia is still honoured by the Nauruans for his apostolic work, and as an old man he attended the 1937 celebrations for the 50th anniversary of Christianity on the island.⁵⁵ But his ministry there had ended ignominiously in deportation after five years of evangelistic and teaching work. Nauru was proclaimed a German Protectorate during the year after his arrival and, in 1892, the ABCFM heard that colonial officials were harassing the teachers, even to the extent of imprisoning Tabwia for several weeks for 'a trivial offence'. During the next year, the teachers were sent away by the Germans and the missionaries were puzzled to hear that the deportation had been at the request of Nauruan chiefs. It was known that one of Tabwia's colleagues had 'fallen', and colonial records reveal that the Nauruan indignation had been aroused by the teacher's adultery with the wife of a chief.⁵⁶

For several years, the Nauruans who had responded to the Gilbertese teachers persevered in their new religion without outside guidance, led only by those who had learned most from Tabwia and his colleagues. The growth and development of this little church and its local leadership was furthered in 1899 when a German-American missionary, Philip Delaporte, was settled on Nauru by the ABCFM. Although a Catholic community grew from an MSC mission that arrived in 1902, the Protestant church begun by Tabwia remained the largest Christian affiliation on the island. It is now the Nauru Congregational Church and has long been led by indigenous ministers and deacons.

14. MARSHALL ISLANDS

THE 29 ATOLLS of the Marshalls Group are strung out in two chains on the north-eastern edge of Micronesia. The islands are small, with a total land area of only 180 sq km. Their inhabitants speak a common language, distinct from those of their neighbours on other Micronesian islands, and before the beginning of missionary work they had little contact with the outside world. The people supported themselves by subsistence methods under the rule of their traditional chiefs and in close connection with the spirits who pervaded their universe. They do not appear to have possessed a professional priesthood, but each clan had religious specialists who made offerings to the spirits and sought their blessing on the activities of the community.¹ It was not until 1857 that the Marshallese were first exposed to preachers of the Christian religion, in a venture sponsored and operated jointly by the American and largely Congregationalist ABCFM and the Hawaiian church founded by that mission nearly four decades earlier.

The ministry of the Hawaiian missionaries

Foreigners working in the Protestant mission were resident in the Marshall Islands only in the early decades of ABCFM activity there. The missionaries who came in 1857 were two American couples, but in subsequent years the Americans who worked in this group were outnumbered by Hawaiians. Altogether, eight Hawaiian couples ministered in the Marshalls between 1860 and 1883, when the last of them departed.²

The first Hawaiian missionary gave 12 years of notable service in these crucial early years. Hezekiah Ae'a came in 1860 to assist the Americans who had begun the Marshalls work on Ebon, the southernmost atoll. Only 21 years of age, he was newly married to a woman already experienced in Micronesian missionary work, the widowed Debora Kaaikaula, who had served with her husband in the Caroline Islands for five years. Ae'a acquired the Marshallese language quickly and soon showed himself a capable teacher and preacher. He wrote hymns, encouraged the Marshallese thirst for literacy, took an interest in the local culture and found Marshallese teachers and deacons for the congregations he organised. His work on Ebon and later Majuro provided a model for other missionaries seeking to nurture the local church and strengthen its roots in Marshallese society. Ordination during a visit to Hawai'i in 1868 was recognition of his worth as a missionary and pastor, and his death in 1872 was a great loss.³ The missionary

Benjamin Snow sorrowfully commented on the passing of his 'very dear Hawaiian associate', whom he regarded as the most effective of the six Hawaiians who had served up to that time. Not only had Ae'a won the respect and confidence of the chiefs and people, but he was also everything a supervisor could hope for: he was earnest and energetic and, though somewhat impulsive, was 'teachable' and 'always ready to be advised'.⁴

No other Hawaiian missionary was as successful as Ae'a, though Snow wrote that J. W. Kaelemakule, who came in 1864 and died six years later while stationed on Namorik, was almost as good.⁵ Another effective missionary was Simeon Kahelemauna, who pioneered Mili from 1870 until he fell sick and died in 1876.⁶ He was succeeded on Mili by his brother S. P. K. Nawaa, but this missionary (the last Hawaiian to arrive) did not do well and was recalled to Hawai'i in 1881.⁷ Kahelemauna's widow, Mary Kaaialii, had married her brother-in-law and returned to the Marshalls with him, and Jeanette Little's biographical study of this 'missionary wife' clearly demonstrates the often obscured but nonetheless important role of a capable female partner in the ministry of the Hawaiians. Arriving in the Marshall Islands straight from school in Hawai'i, Kahelemauna's young wife threw herself into school teaching and worked closely with her husband in the leadership of the new mission on Mili. She wanted to stay on as missionary when her husband died, but was able to do so only by marrying Nawaa. Little suggests that the matrilineal structure of Marshallese society facilitated the acceptance of her prominent role in the Mili mission.⁸

There was some tension on Mili between Nawaa and a Marshallese teacher, but the indigenous Christian leadership emerging in the 1860s clearly learned much from the Hawaiians who lived on their atolls and ministered to the Marshallese in ways much more Pacific in style than was possible for the American missionaries.

Indigenous ministry in Marshallese Protestantism

Information about Christianity began to spread from Ebon before the missionaries ventured out to other islands. This early informal evangelistic work was soon taken up by helpers appointed by the mission. Not long after the first 10 Marshallese were admitted to church membership on Ebon in 1863, local Christians could be found as assistants to the Hawaiians on several islands.⁹ A report from 1869 tells of one such teacher, Moses, who, relying on the prestige of the new religion, courageously reprimanded a Jaluit chief for his wicked behaviour.¹⁰

The training of Marshallese as teachers began at a school set up on Ebon by Snow and Ae'a in 1869. The teaching there was at a higher level than in the mission's village schools, but within two or three years the missionaries were feeling the need for specifically theological training for the teachers they were appointing. Three couples had been sent out to Jaluit and Majuro as teachers and were doing well, but they had only rudimentary training in preaching and pastoral work.¹¹ In 1872, a theological class was formed at Ebon; Joel Whitney was not only in charge of the larger school but was teaching about 15 students in this advanced class.¹² There was no stream of pastoral

workers from Ebon, however, for the class was discontinued after producing only a few teachers. According to Whitney, the students he was preparing for the programme had 'fallen' before they could be admitted, though he still hoped that others would be accepted in future years.¹³

Only two products of this early training venture went on to notable ministries in the emerging Marshallese church. Apart from Matthew, who was working on Namorik in 1878, there was only one other effective trained teacher active that year.¹⁴ This was Jeremiah, the most outstanding of all 19th-century Marshallese pastors. First exposed to Christian ministry when he was a domestic worker in the Snow household, Jeremiah became a member and then a deacon in the church. By 1872, he had been appointed to Majuro, succeeding Ae'a as teacher. Already he was being described as 'impressive', with 'a very rare combination of excellences'. Ae'a had been recognised as the best preacher among the Hawaiians, but he told Snow that Jeremiah was better. And, wrote Snow, Jeremiah was unaffected and modest.¹⁵ The promising teacher was brought back to Ebon for a short course in Whitney's theological class, but was soon back in the field, working with 'tireless energy' on Majuro and then on Mili.¹⁶ In 1876, he was the first Marshallese to be ordained.¹⁷

The success of Jeremiah as a pastor could easily have blinded the missionaries to the real situation in the Marshallese church. To Edmund Pease, however, far too few teachers were being prepared for the task of evangelising the many islands of the group. In 1878, he proposed that a proper training school be set up. It should not be in the Marshalls, however, but on Kosrae, hundreds of kilometres west of Ebon in the Caroline Group. There the students would be 'away from the contaminating influence of their homes and from the interference of their chiefs'. Only Christian young people would be accepted, and during the three or four years of their course they would be under the constant supervision of the missionaries. Their manual labour would make the school almost wholly self-supporting and the food shortages experienced on Ebon would not occur on the lush high island of Kosrae.¹⁸ When objections were made to his idea, Pease pointed to the effectiveness of lightly supervised indigenous ministry in the Carolines and other parts of the Pacific. The American missionaries living in the Marshalls would move to Kosrae to operate a much better training school and visit its well-educated graduates when they returned to their homeland. 'No white missionary, however long his experience, can reach and move the native mind so effectually as those of their own number,' he declared. 'Who of us can ever hope to preach like Jeremiah?' Edward Doane added his plea for urgent action to expand the Marshallese ministry as quickly as possible.¹⁹

Whitney was not convinced that it was possible or desirable to prepare successful teachers and preachers in an environment so far removed from their own, but reluctantly agreed to cooperate when the mission authorities in Honolulu and Boston decided, after initial hesitation, to implement the proposal.²⁰ By the end of 1879, the Marshall Islands mission headquarters had been moved to Kosrae. With the missionaries were 26 students and their families — more than they wanted, but many were pleading to go — and clearing and building began on land donated by the principal chief of the island.²¹ A year

later the captain of the mission ship recorded his favourable impression of what had already been achieved at the new school. He felt that the two Marshallese teachers already brought back from Kosrae were more promising than any of the Hawaiian missionaries. 'I find that each year I have greater confidence in a native ministry,' he added.²² For the rest of the century and for many years afterwards, promising young Marshallese were brought to the training school and, after careful preparation by the American missionaries who were responsible for the Marshalls work, carried back home to work as teachers and pastors. An associated school for girls was the source of wives for the graduates. As Pease explained, the missionary impact would not be permanent unless it was 'rooted in Christian homes', and 'the families of the spiritual guides' would be essential models for Christian home life.²³ In 1893, there were 18 young single men and six married couples in the training school.²⁴ A traveller who visited the educational complex (consisting of separate Marshalls and Gilberts training centres and the school for Marshallese and Gilbertese girls) in the 1890s sensed 'an air of quiet prosperity and contentment'.²⁵

Every year the missionaries made a voyage through the islands, installing new appointees and collecting new students, conferring with teachers and pastors and offering encouragement or correction as necessary. Apart from these visits and some correspondence with Kosrae, the Marshallese teachers and pastors scattered throughout the group were themselves responsible for the conduct of the mission and the care of the church in each place. Ordination was conferred on the most highly regarded of the teachers. Jeremiah had been ordained in 1876 before the move to Kosrae, and when Pease moved there in 1879 he left Ebon under the charge of Laniing, 'a good man, energetic, wide awake', who had been trained in the Ebon school and now became 'native pastor' of the island (later he served on Jaluit and Majuro).²⁶ In 1880, the first two ordinations of Kosrae-trained men took place: Raijok, who went to Jaluit and later Arno and Maloelap, and Matthew, who had already been a teacher on Namorik and now returned there as an ordained pastor.²⁷ Hiram Lamelon was ordained in 1881 and served for many years on Ebon; he was described as a dedicated and prayerful man, and as an excellent scholar when he went back to Kosrae in 1887 for a refresher course.²⁸ Other early ordained pastors were the active and effective Andrew (at Ailinglaplap in the 1880s) and Joseph, who served on Mili. One man was well regarded as a student at Kosrae and as a pastor on Mili, but surprised the missionaries when he 'fell' in 1896.²⁹

In 1900, Jeremiah was still the most prominent of the pastors. This 'most valuable man' had been taken from Mili for a while in 1882 to have his meagre training supplemented at Kosrae.³⁰ By 1888, he was stationed on Jaluit, where his wife, Lantoanbon, died in 1898. The life of the church there, commented a missionary, advanced steadily rather than fluctuated as it did on some other islands. Despite his age Jeremiah still travelled around the atoll, helping in church construction by day and teaching the Bible in the evenings.³¹ He accompanied the supervising missionaries on their annual voyage through the group, and one of them described him as 'the native Bishop of the Marshall Islands'.³² 'The presence and influence of this one man', a person of 'quiet strength', was acknowledged as a major factor in the growth of the Marshallese church.³³

The number of ordained pastors in the Marshall Islands rose from four or five in the 1880s to eight in 1890 and 13 in 1899. There were also 'teachers', some of whom were progressing towards ordination (in a probationary system that still exists). Of the 29 men in ministry appointments at the end of the century, 19 were not ordained.³⁴ The Marshallese term for 'teacher' was *rikaki*, a word still used for teachers and pastors. The mission paid them small salaries to supplement the sometimes inadequate local support, but from the beginning the people in each locality contributed not only to the material support of their teachers and ministers but also to the wider needs of the mission. The ABCFM encouraged this as part of its goal of creating self-supporting and self-governing congregations, and local support for the ministry became an important feature of church life throughout the group.³⁵ Indigenous ministers did not supplant the traditional chiefs and the mission did not envisage a chief-like status for church leaders. It displeased the missionaries that a Majuro teacher, who was a chief by birth, accepted homage from the people — this was 'unbecoming for a teacher of the Gospel'.³⁶ Nevertheless, the new kind of leader had assumed a prominent place in Marshallese society by the end of the 19th century.

Late 19th-century changes

Largely isolated from outside influences until after Christianity had been introduced, the Marshall Islands soon began to attract commercial interests and, eventually, in 1885, they fell under imperial control as a protectorate of Germany. It was not surprising that the indigenous religious leaders, who had developed workable ways of relating to the traditional chiefs, now sometimes came into conflict with this new form of authority. In 1891, for example, the German Commissioner disputed with Jeremiah and the deacons on Jaluit about whether the church had the right to make anti-smoking laws. Tensions developed when the mission and church leaders opposed the sale of alcohol, and the church financial collections were another source of conflict. In 1894, a high-level statement in Berlin declared that 'the coloured missionaries of the Boston Mission' in the Marshalls were not only ill-educated and poorly supervised but also had an 'unfriendly and refractory bearing towards the German Government'.³⁷ By 1900, however, clashes were more infrequent and German officials had even praised the church leadership and the mission schools. 'I could not govern the islands without him,' stated one administrator in reference to Jeremiah's ability to calm the anger aroused by government actions.³⁸

Having long been strongly rooted in society, and later surviving the advent of a rival authority in the form of German colonialism, the islands' Protestant churches entered the 20th century as a well-established sector of Marshallese life. Only a minority Catholic Church grew from the work of MSC missionaries who settled in the group in 1899. Marshallese Catholicism never developed an indigenous ministry anything like that seen in the ABCFM mission church by 1900 and still leading today's United Church of Christ.

15.

MARIANA AND CAROLINE ISLANDS

THE LARGEST ISLAND in Micronesia, Guam, stands out in Pacific history for its uniquely early conversion to Christianity, which occurred more than a century before the main conversion movement began elsewhere in the Pacific Islands. Even earlier, Guam had also been the scene of the first recorded contact between Pacific Islanders and Europeans. The landing of the Spanish voyager Magellan on Guam in 1521 did not immediately open the Pacific Islands to outside influences, but it set the scene for a Spanish presence in the Mariana and Caroline Islands that lasted until the end of the 19th century. This early relationship between Pacific Islanders and a European power included the first entry of Christianity into an Oceanian culture.

Indigenous ministry in the Marianas

Spanish ships sailing in the northern Pacific in the 16th and 17th centuries and calling at Guam and the 14 other Mariana Islands, which are the northernmost Micronesian archipelago, had little impact on the Chamorro people who lived there. Early observers of indigenous life in these islands wrote nothing about an organised priesthood, but they did record the activities of *makana*, who communicated with the spirits and practised healing.¹ Traditional religion and its specialist practitioners were not challenged until 1668. In that year, Diego de San Vitores and other Jesuit priests started a Catholic mission on Guam. By the end of the century, Catholicism and Spanish colonial rule were firmly established on Guam and the other Mariana Islands. Inter-marriage with Spanish, Filipino and Mexican arrivals modified the Chamorro genetic inheritance, and the uniqueness of their colonial experience in this era cut the people of the Marianas off from their Micronesian neighbours. For another 200 years, they lived an isolated life in an obscure Spanish outpost, their Chamorro culture increasingly permeated by Catholic beliefs and practices. Spanish priests, brothers and nuns taught their children and provided pastoral care. The priests were Jesuits until 1769, when they were replaced by Augustinian Recollects.²

Although San Vitores had been assisted by Filipino and Mexican catechists in the 1660s and 1670s, there is no indication that any kind of organised lay ministry appeared

among the indigenous Christians in later centuries. The conversion of the Chamorro long preceded the coming of Christianity to other parts of the Pacific, but in the 1820s, when an indigenous ministry first emerged among Protestants in Polynesia, there was still no sign of any comparable development among the Catholics of the Marianas, whose priests were Spaniards and Filipinos. It was only in the 1850s, when Catholic communities in Polynesia and Fiji were producing scores of catechists and were about to welcome the first Polynesian priest (in 1865) that the first steps towards the indigenisation of ministry in the Marianas were taken. Jose Palomo, a young man of Chamorro ancestry born in 1836, was tutored by the priests on Guam and then taken across the ocean to the Philippines to complete his formation at San Carlos Seminary in Cebu. In 1859, he completed his studies and was ordained by the Bishop of Cebu. This first Pacific Islander to become a Catholic priest returned to his homeland and began a long ministry in the Mariana Islands.³

After serving for some years on Guam, Palomo was transferred north to the island of Saipan. Later, he returned to Guam and, in the 1880s and 1890s, he was again in the northern islands. A visitor who met him on Saipan in the 1880s described him as an educated man who spoke Spanish, French, English and even the language of migrants from the Caroline Islands.⁴ After Spain relinquished Guam to the United States in 1899, the Spanish priests were required to depart and, as the sole remaining priest, Palomo took a prominent role not only in leading the church but also in helping the people of the island adjust to a new colonial situation. He was described by an American official as a 'saint on earth', guiding his people 'with a sweet holiness that could not fail to impress all who came in touch with him'. Help came when priests of another Spanish congregation, the Capuchins, were permitted to enter Guam in 1901, but Palomo was active and respected until his death in 1919.⁵ Later, other indigenous Catholics became priests in the Marianas, which remained a largely Catholic region despite the entry of Protestant missionaries after 1900.

Indigenous ministry in the eastern Carolines: Kosrae

West of the Marshall Islands and south of the Marianas lie the thousands of islands in the Caroline Group, scattered over an enormous distance from Kosrae in the east to Palau in the west. Most of the islands are atolls, but here and there are larger high islands. Spanish suzerainty in the Carolines was purely nominal until the end of the 19th century. In the eastern part of the group, the large island of Pohnpei was the scene of a short-lived Catholic mission brought by French priests of the Picpus congregation in 1837. The first successful attempts to introduce Christianity, however, were made by Protestants on Pohnpei and the easternmost island in the group, Kosrae, 15 years later.

American and Hawaiian Congregationalist missionaries of the ABCFM and the Hawaiian church sowed the seeds of Protestant Christianity on Kosrae (then spelt 'Kusaie') in 1852. This isolated high island, about 110 sq km in area, is linguistically and culturally distinct from other Micronesian societies. The Hawaiian couple who ministered on the island were Daniel Opunui and his wife, Doreka Kahoolua. The leader

of this first team, Benjamin Snow, was pleased with their work and asked for more Hawaiians. After Opunui's sudden death before a year had passed, however, only J. W. Kanoa and his wife served on Kosrae, from 1855 until their move to the Gilbert Islands in 1857. It is probable that the simple fact of the Hawaiians' Pacific ethnicity contributed to the Kosraean image of Christian ministry. The Hawaiian King had sent a letter with the pioneering missionaries, commending them to the chiefs of Micronesia. 'I have seen the value of such teachers,' he wrote. 'We here on my islands once lived in ignorance and idolatry. We were given to war and were very poor. Now my people are enlightened. We live in peace and some have acquired property. Our condition is greatly improved and the Word of God is the cause.'⁶

Some of the early opposition to Snow and his converts came from specialist practitioners of the traditional religion. In the Kosraean language, priests were 'guardians of the spirits', and the missionaries observed how they participated in the conferring of titles and installing of titleholders. There were also people skilled in communicating with the spirits.⁷ With the progress of Christianity, these roles in society fell into abeyance, although, as elsewhere, their significance was probably perpetuated partly in Christian office-holding when it emerged.

Although the Kosraean experience of Hawaiian ministry was short, the resident ministry of American missionaries in their church was not much longer. Local converts became leaders in the church soon after the first members were admitted in 1858. When Snow moved to the Marshall Islands in 1862, he left the young Kosraean church in the charge of a local man, Keduka (or Kaluka), with assistance for six months from the Pohnpeian teacher Narcissus. One of the first Christians on the island, Keduka had shown 'an earnest spirit' and had met with a good response to his early ministry efforts while the missionary was still there. Excellent reports of his leadership were received in the years after Snow's departure.⁸

The ecclesiastical status of Keduka's ministry is not known, but the commissioning of four men as church leaders in 1867 was described as the 'ordination of deacons'. One of the four was George, the son of the paramount chief who had accepted the first missionaries 15 years earlier. Snow had wanted to ordain him as 'pastor', but opposition from colleagues deterred him from doing so until 1869. This action made George the first Micronesian to be an ordained pastor. Snow commented that the new pastor's high birth enabled him to lead the Kosraean church without being subject to the island's traditional chiefs.⁹ When George died in 1870, however, he was succeeded as pastor in charge by Likiak Sa, a man without traditional rank but nevertheless greatly respected. Ordained in 1871, Likiak Sa was pastor until he died at the end of the century. The American missionaries used the title 'Reverend' when referring to him and an 1882 document records that he was invited to participate in the annual meeting of the missionaries in Micronesia when it was held on Kosrae that year. He was portrayed disparagingly by the travel writers Becke and Dewar as a self-righteous old rascal, but as another traveller, F. W. Christian, pointed out, shallow first impressions were common in travel accounts written during fleeting visits. Christian himself described the Kosraean pastor as 'a keen, alert, wiry old man, with an indefinable air of mingled wisdom, shrewdness and

benevolence'.¹⁰ From 1880, there were always American mission personnel resident on the island (on the opposite side from the main centre of population) to operate the Marshall and Gilbert Islands training schools, but the Kosraean church was separate under its own leadership.¹¹

As the 19th century drew to a close, indigenous ministry was well established in Kosrae's Protestant church (which was untroubled by any denominational rivals at this time and for many years to come). When Likiak Sa grew old, he was given assistance from a second pastor, Konlellu, who was ordained in 1895.¹² There were other men working in the church as 'teachers'. The best of these in 1896, wrote one of the missionaries, was Kefwas, who later made a great contribution to the translation of the Bible into Kosraean.¹³ The population had been enormously reduced by foreign diseases, and the resultant disturbance of traditional social and political patterns enabled the church to become an important institution. The power of the paramount chief and other traditional titleholders amounted to little by 1900, much of their authority having passed to the pastors and the elected church councils and deacons.¹⁴ Almost untouched by the international political events affecting Micronesia in the 1880s and 1890s, Kosrae entered the 20th century as a community in which the ministry of pastors and lay church officers extended far beyond the Sunday services and church buildings.

Indigenous ministry in the eastern Carolines: Pohnpei

West of Kosrae is Pohnpei, another high island but three times larger than Kosrae. The Pohnpeians have their own language, which is closely related to those of several nearby small islands. Whalers and other vessels began to frequent Pohnpei in the 1840s. An early observer of traditional religion there was the beachcomber James O'Connell, who lived on the island in the 1830s. He reported that there were hereditary lines of high-ranking and powerful priests, who were 'confidants and advisers of the chiefs' and upholders of the sacred nature of chiefly authority. 'Called upon on all occasions, — feasting, house-warming; canoe-launching, sickness, death, — present at all ceremonies and assemblages', they exerted an influence that pervaded the whole of life. They were the main preservers of custom and tradition, and their prominence was undisputed. According to O'Connell, however, the Pohnpeians had 'no temples, no idols, no altars, no offerings, no sacrifices'.¹⁵ Another visitor, Andrew Cheyne in the 1840s, also noted the absence of images and temples. He wrote of priests who offered prayers and, while possessed by a spirit, could foretell future events.¹⁶ Later, the missionaries recorded instances of spirit-possession in priests.¹⁷ The *samworo* (high priests) appear to have been distinct from the lesser religious specialists who were prophets, mediums, healers and diviners.¹⁸ Religion was closely connected with authority, and great sacredness was attached to the persons of the high chiefs.¹⁹

In 1852, the ABCFM established a mission on Pohnpei. As they did for the Kosrae mission begun at the same time, the missionaries brought a letter from the King of Hawai'i. His commendation of Christianity no doubt made some impact on the powerful chiefs of the five 'kingdoms' on Pohnpei. Hostile resistance to the new religion was

common for many years, however, offered by some of the chiefs and priests. Albert Sturges, the leader of the first mission party, found the priests extremely prominent in society and antagonistic to Christianity (although he recorded the case of one priest who became an ardent convert).²⁰

The connection of the mission with the Christianised islands of Hawai'i was made visible by the presence of a Hawaiian couple in the pioneer party, but unlike the Gilbert and Marshall Islanders, the people of Pohnpei did not see a long or autonomous Hawaiian ministry in their midst. Berita Kaaikaula, the first man sent from Honolulu, provided many kinds of practical assistance to Sturges at the mission headquarters in the Kingdom of Kiti. Only in 1856, by which time there were three American missionaries on the island, was Kaaikaula entrusted for a time with his own station in the Sokehs Kingdom. His American colleagues regarded him as dependable but not an outstanding missionary. When he died in 1859, his wife, Debora, returned to Hawai'i and married another missionary, enabling her to use her experience in a new field, the Marshall Islands.²¹ More Hawaiians, S. Kamakahiki Kaaha and his wife, had come in 1855, but disagreements they had with the missionaries led to their return to Hawai'i in 1857. One other Hawaiian was on the island briefly, but the ministry of the Polynesians ended with the departure of Kaaikaula's widow in 1859.²²

As leader of the Pohnpei mission, Sturges made a major contribution to the growth of Christianity from 1852 until his retirement in 1885. Other Americans worked on the island with him and after his departure, but ministry in the church was largely in the hands of indigenous Christians long before 1900. The persistence of Sturges and his colleagues in the face of much opposition was rewarded, and from the small band of early converts a large church grew. It was organised in the manner familiar to Congregationalists in America, whose local 'churches' were congregations of believers who had committed themselves to be 'members'. The first three members were admitted at Kiti in 1860: two women of traditional social rank and the husband of one of them. This man, Narcissus de los Santos, was a Filipino who had landed on Pohnpei many years before from a whaling ship. Brought up as a Catholic, he responded to the missionaries and became a devout Protestant who was active in the Pohnpeian church for many years.²³ Other people became members soon afterwards and, by 1864, there were more than 150, in six churches.²⁴

Some of the leading church members were elected as deacons, 'those who take care of things' (*soumkohwa*). The early members were active in spreading Christianity across the island, even into the other kingdoms. The missionaries wrote of a woman who stood out in this evangelistic activity in the early 1860s, and they mentioned a couple, David and Sarah, who went in 1863 to evangelise Ohwa, in the Madolenihmw Kingdom. Their success there led to the dispatch of more such indigenous missionaries. 'My experience,' wrote Sturges, 'is that these natives are able to do more in situations like that than I could do.'²⁵ People who ministered in this way came to be known as *soumpadahk*, those who teach or preach, and this word is still used in the church for 'lay preacher'.

It was not long before the young church, though still small, was engaged in ministry beyond the shores of Pohnpei. In 1863, Narcissus was willing to go as a pioneer

missionary to Pingelap, a small island some distance to the east, where the people spoke a language closely related to Pohnpeian. It did not prove possible to land, but he went on to Kosrae to assist the mission there for six months.²⁶ A second abortive attempt to take Pohnpeian teachers to Pingelap was made in 1871, but on the same voyage Sakiej and his wife were successfully landed on Mokil, another small easterly island. Pingelap was finally evangelised in 1873 by Tepit and Tomaj, Pingelap men who had been labouring on Pohnpei and were trained there by Sturges for eight months in preparation for their return as missionaries. On Mokil and Pingelap, the Pohnpeian-speaking teachers met with a rapid response and saw the emergence of large churches.²⁷ Also in 1873, there were the beginnings of Pohnpeian evangelism in the populous Mortlock Islands to the west, a mission that was extended to Chuuk in 1879.

Ordination was conferred on Narcissus in 1878.²⁸ He served as the pastor of Kiti for the rest of his career in ministry, apart from a year on Mokil and Pingelap in 1881–82.²⁹ The missionaries thought of such mission ordinations as distinct from (and inferior to) admission to the ranks of Congregational ministers in America.³⁰ Nevertheless, in the new Christian communities themselves, ordination gave undeniable recognition to teachers thought worthy of administering the sacraments and having authority in the church. The word used for 'ordained minister' in the Pohnpeian church until today is *wahnpoaron*, literally 'one who is sent', or 'apostle'. Not many teachers were received into the ordained ministry in its early days on Pohnpei, the highest number of *wahnpoaron* at any one time before the end of the century being five, in 1899.³¹

The training of Pohnpeians for ministry in the local churches and on other islands was at first very informal. Individual missionaries at their stations around the island tried to prepare promising members for teaching and evangelistic work, and when Sturges moved to Ohwa in 1868 he began a weekly training class.³² The need for better training and more trainees was increasingly felt and, by 1879, it had been decided to set up a centralised training school at Ohwa. Disagreements among the missionaries, however, meant that teaching did not begin there until the end of 1882. Frank Rand was in charge of the three years of ministry training (consisting of scriptural, pastoral and general education), and there was also a 'normal school' in which wives were taught domestic and general subjects, as well as schools for older boys and girls.³³ Some of the teaching in the lower schools was soon being done by the young Henry Nanpei and his wife, Caroline, the daughter of Narcissus. Nanpei was the son of the chief who first welcomed the mission to Kiti in 1852, and had himself been trained at Ohwa.³⁴ In 1884, the number of ministry trainees was 24, rising to 28 in 1886. Some of the missionaries, however, were dissatisfied with the low output of the theological class and found fault with the educational standards and moral ethos of the group of schools as a whole.³⁵

Although ordination was conferred sparingly and the training of teachers and pastors was open to criticism, it is clear that indigenous ministry was an accepted and honoured feature of Pohnpeian society by the end of the century. Indigenous responsibility in the local church and its missions to other peoples had been encouraged by the leading missionary, Sturges, since the first members were admitted in 1860. The results led him to argue forcefully for this autonomy in his dealings with his colleagues

and the mission administrators at home. 'We white folks ... may yet learn,' he declared in 1876, 'that raw recruits with brave hearts and good sense, with the instruction and discipline they get in the training schools, will do better fighting alone than with us.' As an example, he pointed to Manassa, a Pohnpeian who had progressed from deacon to licensed preacher to ordained minister and was now in charge of the church on Pingelap. 'A more respected or better leader could hardly be found, anywhere,' he wrote. 'If I should hear that a white general was being sent to Pingelap to direct the operations of Manassa there, I would put our flag at half mast.'³⁶

In an eloquent paper written in 1878, not long before the first ordination on Pohnpei, Sturges set down his views on the aims of missionary work. In his opinion, the objective of those who introduced the Gospel to heathen peoples should be the creation of self-reliant and self-propagating Christian communities. Missionaries should recognise the intrinsic worth of many aspects of traditional social arrangements rather than insensitively scorning them. When they organised the converts into churches, they should respect the social structures they encountered, 'preserving the outlines of existing orders so far as our advanced Gospel architecture will allow'. Christian communities should be multiplied as quickly as possible, originating from the mission base but rapidly developing a life of their own. The new congregations should provide their own buildings and elect their own deacons, supporting the teacher they were sent and relying on the missionary only for guidance and the sacraments. The missionaries were parents, building up the children by giving them responsibility and expecting service for the Lord. All Christians should be given teaching and preaching work as soon as possible, and missionaries who were not confident enough in their flock were wronging the young church. Trusting local workers was essential: 'If we distrust them, if we treat them like children, their people are the first to notice it, and of course will not duly respect them.' An extensive formal education was not necessary for church workers — indeed, it was likely that missionaries retarded rather than advanced the development of the church by insisting on training levels that were too high. 'Highly educated converts are apt to feel and show more or less incompatibility with the masses ... It is practice and experience they need, not so much theories and sciences.' These principles of self-reliance and self-propagation should be followed also when the churches sent indigenous missionaries to foreign places and supported them there.³⁷

Sturges was glad to hear that his paper was well received in Boston. He promised to continue believing in 'native goodness to be made something of' in the task of forming a Christian community.³⁸ His colleagues in Micronesia acknowledged the great successes of lightly supervised Pohnpeian missionary work, but wondered if Sturges was taking his views too far. In resisting the appointment of an American missionary to take charge of Chuuk, wrote Robert Logan, the veteran of Pohnpei seemed to have embarked on a personal campaign 'to show the world what great things his native teachers can do unaided'.³⁹

It remains the truth, however, that teachers sent from Pohnpei's churches did succeed in introducing an enduring Christianity to many islands to the east and west of their homeland, and that on Pohnpei itself the indigenous ministry became a permanent

element in the life of the church and the organisation of society. Observers have noted that although traditional social and political structures persisted on the island despite the great changes of the 19th century, Pohnpeian Protestants learned to give great weight also to the parallel structures of the church. Members of the church could aspire to move up through the ranks of *sounkohwa*, *sounpadahk* and *wahnpoaron* in the way that titles were acquired in the traditional hierarchies of rank and status.⁴⁰ These realities still exist, and were no doubt already well developed in the 1880s and 1890s when the Protestant church on Pohnpei was subjected to some alarming challenges.

Changes in the eastern Carolines in the late 19th century

In the mid-1880s, the Spanish reasserted their centuries-old claim to sovereignty over the Caroline Islands. Kosrae was little affected by this development, but on Pohnpei the Spanish formally took possession in 1886. A governor and garrison arrived in March 1887. Among the turbulent events that followed before the year was over were the arrest of the missionary Doane, who was taken to Manila for trial and later brought back, and the outbreak of violent Pohnpeian resistance against the Spanish. For the first time, too, the ABCFM and the Pohnpeian church were faced with religious competition, for the Spanish Governor had brought with him not only soldiers and convict labourers but also six Capuchin priests and brothers.⁴¹ The activities of the Catholic missionaries angered the Protestant mission and church leaders, although the Pohnpeian response was not great at first.

It was a great blow to the Protestants when the respected church leader Narcissus, one of the first members and later the first ordained pastor, returned to the Catholicism of his Filipino youth. Within a few weeks of their arrival the Spanish were putting pressure on Narcissus to abjure Protestantism, reported Doane, who referred to him as 'our good brother ... a true Christian'. A month or two later, Narcissus signed a paper committing him to cease all association with the Protestant church. He agreed to run a Spanish-language school, though he was not well educated except for his great knowledge of the Bible. The missionaries and the pastor's own family believed that these dramatic changes in the direction of his life were the result of threats, and that, forced to give in to unbearable pressure, he signed the paper in tears. Narcissus died in January the next year. The missionaries wrote that he had led a 'pure, spotless' life and faithfully served the church from the time of his conversion in the 1850s until the events of 1887.⁴²

Violent conflict between Pohnpeians and Spaniards erupted again in 1890. During the troubles, the mission headquarters and training school at Ohwa were destroyed by the Spanish, and later that year the American mission was closed down and the missionaries were required to leave. The Pohnpeian church, however, continued its congregational life, its members, deacons and pastors led by the increasingly prominent layman, Henry Nanpei. His career, which had begun as a teacher at Ohwa, now took him into successful business activities and influential participation in island politics.⁴³ Rand was able to carry on the training school for a while on Mokil. In this period, too, Ngatik (now Sapwuahfik), an atoll south-west of Pohnpei and speaking a related language, was

evangelised by a Pohnpeian teacher. On Mokil, Rand trained Edgar and Julia, Ngatikese converts, and sent Edgar home as an ordained pastor.⁴⁴ When the Spanish era ended in 1899, Germany having purchased the Carolines and set up a colonial administration on Pohnpei and some of the other islands, the ABCFM returned. Its purpose was to guide and advise the church, which had survived well in the missionaries' absence and now continued its important place in Pohnpeian society under its own ordained and lay ministry. Today, as the United Church of Christ, it coexists on Pohnpei with the Catholic Church, which grew considerably in the 1890s. Some of the high chiefs responded to the Capuchin missionaries, and the ministry of the Catholic community would later be partly indigenous.

Indigenous ministry in the central and western Carolines

Apart from several unsuccessful Jesuit attempts in the early 18th century to bring Catholicism to the western islands, Christian missions were not seen in the far-flung central and western parts of the Carolines until 1873. In that year missionaries of the Protestant churches of Pohnpei landed on Satowan and Lukunoch, two of the many atolls of the Mortlock Group hundreds of kilometres west of Pohnpei. The three couples were among the most highly regarded Pohnpeian Christians: David and Sarah, who had pioneered the Ohwa district; Opetinia and Opetiaia, a high chief's daughter and her husband; and Barnabas and Lois. Sturges regarded Opetinia as a natural leader, and described the couple as the best educated of his teachers. During her time in the Mortlocks, Opetinia translated Scripture passages, hymns and other material into the local language, which is quite different from Pohnpeian. These first teachers in the Mortlocks, and others who soon followed them, did very well. Soon there were members and deacons in the new Mortlock churches. By 1877, seven stations were staffed by 11 teachers, all of them provided with a house and food by the receiving communities.⁴⁵ Despite the linguistic divide between Pohnpei and the islands to the west, the Pohnpeians were enabled by their homeland's heritage of belief in an all-pervasive spirit world to enter the mentality of their neighbours much faster than the Americans could have done.

The furthest west of the Mortlock Islands, Nama, was evangelised in 1878 by Moses Teikoroi and his wife, Zippora, who had already served on other islands in the group. Zippora was of chiefly rank and Moses was the son of a Gilbertese who had found his way to Pohnpei and married a local woman. Left an orphan at an early age, he had lived for some years in the Sturges household. One of the missionaries described him as 'a real Paul, and much of a gentleman'.⁴⁶ Some of the Pohnpeian missionaries in the 1880s (including Moses, and also Opetiaia, who was still on Satowan in 1888, though he was soon to be recalled for unsatisfactory behaviour) were ordained pastors; others were described as 'preachers', and yet others (including Opetinia) as 'teachers'.⁴⁷ In 1884 Doane acknowledged the teachers' success in spreading Christianity, but expressed his concern about their limited education.⁴⁸ It is clear, however, that the churches in the Mortlocks, which soon began sending their own young people to Pohnpei for training,

were exposed in their early years to a visible model of Micronesian ministry that was supervised only lightly by the American missionaries.

From Nama it was not far to Chuuk, a group of high islands clustered in a large lagoon and known to the missionaries at that time as 'Ruk'. The people there were culturally and linguistically related to the Mortlockese, and it was from Nama that the first Christian messengers went to Chuuk at the end of 1879. The Pohnpeian missionaries Moses and Zippora disembarked from the mission ship in December 1879, landing on Uman and telling the chiefs and people why they had come: God was the father of all people and now the Chuukese had the chance to come back into the fold after they had strayed. Putting their experience in the Mortlocks to good use, the couple spent the rest of their lives evangelising the Chuukese and pastoring the church that soon began to emerge.⁴⁹ Moses was incalculably valuable, the ABCFM was told in 1888; 'he is a noble Christian and an excellent missionary'.⁵⁰ Manassa, David and other teachers came from Pohnpei and were received by the people on other islands in the Chuuk lagoon. Warfare disrupted their efforts on occasion, but Christianity spread throughout the eastern Chuuk islands and, in the 1890s, into the western ones.⁵¹

It was not until 1884 that an American missionary, Robert Logan, came from Pohnpei to settle on Weno as the supervisor of the Chuuk mission. One of his tasks was to establish a training school for teachers from the churches in Chuuk and the Mortlocks. Biblical, pastoral, general and agricultural training was provided for young men and women at this centre on Weno, where classes were held in the mornings for five days a week. Logan's death at the end of 1887 was a blow. At that time, the school had six couples from the Mortlocks and two from Chuuk, as well as a larger number of young single people from both groups. Three of the trainees had already taken up posts in Chuuk.⁵² Succeeding American missionaries carried on Logan's work. By 1896, the teaching centre had been moved to the island of Tonoas and was training 21 couples and 13 youths.⁵³ Moses continued his ministry, but leadership in the church increasingly passed from Pohnpeians to Chuukese teachers and pastors, and the work of the resident ABCFM missionaries (succeeded after 1900 by German members of the Liebenzell Mission) was mainly supervisory and educational.

The Spanish almost entirely ignored the Mortlocks and Chuuk after their Micronesian empire was reactivated in the 1880s and until they were replaced in the Carolines by the Germans in 1899. Catholic missions did not enter until 1911. In the more westerly parts of the Carolines, however, Capuchin missionaries accompanied the Spanish administrators. The ABCFM never penetrated further west than Chuuk, and the Capuchins were able to make a start among the people of Yap in 1886 and of Palau in 1891; few signs of emerging indigenous ministry were to be seen in those islands, however, until after 1900.

16.

NEW CALEDONIA AND THE LOYALTY ISLANDS

THE LARGEST ISLANDS in the Pacific are found in the south-west, where in the 19th century an enormous number of separate societies inhabited the many islands that Europeans grouped together under the label 'Melanesia'. Even at the end of the 19th century, many Melanesian communities had not yet encountered Christianity. But missions were begun in Melanesia well before mid-century, and before the movement of the new religion into Micronesia began, the earliest groups of Melanesian Christians had been formed.

The first Christian evangelists and pastors among the people of New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands — the Kanak as they are called today — were from the Cook Islands and Samoa. Although they were foreigners in language and culture, the gap between their Polynesian ways of life and thought and those of these southernmost Melanesian communities who received them in the 1840s was not enormous. It was much smaller than the distance separating Kanak mentalities and lifestyles from those of the French and British missionaries who came later. The models of Christian ministry that emerged in these islands in the 19th century (in Kanak Protestantism at least) owed much to these first missionaries from Polynesia.

Polynesian missionaries

It was in 1840 that the LMS ship brought the first missionary teachers from the east. Two Samoans (Taniela and Noa) were the pioneers on Kunie, or the Isle of Pines, a small island lying off the south-eastern tip of the largest land mass in the group, New Caledonia. In 1841, Mataio of Rarotonga and another Taniela from Samoa were the first of several teachers to work at Tuauru, on the south-eastern coast of the large island, which was known later to the French as the 'Grande Terre'. With a mountainous spine stretching almost the length of its 400km, and nearly 17,000 sq km in area, New

Caledonia was home to many separate communities speaking more than 20 languages and divided into a large number of political units. Its evangelisation had to proceed in a piecemeal fashion. A community at the northern end of the east coast received the next mission, in 1843, but this time the missionaries were not Polynesian Protestants but French Marists. Many physical dangers faced missionaries in this group in the 1840s and 1850s, and all three of these early ventures had to be abandoned after a few years. The LMS was never able to establish itself again on the Isle of Pines or the Grande Terre. The Marists, however, found a footing on the Isle of Pines in 1848, and the island eventually became entirely Catholic. In 1851, the Marist mission was resumed on the Grande Terre and by the end of the century had found acceptance among the Kanak of many districts.

The LMS teachers experienced greater success in the three Loyalty Islands, which lie about 100km off the east coast of the Grande Terre and were home to 12-15,000 people at the time of contact.¹ The first teachers to work on Mare (in 1841) were the Samoans, Tataio of Savai'i, who stayed many years and was given further training in Samoa during his time as a missionary, and yet another Taniela, of Tutuila, who died on Mare.² The earliest teachers on Lifu (in 1842), Pao of Aitutaki and Zekaria of Rarotonga, were members of the first group of Cook Islander missionaries trained at Takamoa. Chiefs on Mare and Lifu were accustomed to welcoming Polynesian arrivals as privileged guests, and the hierarchical structures of power in the Loyalty Islands seemed more familiar to the Polynesian teachers there than what they encountered in other parts of Melanesia.³ Their teachings were not immediately accepted and there was often fierce opposition from the traditional 'sacred men'. Eventually, however, there was an enthusiastic response and vigorous Protestant churches were founded on these islands. Language barriers had to be surmounted, but many of the Polynesian teachers learned enough to be able to translate parts of the Bible into the vernaculars of the area.⁴ Marist missionaries came to Lifu in 1858 and Mare in 1866, but the Catholic communities resulting from their work were small. Only on the third of the Loyalty Islands, Uvea, where there were no Polynesian teachers until after the Marists began work in 1857, did more of the population become Catholic than Protestant.

From the start of its work in 1840 until the first British missionaries came to Mare in 1854 (and to Lifu in 1859 and then to Uvea in 1864), the mission's foreign workers were all Polynesian teachers from Samoa and the Cook Islands.⁵ Taniela and another Samoan, Lasalo, as well as Rangi, a Rarotongan, were killed on the Isle of Pines in 1842. Some teachers died before they could return to their homelands, and many of them experienced hardship and rejection during the early years on all the islands.⁶ The LMS valued the courage of its Polynesian agents and publicised the words of one of them who was threatened on the Grande Terre: 'Come, kill us; you may stop our mouths in death, but you cannot hinder the word of God; that will continue to live and grow.'⁷ Opinions expressed by people outside the mission have sometimes been recorded, for example, the comments of Sarah Selwyn, wife of the Anglican Bishop of New Zealand: in 1852, she described Maka, a Rarotongan on Mare, as an 'excellent' teacher, 'a rare man, so humble, so good and so able'.⁸

For a time, Bishop Selwyn's mission to Melanesia included the Loyalty Islands and he stationed two missionaries on Mare for a short period in the early 1850s — an English

clergyman (William Nihill) and a trained Maori teacher (Henare Taratoa) as his assistant.⁹ The two newcomers cooperated with the LMS teachers, but by 1858 the Anglicans had conceded the Loyalty Islands to the LMS. The Catholic missionary Palazy, who had no reason to inflate the reputation of LMS teachers, thought Pao a man of sincerity and integrity when he visited him and was hospitably entertained on Lifu in 1859.¹⁰ Palazy's colleague Montrouzier, however, saw an unattractive self-importance in the teachers: he felt that they had been persuaded they were somebodies by being given a Bible.¹¹ The Anglican missionary John Patteson, who stayed on Lifu for several months in 1858, thought that the teachers' knowledge of Christian doctrine lacked depth.¹² In his opinion, the extempore prayers and sermons he heard from the Rarotongan teacher, Tutau, were far too long and shapeless, but he admired the earnest missionary himself: 'Tutao [sic] is a very simple, humble-minded man, and I like him much.'¹³

Most of the teachers carried out their mission faithfully and were good examples of Christian living, but some disappointed the mission's hopes. One teacher on Mare was discreetly mentioned in a published mission book as having been removed 'on the grounds of some reports detrimental to his character',¹⁴ while another's dismissal was explained in a private report as the outcome of 'grossly immoral conduct'.¹⁵ The worst case of missionary transgression occurred on Lifu, where one of the teachers 'apostatised and sank into a state of savageism'; in the words of another missionary report, he had 'turned out bad' and had 'been living like a heathen'.¹⁶ This man was identified in an account by the Rarotongan teacher Ta'unga as his compatriot Zekaria, one of the original missionaries on the island; Ta'unga recorded the teacher's many sexual offences and his threats to kill his colleague Pao for questioning his behaviour.¹⁷

More significant in the end were the ministries of the many teachers who stayed at their task. On Lifu, it is the work of Zekaria's co-worker Pao that is remembered.¹⁸ Known as Fao in the Loyalty Islands, Pao had left Aitutaki as a young man and was introduced to the Christian faith by a crewman on an American whaler. He had entered the new Takamoa training institution on Rarotonga and persuaded the missionaries to send him to 'the cannibal islands' in 1842 even though his training had scarcely begun.¹⁹ Forced to leave Lifu for a while in the late 1840s when civil war broke out, he returned to oversee an extension of the mission from its original base into other chiefdoms. Suitable converts were sent around the island as Gospel messengers while Pao remained at his station — a new one set up at a place where the boundaries of three chiefdoms met — to train and direct the evangelists.²⁰ Samuel MacFarlane, the Scots missionary who arrived in 1859 to continue the work of the LMS on the island, was impressed by what the 'energetic, devoted and brave apostle of Lifu' had achieved. To MacFarlane, Pao's 'extraordinary piety, energy and faith' far outweighed the fact that he could not read or write well.²¹ Pao never returned to the Cook Islands. He became seriously ill (with tuberculosis, it seems) and died in 1861.²²

The writings of Ta'unga, who ministered at Tuauru on the Grande Terre for nearly three years from 1842, offer a rare window into the inner life of LMS missions from Polynesia to other Pacific communities that were not yet Christian (and in this case did not eventually develop an LMS church life, as most of the Lifuans did). Ta'unga wrote gratefully of the kindness of the Tuauru chiefs and people who received the teachers and

gave them food. At first, he found the local vernacular 'a strange language ... like the noise made by turkeys', but perseverance made him a proficient speaker.²³ He and his colleagues met often to pray for the success of their mission. They started teaching the people to read and write, inviting them to Sunday gatherings for worship and preaching, answering questions and giving further explanations after preaching, and going out with the Christian message among their host community and to other tribes near and far. Information in missionary writings about the specifically religious content of what the teachers communicated is usually sparse, but in his account Ta'unga refers to his message again and again. He and his colleagues told their Kanak listeners that sympathetic concern had brought them to New Caledonia to speak about the true God, the creator of the world and all its people. 'I spoke to them gently about the good word,' he wrote. 'It was because of our sorrow for your being bound up in death. God's love for you was great and he created compassion in our hearts so that we would come and tell you about his love for your souls, so that you may know that your souls are of great importance, even though they have been bound up in darkness.' God's great love had led him to offer Jesus as a way to save humanity from its sin, so that all should live, they explained.²⁴

By his own account, Ta'unga quickly took the lead at Tuauru, and it is clear that despite his tactful manner the relations between him and his Samoan co-workers were sometimes tense.²⁵ It was not this that interrupted the progress of the mission. There was a growing interest in Christianity at Tuauru, but the prospect of violence against its messengers was still strong in this part of Melanesia. In 1845, the Tuauru mission was withdrawn, against the wishes of Ta'unga and the people who were protecting him and learning from him.²⁶ Circumstances foiled his desire to return and follow up his pioneering efforts. He spent a while on Mare, where he again learned a new language and taught inquirers. On a visit to Lifu, he talked about Christianity to a local chief and another from Uvea.²⁷ In New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands, he had been a resourceful and effective evangelist and teacher (as well as a keen observer and recorder of local beliefs and practices), but his subsequent work was in pastoral and educational ministry in Samoa and back in the Cook Islands.²⁸

The people of the Isle of Pines, the Grande Terre and the Loyalty Islands struggled at first to locate the Polynesian teachers within the Kanak world view. In terms of their own understanding of life and death, the inhabitants of these islands often saw the teachers as bringing disease and death to their communities. 'Great was our affliction from this very cause,' Ta'unga later recalled, 'for many epidemics occurred while we were there and we were blamed for them. That was why many of us were killed.'²⁹ He reported that after the three teachers had been killed on the Isle of Pines the chief there had come to Tuauru and offered advice: 'Do not show favour to those men from Rarotonga and Samoa. They are evil priests and they will kill us all ... Jehovah comes from Rarotonga and Samoa. He is a man-eating god. That is why you are overcome by death.'³⁰ On this occasion, Ta'unga bravely confronted the angry chief, who in the end chose not to deal with the dangerous foreign 'priests' by killing them but instead tried to bring them under his control by means of a ritual exchange of gifts. As Ta'unga noted, what had happened 'was similar to their own customary way of behaving towards their own priests'.³¹

Ta'unga, unlike most other teachers, did not use a Polynesianised biblical Christian name and, remarkably, the word 'ta'unga' denotes the pre-Christian 'priest' of his homeland, Rarotonga. He might have been more conscious of the continuity between 'heathen priest' and 'Christian minister' than the other teachers, but it is clear that as a group the mission workers were perceived by the Kanak they encountered as being somehow like the specialists who dealt with spiritual beings in their own societies. Although these religious practitioners did not preside at cultic worship or serve particular gods in sacred buildings, Ta'unga and other early observers called them 'priests'. In all the societies of New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands, religion was concerned with a multitude of supernatural beings, many of which were the spirits of the dead. Ta'unga described the participation of the 'priests' in practices and rituals involving the body parts of people who had died. He observed that priests could cause disease and respond to it (by finding out who had sent it). He and other LMS writers noted that priests inherited their role, and could be female; they recorded an incident on Mare in which a chief tested the power of Jehovah by asking the priests to bring disease on the teachers (the local spiritual power was proved inferior).³² Other observers later in the century more accurately categorised the 'priests' as seers, magicians and sorcerers who invoked the spirits to bring health or good fortune in agriculture or war, or to cause disease and death. The ancestors were known to speak through seers in dreams, visions or oracles.³³ It is likely that the power and influence of traditional Kanak religious specialists passed at least in some measure to the messengers of Jehovah who discredited the old practices.

When the first resident British missionaries arrived in the Loyalty Islands in 1854, they found that their Polynesian predecessors were 'highly respected and esteemed', 'treated with great kindness' and well supplied with food, and were very influential.³⁴ The European supervisors did not hesitate to pay tribute to the Polynesians, but usually saw them as best fitted for pioneer work rather than continuing care of the developing churches. By 1853, argued Murray, a 'critical juncture' had been reached; after 12 years, in his view, the teachers on Mare 'had done their work. They had reached a limit beyond which they could not much advance. The way was prepared for a more effective agency; and, unless such an agency could be procured, reaction and retrogression must soon take place.'³⁵ At the end of the century, an LMS writer explained that what was missing in the Loyalty Islands in the 1850s could be supplied only by European supervision, since 'the native teacher for sustained and progressive work always needs the spiritual impulse, the moral stay, the higher civilisation, and the greater practical wisdom of the white man to render his labour sufficiently persevering and effective'.³⁶ This London perspective of the imperial 1890s went beyond the thinking of the mid-century missionaries in the field. But MacFarlane, one of the first two British appointees to Lifu in 1859, also believed that while Polynesian teachers were the best pioneers, being 'almost indispensable' because they were perfectly equipped to make contact with the Pacific mentality, their work could not progress past a certain point and needed to be furthered by European missionaries if it was not to stagnate or deteriorate.³⁷ The new British missionaries saw no reason to depart greatly from the patterns of church life already established. Despite their satisfaction with what had been achieved, however, and although they were young

and inexperienced, they confidently took over the Christian communities hitherto pastored by the Polynesian teachers.

No longer seen as directing the mission or leading the churches they had founded, the Polynesian missionaries continued to work in the Loyalty Islands until the 1860s. They were the pastors and teachers of the Christians living outside the immediate environs of the British missionary stations. As elsewhere, most of them were married, and, although the wives' names are not often mentioned, the women were regarded by the LMS as being in mission service along with their husbands. In the 1860s, a Cook Islands woman who had worked on Lifu with her husband was described on her home island (Mangaia) as a former 'female teacher'.³⁸ On Lifu, MacFarlane met the teachers every week for prayer, advice, discussion and help with sermon preparation, and this probably occurred on Mare also.³⁹ On Uvea, there was no British missionary until 1864 and the Polynesian teachers who were stationed there from 1858 worked without supervision in the tumultuous context of political conflict and Catholic-Protestant rivalry.⁴⁰ In 1867, the French Governor in Noumea asked for all outside teachers to be sent home from Uvea.⁴¹ The extension of French colonial authority to Lifu in the 1860s had already spelled the end of Polynesian participation in the mission there. New Caledonia and the Isle of Pines were annexed by France in 1853, but only in 1864 did the Governor assert France's claim to the 'dependent' islands in the eastern group. On Lifu, the LMS mission was instructed to send all the Samoan and Cook Islands teachers home. MacFarlane resisted many of the French demands, but agreed to arrange for the Polynesian teachers to leave. 'They have done a good work here,' he admitted, 'but it is done; they are of little use here now.' He explained that the pioneer era during which the Polynesians excelled was over, and pointed out that their replacement by a local ministry had already begun.⁴²

The emergence of a Kanak ministry

Indigenous participation in the ministry of the Protestant churches on Mare and Lifu was a natural development of LMS work there since the early 1840s. Christianity did not reach Uvea until later, and in fact it was by Kanak teachers sent from Mare in 1856 that the new religion was first preached there. There were five such teachers on Uvea by 1860.⁴³ The Polynesian teachers on Mare and Lifu had used promising converts as mission helpers, described on Mare in 1853 as 'a numerous body of the most advanced among the natives'.⁴⁴ A more intentional preparation of future indigenous church workers was begun by the British missionaries when they arrived. Even before that, the LMS had taken some Loyalty Islanders away for training in the older mission islands: in 1858, for example, several students returned to Mare from Malua in Samoa, and in 1859 four Lifu men returned home from Rarotonga after making good progress at the Takamoa institution.⁴⁵

Christian instruction in a distant school was also the strategy followed by the Anglicans: Bishop Selwyn hoped that useful leaders would be found among the young men he took to New Zealand for education at St John's College in Auckland. Nearly

40 such 'scholars' from all of the Loyalty Islands went to Auckland between 1849 and 1858. Some died there, and few of those who returned appear to have made much impact on the development of Christianity in their home islands (though Wadrokai of Mare became a notable Anglican missionary in the distant Solomon Islands).⁴⁶ One former St John's student who was of higher rank than the others is recorded as having prevented a splintering of the Protestant following on Lifu by declining to promote Anglicanism at the expense of the LMS.⁴⁷

Training in the local context was the preferred LMS strategy, and it was only to be expected that at Stephen Creagh's station on Mare in 1860, for instance, there were not only four Polynesian teachers but also one from Mare itself and a class of seven young local men in training.⁴⁸ Convinced of the importance of ministry training, the missionaries on Mare and Lifu started making plans in 1860 to set up 'Institutions'. There was no shortage of men willing to enter and, like most LMS training schools, the establishments soon in operation on the two islands included practical skills in the curriculum and made provision for the students' wives to be taught, too.⁴⁹ On Lifu, there was an interruption in 1864 when the French Governor ordered the Institution closed. MacFarlane successfully appealed against this action, emphasising that the training was not only in theology but also in writing, arithmetic, history, geography and 'useful arts'.⁵⁰ Life on Lifu soon settled down again after the crisis of the 1860s, and ministry training in the Loyalty Islands enjoyed greater continuity there than on turbulent Mare, where there was political and religious conflict from 1869. In 1873, there were 31 men at the Lifu school, most of them with wives, who were also taught. The men studied general, theological and pastoral subjects (now including 'Popery'), spent much of their time in their gardens and went out into the villages for preaching practice. In the 1870s, the Institution on Lifu was serving Mare and Uvea as well, although there was no common language — the missionary on Mare complained that it took two years for students from his island to learn Lifuan.⁵¹

One of the purposes envisaged by the missionaries for the Institutions was the preparation of pioneer evangelists for the islands further west. When the LMS plan to send a mission to Papua was announced in 1871, all the students and pastors on Lifu volunteered to participate, although they knew that the work would be dangerous. A party of eight men, originating from Mare and Lifu, was selected. They were four of the best students and four experienced teachers, including Gucheng, who was a convert of Pao and one of MacFarlane's most valued pastors. Gucheng died in Papua, as did many others of the 30 men from Lifu, Mare and Uvea who are recorded as having gone with their wives on the Papua mission between 1871 and 1884.⁵² During the same period, a few Loyalty Islanders worked in the Presbyterian mission in the New Hebrides (Vanuatu).

Most of the men emerging from the training schools, however, became pastors of village congregations on the three islands. On Mare at the end of the 1860s, there were more than 20 of these workers, described as 'assistant preachers'.⁵³ According to the missionary Jones, the Mare people were at first reluctant to see local teachers replacing the Polynesians: 'These Mare men, they said, were no better than themselves. Now that is all forgotten and they value their own countrymen most.'⁵⁴ On Lifu and Uvea, the

indigenous teachers were called *hnamiat* and *nahibat* ('the one who is set apart'), and on Mare, *nata*. The Mare word, which means 'teller of stories', or 'bearer of news', was sometimes applied to teachers from all the Loyalty Islands.⁵⁵ The teachers were given the power to conduct marriage services, and then to baptise children, but full ordination was not considered until 1877. In that year, the missionaries agreed that if the indigenous teachers were ordained, they (the British supervisors) would have more time for translation and educational work. 'Raising' the teachers would also be a wise preparation for when foreigners might have to depart in the future. The missionaries took the precaution of writing to their counterparts in Samoa, who had recently ordained their teachers after exhaustive discussion and controversy — they asked for advice about what proportion of the teachers should be ordained, what criteria should be followed, what functions should be given to an ordained ministry and whether the effect of ordination had been good or bad — and a reassuring reply was received.⁵⁶ It seems that the missionaries went ahead and conferred ordination selectively: the 30 congregations on Mare in 1885, for example, were served by 15 'teachers' and 15 'pastors'.⁵⁷ The Lifu pastors 'may not have taken their degrees in science and divinity', wrote MacFarlane in 1888, 'but they have in *prayer* and *faith*'.⁵⁸

Teachers were appointed to their congregations by the missionaries at first, but the church members were soon given a major role in choosing their pastor. This was in accord with LMS principles, and continued into the 20th century.⁵⁹ The decree of the French Governor in 1864 that all appointments on Lifu were to be confirmed or disallowed by the local military commandant was not welcomed.⁶⁰ Colonial interference did not become permanent, but it was acknowledged that chiefs continued to have a strong voice in appointments.⁶¹ The custom of supporting the teachers with food and other supplies was extended in the 1860s, when the missionaries suggested that the people make a contribution to their teachers every January. Some congregations were slow to adopt this method of support, but by 1873 (on Lifu at least) it was universal.⁶² Well into the 20th century, the Loyalty Islands pastors were not paid by the mission but worked in their food gardens like everyone else and received additional support from the annual monetary gift collected by their flock.⁶³ The pastors taught the children in schools. In their parishes, they worked with *dikona* (deacons), usually chosen from among those leading church members who were also clan chiefs.⁶⁴ Lay preachers (called *nekonekatu* on Mare) led worship services in the pastor's absence.⁶⁵ Considerable deference was given to pastors, and Maurice Leenhardt, a later observer of their work, saw a severe and somewhat legalistic approach to church discipline. Pastors themselves were required to be abstainers from alcohol and tobacco.⁶⁶

The British missionaries in the Loyalty Islands did not envisage a speedy transfer of their authority to the indigenous pastors. It was not possible to station a missionary permanently on Uvea after 1886, but the pastors there were visited periodically by the missionary on Lifu. On Mare, the church leaders were for a time independent of missionary control, but only because of French intervention in the island's political and ecclesiastical affairs: in 1885, the LMS missionary Jones handed direction of the church over to the pastors after the French Administration tried to replace him with a

Protestant minister (Louis Cru) brought from France. The Government gave Cru the power to appoint pastors, but the majority of the Mare Protestants stayed loyal to the LMS and shunned Cru's 'government church'. 'We do not recognise the Government as a religious authority, and Jesus is our chief,' they declared. The pastor Wapaehé told the French that the Bible required obedience to authority if it was just. 'But if it is not, I cannot obey it,' he said. 'Authority is not just if it intervenes in religion and the nomination of pastors.'⁶⁷ The Mare Protestants told the Government that what went on in the church was their own affair, not that of the French or even of the British. During the schism, the pastors were harassed and some were sent into exile, and the French expelled Jones from the island in 1887. Cru himself left in 1891. The *nata* of the former LMS mission organised themselves as a church council, and another French pastor (Lengereau) did not gain acceptance. In 1895, the two parts of the church were reunited and soon arrangements were made for the Paris Missionary Society (PMS) to take over direction of the work on Mare from the LMS.⁶⁸

With the arrival of Philadelphie Delord of the PMS in 1898, the Mare Protestants were again under the direction of a European mission authority. Delord was able to begin pastor training again: there were 20 students by 1899, and soon the school had settled back into the familiar pattern of a 'model native village' in which families lived in separate small houses and the men and their wives divided their time between classroom study and garden labour.⁶⁹ But Delord, who stayed until 1910, was not impressed by the spiritual calibre of the Mare *nata* and *dikona*, and the paternalistic ethos of the mission in the years from 1898 offered little hope of an active leadership role for the indigenous pastors. His successor, Bergeret, advised in 1911 that the Mare church should not be left to itself for many years to come, as the *nata* needed a missionary's support to stand firm and not compromise with evil.⁷⁰ The views of the LMS missionaries responsible for Lifu and Uvea differed little from this. As the 20th century began, the Protestant churches in the Loyalty Islands were not expecting any great change from their situation of missionary tutelage in an environment of peaceful coexistence with their Catholic compatriots and a now less heavy-handed French Administration. The islands were not suitable for European agriculture and the people kept their land and greatly outnumbered the few Europeans who settled there.

Catholic ministries

Marist missions established themselves in New Caledonia, the Isle of Pines and the Loyalty Islands in the 1840s and 1850s. They were soon rewarded with converts, the most promising of whom became evangelists in their turn. One of the missionaries who began the Lifu mission in 1858 was soon able to write of 10 'catechists' who received instruction every Sunday and then went out into the villages to teach the inquirers. They were not yet very knowledgeable, he admitted, but their enthusiasm was impressive.⁷¹ Similar work was being done by Kanak converts on the other islands. Some of the earliest catechists had been exposed to the missionary life since being entrusted to the priests while still in their childhood.⁷² Pierre Rougeyron wrote in 1847 that he had

several boys who promised much for the future; they were too young to do much yet but sometimes when it was not wise for him to venture forth himself he sent his 'small missionaries' out instead.⁷³

In these early years, the missionaries were encouraged to train their own catechists at their stations throughout the group and, in 1864, Lifu saw a small training centre opened by the missionary Fabre. He recognised that the level of instruction was low, but believed that the literate catechists formed there were the equals of the Protestant teachers.⁷⁴ Clearly the Marists had taken note of the achievements of the Polynesian and Kanak LMS mission workers and they placed considerable importance on the school they set up at St Louis, near Noumea on the Grande Terre. Twelve catechists had been sent out from there by 1862.⁷⁵ Their work in the scattered communities in contact with the mission at this time was evangelistic and pastoral: they catechised the adults and children, presided over prayers on weekdays and Sundays, looked after the mission buildings, conducted baptisms and attended to the dying when the priests could not be present, acted as intermediaries between priests and people, and provided a model of Christian living.⁷⁶ The anticlerical policies of Governor Guillaumin posed great difficulties for catechists working on the Grande Terre in the 1860s. Their work was obstructed, many were imprisoned and the formation programme itself had to cease for a time.⁷⁷ In the 1870s, however, the school at St Louis was again educating young Kanak Catholics in the Christian faith and in European skills and work habits. It grew to be a large central institution serving the missions of the whole Vicariate of New Caledonia, and continued to train some of the most promising students as catechists.⁷⁸

Towards the end of the century, there was talk of a large residential school for married catechists, like the training centres run by the Marists in Samoa and Fiji (and, of course, similar to the LMS 'Institutions' in the Loyalty Islands and elsewhere in the Pacific). This proposal had the support of the missionary Léon Gaide on Lifu, where no young men had come forward to replace the ageing catechists who had served there for many years.⁷⁹

The approach followed at this time by Bishop Fraysse, however, was rather different from what was being done elsewhere. In 1885, he had begun a well-staffed new venture at St Louis, a programme for forming catechists as members of an order of 'tertiaries'. He told his missionaries that he was responding to a reminder from the Propaganda in Rome that the supply of mission staff from Europe might not continue indefinitely and that local personnel should be formed. He asked them to identify 'the most intelligent and best disposed young Caledonians' and send them to St Louis to be helped in their intellectual and religious development as 'precious auxiliaries'. He was aware of young men who had been looking for ways of devoting themselves to the service of the mission, and was impressed with the successful establishment of an order of Kanak sisters. He did not believe that the people of the vicariate were inferior to other Pacific Islanders, and wondered why the Marist missions in Wallis and Futuna, Fiji, Samoa and Tonga were leaving New Caledonia behind in the task of forming indigenous helpers. He pointed out that even the colonial Administration was training Kanak schoolteachers. The widespread and successful use of indigenous teachers by the Protestants was another

indication of Kanak capacity, and the bishop said he had often been asked why the Marist mission had not emulated the LMS in this regard. He hastened to point out, however, that there would be little comparison between the Protestant teachers and the kind of workers he hoped to form. Unlike the presumptuous and superficially educated LMS teachers, the Catholic tertiaries would have a profound knowledge of doctrine and be truly Christian men. Candidates for the programme would, if necessary, undertake preliminary studies at the boys' school and then enter the new 'juniorate' at the age of 15 or more. They would be 'formed in a life of community and in obedience', living under a rule (which was yet to be written), but would not take their final vows until perhaps 10 years had passed. During this time, they would grow in faith and learn a useful trade, and particular emphasis would be laid on preparing them to be teachers of religion, for which there would be practice opportunities at the adjacent St Louis schools. If, in the end, they decided to marry or to not commit themselves finally as celibate catechist brothers they could still be useful in the mission's service on their return home.⁸⁰

Soon there were nine young men in the juniorate, these first entrants coming from Mare, Lifu and the Isle of Pines; the number rose to 13 in 1888, and 15 in 1893.⁸¹ The bishop was very pleased with them, presenting them as an answer to those who doubted that good results could be obtained from such unpromising material as the Kanak.⁸² Although some of the first products of the juniorate died before 1900, their work had met every expectation, and those who were still at work were earning the praise of the missionaries. But the good beginnings did not continue, and the bishop admitted this in 1899. While there were many girls coming forward to join the Little Daughters of Mary, the supply of male candidates for the 'Association of Catechist-Tertiaries' had dried up completely. The bishop noticed that many parents were reluctant to part with their sons, since they needed them to help with the labour demands of the Government and the chiefs, or wanted to send them to earn money from European employers, or wished to see them married and continuing their family line. The young men themselves, he observed, were too often interested only in a giddy life of pleasure. Taking boys into the schools at a younger age might avoid these problems, but long years of formation would delay the urgently needed increase in catechists, as well being too expensive for the mission. Moreover, few young Kanak would have the endurance to stay the distance, he felt. The bishop came to the conclusion that in the current context of rapid colonial development (and in a vicariate in which many different languages were spoken), the need was for well-educated French-speaking mission workers. He believed that the level of education in the vicariate was now high enough for a successful training programme conducted in French. He still hoped to find candidates for the order of tertiaries, but planned to put greatest emphasis on a St Louis centre that would provide a briefer training (only a year) and produce a good supply of married catechists. The candidates would be young men who had settled down after their youthful heedlessness. They could be already married, and could even come with children.⁸³

The formation of tertiaries was not carried on for long after the turn of the century, and Fraysse's new training programme for married catechists did not come into operation.⁸⁴ In 1901, only 70 catechists, of whom 13 were tertiaries, were at work in the

vicariate. They provided valuable assistance to the French missionaries, and it might have been only the fact that there were 52 missionary priests in the vicariate in 1901 that made the value of catechists seem less obvious.⁸⁵ Little was written about their work. Bishop Fraysse regretted in 1899 that the mission could not afford to give them monetary recompense, and expressed hopes that the people would learn to support them (as he noticed the Protestants did).⁸⁶ Kanak catechists participated in the mission the Marists began in the New Hebrides in 1887, but they were being deployed only to a limited extent in the large parts of the Grande Terre that had not yet been evangelised. Not until the 1930s would the potential of trained Kanak lay missionaries and parish aides again be fully recognised.

A hope even more dear to the Marists than the establishment of an effective force of lay helpers was the creation of an indigenous priesthood. As head of the mission in the 1860s, Pierre Rougeyron thought of setting up a minor seminary, but his plans were halted by the anticlerical policies of Governor Guillaïn (who also expressed another argument against the idea: 'A seminary for blacks is ridiculous for a country that is going to become European').⁸⁷ It was Bishop Fraysse who took the first steps, after being spurred by Propaganda messages to the mission fields in the 1880s. Perhaps, too, he was inspired by the success of the Lano Seminary in the Vicariate of Wallis and Futuna. In announcing his school for tertiaries in 1885, Fraysse thought it not impossible that the programme might evolve into a seminary preparing men for the priesthood.⁸⁸

A few years later, in 1890 or 1891, a minor seminary was indeed begun at St Louis. The bishop, who had been a seminary teacher in France, saw so much promise in four of the tertiaries that he decided, after hesitating for a while, to point them towards the priesthood. Claude-Marie Chanrion was put in charge of their formation. 'Almost all the missionaries thought this venture premature,' one of them (Rougé) remembered more than 50 years later; 'it was Bishop Fraysse who wanted it'.⁸⁹ A visitor was impressed with the seminarians' command of Latin and French and their rapid progress towards being able to accompany the plainchant with the harmonium; another missionary was similarly enthusiastic about their singing, their work in the classroom and chapel and their general conduct.⁹⁰ This encouraging progress led the bishop to tonsure the four seminarians in 1895. A photograph was taken of them: Donat of Mare, Narcisse of Lifu, Léopold and Adrien of the Isle of Pines. Three more were tonsured a little later: Joseph of Lifu, Germain of the Isle of Pines and Sébastien of Uvea. Rougé remembered Joseph as promising, but thought that the others would never have progressed as far as ordination; in the recollection of this aged missionary, Fraysse envisaged taking the men only as far as their capacity allowed, perhaps as far as the diaconate.⁹¹

In fact, none of the group was ever ordained. The seminary was closed in 1895, for reasons that were never publicly made clear. A few years later it was stated simply that the seminary had 'not been continued'; the bishop, according to this report, 'after mature reflection, did not believe the time had come for forming an indigenous clergy'. He ended the formation programme, although the students did continue in the mission's service as catechists and teachers.⁹² No record of why the seminary was closed has been found in the documents of the time, but missionaries who were active in that period later

indicated that there had been a quarrel between the young men, with blows being exchanged and some of them running off for a while.⁹³ A few years after he succeeded Fraysse as bishop in 1905, Chanrion expressed his doubts that there would ever be indigenous priests in New Caledonia. Writing privately (and in Latin), he pointed to the difficulty of bringing Kanak to an adequate educational level, the unattractiveness of celibacy in the Kanak world and the colonists' rejection of the very idea of Kanak priests.⁹⁴ Later Catholic writers mentioned the difficulties faced by Kanak students of philosophy and other abstract disciplines, and expressed doubts that Kanak could persevere long enough in the arduous studies and austere lifestyle required for the priesthood. It was also suggested that the need to care for the large population of European colonists prevented the Marists from giving enough attention to the Kanak Catholics.⁹⁵ Certainly, the nurturing of an educated Kanak religious elite was not easy in a colonial context that restricted the place of the indigenous people in their own country. A new attempt to create a Kanak clergy was not made until the 1930s, and the first ordinations did not occur until 1946.

A new ministry model for the Grande Terre

After the withdrawal of the Polynesian LMS mission from the Grande Terre in the 1840s, the only Christian ministries known to the Kanak inhabitants of the island were those of Catholic priests, brothers, sisters and catechists. Towards the end of the century, however, Protestant patterns of ministry were reintroduced to the Grande Terre by Kanak missionaries from the Loyalty Islands. Hopes of resuming the mission abandoned in the 1840s had still been held after French control of the Grande Terre made official LMS work there impossible, and the British missionaries wrote in 1876 (after an abortive attempt to establish a white missionary there) that they would give their blessing to any Loyalty Islanders wanting to go to the big island on their own responsibility.⁹⁶ Bishop Fraysse's mention of Lifuan missionaries on the Grande Terre shows that this unauthorised extension of Protestantism had indeed begun by the time he was writing (1885).⁹⁷

Pastors, teachers, deacons and church members from all three Loyalty Islands utilised traditional links between their own people and certain groups on the larger island to make contact with Kanak communities on both coasts of the Grande Terre. They were often well received by people suffering from the increasingly oppressive burden of colonisation, European settlement and land expropriation. As Loyalty Islanders, they were not seen by the Kanak of the Grande Terre as associates of French authority (as Catholic missionaries were), and the relatively light impact of colonialism in their home islands had not made them subservient or timid. Many of them were men of initiative and they were able to move into unevangelised areas as autonomous missionaries in a manner that Catholic catechists found difficult. The people who received them remembered later how they stood with them and gave them hope at a difficult time of social disruption. Many of the missionaries suffered harassment from the colonists, and it was well into the 1890s before Governor Feillet, for his own political

reasons, made their presence and their activities legal (much to the dismay of the Marist mission).⁹⁸ Even then, however, some French settlers continued to oppose the Loyalty Islands missionaries, advising the people not to accept Christianity from such a source: 'They are Kanak like you. Their religion is worthless. It is the white people's religion that is good.'⁹⁹

A list made in 1899 gives the names of 19 Loyalty Islander pastors working on the Grande Terre, and it is known that they were assisted by teachers and others. In 1900, there were at least 22 pastors.¹⁰⁰ Mathaia of Uvea had an important early impact on the east coast, and had translated part of the New Testament into the Houailou language before his death in 1898.¹⁰¹ His translation work was continued by another Uvean, Joane Nigoth, who served on the Grande Terre from 1893 until his death in 1919. He was the son of a chief and became the father and grandfather of pastors. Delord visited him in 1898 and was impressed by his intelligence and by his clean and tidy mission station. Leenhardt later called him 'the most distinguished of our indigenous pastors'.¹⁰² Among those from Mare were Setefano, known for his willingness to move out from his parish to make contact with unevangelised communities, and Jemes, whose son became a pastor, too.¹⁰³ Others came from Lifu: one of these was Weinith, who developed qualities of leadership among his colleagues. Weinith's ability in French led Delord to move him to a location from which he could speak for the mission in dealings with the colonial authorities.¹⁰⁴ The most senior Loyalty Islands missionary pastor was Haxen, also from Lifu, and previously a missionary for 14 years in Papua.¹⁰⁵ In the Houailou language area, these early Christian messengers were often known by the title *gamë*, which means 'wise man'.¹⁰⁶

The missionary pastors from the Loyalty Islands organised their converts into churches following the characteristic LMS patterns long known in Mare, Lifu and Uvea. The core of each congregation was its church members, from whom deacons were elected. Support for the pastor came in the form of food and an annual monetary contribution. Pastors were known in particular districts as *nata*, *namiat* or *naipa*, depending on whether the pioneer missionary originated from Mare, Lifu or Uvea. These appellations persisted even when men from the Grande Terre began to serve as pastors (the first was in 1901; he had been trained on Mare).¹⁰⁷ As the century ended, the new congregations were being brought into contact with the PMS: the new French missionary on Mare, Delord, visited them in 1899, and on a second visit in 1900 he brought all the Loyalty Islands pastors together at Gonde to inaugurate a coordinated mission structure.¹⁰⁸ In response to Delord's pleas and a letter from the Loyalty Islands missionary pastors, the Paris mission sent Maurice Leenhardt to take charge. The old and ailing Haxen passed the task over to the young French missionary when he arrived in 1902, and died soon afterwards.¹⁰⁹

Leenhardt saw that the Loyalty Islanders appealed to the Kanak of the Grande Terre as people like themselves, but enlivened by a new and attractive spirit.¹¹⁰ He recognised their failings and limited knowledge, but observed that they carried with them a fresh hope for the dispirited Kanak.¹¹¹ Leenhardt's work in New Caledonia belongs to a later period, but it is significant that he consciously affirmed what he found

in 1902. He respected what the pastors from the Loyalty Islands had achieved and perpetuated the indigenous emphasis of the organisational pattern they had followed.¹¹² This pattern, he wrote later, 'in inculcating in the converts the idea that the work is theirs, in giving them full authority to organise it in their own way, gives them the chance to realise the richness that they had within themselves'.¹¹³ In this way, the ministry style of the Loyalty Islands Protestants found a home on the Grande Terre, too, and the later Evangelical Church of New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands could exist as a single body despite the disparate experience of its members.

For some years, Loyalty Islanders continued to serve on the Grande Terre, where Protestantism was adopted by one-third of the Kanak population, but eventually indigenous ministers emerged to carry on their work. Throughout New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands, an indigenous Protestant ministry carried on the work of the church and would later take full responsibility for it when the missionaries departed. The Catholic Church, however, despite its vision of an indigenous priesthood and efforts to create it, continued to rely on French personnel for its ministry at all levels except that of the lay parish aide, the catechist.

17.

VANUATU

THE PRESENT-DAY NATION of Vanuatu consists of the islands grouped together by European voyagers and colonists under the name 'New Hebrides'. Lying west of Fiji, the chain of large and small islands is about 850km long, stretching from the Torres Group in the north to Aneityum in the south. More than 50 of these islands were inhabited in the mid-19th century when sustained contact with Europeans began and Christian missionaries arrived. Nearly 250 years earlier, in 1606, a Spanish exploring expedition had taken a boy from the large northern island of Santo to Mexico to train him as an interpreter for a Catholic mission to his homeland. He was instructed and baptised, but died in Mexico, and the mission never eventuated.¹ It was the coming of Protestant missionaries in 1839 that gave the New Hebrideans their first continuing exposure to Christianity and its ministers. Conventionally categorised as 'Melanesians', the indigenous inhabitants lived at that time in small cultural and political groups and spoke more than 100 separate languages. Modern national consciousness developed only slowly, after the period considered here, promoted by a number of influences of which a shared experience of conversion to Christianity was undoubtedly one.

Traditional religion and its specialists

The New Hebrideans (known since 1980 as ni-Vanuatu) lived in a world of ghosts and spirits. After a month on the southernmost island, Aneityum, the first resident European Protestant missionary recorded what he had learned about the people's religion: certain things were *itaup* (which he and his colleagues later defined as 'sacred, holy, forbidden'), and there were spiritual beings called *natmasses*, who could cause sickness.² Soon he was aware of *natimi itaup*, 'sacred men', who propitiated the *natmasses*.³ Later, he noted that many of the chiefs were also 'priests': 'Those whom I know are either disease makers, or fruit makers, or thunder and lightening [sic] makers, or hurricane makers.'⁴ He also wrote of offerings made to the spirits and of charms used by disease-making sorcerers.⁵ Two other early missionaries (on nearby Tanna) felt threatened by a 'priesthood' that was determined to destroy their mission in order to prevent the ruin of the priestly 'craft'.⁶ The Tannese 'sacred men', wrote yet another missionary pioneer, were 'village or tribal priests' who exercised 'an extraordinary influence for evil'; they received gifts with which to influence the spirits and were thought to be able to cure sickness and cause it.⁷

As knowledge of the New Hebrides grew, these early observations were confirmed and extended. The 'sacred men' (and sometimes women) in island societies were indeed influential as intermediaries between the people and the spirits and ghosts from whom spiritual power (*mana*) could be obtained. Island societies differed considerably, but offerings, sacrifices and prayers were made to *natmasses* on Aneityum in the south, *vui* in the Banks Islands in the north and to other variously named spiritual beings in all the islands of the group. The 'priests' who performed the rituals were not a separate order and their activities were not carried out in sacred buildings or public ceremonies, but, while in principle everyone had access to the spirits, in practice certain individuals were recognised as having the required knowledge and skills for manipulating spiritual power. Magicians could cause gardens to flourish or rain to fall. Diviners could foretell the future. Sorcerers could bring illness and death.⁸

Into this situation a new kind of religious leadership was introduced in the early days of contact with the outside world. Early Christian missionaries were seen as sorcerers in some places⁹ and it is understandable that as representatives of a new and powerful spiritual being they were immediately regarded by the 'sacred men' as rivals. It would soon be apparent, however, that they were bringing important new dimensions to the New Hebrideans' experience of religion.

Early Polynesian ministries

Missionaries from the LMS were the first exemplars of Christian ministry seen in these islands, but the British mission messengers who visited the southern part of the group from 1839 continued to reside at their stations in Samoa and the Cook Islands. For many years, the only model of Christian ministry to which New Hebrideans (at this time in the six southernmost islands only) were continuously exposed was provided by Polynesian missionaries arriving from the east. Only nine years after they had themselves first been evangelised, the Samoan Islands sent out their first overseas missionaries, in 1839. With the landing of three teachers on Tanna in that year, the New Hebrides became Samoa's first major mission field. Cook Islanders added the New Hebrides to their existing mission destinations in 1842 and, during the 1840s, 1850s and 1860s, the LMS churches in Samoa and the Cook Islands provided more than 70 male missionaries, most of them accompanied by their wives.¹⁰ Tanna was followed by Aniwa and Erromanga in 1840, Futuna and Aneityum in 1841 and Efate in 1845. Christian missions did not easily make their entry into the New Hebrides, where the celebrated John Williams was killed on his first visit in 1839. The Polynesian missions on these islands suffered many vicissitudes, and, except on Aneityum, they were periodically forced to withdraw. It was only after some years (apart from the short-lived residence of George Turner and Henry Nisbet on Tanna in 1842–43) that the Polynesians on the six islands were joined by European missionaries, on Aneityum in 1848 (John Geddie of Nova Scotia, Canada) and on all the others by 1866. Geddie and those who joined him from Canada, Scotland, Australia and New Zealand in succeeding years were envoys of various Presbyterian churches, but the Presbyterian New Hebrides mission continued for many years to work with LMS teachers from Polynesia.

Of the first three Samoans in 1839, Lalolagi and Mose returned home after their service in Melanesia, but Salamea died on Tanna.¹¹ The first missionaries on Futuna — Samuela, his family and Apela, all Samoans — became the first Polynesian martyrs of the LMS in the New Hebrides when they were killed in 1843.¹² Among several other violent deaths were those of the Cook Islanders, Pikikaa and Kaveriri, and their wives at Elepa (an island off Efate) in 1854.¹³ Many other Polynesian men, women and children died in the New Hebrides in this period — more than 100, it has been estimated.¹⁴ Some fell sick and were taken home to recover, but a large number of others died at their place of service. Three teachers and one of their wives died of smallpox on Tanna in 1853.¹⁵ Simeona of Samoa died in the measles epidemic on Aneityum in 1860.¹⁶ The greatest cause of mortality, however, was malaria, which had not yet been identified as a mosquito-borne disease. Malarial sickness and deaths were explained by a Polynesian inability to 'endure the climate'.¹⁷ The deaths at Erakor (Efate) in 1854 of a whole family — Tauri's wife, then his child and finally the Mangaian teacher himself — emphasise the human cost of this missionary ministry to Melanesia.¹⁸ In the early years, even daily existence was a struggle and the mission ship could visit only occasionally. Many of the first teachers met with very little response from the people.

Despite the difficulties and discouragements of their work, many of the Polynesian teachers made significant contributions to the introduction of Christianity to the southern New Hebrides. The loss of so many to illness robbed the mission of much hard-won experience as pioneer evangelists and pastors. Upokomanu of Rarotonga, for example, went to Tanna in 1845 and, after many hardships there, went back to the Cook Islands on leave in 1850. There he married, studied again at the Institution and translated some Christian writings into the language he had learned on Tanna. During his second term on Tanna, however, he and his wife died of smallpox.¹⁹ Until their ranks were decimated by sickness, the teachers on Erromanga in the 1850s were holding regular classes and worship services and translating Scripture extracts and school materials into the local vernacular.²⁰ Before the deaths of the teacher Tauri and his wife on Efate in 1854, they were holding daily classes: 'I and Tauri Vaine, my wife,' he reported back to the Cook Islands, 'have two classes of young people, whom we are instructing every morning and evening. These young people are much pleased in learning; they are diligent, and we hope that they will soon help us in teaching the old people.'²¹ On Aneityum, where illness affected the teachers less, extensive evangelistic journeys were made around the island.²² It is impossible that these varied Christian ministries, as well as the Polynesian families' demonstration of Christian faith and life, were not noticed and remembered by the New Hebrideans among whom they worked. It is only to be expected, too, that the Polynesians worked in ways that were different from those of the European missionaries who eventually joined them, as a Samoan historian suggests: 'The "slow and easy" approach of the Samoan missionaries was natural and an effective method of reaching and gaining the confidence of the people. European missionaries tended to rush and force things to happen rather than allowing time to foster results.'²³

Most of the Polynesian missionaries were first-generation Christians. The three first church members at Pago Pago in Samoa all went on overseas missions, two of them to

the New Hebrides: Pomare (the son of a high chief) died soon after beginning work on Tanna, but Pita gave 14 years of 'faithful and self-denying labour' to Tanna and Aneityum and, after his return to Samoa, was a valued teacher until his death in 1870.²⁴ Though they came from societies with only a brief Christian history, the Polynesian teachers were acknowledged as an essential part of LMS missionary activity on unevangelised islands. A few were dismissed for immoral behaviour and even the best of the teachers had their 'shortcomings and imperfections' (as the missionary Murray put it in 1863).²⁵ But the missionaries were surprised and disapproving when one of their number, George Gordon, preferred not to use 'native teachers' at all. Teachers were stationed on Erromanga when Gordon took up residence there in 1857, but after a while they asked to be transferred somewhere else. It seems that the new missionary wanted to train his own teachers from among the Erromangans. When he and his wife were killed on the island in 1861, his mission colleagues felt that teachers might have protected him and they were openly critical of his 'strange views about native agents'. Half a century of experience had shown that the use of Pacific Islander teachers had 'the sanction of heaven', wrote Murray, who admired 'their simple faith, their self-denial, and their readiness to endure all things' for the Gospel's sake. 'It was a dangerous experiment which Mr Gordon tried,' Murray declared, 'when he set his views and practice on the subject of native agency in opposition to those of almost every missionary in the South Sea Islands.'²⁶

European missionaries did not see the Polynesian teachers as their equals, except for the acknowledged ability of Pacific Islander missionaries to secure a foothold for Christianity among unevangelised people. As John Inglis explained, some years after he arrived on Aneityum to work with Geddie, who as the first Presbyterian missionary had himself followed Polynesian pioneers on the island, 'native agency is indispensable in opening up new islands or new stations', and could achieve a great deal of preliminary success. But, he continued, the teachers had to be encouraged and supervised and their work eventually taken over by European missionaries if the Christian movement in the mission field was not to stagnate or regress.²⁷ When the Samoan teacher Simeona died in the measles epidemic of 1860, Geddie lamented the loss of a man who had been a missionary on Aneityum since 1842 (six years before Geddie arrived): he was 'a good man ... much esteemed by the natives ... His consistent conduct gave much weight to his instructions'; 'he gave me much valuable assistance. I was much attached to him.'²⁸ This was a heartfelt tribute, but did not adequately record the achievements of a teacher who had featured prominently in the conversion of Aneityum and who had been valued enough by the mission to be sent back to Samoa for further training between 1849 and 1853.²⁹ After he retired, Inglis published a general tribute to the Polynesian teachers, who had 'bridged the gulf' between the white missionaries and the New Hebrideans, teaching new practical skills and the tenets of Christianity. He particularly praised Amosa and his wife, Samoans who excelled in training the young men and women of Inglis's district. Amosa built a fine house at his own station and 'erected a church 75 feet long, in the very best style of Samoan ecclesiastical architecture'. Amosa and his wife, as well as Pita and his wife, who also served with Inglis, were all 'a credit and an honour' to the LMS.³⁰

The voyages of the Anglican bishop Selwyn in Melanesia in the 1840s and 1850s acquainted him with the work of the LMS teachers, for whom he publicly expressed admiration. While doubting that they were well enough educated for conveying Christian teaching at more than a superficial level, he was impressed by their courage and fervent faith. To him and his mission, the Presbyterian success on Aneityum 'showed how patiently and laboriously the poor Samoan teachers, ignorant, lonely and persecuted, had done their work'.³¹ LMS writers, too, saw that progress towards an advanced mission situation could be considerable even without a European presence. Murray pointed to the example of Erakor in south Efate, where the first members were admitted into a church in 1861, several years before any European missionary took up residence. 'Let those who are disposed to undervalue native agency ponder this fact,' he wrote.³² A well-known Presbyterian mission book published in 1880 also paid tribute to the Polynesian teachers.³³ By that time, however, although a small second wave of Polynesians had been sent by the LMS, the Presbyterian mission's emphasis had long been on the training of indigenous New Hebridean personnel.

Indigenous ministry emerges on Aneityum

A series of deaths among the Polynesian missionary families working with him on Aneityum led Geddie in 1851 to look ahead to the training of New Hebridean 'native agency'. The idea was expressed only three years after his arrival, when the response to Christianity was still small, but it was not inspired only by the inability of Polynesians to 'endure the climate'.³⁴ On his way to the New Hebrides, Geddie had spent seven months in Samoa, where he observed the active role of indigenous Christians in the work of the LMS mission. During his early years on Aneityum, he had been greatly assisted by Wumra and his wife, Singonga, who before his arrival had been among the first Aneityumese to show an interest in what the pioneer teachers were saying. This couple had asked to be taken for Christian instruction to Samoa, where they spent nearly three years between 1845 and 1848. Wumra 'saw enough to convince him that Christianity was true', and on his return helped Geddie with his early efforts in language study and evangelism: 'He usually accompanies me in my visitations among the natives, and sometimes addresses them,' wrote the new missionary. Wumra's death in 1851 was 'a severe trial'.³⁵ A few months later, however, came the words in Geddie's journal that pointed to his hopes for 'native agency', a vision that he strove, during the next two decades and with great determination and success, to bring to realisation.

Geddie was glad that same year (1851) to send Tupua, a boy whom he had been teaching to read and write, with Bishop Selwyn to New Zealand. There he would attend school and eventually, Geddie hoped, return to Aneityum as a teacher.³⁶ By 1855, Tupua, 'a young man of promise', was indeed a teacher on his home island.³⁷ In contrast with the many young Melanesians trained in New Zealand by the Anglicans, however, the teachers working in the fast-growing Aneityumese church were all (except for Tupua) trained on the island. The first teacher was Nakoai, a young man sent out in 1852 to a village east of Geddie's station.³⁸ 'I hope to see the day when every village will

have its own native teacher,' wrote Geddie. He had not at that time decided to proceed with the first baptisms, but soon afterwards seven women and six men were baptised and 'formed into a Christian Church'. Geddie did not regard church membership as a status to be conferred hastily, and described the occasion as 'an eventful day in the history of the island'.³⁹ The formation of the church, this first congregation of members being followed by another at Inglis's station (Aname) in 1854, was an important step in the creation of the responsible indigenous Christian community Geddie envisaged. The appointment of Aneityumese as teachers of their own people and leaders of their own church was part of this. Nakoai died in 1853, but other teachers were being trained and appointed. In that year, there were 15 'native assistants', and at their stations on the north and south coasts of the island the two missionaries were each holding a daily class for 40 or 50 young teacher trainees.⁴⁰ By 1856, there were nearly 50 teachers, described by Geddie as 'religious instructors as well as schoolmasters'. In their dealings with the people, they were 'expected to visit, admonish, reprove when needed, and seek out the heathen where they can be found'. Men 'of standing among the people' were chosen for this work: 'some of the highest chiefs in my district are thus employed'.⁴¹ By 1858, there was indeed at least one Aneityumese teacher appointed to every district, with a total of 56 schools.⁴² The population of the island at this time was nearly 4,000.⁴³

A further step in the fostering of congregations responsible for their own affairs was the appointment of the first deacons in 1856. Emphasising that they were acting deliberately and cautiously, Geddie reported the new development in words that showed the importance he and Inglis were giving to leadership in the local church: the five men 'elected by the church members' at his station were 'ordained' as deacons and 'solemnly set apart to this office'. At Inglis's station, soon afterwards, deacons were similarly elected to take care of the buildings and other practical matters and to relieve the missionaries of this part of their work.⁴⁴ The term 'deacon' was used in LMS missions, too, but a distinctively Presbyterian understanding of church leadership lay behind the next step in ecclesiastical development, which took place in 1860. Seven 'elders' were 'nominated', 'ordained' and constituted as a 'session'. In the Scottish Presbyterian polity known to Geddie and Inglis, ordained ministers were 'teaching elders', while members of the session chaired by the minister were 'ruling elders' — laymen but nevertheless 'ordained'. They were to work with the minister in his direction of the religious life of the church and to take a leading role in pastoral care. Each elder, reported Geddie, 'has a certain number of church members assigned to his charge, whom he visits, and with whom he holds meetings for conversation, exhortation and prayer. At our meetings of session, each elder gives a report of the state of religion in his district'.⁴⁵

Teachers, deacons and elders conducted the Sunday services at the many outstations on Aneityum. Inglis admitted that the quality of this lay leadership on Sundays was not always as high as he wished, but explained that it was so important to maintain the pattern of regular local community worship that he was prepared to use 'even this feeble agency'.⁴⁶ The teachers were provided with houses and gardens by the people to whom they were ministering; they received no salary except for annual gifts of clothing obtained from mission supporters in the sending countries.⁴⁷

This commitment to indigenous involvement in the mission of the church sprang from a policy followed by the two missionaries throughout their years on the island: 'On Aneityum every convert, as far as it was practicable, was made a missionary,' wrote Inglis.⁴⁸ Perhaps it was Geddie who forced the pace, for Inglis later explained that it was the toll of disease among the Polynesian teachers that obliged them to use Aneityumese converts 'at a much earlier stage of their Christian progress than we would otherwise have done'. He admitted that the venture had been successful.⁴⁹ The historian J. G. Miller suggests that the pattern of indigenous evangelisation seen on Aneityum was evident again and again as other islands became Christian, but that it was never as rapid in its effects as on Aneityum, or as well documented as it was by Geddie.⁵⁰

Closely connected with the emergence of leadership in this first New Hebridean church, as it had been also in the Polynesian churches earlier, was the sending of Aneityumese missionaries to other islands. Geddie recorded the first signs of this movement as early as 1852, when some of the Christians told him they wanted to join in the evangelisation of Tanna. He was pleased to see this 'missionary spirit' and hoped that Aneityum would soon provide many teachers for 'the dark islands around'.⁵¹ The missionary movement from Aneityum did indeed begin soon after this, in 1853. Two teachers and their wives were landed on nearby Futuna, where a completely different language was spoken, and where the killing of Samoan missionaries 10 years earlier had ended the first attempt to evangelise the island. These first Aneityumese missionaries to a different people were Waihit of Anelgauhat and Josefa of Aname. Waihit is first mentioned in Geddie's correspondence in 1849, when he had recently started to take an interest in Christianity. 'He is what the natives call a *natimi itaup* — a sacred man — and one of the most influential men in the district,' wrote Geddie at that time. Within a few years, Waihit had turned from a fierce hostility to the Gospel to a zeal for evangelism, and he was one of the first 13 church members in 1852.⁵²

Missionaries from Aneityum were soon settled on the other southern islands: Tanna (1854), Erromanga (1857), Aniwa (1858) and Efate (1860). All of the teachers who went were recent converts themselves. Yaufati, one of the first to go to Tanna, had been baptised and accepted as a church member during the previous year. He and his colleague Talip and their wives were 'set apart for missionary work' in a memorable public ceremony.⁵³ They were later joined on Tanna by others, beginning during the next year with two missionaries of chiefly rank, the valued teacher, Abraham, and a more recent convert, Nimtiwan, and their wives.⁵⁴ The greater acceptability of chiefs was noted by the mission supervisors, who were always ready to utilise the realities of the social environment.⁵⁵ In these years, the Aneityumese teachers on Tanna and the other southern islands were often working alongside Samoans and Cook Islanders and also the first European missionaries when they began to arrive. John Paton, who was on Tanna from 1858 to 1862, included in his widely read book a grateful tribute to his Aneityumese colleagues, especially the 'apostolic' Abraham and Kowari and the saintly Namuri (who died after being struck by a Tannese sacred man).⁵⁶ There was a tragic loss on Aniwa, too: the two first Aneityumese missionaries were attacked in 1859, one of them (Nemeian) dying of his wounds.⁵⁷

Existing relationships between certain districts on Aneityum and parts of Tanna, Futuna and Aniwa could sometimes be used to facilitate entry into the receiving communities.⁵⁸ In other circumstances, the Aneityumese mission was often perilous. By 1860, however, there were 17 Aneityumese couples working on other islands and Geddie noted that they had experienced 'much self-denial, suffering and danger'.⁵⁹ It has been estimated that 200 men and women had gone out in this way by 1879, a remarkably large number for the church of so small an island.⁶⁰ In the 1860s, Aneityum began to experience a great decline in population, which reduced the supply of potential teachers and also, for a time, the community's willingness to continue sending them.⁶¹ But in the 1870s there were still 20 to 30 Aneityumese couples ministering on other islands and teachers continued to go out (also by now to the central and northern islands) as evangelists, mission assistants and pastoral leaders in the 1880s and 1890s.⁶² The missionaries' knowledge of medieval Scottish church history led them to see Aneityum as the Iona of the New Hebrides.⁶³

The work of missionaries from Aneityum had considerable impact on the progress of the mission in the New Hebrides and also on the character of the church and its leadership as it developed throughout the archipelago. The missionary teachers had received more instruction than other converts, but educational attainment was not the main criterion for their selection. Often, explained Inglis, they were 'by no means ... among our best scholars', but they were usually 'among our best men'. 'They can all read the Scriptures with tolerable fluency, and conduct religious services in an edifying manner; but some of them cannot write at all, and others only very imperfectly.'⁶⁴ People with experience as effective teachers on their own island were chosen. Nalvatimi, for example, a man known to Inglis since he was a school pupil and (together with his wife) highly praised by him, went to Tanna after many years as a trusted senior teacher in his homeland; he died there 20 years later, in 1900.⁶⁵ Learning a new language took time, but even before the Aneityumese teachers were able to engage in direct evangelism, their living among the people, as 'peaceable, industrious, well-behaved men and women' had its own impact: they 'exhibited a considerable amount of Christianity in their lives — a mode of teaching which can never be mistaken'. The men thought most suitable for appointment to this work were middle-aged and married. After some years, they would be able to conduct services and schools in the local language, and, when European missionaries settled, they provided essential information and assistance (without the teachers, Inglis admitted, the missionaries 'would often be very helpless indeed').⁶⁶

At the northern station on Aneityum (Aname), a large building was completed in 1857 for an 'Institution' that grew out of the teachers' classes held by Inglis.⁶⁷ Sixty male and female students were training in the Institution in 1860, and 60 teachers were in village appointments throughout the island.⁶⁸ The training given at the Institution (and in the contributing school that continued at Geddie's station until the late 1860s) had always been 'popular and well attended', Inglis recalled later. The objective had been to prepare as many teachers as possible for the immediate needs of the fast-growing church and for pioneer evangelism on other islands, rather than educating a smaller number at a higher standard for a more advanced level of pastoral ministry.⁶⁹ As the population of

Aneityum began to decline, so did the number of teachers in the villages: in 1874, when there were 684 church members (including 27 elders and 23 deacons), there were 50 teachers.⁷⁰ Massive depopulation continued into the 20th century, but training for village ministry continued under the first missionaries' successors, Joseph Annand, who resumed the training programme at Geddie's old station, and James Lawrie at Aname. Until 1880, the two institutions were quite large, but by 1884 the total number of students was only 34.⁷¹ When the last permanent European missionary left Aneityum in 1892, however, the tradition of village church leadership by teachers, elders and deacons was well established. In 1895, the church's ministry was entirely in the hands of 38 Aneityumese teachers, supervised only by the missionary on Futuna.⁷²

The leadership of Aneityum in the church history of the New Hebrides was only a memory by 1900, but the emphasis on indigenous ministry in its own history was carried to other islands as the focus of mission activity moved northwards. The work of Geddie on Aneityum in the crucial pioneering years from 1848 to 1872 stood out for its orientation towards the localisation of leadership and for Geddie's readiness to loosen his own control when he thought it appropriate.⁷³ In this, he was ahead of many of the missionaries who followed him. Joseph Copeland, who served in the southern islands from 1858 to 1881, freely expressed his lack of confidence in New Hebridean capacity. 'The habits, tastes and feelings of a people change very gradually,' he wrote in 1871. 'Don't expect that their Christianity will be of a high type ... The natives are the very infants of our race ... In the circumstances, their Christianity cannot be expected to possess very great vigour' or 'at once, or for some generations even, be able to stand alone'.⁷⁴ Inglis wrote very differently about Aneityumese Christianity.⁷⁵ As Miller points out, the vigour of the self-propagating and missionary-minded Aneityum church under Geddie and Inglis was itself enough to throw Copeland's gloomy pessimism into question.⁷⁶

Early indigenous ministry on the other southern islands

As Christianity became rooted on the other southern islands, indigenous ministry developed there, too. On Erromanga, unusual circumstances enabled indigenous Christians to play an important part even before the conversion of their island: in 1849, four young men asked to be taken away on the visiting mission ship for Christian instruction, and spent nearly three years at the Malua training centre in Samoa. They learned Samoan and then made progress in literacy and Christian teaching, impressing their tutors as 'well-behaved, obliging and tractable'. One of them died on the way back to Erromanga in 1852, but the others landed with Polynesian teachers who were making a new attempt to evangelise the island. Geddie held high hopes for one of the Erromangans, Mana, who seemed 'to have clear views of the way of salvation' and said to a passenger on the ship: 'I do not know if they will kill or spare us; the will of the Lord be done; if we die it will be in the cause of God.' The young men were the first to explain Christianity competently to the people in their own language. Mana lived and worked with the teachers at Dillon's Bay, where John Williams had been killed in 1839, and,

according to a Samoan colleague in 1855, was 'constantly exerting himself that the Word of God may grow in his land'. He and Joe, another of the men who had been to Samoa, later worked as teachers with the European missionaries who lived on the island from 1857, and clearly played a part in the formation and development of the small Christian community that existed when other Erromangans killed George and Ellen Gordon in 1861 and James Gordon in 1872.⁷⁷

Although criticised for declining to use teachers from beyond Erromanga, the Gordons did succeed in nurturing a group of indigenous Christians as future leaders of the Erromangan church. The valued teacher Soso was one of these, and Yomot, who was prominent in the church until his death in 1899, was another.⁷⁸ From 1872 to 1914, the mission to Erromanga was under the care of Hugh Robertson, who depended greatly on the forceful Yomot in the early years and later wrote a tribute to this 'Christian man of strong common sense, well read in his Bible, well grounded in the faith, fearless in advocating every good cause, and as fearless in exposing and denouncing everything that was evil'. Yomot was an unusually effective preacher, an authority in the Erromangan languages and several others and 'a born leader'. In later years, he supervised the other teachers, and throughout his career his wife, Navusia, 'set a noble example to the younger women'.⁷⁹ Like the other Presbyterian missionaries of this period, Robertson covered a wide area by training and appointing converts as evangelists and teachers. By 1874, there were 11 teachers in different parts of the island, a figure that rose to 25 in 1879 and 44 in 1885. Despite the population decline that afflicted Erromanga in the later part of the century, there were still 30 teachers caring for the district churches in 1900. Robertson held regular training classes for them.⁸⁰ Erromangan teachers were found also as missionaries in islands far from their own and speaking completely different languages, beginning with Yomot's work on Nguna in the 1870s and later on Tongoa, Ambrym, Malekula, Santo and other islands to the north.⁸¹

There were hopes that young men taken to Samoa in the early years from Efate, also, would be helpful to the mission when they came back. Tongalulu of Havannah Harbour was one of four Efate men who returned from Samoa in 1852, and others were there in 1853 and 1858. Another Efate man was at Takamoa in the Cook Islands in 1859.⁸² It is not known whether these men engaged in any kind of ministry on their return, but the small communities in south Efate that became Christian after 1860 soon began to produce their own teachers. From the 1880s, the missionary J. W. Mackenzie gave particular attention to their training at Erakor (near present-day Port Vila), and Daniel Macdonald did the same at Havannah Harbour as the church began to grow in west Efate.⁸³ Erakor sent missionaries to faraway Santo as early as 1861, and, from the 1870s, the Erakor and Pango churches of south Efate provided teachers for the north of the island and then for Epi, Ambrym and Malekula. Soon, the Christians of west Efate were participating in this movement, too, and when the Ifira and Mele people of Port Vila were converted towards the end of the century they also sent teachers to the northern islands.⁸⁴ South and west Efate each had nine teachers working locally in 1895.⁸⁵

On Aniwa, local people became teachers from the 1870s and a training programme was begun by the missionary John Paton in 1879. In 1882, the island sent the first of its

many missionaries to Tanna.⁸⁶ Tanna itself accepted Christianity only slowly. The first district on this large island to see church members admitted was Kwamera in 1881, and it was only in the last years of the century that Christianity began to spread faster and produce teachers and leaders as in the other islands. A very early Tannese missionary was Kaiasi, who went from Kwamera to Epi in 1882 and Malekula in 1887.⁸⁷ At Lenakel, west Tanna, the church grew rapidly in the late 1890s and 1900 saw the ordination of the first two elders. One of them, Lomai, became a notable teacher and leader in the new century. He and others had responded to a call made in 1899 by the missionary Frank Paton 'for men and women who would consecrate their lives to the work of teaching'; they would be trained at Lenakel and go out as teachers. Paton believed that 'the only true and lasting way of doing missionary work' was to work towards 'a native ministry trained by and working under a European missionary'.⁸⁸ The Christianisation of Futuna was slow also. One of two youths taken by Bishop Selwyn for training in New Zealand in 1851 later gave a little help to the mission,⁸⁹ but it was not until the 1880s that two of the earliest converts became teachers. The stories of these men — Popoina, the son of a priest, and Saula — were published by the missionary William Gunn.⁹⁰ There were five teachers on Futuna by 1895.⁹¹

Indigenous participation in the continued spread of Christianity

Apart from some short-lived activity on Epi and Santo in the 1860s, the extension of the Presbyterian mission into the many islands north of Efate began in 1870. Beginning with Peter Milne's work on Nguna and the other small islands north of Efate, the mission moved steadily northwards into Tongoa (1879) and other central islands, then into Ambrym, Malekula and Malo in the 1880s and finally Santo in the 1890s. The last island in the Presbyterian mission area to become the station of a European missionary was Paama in 1900. When Maurice Frater landed there in 1900, he was entering into work already begun by six teachers from Efate, Nguna and Epi,⁹² and this collaboration of European and New Hebridean missionaries was an essential feature of the extension of Christianity and Presbyterian church life and ministry from the south into the rest of the archipelago.

This part of the New Hebrides was included in the attempts of the Anglican bishops Selwyn and Patteson to develop an indigenous ministry by training young men outside Melanesia. In the 1850s and 1860s, many youths were taken by the Anglican mission from Emae, Tongoa, Epi, Ambrym, Paama, Santo and other islands, but, as Miller says, 'there is no recorded fruit from the work and witness of these early students' when they returned.⁹³ The missionaries of the LMS at that time were convinced that Selwyn's method was much less likely to succeed than the strategy they had followed since the 1820s and which was being taken up by the Presbyterians: the evangelisation of unreached peoples by members of already Christianised Pacific communities.⁹⁴ The Presbyterian missionaries did briefly give new consideration to the bishops' method in

the late 1870s, but it was not adopted.⁹⁵ In any case, the alternative method ceased to be used in the area under consideration here, even by the Anglicans, for in 1881 it was agreed that they should confine their work to the islands east and north of Santo (and that Presbyterian efforts should not extend there).⁹⁶

LMS teachers no longer arrived from the Cook Islands and Samoa by the late 1850s. The Presbyterian missionaries were hoping by then to extend the mission northwards, but only Aneityum was producing teachers, most of whom were required at home. It was decided in 1861 to ask the LMS islands to resume the supply of Polynesian missionaries until enough New Hebrideans were available. For various reasons, the request could not be met until 1871, when a small second wave of Polynesian teachers arrived in the group.⁹⁷ Solomona and Iona and their wives, from Niue, were placed on Futuna and Aniwa. The other six couples were Cook Islanders, who were settled in west Efate and with Peter Milne at the new station on Nguna.⁹⁸ Three of the Cook Islander teachers died in the New Hebrides, but the others eventually returned home: Ta of Arorangi died in 1898, while Tavini of Ngatangia was still living on Rarotonga as an honoured veteran at the end of the century.⁹⁹ Manukoa and Jona and their wives were pioneer teachers on the island of Pele until three of them died. The longest serving of these later teachers from beyond the New Hebrides was the 'intelligent and active' Ta. He was accepted as the first teacher on Mataso, where he met with a good response and eventually presided over the first Christian community in the Nguna district. One of his earliest converts, Vakalorana, became in turn the first teacher on Makura (and the first of many missionaries from islands in the Nguna district). Ta and his wife, Wai, left for home in 1883, the last Polynesian missionaries to the New Hebrides.¹⁰⁰ In the early 1880s, some of the missionaries wanted to obtain more Cook Islanders, but others resisted the idea.¹⁰¹ Two couples from Mare (Loyalty Islands) served on Nguna in the early 1870s, and two more were in south-west Santo in 1872 before succumbing to malaria. Two other Loyalty Islanders (from Lifu) were in the New Hebrides in the 1890s, one of them (James Nanen) playing a valuable part in the evangelisation of south Santo.¹⁰²

In the extension of Presbyterian Christianity into the central and northern New Hebrides, however, the principal co-workers of the European missionaries (of whom there were about 20 at the end of the century) were indigenous Christians from many islands in the group. The longer established churches sent their best couples for evangelistic ministry on 'the heathen islands', either preceding or accompanying the European missionaries.¹⁰³ Of the 90 teachers working in 1874, only five were not New Hebrideans. At this time, when expansion northwards had only just begun, only four teachers were working north of Efate, with only one of these a New Hebridean (Yomot of Erromanga, working on Nguna).¹⁰⁴ The number of teachers had reached 100 by 1880, 180 by 1890 and 300 by 1900.¹⁰⁵ The teachers of the mid-1890s were, in the case of the 118 in the six southern islands, almost all men ministering on their home islands; with the progress of Christianity in the central group, the 97 active there were also by now mostly working in their own communities, apart from some Ngunese on other islands, while in the northern islands the majority of the 48 teachers were still men working on islands other than their own.¹⁰⁶

In undertaking ministry beyond their own shores, the new Christian communities were following a path taken decades earlier by the Aneityumese. As an example it can be noted that Epi, in the central group, received teachers from the outside during the early years of its evangelisation — from Efate, Nguna (27 couples between 1888 and 1900) and Tongoa. Local teachers began to emerge in the 1890s, and Epi sent its first missionaries out (to Malekula and Santo) in 1897.¹⁰⁷ Nguna and the adjacent islands were the greatest single source of teachers in the last two decades of the century, supplying almost 100 couples before 1900. In training personnel and directing this outreach ministry, Milne can be seen as a second Geddie.¹⁰⁸

The teachers constituted a large body of workers, but the missionaries continually lamented that more could not be obtained: in the 1890s, they believed that further extension and consolidation was being delayed by the shortage.¹⁰⁹ The churches contributing to the supply of teachers were small and the scattered distribution of the population on most islands required many teachers to service the Christian communities at home. An unexpected source of teachers, however, was evident in the later decades of the century: New Hebrideans returning as Christians from Australia. The mission had strongly opposed the labour trade, which, since the 1860s, had recruited many thousands of New Hebridean men for work in Fiji, New Caledonia and Queensland, but in the 1890s it was appreciative of the efforts made in Queensland to introduce the labourers to Christianity. Many returning men played an important part on unevangelised islands by spontaneously publicising and recommending Christian belief and sometimes becoming mission assistants and teachers.¹¹⁰ An example is Jamie Taltaso of south-east Ambrym, who was converted by the Queensland Kanaka Mission and, after working as an evangelist among his fellow labourers, returned home in the 1890s. His energetic itinerant evangelism laid the foundations for the church that emerged in his part of the island.¹¹¹ There were other 'returns' who came back from Australia without responding to any Christianity they might have encountered there, but were converted by the mission in the New Hebrides. Their earlier exposure to the outside world was no doubt a preparation for the strong leadership some of these former labour recruits contributed to the young church at home. One such leader on Tanna was the notable teacher Lomai, and on Epi there was Taritonga, who was one of the first to respond to R. M. Fraser's mission in the 1880s and who, for more than 30 years, was a highly effective evangelist and teacher (Paul) to his own people.¹¹² Another example is provided by the returned labourer Muluntamos of Malekula, who opposed the new mission at Aulua but was later converted. After training, he served as a very effective teacher (another Paul) from 1899 until his accidental death in 1902.¹¹³

Indigenous mission workers were known throughout this period as 'teachers', but their ministry was always more than educational. In communities newly contacted by the mission, the teachers were engaged primarily in pioneer evangelism. If and when there was a response to the mission's efforts and a local group of Christians formed, the teachers' work became more pastoral in nature, while still including an educational element (instruction in literacy and Christian belief and lifestyle). The transition to pastoral ministry was usually gradual, but by 1900 the work of most teachers had become at least partly pastoral.

Pioneer evangelism was still a major activity at the end of the century, however, and the European missionaries acknowledged that New Hebridean teachers played an essential role in presenting the Gospel to non-Christian communities. Teachers could more easily venture beyond the missionary stations — they could go anywhere, eat anything and travel at a moment's notice, wrote Robertson in 1886 — and needed few home comforts when settling at some remote locality to introduce a community to basic Christian ideas.¹¹⁴ They were still foreigners, however, and enduring hardships among people speaking an unknown language and often hostile to strangers and to Christian teaching required courage and determination. It was acknowledged at the time that the self-sacrificing 'missionary spirit' was not found only among the Europeans of the mission.¹¹⁵

The readiness of the teachers to volunteer for service in faraway places was all the more valued because of the recognition that although they were outsiders they were much less alien than the missionaries from developed countries. In the words of one experienced missionary,

their intimate knowledge of native character, customs, superstitions, prejudices and jealousies, gives them a great advantage over the European missionary in dealing with the heathen. In almost every respect, save his religion, the teacher is much like themselves, so that where savage chiefs and as wild subjects may not at the first allow the teacher to open his mouth about the Gospel, they will talk freely with him about general local matters, and he in turn will share their food and their camp fire, and before leaving next morning will give them an axe or a knife as a return present for a few yams or a fowl. In this way he steals into their hearts, and loving the man, they by and by manifest a liking for his message.¹¹⁶

'Modes of thought' were common to the teachers and their listeners, even when the teacher came from a different island. Teachers were thus much better 'able to suit their appeals to the native way of thinking and to remove prejudices than Europeans', and people would often listen to a New Hebridean but 'look with suspicion upon a European'.¹¹⁷ This cultural closeness was maximised when communities began to produce their own teachers. A strong argument for Christianity was mounted when a teacher successfully defied the malevolent powers pervading his own culture, and this familiarity with the presuppositions of his flock continued to enhance a teacher's effectiveness when the new religion had been accepted.¹¹⁸ Missionaries sometimes commented on the readiness of indigenous preachers to find illustrations for their sermons in the natural world familiar to them and their listeners.¹¹⁹

Living among the people, rather than alongside them as the European missionaries did, indigenous teachers were able to commend Christianity in a very practical and intimate way. The implications of adopting the new religion were demonstrated plainly, to 'heathen' neighbours and to converts in the later pastoral phase, by a New Hebridean teacher and his family remaining faithful to what they professed and living a Christian lifestyle. The wives of the teachers were models for the women who observed them and most were active in teaching literacy and skills such as sewing.¹²⁰ The more formal requirements of the teacher's position also brought them into close contact with the

people as they conducted classes and worship services. 'The life of a native teacher is a full and busy one,' wrote Frank Paton, drawing on his experience on Tanna about the turn of the century:

He rises before daylight so that he may be ready with the first streak of dawn to conduct morning school. This lasts from one to two hours. Then he is available for anyone who has any trouble to be put right ... Then there are frequently sick cases to visit, and long before he has finished his work, the forenoon is gone. In the afternoon he may set out on a tour of the more distant villages under his charge, or he may spend some hours in his plantation ... For recreation he has a swim, and does some fishing to eke out the family supplies. As the sun draws near the setting he beats the school drum and the villagers gather for evening worship. The evening meal follows, after which an hour or two is spent chatting with villagers around his camp fire. It is often these informal talks that bring him nearest to the people, and in these he often exercises his deepest influence. But while some such programme would be his ordinary day's work, he is always ready for any emergency and any call of duty or danger.¹²¹

The pastoral character of this work took these men far beyond what their appellation 'teacher' suggested. While elementary schoolteaching remained an activity of the mission teachers until well into the next century, it was only one of their duties in the community — and one, in the view of some missionaries, in which they often did not excel.¹²²

Although they lived close to the people, the teachers nevertheless positioned themselves strongly against certain elements of the indigenous culture. In the 1890s, the head teacher on Aneityum led the elders in a campaign against the planting and use of kava, which had held an important place in traditional life but was opposed by the mission.¹²³ His counterpart on Futuna was known for his fearless opposition to 'superstition' and 'semi-heathenism'.¹²⁴ These and other teachers followed their missionary mentors (from Geddie onwards) in a generally uncompromising stance against many aspects of 'heathenism'.¹²⁵ Christianity was understood as being a complete antithesis to the traditional religion and indigenous Christian teachers were not seen in any way by the mission as heirs of the 'sacred men' of the discredited past. The authority of chiefs in society (or in the church and its leadership) had not been disavowed completely by the missionaries. Elements of the social and religious role of chiefs, and of 'big men' where a chiefly system did not prevail, appear to have survived in the person of the Christian teacher despite the mission's perception of him as a completely new figure in New Hebridean life. This would become clearer later as the new religion matured in its Melanesian setting and missionary control diminished.

Presbyterian teachers in the organised life of the mission and the churches

The first teachers sent out to other islands from Aneityum were supported initially by their home church, but as the spread of Christianity throughout the group gathered

momentum in the 1860s small salaries became available to teachers serving away from their own islands. The source of this funding was the mission's Teachers Fund, to which individuals, groups and churches in the sending countries contributed. In 1890, the John G. Paton Mission Fund was established to continue and extend this way of financing the work of teachers. It energetically solicited donations, assuring contributors that they would be supporting a designated teacher as their own 'Missionary Substitute'.¹²⁶ For most of this period, married teachers received £6 per annum, and single men £4. Teachers serving on their own islands were to be paid a maximum of £5, though on Aneityum teachers still served without payment. Six pounds was 'not much, but it meets all their wants', wrote a missionary in 1893. The cost of employing a teacher was much less than the annual payment made to a European missionary (£250 at the end of the century).¹²⁷ The missionaries gathering for their synod meeting in 1895 were 'somewhat surprised' to receive a letter from the teachers requesting a salary increase, but approval was given a year later for payments of £7 after two years' service and £8 thereafter.¹²⁸ That this still did not meet the need was made clear in 1901 by the teachers on Malekula, who said they would return to their own islands unless higher salaries were paid. The threat was carried out, but the mission increased the annual amount by only a few pounds at the next synod.¹²⁹ By this time, however, many of the islands were no longer reliant on teachers from other places.

Monetary assistance from supporters in other parts of the world greatly facilitated the extension of the mission's activities in the late 19th century, but its availability did not encourage the spread of the self-support principles adopted by the church on Aneityum in the 1850s and still followed there 50 years later. The Paton Fund was an independent organisation, mission-oriented rather than church-based. Its disbursements were controlled by J. G. Paton and in the New Hebrides by the missionaries rather than by the island churches. As Miller puts it, 'A practice which at first seemed helpful, proved a serious hindrance in later years when the churches should have been self-supporting. Mission support of teachers hindered the growth of responsibility in the island congregations and made them dependent on the missionaries and the bounty of the home churches.'¹³⁰ The self-support model did not disappear altogether, however, for some missionaries put particular emphasis on it. Milne was one of these, and the churches in his Nguna district were providing the salaries of all their teachers by 1895.¹³¹ Further south, Erromanga and south Efate stood out in this regard by 1900, and by that time in the far north James Mackenzie in north-west Santo had encouraged the very young church at Nogugu to achieve self-support and send out its first missionaries.¹³²

While teachers had become a permanent feature of New Hebridean society in the Presbyterian mission area, European missionaries would eventually no longer be seen. But this was in the distant future, and Europeans still dominated the New Hebridean church almost everywhere in 1900. Teachers and their wives were often portrayed as no more than valuable helpers. They did indeed assist the missionaries as bodyguards, house builders, boat crew, house and garden workers and general handymen.¹³³ William Watt of Tanna wrote of the teachers as the missionary's 'hands, feet and eyes': 'to them he has to look for the performance of duties connected with the mission station, by their

assistance can he extend his visits to any distance, and through them he becomes acquainted with much that is going on around and which would otherwise escape his notice. The missionary and the missionary's wife would frequently be helpless indeed if deprived of the native teachers.¹³⁴

Missionaries often praised their teachers highly and remembered them affectionately. But even Frank Paton, who was confident of New Hebridean capacity and gave his teachers much responsibility, wrote that they were 'sometimes dull and stupid and aggravating'.¹³⁵ A similarly confident missionary, Inglis, spoke in Scotland about the mission's aim 'to call forth and train up as much native agency as we can'; he reminded his listeners, however, that teachers were 'helps' for missionaries, not 'substitutes'.¹³⁶ Teachers were extremely 'useful auxiliaries', declared another missionary, Annand, but these 'necessary adjuncts' were 'almost useless when deprived of the immediate oversight and counsel of the missionary'.¹³⁷ It is clear, however, that many teachers were doing their work more autonomously than the missionaries were usually ready to concede. There were probably a greater number of self-directed teachers than the 'few' who were mentioned in 1892 as not needing close oversight. Kalsong of Pango (south Efate) was identified as an exception of this kind.¹³⁸ He had been in west Efate and on Epi before going with his wife to a station on Ambrym, where they worked alone for five years. Kalsong was 'simply invaluable', wrote Robert Lamb; he was 'quick both to see and to do what is needed'.¹³⁹ There were other teachers active in the 1890s, including Judah of Malekula and Soppi of Efate, whose leadership qualities were only belatedly recognised, many years later.¹⁴⁰ The teacher, a subordinate helper yet a central figure in the first 60 years of New Hebridean Christian history, continued to play a major role well into the 20th century. His office (as 'teacher-catechist') was prominent in the constitution of the autonomous 'Presbyterian Church of the New Hebrides' that emerged from the mission in 1948 (although subsequently the main form of ministry was that provided by ordained 'pastors').

Until nearly the end of the century, Presbyterian mission teachers in the New Hebrides were made ready for their work by individual missionaries or in small training centres serving just one island. Unlike the LMS and Methodist churches further east, the Presbyterians in this group waited many years for a large central training facility. The desirability of such an 'institution' was expressed in the mission report of 1868, but no action was taken.¹⁴¹ An obvious reason why such a central facility was probably not feasible was explained by Inglis in 1878: the absence of a language common throughout the New Hebrides.¹⁴² The school at Aname continued to be the largest and most permanent training centre, as programmes on other islands were often disrupted by changes of missionary personnel. Recognising the need for more teachers and better training, the missionaries agreed in 1879 that they would all give greater attention to teacher training classes at their stations.¹⁴³

This reaffirmation of the existing approach was made after the mission had rejected an alternative as impracticable, for the present anyway. The proposal they had declined to accept in 1874 and again in 1875 was for an 'Institution' on the small southern island of Futuna. Dr Robert Steel, a leading Australian Presbyterian who was Sydney agent for

the New Hebrides mission for many years, argued that the continued success of the mission depended on a greater supply of able and responsible teachers, and suggested that the best way of obtaining such a supply would be to station two missionaries on malaria-free Futuna to teach candidates from all the islands. Missionaries with a command of several languages should be chosen for the task and the mission should consider using a few carefully selected vernaculars as common languages for groups of several islands.¹⁴⁴ There were many points in favour of such a new departure, but the resistance of Inglis, founded no doubt on his commitment to the vernacular ministry approach nurtured at the Aneityum training centres, probably explains the rejection of the Steel plan. It has been argued that the decision to turn down this forward-looking proposal was a mistake that delayed the provision of adequate training for 20 years.¹⁴⁵

The deficiencies of the existing approach to training were not unacknowledged, but many of the missionaries believed that the hindrances to the setting up of a central school were 'insuperable'. Annand, who was ready to admit that most training was at a very basic level, referred to these 'obstacles' again in 1877, adding that in view of the financially unrewarding and often dangerous nature of the teacher's work not enough young men were anxious to train for it.¹⁴⁶ During the mid-1880s, the missionaries assembling at their annual synod were distracted from the training issue by internal mission controversies.¹⁴⁷ In 1886, more than 10 years after they declined to take up Steel's idea, they again encouraged each other to devote themselves to training more men for teaching work, especially for the northwards expansion of the mission.¹⁴⁸ Three years later they passed a similar resolution, although only by a narrow majority: Milne and Oscar Michelsen had unsuccessfully proposed the establishment of a central institution (teaching in English) to mark the 50th anniversary of John Williams' pioneering missionary approach to the New Hebrides. On this occasion, the opposition was led by John Paton, whose involvement in the mission dated back to the 1840s.¹⁴⁹

It was only in 1892 that the synod agreed to explore the idea more seriously. The committee set up for this purpose would report to the next meeting, a year later;¹⁵⁰ it was not possible, however, for the synod to meet in 1893. The kind of training being given by individual missionaries at the time was described by John Paton in an article written that year: reading, writing, arithmetic and scriptural doctrines were taught, using the Bible and the hymnbook and sometimes sermon outlines to which the trainees added their own illustrative explanations. 'We have no higher books of education,' he explained.¹⁵¹ According to another missionary, 'The constant demands made on the missionary's time by his other work have interfered sadly with this [training] work.'¹⁵² But local training was to end. In 1894, a firm decision was made to set up a training centre 'for Native Teachers and Pastors' on Tangoa, a small island off the south coast of Santo. The medium of instruction would be English and the experienced missionary Annand, who held the degree of MA, would be in charge.¹⁵³

Very soon the new institution was in operation. The 'Register of the Training Institution for Native Teachers and Pastors' records that the first seven students entered on March 18, 1895. The first name in the register is that of Rau, aged 25, who came from Malo with his wife, Wutomboi, and a child.¹⁵⁴ Later in the first year, there were 11

students, from Malo, Malekula and Tangoa. Five of them were married, and Mrs Annand taught the wives. Classes were being held for five hours on three days of every week, with the students spending much of the rest of the time in their gardens on Tangoa and on the Institution's extensive mainland property just across the strait. Opportunities were also given for practical experience of evangelism in the mainland villages. Staff houses, student cottages and classrooms were built and the grounds developed into a park-like environment.¹⁵⁵ The missionaries were confident that the belatedly established training centre had started well. The number of male students rose to 46 at the end of the second year, 66 in the third year and 71 by 1900. Most of the teaching was done by Annand, who was principal until his retirement in 1913. The curriculum in these years consisted of Bible knowledge, teaching and preaching methods, singing, evangelism, general subjects and manual skills.¹⁵⁶ In a major shift from the use of vernacular languages since the foundation of the mission, teaching was in English. Students were required to be literate in their own language and preferably able to read 'a first book in English', but it was remarked in 1900 that the academic standard was kept low by lack of much prior education and by poor knowledge of English.¹⁵⁷ Miller comments, however, that in choosing to teach in English rather than in a vernacular or in the fast-spreading pidgin-English (now Bislama, the official national language of Vanuatu), the synod had taken 'a bold and proper decision' and one that 'has stood the test of the years'. He points out that all the early principals were proficient in one or more of the vernaculars and were thus able to relate their teaching to New Hebridean culture.¹⁵⁸

By 1900, the first graduates had emerged after their four years of study and the Institution (later known as the Tangoa Teachers Institute, or TTI) had entered its long period as not only the training place of generations of Presbyterian church leaders but also (until the 1950s) the only provider of post-primary education in the New Hebrides.¹⁵⁹ Some of its graduates secured secular employment, and probably most of those who did not become teachers were able to give years of service as better-equipped members of their local congregations. Most former TTI students, however, received appointments in the mission, but still as 'teachers' rather than in any higher grade of ministry that the mission might have been expected to develop for its now better-trained personnel. The institution founded in 1895 contributed greatly to the sense of unity that developed among the church leaders and members of the many islands and, more than half a century later, became a factor in emergent New Hebridean nationalism.

Halting steps towards a responsible Presbyterian ministry

The election and ordination of elders in the Aneityum congregations in 1860 had indicated the direction being taken by the founding missionaries in the New Hebrides. The church they envisaged for the future, as in Presbyterianism elsewhere in the world, would be led at local level by mature Christians elected as 'ruling elders' to work in close partnership with their minister, the 'teaching elder'. The 'kirk session' of a Scottish parish would be replicated on Melanesian islands as Christianity spread and became rooted in the community. The two parish-like sections of Aneityum had 10 and 11 elders

respectively in 1884, and by that time elders had also been elected by the churches of Aniwa, Erromanga and south Efate.¹⁶⁰ In that same year, the first session was elected on Nguna, too, but apart from west Tanna, where the first elders were ordained in 1900, no other churches had reached this stage of development by the end of the century.¹⁶¹ In fact, it seems that the momentum initiated by Geddie and Inglis in 1860 had faltered by the 1890s or even earlier. Even on Nguna, Milne began to appoint elders rather than entrust their election to the church members, and the Nguna session was increasingly an ad hoc body of teachers and older Christian leaders.¹⁶² As the churches matured throughout the group, only some of them were equipped with elders, even after 1900. On Epi, for example, the missionary Fraser, in presiding over the church that emerged in the 1880s, 'does not appear to have encouraged the election and ordination of elders and deacons. The Church remained a dependent fellowship under the leadership of the missionary and his village teachers.'¹⁶³

A distinctive feature of Presbyterian ecclesiology was thus reduced in importance, and the New Hebridean congregations came to be headed by teachers who were responsible not to a session of local Christian leaders but to the supervising missionary. Support and advice could be given to the teacher only informally, and there was no means by which local lay leaders could represent their community in the wider policy-making structures of the church. The teachers themselves remained firmly under mission control and the eventual lack of development at session level was in fact part of an increasingly noticeable failure of the mission to build on the strengths of indigenous leadership and to encourage the emergence of a New Hebridean ministry that would be more than a subordinate body of teachers.

It was not that the mission was opposed in principle to the development of a full indigenous ministry. From time to time, the missionaries published expressions of hope that such a ministry would one day be seen in the New Hebrides. Perhaps, wrote one of them in the 1890s, a better system of training and the granting of more responsibility to the teachers would be 'a stepping-stone to the formation of a native ministry'.¹⁶⁴ About the same time, another hoped that better training would bring the day when expatriate missionaries could 'safely' leave their work in 'the care of the native pastors of the Church of the New Hebrides'.¹⁶⁵ Yet another, in 1897, expressed his view that the establishment of 'Native Churches on the islands, all to be presided over by Native Pastors under the superintendence of a limited number of European Missionaries', was indeed 'the ultimate object in view'.¹⁶⁶

No ordinations occurred until the 1890s. Although many teachers had been engaged in effective pastoral ministry for many years, and although there was very little to distinguish the additional duties of an ordained minister from those carried out by teachers working in a pastoral situation, the European missionaries displayed 'a certain reluctance' to confer ordination on even the best teachers.¹⁶⁷ It has been suggested that numerous opportunities were missed in the last three decades of the century.¹⁶⁸ In the end, it was the needs of the small islands without resident missionaries that first forced attention to the matter. Aniwa, for example, was supervised after 1881 by missionaries living elsewhere. The indigenous head teacher there in the 1890s, Kamasiteia, was

praised by one of these non-resident overseers, Frank Paton, as 'a fine Christian gentleman', and was described as 'a native pastor of a high order'.¹⁶⁹ When Kamasiteia died in 1897, Paton wrote that 'he was singularly qualified in every respect to fulfil the post of pastor'.¹⁷⁰ It seems, however, that this valued 'pastor' had been recognised as such by his fellow elders and church members and by Paton, but that no officially sanctioned ordination had taken place.¹⁷¹ The first ordination was clearly that of 1897, which came about because of the needs of another island without a missionary, Aneityum.

After Lawrie's retirement in 1892, Aneityum never again had a resident missionary. The island's teachers were supervised from Futuna by the missionary there, William Gunn. It appears that Gunn pointed out to his colleagues at the 1896 synod that the congregations on Aneityum were deprived of the sacraments except during his visits, and he proposed that the head teacher be ordained to meet this need. This led the synod to appoint a committee to 'consider the whole subject of the ordination of Native Pastors' and report back to the next meeting.¹⁷² The committee's report was discussed at length at the 1897 meeting, which happened to be on Aneityum that year, and the missionaries recorded that 'having always looked forward to the time' when indigenous Christians could be 'ordained to the office of Pastor', they rejoiced to hear that there were now indeed men who could be entrusted with this responsibility.¹⁷³

First, however, a series of guidelines was drawn up. The synod agreed that a Native Pastor should be 'of mature age, married to a wife of good behaviour' and 'have his children, if any, under proper control'. He should have a clear knowledge of Christian belief and be able to teach it 'both by word and example'. He should 'abstain from kava and all other intoxicating liquors' (and preferably tobacco also). His house should be 'decent' and 'cleanly' and be kept 'in a condition becoming his position as pastor'. His annual salary would be £10, and he should not engage in commercial activity. His duties would be to teach school and instruct membership candidates at his own station, to inspect all other schools and to engage in evangelistic work. He would have the right to perform certain other duties in the absence of a missionary: chairing meetings of elders, baptising, receiving into membership and suspending from it (but not terminating it), performing marriage ceremonies and celebrating the Lord's Supper. He would not be authorised to ordain elders or deacons. He could be suspended by a missionary and deposed by the synod. No pastor should be ordained without his missionary's recommendation and the acquiescence of the synod, and in normal circumstances the consent of the people would also be required.¹⁷⁴

Gunn's candidate for ordination, Epeteneto, was found to meet all the requirements for office, and the next day the synod members conducted an ordination ceremony in the Anelgauhat church. One of the missionaries took a photograph that was published in Scotland: it shows the newly ordained minister, dressed in a white hat, jacket and trousers, moving out of the church with his wife on one side and Gunn on the other.¹⁷⁵ This historic first ordination was certainly a milestone, but it did not necessarily mean that a fully responsible indigenous ministry was about to emerge. Epeteneto was more than 60 years old, and the catalyst for his ordination had been the withdrawal of resident missionaries from an island with a greatly depleted population. His status was clearly higher than that of

a teacher, but he was still subordinate to his supervising missionary (who later reported that the new pastor 'shows no desire to usurp my position' and 'in doubtful cases tells the natives to wait for me').¹⁷⁶ The synod not only fell short of reposing full confidence in their 'native pastors', but also departed from the Presbyterian principle of parity of ministers.

At the time of his ordination, Epeteneto had for many years been the teacher in charge of Aname. The son of a chief in that part of the island, he had shown an interest in Christianity from his boyhood in the time of the Samoan missionaries. When Inglis came in 1852, the young Epeteneto became his pupil and helper and eventually a teacher and elder. Missionaries described him as a peacemaker and wise advisor. His wife, Lune, 'a woman of great energy' and also from a chiefly family, was trained by Mrs Inglis and became a teacher and leader of the women of Aname.¹⁷⁷ After Epeteneto's ordination, Lune was described as being just as influential as her husband and 'a terror to all evil doers, young and old'.¹⁷⁸ The pastor led communion services, supervised the island's 30 teachers and visited the people regularly. After a few years, however, illness prevented him from travelling around as much, and he resigned his position in 1904. He died in March 1905, when Gunn paid tribute to him as 'an earnest Christian man' who had 'attained a commanding influence among the people'.¹⁷⁹

No one was ordained as a replacement for Epeteneto on Aneityum, but another Aneityumese teacher had followed him into the ordained ministry in 1900. This second indigenous pastor, Habena, had also been brought up in the church at Aname, and, after early travels on a whaling ship and a mission working party to Erromanga and Tanna, he volunteered in 1883 to go with his wife to Futuna as a teacher. Newly settled on Futuna himself, Gunn described the new teacher as 'a tall, strapping, dignified young chief'. Habena remained on Futuna for the rest of his life, resisting calls to return to his homeland to succeed a chief who had died. He married a Futunese woman after his first wife died. He was ordained as an elder in the Futunese church, and Gunn increasingly relied on him as a preacher, teacher and confidant. He was always 'fearless in denouncing lukewarmness, superstition or semi-heathenism', and was 'a constant reader and student of Scripture'.¹⁸⁰ Habena accompanied Gunn to Aneityum for Epeteneto's ordination in 1897, when the missionary already had him in mind as a second ordained minister. The synod members declined Gunn's request in 1899, but in 1900 they were persuaded by his argument that he needed assistance on Futuna because he was responsible for Aneityum also. The ordination was approved and took place on Futuna.¹⁸¹ Habena's subsequent ministry was greatly valued by the mission and continued until his death in 1916.¹⁸²

It is significant that the two indigenous ministers were not invited to participate in the annual meetings of the synod. Frank Hume, a lay assistant working for the mission on Tanna, attended the 1898 meeting as an 'associate member', but the idea that the recently ordained Epeteneto might be admitted appears not to have been considered.¹⁸³ Geddie had probably intended that indigenous elders and leaders would eventually, as in Presbyterianism elsewhere, meet in church synods and assemblies beyond their own session. But the synod that developed from the missionaries' annual gathering gave no place to representatives of the island congregations.¹⁸⁴ The most that was granted to a pastor in the 1897 guidelines was that he should report on his work to the synod 'through

his superintending missionary', and that if his reputation was questioned he had 'the right to appeal to Synod ... and to lay the matter personally before Synod' if he wished.¹⁸⁵

The record of Epeteneto and Habena as ordained ministers was entirely satisfactory, but during the years before the latter's death in 1916 no more ordinations were performed. On the first day of 1901, two trusted elders in west Tanna were 'set apart as full teachers of the Word of God', but this was not ordination.¹⁸⁶ In fact, it was not until 1920 that three more ministers were ordained, and the number of ordinations remained very small for many years after that. The mission had certainly not withheld the pastoral role from its indigenous non-ordained staff, but except for the two men ordained at the end of the 19th century, it was slow to grant full ministerial status to its teacher/pastors. Gunn later ascribed this to 'caution', as did Frater (also writing in the 1920s), who explained the missionaries' lack of confidence in 'the unstable and unreliable nature of the native character'. Another mission writer wrote of the Scottish 'prudence' that shrank from 'sentimental optimism'.¹⁸⁷ This excessive carefulness persisted despite the evidence of effective and blameless ministry by the two pastors and many teachers since the 1850s, and put the Presbyterian missionaries in the New Hebrides out of step with their counterparts in many other Protestant missions in the Pacific. To some extent, they shared in the commonly held belief that Melanesians were less able than other people. The missionaries themselves came from a tradition that preferred high levels of education for its ordained ministry, but they had not created a high standard of schooling in their New Hebrides field. Their focus on evangelisation succeeded in spreading Christianity to all the islands of their field, but this preoccupation meant that less attention was given to the development of the indigenous church and its leadership.¹⁸⁸ So although the Presbyterian churches in the New Hebrides entered the 20th century with a strongly rooted tradition of indigenous ministry, they were held back from further development for some years to come by missionary hesitations.

The Anglican bishops' approach to the development of indigenous ministry

Ten years after the expatriate Polynesian teachers of the LMS initiated the long history of Christian service in the New Hebrides, another mission began an attempt to bring about a ministry there — one that would be indigenous from the beginning. This vision of an indigenous clergy remained central to the strategies of the mission founded in 1849 by the Anglican bishop George Selwyn.

Fully occupied with his duties as Bishop of New Zealand, Selwyn took steps only in the late 1840s to realise his dream of an Anglican mission to the Pacific Islands. In 1847, he told his clergy that the basis of the intended mission would be a 'missionary centre' in New Zealand, from which young Islander students would carry Christian knowledge and faith back to their island homes.¹⁸⁹ A few months later, he was preparing for his first visit to Melanesia, when he would try to 'bring back some promising boys' to join the Maori students at the college (St John's) he had set up in the hills near Auckland.¹⁹⁰ On this

first voyage (1847–48), the bishop did not carry out this part of his plan, although he was confirmed in his belief that the innovative strategy he was proposing was superior to that used by the LMS. On his way to Melanesia, he was impressed with the results achieved in Samoa and Tonga by the LMS and the Wesleyans, and what he saw of the Polynesian missionaries in the New Hebrides and other parts of Melanesia filled him with admiration for their faith and courage. He did not believe, however, that recent Polynesian converts were well equipped for the evangelism of 'heathen minds'; nor did he think it right for European missionaries to use substitutes in dangerous pioneer situations.¹⁹¹ In any case, he was convinced that the only hope for a Christian community that would endure in the long term lay in developing 'a native ministry'.¹⁹² This ministry he set about creating for Melanesia.

Selwyn sailed to Melanesia for a second time in 1849, again with the intention of bringing 'a few promising youths' back for Christian training. He would be careful to ensure that the candidates and their families were willing, and, conscious that 'rearing native teachers and ministers' would take years, he proposed to return the students to their homes during the cold New Zealand winter. The best of them would sail back on annual voyages for more study at St John's, and eventually become teachers to their own people.¹⁹³ This plan was inaugurated with the 1849 voyage, when Selwyn brought back five youths from New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands.¹⁹⁴ In 1850, he took them home again, continuing with this pattern until 1859.¹⁹⁵ The bishop realised that the success of his strategy could only be gradual, requiring 'a steady, persevering and faithful effort'.¹⁹⁶ His approach was carried on for many years by his colleagues and successors in what came to be called the Melanesian Mission. Before long, the New Hebrides (along with the Solomon Islands to the north, but eventually without New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands) became a major focus for the recruitment and training of 'scholars', as the mission called them. The first New Hebrideans went to Auckland from Erromanga and Efate in 1850.¹⁹⁷ Many others were taken from islands in the Presbyterian mission area until the 1870s, but gradually the main focus of the Melanesian Mission's efforts moved northwards to other islands that became an Anglican preserve.

In the 1850s, the missionary bishop hoped that the future clergy of Melanesia would be composed almost entirely of indigenous ministers who had been his 'disciples'.¹⁹⁸ This vision was shared by John Patteson, the English clergyman who accompanied Selwyn to Melanesia for the first time in 1856 and gradually assumed control of the mission. In 1861, Patteson was consecrated as 'Missionary Bishop among the Western Islands of the South Pacific', with responsibility for a diocese that was associated with the Anglican Church in New Zealand but consisted mainly of the New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands. Like Selwyn, Patteson was young (33 when made bishop) and a university-educated member of the English upper class. He complemented his active voyaging and teaching work with deep reflection on missiological issues. Although these activities were cut short by his violent death on a Melanesian island in 1871, the emphases he advocated remained influential in the mission for many years.

During his 10 years in charge of the mission, Patteson remained convinced that the evangelisation of Melanesia and the growth of the church there depended on

Melanesians themselves. A few European missionaries would assist temporarily, but indigenous clergymen and teachers would soon take the lead. This is what Patteson constantly told the young students, he explained in 1866: 'I always ... try to raise them to the consciousness of their being called and intended by God to be the evangelists of their own people.'¹⁹⁹ Not only was it unrealistic to think that enough European missionaries would be available, but reliance on foreigners was undesirable. 'We cannot be to them what a well-instructed fellow-countryman may be,' wrote the bishop. 'He is nearer to them. They understand him. He brings the teaching to them in a practical and intelligible form.'²⁰⁰ The metaphor used by the founders — a 'black net' kept afloat by 'white corks' — was frequently to be heard in the Melanesian Mission.²⁰¹ In the early decades of its work, the creation of an indigenous ministry was an objective kept firmly in the forefront.

Patteson's commitment to indigenous ministry had two further dimensions. It stood out, first, that he tried to avoid regarding the scholars as subordinates and inferiors while they were being trained, and the intention was to see them as the equals of their mentors when they later ministered in their homelands. There they would be fully responsible leaders in their own church and would eventually even replace the foreign bishops of the founding years.²⁰² 'We must hope to see native self-supporting Melanesian churches, not weak indolent Melanesians dependent always on an English missionary,' he wrote.²⁰³ Secondly, he was unusually aware of the need to seek religious change without being culturally insensitive and ethnocentric. In this, he was building on Selwyn's earlier refusal to characterise Melanesians as degraded savages with an inferior culture that should be heavily modified.²⁰⁴ 'I have for years thought,' Patteson wrote after a decade of experience in mission work, 'that we seek in our missions a great deal too much to make *English* Christians of our converts ... We seek to denationalise these races, as far as I can see; whereas we ought surely to change as little as possible — only what is clearly incompatible with the simplest form of Christian teaching and practice.'²⁰⁵ The aim should be to make not Englishmen but Christians, 'to think out the meaning and attitude of the Melanesian mind and character — not to suppress but to educate it.'²⁰⁶ It was 'a great mistake' to 'force useless imitations of English modes of thought and nineteenth century civilisation', since 'Christianity is a universal religion and assimilates and interpolates into its system all that is capable of regeneration and sanctification anywhere'.²⁰⁷ To a considerable extent these principles were put into practice. Certainly the Melanesian scholars were trained in a school moulded by the bishops' distinctive Anglican churchmanship and upper-class public school background, but the future teachers and ministers were not taught that their own culture was worthless. This relatively positive stance towards traditional Melanesian life left its imprint on the nature of Anglican ministry as it emerged among the New Hebrideans.

For nearly two decades, a stream of young New Hebrideans and other Melanesians arrived in New Zealand for Christian education. They were taught first at St John's College and then (after 1859) about two miles away at St Andrew's, a new Melanesian school built at Kohimarama, a more sheltered site on the harbour shore. By 1860, a total of 152 scholars had come, from 26 different islands. During that period only 39 of them

had returned for a second season, however, and eventually it became the practice to retain the scholars for several years at a time. The numbers increased in the 1860s, the roll rising to 35 in 1863 and 69 in 1865.²⁰⁸ Some of the young men died at St John's, and 17 more at Kohimarama.²⁰⁹

In 1867, partly out of concern for the scholars' health, the school was moved to the much warmer Norfolk Island, halfway between Auckland and the New Hebrides. Far from any other inhabited land, and from any Melanesian community, the new Kohimarama (as the scholars called it, though its official name was St Barnabas' College) was like an isolated monastery devoted to learning and worship. Bishop Patteson and his successors lived at the college, too, directing the Melanesian Mission and interacting closely with the students. There were 134 scholars by 1869, and 184 in 1873.²¹⁰ For many years, the missionary in charge was Robert Codrington, whose scholarly studies of Melanesian languages and cultures are valued to this day. Like his bishop, Codrington believed that 'a native ministry must be aimed at and worked for throughout. We never quite sympathise or understand; native clergy and teachers can and do.'²¹¹ St Barnabas' College was maintained until well into the next century (1919). The Bishop of Tasmania, who published an enthusiastic account in the 1890s, was one of many visitors inspired by its idyllic atmosphere of devotion, orderly habits and family closeness.²¹²

Patteson had a horror of superficial religious education. He believed that it was better to invest much effort in thoroughly training a few than to aim towards rapidly preparing a larger number. 'Careful exact teaching' was required, not just in the essential doctrines of Christianity but in personal faith and conduct, so that scholars became men 'whom you can trust as living exponents of Christian teaching'.²¹³ Much care was given to the literacy and doctrine classes in Auckland and then on Norfolk Island. They were complemented by regular times of worship, singing practice and manual labour. Liturgy and ritual played an important part in the worship, in keeping with the High Church preferences of the founding bishops. The use of English had been Selwyn's answer to the problem of linguistic diversity, but Patteson was prepared to teach in several Melanesian vernaculars. By the 1860s, one of the Banks Islands languages, Mota, had become the common language for the school and the principal language for the mission's translations of the Bible: it remained the mission's main language until the 1930s. Most of the pupils schooled in New Zealand and on Norfolk Island were men, but there were always a number of female scholars, too. As well as being instructed in Christianity, they were trained in domestic skills, so that they would become suitable wives for the future teachers and clergymen.²¹⁴

In the first few decades of its operation, the key element in the Melanesian Mission's strategy for evangelisation and the subsequent development of an indigenous church and ministry was the remoulding of Melanesian personalities in environments far removed from those that had shaped them until the voyage away. Converts to Christianity in other Pacific Islands had sometimes been given ministry training in places outside their home societies, but for most Pacific Christians, including the leaders among them, conversion itself had taken place in their own social context. Selwyn's attempt to found a mission on the principle of extracting potential Christian leaders

from their own environment brought critical comment from other mission strategists. The bishop's method was opposed to what the Church Missionary Society (also Anglican) had long successfully tried to do in many parts of the world, including Selwyn's own New Zealand, wrote Henry Venn in 1852. 'Uncivilised pupils trained at a distance from home in a civilised land' and receiving Christian teaching in a foreign language would 'return to their native home very unsuitable missionaries', he suggested; Selwyn's method was 'visionary and impracticable'.²¹⁵ Comment was also drawn from the LMS mission in Samoa, where in an article published in 1857 it was admitted that the Gospel had sometimes been successfully introduced to accidental arrivals from unevangelised islands and often also to people deliberately taken from their homelands for Christian instruction. But the results had seldom been entirely satisfactory, the LMS writer pointed out, and certainly such experiments had produced only a few converts who could be more than assistants to missionaries going to their home islands. The method could therefore be only an 'auxiliary means' of evangelism, and in taking it to an 'extreme' Selwyn was ignoring the experience of other much older missions. The almost complete lack of results after nearly 10 years proved the inefficacy of the bishop's method, and the writer wondered why Selwyn did not emulate the LMS utilisation of Polynesian teachers by taking large numbers of Maori converts into Melanesia.²¹⁶

The founding strategy of the Melanesian Mission did avoid costly expenditure of money and foreign missionary lives, and from the outset it gave great weight to the principles of indigenous ministry, but as its critics pointed out and even Selwyn and Patteson acknowledged, it did not bring speedy results. For many years, there was little evidence of any effectual evangelism by returned scholars, much less any development of Melanesian churches with their own ministry. It is certainly not unknown for individuals extracted from their own societies to be converted and later become Christian teachers to their own people, but many obstacles stood in the way of this outcome in Melanesia, as elsewhere. Young Melanesians introduced to a new and strange religion far away in a foreign context and in a foreign language were bound to encounter great difficulties when, as isolated individuals, lacking years and social standing, they tried to confront and modify the traditional religious cultures of their communities. 'It is not, I assure you,' wrote Charles Bice of the Melanesian Mission in the 1870s, 'so easy a thing for a youngster fresh from school to begin at once the evangelisation of his countrymen ... It is not to be supposed that a nation is converted from the error of their ways at once by the desultory and timid teaching of a few boys.'²¹⁷ Unsurprisingly, only a few scholars of the first decades are known to have persevered in their mission after returning from the bishops' school.

Modifications were gradually made to the method devised by the mission's founder. Scholars still came to the Norfolk Island school and returned to Melanesia as teachers, but they often went to islands and societies other than their own. Furthermore, instead of relying only on Melanesian teachers, the mission began to station European missionaries in the islands. In these respects, while retaining some of the distinctive characteristics originating from Selwyn and Patteson's time, indigenous ministry in this area began to develop in circumstances more like those obtaining in other parts of the

Pacific. The missionary Nihill, and Patteson himself, had resided for a time in the Loyalty Islands in the 1850s, and in the next decade Patteson began to send European missionaries (himself included) to live in Melanesia for several months in the cooler season every year. In the New Hebrides, the island of Ambae and the Banks Group received European missionaries in this way, with the result that returned scholars living on these islands were no longer lonely evangelists but co-workers, assistants and pupils of the temporarily resident foreign supervisor. This pattern continued until nearly the end of the century.²¹⁸ Patteson, other European missionaries and returned scholars had been working together in this way in the Banks Group for more than 10 years when they witnessed the first significant movement towards Christianity in the Melanesian Mission's field. In the early 1870s, conversion became widespread on Mota, and local teachers successfully spread Christianity from there to all the other islands of the Banks Group.²¹⁹ Patteson saw the beginnings of this before he was killed in the Solomon Islands in 1871.

An increasing number of Banks Islanders went to Norfolk Island as scholars, and men from Mota, then from Mota Lava, made up a large proportion of the many teachers who for the rest of the century and afterwards went as missionaries to unevangelised communities in the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands. The northernmost islands in present-day Vanuatu, the Torres Group, were first reached in this way in 1878, and the three large islands south of the Banks Group — Pentecost, Ambae and Maewo — were evangelised from the 1870s by local, Banks Islander and European missionaries. On Pentecost, for example, the pioneers in 1876 were Louis Tariliu, from Pentecost, and a fellow scholar, Tom Ulgau of Mota; they were followed in 1882 by an English missionary.²²⁰ Some idea of what motivated the Banks Islands missionaries might be gained from the autobiography of Clement Marau of Mere Lava, who went from Norfolk Island to Ulawa in the Solomon Islands in 1881:

At this time the measure of belief and understanding of good things that I had attained to led me to think about the other islands and the natives of them, who were different from us and a long way off ... What I had observed made me say to myself that, with the mercy and grace given to us, we ought to help our brethren in the one faith. I considered that we black people who had been born in heathen ignorance ought to be able to clear away from the minds of the heathen a great deal that we knew more about than our white fathers did, who did not yet quite understand what our evil customs really were.²²¹

As early as 1869, Patteson had foreseen that the Banks Islands would compare with the Cook Islands and Samoa in the sending out of missionaries.²²² The introduction of Christianity to the large northern islands of the New Hebrides by this combination of local and foreign missionaries was still proceeding as the 19th century ended.

Lay and ordained indigenous ministry in New Hebrides Anglicanism

The first signs that an indigenous ordained ministry would indeed emerge in the New Hebrides came nearly 20 years after Selwyn began gathering scholars for his school. These early prospects were associated with the partnership of Patteson and his scholars in the evangelisation of Mota in the 1860s. On this small island in the Banks Group, the bishop was impressed with the character and achievements of George Sarawia, whom he had known for many years as one of the scholars. Selwyn and Patteson had encountered the young man on their first visit to his island, Vanua Lava, in 1857. Sarawia was just a boy then and had never seen a ship or a white man before. He sailed on the mission vessel on its next visit, in 1858, admitting later that he was motivated by curiosity and a desire for 'an axe and a knife, and fish hooks and calico, and plenty of other such things'. Time spent on Lifu, in Auckland and on Norfolk Island as a scholar during the next few years was punctuated by intervals back in the Banks Islands. In 1863, he was baptised (with the name George, after Bishop Selwyn), and in 1865 he was confirmed.²²³

By this time the mission was becoming more hopeful that there were 'now among us many Melanesian scholars giving promise of future usefulness far beyond what we a few years ago expected'.²²⁴ Working with Sarawia on Mota in 1867, Patteson began to think of ordaining the young teacher. 'He ... is all that I could desire,' he wrote. 'He is an excellent fellow, thoughtful, sensible, and my right hand among the Melanesians [on Norfolk Island] for years.'²²⁵ He spoke to Sarawia about the need for someone to administer baptism and do pastoral work on Mota when the missionaries were not there. Sarawia's first response was to protest that he was 'not clever enough for that work' and 'not worthy of it'.²²⁶ By 1868, Patteson had made a firm decision to 'take the great step of ordaining dear George Sarawia' as 'the first Melanesian clergyman'. His young pupil, who was now about 26 and had become a 'friend and helper', was 'a thoroughly good conscientious man, humble without servility, friendly and at his ease without any forwardness'. He had shown leadership qualities among the scholars and was already respected as a teacher by the people of Mota. His wife was a woman 'of good sense'.²²⁷ Although other scholars had attained more academically, Sarawia enjoyed Patteson's full confidence in him as a teacher, leader and Christian: 'He has never given me any uneasiness.' On December 20, 1868, the ordination service took place on Norfolk Island. Patteson told the assembled scholars that the new deacon was only the first of many others who could be ordained in the years to come.²²⁸

Ordination was not lightly conferred in the Anglican tradition, even to the lesser office of deacon, and Patteson was 'not disposed to act in a hasty way'. He had given thought to the fact that the scholars had received an education far below what was normally required for a clergyman in England, but pointed out that they were in fact better educated than the missionary priests who had evangelised early medieval England. He was confident that, as long as the chosen clergymen were of proven Christian character and teaching ability, they would be able to provide a fully acceptable ministry

on the basis of an Auckland or Norfolk Island education that had given them 'a sound knowledge of fundamental truths, of the Church Services, and the meaning and spirit of the Prayer-book'. Biblical portions and other materials in the Mota language were already available for their use. Preferably, they should be married, to Christian women. In these circumstances, if a man who met the requirements was now available, 'why not ordain him?' Clergymen in Melanesia would be working among recently contacted island peoples, not educated citizens of Christian England. 'If they can state clearly and forcibly the very primary leading fundamental truths of the Gospel, and live as simple-minded humble Christians, that is enough indeed.'²²⁹

Sarawia returned with other scholars to his ministry on Mota. The Christian village he established, Kohimarama, with its school and church, became well known in the Banks Islands and in missionary circles.²³⁰ A visiting British navy captain met him and did not immediately recognise him as 'a clergyman of the Church of England, as his costume consisted of a pair of blue serge trousers, a bright scarlet shirt, and a straw hat'; on closer acquaintance, however, the officers 'found him to be a really worthy and excellent man'.²³¹ Patteson began to think of spending several months with Sarawia to prepare him for ordination as a priest, as it concerned him that Holy Communion was not available to the Christians on Mota. He was still trying to decide about this when his life was suddenly ended by an assailant on Nukapu in the Solomon Islands in September 1871.²³²

Patteson's intentions for his protégé and the other likely candidates he had identified were put into practice by his colleagues in the mission even before a successor to Patteson had been appointed. Codrington consulted the Mota Christians, who testified that Sarawia was 'regular in teaching, attentive and active in visiting the sick, and diligent in composing quarrels and preventing strife'.²³³ On June 11, 1873, George Sarawia was ordained priest in Auckland's St Paul's Cathedral by the bishop of that city, who had ordained three other Banks Islanders as deacons on Norfolk Island the previous year.²³⁴ Melanesia's first Anglican priest took up his ministry again, but it was not exercised in a wide sphere, since he returned to Mota and ministered there to his small flock for the rest of his life. In 1876, the new bishop, John Selwyn (son of the mission's founder), thought him a little lacking in energy — 'he lacks go and wants pushing' — and it soon became clear that his health was not good.²³⁵ In the 1880s, poor health increasingly confined him to his base on Mota, but, it was reported in the 1890s, his people still 'looked up to and respected him, and when he asserted himself, at once responded'. He was hospitable, modest and unassuming, a valued adviser and often a peacemaker — a quiet ministry that lasted until his death on Mota in 1901.²³⁶

The three Banks Islanders ordained as deacons in 1872 were 'pretty equal' as far as classroom attainments were concerned, wrote Bice: 'Henry is the thinker, Edward the student, and Robert has the memory. Henry has the dignity, Edward the goodness, and Robert the general amiability and good temper.'²³⁷ They all went on to well-received ministries in the next decades, although only one of them was elevated to the priesthood. This was Henry Tagalad, who, like his two colleagues, was only in his twenties when made a deacon. Taken from the tiny island of Ra in 1860 when he was

just a boy, he impressed his teachers from the start. 'He has considerable natural ability, is a good teacher, and has an impressive manner in addressing natives,' Codrington told the Bishop of Auckland in 1872. Bice remembered that Tagalad 'was always the Bishop's favourite'; in his opinion, he was 'in every respect an excellent young man'.²³⁸ Tagalad returned to Ra after his ordination to resume the successful evangelistic work he had already begun there while a scholar.²³⁹ For the rest of his life, he engaged in a much-praised ministry to his own people and those of the larger adjacent island, Mota Lava. During his time, Christianity spread throughout these communities and many converts became teachers in their turn. Tagalad was ordained as a priest in 1883 and was described by his bishop in 1895 as 'a perfect native clergyman', living as 'a priest and patriarch among his people. In his school one sees what a Melanesian teacher can do.' His authoritative position was noticed by another missionary, too: 'He is a real power among them and a man they have to obey.' Other visitors commented on his excellent preaching and his faithful provision of daily worship services.²⁴⁰ It was a shock to the mission when, in 1900, Tagalad 'fell' and had to be disciplined; he died less than a year later ('of grief', said the bishop).²⁴¹

Edward Wogale's ministry was shorter but more varied. He had gone to the New Zealand school from Vanua Lava in 1863. Later, he was a scholar on Norfolk Island, where Codrington described him as 'blameless' in conduct and 'decidedly the most thoughtful and intellectual of our Melanesians'. He was regarded as particularly skilled in teaching, and made an invaluable contribution to the mission's Mota translation work. His ordination as a deacon came after experience as a teacher on Mota and in the Solomon Islands. After 1872, he worked with his older brother, George Sarawia, on Mota before going to Fiji in 1876 to minister among the Melanesian labourers. In 1879, he pioneered an extension of the mission to the Torres Islands, north of the Banks Group, where he died in 1883.²⁴² His successor there was the third of the deacons of 1872, Robert Pantutun of Mota. This man had been 'universally liked and respected' as a scholar and then as a teacher on his own island before being made a deacon. After successive appointments on Gaua, Maewo and the Torres Islands, he took up ministry on his own island in 1893 and died there in 1910.²⁴³

All four of these first indigenous Anglican clergymen in the New Hebrides had given proof of their ability in evangelistic and teaching ministries before they were ordained. There were 225 teachers in the New Hebrides in 1895 (five in the Torres Islands, 168 in the Banks Islands and 52 on Pentecost, Ambae and Maewo), a number that had risen to 260 by 1901.²⁴⁴ As in the Presbyterian mission, many of the men contributing to the mission as teachers about the turn of the century were former contract labourers who had returned from Queensland as Christian converts. Although these men were not well educated, and many of them were not well versed in Anglicanism (having been converted by evangelical missions), their evangelistic efforts played an important role in spreading Christianity on Pentecost and Ambae in the 1890s.²⁴⁵ Whether they were Norfolk Island scholars or ex-recruits from Queensland, the majority of these men were engaged in evangelism, teaching and pastoral work — although not, of course, the administration of the sacraments — for many years without

being ordained. In fact, the Melanesian Mission, while in principle committed to a responsible indigenous clergy, conferred ordination only sparingly in this period and for many years afterwards. After Sarawia and the three deacons of 1872, only six more teachers had attained this status by 1900. One of them, Clement Marau of Mere Lava, who was ordained in 1890, had left the Banks Islands 10 years earlier to minister in the Solomon Islands. Of the five working in the New Hebrides, only one had followed Sarawia and Tagalad into the priesthood by 1900.

Not all of the five deacons ordained after 1872 had long or satisfactory ministries. The work of Edwin Sakelrau (Tagalad's brother) on Vanua Lava in the 1870s was much praised, and his ordination in the presence of his own people on Ra in 1878 was the first performed in the islands themselves. But his ministry on Vanua Lava, noted for its pastoral effectiveness, ended with his death in 1883.²⁴⁶ Two deacons were ordained in the 1880s, but one of them, Maros Tamata (ordained in 1884), after four years as a deacon on Gaua, suddenly went off with an unconverted woman and abandoned the work he had been doing very effectively on the island since the 1870s; he returned to his home on Mota and was never reinstated.²⁴⁷ The other, Walter Woser (ordained in 1886), worked well on Mota Lava in the 1890s as Tagalad's assistant and succeeded him after 1900.²⁴⁸ Apart from Marau in 1890, there were only two more deacons before 1900. William Vaget had been highly regarded for many years for his evangelistic and pastoral work on Mere Lava before his ordination in 1892. Even as a lay teacher in the 1880s, he was reported as having 'completely won the confidence and love of the people', whom he was teaching 'admirably', and it was no surprise that he was raised to the priesthood in 1900.²⁴⁹ The last 19th-century ordination was that of Simon Kwalges of Ureparapara (in 1896), who served on his home island and later in the Torres Group and the Solomon Islands.²⁵⁰

The Melanesian clergy of the Anglican churches in the New Hebrides were well recompensed in comparison with the Presbyterian teachers. Their fortunate situation was in keeping with what Patteson had wished. A priest was paid £25 per annum, a deacon £20, a head teacher £10.15.0 and other teachers £5 and £3.10.0. These payments came from the funds of the mission, and Patteson's successor admitted in 1877 that it would be a long time before the people themselves could be expected to support their clergymen and teachers.²⁵¹ The people gave them food and other material goods and donated the proceeds of copra sales to the mission to help meet its expenses, but the mission continued to bear most of the salary costs and did not seem to emphasise the principle of local financial self-support. The policy of generous emolument was not sustained, however, for at the end of the period the salaries were reduced to £15 for priests and £3 for senior teachers.²⁵²

One of Patteson's objectives in paying the clergy well had been to foster a higher standard of domestic life. The mission wished to change Melanesian marriage customs and styles of family living and hoped that clergy households would provide a model. Providing a scholar with a wife trained in Christianity and domestic skills was, Patteson believed, 'the best way to secure ... the introduction of Christian family life among these people'.²⁵³ The wife of a clergyman was regarded as not only a contributor to social change but also an important factor in a man's successful ministry and an active

participant in his work. Aspects of the lives of some individual women who played a part in early New Hebridean ministry in this way have been recorded.²⁵⁴ A good marriage was all the more important in view of the seriousness with which the mission regarded lapses from its code of sexual morality. The 'falls' of two clergymen have already been mentioned and it is probable that most of the 13 teachers suspended by the bishop in 1899 had transgressed in this area.²⁵⁵

As the only educated group of New Hebrideans at this time, and as men connected closely with the bishops and their mission, the indigenous church workers enjoyed considerable prestige as links with European cultural and material wealth and power. In traditional religious terms, their closeness to the divine gave them the *mana* associated with those who dealt with supernatural beings and made supernatural power available. The aura of sacredness surrounding the person and activities of the ordained clergyman was enhanced by the Melanesian Mission's emphasis on sacramental ritual and the unchanging words of the liturgy. *Mana* gained as a teacher or clergyman rivalled that achieved in a traditional way through prowess in war or success in the accumulation of material wealth. This prestige and status gained by a clergyman in the Anglican islands of the New Hebrides persisted into the modern era.

The ceremonially marked progress of a clergyman from layman to deacon and then possibly to priest and (in the future) to bishop has been compared with a man's acquisition of *mana* and advancement in the traditional graded societies of these northern parts of the New Hebrides.²⁵⁶ Rather than condemning the *sukwe* (the graded society in the Banks Islands) from the outset, the mission had, because of its unwillingness to offer indiscriminate criticism of every facet of the indigenous culture, tolerated it until the end of the period (although not without misgivings at times). Attitudes hardened about the turn of the century, however, and the conviction grew that the *sukwe* was associated with too much that was incompatible with true Christianity and a vigorous church. The missionaries began to oppose this important social institution and were supported in their stance by such indigenous clergymen as Pantutun on Mota and Vaget on Mere Lava.²⁵⁷ 'We black people saw all along that these things must make the teachers worthless,' said Pantutun. 'Our white fathers made a mistake in allowing them to continue.'²⁵⁸ Just before he died in 1910, he assured Bishop Wilson that the *sukwe* was indeed a major obstacle to the development of a strong church on Mota.²⁵⁹ Earlier, after the death of Sarawia in 1901, it seems to have become known to the missionaries that the influence of the honoured first priest had been due in large measure to his senior ranking in the graded society.²⁶⁰ The mission intensified its opposition to the *sukwe*, but many other less dramatic survivals of the pre-Christian religious and social system persisted. Like other features of the supposedly 'new' Anglican Christianity of the New Hebrides, in many ways the leadership and ministry of the indigenous church developed in continuity with traditional ways rather than in confrontation with them. The mission's policy of accommodating many aspects of the culture assisted this process to become established in the early days of religious change.

Elevated by the respect of their people for the sacred, and educationally ahead of their congregations, the deacons and priests could easily develop an authoritarian style of

leadership. There was no formal provision for lay people to take a share in parish government. Until the end of the period, there were only a handful of European missionaries to move around the scattered islands, which allowed the indigenous clergy to develop their ministries without close supervision. A report by the visiting Bishop Montgomery in 1892 tried to balance this independence of the clergy, desirable in many ways, against the increased efficiency that might be given to the mission by permanently stationing a greater number of Europeans in the field. 'There is great discipline for the native church in leaving the native staff entirely alone for some months every year,' he wrote. 'The great danger in the South Seas is a weak leaning at all times upon the English staff.'²⁶¹ Although the mission did move increasingly towards a greater and more controlling European presence, it still seemed to a Swiss ethnographer in 1910 that the Anglicans allowed their indigenous teachers and clergy more freedom than the Presbyterians. The Anglican system 'seems to obtain better results', he observed; the closer Presbyterian supervision 'makes the natives dependent and seems to divest them of all sense of responsibility'.²⁶²

Nevertheless, the tendency was undoubtedly towards an intensification of the mission's authority over the church. The episcopal structure of the mission and the church gave the bishop great power, and as yet there was no machinery for the voice of the indigenous clergy to be heard in wider mission or church affairs. In this situation, there was little to prevent erosion of the level of autonomy reached by the Melanesian teachers and clergy. Even in 1876, one of the missionaries had written of a need for 'someone to stir up their dormant energies ... How difficult it is for these natives to sustain any effort towards advancement when left to depend on themselves. They must have someone to lean upon, at least for the present.'²⁶³ A later comment by Bishop Wilson shows how the mission was torn between the tradition of indigenous autonomy and a lack of confidence in Melanesian ability: the indigenous staff would never, he wrote in 1902, 'attain to that complete independence for which Bishop Selwyn, our founder used to hope'.²⁶⁴ The realisation of Selwyn's vision was indeed a long way off. Educational levels in ministry training were below what Patteson had hoped for. Depopulation and widely felt fears that the Melanesians might disappear altogether obscured the image of a future autonomous indigenous church, and benevolent paternalism flourished. Anglicanism endured as an important part of life in these northern islands of the New Hebrides, but three-quarters of the 20th century were to pass before a New Hebridean bishop was appointed (in 1979); Patteson's missionary diocese had become the autonomous Church of Melanesia a few years earlier, in 1975.

The beginnings of other forms of ministry

By 1900, the Presbyterian and Anglican missions had met with a response on many islands between Aneityum in the south and the Torres Islands in the north, but many other communities, especially in the north, still practised their traditional religion. Although Presbyterianism and Anglicanism continued to spread, their new congregations were increasingly intermingled with groups of Christians identifying with

other missions. One of these new churches had its beginnings soon after 1900 among New Hebridean labourers returning from Queensland as converts of missions run by the Churches of Christ. On Pentecost, Ambae and Maewo, the Churches of Christ grew rapidly, and their forms of ministry, which scarcely recognised any kind of 'ordination', were soon well known in that part of the group.²⁶⁵

At the opposite end of the ecclesiastical spectrum was Catholicism, which was introduced to the New Hebrides by Marist missionaries in 1887 (a previous Marist party had lived on Aneityum for a time in the 1840s). The new mission was led by French priests, but it included Kanak catechists from New Caledonia. Among these were Edmondé, an 'excellent Christian', who, with his wife, Anna, worked with the Marists in east Santo,²⁶⁶ and Benoît, who had worked with the missionary Vidil in New Caledonia and went with him in 1890 to Malekula, where he died the next year.²⁶⁷ These and other foreign catechists helped introduce the idea that Melanesians as well as Europeans could minister in the new religion, but an even clearer signal was no doubt given by Christian teachers who were themselves New Hebrideans. An important example of this indigenous contribution to early Catholic ministry is provided by the work of 51 labourers who returned from Fiji in 1898 as Catholic converts. Their deployment as catechists at various points around Pentecost, hitherto not included in the Catholic mission field, was organised by Emmanuel Rougier (from the mission in Rewa, Fiji). After he left, they were supervised by a head catechist, the forceful Stéfano Teviri, and by the missionary Jean-Baptiste Jamond, who had previously worked in Fiji. Rougier praised the work of these men, singling out Bonifacio Buletel, a catechist who energetically visited villages, talked to chiefs, taught children and baptised the dying. Bonifacio's wife and daughter opened a school for women and girls.²⁶⁸ This ministry of catechists continued in the 20th century, with a training school set up on Efate soon after 1900.²⁶⁹ The first ordination of a New Hebridean as a Catholic priest, however, did not occur until 1955. In the meantime, Catholicism had spread to many parts of the group and attracted a large number of adherents.

When the 19th century ended, Christianity in its various forms was well on the way to its eventual status as the religion of the majority of the people. The coming of the new religion had been, along with labour recruitment, the principal way in which the people of the 19th-century New Hebrides were put in contact with the practices and ideas of the wider world. European land purchase and settlement were confined to a few islands and, apart from the Joint Naval Commission, which regulated settler affairs from 1887, no colonial government was established until the 20th century (in 1907). In this situation, the missions (and the churches to which they gave rise) were major influences on the New Hebrideans as they came out of their isolation, and the indigenous Christian teachers and ministers who emerged throughout the New Hebrides were in the forefront of the islands' development in this stage of their history.

SOLOMON ISLANDS

IN THE FLOW OF Christianity across the Pacific from the east, the westernmost islands were still being penetrated by the new religion at the end of the 19th century. Many communities in Melanesia had either not been evangelised by 1900, or were still in the early stages of church development. In the large archipelago known since the time of the Spanish explorers in the 16th century as the Solomon Islands, only one form of Christianity was well established by 1900, and even this had secured a place on only some of the islands. Other Christian denominations that are now prominent in the Solomon Islands had only recently arrived at that time, and still others reached the group after 1900.

In the 19th century, the people living in the area making up the modern Solomon Islands (which excludes the large northern island of Bougainville) spoke about 70 different languages and were divided into innumerable small autonomous societies. Some resided on the small Santa Cruz Islands north of the New Hebrides, but the majority of the population was to be found on six large islands and hundreds of smaller ones forming part of a chain stretching north-west towards New Guinea. The total land area is nearly 30,000 sq km.

Solomon Islands cultures were by no means uniform, but certain generalisations can be made about traditional religion in the group. Spirits and ghosts were universally recognised as the key to human welfare and rituals — offerings, sacrifices and prayers — were conducted to propitiate and manipulate them and draw on the supernatural power associated with them. Spirits and ghosts could be approached by anyone, usually at shrines or sacred places, but contact with particular spirit beings was made most effectively by people knowing the right words and techniques.¹ In one of the languages of the large island of Malaita, such a person was known as ‘one who speaks sacred words’; nearby members of another language group spoke of a ‘shrine man’.² Only males could perform religious rituals, observed the late 19th-century missionary Codrington, who made a close study of Melanesian culture. ‘There is no priestly order,’ he wrote: any man who knows how to approach a particular spirit being on behalf of the community ‘is in a way their priest and sacrifices for them all; but it is in respect of that particular function only that he has a sacred character’.³ Codrington made known to the world the concept of *mana*, the supernatural power possessed by spirits and sought by humans. It is the belief in *mana*, he explained, ‘and in the efficacy of the various means by which spirits and

ghosts can be induced to exercise it for the benefit of men, that is the foundation of the rites and practices' of religion, magic and sorcery. 'Wizards, doctors, weather-mongers, prophets, diviners, dreamers, all alike, everywhere in the islands, work by this power.' Knowledge of the necessary ritual was 'handed down from father to son, from uncle to sister's son'.⁴ Priests were men of influence in the community, and often a local 'big man', a person made wealthy and powerful by his acquisition of much *mana*, was also the priest of a powerful spirit.⁵

Traditional religion and its specialist practitioners had been an integral and unquestioned feature of Solomon Islands life for countless generations. Apart from a few earlier visits by European explorers, sustained contact with the outside world began only in the 1820s, although it was limited until the middle of the 19th century. The first Spanish expedition to reach these islands, that of Mendaña in 1568, had made some attempt to acquaint the Solomon Islanders with Christianity. In a move faintly foreshadowing the strategies of some later missions, Mendaña took a few Islanders away, apparently with the intention of having them taught Christianity and later returned as interpreters for Catholic missionaries. His recruits were, however, never brought back.⁶ A man taken from Taumako by Quiros in 1606 was instructed and baptised, but he too never returned from Spanish America.⁷ Indeed, no missionary work of any kind was done until French Marists lived on San Cristobal for 20 months in the 1840s. The bishop directing this unsuccessful mission expressed his confident belief that one day Melanesia would have its church and its own priests,⁸ but the Catholic venture was abandoned in 1847. The first indigenous Solomon Islands ministry later emerged from Anglican rather than Catholic missions.

The ministry of Anglican teachers

Bishop Selwyn's Anglican mission field in Melanesia (established in 1849) included the whole of today's Solomon Islands, although it never proved possible to evangelise the large north-western part of the group. Selwyn himself did not visit the Solomons until 1852, but the first Solomon Islander to come to the mission's school in Auckland was recruited by a Royal Navy ship in 1850. This was Didimang of San Cristobal, who soon 'gave many proofs that the teaching he received was entering into his mind' rather than being merely 'impressed in a parrot-like manner on his memory'.⁹ Later in the 1850s, the mission brought many more boys and youths from the Solomon Islands to St John's and Kohimarama in Auckland. By 1860, 22 had come from Guadalcanal and 18 from San Cristobal, as well as some from other islands.¹⁰ The seven who came in 1856 'got on well in reading and writing' and were soon able to 'answer simple questions on the most important articles of the Christian faith'; 'We only know a very little about God and Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit,' they said, 'but we can teach our people that, and by and by come and live with you and learn more.'¹¹ The first of the Solomon Islands scholars, Didimang, had been taken back to his home in 1852, equipped with books and school supplies, but it was discovered later that the mission's hope that he would teach the people had not been realised; in fact, there was little evidence that any of the young men

in these early years were able to interest their compatriots in Christianity when they returned home.¹² Not until the 1870s did the first fruit begin to appear on a few islands.

For 50 years after 1850, boys were taken away to be 'scholars' in the Melanesian Mission's faraway school (transferred from Auckland to Norfolk Island in 1867), and this method of training a Christian ministry continued into the 20th century. Hundreds of 'teachers' were produced, some of them returning to their own people but many others deployed on islands other than their own. Their task was at first primarily evangelistic and educational: to teach Christianity and literacy. If and when the people responded favourably to the new religion, the teachers would continue to operate schools but would also lead worship and give pastoral care to the Christian community. By 1900, the church had been founded in this way in many places, but in many others the teachers were still pioneer evangelists. The bishop (resident on Norfolk Island) and a handful of European missionaries paid frequent visits to encourage their former scholars and engage in evangelistic, teaching and pastoral work themselves, but only at the end of the century did a pattern of permanent European missionary residence begin. Continuing ministry at a local level was provided throughout the archipelago by the Melanesian teachers.

Many of the first teachers found that it took time for the people to accept their ministries. Walter Waaro, who went from Ulawa as a scholar in 1870, struggled to make an impact on his people when he returned. In 1877, he was joined on the island by another teacher he had met on Norfolk Island, Clement Marau from the Banks Islands, who later wrote about the beginnings of their work on Ulawa. With Waaro interpreting, Marau had announced why he had come: 'That I may tell you of a new religion as I have heard it myself, and in this way I wish to help you. For I myself have heard of One Spirit better than the spirits that we ignorantly believe in. He is God. He is Creator of heaven and earth, the Maker of everything that is, of men whether white or black, whether natives of this place, or travellers, or guests.' Some of the people 'said it was good, while some did not wish to hear it. For four days they met together in this way and heard me; that is to say, the men did, there were no women or boys that came.' But then the listeners stopped coming and the teachers asked permission to start a school for boys. Months later, when he had learned the local language, Marau again invited the adults to come and learn. For three years, he taught them every evening, but the numbers gradually diminished and he could see very little response. In great discouragement, he thought of leaving, but eventually a boy who showed interest brought his parents, followed by a few others. The teachers and converts publicly desecrated some sacred objects and sacred places, and there was a gradual increase in the number of people willing to acknowledge the power of the Christian God and accept His protection from the anger of the spirits.¹³ In the 1890s, Marau's Christian village was attracting inquirers from all parts of the island; they came 'in order to live in peace and within reach of his teaching'.¹⁴ On occasions, European missionaries stayed a few months to support the work. By the end of the century, the church had assumed a prominent place in Ulawa life and the teachers' ministry became more pastoral in nature.

The work of other teachers lacks the firsthand documentation provided by Marau's account, but persistence in the face of opposition was a common feature of their ministry.

In many cases of resistance the teachers did not merely feel discouraged but were in danger of losing their lives. On Nggela, the first island to see widespread conversion, Oliver Vuria pioneered a new district, where he started by finding five children willing to attend his school. 'But the people threw stones at me,' he told the bishop many years later, and he sent a message to the senior teacher, Sapibuana, to take him away. The reply came back: 'If you stood before a wild beast, would he not try to bite you? If you met with a hornet, would he not try to hurt you?' Vuria stayed, and after many perils saw almost everyone accepting the new religion.¹⁵ Marsden Manekalea narrowly escaped being killed when he rebuked an Isabel chief for headhunting.¹⁶ On the large island of Malaita, the population had accepted only five or six former scholars by 1894; they were all faced with great opposition, and only one school was operating (at Sa'a, where it was described as being 'in a state of siege').¹⁷

Almost every group of people contacted by the mission before 1900, however, eventually aligned itself with Christianity and admitted the church into its community life. The pioneer teachers or their successors stayed on to preside over the Christian flock, visited now and again by the supervising priest of their district. They received a small salary from the mission, supplementing it by growing their own food and perhaps making and selling copra (unlike other missions, the Melanesian Mission did not put emphasis on any obligation of the people to support their teachers materially). The teachers' daily routine was centred on the schools (which provided the only education available in the Solomon Islands until the mid-20th century) and the village church buildings, where morning and evening prayer services were held. By 1895, there were 156 teachers, with the largest number (66) on Nggela and other large concentrations on Isabel and San Cristobal.¹⁸ By 1901, the number on Isabel, Malaita and Guadalcanal had grown, and the total had reached 268.¹⁹

To maintain this large Melanesian staff, the mission continued to take young people away for training on Norfolk Island, finding them either on Christianised islands or, as it had for 50 years, among people not yet Christian. In 1892, the visiting Bishop of Tasmania observed the departure of a boy from Pileni, one of the unevangelised Reef Islands: 'The parting between the lad and his relatives was most affecting ... One after another the women seized him and kissed him, whilst the men rubbed noses. As to his mother, after she had bade him farewell, she lifted up her voice and wept ... The boy himself was crying, but he tried his best to look unconcerned.'²⁰ On Norfolk Island, the missionaries gave such boys a long period of Christian training in a context far removed from their own, and the young men returned from that foreign place with new perspectives and a new knowledge that gave them a certain prestige and power. The medium for instruction and communication was the Banks Islands language, Mota, which helped knit the teachers and missionaries together in a shared sense of being engaged in Melanesian ministry. Only in 1896 was a training centre within the Solomon Islands set up: a school at Siota (on Nggela), where, in an attempt to enlarge the mission's training facilities, young boys were prepared for further education on Norfolk Island. But the new school was closed in 1900 and Norfolk Island continued for some years yet as the only centre for teacher training.²¹ It has been suggested that the slowness

of the Melanesian Mission to advance into all parts of its Solomon Islands field was due to its reliance on trained teachers (of whom only a limited number could be taught on Norfolk Island) instead of using converts trained quickly and locally to evangelise other islands.²²

Ordained ministry in the Melanesian Mission

A high ideal of ministry had been set by the Melanesian Mission. As part of the vision expressed by Bishop Selwyn and his successors since the 1840s, and in keeping with its sacramental emphasis, the mission gave early attention to the creation of an ordained ministry for the emerging Solomon Islands church. As they had already done in the New Hebrides section of the mission (where the first deacon had been ordained in 1868, and the same man raised to the priesthood in 1873), the bishops looked among their former scholars for men worthy of being admitted to Holy Orders. They chose teachers who had been able students in New Zealand or on Norfolk Island, had continued to live as good Christians and had proved themselves in ministry. The objective of a Melanesian church with its own ordained ministry was pursued only cautiously, however, for out of the hundreds of teachers who worked in the Solomon Islands up to the end of the 19th century, only seven were ordained (as deacons, and only two of these became priests).

In the early 1870s, it seemed that the first ordination of a Solomon Islander was about to occur. Stephen Taroniara of San Cristobal, a scholar in Auckland and then on Norfolk Island, was the first Christian communicant from the Solomon Islands²³ and, in 1871, Bishop Patteson intended to include him with the three New Hebrideans he had selected for ordination when he returned to Norfolk Island from Melanesia.²⁴ Before that could happen, however, Patteson and Taroniara were killed at Nukapu.

The first teacher to be ordained while working in the Solomon Islands was not from this part of Melanesia. The bishops did not make a clear distinction between the various geographical sections of their 'Melanesian Mission', and were prepared to deploy their former scholars on any island if necessary. The first Solomon Islands ordination was that of Mano Wadrokai, who had gone to Auckland from Mare (in the Loyalty Islands) in the early 1850s and had later chosen to stay with the Anglicans when it became clear that his home islands were to become a field of the LMS. In Auckland, he had impressed as a student and assistant teacher and had been seen as a likely future 'native pastor'.²⁵ In the early 1860s, he was in the Banks Islands helping Bishop Patteson, who wrote of his confidence that the young man (then aged about 24) would one day be ordained.²⁶ Later, he was sent to the Solomon Islands, where he spent the rest of his mission career. In 1872, he was doing well on Savo (a small island in the central Solomons) and had persuaded the people there to abandon warfare.²⁷ Soon afterwards he was on Isabel, and it was from there that he was called to Norfolk Island to prepare for ordination. Ordained in 1875 (the mission's fifth deacon), he returned to Isabel and made a name for himself as a forceful evangelist in the Bugotu area. His wife, Carrie, ran an excellent school there.²⁸ Wadrokai was known for his fiery nature — he was 'clever' and 'hardworking' but 'combined a restless, energetic, evangelising ferocity with an inconvenient suspicious

instability', someone wrote at the time — and his abrasive relationship with a great Bugotu chief led the mission to withdraw him from Isabel.²⁹ In 1879, he volunteered for the Reef Islands and was soon a pioneer teacher in the Santa Cruz Group. He had asked to be sent there, 'claiming his right as one of Bishop Patteson's oldest pupils to be the first to begin the work on the scene of his death'.³⁰ Wadrok'al's ministry there was later hindered by illness and he retired from the mission. Probably he was 'the retired missionary' about whom the bishop wrote to Jones of the LMS on Mare in the late 1880s, requesting his help in looking after the former clergyman. Back home on Mare, Wadrok'al built a round house in Santa Cruz style, and died in 1894.³¹

Perhaps Wadrok'al was more an expatriate evangelist than a pastor, but the next Solomon Islands clergyman fully met the mission's hopes that scholars would return to their homes, teach Christianity to their own people and provide a pastoral ministry to the newly founded church. Charles Sapibuana had been taken to Auckland as a very young scholar in 1866. During his studies, he was on Bishop Patteson's ship when the greatly respected mission leader was killed. Sapibuana returned to his people at Gaeta (on Nggela) in 1877, weathering much opposition and many threats but eventually seeing an impressive response.³² His worth was recognised when, in 1882, he became the first ordained Solomon Islander, being made a deacon on his own island in the presence of the people he had evangelised.³³ Not long afterwards, in 1884, the bishop wanted to raise him to the priesthood, but Sapibuana told him he was not yet ready.³⁴ The next year, however, when the young deacon was on Norfolk Island undergoing preparation for ordination as a priest, he succumbed to an infectious disease and died. There was an 'outburst of grief' in Gaeta and a keen sense of loss among the missionaries.³⁵

Similarly high hopes were held for another Nggela man ordained not long before Sapibuana's death. Alfred Lombu (also known as Popohe) was made a deacon in 1884, but within a few weeks, after a difference of opinion with his flock, he suddenly abandoned his post. Later he was reinstated, but his ministry was again interrupted in 1891 when he was dismissed for immorality. His work had hitherto been of such quality, however, that after repentance and a period of discipline, he was permitted to resume his ministry and, in 1900, he was ordained as the first Solomon Islands priest. His long ministry ended with his death in 1919.³⁶

Four teachers working in the Solomon Islands were ordained in the 1890s. The first was Clement Marau, the Banks Islander whose whole career in ministry was on Ulawa. Marau learned the Ulawa language and married a woman from the island. In 1892, Ulawa impressed the Bishop of Tasmania as 'a bright spot in the Mission'. Marau, wrote the bishop, had 'an unstained record for devotion and blameless character'. He was made deacon in 1890 (and priest in 1903) and the mission published his account of the Norfolk Island school and the evangelisation of Ulawa. The high praise earned for his ministry made his 'fall' in 1907 all the more shocking, but the church survived on Ulawa and Marau's son, Martin, later followed him as a much respected clergyman.³⁷

The other three deacons of the 1890s were Solomon Islanders. The ministry of Reuben Bula (ordained in 1891) on his own island, Nggela, was cheerful and zealous.³⁸ Hugo Gorovaka had been taken from the island of his birth, Guadalcanal, by Isabel

raiders when he was very young. He was recruited by Bishop Patteson when a youth and stationed on Isabel as a trained teacher before being ordained in 1894. Volunteering for pioneer evangelism on Guadalcanal in 1897, he ministered there until his death in 1918.³⁹ Joseph Wate had been one of the first two scholars from Malaita, in 1866, and his teachers described him as the most intelligent and receptive student of that time. Back on Malaita in 1877, he carried on his school at Sa'a amid much opposition. His ministry was suspended for a time when his wife left him and he replaced her with a woman from outside the Christian community, but he resumed his work and was ordained deacon in 1897. He would have become a priest, but in 1904, like Sapibuana, he died on Norfolk Island while preparing for ordination.⁴⁰ Like the nine New Hebrideans (and one Loyalty Islander) ordained by the bishops of Melanesia by 1900, the five Solomon Islanders ordained as Anglican clergymen in this period were experienced teachers when they were granted the right to dispense the sacraments of the church. They were succeeded in the 20th century by many more such selected teachers, and this pattern of training and appointment, followed later by ordination and continuing ministry, was maintained in the Solomon Islands for many years. The church and its clergy, however, remained firmly under missionary control. No Solomon Islander became a bishop until 1963.

It is not surprising that Anglican mission teachers and clergy became men of importance in the communities they served. Their prestige derived from their education, their wealth (in the form of salary payments received from the mission) and the authority they derived from their access to the spiritual realm. They were sometimes accused of misusing their power by extending it beyond church matters, and when the first British colonial Administrator settled on Nggela in the 1890s he expressed a belief that the mission was deliberately encouraging the teachers there to take over as chiefs.⁴¹ This was an unfounded charge, but, as prestigious religious figures in communities that understood no clear division between sacred and secular, the indigenous mission workers did indeed assume roles extending beyond the purely ecclesiastical. It is not too much to say that teachers were given some of the power and status enjoyed by priests and 'big men' in pre-Christian days, and this authority was confirmed and enhanced in those ordained by the mission as priests. The village church buildings over which teachers and priests presided came to be seen as sacred places where the unchangeable words of the liturgy were spoken, prayer books and Scriptures were regarded as holy and the sacraments held mystical power.⁴² Increasingly 'High Church' emphases in the mission confirmed the traditional Melanesian respect for ritual. Indigenous clergymen mediated *mana* as their predecessors did and commonly 'blessed' or 'anointed' gardens, houses and canoes.⁴³ The high degree of continuity between leadership roles in traditional society and those in the Anglican mission (today's Church of Melanesia) has been noted by modern anthropologists. 'As caretakers of the village church and proprietors of new ritual knowledge,' writes Geoffrey White, the early Christian teachers and priests 'acquired many of the roles once performed by traditional priests and chiefs presiding over ancestor shrines'.⁴⁴

Other styles of Christian ministry

Until the 1890s the Melanesian Mission was not only the principal foreign presence in the Solomon Islands (where a British Protectorate was not established until 1893), but also the sole Christian organisation working in the group. After being unimpeded by rivals for nearly 50 years, however, the Anglicans saw the arrival of several other missions about the turn of the century. A large Methodist Church grew in the western islands, which the Anglicans had scarcely touched, from the work of missionaries who arrived in 1902. But even before 1900, two other forms of Christianity had been introduced to islands where Anglicanism had long been known.

Catholicism, the second-largest denomination in the Solomon Islands today, was reintroduced to the group by Marist missionaries arriving from Fiji in 1898. Beginning with an early tenuous foothold on Guadalcanal, the mission gradually spread the Catholic faith to many other islands and eventually proved to be much more successful than its Marist predecessors had been in the 1840s. The first missionaries were French priests, but their assistants were Pacific Islanders. The eight Fijian catechists who accompanied the priests in 1898, followed by eight more in 1899, showed by their teaching and other mission work that Christian ministry was not confined to Europeans. The leader of the Fijians, Bonifasio, contracted malaria and returned home before long. Only a few more Fijians followed these early contingents, but their work foreshadowed the eventual development of a force of Solomon Islands catechists.⁴⁵ In principle, too, indigenous Christians could become priests, but the first ordination of a Solomon Islander did not occur until 1966.

One of the first Catholic catechists brought from Fiji was in fact a Solomon Islander. Baptised by the Marists as Venasio, this man from Malaita was one of many Melanesian labourers who became Catholic converts while working in Fiji. Venasio died on Rua Sura (near Guadalcanal) in 1904 without being able to return as a missionary to his home island.⁴⁶ His experience as a Melanesian converted while labouring overseas paralleled that of many Anglican teachers, and this Christian life history was particularly characteristic of teachers active in the other major missionary enterprise beginning at this time, the South Sea Evangelical Mission. The SSEM sprang from the evangelistic work of the Queensland Kanaka Mission among Melanesian labourers in Australia in the 1880s and 1890s. Peter Ambuofa, baptised in Queensland in 1892, had returned to Malaita in 1894, where, after being ignored for four years, he had drawn a response from his relatives and established a Christian village. He and other indigenous missionaries were later brought under the umbrella of the SSEM, founded in Australia in 1904 to assist and extend their work. European missionaries came, but the mission emphasised congregational self-government and self-support. SSEM teachers who took up the work founded by Ambuofa continued the pattern of active and responsible indigenous ministry he had brought to Malaita, and the church soon spread on that island and to other islands.⁴⁷ Like the teachers, priests and ministers of other Christian churches in the group, SSEM teachers became leaders in the ritual and political life of their villages, 'mediating with God as the organisers of the ritual activities which dominated community life' and thus succeeding in many respects to the role of the traditional priests.⁴⁸

19.

NEW GUINEA

SITUATED IN THE westernmost reaches of the South Pacific, New Guinea is the second-largest island in the world, and far larger than any other landform inhabited by Melanesians. It lies just east of the ethnic boundary between Melanesia and South-East Asia, and its western half has been subject to Asian influences from the Indonesian archipelago. About 800,000 sq km in area, the island is immense by Pacific Island standards, and clustered around it are many more islands of lesser size. In the 19th century the mainland and its associated islands were the home of people who spoke more than 1,000 different languages and lived in a huge number of politically separate tribes, clans and lineages. Some of the largest populations, mainly those in the mainland's interior Highlands, were not known to outsiders until well into the 20th century. History has divided the region sharply in two. The western half of New Guinea, with its offshore islands, is today part of a South-East Asian country, Indonesia, while the eastern half, together with hundreds of adjacent islands, large and small, is Papua New Guinea, one of the independent nations of the Pacific.

Supporting themselves mainly by subsistence agriculture, the people of New Guinea lived in worlds that were largely self-contained and almost entirely isolated from outside influences at the time of first contact. Each community had its own social and cultural patterns and this applied to religion, too. New Guinea's 'religious tapestry is so variegated that generalization is risky', writes a modern authority on the topic.¹ But 'religious' concerns and practices were ubiquitous and New Guinea's primal religion in its various manifestations was characterised everywhere by relationships with spirit beings and the forces and powers they represented. Maintaining appropriate relations with these beings and powers was vital for ensuring the ideal conditions for group life, identified by one commentator as 'the strength, fertility, prosperity and continuity of the community, the physical, psychological and social well-being of the group and its individual members, as well as the fertility or availability of natural resources and the benevolence of natural and cosmic forces'. In the words of the same author, the desired situation was 'a relationship of harmony or integration between humankind, nature, deities and spirits'.²

Religious rituals were performed to achieve these objectives. Although there were priest-like roles in some societies, and sometimes temple-like shrines and sanctuaries, religious practice and leadership were usually not institutionalised. Offerings, sacrifices and other religious rites were not normally the preserve of professional specialist

practitioners, although individual members of the group could possess secret knowledge of specific rituals or be recognised as diviners, prophets, healers or sorcerers. Community leaders, who in some societies were hereditary chiefs but in many more were talented people who had achieved prominence and power through their own achievements ('big men'), commonly had a religious role.³ In an environment that lacked any distinction between 'secular' and 'religious', the foundations of leadership included the control of ritual secrets and thus an influence on the spirits and deities who determined economic and social wellbeing.⁴ When missions entered New Guinea, they conflicted with many aspects of tradition, but it was only to be expected that the emergent Christianity of the region would be influenced in many ways by these age-old Melanesian patterns of religion and leadership.

In the west, missionary work dates from 1855, many decades before other strong European influences were felt. In the east, early sporadic contacts included Catholic missions to the islands of Murua and Umboi for a few years in the middle of the century, but those first missionaries withdrew in 1855 and the continuing history of Christianity did not begin until 1871. The arrival at that time of the first Protestant missionaries coincided with the beginnings of other kinds of sustained contact between coastal communities and Europeans.

Christianity introduced to western New Guinea

Early in the 19th century, the western part of New Guinea came to be associated with the Dutch colonial empire in the East Indies. As the little-known eastern frontier of that empire, however, and as the home of 'primitive' Melanesians unrelated to the South-East Asian inhabitants of the Indies, New Guinea was scarcely touched by European influences for most of the century. The Malay language used in the Dutch colonies was known in some areas of the coast of New Guinea, but Dutch sovereignty was largely nominal until the first government stations were set up in 1898. Colonial authority had a much shorter history than the missionary presence. The work of introducing Christianity to western New Guinea began in 1855 with the arrival of a mission at Mansinam. The first missionaries were Germans, although they were sent by Dutch Protestants. By 1863, the pioneers had been joined by Dutch members of the Utrecht Missionary Union (the UZV), an organisation supported by people in the Reformed churches of the Netherlands. For the rest of the 19th century, the UZV was the only Protestant mission working in western New Guinea. The response to its work was, however, discouraging. No baptisms occurred until 1865 and even at the end of the century there were not many more than 200 converts in the whole vast territory. It was only after 1905 that a breakthrough led to the entry of large numbers into the church established by the UZV.⁵

Although the Dutch missionaries were well aware of the use of 'native agency' in the LMS and other Protestant missions, they were slow to develop any form of non-European ministry in New Guinea. From time to time, Christians from the East Indies found their way into the mission's service, mainly as assistants in the schools, but it was only after the influx of converts in the new century that the mission turned to the large

churches of the nearby Moluccas as a source of ministry personnel.⁶ Malay-speaking ‘gurus’ (teachers) from those islands subsequently played a major role in building up the church in New Guinea, and it was to their ministry that indigenous Christian teachers and pastors eventually succeeded. A few ‘Papuan’, as the Dutch called the people of New Guinea, were found among the UZV’s school assistants and mission helpers in the late 19th century, but it was not until 1892 that deliberate efforts were made to train indigenous personnel for participation in the work of the mission. In that year, two young men were sent to Java for four years of training in the Depok Seminary, which had been set up in 1878 for the education of teachers and evangelists from all parts of the East Indies. One of the men, Timotheus Awendu, did not live long after his return to New Guinea in 1896, but the other, Petrus Kafiar, did very satisfactory work in various places and was later prominent in the evangelisation of his home island of Biak. There were a few other Depok trainees in the 1890s, but only Kafiar did well as a guru after returning. He was a model for the many indigenous teacher/evangelist/pastors who ministered in the rapidly growing church in the 20th century.⁷

Pacific Islanders in the London Missionary Society’s westernmost advance

Just as the UZV work in New Guinea represented the furthest east expansion of Dutch missions from the East Indies, the coming of the LMS to New Guinea in 1871 was the culmination of that mission’s gradual westward progress from its first Pacific foothold in Tahiti. LMS activity in its newest field reflected its nearly 75 years of experience in Pacific Island communities, and this is particularly evident in the patterns of Christian ministry it established among the people responding to its work.

The early attempts of the LMS to introduce Christianity to Papua — the name used by the mission for the 1,200km of coastal land in the southern part of eastern New Guinea — were led by a handful of British missionaries with experience in Pacific churches established in previous years. But to the Papuans, the most prominent messengers of the new religion were the many Melanesian and Polynesian missionaries who settled in their midst and presented Christianity to them at close quarters. The sending of Pacific Island Christians as missionaries to people in other islands had been a cooperative effort of the LMS and the new island churches since the 1820s, and the extensive use of this method in Papua demonstrated the confidence of the mission and the churches that a truly effective pattern of ministry had been identified. The first of many hundreds of Pacific Islander missionaries to reach Papua were the eight couples taken from the Loyalty Islands to the Torres Strait Islands in 1871. They played an important part in the conversion of the 4-5,000 Torres Strait Islanders on their 20 small islands south of the Papuan mainland, and some of them were soon at work also on certain stretches of the adjacent mainland coast. Only three of the first male teachers ever returned to their homeland.⁸ Loyalty Islanders ministered in the Papua mission for several decades, but they were soon outnumbered by Cook Islanders, the first of whom

(six couples) arrived in 1872. They in turn were joined by missionaries coming from the churches of Niue, Tahiti and other eastern Polynesian islands, and finally Samoa (from 1884). The Samoan contingent (which included a number of Tuvaluans) was in the end the largest, and Samoans continued to serve in Papua until well into the 20th century.⁹

By 1888, there were about 80 male and female Pacific Island 'teachers' in Papua, and more than 250 had served by 1895.¹⁰ Accompanying these figures are chilling mortality statistics: by 1899, at least 130 members of Pacific Island missionary families had died while serving in Papua. Some of these had been killed by Papuans, but most had died of malaria and other diseases. At the end of the century, the names of 82 male teachers who had died were inscribed on a memorial window in the Vatorata church.¹¹ The hardships and dangers of Papua were well known in the sending churches, but the supply of teachers from the east continued. Writing home to the churches and chiefs of the Leeward Islands in 1887, the Raiatean missionary Teinaore reported the recent death of his wife and many others from sickness: 'four Tahitians, two Samoans, four Savage Islanders [Niueans], one Rarotongan and one Lifuan'. He appealed for more 'reapers for the harvest' to be sent: 'New Guinea is being harvested ... The Gospel rain is falling now ... [but] nearly all the missionaries are dead.'¹²

The contribution of the first resident British missionaries, Samuel MacFarlane, William Lawes and James Chalmers, to Papuan Christianity is undeniably large, but it is likely that the life and work of Melanesian and Polynesian missionaries more like themselves made a greater impact on the Papuans' concepts of Christian ministry. The Pacific Islanders were certainly foreigners who spoke strange languages and had unfamiliar customs, but, as the missionary Charles Abel pointed out at the time, the people could relate to them with ease because their ways of daily living were much more akin to Papuan than European styles. Furthermore, the conversion of their own homelands to Christianity from their traditional Oceanic religions was still a fresh memory in the Loyalty Islands, Samoan and other sending churches.¹³ A comment made by an observer in this period supports the idea that the style and content of what the teachers told the Papuans was often able to make ready contact with their listeners: 'Really the South Sea teachers know the kind of God to depict to the native far better than the white missionary does.'¹⁴

Glimpses of the life and ministry of a Pacific Island teacher in Papua might be obtained by examining the traces left in the record by a few individuals. Some of the first teachers were experienced and accomplished Christian leaders in their homelands. Gucheng, for example, was a valued evangelist and pastor on Lifu before going to the Torres Strait Islands as one of the Loyalty Islander pioneers in 1871.¹⁵ 'He looks a good determined fellow,' commented Chalmers when he first met him in 1877.¹⁶ MacFarlane put great trust in this 'man of faith and prayer' who was also 'intelligent' and 'shrewd'; 'We all regard Gucheng as one of the most consistent, devoted and reliable' of the teachers, he wrote in 1875.¹⁷ Gucheng's forcefulness had been shown a few years after his arrival when he warned his people on the island of Erub not to emulate the example of other Papuans, who had killed four of the teachers: 'Do you think that I am afraid of you? I come from a country of warriors,' he announced. 'I come here to teach you, but

remember I can fight.'¹⁸ Visiting mission supervisors were impressed with Gucheng's house and chapel, the crowds who came to worship and the teacher's courage as a peacemaker among the people and their protector from unscrupulous outsiders. Together with 'his kind and amiable wife' (who later died of malaria), he had 'completely won the affections and gained the confidence of the people'.¹⁹ Later Gucheng helped to train Torres Strait evangelists and accompanied them to the Fly River area on the mainland, where he died in the 1880s.²⁰ Mataika, his fellow Loyalty Islander (though of Tongan ancestry), was another forceful missionary. Of strong physique, he is reported to have used violent means on occasion, as Abel heard some years later on the south-east coast: 'The floggings he gave the natives for irreverence in church and especially for theft, are spoken of today with awe.' Yet, added Abel, 'You will find no-one to say he was a bad man.'²¹ Earlier in his missionary career, Mataika had pioneered the island of Mer, in the Torres Strait. There he translated hymns and parts of the Bible into the local language, and, it is said, he was well liked for 'his pleasant manners and invariable good humour'.²² Another of the first Loyalty Islanders, Josiah, was farewelled by great crowds, wailing and bearing gifts, when he retired to Mare in 1888. Yet he too is known to have whipped people in the course of his pastoral duties.²³

It is not recorded that violent methods were used by Piri, another powerfully built missionary, but the people 'respected him much and feared him. He was not easily moved to anger, but when he was once aroused it was advisable to keep out of his way.' Piri had been brought up in the church on his native Rarotonga, and, after a wild youth, had become an earnest student at Takamoa and then the pastor of migrant Cook Islands workers in Samoa. He married the Mangaian widow of a teacher who had died in the New Hebrides, and Chalmers described the couple as 'two of the finest teachers sent to New Guinea'. Members of the first Cook Islands mission party in 1872, they served for many years at Boera until they died of dysentery in 1888.²⁴ Their fellow pioneer in the 1872 group, Anederea, was another Rarotongan. He too had turned from a dissolute youth to the Christian ministry, and the capacity he showed at Takamoa for printing, teaching and preaching flowered in Papua until he was killed there in 1881.²⁵ Another valued Rarotongan teacher was Pi, a 'quiet and lovable' man who was a good preacher and translator and was widowed three times in Papua before his own death in 1887.²⁶ The leading Cook Islands teacher throughout this period, however, was Ruatoka, a Mangaian who served in Papua from 1871 until his death in 1903. Reliable and energetic, he was good at preaching but not at schoolteaching. His wife, Tungane (who died in 1885), was good at both, and it was she who brought in the mission's first Papuan convert. Ruatoka is 'greatly respected by all', wrote Chalmers; 'the Governor, government officials and all the whites speak highly of him, and the natives look to him as to a father'.²⁷

The Samoan teacher Mana'aima had been an outstanding student at Malua, and, at Milne Bay and Kwato in the 1890s, he was known for his excellent preaching and schoolteaching ability and his linguistic, musical and sporting talents. He impressed a visitor in 1897 as 'a man of presence, stout, with good features, dignified and intelligent, looking every inch a typical headmaster'.²⁸ Numerous other teachers from the various LMS

island churches could be mentioned. Some were not good at their work and some were sent home in disgrace. But as a group they played an essential part in the evangelisation of the country and the building up of the Papuan church — and, as forerunners of the indigenous Papuan ministry, their example was of great importance for the future. The contribution of their wives (not usually named in the records) was often acknowledged at the time. The wife of the Samoan teacher Luteru had always ‘taken a full share of the work’ at Kabadi, and when he died in 1897 she stayed on to continue the schools and worship services until her husband’s successor could be appointed.²⁹ It is worth mentioning that the future role of Papuan ministers’ wives was foreshadowed even in this period by Papuans who married Pacific Island teachers. The Papuan woman who married Maka, a Cook Islander, was described by Gill as ‘the first native of New Guinea engaged in the Lord’s work’.³⁰ Among other teachers who married Papuans was the widowed Ruatoka, whose new wife gave him notable help in church music and other aspects of his work.³¹

Pacific Island teachers were sometimes laughed at or looked down on by the Europeans who were becoming increasingly numerous around the coasts of New Guinea in the late 19th century. The journalist Julian Thomas declared that the surplus of ministers in the Loyalty Islands and Samoa drove aspiring pastors to Papua as a place where they might enjoy lives of privilege and plenty.³² Some observers, however, paid them generous tribute. The Police Magistrate of Cooktown, Queensland, was impressed by their intelligence and their self-sacrificing devotion to the interests of the Papuans.³³ Hugh Romilly, a British official, thought them ‘intelligent and courageous’, with ‘a great aptitude for picking up dialects’.³⁴ Sir William MacGregor, who was appointed in 1888 to head the British Administration of New Guinea, believed that their bravery and commitment had received too little credit.³⁵ Whatever the truth of these criticisms and commendations from outside the mission, it can hardly be denied that the influence on Papuan perceptions of Christian ministry of such a large body of missionary messengers is likely to have been considerable.

The model of ministry presented to the Papuans by the white missionaries and especially by the more numerous Pacific Island teachers was in the beginning primarily evangelistic in character. The teachers were sent to Papua as pioneers, making contact with the people, learning their languages and introducing them to the ideas and practices of Christianity. In many parts of the country, their main ministry was still evangelism of this kind when the 20th century began. From the beginning, too, the running of schools was an important feature of their work. Transmitting basic literacy skills and Christian knowledge, the teachers provided educational services that were hitherto unknown and could be obtained from no other source in Papua until well after this period. Many teachers were good at this work, but others were no doubt like Ruatoka, who, according to Lawes, ‘shouts and storms, scolds and whacks the desk with his stick, until the poor little mortals are half frightened out of their wits’. Everyone knew that Ruatoka was an ‘earnest and zealous’ missionary, but he seemed ‘to have no idea whatever of managing a school or teaching children to read’.³⁶

Evangelising and schoolteaching in the vernacular led many teachers into translation work, and the Scripture translations that were so important to the LMS were

often initiated or significantly furthered by Pacific Island teachers who had lived among speakers of a particular language for many years. MacFarlane pointed out that the little education that most teachers possessed did not necessarily prevent them from becoming accomplished linguists. He gave as an example Josaia, a teacher from Mare who could speak and write four Papuan languages and was also proficient in English; another Loyalty Islander also knew four languages and English and translated the Bible into Papuan languages. Teachers from Polynesian islands were active in translation work, too.³⁷ Oral skills possessed by many of the teachers were put to good use in public speaking, and Lawes noted that they were 'amazingly fond' of preaching.³⁸ The LMS put a high value on preaching and it featured prominently in the worship services that became a major part of the teachers' work as the Papuan Christian community grew.

In many districts of the LMS field in New Guinea by 1900, Christianity was well established as part of local life. Many Pacific Island teachers were by then more pastors than evangelists. They could become beloved shepherds of their flock, like the Cook Islander Mataio, who died suddenly in 1884. Chalmers reported that 'from many miles the once savage and cannibal came to his funeral, and wept sincerely for him as for a father'.³⁹ Though foreigners, the teachers often entered into a central place in village society. It is well known that the homes of the evangelists and pastors from the east provided new models of family and domestic life, and that the teachers and their families were responsible for many innovations — from crops, clothes and building techniques to songs, dances and games — in Papuan village life.⁴⁰ Respected as men and women of education and experience, the teachers gave leadership in the communities in which they resided. The people responded well to their feasts and other Oceanic displays of generosity and hospitality.⁴¹ As time went on, their settled and magisterial presence became more characteristic than the courageous resourcefulness of the early pioneer evangelists. It was suggested by a mission deputation in 1915 that this situation had arisen because the prior experience of all the missionaries and teachers of the first two or three decades was with the 'village pastor/teacher' model of the LMS churches to the east.⁴² The upbringing of the teachers — and this is particularly true of the Samoans among them — had been in villages where the pastor enjoyed high status and considerable authority. This expectation was carried to Papua and became an influence on the expatriate teachers' indigenous successors.⁴³

Despite their abilities and achievements, Pacific Island teachers were not regarded in this period as fully autonomous ministers. It is true that their early supervisor, MacFarlane, believed that they accomplished more if they worked at a distance from European missionaries whose presence might undermine their influence with the people.⁴⁴ Later, Lawes also wrote that Ruatoka was 'at his very best' when he was in sole charge, effectively 'discharging all the duties of a bishop'.⁴⁵ The usual stance, however, was that the teachers were assistants and needed careful oversight. Lawes was generous in his praise of their contribution, but he had complained about their work in the 1870s and wrote in 1879 that 'to leave them to themselves would be to hinder their progress and to check their development. They make good rank and file, but they need English officers'.⁴⁶ When he retired in 1905, he had not altered this opinion: 'I have been all my

life greatly indebted to them; they have always been my faithful, willing helpers ... I hold them as a class in very high estimation. The best work, I believe, will be got out of them by frequent visitation, where such is possible, and regular supervision.' Although he added that these visits 'must be those of a friend and brother', and that cultural differences should not lead the supervisor to misunderstand the teacher's approach to his work, Lawes was clearly not prepared to see the Pacific Islanders as missionaries and ministers on a European level.⁴⁷

The Loyalty Islands and Polynesian teachers had played an essential part in the evangelisation of Papua. This was acknowledged widely in the LMS, but gratitude was accompanied by misgivings about some aspects of the teachers' modes of ministry. An important area of dissatisfaction was the authoritarian and sometimes physically forceful approach that had presented itself all too often since the beginning. In expressing concern about teachers who destroyed the canoes of Papuans for going fishing on Sundays, Chalmers wanted all mission workers to 'see the folly of force, and try to work as the Great Master himself did'.⁴⁸ The style of even non-violent teachers sometimes provoked comment. The teachers from Samoa had a 'haughty and somewhat overbearing manner, especially with the natives', wrote Archibald Hunt, who at other times explained the methods of and defended the workers from that country.⁴⁹ They seemed aloof and formal in their dealings with the Papuans. It seems that Samoans were confident not only in the truth of their message but also in their ethnic and cultural superiority (and in this they could hardly be criticised by the British, a mission visitor confessed a few years later, 'for they have merely stolen our own pet sin').⁵⁰ Naturally, the teachers brought with them the habits, perceptions and expectations of ministers in their homelands, leading Lawes to lament on one occasion that 'they can't seem to realise that they are not in Samoa'.⁵¹ Chalmers, too, wrote that Finau on Murray Island was 'a good teacher, but like all Samoan teachers seeks power, forgetting these lands are not Samoa'.⁵²

One of the foremost critics of Samoan teachers in the LMS was Charles Abel, who came to Papua in 1890 without prior experience in the Pacific Islands. At first, he admired some of the teachers who worked with him at Kwato, but he became increasingly dissatisfied with the Pacific Islands part of the mission workforce. He believed that most of its members became lazy, self-important and insubordinate, and blamed this on their background in churches that overemphasised clerical status. Abel did not perceive an important distinction between lay and ordained Christian workers, and, disillusioned by his experience with the Samoan pastors, became known for his training of indigenous evangelists and the eventual elimination of Pacific Island personnel altogether.⁵³ Some of the other missionaries agreed in part with Abel's criticisms and, in 1893, there was serious talk of sending the Samoan teachers home.⁵⁴ Earlier, in 1877, the Cook Islands teachers' demand for higher salaries had caused some tension in the mission.⁵⁵ But the Pacific Islanders' enormous contribution to LMS progress in Papua was well known and their participation in the mission continued for many years after an indigenous Papuan ministry began to emerge.

Papuan ministry in the LMS

Baptism was offered to Papuans only when the missionaries were sure their understanding of Christianity was far enough advanced. It was not until 1881 that the first baptisms took place, in Port Moresby. The energetic evangelistic activity undertaken by the first baptised Papuan, Aruadaela (whose conversion had occurred under the ministry of Ruatoka's wife, Tungane), initiated what would soon be a widespread Papuan participation in the work of the mission. 'Aruadaela knows as much as, and is in every way equal to, some of the teachers in the South Sea Island Mission,' wrote Lawes in 1882. 'We hope to utilise him, and some others from among these first converts, for teaching in some of the small villages near.' This man was later a deacon in the Port Moresby church and gave valuable assistance to Lawes, Chalmers and Ruatoka.⁵⁶ Lawes assured the Wesleyans who had come to New Guinea in 1875 that local Christians 'made first-rate teachers among their own people'.⁵⁷ Remembering his earlier experience on Niue, he was convinced that it was essential to create an indigenous ministry in Papua as soon as possible, and this was still his view when he retired in 1905.⁵⁸

Lawes devoted much of his career in Papua to the training of indigenous Christians for ministry, an activity in which he and Chalmers had much experience. Chalmers was advocating it for Papua soon after his arrival in 1877.⁵⁹ The first moves in this direction, however, were taken by MacFarlane in the Torres Strait Islands. Soon after the foundation of the mission, MacFarlane had proposed that an academically advanced college be set up in northern Queensland to train the best students from all the LMS Pacific missions for evangelising Papua.⁶⁰ The suggestion was not taken up and MacFarlane, who was increasingly dismayed by the toll of sickness and death among the Loyalty Islanders and Polynesians, worked instead towards the training of Papuans as evangelists. It was important to set up an institution as soon as possible, he wrote in 1875, and to locate it in the Torres Strait Islands rather than on the mainland.⁶¹

The 'Papuan Institute' on Murray Island was opened in 1879 and had nearly 70 students by 1881. By MacFarlane's own admission, it differed from LMS training schools elsewhere in that the medium of instruction was English, many of the students were in an 'industrial school' section, and (like the Melanesian Mission college on Norfolk Island) it took some of its young students from unevangelised places in order to teach them at a distance from 'their evil surroundings and family influences'. The first five graduates from the 'Papuan Seminary' section of the training establishment were 'set apart' in 1883, after nearly five years on Murray Island. The men (Gauri, Anu, Gabe, Etage and Papi) and their wives were all Torres Strait Islanders. 'Without anything like an ordination service,' reported MacFarlane, 'I publicly appointed them to their stations.' Gabe was stationed on Erub so as to release the Lifu teacher, Gucheng, for leadership of the others in their new mission to the Fly River area of the mainland, where malaria had defeated previous Loyalty Islander attempts.⁶² MacFarlane had great faith in Papuan teachers, even those without training. In 1883, he wrote of five local converts at the eastern end of Papua, whom he had appointed as evangelists until Pacific Island teachers were available. 'I have no doubt,' he declared, that 'these evangelists will prove a valuable

help, and as pioneers even do better than many of our South Sea Islanders who have had much greater advantages'.⁶³

The teachers trained on Murray Island were soon playing an important part in the western part of the mission. By 1884, they were in charge of all but five of the 19 Torres Strait and western mainland stations. In that year, there were 30 students in the 'seminary' and a larger number in the 'industrial school'.⁶⁴ MacFarlane had intended that the Murray Island centre become a training facility for the whole Papuan mission, but his colleagues on the mainland could not agree that this plan was viable. They also believed, as Chalmers put it, that 'only Christian young men should be received for training, or intelligent lads from the mission schools', since 'the taking of *heathen* lads away from their homes' and returning them as evangelists had not been a success in other missions and would not work in Papua.⁶⁵ Partly because of the other missionaries' low opinion of the Torres Strait training centre, it was soon eclipsed by what was begun in Port Moresby. After MacFarlane retired in 1885, it was not long before his school faded away. Indeed, the mission itself languished in these islands where the LMS had begun its Papuan work. Little progress was made in the western mainland stations and the churches on the islands of the Strait were seen to be struggling. Pacific Islander and local teachers kept them going, however, and Christianity did survive in this area, which was being overshadowed by the bigger mainland districts.⁶⁶

In Port Moresby, the institution planned by Chalmers and Lawes was ready to begin teaching at the beginning of 1883. A new wooden building had been erected and 12 Papuan couples were in residence. Lawes took charge of the teaching, with his wife assisting in literacy tuition.⁶⁷ In October the next year, the first trainee to emerge from the school was (in the words used by Lawes) 'publicly set apart for the work of the Christian ministry'. Eight more Papuans were similarly commissioned soon afterwards.⁶⁸ Chalmers used the expression 'ordained to the work', reporting that many people came to Port Moresby for the ordination services and saw them as an important milestone. 'The young men and their wives who had been ordained,' he added, 'had, before coming to college, spent some years in their own villages with the teachers, and came highly recommended.'⁶⁹ Their two years in the college gave them more training than the celebrated early teachers in eastern Polynesia, Lawes pointed out. 'They have the Gospels of Matthew and Mark in their own language, can read them well, and have a fair grasp of their contents.' Most of the students were from the Motu-speaking region and so had been taught in their own language 'or in a language which is so near their own that they understand it in a few weeks'.⁷⁰

The first Port Moresby trainee to be 'set apart', Rarua, was also the first of the new Papuan teachers to be put in charge of a village. He replaced a Pacific Island teacher at Kevori, a station Chalmers soon regarded as the best in the mission. Rarua was described by Chalmers as 'a young active quiet Motuan'; he and his wife were 'good earnest intelligent Christians'.⁷¹ He and Vagi, a Motuan colleague who soon joined him, 'have been the means of a great work amongst the people', Chalmers reported seven years later; 'their schools are as good as any we have in the whole mission'.⁷² The two teachers were still 'doing really well' in 1896. The people came to be with their pastors at their houses,

and Rarua and Vagi were on good terms with everyone.⁷³ Two of Rarua's sons later became ministers also and, like many other members of such families, their descendants have been prominent in Papua New Guinean life.⁷⁴ Another early product of the Port Moresby college was Biga (in the words of Chalmers, 'quiet steady Biga'), who returned as a teacher to the eastern end of Papua. A visitor who encountered him there in 1897 described him as 'a hard-working and reliable man who seems to have acquired a great and wholesome influence among the wild people around him'.⁷⁵ An indigenous ministry had been created at a relatively early date in the history of the LMS church in New Guinea. Although it coexisted for many years yet with the large Pacific Island mission workforce, it quickly became an important institution in Papuan society.

Papuan ministers were trained by Lawes until 1905, first in Port Moresby and later a little further south at Vatorata (which was thought to be a more suitable site than the increasingly cosmopolitan port town). Plans were being made in the late 1880s for an improved school that would be formally designated as the ministry training centre for the whole LMS Papua mission, and, in 1894, the new facility opened on a hilltop site. The large Vatorata property was two miles from the sea, with ample room for the students' plantations. 'The students' houses, and the house of the South Sea teacher who assists in their training,' reported a visitor in 1897, 'are ranged on either side of the road up the hill. Every student, being married, has a house to himself, consisting of two small rooms, one behind the other, and with a verandah in front.'⁷⁶ The teacher assisting Lawes at Vatorata from the beginning until 1900 was Peau, a Malua-trained Ellice Islander (Tuvaluan) described by one of the missionaries as 'a first-class instructor'. His wife, Paia, mothered the Papuan students until her death in 1899.⁷⁷

The multiplicity of languages in Papua posed a continuing problem for the mission. English had been proposed as a common language, but few teachers could speak it. There was no unanimity among the missionaries that the use of Motu as a common literary and teaching language was a good policy, but Lawes was a convinced advocate of this language and was translating the Bible into it. At Vatorata, teaching was delivered in a form of the Motu language that had become a *lingua franca* on the southern coast. The most outspoken opponent of centralisation in a Motu-speaking college was Abel, who, unwilling to subject his young men in the south-east to the requirement to learn Motu, sent very few students there. Lawes disagreed with those who declared that students from other language areas could not and should not learn Motu, and his college remained the official one. Seven languages were spoken among the students in 1899, but, according to Lawes, they learned Motu very quickly. For many years, a stream of Motu-speaking ministers emerged from Vatorata, though the college was still small at the end of the century. There were 16 students in 1897, all married, with the women being taught by Mrs Lawes. In 1899, there were 23 couples in training, including two sons of the first students of 1883.⁷⁸ The level of education reached was not high, but in giving advanced education of any kind to Papuans, and in appointing them to positions of responsibility, the missionaries were following policies that at the time were not commonly supported by Europeans in New Guinea.

Only relatively few people could undergo the extended period of training at Vatorata, and the growth of the mission meant that large numbers of quickly trained lay

evangelists were still needed. These workers were prepared by individual missionaries at the head stations, and it was from these training programmes that the most promising students were sent on to Vatorata. The LMS official who visited the mission in 1897 noted that 13 students were being trained for district work at Delena, 13 or 14 at Jokea and 10 at Kerepunu.⁷⁹ At Kwato, too, Abel was training evangelists, but his antipathy to clericalism deterred him from developing a theologically educated ordained ministry.⁸⁰

In the mission as a whole, the ecclesiastical status of the Papuan teachers remained ambiguous. In certain circumstances, they could be given permission to 'administer the ordinances', as for example when approval was given in 1891 for the teacher Waria to celebrate the Lord's Supper on Badu in the Torres Strait Islands.⁸¹ Rarua and Vagi, the pastors at Kevori, were similarly appointed in 1892.⁸² The word 'ordained' was used on occasion, but it was not normally applied to the teachers. They were, however, clearly distinguished from the lay people in the congregations, who were given a separate formal role in local church decision-making. In keeping with LMS tradition, laymen could be elected as deacons and in the Papuan context they often represented a clan or other local social unit.⁸³ As far as full-time mission and church work was concerned, the ultimate direction set by the mission, except in the Kwato district, was towards a fully responsible indigenous ministry, complemented for the foreseeable future by a force of lay evangelists. Like the Pacific Island missionaries, the Papuan ministers received some material support from the people at their stations but were dependent largely on salaries from the mission. It was only much later that the usual LMS perception that an indigenous church should be financially self-supporting began to take hold in Papua.⁸⁴ It was understood that Papuan ministers would entirely replace the Polynesian ministers in due course, and this process had begun by 1900. It would be many years, however, before Polynesians were no longer appointed to positions in the Papuan church, and even longer before European missionaries were no longer in overall charge.

The LMS was the first mission to establish itself in New Guinea, but the mainland and its offshore islands, large and small, were soon reached by a number of other missions. Some years after the LMS arrived colonial power was formally established, by the British in the south and by the Germans in the north and east. By 1884, when New Guinea came under imperial sway, however, Christianity in its various forms had already begun to enter deeply into the cultures and societies of the new colonies.

Wesleyan ministries from the east

The introduction of Christianity to the Torres Strait Islands and the southern coast of mainland Papua was paralleled soon afterwards by the evangelisation of the large and populous eastern islands of New Britain and New Ireland in the Bismarck Archipelago. This time the mission was Wesleyan (Methodist), and the 10 male missionaries (most of them accompanied by their wives) who landed in this area with the pioneer George Brown in 1875 were Fijians and Samoans.⁸⁵ Christian ministry was first exemplified to the people of this part of New Guinea by a handful of Europeans and a much larger number of 'teachers' arriving regularly from the Wesleyan churches in Fiji and Polynesia.

Although they were foreigners, the Pacific Island missionaries were culturally closer to the people of New Guinea than the Europeans, and were much more obviously the predecessors of the indigenous ministry that soon emerged.

More than 100 male Fijian teachers had arrived in the Bismarck Archipelago by 1900, and more were to follow. A smaller number (about 20) came in this period from Samoa, and there were four Tongans.⁸⁶ In the 1880s, the suggestion was made that Maori teachers be sent also. None of the missionaries could speak Maori, however, and in the opinion of Isaac Rooney, teachers could not be 'properly managed except through their own language'.⁸⁷ One of the Fijian pioneers of 1875 (Timoci Lase) died within a year of his arrival and, like the LMS in Papua, the Wesleyan mission experienced many losses to malaria and other illnesses. Some of the teachers were killed. Most of the men were not ordained ministers, but a Native Minister (Sailasa Naucukidi) who came in 1876 was in charge of the Fijians until he was killed in 1878, and a number of other Fijian, Samoan and Tongan missionaries came as ordained ministers or were accepted into the ordained ministry during their time in New Guinea.⁸⁸ Brown declared that at least some of these missionaries were 'men of no ordinary intelligence', and that most of them, especially in the early years, stood out 'above the ordinary rank and file' of teachers in their home islands.⁸⁹ There were 32 Fijian teachers in the New Guinea mission by 1888, and when the century ended there were still 27 teachers (including four ordained ministers) from Fiji, Samoa and Tonga at work.⁹⁰

Some of the teachers gave many years to ministry in New Guinea. Aminio Baledrokadroka, one of the pioneers who arrived in 1875, stayed 18 years before returning to Fiji. George Brown believed that no other missionary in New Guinea had been 'so highly respected and so dearly loved by the people'. Another missionary found him 'judicious, bold, very practical and intensely spiritual', a leader to whom the other teachers looked for guidance.⁹¹ When he left in 1893, there was 'intense grief and weeping', reported an eyewitness: 'The poor people were losing their spiritual father. He was like a great chief in their eyes. His word was law. He ruled the church firmly and kindly.'⁹² The work of Peni Raiwalui held similar promise: he came in 1876 and was described as 'the best man in the mission next to Aminio Bale'. His service was cut short, however, when he suddenly fell sick and died in 1881, leaving 'fragrant' memories among the people of his station.⁹³ Some others stayed for very long periods. Examples are Viliame Taufa, who came from Fiji in 1885 and died in New Guinea in 1917, and Siaea, a Samoan, who served from 1895 until 1919.

Within a few years of their arrival, the Fijian and Polynesian teachers were closely in touch with the people they were evangelising. A British naval officer observed in 1880 that the teachers could converse freely with the people and preach to them in the local languages. He noticed that there were always people sitting talking to the teachers in the mission houses. The Islander missionaries, he wrote, 'living as they do, and associating with the natives, are a constant example to them of a better life than their own'.⁹⁴ The feasting and hospitality that was characteristic of their homelands became a means of establishing relationships with the people in New Guinea.⁹⁵ Several Fijians married local women, the first being Elimotama Ravono of the pioneer 1875 group.⁹⁶ It is said that the

Fijians among the missionaries succeeded best in becoming close to the people and that the Samoans found it hardest to divest themselves of attitudes and expectations they brought with them to New Guinea.⁹⁷

According to a passenger on the ship taking new teachers to New Guinea in 1878, the Tongan teachers complained that they were not treated as the equals of the European missionaries, and regarded the Fijians as inferior to themselves.⁹⁸ The Tongans, however, redeemed themselves with the work they did after their arrival in the field.⁹⁹ On the whole, the mission supervisors were happy to acknowledge the contribution made by their Pacific Island colleagues, but some of their comments show, even when European feelings of superiority are taken into account, that some aspects of the teachers' ministry were less satisfactory. Some teachers were sent home (although, as the missionary Benjamin Danks pointed out, the immensely difficult circumstances of the early years should be taken into account when these 'failures' were considered).¹⁰⁰ Danks was critical of the schools run by some of the teachers: they were 'good men with strong spiritual gifts', but it was too much to expect that all good evangelists would also be good schoolteachers.¹⁰¹ An observer from outside the mission felt that the teachers were too recently 'reclaimed from savage life' themselves to present Christianity as a clear alternative to traditional beliefs. He reported a sermon in which the Fijian preacher identified the material benefits enjoyed by Christian Fijians and Europeans as a reason for adopting the new religion.¹⁰² The difficulty of the work, argued Rooney, demanded more than 'ordinary untrained local preachers': only graduates from Navuloa or the other training centres, with the ability to become catechists or Native Ministers, should be sent.¹⁰³ As the century ended, however, there was no thought of dispensing with the Pacific Islanders, and the Wesleyan mission was pleased to use this kind of ministry in other fields later.

Indigenous Wesleyan ministry in the New Guinea Islands

Even before this part of New Guinea fell under foreign control (with German annexation in 1884), the seeds of church self-government had been sown. The first steps towards nurturing the characteristic Wesleyan organisational and leadership system were taken in this region in 1878 when seven people were baptised. All seven of these first recognised converts later became local preachers. The first three men carefully chosen for this office, in 1880, were identified confidently by Brown as the key to the advance of Christianity in New Britain and New Ireland. Brown later recalled his excitement when he heard, 'for the first time, a New Britain chief preach to men and women of his own island the blessed Gospel of Christ in their own language'. The ability of this new local preacher, Ilaita Togimamara, to communicate with his attentive listeners was impressive, and led Brown to urge his colleagues to pay particular attention to the training of potential preachers and teachers. Five of the first baptised men eventually progressed from local preaching to appointments as teachers in villages other than their own.¹⁰⁴

Brown's optimistic confidence in the mission's early converts was not always shared by his colleagues. Rooney, for example, believed it would take some time to develop a

force of indigenous teachers. 'These natives,' he wrote privately, were usually 'lacking in moral courage. This is a failing in even the best of them, and unfits them for responsible positions in the work.' Nevertheless, he regarded the appointment of local preachers (there were six by late 1881, as well as two assistant schoolteachers) as a step along the way.¹⁰⁵ By late 1882, there were 17 local preachers.¹⁰⁶ Again in 1884, Rooney expressed his belief that it would 'be some time before our Local Preachers are fit for the office of teacher'.¹⁰⁷ Two years later, however, the first teacher was appointed. He was Peni Lelei, one of the converts baptised in 1878 and described by Brown as an intelligent young man, a good preacher and a valuable assistant in biblical translation.¹⁰⁸ The appointment of a local Christian to a particular community to lead the nascent church there was certainly a milestone, but Rooney was still not convinced. He believed that the people had little respect for teachers who were also their fellow countrymen, and so were not easily influenced by them. This was part of the reason why Peni Lelei had not been a success, he explained to Brown in 1887; having noted also that the teacher's wife could not get on with the women of the village, the missionaries had 'had to permit him to retire from the office of teacher'.¹⁰⁹ This first teacher was later reappointed to office, joining three others who had become teachers in 1888. By that time, there were 21 local preachers.¹¹⁰

In 1888 and 1891, a total of 10 young men were sent to Fiji for training at Navuloa, and did well as teachers on their return.¹¹¹ A few years before this there had been a move to set up a training centre in the New Guinea mission district itself. Danks had explained that the expense of bringing and maintaining Fijian and Polynesian teachers was high and that (in his opinion at least) the work could be done better by local men carefully trained in a central facility in which they were isolated from the distractions and bad influences of their own environment. A site in southern New Ireland was selected, but the mission board did not go ahead with the proposal.¹¹² Individual missionaries continued to train promising young men, and it was not until 1900 that George Brown College, with John Crump in charge, was set up on the small island of Ulu for the whole mission district. There were about 40 students at the beginning and the training programme thus begun has continued until the present day.¹¹³

Before the new century began, a strong foundation for the indigenisation of ministry had been laid in New Britain and New Ireland. By 1900, 115 local preachers and many other lay office-holders were active in the village congregations, and 75 men held appointments as teachers.¹¹⁴ The teachers were preachers, pastors and schoolteachers, with daily educational work not being taken over by the Government until after the middle of the 20th century. Only in the 20th century was the pattern of salary payments from the outside, which had originally been provided for foreign missionaries and was then continued for indigenous workers, replaced by local financial support of the ministry.¹¹⁵ The vernaculars of the region adopted the term *misinare* for the local teachers, suggesting that they were heirs to the ministry tradition initiated by the European and Pacific Islander missionaries. It was to be expected also that the role of indigenous Christian ministers in the community would, as elsewhere, owe something to the legacy of traditional religious ideas and practices. In contrast with what happened in

some other new Christian communities in the Pacific, however, the early recognition of indigenous potential for ministry slowed markedly. In the New Guinea Islands in 1900, there were no local people in the catechist (senior teacher) category, and it was not until 1915 that any local person became a Native Minister.

Another field for Wesleyan ministries

The ministry patterns brought to the Bismarck Archipelago by Wesleyan missionaries in 1875 were introduced in the 1890s to the many smaller islands clustered south of New Britain and east of the southern tip of the Papuan mainland. This new and separately organised mission to 'Papua' was inaugurated in 1891 with the arrival at Dobu of five European, 15 Fijian, 10 Samoan and four Tongan missionaries, most of them accompanied by their wives. A Samoan who addressed the mission's supporters in Sydney on the way to Papua was articulating a viewpoint commonly held in the Christian islands of the Pacific when his observation of Sydney's water supply system inspired him to comment metaphorically on the mission enterprise:

God sent the water of life from Heaven in the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The Wesleyan Church drank of this, and then sent a pipe down to Samoa. The Samoans drank and were refreshed, and now are going to dig a trench to take this water to New Guinea, and if we die in doing this, then more Samoans will take our places, until the New Guinea people drink and live.¹¹⁶

Nearly 50 Fijian missionaries entered the Papuan Islands mission before 1900, together with smaller numbers of Samoans and Tongans, and the emerging Wesleyan Church in this area, where there were about 60,000 people, continued to receive these evangelists, teachers and pastors from the central and eastern Pacific Islands for many years after the turn of the century.¹¹⁷

As in other missions to New Guinea, the Fijians and Polynesians brought with them a style of ministry that was already attuned to Pacific ways of life. This not only facilitated the introduction of Christianity into Papuan communities, but left its mark on the perception of ministry that developed within these communities. There was sometimes an authoritarian dimension in the ministry of the Pacific Island missionaries; for example, some Samoans were described in 1900 by William Bromilow, the mission leader, as 'arrogant'.¹¹⁸ But the more sympathetically confident approach of a missionary such as Jone Kuli, a Tongan who served from 1891 until 1901, was perhaps more typical. In the first few days of the mission to Dobu, he reported that the people

came and went through some of their action songs for us, and as a reward I gave some of them sticks of tobacco, for I knew their singing manifested their good-will to us, and I desired to show my good-will to them. They kept up their singing the whole night through. The next day we arranged services for them, and preached.

Kuli was an expert sailor as well as a skilled preacher. Bromilow described him as a commanding figure and observed that to the Papuans he was 'the embodiment of leadership'.¹¹⁹ Another of the missionaries of 1891 did not stand out as a leader, but was equally respected by the Papuans: this was Petuela, a Samoan, who was 'earnest and cheerful, and often amused the people by his drolleries'. Petuela died in 1895; he was a 'very humble' man, who sometimes wept over his shortcomings, afraid that they would stand in the way of the conversion of the Papuans.¹²⁰ One of the longest ministries was that of Simioni Momoivalu, a dependable Fijian who came in 1897 and stayed until the 1920s.¹²¹ Within a few years of their arrival, six Fijians had identified with the Papuan community in another way — by marrying local women.¹²² According to a visitor, the missionaries at the head station made comparisons between the teacher groups, telling him that 'the Samoans, while making good teachers, are too easy-going and picturesque; the Tongans, being the Vikings of the Pacific, too haughty and ruling; but that for the Papuan work the Fijian is best suited for teacher and general worker'.¹²³

From the beginning, it was understood that the Wesleyans would seek to develop indigenous ministries in their new field. In the words of the mission's founder, George Brown, the objectives of the pioneer party were 'first to preach Christ to the natives, and secondly to train the natives to be preachers of Christ themselves'.¹²⁴ It seems, however, that Bromilow, the missionary in charge, was not confident that Papuans possessed the assertiveness that he believed (no doubt on the basis of his prior experience in the more hierarchical society of Fiji) was necessary in a minister.¹²⁵ The first Papuan teacher (Daniel Didiwai) was appointed as early as 1898, however, and Bromilow wrote appreciative accounts of later teachers.¹²⁶ Training facilities were set up, at Dobu initially, but for many years they were rudimentary.¹²⁷ In the 20th century, the Wesleyan Church in the islands of Papua, unlike its counterparts in Tonga and Fiji in earlier years, was notably slow to confer ordination and responsibility on its indigenous ministers. In the languages of the region, these teachers and ministers came to be known as *misinare*. European and Pacific Islander missionaries had indeed been important models, but closer study of the local history of Christianity would no doubt reveal important ways in which features of indigenous culture and society were incorporated into the ministry role in Papuan Methodism.

Catholic ministries

Although Marists had in the 1840s been the first Christian missionaries in New Guinea, their work had come to an end after a few years. Italian priests took over the Marist mission, but they too departed (in 1855). Their work was without apparent result, although there is shadowy evidence of a young man from the island of Murua who accompanied the Italians back to Australia and then to Hong Kong, where he was baptised; he is said to have later become a catechist in New Caledonia.¹²⁸

It was not until 1882 that Catholic missions were resumed. In that year, members of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (MSC), a French order, began work in New Britain (this being the order's first foreign mission). They met with little response until the

1890s, but even in 1883 one of them was writing about the idea that later produced not only a significant movement towards Catholicism but also a force of indigenous catechists. Orphanages should be founded, he suggested, so that young people could receive Christian teaching and become a model community.¹²⁹ The idea was put into practice by Bishop Louis Couppé, who arrived in 1888 and began to gather orphans and captives as adopted children of the mission. Some of those who were cared for and given instruction at Vunapope returned to their home districts as informal emissaries of civilisation and Christianity.¹³⁰ In 1894, when there were 115 students in residence, Couppé wrote of the trade training given to some of the young people and of his intention to begin further training for the older and more intelligent students. They would be educated as catechists and schoolteachers, going out as married couples and with mission salaries so that they would not be dependent on the people or be forced to engage in trade.¹³¹ Four such catechist couples had been trained by 1899 and the programme quickly expanded, equipping the mission with 10 catechists (and 20 in training) by 1900 and 123 in the field by 1910.¹³²

The bishop's emphasis on the training and deployment of catechists did not mean that he saw lay workers of this kind as the precursors of an indigenous clergy. Indeed, he was sharply critical of the Wesleyan system he observed in New Britain: the Wesleyan 'teachers' worked as substitutes for the white missionaries, but it was a delusion, he wrote, to think that even well-trained mission workers could teach the people at the intellectual and moral level reached by European missionaries, at least until several generations had passed. Catechists would be auxiliaries, pioneering new areas and establishing schools to open the way for the MSC priests, who would be the main agents of evangelisation.¹³³ Hopes for the eventual emergence of an indigenous priesthood were enunciated at the time, for example in 1895 by the mission's 'Visitor', who wrote that some of the young people trained at Vunapope would certainly become priests, brothers and sisters. This would, however, be in 'the distant future'.¹³⁴ Indeed, while catechists became a prominent part of Catholic ministry in New Britain and the adjoining islands, their function remained clearly distinct from that of the ordained clergy, and no indigenous person became a priest in the Bismarck Archipelago until after World War II.

When the MSC opened a new field on the south Papuan coast in 1885, the priest Louis-André Navarre (who soon became the bishop in charge) gave thought to the use of brothers who would be evangelists rather than manual workers. Not being sent any suitable men from France, he employed a few Filipino Catholics who had been working in the Torres Strait pearl-fishing industry.¹³⁵ Their work as catechists in the villages near the MSC station on Yule Island led Navarre to plan for the training of Papuans for this kind of ministry. He had long been convinced of its value and, in the mission handbook he produced in 1896, he expressed his belief that indigenous intermediaries would reduce the foreignness of the mission's image and ensure that the new religion would take permanent root in the local soil.¹³⁶

The bishop's first attempt to establish a training school, in 1896, was not successful. He took eight boys (aged 12 to 15) away from their Papuan context to Thursday Island off the coast of Australia, where the missionary Joseph Guis began a course of instruction

designed to fit them for later work as married catechists. Guis found them willing students, diligently applying themselves to eight-hour study days. He described them as 'intelligent, some very intelligent', but added that they still possessed their 'changeable' Papuan character. Their lessons were in basic literacy, the doctrines and liturgies of the church and 'a little sacred history'. But the students had to be sent home the next year when the British Administration prohibited the removal of Papuans from their own country.¹³⁷ A Protestant visitor to Yule Island heard about the school while it was still open and understood it to be for the training of priests; according to him, the MSC missionaries 'frankly confessed that, with the present ideas of the New Guineans, it was almost hopeless to expect any of them to adopt a celibate life and remain pure'.¹³⁸ A second attempt was made in 1899, this time on the Papuan mainland, at Maea'era. The students of the small school were older this time, married men whose wives were instructed by the mission sisters. Again, however, Navarre could not realise his vision, for the school closed in 1902, and successful training and the widespread use of catechists in the Papuan mission had to wait until the 1920s.¹³⁹ It was from this part of the Papua New Guinea mission that the first indigenous priest emerged, but not until 1937.

Three other Catholic missions in New Guinea began in this period. A Jesuit missionary worked at Fakfak, near the eastern tip of Dutch New Guinea, from 1894 until he was drowned two years later; his work was taken up by Dutch missionaries of the MSC in 1905.¹⁴⁰ German missionaries from the Society of the Divine Word (SVD) landed on the north coast of eastern New Guinea in 1896. Their leader, Eberhard Limbrock, saw value in the Protestants' use of Pacific Island evangelists. He unsuccessfully asked for 20 or 30 trained catechists from the Marist mission in Fiji and also tried to obtain catechists from the MSC in New Britain.¹⁴¹ It was this mission's early emphasis on schools that was eventually to produce its large force of home-grown catechists.¹⁴² The German Marists who began work in 1899 on the Shortland Islands, in the east, had with them two Samoan catechists, Lino and Karlo.¹⁴³ The mission they went on to establish on Bougainville and Buka, however, depended later on indigenous catechists. The place of catechists in the 20th-century growth of all five of the Catholic missions founded in New Guinea during the previous century deserves closer study. Their ministry was not regarded as autonomous and could not lead directly to the emergence of an indigenous priesthood, but it provided a major element in the people's experience of Christian ministry in the large areas of the country where Catholicism became predominant.

Other denominational forms of ministry

What eventually became the largest Protestant church in Papua New Guinea, with more than 800,000 members today, originated in the 1880s in two German missions to the north coast. Johann Flierl landed on the Huon Peninsula in 1886 to begin the Neuendettelsau mission, supported by Lutherans in South Australia and Bavaria, and, in 1887, members of the Rhenish Society (of Barmen, in Germany's Rhineland) settled further north in the Astrolabe Bay area. Neither mission made very visible progress before the end of the century — there were no baptisms until 1899 — but a foundation was

being laid. Some of the young men attending the boarding schools set up by the first missionaries became informal evangelists to their people, but the German missionaries themselves provided the only other ministries in this period. No Christian evangelists or teachers from other Pacific communities were deployed (although the Rhenish missionaries tried unsuccessfully in the late 1880s to obtain teachers from the LMS in Papua).¹⁴⁴ When Christianity did begin to spread rapidly in the Neuendettelsau mission's area in the first decade of the new century, it was free to develop a distinctive style of ministry suited to New Guinea conditions and remarkably free of clericalism. This congregation-based polity, in which lay elders led worship, preached and gave pastoral care, and in which no ordained pastorate existed until much later, was devised by the missionary Christian Keysser, who arrived in 1899. Evangelists and teachers were sent out and supported by the congregations, although the missionaries continued to call them 'mission helpers'. The two missions later came together and the large church they founded is today the autonomous Evangelical Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea.¹⁴⁵

In contrast with the Lutherans' willingness to accept lay leadership in their New Guinea congregations, the Anglo-Catholic emphases of the adjoining Anglican mission compelled it to create a priestly and episcopal structure for its emerging Papuan church. The Anglican mission came to the northern coast of British New Guinea from Australia in 1891, led by ordained clergymen and (from 1898) a bishop. Perhaps trained Melanesian teachers from the Anglican mission in the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands could have been sent to assist, but this did not happen. Instead, Melanesians who had worked in the sugar plantations of Queensland ministered alongside the European missionaries in Papua for many years.¹⁴⁶ These 'Kanaka' teachers, who came directly from Australia, had been converted to Christianity and given a little schooling while working in Queensland. The first of them, Harry Mark and Willie Miwa (both originally from Maewo in the New Hebrides), arrived in 1893. Miwa died soon after his arrival, but Mark served until his death in 1909. These first teachers were followed by 10 more up to 1900 (and another 38 up to 1907). A considerable number died of sickness, but most of those who survived remained in Papua for the rest of their lives, the most long-lived being Johnson Far, who arrived in 1900 and died in 1956.¹⁴⁷

It is clear that the evangelism, worship leadership, schoolteaching and pastoral work performed in the villages of Papua by these Anglican lay teachers contributed much to the people's understanding of Christian ministry. In comparison with the ways of the European missionaries, the lifestyles and world views of the Melanesians were close to those of the people, and their ministry helped bridge the gap between European Christianity and Papuan culture. The Melanesian teacher is 'at home in a native house', wrote the missionary Arthur Chignell:

he eats native food; his manner of speech and habit of thought and general outlook on life are such that he very soon learns Papuan languages and finds his way to the Papuan point of view and becomes familiar with the ins and outs of village life; and he does all this, not only more quickly, but also very much more patiently and thoroughly than is possible for the ordinary white man.¹⁴⁸

The white missionaries paid tribute to the intense evangelistic motivation and steadfast faith of their Melanesian colleagues,¹⁴⁹ but they also lamented the low levels of education possessed by most, which restricted the standards reached by the schools they ran. Henry Newton believed that in spite of their inadequacies as schoolteachers, the Melanesians did succeed in imparting religious knowledge, preparing the way for further instruction later and generally influencing the children for good.¹⁵⁰ It was agreed that their preaching was better than their schoolteaching, although their sermons were sometimes long.¹⁵¹

A few of the teachers succumbed to sexual and other temptations, but most of them were living exemplars of the mission's teachings about Christian behaviour.¹⁵² Authoritarian methods were used by some, including the valued James Nogar, who arrived in 1898 and helped pioneer the Wanigela area.¹⁵³ Newton felt that though the teachers were sometimes apt to 'act the big chief' and exert pressure on potential converts and wayward Christians, they were more often 'sympathetic and kind-hearted and ready to help those in distress'.¹⁵⁴ The historian Wetherell compares the humble Melanesian ex-labourers with the 'patriarchs sent forth by vigorous churches in Polynesian strongholds' and asserts that 'no Polynesian became as close to coastal villagers in Papua as the Melanesian teacher'.¹⁵⁵ Most of the teachers from Queensland married local women. Many years after the last Melanesian had died, a researcher heard the people's affectionate memories of the teachers who entered into their communities and became their friends.¹⁵⁶

The Anglican missionaries agreed that their Melanesian teachers could never be more than valuable helpers in the pioneering stage of the mission. Chignell believed that the Melanesians were more useful than European missionaries in the early years, though 'hardly anyone on earth knows or cares anything at all about them, unless it be the white missionary in charge of the district, who depends so greatly upon their help, or the scattered groups of undeveloped savages, who they are gently leading the first few steps of the way'. But, he explained, 'the time comes, and it often comes very soon, when their preparatory work must be supplemented by something more strong and energetic and capable, and they need careful supervision throughout'.¹⁵⁷

As well as believing that the ministry of Europeans was superior to that of the unlettered Melanesians, the Anglican missionaries held to the view that the church they were founding should eventually have its own indigenous ministry. This meant more than just appointing Papuan successors to the Melanesian lay teachers, a policy strongly recommended to the Anglican founders by Lawes of the LMS in 1890 before the new mission began.¹⁵⁸ Hopes were held that the boarding school established at Dogura in the 1890s would produce Papuan teachers ('so that the Church would take root in the country, and develop in harmony with the character of the people,' explained Newton). Six Papuan teachers were on the staff by 1901.¹⁵⁹ But there was already by this time also the vision of a future Papuan church equipped with its own ordained clergy. When the first bishop was consecrated in 1898, he spoke of his intention 'to make the Church in New Guinea a Native Church, manned by a Native Ministry, and self-supporting'.¹⁶⁰ The goal of an indigenous clergy was present during the first decade, then, but it was not

quickly reached, for the first Papuan ordination did not occur until 1914. Since that time the Anglican Church in Papua has developed a substantial indigenous clergy.

Christian ministry as part of New Guinea society

Old rituals had been discarded by the new Christians in hundreds of communities, but New Guinea Christianity drew in many ways on the religious assumptions and attitudes of the traditional past. Religious leadership in most of the new churches was much more the preserve of specialists (teachers, catechists and ministers of various kinds) than it had been in pre-Christian times, but the new leaders were still seen as representatives of powerful spiritual beings and forces. Rather than succeeding religious specialists, who had not been prominent in traditional society, they to a large extent filled the gap left when the adoption of Christianity deprived 'big men' of their religious functions. According to Fugmann's study of cultural factors in modern concepts of ministry in New Guinea, the role of mediator between the human group and the spiritual forces governing its community life has been transferred from the traditional religion to Christianity.¹⁶¹ The same author writes that it is easy for people in New Guinea to see the traditional 'big man' in a Christian ritual specialist, and also in a preacher, but not in a pastor who goes out to visit the people in a servant capacity.¹⁶²

By the close of the 19th century, six denominational models of Christian ministry had been brought to New Guinea and inserted into the social and cultural structures of the many indigenous communities. The UZV, LMS, Methodist, Catholic, Lutheran and Anglican missions continued to spread Christianity into new areas and were soon joined by a variety of other missions (beginning with the Seventh-day Adventists in 1908). Between them they established Christian communities in a majority of New Guinea's many population groups. Since that time there have been a large number of churches in New Guinea (as well as 'cargo cults' that contain Christian elements to a varying extent), with many different styles of ministry. The 19th-century missions have become churches in their own right — the Evangelical Christian Church in western New Guinea (or 'Papua', as it is now called in Indonesia), the Catholic Church in the two parts of the region, Papua New Guinea's United Church (which brought the LMS and Methodist communities together in 1968) and the Lutheran and Anglican Churches in Papua New Guinea. The ministries established by these missions are still a prominent feature of society in many parts of the land.

20.

PACIFIC ISLANDERS IN CHRISTIAN MINISTRY

THE FIRST CHRISTIAN MINISTERS in Oceania were missionaries from faraway places. They brought the new religion to the Pacific, supervised its extension to all parts of the region and participated in the development of churches among the Pacific Islanders who responded. For many years, the foreign ministers remained as overseers and teachers and often as pastors, too. Almost from the beginning, however, they recognised the need for indigenous participation in the ministries of the church, and in most cases they energetically encouraged such participation by recruiting, training, supervising and (in some cases) paying the Pacific Islanders who became mission workers. This missionary approbation of indigenous ministry was undoubtedly important, but often the initiative had been taken by the new Christians themselves. Indigenous leadership emerged quickly, and often spontaneously. It was fortunate for the development of Pacific Christianity in the long term that mission policies coincided with the readiness of Pacific Islanders to take up leadership and ministry roles in the church.

Mission policies

In channelling indigenous energies towards active and responsible roles in the church, Protestant missionaries were more successful than their Catholic counterparts in this period, although it should be recognised that Protestant and Catholic objectives in the 19th century were not identical. All missionaries worked for the eternal salvation of the people they were evangelising, but until well into the 20th century Catholic mission strategists did not usually think in terms of the establishment of new locally oriented Christian communities in mission lands.¹ It was assumed that new Catholics throughout the world would be part of the universal church headed by the Pope and centred in Rome. Protestants, however, had developed a missiology in which the objective of missions, after the populations contacted had been successfully evangelised, was to organise the new believers into indigenous churches. In the formula of the time, these churches would be self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating, and the place that indigenous leaders and ministers would occupy within them was given considerable attention.

Beginning with its early successes in Tahiti after 1815, the confident deployment of indigenous mission personnel was a prominent feature of LMS practice throughout the 19th century. Officials and members of this and other Protestant missionary organisations frequently reflected on the value of 'native agency'. It was a divinely appointed instrument, stated the LMS Board of Directors in 1840, and had distinct practical advantages over a policy of depending on European missionaries.² At first, this acknowledgment of the effectiveness of 'native agents' was usually made with regard to their role in pioneer evangelism. 'As it respects Polynesia,' declared the writer of an LMS missionary book published in 1844, 'had it not been for their assistance, Christianity would have been confined within very narrow limits at the present day.'³ As another LMS writer put it in 1856, Protestant missions in the Pacific, 'though not the oldest in the world, have had considerable experience, and have reaped an amount of success unequalled in modern times, and surpassed only by the triumphs of the apostolic age. It is acknowledged that this result has been secured chiefly by native instrumentality.'⁴ Missionaries and administrators attending the British Conference on Missions in 1860 were told the same thing by the Foreign Secretary of the LMS, and they agreed that indigenous ministry should be fostered as a matter of principle and for its practical advantages. They also heard — for by this time there was awareness of 'native agents' not just as pioneer evangelists but as pastors — that the secretaries of the principal missionary societies had recently agreed that after founding new churches and giving advice, European missionaries should not stay on as pastors any longer than necessary.⁵

Much of the mid-century Protestant consciousness of the need to avoid prolonged missionary leadership of churches in the Pacific and other newly evangelised lands was produced by the writings of two great mission administrators. In England, Henry Venn of the CMS stated clearly in 1851 that 'the ultimate object of a Mission', ecclesiastically speaking, was the establishment of 'a Native Church, under Native Pastors, upon a self-supporting system', and that the missionaries, having gradually handed over all pastoral work to these pastors, would eventually depart.⁶ In the US, Rufus Anderson of the ABCFM was similarly declaring that the missionary's work was completed when an indigenous church was formed and was equipped with its own fully responsible ministry. Anderson's board expected the indigenous ministry 'to be of the people as soon as may be, in race, social condition, sympathies, and style of living'.⁷

Views of this kind were expressed in the other missions working in the Pacific, too, and Protestant missions never abandoned their commitment to indigenous ministry in an indigenous church. In the later decades of the century, however, some retreat from the confidence of earlier years is evident. An LMS writer on 'native agency' in 1870 declared that no one would question 'the importance of having a native ministry in every mission field as soon as possible after the introduction of the Gospel by foreign missionaries'. On these indigenous ministers 'the ordinary work of maintaining the ordinances of the Gospel must, sooner or later, entirely devolve. The sooner missionaries can safely commit that work to the ordinary staff of workmen, the better will they have succeeded in their special calling.' He went on to explain, however, that 'to force a premature development' would be unwise.⁸ This reluctance to complete the handover of leadership

to indigenous ministers became increasingly apparent in the late 19th century, and perhaps reflected the attitudes held by Europeans generally as the imperialist age reached its zenith. Devolution of power had sometimes been forced on the missionaries, as was seen (temporarily) in the Tahitian church of the 1850s, for example, and in the granting of ordination to the Samoan pastors in 1875, but comprehensive voluntary concessions were rare. A church leadership that was fully free of missionary control would eventually be seen, but not until well into the 20th century.

It was therefore not at the national level of Pacific Protestant churches that fully responsible indigenous ministry was found in this period. Even less could it be expected in Pacific Catholicism. Although there was wide agreement that Pacific Islanders could enter the priesthood (and, in principle, the episcopate), and in some situations much energy was expended in attempting to create an indigenous clergy, the results were disappointing even at the lowest level of the clerical structure. A few indigenous priests emerged, but none of them advanced up the ladder of the church hierarchy. In fact, the Pacific priests of this period, trained like all Catholic clergy in the virtue of obedience, were always regarded as auxiliaries and subordinates of the European missionaries. Catholic workers performing lay ministries, such as the catechists who were so important to the activities of the mission in most areas, were given even less authority and attained only a low profile in the mission's perception of its work.

Although the devolution of ecclesiastical power has not been the main concern of this book, the unequal relationship between foreign missionaries and indigenous ministers should not be ignored. Inequality in the period of origins did not mean, however, that indigenous ministry was destined to remain subordinate forever. The theology of the missionaries compelled them to see people of all cultures as potential Christians and church leaders in the fullest sense of these words (and in entrusting responsibilities to indigenous people they were often far ahead of other Europeans in these colonial times). In the end, the hesitations and doubts of the 19th century would be forgotten in the later attainment of ecclesiastical autonomy or responsibility by indigenous leaders in all the churches. Even before then, the merits of indigenous ministers of all kinds were frequently applauded, although paternalism was usually the keynote of missionary comment. Individual church workers were frequently referred to as brethren, colleagues, friends and even mentors of the missionaries, but more often as helpers or auxiliaries or other words suggesting an inferior status that was firmly under the control of the missionaries. Even when relationships were affectionate on both sides, the superior status of the missionaries permitted them to identify and denounce the failings of their indigenous co-workers, and this was done freely, in private and in public. In evaluations made with varying degrees of subjectivity, Europeans praised the Islanders' courage, initiative, skills, piety and faithfulness, but in other instances they criticised them as lazy, ignorant, incompetent, arrogant, bossy, immoral, violent or legalistic. The missionaries seldom questioned the inequality assumed in this right to assess their indigenous co-workers, but accepted it as an aspect of what was in principle an interim period in which control and supervision was still necessary.

When the missionary era passed, which was beginning to happen even in the 19th century in some Protestant churches, the status of indigenous ministers would rise. It

would be clear that their lower place in the church was temporary, belonging only to the period of tutelage. The fact that Pacific Islanders had already taken up ministries in the church, and in some places were practically autonomous under the nominal control of infrequently visiting missionary superiors, enabled them to move easily into the roles previously played by foreign missionaries. Indigenous ministers were in a sense the representatives of the missionaries, and, behind the screen of what sometimes seemed like permanent mission control, were potentially also their successors. When the time eventually came, they inherited the prestige and authority of their erstwhile superiors.

The subordinate status of indigenous ministers in relation to that of the missionaries, even in 1900, is undeniable. This should not obscure the fact that indigenisation of the ministry had, however, occurred. It had begun early, and had proceeded throughout the 19th century. Beneath the visible missionary superstructure, indigenous ministry was well developed and clothed in much prestige in many places by 1900. It would develop similarly later in places where evangelisation was just beginning or had not yet begun by that date. The functions of indigenous ministers and their place in church and society had developed into a pattern that was widely evident in all parts of the region.

Ministry roles

Historically, the first Christian ministry roles in which Pacific Islanders appeared were those of teacher and evangelist. Beginning with the Tahitians who were converted by Protestant missionaries before 1820 (and the Hawaiians converted by Catholics in the 1820s), the first Christians in each society became informal instructors of their fellows, sharing their newly acquired knowledge of Christian beliefs and worship practices and often the skills of reading and writing. Because of this instructional role, the earliest Protestant missions began to use the appellation 'teacher', a usage that proved to be remarkably long-lived and later often referred to people whose main task was not instruction or education. The Catholic use of 'catechist' (historically, 'a teacher of Christian doctrine') similarly indicated a teaching role that was later widened to include other ministries, including primarily pastoral ones. Although teachers and catechists were clearly subordinate to the missionaries, it is interesting that they were almost always identified in terms of their ministries rather than simply as 'helpers' (as they were in some missions in other parts of the world).

In the sense that these early instructors were not only informing people about Christianity but were urging them to adopt it, they were also evangelists. As advocates of religious change, evangelists played an essential role in disseminating Christianity in their own societies, and often soon in other societies, too. They were replicating the work of their European mentors, but different dynamics were at work. The participation of Pacific Islanders in evangelism and other ministries was a powerful demonstration that Christianity was not just a European religion but a valid option for other people. In the case of the Protestantism of Tahiti and its neighbours, evangelism of this kind was first recognised by the LMS when it 'set apart' a group of Raiateans as teachers to Rurutu in 1821. From that

time on, Pacific Islander evangelists played an extremely prominent part in the spread of Christianity throughout Oceania. Pacific Catholics participated in cross-cultural evangelism from an early date, too. For some years in each society contacted by European missionaries, the principal indigenous ministry was pioneer evangelism. Where the evangelists were ministering outside their own society and culture, they were missionaries (in the sense of being trans-cultural messengers, though the word 'missionary' was usually reserved for the Europeans who were ostensibly in control of the mission enterprise).

As the new faith became established in place after place, Christian groups or congregations formed in each locality. Leadership and pastoral care was provided initially by the messengers who had brought them the Gospel, who often stayed on and became primarily pastors rather than evangelists. European missionaries, who were comparatively few in number, could not be pastors in every community and the task was taken up by Pacific Islanders, either compatriots of the local Christians or (for a while) expatriate missionaries from other Pacific societies. As Forman points out, this was the first differentiated occupational role in most Pacific village societies.⁹ The role of local pastor developed from the task of teacher in Protestantism or catechist in Catholicism, and eventually evolved into an ordained clergy (in Protestantism but not in Catholicism).

The most visible aspect of the pastor's role in the Pacific has always been the leading of services of worship. Attendance at church quickly became an important community activity on Sundays and usually on other days, too. The various missions favoured different worship styles, but all of them looked to a single figure for leading the prayers, hymns, chants and other liturgical acts (including the celebration of the sacraments if the pastor was ordained), reading and interpreting the Scriptures and exhorting the congregation. Especially in Protestantism, preaching was an important aspect of the pastor's work. The skills of Pacific preachers were often remarked on, one of the earliest comments being that of John Williams on the Raiatean deacon Tuahine in the 1820s: his sermons were the 'most beautiful specimens of native eloquence ... The neatness of his style, the correctness of his language, the simplicity and beauty of his similes, never failed to rivet the attention of his hearers'.¹⁰ 'Readiness of speech is common to most Polynesians, both high and low,' observed another missionary; they preach 'with a propriety of language and a force of address which the missionary attempts in vain'.¹¹ W. W. Gill pointed to the skilful way in which a preacher would avail himself of the 'stores of illustration that lie around him'. 'A native orator cannot open his lips save in parable, song or proverb,' he wrote; these could include the familiar realities of the natural environment, incidents from traditional history and 'the terse sayings of the sages of past ages'.¹²

Throughout the Pacific, an important dimension of Christian ministry was the role of the pastor or catechist as teacher. Even if the level of education he had received was low, it still equipped him to introduce new ideas, information and skills. This function as a resource person was carried out informally as part of the mission worker's daily life as a resident in the local community, and more formally in the course of his teaching and preaching in the church setting. Almost everywhere, too, much of his time was taken up as a classroom teacher of reading, writing and other general subjects. In the early years of

a mission, many of the pupils would be adults, but until the end of the century the elementary education of children was primarily the task of the person who also led the worship in church and gave pastoral care to the community. Only towards 1900, except for a few earlier cases, did this close connection between church and school begin to disappear, and in many places government schoolteachers did not relieve church personnel of their educational work until well into the new century. The long association of ministry with teaching left a clear mark on the pastoral role.

Because Pacific churches often consisted of whole local communities, or nearly so, their pastoral leaders were people of significance in a local sphere wider than that of strictly church matters. The inseparability of the 'religious' from other dimensions of life inevitably brought the pastor or catechist into close connection with all kinds of social, economic and political events. His participation in or even just presence at occasions of family or community significance was a normal expectation. Sometimes this made him a prominent leader in local activities or enterprises, but even if he did not take bold public initiatives in community affairs his pastoral care and authority was commonly available to a social group perceived as wider than just 'the church'. This made him a new kind of community leader, operating in various kinds of relationships with the existing traditional local leaders.

Delineating the pastoral role

The people offering this pastoral leadership in communities across the Pacific were given a variety of vernacular occupational labels. Although their functions were not determined by the names by which they were known, it is instructive to glance at the naming patterns that developed. A widespread appellation is the word 'teacher' in its various vernacular forms, which came to be applied to the ordained clergy in a number of churches. Another commonly found meaning is 'one who is sent', or 'messenger'. Alongside these words that emphasise teaching and evangelistic roles are those that refer to the pastoral function of 'caring for', 'looking after' and 'watching over'. There are also churches ministered to by 'fathers' (Catholic priests), 'tellers of stories' and 'those set apart'. In Samoa, the word meaning 'helper' points to the origin of Catholic catechists there as subordinates of the missionary priests. Some communities simply transliterated European words, so that they were served by *misinare* (missionaries), *katekita* (catechists), *minita* (ministers) or *patele* (fathers). Names that would suggest a connection with the discredited pre-Christian religion were avoided, but a rare exception was the use of *kahuna* (traditional religious expert) in Hawaiian Protestantism (the Maori cognate of this word, *tohunga*, was used by Ringatu in New Zealand, but this church was established by Maori rather than missionaries and was consciously in greater continuity with traditional religion than other churches).

The history of indigenous ministry in the Pacific is necessarily couched mainly in male terms. It is not that women did not participate in ministry, for (with the exception of Catholic priests, who were prohibited from marrying) the teachers, catechists and pastors of all missions and churches usually had wives and in fact were often required to

be married. To a considerable extent, the wives of mission and church workers were regarded as partners in their husbands' ministries, a perception that can be dated back to the early years of Christianity in this region. In 1822, the male teachers Auna and Matatore were described by the Christians of Huahine as 'two-handed men' because they had good wives who would be very helpful to their husbands; all four were 'set apart' as missionaries to the Marquesas.¹³ All over the Pacific, women were given training along with their husbands and were active in Christian work in the churches and villages where they were stationed. The work they did was recognised and valued by the missionaries, who noticed the impact of the women's informal participation in village life and the more structured contributions they made by teaching in schools, leading women's organisations and sometimes (in the absence of their husbands) conducting worship services. The missionaries in Samoa told of the villagers who rejected the teacher assigned to them in favour of another who had a more accomplished wife.¹⁴ As models of Christian marital and family life, married couples were agents of the social reforms that it was understood would flow from conversion to the new faith. Having a wife to support and encourage him was an important factor in the effectiveness of a man's ministry, and (the missions hoped) it would help keep him faithful to the required sexual code. Beyond this role as an adjunct to male ministry, however, a woman could not serve as a man did. Only a tiny number of single women were appointed to leadership positions in missions or church congregations, and this would not change until many years after 1900. The exclusion of women from formal ministry status (but not from church membership or active informal ministry) simply replicated what was usual in the missionaries' own home churches, and this proved more powerful than any acceptance of women as community leaders or religious specialists in traditional Pacific societies.

It is clear that ministry in the 19th-century Pacific churches was not confined to the ordained. The functions of ministry were more significant than the formal ecclesiastical status of those performing them. Ordination, nevertheless, is an important aspect of the way ministry was organised and delivered. The issues of whether or not to ordain, who should be ordained and how to prepare the candidates were given increasing attention by mission and church authorities as time went on. In the early years of LMS work, the question of ordination was not of much moment, for the background of most LMS missionaries made them content with commissioning or 'setting apart' practices that fell short of what more developed theologies of ordination required. 'Ordination' in this understanding was not regarded as an indispensable qualification for pastoral leadership. Sometimes in this mission indigenous personnel were authorised to administer the sacraments, and there were early cases of teachers regarded as being of full ministerial status (Auna in 1828 was the first). Gradually, LMS practice and terminology became more like that of other Protestant missions, which were more fully prescriptive of the route to ordination and the meaning of ordained status. Anglican missions gave the greatest weight to ordination as the entry to a higher level of ministry, with the Melanesian Mission being the most insistent on the significance of the rite.

The decision to introduce ordination and the rate at which individual teachers were ordained came at varying points in the history of each Protestant mission and island

group. The first ordination in Wesleyan missions was in 1847 (in Tonga), the first in the ABCFM in 1849 (in Hawai'i) and the first in Anglican missions in 1853 (in New Zealand). The LMS enumerated 26 'native ordained pastors' (as well as 249 'native teachers') in its Pacific fields in 1869.¹⁵ Whether an LMS minister was 'ordained' or not was probably still a little imprecise at this time, for another count in 1870 produced a figure of 51 ordained pastors and 255 teachers (so that ordained ministers were about 16 per cent of the total, compared with 6 per cent in LMS missions worldwide, in which a total of 106 had been ordained). By 1880, the number of ordained LMS pastors had risen steeply to 273, a figure that of course includes the Samoans who had been ordained en masse after 1875 (the ordained proportion of the total number of pastors and teachers was now more than 46 per cent, compared with about 7 per cent in LMS missions worldwide, where there were now 371 ordained pastors).¹⁶ The number of ordained Pacific Islands LMS ministers in 'Polynesia' had reached 323 by 1895.¹⁷ In most forms of Pacific Protestantism, the ordained ministry had become a clearly defined status in the church by 1900, though in some places it was conferred much more sparingly than in others, and most churches retained a large number of pastoral workers who were not ordained. In the Samoan LMS church, in which ordination was practically universal for pastoral leaders, the ordained ministry was regarded as the most worthy of all vocations. In the opinion of an observer soon after 1900, Samoans 'seemed to think that only ministers could serve God. They called the ministry "the work of God", and all other work, however good and useful, was not regarded as His.'¹⁸

Catholic ordination theology and practice was clearly distinct from that of the Protestant missions, producing an ordained ministry that was in no way a development of the large force of lay catechists. Unlike the Protestant missions, in which lay workers could be ordained if deemed worthy, Catholic authorities saw the priesthood as an ecclesiastical entity that was separate and essentially different from lay ministers such as catechists. It did not evolve from existing ministries but was laboriously created among small groups of specially selected individuals. It is immediately apparent from the historical record that despite the widespread adoption of Catholicism in the Pacific, the commitment of Catholic authorities to the principle of indigenous ordained ministry and the strenuous efforts made to develop a Pacific Islands priesthood, indigenous Catholic clergy in this region were far from numerous even in 1900 (and for many years afterwards). Only 12 Pacific Islanders (one Micronesian and 11 Polynesians) were ordained before the end of the 19th century, and three of these did not continue as priests. It seems that Catholic Pacific Islanders engaged willingly in ministries such as those available to catechists, but were not widely attracted to the kind of ministry to which European Catholic tradition had given a particular shape in the ordained priesthood. Analysis of Catholic attempts to create an indigenous priesthood in this region suggests that the form of ministry seen by Catholics as necessary in the church was not suited to Pacific conditions, in the 19th century at least.

The term 'lay people' meant little in LMS missions, at least until later in the century, and even in other missions that elevated the ordained ministry more, the gap between lay and ordained ministry was not unbridgeable. In Protestant churches, there

was a range of opportunities for ministry, extending from pastoral leadership (not necessarily ordained) right down through various offices in the congregations to the responsibilities of ordinary membership. These 'lay' ministries were not entirely distinct from the ministry of the designated pastoral leader, but they were often precisely defined and hierarchically organised. They developed a life of their own as offices in the church, perceived as lower in status than the position of pastoral leader but still highly valued and in many cases offering chances for upwards progress in the church hierarchy. Lay officers of this kind performed a variety of tasks, including leading or assisting in worship, preaching, teaching, advising the pastor, pastoral visiting, the maintenance of church buildings and equipment, and congregational decision-making and administration. They were known as deacons, elders, local preachers, lay preachers, lay readers, class leaders and so on. Some met together in congregational or district councils and many (beginning with the ceremonial 'setting apart' of the first deacons on Moorea in 1821) were inducted into office in a formal way. They represented a potential limitation of the pastor's authority, and did in some churches actually restrict him to a considerable extent.

Catholic communities had no such office-holding ladder by which lay people could ascend progressively to higher positions and even to ordination. Lay catechists performed valuable ministries, contributing more significantly to Christian work in the Pacific than in many other parts of the Catholic world. Catechists, however, were responsible to the mission rather than to the local church: they did not hold ecclesiastical office as such. They were always subordinate to the missionaries who appointed and paid them, and were seen as doing evangelistic, teaching and pastoral work as substitutes for the only real ministers, the priests. This would change later, but in the 19th century catechists were understood to be, as a modern writer puts it, 'extensions of the foreign priests and sisters rather than as persons carrying on an apostolate of the indigenous Christians themselves'.¹⁹ The unsuccessful experiment with 'catechist-tertiaries' in New Caledonia in the 1880s and 1890s was an unusual attempt to elevate catechists in the Catholic religious system.

Many people taking up ministry in the Pacific were of chiefly birth or came from backgrounds of high social status, but this was by no means universal. Ministers were often the sons of ministers. Quantification of social origin requires the collection of detailed data, but a study of this kind, while useful, would be difficult. Questions of recruitment similarly await further study. Not a great deal is known about how teachers, catechists and pastors were chosen — were they volunteers, or selected by missionaries and other ministers, or put forward by their congregations, families or communities? Evidence for all of these can be found, but no comprehensive study of calling or vocation in the Pacific ministry has been made.²⁰ The age of people entering ministry is another variable: younger people were more easily socialised into the pastoral profession and could be expected to learn more from training programmes, but in a region where age was universally respected it was often found that the ministries of older people were more effective. Policies and practices varied, too, with regard to whether pastoral workers should be stationed in their own communities. It appears to have been more common for ministry to be provided by people who would be unrestricted by the demands of close

kinship, but in some places ministry was certainly supplied from within the local community itself.

The preparation of men and women for ministry

The earliest programmes for training Pacific Islanders for ministry were in most cases largely informal. It is true that before any missionary set foot in Hawai'i some young Hawaiians attended a school set up in the US to prepare them for participation in the evangelism of their homeland, and that the Melanesian Mission gave classroom training in a foreign location to young men designated as pioneer evangelists to their home islands in the New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands. There were a few other such cases, but in the usual pattern the earliest local Christian workers in each group were people who learned ministry skills by accompanying, observing and helping the missionaries, and soon perhaps being taught by them as opportunity offered during the course of their work together. In some cases, this 'on-the-job' training was continued for many years as the only way of preparing people for work in the mission or church. Apprenticeship of this kind enabled the trainees to remain in their home communities or similar traditional settings while learning the work, although sometimes their learning occurred while they lived with the missionaries as household workers.

In most missions there came a time when informal community-based training evolved into more deliberate residential training programmes provided by individual missionaries for small groups of future teachers, catechists, pastors or priests. Almost always the decision was eventually made to supplement or replace these small and rudimentary schools with larger centralised training facilities. The 'Institution' set up by the LMS in Tahiti in 1829 was the first Protestant example of such a centre, and the Lano Seminary (established in 1847) was the first Catholic example. Many others followed, a number of which still exist. The students would be drawn from all over the mission's area, often coming from quite distant places, but the institution itself would use a local vernacular and the style of living would be fairly close to what the students were used to in their home communities. The site might be a little separate from the surrounding communities (perhaps paralleling the semi-seclusion in which the training of traditional religious specialists was often done), but would still maintain contact with nearby villages and indeed in many ways resemble them. To support themselves and their families, the students would spend much of their time in the familiar routines of subsistence agriculture and fishing. This not only made the training programmes affordable but served to keep the students in touch with the ordinary life of the people they would be serving when their training was completed.

Only in a few cases were training facilities located in settings far from the Pacific village milieu. The aim of removing the communities of Pacific trainees to sites outside the Pacific proper (examples are the Melanesian Mission's establishments in Auckland and on Norfolk Island and the two seminaries established by the Marists in New South Wales) was to permit instruction and formation to proceed free of the distractions of traditional or partly Christianised life. (A variation of this was the siting of training

centres on Pacific Islands relatively close to the student's own group but in a different culture area: examples are the Gilbert Islands and Marshall Islands training schools on Kosrae.) The extreme form of this method was the sending of individuals to foreign countries to study with people of other cultures, usually in order to take advantage of facilities that were unavailable in their homelands. Some Polynesians, Melanesians and Micronesians attended the LMS training centre in Samoa, and a number of Catholic Pacific Islanders were sent to Europe, and in one case to the Philippines, for formation as priests (though only three proceeded as far as ordination). The extraction of students from their home backgrounds was not commonly practised, however, and the most usual pattern was attendance at a residential training centre located within the boundaries of the student's own cultural area. The training experience was thus normally situated at a point intermediate between local community-based programmes and those completely divorced from the student's own cultural background.

The training centres for teachers, pastors and catechists provided a mix of general education, theological instruction, pastoral training and spiritual formation, in varying proportions. Commonly, they provided teaching in Scripture, doctrine, ministry skills such as evangelism, preaching and schoolteaching (with opportunities for practising them), general subjects (including reading, writing, arithmetic, geography and history) and sometimes manual skills such as carpentry for men and sewing for women. In curriculum, educational method and general approach, most of the Protestant schools drew from the new model emerging in early 19th-century Britain and elsewhere, in which book-learning was combined with practical activity. Teaching styles were European in origin, but were often (perhaps unconsciously) modified by the missionaries' experience of Pacific cultures, and probably too by the addition late in the century of Pacific Island tutors to the staff of many of the schools. Catholic schools for catechists were not too different from their Protestant counterparts, though influenced by the French or German rather than British or American backgrounds of their teaching staff. The formation centres for priests were modelled on the distinctive semi-monastic ethos of 19th-century European seminaries, and tried to replicate their objectives even though the students were not members of religious orders (only two Pacific priests became Marists in this period). The most successful of the Pacific seminaries, Lano, was not too far removed from its cultural surroundings on Wallis, but the Catholic tradition of formation demanded that its students were extracted, symbolically at least, from the community until they were ordained. Thereafter, it has been aptly noted, a priest needed to maintain 'the psychological capacity to live as a stranger in his own land'.²¹

Lano did depart from the European model by teaching at an educational level appropriate for 19th-century Polynesians, although the formation programme was still lengthy. In the Protestant schools, too, the teaching was set at a level attainable by students emerging from the elementary education facilities available at the time, but this also reflected the missions' belief that leadership skills and Christian character were just as important for effective ministry as academic achievement. Here and there an individual missionary educator aimed for a higher level (Moulton in Tonga is an example), and some training centres, especially Malua in Samoa, consistently reached

higher standards. Quite apart from their contribution to the life of the churches by preparing their pastoral leadership, the training centres supplied the highest form of education available in the Pacific until the 1920s. They were the first providers of post-primary education and throughout the period were the principal such providers.

Christian ministry in Pacific society

In the Christian societies that soon emerged throughout the Pacific, those exercising ministries in the church were almost always held in considerable regard by the community. Very often the status they were given dated back to the first arrival of indigenous Gospel messengers, who were associated with attractive innovations and powerful visitors from the outside world. They had obvious links with the prestigious foreign missionaries who brought them and continued to communicate with them, and also with the chiefs who in most cases made the decision to admit them and often then sponsored their work. Some early workers married into chiefly families. Some were chiefs themselves. As time went on, a relationship between ministers and chiefs was worked out in each society. Throughout the region, the distinction between 'religious' and 'secular', introduced from Europe but foreign to Pacific thinking, was difficult to maintain, as the early LMS in Tahiti was the first to discover. This was a recurring problem for missions as they struggled to curb ministers who extended their authority into society, and restrain chiefs and 'big men' who extended their authority into the church. The new religious leaders were soon enmeshed in the close relationship between secular power and religious sanction. Depending on varying traditional patterns and on the historical circumstances of each contact experience, the new religious specialists found themselves in a range of situations: they either overshadowed the existing holders of power, were regarded as distinct from them but comparable in authority, or were subjected to chiefly control. Whatever their position in respect to the chiefs, however, indigenous pastoral workers everywhere derived much status from their functions and offices in the spiritually powerful institution they presided over in each place. In this situation, it was not always easy to prevent the leadership dimension in pastoral ministry from expanding into an authoritarian control of congregational and village affairs. It was not impossible for humble 'servants' to become oppressive masters.

Status and power did not necessarily mean wealth. Teachers, catechists, pastors and other pastoral workers were either paid by their missions, maintained by their congregations or self-supported. In many cases, their support was a combination of all three of these. Few missions paid more than a small amount. It was common for local communities to provide housing and gardening land, and often to make food or other material contributions as well. Some gave monetary gifts or even paid salaries. Often this local support was required by the mission as part of a missiological commitment to the principle that Christian communities should be self-supporting. The patterns of giving that developed helped to integrate the ministry as an institution into local social and economic life. In the Samoan and some other LMS churches, the local giving was on such a scale that pastors did not need to supplement their income by gardening or

fishing, but almost everywhere else it was accepted that considerable self-support of that kind would be necessary. Subsistence work exposed the pastor to the risk of neglecting his ministry, but it also served to keep him within the rhythms of village life and in contact with his flock.

Christian ministry in relation to traditional religious practice

Christian ministry was clearly an innovation in the Pacific. There had been no evangelists, preachers or pastors in traditional times. When these roles were introduced, however, it was only to be expected that they would be shaped to a considerable extent by the social and cultural environment within which they developed. One possibility is that the new religious roles simply replaced those that already existed. It might be thought that the new Christian religious specialists took over from traditional mediums, priests and sacred men and filled the niche those practitioners had long occupied in the societies of the region. When Christianity was accepted it was the incompatibility of the traditional and the new religious leadership roles that was most apparent: missionaries regarded mediums and priests as the epitome of heathenism, and traditional specialists often furiously obstructed the progress of the new religion (though some quickly embraced it and even became valued mission workers themselves). In most societies the traditional roles were almost entirely edged out of the new mainstream religious patterns, though they often persisted, much changed and diminished, as illicit alternative forms of religious practice. Christian teachers, catechists and pastors were now the main keepers of the door to the world of the supernatural and the divine. Perhaps, however, the ancient traditions of religious practice were not just obliterated or marginalised in the shadowy remnants of the old religion but were perpetuated in the new institutions of Christian ministry.

To a large extent, the new religious roles did fill the gap left by the discredited practitioners of traditional religion, but while Christian innovations by no means swept away the beliefs, values and practices of centuries, they were still potent additions to what already existed. It is better therefore to see Pacific Christianity and its leadership roles as an amalgam of old and new, a powerful new mix in which the indigenous was amplified and enlarged by the imported. What emerged was no longer traditional, but it was not entirely new either. Novelty was more manifest than continuity in the early years of the new Pacific religion, but it is more evident now that Christian religious leadership, like many other institutions in contemporary Oceania, was in some ways an adaptation rather than a complete replacement of the equivalent part of pre-Christian culture. Yet the resultant new phenomenon was not merely ancient culture in new Christian garb. The Christian ministry in the Pacific, while incorporating elements from Oceanic and European culture, is not an illegitimate syncretism.²² Its Pacific ingredients have not usually produced a form of ministry that is distorted and invalid in Christian terms. Like the indigenous Christianity of which it is a part, Pacific ministry is a synthesis of two traditions, successfully expressing much of the spirit of authentic ministry as it has been preserved down through the long and complex history of the church since the time of the apostles, but doing so in terms that are meaningful in Pacific culture.

As antecedents of the indigenous Christian ministry as it developed in the Pacific Islands, neither pre-Christian tradition nor missionary policies and models can be dismissed. Both influenced the emerging institution enormously, though what resulted was a Christian ministry presented in culturally determined ways rather than a clothing of traditional roles in new Christian dress. The impact of Western innovations is less likely to be underestimated than the pervasive but less visible influence of Pacific tradition, but the strength of the missionary source of the new ideas and practices should be noted: the Christian traditions of ministry were conveyed by influential European role models, introduced into indigenous church patterns by means of mission practices and policies carried out over many years, and systematically instilled in individuals who were participating in ministry training programmes. It is worth emphasising, too, that for a great many island societies, the new Christian model was first carried not by European missionaries but by teachers and catechists who were themselves Pacific Islanders and who therefore had already begun the process of translating the new concepts of ministry into Oceanic terms.

Continuity between traditional and Christian religious practitioners is evident first and foremost in their common role as intermediaries between humans and the supernatural realm. This function was essential to the identity of the mediums who were found in almost every Pacific society and practitioners whose work displayed priestly characteristics were links between communities and their gods, too. The role of intermediary was accepted easily by the Christian priests of Catholicism (and Melanesian Anglicanism), but even in Protestant missions that expressly denied the priestly character of ministry, the Pacific teacher, catechist or pastor was commonly seen as an essential primary point of contact between Christians and the divine. Simply by leading the prayers and worship of the faithful and proclaiming and interpreting the divine will, ministers exposed themselves to a perception of their position as being closer to God than ordinary people. Protestant missionaries resisted the notion that ministers were personally sacred or had privileged access to spiritual power, but the idea appears to have been widely held. The suspicion of clericalism that was found in many of the home churches of the missionaries did not take root in Pacific soil. The spiritually prestigious position occupied by the missionaries reinforced the special character of the indigenous ministers who were potentially their successors. Before long, Pacific ministers of all kinds were seen by the people as in a special sense representatives of God, clothed with a certain sacred aura. In this they were heirs of the Pacific cultural tradition.

When conveying the message of God to their flocks, preachers and pastors were building on the traditional foundations laid by the 'mouthpieces of the gods' in pre-Christian times. They were readily perceived as prophets, speaking with the authority of God Himself. The Protestant emphasis on preaching, and on the inspiration of the Holy Spirit (though ecstatic possession in the traditional style was usually disclaimed and did not become a normal occurrence), reinforced this. There was no precedent for evangelistic proclamation and the role of preacher was new, but preaching quickly became an indigenous art form in cultures with a high regard for oratorical excellence. Often, however, the prophetic task of questioning and challenging was overshadowed by

the more priestly role of conserving and cooperating. Like their predecessors in traditional religion, the new practitioners were men of knowledge — many kinds of knowledge, but pre-eminently sacred information and ritual expertise. Although they reinterpreted the new scriptural and doctrinal learning more often than has been acknowledged by today's advocates of 'Pacific theology', the indigenisation of theology was still ostensibly under the control of the missionaries and the task of indigenous ministers was to convey the traditional message rather than to develop it. The training of ministers was more formal than that of religious specialists in pre-Christian times, and it was based on written rather than oral knowledge, but they inherited the respect traditionally given to the guardians of sacred lore and ritual. Sometimes they had expertise in traditional as well as scriptural knowledge: a number of them were valued ethnographical informants.

The close connection between 'religious' and 'secular' authority proved to be very durable in the Pacific, even after the introduction of Western distinctions in this regard. The status and power commonly possessed by church leaders in the Christian era was partly a legacy of the position of religious specialists in traditional societies, but the new religious leaders often also inherited some of the sacred authority that was an element in the power of chiefs and 'big men' until it was diminished by the advent of Christianity. Clearly, the giving of gifts for the material support of teachers and pastors had strong precedents in the widespread willingness in former times to contribute to those who were specialists in the dealings of the community with the supernatural. In the Christian era, it was thought to be entirely proper to ensure the wellbeing of the community by making material offerings to those primarily responsible for relations with the divine.

Well-developed patterns of pastoral care in Christian times owed little to any traditional religious role. Perhaps, however, to the extent that chiefs and 'big men' were seen as exercising their power to promote the welfare of the community, ministers were inheriting a role of benevolent guardianship from those in positions of spiritually endowed ascendancy. Christian pastoral workers prayed for the sick and gave them advice and support, but apart from sometimes dispensing medicines (an important part of European missionary work), they did not usually take up the role of healer. The diagnosis and curing of illness had very often been part of pre-Christian religious practice. Now it frequently retained an association with the remnant of traditional specialists, who were frowned on by the European missionaries and the exponents of Western scientific medicine. Sometimes it was linked, too, with the activities of sorcerers, a category of traditional specialists who left no legacy to the ministers of the new religion. As a malevolent activity and a challenge to the omnipotence of God, sorcery was of course regarded entirely negatively, and the connection of traditional medicine with spirits gave it negative connotations, too. Pastoral care that avoided such associations, however, could be seen as an expression of God's love and concern for His people and also of the pastor's own commitment to the wellbeing of the community of which he was part.

Into the future

After 1900, various forms of Christian ministry were gradually introduced to the remaining unevangelised parts of the Pacific. New Christian communities grew in places such as the western Solomon Islands, the western part of Micronesia and the vast Highlands areas of inland New Guinea. In general, ministry in these new places took on a shape similar to that already seen in the islands evangelised in the 19th century. Some new patterns developed, however — two examples being the unclerical ministry of New Guinea Lutheranism and the charismatic leadership of the Pentecostal and many other new churches that made their appearance in the region after the middle of the new century. The historic mainline churches founded in the 19th century retained their dominant position, but as the next century came to a close their preponderance in Pacific Christianity was increasingly being challenged by new churches and by the spread of Mormonism.²³

Women continued to play an important part in lay ministries of many kinds and took up office in increasing numbers as elders, deacons, lay preachers and so on (roles that in the 19th century were wholly or largely male). In recent years, indigenous women have been included in the Protestant churches' acceptance of women as ordained ministers, although some churches still exclude women from ordination on principle or in practice.

Ordination became the normal ecclesiastical status for pastors in Protestantism, although some churches (including the Fiji Methodist Church and the Anglican Church of Papua New Guinea) retained a dependence on the historic category of lay pastoral worker for the conduct of a large part of their work. The number of ordinations in the Catholic Church increased, too, but only slowly until the 1960s. Even then there were not enough indigenous priests to replace the foreign missionaries in the traditional priest-centred parish model — a model that had been expected to persist. Lay catechists (nearly 7,000 in today's Pacific Islands) continued to play an important part in the Catholic pastoral system, and, since Vatican II, more consideration has been given to the meaning of their work: increasingly, they have been seen not as just the helpers of the priests but as people exercising a distinctive special ministry.²⁴ The re-evaluation and ecclesiological upgrading of the lay ministry of catechists gave more recognition to the work they had long been doing, not least in the Pacific. Sometimes catechists have been given the right to preside at eucharistic communion services, the elements having been previously consecrated by a priest. The restoration by Vatican II of the permanent diaconate offered another option. Some parts of the Pacific Catholic Church (including the Caroline, Mariana and Marshall Islands, Papua New Guinea and French Polynesia) took up this opportunity, training and ordaining married men for ministry in their local communities. They would not be deacons in the long-understood sense of candidates on the way to full priesthood, but ordained pastoral leaders who administered baptism and the eucharistic communion (but did not celebrate mass). This was more clearly an ecclesiastical office than any temporary appointment as a catechist.²⁵ At the level of national and regional church leadership, the assumption of responsibility by Pacific

Islanders in Protestant churches was paralleled in Catholicism (less completely as yet) by the instalment of indigenous bishops, the first being the Marist priest Pio Taofinu'u of Samoa in 1968 (in 1973, he became the first cardinal of Pacific ancestry).

The training of ministers underwent little change until after World War II, and even now the patterns are not fundamentally dissimilar to those of the 19th century. Educational standards have risen greatly, however, at local and national level, and there now exists a higher level of theological education available at regional institutions founded in the 1960s and 1970s. Many ministers have received further theological education, up to and including doctoral level, at institutions in other parts of the world. In the Pacific itself, the teachers in theological schools are now mostly indigenous, although less so in Catholic than in Protestant institutions.

The Pacific churches' long tradition of missionary service became less important in the early decades of the 20th century, although there were still many people exercising this ministry even in the postwar period. Some churches have sent missionaries to Africa, the Caribbean and even to the former 'sending countries' such as the United Kingdom. Another arena for service developed with the enormous postwar migration from a number of Pacific Islands to the US, Australia and New Zealand, where Pacific residents have planted the churches and ministries they knew at home.

The principal sphere of ministry as exercised by Pacific Islanders, however, continues to be the local congregations of Christians in villages, towns and cities in Oceania itself. Some ministers have been active in national politics, especially in Melanesia when colonialism was ending and in the years since then, but the characteristic role of the people whose collective early history is told in this book is still as pastor of a local Christian community. Despite the many significant ecclesiological differences between the various missions of the 19th century, a discernible Pacific regional pattern has developed and still exists. This is only to be expected when the ministry is viewed not just as an innovation brought by 19th-century foreigners but rather as the Pacific adaptation of a religious institution compatible with traditional cultural patterns. Although Pacific cultures were influenced tremendously by the advent of Christianity, and the ministry was an institution dating right back to the first-century beginnings of the Christian religion, Pacific churches and their ministry have been shaped to a remarkable extent by the social and cultural environment in which Christianity has flourished since its introduction. A compelling question for today's Pacific Christians is how to maintain authentic Christian ministry and a genuinely Pacific way in a rapidly secularising and globalising world.

ENDNOTES

Chapter One — Prophets, Priests and Pastors in History

1. See below, p. 38.
2. Among the studies found helpful for the following discussion of specialist practitioners in primal religions were Victor W. Turner, 'Religious Specialists', in D. L. Sills (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 13, New York, 1968; L. Sabourin, *Priesthood. A Comparative Study*, Leiden, 1973, Ch. 1; Barbara Hargrove, *The Sociology of Religion. Classical and Contemporary Approaches*, Arlington Heights, Ill, 1979; M. J. Winkelman, *Shamans, Priests and Witches: A Cross-Cultural Study of Magico-Religious Practitioners*, Tempe, Ariz., 1992; David Levinson, *Religion: A Cross-Cultural Encyclopedia*, Santa Barbara, Ca, 1996.
3. Much has been written about the history of ministry in the Christian church, in general church histories (too many to cite here), as well as in specialist works. Among the many specialist studies found useful were Hans von Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church of the First Three Centuries*, London, 1969; Sabourin, Chs 4–6; Bernard Cooke, *Ministry to Word and Sacraments. History and Theology*, Philadelphia, 1976; André Lemaire, *Ministry in the Church*, London, 1977; William R. Burrows, *New Ministries: The Global Context*, Maryknoll, NY, 1980; Edward Schillebeeckx, *Ministry. Leadership in the Community of Jesus Christ*, New York, 1981; C. K. Barrett, *Church, Ministry, and Sacraments in the New Testament*, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1985; John J. Hughes, 'Christian Priesthood', in M. Eliade (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion*, Vol. 11, New York and London, 1987; Peter McKenzie, *The Christians. Their Beliefs and Practices*, Nashville, Tenn, 1988; Kenan B. Osborne, *Priesthood. A History of Ordained Ministry in the Roman Catholic Church*, New York, 1988; Patrick J. Dunn, *Priesthood. A Re-examination of the Roman Catholic Theology of the Presbyterate*, New York, 1990; Deryck W. Lovegrove (ed.), *The Rise of the Laity in Evangelical Protestantism*, London and New York, 2002.
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9. Thomas West, *Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia*, London, 1865, p. viii.
10. Robert Steel, *The New Hebrides and Christian Missions*, London, 1880, pp. 358–64; chapter on Polynesia in Delavan L. Pierson (ed.), *The Pacific Islanders from Savages to Saints. Chapters from the Life Stories of Famous Missionaries and Native Converts*, New York and London, 1906.
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13. Frank H. L. Paton, *The Kingdom in the Pacific*, London, n.d. [1912], Chs V, VI.
14. C. E. Fox, *Lord of the Southern Isles. Being the Story of the Anglican Mission in Melanesia 1849–1949*, London, 1958; A. Harold Wood, *Overseas Missions of the Australasian Methodist Church*, Vol. I (*Tonga and Samoa*), Melbourne, 1975; Vol. II (*Fiji*), Melbourne, 1978; Vol. III (*Fiji-Indian and Rotuma*), Melbourne, 1978; J. Graham Miller, *Live. A History of Church Planting in the New Hebrides to 1880*, Book One, Sydney, 1978 (and Books Two to Seven with similar titles, published in Sydney and Port Vila, 1981–90); Andrew Thornley, *Exodus of the I Taukei. The Wesleyan Church in Fiji 1848–74*, Suva, 2002.
15. Alan R. Tippet, *People Movements in Southern Polynesia. Studies in the Dynamics of Church-planting and Growth in Tahiti, New Zealand, Tonga, and Samoa*, Chicago, 1971; John Garrett, *To Live Among the Stars. Christian Origins in*

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 17. Niel Gunson, *Messengers of Grace. Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas 1797–1860*, Melbourne, 1978.
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5. John Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands*, London, 1837, p. 235.
6. John Davies, *The History of the Tahitian Mission 1799–1830*, C. W. Newbury (ed.), Cambridge, 1961, pp. 168, 183–4; W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 1831–32, II, pp. 109–15; Lovett, *History*, I, pp. 206–7; D. Oliver, *Ancient Tahitian Society*, p. 1340.
7. Davies, pp. 155–7.
8. G. S. Parsonson, 'The Literate Revolution in Polynesia', *Journal of Pacific History* [JPH], II (1967), pp. 39–57.
9. Davies, pp. 164, 179; Lovett, *History*, I, p. 212.
10. Davies, pp. 172, 317. See below, p. 102.
11. C. Barff, 1 Aug. 1859, SSL, LMS Archives (Reel 41 on microfilm); Lovett, *History*, I, pp. 345–6; Patrick O'Reilly and Raoul Teissier, *Tahitiens. Répertoire biographique de la Polynésie Française*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1975, pp. 548, 575–6. See below, p. 182.

12. Davies, p. 198.
13. Deryck W. Lovegrove, *Established Church, Sectarian People. Itinerancy and the Transformation of English Dissent, 1780–1830*, Cambridge, 1988.
14. Davies, p. 237.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 237.
16. W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 1829, II, p. 328.
17. Davies, p. 237; J. Williams, *Narrative*, pp. 159–63.
18. J. Williams, *Narrative*, pp. 43–51; Lovett, *History*, I, pp. 251, 255.
19. W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 1829, I, p. 55; Davies, p. 277.
20. W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 1831–32, III, p. 306; Davies, p. 247.
21. Davies, pp. 237, 275–6.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 284.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 280.
24. J. Williams, *Narrative*, pp. 38–9; Davies, p. 318. See below, p. 62.
25. James Montgomery, *Journal of Voyages and Travels by the Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet, Esq. Deputed for the London Missionary Society to Visit their Various Stations in the South Sea Islands, China, India, &c., between the years 1821 and 1829*, I, London, 1831, pp. 352–8; W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 1831–32, III, pp. 282–5.
26. Sources for the life of Auna: Davies, pp. 177, 301–3; J. Montgomery, I, pp. 352–8; W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 1829, I, pp. 152, 315; W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 1831–32, III, pp. 283–5; *Missionary Records. Tahiti and Society Islands*, London, n.d. [ca 1836], p. 331; Gunson, *Messengers*, p. 224; Garrett, *Stars*, pp. 39–43; O'Reilly and Teissier, pp. 26–7; H. E. Maude, 'The Raiatean Chief Auna and the Conversion of Hawaii', *JPH*, VIII (1973), pp. 188–191; Mark Gallagher, 'The Tahiti Connection: Planting Christianity in Hawaii', *Pacific Journal of Theology [PJT]*, Series II, No. 14 (1995), pp. 25–7.
27. Davies, p. 177.
28. W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 1831–32, I, p. 244.
29. Davies, p. 303.
30. J. Montgomery, I, p. 352.
31. W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 1831–32, III, p. 295.
32. Handy, *Polynesian Religion*, p. 158; D. Oliver, *Ancient Tahitian Society*, pp. 864–5.
33. Davies, p. 24.
34. Gunson, *Messengers*, pp. 35–9.
35. Ebenezer Prout, *Memoir of the Life of the Rev. John Williams, Missionary to Polynesia*, London, 1843, p. 171.
36. J. Williams, *Narrative*, pp. 6, 9.
37. The letter is reproduced in Prout, pp. 172–8.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 609–10.
39. J. Williams, *Narrative*, p. x.
40. D. Coates, John Beecham and William Ellis, *Christianity the Means of Civilization: shown in the Evidence given before a Committee of the House of Commons, on Aborigines*, London, 1837, p. 295.
41. J. Williams, *Narrative*, p. 516.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 521.
43. Rev. Samuel Tamatoa Williams, prefatory note in James J. Ellis, *John Williams. The Martyr Missionary of Polynesia*, London, n.d. [ca 1889], p. viii.
44. Coates, pp. 304–5; J. Williams, *Narrative*, pp. 112–13, 291.
45. Coates, pp. 304–6.
46. Missionary teachers from Tahiti and the Leeward Islands are listed in Gunson, *Messengers*, pp. 357–63, and in Henri Vernier, *Au vent des cyclones. Puai noa mai te vero. Histoire des missions Protestantes et de l'Église Évangélique à Tahiti et en Polynésie Française*, Papeete, 1985, pp. 382–5. There is also a 'Record of the Pacific Islands Missionaries' held at the Pacific Theological College, Suva, Fiji.
47. J. King, *Christianity in Polynesia*, dedication page.
48. J. Montgomery, II, p. 108; Davies, p. 275; J. Williams, *Narrative*, p. 175.
49. J. Williams, *Narrative*, p. 176.
50. Hugh Cuming, 'Journal of a Voyage ... in the years 1827 and 1828', p. 118, cit. in Gunson, *Messengers*, p. 321.
51. J. Montgomery, II, pp. 108–9.
52. Otto von Kotzebue, *A New Voyage round the World, in the years 1823, 24, 25 and 26*, London, 1830, I, pp. 153–4.
53. J. Montgomery, I, pp. 514–5; II, p. 109.

54. W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 1829, II, p. 546; *Missionary Records*, p. 285.
55. For LMS missionary training, Bogue and the Gosport Seminary, see Stuart Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries 1789–1858. The Social Background, Motives and Training of British Protestant Missionaries to India*, n.p., 1984, pp. 156–8, 162–4, 168–9, 175–81; Lovegrove, *Established Church*, pp. 66–87; Gunson, *Messengers*, pp. 64–71.
56. John Chalmers, 3 March 1820, LMS Candidates' Papers (Pritchard), cit. in Gunson, *Messengers*, pp. 70–1.
57. G. Pritchard, 26 Feb. 1829, SSL (Reel 24).
58. Pritchard, 26 Feb. 1829; Pritchard to brethren, 4 July 1829, SSL (Reel 24).
59. Letters of Armitage, Orsmond, Nott, Davies, Wilson, Simpson and Crook to Pritchard, July and Aug. 1829, SSL (Reel 24).
60. Pritchard, 14 Jan. 1830; A. Simpson, 30 Oct. 1830, SSL (Reel 24).
61. Pritchard, 26 Oct. 1830; 3 June 1831, SSL (Reel 24).
62. Simpson, 30 Oct. 1830, SSL (Reel 24); Pritchard, 17 May 1832, SSL (Reel 25); 23 May 1833, 5 Feb. 1834, SSL (Reel 26).
63. Resolutions, 10 Jan., 21 June, 24 Dec. 1842, SSL (Reel 30); W. Howe, 28 Sept. 1843, SSL (Reel 31).
64. Howe, 13 March, 19 June, 22 July 1844; J. Jesson, 1 Aug., 1 Oct., 9 Nov. 1844; Moses, 19 Aug. 1844; Iria, 20 Aug. 1844, SSL (Reel 32); J. Barff, 31 March, 27 June 1845, SSL (Reel 33); J. Barff, 16 Jan., 13 April, 18 Dec. 1846, SSL (Reel 34); Howe, 23 Oct. 1861, SSL (Reel 42).
65. D. Darling, 15 Jan. 1848; Howe, 31 Jan., 9 May 1848; A. Chisholm, 22 Feb., 9 May 1848, SSL (Reel 36).
66. Howe, 2 Jan., 16 April, 8 July, 19 Nov. 1850; Chisholm, 11 Jan., 24 April, 4 Sept. 1850; E. Krause, 23 Oct. 1850, SSL (Reel 37); Chisholm, 21 Oct. 1851; Howe, 17 July 1852, SSL (Reel 38).
67. C. Barff, 6 Nov. 1851; Krause 13 Jan. 1852; Howe, 31 July 1852, SSL (Reel 38); Krause, 2 Jan. 1854, SSL (Reel 39); 14 March 1855, SSL (Reel 40).
68. Directors to C. Barff, 18 Jan. 1828, Western Outgoing Letters, LMS Archives (Reel 102).
69. W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 1829, I, pp. 152, 315.
70. *Missionary Records*, p. 331.
71. W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 1831–32, II, pp. 170–1.
72. Jacques Nicole, 'Manuscript XIX. The First Missionary Text in a Polynesian Language', *JPH*, XXII, 2 (April 1987), p. 96.
73. London Missionary Society, *A Tahitian and English Dictionary*, Tahiti, 1851, p. 173.
74. D. Oliver, *Ancient Tahitian Society*, pp. 864–6.
75. Eg., Davies, p. 214.
76. J. Montgomery, I, p. 402.
77. Eg., Thomas Arbousset, *Tahiti et les îles adjacentes*, Paris, 1867, p. 192.
78. Davies, pp. 237, 276; W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 1831–32, II, pp. 114–15; W. Henry, 26 Dec. 1832, SSL (Reel 25); 18 Feb. 1840, SSL (Reel 29). Patii died a few years later: Gunson, *Messengers*, p. 360.
79. Pritchard, Journal, 2 July–9 Sept. 1835, SSJ, LMS Archives (Reel 6); Simpson, Journal, 27 Dec. 1841–26 Feb. 1842, SSJ (Reel 7).
80. See Orsmond's preface (p. 1) and numerous footnotes in Teuira Henry's edition (*Ancient Tahiti*) of her grandfather Orsmond's ethnographical material.
81. Pritchard, 3 June 1831, SSL (Reel 25); T. Heath, 8 Dec. 1840, SSL (Reel 29); G. Platt, 29 Sept. 1845, SSL (Reel 33); J. Barff, 2 July 1846, SSL (Reel 34); G. Charter and E. Krause, 10 July 1849, SSL (Reel 37); Davies, 30 Dec. 1851, SSL (Reel 38); Davies, p. 282; Gunson, *Messengers*, p. 358.
82. Howe, 22 Jan., 29 May 1852, SSL (Reel 38); H. Vernier, pp. 69–70.
83. Howe, 17 July 1852, SSL (Reel 38).
84. Howe, 14 July 1851, 29 May 1852, SSL (Reel 38); J. Barff, July 1855, SSL (Reel 40); Lovett, *History*, I, p. 331.
85. Howe, 14 July 1851, 17 July 1852, SSL (Reel 38); H. Vernier, p. 70.
86. Chisholm, 2 May 1851; J. Barff, 3 June 1851, 6 Jan. 1852; Howe, 22 Jan., 16 Nov. 1852, SSL (Reel 38).
87. *Journal des Missions Évangéliques [JME]*, 40 (1865), p. 206; O'Reilly and Teissier, p. 359.
88. Chisholm, 20 April 1855; 29 May 1856, SSL (Reel 40); J. Barff, 30 Sept. 1857, SSL (Reel 41); Chisholm, 19 March 1860; C. Barff, 27 May 1861, SSL (Reel 42); J. Vivian, 20 Nov. 1865, SSL (Reel 44).
89. Chisholm, 29 Sept. 1857; C. Barff, 2 Dec. 1858, SSL (Reel 41).
90. Howe, 13 Feb. 1854; J. Barff, 26 Aug. 1853, SSL (Reel 39); Feb. 1855, SSL (Reel 40); 4 June, 27 Oct., 25 Dec. 1857; 15 July, 22 Nov., 1858; 20 Nov. 1859; Chisholm, 17 March, 18 March 1857, 16 Feb., 6 July, 29 Oct. 1858, 7 April 1859, SSL (Reel 41); C. Barff, n.d. [1860], SSL (Reel 42); Arbousset, pp. 261–2.
91. Chisholm, 9 July 1858, SSL (Reel 41).

92. J. Barff, 4 June 1857, SSL (Reel 41).
93. Arthur Tidman, in *Conference on Missions Held in 1860 at Liverpool*, London, 1860, p. 225. See also Howe, 23 Oct. 1861, SSL (Reel 42).
94. Handy, *Polynesian Religion*, p. 152.
95. Ralph M. Wiltgen, *The Founding of the Roman Catholic Church in Oceania 1825 to 1850*, Canberra, 1979, p. 32.
96. Paul Hodée, *Tahiti 1834–1884. 150 ans de vie chrétienne en église*, Papeete, 1983, pp. 208, 279–80, 394.
97. *Ibid.*, pp. 394–5.
98. Fierens to Jaussen, 1866, cit. in *ibid.*, p. 278.
99. *Annales des Sacrés-Coeurs [ASC]*, n.s., 5th year, No. 5 (May 1898), p. 196.
100. Georges Goyau, *Le premier demi-siècle de l'apostolat des Picpiciens aux Iles Gambier*, Paris, 1928, p. 48; Pierre-Yves Toullelan, *Missionnaires au quotidien à Tahiti. Les Picpiciens en Polynésie au XIXe siècle*, Leiden, 1995, Plates 1, 34.
101. Germain to Jaussen, 1877, cit. in Hodée, p. 279.
102. ASC, n.s., 3rd year, No. 3 (March 1896), p. 103; Bigault, 'Clergé indigène', p. 116; Hodée, pp. 176, 270, 274, 279.
103. J.-B. Piolet, *Les missions Catholiques Françaises au XIXe siècle*, Paris, 1902, IV, pp. 50, 83.
104. ASC, n.s., 5th year, No. 11 (Nov. 1898), p. 418; Hodée, pp. 212, 277–8.
105. Hodée, pp. 280, 396; C. S. M. Rademaker, *The Catholic Mission in the Cook Islands 1894–1994*, Bavel, 1994, p. 30.
106. 'Neminem profecto', summarised by P. Lesourd, 'Le reveil des missions: Grégoire XVI (1831–46)', in S. Delacroix (ed.), *Histoire universelle des missions Catholique: les missions contemporaines*, III, Paris, 1958, p. 71.
107. *Mémoire sur les missions de l'Océanie et sur les améliorations qu'on pourrait y réaliser*, Rome, 1849, pp. 3, 7, 8, 9. This pamphlet is held by the Marist Archives in Rome, with a note attributing it to L. Perret.
108. C. Liausu, 18 Jan. 1841, cit. in Bigault, 'Clergé indigène', p. 114.
109. Goyau, p. 29; Bigault, 'Clergé indigène', p. 114; Hodée, pp. 273–4.
110. Dubois, 'Formation'; Bigault, 'Clergé indigène', p. 115; Honoré Laval, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Mangareva ère Chrétienne 1834–1871*, C. W. Newbury and P. O'Reilly (eds), Paris, 1968, p. 622; O'Reilly and Teissier, p. 572.
111. Dubois, 'Formation'; Bigault, 'Clergé indigène', p. 116; Hodée, pp. 176, 274.
112. H. Vernier, pp. 72–4.
113. Toullelan, pp. 125–7.
114. JME, 38 (1863), pp. 329–31; JME, 46 (1871), p. 91; Arbousset, p. 195; Henri Clavier, *Thomas Arbousset. Recherche historique sur son milieu, sa personnalité, son oeuvre*, Paris, 1965, p. 172; O'Reilly and Teissier, p. 133.
115. Arbousset, p. 198; JME, 40 (1865), p. 55.
116. Arbousset, pp. 189–90.
117. JME, 40 (1865), p. 444.
118. JME, 51 (1876), p. 290.
119. Charles Vernier, *Tahitiens d'hier et d'aujourd'hui*, Paris, 1948, pp. 189–90; H. Vernier, pp. 80–4. The text of the decree is reproduced in H. Vernier, pp. 403–10.
120. JME, 38 (1863), p. 328; Arbousset, pp. 194, 228, 248–50, 295, 308.
121. Darling, 23 June 1856, SSL (Reel 40).
122. JME, 45 (1870), pp. 212–13.
123. JME, 46 (1871), p. 91.
124. Letter and journal of F. Vernier, cit. in H. Vernier, pp. 120–1.
125. JME, 51 (1876), p. 90.
126. J. Green, 22 March, 16 July 1864, SSL (Reel 44).
127. Arbousset, pp. 261–2; JME, 42 (1867), pp. 427, 463; JME, 43 (1868), pp. 167–8; JME, 51 (1876), p. 130; Green, 28 Dec. 1865, SSL (Reel 44); G. Morris, 1 June 1867, SSL (Reel 45); A. Pearse, 23 Jan. 1873; Vivian, 24 Jan., 22 Aug. 1873, SSL (Reel 49); Lovett, *History*, I, p. 349.
128. Green, 5 April 1877, SSL (Reel 51); JME, 52 (1877), p. 336.
129. JME, 51 (1876), p. 301.
130. JME, 61 (1886), p. 190.
131. JME, 66 (1891), p. 248.
132. JME, 64 (1889), p. 389; JME, 66 (1891), pp. 249–50.
133. JME, 67 (1892), pp. 318–21.
134. JME, 74 (1899), pp. 502–4.
135. JME, 62 (1887), p. 232.
136. JME, 42 (1867), p. 420; JME, 45 (1870), p. 58.
137. JME, 39 (1864), p. 51; JME, 45 (1870), p. 292.

138. Morris, 4 May 1868, SSL (Reel 45); Green, 29 Oct. 1878, SSL (Reel 51); JME, 66 (1891), pp. 279–80; C. Vernier, p. 187.
139. JME, 61 (1886), pp. 139–40.
140. JME, 61 (1886), pp. 188–9; JME, 62 (1887), p. 32; Decree, cit. in H. Vernier, p. 403.
141. C. Vernier, pp. 197, 200–2.
142. Green, 29 Oct. 1878, SSL (Reel 51); JME, 74 (1899), pp. 205, 272.
143. Albertine Loomis, *To All People. A History of the Hawaii Conference of the United Church of Christ*, Honolulu, 1970, pp. 147–73; Nancy J. Morris, 'Hawaiian Missionaries in the Marquesas', *Hawaiian Journal of History* [HJH], 13 (1979), pp. 46–58; Greg Denning, *Islands and Beaches. Discourse on a Silent Land. Marquesas 1774–1880*, Honolulu, 1980, pp. 254–7. A list of the Hawaiian missionaries can be found in Henry P. Judd, 'The Hawaiian Mission to the Marquesas and Micronesia', in Hawaiian Mission Centennial Central Committee, *The Centennial Book. One Hundred Years of Christian Civilization in Hawaii 1820–1920: a Symposium*, Honolulu, 1920, pp. 51–2. Robert Louis Stevenson recorded his meeting with Kauwealoha — 'a fine, rugged old gentleman' — in 1888; from him, he heard the much-told story of Kekela's rescue of an American sailor and the reward he received from President Lincoln: *In the South Seas*, London, 1900, pp. 87–90.
144. James M. Alexander, *The Islands of the Pacific. From the Old to the New*, New York, 1895, p. 250.
145. JME, 74 (1899), pp. 43–4 [author's translation], 509.
146. Alexander, pp. 246–7.
147. JME, 64 (1889), p. 388.
148. Sermon, 1881, cit. in Marchand, p. 9; JME, 66 (1891), pp. 247–8.
149. JME, 74 (1899), p. 410.
150. S. George Ellsworth, *Zion in Paradise. Early Mormons in the South Seas*, Logan, Utah, 1959; John Garrett, *Footsteps in the Sea. Christianity in Oceania to World War II*, Suva and Geneva, 1992, pp. 248–9.
151. F. Edward Butterworth, 'Sons of the Sea', typescript, n.d. (microfilm, PMB 90), pp. 64–5; O'Reilly and Teissier, pp. 549–50.
152. R. Lanier Britsch, *Unto the Islands of the Sea: a History of the Latter-day Saints in the Pacific*, Salt Lake City, 1986, p. 29.
153. JME, 44 (1869), pp. 85–6 [author's translation].

Chapter Three — Cook Islands

1. Raeburn Lange, 'A History of Health and Ill-Health in the Cook Islands', PhD thesis, University of Otago, 1982, pp. 24–5.
2. LMS activities in the Cook Islands in this period are described in J. Williams, *Narrative*; Aaron Buzacott, *Mission Life in the Islands of the Pacific, being a Narrative of the Life and Labours of the Rev. A. Buzacott*, J. P. Sunderland and A. Buzacott, jr. (eds), London, 1866; Lovett, *History*, I.
3. W. Gill, 7 July 1849, 31 Dec. 1850, SSL (Reel 37).
4. W. Gill, 1 Oct. 1841, SSL (Reel 30); G. Gill, 26 March 1849, SSL (Reel 37); William Gill, *Gems from the Coral Islands*, London, n.d., pp. 191–2. The work of the Tahaa teachers on Mangaia is discussed by Papa Aratangi in his two theses: 'The Entry of Christianity into Mangaian Society in the 1820s', BD project report, Pacific Theological College, 1986; 'The Transformation of the Mangaian Religion', MTh thesis, Pacific Theological College, 1988.
5. R. Bourne, 20 Jan. 1825, SSL (Reel 22); A. Buzacott, 18 Aug. 1845, SSL (Reel 33); 12 Jan. 1854, SSL (Reel 39); J. Williams, *Narrative*, pp. 278–9; William Wyatt Gill, *From Darkness to Light in Polynesia*, London, 1894, pp. 326–7.
6. I have used the usual Rarotongan spelling of this name, rather than the Ma'ohi spelling (Papeiha) used in many of the early sources. See Taira Rere, *History of the Papehia Family*, Suva, 1977, pp. 1–3.
7. Details of Papehia's early missionary work, as seen largely through Polynesian eyes, can be found in several 19th-century sources. A manuscript entitled 'More Joy for Christians. Or the power of Christ displayed in effecting mighty things by weak instruments, in the complete overthrow of idolatry in the Island of Aitutaki, written by Mr. Williams from the mouth of Papeiha, one of the native teachers sent to that Island by the Church of Christ at Raiatea' [1823?], is held in the LMS Archives (SSJ, Reel 4). This account was used by Williams in his *Narrative*, pp. 66–77. Papehia's own manuscript account of his early work on Rarotonga is held in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand (MS 1187/111): some of this material was used by Williams in his book (pp. 171–85); the manuscript has been translated by Marjorie Crocombe. See also information in Maretu's account: *Cannibals and Converts. Radical Change in the Cook Islands*, (trans. and ed. by Marjorie T. Crocombe), Suva, 1983, pp. 55–77, 198–201.

8. Rere, pp. 55, 59–61.
9. Eg., C. Pitman, 6 Nov. 1827; E. Pitman, 12 Dec. 1827, SSL (Reel 23).
10. Maretu, p. 95; Buzacott, pp. 40–1, 79–80. Tiberio fades out of the written record, but it is mentioned that at a public meeting in 1842 he spoke about the great spiritual achievements of the mission since 1823: William Gill, *Selections from the Autobiography of the Rev. William Gill, being chiefly a Record of his Life as a Missionary in the South Sea Islands*, London, 1880. In 1845, Tiberio's wife succeeded to the Makea ariki title. He died in 1849, a deacon at Arorangi and 'one of our most active, upright and intelligent men': W. Gill, Sept. 1849, SSL (Reel 37).
11. J. Williams, *Narrative*, pp. 38, 185.
12. Pitman, 16 Dec. 1829, SSL (Reel 24); 29 Sept. 1832 (Reel 25); Buzacott, June 1833; 20 Dec. 1834, SSL (Reel 26); W. Gill, 4 Dec. 1849, 25 Oct. 1850, SSL (Reel 37); Buzacott, pp. 40–1.
13. W. Gill, *Selections*, p. 86; J. Hutchin, 28 April 1886, SSL (Reel 54).
14. Buzacott, 18 Nov. 1833, SSL (Reel 26).
15. Pitman, 21 July 1835, SSL (Reel 27).
16. Buzacott, Nov. 1835, SSL (Reel 27).
17. Pitman and Buzacott, 23 May 1839, SSL (Reel 29).
18. Buzacott, 19 May 1833; 20 Dec. 1834; Pitman, 21 May 1833, SSL (Reel 26); Buzacott, pp. 56, 59, 63–72; Maretu, p. 86.
19. Pitman, 3 Feb. 1831, SSJ (Reel 5); 23 Aug. 1834, SSJ (Reel 6); Maretu, pp. 44, 73.
20. Pitman, 19 Dec. 1833, SSJ (Reel 5); 30 June 1837, SSL (Reel 28); Platt, 19 Feb. 1837, SSJ (Reel 6); Maretu, pp. 87, 92. Iro was forced by sudden illness to retire in 1851: Pitman, 18 Nov. 1851, SSL (Reel 38). He was still alive in 1859.
21. Pitman, 26 June 1835, SSL (Reel 27); Maretu, pp. 3, 87, 92, 201; William Wyatt Gill, *Jottings from the Pacific*, London, 1885, pp. 234–7.
22. W. Gill, 10 June 1840, SSL (Reel 29).
23. Maretu, pp. 101–53 (his own account of the Mangaia years); Pitman, 1 March 1841; W. Gill, 7 Aug. 1841, SSL (Reel 30); G. Gill, 7 Feb. 1846, SSL (Reel 34); W. W. Gill, 2 Feb. 1880, SSL (Reel 51); William Wyatt Gill, *Life in the Southern Isles*, London, n.d., p. 102; W. W. Gill, *From Darkness to Light*, p. 337.
24. W. W. Gill, 2 Feb. 1880, SSL (Reel 51). For Maretu's own account of this mission, see Maretu, pp. 157–81.
25. Maretu, pp. 181, 189.
26. The manuscript is now in the Polynesian Society collection in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. It was translated and edited by Marjorie Crocombe and published in 1983 as *Cannibals and Converts. Radical Change in the Cook Islands*.
27. Richard Lovett, *James Chalmers. His Autobiography and Letters*, London, 1902, p. 113.
28. Maretu, p. 8. Obura (died 1889) and Mere Pa were childless but their adopted son, Maretu, became a pastor and later the holder of the Pa ariki title.
29. J. Chalmers, 9 Dec. 1874, SSR, LMS Archives (Reel 15); Lovett, *Chalmers*, p. 77.
30. W. W. Gill, *Life in the Southern Isles*, p. 102.
31. W. W. Gill, *Jottings*, pp. 236–7. See also Maretu, pp. 8–9.
32. Williams, 21 Oct. 1830, SSL (Reel 24); Williams, *Missionary Enterprises*, pp. 286–7, 297–8; Williams, *The Samoan Journals of John Williams 1830 and 1832*, Richard M. Moyle (ed.), Canberra, 1984, pp. 37–8, 42, 75. According to Gunson's list (*Messengers*, p. 360), Tuava died after a few years in Samoa. Raki served on Savai'i, Upolu and Tutuila until 1839 when he was dismissed for immorality: A. W. Murray, 20 March 1840, SSL (Reel 29).
33. Forman, *Island Churches*, p. 22.
34. Maretu, p. 92.
35. Candidates' papers, SSL (Reel 69).
36. Buzacott, pp. 119, 132.
37. Prout, p. 448; Buzacott, p. 132.
38. John Campbell (compiler), *The Missionary's Farewell; Valedictory Services of the Rev. John Williams, with his Parting Dedictory Address*, London, 1840, pp. 75–6.
39. London Missionary Society, 'Native Agency', *Evangelical Magazine*, XVIII (July 1840), p. 350 (cit. in Joe D. Gray, 'A History of Rarotonga 1800–1883', PhD thesis, University of Otago, 1975, pp. 514–15).
40. Williams, 27 March 1839, SSL (Reel 28).
41. Williams, 27 March 1839, SSL (Reel 28); Pitman, 11 May; Pitman and Buzacott, 23 May; Resolutions, 1 July 1839, SSL (Reel 29).
42. Buzacott, 1 Aug. 1839, SSL (Reel 29).

43. Buzacott, 2 June 1840, SSL (Reel 29); 3 June 1844, SSL (Reel 32); W. Gill, 6 July 1847, SSL (Reel 35); 1 Sept. 1849, SSL (Reel 37); Buzacott, pp. 133–6; W. Gill, *Gems*, pp. 58–Buzacott's translation of Bogue's lectures (published Rarotonga, 1857) is entitled *E Au Akoanga no nga Tumū Tuatua i kitea i roto i te Tuatua na te Atua*.
44. Buzacott, 22 March 1856, SSL (Reel 40); G. Gill, 10 June 1857, SSL (Reel 41); W. Gill, *Gems*, pp. 73–4.
45. Krause, 10 Dec. 1860, SSL (Reel 42); W. W. Gill, 2 Jan. 1878, SSL (Reel 51).
46. The names of those who studied at Takamoa and served in the Cook Islands church and overseas between 1839 and 1976, together with their dates of service and places of appointment, appear on 'A Register of Cook Islands Christian Church (L.M.S.) Pastors who Served in the Cook Islands and Overseas (1839–1976)', prepared for the Cook Islands Government by the Anthropological Division of the Premier's Department in 1976 (a copy is held in the library of the Pacific Theological College, Suva, Fiji). For Rupe, see W. Gill, 1 Oct. 1841, SSL (Reel 30); 11 April 1845, SSL (Reel 33); 7 July 1849, SSL (Reel 37); H. Royle 14 July 1849, SSL (Reel 37); Buzacott, 22 March, 10 June 1856, SSL (Reel 38); Hutchin, 12 Jan. 1888, SSR, (Reel 16).
47. For Marama's arrival in Samoa, see Buzacott, p. 162. He died in 1873.
48. Murray, journal of voyage, 1841, item 130; Buzacott, journal of voyage 1842, item 133, SSJ (Reel 7).
49. Buzacott, journal of voyage, 1842, item 133, SSJ (Reel 7). See also the list of Polynesian LMS missionaries in Gunson, *Messengers*, pp. 357–63; the names are listed also in the 'Record' held by the Pacific Theological College. Rangi was killed, Kapao fell sick and died, Zekaria was dismissed, and Pao moved to Lifu and died there after many years of effective service.
50. Apolo's history concerned the introduction of Christianity to Manihiki: see Polynesian Society papers (1187/61), Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. Tairi's account of Manihiki historical traditions was published in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society [JPS]*, in 1915.
51. Luka's 'Introduction of the Gospel to Pukapuka', dated 1869, is to be found in the Polynesian Society papers (1187/60).
52. Cook Islands Government, 'Register', p. 26.
53. Chalmers, 1875 (No. 166), SSJ (Reel 9).
54. James Chalmers, *Pioneer Life and Work in New Guinea 1877–1894*, London, 1895, p. 22.
55. LMS list, 1886, in R. and M. Crocombe (eds), *Polynesian Missions*, p. 131.
56. Marjorie Tuainekore Crocombe, 'Ruatoka. A Cook Islander in Papuan History', in *ibid.*, pp. 55–78.
57. The figure was estimated from the 1886 list reproduced in *ibid.*, pp. 131–4, but a larger number is suggested by the figures (52 couples sent between 1872 and 1891) published in W. W. Gill, *Darkness*, p. 359.
58. Letter published in *Te Karere*, Dec. 1901 (translation by J. H. Cullen, in Eastman papers, Pacific Theological College Library, Suva).
59. W. Gill, *Gems*, pp. 59–60, 74.
60. G. Gill, 1 Feb. 1860, SSL (Reel 42).
61. W. Gill, *Selections*, p. 247.
62. Buzacott, p. 136.
63. W. W. Gill, *Life in the Southern Isles*, p. 163.
64. W. W. Gill, 'The Rarotongan Institution', *London Missionary Society Chronicle*, 26 (April 1888), p. 167.
65. W. W. Gill, *Darkness*, p. 359.
66. Lovett, *Chalmers*, pp. 90–1.
67. W. W. Gill, 'The Rarotongan Institution', pp. 167–8.
68. R. Wardlaw Thompson, *My Trip in the 'John Williams'*, London, 1900, p. 158.
69. W. N. Lawrence, annual report, 1888, cit. in Lovett, *History*, I, p. 370.
70. Ta'unga's letters and other writings have been translated, edited and published by R. G. and Marjorie Crocombe as *The Works of Ta'unga. Records of a Polynesian Traveller in the South Seas 1833–1896*. The book contains much historical information about Ta'unga's life and its context.
71. R. and M. Crocombe (eds), *Ta'unga*, pp. 144–7. The quotation is from W. W. Gill, *Darkness*, p. 350. The mission's publication, *Te Akapapa Anga i te Tuatua Tapu*, Mangaia, 1896, is Ta'unga's translation from the Samoan of a biblical history by George Turner.
72. Buzacott, 6 July 1853, SSL (Reel 39); 14 June 1855, SSL (Reel 40).
73. Buzacott, 14 June 1855, SSL (Reel 40); Chalmers, 22 June 1869, SSL (Reel 46); Buzacott, p. 138.
74. Lovett, *Chalmers*, pp. 114–15.
75. Hutchin, 28 Sept. 1905, SSL (Reel 67); Cook Islands Government, 'Register'; R. and M. Crocombe (eds), *Ta'unga*, pp. 128–9, 131–2, 136.
76. Samuel MacFarlane, 'Pao, the Apostle of Lifu', in Pierson, *Pacific Islanders*, pp. 29 ff.

77. W. Gill, *Selections*, pp. 193–5.
78. W. W. Gill, 28 Aug. 1877, SSL (Reel 51); W. W. Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, London, 1876, pp. 213–14, 306.
79. Stephen Savage, *A Dictionary of the Maori Language of Rarotonga*, Wellington, 1962, p. 116.
80. G. Gill, 30 June 1859, SSL (Reel 41). In addition, Papehia, Teava and Iro were mentioned as retired *orometua*.
81. List, 1879, SSR (Reel 15); W. N. Lawrence, 'Work in the Hervey Group and Out-Station', *Proceedings of the Founders' Week Convention*, 1895, London, 1895, p. 50.
82. W. Gill, 7 Aug. 1841, SSL (Reel 30). See also Maretu, pp. 130, 133–4.
83. For Itio, see Buzacott, 18 Aug. 1845, SSL (Reel 33); 12 Jan. 1854, SSL (Reel 39); W. Gill, *Selections*, p. 165; W. W. Gill, *Jottings*, p. 44; W. W. Gill, Aug.–Sept. 1879, SSR (Reel 15). He died in 1896: Hutchin, 30 Dec. 1896, SSR (Reel 17). No doubt this pastor was the same Itio whose traditional stories are preserved in Gill's papers in the Polynesian Society collection (Alexander Turnbull Library) and published in *JPS* in 1911 and 1912.
84. Rupe's mother was Tapaeru, a member of the Makea *ariki* family of Rarotonga, who was abducted by British seafarers in 1814 and taken to Aitutaki. His father was a chief of Aitutaki, who by 1845 was chief judge and a church deacon. Tapaeru had accompanied Williams from Aitutaki to Rarotonga on his celebrated first voyage there in 1823, and played an important role in the acceptance of the first missionary Papehia. See Royle, 16 April; W. Gill, 16 June 1845, SSL (Reel 33); W. Gill, *Gems*, p. 279; H. E. Maude (with Marjorie Tuainekore Crocombe), 'Rarotongan Sandalwood. The Visit of Goodenough to Rarotonga in 1814', *Of Islands and Men. Studies in Pacific History*, Melbourne, 1968, pp. 360, 369–71.
85. W. Gill, 6 March 1847, SSL (Reel 35); 31 Dec. 1848 (Reel 36); 7 July 1849, SSL (Reel 37); Royle, 14 July 1849, SSL (Reel 37); Krause, 1 June 1866, SSL (Reel 45).
86. W. W. Gill, 28 Aug. 1878, SSL (Reel 51); *JPS*, XX, 79 (Sept. 1911), pp. 147–51; *JPS*, XXII, 86 (June 1913), p. 74; W. W. Gill, *Manuscripts*, Vol. II, p. 236, Polynesian Society papers (1187/61), Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. Rupe had died by 1884, according to a list in Hutchin's diary (entry for 28 June 1884), Hutchin Family Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library (microfilm 0225). Lovett, *History*, I, p. 369 (followed in this by M. Crocombe in Maretu, p. 129) mistakenly combines into one identity the two *orometua* named Rupe. The list in Gunson, *Messengers*, p. 360, similarly runs the two identities together.
87. W. Gill, 31 Dec. 1848, SSL (Reel 36); W. W. Gill, 1 July 1857, SSL (Reel 41); W. Gill, *Gems*, p. 280; *Selections*, p. 131; W. W. Gill, *Jottings*, p. 56.
88. G. Gill, 18 Oct. 1847, SSL (Reel 35); 26 March 1849, SSL (Reel 37); W. Gill, 31 Dec. 1848, SSL (Reel 36).
89. W. W. Gill, *Life*, pp. 114–16; *Darkness*, pp. 367–72. Gill's collections of sermon illustrations in these books are mostly from Mamae's preaching. See also Gill's Mangaia chronology, Polynesian Society Papers (1187/61), Alexander Turnbull Library; G. Harris, 22 April 1873, 20 Aug. 1881, SSR (Reel 15); 21 Nov. 1889, SSR (Reel 16). One of Mamae's narratives is reproduced and translated by Michael Reilly, 'A Political Succession Text from Mangaia', *JPS*, 102:1 (March 1993), pp. 71–98.
90. H. E. Maude, *Slavers in Paradise. The Peruvian Labour Trade in Polynesia, 1862–1864*, Canberra, 1981, pp. 5–11.
91. Chalmers, 15 Aug. 1870, SSL (Reel 47); Vivian, 1871 (No. 159); Chalmers, 1872 (No. 162), SSJ (Reel 9); W. W. Gill, 6 May 1878, 9 Aug. 1880, 12 Oct. 1880, SSL (Reel 51).
92. J. H. Cullen, 29 Aug. 1895, SSL (Reel 60); Hutchin, Aug. 1896 (No. 190), SSJ (Reel 10); Cullen, 11 May 1899, SSL (Reel 63); W. Lawrence, 11 Aug. 1900, SSL (Reel 64); Hutchin, May 1904, SSL (Reel 67).
93. Cook Islands Government, 'Register'; Chalmers, 1 Jan. 1869, SSL (Reel 46); Hutchin, diary entry for 22 Aug. 1890, Alexander Turnbull Library (microfilm 0225, Reel 2); Lovett, *Chalmers*, pp. 365–6; Rere, pp. 49–50, 65.
94. Cook Islands Government, 'Register'; Hutchin, 13 June 1906, SSL (Reel 68); Maretu, p. 8; R. Thompson, p. 164.
95. Hutchin, 6 Jan. 1888, SSL (Reel 55); R. and M. Crocombe (eds), *Ta'unga*, p. 148.
96. Harris, 6 July 1882, SSL (Reel 52); Peter H. Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa), *Mangaia and the Mission*, (ed. and introd. by Rod Dixon and Teaea Parima), Suva, 1993, p. 20.
97. Cullen, 29 Aug. 1895, SSL (Reel 60); Norman Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society 1895–1945*, London, 1954, p. 402. Banapa recorded 'An Old Tradition from Rakahanga', which was later published in *JPS* (1920).
98. W. W. Gill, *Darkness*, p. 364.
99. W. W. Gill, 18 Aug. 1869, SSL (Reel 46); *Jottings*, pp. 73–5.
100. Chalmers, 28 Sept. 1874, SSL (Reel 49); W. W. Gill, 1877 (No. 172), SSJ (Reel 9); list, 1879, SSR (Reel 15); statistics, 1881 (No. 177), SSJ (Reel 9); Lovett, *Chalmers*, p. 117.
101. Chalmers to J. L. Green, 11 Aug. 1875, Green papers (PMB 38).
102. W. W. Gill, *Darkness*, p. 359.

103. Joel T. Taime, 'The Christianisation of Tongareva (Penrhyn) Island', BD thesis, Pacific Theological College, 1983, pp. 86–7.
104. W. Gill, *Gems*, pp. v, 279; *Selections*, pp. 165, 247.
105. Pitman, 1 Jan. 1852, SSL (Reel 38).
106. W. W. Gill, 2 Jan. 1868, SSL (Reel 45); 18 Aug. 1869, SSL (Reel 46).
107. W. W. Gill, 2 Jan. 1868, SSL (Reel 45).
108. Teava to Mrs Buzacott, 30 Jan. 1865, SSL (Reel 44).
109. W. W. Gill, 1877 (No. 172), SSJ (Reel 9).
110. W. Gill, *Gems*, p. 237; W. W. Gill, 12 April 1857; G. Gill, 10 June 1857, SSL (Reel 41).
111. Lovett, *History*, I, p. 691; Goodall, p. 8.
112. Lovett, *Chalmers*, p. 109.
113. Chalmers, 3 Jan. 1891, SSR (Reel 16).
114. W. W. Gill, 27 July 1883, SSL (Reel 52); Hutchin, 29 Sept. 1884, SSL (Reel 53).
115. Harris, 20 Nov. 1879, SSL (Reel 51).
116. Harris, 1 June 1883, SSL (Reel 52).
117. W. W. Gill, 1881 (No. 177), SSJ (Reel 9); 27 July 1883, SSL (Reel 52).
118. Lawrence, p. 53; R. Wardlaw Thompson's comments, Lawrence, p. 59.
119. Savage pp. 344, 427; Taime, p. 11; Aratangi, 'Entry', p. 39.
120. Savage, p. 366.
121. W. W. Gill, *Darkness*, pp. 314–17; Peter H. Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa), *Mangaian Society*, Honolulu, 1934, pp. 112–21; Aratangi, 'Entry', pp. 18–27; Aratangi, 'Transformation', pp. 25–36; Michael P. J. Reilly, 'Women in Mangaian Society', *JPH*, 36:2 (Sept. 2001), pp. 151–5, 157. Gill calls the two *ariki* 'kings', but Buck prefers 'high priests'.
122. G. Gill, 26 March 1849, SSL (Reel 49); W. W. Gill, *Darkness*, p. 328.
123. Buck, *Mangaia and the Mission*, pp. 25–6; Aratangi, 'Transformation', pp. 70–1.
124. Buzacott, p. 41; W. Gill, *Selections*, p. 86; W. W. Gill, *Darkness*, pp. 312–13; *Myths and Songs*, pp. 213–14.
125. Raeburn Lange, 'Changes in Rarotongan Attitudes Toward Health and Disease: Historical Factors in the Development of a Mid-Twentieth Century Understanding', *Pacific Studies*, X:1 (Nov. 1986), pp. 29–53.
126. Buzacott, 10 June 1856, SSL (Reel 40).
127. W. W. Gill, *Darkness*, pp. 214–15.
128. Aratangi, 'Entry', pp. 38–40.
129. W. W. Gill, 2 Jan. 1878, SSL (Reel 51).
130. W. W. Gill, 26 June, 28 Aug. 1878, SSL (Reel 51); *Jottings*, p. 40; Harris, 5 Nov. 1878, SSR (Reel 15).
131. W. W. Gill, 1881 (No. 177), SSJ (Reel 9); *Jottings*, pp. 44, 46.
132. Hamilton Hunter to High Commissioner, 10 Sept. 1896, reproduced in Andrew Teariki Campbell (ed.), *Impressions of Tongareva (Penrhyn Island) 1816–1901*, Suva, 1984, pp. 101–5.
133. Lawrence, p. 52.
134. ASC, new series, 3rd year, No. 1 (Jan. 1896), pp. 23, 25.

Chapter Four — Samoa

1. R. P. Gilson, *Samoa 1830–1900: The Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, Melbourne, 1970, p. 6.
2. J. Williams, *Missionary Enterprises*, pp. 355–6; see also pp. 330, 342, and *Samoa Journals*, p. 70.
3. J. Williams, *Samoa Journals*, pp. 109–11, 114, 280–1; *Missionary Enterprises*, pp. 421–2; Buzacott, pp. 118, 126.
4. J. Williams, *Samoa Journals*, pp. 111–13; Buzacott, p. 127; Gilson, pp. 77, 87n.
5. Fa'atulituli Setu, 'The Ministry in the Making. A History of the Emergence of the Ministry of the Church in Samoa 1830–1900', MTh thesis, Pacific Theological College, 1988, pp. 15–23.
6. J. Williams, *Samoa Journals*, p. 140; *Narrative*, p. 416. *Tama* is literally 'father'; *lotu* is a word (probably originally Tongan) that established itself in central and western Polynesia to denote Christianity.
7. J. Williams, *Samoa Journals*, p. 102.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 264–6.
9. George Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago and Long Before*, London, 1884, p. 18; Handy, *Polynesian Religion*, p. 136.
10. Turner, pp. 18–21, 140–1; John B. Stair, *Old Samoa, or Flotsam and Jetsam from the Pacific Ocean*, London, 1897, pp. 220–8.
11. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 21, 78; Stair, pp. 223–5.

12. Handy, *Polynesian Religion*, p. 152; F. M. Keesing, *Modern Samoa. Its Government and Changing Life*, London, 1934, pp. 399–400; D. J. Inglis, 'Change and Continuity in Samoan Religion: the Role of the Congregational Christian Church', PhD thesis, University of New South Wales, 1991, pp. 103–15.
13. The male teachers are named in J. Williams, *Samoa Journals*, pp. 23, 75.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 123; Gilson, p. 76.
15. J. Williams, *Missionary Enterprises*, p. 332.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 425.
17. See Gunson, *Messengers*, pp. 357ff., for a compilation of factual data concerning the service of Polynesian missionaries.
18. Williams, 12 Nov. 1839, SSL (Reel 29); Buzacott, p. 160.
19. Cook Islands Government, 'Register', p. 18; T. Powell, 4 July 1861, SSL (Reel 42).
20. H. Nisbet, 22 July 1852, SSL (Reel 38).
21. Murray, 21 Jan. 1852, SSL (Reel 38); Powell, 29 July 1854, SSL (Reel 39); *The Samoan Reporter*, January 1857, p. 3; Samoa District Committee minutes, 30 May 1866, SSL (Reel 45); Powell, 15 Sept. 1876, SSL (Reel 50); minutes, 1878, SSL (Reel 51). For information on Ta'unga's work in Manu'a, together with a translation of his own writings about the islands and the mission there, see R. and M. Crocombe (eds), *Ta'unga*, pp. 118–44.
22. Buzacott, 19 May 1833, SSL (Reel 25); J. Williams, *Samoa Journals*, pp. 97–9; *Narrative*, pp. 410–11.
23. J. Sunderland, 26 Aug. 1852, SSL (Reel 38); Buzacott, pp. 120–2, 137–8; A. W. Murray, *Forty Years' Mission Work in Polynesia and New Guinea, from 1835 to 1875*, London, 1876, pp. 110–11.
24. John Garrett, 'The Conflict between the London Missionary Society and the Wesleyan Methodists in 19th Century Samoa', *JPH*, 9 (1974), pp. 65–73; Wood, I, pp. 257–88; I. C. Campbell, 'The Alleged Imperialism of George Tupou I', *JPH*, 25:2 (1990), pp. 160–3; Niel Gunson, 'The Tonga-Samoa Connection 1777–1845. Some Observations on the Nature of Tongan Imperialism', *JPH*, 25:2 (1990), pp. 176–187.
25. Eg., G. Drummond, 26 Feb. 1848, SSL (Reel 36).
26. For Latuselu, see Walter Lawry, *Friendly and Feejee Islands: a Missionary Visit to Various Stations in the South Seas, in the Year MDCCLXXVII*, London, 1850, pp. 25–8, 33, 44; West, pp. 203–6; Martin Dyson, *My Story of Samoan Methodism; or, a Brief History of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission in Samoa*, Melbourne, 1875, pp. 34, 36; Gilson, pp. 125–6; Garrett, 'Conflict', p. 72; Wood, I, pp. 87, 284, 287–8, 291; Gunson, *Messengers*, p. 363. Some years after his return to Tonga in 1852, Latuselu was dismissed from the ministry for adultery.
27. Dyson, pp. 34, 64–5; Wood, I, pp. 272, 284, 295.
28. Gilson, p. 85; Wood, I, p. 282.
29. C. Hardie, 1 Sept. 1837, SSL (Reel 28).
30. Murray, 10 June 1839, SSL (Reel 29); *Forty Years*, pp. 83, 91, 103, 114.
31. W. Day, 26 May 1842, SSL (Reel 30); Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*, Philadelphia, 1845, Vol. 2, p. 130.
32. Murray, 10 June 1839, SSL (Reel 29).
33. George Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia: Missionary Life, Travels, and Researches in the Islands of the Pacific*, London, 1861, pp. 113, 120–1. See also W. Harbutt, 24 Jan. 1842, SSL (Reel 30).
34. Hardie, April 1851, SSL (Reel 38).
35. T. Heath, 21 Oct.; minutes 31 Oct. 1839, SSL (Reel 29); Wilkes, II, pp. 129–30.
36. For general studies of Samoan LMS missionaries, see Elia T. Ta'ase, 'The Congregational Christian Church in Samoa: the Origin and Development of an Indigenous Church, 1830–1961', PhD thesis, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1995, pp. 217–41; U. F. Nokise, 'The Role of London Missionary Society Samoan Missionaries in the Evangelisation of the South West Pacific: 1839–1930', PhD thesis, The Australian National University, 1992. The names of Samoan Protestant missionaries are found in Gunson, *Messengers*, pp. 357–63, and in the Pacific Theological College's 'Record'. LMS missionaries are listed in Nokise, Appendix B.
37. Turner, 20 March 1844, SSL (Reel 32).
38. Gunson, *Messengers*, pp. 242–4; V. M. Carson, 'The Samoan Mission Seminary 1844–1884', MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1983, p. 13.
39. Murray, 10 July; G. Pratt, 14 Sept. 1843, SSL (Reel 31); *Samoa Reporter*, No. 1 (March 1845), p. 2; Carson, p. 16.
40. Minutes, 31 Oct.; Day, 4 Nov. 1839, SSL (Reel 29); Carson, pp. 17–20.
41. Turner, 20 March; Minutes, 21 March 1844, SSL (Reel 32); Hardie and Turner, 7 March 1845, SSL (Reel 33); Hardie, 27 Feb.; Hardie and Turner, 24 Oct. 1846, SSL (Reel 34); G. Turner, *Nineteen Years*, pp. 124–5, 128–9; Murray, *Forty Years*, pp. 215–16; Carson, pp. 32–40; Featuna'i Liua'ana, 'For Jesus and His Church: Malua Theological College — a Historical Survey of 150 Years of Theological Education, 1844–1994', *PJT*, Series II, No. 14 (1995), p. 54.

42. Turner, *Nineteen Years*, p. 126; Murray, *Forty Years*, p. 458; Gunson, *Messengers*, p. 324; Carson, pp. 187–9.
43. Hardie and Turner, Annual Report, Sept. 1853, SSL (Reel 39).
44. Hardie and Turner, Annual Report, Sept. 1851, SSL (Reel 38); *Samoa Reporter*, No. 17 (Jan. 1856), p. 2; G. Turner, *Nineteen Years*, pp. 132–7; Lovett, *History*, I, p. 391; Gunson, *Messengers*, p. 325; Carson, pp. 51, 61–102.
45. G. Turner, *Nineteen Years*, p. 126.
46. Nisbet, 11 Oct. 1861, SSL (Reel 42).
47. Samoa District Committee, minutes, 6 Dec. 1865, SSL (Reel 44).
48. Hardie, 12 April 1854, SSL (Reel 39); G. Stallworthy, 'On Native Agency', *Samoa Reporter*, No. 17 (Jan. 1856), pp. 3–4; G. Turner, *Nineteen Years*, pp. 128–32; Lovett, *History*, I, p. 391; Carson, pp. 108–17.
49. District committee report, 29 Oct. 1869, SSL (Reel 46).
50. Hardie and Turner, Aug. 1849, SSL (Reel 37).
51. Hardie and Turner, 7 March 1845, SSL (Reel 33); Stallworthy, p. 3.
52. S. J. Whitmee, 'Native Agency', *Samoa Reporter* (Feb. 1870), p. 2.
53. Hardie and Turner, Annual Report, Sept. 1853, SSL (Reel 39); *Samoa Reporter*, No. 15 (Jan 1854), p. 2; Charles Phillips, *Samoa Past and Present. A Narrative of Missionary Work in the South Seas*, London, n.d. [1890], p. 33.
54. Hardie, 15 Aug.; Hardie and Turner, 21 Dec. 1848, SSL (Reel 36); Turner, 17 July; Hardie and Turner, Aug. 1849, Sept. 1850, SSL (Reel 37).
55. S. H. Davies, 15 Jan. 1874, SSL (Reel 50); Carson, pp. 105, 193; Ta'ase, p. 184; Liua'ana, 'For Jesus', p. 56.
56. Certificate and translation, sent by Whitmee, 18 Nov. 1874, SSL (Reel 50).
57. G. Turner, *Nineteen Years*, p. 125.
58. *Samoa Reporter*, New Series, No. 1 (Feb. 1870), p. 5.
59. Phillips, p. 30.
60. Stallworthy, p. 4.
61. Goodall, p. 357.
62. Examiners' report, May 1875; Turner, 25 Sept. 1876, SSL (Reel 50).
63. Nisbet, 9 Nov. 1875, SSL (Reel 50); R. Thompson, pp. 192–3; Goodall, p. 380; Liua'ana, 'For Jesus', p. 56.
64. J. E. Newell, 'Work in the Samoan Group and Out-Stations', *Proceedings of the Founders' Week Convention*, 1895, London, 1895, p. 46; S. J. Whitmee, 'The Training of Native Workers', *Proceedings*, 1895, pp. 322–3; Goodall, p. 358.
65. Liua'ana, 'For Jesus', pp. 57–8.
66. Dyson, pp. 50, 62, 65, 100.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
68. George Brown, *George Brown, D. D. Pioneer-Missionary and Explorer. An Autobiography*, London, n.d. [1908], pp. 31, 40, 60; John S. Austin, *Missionary Enterprise and Home Service*, Sydney, n.d. [ca 1921], pp. 256–7.
69. Wood, I, p. 295. The biblical reference is Acts 11: 24.
70. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices [WMN]*, III, No. 2 (April 1872), pp. 19–20.
71. Dyson, journal, 4 Nov. 1861, Dyson Papers, Mitchell Library; Dyson, *My Story*, p. 66.
72. *Minutes of the 10th Conference of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church* (1864); Dyson, *My Story*, pp. 72, 99; Brown, *Autobiography*, pp. 30–1.
73. Samoa Circuit Report, 1860, Dyson Papers, Vol. 6; Dyson, *My Story*, p. 61.
74. Dyson, journal, 4 Nov. 1861.
75. Dyson, *My Story*, pp. 70–1.
76. Wood, I, p. 295; Ta'ase, p. 10.
77. *WMN*, III, No. 11 (Oct. 1874).
78. Tavita F. S. Fa'alafi, 'A Century in the Making of the Samoan Methodist Church 1828–1928', ThD thesis, Melbourne College of Divinity, 1994, pp. 232–7.
79. Joseph Blanc, *L'héritage d'un évêque d'Océanie*, Toulon, 1921, p. 156.
80. Andrew Hamilton, 'The French Catholic Mission to Samoa 1845–1914', PhD thesis, The Australian National University, 1997, p. 199.
81. *Les Missions Catholiques [MC]*, No. 477 (26 July 1878), p. 357; A. Monfat, *Le Missionnaire des Samoa. Mgr. L. Elloy de la Société de Marie*, Lyon, 1890, p. 410; R. J. Crawford, 'The Lotu and the Fa'a Samoa: Church and Society in Samoa, 1830–1880', PhD thesis, University of Otago, 1977, p. 229.
82. MC, No. 476 (19 July 1878), pp. 340, 341; J. Damand, *Aux Iles Samoa. La forêt qui s'illumine*, Lyon, 1934, pp. 153–5.
83. *Annales des Missions de l'Océanie [AMO]*, VII:2 (July 1888), pp. 136–7.

84. A. Hamilton, pp. 150, 165.
85. Elloy, 10 Feb. 1866; *Annales des Missions de la Société de Marie* [AMSM], III (1866), p. 411; R. Crawford, p. 234; Joseph Heslin, *A History of the Roman Catholic Church in Samoa 1845–1995*, Apia, 1995, p. 41; A. Hamilton, p. 170. A daily timetable and set of rules for Peteleema can be found at A.3.1, Archives of the Diocese of Samoa and Tokelau (OMPA microfilm 26).
86. MC, No. 476 (19 July 1878), pp. 340–1; MC, No. 477 (26 July 1878), p. 356; Monfat, *Missionnaire*, pp. 394–407; Damand, pp. 155–8; Guy de Bigault, 'Le clergé indigène aux Iles Samoa (Océanie)', MC, No. 3316 (16 July 1939), p. 319; Societas Mariae Provincia Oceaniae, *In Memoriam*, Suva, 1990, p. 233.
87. J. Rémy, 24 Feb. 1887, AMO, VI:4 (1887), p. 469; Heslin, p. 45; A. Hamilton, p. 280.
88. Heslin, p. 188.
89. Damand, p. 159; Heslin, p. 135.
90. AMSM, II (1865), p. 403; AMSM, III (1866), pp. 412–13; MC, No. 477 (26 July 1878), pp. 356–7; 'Décisions prises à la suite de la retraite 1885', Archives of the Diocese of Samoa and Tokelau, C.6.1 (OMPA microfilm 30); AMO, VI:4 (1887), p. 468; Monfat, *Missionnaire*, pp. 408–11.
91. Lamaze, report, 1886, AMO, VI:2 (1886), p. 167; Report on Vicariates, 1893, AMO, IX:2 (1893), p. 85; Jean Hervier, *Les missions Maristes en Océanie*, Paris, 1902, p. 92; Piolet, p. 176; *Cyclopedia of Samoa, Tonga, Tahiti, and the Cook Islands*, Sydney, 1907, p. 79; A. Hamilton, p. 215.
92. A discussion of the models of priesthood and formation familiar to 19th-century Catholic missionaries in the Pacific is found in Broadbent, pp. 129–34.
93. See below, p. 117.
94. Broadbent, p. viii. The history of Lano and other 19th-century Pacific priestly formation projects is described and analysed in this thesis.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 175.
96. Bataillon to Colin, 28 Aug. 1852 (translated), cit. in *ibid.*, p. 198.
97. *Ibid.*, pp. 224–31.
98. Monfat, *Missionnaire*, pp. 169, 245; Broadbent, p. 232.
99. Monfat, *Missionnaire*, pp. 120–31.
100. Bigault, 'Clergé indigène en Océanie', p. 91.
101. Broadbent, pp. 232–8.
102. *Ibid.*, p. 259.
103. Bigault, 'Clergé indigène en Océanie', pp. 319–22.
104. Elloy, 12 Oct. 1877, Archives of the Diocese of Samoa and Tokelau, B.3.2 (OMPA microfilm 26); Godinet, 13 May 1894, Archives of the Diocese of Tonga, C.II.C.1 (OMPA microfilm 2); Monfat, *Missionnaire*, p. 68n; Bigault, 'Clergé indigène en Océanie', Ch. XIV, pp. 91–2; Broadbent, pp. 283–6. Godinet married in Canada and died there many years later.
105. Bigault, 'Clergé indigène en Océanie', p. 87; Broadbent, p. 286.
106. MC, No. 668 (24 March 1883), p. 137.
107. Louis Schwehr, 'En Océanie. Le premier prêtre Samoan', MC, No. 3172 (16 Jan. 1933), p. 53; Damand, pp. 187–8; Bigault, 'Clergé indigène aux Iles Samoa', p. 322.
108. Bigault, 'Clergé indigène aux Iles Samoa', p. 322.
109. *Ibid.*, pp. 322–3.
110. Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 95–96.
111. See discussion in Broadbent, pp. 290, 348–9.
112. George Pratt, *A Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language*, 2nd edition, London, 1878, p. 184.
113. J. Williams, *Samoan Journals*, p. 177; Fa'alafi, pp. 226–7.
114. Pratt, pp. 69, 82, 103.
115. Stallworthy, p. 3.
116. G. Turner, *Nineteen Years*, p. 155.
117. Dyson, pp. 91–2.
118. Whitmee, 'Native Agency', p. 3; 'Training of Native Workers', pp. 321–2.
119. Malama Meleisea et al., *Lagaga. A Short History of Western Samoa*, Suva, 1987, p. vii.
120. G. Turner, *Nineteen Years*, p. 120.
121. *Ibid.*, pp. 156–7.
122. Pratt, 14 June; Harbutt, 7 Sept. 1854, SSL (Reel 39); Pratt, 1 Oct. 1855, SSL (Reel 40).
123. Pratt, 3 Jan., 30 April 1856, SSL (Reel 40); 22 Aug., 31 Dec. 1859, SSL (Reel 41); Ta'ase, pp. 189–90.

124. Pratt, 21 Sept. 1864, SSL (Reel 44).
125. Samoa District Committee, minutes, 3 April 1867, SSL (Reel 45).
126. Pratt, 26 Nov. 1867, SSL (Reel 45).
127. London Missionary Society, *Missionary Principles and Plans, as illustrated in Letters Recently Addressed by the Directors to the Missionaries of the Society*, London, 1869, pp. v, 102.
128. London Missionary Society, *Fruits of Toil in the London Missionary Society*, London, 1869, p. 21; R. Crawford, pp. 419–21.
129. Whitmee, 'Native Agency', p. 2. Similar caution was advised by Joseph King, 'General Results of Missionary Work in Samoa', *Samoa Reporter* (Feb. 1870), p. 4.
130. Powell, 6 Sept. 1873, SSL (Reel 49). See comments by L. I. Tanielu, 'A Study of the Ministry of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa and the Influence of Social Organization, Traditions and Custom', BD thesis, Pacific Theological College, 1968, p. 19; Gilson, p. 99.
131. Powell, 26 Sept. 1873; Davies, 15 Jan. 1874, SSL (Reel 50); Ta'ase, p. 192.
132. Samoa District Committee, minutes, 15 Jan. 1874, SSL (Reel 50).
133. Powell, 7 Nov. 1874; Davies, 13 Jan. 1875, SSL (Reel 50).
134. Some relevant comments are found in Tanielu, pp. i–ii; Setu, 'Ministry', p. 106; Ta'ase, pp. 4–5.
135. Samoa District Committee, minutes, 9 Nov. 1875, SSL (Reel 50).
136. Davies, 13 Jan. 1875; Samoa District Committee, minutes, 9 Nov. 1875; Davies, 19 April 1876; Powell, 15 Sept. 1876; Turner, 25 Sept. 1876; Pratt, 29 Sept. 1876, SSL (Reel 50). See also Gilson, pp. 134–5; Ta'ase, pp. 193–4. Ta'ase (p. 203) lists the first 30 ordained men.
137. Statistics, Dec. 1876, SSL (Reel 50).
138. Powell, 5 May 1876, SSL (Reel 50).
139. Powell, 15 Sept. 1876, SSL (Reel 50).
140. Samoa District Committee, minutes, 4 Dec. 1876, SSL (Reel 50).
141. Samoa District Committee, minutes, 1878, SSL (Reel 51).
142. Ibid.
143. Lovett, *History*, I, pp. 400–1.
144. Ibid., pp. 401–2.
145. Joseph King, in *Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900. Report*, London and New York, 1900, II, pp. 265–6.
146. *Minutes of the 4th Conference of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church* (1858), 3; *Minutes of the 8th Conference* (1862), p. 3.
147. *Minutes of the 4th General Conference* (1884), p. 8; *Minutes of the 5th General Conference* (1888), p. 15; *Minutes of the 8th General Conference* (1897), p. 12; Austin, p. 230; R. W. Allardice, *Methodism in Samoa 1828–1984*, Apia, 1984, p. 13.
148. *Minutes of the 5th General Conference* (1888), p. 12; *Minutes of the 7th General Conference* (1894), p. 9; *Minutes of the 9th General Conference* (1901), p. 209; S. U. Tamali'i, 'Church Administration and Finance in the Methodist Church in Samoa', BD project report, Pacific Theological College, 1975, p. 8.
149. Whitmee, 'Native Agency', p. 3.
150. William B. Churchward, *My Consulate in Samoa*, London, 1887, p. 81.
151. Phillips, p. 29.
152. LMS list, 1886, in R. and M. Crocombe (eds), *Polynesian Missions*, p. 134.
153. Goodall, pp. 379, 452.
154. Newell, 'Work', p. 46.
155. Wood, I, p. 310.
156. A. Hamilton, Ch. 8.
157. Hugh Laracy, *Marists and Melanesians. A History of Catholic Missions in the Solomon Islands*, Canberra, 1976, pp. 95–6.
158. Much has been written by Samoan theological students about perceptions of the Protestant ministry in their country. See eg., Tanielu; I. F. Tupou, 'Towards New Forms of Ministry for Samoan Methodism', BD project, Pacific Theological College, 1974; Litala Tuimaualuga, 'The Ministry of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa in a Fa'a Samoa (Samoan Custom) Framework', BD project, Pacific Theological College, 1977; Fa'atulituli Setu, 'The Theological Appreciation of the "Faife'au" in the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Is he Christian?', BD project report, Pacific Theological College, 1986; Tautiaga Senara, 'Samoan Religious Leadership: Tradition and Change', MA thesis, University of Otago, 1987; Setu, 'The Ministry in the Making'; Taulafo Avei, 'A New Vision of Roles for Methodist Ministers in Contemporary Samoan Society', MTh thesis, Pacific Theological College,

- 1993; Danny Ioka, 'Origin and Beginning of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa (C.C.C.S.) in Aotearoa New Zealand', PhD thesis, University of Otago, 1996. See also Derek Freeman's paper (1947), reproduced in Peter Hempenstall, 'Manuscript XV. "On Missionaries and Cultural Change in Samoa. Derek Freeman Preparing for a 'Heretical Life' " ', *JPH*, 39:2 (2004), p. 150.
159. D. Inglis, p. 259; Lalomilo Kamu, *The Samoan Culture and the Christian Gospel*, Suva, 1996, p. 144.
160. A. Hamilton, p. 189.
161. Lovett, *History*, I, p. 400; Tanielu, p. 22; Ta'ase, pp. 187–9.
162. Fa'atauva'a Tupuai, 'A Comparative Study of the Samoan and the Hebrew Concepts of the Covenant', BD Project Report, Pacific Theological College, 1972; Tupou, pp. 55–6; D. Inglis, pp. 252–3, 256–7; Ta'ase, pp. 37, 195; Penelope Schoeffel, 'The Samoan Concept of *Feagaiga* and its Transformation', in Judith Huntsman (ed.), *Tonga and Samoa. Images of Gender and Polity*, Christchurch, 1995, pp. 87–8, 102; Ioka, pp. 27–31; Paulo Koria, 'Moving Toward a Pacific Theology: Theologising with Concepts', *PJT*, Series II, No. 22 (1999), pp. 10–11.
163. Pratt, p. 153. See discussions of the dictionary definitions in J. Inglis, pp. 252–3; Schoeffel, pp. 85–6, 92.
164. Tanielu, p. 26; Ta'ase, p. 196; Schoeffel, p. 87.
165. Kamu, pp. 139–40.
166. Ioane Palo, 'Mary in the Lives of Samoan Catholics', Lic Spir Theol diss, St Thomas Aquinas University, Rome, 1988, pp. 42–8; Schoeffel, pp. 87–8.
167. Gilson, p. 101.
168. V. A. Barradale, *Pearls of the Pacific. Being Sketches of Missionary Life and Work in Samoa and Other Islands in the South Seas*, London, 1907, p. 117.
169. Nokise, p. 59; Ioka, pp. 32–3.
170. Malama Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa. Traditional Authority and Colonial Administration in the Modern History of Western Samoa*, Suva, 1987, p. 18.
171. W. Churchward, pp. 81–3.
172. R. Crawford, p. 363, citing a Marist missionary.
173. Newell, 'Work', p. 47.
174. Stallworthy, p. 3.
175. Powell, 1 Sept. 1851; Murray, 7 April 1852, SSL (Reel 38); Powell, 12 July 1854, SSL (Reel 39); Turner, 1 Oct. 1856, SSL (Reel 40); *Samoan Reporter*, No. 15 (Jan. 1854), p. 5; Stallworthy, p. 3; G. Turner, *Nineteen Years*, pp. 158–60; Gilson, pp. 128–30; R. Crawford, pp. 411–13; Gunson, *Messengers*, pp. 311–12; Ta'ase, pp. 209–12, 216–17.
176. Davies, 19 April 1876, SSL (Reel 50).
177. Phillips, p. 28.
178. G. Turner, *Nineteen Years*, 110.
179. Phillips, 27.
180. Newell, 'Work', p. 41; Whitmee, 'Training of Native Workers', p. 321; Lovett, *History*, I, p. 397.
181. George Brown, *A Brief Account of Methodist Missions in Australasia, Polynesia, and Melanesia*, Sydney, n.d. [1904?], p. 6.
182. S. Ella, 8 Dec. 1854, SSL (Reel 40); *Samoan Reporter*, No. 18 (Jan. 1857), p. 3.
183. J. W. Davidson, *Samoa mo Samoa. The Emergence of the Independent State of Western Samoa*, Melbourne, 1967, pp. 69–70; R. Crawford, p. 426.
184. R. Crawford, pp. 401–4. Penisimani's collection of stories and proverbs is in the George Brown papers in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.
185. Joseph King, *Ten Decades. The Australian Centenary Story of the London Missionary Society*, London, n.d. [1895], p. 155; King, *Christianity in Polynesia*, p. 101.
186. Britsch, pp. 350, 353, 369.

Chapter Five — Tonga

1. C. Campbell, *Island Kingdom: Tonga Ancient and Modern*, Christchurch, 1992, p. 94.
2. Taute and Zorababela gave up their mission work but stayed in Vava'u; in 1826, Porapora joined the Tahitian teachers in Nuku'alofa, Tongatapu, where he died. Tafeta returned to Tahiti in 1827, followed in 1828 by Hape, who subsequently served as a pastor on Rapa, south of the Austral Islands: see above, p. 49. For the Ma'ohi mission to Tonga, see J. Williams, *Samoan Journals*, pp. 55–6, 59–60, 62–3; *Missionary Enterprises*, pp. 303–4, 311, 315–17; Davies, pp. 172, 289–91, 316–17; Niel Gunson, 'The Coming of Foreigners', in Noel Rutherford (ed.), *Friendly Islands. A History of Tonga*, Melbourne, 1977, pp. 109–10.

3. West, pp. 358–68; Sione Latukefu, *Church and State in Tonga*, Canberra, 1974, pp. 63–5, 68; Wood, I, pp. 41, 47. Pita Vi was later an ordained minister, and was still alive in the 1880s (see a portrait of him as an older man in Gunson, *Messengers*, p. 87). He wrote an account (now held in the Collocott papers in the Mitchell Library, Sydney) of the beginnings of Tongan Christianity; part of this was translated and printed in West, pp. 360–8.
4. Wood, I, p. 53; J. Williams, *Samoan Journals*, pp. 177–8.
5. Wood, I, p. 57.
6. Janet L. Luckcock, *Thomas of Tonga, 1797–1881: the Unlikely Pioneer*, Peterborough, 1990, pp. 116–17.
7. West, pp. 170–1.
8. Joeli Bulu, *The Autobiography of a Native Minister in the South Seas*, London, 1871, pp. 18–19.
9. Gunson, *Messengers*, pp. 80–6; Piggan, pp. 204–10.
10. Thomas, 23 Feb. 1843, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS) Archives, Special Series Biographical (H-2723), Box 654 (9B), South Seas Papers (microfiche 1821). I am indebted to Dr I. C. Campbell for this reference.
11. Sarah S. Farmer, *Tonga and the Friendly Islands; with a Sketch of their Mission History*, London, 1855, pp. 342–3.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 353–9; Wood, I, pp. 86, 88.
13. Thomas, 23 Feb. 1843 (see above, n.10).
14. Lawry, *Friendly and Feejee Islands*, p. 33; Walter Lawry, *A Second Missionary Visit to the Friendly and Feejee Islands, in the Year MDCCCL*, London, 1851, p. 57; Latukefu, *Church and State*, pp. 75–6; Wood, I, pp. 88–9.
15. Robert Young, *The Southern World. Journal of a Deputation from the Wesleyan Conference to Australia and Polynesia*, London, 1854, p. 443; S. J. Campbell, 'The Development of Education in Tonga', MEd thesis, University of Queensland, 1957, p. 37.
16. J. Egan Moulton, *Moulton of Tonga*, London, 1921, p. 33; Wood, I, p. 126.
17. Moulton, 1869, cit. in H. G. Cummins, 'Missionary Chieftain: James Egan Moulton and Tongan Society 1865–1909', PhD thesis, The Australian National University, 1980, p. 94; Moulton, pp. 46, 51; Latukefu, *Church and State*, p. 190; Wood, I, pp. 126–9.
18. Moulton's obituary for David Tonga, *Australasian Methodist Missionary Review* [AMMR], V:2 (5 June 1895), pp. 2–3; Wood, I, p. 185; Cummins, 'Missionary Chieftain', p. 148.
19. Wood, I, p. 127; Cummins, 'Missionary Chieftain', p. 99; Latukefu, *Church and State*, p. 191.
20. Moulton to Secretary, 2 June 1873, Methodist Overseas Mission papers [MOM] 99 (Mitchell Library, Sydney). Noel Rutherford, *Shirley Baker and the King of Tonga*, Melbourne, 1971, documents the Moulton-Baker rivalry. See also Latukefu, *Church and State*, pp. 195–8.
21. Rutherford, *Baker*, p. 103; Wood, I, pp. 171–2; I. Campbell, *Island Kingdom*, p. 81.
22. S. Baker to B. Chapman, 16 July 1874, MOM 101.
23. *Minutes of the 1st Conference of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church* (1855), Appendix II.
24. Lawry, *Friendly and Feejee Islands*, p. 33.
25. Candidates' Papers, p. 87, WMMS Archives (on microfilm, Reel 49); Lawry, *Friendly and Feejee Islands*, pp. 25–8, 33, 44; Young, p. 247; West, pp. 203–6; Garrett, 'Conflict', p. 72; Wood, I, pp. 87–8.
26. Lawry, *Friendly and Feejee Islands*, p. 26; Gunson, *Messengers*, p. 363.
27. Lawry, *Friendly and Feejee Islands*, pp. 27–8; West, pp. 171–2; Gunson, *Messengers*, p. 363; Records of William Moore (MOM 320), pp. 18–19; Wood, I, pp. 87–8. Faupula died in 1886. He founded a long family line of Tongan ministers.
28. *Minutes of the 1st Conference* (1855), p. 5.
29. Obituaries, *Minutes of the 10th Conference* (1864), pp. 4–5.
30. J. Williams, *Samoan Journals*, pp. 177, 208.
31. Lawry, *Second Missionary Visit*, pp. 139–40, 212–13.
32. R. Young, p. 254.
33. John Martin, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands, in the South Pacific Ocean. With an Original Grammar and Vocabulary of their Language. Compiled and Arranged from the Extensive Communications of Mr. William Mariner, Several Years Resident in Those Islands*, 3rd ed., Edinburgh, 1827, I, p. 101.
34. J. Martin, II, p. 87.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
36. For traditional Tongan religious specialists see J. Martin, I, pp. 101–5; II, pp. 87, 128–9; Williamson, *Social and Political Systems*, II, pp. 409–14; Handy, *Polynesian Religion*, pp. 137–8, 152, 159–62; E. W. Gifford, *Tongan Society*, Honolulu, 1929, pp. 316–19; Latukefu, *Church and State*, pp. 8, 30–1; H. G. Cummins, 'Tongan Society at the Time of European Contact', in Rutherford (ed.), *Friendly Islands*, pp. 72–3.

37. Some relevant comments are made by George E. Marcus, 'Contemporary Tonga. The Background of Social and Cultural Change', in Rutherford (ed.), *Friendly Islands*, pp. 211–13.
38. G. Lee, 14 Dec. 1857, cit. in Gunson, *Messengers*, p. 315.
39. Marcus, p. 212.
40. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, III, 9 (Jan 1874), p. 4.
41. 'The Vagabond' [Julian Thomas], *Holy Tonga*, Melbourne, n.d. [1880s], p. 70.
42. J. Havea, autobiography, MOM 131; *Minutes of the 12th Conference* (1866), p. 4. Havea's son was Sione, the father of the Rev. Paul Havea and the Rev. Dr Sione 'Amanaki Havea (whose sons entered the ministry also).
43. Moulton, pp. 90–2. Finau died in 1903: *Minutes of the 1st General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia* (1904), p. 22.
44. Chapman to Moulton, 13 Feb. 1873, MOM 37.
45. *Minutes of the 10th Conference* (1864).
46. *Minutes of the 4th Conference of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church* (1884), p. 82.
47. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, III, 6 (April 1873), p. 85.
48. Chapman to Moulton, 13 Feb. 1873, MOM 37.
49. Baker to Chapman, 27 Feb. 1874, MOM 101.
50. Baker to Chapman, 14 May, 16 July 1874, MOM 101.
51. Baker to Chapman, 27 Feb. 1874, MOM 101; Latukefu, *Church and State*, pp. 198–200; Wood, I, pp. 136–9.
52. Rutherford, *Baker*, p. 39.
53. Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Report of Deputation Appointed by Board of Missions to Visit Fiji*, Sydney, 1900, pp. 26–7; Wood, I, p. 139.
54. Hugh Laracy, 'The Catholic Mission', in Rutherford (ed.), *Friendly Islands*, p. 148.
55. Peter Turner, journal, 5 Nov. 1848, cit. in Latukefu, *Church and State*, p. 148.
56. C. Maxwell Churchward, *Tongan Dictionary*, Nuku'alofa, 1959, p. 463.
57. Poupinel, 15 June 1858, AMSM, I, p. 239.
58. Broadbent, p. 232.
59. Caroline Duriez-Toutain, *Présence et perceptions Maristes à Tonga 1840–1900*, Bordeaux-Talence, 1995, pp. 213–14, 231, 233.
60. Lamaze, circular letter, 1892, Archives of the Diocese of Samoa and Tokelau, C.6.1 (OMPA microfilm 30).
61. Lamaze, circular letters, 29 Sept. 1879, 1892, Archives of the Diocese of Samoa and Tokelau, C.6.1 (OMPA microfilm 30); Lamaze, AMO, VII:2 (July 1888), p. 137; E. Thomas, 10 March 1888, 10 April 1888, AMO, VII:2 (July 1888), pp. 149, 152 [author's translation]; Lamaze, AMO, IX:1 (1893), p. 23; 'Nos missions de 1893 à 1901', AMO, X:3 (1901), p. 338; Hervier, p. 65; Blanc, pp. 190–1; Laracy, 'Catholic Mission', pp. 148–9.
62. Joseph Chevron to Bataillon, 7 Jan. 1849, cit. in Bigault, 'Clergé indigène', p. 107.
63. Broadbent, p. 175.
64. L. L. Dubois, 'Le premier prêtre Polynésien Soakimi Gata', *Acta Societatis Mariae*, No. 11 (2 July 1953), pp. 10–11. Information about Gata's life was assembled from original sources by Bigault in his 'Clergé indigène' (Chs VI, VII), written some years before Dubois' article but never published, and later by John Hosie, *Challenge. The Marists in Colonial Australia*, Sydney, 1987, pp. 180–3; Broadbent, pp. 208–17, 234–6, 240–56; Frédéric Angleviel, 'Le premier prêtre Océanien, Soakimi Gata: de Lakemba à la Nouvelle-Zélande en passant par Rome', *Antipodes*, 3 (1997), pp. 9–21.
65. Dubois, 'Premier prêtre', pp. 11–12; Broadbent, pp. 208–9, 212–16.
66. Letter [attributed by Broadbent to Poupinel], 3 Dec. 1867, OT 51 000, Marist Archives, Rome; Dubois, 'Premier prêtre', pp. 12–13; Broadbent, pp. 216–17, 234–6.
67. Dubois, 'Premier prêtre', p. 13.
68. Poupinel, letter, 3 Dec. 1867 [author's translation].
69. Ibid.
70. Lamaze to Poupinel, 5 Sept. 1867, VM 224, Marist Archives [author's translation].
71. Lamaze to Poupinel, 19 Sept. 1867, VM 224.
72. Hosie, pp. 181–2; Broadbent, p. 242.
73. Broadbent, pp. 243–4.
74. J. Chevron to Poupinel, 13 Dec. 1867, VM 224; Chevron, 17 Feb. 1868, cit. in Duriez-Toutain, p. 217.
75. Broadbent, p. 241.
76. Increasing dissatisfaction with Gata's life as a priest in Futuna and Wallis (see below, pp. 119–20) led in 1875 to his reduction to the laity and his exile as the lay 'Brother Joe' in New Zealand, where he died in 1896: see Dubois, 'Premier prêtre', pp. 13–14; Broadbent, pp. 244–56; Angleviel 'Premier prêtre', pp. 13–21.

77. Broadbent, pp. 217–18, 234.
78. Bigault, 'Clergé indigène', p. 107.
79. Duriez-Toutain, p. 25.
80. Lamaze, letter to Superior-General, Society of Mary, 16 Sept. 1882, MC, No. 668 (24 March 1883), p. 137.
81. Lamaze, pastoral letter, 25 April 1886, cit. in Blanc, pp. 240–1.
82. Blanc, p. 192; Bigault, 'Clergé indigène', p. 108.
83. AMO, VI:2 (July 1886), pp. 304–5; AMO, IX:4, pp. 294–6; Blanc, pp. 199–200; Broadbent, pp. 273, 286.
84. Duriez-Toutain, p. 217.
85. Lamaze, AMO, IX:1 (1893), p. 21; Bigault, 'Clergé indigène', p. 71.
86. Broadbent, p. 287.
87. Wood, I, Ch. XIV.
88. *Minutes of the 5th General Conference of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church* (1888), pp. 17, 100.
89. Wood, I, pp. 182–92.
90. AMMR, V, 2 (5 June 1895), pp. 2–3. A few years later Rachel Tonga, who in 1871 was the first woman to graduate from Tupou College, was made responsible for the upbringing and education of the future Queen Salote. She died in 1928: Elizabeth Wood Ellem, *Queen Salote of Tonga*, Auckland, 1999, p. 316.
91. Allan K. Davidson (ed.), *Semisi Nau. The Story of My Life*, Suva, 1996, pp. 9–17.
92. *Minutes of the 5th General Conference* (1888), p. 15.
93. *Minutes of the 8th General Conference* (1897), p. 38; Moulton, pp. 137, 140, 142; Wood, I, pp. 204–5.
94. *Minutes of the 6th General Conference* (1890), p. 14; *Minutes of the 9th General Conference* (1901), pp. 208–10.
95. Wood, I, p. 172.

Chapter Six — Wallis and Futuna

1. Frédéric Angleviel, *Les Missions à Wallis et Futuna au XIXe siècle*, Bordeaux, 1994, p. 199.
2. Claude Rozier, 'La culture de Futuna à l'arrivée des Européens d'après les récits des premiers témoins', *Journal de la Société des Océanistes [JSO]*, XIX (Dec. 1963), p. 118.
3. Patrick V. Kirch, 'The Pre-Christian Ritual Cycle of Futuna', *JPS*, 103:3 (Sept. 1994), p. 262; Angleviel, *Missions*, pp. 14.
4. Edwin G. Burrows, 'Ethnology of Uvea (Wallis Island)', *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin* 145, Honolulu, 1937, pp. 88–9.
5. Bataillon to Colin, July 1838, in Société de Marie, *Annales des Missions d'Océanie. Correspondance des Premiers Missionnaires*, Lyon, 1895, pp. 407–8; A. Mangeret, *Mgr Bataillon et les missions de l'Océanie Centrale*, Lyon, 1884, I, pp. 139–41; E. Burrows, pp. 86, 87. See also John Twynning, *Wreck of the Minerva*, Fairfield, Wash., 1996 (new edition of *Shipwreck and Adventures*, 2nd ed., London, 1850), pp. 97–8.
6. Kirch, p. 262; Angleviel, *Missions*, pp. 12–13.
7. I. C. Campbell, 'Imperialism, Dynasticism and Conversion: Tongan Designs on 'Uvea (Wallis Island), 1835–52', *JPS*, 92:2 (June 1983), pp. 157–63; Angleviel, *Missions*, pp. 39–43.
8. Angleviel, *Missions*, pp. 43–4.
9. Campbell, 'Imperialism', pp. 164–7; Angleviel, *Missions*, pp. 86, 89–93.
10. J. Chevron, 11 July 1842, in Société de Marie, *Annales*, pp. 324–5; C. Servant, 19 Aug. 1842, in Société de Marie, *Annales*, pp. 342–3; Jean-Baptiste Pompallier, *Early History of the Catholic Church in Oceania*, Auckland, 1888, pp. 78–9; Mangeret, I, pp. 357, 376, 382; II, pp. 40, 316; Angleviel, *Missions*, pp. 63–4, 74–5, 99, 110–11, 118. In 1852, Petelo migrated to Fiji, where he was killed some time later.
11. Servant, 6 July 1845, in Société de Marie, *Annales*, pp. 360–1 [author's translation]; Verne, 10 Dec. 1846, in Société de Marie, *Annales*, pp. 383–4; Angleviel, *Missions*, p. 99.
12. Vitori Buatava, 'The Contribution of the Indigenous Catechists towards the Growth of the Catholic Church in Fiji from 1875 to 1948', MTh thesis, Pacific Theological College, 1988, pp. 9–11.
13. Mangeret, II, pp. 143, 291, 292; Pacific Theological College, 'Record'.
14. Verne, 10 Dec. 1846, in Société de Marie, *Annales*, p. 521.
15. Angleviel, *Missions*, p. 109.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 218 [author's translation].
17. Lesourd, p. 71.
18. Bataillon to Colin, 20 Aug. 1844, OC 418.1, Marist Archives, Rome [author's translation].

19. Mathieu, 20 June 1845, in Société de Marie, *Annales*, p. 507; Bataillon to Colin, 27 June 1845, OC 418.1; Dubois, 'Origines', pp. 75–6; A. Landès, 'Le séminaire indigène de Lano', MC, 70 (1938), pp. 182–3 [quotations translated by author]; Broadbent, pp. 149–50, 157; Angleviel, *Missions*, p. 96.
20. Anonymous manuscript, 'Le clergé indigène aux Iles Wallis', n.d., OW 51 000 (Marist Archives). Broadbent (Appendix III, p. xvi) suggests that the author is Jean-Marie Bazin, a missionary on Wallis. The story is found also in Dubois, 'Origines', p. 81; and in Jean-Marie Sédès, 'La foi inébranlable de Mgr Bataillon dans le clergé indigène', *La Croix* (25 July 1941), OC 720 (Marist Archives).
21. Broadbent, pp. 153–4.
22. Angleviel, *Missions*, pp. 96, 115. See also Broadbent, p. 212, n.59.
23. Broadbent, pp. 156–61. A brief summary of Broadbent's history of attempts to form an indigenous clergy in the Vicariate of Central Oceania in the 19th century will be found in his Chapter 5 in Doug Munro and Andrew Thornley (eds), *Covenant Makers*.
24. F Palazy, Nov. 1848, in Société de Marie, *Annales*, pp. 389–90; Broadbent, pp. 161–5, 174–5; Angleviel, *Missions*, pp. 107–8.
25. Broadbent, pp. 165–82.
26. Perret, p. 8.
27. H. Mondon letter, 2 June 1850, cit. in Broadbent, p. 183, n.95.
28. C. Mathieu to Colin, 15 Sept. 1850; Mondon to Lagniet, 27 June 1851, cit. in Broadbent, p. 184, n.97.
29. Report, 1852, in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, 1853, cit. in Broadbent, p. 185, n.101 [author's translation].
30. Bataillon to Colin, 8 Dec. 1850, OC 418.1, Marist Archives [author's translation].
31. Dezest to Poupinel, 22 Feb. 1851, cit. in Broadbent, p. 183, n.95.
32. Dezest to Colin, 6 Dec. 1851, cit. in Angleviel, *Missions*, p. 109 [author's translation]. See also Broadbent, p. 185.
33. Bataillon to Propaganda [no date given], cit. in Landès, p. 183 [author's translation].
34. Bataillon to Colin, 28 Aug. 1852, cit. in Broadbent, p. 198.
35. Broadbent, pp. 198–9; Angleviel, *Missions*, p. 115.
36. Broadbent, pp. 203–8.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 188–92.
38. Dubois, 'Premier prêtre', p. 11; Broadbent, pp. 208–17. For Gata's formation and his time in Tonga, see above, pp. 110–11.
39. Hosie, pp. 169–81; Broadbent, pp. 214, 219–37.
40. Broadbent, pp. 217–18, 234; Angleviel, *Missions*, p. 148; Angleviel, 'Premier prêtre Océanien', p. 14 (according to Angleviel, Atelemo's other name was 'Tuitui').
41. Grézel to Colin, 15 Jan. 1855; Grézel to Marcel, 1 April 1856, cit. in Broadbent, p. 183, n.96.
42. Cit. in Claude Rozier, *Marie-Françoise Perrotton (1796–1873). Une figure de proue de la mission Mariste en Océanie*, Paris, 1997, p. 161 [author's translation].
43. Broadbent, pp. 244–5.
44. Dubois, 'Premier Prêtre', pp. 13–14; Broadbent, pp. 245–53; Hosie, pp. 182–3; Angleviel, *Missions*, pp. 148–9; Angleviel, 'Premier prêtre Océanien', pp. 13–21.
45. Dubois, 'Premier Prêtre', p. 13. See also Bigault, 'Clergé indigène', Ch. VI, VII.
46. Broadbent, pp. 253–6.
47. Hosie, p. 183.
48. Broadbent, pp. 256–63.
49. Lamaze, pastoral letter, 25 April 1886, cit. in Blanc, p. 240.
50. Elloy, report on Vicariate, June 1878, AMSM, IV, p. 3; notes on Lano, 7 Sept. 1881 (Archives of the Catholic Diocese of Wallis and Futuna, OMPA microfilm 124); Ollivaux, 8 Sept. 1881, AMSM, V, p. 271; Lamaze to Marist superior-general, 16 Sept. 1882, MC, No. 668 (24 March 1883), p. 137; pastoral letter, 25 April 1886, cit. in Blanc, pp. 240–1; Blanc, pp. 242–3, 249; L. L. Dubois, 'Histoire du clergé indigène en Océanie', *L'Oeuvre Pontificale de Saint-Pierre-Apôtre pour le Clergé Indigène des Missions* (1927), p. 155; Broadbent, pp. 267–70. The quotation is from Jouny to Poupinel, 14 Sept. 1881, cit. in Broadbent, p. 270, n.93 [author's translation].
51. Angleviel, *Missions*, p. 180.
52. A. Ollivaux, 3 March 1886, AMO, VI:3 (Jan. 1887), pp. 287–91; Lamaze to Grandclaude, 24 April 1886, MC, No. 895 (30 July 1886), p. 365; Blanc, pp. 244–6; Pierre Jouny, 'Les commencements de la mission de Nua', 1927 (PMB 195); Broadbent, pp. 270–3.
53. Lamaze, cit. in Blanc, p. 246 [author's translation].
54. Ollivaux to his family, 17 March 1886, AMO, VI: 2 (July 1886), p. 180 [author's translation].

55. Lamaze to Bonhomme, 26 Feb. 1886, AMO, VI:2, pp. 177–8; Ollivaux, 3 March 1886, AMO, VI:3 (Jan. 1887), pp. 288–9.
56. Ollivaux, 27 July 1886, AMO, VI:3 (Jan. 1887), p. 306.
57. Alexandre Poncet, *Histoire de l'île Wallis*, Paris, 1972, p. 83.
58. Lamaze, 24 April 1886, MC, No. 895 (30 July 1886), p. 365.
59. Hervier, p. 22.
60. MC, 55 (1923), p. 304.
61. Broadbent, pp. 340–1.
62. A. Clollomb, *Dictionnaire Latin-Uvea à l'usage des élèves du Collège de Lano, par les missionnaires Maristes*, Paris, 1886.
63. Robert Aldrich, *The French Presence in the South Pacific, 1842–1940*, Honolulu, 1990, p. 197, drawing on Kohler's sociological study of Wallis and Futuna.
64. Ibid., pp. 26–7; Frédéric Angleviel, 'The French Presence in Wallis and Futuna, 1837–1888: Missionaries, Traders and Sailors', in Robert Aldrich (ed.), *France, Oceania and Australia: Past and Present*, Sydney, 1991, pp. 57–89.
65. 'Père Malivao', anonymous handwritten article, 1933, OW 51 000 (Marist Archives); Bigault, 'Clergé indigène', pp. 72, 74.
66. Ollivaux, 27 July 1886, AMO, VI:3 (Jan. 1887), p. 305; Lamaze, circular letter, n.d. [1893?], AMO, IX:1, p. 21; Bigault, 'Clergé indigène', p. 71.
67. Ollivaux, 27 July 1886, AMO, VI:3 (Jan. 1887), p. 304; Lamaze, n.d. [1894?], AMO, IX:4, pp. 294–6.
68. Lamaze, 24 April 1886, MC, No. 895 (30 July 1886), p. 365; Ollivaux, 27 July 1886, AMO, VI:3 (Jan. 1887), p. 305; Petelo Likumoakaaka, personal file (Marist Archives).
69. Bigault, 'Clergé indigène', p. 72; Broadbent, pp. 277–9.
70. Likumoakaaka, 10 June 1890, OT, Marist Archives, Rome (seen on PMB 194).
71. Likumoakaaka, 15 Aug. 1895, ON, Marist Archives, Rome (seen on PMB 187).
72. Anonymous manuscript, 'Le clergé indigène aux Iles Wallis', n.d., OW 51 000 (Marist Archives); Bigault, 'Clergé indigène', pp. 75–7; Broadbent, pp. 279–82.
73. Broadbent, pp. 280, 286.
74. Anonymous manuscript, 'Clergé indigène'; Bigault, 'Clergé indigène', p. 75.
75. Lamaze to Cardinal Simeoni, 26 Feb. 1886, AMO, VI:2, p. 156.
76. Anonymous manuscript, 'Historique du séminaire indigène de Lano, Wallis, Océanie Centrale', 1924, OW 51 000 (Marist Archives). The names of all these men are in the 'Liber Ordinationum' [Book of Ordinations] (Archives of the Catholic Diocese of Wallis and Futuna, OMPA microfilm 124).
77. Lamaze, AMO, IX:2, p. 80.
78. 'Liber Ordinationum'; Broadbent, pp. 276, 287.
79. Broadbent, p. 288.
80. 'Historique du séminaire'; Bigault, 'Clergé indigène', p. 77; Broadbent, pp. 276–7.
81. Bigault, 'Clergé indigène', pp. 75, 77.
82. Ibid., p. 73; Broadbent, p. 290.
83. Bishop Olier, 25 Aug. 1905, cit. in Bigault, 'Clergé indigène', p. 78 [author's translation].
84. Dubois, 'Origines', p. 82.
85. Ibid., p. 77.
86. Landès, p. 187.
87. Bigault, 'Clergé indigène', pp. 73–5.
88. Sédès.
89. Broadbent, pp. xi, 328–31.
90. Ibid., pp. 4–52, 331–56.
91. Ibid., pp. 113–34. See also Hosie, pp. 183–5.
92. Broadbent, p. 353.

Chapter Seven — Fiji

1. Wilkes, III, pp. 86–91; Thomas Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians: the Islands and their Inhabitants*, London, 1858, pp. 221–31.
2. Wilkes, III, p. 87.
3. T. Williams, *Fiji*, p. 223.

4. Anon. [L. Fison], *Old Sefanaia, the Fijian Herald*. By an Old Friend of His, London, 1896, pp. 32–3.
5. Bulu, p. 34. Other descriptions are in Wilkes, III, pp. 87–8; T. Williams, *Fiji*, pp. 224–5, 228.
6. Wilkes, III, p. 90.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 86–7.
8. T. Williams, *Fiji*, pp. 226–7; Albert J. Schütz (ed.), *The Diaries and Correspondence of David Cargill, 1832–1843*, Canberra, 1977, p. 69.
9. Wilkes, III, p. 89.
10. Bulu, p. 33.
11. Bulu records the story of a priest who used his religious skills to pray to the Christian God at the request of the people of Ono in the 1830s (*Ibid.*, p. 48). Other missionaries also included this story in their writings.
12. Davies, p. 292.
13. J. Williams, *Samoan Journals*, pp. 23, 52–3. Fuatai is sometimes known as Hatai, Faaruea as Arue and Taharaa as Jacero. A careful account of the Ma'ohi mission to Fiji has been written by Andrew Thornley, 'The Legacy of Siloam: Tahitian Missionaries in Fiji', in Munro and Thornley (eds), *Covenant Makers*, pp. 91–114.
14. Translation of letter of Fuatai and colleagues to Ma'ohi missionaries in Samoa, quoted in Buzacott and Barff's journal, June–July 1834, item 104, SSJ (Reel 5). The letter is reproduced by Andrew Thornley in his article, 'A Letter from Oneata: the First Missionary Report from Fiji', *PJT*, Series II, No. 14, (1995), pp. 32–3.
15. James Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians: Mission History*, London, 1858, p. 9; Wood, II, pp. 21–3.
16. Thomas Williams, *The Journal of Thomas Williams, Missionary in Fiji, 1840–1853*, G. C. Henderson (ed.), Sydney, 1931, II, p. 373.
17. *Cit.* in Henderson, *Fiji and the Fijians*, p. 143.
18. R. Lyth, 22 July 1851 (attached to letter of C. Barff, 6 Nov. 1851, SSL, LMS Archives, Reel 38); T. Williams, *Journal*, II, p. 373. There is a memorial (erected in 1930) on Oneata. It seems that Taharaa had left before 1846, and perhaps died on Vanua Balavu: Wood, II, pp. 23, 96.
19. A later missionary writer mentions in passing that 'Joshua', a teacher on Ovalau in 1853, and the husband of 'Charlotte', was 'the only survivor of the Missionary vanguard that invaded Fiji in 1836 [sic], being the companion of the Rev. Messrs. W. Cross and D. Cargill': Joseph Waterhouse, *The Native Minister: a Biographical Sketch of Abraham Navukitu, of Fiji*, London, n.d. [ca 1857], p. 22.
20. Schütz, pp. 107–8.
21. Calvert, *Fiji*, p. 57. Cargill and Calvert refer to Havea as 'John', but in other references he is 'James'. I am assuming that 'John' and 'James' are the same man.
22. The period of Havea's ministry is recorded as 1863–1881: list of Fijian Methodist ministers, in A. W. Thornley, 'Fijian Methodism, 1874–1945: the Emergence of a National Church', PhD thesis, The Australian National University, 1979, p. 289. Havea's autobiography has never been translated or published but is much quoted by A. R. Tippet in *The Christian (Fiji 1835–67)*, Auckland, 1954. See also Havea's 'Sixteen Evils of Tobacco', written in the 1860s and reproduced in Tippet's *Aspects of Pacific Ethnohistory*, South Pasadena, Ca, 1973, pp. 83–5.
23. Calvert, *Fiji*, pp. 73, 77, 79, 123; T. Williams, *Journal*, II, p. 175; Bulu, p. 19.
24. Schütz, p. 117; Calvert, *Fiji*, pp. 84, 132.
25. Schütz, p. 113.
26. R. Young, p. 281.
27. John Watsford, *Glorious Gospel Triumphs as Seen in My Life and Work in Fiji and Australia*, London, 1900, p. 82.
28. Bulu, p. 60.
29. Bulu's career is surveyed in Wood, II, pp. 64–5, and in Garrett, *Stars*, pp. 281–4. His own account is contained in his *Autobiography of a Native Minister*, which in Tippet's opinion is 'the greatest indigenous autobiography of Oceanic mission history': Alan R. Tippet, *Oral Tradition and Ethnohistory. The Transmission of Information and Social Values in Early Christian Fiji 1835–1905*, Canberra, 1980, p. 19.
30. Bulu, pp. 45–6.
31. Calvert, *Fiji*, pp. 88–9.
32. R. Young, p. 279.
33. Watsford, p. 82.
34. Records of William Moore, MOM 320, Mitchell Library, p. 17. See also Thornley, *Exodus*, p. 221.
35. Bulu, p. 5.
36. R. Young, p. 296.
37. Thornley, 'Fijian Methodism', p. 48a. Their names appear among those of Fijian ministers in Thornley's list, pp. 288–9.

38. T. Williams, *Journal*, II, p. 378.
39. Wood, II, pp. 84, 123, 157. Ve'a's health was declining by 1857 (Calvert, *Fiji*, p. 207), and he never received full ordination.
40. Calvert, *Missionary Labours Among the Cannibals* [3rd edition of *Fiji and the Fijians*], London, 1870, 385n.
41. Records of William Moore, MOM 320, pp. 19–20.
42. Calvert, *Fiji*, p. 428; Wood, III, pp. 118–22; Jione Langi, 'The History of the Methodist Church in its Rotuman Setting', in Charles W. Forman (ed.), *Island Churches, Challenge and Change*, Suva, 1982, pp. 17–20.
43. Wood, III, pp. 117–20; Langi, pp. 11–19. It would be interesting to know more about the impact of the group of Maori Christians, led by Pita, whom Williams met on Rotuma in 1839: see George G. Carter, 'An Introduction to the South Pacific Activity of Wesleyan Methodism', in *Wesley's South Seas Heritage*, published as *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society (New Zealand)*, No. 50 (1987), p. 23.
44. Tippet, *Aspects*, pp. 23, 33; Wood, II, pp. 34, 63; Tevita Baleiwaqa, 'Josua Mateinaniu', in Andrew Thornley and Tauga Vulao (eds), *Mai Kea ki Vei? Stories of Methodism in Fiji and Rotuma*, Suva, 1996, pp. 20–3.
45. Schütz, p. 83; Calvert, *Fiji*, p. 10.
46. Henderson, p. 146; Tippet, *The Christian*, p. 35; Wood, II, pp. 38, 49; Baleiwaqa, pp. 24–5.
47. Schütz, p. 105.
48. Wood, II, p. 64.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
50. Henderson, p. 152; Wood, II, p. 141; list, Thornley, 'Fijian Methodism', p. 288.
51. Information from Dr A. Thornley. See also Baleiwaqa, p. 26.
52. Thomas Williams, cit. in Calvert, *Fiji*, p. 368.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 384–7.
54. Waterhouse, *The Native Minister*.
55. Wood, III, pp. 120–1.
56. Calvert, *Fiji*, pp. 76–9, 89. See also Wood, II, p. 94.
57. Calvert, *Missionary Labours*, p. 563.
58. Calvert, *Fiji*, p. 89; Wood, II, p. 89; L. M. Heath, 'Matai-ni-mate: Carpenter of Sickness. The Reverend Richard Burdall Lyth, M.R.C.S., L.S.A. and the Wesleyan Mission in Fiji: a Case Study in Mission Contact Relationship in Pre-Cession Fiji, 1839 to 1854', PhD thesis, University of Queensland, 1987, p. 404.
59. Wood, II, p. 141; Heath, p. 405.
60. Henderson, p. 152 (including a list of their names).
61. Calvert, *Fiji*, p. 89; T. Williams, *Journal*, II, p. 526.
62. Cit. in Wood, II, p. 65.
63. Bulu, p. 47.
64. Richard Lyth's letter to WMMS, London, 27 June 1853, is reproduced in Henderson, pp. 152–5.
65. Henderson, pp. 152, 155–9; Wood, II, p. 146.
66. A. F. Birchall, 'The Journals of the Rev. James Calvert, Methodist Missionary to Fiji, 1838–1855', MA thesis, University of Otago, 1987, p. 341; Calvert, *Fiji*, pp. 149–50.
67. Records of William Moore, MOM 320, p. 18.
68. Birchall, p. 341; Calvert, *Fiji*, pp. 149–50.
69. Calvert, *Missionary Labours*, p. 283. See also Records of William Moore, MOM 320, p. 22; Birchall, p. 341.
70. Calvert, *Fiji*, pp. 110, 428; Records of William Moore, MOM 320, p. 21; Wood, III, pp. 121–2; Langi, pp. 22–3; Birchall, p. 341; Thornley, *Exodus*, pp. 182–4.
71. Records of William Moore, MOM 320, pp. 23–4.
72. Henderson, p. 148; Wood, II, p. 145; Heath, pp. 396–7.
73. Andrew Thornley, *The Inheritance of Hope. John Hunt: Apostle of Fiji*, Suva, 2000, pp. 167–8.
74. For the formation of Hunt and other Wesleyan missionaries to Fiji in this period, see Eroni Sotutu, '“That the Man of God be Perfect.” The Formation of Early Wesleyan Missionaries to Fiji', *PJT*, Series II, No. 23 (2000), pp. 3–18.
75. Calvert, *Fiji*, p. 258; G. S. Rowe, *The Life of John Hunt, Missionary to the Cannibals in Fiji*, London, 1859, pp. 130, 234, 236; Joseph Nettleton, *John Hunt. Pioneer Missionary and Saint*, London, n.d. [1906], pp. 68–9; Wood, II, pp. 81, 145; Thornley, *Inheritance*, pp. 230–2.
76. Extracts from Hunt's journal, 12 September 1845, WMN, No. 93 (n.s.) (September 1846), pp. 138–9.
77. Nettleton, pp. 5, 68–9.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
79. Hunt's letter to his former tutor at Hoxton, Dr John Hannah, Dec. 1847, cit. in Rowe, *Hunt*, p. 234.

80. Thornley, *Inheritance*, p. 417.
81. Calvert, *Fiji*, p. 146.
82. R. Young, pp. 284–5; Calvert, *Fiji*, pp. 132, 143, 146–7, 151; Henderson, pp. 150–1; Wood, II, p. 145; Heath, pp. 399–401, 407.
83. Calvert, *Fiji*, p. 140.
84. B. [sic] Lyth, 'On the Training of Native Agents', *Conference on Missions held in 1860 at Liverpool*, London, 1860, pp. 377–80.
85. Lyth, letter to WMMS, London, 27 June 1853, cit. in Henderson, p. 154.
86. Joseph Waterhouse, 19 Jan. 1857, Waterhouse letters (MOM 100), Mitchell Library.
87. Calvert, *Fiji*, p. 431; Wood, II, p. 146.
88. *Minutes of the 2nd Conference of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church* (1856), Appendix I.
89. Lawry, *Friendly and Feejee Islands*, pp. 110–11; *Second Missionary Visit*, pp. 173, 211–13; J. Malvern, 3 March 1850, cit. in Henderson, pp. 159–60; R. Young, pp. 296–7; Calvert, *Fiji*, pp. 61, 429–31.
90. Lawry, *Second Missionary Visit*, p. 178.
91. Lyth, letter, 1855, cit. in Heath, p. 408.
92. Calvert, *Fiji*, pp. 61, 430.
93. R. Young, p. 297; Calvert, *Fiji*, pp. 355–6; Lyth, p. 380; Heath, pp. 238, 394.
94. Tippet, *Oral Tradition*, pp. 59–62.
95. R. Young, p. 297; Lyth, p. 380.
96. Tippet, *Oral Tradition*, pp. 55–8.
97. A. W. Thornley, 'Custom, Change and Conflict: Fijian Wesleyan Ministers, 1835–1945', in R. J. May and H. Nelson (eds), *Melanesia: Beyond Diversity*, I, Canberra, 1982, p. 125.
98. Buatava, pp. 8–11; Margaret Knox, *Voyage of Faith. The Story of the First Hundred Years of Catholic Missionary Endeavour in Fiji and Rotuma*, Suva, 1997, pp. 10, 13–15. Some of the material in Buatava's thesis is presented also in his chapter, 'In the Footsteps of Moses: The Foundation Years of Roman Catholic Catechists in Fiji, 1842–1893', in Munro and Thornley (eds), *Covenant Makers*, pp. 173–85.
99. S. Montmayeur, 24 Jan. 1880, AMSM, V (1880), pp. 10, 17–18, 20, 25; Buatava, p. 13; Knox, pp. 29, 34, 37.
100. J. Gosselin, 29 July 1880, AMSM, V (1880), p. 239; Buatava, p. 25; Knox, p. 38.
101. J. Vidal, 6 March 1889, AMO, VIII:2 (1889), p. 132 [author's translation]; A. Aubry, 21 Nov. 1896, AMO, IX:5 (1896), p. 464; Buatava, pp. 14–15, 17; Knox, pp. 79–80.
102. Mangeret, II, pp. 143, 291, 292.
103. Mission statistics, 1885, AMSM, VI:3 (1885), pp. 376–7; Vicariate reports, 1893, AMO, IX:2 (1893), p. 91.
104. Buatava, p. 33; Knox, pp. 40–2, 44–5, 48, 79.
105. 'Le Coutumier du Vicariat de Fiji', No. 130, p. 20, quoted in undated document, OG 520, Marist Archives, Rome; Buatava, pp. 30–1.
106. L. Lejeune, 'Rapport succinct sur les écoles Catholiques de Fiji', 10 Jan. 1936, p. 13, OF 520, Marist Archives, Rome.
107. 'Règlement des catéchistes', 26 April 1890, Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Fiji (PMB 449).
108. Buatava, p. 22.
109. 'Règlement des catéchistes'.
110. Laracy, *Marists and Melanesians*, pp. 39, 96; Buatava, pp. 45–6.
111. Mangeret, II, pp. 288–9; Broadbent, p. 209.
112. Andrew Thornley, 'The Methodist Mission and Fiji's Indians: 1879–1920', *New Zealand Journal of History* [NZJH], 8:2 (Oct. 1974), pp. 138–9; Wood, III, Ch. 3.
113. Aaron Fotofili, in WMN, Vol. II, No. 16 (Jan. 1871), pp. 230–1.
114. Caleb Tuvuniwai, in *ibid.*, p. 232.
115. Records of William Moore, MOM 320, p. 21.
116. *Ibid.*, p. 24; WMN (1 Jan. 1877), pp. 74–6; Wood, II, p. 156.
117. C.F. Gordon Cumming, *At Home in Fiji*, Edinburgh, 1881, I, pp. 191, 209; II, pp. 238–9, 245–6.
118. Gordon Cumming, I, p. 208.
119. AMMR, XX, 9 (4 Jan. 1911), pp. 11–12; Mrs E. B. Small, *Autobiography*, MOM 566, pp. 19–20; Heighway family, 'Not as Men Build.' *The Story of William Aitken Heighway of Fiji. By His Family*, Sydney, 1932, pp. 254–6.
120. Davidson, *Semisi Nau*, pp. 9–11.
121. Andrew Thornley, 'Fijians in the Methodist Ministry: the First Hundred Years, 1848–1945', in Thornley and Vulaono, *Mai Kea ki Vei?*, p. 34.

122. George Brown, *Fiji. A Statement, Presented to the Board of Missions by the General Secretary*, Sydney, 1903, p. 9.
123. Gordon Cumming, I, pp. 285–6.
124. 'The Organization of Fiji Circuits', Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church, *Report of Deputation*, Appendix B, pp. 21–2; Thornley, 'Fijian Methodism', pp. 46–7. In the Fijian New Testament, *vakatawa* is used in Acts 20:28 (English 'overseer') and Ephesians 4:11 (English 'pastor' or 'shepherd').
125. *Minutes of the 2nd Conference of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church* (1856), and minutes of subsequent conferences; Calvert, *Missionary Labours*, p. xxiv; Calvert, *Missionary Labours*, 4th ed., 1884, p. xiii; Wood, II, p. 143.
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130. Wood, II, p. 157; III, pp. 123, 135.
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Chapter Eight — New Zealand

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93. For Selwyn's episcopate in New Zealand, see John H. Evans, *Churchman Militant. George Augustus Selwyn, Bishop of New Zealand and Lichfield*, London and Wellington, 1964; Limbrick, *Bishop Selwyn*. For his attitude to Wesleyan ordination, see Laurenson, p. 89.
94. Morrell, p. 19.
95. G. Selwyn, *Charge Delivered*, p. 98. See also Evans, p. 173.
96. Selwyn to Venn, 29 July 1842, cit. in Evans, p. 102; G. Selwyn, *Charge Delivered*, p. 34. See also Watson Rosevear, *Waiapu. The Story of a Diocese*, Hamilton and Auckland, 1960, pp. 51–2; Porter, pp. 192–3.
97. Dates from Peter Lineham, 'Biographical Index of Church Missionary Society Workers', *Mission and Moko. Aspects of the Work of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand 1814–1882*, Robert Glen (ed.), Christchurch, 1992.
98. H. T. Purchas, *A History of the English Church in New Zealand*, Christchurch, 1914, p. 170; Stock, *History*, II, p. 624.
99. 'Minute upon the Employment and Ordination of Native Teachers' (1851), *The Church of England 1815–1948. A Documentary History*, ed R.P. Flindall, London, 1972, pp. 138–40.
100. C. Peter Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church. A Study in Victorian Missionary Strategy*, Leiden, 1990, p. 264.
101. 'The Native Church of New Zealand', pp. 157–60; Matthews, p. 194.
102. Stock, *History*, I, p. 433; W. L. Williams, *East Coast (New Zealand) Historical Records*, Gisborne, n.d., p. 24; C. P. Williams, pp. 7, 21.
103. H. W. Tucker, *Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of George Augustus Selwyn, D. D.*, London, 1879, II, p. 301; W. L. Williams, *East Coast*, p. 24; Rosevear, pp. 51, 54, 55; Evans, p. 244; W. E. Limbrick, 'Transformation and Tradition: Bishop Selwyn and Anglican Foundations', *Bishop Selwyn*, Limbrick (ed.), p. 39.
104. Booth, 'Founding', pp. 55–6.
105. 'The Native Church of New Zealand', pp. 157, 160; Purchas, p. 170; W. L. Williams, *East Coast*, p. 24; Rosevear, pp. 53–4.
106. Charles Baker, 26 Jan. 1857, cit. in Mary Baker, *Never the Faint Hearted. Charles Baker. Pioneer Missionary 1803–1875*, Waikanae, 1986, pp. 126–7; Purchas, p. 170; W. L. Williams, *East Coast*, p. 24.
107. See comments by Rosevear, p. 55; Limbrick, 'Transformation', p. 39; A. Davidson, *Legacy*, pp. 36, 79, 80; Allan K. Davidson, 'The Interaction of Missionary and Colonial Christianity in Nineteenth Century New Zealand', *Studies in World Christianity*, 2:2 (1996), p. 154.
108. [G. A. Selwyn], *New Zealand. Part I*, 2nd ed., London, 1845, p. 96; *New Zealand. Part V*, p. 61; Sarah Selwyn, 'Reminiscences, 1809–1867', Enid A. Evans (intro.), typescript, 1961, pp. 22–3, 47.
109. S. Tucker, *Southern Cross*, p. 248; Abraham, cit. in H. Tucker, *Selwyn*, II, p. 18; Lady Martin, p. 175; S. Selwyn, pp. 30, 47, 48.
110. H. Tucker, *Selwyn*, II, p. 18; Stock, *History*, I, p. 447. Tucker (p. 19) claims that other missionaries opposed the ordination, but Stock (p. 433) disputes this.
111. Hadfield, Report, 1852, cit. in B. Swabey and H. Dempsey, 'The Historic Graves of Rangiatea', *Historical Journal. Otaki Historical Society*, II (1979), pp. 33–4.
112. H. Tucker, *Selwyn*, II, pp. 18–19; Rosevear, p. 38.
113. Journal, Aug. 1855, cit. in N. Taylor, *Early Travellers*, p. 94.

114. S. Selwyn, pp. 47–8.
115. Alfred Brown, cit. in S. Tucker, *Southern Cross*, p. 248.
116. Lady Martin, pp. 175–6; S. Selwyn, p. 47; Baker, pp. 112, 185.
117. *Proceedings of the CMS* (1856–7), p. 187.
118. Hadfield, *Maoris*, pp. 12–13.
119. Lady Martin, pp. 176–8; S. Selwyn, p. 47.
120. Lady Martin, pp. 175, 179; S. Selwyn, pp. 48, 71. Waitoa and Terina's son, Hone, was also ordained (in 1887). Rota Waitoa remarried after Terina's death and, in 1869, his widow, Harata, married Renata Tangata, a *minita* in Northland: Lady Martin, p. 179; Matthews, p. 217; Reweti Kohere, 'Rev. Rota Waitoa. The First Maori Clergyman', typescript, n.d. [1949], Alexander Turnbull Library (MS-1126), pp. 1–2.
121. H. Tucker, *Selwyn*, II, p. 43; S. Selwyn, p. 56; Hadfield, *Maoris*, pp. 10–12; Ramsden, pp. 292–3.
122. *Proceedings of the CMS* (1856–7), p. 187; Hadfield, *Maoris*, pp. 12–13.
123. Cit. in Ramsden, p. 294.
124. Cit. in *ibid.*, p. 292.
125. *Ibid.*, pp. 269, 294–5.
126. O. Hadfield to C. Hadfield, cit. in Christopher Lethbridge, *The Wounded Lion. Octavius Hadfield 1814–1904*, Christchurch, 1993, pp. 241–2.
127. Stock, *History*, II, p. 93; Purchas, p. 171.
128. Stock, *History*, I, p. 433; II, pp. 93, 640; F. W. Williams, *Through Ninety Years. 1826–1916. Life and Work among the Maoris in New Zealand. Notes of the Lives of William and William Leonard Williams, First and Third Bishops of Waiapu*, Auckland, n.d., pp. 156, 167; Rosevear, p. 55; Lineham.
129. W. Williams, *Christianity*, p. 268; W. L. Williams, *East Coast*, p. 48; F. W. Williams, p. 156; Kohere, *Story*, p. 35; Rosevear, pp. 56, 182. Kawhia's son Eruera was also ordained (in 1887) and succeeded his father at Whareponga.
130. Helen Garrett, *Te Manihara. The Life and Times of the Pioneer Missionary Robert Maunsell*, Auckland, 1991, p. 274; Roger Hill, 'The Maori Church Boards and the Auckland Diocese, 1872–1892', Research Essay, Auckland Consortium for Theological Education, 1991, pp. 46–7.
131. Ashwell, p. 15; Hill, p. 51.
132. Lady Martin, p. 206; Lineham, p. 218.
133. Thomas Lambert, *The Story of Old Wairoa and the East Coast District, North Island, New Zealand*, Dunedin, 1925, pp. 157, 421.
134. Stock, II, *History*, pp. 414–19; T. E. Yates, *Venn and Victorian Bishops Abroad. The Missionary Policies of Henry Venn and their Repercussions upon the Anglican Episcopate of the Colonial Period 1841–1872*, Uppsala, 1978, pp. 110–33, 201–2; C. P. Williams, Ch. 1.
135. *Nga Mahi o te Hinota Tuatahi o te Pihopatanga o Waiapu. I Whakaminea ki Waerengaahika, Turanga, i Tihema 1861*, Auckland, 1862. Similar records, written in Maori and English, were published after the synods of 1863, 1864 and 1865.
136. Morrell, p. 75.
137. W. Williams, *Christianity*, p. 355.
138. *Nga Mahi o te Hinota Tuatahi*, pp. 19, 23, 28; W. Williams, *Christianity*, p. 354; W. L. Williams, *East Coast*, p. 25.
139. Ramsden, pp. 208, 270.
140. *Minutes of the New Zealand District Meeting*, 1840 (transcript, Methodist Archives, Christchurch), p. 11; Charles Creed, 8 April 1842, *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* (Sept. 1843), p. 783; A. B. Chappell, 'Early Mission Days in South Taranaki', *Wesley Historical Society (New Zealand) Proceedings*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (March 1942), p. 8; C. T. J. Luxton, 'The Rev. James Wallis of the Wesleyan Missionary Society', *Wesley Historical Society (New Zealand) Proceedings*, Vol. 21, Nos 1 and 2 (March 1965), p. 8; Laurenson, pp. 42, 72–3, 81.
141. Morley, pp. 134–5. The dates for the reception on trial and subsequent admission as native assistant missionaries are from *Minutes of the Second Conference of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church*, 1856 (and following years).
142. Morley, p. 135.
143. *Wesleyan Chronicle* (16 Jan. 1864), p. 13; Morley, p. 135; Pybus, pp. 143–4; Laurenson, p. 160; Mikaere, pp. 5–7; *DNZB*, II, pp. 523–4 (John H. Roberts); Kempthorne, pp. 139–41. Te Koti retired to the Wairarapa, where he died in 1895.
144. *Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Conference of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Conference, New Zealand*, 1885, p. 7; Morley, p. 135; W. J. Williams, *Centenary Sketches of New Zealand Methodism*, Christchurch, n.d., pp. 216–17. Patene died in 1884.
145. *Minutes*, NZ Conference, 1880, p. 3; Morley, p. 135. Waiti died in 1879.

146. Report, 28 Nov. 1857, Jenny Murray (trans.), 'Tenei ano taku Korero: Here is my Report', *History Now. Te Pae Tawhito o te Wa*, 2:1 (May 1996), pp. 36–7.
147. Laurenson, p. 162.
148. Susan J. Thompson, 'A New Theology of Ministry: the Ordained Methodist Ministry in New Zealand 1880–1980', MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 1990, pp. 97–8.
149. Purchas, p. 207; Evans, pp. 77, 97.
150. Davis to Puckey, 7 May 1862, cit. in Coleman, p. 424.
151. Colin to Minister of Marine and Colonies, Paris, 13 Dec. 1839, cit. in Edward Clisby, *Marist Brothers and Maori, 1838–1938*, Auckland, 2002, p. 59; Wiltgen, pp. 215, 230, 423.
152. P. Viard, 1852, cit. in Lillian Keys, *Philip Viard. Bishop of Wellington*, Christchurch, 1968, p. 92.
153. Lillian Keys, *The Life and Times of Bishop Pompallier*, Christchurch, 1957, pp. 287, 298; Simmons, *Pompallier*, pp. 127–8, 155, 176; Clisby, p. 71.
154. *Church Work Among the Maories During the Year 1898*, Gisborne, 1899, pp. 22–3. See also Bryan Gilling, 'Caught Between the Mere and the Musket. B. Y. Ashwell and the Waikato War', in Glen (ed.), *Mission and Moko*, pp. 188–90.
155. *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, 1865, E-3B, p. 8.
156. H. Tucker, II, p. 302.
157. C. P. Williams, Chs 3–5; Allan K. Davidson, 'Culture and Ecclesiology: the Church Missionary Society and New Zealand', in K. Ward and B. Stanley (eds), *The Church Mission Society and World Christianity 1799–1999*, Grand Rapids and Richmond, 2000, pp. 216–21.
158. Church Missionary Society, *The Church Missionary Atlas*, London, 1896, pp. 53–4.
159. Kempthorne, p. 130.
160. The figure for 1894 is from *Church Missionary Atlas*, 1896, p. 219.
161. Auckland: Hill, p. 68; Waiapu: *Nga Mahi a te Hui Topu o te Hahi Maori o te Pihopatanga o Waiapu*, Turanga, 1893, p. 11.
162. Renata Tangata, cit. in Hill, p. 38.
163. Venn to R. Burrows, 26 Dec. 1866, cit. in Davidson 'Culture', p. 219. For CMS ordinations elsewhere, see Stock, *History*, II, p. 414; III, pp. 706–7.
164. Brittan and Grace, p. 84.
165. James W. Stack, *A Sermon Preached at the Church of St Michael and All Angels, Christchurch, on Trinity Sunday, May 26, 1872, by the Rev. James W. Stack, Curate of the Diocesan Maori Mission on the Occasion of George P. Mutu's Ordination, by the Right Rev. The Primate of New Zealand*, Christchurch, 1872, p. 10.
166. Eugene Stock, *The Story of the New Zealand Mission*, London, 1913, p. 47; *History*, IV, p. 391. Lineham's list includes dates of ordination and brief biographical details for most of the men ordained in this period. Biographical information about some *minita* in the Diocese of Wellington will be found in Ramsden, pp. 297–302, and brief biographies of about 20 *minita* of the Diocese of Auckland have been compiled by Hill, Appendix 1.
167. Richard Spence, *Whakaaria Mai. The Biography of Canon Wiremu Wi Te Tau Huata*, Palmerston North, 1994, pp. 11–15, 19; DNZB, III, Auckland and Wellington, 1996, p. 237 (C. Huata).
168. Ramsden, pp. 297–9. Te Herekau died in 1888.
169. William G. Cowie, *Our Last Year in New Zealand*, 1887, London, 1888, p. 284; Hill, pp. 43–4. Hukatere died in 1893.
170. Matthews, pp. 221, 227; Hill, p. 55. Te Paa died in 1919.
171. Cowie, pp. 74–5; Hill, pp. 49–50; DNZB, II, p. 373 (Wiritai Toi). Papahia died in 1912.
172. *Church Work Among the Maories*, 1899, pp. 7–8.
173. Matiaha Pahewa was ordained in 1863. His son, Hakaraia, died in 1948: DNZB, III, p. 376 (P. J. Lineham). Hemi Huata died in 1955; his son Wiremu was also a *minita*: see Spence.
174. *Church Work Among the Maories*, 1900, pp. 29–30.
175. Kempthorne, pp. 143–4.
176. DNZB, III, pp. 49–51 (Manu A. Bennett). In 1928, Bennett became the first Maori bishop. His son, Manu, became a *minita*, too.
177. Stack, *Sermon*, 1872, p. 12; James W. Stack, *Koro*, Christchurch, 1909, p. 87; Kempthorne, pp. 114–27. Mutu died in 1902.
178. The dates for the admission and service of native ministers are from *Minutes of the Annual Conference of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church* (1864–74) and the *Minutes of the New Zealand Conference* (1874–1900).
179. *Minutes*, New Zealand Conference, 1899, p. 19; J. Roberts, 'Wesleyan Maori Mission at Te Aro', pp. 39–41. Warihi died in 1898.

180. *Minutes*, New Zealand Conference, 1879, p. 3; *Minutes*, New Zealand Conference, 1888, p. 5; Morley, p. 175.
181. *New Zealand Methodist* (23 May, 30 May 1891); *Minutes*, New Zealand Conference, 1892, pp. 5–6; Morley, p. 174. Te Kuri died in 1890.
182. Morley, p. 175; *Minutes*, New Zealand Conference, 1911. Paul died in 1910 and Rakena in 1934.
183. Pybus, pp. 141–2; James Irwin, 'The Rise and Fall of a Vision: Maori in the Midst of Pakeha in the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand', PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1994, pp. 61–6; Kempthorne, p. 82. There is a memorial plaque for Pu in the Otakou church.
184. Statistics in this paragraph are derived from *Minutes*, New Zealand Conference, 1874–1900.
185. Ramsden, p. 274.
186. Baker, p. 189.
187. A. Davidson, *Legacy*, p. 135.
188. See, eg., Stack, *Sermon*, p. 10.
189. Henry Jacobs, *New Zealand*, London, 1887, pp. 474–5; *Church Work Among the Maories*, 1898, p. 13; 1900, p. 5; W. L. Williams, *The Maori Mission: its Past and Present*, Palmerston North, 1904, pp. 14–15; Rosevear, p. 162; Morrell, p. 105.
190. *Minutes*, New Zealand Conference, 1876, p. 25, and succeeding minutes; Hames, *Wesley College*, pp. 14–15. The school survived into the 20th century and still exists as Wesley College in rural South Auckland.
191. *Minutes*, New Zealand Conference, 1895, p. 60.
192. *Church Work Among the Maories*, 1899, pp. 8, 14; Isla L. Prenter, 'The Development of Maori Christianity in the Waiapu Diocese until 1914', MA thesis, Massey University, n.d. [1972], pp. 32–3.
193. Jacobs, pp. 423–4; Cowie, pp. 75–6, 285–6; *Church Work Among the Maories*, 1898, pp. 27–8; Earle Howe, 'Anglican Ministry Amongst Maori 1883–1913', Research Essay, Massey University, 1991, pp. 20, 24.
194. *Church Work Among the Maories*, 1891–8, p. 11; 1899, pp. 7–8, 10; 1900, pp. 8–9; Howe, 'Anglican Ministry', pp. 24–5.
195. *Minutes*, New Zealand Conference, 1875, p. 49; Morley, p. 186; A. K. Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa: a History of Church and Society in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1991, p. 133. Salaries are listed annually in the *Minutes* of the New Zealand Conference.
196. Grace to CMS, 18 Nov. 1877 (Brittan and Grace, p. 287).
197. Hill, Ch. 1; Earle Howe, 'Not a Sudden Death', *Stimulus*, 7:2 (May 1999), pp. 20–1.
198. Williams to CMS, 31 Dec. 1873, cit. in Porter, p. 607.
199. Hill, Ch. 2.
200. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
201. Cowie, p. 371.
202. Howe, 'Anglican Ministry', pp. 3–4, 15, 23, 34; Hill, pp. 15–16, 30.
203. Brittan and Grace, pp. 255–6, 258–9; Rosevear, p. 125.
204. Rosevear, p. 126.
205. S. Thompson, p. 100.
206. *Minutes*, New Zealand Conference, 1896, pp. 117; *Minutes*, New Zealand Conference, 1897, p. 57.
207. Morley, p. 195.
208. Clisby, pp. 60–3, 74; Michael King, *Whina. A Biography of Whina Cooper*, Auckland, 1983, pp. 21, 24, 28; DNZB, II, p. 528 (Steven Oliver). Te Wake died in the influenza epidemic of 1918.
209. Brian W. Hunt, *Zion in New Zealand. A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in New Zealand 1854–1977*, Temple View, 1977, pp. 15–16; Britsch, pp. 263–82.
210. Hunt, pp. 18–19; DNZB, I, pp. 467–8 (Mita Carter and Angela Ballara). Te Maari died in 1895.
211. Elsmore, *Mana*, pp. 14, 41, 173–4.
212. *Ibid.*, pp. 301–22.
213. Te Ua had been a junior Wesleyan teacher in Taranaki in the 1840s: Paul Clark, 'Hauhau'. *The Pai Marire Search for Maori Identity*, Auckland, 1975, p. 6.
214. Elsmore, *Mana*, pp. 323–5.
215. William Greenwood, *The Upraised Hand. The Spiritual Significance of the Rise of the Ringatu Faith*, Wellington, 1942, pp. 31, 34, 39, 40, 46, 53–4, 62; Gilda Z. Misur, 'From Prophet Cult to Established Church. The Case of the Ringatu Movement', in I. H. Kawharu (ed.), *Conflict and Compromise. Essays on the Maori Since Colonization*, Wellington, 1975, pp. 97–115; Judith Binney, *Redemption Songs. A Life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki*, Auckland, 1995, p. 428.
216. Brittan and Grace, p. 236.

217. Cowie, pp. 74–5.
218. *Church Work Among the Maories*, 1900, 6.
219. Hamiora Hei, 'The Position and Influence of the Native Clergy', *Papers and Addresses Read Before the First Conference of the Te Aute College Students' Association, February 1897*, Gisborne, 1897, p. 29.
220. Raeburn Lange, *May the People Live. A History of Maori Health Development, 1900–1920*, Auckland, 1999, pp. 110–11, 203.
221. 'Tributes etc. to Early Missionaries and Ministers (including Maoris)', file in Methodist Archives, Christchurch.
222. *New Zealand Methodist*, 23 May 1891.

Chapter Nine — Hawai'i

1. Douglas Oliver, *Polynesia in Early Historic Times*, Honolulu, 2002, p. 32. Some scholars have suggested higher figures, even up to a million: see Oliver, p. 262 (n.34).
2. W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 1831–32, IV, pp. 275–6, 293–6, 309–14, 333–4, 411; David M. Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities*, N. B. Emerson (trans.), Honolulu, 1951, pp. 59, 107–9, 188; Samuel M. Kamakau, *Ka Po'e Kahiko. The People of Old*, Mary Kawena Pukui (trans.), Dorothy B. Barrère (ed.), Honolulu, 1964, pp. 7–8, 29, 36, 95–114, 119–40; Handy, *Polynesian Religion*, pp. 137, 149–53, 159; Valerio Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice. Ritual and Society in Ancient Hawaii*, Chicago, 1985, pp. 130–40.
3. Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, I, Honolulu, 1938, pp. 66–70.
4. Thomas Hopu, 'Memoirs of Thomas Hopoo' [written in 1819], *Hawaiian Journal of History [HJH]*, 2 (1968), pp. 42–54; C. S. Stewart, *Journal of a Residence in the Sandwich Islands, during the years 1823, 1824, and 1825*, 3rd ed., London, 1830, pp. 30–1; Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands*, 3rd ed., Hartford, Ct, 1849, pp. 57–8. A list of 19 Hawaiian students at the Foreign Mission School, together with brief biographical notes, is included in Stanley H. Raymond, 'The Role of Native Assistants to the Hawaiian Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions', research paper, History Department, University of Hawai'i, 1980, pp. 36–40 (a copy is held in the Pacific Theological College Library).
5. Opukahaia's *Memoirs*, first published shortly after his death, were reprinted many times and aroused much support for the mission to Hawai'i: Edwin Dwight, *Memoirs of Henry Obookiah, a Native of Owhyhee, and a Member of the Foreign Mission School; who died at Cornwall, Connecticut February 17, 1818, aged 26 years*, Edith Wolfe (ed.), Honolulu, 1968.
6. W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 1831–32, IV, pp. 62, 65, 404, 408; Stewart, p. 32; Bingham, *Residence*, p. 158; H. W. Bradley, *The American Frontier in Hawaii. The Pioneers 1789–1843*, Stanford, Ca, 1942, pp. 123–4, 160–1; Bradford Smith, *Yankees in Paradise: The New England Impact on Hawaii*, Philadelphia, 1956, pp. 58–9; Susan N. Bell, 'Owhyhee's Prodigal', *HJH*, 10 (1976), pp. 25–32; Char Miller (ed.), *Selected Writings of Hiram Bingham 1814–1869, Missionary to the Hawaiian Islands. To Raise the Lord's Banner*, Lewiston, NY, 1988, pp. 180–4; Raymond, pp. 8–11. Kanui's Christianity was restored later in life; he died in 1864: Smith, pp. 252, 288; Bell pp. 28–30.
7. Samuel M. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, Honolulu, 1961, p. 247.
8. G. F. Mathison, *Narrative of a Visit to Brazil, Chile, Peru, and the Sandwich Islands, during the Years 1821 and 1822*, London, 1825, pp. 433–4.
9. Dorothy Barrère and Marshall Sahlins, 'Tahitians in the Early History of Hawaiian Christianity: the Journal of Toketa', *HJH*, 13 (1979), pp. 19–35; Dorothy Barrère, 'A Tahitian in the History of Hawai'i: the Journal of Kahikona', *HJH*, 23 (1989), pp. 75–107; Gallagher, p. 27. Translations of three journals written by Toketa and Kahikona in the 1820s are presented in the two *HJH* articles cited.
10. Stewart, p. 210, see also pp. 214, 274; Bingham, *Residence*, p. 162.
11. W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 1831–32, IV, Ch. 2; J. Montgomery, I, pp. 402–3, 418–19, 478; Bingham, *Residence*, pp. 161–2; Maude, 'Raiatean Chief', pp. 189–91; Barrère and Sahlins, pp. 22–4; Garrett, *Stars*, pp. 40–3; Gallagher, pp. 25–7. Extracts from Auna's journal of his sojourn in Hawai'i are to be found as item 62, SSJ (Reel 4); they were published in Montgomery, I, pp. 481–6. For Auna himself, see above, pp. 40–1.
12. W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 1831–32, III, p. 295; IV, pp. 78, 83–4; Stewart, pp. 178, 219–20; Bingham, *Residence*, p. 181; C. Barff, 7 April 1851, SSL (Reel 38); Gallagher, p. 26.
13. [C. Barff], 'A Short Memoir of Taamotu', n.d. (attached to D. Darling, 22 Nov. 1851, SSL [Reel 38]). Taamotu took her Hawaiian husband back with her to Huahine and died in 1851.
14. C. Barff, 7 April 1851 (and attached letter from D. Baldwin, Lahaina, 3 Jan. 1851), SSL (Reel 38); Gallagher, p. 27. In 1830, Taua was suspended for a short time for adultery. His wife had died in 1825, and he later married a Christian woman from Maui.

15. Stewart, p. 37; Barrère and Sahllins, p. 23; C. Miller, p. 243; Gallagher, p. 29, n.16.
16. Daniel Wheeler, *Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labours of Daniel Wheeler, a Minister of the Society of Friends*, London, 1842, p. 453; Bingham, *Residence*, p. 438; C. Barff, 1 Aug. 1859, SSL (Reel 41); Lovett, *History*, I, pp. 345–6; O'Reilly and Teissier, pp. 575–6; Barrère and Sahllins, p. 23; Garrett, *Stars*, p. 269; Gallagher, p. 27. Tute stayed with Kauikeaouli until the King's death in 1854, and died himself on 3 Dec. 1858.
17. G. P. Judd, 1830, cit. in Raymond, p. 21.
18. B. Smith, p. 212.
19. J. Montgomery, I, p. 470; Bingham, *Residence*, pp. 165–6; Rufus Anderson, *History of the Sandwich Islands Mission*, Boston, 1870, pp. 23–4.
20. Sheldon Dibble, *A History of the Sandwich Islands*, Honolulu, 1909, p. 148; B. Smith, p. 172; Bell, p. 26.
21. Bradley, p. 161; Raymond, pp. 23, 26–7, 29.
22. Raymond, p. 21.
23. Dibble, p. 148.
24. Anderson, *History*, pp. 13–15.
25. Kuykendall, I, pp. 106–7.
26. *Minutes of the General Meeting*, 1830, cit. in Kuykendall, I, p. 338.
27. Bingham, *Residence*, pp. 423–6, 581; Dibble, pp. 269–81; Kuykendall, I, p. 111; Bradley, pp. 340–2; B. Smith, pp. 174–5; Raymond, p. 23.
28. J. S. Green, *Notices of the Life, Character and Labors of the late Bartimeus L. Puaaiki of Wailuku, Maui, Sandwich Islands*, Lahainaluna, 1844; Bingham, *Residence*, pp. 481–4; H. Bingham, *Bartimeus of the Sandwich Islands*, New York, n.d. [1850?]; Anderson, *History*, pp. 209–19.
29. Green, p. 26; Henry T. Cheever, *The Island World of the Pacific*, New York, 1851, p. 172; D. Baldwin to C. Barff, 3 Jan. 1851 (enclosed in C. Barff, 7 April 1851, SSL [Reel 38]); Kuykendall, I, p. 338.
30. Kuykendall, I, p. 339.
31. Bingham, *Bartimeus*, pp. 48–50; Kuykendall, I, p. 339.
32. Kuykendall, I, p. 348; Bradley, pp. 329, 332, 346, 360; B. Smith, p. 306; Oscar E. Maurer, *Three Early Christian Leaders of Hawaii*, Honolulu, 1945, pp. 11–19. See Malo's *Hawaiian Antiquities*, published (in an English translation by N. B. Emerson) in 1951.
33. Bingham, *Residence*, p. 582; Rufus Anderson, *The Hawaiian Islands: Their Progress and Condition Under Missionary Labours*, 2nd ed., Boston, 1864, p. 189; Kuykendall, I, p. 364; Raymond, p. 28.
34. Anderson, *Hawaiian Islands*, pp. 393–4; Jeanette Little, '... And Wife: Mary Kaaialii Kahelemauna Nawaa, Missionary Wife and Missionary', in Munro and Thornley (eds), *Covenant Makers*, p. 211.
35. Oliver P. Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii*, Garden City, NY, 1928, p. 132; Anderson, *Hawaiian Islands*, p. 209; Anderson, *History*, p. 244.
36. Anderson, *History*, p. 248.
37. Letter to President Lincoln, 27 March 1865, cit. in W. Ellis, *The American Mission in the Sandwich Islands*, London, 1866, p. 101. See also Maurer, pp. 21–9.
38. Anderson, *Hawaiian Islands*, p. 188; Kuykendall, I, p. 339.
39. Loomis, pp. 53–7.
40. Anderson, *History*, p. 255.
41. Bernice Judd, biographical notes attached to Hezekiah Ae'a, 'The History of Ebon', *Fifty-Sixth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the Year 1947*, Honolulu, 1948, pp. 7, 8.
42. H. Judd, pp. 49–50. A list of Hawaiian missionaries is in *ibid.*, pp. 50–2.
43. Morris, p. 54.
44. Reginald Yzendoorn, *History of the Catholic Mission in the Hawaiian Islands*, Honolulu, 1927, pp. 178–9; Robert Schoofs, *Pioneers of the Faith. History of the Catholic Mission in Hawaii (1827–1940)*, Waikane, 1978, pp. 34–7, 254–6.
45. Cit. in Landès, p. 182 [author's translation].
46. Kuykendall, I, pp. 343, 366; II, p. 105; Schoofs, p. 59.
47. Britsch, pp. 99–101, 107, 110, 135, 144.
48. Kuykendall, II, pp. 84–99.
49. T. N. Staley, *Five Years' Church Work in the Kingdom of Hawaii, by the Bishop of Honolulu*, London, 1868, pp. 65–6; Andrew F. Muir, 'William Hoapili Kaauwai: A Hawaiian in Holy Orders', *Sixty-First Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the Year 1952*, Honolulu, 1953, pp. 5–11.
50. Cit. in Kuykendall, I, p. 337.

51. Rufus Anderson, *Memorial Volume of the First Fifty Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, Boston, 1861, pp. 225–6, 250–2; *Hawaiian Islands*, pp. 111–14, 311–12, 374, 377, 389–92, 403–4; *History*, pp. 280–4, 335.
52. Anderson, *Hawaiian Islands*, p. 173 (where 'kaku' is presumably a mis-spelling of *kahu*). *Kahu* is used in the Hawaiian Bible for 'pastor' (Eph. 4:11).
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 313, 377; *History*, pp. 171, 257.
54. Anderson, *Hawaiian Islands*, pp. 313–19, 392–3; *History*, pp. 284–5, 322–4; Titus Coan, *Life in Hawaii. An Autobiographic Sketch of Mission Life and Labors (1835–1881)*, New York, 1882, p. 136; Kuykendall, II, pp. 99–100.
55. Anderson, *History*, p. 292.
56. *Ibid.*, pp. 291, 325, 335.
57. Ethel M. Damon, *Father Bond of Kohala: a Chronicle of Pioneer Life in Hawaii*, Honolulu, 1927, pp. 206–7, 276.
58. Coan, pp. 136–8, 249–50.
59. Anderson, *Hawaiian Islands*, p. 323.
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 319, 324–5; *History*, p. 288. Alexander's students at Wailuku wrote papers on aspects of traditional culture; they were published in a Hawaiian-language weekly (nine examples, translated into English, will be found in B. F. Kirtley and Esther T. Mookini, 'Essays upon Ancient Hawaiian Religion and Sorcery by Nineteenth-Century Seminarists', *HJH*, 13 [1979], pp. 67–93).
61. Anderson, *Hawaiian Islands*, p. 324.
62. Coan, p. 251; Loomis, p. 30.

Chapter Ten — Niue

1. J. Williams, *Samoan Journals*, pp. 42–3; Kon-Tiki Makani, 'Ekalesia Niue: An Indigenous Church in the Making', MTh thesis, Pacific Theological College, 1993, pp. 3–4.
2. Buzacott, pp. 157–60; R. and M. Crocombe (eds), *Ta'unga*, pp. 14–15; Makani, pp. 4–7.
3. G. Turner, *Nineteen Years*, pp. 465–71; Makani, pp. 6–9.
4. 'Niue (Savage Island)' (a compilation of notes from LMS records), Manuscript Papers 1273 (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington), p. 12; Fifita Talagi, 'Early European Contacts', in Terry Chapman et al., *Niue. A History of the Island*, Suva, 1982, p. 115; Makani, pp. 9–10. Peniamina died on Niue in 1874.
5. Murray and Hardie, 15 Nov. 1849, SSL (Reel 37).
6. Nokise, pp. 42–3, 47.
7. Their names are listed in Makani, p. 161.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 19–24.
9. Thomas Powell, *Savage Island: A Brief Account of the Island of Niue, and of the Work of the Gospel Among its People*, London, 1868, p. 53.
10. Pratt, 16 Oct. 1861, SSL (Reel 42). See also Makani, p. 53.
11. Joseph King, W. G. Lawes of *Savage Island and New Guinea*, London, 1909, pp. 20–1, 334. Paulo's grave is at Mutalau.
12. G. Turner, *Nineteen Years*, p. 518.
13. Pratt, 16 Oct. 1861, SSL (Reel 42).
14. S. Percy Smith, *Niue-fekai (or Savage) Island and its People*, Wellington, 1903, p. 47; E. M. Loeb, 'The Shaman of Niue', *American Anthropologist*, 26:3 (July–Sept. 1924), pp. 393–8; Loeb, 'History and Traditions of Niue', *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin* 32, Honolulu, 1926, p. 166; Ikinepule Etuata and Pitasoni Tanaki, 'The Wisdom of Niue', in Chapman et al., pp. 97–100.
15. G. Turner, *Nineteen Years*, p. 469; Loeb, *History and Traditions*, pp. 51–5.
16. Loeb, *History and Traditions*, pp. 35–7; Talagi, p. 117.
17. Hardie and Turner, Sept. 1850, SSL (Reel 37); Turner, 1 Oct. 1856, SSL (Reel 40); T. Powell, pp. 49–53; Makani, pp. 19–20.
18. Turner, 6 Oct. 1852, SSL (Reel 38); 1 Oct. 1856, SSL (Reel 40); 24 Sept. 1858, SSL (Reel 41).
19. Lawes, 17 May 1864, SSL (Reel 44).
20. 'Niue (Savage Island)', p. 8.
21. J. King, *Lawes*, p. 335.
22. R. Wardlaw Thompson, Introduction, J. King, *Lawes*, pp. x–xi.
23. W. Lawes, 17 Oct. 1861, SSL (Reel 42); 10 May 1865, SSL (Reel 44).

24. Makani, p. 35.
25. 'Niue (Savage Island)', pp. 14, 20.
26. Makani, pp. 30–1.
27. Frederick J. Moss, *Through Atolls and Islands in the Great South Sea*, London, 1889, p. 9.
28. Murray, *Missions*, p. 396.
29. Makani, p. 32.
30. W. Lawes, 17 Oct. 1865, SSL (Reel 49); S. J. Whitmee, *A Missionary Cruise in the South Pacific: Being the Report of a Voyage Amongst the Tokelau, Ellice and Gilbert Islands, in the Missionary Barque 'John Williams', during 1870*, Sydney, 1871, pp. 9–10; 'Niue (Savage Island)', p. 21; Makani, pp. 32, 48, 162. During his reign as *patu iki*, Fataiki was expelled from the church for adultery: see 'Niue (Savage Island)', pp. 23–4. He died in 1896.
31. Whitmee, *Missionary Cruise*, p. 10; list of teachers, PMB 703. Paea died in 1914.
32. Solomona died in Vanuatu in 1876, and Iona returned to Niue in the same year, where he was a pastor until his accidental death in 1884: list of teachers, PMB 703; 'Niue (Savage Island)', p. 13.
33. Makani, pp. 32–4. See list in *ibid.*, pp. 162–4.
34. F. Lawes, 19 May 1873, SSL (Reel 49).
35. 'Niue (Savage Island)', pp. 19, 24.
36. F. Lawes, 19 May 1873, SSL (Reel 49).
37. Cit. in Makani, p. 34.
38. 'Niue (Savage Island)', pp. 14–15.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
40. Lovett, *History*, I, p. 420; Makani, p. 38.
41. Makani, pp. 38–40, 76.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 26–8.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 36, 46–9.
44. 'Niue (Savage Island)', pp. 12, 15.
45. Pahetogia Faitala, 'Christianity in Niue Context', BD project report, Pacific Theological College, 1983, pp. 53–65. See also Makani, pp. 40–5.

Chapter Eleven — Tokelau

1. G. Turner, *Nineteen Years*, p. 525.
2. *Ibid.* pp. 529–30, 532.
3. S. Percy Smith, 'A Note on the Tokelau or Union Group', *JPS*, XXXI:3 (Sept. 1922), pp. 92–3.
4. J. J. Lister, 'Notes on the Natives of Fakaofu (Bowditch Island). Union Group', *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, XXI:1 (Aug. 1891), pp. 50, 54. For pre-Christian religious practitioners, see also Judith Huntsman and Antony Hooper, *Tokelau. A Historical Ethnography*, Auckland, 1996, pp. 158–9.
5. The scattered information relating to Christian beginnings in Tokelau is conveniently gathered together in Huntsman and Hooper (whose historical account is based on careful research in scattered archival and other early documentary sources), pp. 183–204.
6. G. Turner, *Nineteen Years*, pp. 531–2.
7. Antony Hooper and Judith Huntsman (trans.), *Matagi Tokelau. History and Traditions of Tokelau*, Apia and Suva, 1991, p. 164.
8. Maude, *Slavers*, Ch. 9; Huntsman and Hooper, pp. 204–10.
9. For Mafala (dismissed in 1874), see G. A. Turner, 'Report of a Voyage through the Tokelau, Ellice and Gilbert Groups in the *John Williams*, 1874' (PMB 129); Huntsman and Hooper, pp. 220, 239.
10. *Minutes of Samoa District Committee*, March 1873, SSL (Reel 49); Murray, 20 July 1873, Papua Letters [PL], LMS Archives (Reel 91); Cook Islands Government, 'Register', p. 1; Maude, *Slavers*, p. 173; Huntsman and Hooper, pp. 221, 230. After leaving Tokelau, Maka accompanied the 1872 LMS mission to Papua as interpreter and general helper: Murray, journal, 1872, Papua Journals [PJ] (No. 2), LMS Archives (Reel 11). There the missionary MacFarlane regarded him as 'a most faithful and useful man'; he died in 1875: MacFarlane, journal, 1875 (No. 11), PJ (Reel 11).
11. G. A. Turner, 'Report of a Missionary Voyage through the Tokelau, Ellice and Gilbert Groups in the *John Williams* 1878' (PMB 129).
12. Iapesa: Huntsman and Hooper, pp. 220, 242–8. Lemuel: Huntsman and Hooper, pp. 222, 230–5. Fr E. Didier's comment is cited by Huntsman and Hooper, p. 231.

13. Antony Hooper and Judith Huntsman, 'The Tokelau Language 1841–1991', *JPS*, 101:4 (Dec. 1992), pp. 347–9.
14. Huntsman and Hooper, p. 94.
15. Hooper and Huntsman, 'Tokelau Language', pp. 348–9.
16. Moss, pp. 117, 129. The pastor in question can be identified as Lemuelu, a Samoan.
17. W. W. Gill, *Jottings*, p. 20; Huntsman and Hooper, p. 220.
18. *Minutes of the Samoa District Committee*, 4 Dec. 1876, SSL (Reel 50); Hooper and Huntsman, *Matagi Tokelau*, p. 165.
19. Huntsman and Hooper, pp. 99–101, 235.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 99, 228.

Chapter Twelve — Tuvalu

1. W. F. Newton, 'The Early Population of the Ellice Islands', *JPS*, 76:2 (June 1967), p. 202.
2. J. E. Newell, 'Notes, Chiefly Ethnological, of the Tokelau, Ellice, and Gilbert Islanders', *Report of the Sixth Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, Held at Brisbane, Queensland, January, 1895*, p. 608; D. G. Kennedy, 'Field Notes on the Culture of Vaitupu, Ellice Islands', *Memoir No. 9, Supplement to the Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 39 (June 1930), pp. 149–50.
3. Whitmee, *Missionary Cruise*, p. 27.
4. Michael R. Goldsmith, 'Church and Society in Tuvalu', PhD thesis, University of Illinois, 1989, pp. 94, 114–15.
5. The story of Elekana's work on Nukulaelae was much publicised by the LMS (see, eg., Murray, *Forty Years*, pp. 375–80). In recent times, Elekana's career has been described and analysed in detail by Doug Munro and Michael Goldsmith: Doug Munro, 'The Lagoon Islands. A History of Tuvalu 1820–1908', PhD thesis, Macquarie University, 1982, pp. 82–7; Goldsmith, 'Church and Society', pp. 125–49; Goldsmith and Munro, 'Encountering Elekana Encountering Tuvalu', in Donald H. Rubinstein (ed.), *Pacific History. Papers from the 8th Pacific History Association Conference, Guam, 1992*, pp. 25–41; Goldsmith and Munro, *The Accidental Missionary: Tales of Elekana*, Christchurch, 2002.
6. For a detailed account and analysis of the work of 19th-century LMS teachers in Tuvalu, based on extensive research in primary sources, see Munro, 'Lagoon Islands' (note Tables 4:1, 5:1, 6:1 and 10:1, which contain data on the appointments of all teachers from 1865 to 1906). Some of this material is also available in Munro's chapter, 'Samoan Pastors in Tuvalu, 1865–1899', in Munro and Thornley (eds), *Covenant Makers*. Ioane's place of origin is identified by G. A. Turner ('Report of a Missionary Voyage, 1878').
7. Munro, 'Lagoon Islands', p. 111.
8. Maude, *Slavers*, Ch. 10.
9. Tafaiilematagi T. Muasau, 'The Samoan Missionary Enterprise in Tuvalu', BD project report, Pacific Theological College, 1983, pp. 46ff. See Goldsmith, 'Church and Society', Ch. 5, for an analysis of the position of the pastor in his Tuvaluan host community.
10. See above, p. 94.
11. For an analysis of preaching on Nukulaelae, see Niko Besnier, 'Christianity, Authority, and Personhood: Sermonic Discourse on Nukulaelae Atoll', *JPS*, 103:4 (Dec. 1994); Besnier, *Literacy, Emotion, and Authority. Reading and Writing on a Polynesian Atoll*, Cambridge, 1995, Chs 6 and 7.
12. Doug Munro, 'Kirisome and Tema. Samoan Pastors in the Ellice Islands', in Deryck Scarr (ed.), *More Pacific Portraits*, Canberra, 1978; Munro, 'The Humble Jeremiah. A Samoan Pastor in Tuvalu, 1880–1890', *PJT*, Series II, No. 23 (2000), pp. 40–8.
13. Whitmee, *Missionary Cruise*, pp. 19–20.
14. W. W. Gill, 'Diary of a Tour of the Gilbert, Union and Loyalty Islands in the *John Williams*, 1872' (Mitchell Library), p. 76.
15. Moss, p. 117.
16. Munro, 'Kirisome and Tema', pp. 75, 93; Nokise, pp. 45–6.
17. Munro, 'The Humble Jeremiah', pp. 41, 42, 46–7; the quotation is from the missionary Marriott.
18. Munro, 'The Humble Jeremiah', pp. 40, 45. See also Munro, 'Samoan Pastors', pp. 125–8.
19. Mrs [Cara] David, *Mission Work in Funafuti*, Sydney, 1897, pp. 4–9; Mrs [Cara] Edgeworth David, *Funafuti. Or Three Months on a Coral Island; the Unscientific Account of a Scientific Expedition*, Melbourne and London, 1899, pp. 32–3, 79–83, 150.
20. The need to avoid such misunderstandings is argued by Muasau, 'Samoan Missionary Enterprise': see pp. i, 94ff.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

22. G. A. Turner, 'Report of a Voyage, 1874'.
23. Garrett, *Stars*, p. 158; Munro, 'Lagoon Islands', pp. 131–2.
24. Munro, 'Lagoon Islands', p. 154.
25. Charles Hedley, 'The Ethnology of Funafuti', *Memoir of the Australian Museum*, III (1896–1900), p. 232.
26. W. W. Gill, *Diary*, pp. 8–9.
27. R. G. Roberts, 'Te Atu Tuvalu. A Short History of the Ellice Islands', *JPS*, 67:4 (Dec. 1958), pp. 411–13, 415; G. M. White, *Kioa: An Ellice Community in Fiji*, Eugene, Ore, 1965, p. 45; Kaaliki Laupepa, 'Vaitupu', in Hugh Laracy (ed.), *Tuvalu: A History*, Suva, 1983, pp. 81–2.
28. White, *Kioa*, p. 103; Munro, 'Kirisome and Tema', p. 76.
29. G. A. Turner, 'Report of a Missionary Voyage, 1878'.
30. G. R. LeHunte, cit. in Munro, 'Kirisome and Tema', p. 75.
31. Vaitoru's letter to J. B. Thurston, 16 Nov. 1892, cit. in Munro, 'Lagoon Islands', p. 147.
32. The discussion in this paragraph is influenced in parts by Ivan Brady, 'Christians, Pagans and Government Men: Culture Change in the Ellice Islands', in Ivan A. Brady and Barry L. Isaac (eds), *A Reader in Culture Change*, Vol. II, New York, 1975, pp. 121–3; Munro, 'Lagoon Islands', pp. 97, 106–7, 145–53, 158; Goldsmith, 'Church and Society', pp. 253–7; Munro, 'Samoan Pastors', pp. 132–4.
33. Muasau, 'Samoan Missionary Enterprise', pp. 45, 55, 97–8.
34. Whitmee, *Missionary Cruise*, p. 13.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 17–19. See Goldsmith and Munro, 'Encountering Elekana', pp. 36–8, and *Accidental Missionary*, pp. 71–7, for a discussion of Elekana's removal. After his dismissal, Elekana participated in a mission publicity visit to Australia, but his hopes for another appointment were not fulfilled: *Accidental Missionary*, pp. 79–83, 85–9. His son Tauraki, however, was trained at Malua and became a missionary to Papua, where he was killed in 1887: see Lovett, *James Chalmers*, pp. 295–7. After Tauraki's death, Elekana offered to serve in Papua: J. King, *Lawes*, p. 249.
36. G. A. Turner, 'Report of a Missionary Voyage, 1878'.
37. Cit. in Munro, 'The Humble Jeremia', p. 47.
38. *AMMR*, VIII:3 (6 July 1898), p. 6.
39. W. W. Gill, *Diary*, p. 76.
40. G. A. Turner, 'Report of a Voyage, 1874'; 'Report of a Missionary Voyage, 1878'.
41. Cit. in Munro, 'Lagoon Islands', p. 144.
42. See Isa Paeniu, 'Do Ellice Pastors Have Too Much Influence?', *Pacific Islands Monthly*, 40:4 (April 1969), pp. 65, 67.
43. Munro, 'Lagoon Islands', pp. 140–1, quoting an oral tradition collected by Keith and Anne Chambers.
44. Whitmee, *Missionary Cruise*, pp. 13, 21.
45. Examiners' report, May 1875, SSL (Reel 50).
46. W. W. Gill, *Diary*, 1872, p. 4; G. A. Turner, 'Report of a Missionary Voyage, 1878'; Doug Munro, 'Lutelu, the Tongan of Nukulaelae', *Word of Mouth*, 10 (1986), pp. 15–19; Munro, 'Kelebi Toga, Alias Lutelu', *Word of Mouth*, 14 (1988), pp. 16–20. Munro's articles reveal that Lutelu was dismissed from Beru in 1885; in 1892, the British deported him from Nukulaelae to Tonga for causing trouble on the island. This Lutelu should not be confused with two other teachers of that name (both Samoans) who served in the Ellice Islands (see Munro, 'Lagoon Islands', pp. 137, 305–6; Nokise, pp. 314, 315).
47. For Sakaio (who was dismissed from his post and later caused trouble back home on Vaitupu), see Turner, 'Report of Voyage, 1878'; Munro, 'The Humble Jeremia', pp. 43–4. For Tuiteke, see Turner, 'Report of Voyage, 1878'.
48. Turner, 'Report of Voyage, 1878'; Munro, 'Lagoon Islands', pp. 136–7; Muasau, 'Samoan Missionary Enterprise', p. 87; Nokise, p. 309.
49. Munro, 'Kirisome and Tema', p. 91.
50. Brady, p. 140; Munro, 'Kirisome and Tema', pp. 90–2; 'Lagoon Islands', pp. 304–7.

Chapter Thirteen — Kiribati and Nauru

1. Barrie Macdonald, *Cinderellas of the Empire. Towards a History of Kiribati and Tuvalu*, Canberra, 1982, p. 6.
2. Albert Sturges, cit. in David and Leona Crawford, *Missionary Adventures in the South Pacific*, Rutland, Vt, 1967, p. 36.
3. Wilkes, V, p. 87.
4. Whitmee, *Missionary Cruise*, pp. 39–40.
5. For general studies of the Hawaiians in the Gilberts, see Loomis, pp. 136–40; Katharine Luomala, 'Religious and Political Conflicts in the Gilbert Islands, 1852–1892. A Summary', in Jukka Siikala (ed.), *Oceanic Studies. Essays in Honour of Aame A. Koskinen*, Helsinki, 1982. A list will be found in Judd, pp. 50–1.

6. Bingham, 5 Aug. 1858, cit. in Garrett, *Stars*, p. 151.
7. *The Friend* (March 1897), cit. in *ibid.*, p. 151.
8. Anderson, *History*, p. 318; Judd, p. 50; D. and L. Crawford, pp. 157–8; Macdonald, p. 39.
9. Stevenson, *In the South Seas*, pp. 86, 227–30.
10. Report on Gilbert Islands, 1892, Micronesian Mission papers, ABCFM Archives, 19.4 [MM], Vol. 10 (PMB 749); Judd, p. 51.
11. H. Taylor, 18 July 1874, MM, Vol. 5 (PMB 744).
12. 'Report of the Committee Appointed by the Gilbert Islands Mission ... in 1881 on the Massacre of Natives at Tapiteua in September 1880, and the Connection of the Hawaiian Missionaries Therewith', MM, Vol. 7 (PMB 744); D. and L. Crawford, p. 227; Macdonald, pp. 37–9; Luomala, pp. 198, 208–10.
13. Ernest Sabatier, *Astride the Equator. An Account of the Gilbert Islands*, Melbourne, 1977, pp. 184, 186.
14. Walkup, 17 July 1885, 27 April 1889, MM, Vol. 8 (PMB 747); *The Friend*, XLVII (1889), cit. in Macdonald, p. 39; Micronesia Memoranda, April 1892, MM, Vol. 10 (PMB 749).
15. Loomis, pp. 138–9.
16. S. H. Davies, 11 Dec. 1873, SSL (Reel 49).
17. W. W. Gill, diary, 1872, pp. 20, 60.
18. G. A. Turner, 'Report of Voyage, 1874' (PMB 129).
19. Munro, 'Kirisome and Tema', p. 82.
20. Macdonald, p. 48.
21. See Nokise, Appendix B, for a list.
22. See above, p. 206.
23. Macdonald, p. 45.
24. See Tekaabei Kaoma, 'The Church and Education in Kiribati. An Historical Analysis on the Educational Ministry of the Kiribati Protestant Church', BD project report, Pacific Theological College, 1985, pp. 36, 52.
25. Tabwia, reported by Walkup in Gilbert Islands Report, 1894, MM, Vol. 10 (PMB 749).
26. Macdonald, pp. 47–8.
27. *JME*, 52 (1877), pp. 103–4.
28. Goward, 23 Feb. 1901, cit. in Macdonald, p. 89.
29. Goward, 1902, cit. in Goodall, *History*, p. 379.
30. Taylor, 14 Nov 1874, MM, Vol. 5 (PMB 744).
31. *Ibid.*; Walkup, Gilbert Islands Report, 1901, MM, Vol. 13 (PMB 753); H. E. Maude, 'Baiteke and Binoka of Abemama. Arbiters of Change in the Gilbert Islands', in J. W. Davidson and Deryck Scarr (eds), *Pacific Islands Portraits*, Wellington, 1970, pp. 213, 216.
32. Report of Micronesia Subcommittee, 23 March 1880, MM, Vol. 6 (PMB 744).
33. D. and L. Crawford, p. 226.
34. Walkup, Aug. 1882, 30 Oct. 1882, MM, Vol. 8 (PMB 747).
35. Kaoma, p. 30.
36. Report on Gilbert Islands Tour, 1892, MM, Vol. 10 (PMB 749).
37. Channon, Report for Gilbert Islands Training School (Kusaie), 1 March 1892, MM, Vol. 10 (PMB 749).
38. Reports of Gilbert Islands Training School, 1894, 1895; Channon, Report of the Gilbert Islands Work for 1896, MM, Vol. 10 (PMB 749).
39. ABCFM, Annual Report, 1885–86, in T. C. Bliss, *Micronesia. Fifty Years in the Island World. A History of the American Board*, Boston, 1906, p. 108.
40. Gilbert Islands Report, 1894, MM, Vol. 10 (PMB 749).
41. Taylor, n.d. [1876?], MM, Vol. 5 (PMB 744).
42. Taylor, 17 Aug. 1880, MM, Vol. 5 (PMB 744); Report of Voyage, 1882, MM, Vol. 9 (PMB 748); Gilbert Islands Report, Aug. 1885, MM, Vol. 6 (PMB 744); Instructions to Captain Bray, 30 April, 17 Nov. 1885, MM, Vol. 9 (PMB 748); Gilbert Islands Tour, 1892; Gilbert Islands Reports, 1893 and 1894; Channon, Report of the Gilbert Islands Work for 1896; Gilbert Islands Report for 1897, MM, Vol. 10 (PMB 749); Loomis, pp. 129–30; Luomala, p. 198; Garrett, *Stars*, pp. 154–5; Raymond Rickards, 'In their Own Tongues: Bible Translation in the Pacific to 1918', DTh thesis, Australian College of Theology, 1984, pp. 251–2, 255–6, 259; Garrett, *Footsteps*, pp. 266–7. Kaure's son was born on the mission vessel in 1880 and named after it: Report of Voyage, 1880, MM, Vol. 9 (PMB 748). Morning Star Kaure was a student at the Kosrae school in 1901: Report on Kusaie Training School, 1901, MM, Vol. 13 (PMB 753). Mote Kaure's fall from grace after helping Bingham in Honolulu was a repetition of the case of Paul, another bright scholar who disgraced himself on returning in the 1880s: Walkup, 10 Aug. 1881, MM, Vol. 8 (PMB 747); G. Garland, 20 March 1884, MM, Vol. 9 (PMB 748).

43. Taylor, 29 Aug. 1881, MM, Vol. 5 (PMB 744); Report of Voyage, 1880, MM, Vol. 9 (PMB 748); Walkup, 12 Jan. 1886, MM, Vol. 8 (PMB 747); Gilbert Islands Reports, 1893, 1894; Channon, Report of the Gilbert Islands Work for 1896; J. Hoppin, Report of the Gilbert Islands Tour, 1899, MM, Vol. 10 (PMB 749); Walkup, Gilbert Islands Reports, 1900, 1907, MM, Vol. 13 (PMB 753).
44. Gilbert Islands statistics, 1900; Walkup, Gilbert Islands Reports, 1900, 1907, MM, Vol. 13 (PMB 753).
45. Report, Gilbert Islands Training School, 1885–86; Roll, Gilbert Islands Training School, 1887–88, MM, Vol. 6 (PMB 744); Gilbert Islands Report, 1886, MM, Vol. 6 (PMB 744); Gilbert Islands Report, 1894, MM, Vol. 10 (PMB 749); Gilbert Islands Report, 1900, MM, Vol. 13 (PMB 753); Garrett, *Footsteps*, p. 266.
46. Taylor, 28 Sept. 1881, MM, Vol. 5 (PMB 744); Gilbert Islands Report, Aug. 1885, MM, Vol. 6 (PMB 744); Report of Voyage, 1885, MM, Vol. 9 (PMB 748); Walkup, Jan. 1886, MM, Vol. 8 (PMB 747).
47. Report on Gilbert Islands, 1895; *Minutes of General Meeting*, 16 Dec. 1895; Channon, Report of the Gilbert Islands Work for 1896, MM, Vol. 10 (PMB 749). Banaban Christianity was taken to Fiji when the people were resettled on the island of Rabi after the ravaging of their island by phosphate miners and enormous suffering at the hands of the Japanese during World War II; eventually, the Rabi church and its indigenous ministry was included in the structures of the Methodist Church in Fiji.
48. Nokise, p. 303. The first students were sent in 1878.
49. Bishop Guichet, *Annales de Notre Dame du Sacré Coeur [ANDSC]*, 101 (1967), p. 190; Bishop Mea, *Homily of Bishop Paul Mea in Commemoration of the 100th Year since the Arrival of the First Missionaries of the Sacred Heart in Kiribati*, Tarawa, 1988, p. 7.
50. James Waldersee, 'Neither Eagles nor Saints.' *MSC Missions in Oceania 1881–1975*, Sydney, 1995, pp. 379–80.
51. Missionnaires du Sacré Coeur, *Instructions aux missionnaires des îles Gilbert*, Anvers, 1904 (PMB 669); Georges Delbos, *Nous mourons de te voir!*, Paris, 1987, p. 127.
52. Sabatier, p. 300.
53. J. Leray, Report to the Propaganda, ANDSC, 147 (Feb. 1899), pp. 98–100 [author's translation]; Sabatier, p. 301; Waldersee, pp. 386, 389, 399.
54. Delbos, *Nous mourons*, p. 186; Garrett, *Footsteps*, p. 273.
55. Barry Scopes, *Nauru Congregational Church 1887–1987*, London, 1987, pp. 3–8; Garrett, *Footsteps*, p. 265.
56. Gilbert Islands Tour, 1892; Gilbert Islands Reports, 1894, 1895, MM, Vol. 10 (PMB 749); Wilhelm Fabricius, *Nauru 1888–1900. An Account in German and English Based on Official Records*, D. Clark and S. Firth (trans. and ed.), Canberra, 1992, p. 254.

Chapter Fourteen — Marshall Islands

1. Harry Sam, 'A New Dawn: Christianity in the Marshall Islands, 1857–1885', BD project report, Pacific Theological College, 1988, pp. 12–16.
2. For general information about the Hawaiians in the Marshalls, see Loomis, pp. 100–2; Sam, pp. 29–31, 45–7. Their names and dates of service are given in Judd, p. 51.
3. Ae'a, 'History', with appended biographical notes by Bernice Judd; D. and L. Crawford, p. 132; Loomis, pp. 99–100; Garrett, *Stars*, p. 147; Francis X. Hezel, *The First Taint of Civilization. A History of the Caroline and Marshall Islands in Pre-Colonial Days, 1521–1885*, Honolulu, 1983, pp. 207–8.
4. B. Snow, 27 Aug., 24 Sept. 1872, MM, Vol. 5 (PMB 743).
5. Snow, 27 Aug. 1872, MM, Vol. 5 (PMB 743).
6. Little, pp. 211–19.
7. E. Pease, 2 Jan. 1880, MM, Vol. 5 (PMB 743); Little, pp. 222–7.
8. Little, pp. 210–34.
9. D. and L. Crawford, p. 143; Hezel, *First Taint*, pp. 203, 209.
10. D. and L. Crawford, p. 170; Hezel, *First Taint*, p. 209.
11. Snow, 27 Aug. 1872, MM, Vol. 5 (PMB 743); D. and L. Crawford, p. 170.
12. Whitney, 23 April 1873, MM, Vol. 5 (PMB 744).
13. Whitney, 17 March 1874, 25 Jan. 1876, MM, Vol. 5 (PMB 744).
14. Pease, 12 Dec. 1878, MM, Vol. 5 (PMB 743).
15. Snow, 20 Jan. 1872, 18 Aug. 1876, MM, Vol. 5 (PMB 743).
16. Snow, 15 Jan. 1873, MM, Vol. 5 (PMB 743); Whitney, 17 March 1874, 16 Dec. 1875, MM, Vol. 5 (PMB 744).
17. Whitney, 25 Oct. 1877, MM, Vol. 5 (PMB 744).

18. Pease, 27 June, 12 Dec. 1878, MM, Vol. 5 (PMB 743).
19. Pease, 13 Feb., 23 June 1879; E. Doane, 28 Aug. 1879, MM, Vol. 5 (PMB 743).
20. Whitney, 8 Feb., 14 Aug. 1879, MM, Vol. 5 (PMB 743); Report of Micronesia subcommittee, Boston, 23 March 1880, MM, Vol. 6 (PMB 744).
21. Doane, 3 Dec. 1879; Pease, 2 Jan. 1880, MM, Vol. 5 (PMB 743).
22. Isaiah Bray, Feb. 1881, MM, Vol. 9 (PMB 748).
23. Bliss, pp. 99–100.
24. Pease, 21 Jan. 1893, MM, Vol. 10 (PMB 749).
25. F. W. Christian, *The Caroline Islands. Travel in the Sea of Little Lands*, London, 1899, pp. 163–7.
26. Pease, 2 Jan. 1880, MM, Vol. 5 (PMB 743). Information about Laniing's later appointments and the service of other pastors mentioned in this paragraph comes from Marshall Islands statistics, 1883, 1886, 1888, MM, Vol. 6 (PMB 744); 1893, MM, Vol. 10 (PMB 749); C. H. Wetmore, *Report of Visit to the Mission of the Marshall and Caroline Islands*, Honolulu, 1886, pp. 5–7.
27. Pease, 2 Jan. 1880, MM, Vol. 5 (PMB 743); Bray, Report of Voyage, 1880, MM, Vol. 5 (PMB 743).
28. Whitney, 11 March 1885, MM, Vol. 8 (PMB 748); E. T. Crosby, 1 Nov. 1887, MM, Vol. 6 (PMB 745).
29. Crosby, 1 Nov. 1887, MM, Vol. 6 (PMB 745); C. Rife, 29 Dec. 1896, MM, Vol. 10 (PMB 749).
30. Pease, 2 Jan. 1880, MM, Vol. 5 (PMB 743); Voyage report, 1882, MM, Vol. 9 (PMB 748).
31. Marshall Islands statistics, 1893, MM, Vol. 10 (PMB 749); Rife, 2 Feb., 8 June, 18 Nov. 1898, MM, Vol. 13 (PMB 750).
32. Pease, 13 April 1891, MM, Vol. 10 (PMB 749); Walkup, Gilbert Islands report, 1900, MM, Vol. 13 (PMB 754).
33. Bliss, pp. 138–9.
34. Marshall Islands statistics, 1883, 1886, 1888, MM, Vol. 6 (PMB 744); 1890, 1892, 1893, 1895, 1897, 1899, MM, Vol. 10 (PMB 749); 1901, MM, Vol. 13 (PMB 753).
35. Pease, 13 April 1891, MM, Vol. 10 (PMB 749); D. and L. Crawford, pp. 192–3; Garrett, *Stars*, p. 148; *Footsteps*, pp. 280, 282.
36. Rife, 2 Feb. 1898, MM, Vol. 11 (PMB 750).
37. Translation of Commissioner Biermann's letter to Jeremiah, 1891; Chancellor's statement, 21 June 1894, MM, Vol. 10 (PMB 750); Francis X. Hezel, *Strangers in Their Own Land. A Century of Colonial Rule in the Caroline and Marshall Islands*, Honolulu, 1995, pp. 50–1.
38. Bliss, p. 138; Hezel, *Strangers*, p. 52.

Chapter Fifteen — Mariana and Caroline Islands

1. L. J. Cunningham, *Ancient Chamorro Society*, Honolulu, 1992, pp. 100–2, 183; Jay D. Dobbin and Francis X. Hezel, 'The Distribution of Spirit Possession and Trance in Micronesia', *Pacific Studies*, 19:2 (June 1996), pp. 121–2.
2. Francis X. Hezel, 'From Conversion to Conquest. The Early Spanish Mission in the Marianas', *JPH*, XVII:3 (July 1982); *From Conquest to Colonization: Spain in the Mariana Islands, 1690–1740*, Saipan, 1989.
3. Julius Sullivan, *The Phoenix Rises. A Mission History of Guam*, New York, 1957, pp. 90, 92; Political Status Education Coordinating Commission (Guam), *I Manfayi. Who's Who in Chamorro History*, Agana, 1995, pp. 31–2.
4. Antoine-Alfred Marche, *The Mariana Islands*, S. E. Chang (trans.), Guam, 1982, p. 14; Sullivan, p. 93.
5. Sullivan, pp. 98–104, 123–4; Paul Carano and Pedro C. Sanchez, *A Complete History of Guam*, Rutland, Vt, 1964, pp. 161, 182, 198, 399; Political Status Education Coordinating Commission, pp. 34–6.
6. Judd, p. 50; D. and L. Crawford, pp. 26, 27–8, 64; Loomis, pp. 53, 68–9.
7. D. and L. Crawford, p. 99; Ilma E. O'Brien, 'Cultural Continuity and Conversion in the Eastern Carolines: a Study of Interaction between Islanders and Christian Missionaries in Ponape and Kosrae', PhD thesis, La Trobe University, 1979, pp. 201–3; Hezel, *First Taint*, pp. 163–4; Francis X. Hezel, 'Congeries of Spirits', in Douglas Haynes and William L. Wuerch (eds), *Micronesian Religion and Lore. A Guide to Sources, 1526–1990*, Westport, Ct, 1995, pp. 7–8; Dobbin and Hezel, p. 130.
8. Bliss, pp. 82, 85; D. and L. Crawford, pp. 113, 142, 154; I. O'Brien, p. 260; Hezel, *First Taint*, p. 165.
9. D. and L. Crawford, pp. 159, 171; I. O'Brien, pp. 262–4; Hezel, *First Taint*, p. 168.
10. Christian, pp. 154–5, 168. For Dewar's description, see J. Cumming Dewar, *Voyage of the Nyanza*, Edinburgh and London, 1892, p. 420.
11. *Minutes of General Meeting*, Aug. 1882, MM, Vol. 6 (PMB 744); I. O'Brien, pp. 265–6.
12. Report of Gilbert Islands Training School, 1895, MM, Vol. 10 (PMB 749).

13. Rife, 29 Dec. 1896, MM, Vol. 10 (PMB 749); Christian, p. 155; Eleanor Wilson, 'Too Old'? A Saga of the 'South Pacific', n.p., n.d., p. 29.
14. I. O'Brien, pp. 222, 276–7; Hezel, *First Taint*, pp. 168–70.
15. James F. O'Connell, *A Residence of Eleven Years in New Holland and the Caroline Islands*, Saul H. Riesenberg (ed.), Honolulu, 1972, pp. 150–2, 154–6. Hanlon says that *pei* (stone altars) 'abounded', and points out that the very name 'Pohnpei' means 'upon a stone altar': David Hanlon, *Upon a Stone Altar: a History of the Island of Pohnpei to 1890*, Honolulu, 1988, pp. 4, 104.
16. Dorothy E. Shineberg (ed.), *The Trading Voyages of Andrew Cheyne 1841–1844*, Canberra, 1971, p. 191.
17. Dobbin and Hezel, p. 127.
18. I. O'Brien, pp. 31–2, 45–6; Hanlon, p. 105; Hezel, 'Congeries', pp. 7–8; Dobbin and Hezel, pp. 126–9.
19. Hanlon, pp. 39–40.
20. D. and L. Crawford, pp. 72–4, 81, 98, 156.
21. Judd, p. 50; D. and L. Crawford, pp. 93, 115–16; Hanlon, pp. 101–2.
22. Judd, p. 50; Hanlon, pp. 101–2.
23. Doane, 22 March 1887, MM, Vol. 6 (PMB 745); D. and L. Crawford, pp. 127–9; Hanlon, p. 115.
24. D. and L. Crawford, p. 143.
25. Sturges, cit. in D. and L. Crawford, pp. 141–2. See also pp. 133, 139, 144, 152.
26. Ibid., p. 134; I. O'Brien, p. 260.
27. D. and L. Crawford, pp. 180–3; Hanlon, p. 134.
28. Sturges, 1 Aug. 1878, MM, Vol. 5 (PMB 743).
29. Narcissus, 16 Jan. 1882, MM, Vol. 6 (PMB 745); Report of Voyage, 1882, MM, Vol. 9 (PMB 748).
30. R. Logan, 18 Dec. 1878, MM, Vol. 5 (PMB 743).
31. Statistics, 1899, MM, Vol. 10 (PMB 749).
32. D. and L. Crawford, p. 186; Hanlon, pp. 117, 134.
33. Report of General Meeting, 6 Nov. 1879; *Minutes of Pohnpei Mission Meeting*, Aug. 1882; A. S. Houston, 30 Oct. 1882; *Catalogue of the Caroline Islands Training School*, 1883, MM, Vol. 6 (PMB 744); F. Rand, 15 Dec., 18 Dec. 1882, MM, Vol. 7 (PMB 747); Hanlon, p. 173.
34. *Catalogue of the Caroline Islands Training School*, 1883, MM, Vol. 6 (PMB 744); Hanlon, pp. 175–6.
35. Rand, 30 July 1886, MM, Vol. 7 (PMB 747); D. and L. Crawford, p. 234; Hanlon, pp. 140, 174.
36. Sturges, 1876, cit. in D. and L. Crawford, p. 204; Hanlon, p. 140.
37. Sturges, 'The Missionary Problem', n.d. [probably early 1878], MM, Vol. 5 (PMB 743).
38. Sturges, 25 March 1879, MM, Vol. 5 (PMB 743).
39. Pease, 13 Feb. 1879; Logan, 7 June 1879; Doane, 3 Dec. 1879, MM, Vol. 5 (PMB 743).
40. Discussions with informants on Pohnpei, 1992. See also Kazuyoshi Nakayama, 'The Reception of Christianity on Ponape', in Iwao Ushijima and Ken-ichi Sudo (eds), *Cultural Uniformity and Diversity in Micronesia*, Osaka, 1987, pp. 363–93.
41. Hanlon, pp. 144–65; Hezel, *Strangers*, pp. 24–32.
42. Doane, 22 March, 28 Dec. 1887; 30 Jan. 1888; Doane, 'Statement of Facts Pertaining to the Occupation of the island of Ponape by the Spanish', 1887, MM, Vol. 6 (PMB 745); F. Rand, 24 May, 4 Sept. 1887; Carrie Rand, 22 Sept. 1887, MM, Vol. 7 (PMB 747); I. O'Brien, p. 132.
43. D. and L. Crawford, pp. 250–2, 260–1; Paul Ehrlich, 'Henry Nanpei. Pre-eminently a Ponapean', in Scarr (ed.), *More Pacific Portraits*, pp. 131–54; Hanlon, pp. 166–9, 176–97; Hezel, *Strangers*, pp. 33–44, 83–93.
44. Rand, Report of the Ponape Mission, 1893, MM, Vol. 10 (PMB 749).
45. D. and L. Crawford, pp. 194, 201–2, 208–10; Hezel, *First Taint*, pp. 248, 258; Hanlon, pp. 135–8.
46. Doane, 'The Story of a Heathen Boy', n.d. [1881], MM, Vol. 6 (PMB 745); Wetmore, p. 12; Bliss, p. 95; Loomis, p. 82; Hanlon, p. 138.
47. Statistics, 1886, MM, Vol. 6 (PMB 744); statistics, 1888, 1890, MM, Vol. 6 (PMB 745). In the 1890s, Opetai was a pastor back on Pohnpei, where F. W. Christian met him in 1896 and wrote a very negative account of his character and behaviour: Christian, pp. 87–8, 202.
48. Hanlon, p. 172.
49. D. and L. Crawford, pp. 215–20. Moses is said to have stayed on Uman until his death about 1920: *Historical Dictionary of Oceania*, R. D. Craig and F. P. King (eds), Westport, Ct, 1981, p. 197.
50. D. Treiber, 3 March 1888, MM, Vol. 8 (PMB 747).
51. Wetmore, p. 13; Hezel, *Strangers*, p. 66.
52. Rand, 10 Jan. 1888, MM, Vol. 7 (PMB 747); Treiber, 8 Nov. 1887, MM, Vol. 8 (PMB 747); D. and L. Crawford, p. 223; Hezel, *Strangers*, pp. 66–8.
53. F. M. Price, *Report of School*, 1896, MM, Vol. 10 (PMB 749).

Chapter Sixteen — New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands

1. K. R. Howe, *The Loyalty Islands. A History of Culture Contacts 1840–1900*, Canberra, 1977, p. 155.
2. Murray, *Missions*, p. 317.
3. K. Howe, pp. 6, 9.
4. W. Gill, *Gems ... Western Polynesia*, pp. 17, 27, 44, 189.
5. Fifteen Samoans and nearly 20 Cook Islanders are listed in the Pacific Theological College's 'Record', and additional information can be found in the list in Gunson's *Messengers* and in the Cook Islands Government's 'Register'. According to another compilation (Nokise, p. 3), there were 19 Samoans.
6. Murray, *Missions*, pp. 280–356.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 289.
8. S. Selwyn, p. 43. Maka was on Mare from 1846 to 1858: G. Gill, 30 July 1858, SSL (Reel 41). After leaving, he asked repeatedly to be returned to Mare, and the missionaries there said they would gladly have him back: Stallworthy, 28 Jan. 1859, SSL (Reel 41); Jones, 5 Nov. 1861, SSL (Reel 42). In 1859, there was an unproven charge against him: Ella, 27 Sept. 1859, SSL (Reel 41). In 1861, however, he went with the Samoan mission to the Tokelau Islands, and did return to Mare after being dismissed from his post on Atafu in 1872. He then accompanied the LMS mission to Papua, where he died in 1875. See above, p. 197–8.
9. David Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen. A History of the Melanesian Mission 1849–1942*, St Lucia, Qld, 1978, p. 11; DNZB, I, p. 430.
10. F. Palazy, 15 Sept. 1859, AMSM, I, pp. 89–91.
11. X. Montrouzier, 1 Jan. 1859, AMSM, I, p. 323.
12. Charlotte Yonge, *Life of John Coleridge Patteson, Missionary Bishop of the Melanesian Islands*, London, 1874, I, pp. 354, 366–7, 383; Hilliard, pp. 30–1.
13. Patteson, 1858 (Yonge, I, pp. 363–4).
14. Murray, *Missions*, p. 311.
15. J. Jones, 5 Nov. 1861, SSL (Reel 42).
16. W. Gill, *Gems ... Western Polynesia*, p. 187; Murray, *Missions*, p. 327; G. Turner, *Nineteen Years*, p. 398.
17. R. and M. Crocombe (eds), *Ta'unga*, p. 82.
18. Frédéric Angleviel and Olivier Esnault, 'L'arrivée du teacher Fao à Lifou. Eléments de la tradition orale', *Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Océaniques*, No. 269–70 (1996).
19. MacFarlane, 'Pao', pp. 29–37.
20. Murray, *Missions*, pp. 328–9, 334; S. MacFarlane, *The Story of the Lifu Mission*, London, 1873, p. 45; Raymond-H. Leenhardt, *Au vent de la Grande Terre. Histoire des Iles Loyalty de 1840 à 1895*, Paris, 1957, Ch. 2; Howe, pp. 38–40; Nginie L. Passa, 'The Story of the Evangelisation of Lifou 1820–1920', BD project report, Pacific Theological College, 1984, pp. 60–82.
21. S. MacFarlane, *Story*, pp. 43, 82; *Among the Cannibals of New Guinea: being the Story of the New Guinea Mission of the London Missionary Society*, London, 1888, p. 141.
22. W. Baker, 16 July 1861, SSL (Reel 42).
23. R. and M. Crocombe (eds), *Ta'unga*, pp. 31, 35.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 34, 36, 38–9, 40, 42, 69–70, 75, 83.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 77–8.
28. Ta'unga's observations of Kanak culture are scattered throughout his writings: among other things, he wrote about clothing, food, feasting, warfare, cannibalism, religion, marriage, childbirth and herbal medicine. For his later career, see above, pp. 69–70, 80.
29. R. and M. Crocombe (eds), *Ta'unga*, p. 59.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 66; Bronwen Douglas, 'Autonomous and Controlled Spirits: Traditional Ritual and Early Christian Interpretations of Christianity on Tanna, Aneityum and the Isle of Pines in Comparative Perspective', *JPS*, 98:1 (March 1989), p. 28.
32. R. and M. Crocombe (eds), *Ta'unga*, pp. 59, 66, 95 (concerning the 'cannibal priestess' of Mare), 96–102; G. Turner, *Nineteen Years*, pp. 427, 463–4 (concerning the spiritual contest on Mare); Shineberg (ed.), *Voyages of Cheyne*, pp. 55, 57–8.
33. Pierre Lambert, *Moeurs et superstitions des Néo-Calédoniens*, Noumea, 1900, p. 36; Mathieu Gagnière, *Étude ethnologique sur la religion des Néo-Calédoniens*, St Louis, New Caledonia, 1905, pp. 35–49; Maurice Leenhardt, *Notes*

- d'ethnologie néo-calédonienne*, Paris, 1930, pp. 235, 246–7; Bernard Brou, *Préhistoire et société traditionnelle de la Nouvelle-Calédonie*, Noumea, 1977, pp. 196–200; Howe, pp. 8–9; Wakira E. Wakaine, 'Church and Culture. The Mare Island Situation', BD project report, Pacific Theological College, 1980, pp. 26–9, 126–9.
34. Murray, *Missions*, pp. 312, 345.
 35. *Ibid.*, p. 311. Murray made similar comments about Lifu: p. 346.
 36. Lovett, *History*, I, pp. 410–11.
 37. MacFarlane, 14 Aug. 1865, SSL (Reel 44); *Story*, pp. 43–4, 290, 333–5.
 38. W. Wyatt Gill, 'Childbirth Customs of the Loyalty Islands, as Related by a Mangaian Female Teacher', *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, XIX:3 (Feb. 1890), p. 503. The woman, Niki Vaine, was invited to speak to a women's group on Mangaia about her former field of missionary work.
 39. MacFarlane, *Story*, p. 82.
 40. *Ibid.*, Chs xx–xxi; K. Howe, pp. 50–2.
 41. S. Ella, 18 July 1867, SSL (Reel 45).
 42. S. Creagh, 13 June 1864; MacFarlane, 1 Feb. 1865, 14 Aug. 1865, SSL (Reel 44).
 43. Murray, *Missions*, p. 353; K. Howe, p. 49. One of the Mare teachers was removed for immoral conduct in 1861: Jones, 5 Nov. 1861, SSL (Reel 42). I am informed by the Rev. Pothin Wete that the people of Uvea remember Paeon as the first teacher from Mare.
 44. Murray, *Missions*, p. 311.
 45. Turner, 24 Sept. 1858, SSL (Reel 41); Krause, 17 Aug. 1859, SSL (Reel 42).
 46. K. Howe, p. 27; Hilliard, pp. 10–11, 18. For Wadrokai, see below, p. 262–3.
 47. Passa, p. 89.
 48. Creagh, 26 Nov. 1860, SSL (Reel 42).
 49. MacFarlane, 15 Aug. 1860, 22 Oct. 1861, SSL (Reel 42); MacFarlane, *Story*, pp. 94–7, 338–9; R. Leenhardt, *Au vent*, p. 23.
 50. Creagh, 13 June 1864; MacFarlane, 1 Feb. 1865, 14 Aug. 1865, SSL (Reel 44).
 51. Creagh, 17 Oct. 1873, SSL (Reel 49); Jones, 25 Jan. 1877; Report of Lifu Institution, Nov. 1877, SSL (Reel 51); R. Leenhardt, *Au vent*, pp. 168–9. The Lifu institution was at Chepenehe, on land called 'Peletania'; later the name was changed to 'Bethania', the name still used today.
 52. MacFarlane, *Story*, pp. 347–9; *Among the Cannibals*, pp. 13, 36; 'The Story of Gucheng, Pioneer Preacher in New Guinea', in Pierson, pp. 249–80; Lovett, *History*, I, pp. 432–5; Pacific Theological College, 'Record'; LMS list, 1886, R. and M. Crocombe (eds), *Polynesian Missions*, pp. 131–4; Passa, p. 104.
 53. W. Gill, *Gems*, p. 127.
 54. Jones, 22 Feb. 1878, SSL (Reel 51).
 55. M. Leenhardt, *La Grande Terre. Mission de Nouvelle-Calédonie*, Paris, 1909, 37n. For *hnamiat*, see Wakaine, p. 231; Passa, p. 124. According to Wakaine, p. 232, *nata* has a second meaning, 'mature', 'responsible'. I am grateful to the Rev. Pothin Wete for a discussion about these matters in Sept. 2002.
 56. *Loyalty Islands minutes*, 14 Nov. 1877; *Samoa District Committee minutes*, 1878, SSL (Reel 51).
 57. R. Leenhardt, *Au vent*, p. 122.
 58. MacFarlane, *Among the Cannibals*, p. 139.
 59. Philadelphie Delord, *Sur les plages lointaines. À Maré. Vues et récits missionnaires*, Paris, n.d. [ca 1905], p. 7.
 60. MacFarlane, 1 Feb. 1865, SSL (Reel 44).
 61. LMS, *Report of Revs A. J. Viner, G. J. Williams, and Rev. Frank Lenwood. Deputation to the South Seas and Papua*, London, 1916, p. 15.
 62. MacFarlane, 15 Aug. 1860, SSL (Reel 42); MacFarlane, 7 Nov. 1867, SSL (Reel 45); Creagh, 17 Feb. 1873, SSL (Reel 49).
 63. LMS, *Report of Viner*, p. 10; E. Allégret, *Rapport de M. Allégret sur son voyage en Océanie*, Paris, 1928, p. 21.
 64. Wakaine, p. 234.
 65. Philadelphie Delord, *Mon voyage d'enquête en Nouvelle-Calédonie, Août-Septembre 1899*, Paris, 1901, p. 207.
 66. J. Lengereau, report, 21 Aug. 1891, JME, 67 (1892), p. 171; M. Leenhardt, *Grande Terre*, p. 46.
 67. R. Leenhardt, *Au vent*, pp. 128, 131 [author's translation].
 68. Jones, 'The Expelled Missionary. Rev J. Jones's Statement of the Facts', printed broadsheet, Jones Papers (PMB 1016); Lengereau, report, 21 Aug. 1891, JME, 67 (1892), pp. 171, 174; R. Leenhardt, *Au vent*, pp. 121–32, 173–4; K. Howe, pp. 75–8; Patrick O'Reilly, *Calédoniens. Répertoire bio-bibliographique de la Nouvelle-Calédonie*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1980, pp. 93–4, 234; Jean-François Zorn, *Le grand siècle d'une mission protestante. La Mission de Paris de 1822 à 1914*, Paris, 1993, pp. 177–81, 196–7, 202–4. In 1953, O'Reilly mistakenly gave Cru's Christian name as 'Jean-Pierre', and some other writers have followed him in this.

69. Delord, 3 Jan. 1899, JME, 74 (1899), p. 304; Delord, *Sur le plages*, pp. 10–12.
70. Delord, JME, 74 (1899), pp. 512–13; Bergeret, JME, 86 (1911), p. 329.
71. Montrouzier, 1 Jan. 1859, AMSM, I, p. 323; Palazy, 10 June 1861, cit. in Jacques Izoulet, *Mékétépoun. Histoire de la mission catholique dans l'île de Lifou au XIXe siècle*, Paris, 1996, p. 53.
72. Frédéric Angleviel, 'Les Mélanésien et la mission Mariste en Nouvelle-Calédonie (1843–1946)', in René Luneau (ed.), *Naître et grandir en église. Le rôle des autochtones dans la première inculturation du Christianisme hors d'Europe*, Lyon, 1987, pp. 94–6; Angleviel, 'L'appropriation du Christianisme par les Mélanésien comme facteur d'acculturation ou d'inculturation. L'exemple de cinquante ans de catholicisme en Nouvelle-Calédonie', in F. Angleviel (ed.), *Religion et sacré en Océanie*, Paris, 2000, p. 133.
73. Journal, June 1847, cit. in Angleviel, 'Mélanésien', p. 95.
74. Izoulet, p. 100.
75. Georges Delbos, *L'église catholique en Nouvelle-Calédonie. Un siècle et demi d'histoire*, Paris, 1993, p. 130.
76. Rougeyron, 'Directoire ou guide pour les missionnaires', n.d., cit. in Angleviel, 'Mélanésien', p. 97; 'L'oeuvre des catéchistes', *Annales de Marie*, III:36 (15 Nov. 1927), pp. 605–6.
77. Angleviel, 'Mélanésien', p. 96; Delbos, *L'église catholique*, pp. 146–8, 171.
78. C. Joly, 1886, AMO, VI:4, pp. 523–5; Angleviel, 'Appropriation', p. 137.
79. Izoulet, pp. 138, 151, 161.
80. Fraysse, Lettre-Circulaire, No. 3, 6 Jan. 1885, Archives of the Catholic Archdiocese of Noumea, AAN 15:2, OMPA microfilm 191 [author's translations].
81. 'Note de Procure', n.d. [1886], Archives of the Catholic Archdiocese of Noumea, AAN 15:2, OMPA microfilm 191; Report on Vicariate, 1893, AMO, IX:2, p. 74; Delbos, *L'église catholique*, p. 245.
82. L. Passant, 30 Nov. 1890, AMO, VIII:1, p. 39.
83. Fraysse, Lettre Circulaire, No. 17, 9 June 1899, Archives of the Catholic Archdiocese of Noumea, AAN 15:2, OMPA microfilm 191.
84. Delbos, *L'église catholique*, pp. 245, 325.
85. Statistical report, 1901, AAN 27:2, Archives of the Catholic Archdiocese of Noumea (microfilm OMPA microfilm 205); Angleviel, 'Mélanésien', p. 98.
86. Fraysse, Lettre Circulaire, No. 17, 9 June 1899, pp. 7–11.
87. Delbos, *L'église catholique*, p. 146 [author's translation].
88. Fraysse, Lettre-Circulaire, No. 3, 6 Jan. 1885 (Archives of the Catholic Archdiocese of Noumea, AAN 15:2, OMPA microfilm 191), pp. 2, 9.
89. Report on Vicariate, 1893, AMO, IX:2, pp. 74–5; Fraysse, Lettre Circulaire, No. 17, 9 June 1899 (Archives of the Catholic Archdiocese of Noumea, AAN 15:2, OMPA microfilm 191), p. 2; Bigault, 'Clergé indigène', p. 136; F. Rougé, letter to Olivier, 21 March 1949, ONC 51 000, Marist Archives, Rome; Delbos, *L'église catholique*, pp. 245–6.
90. P. David, 1892; J. Vigouroux, 1894, cit. in Delbos, *L'église catholique*, p. 246.
91. Bigault, 'Clergé indigène', p. 136; photograph, Hervier, p. 237; Rougé, 21 March 1949, ONC 51 000, Marist Archives.
92. 'Nos missions de 1893 à 1901', AMO, X:3, p. 333.
93. Bigault, 'Clergé indigène', pp. 136–7; Rougé, 21 March 1949, ONC 51 000, Marist Archives, Rome; T. Kok to J. Broadbent, 15 July 1985, Kok papers, Marist Archives.
94. Document summarised in Kok to Broadbent, 15 Nov. 1985, Kok papers.
95. Anonymous article, MC, No. 3144, 16 Oct. 1931, p. 543; Bigault, 'Clergé indigène', pp. 134–6; P. O'Reilly, *Pèlerin du ciel. François Luneau. Soldat Nantais et missionnaire Calédonien 1890–1950*, Paris, 1952, p. 114.
96. *Minutes of Loyalty Islands District Committee meeting*, Nov. 1876, SSL (Reel 50); M. Leenhardt, *Grande Terre*, p. 30; Marchand, p. 134.
97. Fraysse, Lettre-Circulaire, No. 3, 6 Jan. 1885 (Archives of the Catholic Archdiocese of Noumea, AAN 15:2, OMPA microfilm 191), p. 4.
98. M. Leenhardt, *Grande Terre*, pp. 30–54; Marchand, pp. 134–6; Philippe Rey Lescure, *Vos racines ... Essai d'histoire des débuts de l'évangélisation de la Nouvelle-Calédonie*, Limoges, 1967, pp. 18–21 and subsequent chapters; Jean Guiart, *Maurice Leenhardt. Le lien d'un homme avec un peuple qui ne voulait pas mourir*, Noumea, 1997, pp. 39–54, 61–2.
99. Delord, JME, 74 (1899), p. 318 [author's translation].
100. Delord, 3 Jan. 1899, JME, 74 (1899), p. 316; Delord, *Voyage*, p. 235; list for 1900, Rey Lescure, p. 158.
101. O'Reilly, *Calédoniens*, p. 263.
102. R. Leenhardt, *Le pasteur Joané Nigoth, 1866(?)–1919, Ouvea-Do Néva — Nouvelle-Calédonie*, Paris, 1976, frontispiece and pp. 1–4; M. and R. Leenhardt, *Trois Pasteurs Lifou à Houailou: Weinith, Numera, Makonn*, Paris, 1977, p. 31.

103. JME, 79 (1904), p. 54; M. Leenhardt, *Grande Terre*, p. 54; M. and R. Leenhardt, *Trois Pasteurs Lifou*, p. 19; O'Reilly, *Calédoniens*, pp. 188, 362. Setefano was murdered in 1903, but Jemes lived until 1940.
104. M. and R. Leenhardt, *Trois Pasteurs Lifou*, pp. 3–10. Weinith died in 1916.
105. LMS list, 1886, R. and M. Crocombe (eds), *Polynesian Missions*, p. 133; Delord, JME, 74 (1899), p. 442; R. Charlemagne, 'Haxen, missionnaire canaque de la Nouvelle-Guinée et de la Nouvelle-Calédonie', JME, 128 (1953), pp. 124–7.
106. M. Leenhardt, *Vocabulaire et grammaire de la langue Houailou*, Paris, 1935, p. 97.
107. Rey Lescure, p. 155.
108. Delord, *Voyage*; M. Leenhardt, *Grande Terre*, pp. 35–9; M. Leenhardt, 'Lettre aux pasteurs de Nouvelle-Calédonie écrite en Houailou 10 Octobre 1939', *Le monde non-Chrétien*, 68 (Oct.-Dec. 1963), p. 270.
109. Leenhardt, 'Lettre', p. 270; J. Zorn, 'Comment Maurice Leenhardt a fortifié l'action des natas, pasteurs indigènes de Nouvelle-Calédonie', in Luneau (ed.), *Naître et grandir*, pp. 70–2.
110. M. Leenhardt, 'Aurores d'âmes primitives', *Le monde non-Chrétien*, 2 (n.d. [1932?]), pp. 46–9.
111. M. Leenhardt, *Grande Terre*, pp. 54–5.
112. Ibid., p. 46; Jean Guiart, *Destin d'une église et d'un peuple. Nouvelle-Calédonie 1900–1959*, Paris, n.d. [1959], p. 15; Zorn, 'Comment Maurice Leenhardt a fortifié', pp. 64, 77.
113. M. Leenhardt, 1928, cit. in Zorn, *Le grand siècle*, p. 151 [author's translation].

Chapter Seventeen — Vanuatu

1. C. Kelly (trans. and ed.), *La Australia del Espíritu Santo. The Journal of Fray Martin de Munilla and Other Documents Relating to the Voyage of Pedro Fernandez de Quiros to the South Seas (1605–1606)*, Cambridge, 1966, I, p. 87, 265n.
2. J. Geddie, 1 Sept. 1848, cit. in R. S. Miller, *Misi Gete. John Geddie. Pioneer Missionary to the New Hebrides*, Launceston, 1975, p. 35. See also 1 March 1849, cit. in *ibid.*, p. 47. The definition of *itaup* is from John Inglis, *A Dictionary of the Aneityumese Language*, London and Edinburgh, 1882.
3. Geddie, 4 June 1849, cit. in R. Miller, p. 51; 25 Dec. 1849, cit. in *ibid.*, p. 64.
4. Geddie, 1 March 1851, cit. in *ibid.*, p. 82.
5. Geddie, 20 Dec. 1851, cit. in *ibid.*, p. 112; 4 Feb. 1852, cit. in *ibid.*, p. 118.
6. G. Turner, *Nineteen Years*, p. 28.
7. J. G. Paton, John G. Paton, D. D. *Missionary to the New Hebrides. An Autobiography*, 5th ed., London, 1894, p. 72.
8. Information about religion in various parts of the New Hebrides was obtained from [A. Deniau], *Aperçu sur la religion des indigènes de l'île Malo — Nouvelles-Hébrides*, St Louis, New Caledonia, 1894 (PMB Doc 213); R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians. Studies in their Anthropology and Folk-Lore*, Oxford, 1891, Chs 7–13; C. B. Humphreys, *The Southern New Hebrides. An Ethnographic Record*, Cambridge, 1926, pp. 70–3, 167–73; A. Capell, *The Culture and Language of Futuna and Aniwa, New Hebrides*, Sydney, 1958, pp. 46–8; R. B. Lane, 'The Melanesians of South Pentecost, New Hebrides', in P. Lawrence and M. J. Meggitt (eds), *Gods, Ghosts and Men in Melanesia. Some Religions of Australian New Guinea and the New Hebrides*, Melbourne, 1965, pp. 250–79; Joel Bonnemaïson, *The Tree and the Canoe. History and Ethnogeography of Tanna*, Honolulu, 1994, pp. 170–80; Bronwen Douglas, *Across the Great Divide. Journeys in History and Anthropology*, Amsterdam, 1998, pp. 231–44.
9. Douglas, *Across*, pp. 232–3.
10. No complete contemporary record of names and dates is known to exist, but M. H. Campbell has compiled a list ('A Century of Presbyterian Mission Education in the New Hebrides. Presbyterian Mission Educational Enterprises and their Relevance to the Needs of a Changing Melanesian Society. 1848–1948', MEd thesis, University of Melbourne, 1974, Appendix A). See also list in Gunson, *Messengers* (Appendix V:1); Cook Islands Government, 'Register'; Pacific Theological College, 'Record'; Nokise, list of Samoan missionaries (Appendix B). My estimate of numbers comes from these lists, and John Inglis (*Bible Illustrations from the New Hebrides. With Notices of the Progress of the Mission*, London, 1890, p. 234) says 'seventy or eighty', but J. G. Miller (*Live. A History of Church Planting in the New Hebrides to 1880*, I, Sydney, 1978, p. 24) puts the number at 'more than one hundred'. Two studies of the Samoan missionaries in the New Hebrides have been made: Tafailematagi Muasau, 'Samoans in Mission in Southern Vanuatu: a Study of the L.M.S. Samoan Missionary Enterprise on Aneityum, Tanna and Erromanga', MTh thesis, Pacific Theological College, 1991; Featuna'i Liua'ana, 'Errand of Mercy: Samoan Missionaries to Southern Vanuatu, 1839–60', in Munro and Thornley (eds), *Covenant Makers*, pp. 41–79 (concerning all six southern islands). Nokise's detailed study of Samoan missionaries includes their work in the New Hebrides. Note that in 1861 two married Cook Islanders, Iro and Pipo, were settled on Epi, an island to the north, and two more,

- Lameka and Vaitari, even further north (on Santo); it seems that all died before long: Murray, *Missions*, pp. 431, 440; J. Miller, I, pp. 63–4.
11. Murray, *Missions*, p. 138.
 12. *Ibid.*, pp. 11–12.
 13. W. Gill, *Gems ... Western Polynesia*, p. 94.
 14. J. Miller, I, p. 183.
 15. Buzacott, 18 July 1854, SSL (Reel 39); J. Miller, I, p. 36.
 16. Murray, *Missions*, p. 402.
 17. Geddie, 28 June 1851, cit. in R. Miller, p. 90. This misunderstanding was repeated in missionary books as late as 1880 (Steel, p. 353) and 1890 (Inglis, *Bible Illustrations*, pp. 234–5).
 18. W. Gill, *Gems ... Western Polynesia*, pp. 92–3. A memorial at Erakor commemorates the Polynesian teachers who worked there.
 19. W. Gill, 10 Jan., 31 Dec. 1850, SSL (Reel 37); Buzacott, 18 July 1854, SSL (Reel 39).
 20. W. Gill, *Gems ... Western Polynesia*, pp. 135–8; J. Miller, I, p. 42.
 21. W. Gill, *Gems ... Western Polynesia*, pp. 92–3.
 22. *Ibid.*, pp. 157–65.
 23. Liua'ana, 'Errand', p. 72.
 24. J. Inglis, 6 Oct. 1859, SSL (Reel 41); Murray, *Forty Years*, pp. 83–6; Inglis, *Bible Illustrations*, pp. 238–42; Nokise, pp. 43, 47.
 25. Murray, *Missions*, p. 424. For an example of dismissals from the New Hebrides mission, see Buzacott, 18 July 1854, SSL (Reel 39).
 26. Murray, *Missions*, pp. 423–5; J. Miller, *Live. A History of Church Planting in Vanuatu*, III, Vila, 1985, p. 165.
 27. Geddie and Inglis, 11 Nov. 1856, SSL (Reel 40).
 28. Geddie, 1861, cit. in R. Miller, p. 261; Murray, *Missions*, p. 402.
 29. C. Hardie, April 1851, SSL (Reel 38); Nisbet, 4 Nov. 1853, SSL (Reel 39); Liua'ana, 'Errand', pp. 45–51.
 30. J. Inglis, *Bible Illustrations*, pp. 234–42. Amosa and his wife came to Aneityum in 1852 and were transferred to Niue in 1857.
 31. Melanesian Mission, *The Island Mission: Being a History of the Melanesian Mission from its Commencement*, London, 1869, pp. 9–10, 13, 17, 86; H. Tucker, I, pp. 306–7, 346–7.
 32. Murray, *Missions*, p. 429.
 33. Steel, p. 348. The foremost modern historian of Vanuatu Presbyterianism, J. G. Miller, makes frequent acknowledgment of the Polynesian contribution: see, eg., I, pp. 22, 24, 182–3.
 34. Geddie, journal, 28 June 1851, cit. in R. Miller, p. 90.
 35. Geddie, cit. in *ibid.*, pp. 63, 81; J. Inglis, *Bible Illustrations*, pp. 249–52.
 36. R. Miller, p. 96.
 37. Geddie, 2 Feb. 1855, cit. in *ibid.*, p. 199. Tupua had been returned to Aneityum in 1852: H. Tucker, II, p. 7.
 38. Geddie, 16 Feb. 1852, cit. in R. Miller, p. 119.
 39. Geddie, 13 May 1852, cit. in *ibid.*, p. 123; J. Miller, I, p. 81.
 40. Murray, *Missions*, pp. 107–8; R. Miller, pp. 150, 155.
 41. Geddie, 2 Jan. 1856, cit. in R. Miller.
 42. J. Miller, III, pp. 152–8; Matthew Spriggs, '“A School in Every District.” The Cultural Geography of the conversion on Aneityum, Southern Vanuatu', *JPH*, XX:1 (Jan. 1985), p. 36 (for a map of the island showing districts and schools, see p. 38).
 43. Spriggs, p. 25.
 44. Geddie, 22 Aug. 1856, cit. in R. Miller, p. 212.
 45. Geddie, 8 Oct. 1860, cit. in *ibid.*, pp. 255, 258.
 46. John Inglis, *In the New Hebrides. Reminiscences of Missionary Life and Work, especially on the Island of Aneityum from 1850 till 1857*, London, 1887, pp. 68, 321.
 47. Steel, p. 352; J. Miller, III, p. 209.
 48. J. Inglis, *Bible Illustrations*, p. 219.
 49. J. Inglis, in *Proceedings of the General Conference on Foreign Missions Held at ... Mildmay Park, London, in October 1878*, London, 1879, p. 292.
 50. J. Miller, III, p. 158. With regard to the extent of documentation, Miller makes an exception for Peter Milne's record of the evangelisation of Nguna.
 51. Geddie, 30 Oct. 1852, cit. in R. Miller, p. 145.

52. Geddie, 25 Dec. 1849, cit. in *ibid.*, p. 64; *ibid.*, pp. 74, 161–2; Murray, *Missions*, p. 56; J. Inglis, *Bible Illustrations*, pp. 220–4.
53. Geddie, 9 Oct. 1854, cit. in R. Miller, p. 187; *ibid.*, p. 155.
54. *Ibid.*, pp. 176, 188, 200, 216; J. Miller, I, pp. 95–7.
55. A paper written by Inglis in 1870 (in Steel, pp. 350–1).
56. J. Paton, *Autobiography*, pp. 92, 106–7, 118–19, 136–7, 151. For Namuri, see also R. Miller, pp. 64, 255.
57. R. Miller, pp. 251–2; J. Miller, I, pp. 97–8.
58. Steel, p. 351; Spriggs, p. 32.
59. Geddie, 8 October 1860, cit. in R. Miller, p. 259.
60. J. Miller, I, pp. 92, 186.
61. Steel, p. 350; J. Miller, *Live. A History of Church Planting in the New Hebrides, now the Republic of Vanuatu, to 1880*, II, Sydney, 1981, p. 9.
62. J. Inglis, *Bible Illustrations*, p. 220; J. Miller, *Live*, IV, pp. 139–40.
63. Inglis in *Proceedings at Mildmay*, p. 293.
64. Inglis, cit. in Steel, pp. 351–3.
65. J. Inglis, *Bible Illustrations*, pp. 291–303; J. Miller, *Live. A History of Church Planting in the Republic of Vanuatu*, IV, Vila, 1986, pp. 140, 272. Another biographical account by Inglis concerns Williamu, a teacher and elder who accompanied him to Scotland to assist with the translation of the Bible: see *Bible Illustrations*, pp. 304–49.
66. Inglis, cit. in Steel, pp. 351–3.
67. R. Miller, pp. 219, 231.
68. Murray, *Missions*, pp. 130–1.
69. Inglis in *Proceedings at Mildmay*, p. 293; *In the New Hebrides*, pp. 85–6, 321; J. Miller, III, pp. 172–3.
70. New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission [NHPM], *Annual Report*, 1874, p. 8.
71. NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1884, p. 11; J. Miller, III, pp. 173, 175.
72. NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1895, p. 9.
73. Randall Prior, *Gospel and Culture in Vanuatu. The Founding Missionary and a Missionary for Today*, Wattle Park, Vic., 1998, pp. 39, 56.
74. NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1871, pp. 8–9. See also the view of D. Macdonald, 10 Dec. 1876, cit. in J. Miller, *Live. A History of Church Planting in the Republic of Vanuatu*, V, Port Vila, 1987, p. 107.
75. Eg., *Bible Illustrations*, pp. 318–19.
76. J. Miller, II, pp. 19, 76.
77. Hardie and Turner, Sept. 1850, SSL (Reel 37); Turner, 6 Oct. 1852, SSL (Reel 38); Geddie, 24 May 1852, cit. in R. Miller, p. 127; Gill, *Gems ... Western Polynesia*, p. 134; 'Letter from Dillon's Bay, Eramanga', *Samoa Reporter*, 17 (Jan. 1856), p. 4; Murray, *Missions*, pp. 188–98; J. Miller, II, p. 54. The LMS documents record that one of the four returned to Samoa in 1852 for further instruction, along with three others, but nothing further has been located about these four.
78. J. Miller, IV, p. 217.
79. H. A. Robertson, *Erromanga. The Martyr Isle*, London, 1902, pp. 350–9; J. Miller, IV, pp. 229–32.
80. Robertson, pp. 414, 419; J. Miller, I, pp. 216, 217, 223, 224; II, pp. 71, 72.
81. J. Miller, II, pp. 74–5, 110; IV, pp. 226–8.
82. Murray, 7 April 1852; Turner, 6 Oct. 1852, SSL (Reel 38); Malua report, Sept. 1853, SSL (Reel 39); Turner, 24 Sept. 1858, SSL (Reel 41); Krause, 17 Aug. 1859, SSL (Reel 42).
83. J. Miller, II, p. 98; III, p. 177; V, pp. 11, 103.
84. J. Miller, I, pp. 63–4; II, pp. 85–6, 160; III, pp. 179–83; V, p. 103.
85. NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1895, p. 10.
86. J. Miller, II, p. 49; IV, pp. 189–90, 195, 339, 359; Frank H. L. Paton, *Lomai of Lenakel. A Hero of the New Hebrides. A Fresh Chapter in the Triumph of the Gospel*, London, 1903, p. 7 and *passim*. A memorial tablet to the Aniwan teacher Titonga (on Tanna from 1896 to 1906) is in Lenakel church, Tanna.
87. J. Miller, IV, p. 259.
88. F. Paton, *Lomai*, pp. 181–4, 241–2; J. Miller, IV, pp. 285–93, 295, 302.
89. J. Miller, I, p. 30.
90. William Gunn, *Heralds of Dawn. Early Converts in the New Hebrides*, London, n.d., Part I, Chs 1 and 2.
91. NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1895, p. 10.
92. J. Miller, *Live. A History of Church Planting in the Republic of Vanuatu*, VI, Port Vila, 1989, p. 33.
93. J. Miller, II, pp. 139, 143, 146, 157, 161, 166, 176.

94. G. S[tallworthy], 'Native Agency', Part II, p. 4.
95. Steel, p. 357; M. Campbell, pp. 97–8; J. Miller, III, pp. 176–7.
96. NHPM, *Synod Minutes*, p. 1881.
97. NHPM, *Synod Minutes*, Oct. 1861; J. Miller, III, pp. 165–70.
98. R. Miller, p. 318; J. Miller, III, p. 170.
99. Cook Islands Government, 'Register'; R. Thompson, p. 164. For the deaths of the Cook Islander teachers, see Alexander Don, *Peter Milne (1834–1924). Missionary to Nguna, New Hebrides, 1870 to 1924, from the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand*, Dunedin, 1927, pp. 119, 161, 162–3.
100. Steel, p. 450; Don, *Peter Milne*, pp. 88–9, 231–3; J. Miller, I, p. 65; II, pp. 109, 116–17, 128–31, 137; III, pp. 170, 208–9, 213–14. Ta and Wai visited New Zealand (where they were presented to the Otago Synod) on the way home to Rarotonga. In 1885, they offered to return, bringing five other Cook Islands couples with them, but arrangements could not be completed.
101. NHPM, *Synod Minutes*, 1880, 1882.
102. Don, *Peter Milne*, pp. 109, 180; J. Miller, II, pp. 109, 180; III, pp. 171, 253; VI, p. 305; *Live. A History of Church Planting in the Republic of Vanuatu*, VII, Port Vila, 1990, pp. 129, 133, 157.
103. J. Miller, V, VI, VII, *passim*.
104. NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1874, p. 16.
105. NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1879, 1890, 1900–01.
106. NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1895, pp. 9–10.
107. J. Miller, V, pp. 342, 368–70, 371.
108. Don, *Peter Milne*, p. 255; J. Miller, III, pp. 185–93, 198–207 (a list of Ngunesse teachers sent out from 1886–1900); V, pp. 134–8; VII, p. 429.
109. NHPM, *Synod Minutes*, 1879, 1896; *Annual Report*, 1893, p. 9; J. Miller, III, p. 229; VI, p. 203.
110. J. Miller, III, pp. 64, 69–79, 92; VI, pp. 2–3, 102–3.
111. *Quarterly Jottings [QJ]*, 106 (Oct. 1919), p. 13; J. Miller, VI, pp. 129–33. Jamie Taltaso continued his work for many years and died in 1927.
112. Frank Paton observed Lomai's conversion in the late 1890s and described his development as a Christian leader in a biography, *Lomai of Lenakel*. For Paul of Epi, see Maurice Frater, *Midst Volcanic Fires. An Account of Missionary Tours among the Volcanic Islands of the New Hebrides*, London, n.d., pp. 226–7; J. Miller, V, p. 430.
113. J. Miller, VI, pp. 227–31, 275.
114. NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1886, p. 10; 1888, p. 8; 1895, p. 9.
115. See, eg., W. Watt, in NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1874, p. 16.
116. Robertson, in NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1886, p. 10.
117. T. Macmillan, in NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1899–1900, p. 7. See also Watt, in NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1874, p. 16; R. M. Fraser, in NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1888, p. 8; F. Paton, *Kingdom*, pp. 74–5.
118. T. W. Leggatt, in NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1892, p. 8; J. D. Landels, in NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1893, p. 10.
119. Eg., William Gunn, *The Gospel in Futuna*, London, 1914, pp. 165–7.
120. Watt, in NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1874, p. 16; Robertson, in NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1886, p. 10; Fraser, in NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1888, p. 8; NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1890, p. 10.
121. F. Paton, *Kingdom*, p. 78.
122. Eg., Watt, in NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1874, p. 15; Robertson, in NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1886, p. 10.
123. *Free Church of Scotland Monthly*, 1 Sept. 1894, p. 213.
124. Gunn, *Gospel*, p. 151.
125. See Prior.
126. Steel, pp. 356–7; J. Paton, *Autobiography*, p. 237; F. Paton, *Lomai*, p. 314; J. Miller, III, pp. 210–14.
127. NHPM, *Synod Minutes*, 1876, 1892; *Annual Report*, 1893, p. 10; J. Paton, *Autobiography*, p. 479.
128. NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1895, p. 9; *Synod Minutes*, 1896.
129. NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1900–01, p. 22; J. Miller, III, pp. 218–21.
130. J. Miller, I, p. 153 (see also pp. 120, 152; III, pp. 213, 215; J. Paton, *Autobiography*, p. 478).
131. NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1895, p. 9; Don, *Peter Milne*, pp. 265–6; J. Miller, III, p. 214.
132. J. Miller, IV, p. 225 (Erromanga); V, p. 10 (south Efate); Helen Mackenzie, *Mackenzie. Man of Mission. A Biography of James Noble Mackenzie*, South Melbourne, 1995, pp. 59–60, 67–8 (Santo).
133. Robertson, in NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1886, p. 10; Don, *Peter Milne*, p. 165; J. Miller, III, pp. 189–90.
134. NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1874, p. 15.
135. NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1900–01, p. 7.

136. J. Inglis, 'The New Hebrides Mission', in J. Thomson (ed.), *Report of Proceedings of the First General Presbyterian Council, Convened at Edinburgh July 1877*, Edinburgh, 1877, p. 175.
137. NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1879, p. 7.
138. NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1892, p. 8.
139. Lamb, cit. in Alexander Don, *Light in Dark Isles. A Jubilee Record and Study of the New Hebrides Mission of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand*, Dunedin, 1918, p. 54; J. Miller, II, p. 85; III, p. 181.
140. For Judah, see A. K. Langridge, *Judah of Malekula, New Hebrides, S. W. Pacific. Cannibal, Multi Murderer, Native Pastor*, 2nd ed., n.p., n.d.; J. Miller, VI, pp. 350–1, 358–60. Judah and Soppi were ordained in 1920.
141. M. Campbell, p. 91.
142. Inglis in *Proceedings at Mildmay*, pp. 292–3.
143. NHPM, *Synod Minutes*, 1879.
144. NHPM, *Synod Minutes*, 1875; Steel, pp. 353–8, 364.
145. M. Campbell, pp. 92, 94–5; J. Miller, III, pp. 173–6.
146. Annand, 1877, cit. in M. Campbell, pp. 95–6.
147. J. Miller, III, pp. 229–30.
148. NHPM, *Synod Minutes*, 1879.
149. NHPM, *Synod Minutes*, 1889; M. Campbell, pp. 99–100.
150. NHPM, *Synod Minutes*, 1892.
151. *QJ*, 2 (Oct. 1893), p. 2.
152. Thomas Smaill, in NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1894, p. 8.
153. NHPM, *Synod Minutes*, 1894.
154. TTI Records, PMB Microfilm 42. Rau graduated on March 14, 1899, and returned to Malo. A later note in the Register records that he died on Malo on May 2, 1953. Another of the first students, also from Malo, was Winzi, later a notable church leader but then 19 years of age and unmarried. For a list of students (1895–1970), arranged by district of origin, see J. Miller, III, pp. 351–62.
155. NHPM, *Synod Minutes*, 1895; *Annual Report*, 1895, pp. 10–11. For a general account of life at Tangoa in the time of the first Principal, see J. Miller (who was himself principal from 1947 to 1952), III, pp. 227–8, 234–5, 239–63. Many of the original buildings are still standing, although the site has not been used for a training centre since the 1980s.
156. NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1896, pp. 7, 21; 1897, p. 6; *Synod Minutes*, 1897; *QJ*, 14 (Oct. 1896), p. 16; J. Miller, III, pp. 251–4.
157. NHPM, *Synod Minutes*, 1894; *Annual Report*, 1899–1900, p. 8.
158. J. Miller, III, pp. 80–2, 235–6.
159. The TTI was closed in 1970. A Bible College was immediately opened, operating on the Tangoa site until 1986 when it became part of the present Talua Ministry Training Centre (opened that year on the Santo mainland adjacent to Tangoa).
160. NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1884, pp. 10–11.
161. Nguna: Don, *Peter Milne*, p. 236. Tanna: J. Miller, IV, p. 302.
162. J. Miller, V, pp. 137, 155, 194.
163. *Ibid.*, p. 375.
164. Oscar Michelsen, *Cannibals Won for Christ*, London, n.d., p. 148.
165. T. Watt Leggatt, in NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1892, p. 9. See also T. Smaill, in NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1894, p. 8.
166. J. H. Lawrie, *QJ*, 18 (Oct. 1897), p. 2.
167. The phrase is taken from an article by the missionary Frater in *QJ*, 113 (July 1921), p. 12, and is incorporated in the title of a thesis by Masia Natosansan: 'A Certain Reluctance: the Beginnings of Ordaining Indigenous Pastors in the Presbyterian Mission in Vanuatu, 1848–1940', MTh thesis, Pacific Theological College, 1999. The theme of Natosansan's study is the slowness with which the mission created an ordained ministry. For this theme, see also J. Miller, I, p. 121; VI, pp. 358, 360.
168. Natosansan, pp. 69–71.
169. NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1896, p. 11; F. Paton, *Lomai*, p. 61.
170. NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1897, p. 9.
171. J. Miller, IV, pp. 196–7. Dr Miller suggests that Paton's recognition of Kamasiteia's ministry might have spurred Gunn to seek the official ordination of Epeteneto in 1897 (personal communication, November 6, 2003).
172. NHPM, *Synod Minutes*, 1896.
173. NHPM, *Synod Minutes*, 1897.

174. Ibid.
175. Ibid.; *Free Church of Scotland Monthly*, 1 Oct. 1897, p. 247.
176. Gunn, in NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1899–1900, p. 10.
177. J. H. Lawrie, 'Epeteneto of Aneityum', *QJ*, 18 (Oct. 1897), pp. 1–3; J. Miller, IV, p. 149.
178. NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1897, p. 8; 1899–1900, p. 10.
179. NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1897, p. 8; 1899–1900, p. 10; *Synod Minutes*, 1899, 1904; *QJ*, 38 (Oct. 1902), p. 4; *QJ*, 50 (Oct. 1905), p. 27; Gunn, 15 May 1905 (Item 106, File D31a, Accession 7548, Church of Scotland Foreign Missions Committee papers, National Library of Scotland); J. Miller, IV, p. 153. A memorial plaque was placed in the Aname church: see *QJ*, 226 (April 1950), for the inscription.
180. Gunn, *Gospel*, pp. 39, 46, 89, 93, 98, 133, 151; *Heralds*, pp. 39–51 (see pp. 49–51 for an outline of one of Habena's sermons).
181. NHPM, *Synod Minutes*, 1899, 1900; Gunn, *Gospel*, pp. 135, 150–1; *Heralds*, p. 51.
182. NHPM, *Annual Report*, 1900–01, p. 10; *Synod Minutes*, 1917; *QJ*, 99 (Jan. 1918), p. 7; Gunn, *Heralds*, pp. 52–6.
183. NHPM, *Synod Minutes*, 1898.
184. J. Miller, I, pp. 119–20; Natosansan, pp. 13–17.
185. NHPM, *Synod Minutes*, 1897.
186. F. Paton, *Lomai*, p. 241.
187. Frater, in *QJ*, 113 (July 1921), p. 12; Gunn, *Heralds*, 51n; Langridge, *Judah*, pp. 47–8.
188. Some of these points are mentioned and discussed by Natosansan, pp. 99–102.
189. Selwyn, *Charge Delivered*, pp. 19–20.
190. Selwyn to E. Coleridge, 7 Dec. 1847 (H. Tucker, I, p. 251).
191. Selwyn to his father, 6 Dec. 1849 (ibid., p. 306); see also pp. 346–7. A. R. Tippett, *Solomon Islands Christianity. A Study in Growth and Obstruction*, London, 1967, p. 40, argues that Selwyn was mistaken here: the LMS used Polynesians in dangerous situations not because they were inferior and thus expendable but in 'recognition of their superiority as front-line evangelists'.
192. Selwyn, March 1848, G. H. Curteis, *Bishop Selwyn of New Zealand, and of Lichfield. A Sketch of his Life and Work*, London, 1889, p. 134.
193. Selwyn, 12 Aug. 1849 (H. Tucker, I, p. 290; see also pp. 283, 304, 315); Selwyn to his father, 6 Dec. 1849, 17 May 1850 (Evans, pp. 125, 126).
194. H. Tucker, I, pp. 297, 304–5, 317.
195. Ibid., pp. 315–16, 372, 374; II, pp. 23, 29, 63, 65–7. Selwyn's 12 voyages between 1847 and 1859 are listed in Evans, Appendix II.
196. Selwyn, 17 May 1850 (H. Tucker, I, p. 329).
197. Melanesian Mission, *Island Mission*, pp. 21–2. The first New Hebridean scholars are named in the *Calendar* of St John's College as Calotong Karei of Efate and Sellok Nivi and Sappandoolo of Erromanga. For a personal account by a scholar who went from the Banks Islands in 1858, see George Sarawia, *They Came to My Island. The Beginnings of the Mission in the Banks Islands*, D. A. Rawcliffe (trans.), Siota, 1968.
198. Selwyn, 14 Aug. 1854 (H. Tucker, II, p. 31); 26 Aug. 1858 (Evans, p. 125).
199. Patteson, Easter 1866, cit. in Garrett, *Stars*, p. 184.
200. Patteson, December 1867 (two letters) (Yonge, II, pp. 291–2, 295, 302).
201. Hilliard, pp. 81, 153.
202. Melanesian Mission, *Annual Report*, 1865–66, pp. 1–4.
203. Patteson, 25 Jan. 1869 (Yonge, II, pp. 353–4).
204. Selwyn, 15 Sept. 1849, cit. in Darrell Whiteman, *Melanesians and Missionaries. An Ethnohistorical Study of Social and Religious Change in the Southwest Pacific*, Pasadena, Ca, 1983, p. 111; 17 May 1850 (H. Tucker, I, p. 329).
205. Patteson, Holy Week, 1866 (Yonge, II, p. 167).
206. Patteson, Easter 1866, cit. in Garrett, *Stars*, pp. 184–5.
207. Patteson, 25 Jan. 1869 (Yonge, II, p. 354). See also 4 June 1861 (I, p. 519); 26 Feb. 1869 (II, p. 358); 23 Sept. 1869 (II, pp. 372–3); 12 April 1871 (II, p. 591). For discussions of Patteson's understanding of the cultural dimension of evangelism, see Hilliard, pp. 54–8; Whiteman, pp. 117–20.
208. Lady Martin, pp. 183–203; Hilliard, pp. 17–18, 34; R. M. Ross, *Melanesians at Mission Bay. A History of the Melanesian Mission in Auckland*, Wellington, 1983, pp. 16–40. For an account by Lady Martin of life at Kohimarama in the early 1860s, see Ross, pp. 77–83.
209. Ross, pp. 73–4, 76. Those who died are commemorated on a plaque in St John's Chapel, and by a memorial stone in Patteson Avenue near the school site. The school buildings at Kohimarama (now called Mission Bay) are now a museum owned by the New Zealand Historic Places Trust.

210. Melanesian Mission, *Annual Report*, 1873, p. 3; Fox, pp. 217–24; Hilliard, pp. 30–43; Whiteman, pp. 122–8; Ross, pp. 41–6. Descriptions are to be found in Robert S. M. Withycombe (ed.), *Anglican Ministry in Colonial Aotearoa-New Zealand and in the South Pacific. Some Early Letters*, 2nd ed., Canberra, 1994, pp. 45–8 (by a new staff member, 1867); Melanesian Mission, *Island Mission*, pp. 284–94 (by a visitor, 1868); Clement Marau, *Story of a Melanesian Deacon: Clement Marau. Written by Himself*, R. H. Codrington (trans.), London, 1898, pp. 23–44 (by one of the scholars, who arrived in 1869); Cecil Wilson, *The Wake of the Southern Cross. Work and Adventures in the South Seas*, London, 1932, pp. 16–28 (by Bishop Wilson, who took up his post in 1894). The name 'Kohimarama' was used again much later when the present Anglican training centre was established on Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands.
211. R. H. Codrington, 'Various Forms of Paganism', *Official Report of the Missionary Conference of the Anglican Communion*, 1894, George A. Spottiswoode (ed.), London, 1894, p. 116. Cf. similar words by Patteson in a letter written in 1867 (Yonge, II, pp. 291–2).
212. H. H. Montgomery, *The Light of Melanesia*, London, 1896, Ch. 2.
213. Patteson to MacFarlane, 12 April 1871 (Yonge, II, pp. 592–3). See also Patteson, 1862, cit. in Whiteman, p. 121.
214. Hilliard, pp. 149–50; Janet Crawford, '“Valuable Helpers”: Women in the Melanesian Mission in the Nineteenth Century', in A. K. Davidson (ed.), *The Church of Melanesia 1849–1999. 1999 Selwyn Lectures. Marking the 150th Anniversary of the Founding of the Melanesian Mission*, Auckland, 2000, pp. 49–75.
215. Venn, 19 Feb. 1852, 2 April 1852, cit. in Hilliard, pp. 14, 18. See also a CMS article published in 1857, quoted in A. K. Davidson, 'An “Interesting Experiment” — the Founding of the Melanesian Mission', in Davidson (ed.), *The Church of Melanesia*, p. 26.
216. Stallworthy, pp. 3–4.
217. Bice, 7 Nov. 1876 (Withycombe, p. 67). Comments on the mission's method can be found in Tippet, *Solomon Islands Christianity*, pp. 38, 39–40, 44; Hilliard, pp. 18–22; Whiteman, pp. 147–8; Ellison Pogo, 'Ministry in Melanesia — Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow', in Davidson (ed.), *The Church of Melanesia*, pp. 89–90.
218. Sarawia, pp. 16–19; Hilliard, pp. 46–8, 81, 114.
219. Fox, *Lord*, pp. 124–42; Hilliard, pp. 49–51, 58–61, 96–8; Whiteman, pp. 129–37.
220. H. Montgomery, pp. 236–7; Fox, pp. 102–6, 116–19, 122, 147–8; Hilliard, pp. 96, 98–101, 181. See Fox, *Lord*, p. 224, for a tribute to the scholars from Norfolk Island. Ulgau died on Pentecost in 1904.
221. Marau, pp. 45–6.
222. Patteson, 25 Jan. 1869 (Yonge, II, p. 353).
223. Sarawia, pp. 1–26; Frances Awdry, *In the Isles of the Sea. The Story of Fifty Years in Melanesia*, 2nd ed., London, 1903, pp. 136–8; Hilliard, p. 61.
224. Melanesian Mission, *Annual Report*, 1865–66, p. 5.
225. Patteson, 23 March 1867 (Yonge, II, p. 242); 25 Dec. 1867 (II, p. 291).
226. Sarawia, pp. 27–8.
227. Patteson, 15 June 1868 (Yonge, II, pp. 323–4).
228. Patteson, 25 Jan. 1869 (*ibid.*, pp. 353–4).
229. Patteson, 10 Aug. 1868 (*ibid.*, pp. 334–5); 26 Jan. 1871 (*ibid.*, pp. 493–4).
230. Patteson, 25 Jan 1869 (*ibid.*, p. 353); Melanesian Mission, *Annual Report*, 1870, p. 5; Hilliard, pp. 58–60.
231. A. H. Markham, *The Cruise of the 'Rosario' amongst the New Hebrides and Santa Cruz Islands*, London, 1873, p. 170.
232. Patteson, Dec. 1870 (Yonge, II, p. 484); 20 Aug. 1871 (*ibid.*, p. 547).
233. Biography and explanatory paragraphs published as part of B. Thornton Dudley, 'Who is Sufficient for These Things?' *A Sermon Preached in St Paul's Cathedral Church, Auckland, N.Z., on St Barnabas' Day, June 11, 1873, on the Occasion of the Ordination of George Sarawia, the First Native Clergyman of Melanesia, to the Priesthood*, Auckland, 1873, p. 19.
234. Melanesian Mission, *Notes of a Visit to Norfolk Island, in November, 1872, from the Journal of the Bishop of Auckland*, Auckland, 1873, pp. 13–14, 17–18; Melanesian Mission, *Annual Report*, 1873, p. 4; E. S. Armstrong, *The History of the Melanesian Mission*, London, 1900, pp. 136, 139–41.
235. *Island Voyage*, 1876, p. 6; 1877, p. 42.
236. H. Montgomery, p. 52; Armstrong, pp. 232, 255, 311, 352; Awdry, pp. 134–9; J. Palmer, cit. in Fox, *Lord*, p. 133.
237. Bice, 20 Jan. 1873 (Withycombe, p. 59).
238. *Ibid.*
239. Melanesian Mission, *Notes of a Visit*, pp. 14–15.
240. Bishop Selwyn, journal *Island Voyage*, 5 Aug. 1884), p. 8; Bishop Wilson, 1895, cit. in Fox, *Lord*, p. 137; R. P. Wilson [date not given], cit. in *Lord*, Fox, p. 137; Armstrong, pp. 236, 279; Awdry, pp. 130–1; Hilliard, pp. 59, 96–7.

241. Bishop Wilson, diary, 7 July 1900, 20 June 1901 (PMB 530); Awdry, p. 131; Fox, *Lord*, pp. 137–8; Hilliard, p. 154. According to Awdry (p. 132), Tagalad had ‘fallen’ once before, when a scholar on Norfolk Island, but had gone on to his outstanding ministry after repenting.
242. Melanesian Mission, *Notes of a Visit*, pp. 16–17; *Island Voyage*, 1874, pp. 1, 9; Armstrong, pp. 232–3; Fox, pp. 135–6, 146; Hilliard, p. 106.
243. Melanesian Mission, *Notes of a Visit*, pp. 15–16; Melanesian Mission, *Annual Report*, 1910, p. 4; Fox, pp. 140, 146–7.
244. Statistics for 1895: H. Montgomery, Appendix I; 1901: Whiteman, p. 462.
245. Hilliard, pp. 106–7, 130–1, 164, 181–2.
246. *Island Voyage*, 1874, p. 7; 1876, p. 22; 1877, p. 6, 32; Armstrong, pp. 185–6, 230; Fox, *Lord*, p. 138.
247. Armstrong, pp. 158, 241, 270–1, 279; Fox, *Lord*, pp. 141–2.
248. H. Montgomery, p. 97; Armstrong, p. 311. In 1905, Woser was reduced to the laity for ‘slackness’, but restoration to the diaconate followed in 1910: Melanesian Mission, *Annual Report*, 1910, p. 5.
249. *Island Voyage*, 5 Aug. 1884, p. 13; Armstrong, p. 311; Fox, *Lord*, pp. 139–40; Hilliard, p. 218. Vaget died in 1916.
250. Fox, *Lord*, pp. 140–1.
251. J. R. Selwyn, in *Island Voyage*, 1877, pp. 3–4.
252. Fox, *Lord*, p. 132; Hilliard, p. 155.
253. Patteson, 23 Sept. 1869 (Yonge, II, p. 371).
254. See J. Crawford, ‘Valuable Helpers’, pp. 74–5.
255. Hilliard, p. 154.
256. Eg., Lynne Hume, ‘Church and Custom on Maewo, Vanuatu’, *Oceania*, 56:4 (June 1986), p. 308. This point had been made earlier, in reference to the Churches of Christ on Ambae, by M. R. Allen (‘The Establishment of Christianity and Cash-Cropping in a New Hebridean Community’, *JPH*, 3 [1968], pp. 41–2), and in reference to Presbyterians on Malo, by Robert L. Rubinstein (‘Knowledge and Political Process on Malo’, in M. Allen (ed.), *Vanuatu. Politics, Economics and Ritual in Island Melanesia*, Sydney, 1981, p. 144).
257. C. Wilson, ‘Endeavour to Purify the Church in the Banks Islands’, *Southern Cross Log*, XVI, No. 191 (14 April 1911), pp. 147–50; W. J. Durrad, *The Attitude of the Church to the Suqe*, Norfolk Island, 1920; Fox, *Lord*, p. 132; Hilliard, pp. 198–202; Whiteman, pp. 134–7. For Codrington’s scholarly and tolerant description of the *sukwe*, see his *Melanesians*, pp. 101–15.
258. C. Wilson, *Wake*, p. 81.
259. C. Wilson, ‘Endeavour’, p. 150.
260. Durrad (who joined the mission in 1905, and is here repeating what the Banks Islands missionary H. V. Adams ‘used to say’), p. 18. Cecil Wilson (who was bishop at the time) does not mention this revelation about Sarawia in his reminiscences (*Wake*). Nor does Fox, who joined the mission staff in 1902.
261. H. Montgomery, p. 252.
262. Felix Speiser, *Ethnology of Vanuatu. An Early Twentieth Century Study*, D. Q. Stephenson (trans.), Bathurst, NSW, 1996, p. 14.
263. J. Still, 29 June 1876, cit. in Whiteman, p. 199.
264. Melanesian Mission, *Annual Report*, 1902, p. 8.
265. See Samuel Vusi, *The History of the Churches of Christ in Vanuatu 1901–2001*, [Luganville, 2001].
266. F. Gautret, Aug. 1888, AMO, VIII:1, p. 60.
267. J. Vidil, 16 May 1891, AMO, VIII:4, p. 478.
268. Rougier, June 1898, AMO, X:1, pp. 70–1; ‘Nos missions de 1893 à 1901’, X:3, p. 336; Paul Monnier, *One Hundred Years of Mission, 1887–1987. The Catholic Church in New Hebrides-Vanuatu*, [Vila, 1987?], pp. 71–4; Garrett, *Footsteps*, pp. 101–3.
269. Monnier, p. 132.

Chapter Eighteen — Solomon Islands

1. Codrington, *Melanesians*, Chs 7–13; C. E. Fox, *The Threshold of the Pacific. An Account of the Social Organisation, Magic and Religion of the Native People of San Cristoval in the Solomon Islands*, London, 1924, pp. 116, 326; Robert Hagesi, ‘Towards Localisation of Anglican Worship in the Solomon Islands’, BD project report, Pacific Theological College, 1972, pp. 2–17; Whiteman, pp. 60–79; Ben Burt, *Tradition and Christianity. The Colonial Transformation of a Solomon Islands Society*, Chur, 1994, pp. 66–76.

2. Roger M. Keesing, *Kwaio Religion. The Living and the Dead in a Solomon Island Society*, New York, 1982, pp. 11, 19.
3. Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 127.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 192.
5. Whiteman, p. 60.
6. Laracy, *Marists and Melanesians*, pp. 9–11.
7. Kelly, I, pp. 187, 265.
8. Guy de Bigault, *Drames de la vie Salomonaise*, Namur, n.d. [1947], p. 202; Wiltgen, p. 458.
9. Melanesian Mission, *The Island Mission*, pp. 21–2.
10. Hilliard, p. 18.
11. Melanesian Mission, *The Island Mission*, pp. 126–7, 129–30.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 146–7; Hilliard, pp. 20–1.
13. Marau, pp. 10, 11, 56–80.
14. Armstrong, p. 327.
15. C. Wilson, *Wake*, pp. 181–2.
16. Fox, *Lord*, pp. 35–6.
17. C. Wilson, *Wake*, pp. 187–8.
18. H. Montgomery, Appendix I.
19. Whiteman, Appendix III.
20. H. Montgomery, p. 150.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 220; Fox, *Lord*, pp. 158, 225–6; Hilliard, pp. 131–2.
22. Tippet, *Solomon Islands Christianity*, pp. 38–9, 46, 49–50.
23. Patteson, Easter Tuesday 1869 (Yonge, II, p. 363).
24. C. Bice, 30 Jan. 1872 (Withycombe, p. 53).
25. Melanesian Mission, *The Island Mission*, pp. 127, 128–9, 155.
26. Patteson, 6 May 1861 (Yonge, I, p. 505).
27. Armstrong, p. 136.
28. *The Island Voyage*, 1877, p. 8; Alfred Penny, *Ten Years in Melanesia*, London, n.d. [1887], p. 46; Armstrong, pp. 169, 182; Fox, *Lord*, p. 99; Hilliard, p. 87.
29. *Island Voyage*, 1877, p. 8; Penny, p. 186; Armstrong, pp. 137, 181, 187; Fox, *Lord*, pp. 195–6.
30. Armstrong, pp. 190, 202; Fox, *Lord*, pp. 32–3, 99.
31. Clipping from unidentified newspaper, 1888, p. 6, Jones papers (PMB 1016); H. Montgomery, p. 141; Armstrong, p. 254; Awdry, p. 41; Fox, *Lord*, pp. 99, 205.
32. Penny, pp. 181–2; Fox, *Lord*, pp. 182–4.
33. Armstrong, pp. 223–4.
34. *The Island Voyage*, 1884, pp. 12–13.
35. Penny, pp. 183–4; Fox, *Lord*, p. 35; Hilliard, p. 93.
36. Armstrong, pp. 239, 243, 254, 293, 342; Awdry, p. 78; Fox, *Lord*, p. 185; Hilliard, p. 93.
37. *The Island Voyage*, p. 29; H. Montgomery, p. 198; Armstrong, pp. 281, 343; Awdry, p. 103; Fox, *Lord*, p. 163; Hilliard, pp. 171–3. Clement Marau died on Mere Lava in 1920.
38. Ellen Wilson, *The Isles That Wait. By a Lady Member of the Melanesian Mission*, London, 1915, p. 77; Fox, *Lord*, pp. 185–6. Bula was still alive in 1915.
39. H. Montgomery, p. 193; *Australian Board of Missions Review*, 9:2 (May 1918), p. 3; C. Wilson, *Wake*, pp. 208–17; Morrell, p. 154.
40. H. Montgomery, p. 179; Armstrong, pp. 47, 238, 327; Fox, *Lord*, pp. 167–9.
41. Hilliard, pp. 93, 132–3.
42. Hagesi, pp. 62–6; Whiteman, pp. 345–50.
43. Whiteman, p. 355; Geoffrey M. White, *Identity Through History. Living Stories in a Solomon Islands Society*, Cambridge, 1991, pp. 108–14.
44. White, *Identity*, p. 117. See also Whiteman, pp. 224, 338; Burt, p. 141.
45. Laracy, *Marists and Melanesians*, p. 96; Claire O'Brien, *A Greater Than Solomon Here. A Story of Catholic Church in Solomon Islands*, Honiara, 1995, pp. 111, 113.
46. C. O'Brien, pp. 114–15.
47. Florence Young, *Pearls from the Pacific*, London, n.d. [1925], pp. 148–9; David Hilliard. 'The South Sea Evangelical Mission in the Solomon Islands. The Foundation Years', *JPH*, 4 (1969), pp. 50–1.
48. Burt, pp. 141, 182.

Chapter Nineteen — New Guinea

1. G. W. Trompf, *Melanesian Religion*, Cambridge, 1991, p. 12. See especially Ch. 1: 'Melanesian Traditional Religions: An Overview'.
2. Wendy Flannery, 'Theology in Context. Papua New Guinea', *Philippiana Sacra*, XIV:40 (1979), p. 167.
3. Trompf, pp. 22–7.
4. Peter Lawrence, 'Lutheran Mission Influence on Madang Societies', *Oceania*, XXVII:2 (Dec. 1956), p. 82.
5. F. C. Kamma, 'Zending', in W. C. Klein (ed.), *Nieuw Guinea. De Ontwikkeling op Economisch, Sociaal en Cultureel Gebied*, in *Nederlands en Australisch Nieuw Guinea*, The Hague, 1953, Vol. 1, pp. 94–102.
6. F. C. Kamma, 'Dit Wonderlijke Werk.' *Het Probleem van de Communicatie tussen Oost en West Gebaseerd op de Ervaringen in het Zendingswerk op Nieuw-Guinea (Irian Jaya) 1855–1972. Een Socio-Missiologicalische Benadering*, Oegstegeest, 1977, pp. 321, 570–1, 815.
7. J. L. D. van der Roest, *Van Slaaf tot Evangelist. Petrus Kafiari*, 4th impression, Utrecht, 1917; F. J. F. van Hasselt, *Petrus Kafiari. Eene Bladzijde uit de Nieuw-Guinea Zending*, Utrecht, n.d.; Kamma, *Wonderlijke Werk*, pp. 573–4, 815. For Depok, see J. Rauws et al., *The Netherlands Indies. The Religious Situation*, London and New York, 1935, pp. 73–4.
8. The names of the first Loyalty Islands teachers will be found in Lovett, *History*, I, pp. 432–5, where MacFarlane's short biographies of the eight men are also to be found. See also Musgrave's list (1886) in R. and M. Crocombe (eds), *Polynesian Missions*, p. 131. For the Torres Strait Islands mission, see David Wetherell, 'From Samuel McFarlane to Stephen Davies: Continuity and Change in the Torres Strait Island Churches, 1871–1949', *Pacific Studies*, 16:1 (March 1993).
9. The first Cook Islanders (from Rarotonga, Mangaia, Aitutaki and Manihiki) are named in James Chalmers, *Pioneer Life*, p. 23. There is a list of 95 Pacific Islander missionaries, together with their wives, who arrived in the years up to 1884 in R. and M. Crocombe (eds), *Polynesian Missions*, Appendix 1. Samoan missionaries for the whole period are listed in Nokise, Appendix B. For other lists, see Pacific Theological College, 'Record'. For general studies of Pacific Island missionaries in Papua, see Patricia A. Prendergast, 'A History of the London Missionary Society in British New Guinea, 1871–1901', PhD thesis, University of Hawai'i, 1968, pp. 178–211; David Wetherell, 'Christian Missions in Eastern New Guinea: A Study of European, South Sea Island and Papuan Influences, 1877–1942', PhD thesis, The Australian National University, 1974; David Wetherell, 'Pioneers and Patriarchs. Samoans in a Nonconformist Mission District in Papua, 1890–1917', *JPH*, 15:3 (July 1980); Ruta Sinclair, 'Samoans in Papua', in R. and M. Crocombe (eds), *Polynesian Missions*, pp. 17–38; Nokise; Steve Mullins and David Wetherell, 'LMS Teachers and Colonialism in Torres Strait and New Guinea, 1871–1915', in Munro and Thornley (eds), *Covenant Makers*, pp. 186–209.
10. MacFarlane, *Among the Cannibals*, p. 188; Goodall, *History*, p. 421.
11. Wetherell, 'Pioneers', p. 133.
12. J. King, *Lawes*, pp. 259–60. Teinaore died in 1898 after 20 years of valued service: A. Pearse, 23 Sept. 1898, Papua Reports [PR], LMS Archives (Reel 12).
13. Charles W. Abel, *Savage Life in New Guinea. The Papuan in Many Moods*, London, n.d., p. 166; Sinclair, p. 23.
14. John Bruce, cit. in A. C. Haddon, *Head-hunters, Black, White and Brown*, London, 1901, p. 80.
15. Lovett, *History*, I, pp. 432–3; MacFarlane, 'Story of Gucheng', pp. 249–63.
16. Chalmers, 1877, Papua Journals [PJ], No. 19, LMS Archives (Reel 11).
17. MacFarlane, 23 Jan. 1875, Papua Letters [PL], LMS Archives (Reel 91).
18. Ibid..
19. W. W. Gill, *Life*, pp. 213–14; Murray, *Forty Years*, p. 468.
20. Lovett, *History*, I, p. 434; MacFarlane, 'Story of Gucheng', pp. 274–80.
21. David Wetherell, 'First Contact Mission Narratives from Eastern Papua New Guinea', *JPH*, 33:1 (1998), p. 113. Mataika was the son of a Tongan who drifted to Lifu in pre-mission times: Lovett, *History*, I, p. 432.
22. W. W. Gill, *Life*, pp. 215–16.
23. F. W. Walker, 1888, PJ, No. 30, LMS (Reel 11); Mullins and Wetherell, p. 196.
24. Lovett, *Chalmers*, pp. 128–32, 327; Prendergast, pp. 193–5.
25. Lovett, *Chalmers*, pp. 203–5.
26. Ibid., pp. 173–4, 212–13.
27. Chalmers, 28 Dec. 1893, PR, LMS (Reel 12); W. W. Gill, *Darkness*, p. 361; James Chalmers and W. Wyatt Gill, *Work and Adventure in New Guinea, 1877 to 1885*, London, 1885, p. 261; Lovett, *Chalmers*, pp. 132–8; M. Crocombe, 'Ruatakoka'.

28. R. Thompson, p. 15; Wetherell, 'Pioneers', pp. 139–42. Mana'aima died in Papua in 1910.
29. H. Dauncey, 21 March 1898, PR, LMS, (Reel 12).
30. Chalmers and Gill, *Work and Adventure*, p. 261.
31. Lovett, *Chalmers*, p. 138; M. Crocombe, 'Ruatoaka', p. 71.
32. Thomas, *Cannibals and Convicts*, p. 399.
33. Article in *Queenslander*, n.d. [1880s?], cit. in MacFarlane, *Among the Cannibals*, pp. 142–4.
34. H. H. Romilly, *The Western Pacific and New Guinea: Notes on the Natives, Christian and Cannibal*, 2nd ed., London, 1887, pp. 241–2.
35. Speech in Edinburgh, 1895, cit. in Lovett, *Chalmers*, pp. 421–2.
36. Lawes, 22 July 1877, cit. in Peter Smith, *Education and Colonial Control in Papua New Guinea. A Documentary History*, Melbourne, 1987, pp. 17–18. See also M. Crocombe, 'Ruatoaka', p. 70.
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46. J. King, *Lawes*, pp. 141–2.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 334–5.
48. Lovett, *Chalmers*, pp. 230–1.
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57. Brown, *Autobiography*, p. 475.
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60. MacFarlane, *Story*, pp. 339–41.
61. MacFarlane, 27 March 1875, PL, LMS (Reel 91).
62. MacFarlane, 1883, PJ, No. 26, LMS (Reel 11); *Among the Cannibals*, pp. 79–90; 'Story of Gucheng', pp. 273–4; Mullins and Wetherell, p. 188.
63. MacFarlane, 11 May 1883, PJ, No. 25, LMS (Reel 11).
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65. Chalmers to Lovett, 21 Jan. 1889, cit. in Lovett, *Chalmers*, p. 326; see also pp. 176, 202, 208, 214–15. See also Chalmers, 20 April 1881, cit. in Diane Langmore, *Tamate — a King James Chalmers in New Guinea, 1877–1901*, Melbourne, 1974, p. 32; E. B. Savage, 26 March 1888, PR, LMS (Reel 12).
66. Savage, 26 March 1888, PR, LMS (Reel 12); Lovett, *History*, I, pp. 448–9. The Torres Strait Islands lay within the boundaries of Australia and, in 1915, the LMS churches on the islands were entrusted to the care of the Australian Anglican Church.
67. Lovett, *Chalmers*, pp. 197, 222, 227; J. King, *Lawes*, pp. 198–200.
68. Lawes, 30 Oct. 1884, cit. in Lovett, *History*, I, pp. 462–3.
69. Chalmers, 24 Dec. 1884, cit. in Lovett, *Chalmers*, pp. 228–9.
70. Lawes, cit. in Lovett, *History*, I, pp. 462–3.

71. Chalmers, 1884, PR, LMS (Reel 12); Lovett, *History*, I, p. 462; J. King, *Lawes*, p. 335.
72. Chalmers, Jan. 1892, PR, LMS (Reel 12).
73. Dauncey, Jan. 1896, PR, LMS (Reel 12).
74. N. D. Oram, 'The London Missionary Society Pastorate and the Emergence of an Educated Elite in Papua', *JPH*, VI (1971), p. 130.
75. Chalmers, 1884, PR, LMS (Reel 12); R. Thompson, pp. 30–1. See also Abel, [1898], PR, LMS (Reel 12).
76. R. Thompson, p. 64; Lovett, *History*, I, p. 467; J. King, *Lawes*, pp. 274–6.
77. Pearse, 31 Dec. 1896; Lawes, 8 Dec. 1899, PR, LMS (Reel 12); Newell, 'Work', p. 48. Peau was dismissed in 1900, and died on the way back to Samoa: Nokise, pp. 318, 368.
78. Lawes, 22 Dec. 1897, 31 Dec. 1898, 8 Dec. 1899, PR, LMS (Reel 12); J. King, *Lawes*, pp. 279–80; Prendergast, pp. 321–5; David Wetherell, 'An Elite for a Nation? Reflections on a Missionary Group in Papua New Guinea, 1890–1986', *Pacific Studies*, 9:2 (March 1986), pp. 14–15. The training centre was moved from Vatorata to Fife Bay in 1924, where it was renamed Lawes College. In 1968, when the United Church was founded, the college became part of the combined Rarongo Theological College in New Britain.
79. R. Thompson, pp. 48–9, 73, 84.
80. R. Abel, pp. 31–2; Wetherell, 'Elite', p. 22.
81. Chalmers, 1891, PJ, No. 34, LMS (Reel 11).
82. Chalmers, Jan. 1892, PR, LMS (Reel 12).
83. Percy Chatterton, *Day That I Have Loved*, Sydney, 1974, p. 78; R. Williams, p. 22.
84. Lenwood, pp. 209–10.
85. The names of the first 10 teachers (eight Fijians and two Samoans) were listed by George Brown in his *Autobiography*, p. 176.
86. Wesleyan missionaries to New Guinea are listed in Neville Threlfall, *One Hundred Years in the Islands. The Methodist/United Church in the New Guinea Islands Region 1875–1975*, Rabaul, 1975, Appendix D. Brief biographical information about the Fijian missionaries has been compiled by Allison Down, 'Records of Fijian Missionaries', typescript, n.d. (a copy is in the Pacific Theological College Library). See also the list in *Methodist Church in Fiji 1835–1985*, pp. 29–45. For general comments on Wesleyan Pacific Islander missionaries in New Guinea, see Sione Latukefu, 'The Impact of South Sea Islands Missionaries to Melanesia', in James A. Boutlier, Daniel T. Hughes and Sharon W. Tiffany (eds), *Mission, Church and Sect in Oceania*, Lanham, Md, 1978, pp. 91–108.
87. Rooney to Chapman, 19 Sept. 1881, Rooney Journal and Letters, p. 172, Mitchell Library, Sydney.
88. Examples are Pauliasi Bunoa, Aminio Baledrokadroka and Livai Volavola of Fiji; Mesake Pahulu and Tevita Finau of Tonga.
89. Brown, *Autobiography*, pp. 180, 220.
90. Rooney Journal and Letters, p. 384; Threlfall, pp. 74–5.
91. Brown, *Autobiography*, p. 494; Benjamin Danks, *In Wild New Britain. The Story of Benjamin Danks Pioneer Missionary. From His Diary*, Wallace Deane (ed.), Sydney, 1933, p. 213.
92. William Brown, *Missionary Review*, XXXVIII:9 (5 Nov. 1928), p. 11. Baledrokadroka continued in the ministry in Fiji until his death in 1925.
93. Rooney to Chapman, 9 Sept. 1881, Journal and Letters, p. 190; Rooney to Webb, 14 Dec. 1881, Journal and Letters, p. 214. See also Danks, pp. 20, 158.
94. Lt. de Hoghton, *HMS Beagle*, 4 Dec. 1880, cit. in Brown, *Autobiography*, p. 391.
95. Latukefu, 'Impact', p. 102.
96. Brown, *Autobiography*, p. 393.
97. Latukefu, 'Impact', pp. 98, 102.
98. J. J. Watsford, 16 Oct. 1878, journal, MOM 127, Mitchell Library, Sydney.
99. Rooney to Chapman, 9 Sept., 19 Sept. 1881; to W. Kelynack, 13 Oct. 1882, Journal and Letters, pp. 172, 189, 259.
100. Danks, p. 216.
101. *Ibid.*, pp. 275–6.
102. Wilfred Powell, *Wanderings in a Wild Country; or, Three Years among the Cannibals of New Britain*, London, 1883, pp. 145–6.
103. Rooney to Kelynack, 9 Oct. 1882, Journal and Letters, p. 256.
104. Brown, *Autobiography*, pp. 289, 378–81.
105. Rooney, 1 Nov. 1881, Journal and Letters, p. 205. Danks agreed with him: see Danks, p. 218.
106. Rooney to Kelynack, 9 Oct. 1882, Journal and Letters, p. 256.
107. Rooney to Kelynack, 8 June 1884, *ibid.*, p. 298.

108. Rooney, 12 June 1886, *ibid.*, p. 356; Brown, *Autobiography*, pp. 378, 381.
109. Rooney to Brown, 5 July 1887, *Journal and Letters*, p. 378.
110. Threlfall, pp. 62, 65. One of the three new teachers was Peni To Pitmur, who much later (in 1915) became the first Native Minister.
111. Threlfall, p. 65.
112. Danks, pp. 286–8.
113. Threlfall, p. 170. The college was moved to Vunairima, New Britain, in 1925, and was incorporated in the United Church's new Rarongo College at Vunairima in 1962.
114. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
115. *Missionary Review*, XLIV:1 (5 July 1935), p. 3.
116. *New Zealand Methodist*, 6 June 1891.
117. For general studies of Pacific Island missionaries in this region, see Latukefu, 'Impact'; David Wetherell, 'From Fiji to Papua: The Work of the *Vakavuvuli*', *JPH*, XIII:3 (1978).
118. W. E. Bromilow, 11 Oct. 1900, *cit.* in Wetherell, 'From Fiji', p. 167.
119. Kuli's brief account of his mission work, in Heighway, pp. 263–5; William E. Bromilow, *Twenty Years Among Primitive Papuans*, London, 1929, pp. 159, 163; Wood, I, p. 240; Wetherell, 'From Fiji', p. 168.
120. Bromilow, *AMMR*, V:1 (6 May 1895), p. 2.
121. *Ibid.*, p. 251; Wood, II, p. 385.
122. Wetherell, 'From Fiji', pp. 164–5.
123. William Geil, *Ocean and Isle*, Melbourne, 1902, p. 207.
124. *AMMR*, I:1 (May 1898), p. 10.
125. Wetherell, 'From Fiji', pp. 168–9.
126. Bromilow, pp. 226–30; Wetherell, 'Christian Missions', p. 385.
127. Bromilow, pp. 218, 221, 305.
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130. 'Der Werdegang einer Mission in der Deutschen Südsee', *Die Katholischen Missionen* (40:9), June 1912, pp. 218–19; J. J. Tschauder, 'Church History of the Bismarck Archipelago, 1882–1923', typescript, n.d. (PMB 1160, Reel 1), p. 19; Waldersee, pp. 471, 480.
131. Report, 24 April 1894, MSC Archives (PMB 665, Reel 1).
132. Annual reports and statistics, *cit.* in Waldersee, pp. 488, 495, 519.
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134. Émile Merg, report, 28 Oct. 1895, MSC Archives (PMB 665, Reel 1).
135. André Dupeyrat, *Papouasie. Histoire de la mission (1885–1935)*, Issoudun, 1935, p. 434; Waldersee, p. 182.
136. Dupeyrat, p. 204; Georges Delbos, *The Mustard Seed. From a French Mission to a Papuan Church*, Port Moresby, 1985, p. 122.
137. Guis, 7 April 1896, *ANDSC*, 116 (July 1896), pp. 389–91; Dupeyrat, pp. 433–4; Waldersee, pp. 228–9.
138. R. Thompson, p. 80.
139. Dupeyrat, pp. 340, 434–5, 443; Waldersee, p. 240.
140. H. Geurtjens, 'De Katholieke Missie op Nieuw Guinee', in *Nieuw Guinee*, Amsterdam, 1935, Vol. 1, pp. 366–7.
141. Paul Steffen, *Missionsbeginn in Neuguinea. Die Anfänge der Rheinischen, Neuendettelsauer und Steyler Missionsarbeit in Neuguinea*, Nettetal, 1995, p. 257; Josef Alt (ed.), *Arnold Janssen SVD. Letters to New Guinea and Australia*, Nettetal, 2001, LVI–LVI.
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143. C. O'Brien, p. 141.
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145. Garrett, *Footsteps*, Ch. 1; Wagner and Reiner, Ch. 2 (Herwig Wagner), Ch. 3 (Hermann Reiner), Ch. 12 (Helmut Horndasch); Steffen, pp. 125–7, 131, 161–2, 270–1.
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149. Henry Newton, *In Far New Guinea*, London, 1914, pp. 254–5; Wetherell, 'Bridegroom', p. 58.
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152. *Ibid.*, pp. 69–70.
153. An account of Nogar's life and work is contained in *ibid.*, pp. 60–3. Nogar originated from Tanna, New Hebrides, and died in 1906.
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Chapter Twenty — Pacific Islanders in Christian Ministry

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2. London Missionary Society, 'Native Agency', p. 514.
3. George Pritchard, *The Missionary's Reward; or, the Success of the Gospel in the Pacific*, London, 1844, p. 111.
4. Stallworthy, Part I, p. 3.
5. *Conference on Missions Held in 1860 at Liverpool*, pp. 225, 227, 279–80.
6. Venn, p. 140.
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8. Whitmee, 'Native Agency', p. 2.
9. Forman, 'South Pacific Style', p. 422.
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11. Stallworthy, p. 3.
12. W. W. Gill, *Jottings*, pp. 73–4.
13. J. Montgomery, I, pp. 353–5, 358.
14. *Samoan Reporter*, No. 18 (Jan. 1857), p. 2.
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18. Barradale, p. 117.
19. W. Burrows, *New Ministries*, p. 73.
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22. For a helpful discussion of syncretism with reference to the Melanesian Mission area, see Whiteman, pp. 413–5.
23. See Manfred Ernst, *Winds of Change. Rapidly Growing Religious Groups in the Pacific Islands*, Suva, 1994.
24. For modern discussions of the catechist's role, see Pro Mundi Vita, 'Catechists', *Pro Mundi Vita. Centrum Informationis*, 36 (1971); Paolo Giglioni, 'The Catechist and Catechetics for Evangelization Today', *Omnis Terra*, 20, 170 (Aug. 1976). For the number of Catholic catechists in each island group, see the web site 'Oceania in Numbers' (www.zenit.org/english/oceania/oceania.html).
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Foreign missionaries brought Christianity to the Pacific Islands, but in the nineteenth century hundreds of indigenous Christian teachers, evangelists, pastors and priests helped to spread the new religion across the ocean and consolidate the church on every island. *Island Ministers* concentrates on uncovering the contribution of Pacific Islanders themselves to this story. Presented in narrative form and moving across the Pacific from east to west, the history follows the chronological movement of Christianity across Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia. Acknowledging the hidden lives of the women who worked alongside their husbands in various forms of Christian ministry, the narrative focuses with great humanity on the stories of those indigenous men who worked in Pacific communities as missionaries or pastoral carers and, where possible, uses their voices to tell of their experiences. The author explores the extent to which the role of minister in this almost universally Christian region is rooted in traditional Pacific culture and society. This monograph makes an outstanding contribution to the history of the Pacific Islands, and to the study of Christianity more generally.

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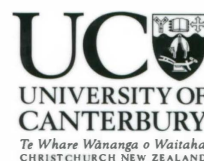


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