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*RELIGION AND NATION-STATE FORMATION IN MELANESIA:
1945 TO INDEPENDENCE*

Graham Hassall

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Declaration

Except where otherwise indicated

this thesis is my own work

Graham Hassall
30/10/89

Graham Hassall

October 1989

In this thesis I argue that, during the period 1945-1980, Christian missions contributed in ways both intentional and unintentional to the formation of the independent nation-states of Melanesia. Although the missions did not necessarily develop clear concepts of "state", the pursuit of their respective sectarian interests contributed significantly to the nature of South Pacific societies. It was on the basis of emergent Christian, colonial societies, that the nation-states were constructed. As a regional study, the intention has not been to examine all facets of the missionary presence, and its relationship with colonialism, but to identify regional similarities in the course of church-state relations.

Chapters 1-4 examine facets of the missions' return to the region following World War II. The swift and forced departure of civilians at the beginning of hostilities gave secular authorities the opportunity to dictate the terms by which missionaries returned. Thereafter, missions were consulted by colonial administrations when formulating new policies, and received funds to prosecute certain areas of governmental development and welfare programs, particularly in the provision of education and health services. The effect of numerous missions placing themselves among newly contacted tribes, for evangelistic purposes contributed to the consolidation of colonial authority in those areas.

Chapters 5-8 examine mission involvement in fostering, or responding to, areas of significant social change. It is argued that many missionaries sought to direct the nature of social, political and economic change, according to their vision of Christian society. Such values, where colonial administrations shared them, became government policy. There were social values and mission activities, however, with which governments did not agree, and which provided contexts for church-state conflict.

Chapters 9-12 examine some of the missions' responses to the challenge of secularism, and to the emergence of strong colonial states. It is argued that most missions sought to maintain their "sectarian autonomy" by concentrating resources on their networks of schools, and clerical training institutions; and sought to influence both society and the state through educating personnel for public service and political offices. The extent of continuing mission influence in Melanesian societies, from village to government level, is attributed partly to the effective development of a Melanesian clerisy.

In the concluding chapters, 13-15, the consequences of the missions' close identification with the progress of the secular states, through colonialism to independent nations, are considered. The missions' extensive involvement in the provision of social services led to an emphasis on the role of Christianity in attaining material development; their assumption that they shared power with colonial administrations led consequently to the active participation of some European, and many Melanesian clerics, in party politics. It is concluded that the "Christian nations" of Melanesia bear the marked influences of missionisation, but also face some unresolved dilemmas in sorting the religious content of Christianity from the European culture in which it was received.

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PREFACE

Although this is a study of small countries, having small populations, over a limited time period, it is at once a study too vast to portray within the specified limits of PhD research and dissertation. I therefore acknowledge at the outset the deficiencies of the present work. I write about Melanesia, but refer only briefly to New Caledonia and Fiji. To have included them would have rendered this regional survey of church-state relations unwieldy. The complexity of Fijian society requires a separate study. New Caledonia has a similar complexity, and cannot yet be counted among the independent Malanesian nation-states.

The limitations of undertaking documentary research in what are essentially oral societies became clear during investigation. Through use of written records this study became primarily one of Melanesian elites, than of peasantry. State-formation and church-building are both, I suggest, exercises in the production of elites. Given the opportunity for interdisciplinary work, the themes developed in this study would benefit from complementary anthropological investigation at grass-roots level. Although missionaries from the continents of Asia, Africa, Europe and the Americas, as well as from Australasia, have exerted their influence in Melanesia, my research was necessarily limited to source materials within the region.

My task was eased by the availability of well-ordered government archival records in Australia, Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, and I acknowledge the assistance of their staff below. Non-official archives, on the other hand, present more of a challenge to the researcher who faces strict time limitations. Mission societies have no obligation to preserve, order, and maintain past records, and the historian owes a debt of gratitude to societies which spare limited resources to do so. In the course of examining mission records I have perused micro-fiche; and I have dusted cob-webs, silver-fish and other vermin from mouldering and unsorted, uncatalogued, correspondence files. I have examined mission records stored in filing cabinets, tea-chests, and beer cartons. In the latter instances, there was no possibility of assessing the depth and breadth of a mission's collected papers, and often difficulty in obtaining records for the exact time and location I anticipated and required. Unfortunately, for instance, the archivist of the Methodist Church of New Zealand was unable to locate records for the Western Solomons in the critical years relating to Silas Eto's break with the Methodist Western District; and working in the unsorted records of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, I searched in vain for files concerning the critical years in which the Jon Frum movement on Tanna most affected the work of the Presbyterian Mission.

My endeavours in other non-official sources were, on the hand, most productive, and my narrative makes first use of some materials relating to the post-war period derived from records of the Australian Baptist Missionary Society, the South Sea Evangelical Mission, the Presbyterian Missionary Society of New Zealand, and the Anglican Church of Vanuatu.

Many people assisted me in the course of research and fieldwork. I wish to thank, without reference to titles or offices, the following interviewees: in Fiji - Niel Soucy and John Foliaki; in Papua New Guinea - Violet Hoehnke, Saimon Gaius, Rodney Hancock, Arnold Smith, Gordon Stafford, Helmtrude Tewes; in New Zealand - George Carter, John Stanley Murray, Peter Wedde, Gordon Parsonson, and Philip Baker; in Solomon Islands: Gertrude Blum, Adrian Smith, Dan Stuyvenberg, and Marietta Teuluata; in Vanuatu - Roger Bowden, Tony Deamer, Dick Joel Peter, Chris Foote, Timothy Kaio, Graham Kalsakau, Kathleen and Pastor Lingi, Tom Namake, Ann Naupa, John Naupa, Titus Path, Fr Sacco, Willie Samuel, Philip Shing, Hari Tevi, Tuk Nowali, and Peter Noah; and in Australia - Misty Baloioloi, John Black, Judy and Rex Fisher, Cecil Gribble, J. Graham Miller, Jack Sharp, Kay Williams, and David Wilson.

For granting me access to their archives, or otherwise assisting me, I thank the Staff of the following institutions: the Mitchell Library, and the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney; the Alexander Turnbull Library, Auckland; Auckland Municipal Library; University of Auckland Library; Wellington Central Library; Victoria University Library, Wellington; Macmillan Brown Collection, University of Canterbury; Hewitson Library, Knox College, Dunedin; Hocken Library, University of Otago, Dunedin; the Church of Melanesia and the Solomon Islands National Archives, Honiara; the Australian Baptist Missionary Society, Melbourne; the Anglican Board of Mission Library, Sydney; the Menzies Library, Australian National University; the Commonwealth Archives of Australia, Canberra; the Melanesian Institute, Goroka; and the North Solomons Provincial Government Library, Arawa. I wish to thank J. Brian Lee, Uniting Church in Australia, for access to the Methodist Overseas Mission Records in the Mitchell Library; Ross Carlyon, Executive Secretary of the South Sea Evangelical Mission for his assistance in Laureton; Ian Harris, of the Department of Communication of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, for granting access to the archives of the Presbyterian Missionary of New Zealand; and George Carter, of the National Archives of the Methodist Church of New Zealand.

I have benefitted considerably from correspondence with Brian Macdonald-Milne, Charles Horne, John Garrett, Theo B. Cook, Gerhard O. Reitz, Dudley Deasey, Sir John Gutch, Ann Lilburne, Michael Myers, and Keith Dyer; and from conversations with Hugh Laracy, Simon Rae, Alan Davidson, Jim Veitch, Gordon Parsonson, David Hilliard and Dennis Steley. I thank Mariette and Hosan Leong for allowing me to obtain a copy of their interview with Pelis Mazakmat and Michael Homerang, and thank Betty Palaso for the translation from Pidgin to English.

For help in various ways during field work 1986-87 I acknowledge the particular assistance and friendship of Bruce Saunders, Earl and Audrey Cameron, Charlie and Barbara Pierce, Mariette and Hosan Leong, and Richard and Verona Lucas - although the list of friends to whom I am indebted for kindness and assistance while in the Pacific is considerably longer than this, and certainly too vast to unravel here. My hope is to have the opportunity at some future time to thank these dear friends by returning the hospitality I received in abundance from them.

Over a period of four years I have appreciated the assistance provided by support staff in the Department of Pacific and Southeast Asian History: Julie Gordon, Karen Haines, Sally-Ann Leigh, and Dorothy McIntosh. Also, I have been privileged to attend seminars offered by student and staff members of this department, as well as by various other departments within the Research School of Pacific Studies. Field-work was only made possible by the generosity of the Research School, which I wish to acknowledge here.

As much as I have benefitted from institutional support my parents, David and Judy Hassall, have provided the essential spiritual and material support which made my education possible. I cannot thank them enough.

For academic assistance, as well as friendship, I owe much to Ron Adams, who acted as a patient advisor to the project and critical reader of draft materials, during his time in the Department of Pacific and Southeast Asian History and after, having taken a position at the Western Institute in Melbourne. I have learnt much from the honest and direct approach to scholarship demonstrated by Dr Adams since our first meeting in 1985.

I very much regret that my thesis was incomplete at the time Gavan Daws retired his position as Professor of Pacific History. Nevertheless, I thank Professor Daws for supporting the idea of a regional study, and for his comments on my earliest drafts. In the later stages of writing, various chapters were considerably improved following the critical and knowledgeable advice of Dr Hank Nelson, for which I am most grateful.

Finally, I express my thanks to my supervisor Niel Gunson, doyen of supervisors, in whose presence I have experienced the spirit of the scholarly path.

ABBREVIATIONS

a/	- acting
AA	- Australian Commonwealth Archives
ABM	- Australian Board of Mission
ABMS	- Australian Baptist Missionary Society
ADO	- Assistant District Officer
ANGAU	- Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit
APBM	- Australian Presbyterian Board of Mission
APCM	- Asia Pacific Christian Mission
ASOPA	- Australian School of Pacific Administration
AV	- Anglican Church of Vanuatu
BSIP	- British Solomon Islands Protectorate
CD	- Census Division
CLTC	- Christian Leaders Training College
CM	- Church of Melanesia
CMML	- Christian Missions in Many Lands
CRTS	- Commonwealth Reconstruction and Retraining Scheme
CWS	- Catholic Welfare Society
DAC	- District Advisory Council
DASF	- Department of Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries
DC	- District Commissioner
DDA	- Department of District Administration (in 1969 became a division of the Department of the Administrator)
DDSNA	- Department of District Services and Native Affairs
DEO	- District Education Officer
DH	- Diocese of Honiara (Marist)
DLSM	- Department of Lands, Surveys and Mines
DNA	- Department of Native Affairs (PNG)
DNA	- Department of District and Native Affairs (SI)
DNAD	- Department of Native Affairs and Development
DNG	- Diocese of New Guinea (Anglican)
DO	- District Officer
EA	- Evangelical Alliance
ELC	- Evangelical Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea
HC	- High Commissioner

LGC	- Local Government Council
LMS	- London Missionary Society
MCA	- Methodist Church of Australia
MCC	- Melanesian Council of Churches
MCNZ	- Methodist Church of New Zealand
MM	- Melanesian Mission
MOM	- Methodist Overseas Mission
MNZ	- Methodist Missionary Society of New Zealand
MSC	- Congregation of Missionaries of the Sacred Heart
MVT	- Methodist Church of Australasia. Victoria and Tasmania Conference
OFM	- Order of Friars Minor (Capuchin)
OIC	- Officer in Charge
OM	- Oceania Marist Province
PCNZ	- Presbyterian Church of New Zealand
PCV	- Presbyterian Church of Vanuatu
PMB	- Pacific Manuscripts Bureau
PO	- Patrol Officer
PRS	- Pacific Regional Seminary
PTC	- Pacific Theological College
RAP	- Restricted Area Permit
RC	- Resident Commissioner
SDA	- Seventh Day Adventist
SHD	- Southern Highlands District
SICA	- Solomon Islands Christian Association
SIL	- Summer Institute of Linguistics
SM	- Society of Mary (Marist)
SSEM	- South Sea Evangelical Mission
SVD	- Society of the Divine Word
TPNG	- Territory of Papua New Guinea
UCA	- Uniting Church of Australia
UFM	- Unevangelized Fields Mission
VCC	- Vanuatu Christian Council
WHD	- Western Highlands District
WPHC	- Western Pacific High Commission

A NOTE ON OFFICIAL TERMS

From 1921 Australia ruled New Guinea by Mandate of the League of Nations. The Territory of **Papua and New Guinea** first came under joint administration in July 1949. A Legislative Council was established in November, and was replaced by the House of Assembly, which had an elected indigenous majority, in June 1964. The Territories were renamed "**Papua New Guinea**" in July 1971. Self Government was granted in December 1973, and full independence came on 16 September 1975.

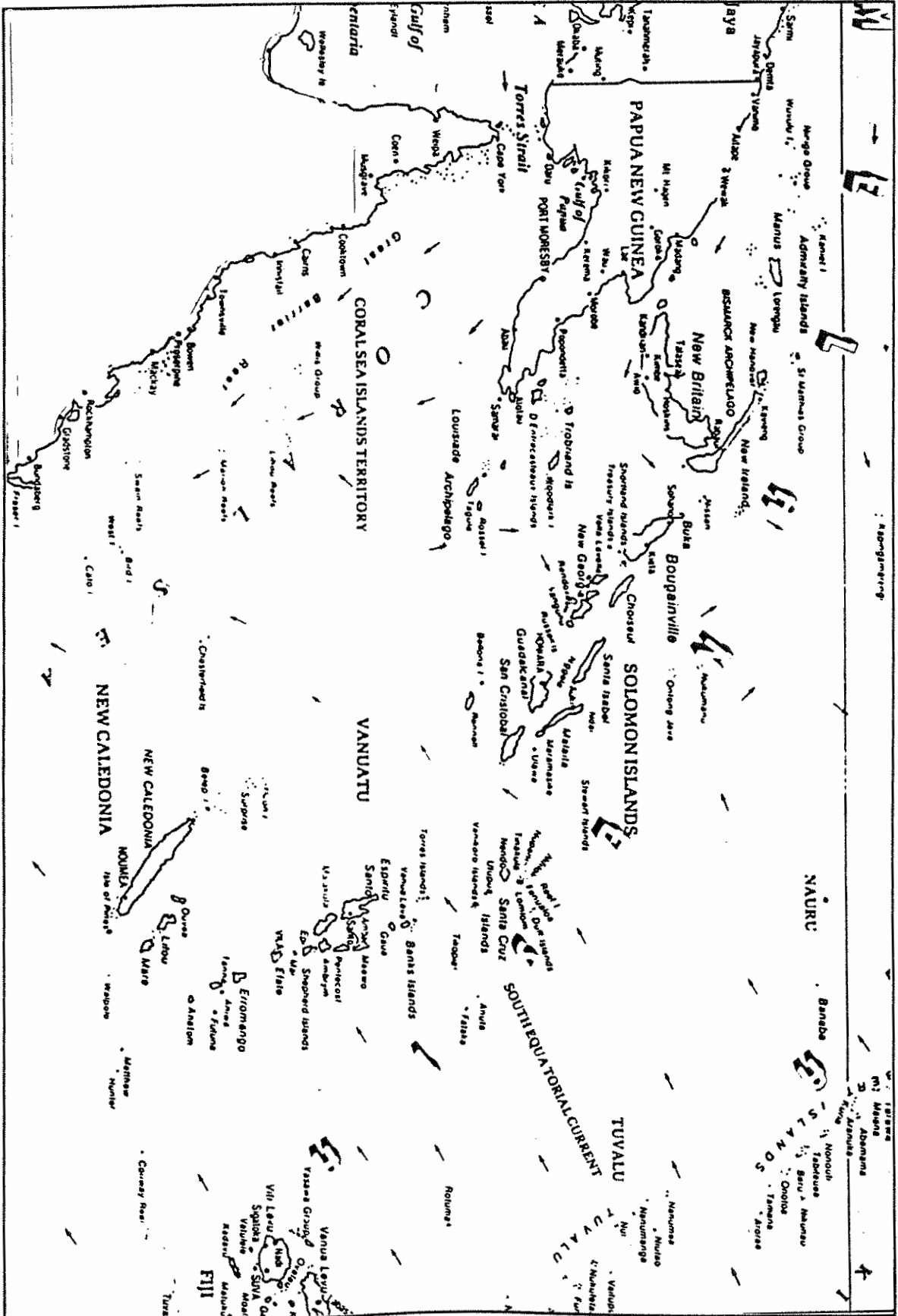
The islands of the **New Hebrides** were jointly administered by Britain and France under the 1914 Anglo-French Protocol, which followed conventions dating to 1887. From 1922 the group was administered by Resident Commissioners by order in Council, and in 1955 an Advisory Council was established with British and French Resident Commissioners presiding over a bi-annual meeting of British, French and Melanesian representatives. The New Hebrides became the Republic of **Vanuatu** on 30 July 1980.

The Protectorate of the **British Solomon Islands** dates to 1843. Some northern Islands formed part of a German Protectorate between 1845 and 1885. In 1960 a new constitution was enacted, by which a Legislative Council was established, and to which members were elected from 1965. The British Solomon Islands Order of 1975 changed the name of the dependent territory to **Solomon Islands**. Internal self-government was attained in 1976 and independence was attained on 7 July 1978.

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Figure 1 Melanesia.



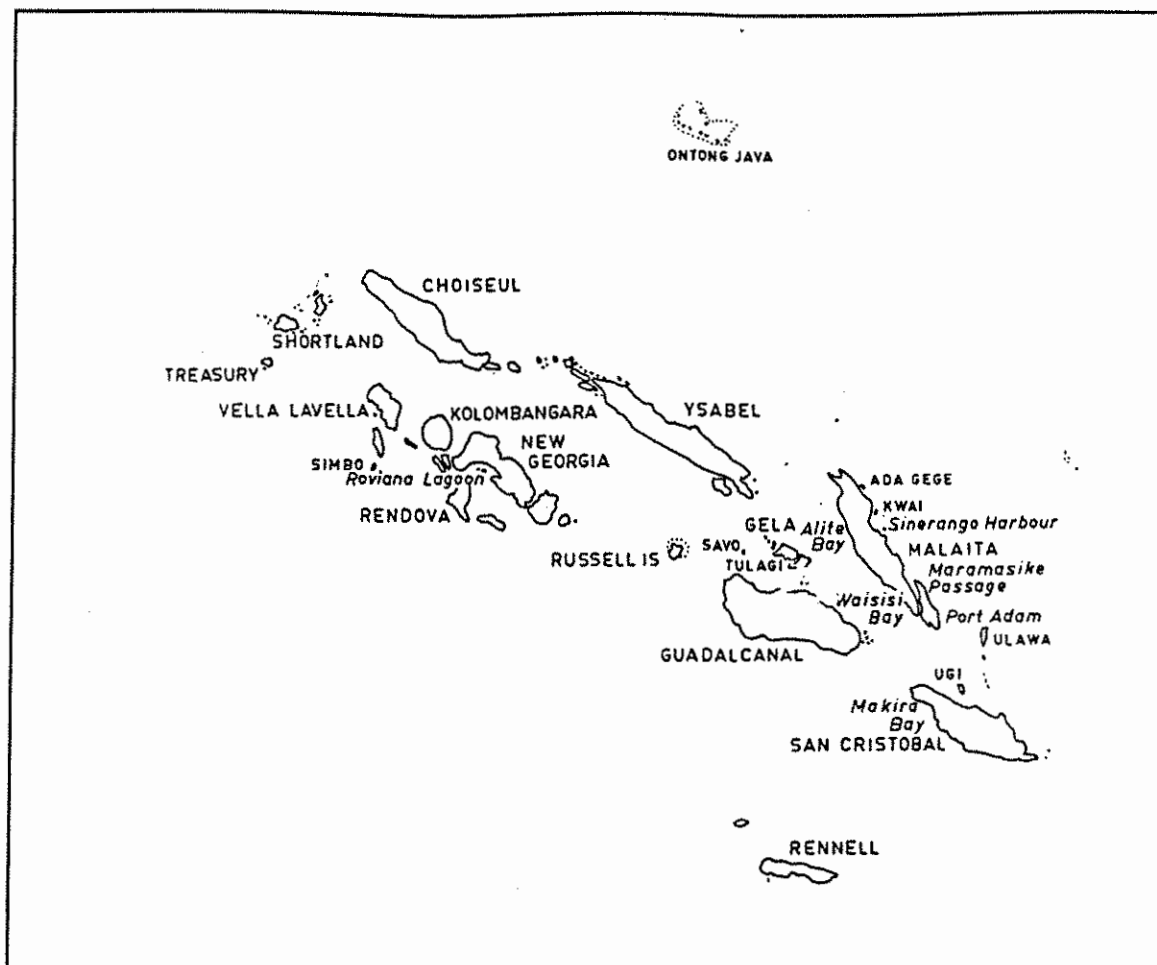
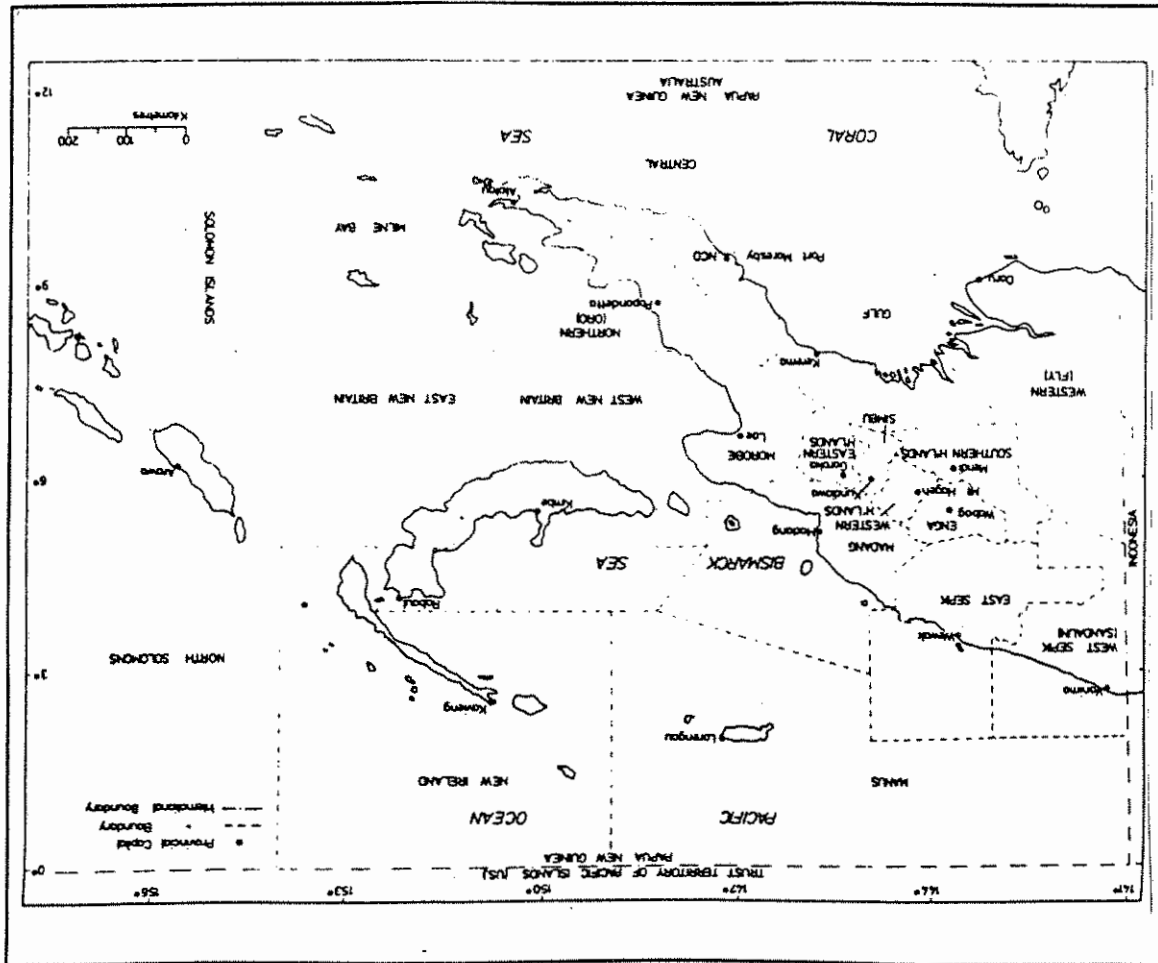


Figure 2 Solomon Islands.

Figure 3 Papua New Guinea.



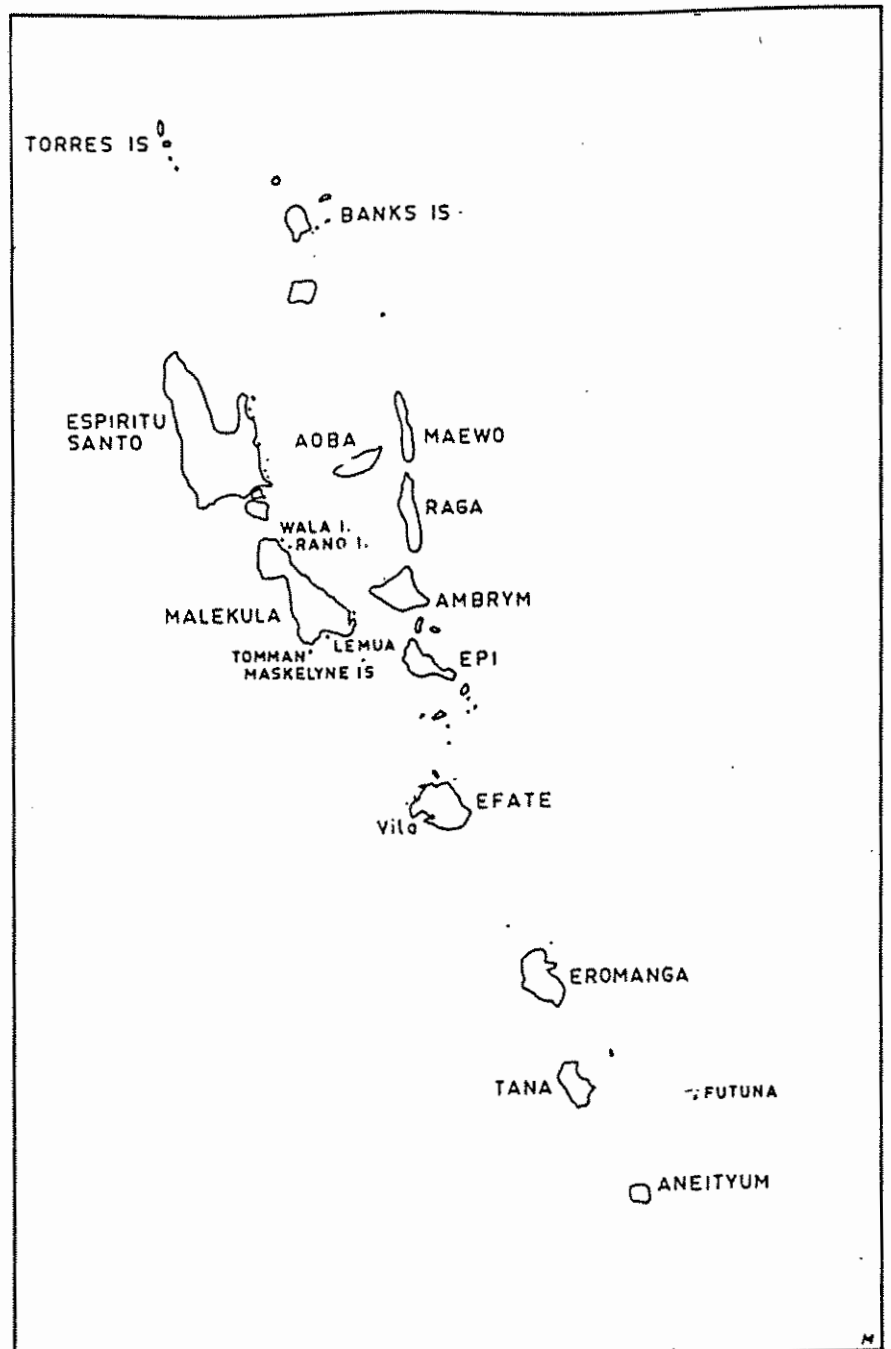


Figure 4 Vanuatu.

INTRODUCTION

In 1945 there had been no talk of independence for the territories of Papua and New Guinea, the British Protectorate of the Solomon Islands, and certainly not for the Anglo-French condominium in the New Hebrides. Rapid social and political transformation in the subsequent four decades, however, brought into existence the independent nation-states of Papua New Guinea (1975), Solomon Islands (1978) and Vanuatu (1980). In the Western Pacific, only the French overseas territory of New Caledonia retains its dependent political status.

The strong presence of Christian missions in all facets of Melanesian societies - social, political, economic and intellectual, as well as religious - is well known and documented. The concern here is not to produce a history of missions.¹ Rather, this is an attempt at understanding, for the period 1945-1980, the power-relations between two dominant Western elements in the colonial process: civil administrations, as agencies of secular power that possess ultimate political control over the affairs of a territory; and missionary organisations, which acknowledge, usually, the temporal authority of the civil administration, but which seek to provide spiritual, moral, or ethical guidance to their adherents.

This is thus an enquiry into the relations between "civil" and "religious", or "sacred" and "secular" powers - although care must be taken with the use of the latter terms, which have developed so much complexity in the modern period. It could be labelled a study in church-state relations, excepting that there is an added dynamic: the religious powers are dependent mission organisations engaged in efforts to become autonomous churches;² and the civil powers are colonial administrations with mandates of varying intensity to become self-governing, or independent, states. They are "churches" and "states" in various stages of formation.

The discourse between these evolving churches and states generally occurred for either one of two reasons. Firstly, there was an overlap in their respective programs, with Colonial administrations and mission organisations communicating with each other on matters of mutual concern. The dominant mutual concerns in the post-war period, which thus formed the basis for most church-state dialogue, were the provision of welfare services: health and education.

The second occasion for discourse concerned moments of crisis. The missions communicated

¹ A general survey of the modern period is given in Charles W. Forman, *The Island Churches of the South Pacific: Emergence in the Twentieth Century*, (USA, 1982) also, Garrett, in progress.

² Protestant missions generally espoused the formula dating to Henry Venn, of seeking to establish a self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating indigenous church. This was the goal that John Kuder, for example, Supt. of the Lutheran Mission, gave to the Australian administration in Papua New Guinea as being the object of the Lutheran church's work in the Territory: TPNG, 310 - 33/4/2.

with civil powers their concern on issues which most affected them. Occasionally governments shared their concern, but, significantly, it did not always do so. Put another way, the missions often took issues that concerned them to the government: less frequently did the government take issues of concern to the missions. What does this say about the relationship between the two centres of power?

Power cannot be possessed absolutely. It can be attracted, retained, or lost, by degrees. It is ethereal in the sense that it surrounds, and cannot be contained. "Power", in the social sense, can be ascribed specifically to politics, economics or morality, but these manifestations of power cannot be completely isolated one from another. Encoded in the terms "religious power" and "moral influence", of the missions in Melanesia, are references to other sources of power and influence. The missions sought, exerted, and attempted to retain, in addition to moral power, political power, economic power, and knowledge-power. Because social power, here defined, has many dimensions, this allegation about mission intentions is neither negative nor subversive. It is the purpose for which social power is engaged that determines the subversive or constructive nature of power's use. No matter how loudly the missionary spoke of the separation of church and state, some desire to predict and control the course of social relations was present.

There are three dominant themes in the course of relations between religious and civil powers in the post-war period. The first of these is the emergence and growth of the civil-state. The relatively non-interventionist colonial administrations of the 1940s, within which missions exercised a great degree of autonomy, were to become in the 1970s independent nation states in which mission autonomy was considerably circumscribed. Missions which had existed in isolation from civil authority lost some of their social functions, and people became aware of the existence of two separate yet interconnected powers, church and government.

The growth of the civil state led to greater interaction between church and state. Channels of communication were improved and a perception of common interests grew. The suspicion and sometimes hostility prominent in mission attitudes toward the secular state in the 1940s evolved into a greater accommodation with it. The ethic that welded together the civil state was nationalism. The quest for nationhood has long been a religious quest, and has not been confined to Christianity: Islam has also sought social order by uniting tribes into nations. In the present century, the Christian impetus to nationalism remained, especially in the Pacific.

Scherer referred in 1939 to the Christian Church as the "universal nation", and suggested that "there can be a church for a nation and a church in a nation, but not a national church".³ Christian apologists have thus been jealous of the use of the term "nationalism", and most would distinguish it sharply from the secular nationalism which has swept through the Pacific. National sentiment in Melanesia, once aroused, provided the political will for the amalgamation of diverse traditions, belief

³ W. Scherer, *The Growing Church*, (London, 1939), II:296, quoted by R.C. Williams, "From Mission to Church: A Study of the United Church", in M. Ward, *Politics in Melanesia*, (Canberra and Port Moresby, 1970).

systems and ethnicities into single states, and was accompanied by a general increase in the participation of people in the affairs of the state. There was an increased desire for self-determination, and a search for nationally unifying languages and traditions, together with an influx of scientific and technological advances, improved communications, greater geographic and social mobility, as well as increases in religious toleration and urbanisation (if not industrialisation). Most importantly, there was a secularisation of political and cultural life, and the civil state established significant welfare programs. With few modifications, Melanesian nationalism emerged bearing similar traits to models of Western nationalism.⁴

These themes suggest the contours of mission involvement in the emerging nations, even if the missions' motivation for involvement was more likely to have been self-interest, than part of a conscious effort to help consolidate the civil state. Efforts by missionaries to standardise religious beliefs and rituals, cultural practices, festivals and languages, whether of a clan, region, or island, occurred for practical as much as for theological reasons. Little thought was given at the time to the relevance of these "practical" changes to the tasks of the colonial government. Max Warren made the point that missions, whether they realised it or not, stood in some relation to the state,⁵ and such was certainly the case in Melanesia, where activities undertaken by missions in pursuit of their mission-oriented objectives, generally benefited the state at the same time.⁶

The traditional "stateless" societies of Melanesia, generally based on kinship - small family units, or lineal descent groups with moveable boundaries - were welded through Western intervention into nation-states.⁷ These "secondary states" (for they were formed through outside contact rather than as with "pristine states", through internal development) were based on an emergent stratified society which required, for its maintenance, formal instruments of social control: a bureaucracy, military, treasury, taxation, ritualists, producers and consumers of resources. In this process religion has often provided new ideas of hierarchy and subordination and a new worldview, legitimating the social order, and the role of the individual within it. In the colonial states of Melanesia, through their tutelage to independent nation-states, the Christian missions proposed a new moral framework, within which

⁴ Hans Kohn, "Nationalism", *Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, vol. 3, (New York, 1974).

⁵ Max Warren, *Social History and Christian Mission*, (Great Britain, 1967).

⁶ Ballard, writing of Papua New Guinea, suggested that encounters with all intruding agents of European culture, whether in official employment or as missionaries, miners, planters or labour recruiters "were encounters with the state", J.A. Ballard, "Ethnicity and Access in Papua New Guinea", (mss), 11.

⁷ Use of the term "Nation" is problematic. Barth's description of the Baktaman as "a nation of 183 persons occupying a tract of mountain rainforest near the centre of New Guinea" uses the term "nation" to describe the sovereignty of the group: Frederic Barth, *Ritual Among the Baktaman of New Guinea*, (New Haven 1975), 15. Smart suggests "a nation wishes to possess its own territory and to administer itself, undominated by others". Although, in Melanesia, this definition is as appropriate for the description of separatist and regionalist sentiments, as much as nationalist, it is sufficient as a broad definition: Ninian Smart, "Religion, Myth, and Nationalism", in Peter H. Merkl & Ninian Smart (eds), *Religion and Politics in the Modern World*, (New York, 1983).

Melanesians could be assisted in understanding the new social order.

Some have found the idea of "nationalism" incompatible with traditional Melanesian thought, and wonder if Melanesian societies have sufficient commonality of values, practices and beliefs, to survive the transition from colonies to independent nation-states.⁸ Where nationalism is found, it is identified with a conception of society compatible with Christianity, and often rejects aspects of traditional Melanesian culture. The "Christian nation" is, perhaps, that part of a territory and of its cultures, that have been effectively Christianised, and have absorbed Western/Christian values.

The subtle difference between the notions of the "Christian nation" and the "nation-state" is embodied, geographically, in mission boundaries which did not necessarily co-incide with those of colonial, and later, national, states. The Melanesian colonies each had a unitary, permanent political base, but a multiple, permeable, religious superstructure. A sense of "territoriality" accompanied the missionary task, and the geographic and demographic "fields" within which missions attempted to exclusively evangelise, educate, heal and administer - determined by their human and capital resources, and propagative energy - were not always identical with the boundaries of colonial states.⁹

Of the two Anglican Provinces in Melanesia, one includes mainland New Guinea (with five diocese), first established in 1898; while the other, the Province of Melanesia (also with five diocese), first established by Bishop John Selwyn in 1891, included the New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands, New Caledonia, and the New Guinea islands.¹⁰ Anglicans experienced a continuing dilemma over whether to retain New Britain, New Ireland and Bougainville in the Diocese of Melanesia, or to transfer them to the Diocese of New Guinea, to conform with the New Guinea-Solomon Islands border. Bishop Baddeley felt that New Britain and Bougainville should be transferred to the Diocese of New Guinea, and this occurred in the late 1940s.¹¹

Catholic missions also evolved across inter-colonial boundaries. There are six Catholic Archdiocese in Melanesia: Port Moresby; Madang, Mt Hagen; Rabaul (which formerly included Solomon Islands; Honiara (Solomon Islands); and Noumea (which includes the diocese of Port Vila).¹²

⁸ Edward P. Wolfers, "Aspects of Political Culture and Institution-Building in Melanesia: Constitutional Planning in Papua New Guinea and the Special Committee on Provincial Government in Solomon Islands", *Pacific Studies*, 6:1, Fall 1982.

⁹ Several missions received permission to operate across colonial boundaries. Priests from the Anglican Diocese of New Guinea, for example, had regular contact with Torres Strait Islanders, in Australian territory, and priests from the Diocese of Melanesia travelled from Ontong Java in the Solomon Islands, to minister at Nukumanu, in Papua New Guinea.

¹⁰ David Wetherell, *Reluctant Mission: The Anglican Mission in Papua New Guinea 1891-1942*, (Brisbane, 1977).

¹¹ The 1930 Lambeth Conference discussed the possibility of establishing a Diocese of New Guinea, Melanesia, Polynesia, and Honolulu, and Bishop Strong continued to advocate the formation of an Anglican Diocese for the region. P.N.W. Strong, *Out of Great Tribulation*, (East Cape, 1947).

¹² Georges Delbos, *The Mustard Seed: From a French Mission to a Papuan Church*, (Port Moresby, 1985); Ralph Wiltgen, *The Founding of the Roman Catholic Church in Oceania 1825 to 1850*, (Canberra, 1979). Vicariates Apostolic became dioceses in most of the Pacific area in 1966.

The United Church of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, a supra-national Protestant church, evolved from the union of missions which operated in both colonies.¹³ Methodist missionaries had for long complained about the colonial boundary separating Bougainville and the Western Solomons. A letter from Kieta to Munda, a distance of 180 miles, which had to go from Kieta to Rabaul, to Sydney, to Honiara, and finally to Munda, provoked the question "when will governments look at people rather than fences!"¹⁴

Seventh Day Adventist missions were likewise established on a regional basis. Until 1972 the Coral Sea Union Mission included the British Solomon Islands, New Britain, New Ireland, Manus and Bougainville: after that date, the Papua New Guinea Union Mission was created, encompassing the entire territory of Papua New Guinea, and the Western Pacific Union Mission incorporated the Solomon Islands, the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands. The South Sea Evangelical Mission was the only major mission in Melanesia to develop into two autonomous national churches, (the SSEC of Papua New Guinea, and the SSEC of the Solomon Islands), rather than into one supra-national church. Numerous national Protestant churches evolved from missions which operated in only one colony: the five Presbyterian missions contributing to the Presbyterian Church of the New Hebrides provide one such instance.

The proliferation of missions, sects and denominations in Melanesia provides the second dominant theme in the post-war discourse between church and state. The rapid inflow of ambassadors of a wide variety of Christian theologies in the 1950s and 1960s were to upset the delicate politico-religious balance established between the few missions present prior to the war. In 1939 eleven mission societies were active in Papua and New Guinea, five in the Solomon Islands, and five in the New Hebrides.¹⁵ By the mid 1950s these numbers of societies in the colonies were to rise to 21, 6 and 9 respectively, and by the 1970s, to approximately 60 in Papua New Guinea, 10 in the Solomon Islands,

¹³ The United Church, established 19 January 1968, combined four Methodist mission districts (New Guinea Islands, Papuan Islands, Solomon Islands and Highlands), the United Church of Port Moresby, and the Papua Ekalesia, itself a combination of former LMS districts (1963) and the Kwato Extension League (1965), although it should be noted that Boda Kwato re-separated from the United Church 1977-79.

¹⁴ The mission also faced obstacles when attempting to transport timber from Choiseul for post-war reconstruction of stations on New Britain and New Ireland, and in bringing students from PNG to its educational institution at Roviana. MCNZ - Solomon Islands Educational Report, 1948.

¹⁵ In Papua and New Guinea there were 4 Catholic orders: Sacred Heart, Holy Ghost, Divine Word and Marist; 3 Lutheran mission societies: Nuendettelsau at Finschhafen, Rhenish at Madang and Liebenzell at Manus; 2 Methodist societies: Australian and New Zealand; there was also a Seventh Day Adventist Mission, Anglican Mission, and the Unevangelized Fields Mission: Minister for External Territories, Territories of Papua and New Guinea. Civil Administration. Return of Missionaries to New Guinea, 8 September 1944. AA, CRS, A518 AB 838/1 pt 1. The mission societies in the New Hebrides included 2 Catholic orders: Marist and Sacred Heart; representatives of 5 Presbyterian mission societies, the Melanesian Mission, Apostolic Mission, and Seventh Day Adventists mission: *Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of the New Hebrides*, 1938, 18.

and 10 in the New Hebrides.¹⁶

The presence of so many Christian organisations had several implications for the civil administration. Their ever-expanding presence assisted governments in the pacification of little-contacted Melanesian societies in areas remote from the centres of colonial administration, and their resources in personnel and material allowed governments to provide increased welfare services. But the presence of so many alternative interpretations of the gospel also decreased the hold that any one mission could have over a community. Whereas previously, mission adherents had known of no other branch of Christianity than their own, the fact of Christian denominationalism - which could not have been kept from Melanesians forever - gradually eroded the "theocratic" environments which nevertheless continued in some places into the 1960s and 1970s.¹⁷

No one branch of Christianity can claim to have been the unique influence on Melanesian societies. Many among them have claimed a temporary ascendancy within a culture area, or geographic setting, but not all claims to have left an indelible impression are valid: other influences have also been present. Most importantly, the influence of traditional culture has continued, even when sometimes submerged beneath behaviour that was expedient in the circumstances. The new, so called "Western" or "modern" influences that have reached Melanesia in the present century as well as in the one before it, have not come from a single point: the Western influence has been a combination of nationalist, secularist, and religious influences.¹⁸

Numerous societies, both Protestant and Catholic, had been attracted to the Pacific in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by the opportunity they saw to establish "corpus Christianum", a community of believers united in belief and practice and free of the traumatic sectarianism that afflicted post-reformation Europe. Virtual "theocracies" were established in some parts of the Pacific, where legal codes and constitutions emphasising the Ten Commandments were implemented as law.¹⁹

¹⁶ BSIP, "Religion and Education", *Report on the Census of the Population of the BSIP*, (England, 1970), 84. Other figures have been calculated from David Barrett, *World Christian Encyclopedia*, (Oxford, 1982). These figures attempt to distinguish mission societies from churches, European or Melanesian, which are not involved with mission societies. The situation is further complicated if voluntary agencies are also to be considered. Religious affiliations and institutions are surveyed in Leonora Mosende Douglas (ed), *World Christianity: Oceania*, (USA, 1986). A map of mission areas in Papua New Guinea is given in Carl Loeliger, "Christian Missions", in David King & Stephen Ranck, (eds), *Papua New Guinea Atlas: A Nation in Transition*, (Port Moresby, 1982).

¹⁷ John Kolia reports villages in which church deacons, in recent years, had the power to decide when crops were to be harvested, to meet the needs of inter-village church celebrations, John Kolia, "Notes on a Village Court, *Yagl-Ambu*, 3:4 Nov 1976, 247.

¹⁸ Western expansion was driven not merely by an industrial imperative: Gunson refers to a "social doctrine of the cross", by which English evangelicals, among others, attempted to "civilise" the peoples among whom they moved. They believed not just in the superiority of their religion, but of the European culture with which it was for them so implicitly related. W.N. Gunson, *Messengers of Grace: Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas 1797-1860*, (Melbourne, 1978).

¹⁹ Forman describes the establishment of missionary-influenced Kingdoms in Tahiti, Mangareva, Hawaii, the Cook Islands, Tonga, Wallis, and Fiji: see Charles Forman, *Island Churches*, 9; Gunson, *Messengers of Grace*, esp. ch.15, "Advisors in affairs of State". Theocratic communities can only be said to have existed where the head of the community was "priest, ruler and intermediary with heaven all at once", T.M. Parker, *Christianity and the State in the Light of History*, (London 1955), 8. This was

In order to prolong the influence of each mission over its respective "field", comity agreements were entered into, defining and limiting the expansion of participating mission bodies. Division of territory on a wide scale had begun in the 1840s when representatives of the Melanesian, LMS and Wesleyan missions agreed that the LMS occupy the Loyalty Islands, the Presbyterians occupy the southern islands of the New Hebrides and the Melanesian Mission occupy the northern New Hebrides and the eastern Solomon Islands.²⁰

The impact of this agreement on the geographic pattern of denominational allegiance was still visible in recent years. In the late 1960s thirteen New Hebridean islands were recognised as Presbyterian in adherence and the mission had 90% adherence on a further twelve islands. Ten islands in the Torres and Banks Islands had totally Anglican populations and three others in the group had populations at least 90% Anglican. Thus, of sixty-four islands in the archipelago, thirty-eight were almost totally occupied by a single mission.²¹

In Papua New Guinea the first comity agreement among the LMS, Wesleyan, and Anglican missions was co-ordinated in 1890 by the Governor, Sir William MacGregor,²² and in the 1950s missions entering the highlands districts and the remote Sepik district continued to make comity agreements. The Methodists and the Unevangelised Fields Mission agreed, for instance, that the latter occupy the area west of Tari in the Southern Highlands. Anglicans refrained from commencing mission work in Southwest Papua, between Mabaduan and the Irian Jaya border, until invited to do so in 1966 by the LMS, whose "area" it was by tradition.²³

The remoteness of numerous small outer islands led to their being influenced by a single mission. Emira, Lou, Tench and Mussau Islands were Seventh Day Adventist enclaves from 1931 into

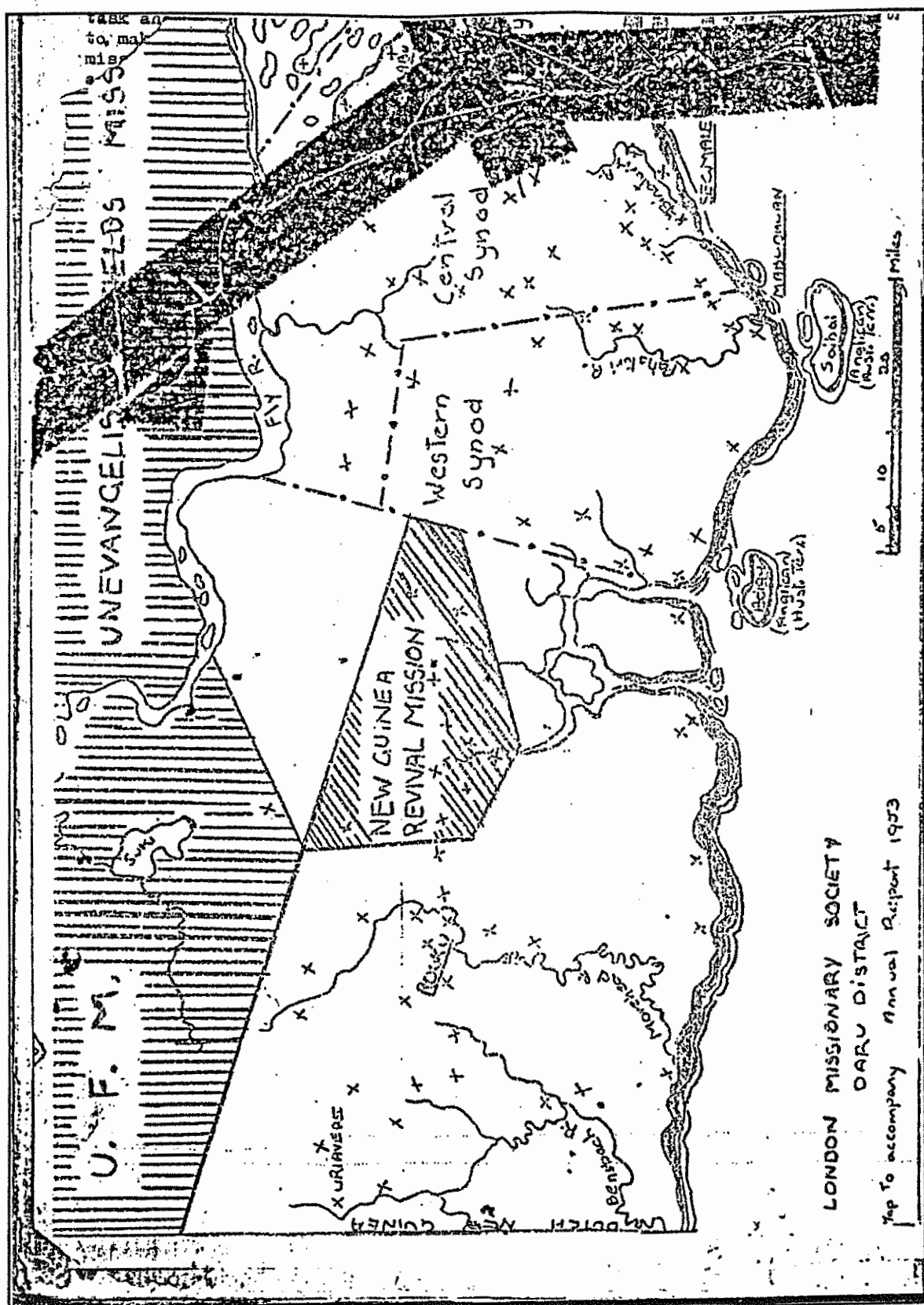
not always the intention of missions, even if it was affected. A state can only be considered theocratic if it had theological origins, and a design based on a theological conception of society. More often, missions dominated a region for more pragmatic reasons, for example, in absence of an assertive colonial authority: Aarne A. Koskinen, *Missionary Influence as a Political Factor in the Pacific Islands*, (Helsinki, 1953).

²⁰ John Garrett, *To Live Among The Stars*, (Suva, 1985), 182. Hilliard suggests that Bishop Patteson wished that the Melanesian Mission did not follow the theocratic tendencies of the LMS, whose members extended authority from the spiritual to the secular, David Hilliard, "John Coleridge Patteson: missionary bishop of Melanesia", in J.W. Davidson and D. Scarr (eds), *Pacific Islands Portraits* (Canberra, 1970), 198-8. Cf. K.B. Jackson, "Head-hunting in the Christianisation of Bugotu 1861-1900", *Journal of Pacific History*, 10:1 1975, 73. See also, K.L.P. Martin, *Missionaries and Annexation in the Pacific*, (London, 1924); Koskinen, *Missionary Influence*.

²¹ Condominium of the New Hebrides, *A Report on the First Census of the Population 1967*, 66-7.

²² For a concise description of this period see Torben Christensen & William R. Hutchison, *Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era: 1880-1920*, (Copenhagen, 1982).

²³ David Hand to D.M. Cleland, Administrator, 11 March, 1966. TPNG, 9369 - 40/2/7.



the 1970s;²⁴ Yule Island and Kairiru Islands were thoroughly Roman Catholic domains; while the islands of Milne Bay were predominantly Methodist (later United Church) or Anglican. The Tsoi and Tingwon island groups, New Hanover, comprised entirely United Church adherents in 1970, while off the northern coast of New Guinea, Manam and Karkar Islands remained Lutheran preserves.²⁵

On the mainland, several remote districts were influenced by a sole mission until others began to arrive in the late 1940s. The Divine Word missionaries operated alone from Kairiru Island, in the Sepik District, until the arrival of representatives of the Assemblies of God and South Sea Evangelical missions.

Similar conditions existed in the Solomon Islands. In the 1940s when the Methodists worked mainly, but not exclusively, in the Western Solomons, District chairman John Goldie advised Methodist teachers on Guadalcanal not to expand into other areas in competition with other missions.²⁶ The Melanesian and Methodist missions agreed that the former would not work in the Western Solomons, if the latter retired from Ysabel,²⁷ and a Methodist - SSEM comity agreement regarding the Western District was so effective that the latter mission sought government advice before commencing mission activity there in the 1970s.²⁸ The Church of Melanesia continued in the 1970s to be the only Christian denomination adhered to on Tikopia, Ugi, Santa Cruz, Anuta, Utupua, Vanikolo, Reef and Duff Islands, and retained almost total loyalty on Santa Ysabel.²⁹ Several missions continued to own and occupy small islands, particularly for use as schools and Bible colleges.³⁰

On Malaita and Guadalcanal, where several missions, (the Melanesian, South Sea Evangelical, Seventh Day Adventist, and Roman Catholic) were established, rules were proposed to regulate interaction between the mission communities. The SSEM missionary Norman Deck proposed that missions refrain from entering, or seeking to enter, a village already occupied by another mission. They

²⁴ Eg, E.R. Piez, "On Tiny Tench Island, They Have Their Own Way of Doing Things", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, Dec. 1964, 81. In some places single mission influence was protected by restrictions placed on entry by the colonial administration for health reasons. On Tongoa in the New Hebrides, for instance, restricted entry allowed the Presbyterian mission to determine the island's religious life until the removal of restrictions in 1950 allowed Seventh Day Adventists to enter. Bob Murray to Stan Murray, 1 March 1951. PCNZ, New Hebrides 1948-51.

²⁵ The entry of German Lutheran missions to New Guinea is discussed in Peter J. Hempenstall, "The Reception of European Missions in the German Pacific Empire: the New Guinea Experience", *Journal of Pacific History*, 10:1, 1975.

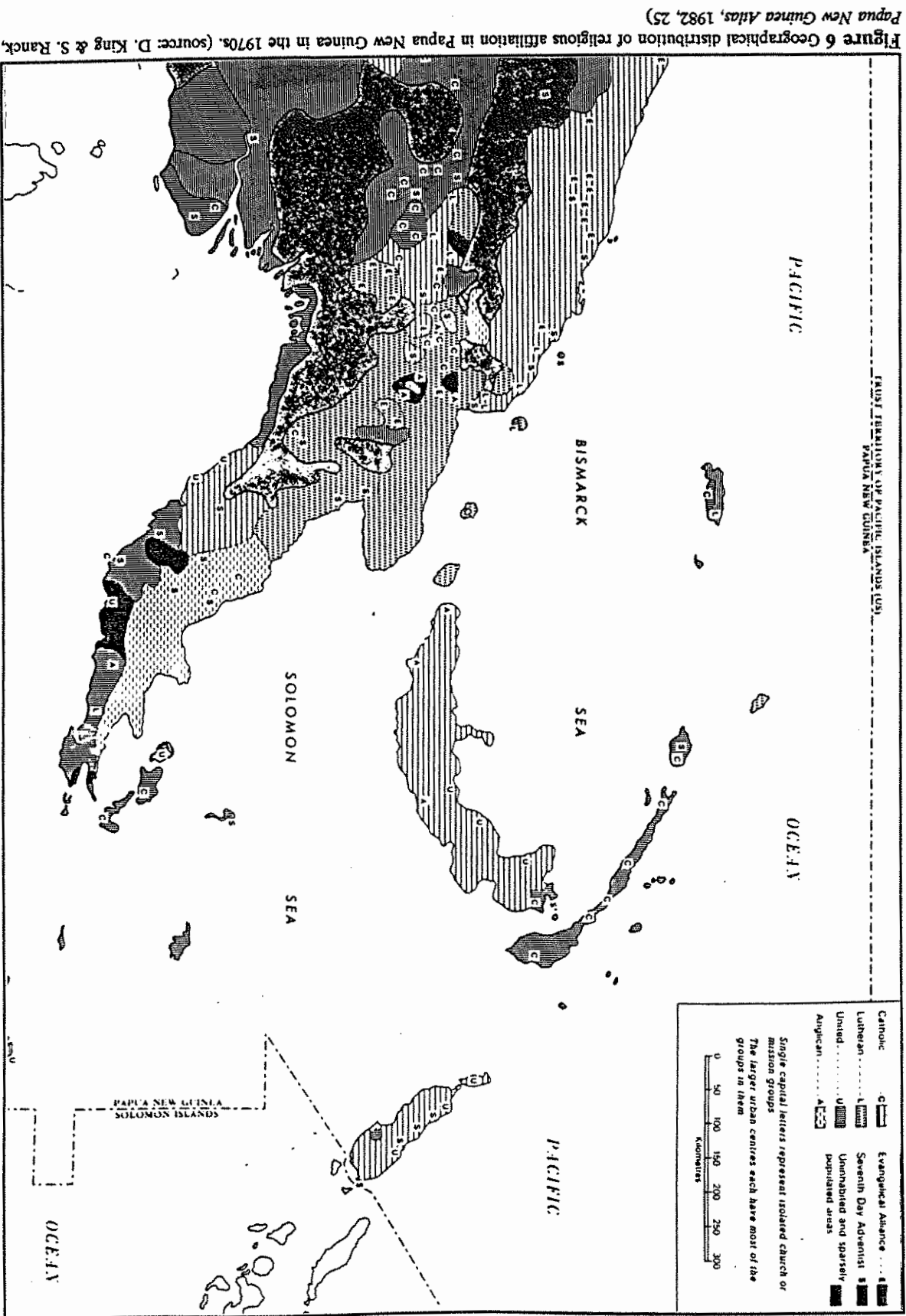
²⁶ Goldie to Scriven, 15 August 1941. MCNZ Solomon Islands District Correspondence with Rev. J.F. Goldie 1922-1951.

²⁷ Philip Baker, interview, 7 June Christchurch. The success of the Melanesian Mission on Ysabel is described in K.B. Jackson, "Head-Hunting", *Journal of Pacific History*, 10:1, 1975.

²⁸ The Solomons Government said that the agreement was "no longer binding under the new circumstances, in view of the freedom with people these days..." Michael Maelia. SSEM, Solomons Miscellaneous.

²⁹ Solomon Islands. *Report on the Census of the Population*, 1976.

³⁰ In the 1970s, eg, the Melanesian Mission commenced economic development projects on its island, Tasia, off Ysabel.



were not to place a teacher in it, nor build a church in it. Further, they were not to accept excommunicated members of another mission; not to employ members of other missions as teachers, or on ships; and were to avoid intermarriage and religious controversy.³¹ Visitors to Melanesia are familiar with this intense identification between church and village.

In addition to the many Western missionary organisations attracted to post-war Melanesia, there emerged not only cargo cults, whose members were mocked for their ignorance of the complexity of industrial society, but also more complex politico-religious movements - whose members understood something of what prosperity and authority might be theirs, and of how to obtain it. Movements such as Maasina Rule and the Mataungan Association, and individual leaders such as Tommy Kabu in the Purari Delta, and lesser figures such as Apelis Mazakmat on New Ireland, brought a new complexity to the mission field, and the missions were partly responsible for the emergence of such men.

Attempts by missions to protect their "sectarian autonomy" were related to the third, and most prominent, theme in the church-state discourse, the spread of secularism and the attempt by missionaries to either prevent it, suppress it, or at least, direct it. No battalion of the missionary phalanx was exempt from the battle against secularism - that environment in which people no longer make religion the guiding rule of their life - which they rightly perceived to threaten religious belief and consequently their religious authority. This concern reinforced not only attempts by missions to retain exclusive control over peoples and regions, but also suspicion of the motives of civil administrations.

While women were present in all missionary endeavours, they did not participate equally in questions of power. Their efforts in the field were often praised, but they were not included as equals in decision making processes. The Presbyterian J.G. Miller noted in 1947 that "wives do not rank as 'missionaries', though they are required to fill in the same application form as the male workers, and go through the formality of being accepted."³² Miller's observation, true enough for all mission societies in Melanesia, had its implications for the position of women in the relations between church and state. If women negotiated with colonial administrations, it was most likely to do with routine medical or educational matters, rather than with larger policy issues.³³ There were also implications for the transmission of Christianity to what are essentially male-dominated societies: "Like indigenous cults,

³¹ SSEM, Missionaries 1941. Non-observance of this mission protocol and comity agreements by the Catholic and SDA missions (and at various times by others) contributed to their gradual ineffectiveness. In 1974 SICA sponsored a meeting with an SDA representative to discuss "Things the SDA's are doing in some of our villages". UCPNGSI, "Solomon Islands Region, August 1974", MCNZ.

³² Reply to Questionnaire on the Indigenous Church for South Pacific Christian Conference, 1947. J.G.D. Miller, pers. comm.

³³ For this reason the Melanesian territories were not involved in conferences of the Pan-Pacific and South East Asia Women's Association, the tenth of which was held at Nuku'alofa, in 1964: Marie Lamb, *Pacific Journal of Theology*, 12, September 1964.

Christianity is dispensed by men".³⁴

The mainline Protestant and Catholic missions each accepted the traditional European worldview, that "church" and "state" were separate but equally necessary institutions, in which people worked for one or the other, and could not work easily for both. But in colonial environments where missions had been responsible for the major contribution to social development, the traditional division between church and state was often less distinct. The missions had entered the Pacific over several centuries for the purpose of saving "savages" from the grasp of errant co-religionists, and from the enticements of a fallen Western culture. They were not, now that they had established what they regarded as such an effective hold over sections of the population of Melanesia (as also over other parts of the Pacific), going to let their efforts be drained by the pagan pragmatism of so many secular officials.

Thus in the 1940s most missions had such exclusive influence in their sphere of operations that they disliked what they considered to be the intrusions into their affairs by secular authorities, and they perceived a sharp distinction between mission and government offices. The move by the Methodist medical doctor, A.G. Rutter, into the position of Senior Medical Officer with the BSIP Administration, to cite one instance, was regarded by the Methodist mission as a "tragic defection".

In the 1950s attitudes toward the civil administration became more friendly, at least within Protestant thinking - significant improvements in relations between Catholic missions and civil administrations followed the Second Vatican Council. Even with church-state relations improving, missions that also operated in colonies on the Indian sub-continent, in Africa and in Southeast Asia, realised the global nature of both secularism and nationalism (and communism), and knew that self-governing, or independent secular states would inevitably emerge in Melanesia.³⁵

The influence of the "secular state" did not spread across Melanesia in a uniform way: the intensity of government influence decreased as the distances from the capitals and provincial centres increased, so that on the more remote islands, and within the most rugged interiors, the "state" continued to mean no more than periodic visits from a government headman who collected taxes, inspected villages, and imposed fines.³⁶ In such places, the "lotu" was by comparison much more intrusive in the lives of the people.

Whatever period of comparative isolation from secular authority a mission previously enjoyed, it had eventually to determine its attitude toward the secular state. Few missionaries were comfortable

³⁴ Lisette Josephides, "Equal but Different? The Ontology of Gender among Kewa", *Oceania*, 53:3, March 1984, 296.

³⁵ Bishop Cranswick forewarned of their impact on the Pacific in his report of the 1948 Morpeth missionary conference, *Cross Across the Pacific, Report of the Morpeth Missionary Conference*, (Sydney, 1948).

³⁶ Geoffrey White, "Bigmen and Church Men: Social Images in Santa Isabel, Solomon Islands", PhD, (University of California, 1978), 199.

with having to contemplate issues of state, and of their relationship with it, but theological guidelines were available. According to Peter and Paul, the secular power existed only with Divine sanction, and the duty of Christian citizens was to obey the laws of the government. Such had been the essence of Luther's teachings on obedience to the state,³⁷ and was arguably the basis for most mission-administration interaction in the period under consideration. There were, in addition, Christ's declaration "My Kingdom is not of this world" (John 18:36) and the injunction "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's" (Matthew 22:21, Mark 12:17), which lead clerics, both Catholic and Protestant, to believe the missionary had

no mandate to change society, to decapitate kings, overthrow republics, or to establish modern democracy, even though one or other of those things might help his own work.³⁸

Seventh Day Adventist missions taught a complete separation of church and state, to the extent of not accepting government funding for the maintenance of their medical and educational projects.³⁹ At the same time, they taught complete loyalty to the secular authorities.⁴⁰ Anglican missions tended to assume the position of "state religion" and, along with other Protestant groups - notably Methodists, Presbyterians and the London Missionary Society, assumed the mantle of "loyal opposition" to the civil administration within colonial boundaries.⁴¹

Less frequently, but more spectacularly, missionaries entered the field possessing an apocalyptic view of the world, inspired by the Book of Revelation. Short of an active call to rebellion, the apocalyptic notion presumed that earthly power was opposed to the Kingdom of God and would be destroyed by God at the "imminent" climax of history. Apart from Melanesian politico-religious movements, the Watchtower Association (Jehovah's Witnesses) came closest to embracing this idea, and its relations with colonial administrations were antipathetic, whether in Fiji in the 1930s, the Solomon

³⁷ See W.D.J. Cargill Thompson, *The Political Thought of Martin Luther*, (Great Britain 1984), esp. chap. VI, "Luther's Teaching on Political Obedience and Rebellion".

³⁸ Tim O'Niell, *And We, the People: Ten Years with the Primitive Tribes of New Guinea*, (London 1961), 31-2.

³⁹ Dennis Steley, "Juapa Rane: The Seventh Day Adventist Mission in the Solomon Islands 1914-1942", MA, (University of Auckland, 1983), 18.

⁴⁰ Pastor H. White, Superintendent of the Coral Sea Union Mission, assured Governor J.K. Murray that the purpose of his mission was "to prepare the native peoples to meet the impact of civilisation in a proper manner and to remain loyal subjects of His Majesty's Government under all circumstances". White to Murray, 12 July 1950. TPNG 15-8/172.

⁴¹ The Protectorate of New Guinea, for example, had been first proclaimed in 1884 at Poreporena, the mission-station of Dr Lawes, of the LMS.

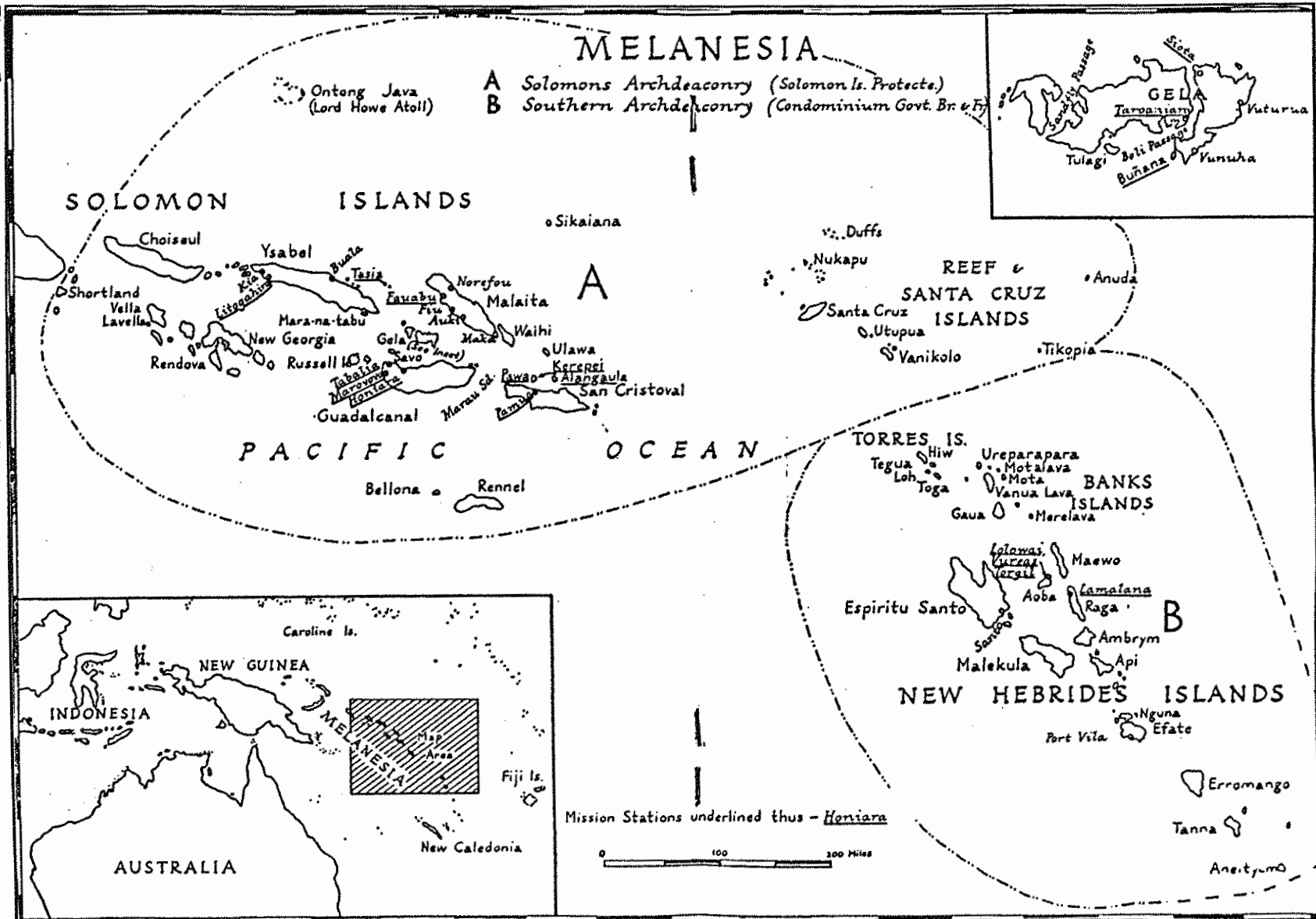
Islands in the 1950s or New Ireland in the 1970s.⁴²

This study commences with the close of the Second World War, since that epic conflict was the catalyst for significant change - social, economic, political, intellectual, and spiritual - in Pacific Islands societies. The physical destruction and spiritual suffering brought by the war exposed the ideological barrier between the black and white races. "The conviction has deepened", reported a New Hebridean Presbyterian synod in 1945, "that this inevitable disturbance of the status quo has ...led to a new conception of the capacity and courage of the native congregations".⁴³ Although belief in the racial superiority of Europeans remained strong among the white colonial "mastas", the attitude of Europeans toward the black races changed over the next four decades, (if ever so slowly), away from a sense of absolute superiority. New attitudes brought new policies. Before the war, the missions had been left free to do as they wished in regard to development. Now, colonial administrations took charge of social, economic and political development to an unprecedented degree. A struggle commenced, in which missions attempted to return to their mission fields across Melanesia and regain the influence and prestige that in former times had been theirs; while colonial governments attempted to balance the interests of missions with the interests of European capital, the aspirations of the indigenous population, and of course their own strategic interests.

⁴² "Memorandum regarding the activities of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society in Fiji", AA A518. K 838/1. The attitudes of colonial administrations toward Jehovah's Witnesses are examined in Graham Hassall, "Powers sacred and secular: Missions and Colonial Administration in the Solomon Islands", (mss, paper presented at the 12th Annual Conference, Australian Association for the Study of Religion, University of Melbourne, September 1987).

⁴³ Minutes of the Presbyterian New Hebrides Mission Synod, 1945. In the same year Eddie Ward, Australia's Minister for External Territories, acknowledged Australia's debt of gratitude to the people of the Territory of New Guinea in parliament: Ward, *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates*, 4 July 1945. For a concise summary of missionary plans and aspirations at this time see in J.W. Decker, "A Visit to the ANZAC Lands", *International Review of Missions*, Oct 1945.

Figure 7 Map of the Melanesian Mission (source: uncted).



Introduction

Figure 8 Presbyterian Mission stations (source Missionary Project 1966).

THE NEW HEBRIDES

WHERE THE NEW ZEALANDERS WORK.



1. The Rev. E.G. Janssen.
B.C. "Own Worker."

2. Miss Y. McLean



3. The Rev. A.G. Horwell,
B.C. "Own Worker."

4. Miss J. Dich

5. Miss. B. Hay

6. Miss. P. Hewitt

7. Mrs. V. Ridler

8. The Rev. J.R. Hyslop

9. Miss. A. Lilburne

10. Mr. A.O. Cromie *

11. The Rev. W.D. Francis

12. Mr. B. Rikinton

13. Miss. A.F. Riach

14. Miss. W. Biggs

15. Miss. E.C. Pearce

† Two Fijian Workers

16. The Rev. R.W. Murray

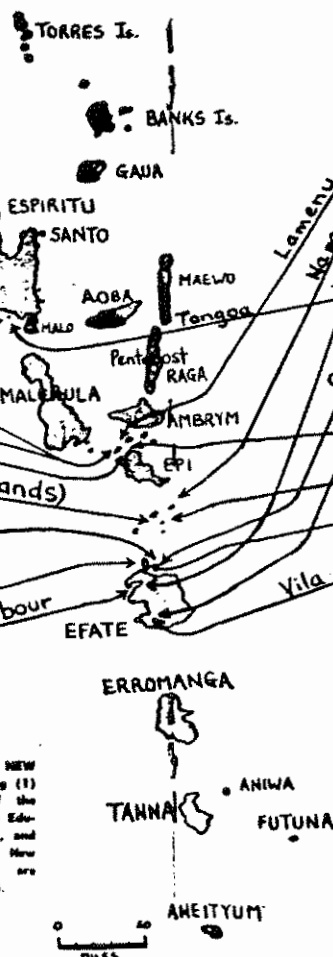
17. Mr. A.M. Gilson *

* Australians in N.Z. positions.

DID YOU KNOW

- (1) That Santo is one of the few places in Melanesia where pottery was made?
- (2) That there are no printed newspapers or radio broadcasts in the New Hebrides?
- (3) That over 50 Bible Class Volunteers have worked in the New Hebrides since 1962?
- (4) That there is only one Condominium in the world?

A MAP OF THE NEW HEBRIDES showing (1) the positions of the main Medical and Educational Institutions, and (2) where the New Zealand workers are stationed in 1966.



EDUCATIONAL CENTRES.

1. District Schools.
(3 New Zealand and 10 Australian).
a. Lamenu
b. Napagale
c. Ulei
2. Onesua High School.
3. Kawenu Teachers' College.
4. Tonga Training Institute.

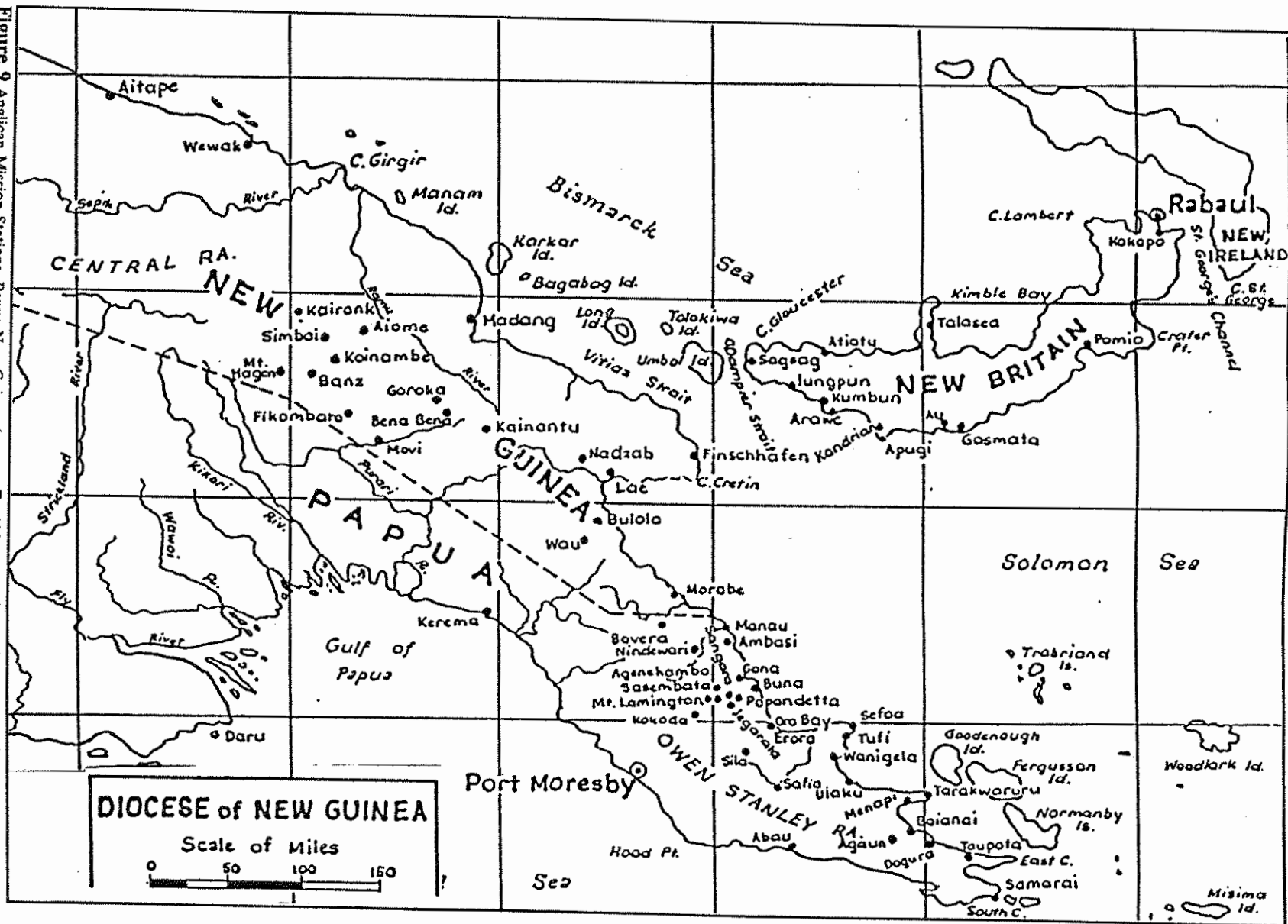
MEDICAL CENTRES.

- A. Vaemali Hospital.
- B. Silimauri Health Centre.
- C. Nguna Clinic.
- D. Paton Memorial Hospital.

TEST YOURSELF

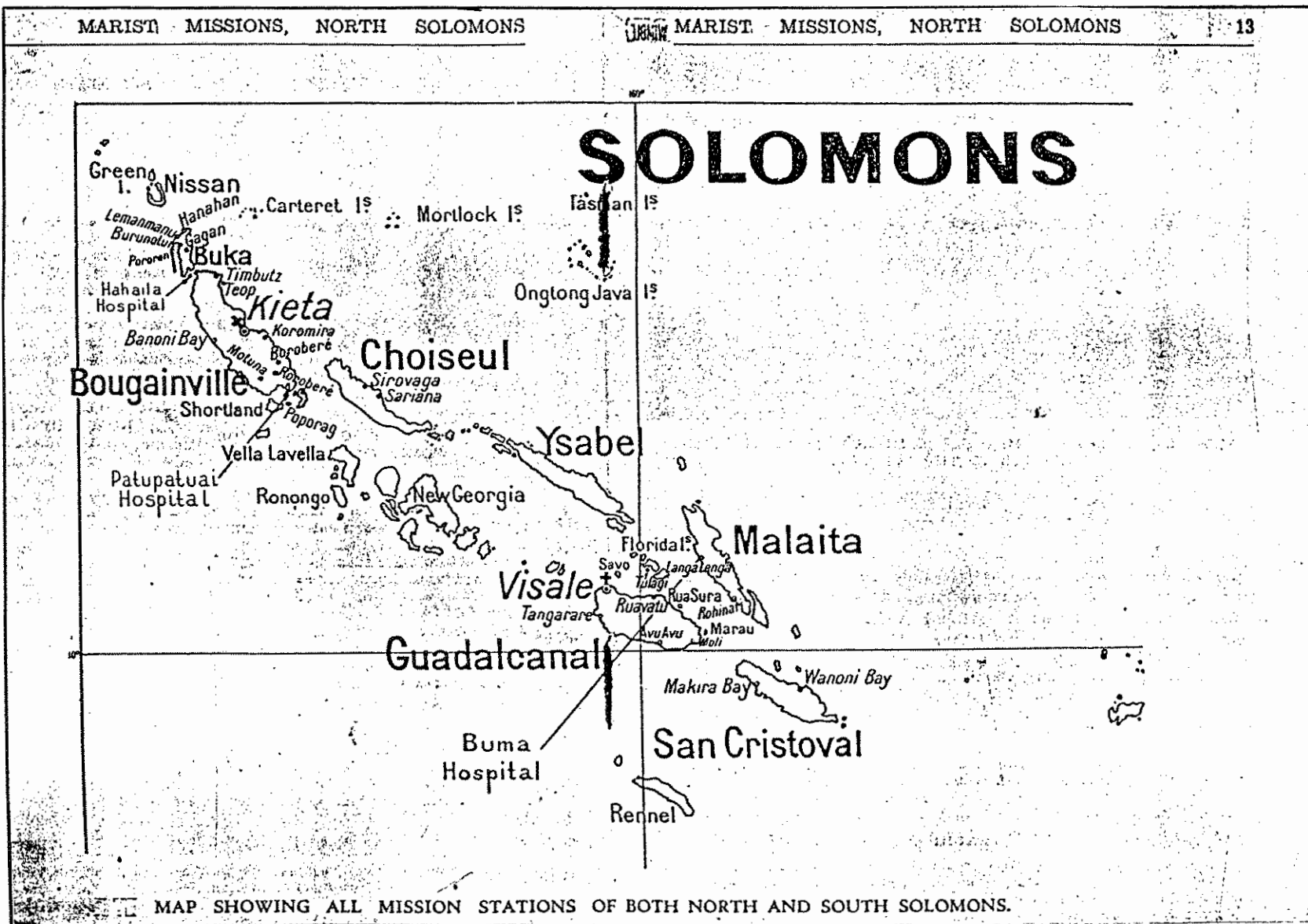
1. HOW MANY NEW ZEALAND MISSIONARIES ARE THERE IN NEW HEBRIDES ?
2. WHICH MISSIONARY IS THE BUSY BEE OWN WORKER ?
3. ON HOW MANY ISLANDS ARE NEW ZEALANDERS WORKING ?

Figure 9 Anglican Mission Stations, Papua New Guinea (source: D. Abbott, *Anglican Mission Education*).



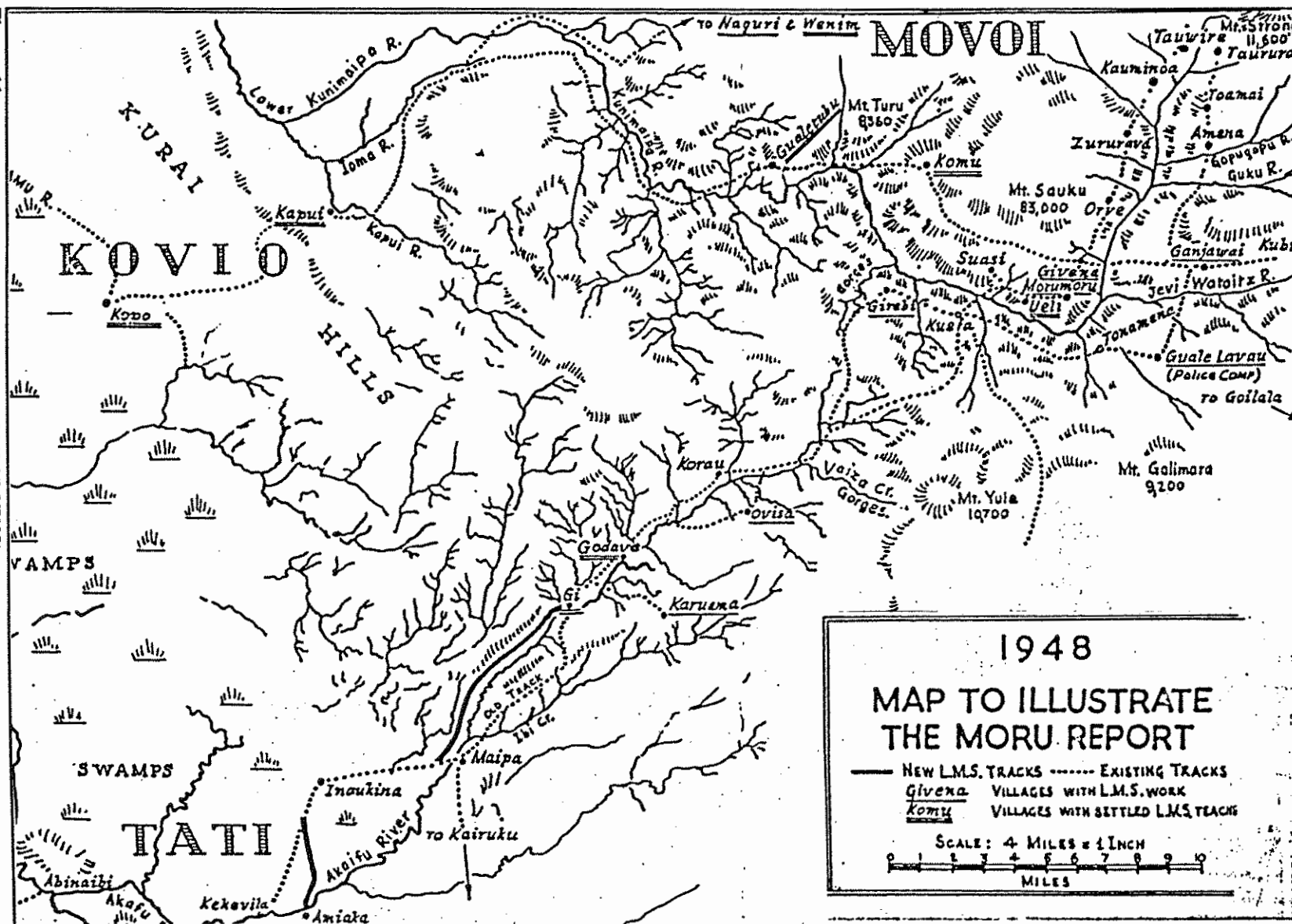
introduction

Figure 10 Catholic Missions



introduction

Figure 11 Map of LMS walking tracks, 1948 (source: LMS 3/8 UPNG).



introduction

CHAPTER ONE

RETURN TO THE FIELD

Dr Fricke asked me how I regarded the political situation in Dutch New Guinea and the political situation generally, in relation to the reasonable safety of the investment the American Lutheran Church was making at Madang and Finschhafen. I said that I thought the American Lutheran Church's stake in the Trusteeship Territory was such that the investment was thoroughly justified, that the immediate political risks were not great and remote risks were too difficult to assess.¹

Following World War II Christian missionaries were keen to return to their former mission-posts. They were eager to rebuild, apprehensive about the condition their congregations might be in, and keen to arrive before agents of rival missions. They were, in addition, wary about the plans of civil administrations to embark on large scale policy changes. Much property had been damaged, and many missionaries had lost their lives.² In the North Solomons, for instance, Methodist plantations at Buin (Kihili), Buka (Skotolan) and Teop, North Bougainville, were completely destroyed. On the New Guinea mainland damage to Lutheran property was so extensive that mission leaders questioned the administration carefully about the future of the territory before committing themselves to reconstruction. Christian communities, living on coastlines in the centre of battle zones had been dispersed, and demoralised.³

Bishop Walter Baddeley had stayed on in the Solomon Islands with fifteen staff of the Anglican mission after the Japanese invasion, as did members of the Methodist, Catholic, and SSEM missions. The Methodist district had been directly in the battle zone, and several Roviana men were decorated for their participation. Usaia Sotutu received the British Empire Medal,⁴ and A.W. Silvester received the U.S. Army's Medal of Merit. An Adventist Pastor, Kata Rangoso, in addition to leading the Adventists in the absence of the Europeans, organised rescue parties that saved some 200 Allied

¹ Murray to Minister for External Territories, 14 March 1950. TPNG, 172 - 15/7. On the history of Lutheran missions in Papua New Guinea see Evangelical Lutheran Church, *Rot Bilong Kamapim Hause Tru Bilong God: Piksa Histori bilong ELC-PNG 1886-1986*, (PNG, 1986); and Herwig Wagner & Hermann Reiner (eds), *The Lutheran Church in Papua New Guinea: The First Hundred Years 1886-1986*, (Adelaide, 1986).

² More than 100 Catholic priests had died in the Japanese invasion of Papua New Guinea. Methodist losses are referred to in J.W. Burton, *The First Century of Missionary Adventure, 1855-1955*, (Sydney, 1955); Hank Nelson, "Loyalties at Sword-point: Lutheran Missionaries in War-time New Guinea, 1939-45", *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 24:2, August 1978, 199-217; Roger S. Brown, *New Guinea Methodism in War and Peace*, (Adelaide 1989).

³ There were instances of Melanesians renouncing Christianity and adopting Japanese religions. Kuder reported the Letub movement in Nobonob, Rai Coast: "Summary of report by Supt. Kuder on survey of field conducted with Commissioner Fricke (Feb-Mar 1946)", ELC 190/51/81.

⁴ See "Usaia Sotutu", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, April 1984, 65.

servicemen. Charles Fox, an Anglican priest on Malaita, was among the many missionaries who remained in the Solomon Islands as coast watchers, while Alfred Hill, later Bishop of Melanesia, was honoured for maintaining the Melanesian Mission's school at Pawa throughout the period of the Japanese invasion and occupation. Ben Bele, a Melanesian Mission helper, received the Medal of Freedom.

Many missionaries were among those captured or killed by the Japanese.⁵ Although 35 Catholic missionaries had been sent from Guadalcanal and Malaita in October-November 1942, 13 others were allowed to remain. Among these, Dan Stuyvenberg, a Dutch Marist priest who later became archbishop of Honiara, saved the lives of three airmen while coast-watching on Malaita. Jim Wall, another Marist, acted as Chaplain to Catholics in the U.S. forces on and around Guadalcanal. Nurse Amy Richardson and other Catholic missionaries remained in the Solomons during the Japanese invasion.⁶ The sacrifice of so many missionary lives, and the hardships experienced by others during the war years increased the determination of their fellow-workers to recommence work.

But there were delays. In Papua and New Guinea, the return was halted while the Australian administration clarified its post-war policies. The evacuation of most missionaries from Melanesia during the war provided colonial governments with the opportunity to dictate the terms of their return. Before the war some Lutheran missionaries in Papua and New Guinea were non-English speaking and had angered colonial officers by promoting German language and culture, rather than British; just as some French Catholic priests in the Western Solomons had operated their entire mission endeavour in French. Furthermore, the discovery of Nazi propaganda and paraphernalia at Lutheran mission stations in New Guinea contributed significantly to the Australian government's determination that post-war missionary activity would definitely be pro-British.⁷ Throughout the war, the loyalty of European, but non-British, missionaries, had been suspect, and Bishop Wade, for one, admitted later to having not reported anti-Allied activities known to him in 1942.⁸

Thus the guidelines for the re-entry of missionaries to the Territory announced by E.J. Ward, Minister for Territories, in December 1944 were not surprising: no German missionaries were to be allowed entry, all missionaries had to speak English, and missions had to withdraw personnel whenever

⁵ Those captured in the Solomons included the Marist, M. Bloch, who had resided in the Shortland Islands for 38 years. German missionaries of the Liebenzeller Mission on the Admiralty Islands were either interned in Australia, or killed by the Japanese.

⁶ Memorandum, Father J.M. Wall, S.M., BSIP - I, 23/14. Other Marists who remained in the Solomon Islands included Jan Tiggele, at Rokera; Albert de Theye, on Guadalcanal; Fr Binois on Choiseul. BSIP - I, 23/6.

⁷ A "large Nazi flag, 2 German imperial flags and 2 swastika armbands" had been found at Heldsbach, and a "swastika flag, tie pins, cuff links with swastikas engraved on them, swastika armbands ...and several copies of Mein Kampf" at Malahang. W.B. Simpson, Director-General of Security, to Dept. of External Territories, 22 September 1944. AA CRS, A519. AB 838/1 pt 1. For description of war-time activities by Lutheran missionaries see Hank Nelson, "Loyalties at Sword-point: Lutheran Missionaries in War-time New Guinea, 1939-45", *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 24:2, Aug 1978, 199-217.

⁸ Wade to Bergeron, 29 August 1946. OM, A2.

requested to do so by the government.⁹ Missions could no longer be directed from German headquarters. Thus, German missions having branches in other countries had to rearrange their operations if they wished to remain in Papua and New Guinea. Authority over the Liebenzell Mission, for instance, established on Manus in 1914, was transferred to its American branch, in New Jersey.¹⁰ Control of the Neuendettelsau mission at Finschhafen was given to the Lutheran World Federation. Whereas the requirement that missionaries speak English remained in place, continued pressure from Lutheran and Catholic missions eventually succeeded in having bans on entry by missionaries of German-nationality eased. The new policy that missionaries had to be English speaking, and not of German nationality struck most deeply Catholic and Lutheran plans for reconstruction.¹¹ Of 604 mission workers in the territory in 1941, 520 had been of other than English nationality.¹² Catholics of the Divine Word mission had sought to improve their relations with the Australian administration as early as 1940, by agreeing to establish an Australian seminary, at Marburg, Queensland, where it could produce English-speaking graduates.¹³

In addition, the Australian New Guinea Administration Unit (ANGAU) prevented missionaries and other civilians from returning to remote areas on New Britain and New Ireland, owing to limitations on transportation and food supplies. It was concerned, also, that its decisions not be detrimental to the work of the civil administration, which came into effect in October 1945. Late in 1944 Methodists obtained permits to re-enter islands of the D'Entrecasteau group, and by 1945 missionaries were allowed re-entry to areas serviceable from ANGAU stations in Morobe, Huon, Bena, Hagen and Madang districts, but not New Britain, New Ireland or Manus.¹⁴ During the same period, missionaries seeking to enter the Solomon Islands were advised that "individuals with long residence in the Solomon Islands, or by virtue of ...special responsibilities to their mission societies" could apply to

⁹ After intense mission pressure, German missionaries were gradually allowed re-entry to New Guinea. In 1948 170 of 363 missionaries in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea were British, and 100 were German; two-thirds of the total were Catholic: W.E.H. Stanner, *South Seas in Transition: A Study of Post-War Rehabilitation in Three British Pacific Dependencies*, (Australia, 1953), 44.

¹⁰ a/Govt. Sect. to Sect. DSLM, 13 December 1950. TPNG, 309 - 33/3/23. *Evangelical Mission (formerly Liebenzeller Mission) on the Admiralty Islands, Territory of New Guinea*, (New Jersey, 1950). On the Evangelical mission since 1947 see Friedrich Walter, *Building Christ's Church at Manus: A Chronological Survey*, (Germany, 1981); also, Anna R. Zimmermann, *Sixty Years Liebenzell Mission*, (c.1959).

¹¹ E.J. Ward to J.K. Murray, 11 December 1944. TPNG, 2933, 32/1/1.

¹² Ian Downs, *Australian Trusteeship*, 45.

¹³ Catholic mission: Hagen area, 28 June 1945. TPNG, 2933 - 32/1/1.

¹⁴ F.N. Warner Shand (Northern Region) to DOs, 10 February 1945. TPNG 2933, 32/1/1. The antagonism between missionaries and ANGAU, due to the latter's instructions, was immense. Kuder and Strong were among those who complained bitterly about ANGAU in mission reports, and often accused the administrative unit of being a blatant agent of secularism.

the High Commission for permission to return.¹⁵ Later restrictions implemented by the Australian Territory's administration were part of its closer supervision of the territory's affairs in general, and of mission activity in particular. The administration decided that missionaries could return, initially, only to places they had occupied as at 21 January 1942, the date of civilian evacuation following the Japanese invasion.¹⁶

Lutherans had pressed ANGAU for permission to enter Morobe in 1943, prior to the removal of the Japanese, although their properties such as Lutheran headquarters at Lae, were only gradually repossessed from the Australian army. Russell Abel and Arthur Beavis wished to join Cecil Abel at the Kwato Mission station in Milne Bay, although mission property continued to be used by the U.S. Navy until May 1946. Philip Strong, Anglican Bishop of New Guinea since 1936, returned to Australia from England in October 1944, and from there to the Mission's headquarters at Dogura, Northern Province. The Melanesian Mission's flagship, the "Southern Cross", continued in use by the Australian Navy from 1941 until 1946.

The Catholic hierarchy pressed the administration hard for an early return of members to Papua and New Guinea. Thomas Wade, convinced that ANGAU was, at bottom, "an anti-Christian organisation",¹⁷ visited Bougainville as Vicar Delegate from the Military Ordinariate in the South Pacific, before applying for return under normal entry conditions in November 1945, while Van Baar had returned by June 1945.¹⁸ Two American Bishops, Appelhaus, Vicar of East New Guinea, and Arkfeld, Vicar of Central New Guinea, led twenty priests to Papua and New Guinea to replace some of those killed by the Japanese.¹⁹ Catholic Fathers Ross and Bernarding returned to Mount Hagen before the war's end.²⁰

These and other European missionaries returning to their former posts noted a new assertiveness among Melanesians intent on voicing their aspirations and needs. The war had altered the latter's worldview, and Europeans, especially in regions where they had retreated hastily before the approaching Japanese army, were no longer regarded with awe. The indigenous peoples now demanded

¹⁵ This was conveyed in a January 1945 communication from the War Cabinet secretariat to mission secretaries: Letter to John Goldie, 16 January 1945. MCNZ Solomon Islands District Correspondence with Rev. J.F. Goldie 1922-1951.

¹⁶ A summary of missions in Papua and New Guinea prior to 1942 is given in R.J. Lacey, "Missions", *Encyclopedia of Papua New Guinea*, 772-82.

¹⁷ Wade to Bergeron, 6 May 1945. OM, A2.

¹⁸ *Pacific Islands Monthly*, June 1945, 12.

¹⁹ John Considine, "Missions of the Catholic Church", *International Review of Missions*, 38:150, April 1949, 174.

²⁰ Mary Mennis, *Hagen Saga*, (Port Moresby, 1982) 112-15; W.A. Ross, "The Catholic Mission in the Western Highlands", in K.S. Inglis, *History of Melanesia: Waigani Seminar Papers 1968*, (Port Moresby and Canberra, 1969). Progress of the Society of Mary in the post-war period is surveyed in *It all began on Yule Island One Hundred Years Ago: Memorial Volume of the Catholic Church in Papua 1885-1985*, (PNG, 1985); Georges Delbos, *The Mustard Seed: From a French Mission to a Papuan Church*, (Port Moresby, 1985).

of the missions, as they did of other sectors of the colonial presence, more secular education, and improved wages and working conditions. Some missionaries referred to a "wave of restlessness", and attributed it to the American soldiers who had shared their wealth so freely with the villagers. On Malaita in 1947, the European directors of the South Sea Evangelical Mission encountered their head teachers' dissatisfaction with the mission's existing education system, and their failure, as a "faith" mission, to pay salaries.²¹

In the Solomons men such as Methodist District Chairman John Goldie were keen to make their return. From exile in Melbourne Goldie had determined that the military administration in the Solomons, and especially Major Clemens, were hostile to the missions' interests. The administration, for its part, disliked his effort to "return in a blaze of glory as the Saviour of the Pacific peoples".²² Following the defeat of the Japanese, the U.S. occupied the larger Solomon Islands, and apportioned Vella LaVella and Mono to New Zealand administration, convincing Goldie that Australian and New Zealand missionaries were being kept away from their former areas for political rather than logistical reasons. He arrived in Honiara toward the end of 1944 and when refused travel further west,²³ fretted as guest of the Resident Commissioner for two months until the war cabinet allowed missionaries to apply for re-entry to former battle zones. In February 1945 Goldie returned to New Georgia, and John Metcalfe and his wife returned with a nursing sister, Grace McDonald, to Choiseul. With Clarrie Luxton languishing in Vella LaVella, however, denied permission to return to Bougainville,²⁴ the New Zealand Methodist mission secretary Scriven felt Methodists discriminated against, and he laboured under the mistaken impression that Catholic missionaries had been allowed to return before them.²⁵

By the end of 1945 Methodist missionaries were at their posts in Papua and New Guinea and the Solomon Islands and engaged in sectarian rivalry with Catholic and Seventh Day Adventist missions. To the chagrin of the Methodists - a sign of things to come - the first doctor available to the administration for employment in the Western Solomons, in July 1945, was a Seventh Day Adventist, whose placement at Kukudu, opposite a Methodist, doctor-less, station, jeopardised future government

²¹ The teachers pointed out to [Norman] Deck that many American padres they had worked with during the war had appeared to receive high wages for their work: DC Malaita, "Notes on the historical background and development of the South Sea Evangelical Mission", 14 January 1951. BSIP, 1 - 23/9. The Missionaries replied by pointing out that theirs was a "faith mission" and that "apart from a part that went towards the keep of missionaries the rest went directly to the benefit of the natives in the schools, food for pupils, running of ships, ect. It helped to give them an understanding and some thanked us afterwards.", letter to A. Kenny, 31 August 1947, SSEM. Laracy notes that 'open resistance' to government authority was first noticed in Ataa, north Malaita, early in 1944. Hugh Laracy, "Marching Rule and the Missions", *Journal of Pacific History*, 6:1971, 98.

²² Letter to Col. Noel, 23 August 1944. BSIP - 4, C74.

²³ Goldie to Scriven, 31 July 1944. MCNZ. Goldie's efforts to return had included an appeal in March to Admiral Halsey, listing reasons in support of his immediate return.

²⁴ By 1948 Luxton had transferred from Buka, in the Australian territory, to Roviana, in the British protectorate.

²⁵ Scriven to Minister, 17 July 1945. AA, CRS A518 - V838/1.

funding of the Helena Goldie Hospital at Bilua.²⁶ By July 1946 the Adventists had returned six experienced and two new missionaries to key posts,²⁷ although like other missions, its boats remained in the service of the navy.

The battles did not reach the New Hebrides yet the war's influence there was extensive. Thousands of American servicemen camped on Santo left an indelible impression on mission members and traditional societies alike. The American forces had left the New Hebrides by 1943, but their influence has lasted to the present time.²⁸

The prevalent belief among missionaries that secular governments could not truly comprehend, or provide for, the real interests of Melanesians, had been reinforced by their experience of war, and through their dealings with military administrations. In the 1940s some mission leaders remained suspicious of secular governments and saw themselves as custodians of the true interests of the people. Goldie, for instance, held in contempt the anthropologists Ian Hogbin and Camilla Wedgwood for "hoping to have a hand in the shape of things to come",²⁹ and did not believe that administration of any colony in the Pacific had been successful, in the religious sense. In May 1945 he wrote that:

Government by non-Christian men, and often by men actually hostile to religion, has been a failure, and the result is a race of ignorant, dispirited, backward people, with a slave mentality, cringing before authority, without any independence of thought or judgement.³⁰

Furthermore, Goldie perceived a difference between Australian rule in Papua and New Guinea, and British rule in the Solomons, and feared lest the Western Solomons be transferred, as was rumoured, to Australian administration.³¹ Presbyterians in the New Hebrides were similarly hostile to the secular

²⁶ The mission considered re-opening the hospital in the Roviana Lagoon. Scrivener to Goldie, 25 July 1945. MCNZ Solomon Islands District Correspondence with Rev. J.F. Goldie 1922-1951.

²⁷ These were Pastor David Ferris and J. Gosling to Kwailibesi, Malaita as medical missionaries, Pastor A. Campbell to Ramu; Pastor C. Pascoe and F. Maberly to the Upper Markham Valley; and Pastor L.G. Maxwell and J. Hankinson to Bena Bena. See Arthur J. Ferch (ed), *Adventist History in the South Pacific: 1885-1918*, (Sydney, 1986); Robert Dixon, "The Pacific Islands", in Noel Clapham (ed), *Seventh Day Adventists in the South Pacific 1885-1985*, (Sydney, 1985).

²⁸ The war's impact on the Northern New Hebrides is discussed in M.R. Allen, "The Establishment of Christianity and Cash-Cropping in a New Hebridean Community", *Journal of Pacific History*, 3, 1968. Throughout the region, there were groups who wish for the Americans to return. When Maasina Rule was at its height in 1946 a group in the Western Solomons hoisted an American flag and placed themselves under American protection; later, the "Johnson cult" on New Hanover wished to elect the American president to the House of Assembly. I have a photo of myself with a Tannese Chief, Tok, who proudly displays the American flag patched to his shirt. Similarly, enthusiasm for Americans was evident when I was on Malaita in 1986, at the same time as the "See Bees", who were repairing damage from cyclone Uma.

²⁹ Goldie to Scriven, 15 March 1944. MCNZ, SI District. Corresp. with J.F. Goldie 1922-51. Elkin had written *Wanted: A Charter for the Native Peoples of the Southwest Pacific* (1943), and Hogbin and Wedgwood jointly published their views on administration in the Pacific in another 1943 pamphlet.

³⁰ Goldie to Scriven, 15 May 1945. MCNZ. SI District. Corresp. with J.F. Goldie, 1922-51.

³¹ In 1939, with the prompting of Richard Fallowes, John Palmer Pidoke included in his appeal to the Western Pacific High Commissioner, the request "that the Government of Australia shall not be given control of this Protectorate or handed over to any other power such as Germany or Japan". Pidoke to Sir Charles Luke, 17 July 1939. SSEM - 1, 43/14.

administration, and held the condominium administration in contempt. In August 1944 the mission invited the British Resident Commissioner to address the mission synod at Iririki as to whether steps were "being taken to terminate the joint-power administration in favour of a one-power government",³² thus setting the tone of church-state relations in the New Hebrides for the next four decades.

Paradoxically, the missions were able to feel such contempt for secular administration, while at the same time acknowledging their loyalty to it.³³ "We the missions are grateful under God to the Anglo-Saxon influence in the Pacific", wrote Kuder, who believed that if not for missionary work "among New Guinea primitives", the territory risked being "overrun by great numbers of Asiatics".³⁴ In Papua and New Guinea, the Anglican Board of Missions regarded close collaboration with the Australian government as being "in the nature of things".³⁵ Bishop Cranswick, chairman of the Board, wrote confidently in 1944 that "the experienced administrator and the experienced missionary" were both required in "serving the people" of the colony,³⁶ and also in that year Australian mission societies operating in Papua and New Guinea prepared a joint statement for the Federal government outlining their concerns for post-war reconstruction in the Pacific.³⁷

Peace had been accompanied by a sense of optimism that a "final war" had been waged, and by a desire, particularly within the Christian missionary movement world-wide, that it ensure a "Christian basis to reconstruction".³⁸ Cranswick and Shevill wrote expectantly of a "New Deal" for Papua.³⁹ The decline of religious belief in Western society, marked particularly by the ravages of two world wars, now led many mission thinkers to the view that in Melanesia lay "the one last hope of building Christian society in the world".⁴⁰ Now, the task of civilising Melanesians and establishing Christian societies "burdened" the missions.

³² Mission to British Resident Commissioner, 15 August 1944. PCNZ, New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission Synod - Corresp. 1927-48. By 1947 the five separate boards sending Presbyterian missionaries to the New Hebrides had reduced to two - the Australian Presbyterian Board of Mission and the New Zealand Overseas Missionary Council.

³³ Bishop Baddeley informed a meeting in New Zealand that "In the 48 years that the British had controlled the islands, not one penny had been spent on education except by the missions, despite the fact that the group paid all the expenses of the British Administration, including £4,500 a year in pensions to retired officials.", *Auckland Star*, 9 December 1943, cited in BSIP, 4, C74.

³⁴ John Kuder, "Superintendent's Report for the Year 1946". ELC, 190/51/81.

³⁵ *ABM Review*, 31:3, March 1, 1944, 34.

³⁶ *ABM Review*, 31:5, April 1944, 67.

³⁷ Prepared by Bishop Cranswick, Anglican Board of Missions, the Rev. H.L. Hurst of the London Missionary Society, and Rev. J. W. Burton, General Secretary of the Methodist Overseas Mission.

³⁸ *International Review of Missions*, January 1945, 63.

³⁹ G.H. Cranswick and I.W.A. Shevill, *A New Deal for Papua*, (Melbourne, 1949). See, esp. chaps. 15 & 16, "A Planned Vision", and "Post War Challenges". In the same year, J.W. Burton published *Modern Missions in the South Pacific*, (London, 1949).

⁴⁰ Bishop Strong, Presidential Address and Charge January 1956. DNG 3/6.

However much the missions had achieved in the fields of health and education prior to the war,⁴¹ it was in the years following it that they engaged in substantial development efforts. Into the 1940s, the social vision of some missions had reached "no higher than the horizon of government policy".⁴² Marists in the Solomon Islands had believed they were working amongst a dying race whom it was more important to evangelise than to develop,⁴³ while the Lutheran, Flierl, had asked whether New Guinea tribes were going to perish at the hands of Europeans.⁴⁴ The rationale behind the industrial missions, and teaching Melanesians the "dignity of labour" had been to preserve them from dying out through contact with modern civilisation "not always of the best type".⁴⁵ With the war over, the Anglican Bishop, Cranswick, wondered how Papuans and New Guineans could possibly settle back into their "primitive villages" following their experiences with "more civilised ways and equipment".⁴⁶

Despite the conservatism of some returning missionaries, others recognised in the new social and political environment the need to work with secular administrations and to plan with them for social, economic and political development. For missionaries of a former age, such developments were a distraction from what they regarded as being the real tasks of evangelism and resisting the forces of secularism and materialism. Goldie had put the view to Scriven, his home mission secretary, that the Methodists were in the field "not primarily as educationists, but as evangelists and builders of Christian manhood".⁴⁷

Thus, opposing ideologies brought conflict into mission boards across the Pacific. Were the missions to engage merely in evangelism, and spiritual tasks, or were they to meet the needs of their charges in such fields as secular education, and even economic development? By 1945 Metcalfe, Voyce and Silvester had urged the NZ Board of Missions to recall Goldie, who they claimed had no reconstruction plan to offer. Presbyterians in the New Hebrides responded to the developing self-consciousness of New Hebrideans, and anticipated their future demands for self-determination, and self-

⁴¹ Downs has described mission education in Papua and New Guinea prior to 1942 as "dominant, unrestricted and dispersed": Ian Downs, *The Australian Trusteeship: Papua New Guinea 1945-75*, (Canberra, 1980), 49.

⁴² Leslie Fullerton, "From Christendom to Pluralism in the South Seas: Church-State Relations in the Twentieth Century", PhD, (Drew University, 1969), 131.

⁴³ Hugh Laracy, *Marists and Melanesians*, (Hawaii, 1976), 91.

⁴⁴ J. Flierl, *Is the New Guinea Primitive Race Destined to Perish at the Hands of European Civilisation?*, (Tanunda, 1937).

⁴⁵ Methodist Church of New Zealand, *Report of Representatives to the Solomon Islands Mission District*, 1921. F.W. Walker, first missionary to Papua for the UFM, was sponsored by Papuan Industries Limited, "whose aim was to train natives to grow rubber and copra and also to teach them the Christian gospel", John & Moyra Prince, *No Fading Vision: the first 50 years of A.P.C.M.*, (Australia, 1981), 1921.

⁴⁶ G.H. Cranswick, *A Visit to the Diocese of New Guinea in the First Post-War Year*, (n.p. 1946).

⁴⁷ Goldie to Scriven, 25 July 1947. MCNZ, SI District. Corresp. with J.F. Goldie, 1922-51. Traditional Methodists missionary strategy consisted of evangelism, and the establishment of viable Christian communities through medical and educational work, and industrial missions.

government, by drawing up a Ten Year plan for the period from 1946 to 1956. The objectives, proposed by V.W. Coombes, included the extension and improvement of village education, full primary education for selected students, construction of a high school, technical and commercial courses, dresser training, and separate training for teachers and pastors. The plan also recognised the need to develop "Christian leadership" and anticipated increased civil responsibility for New Hebrideans. Future leadership of the church in the New Hebrides, concluded mission representative George Anderson before the war's end, was going to be "brown, not white".⁴⁸ His prediction was accurate, but premature. If colonial administrations shared their task with anyone in the subsequent two decades, they shared it with the European leaders of Christian missions, who played a role in carrying through colonial policies, and in some cases, in helping to shape it.

In summation, European missionaries returned to Melanesia in the first post-war decade desiring to reconstruct materially, and rehabilitate spiritually, peoples now possessed of a new assertiveness; bearing continuing hostility to the secular state; caught between pre-war notions of European ascendancy and an emerging sense of cultural and racial equality; and under pressure to articulate effective post-war strategies.

⁴⁸ George Anderson, *Tour of the New Hebrides*, (1943), 39.

CHAPTER TWO

MISSIONS IN COLONIAL POLICY

Now every medical station is sustained by government, and educational work is largely supported by grants and supplies. Have you noticed, further, recent developments, particularly where native district councils are being established? This may lead to the upheaval of our entire system of education - or at any rate - major adjustments. An education ordinance drafted for this last session of the Legislative Council would have had drastic effects on missions, but it was withdrawn. It will come again, however, I feel sure, and mission schools may be a thing of the past in certain areas ...we may have to check the "rush to reform" in some places. Hence let us make every endeavour to become expert in the history and tradition of the people, for which knowledge of the language will be a chief qualification, and then, from the highest motive, take our place in the march that is going on.⁴⁹

Such figures in the Australian government as H.V. Evatt, then Federal Attorney General, and Ward, acknowledged the important role of Christian missions in the reorganisation and rehabilitation of the Pacific Islands.¹ J.K. Murray, Administrator of Papua and New Guinea from 1946 until 1951, regarded missionary work as not only assistance for "a greatly under-privileged people", but also a contribution "to the security of Australia itself".² Murray, and successive External Territories Ministers Ward and Hasluck, related "progress in the territory" to its peoples voluntary acceptance of Christianity. The "field for the missionary", in Murray's view, was to teach people to "recognise an evil and eschew it".³

ANGAU officials sought a "new order", in which the antagonism that had existed in some regions during the inter-war period was to be replaced by cooperation.⁴ A directive issued in July 1945 stressed the importance of establishing a "foundation of solid cooperation" for future relations between the civil administration and the missions. All personnel, particularly district officers and their field staff, were to give their fullest support to the fostering of good relations with the missions. Experienced missionaries were quick to note the changed atmosphere.⁵

⁴⁹ Frank Lewis, (chairman, Methodist Overseas Mission), staff circular, 24 January 1952. MOM UPNG, Superintendent's Correspondence, July 1947- April 1953.

¹ Evatt had indicated this position to Goldie during informal conversation at a church service. Goldie to Scriven, 31 July 1944. MCNZ. SI District. Corresp. with J.F. Goldie, 1922-51.

² J.K. Murray, Greeting to the Stanmore Baptist Church, 1949. TPNG, 172 - GH 15/9.

³ "The Role of Missions in Papua and New Guinea" (1945). TPNG, 9368 - 40.1.6. Set II. At another time Murray described the Christian basis to development in the territory as being "axiomatic", J.K. Murray to the Sect. Dept. Territories, 8 January 1952, TPNG 310 - 33/4/2.

⁴ A.A. Roberts, Mission activities, 9 July 1945. TPNG, 2933 - 32/1/1. Consequently, DO Niall wrote to HQ Northern Region on August 2, 1945: "With the 'New Order' of co-operation between the Missionaries and the Administration that is proposed vide CA61/14 of 7 Jul 45 we should permit native Helpers to go wherever it is safe, and in this way we will assist the Mission, as the Native Teachers are essential for the Mission to carry out their functions and objects." TPNG, 2933 - 32.1.1.

⁵ Eg, G.H. Cranswick, *Post-war New Guinea: Some facts about the post-war administration*, (1946).

Following a conference on contract labour held in December 1944, Ward made an important rapprochement with the missions, and the first mission-administration conference in Port Moresby in October 1946, at which the Administration's plans in education, health and agriculture were shared with mission representatives, marked the beginning of the missions' integration into the program of the Australian administration.⁶ Murray also stated at the conference that no restrictions would be placed on mission activities other than those affecting the "peace, order and good government of the Territory".⁷ Colonial governments in the Western Pacific attempted to preserve the participation of missions in health and education work at the same time as they increased their own involvement in welfare programs, but unlike the British and French presence in the Solomons and New Hebrides, the Australian administration in New Guinea came under the scrutiny of the United Nations Trusteeship Council, and the periodic visits to the Territory by visiting missions had a significant impact on the role played by missions in colonial policy. In the British possessions, High Commissioner Sir Harry Luke and his successor Sir Philip Mitchell, estimated that the recurrent and capital expenditure required for educational development in the post-war period was beyond the capacity of the missions and initiated enquiries into the education systems in Fiji, the New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands, and other colonies. Mitchell suggested to the missions that an "organic partnership" was desirable,

so designed as to preserve the Christian connection and tradition of the schools and the invaluable part played by missionary societies in education, while differentiating rather more clearly between the educational side of missionary work and its other aspects.⁸

This was an early intimation of the coming struggle over school systems. In Papua New Guinea, the government's first educational initiatives met with considerable mission resistance. The move by ANGAU in 1944 to establish a teacher training institution and primary schools inspired protests from representatives of missions that had been responsible for all education in Papua for the past half century. A tradition had been established, in colonial territories world-wide, of mission control over education, and the missions in Papua and New Guinea added to their argument the assertion that mission education had been responsible for the heroic actions of Papuans and New Guineans during the war.⁹ Whereas mission protests continued, so did government initiatives. The appointment of W.C. Groves as the first Director of Education in 1946 strengthened the administration's position, while

⁶ TPNG, 309 - 33/3/7; Brian Jinks, "Australia's Post-war Policy for New Guinea and Papua", *Journal of Pacific History*, 27:2, April 1982,

⁷ Mission-administration conferences were subsequently held in 1947, 1949, 1952, 1954, 1957, 1959, and finally in 1961.

⁸ Sir Philip Mitchell to W. Green, Chairman, Fiji Methodist Mission, 11 October 1943. MCNZ, Board Minutes.

⁹ For instance: MCA, Overseas Mission Department. Board Minutes 1944, 162.

pleasing the missions. The man was "sympathetic to the work of our mission", reported John Kuder, Superintendent of the Lutheran Mission.¹⁰ Whatever educational objectives were achieved under Groves, the plan for universal primary education devised by his successor G.T. Roscoe, made more demands on existing mission resources. Roscoe's initial plan projected 200 government schools, 500 "recognised" mission schools, and 2,000 other "exempt" schools, as well as intensive efforts in teacher training.¹¹

In the New Hebrides, the Presbyterians sensed the new mood of the British administration. With the mission "monopoly" shrinking before an expanding civil administration, V.W. Coombes observed that new government schools, to be placed where mission schools were inadequate or ineffective, were to be:

non-sectarian and religious teaching will have no place in them. Mission schools will probably be subsidised on condition that an improved syllabus is adopted and certain standards maintained...Unless mission schools and the Teacher Training Institute are speedily stepped up to higher standards control of village education will pass to a Government department and will lose its Christian bias and content."¹²

Missions everywhere were concerned that modern education was being developed devoid of values. The first attempts by the Solomons administration to co-operate with the missions on education nearly faltered. The Anglican sister, Gwen of the Cross, combined with SSEM leader Norman Deck, in writing to John Goldie their concern at the administration's proposed education scheme. Hill, principal at Pawa, had declared the administration as being "not merely secular, but anti-God".¹³ The missions managed by united action to have the government withdraw its first proposed educational ordinance for redrafting in accordance with their objections. Although the British administration established dialogue with the missions - a first conference on education was held in Honiara in March 1949 to discuss their common interests - in the Solomons, as elsewhere in the region, the government eventually established control over mission education, through its regulation and inspection of all schools, and control over financial assistance to mission schools.¹⁴ In time, the mission school system came to play an essential (and for the most part, willing) role in the fostering of allegiance to the

¹⁰ John Kuder, "Superintendent's Report for the Year 1946", 27 January 1947. ELC, 190/51/81.

¹¹ Downs, *Australian Trusteeship*, 129.

¹² Presbyterian Church of Victoria. Report of the Board of Missions, *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, 1953, 106. UCA.

¹³ Goldie to Scriven, 1 August 1948. MCNZ, SI District. Corresp. with J.F. Goldie, 1922-51.

¹⁴ See R. Pearse, "Mission-Administration Relations in Education in Papua and New Guinea", *Journal of Christian Education*, 6:2, Sept. 1963.

British Empire.¹⁵

A.H. Scriven, who succeeded J.W. Burton as secretary general of the Methodist Overseas Mission in March 1945, shared the concern that education not pass out of the hands of the missions.¹⁶ For many, participation in an education program devised by a secular government was a "signing away of liberty" which made the mission "a servant of the government".¹⁷ "There is no doubt that the position needs watching", Goldie wrote to his secretary following the Honiara conference in 1949, "as the tendency of the government seems to be toward secular education".¹⁸ But all efforts to retain absolute control of education, however, was nothing more than a rear-guard action, which had no real chance of succeeding. No less a person than Burton himself retired from missionary work to become Australia's commissioner to the South Pacific Commission.¹⁹

Educational services were just one part of the missionary contribution to the colonial states, and mission projects, however remote from the colonial centres, inevitably served also the interests of the secular state. Schools and clinics built for the benefit of mission members, and sometimes in the interests of evangelism, enhanced the standards of health and education in the colony as a whole; and training for mission workers and leaders furthered the technical expertise available to commerce and government departments.

With the colonial administration in Papua and New Guinea clearly intent on incorporating mission activities in the development field into an overall plan of "increased activity initiated by the government",²⁰ the Departments of Agriculture (DASF), Education and Health were instructed to "avail themselves of the missions as available instruments in the putting into effect ...Australian government

¹⁵ In commemoration of Queen Elizabeth's Coronation in 1953, for example, Coronation Medallions were judiciously apportioned between the several mission schools, according to student numbers. BSIP, 10/III. Sec. 3. Also, tours of the Protectorate by Royalty, or by officials of the Western Pacific High Commission, often included visitation to a series of mission stations and facilities. See "Proposed Tour of Malaita by His Excellency the High Commissioner", June 1953. BSIP, 10/II. Sec. 3.

¹⁶ *Pacific Islands Monthly*, June 1945.

¹⁷ S. Grice to L. Drewett, 25 March 1944. SSEM, Missionaries letters 1941 - 1944.

¹⁸ Goldie to Scriven, 19-21 March 1949. MCNZ, SI District. Corresp. with J.F. Goldie, 1922-51. Goldie's position had already been noted in the press: "Every mission refused to surrender the right to establish and maintain its own Training Institution in preference to sending their students to a Government Central Training College in which God and religion would be ignored. The Government is under very great financial obligation to the Christian missions. But for the work of the Missions in educating the natives, the fine native Civil Service - equal to anything in the Pacific - would have been quite impossible", "Missions do not like BSI Govt. plans for education", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, June 1948.

¹⁹ J.W. Burton, "The South Pacific Commission", *The Open Door*, 28:4, March 1949. The participation of Pacific Islanders in conferences of the South Pacific Commission, established in 1947, in contrast, caused the Methodist mission unease. Scriven, for instance, hoped that participation by Bill Gina, one of the most educated Methodists in the Protectorate, in a South Pacific Commission conference in Suva, would not "further unbalance him". Scriven to Goldie, 23 May 1950. MCNZ, SI District. Corresp. with J.F. Goldie 1922-51.

²⁰ J.K. Murray, Memorandum on the Policy of the Administration, 8 September 1947. TPNG, 833 - 1/1/9(6).

policy".²¹ Thereafter DASF so "availed itself" of opportunities to utilise mission services to "bridge gaps", particularly in staffing its agricultural extension services.²² Whether reluctantly or willingly, the missions were enticed into government-controlled programs by the prospect of financial support, particularly where missions did work that the administration would otherwise have had to do.²³

For many missionaries, the transition into the post-war environment was not easy, especially for those who sought to continue with methods of a by-gone era. The Australian secretary of the Melanesian Mission, for example, proposed:

Education; medical services; employment under benevolent discipline; plantations staffed with Melanesians (not Asiatics) housed with their families in what we might call garden villages; cared for and instructed by trained and intelligent, friendly whites, backed by missionary organisations - it seems that in such way lies wisdom.²⁴

Support for the continuation of indentured labour came from missionaries who believed, as Robinson did, that Pacific Islanders were not "sufficiently mentally developed" to cope with more casual forms of employment. The heads of Anglican and Catholic missions agreed that indentured labour "protected" the interests of islanders.²⁵ Bishop Newton, in opposing calls for its cessation by Ward, Burton, Cranswick and others, suggested that the indenture system worked toward education of the "raw native", and fitted him for "free" labour "later on".²⁶

Indentured labour did end, but the paternalistic nature of such mission thinking continued. It

²¹ J.K. Murray, Conference of District Officers, Lae, 28 February 1948. Cited in Downs, *Australian Trusteeship*, 49.

²² C.C. Marr, Acting Director, DASF, to the Govt. Sect, 14 December, 1951. TPNG, 310 - 33/4/2.

²³ J.T. Gunther, Assistant Administrator, to G. Grant, 19 March 1959. TPNG, 9369 - 40/2/9.

²⁴ H.S.N. Robinson, "In Defence of Contract Labour", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, November 1944, 12. Fear of Asian expansion, a theme not pursued here, had long been an element of mission thinking. Frank Paton, eg, had argued to the Australian government in 1919 for the granting of land in the New Hebrides to returning Australian soldiers; lest French annexation of the group should result in the settlement there of Japanese, working then in New Caledonian nickel mines. Dept. of External Affairs, Memorandum 10 Sept., 1919. AA, CRS A1 1919/12752.

²⁵ "Bishop Strong wants return of Murray Regime, Proposed Ward-Methodist Reforms Notwithstanding", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, April 1945, 31. Bishop Wade had argued to the 1952 missions-administration conference that "labour under contract" was essential to the development of the Territory: "because of the present state of native development": "Precis of a memorandum by His Lordship. Bishop T.J. Wade, SM, on the Preservation of Native Family Life", TPNG, 833 - 1/1/9(4). Attitudes of Catholics and Methodists toward labour are discussed in Ralph M. Wiltgen, "Catholic mission plantations in mainland New Guinea: their origin and purpose", in K.S. Inglis (ed), *The History of Melanesia*; and Sione Latukefu, "The Methodist Mission and modernisation in the Solomon Islands", *ibid*.

²⁶ Bishop Henry Newton, "Missionaries and Contract Labour", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, February 1945, 22. It was reported that "most of the missionaries" at the December meeting supported its continuation. "Conference on Indentured Labour System", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, December 1944, 8. J.W. Burton's opposition to the systems' continuation was roundly attacked by other missionaries, and planters: *Pacific Islands Monthly*, January 1945, 12-3. J.H. Hannan, National Director of Catholic Missions, was in favour of the indentured labour system, regarding the Papuan Labour Ordinance "a document unique in colonial administration, with the balance of justice definitely on the side of the Papuan.", "Papuan and New Guinea Missions", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, July 1945, 6. R.W. Robson, "Indenture Controversy Causes Territorial Bitterness", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, March 1945, 8-9. Mission interests in the labour issue are described in W.E.H. Stanner, *South Seas in Transition*, ch IX, "Native Labour Policy". In 1948 the Anglicans argued that "all who work on our Mission stations are, in effect, members of the Mission family", Thompson to Murray, 28 July 1948. TPNG, 172 - 15/1.

was compatible with the post-war notion of "trusteeship", by which Australia administered the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. Attitudes toward colonial rule were somewhat similar in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate and in the Anglo-French New Hebrides Condominium.²⁷ Colonialism was accepted by European missionaries as a period of tutelage, during which subject races were trained to become nations; and trusteeship was viewed by missions as the secular expression of longstanding missionary ideals,²⁸ and a phase of colonialism that would only end when "true Stewards" had emerged to occupy places of responsibility.²⁹

Missionaries saw their role in the colonial state as being to uplift its people, and to safeguard their interests by acting as their representatives before the administration. They were to guide the "inroads of Western civilisation".³⁰ As the Lutheran Kuder expressed it,

The native is very much confused and is seeking to come to an understanding of the present day world as he sees it, and to understand the forces that are at work...he is very much in need of a people who he can trust, who will help him in this understanding of the modern world, and in obtaining some of these good things.³¹

An agreement between the Australian and New Zealand governments in Canberra in January 1944 endorsing the principle of trusteeship, and linking progress and stability in the Pacific with social and economic development pleased the missions. The following month, for instance, Victorian Methodists endorsed the policies put forward by the Canberra Conference, and called on the National Missionary Council to carry out a survey of mission fields in the Pacific and East Indies, "to ascertain the actual needs, and then call the churches to undertake a wide co-operative effort of rehabilitation."³²

Other missions shared the idea. In December 1944 New Zealand Methodists in the Western Solomon Islands, concerned about moves the British administration was contemplating in the fields of health, education, welfare and indentured labour, held a special synod to formulate a "definite Methodist missionary viewpoint regarding the political setup in the South Pacific",³³ and in the following May

²⁷ One Solomon Islands Resident Commissioner, Charles Workman, had referred in 1921 to the Protectorate Administration and the Methodist Mission as "co-trustees" of "the cause of the Solomon Islands": Methodist Church of New Zealand, *Report of Representatives to the Solomon Islands Mission District (1921)*.

²⁸ A concise summary of the origins of missions in Papua New Guinea and their relations with colonial administrations is given by Charles W. Forman, "Missions in Papua New Guinea", in T. Christensen and W. Hutchison (eds), *Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era: 1880-1920*, (Denmark, 1982).

²⁹ L. Swaby, "Work bilong God - work bilong Government", *Mission Review*, 67:2, 1 Aug 58, 11-12.

³⁰ H.J. Finger, "Danger of Losing the Spiritual", *Goodly Pearls*, 62, June 1950, 9.

³¹ John Kuder, "Superintendent's Report for the year 1947", ELC, 190/51/81. This sentiment continued to be voiced. Years later, a missionary referred to the need to "stand right beside the people, steadying them in confusion and apprehension, directing their exciting hopes and aspirations, working against the tendency to secularise their thinking and aims: "Learning for Living in a New Order", *Missionary Review*, September 1962, 3.

³² MCA, Minutes, February 1944, 65.

³³ "Board Business for conference 1944-45", MCNZ, Board Minutes 1945.

Anglican Bishops from the South Pacific met to confer on what they similarly regarded to be the key issues facing Pacific societies: labour conditions, welfare, and education.

Since the missions had been responsible, before the war, for the major contribution to social development, their allocation of church and state roles differed to that existing in more developed Western societies.³⁴ Thus, in the first post-war decade, veteran missionaries identified so strongly with their educational and medical work that they regarded government initiatives in these areas as an intrusion into their legitimate sphere of activity. In the Solomon Islands and the New Hebrides the social and economic role of missions altered when Great Britain passed a Colonial Development and Welfare Act in 1945, which provided increased funding for those colonies.

The Administration favoured missions which taught in English, rather than any local dialect. Thus Murray congratulated Russel Abel whose Kwato mission produced more competent English-speaking Papuans than any other centre³⁵ whereas the Lutheran, LMS and Methodist missions struggled unsuccessfully for recognition of their educational work in indigenous languages: "In one stroke of the pen", Kuder wrote of this policy, "several principles of proven worth were invalidated. Men with years of training were shelved, thousands of children who would have had at least some kind of education were fated to receive none at all."³⁶ The decision by these missions to comply with government requirements in order to receive educational subsidies required sizeable effort.

In the Solomon Islands the British heritage of the Melanesian Mission, as compared to the Australian origins of the SSEM, and the European and North American backgrounds of several Catholic priests, added to its appeal to the administration. Some officials in the Protectorate considered the Melanesian Mission as the most loyal of the missions. Major Sandars, District Commissioner on Malaita at the commencement of Maasina Rule, encouraged SSEM teachers to "go over" to the Melanesian Mission, should the SSEM have to leave the Solomons.³⁷ The complaint by Charles Fox, that Alfred Hill, Bishop of Melanesia between 1954 and 1967, desired to "make all the Melanesians as British as

³⁴ Laracy suggests that missions and administration in the Solomon Islands prior to World War II were "functionally independent" of each other, and that Marists felt themselves fortunate that the government took little interest in their affairs: Hugh Laracy, "Catholic Missions in the Solomon Islands", PhD (Australian National University, 1969), 342.

³⁵ In 1947 Murray wrote "It gives me pleasure to commend the work of the Kwato Mission. It is one of the oldest established Missions in Papua, and any extension of its work within the Territory of Papua and New Guinea will be welcomed wholeheartedly by the Administration. I do hope it will succeed in obtaining funds for the extension of its work." TPNG, 172 - 15/5. In 1950, Murray supported Russell Abel, John Smeaton, and others, in their opposition to Cecil's proposed marriage to a Papuan, Semi Andrew, on the grounds that would be a "fundamental risk to the efficient functioning of Kwato". Murray to C. Abel, 24 April 1950. TPNG, 172 - 15/5. Murray arranged transportation to the Territory for Dr. Cyril Belshaw, an academic at the Australian National University, for an interview with Cecil Abel, in a futile effort to prevent the marriage.

³⁶ John Kuder, "President's Report for the Year Ending 1964". ELC, 193/51/81.

³⁷ Clark reported to Kenny in late 1946 "Sandars said to me the other day that WE HAD BETTER PULL OUT ALTOGETHER AND HAND OVER OUR WORK TO ANOTHER MISSION if we don't get going soon". Griffiths to Kenny, 24 November 1946. SSEM, Chairman to Missionaries 1947-48.

possible³⁸ suggests the distinctly British character of the Melanesian Mission during this time. In contrast, French remained the lingua franca on some Catholic mission stations in the Solomons under the direction of Jean Marie Aubin, Bishop from 1935 to 1958.³⁹ In 1950 the Resident Commissioner made known his concern about the number of Dutch priests being appointed to serve in the Protectorate.⁴⁰

The international nature of the Catholic church and of its religious orders had been one complicating factor in its relations with the state, as colonial governments were skeptical of the degree of loyalty given it by missions whose administrative headquarters lay beyond the bounds of the British empire. Such skepticism hardened when Catholics in the Solomon Islands expressed ambivalent attitudes toward the authority of the state at the time of Maasina Rule. That the missionaries' attitudes resulted from their French, Dutch, or North American, rather than British, origins, as much as from their beliefs, merely added to the concern. A report that Catholic influence on Bougainville made it "very difficult for the administration to achieve the same degree of influence and prestige",⁴¹ while on New Britain DC John Foldie observed only half in jest that the administration had good relations with the mission "...as long as no-one objects to the place becoming a stronghold of the Holy Roman Empire".⁴² Among the Wosera, reported a patrol officer, there was a belief that all Europeans, and especially the government, obeyed the precepts of the mission. A District Officer trying to predict mission interest in "Mass Education" on Malaita believed "pagans", Adventists and Anglicans would be favourable, but that the Catholic section was "a tricky factor".⁴³ Allan, also speaking of Malaita, felt that Marist influence in secular matters on Malaita went beyond that required of religious bodies. Catholic villages conceded their loyalty to government "last of all", he claimed, and showed the "least amount of

³⁸ Fox continued: "I doubt if he thinks any but British will belong to heaven. He wants all their customs and their manners and their institutions to be thoroughly British - but then the day of reaction will come when they will hate (unjustly) everything British, merely because it is British". C.R. Fox to H. Bullen, sec. MCNZ, 2 December 1960. Dr Fox Letters, CM.

³⁹ Moore, recalling Visale station in the Western Solomons in the 1930s. *BSIP News Sheet* 3, 1-14 February 1968, 4. Hence Dan Stuyvenberg's comment to me concerning Bishop Aubin: "A Frenchman is a Frenchman, and a quarter of an hour after they're dead, they're still singing the French national anthem." Interview, Honiara, 20 November 1986.

⁴⁰ RC to HC, 26 September 1950. *BSIP*, 1 - 23/6 pt II. Allan commented that, "With the exception of Father Stuyvenberg the Dutch Fathers on Malaita find some difficulty in comprehending Government policy and all tend to interfere where they shouldn't. This applies especially to those who have recently arrived. Some of their wartime experiences might have contributed to this attitude." D.C. Malaita, 18 February 1952. *BSIP*, 4, SF 108.

⁴¹ McAuley suggested that "to oppose the wishes or the established practices of missions requires more courage than it should": James McAuley, "Papua and New Guinea", *Corona*, November 1951, 3:11.

⁴² New Britain District. Annual Report 1962-63, *TPNG*, 5517 - 48/2/10. Vunapope, the Sacred Heart headquarters on New Britain, was described as "state within a state, running its own plantations and other activities; even building ships larger than have been produced anywhere else in the territory", Keith Willey, *Assignment New Guinea*, (Melbourne, 1965), 91. In the later years, the Apostolic Delegate to Papua New Guinea was granted diplomatic status, and was allowed use of a diplomatic bag and cipher.

⁴³ DC Malu'u (Sandy) to DC Malaita, 17 August 1951. *BSIP*, 12/V/7.

reaction to government designs for social development and progress".⁴⁴ Such skepticism, however, gradually gave way to improved relations between Catholic missions and colonial governments (as well as with Protestant missions), particularly following the second Vatican Council, 1962-65.

Relations between colonial governments and Protestant missions were often just as difficult. In the Solomon Islands Bishop Baddeley harboured many criticisms of the British administration,⁴⁵ but was never as trenchant in his comments as John Goldie,⁴⁶ whom the British congratulated in 1952 upon his retirement from the Methodist district for the "robust criticism" he had offered, such criticism being "the basis of the British system of government".⁴⁷ Criticism of the British administration in the New Hebrides by Protestant missions, particularly Presbyterian, was equally intense. Although the first post-war British Resident Commissioner, Blandy, was appreciative of the "great moral and practical assistance" given his administration by the Protestant missions,⁴⁸ the Presbyterians blamed a "halt and lame" Anglo/French administration for failing to provide adequate social and economic development,⁴⁹ and called repeatedly for replacement of the Condominium administration with a unitary system of government. As in the other colonies, such criticism did not imply disloyalty to the state, merely disagreement with specific policies. The missions, by acting as critics of the government, contributed to the definition of the moral basis of the emerging colonial society, and assumed the role of conscience of the state and the protector of people's rights.

Protestant missionaries also maintained criticism of French business in the New Hebrides, and of the labour practices of the Compagnie Francaise Immobiliere des Nouvelles Hébrides (CFNH), a company accused in 1944 of exploiting child labour in the production of cotton on Paama, and

⁴⁴ C.A. Allan to Sect. DNA, 1 August 1950. BSIP, 4 - SF 108, VIII. The priests at Buma station, Allen reported, "have never been known to take a strong line with any type of criminal, for fear of losing a soul. They certainly have made every effort in my experience to avoid appearing on the side of government and law and order". DC Malaita to Sect. DNAD, 25 April 1951. BSIP, 12 - 1/13.

⁴⁵ Baddeley criticised, for example, the British attitude toward native education, in an address to the Wanganui branch of the Church of England Men's Society, reported in the *Auckland Star*, 9 December 1943, and forwarded by the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific to the Undersecretary of State for the Colonies, 26 January 1944. BSIP, 4 - C74.

⁴⁶ One administration officer accused Goldie of taking advantage of the "fuzzy wuzzy" craze in Australia, as part of his effort to "return in a blaze of glory as the saviour of the Pacific peoples". Letter to Colonel Noel, 23 August 1944. BSIP, 4 - C74. One Anglican priest who openly questioned the administration, Richard Fallows, was an embarrassment to the Bishop, who requested the Resident Commissioner to have him deported. Note by RC D.N. Ashley 24 April 1939. BSIP, 1 - F22/12.

⁴⁷ Judicial Commissioner to J.F. Goldie, 10 April 1951. BSIP, 1 - 23/7 pt 1. In 1944 Goldie had written to his mission secretary, in reference to Major Clemens "What fools these officials are. They ought to realise that these natives are not fools, and that with their knowledge, gained in our mission, of what the British flag and British rule stand for, they resent anything un-British, and the officials are only laying up trouble for themselves". Goldie to Scriven, 3 January 1944. MCNZ, SI District. Corresp. with J.F. Goldie, 1922-51.

⁴⁸ Blandy to Williamson, 4 August 1948. PCNZ, Mission Synod. Corresp. 1927-48.

⁴⁹ Presbyterian Church of Victoria, Report of the Board of Missions, *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, 1956, 146. UCA.

supplying alcohol.⁵⁰ Presbyterian missionaries were quick to report misdemeanours of French planters to the British administration.⁵¹ For their part, the French colonial officials collaborated with Catholic missions to promote culture, just as Anglophone administrators collaborated with Protestants, and the missionary efforts of Catholic priests were recognised by the French metropolitan government.⁵²

Throughout the colonies, church and state could not resolve their different attitudes to traditional marriage practices, which were at the heart of the social and moral order. In Papua and New Guinea the missions asked in 1947 that only "Christian" marriages be sanctioned by the state, but government anthropologists pointed to the continuing social and economic functions of polygamy in some Melanesian societies, and administrators pointed to clauses in the U.N. Trusteeship agreement, protecting such customs. Furthermore, the argument put by government anthropologist Charles Julius, that the administration "dealt with a wider field" than did the several Christian denominations, who in any case had between them different views concerning marriage and divorce, was never bettered.⁵³

If differences occurred on such questions as marriage and labour contracts, the missions were at one with colonial governments in their aversion to communism. The work of various mission societies had been interrupted by the spread of communism in south and southeast Asia and missions and governments alike sought to ensure that it did not spread among peoples of the South Pacific.⁵⁴ Former missionaries to China, such as Ann Lilburne, who relocated to establish a Presbyterian hospital on Tongoa, and Apostolic Church missionaries who entered Papua and New Guinea in 1949, provided personal accounts of the calamities that befell missionaries at the hands of communist revolutionaries.⁵⁵

The June 1949 proceedings of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria included a lengthy report, "The bearing of Communist Theory and practice on the message and task of the Church", and an

⁵⁰ Blandy to BDAs CD1 & CD2, n.d. 1944. PCNZ, New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission Council. Reports. 1950-56.

⁵¹ The origins of Protestant relations with French interests are described in Roger C. Thompson, "Commerce, Christianity and Colonialism: The Australasian New Hebrides Company, 1883-1897", *Journal of Pacific History*, 6, 1971.

⁵² In 1953, for example, Pere Loubieres received the Croix de L'Honneur from the French Resident Commissioner Monsieur P. Anthonioz, for his devoted services over 55 years, with the Catholic mission in the New Hebrides, *Pacific Islands Monthly*, June 53, 109.

⁵³ Charles Julius, "Matrimonial Clauses Bill 1956 - notes on points made by members of the Legislative Council", 29 November 1956. TPNG, 1269 - 7/2/5. This was also A.P. Elkin's advice - that laws were to protect social practices, rather than create them.

⁵⁴ The only active communist party in the South Pacific in the 1940s was in New Caledonia. Goldie's protege, Beishazzar Gina, one of the few Solomon Islanders to receive an education in New Zealand before the war, returned to the Western Solomons with an understanding of democracy. But his efforts to raise the working conditions of Solomon Islander clerks merely brought upon him the suspicion that he was under the influence of Communist propaganda: D.C. Western, "Notes on Possible formation of Subversive Front in the Western Solomons", 2 December 1950. BSIP - 4, TS108, IV. Luxton, at a similar time, suspected that Maasina Rule was fuelled by American Communist troops: C.T.J. Luxton, "Methodist Missionary Enterprise", *The Open Door*, 30:4, March 1951, 10.

⁵⁵ Other missionaries in Melanesia with experience in China included Lutherans Kurt Hofius and his wife,

additional 67 page report, "Communist theory and practice: note on the report and on its study and reading" followed in November. In the same year Kwato's Cecil Abel provided Administrator Murray with a six-page assessment of the political situation in Southeast Asia, in which the Communist threat, and the need for a "superior Christian philosophy" were outlined. Abel suggested that the answer lay in increased production of food and agriculture, and training in democracy.⁵⁶ Kwato's extension of activities into the Central Highlands, Abel further suggested, would provide a "laboratory" for the United Nations, in which would be demonstrated "the training of dependent roles".⁵⁷ Aversion to the doctrines of communism, and to the spread of "Asiatics", were expressed in mission literature for the next several decades.⁵⁸

In each of the Melanesian colonies, and in Papua and New Guinea especially, colonial administrations appreciated missionary influence on newly contacted peoples, and sought mission involvement in the process of pacification. Tribal societies which were traditionally fragmented and fluid were encouraged to settle near permanent mission stations. Trade relations were often established with the surrounding population as part of the mission's program to attract potential converts.⁵⁹ Religious teachings concerning proper Christian conduct, whether prohibitions on traditional cultural practices, or encouragement of Western ideas such as the work ethic and social stratification, enhanced the state's ability to rule by consent.⁶⁰ The missions faced the choice of either resisting the advance of the secular state in an attempt to maintain their traditional "theocratic" influence; or accepting its emergence, and working toward a satisfactory relationship with it. In doing so, the secular administration was able to exert its control over numerous facets of mission activity, including their entry to the colony, their settlement within it, and the type of activities in which they subsequently participated.

⁵⁶ TPNG, 309 - 33/3/9.

⁵⁷ Confidential Report from Cecil Abel, January 1949. TPNG, 172 - 15/5. In 1954 the Methodist Overseas Mission Board received a report, marked "strictly confidential and not for publication", outlining the communist peril in India: Methodist Church Papers, 1954, book 362. In December 1949 *Pacific Islands Monthly* entertained a rumour that Communism was rife in the Papuan Delta.

⁵⁸ In the 1950s LMS missionaries reported the arrival of communist literature packed around machinery, and planters in the Solomons reported finding communist pamphlets packed around aluminium kettles reaching Gizo: C.T.J. Luxton, "Methodist Missionary Enterprise", *Open Door*, 30:4, March 1951,10; Georgetti & Hodge to DC, Western Solomons, 3 August 1954. BSIP, 21 - IX/4. In 1958 the R.S.L. claimed that Communists had developed cargo cults in the Territory of Papua New Guinea. TPNG, SHD 51/1/17 pt.1. Also, the Bishop of New Guinea, P.N.W. Strong, implied that Islam threatened to spread from Indonesia to West Papua (Irian Jaya), and from there to Papua New Guinea: P.N.W. Strong, in T.B. McCall, *Challenge in New Guinea*, (Sydney, 1957), 10.

⁵⁹ Griffiths was advised by Lutheran informants that trade relations had to be established to attract people: "Then you can get hold of them to teach them". Griffiths to Kenny, 18 November 1948. SSEM, Mr Kenny's Correspondence 1945-51.

⁶⁰ As late as the 1960s, the District Commissioner of Milne Bay District credited missions with "suppressing the character traits of ferocity and cruelty" in its people and "bringing to ascendancy the character traits of courtesy, decency, and respect for law and order", without which the District's constabulary would have required strengthening. Also, enthusiastic participation by missions in the British Solomon Islands, in such activities as "Empire Youth Sunday" assisted in the fostering of loyalty to the British monarchy and Empire.

Thus, although missions were free to establish stations in accordance with their individual propagation plans, the establishment of stations in remote areas simultaneously consolidated the influence of the colonial administration. In the case of Papua and New Guinea, which shared a land border with the Dutch colony of Hollandia, Catholic stations established in proximity to the border in the 1940s - in order to reach peoples untouched by the forces of secularism and modernisation - stimulated economic development in the region;⁶¹ while stations on the Lower Fly River assisted the administration's efforts to slow the rate of Papuan migration into Dutch New Guinea in search of better educational opportunities and standards of living.⁶²

The presence of missions in remote areas, among newly contacted, or recently pacified, Melanesian societies, was not without complication for the state: they were generally more established, and wielded more authority at village level than the secular administration, and governments at various times sought to decrease mission influence, and to establish more clearly the distinction between "church" and "state". In islands of the Admiralty group, for instance, for a considerable period of time, the laws of the mission and the laws of the government were confused with one another, and in other instances mission personnel attempted to "ride on government authority" in an effort to enhance their own influence.⁶³

The tendency for one mission to dominate a location, the result of historical factors outlined above, was reinforced by the extreme isolation of mission stations from government influence, and also by the limited means for transport and communications. On the Santo east coast, for instance, the cultural and religious distance between the Catholic village of Port Olry and the Presbyterian village at Hog Harbour was immense. Prior to completion of the east coast road in 1968 all transport was by sea, with all vessels owned and operated by one or other mission.⁶⁴

Mission leaders in sailing vessels were easily as influential in the outer islands as any

⁶¹ According to Jackson, until 1968, the government's attitude toward the region of the Ok Tedi mine was "that it was best to leave the area to the ministrations of the Montford Catholic Mission of French Canadians in Kiunga, the Asia Pacific Christian Mission at Rumgine, and the Australian Baptists at Telefomin", whose personnel "have done more than any government department for economic development in the Bolivip, Lake Murray and Kiunga areas.", R. Jackson, *Ok Tedi: The Pot of Gold*, (Port Moresby, 1983), 174.

⁶² In 1955 PO J.C. Baker reported that some Lower Fly River people had received Catholic education in Dutch New Guinea, and were pressing to have a Catholic mission established in their home area. The DC for Western District, consequently suggested to the Assistant Administrator that "an Australian Catholic mission in the area ...may tend to stop the continual migration of Papuan natives to Dutch New Guinea", F.A. Champion, DC, Western District, to Assistant Administrator, 8 July 1955. TONG, 872 - 32/3/70.

⁶³ Hence the complaint from a Patrol Officer in 1948 that some village officials on Manus, "tend to confuse mission ideas with Government laws, with the result that in a small village of mixed religion, such as Manuai, there is an open breach." P.F. Serbire, TPNG, Manus Patrol Reports 1946-49, Patrol Report 2 of 1947-48.

⁶⁴ The Catholic vessel was the *St Joseph*. The Marists in Papua and New Guinea also operated a *St Joseph*, from Sohano, while the Divine Word mission ran the *Stella Maris*. The Anglican mission operated the *Maclaren King*. In the Solomon Islands the Adventists ran the *Devaure*; the SSEM operated the *Evangel* from Onepusu, Malaita; and the Melanesian Mission operated the *Southern Cross*. In the Solomon Islands, the Melanesian Mission operated the *M.V. Baddeley*, and the *M.V. Fuabu Twomey*.

government official. Derek Rawcliffe patrolled the Torres and Banks islands from the Anglican mission's headquarters at Lolowai, mediating between the British administration and the predominantly Anglican communities in the northern islands. The importance of vessels in the Western Solomons was highlighted early in May 1947, when a Methodist vessel, the embodiment of the mission's prestige, power, and mobility, limped into Roviana harbour with its disabled engine: "You can imagine my humiliation", reported Goldie to his mission secretary, "when crowds of our people who were with me at Roviana saw the cripple limping into port ...especially with half a dozen fast and flash SDA boats flying around."⁶⁵

Although some missionaries were jealous of their freedom from secular authority, others were influenced by the alternate view, that not only were the roles of church and state separate, but that missions should not engage in activities more properly undertaken by the state. LMS missionaries maintained they taught literacy in village schools only because the administration failed to.⁶⁶ Similarly, in the New Hebrides, the Presbyterians J. Graham Miller and E.L. Sykes opposed the reconstruction plan proposed by Frater, their fellow-missionary, on the grounds that all secondary education, apart from theological education, was the immediate responsibility of the civil authority.⁶⁷ Frater's response was that the Condominium was not likely to commence the work, and that because the missions had contributed to the dislocation of the traditional order, and had such an intimate understanding of the people, they were well qualified for the task. While the New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission Council remained divided on the fundamental principle of church and state roles, it became adept at deciding the limits to mission resources, and informing the administration of where the government's responsibilities lay.

Although the decade of return saw little transfer of power into the hands of Melanesians, signs of change were evident. The Methodist Metcalfe noted in 1946 that the British administration intended giving Solomon Islanders a larger role in decision making, and suggested that his mission establish a district native court, and give its members a definite share in the deliberations of synod. Goldie reached similar conclusions while attending the first government education conference in Honiara in March 1949. But devolution of political power, even of responsibility for local level decision-making, was only slowly granted to Melanesians. In the first post-war decade, colonial policy patronised Pacific Islanders, whom

⁶⁵ Goldie to Scriven, 3 May 1947, MCNZ. Corresp. with J.F. Goldie, 1922-51. Around New Ireland, Platten was similarly troubled by Catholic sea-power: "the wake of their launches breaks on our beaches in a noisy splash of propaganda", Gil Platten "The Doldrums", *Missionary Review*, February 1949, 2.

⁶⁶ The LMS policy on Education, developed in 1952, and repeated in 1957, looked forward to the mission's withdrawal from primary education, and its concentration on religious instruction in administration schools, and the organisation of vernacular reading circles as a spare time activity within administration schools. "LMS, Papua District Committee. Statement on Educational Policy, November 1957", TPNG, 9369 - 40/2/4.

⁶⁷ M.H. Campbell, "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", M.Ed. (University of Melbourne, 1974).

few Europeans regarded as being equal to the task of self-government. Mission leaders shared this attitude, and saw their role as "protecting" islanders from the evils of the modern world. But to an increasing degree, mission autonomy was being replaced by integration into the development programs of colonial administrations. More than ever, the task for missions was to seek a comfortable accommodation with expanding colonial states.

In this chapter I have suggested that Christian missions were drawn to varying extents into the task of policy formation, and to even greater measures were enticed into the implementation of policies devised by various government departments. Although focused on their individual and legitimate sectarian interests, this involvement served to consolidate colonial authority, in well-established regions, and especially so in areas of recent contact and continuing pacification. The expansion of cash economies and of secular influence in Melanesian societies, together with the greater incorporation of missionary endeavours in the designs of the colonial state, had many implications for the various mission organisations. In one sense they welcomed the advent of national systems, and of modernisation, believing that these were the social element of the religious design toward which they worked. They were troubled, on the other hand, by the negative effects that also came: signs of urban drift, lawlessness, and increasing levels of poverty. They witnessed, and very much contributed to, a desecralisation of traditional Melanesian lifestyles and values, and battled materialism in an attempt to place Christian values in their stead. By the mid-1950s, the colonial societies of the South Pacific had acquired many of the dilemmas of the modern world system. The last remaining possibility for Christendom lay at the frontier: newly contacted stateless Melanesian communities living traditional lifestyles, whom the Christians called primitive, and heathen.

CHAPTER THREE

CONTACT AND PACIFICATION

The Administrator
Col. J.K. Murray,

Baptist New Guinea Mission
C/o D.O.
Mount Hagen
19.7.49

Dear Sir,

After very careful investigation and considerable walking about the territory, I have come to the conclusion that we should begin our work in the area known as the Baiyer River Valley, just a few miles north of the airstrip already put down in connection with the Breeding station.

The area is entirely untouched by mission, being some thirty-eight miles from the Lutherans at Ogelbeng and offers an excellent chance of expansion amongst some thousands of natives, and future opportunity in uncontrolled areas.

We are going in in strength. Already two missionaries are on the field, and at least five others will be there before the end of the year. Three splendid sisters are amongst this group and will be going to Finschhafen for a few weeks to gain experience in tropical ailments.

I thought I should write you this note to acquaint you of our decision, and express our appreciation of the help and guidance you have given us.

I am,
Yours respectfully

A. Henry Orr. (Hon. Sec.)

D.O. C.H.D.

Forwarded for information. Please see that the mission does not squat on native land. They should make application for land.

J.K.M. 31/8

By the 1950s colonial rule had penetrated most of Melanesia. But in some "frontier societies" - tribes in the highlands, in parts of Talasea, New Britain, and in other districts of Papua and New Guinea; the Middle Bush and Big Bay districts of Santo; the interiors of Ambrym, Raga, Tanna, and Malekula in the New Hebrides - the major task of sowing the first seeds of government authority and the rule of law remained. Following the first expedition to the New Guinea highlands in 1933 - an area of special interest to the missions - Taylor had estimated the Central Highlands population at 200,000.¹ The knowledge that large numbers of non-Christians lived in the highlands and in other areas gave missions an imperative to establish evangelistic outposts which paralleled the need of colonial administrations to incorporate such peoples under their rule.² But whereas in former times missions

¹ In 1966 the highlands population was enumerated 846,522: Ian Downs, *Australian Trusteeship*, 175.

² The Unevangelised Fields Mission sought to rescue Papuans from "primitive darkness": Leonard F. Harris, *Our Days in His Hands: A Short History of the Unevangelised Fields Mission*, (Great Britain, 1961); also, Frank B. Lea, *Papua Calling* (Melbourne, n.d.). Australian Baptists, who settled among the Enga in the Baiyer Valley in 1949, reported the urgency of introducing "stone-age people to the one who is the light of the world" before they had been irreparably harmed by contact with the West: Jess Redman, *The Light Shines On: A story of One Hundred Years of Australian Baptist Missionary Work*, (Melbourne, 1984). The Baptists published a souvenir booklet to mark the beginning of the Baptist New Guinea mission, titled *Civilisation is Coming to the Central Highlands: Baptists are Bringing the Gospel into the Baiyer Valley*, (Sydney, 1949).

had been in the forefront of contacting and "pacifying" warring tribes, the timing, placement, and nature of their involvement in the pacification process were dictated by the constraints of colonial governments.

In Papua and New Guinea the Australian administration controlled "basic penetration" of new regions, in which walking tracks and rest houses were established, and a census taken. Once the authority of the administration had been established, endemic fighting discontinued, and village officials had been appointed, missions were permitted to enter and assist in the establishment of basic standards of sanitation, and agriculture.³ In this way missions were incorporated into the administration's pacification program. On the one hand, continued warfare brought swift retribution from colonial police-forces, while on the other, acceptance of colonial rule held the promise of - among other things - a mission station, with its medical and education facilities, and the prospect of local trade stores.

In many instances fighting came to an end when the presence of a missionary gave a community, or its leaders, confidence that, with the protection of the mission and the colonial administration, they could unilaterally renounce violence even when their neighbours did not. Catholic and Lutheran missions, which had been involved in first contact with highlands peoples from the 1930s until their forced evacuation in 1942,⁴ proposed to the administration in 1944 that their early re-entry to Hagen and Chimbu stations would generally assist the administration in pacifying the population; more specifically, the missions would assist by producing young men suitable for contract labour.⁵

While there were many factors which led to pacification, colonial governments recognised that it was generally accompanied by successful missionisation.⁶ An inter-departmental committee had resolved in 1949 that "the establishment of individuals as independent missionary units...is not the best practice and should not be encouraged by the administration",⁷ and subsequent experiences with individual missionaries in the early 1950s⁸ led the administration to favour mission organisations that had a recognised structure, and substantial resources. It expected that missionaries would be able to,

³ "Territory of Papua and New Guinea. Native Local Government", 22 April 1954. Cleland Papers.

⁴ see Robin Radford, *Highlanders and Foreigners in the Upper Ramu*, (Melbourne, 1986), and Mary R. Mennis, *Hagen Saga*, (Boroko, 1982).

⁵ Notes by Monsignor van Baar (Administrator Apostolic in East New Guinea), Catholic Mission Hagen Area 28/6/45. TPNG, 2933 - 32-1-1.

⁶ This point is made in several papers in M. Rodman and M. Cooper, *The Pacification of Melanesia*, (Ann Arbor, 1979). Esp, Margaret Rodman, "Following Peace: Indigenous Pacification of a Northern New Hebridean Society"; also, Martin Zelenietz, "The End of Headhunting in New Georgia"; and Geoffrey White, "War, Peace and Piety in Santa Isabel, Solomon Islands".

⁷ quoted by Jones to Govt Sect, 27 February 1952. TPNG, 309 - 33/3/24.

⁸ The administration had experienced the evangelism of Mrs Emma S. Dearstine (Church of God - Tennessee), who arrived in Port Moresby in December 1950 with no accommodation and short on funds. After two months of preaching on street corners, and becoming destitute, she was persuaded to return to the USA in February 1951. When Mrs Alice Wesson of the American Soul Clinic, sought entry with similar credentials, she was dissuaded from coming. D.M. Cleland to Sec. Dept. Terr. 5 December 1952. TPNG, 309 - 33/3/33.

promote the material welfare of the people by conducting schools, clinics, gardens or similar activities, as well as preaching the gospel to them, and for that purpose to establish themselves at a mission station,

and made clear its preference for mission work undertaken,

with the backing of recognised Churches or well-established societies, which have the resources and the organisation to ensure that the mission work will be continuous and well-supported, and that it will be carried out by qualified and experienced staff.⁹

The expectation of a Christian basis for the emerging colonial society was indicated in the 1952 Education Ordinance, which sought not only political, economic, social and educational advancement, and the blending of cultures in the Territory; but also "the voluntary acceptance of Christianity by the indigenous people in the absence of any indigenous body of religious faith grounded on indigenous teaching or ritual."¹⁰

Christianity was more often superimposed on traditional belief, than adopted in its absence. On several occasions Hasluck, suggested that "paganism" and the "rituals of primitive life" should be replaced by Christian Faith,¹¹ and this sentiment prevailed throughout the post-war period. It helps to explain the willingness of Cabinet ministers Ward and Hasluck, and administrators Murray and Cleland, to allow such a battery of foreign mission organisations into the Territory. In the 1950s there were some 200 stations staffed by Europeans, and a further 2,100 staffed by nationals.¹² By 1965 there were more than 2,400 missionaries in the colony.¹³ Because colonial governments valued the resources that mission organisations brought with them into the colonies, and the contribution that they made to the process of pacification, access to newly-contacted peoples was regulated, but rarely denied.

Murray let missionaries know that he was opposed to mission organisations working adjacent to each other, but seldom interfered with the positioning of particular mission stations. He did, on the other hand, encourage missions to settle at specific locations. At the first mission-administration

⁹ Policy re Missions to the Territory, 11 March 1957. TPNG, 1987 - J2.

¹⁰ J.R. Prince, "Role and Contribution of Missions to Education in Papua and New Guinea", *Journal of Christian Education*, 10:1, Jun 1967.

¹¹ Hasluck, 1955. Other aims, including education in English, development of "a civilised way of life", management of political affairs, retention of the best features of traditional culture, which were "not contrary to the work and purposes of the Church", David Durie, "Challenge and Change in Papua", *ABM Review*, June 1959, 75. In an earlier period government anthropologist in Papua, F.E. Williams, regarded Christianity as a "convenient half-way house between heathenism and ...enlightened rationalism". F.E. Williams quoted in a letter from the Fiji Methodist District to the Fiji Administration in 1944. MCA, Board Minutes, 1944, 128-9.

¹² W.E.H. Stanner, *South Seas in Transition*, 1953, 41.

¹³ International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, *The Economic Development of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea*, (U.S.A., 1965), 2.

conference, in October 1946, the administrator stated clearly his hope that the established missions would commence work in the highlands, and subsequently a policy of strategic placement of missions in the highlands, and in remote areas, was carried out. Mission services were to be placed among populations which the administration could not effectively cater to with its resources alone.

Thus new missions were advised which areas were as yet "under-serviced" by missions, and were assisted in their reconnaissance of prospective sites. When Ken Griffiths arrived in Papua in 1948 to establish a base for the SSEM, he bore a letter from the Government Secretary instructing DOs to provide him with information and assistance.¹⁴ The mission examined the five possible, but difficult, areas in Papua, and one remote location in New Guinea, suggested to Griffiths by Murray,¹⁵ and in 1949 established itself at Wewak.¹⁶ Similarly, the Australian Baptists responded to Murray's quest for a mission to settle at Telefolmin,¹⁷ while Australian Methodists were assisted in the selection of their station-site at Mendi by the area's assistant district officer.¹⁸ Soon after initial contact, children from the Mendi valley were attending Methodist, Catholic and administration schools.¹⁹ But despite the presence of these, and other missions in the Mendi subdistrict, Lutheran and UFM, the Mendi people - who had a dispersed rather than a gathered village settlement pattern, and who only congregated for sing sings - continued their tribal fighting and strong belief in sorcery.

The Anglicans, under Bishop Strong, began to appeal for funds immediately following the 1946 conference.²⁰ Although the Anglicans had been specifically invited, in November 1949, to establish work in the Central Highlands, and Bishop Hand and ABM secretary M.A. Warren had made an aerial reconnaissance of Mt Michael, in "uncontrolled territory" south of Goroka, the Melanesian Brotherhood,

¹⁴ K Griffiths to A Kenny, 3 November 1948. SSEM, Mr Kenny's Correspondence, 1945-51.

¹⁵ Murray was seeking assistance for the UFM on the Fly River, or for the Telefolmin area.

¹⁶ Burns Philp Ltd. granted the SSEM use of land at Moem Point. TPNG, 33/3/10. In 1955, the DC Sepik advised a conference of tultuls and luluais assembled on the mission station's front lawn to "work well on the roads, support the mission school and 'ecclesia', and not to go running away to plantations all the time". D Hogan to K Griffith, 19 September 1955. SSEM, Council Minutes and Missionaries - 1955. The impact of the SSEM on Sepik societies, by 1976, is discussed in Donald F. Tuzin, *Ilahita Religion*, (California, 1976).

¹⁷ Griffiths to Kenny, 13 November 1948. SSEM, Mr Kenny's Correspondence 1945-51.

¹⁸ The initial party, led by E.A. Clarke, having had to wait for the opening of the administration's airstrip, was limited in size and mobility for the first six months by the possibility of food shortages and attack from local tribesmen. E.A. Clarke, "PNG Highlands Survey", *Open Door*, 31:1 June 1951, 6.

¹⁹ At the time, there were more boys in the Catholic school at Mendi (25) than at the administration school (2). "Mendi Patrol Reports 1959-60", Extract from Patrol Report 7 of 1959-60. TPNG

²⁰ P.N.W. Strong, *Out of Great Tribulation*, (East Cape, 1947). Evangelism of newly contacted tribes, Bishop Baddeley once wrote, was "a charge upon one of the nations within the great commonwealth of the British Empire and who come within the territorial limits of the diocese": Bishop Baddeley, *About Melanesia (No 10)*, (Sydney, 1937). The views of such Solomons missionaries as Baddeley and Goldie are quoted in C.E. Fox, *The Story of the Solomons*, (Honiara, 1967).

an indigenous Anglican order which had worked in contact areas of the New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands since the 1930s, providing the required evangelists, first commenced work there in 1951.²¹

Under the Restricted Areas Ordinance of 1950,²² missionaries had to apply for conditional access to "uncontrolled areas". Restricted Area Permits (RAPs) were issued for limited time periods, and for specified areas.²³ In granting entry to such areas, the administration considered the experience of the applicants, and the extent of pacification achieved in the area. Most commonly, movement was restricted at first to a specified radius of between one and three miles from the government station, or, in some instances of multiple government and mission stations, to the area defined by the overlapping circles of their radii. This was done, initially, to spread the demand for local building materials and labour, and to "lessen the confusing effects on the local people".²⁴

When Laiagam was opened to restricted missionary activity, an official reported of his attempt to settle Lutheran, Apostolic and Catholic missionaries at Yendagali, the government station equipped with airstrip and radio communication, before moving among the Porgera peoples:

most of the Mission personnel in the Sub District have zealous wives and large families whom they like to take with them where-ever they go. They have agreed that their initial bases should be temporary, with the understanding that they can move at will thru the area on routes and timetables predetermined and notified to the O.I.C. PORGERA. When motorcycle tracks have been completed from the semi-isolated YENDAGALI station site to the main population centres of TIBININI, YUYAN, and MUNGAREP the Missions can then move out to any areas of interest to them and establish their permanent Stations.²⁵

Because the administration kept Europeans out of highland areas where traditional tribal fighting continued, missionaries kept close watch on government patrols through restricted areas, waiting for news that conditions had changed, that would make possible their entry. Some Patrol Officers allowed missionaries to accompany their patrols through the Wapi region in the 1950s, so as to help

²¹ George Greathead to Administrator, 3 July 1951. TPNG, 172 - 15/3. The Brotherhood's headquarters on Malaita were at Tabaia, on Malaita. By 1970 there were 120 Brothers, working in the Solomon Islands, New Hebrides (in 1962 Rawcliffe sought members of the Melanesian brotherhood to work on Raga and Santo), Fiji, and Papua New Guinea.

²² Before this date, permits were required for "uncontrolled areas", which included Mt. Hagen, Mingende, Kumbu, Kerowagi, Kondigu and Denglelagu. By October 1947, 65 missionaries from Adventist, Catholic, and Lutheran missions, had been granted Uncontrolled Area Permits, along with 15 miners. TPNG, 853 - 14/4/1.

²³ In October the administration was processing 65 RAP requests: 12 SDA, 14 Catholic, 14 Lutheran, and 15 for miners. J.L. Taylor to DDSNA, 21 October 1947. TPNG, 853 - 14/4/1.

²⁴ ADO J.P. Sinclair, Koroba, SHD, to DC SHD, 3 January 1957. TPNG, 1279 - 38/2/2.

²⁵ ADO D.E. Faithful to DO Mt Hagen, Laiagam Patrol 6 - Porgera Goldfield, 13 June 1962. TPNG, 13923 - 67/16/14 pt 2. By June 1962, the missions had established 4 stations - at Kepilam and Mamare (Apostolic), Papayuk (Lutheran), and Wanapop (Catholic).

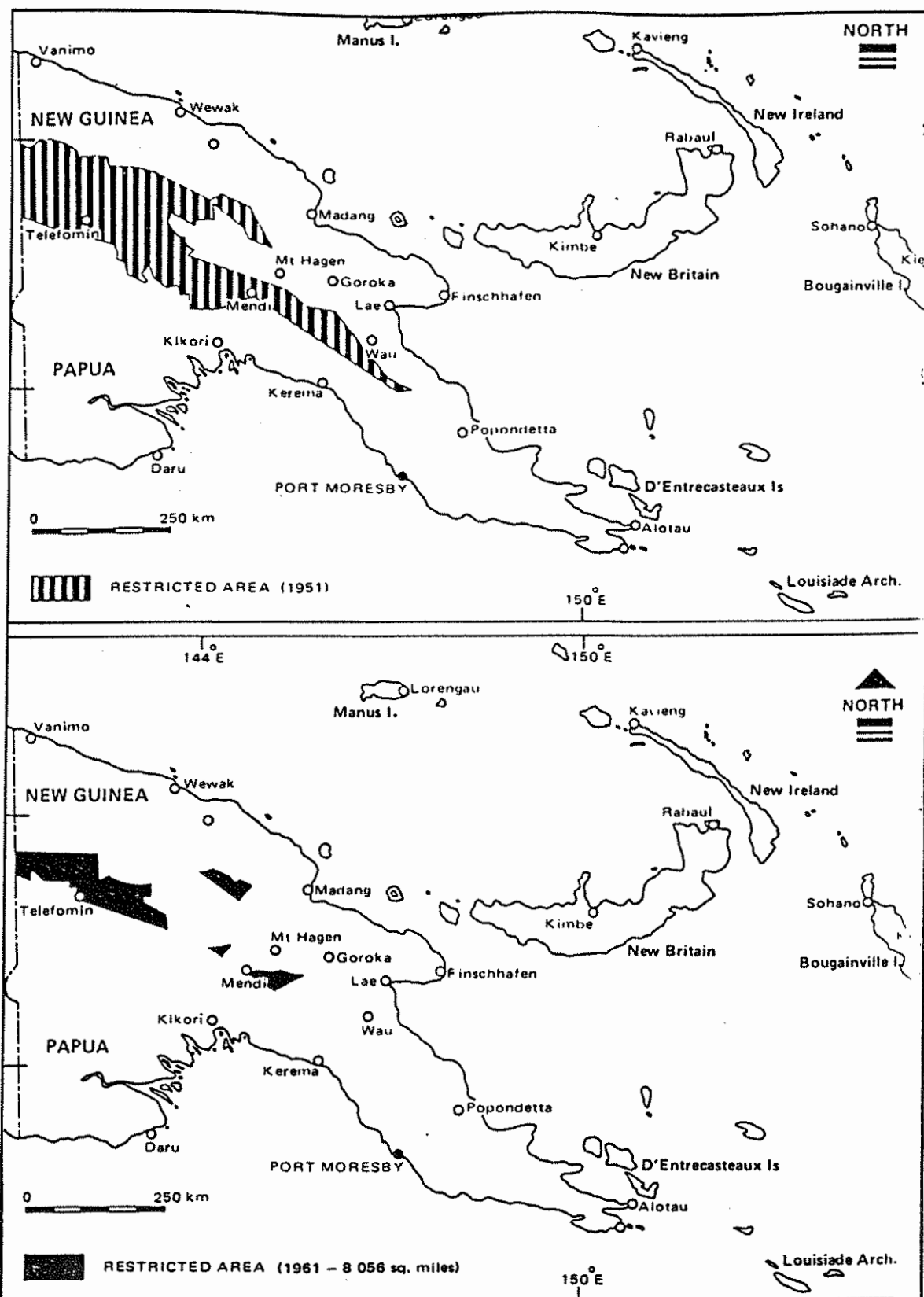


Figure 12 Areas of the New Guinea highlands requiring Restricted Area Permits (RAPs). (source: Downs, *Australian Trusteeship*, 268).

familiarise them with places soon to be de-restricted.²⁶ Missionaries deluged the Department of District Services and Native Affairs (DDNSA) with correspondence offering their own assessment of the preparedness of restricted areas for entry. Once gazetted as de-restricted, such areas were subject to the "concerted rush" to main areas of population which later brought ridicule to the missionary enterprise.²⁷

Restricted area permits were not granted automatically, and missionaries sometimes had to wait many months for permission to enter an area. When the administration could not ensure the safety of an area, such as when the Australian Baptists sought to enter the Strickland Gorge in 1954, access was denied.²⁸ In this case, traditional patterns of violence had continued to erupt after the settlement of mission posts and the administration post at Telefomin, established in 1951, was closed between 1953 and March 1955. Fighting continued in the Minj area, in the Western Highlands, in 1955-56,²⁹ and the Wage River area, Mendi, in the Southern Highlands, in 1957. Because fighting was often linked to accusations of sorcery, mission-run medical aid posts, which were part of the missions' method of evangelism, were incorporated into the administration's efforts to counter belief in traditional medicine and the violence that often accompanied sorcery. Permits for entry to restricted areas were also sometimes denied if the administration felt a mission was not fully servicing its existing areas. There was thus often tension between a mission, wishing to expand further afield - usually to keep pace with, or even anticipate, geographical expansion by other missions - and the administration, wishing to have the best possible services in already established areas.³⁰

Admitting that it was not practical to limit the movement of Papuans and New Guineans within restricted areas, the administration made a series of "agreements" with the missions by which "native mission helpers" were allowed to re-occupy all highlands stations occupied before the war, but had to be pidgin-speaking; and, preferably, married and accompanied by their wives (since marriages to local

²⁶ The Wapi had first contact with Schmidt in 1939, then with DO Howlett, mid 1960, and by Bert Carrar, missionary with the Evangelical Missionary Alliance. Howlett invited the Baptist George Dickman to accompany his patrol in November 1960, and in May 1960 a Baptist station was established at Lapoloma, from where extensions were easily made into the outer villages of the lower Sau, following de-restriction in July 1961. George Dickman, "A Short History of the Wapi", *Digest*, 1966, 48.

²⁷ "This is their prerogative and they may not be hindered", a/DO R.S. Bell to ADO Laiagam, 25 June 1962. TPNG, 13923 - 67/16/14 pt 2.

²⁸ Roberts, DDNSA, to Administrator Cleland, 8 November 1954. TPNG, 1279 - 38/2/5.

²⁹ At the time, Lutherans from Banz had commenced work among the Koriga people, in Korbun CD, and Catholic and Lutheran native teachers were interspersed in other non-Korbun areas of the district. According to ADO R.I. Macitwain, his chance meeting with the Rev. Philippi meant that "the Lutheran Mission stole a march on competitors by being in the area at the same time as authority", "Patrol Report Minj 2 of 1955/56", TPNG, 13923 - 67/16/14 pt 1.

³⁰ Missions established activities on land at the invitation of landowners, without holding mission leases, or in anticipation of them. In general, a lease was obtained before significant capital development was commenced.

women in years past had led to numerous land disputes).³¹ Also as part of the post-war rapprochement, missions voluntarily agreed to limit the numbers of mission workers brought to their highland stations.³²

Control over land alienation and registration allowed colonial administrations some leverage over missionary activities. In the case of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea missions had to obtain legal incorporation in order to acquire land.³³ Although missionaries selected mission-sites, and negotiated the possibility of sale with traditional landowners, (in some cases with the assistance of colonial officers, particularly where difficulties were encountered);³⁴ land was surveyed, to determine population pressure in relation to the extent of arable land available to the landowners, and consideration of projections of future land use in the area. It was then acquired by the administration, at a value determined by the valuer general, and secured by the mission as either a mission lease, special lease, or agricultural lease. This process, from application for a lease, until its granting, generally took up to two years.

Missions and European planters sought only good land, so that the best land in any district tended to be alienated, or to be at least subject to this pressure. One administrator, Downs, preferred land to be alienated to European farmers, than to missions, and blamed their interest in land for rising land values.³⁵ In the mid 1950s, land in the Southern Highlands increased in value from 5/- to 10/- per acre, and some within the administration feared that it would at a future date be accused of "buying land for a mere pittance".³⁶ Clifton-Bassett considered this price so low that he refused to consent to further purchases by the administration:

³¹ H.R. Niall "Resumption of Mission Activities", 2 August 1945. Missions Policy. TPNG, 2933 - 32/1/1. By 1960, such agreements had been forgotten. The Capuchin mission at Soba, SHD, for instance, imported single men from Chimbu, who were either unable to speak Pidgin, or spoke it poorly. Similarly, none of the Lutheran or Adventist workers spoke Pidgin. R.W. Blaikie, "Mission Activity - Upper Lai Valley", 3 October 1963. TPNG, SHD, 51/1/17 pt.1.

³² J.L. Taylor to DSNA, 5 August 1947. TPNG, 1279 - 38/2/2. The number of "mission teachers, helpers, catechists, etc" that each mission was allowed to employ in the highlands was set at 100: J.D. Jones to Govt. Sect. 31 December 1947 [TPNG, 853 -14/4/1]. Not all missions were happy with administration policy concerning restrictions on 'native missionary evangelists' entering the highlands. John Kuder, superintendent of the Lutheran Mission, compared Murray's policies unfavourably with those of General Griffiths, who had earlier invited Lutherans into the highlands. John Kuder, "Superintendent's Report for the Year 1946", ELC, 51/81 Fiche 190.

³³ 1960. In 1960, the New Guinea Gospel Mission's application for incorporation by ordinance was not approved, on the grounds that the mission was newly established and consisted only of a family group. The Secretary for Law recommended that such approval be withheld for about 5 years "during which time the achievements and policies of the mission could be properly assessed": W.W. Watkins, Sec. for Law to Assist. Administrator, 14 June 1960. TPNG, 47 - 62/5/13. By 1960, there had been 24 ordinances enacted in the Territories of Papua and New Guinea recognising "Church Property": J.J. Jandusek, *Papua and New Guinea. Summary, Index and Tables of all Enacted Law of the Territory 1888-1960*, (Archives of Papua New Guinea).

³⁴ There were instances of missionaries intimidating landowners to prevent land purchases by a rival mission.

³⁵ Downs to DDSNA 11 November 1952. TPNG, 199 - 1/5/3/9.

³⁶ C.L. Anthony, DLSM, to DNA, 7 November 1958. Anthony continued "My only answer to this is that the purchase prices we pay have a sound basis of valuation, that is are based on what the willing but not anxious vendors and purchasers will sell and pay in districts where there is a known economy and graded down or up for the different districts where there is not sales or economy, according to its transport difficulties and productivity". TPNG, 1276 - 35/5/14, pt 1.

To confine my argument in its simplest terms, it can be seen that on an acre of land for which the Department of Lands expects to buy for 10/-, a native has only to sell 5 good cabbages grown on that land and he has the cash value of his acre of land in hand as well.³⁷

As late as 1958 landowners accepted, in one instance, six mother-of-pearl shell,³⁸ and Capuchins in the Southern Highlands continued purchasing sweet potato with mother of pearl in 1964.³⁹ A further difficulty, according to government anthropologist Julius, was that some landowners, familiar only with transient land occupation, did not understand the concept of permanent alienation.⁴⁰ Although some regions of New Guinea experienced considerable land alienation, the total amount of land appropriated by the administration was small, unlike the situation in the New Hebrides, where outrage at the pace and extent of land alienation was to fuel the nationalist movement in the 1970s.⁴¹

Mission leases were for areas up to five acres (two hectares), for a period of up to 99 years, and were rent free. Suitable buildings had to be established on a lease within the first three years, and subsequent applications for mission leases were approved subject to satisfactory development of existing leases. Missions were also able to apply for agricultural leases, of larger acreage.⁴²

Land disputes were frequent. Complex systems of land ownership sometimes made it unclear

³⁷ Clifton-Bassett to DDS 29 October 1958. He later supported his argument with a list of goods which 10/- could buy: "5/6 of a lb. of bushells tea. 2 12 ozs. tins sunshine milk. 2 12 ozs. tins corned beef, taper tin. 2 tins Heins tomato soup. 1&1/4 tins of 50 Craven A cigarettes. Approximately 4&1/2 lbs. of brown rice. 2 thin trade towels. Less than 22 12 ozs. packets of cheese. 1 yd. white drill cloth. 1 women's blouse. 2 pairs of women's briefs. Less than one pair of men's kakhi shorts." Clifton-Bassett to DNA, 23 December 1958. TPNG, 1276 - 35/5/14 pt 1. In Clifton-Bassett's view, anything less than 30/- paid for Tari land at that time was taking unfair advantage of the owners. Some Tari owners had begun asking for one pound per acre, and he was going to support them. Land was being valued by the administration according to its potential productivity in a Western economic sense, disregarding the fact that it traditionally supported a subsistence rather than cash economy. Added to this, some land owners refused cash payments, preferring shell. According to PO Keith Dyer, the administration would offer 4 pounds per acre, in SHD for 200 acres it sought for a coffee plantation or airstrip. The land owners would not take 800 pounds, "200 mother of pearl shells would delight them." pers. comm.

³⁸ PO J.M. Wearne, Purchase of Land known as "Tiburu" for proposed lease to Lutheran Mission, 7 October 1959. TPNG, 1276 - 35/5/14 pt 1. In 1962 the government station, and a Lutheran lease, at Pangia SHD, were purchased with mother of pearl shell, but by 1965, cash had replaced the shell as the only valued currency. a/DC A.J. Zweck to ADC, Ialibu SHD, 29 June 1965. TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/17 pt 4.

³⁹ TPNG. Southern Highlands District. Annual Report 1963-64, 35.

⁴⁰ "Mission Investigation", 25 June 1952. AA A518. AE838/1.

⁴¹ In Papua New Guinea, alienated land amounted to 24,000 acres in a total area of 55 million acres: J.L. O'Meally, "Papua New Guinea: A legal inheritance", *Australasian Catholic Record*, LXVI:2, April 1989. At Mele, on Efate in the New Hebrides, traditional landowners demonstrated against the Catholic mission, which they believed had been acquired at the cost of an ax: *New Hebrides News*, 70, 9 March 1977, 3; *ibid*, 71, 23 March 1977, 4; *ibid*, 76, 1 June 1977, 10.

⁴² The East and West Indies Bible Mission, for example, having applied for a 60 acre lease at Kauapena, SHD, narrowly won its approval on the basis of capital improvements reported to the District Office by G.T. Bustin, General-Director of the Mission. Although the officer in charge at Ialibu had reported that buildings erected on the initial lease amounted to only 40 pounds value, and that "no more than 5 brief visits have been paid to the Lease by Europeans of the East and West Indies Bible Mission during the last 2&1/2 years", District Officer Clifton-Bassett approved the application, saying, "I submit that as the European Missionaries are established at Kauapena, that they have erected a number of houses there, that they have a light aircraft strip and gardens under cultivation, the lease be granted..." Clifton-Bassett to DNA, 18 February 1959. TPNG, 1276 - 35/5/14 pt 1.

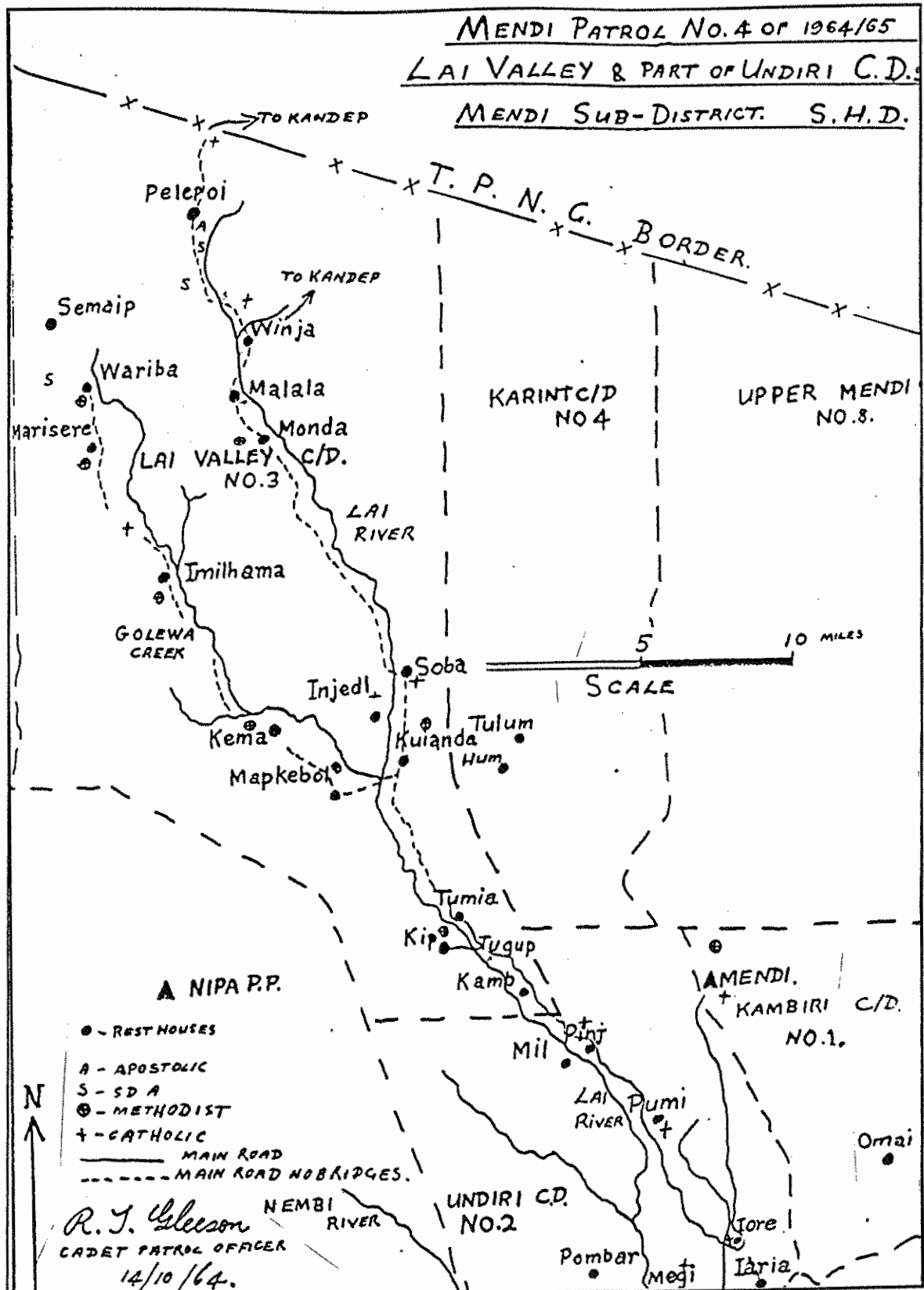


Figure 13 Map accompanying Mendi Patrol No. 4 of 1964/65 to Lai Valley and Undiri Census Divisions, Southern Highlands, showing rest houses, and mission stations.

as to who had the right to alienate land through sale, and who should receive payment. Landowners sometimes allowed missions to settle on their land in order to enhance their position in relation to neighbours who sometimes, in turn, invited a competing mission onto their land. The wariness of both missions and administration of this practice did not prevent its occasional occurrence.⁴³ At Winja, in the Southern Highlands, each of the four main clans invited a mission onto their land, and by 1966 Catholic, Lutheran, Adventist, and Apostolic missions were in the area.⁴⁴

The location of airstrips was also subject to competition between the missions, who vied for the best sites, and demonstrated their success by placing airstrips on the land of the most populous and powerful tribal groups; and between landowners, who sought to have this prestigious symbol of modernisation on their territory. Thus, near Mendi, in 1964, three missions were "vying for the affections of the people and the airstrip sites in the area".⁴⁵ Later, an application by Capuchins to build an airstrip on a 40 acre lease at Del, near Mendi, enthused the Del-Parabonga people,⁴⁶ and led the local administration to hope that the mission could "quickly develop improved attitudes", through the cooperative work required to develop the airstrip and mission station.⁴⁷ In Undiri, also in the Southern Highlands, a Methodist land application was disapproved when it was found that the land, for which an airstrip was proposed, was situated next to an existing Catholic lease, on which an airstrip already existed.⁴⁸ By 1960 eight missions operated 24 airstrips in the Western Highlands alone.⁴⁹

As much as they symbolised progress, and access to the outside world, mission airstrips throughout the region were also a potential source of revenue,⁵⁰ and the facilitator of improved health

⁴³ The Australian Baptists, for example, were offered land for sale at Dragalinga, WHD, by the Luluai Ketan, only to find that he was not the genuine owner, and that the rightful owners were not willing to sell the land. G.G. Hardy, PO Mt Hagen, to DC WHD, 20 October 1957. TPNG, 1293 - 35/5/14/pt2.

⁴⁴ "There are four main clans at Winja and each clan in its anxiety to develop believe that they must have a white man on their land. It also gives them prestige. The missions have not been backward in accepting these offers. This has resulted in the group being split even further than what it was prior to the white man's arrival." CPO B McWilliams. TPNG Mendi Patrol 5 of 1965/6.

⁴⁵ ADO Kent to ADO Mendi, 31 July 1964. TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/17 pt 4.

⁴⁶ Mendi Patrol Reports 1964-65. Mendi Patrol, Undiri Census Division, 29 of 1963-64. TPNG

⁴⁷ TPNG, PO M.C. Cornhill, Mendi Patrol 29 of 1964-65, "Missions".

⁴⁸ Mendi Patrol Reports, PR 4 of 1964/65. TPNG.

⁴⁹ Annual Report. Western Highlands District, 1959-60. TPNG

⁵⁰ At Longana, on Pentecost in the New Hebrides, a strip which had been cleared by the Navoda people, and which was maintained at Longana for the British Administration by the Melanesian Mission, was coveted by members of the Church of Christ Mission in league with the Nagriamel movement, who petitioned the Resident Commissioners in October 1970 to give them responsibility for maintaining the strip for three years. Edward Hackford to D. Rawcliffe, 26 August 1970. Banks Islands Administrative Tour 1970. AV.

services.⁵¹ The administration observed positive effects of the missionary presence in the highlands within a decade of de-restriction. By 1962, Catholic and Methodist stations to the north of Tari, in the Southern Highlands, had contributed "in no small measure" to the "good situation" and order there.⁵² The UFM, for instance, having obtained a lease at Walete in 1958, had by 1961 established a semi-permanent house, a school (enrolment 51), labour barracks, store, and workshop, and first aid dispensary.⁵³

Similarly, in Mendi, a Lutheran presence had by 1969 extended over most of the Kambiri Census Division, raising standards of living, and rendering the local people "generally more co-operative than other inhabitants of the Mendi sub-district".⁵⁴ Elsewhere in the Southern Highlands, however, in the Lai Census Division, the attitude of people to the missions was described in the late 1960s as "friendly but by no means openly cooperative", and mission influence was still considered to be negligible.⁵⁵

Some missionaries were virtually "sponsored" into newly settled areas by administrators wishing to employ their skills. The Capuchin Fathers Michellod and Tomassetti, for example, were involved in road and bridge building projects in the highlands,⁵⁶ and at Telefomin, the Australian Baptists' saw-milling facility aided in the construction of the region's first government buildings.⁵⁷

In comparison with the situation in Papua and New Guinea, the expansion of missionary work into remote areas of the New Hebrides was observed, but not controlled, by the Condominium administration. In the absence of any official census, mission estimates in the 1940s suggested a population of some 15,000 non-Christians throughout the Condominium.⁵⁸ At south Santo, the

⁵¹ Airstrips provided access to such facilities as health-care. The Seventh Day Adventists, for example, flew their first medical aircraft in Papua New Guinea, a Cessna 180, in 1964, while other services were provided by the Missionary Aviation Fellowship.

⁵² Speaking of Hoieba, Tari Patrol 9 of 1961/62. TPNG

⁵³ Tari Patrol report 2 of 1961/62. TPNG

⁵⁴ Mendi Patrol Reports 1968-69. Kambiri Patrol 10 of 1968-69. TPNG

⁵⁵ ADC M.R. Haywood, Patrol Report Mendi 3 of 1968/69, p 8 "Missions". TPNG

⁵⁶ Tomassetti supervised construction of a steel wire suspension bridge over the Tagari River, Tari; while Michellod, "an experienced road builder...also an experienced bushman" supervised construction of the road from Tari to Magarima. Robert Cole, D.C. to DNA, 6 January 1956. TPNG, 1279 - 38/2/2.

⁵⁷ In other cases, projected improvements by missions were used as inducement to have the administration approve their leases. Intensive efforts by Capuchins preparatory to construction of an airstrip at Arep, in the Southern Highlands in 1964, were discontinued until the lease was granted. ADO J.W. Kent to DO, SHD, 8 October 1964. The projected Catholic facilities at Arep, in Del, Lai Valley CD. were watched keenly by the administration. TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/17 pt 4. In the same area, plans by the Apostolic Mission to place two qualified nurses at Winja were well received by the district administration, which hoped that roads would soon be improved "to allow these people to visit as wide an area as possible". CPO J. Meade. TPNG Mendi Patrol Report 10 of 1965/66. Lai and Undiri CDs, Mendi.

⁵⁸ Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria. 9 May 1944, minute 337:5, 99. PCV.

Presbyterians had long been diligent in the evangelising of custom people whose "Naked Cult" they sought to nullify. Soon after U.S. troops had left the island the Presbyterian missionary resident on Santo reported to the British Resident Commissioner a resurgence of the "Santo unrest", but could not offer any concrete evidence.⁵⁹

Throughout the 1940s relations between the Presbyterians and the local population deteriorated and by 1952 Presbyterian evangelists were increasingly less welcome at Tasiriki, centre of the movement. In the 1940s the Presbyterians also commenced mission work in the north of the island, at Big Bay. Baptisms there, at Shark Bay, and in the Calu district, were accompanied by the appointment of chiefs, an innovation for these communities:

The people of the two villages (Shark Bay and Galu) were called upon to stand while the questions were being answered by Gira and Pul then their people gave their promise to obey their chiefs, and help him in every good work, especially to extend the Kingdom of God amongst the people of their district.⁶⁰

In competition with the Presbyterians, Catholics, Adventists and Anglicans were drawn to the unevanglised north of the island. The Melanesian mission began working at Talatas, Big Bay, in 1959, and established a priest, dispensary and school at Nawalala.⁶¹ Presbyterian and Church of Christ missionaries clashed on Santo in the 1950s over claims that their respective schools were positioned for evangelistic, rather than educational, purposes.⁶² Elsewhere in the Condominium, on Malekula, Viahambat, a Big Nambas chief, led his inland people to settle in coastal villages at the time of his conversion to Christianity in the 1940s. But the process of conversion was not smooth. Violent clashes occurred in the 1950s, when conflict between Big Nambas and salt-water Christian villages resulted in

⁵⁹ J.W.P.G. 16 July 1944 to R.D. Blandy. New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission Council. Reports. 1950-56. PCNZ. The missionaries Gillan and Sykes, a "native medical practitioner, and paid native informers", provided the British Resident Commissioner with reports on a "Naked Cult", encountered by students from the Tangoa Theological Institute, on their annual hinterland "treks" in September 1947 and September 1948: Mission Council to British Resident Commissioner 15 August 1944. PCNZ, New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission Council. Reports. 1950-56. Miller obtained sufficient details to publish an article in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* in 1949. The mission finally attracted members of this "Naked Cult" following the death of its founder in 1951: J.G. Miller, Supplementary Report on South Santo - West Santo Districts. Nov 16 1951 - May 31 1952. PCNZ, New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission Council. Reports. 1950-56.

⁶⁰ Big Bay Report 1946. New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission Synod Correspondence 1927-48. PCNZ

⁶¹ Bishop Hari Tevi, Interview, Lugainville, 28 June 1986. In 1947 Allan Mann, of the Apostolic Church mission, asked the Presbyterian Church before commencing work in the New Hebrides: "Minutes of the New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission Synod, 1947, Tangoa", 22, PCNZ. Anglican expansion on Santo in the 1960s occurred after consultation with the Presbyterians, and for long the only Anglicans were those working for the mission, from the Banks group and Pentecost. Into the 1970s, Catholic and Protestant missions continued to evangelise custom societies in Santo Bush. In 1973 Bishop Rawcliffe reported 80 people in 4 villages had asked for a teacher to reside amongst them; Rawcliffe to Gao, 13 April 1973. AV, Aoba, Lombaha Letters 1967-1978. In September 1980 the Church of Melanesia moved its headquarters from Lolowai to Lugainville in part because Bishop Tevi wished to be closer to the evangelism occurring in Big Bay. See Hari Tevi, "Baptisms in the Santo Bush", *Mission Review*, January/March 1982, 16-17.

⁶² A similar motivation behind medical work can also be noted: On Malekula, Catholics took the initiative by providing medical services to the Big Nambas: PCNZ, "Southwest Bay Report, 1961", 1962 A-B.

the burning of dwellings on the coast, and the forced evacuation of mission villages.⁶³ The Presbyterian church evangelised on Malekula and Santo with pastors from New Caledonia and kept detailed mission statistics. In 1946, for instance, Graham Miller reported that 1041 of 1798 people in the Tongoa mission district were Christians, and he knew also the localities of the remaining 757 "heathen"; while mission records for North Ambrym showed that 13 of 36 villages remained non-Christian into the 1950s, and another seven partly-Christian.⁶⁴ Similarly, in 1955 the Presbyterian missionary at East Malekula reported that there were 1110 residents in mission villages from Lenaio to Weil, 290 in "heathen" villages, and 31 in Catholic villages.⁶⁵

To a population not familiar with such all-encompassing authority as colonial administration was, the surrendering of census details implied their acknowledgment of the broad power of the European presence. Thus, resistance to census-taking often symbolised contempt for government. On Malaita, where pacification of salt-water peoples, especially on the western coast, had been achieved by the 1940s, interior peoples resisted government control for several more decades.⁶⁶ At the time of Maasina Rule government efforts to take census were resisted, as were payments of head tax,⁶⁷ and tribal leaders commenced their own method of census. The later stages of pacification on the island included the siting of new mission hospitals.⁶⁸ For some years, the Seventh Day Adventists had hoped to establish a full hospital at Sinarago and the opportunity came in 1952 when the government wished to capitalise on recent improvements in relations with the people in the Uru and Sinarango passages.⁶⁹ In the New Hebrides, similarly, the British administration worked very closely with the Anglican Mission

⁶³ BSIP, 12/1/55.

⁶⁴ J. Graham Miller, "Reply to Questionnaire: 'The indigenous Church' for South Pacific Christian Conference", 1947, (mss - possession of the author).

⁶⁵ East Malekula Report 1955. PCNZ New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission Council. Reports. 1950-56. The keeping of census details by missionaries was commonplace. At Tinputz, on North Solomons in 1941 Albert Lebel estimated a population of 3,900 comprised of 442 "infidels", 790 under heathen influence, 100 sympathetic followers, 72 catechumens, 2496 baptised Catholics and 104 apostates; scattered among 40 villages; plus 40 males and 40 females in school: Albert Lebel to "Dear Friends", 1 January 1941. OM A.2.

⁶⁶ The most notorious event in the Solomon Islands during the inter-war years was undoubtedly the "Bell Massacre" of 1927, as described in Roger Keesing & Peter Corris, *Lightning Meets the West Wind*, (Melbourne, 1980).

⁶⁷ Tax resistance occurred throughout the region, especially in the Sepik and Bougainville districts in the late 1950s.

⁶⁸ Allan had hoped to cooperate with the Catholic mission in establishing a new mission station in Uru, "he regarded it as a valuable civilising factor". J. M. Wall, SM, to D.C. Malaita (Anderson), 20 April 1950. BSIP, 24/52.

⁶⁹ The dispensary was to be placed in Koio, south of the Lau Lagoon: "There has been quite a weakening of the anti-government or rather anti-European attitude in the Uru and Sinarango passages and I would like to try to once more obtain a piece of land on which you could build a hospital rather than a dispensary, provided of course that you are willing to still consider installing such a hospital." D.C. Malaita (Anderson) to John Newman, 15 April 1952. BSIP, 24/52. Also in 1952, at Kwailibisi, North Baelilea, the administration assisted the Adventists obtain land to build a leprosarium, which would stop lepers from polluting the many tributaries to the Sololo river, which supplied water to the whole of North Baelilea-Makwano. "Application to Lease Land at Kwailibisi", 14 April 1952. BSIP, 28/VIII. MU/DC/52. vol.1.

in the development of the mission's hospital at Lolowai.

Conversion to Christianity throughout Melanesia was frequently accompanied by migration from an island's interior to the coast, in proximity to a mission station; or from a non-Christian village to a Christian one. Inland tribes, such as the Mianmin of the Western Highlands, were encouraged to migrate to lowlands to allow easier access by missionaries and administrators alike.⁷⁰ In the highlands of Papua New Guinea Lutherans built "settlements" where prospective converts resided for up to three years in isolation from traditional village life, after which converts were often reluctant to return to live in small hamlets, as they now preferred the lifestyle of the larger village.⁷¹ Similarly, in the Saidor Sub-District the missionaries encouraged communities which had been living in about 10 dispersed hamlets of 40 members each to merge into one village of 400 people, so that it could then be served by one pastor, one church, and one catechist.⁷² A similar process occurred in Kambiri, Mendi.⁷³ Such movement of Christian converts from smaller settlements to larger ones was practiced in different parts of Melanesia, well into the post-war period. Exemplary of this was the coastal migration of some 800 Kuni under Catholic influence, between 1961 and 1964:

Homelanders who ...refused to resettle were openly called religious renegades and 'pagans' by the settlers who looked upon Bakoiudu (the new location) as a 'model place for true Catholics'.⁷⁴

Such coastal migration and hamlet amalgamation was encouraged by patrol officers, in pursuit of their own and their administration's objectives,⁷⁵ and by the various missions, which believed it was not possible to live a good Christian life surrounded by "pagan" rituals, and people.⁷⁶ Rather, missions preferred to establish "theocratic" villages, in which all residents professed the same faith.

In Kwaio on Malaita, Christian settlements were characterised by a "core" segment consisting

⁷⁰ In the case of the Mianmin, resettlement to lowlands accessible to the missionary's weekly visits by floatplane led to their decimation by Malaria: R. Jackson, *Ok Tedi*, op. cit., 175.

⁷¹ In 1952, five settlements in the Chimbu district, Eastern Highlands, housed some 830 residents under instruction in the Lutheran faith. This technique of village formation and religious instruction caused considerable concern to the Australian colonial administration, which feared that people were being separated too swiftly from their traditional life-styles and value-systems: Charles Julius, "Mission Investigation, Sina Sina Area, Chimbu Sub-District, Eastern Highlands", 25 June, 1952. AA CRS A518 AE 838/1.

⁷² Keith Dyer, pers. comm.

⁷³ "Mendi Annual Census Patrol No.10 of 1968/69", 27 February 1969. TPNG, Mendi Patrol Reports 1968-69.

⁷⁴ Olga Gostin, *Cash Cropping, Catholicism and Change: Resettlement among the Kuni of Papua*, (Canberra, 1986), 24.

⁷⁵ Robert Crittendon, "Aspects of Economic Development on the Nembi Plateau", *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 96:3, 1987, 353.

⁷⁶ On Malaita the SSEM "grouped scattered settlement units into a much larger community" on 2 Ha of land purchased by Miss Florence Young in 1904. David Totorea, "Baunani", in P. Larmour (ed) *Land in Solomon Islands*, (Suva, 1979).

of one or more descent groups, formed when all or most members of a descent group, including the priest, converted to Christianity. Mountain converts moved into coastal villages where they had kinsmen or landrights, and several families would cluster on previously unoccupied coastal strips.⁷⁷ On Ysabel, where the Melanesian Mission had been involved in the primary stages of pacification, the Anglican Bishop Dudley Tuti was to amalgamate villages on Santa Ysabel into the 1960s "so that mission activity would be more centralised and social services more easily disseminated."⁷⁸

Establishment of mission work among previously unevangelised peoples, often in remote areas, encouraged tribal societies which were traditionally fragmented and fluid to settle near permanent mission stations, and traditional restrictions on mobility, often related to the dangers of travel into enemy territory, eased under Christian influence.⁷⁹ However, the process of dispersing mission influence throughout a colony, as part of the extensive social, intellectual and political change imposed on Melanesian societies, was all preliminary to the involvement of missions in the second stage of pacification, which required greater health and education services, together with improvements in law and order, land use, communications, and marketing of agriculture; and the first stages of political responsibility. Throughout Melanesia pacification in the modern period was achieved by offering welfare services as much as by using force, and for the provision of welfare services, colonial governments engaged - in addition to its own finances and manpower - the resources of an ever increasing number of mission societies.

⁷⁷ Roger Keesing, "Christians and Pagans in Kwaio, Malaita", *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 76:1, March 1967.

⁷⁸ Geoffrey White, "Bigmen and Church Men", PhD, (University of California, 1978), 173. Also, White, "War, Peace and Piety", 135; Florence Young, founder of the SSEM, "grouped the scattered settlement units into a much larger grouping", David Totoroa, "Baunani", in Larmour, *Land in Solomon Islands*, 76. Hilliard describes the origins of this process for the Anglican Mission at Sa'a, 1880: David Hilliard, "The South Sea Evangelical Mission in the Solomon Islands", *Journal of Pacific History* 4, 1969. This is not to say that formation of villages was the only trend, in some areas, communities preferred to remain in, or return to, bush settlements, such as on New Hanover, 1958. Patrol Reports Kavieng 1958/59. PR 4 of 1958/59. TPNG. Rodman, however, noted the lack of success of mission amalgamation of villages on Aoba by the 1970s.

⁷⁹ On Rossel Island Christianity brought mobility for all to a society in which only big-men had been allowed to stray far from a secure settlement: J. Liep, "'This Civilising influence': the colonial transformation of Rossel Island society", *Journal of Pacific History*, 18:2 (April 1983). There were instances, on the other hand, where Catholic mission adherents in the Western Highlands, refused, in the 1950s, to use government roads built across the land of traditional enemies. DC WHD to Director, DNA, 8 July 1955. TPNG, 1284 - 35/5/14 p11.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MISSION FORCE EXPANDS

*The Field Council Secretary
Baptist Mission, Baiyer River, via Lae
9 October, 1956*

*The Act. Assistant Administrator
Territory of Papua New Guinea*

Dear Sir,

We feel it a great privilege to welcome you and your party to the Baiyer river, one of our Mission Stations in the Highland area.

I enclose a Memorandum outlining the activities of our Missionary work at Baiyer River, Lumi, Sau Valley and Telefomin. This will indicate the approach we are making for the welfare and the uplift of the people in close co-operation with the Administration.

We greatly appreciate the assistance we have received so far in our Medical and Educational programme but as further developments take place a much greater demand is being made upon us as a mission.

We would like to assure you of our loyal co-operation with the Administration in the varied tasks that lie ahead.

Yours Faithfully,

*V.J. White,
Field Secretary.*

In the post-war years, the missionary presence in Melanesia entered a new phase. Whereas the mainline denominational churches had established an effective presence before the war, conservative fundamentalist evangelical sects now made their entry. In the 1970s, these two phases were to be complemented by a third, which involved pentecostal and charismatic groups. The operation of so many missionary societies in Melanesia brought protests from the well-established missions, who held legitimate concerns for the influence that they had laboriously built-up through informal comity agreements. On occasion, disputes between the adherents of contending missions - which usually concerned prosletysm by one mission within the geographic "territory" of another - proved detrimental to the local population. To colonial governments, however, the benefits of having several missions present were judged to outweigh the costs. In particular, mission organisations were often impelled to improve their facilities, lest their adherents find the services being offered by another mission more appealing. Colonial administrations knew this, and as far as possible remained aloof from sectarian strife. The concern of the established missions about the proliferation of missions and "sects" were not shared by governments, who only examined issues of "law and order". Ultimately, religious denominationalism and sectarianism weakened the extent to which Christian agencies were able to influence colonial policy, and shape the future nation-states.

According to article (8) of the Trusteeship agreement, by which Australia administered Papua and New Guinea,

No restrictions are imposed on missions or missionary authorities, other than the right of the Administering Authority to exercise such control as may be necessary, for the

maintenance of peace, order and good government, the entry into restricted areas, and for the educational advancement of the inhabitants.¹

Cleland referred to this policy in 1958, when answering a query on the issue of religious freedom directed to him by the administrator of Dutch New Guinea.² Following the expression of concern by the 1959 visiting mission of the United Nations Trusteeship Council, at the number of missions in the territory, the Australian administration gave an assurance that "a close watch was being kept for signs of adverse effects",³ but a subsequent investigation by J.A. Miles, historian at the Australian School of Pacific Administration (ASOPA), suggested that:

Any attempt ...to restrict the activities of these missions in a discriminating way would be resisted by what appear to be fairly substantial organisations whose ability to influence American official opinion should not ... be underestimated.

As various small religious groups applied to enter the territory, the administration felt unable to refuse: once a certain number had gained entry, a ban on others may have been interpreted as religious discrimination when politically, the administration wished to remain in good standing with the international community.⁴ All that was required of potential missionaries before entry to the Territory was proof of accommodation and employment, and (if employment with a mission was not guaranteed) possession of not less than 150 pounds.⁵ This official attitude remained constant, and very few applications by missionaries for entry to the Australian territory were disallowed. Some of the new missions were familiar to the administration.⁶ Others with which it was unfamiliar were screened by

¹ "Missionary Activities", *Report to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of the Territory of New Guinea. 1953-54*, (Canberra 1954), 65.

² Cleland to Government Secretary, 29 July 1958. TPNG, 47 - 62/5/9.

³ "Trust Territory of New Guinea: Conclusions and recommendations adopted by the United Nations Trusteeship Council at its Twenty-Sixth Session, April-June, 1960.", *Current Notes*, 31:7, July 1960.

⁴ Thus, when the Hundred Nations Crusade wished to establish a base in the eastern highlands, the Director of District Administration wrote: "We would not be enthusiastic about these smaller splinter groups operating here without extensive resources or proper base support and establishing further divisions among the indigenous people. On the other hand, nothing is known which would justify a refusal to register the group. So many similar ones have already been registered." J.K. McCarthy, 20/1/66. TPNG, 40/2/12 - 9370.

⁵ C.R. Lambert, Govt. Sect. to Cyril Morgan, Apostolic Church, 4 August 1953. TPNG, 309 - 33/3/42. These were similar requirements to those of the BSIP Immigration Regulations 1955.

⁶ These included the South Sea Evangelical Mission, the Australian Baptist Missionary Society, and the Salvation Army, which first indicated its desire to work in the Territory in September 1955, and was subsequently invited to submit welfare project proposals to the Administration. Plans for a hostel and a headquarters site at Port Moresby were approved with other proposals to be "considered in due course". J.K. McCarthy, minute, 1 October 1956. TPNG, 9369 - 40/2/8.

Australian security agencies before being allowed entry to the Territory.⁷ Ultimately, the administration's casual attitude toward the multiplicity of small missions came from its perception that the larger missions, not the smaller, caused it more concern: the smaller groups, especially the one man missions, "had very little influence at all".⁸

Prior to handing over to civil administration in 1946, ANGAU debated at length the matter of mission "zoning". Although the District Officers for Huon (Niall), Mt Hagen (Greathead), and ANGAU commanders for the Northern Region (McDonald), and Koroba (Sinclair), stated their preference for zoning, the first Highlands District Commissioner, Jim Taylor, decided against it.⁹ From then on, "zoning", so as to decrease the incidence of sectarianism, was considered "impractical",¹⁰ and in the late 1940s Taylor joined Murray in encouraging more missions to settle in the highlands, especially among the estimated 100,000 people living between Wabag and Mt Hagen.¹¹

The major missions lost any chance they had of controlling the location of the smaller missions when at the 1947 mission-administration conference, they also decided against the adoption of a "spheres of influence" policy in the highlands.¹² Such comity agreements as had existed had broken down, largely because Catholic and Adventist missions refused to acknowledge them. Missions were free to establish comity agreements with neighbouring missions. Such pacts, while not recognised in law, still aided inter-mission relations. Rules for the influx of mission societies had thus been defined: the attraction of large numbers of unevangelised peoples was immense; official access was relatively easy; the larger missions were unable to protect their traditional spheres of influence - and no-one predicted the extent of

⁷ When, for example, the New Tribes Mission applied for entry in 1947, the administration checked with the FBI, to ensure that it was not "a lop-sided organisation which could contribute little to the welfare of the Native people". W.C. Groves to Govt. Sect, 9 October 1947. TPNG, 300 - 33/3/19. An application for entry in December in 1959 by the Christian Literature Crusade, a small, unknown organisation, was granted only after investigation by the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation.

⁸ This is the view of Keith Dyer, employed in DDSNA 1946 - 1969, and the Planning Office 1969-71. pers. comm.

⁹ Taylor submitted to DSNA "That there be no zoning of mission areas, ie, that missionaries of all denominations be permitted to prosecute their calling within areas determined and designated 'under strong influence'." 6 February 1947. TPNG, 2933 - 32/1/1. The highlands were administered as one district (Central Highlands) from 1946 until September 1951, when the Southern, Western, and Eastern Highlands Districts were created. In June 1966, Chimbu District was created following further subdivision.

¹⁰ Jones, Director, DSNA, "Mission Investigation", 16 July 1952. AA, CRS, A518 - AE 838/1.

¹¹ Missions assessing the potential in the late 1940s felt they had "underestimated the need" in the highlands: Griffiths to Kenny, 10 November 1948. SSEM, Mr Kenny's Correspondence 1945-51.

¹² Summary of Proceedings of the Conference of Representatives of Administration and Missions, May 21-28, 1947. AA, CRS, A518 - AB838/1. Pt 3. Catholic stations were established at Minj, Banz, Nondugl, Ulga, and Pompobus in the Wabag area. The outcome of the mission's 1947 decision, predicted Kuder, would be a "general scurrying hither and yon with the resultant breakup of native tribal clan and even family units", "Superintendent's Report for the Year 1947". 190/51/81. ELC.

missionary interest in the Australian Trust Territory that was to be shown over the next decade.¹³

A number of mission organisations, including the Australian Baptists, and the MAF, were attracted into the South Pacific by members who had served in the region in the Second World War, and had seen the opportunities for evangelism.¹⁴ Some were granted entry despite their lack of apparent preparation. Australian Franciscans arrived in the Sepik in 1946 neither ideologically nor materially equipped to commence their first foreign mission.¹⁵ Representatives of the East and West Indies Bible mission settled at Pabarabuk in the Western Highlands in 1948, equipped with "no knowledge of Papua and its people, very little equipment, and...not organised" to conduct the operations they intended to undertake.¹⁶

In addition to the mission organisations present before the war, and those that arrived soon after it, already mentioned, yet others were formed inside the Territory. Charles Abel's break with the London Missionary Society to establish the Kwato Extension Association early in the century; and Eve Standen's 1937 break with the Unevangelised Fields Mission to establish the Bamu River Mission (the "mission in the mud") suggested to the Administration that Stan Dale's break with the New Tribes Mission, and other such contemporary mission-splinterings, might likewise be successful.¹⁷ Furthermore, the survival of the East and West Indies Bible Mission, and other small "faith" missions, despite their inadequate financing, proved to the administration that such missions could also be successful. For this reason, several Open Brethren were able to establish themselves in the Territory without the backing of large base organisations.

¹³ By 1964, 14 missions were present in the Southern Highlands, on 39 stations: There were at this time approximately 128 mission staff. Annual Report, Southern Highlands District 1964/65. TPNG, 13933 - 72/2/15. By 1970, the number of missions had increased by just 1 (SIL) to 15: Southern Highlands District, Annual Report 1969/70. TPNG, 13933 - 72/2/15. When the administration did require assistance with language studies, it engaged the expertise of missions, particularly, in later years, the Summer Institute of Linguistics, which commenced work in Papua New Guinea in 1956. In the Western Highlands at this time, there were 13 missions on 70 stations: Western Highlands District, Annual Report 1969/70. TPNG, 13934 - 72/4/13 pt 1. By 1972, there were 23 religious organisations in the Eastern Highlands (although not all were "missions"): Eastern Highlands District, Annual Report 1971/72. TPNG, 13933 - 72/2/13 pt 3. SIL was engaged in language studies, rather than in the usual mission station establishment, and had, in 1960, 3 projects in SHD, and 16 projects in EHD. SIL, "Director's Report 1960". TPNG, 1269 - 7/2/6.

¹⁴ Australian Baptists decided in 1947 to commence work in New Guinea, after A. Wilkins had made preliminary enquiries about establishing a mission while stationed in the territory in war-time. Orr and Kronert reconnoitred in May 1949. Edwin Hartwig established the Missionary Aviation Fellowship in Papua New Guinea in 1949, having flown there during the war [TPNG, 309 - 33/3/15]. Stan Dale, of the New Tribes mission, had been an infantryman in Papua New Guinea.

¹⁵ Stephen J. Duggan, "In the Shadow of Somoro: the Franciscan Experience in the Sepik Region, 1946-75", MA, La Trobe University, March 1983.

¹⁶ A/DO Goroka, to DDSNA, 4 September 1948, TPNG, 872 - 32/3/24. In the 1960s James Hummel and his wife left the East and West Indies Bible Mission to establish a branch of the Christian Union Mission.

¹⁷ Govt. Sect. to Murray, 6 June 1949. TPNG, 310 - 33/4/2. For a contemporary instance of the "missionary as heroine amidst heathen" trope in mission literature, see Mabel Ann Bladon, *The Story of the Bamu*, (Australia, 1982). In the 1960s, the Wesleyans split with the Evangelical Bible Missions, taking with them several mission stations. Disputes between the latter and the East and West Indies Bible mission came to the administration's notice: ADO B.M. O'Neill to ADO Pangia, 21 September 1964. TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/17 pt 4. In 1970 two families, Rowe, and Nalder, were operating independent missions at Kundiawa, CHD.

the mission force expands

MISSIONS AND RELIGIOUS ORGANISATIONS IN ORDER OF ENTRY OR FORMATION			
	Papua New Guinea	New Hebrides	Solomon Islands
Catholic (Marist)	1847	1848	1845, 1898
Presbyterian Church of Scotland -	1848		
Foreign Missions of Milan	1850s		
Methodist Mission	1874	1902	
Society of the Divine Word (SVD) -	1875		
Sacred Heart	1884		
Evangelical Lutheran Church			
of PNG (Finschafen)	1886		
Rhenish Mission Society (Madang)	1887		
Anglican	1891	1856	
London Missionary Society	1871	1839	
Presbyterian		1848	
Methodist Church of New Zealand.	1950s		1902
Seventh Day Adventist	1908	1912	1914
Manus Evangelical Church (Liebenzell)	1914		
Kwato Extension Association	1917		
Evangelical Church of Papua	1931		
Unevangelised Fields Mission	1932		
Bamu River Mission	1936		
Jehovah's Witnesses	1938		
Franciscan Province of the Holy Spirit	1946		
Palau Church	1946		
South Sea Evangelical Mission	1948		1904
Australian Baptist Missionary Society	1948		
Assemblies of God (Australia)	1948	c1948 (USA)	c1948 (USA)
Bethel Pentecostal Temple	1948		
East and West Indies Bible Society (USA)	1948		
Evangelical Bible Mission	1948		
Wabag (Gutnius/Good News)	1948		
Baptist Union Western Highlands	1949	1972	
New Tribes Mission	1949		
New Guinea Lutheran Mission - Missouri Synod	1949		
New Zealand Evangelistic & Publication Assoc.	c1949		
Missionary Aviation Fellowship	1951	1975	
Methodist Church of Australia.	1951		
Apostolic Church Mission	1954	1949	
Baha'i Faith	1954	1954	1954
Church of the Nazarene	1955		
Christian Brethren	c1955		
International Church of the			
Worldwide Evangelisation Crusade	1955		
Order of Friars Minor (Capuchins)	1956		
Salvation Army	1956		
Independent Christian Mission	1956		
Summer Institute of Linguistics	1956		
World Missions Incorporated	1957		
Churches of Christ Mission (Aust)	1958	1901	
National Revival Crusade Mission (usa)	1958		
Grace Tribal Mission Inc	1958		
Foursquare Gospel (Aust & USA)	1958		
Christian Missions in Many Lands	c1958		
Swiss Evangelical Brotherhood	c1958		
Society of Preachers (Dominicans)			1959
Society of St Francis	1959		
Montfort Fathers	1959		
Christian Fellowship Church			1960
Apostolic Christian Church (NZ)	1960		
New Guinea Gospel Mission (NZ)	1960		
Fathers of Mariannhill (Dutch/German)	1960		
Christian Literature Crusade	1960		
Wesleyan Church	1961		
Passionists	1961		
Presbyterian Church of New Zealand	1961		
Christian Revival Crusade	1963		
New Guinea Revival Mission			
Churches of Christ in Christian Union	1963		
(Christian Union Mission)	1964		
Last Reaper Unlimited	c1965		
Melanesian Council of Churches	1965		
New Life League Mission Society	1966		
Assn of Baptists for World Evangelism	1967		
Baptist International Missions	1967		
Pentecostal Church	1968		
Kein Independence Group	1969		

Figure 14 Mission and Church organisations in Melanesia, in order of entry or formation.

Several missions made known in their initial application their interest in evangelising newly contacted tribes. In April 1949 the New Zealand Evangelistic and Publication Association enquired about areas "untouched by, or insufficiently catered for by other Protestant Missionary Societies".¹⁸ In March 1955 the Queensland-based Worldwide Evangelisation Crusade asked the administration which districts were not as yet occupied by other missions; the approximate population of districts "untouched" by mission activity; and whether any missions had already been "allocated" to recently contacted tribes. North Americans John and Lois James of World Missions Incorporated arrived in 1957, keen to work among the Kukukuku in the Eastern Highlands, equipped with a calling card that read "don't pray for us unless you believe your prayers will help make the difference between success and failure in defeating the satanic forces which hold the heathen in bondage";¹⁹ and representatives of the Grace Tribal Mission arrived in January 1958 to work "among aborigine peoples - to reduce their language to writing, translate the New Testament, promote literacy, and establish a self-governing New Testament Church."²⁰ Twenty-seven mission societies had representatives at the 1952 mission-administration conference, and by 1955 there were 33 missionary organisations in the territory, rising to 40 over the next three years.²¹

By 1958, when the administration enquired into the entry of "American Cults" into the territory, fifteen organisations had established themselves since the war. The Baptists, Salvation Army and South Sea Evangelical missions were the better known organisations. Six lesser-known American organisations had commenced work: The East and West Indies Bible Mission, New Tribes Mission, Four Square Gospel Mission, Church of the Nazarene, Christian Missions in Many Lands, and Jehovah's Witnesses. Representatives of the Assemblies of God, Christian Assemblies, and Churches of Christ had entered from Australia; and from New Zealand members of the Apostolic Church Mission and the New Guinea

¹⁸ Robert McKeich to Murray, 11 April 1949. TPNG, 309 - 33/3/7.

¹⁹ TPNG, 872 - 32/3/27.

²⁰ Dell. G. Schultze, Sec. Treas. Grace Tribal Mission, to Sec. Dept. Terr. 11 January 1958. TPNG, 47 - 62/5/4.

²¹ Enquiries concerning entry to Papua New Guinea came at a steady pace: 1948 - Australian Assemblies of God missionaries arrived (North American representatives entered Solomon Islands and the New Hebrides); June 1949: enquiry by Australian Anglicans; November 1948: W.E. Griffiths (SSEM) surveyed the Central Highlands and the Sepik; November 1948: New Guinea Lutheran Mission - Missouri Synod settled at Yarramanda, Wabag; March 1951: Gerald Wunsch, a bee-keeping Plymouth Brethren sought entry; April 1951 Australian Methodists enquired about the Central Highlands and the New Tribes missionaries commenced operations in the upper Wutut, Morobe, (from where they later extended to Mt Michael); February 1954: enquiry by the Canadian branch of Christian Missions in Many Lands (CMML); March 1954: enquiry by the Swiss Evangelical Brotherhood; 1956: arrival of the Salvation Army, (which concentrated its work in the Rigo and Kainantu districts); 1956: arrival of American Capuchins in the Southern Highlands; 1957: Australian Churches of Christ Foreign Mission Board selected Bogia to be their first base; March 1958: entry of two members of the National Revival Crusade; April 1958: phone-call from Los Angeles from the Four Square Gospel's Dr Harold Chalford, wishing to inspect the territory; 1959: applications from G.R. Ellis, of the Independent Christian Mission, the Free Reformed Church in Launceston, Tasmania, and by the Australian Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church; February 1959: a Stigmatine missionary entered the territory to assess the possibility of establishing a mission in the Alexishafen or Aitape areas, and received the full cooperation of administrator Cleland, who arranged meetings with the directors of various government departments: Romolo Carboni (Apostolic Delegate) to D.M. Cleland (Administrator), 20 February 1959. TPNG, 92 - 92/4/33.

Revival Mission. From Europe came members of the Swiss Evangelical Brotherhood.²² There were also representatives of other religious influences, such as the Moral Rearmament Campaign, and the Bahá'í Faith, who did not seek to establish missionary organisations.²³

Other organisations, for which specific dates of entry (or formation) are not necessarily included: Solomon Islands Christian Association; Vanuatu Christian Council; Australian Volunteers Abroad (1964); Volunteer Service Overseas; Canadian Universities Service Overseas; Order of St Stephen (Methodist); New Covenant Assembly; SSM - Society of the Sacred Mission; Bible Missionary Church; Baptist - Sovereign Grace; Bible Fellowship International; Balam-Kauk Voluntary Education Agency; World Radio Missionary Fellowship; Christian Radio Fellowship; Highlands Christian Mission; World Outreach; New Guinea Evangelical Brother Union; New Baptist Canaan Mission; Full Gospel Movement; Rowe Family; Wiru Mission; Nalder Family; Sola Fide; Christian and Missionary Alliance; Hundred Nations Crusade; Village Church; Faith Mission; Fitzgerald and O'Shannessy Mission; Gospel Tidings; Papuan Holdings (Bailbara) Ltd; H.R. & G.J. Rudd & Sons; Mission Organisations; Misereor (Germany); Evangelical Alliance; Australian Freedom from Hunger; South Pacific Anglican Council; Cepac; South Pacific Assoc. of Theological Schools; Friars of St Francis (to SI 1970); Peli (Hawk) Association (1971); World Wide Missions (1971); YMCA (1972).

Figure 15 Mission and Church organisations in Melanesia (cont).

The number of new missionary organisations that entered the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu was insignificant in comparison. By 1957 the British administration in the Solomons recognised the presence of seven denominations, of which five - the Melanesian Mission, Catholic, Methodist, Seventh Day Adventist, and South Seas Evangelical Missions - had been present before the war; while an additional two - Bahá'í, and Jehovah's Witnesses - had entered since. In later years, there was considerable diversification of missionary interests in the Solomon Islands.²⁴ A similar situation existed in the New Hebrides. Apart from Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian, Church of Christ, and Seventh Day Adventist missions, missionaries for the Jehovah's Witnesses, Apostolic Church, and Bahá'í Faith settled in the Condominium in the first post-war decade.

²² D.M. Cleland, Administrator, to C.R. Lambert, Sec. Dept. of Territories, 29 July 1958. TPNG, 47 - 62/5/9.

²³ Bahá'í "pioneers" first settled in various Pacific islands from 1953, as part of a world-wide decade-long phase of missionization. Prior to 1953, there were Bahá'í communities in Papua, New Caledonia, and Fiji. At the commencement of the "World Crusade" (1953-63) the first pioneers to move into Melanesia included Vi Hoehnke and Rodney Hancock to Papua New Guinea in April and July 1954 respectively; Alvin and Gertrude Blum to Solomon Islands in March 1954; and Bertha Dobbins to New Hebrides in October 1953. The Bahá'ís established neither mission stations, nor welfare services, and had normal secular occupations. Such social and economic development as did occur within Pacific Bahá'í communities was initiated and sustained from within, with the emphasis being on self-reliance rather than dependence. National administrative bodies were established in Papua New Guinea in 1969; New Hebrides in 1977; and Solomon Islands in 1971: Graham Hassall, "The emergence of the Bahá'í Faith in the South Pacific, 1953-1963", *Proceedings of the Bahá'í Studies Conference 1987*, (Perth, 1987); J.K. Parratt, "Religious Change in Port Moresby", *Oceania*, XL: December 1970.

²⁴ Eusebius J. Crawford, "Missionary Effort in the Pacific", *Australasian Catholic Record*, LXVI:2, April 1982.

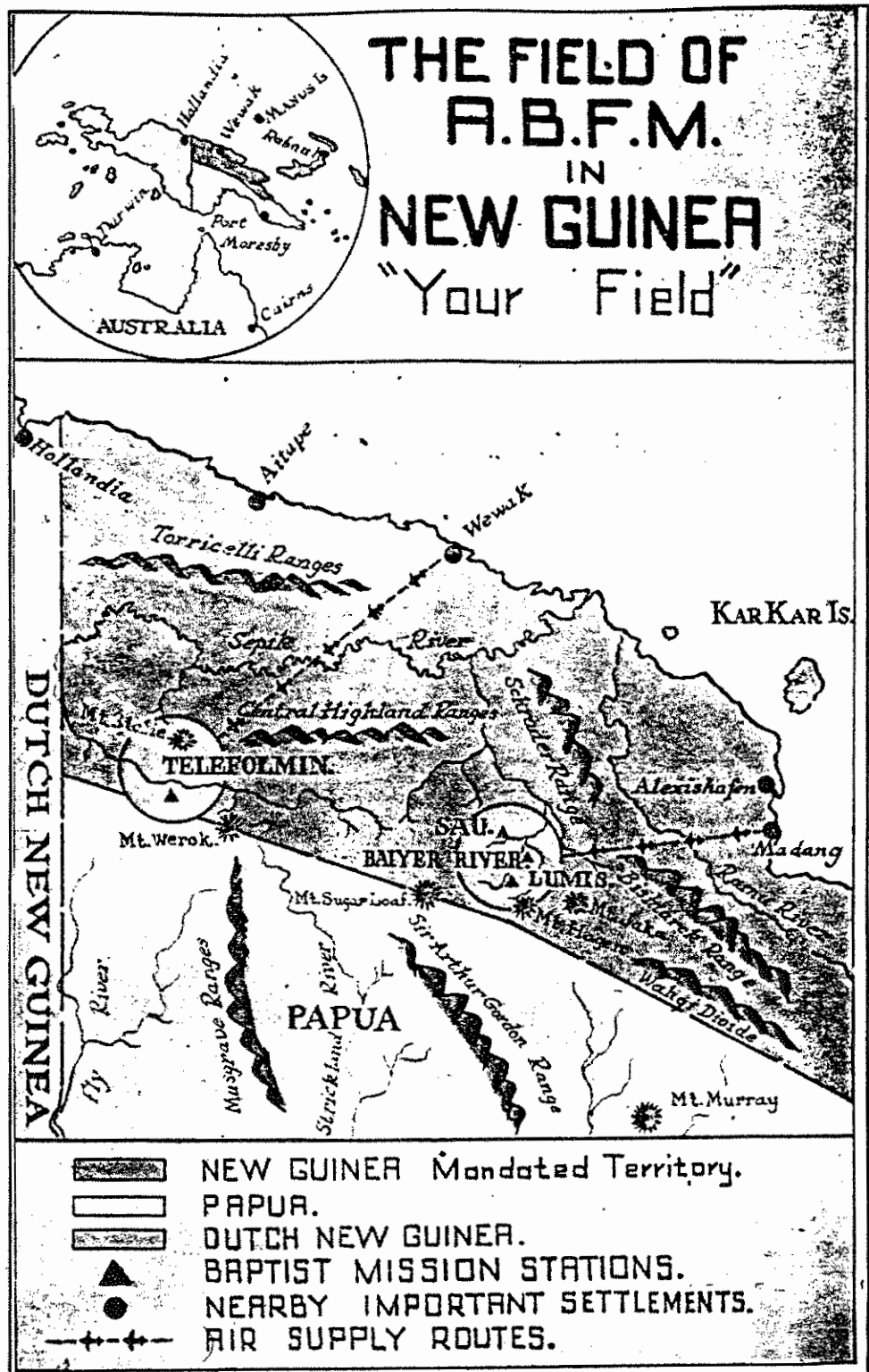


Figure 16 Map showing activities of the Australian Baptist Missionary Society in the New Guinea highlands. (source: *Vision*, December 1954).

In contrast, new missions continued to arrive in the Australian territory into the 1960s: the Fathers of Mariannhill early in 1960; Fred Halliman and family, of the Macedonia Baptist Church,²⁵ Chicago, Illinois; and Miss Miller of the Apostolic Christian Church, Oregon, who arrived in November direct from the Wycliffe Bible Translators jungle camp in Chiapas, Mexico. Special assistance was given to the settlement in the highlands of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, whose subsequent linguistic studies were of considerable assistance to the administration. In 1959 the administration established a co-operative relationship with SIL, involving language studies in specific locations, and language training courses for administrators. By 1960 SIL had a staff of 77, and had 23 language projects in progress,²⁶ and by 1962 it had completed 7 language surveys for the administration.²⁷

There were a variety of motives that led to the reception of so many different religious bodies in Melanesian societies. At first contact, the initial strategy of a mission, and the tangible benefits it offered, were more consequential than details of doctrine and belief, and missions sought to engage whole clans, or regions, in their care. For the longest established missions, Christian belief, and the social morés of the particular denomination, became embedded as cultural elements of a changing society. Religious change usually occurred following dissatisfaction with some facet of the mission's program: whether dissatisfaction with the level of services it offered (schools,²⁸ clinics); with its strictures on morals, diet, or cultural practices; or following clashes with individual missionaries. Often a second mission was invited into a village by a disaffected big-man engaged in petty power-struggles with either a priest, missionary, or church elders; or by a sub-clan, engaged in intra-clan rivalry over land or some other issue.

Beyond considerations of material return, and local-level power, there were instances of individuals or groups seeking out alternate religious beliefs that were more in keeping with their

²⁵ From his base at Koroba in the Southern Highlands, Halliman travelled to other parts of the territory spreading the New Baptist Canaan Mission. In 1966 he spent a month in the Siwai district of Bougainville, where he disrupted the "religious harmony and tolerance" which had been established there among Catholics and Methodists: Buin Patrol no. 1 of 1966/67, Siwai Census Division. TPNG, Buin Patrol Reports 1961-62 to 1973-74.

²⁶ "Summer Institute of Linguistics, Director's Report 1959-60", TPNG, 1269 - 7/2/6.

²⁷ L.R. Newby, "Survey of Motu Language and 'Police Motu' by the Summer Institute of Linguistics", (Administration Press Statement No 72) 30 July 1962. TPNG, 1269 - 7/2/6. Whereas the government was most interested in demographically significant language studies, SIL also undertook studies of languages spoken by as few as 60 people, as occurred in the 1960 at Lake Kutubu. Keith Dyer, pers. comm.

²⁸ An SSEM missionary, for instance, reported the necessity of a Christian Brethren school to match "rations, blanket, mosquito net, ect, with meat and rice on Saturday", being offered at the Protestant and Catholic boarding schools at Nukua: boarding schools, "to prevent all their boys leaving and going to the R.C.", letter to L. Schrader, 24 March 1959. SSEM, Missionaries H - Z, 1959; The SSEM was forced by the wishes of its members to provide more secular education: "Originally (the SSEM) had never set out to establish secular schools in the Solomons; the missionaries had come to help people like Peter Amboufa spread the Gospel among islanders. But times and needs were changing. Christian leaders in the Solomons quietly made it clear that their people wanted the opportunity for schooling that would help them meet new developments as their country 'grew up' towards independence", Alison Griffiths, *Fire in the Islands: The Acts of the Holy Spirit in the Solomons*, (Illinois, 1977), 148; In the New Guinea highlands the Australian Baptists observed that the Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA) lost converts to Catholicism through failing to provide schools: (ABMS, Board Minutes, 1960, 6).

traditional beliefs and cosmologies; while further important stimuli to religious change resulted from improved educational levels, and increased mobility and urbanisation. Following higher education, students often gained a sense of individuality that enabled them to make judgements independently of their clan, and to question more rigorously the tenets of their religion. The attraction of educated Melanesians to civil service employment in the colonial capitals, where they met people from different ethnic regions who had different religious beliefs, led in many instances to the taking of new religious beliefs from urban areas to remote villages.

Concern for resources, rather than for religious belief, formed the basis of colonial policy regarding missionary societies. The larger the number of such "voluntary agencies", the greater the amount of human and material resources available for the provision of welfare services. Similarly, governments found that inter-mission rivalries and competition promoted the quality of education, health, and other services provided by them. Cleland noted a feeling within the Department of Native Affairs that it was "better for the native people to have access to a number of missions than to be dominated by one" and himself felt it was possible to "over-estimate the confusion which natives may suffer".²⁹ They may even have benefited, since sectarian divisions stimulated thinking on social as well as theological issues.

While the administration had an "open access" policy, which did not limit entry of missions to the highlands, it indicated to them the locations in which it sought mission assistance. Until mid-1949, missions which enquired after areas "untouched by, or insufficiently catered for" by other missions, were directed to the Central Highlands and the Upper Sepik. After five missions had settled in the Central Highlands the administration directed further enquires to the South, around Goroka, or to the West, from Wabag to Chirunki, and to Telefomin.³⁰ Smaller missions sought entry into areas where the resources of the larger missions failed to reach.³¹ The New Tribes mission, in this manner, settled among the Kukukuku when the Lutherans failed to extend their work there.³² The East and West Indies Bible

²⁹ Cleland to Govt Sect. 29 July 1958. TPNG, 47 - 62/5/9. The observation was often made that friction, when it did appear, was most likely caused by 'over zealous catechists or pastors', than by mission followers. Mendi Annual Census Patrol Report No. 10 of 1968/69. TPNG, Mendi Patrol Reports 1967-68.

³⁰ When the Anglican Mission sought an un-missionised highlands area in 1949, it was directed to three areas: that between Bena Bena and Kainantu (population 18,000, with Adventists in the area); Kainantu in uncontrolled territory (population 10,000); and south of Mt. Hagen, toward the Tua River (population 7,000): J.H. Jones, a/dir. DDSNA, to Govt. Sect. 21 July 1949. The administration advised the Anglican Board of Mission to Consider the Mt. Michael area: a/Govt.Sect. to M.A. Warren, 21 July 1949. By 1951, an un-missionised highlands area was "impossible to define": George Greathead to Administrator, 3 July 1951. TPNG, 172, 15/3. The Australian Methodists, seeking a CHD field in 1950, were directed to "Telefomin and Sirunki and perhaps the Jimmi Valley": I.V. Champion, a/Director, DDSNA, to Govt. Sect. 21 April 1950. TPNG, 309 - 33/3/20.

³¹ One of Griffith's reasons for locating his SSEM station in the Sepik, rather than the highlands, was his consideration of the extent of Lutheran mission resources in the highlands. Griffiths to Kenny, 18 November 1948. SSEM, Mr Kenny's Correspondence 1945-51.

³² W.G. Groves to Govt.Sect., 9 October 1947. TPNG, 309 - 33/3/19. Griffiths to Kenny, 5 December 1949. SSEM, Mr Kenny's Correspondence 1945-51.

Mission settled at Kauapena about 1956; the Apostolic Christian Mission was looking at the possibilities of settling somewhere in the Lai Valley in 1963; and the Christian Union Mission (Church of Christ) applied for land in Undiri, near Mendi, in 1964. By the mid-1960s, most areas in the highlands had three or four missions in close proximity. In the Lai Valley, SDA, Lutheran, Catholic and Apostolic missions were located within one mile radius of Winja rest house, evangelising a population of no more than 600, in a spirit of "excessive zeal" and "antagonism".³³ When the friction surrounding an effort by CMML missionaries to establish a church in an area already occupied by Capuchins in the Southern highlands' Koroba district was reported to the District Officer, the usual reply was made that religious freedom existed in the Territory, and that "as long as the owners of the ground wanted the C.M.M.L. to build a church then there was nothing to stop that mission going ahead".³⁴

Each missionary organisation strove to establish a network of stations, and to undertake a variety of activities, which the settlement of rival missions threatened to disrupt. The Australian Methodists, established their first highlands station at Mendi, in the Southern Highlands in 1950, then others at Tari in 1953, and Nipa, in the Nembi Valley, in 1960. Within a decade the mission had 35 workers from 6 countries,³⁵ and operated schools, hospitals and a hansenide (leper) colony, and worked an agricultural lease of 145 acres. When Catholic missionaries entered the Southern Highlands in September 1954, and established stations at Mendi, Tari, Erave and Ialibu, and Seventh Day Adventists also arrived, a Methodist indicated his mission's attitude:

All their normal stratagems are being exploited to attract followers. 6 American priests are expected to arrive within a few months. The SDA mission established a station at Tari in April, making the 4th mission within the "derestricted" 2 miles radius of the government station. It is significant that their survey party made immediate use of a projector and "picture nights" an enticement. The presence of these 2 missions does not lessen our difficulties and surely calls for fully trained well equipped staff, and underlines the emphasis which is being placed on the learning of the vernacular.³⁶

Having arrived in the Highlands in 1950, the Methodists toiled for nine years to win their first

³³ TPNG, Patrol Report 4 of 1964/65. "Missions", p 12.

³⁴ M.R. Haywood, "Relations between Missions Koroba Census Division", 28 November 1963. TPNG, SHD, 51/1/17, pt.1.

³⁵ Including the Tongan David Mone, in the Lai Valley. "The Highlands of Papua and New Guinea", *Missionary Review* October 1960, 11. By 1961 the figure was 38, including 7 Australians, 4 New Zealanders, 9 Solomon Islanders, 10 from New Guinea district, 8 from Papua: *Missionary Review*, October 1961, 11.

³⁶ G.H. Young, Annual Report of Superintendent of Papua New Guinea highlands mission, 1955. Methodist Church. Overseas Mission. Mission District Minutes, Circuit Reports. Box 363. ML. A year later, Young continued to express his concern at the number of missions located at Mendi and Tari. Board Minutes, 16 May 1956. MCNZ

converts.³⁷ In order to preserve their gains the Methodists negotiated with the UFM in 1956 an agreement that the UFM work in the area west of Tari and that the Methodists expand over west ridge into Lai River Valley.³⁸ Lutherans made similar "border" agreements with both the Evangelical Bible Mission, and the Methodists, concerning their work at Alkena.³⁹

But not all missions agreed to limit their geographic sphere of activities. Although Bishop Scharmach complained to the administration when Seventh Day Adventists entered an area formerly occupied solely by the Catholic mission and appealed for its right "to be free from people disturbing our peace",⁴⁰ the Adventists were allowed to stay. At Wewak, the SSEM sought boundaries with the Christian Brethren, since their work was being affected by that mission, as well as by activities of the Assemblies of God and Seventh Day Adventists. The arrival of a second and even a third mission effectively ended the sectarian autonomy enjoyed by the original mission,⁴¹ and through the ensuing rivalry the administration secured a degree of control in such fields as local councils, co-operatives, and economic and agricultural projects. In the field of education, colonial authorities believed that inter-mission rivalry spurred the missions to improve their standards. Groves, Director of Education, had said,

much is to be gained...by the introduction of 'new blood'...there is room in this Territory for them all...and a healthy spirit of competition could be productive of much more effective Native developmental work.⁴²

Similarly, Roberts, head of DDSNA, reported on the establishment of a Catholic school at Taula, on Normanby Island, a traditionally Methodist area:

The opposition to the well established Methodist schools, should result in great improvements and prove of benefit to all. The principal failure of the Methodist schools is the failure to teach English. I believe it is the principle of the Roman

³⁷ By 1970 the region had won 1,800 converts: MCA. UCPNGSI, Bishops report Highlands region. 3rd An Synod Sep 70. Ct. Reps Box 377. Converts to the church totalled 12,000, while pastors increased from 25 to 44, and ministers from 7 to 11. Board minutes Book 376.

³⁸ This followed discussions commenced in 1954 between L.E. Buck, chairman of the Unevangelised Field Mission's Australian Council, and G.E. Sexton, the Papuan District Methodist Field Secretary.

³⁹ Karl Heiz Kirsch, "Alkena Report 1962". 2/51. ELC.

⁴⁰ L. Scharmach (Bishop of Rabaul) to Mr Orken, 13 November 1955. TPNG, 872 -32/2/5.

⁴¹ Jones, Director, DDSNA, hoped that, in the case of the Sina Sina area of the Eastern Highlands, traditionally "under Lutheran control", 'the more missionaries there are...the less autocratic will be the attitude of the Lutheran Mission'. Mission Investigation, 16 July 1952. AA, CRS, A518 - AE 838/1. In the 1970s, the dilution of the influence of the larger missions - Lutheran Catholic, and SDA - was noted in EHD: "Eastern Highlands District, Annual Report 1971/72: Relationships and Influences: Mission Influence", 45. TPNG, 13933 - 72/2/13 pt 3. On the "theocratic" nature of Charles Abel's Kwato mission see Anne Kaniku, "Religious Confusion", *Yagl-Ambu*, 4(4), November 1977, 264-83; on the Presbyterian "theocracy" on Tanna, see Gordon Parsonson, "The Wages of Anarchy: The Origins of the John Frum Cargo Cult on Tanna", ts. n.d.

⁴² Groves to Govt. Sect. 9 October 1947. TPNG, 309 - 33/3/19. Dyer suggests that administrators "perhaps secretly ... welcomed some new blood and more competition". pers. comm. By 1948 missionaries in Sepik District were expressing bitterness at government policy designed to "break the influence they have in these parts". K. Griffiths to Kenny, 10 November 1948. SSEM, Mr Kenny's Correspondence 1945-51.

Catholic teachers to try at every occasion to further native English standards.⁴³

In the Western Solomons, John Goldie realised that administrators had long set one mission against another, in order to strengthen the position of the secular government, and accused them of willingly eroding Methodist influence for the sake of the government's own progress.⁴⁴ Events in the New Hebrides followed the same pattern. When the government first allowed free entry to the Shepherd Islands in 1941, Presbyterian autonomy on the island was breached by Adventist influence, and in the 1950s Presbyterian mission work on Ambrym and Paama was in "desperate need of reinforcements"⁴⁵ in the face of Adventist and Catholic advances.⁴⁶ The simple placement of a teacher on East Santo by the Church of Christ mission in the 1950s upset Presbyterians who believed the intrusive mission had failed to abide by a comity agreement established previously by the Australian Missionary Council.⁴⁷

Despite mission concern at the entry of so many religions to the Territory the administration held firm.⁴⁸ A conference between the missions and the administration in Oct-Nov 1959 noted that where missions were in close proximity, this was for reasons of transportation and supply rather than intentional competition, and noted also that missions were not the only source of confusion to the people, who were confused by much else besides.⁴⁹ Demands from Melanesians that further religious missions be barred from entering the Territory - such as that by Stanis Boramilat, a Catholic trained Tolai who sought, as one of five members of the Tolai council, to petition the 1959 United Nations visiting mission - were not met.

The demands of European clerics were more strident. Philip Strong, for instance, felt the need to equip missionary candidates with the knowledge and ability to counteract "rampant, quasi-Christian

⁴³ A.A. Roberts, memorandum to Director, Education, 12/8/53. Extract from P/R 3/52-3. TPNG, Ed/5289. In the Sepik, a Brethren school was compelled, if it wished to not lose all its students to a nearby Catholic school, to provide its students with "rations, blanket, mosquito net ect with meat and rice on Saturday". Mr Griffiths to L. Schrader, 9 March 1959. SSEM, Missionaries H - Z, 1959.

⁴⁴ According to Goldie, Barley introduced Seventh Day Adventism to Maravovo "very much against their will", in order to weaken Methodist influence there. Goldie to Scriven, 18 September 1945. MCNZ. SI District. Corresp. with J.F. Goldie, 1922-51.

⁴⁵ Ambrym Report, 1950. New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission Council Reports 1950-56. PCNZ

⁴⁶ "Little need be said of the activities of the SDA sect. They (sic) are generally unpopular and their tactics mainly divisive.", Report on Tongoa Mission District 1951/52, New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission Council Reports, 1950-56. PCNZ

⁴⁷ Hog Harbour - East Santo Station Report, 1954-55. New Hebrides Mission Council Reports, 1950-56. MCNZ

⁴⁸ Only a few from the vast variety of examples need be mentioned: The problem of the sects was mentioned in the preparatory document for the 1961 meeting of missions, leading to the establishment of the Pacific Conference of Churches. Anti-sect literature was produced by the Christian Literature Crusade, and the activities of "sects" were often referred to in mission literature, and mission reports, eg: The Synod report of the Methodist New Guinea Islands Region, 1970, mentioned Jehovah's Witnesses as being 'very active', especially on New Ireland. In 1970 the Pacific Islands Christian Education Council published a booklet on sects in the Pacific: Wellock, P.N., & G. Aseta, *Sects at Work in the Pacific*, (Suva, 1970).

⁴⁹ "Observations of the administering authority on a petition entitled 'New Churches not to be brought to New Guinea' addressed to the United Nations by the combined Tolai councils, New Britain District". TPNG, 83 - 90/3/19.

organisations, such as Mormonism, SDAs, JW's, (and) Christian Scientists" that were growing in strength and influence in the Pacific. Strong also believed that "trained and qualified leadership" had to be prepared to counter the "aggressive strategy of the church of Rome", namely the achievement of "political supremacy by influencing the governments through such institutions as her rapidly developing parochial school system, her Catholic youth organisations and other Roman Catholic societies".⁵⁰

Despite ecumenical advances, this sectarian attitude survived: committees were established to report on "SDA Errors",⁵¹ and Melanesians were continually warned of the entry of Bahá'ís, Seventh Day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses into the Solomon Islands.⁵² Later, sectarian competition thrived in the emerging towns, as well as in outer regions.⁵³ Yet the apparent prosperity, administrative efficiency, and deference to the highest officials, shown by Seventh Day Adventists, placed them in good standing with the colonial states. Murray felt that Adventists, although not totally accepted by the more orthodox Christian sects, were "on the basis of their deeds...holding their own very well",⁵⁴ - a view shared by J.T. Gunther, Director of the Department of Health, who considered that Adventists showed business acumen, efficiency with reporting and accounting, and, further,

from a headquarters point of view it is very much easier to deal with them as it is their desire that Headquarters deal with their Headquarters...Their trained native people are loyal, conscientious and respectful...⁵⁵

There was not the same positive acceptance of the Watchtower Association (Jehovah's Witnesses). In 1957 missions in Papua and New Guinea sought to have Jehovah's Witnesses banned from the Territory by suggesting their theology "bore strong resemblance to cargo cult beliefs", and that

⁵⁰ P.N.W. Strong, *Out of Great Tribulation*, (East Cape, 1947).

⁵¹ In 1945 a committee was established at the synod of the Presbyterian missions in the New Hebrides, to report on "SDA errors". By 1951 the report had been translated into Male.

⁵² "Report and Minutes of the Brothers Conference for 1959 at Tabalia", CM, F2 -1. An article about Bahá'í appeared in *Mission Review*, December 1968, 67:6, 6.

⁵³ The Jehovah's Witnesses were perceived by the LMS as a threat to their work near Moresby: In 1958 the Methodist secretary Cecil Gribble warned of the impact "sects" were having in new urban areas, and proposed that the church study local social problems, bring them to the notice of government authorities, and assist them in solving them. Also, Methodist "boys" from the highlands were doing SDA correspondence courses in Moresby; "Jehovah's Witnesses attract Methodist boys at Port Moresby; Mormons are actively at work in Suva, SDA's are growing in Djakarta; and Pentecostals have become the major Protestant group in the cities of Latin America.", C. Gribble, "Population on the Move", *Mission Review*, 67:3, Sept 58, 5-6. On the impact of urban migration on mission interests in the Solomon Islands see Tippet, *Solomon Islands Christianity*, 96. In the Solomons the Assemblies of God were present in Honiara by 1971; Stephen Sipolo was among those who embraced Pentecostalism. The rapid spread of Seventh Day Adventist missions in post-war Melanesia led to innumerable sectarian incidents, such as at Talasea, New Britain, where catechists were assaulted in 1955: Alleged assaults by mission body, 3 October 1955. TPNG, 872 - 32/2/5. and at Milne Bay, where a representative was established in the 1960s on Gesila Island, in a traditionally Anglican area: Annual Reports. Milne Bay District 1962-63, 9. TPNG, 5516 - 48/3/4.

⁵⁴ J.K. Murray to J. Howse, Parliamentary Undersecretary, 18 July 1950. TPNG, GH/15-8 - 172.

⁵⁵ J.T. Gunther to Govt Sect. 13 December 1951. TPNG, 33/4/2 - 310.

the organisation was "a danger to peace, social welfare and good government in (the) Territory".⁵⁶ Jehovah's Witness' activities were also discussed at a meeting in Rabaul in January 1960, after which some local leaders petitioned the minister for External Territories to limit the number of mission bodies entering the Territory.⁵⁷ Other incidents involving Jehovah's Witnesses occurred throughout the Territory, but rarely resulted in official action.⁵⁸

In the Solomon Islands response to the Watchtower Association was more severe.⁵⁹ The administration was concerned that Les Carney, the manager of Kaukau plantation, and the only European Witness missionary in the Solomons, might draw Malaitans - whose attraction to American culture and politics was known - into a potentially seditious movement (it also believed that some Americans had spread Jehovah's Witness publications on Malaita while stationed there during the war).⁶⁰ When the administration received reports that dissident villages under the influence of Shem Irofolu were interesting in becoming Jehovah's Witnesses, it took swift and severe measures to stop them.⁶¹ Carney was fined £10 for possession of seditious literature and deported on 9 April 1956;⁶² and a list

⁵⁶ Resolutions made by the missionary delegates at the missions - administration conference held at Lae from 29th April to 3rd May, 1957. TPNG, 47 - 62/4/1.

⁵⁷ The district commissioner guessed correctly that the call alluded to Jehovah's Witnesses. Annual Report. East New Britain 1959-1960, 40. TPNG, 5517 - 48/2/10. Also, Interpretation of the Native People December 1961 - January 1962. TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/21 pt.1.

⁵⁸ When small groups were established in the Gulf district in 1961, some adherents were 'clouted' on several occasions by LMS pastors: Annual Report. Gulf District. 1961-62. p25. TPNG, 5516 - 48/2/2. A later investigation by the administration into Jehovah's Witness' activity in Pomio area in 1962, decided the sect had "no influence" there: Interpretation of the Native People September/October 1962. TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/21 pt.1; and similar investigations elsewhere in the Territory repeatedly cleared the Watchtower Association of illegal activity.

⁵⁹ The Watchtower Bible and Tract Society (Jehovah's Witnesses) and the Bahá'ís, were initially regarded as being similar in their religious message and character. By 1955 the Bahá'í Faith was not considered a "militant or political religion": "Confidential Minutes of District Commissioner's Conference 27th to 29th July 1955". BSIP, 12 - 1/6., and not so extremist in its views as that of the Jehovah's Witnesses: "Review of Politico-Religious Trends in the BSIP", 7. According to Gutch, neither Bahá'í nor Jehovah's Witnesses had adequate experience of "missionary work amongst the backward peoples of the Pacific", and were not equipped with the necessary personnel and organisation to carry out extensive medical and educational work. Whereas the Jehovah's Witnesses moved north, into formerly unstable SSEM villages, the Bahá'í Faith spread to the south, and established a community of some 300-400 in and around Hau Hui, a village known for its loyalty in the years after Maasina Rule: Harold Ross, "Competition for Baegu Souls: Mission Rivalry on Malaita, Solomon Islands", in James A. Boutilier, *Mission, Church and Sect in Oceania*, (Ann Arbor, 1978), 185.

⁶⁰ "Activities of the Watchtower Bible and Tract Society", 26 December 1955. BSIP, 28/VI/22. SC3.

⁶¹ A Malaitan, Nelson Fo'ogau informed the SSEM's head teachers in December 1955 that Shem Irofolu's secessionist villages in Kwara'ae - Taba'a, Gero, Bulua, Kwinnketo, Magi and Nardifui - might join the Jehovah's Witnesses. The subsequent complaint to the DC by Timothy Anifala, President of the SSEM association on Malaita; and another in June 1956 to the DO at Malu'u by Lucius Noi, SSEM minister at Kwai, (concerning Clement Basua's preaching of Witness' doctrine in an SSEM church) added to the administration's resolve to prevent the spread of the Watchtower Association on Malaita.

⁶² *The Watchtower* subsequently editorialised: "Whatever ostensible reasons may be offered for the High Commissioner's action, it strongly appears to be a matter of religious prejudice. It certainly has nothing to do with the security of the Solomon Islands, nor can it be considered contrary to public interest to receive and study the Bible aids of the Watch Tower Society", "Freedom suppressed in Solomon Islands", *The Watchtower*, 1 December 1956. BSIP, 28, VI/22. SC3. The publications banned included "Cause of Death", "The Kingdom of God is Nigh", "Basis for belief in a New World", "Report of New World Society Assembly of Jehovah's Witnesses - Yankee Stadium", "Qualified to be ministers", "This good news of the Kingdom" and "One World

of Watchtower publications prohibited in the Protectorate, including the journals *The Watchtower* and *Awake!*, was proclaimed by High Commissioner John Gutch on 23 March 1956, and added to on 17 November. Despite these measures Jehovah's Witness activities continued in the Protectorate, and an 18 year ban on *Awake!* and *The Watchtower* was finally lifted in December 1974, following the presentation of a 650 signature petition to the Government.⁶³

With few exceptions, sectarian incidents in Papua and New Guinea were treated less seriously at higher levels of administration than lower. Even at the level of District Commissioner, the tendency was to allow differences between missions to resolve themselves over time, rather than to intervene. Although several missions were often present in a sub-district, villages generally adhered to only one or other of them. In larger villages, two missions were sometimes represented. On New Ireland, to note an episode on an outer island in the 1950s, sectarian strife occurred when the Methodist and Catholic missions, both well-established, encountered the two major post-war challenges to their entrenched autonomy: new religious ideas, and secularism.⁶⁴

Through a combination of migrating plantation workers, Europeans, and educated New Irelanders, the beliefs of Seventh Day Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses, Bahá'ís, and the Four Square Gospel were introduced to New Ireland. Far from the village, and the protective watch of the village pastor, the Melanesian away from home became the principal agent of religious change.⁶⁵ The veteran Methodist missionary on New Ireland, Ben Chenoweth, spent much effort trying to counteract Adventism. The Kavieng circuit, reported Methodist district chairman Lewis to his mission secretary in June 1950, needed a launch then more than ever before, for "vigilante patrolling, owing to the invasion

One Government".

⁶³ "Solomon Islands", 1978 *Yearbook of Jehovah's Witnesses*, 41-8. Although Jehovah's Witnesses were not banned in all British colonies, some publications had previously been banned from the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony. The Watchtower Association revelled in such government persecution (since it vindicated their views on worldly government) and continued to work in the Solomon Islands. Chambliss, another American, visited Honiara in May 1957, and Edward Ray Paterson arrived in September and was jailed for one month in 1958: mail for both was intercepted and examined. The first Honiara congregation was established in August 1958, and another in Magi, on Malaita, in August in 1959. In 1961 Irofolu sent five men to Honiara to investigate the Watchtower Association after another Malaitan, Early Dainau, had forwarded to him some literature. Meetings were subsequently held at Malu'u, and some conversions occurred. In 1973 Stevens, who visited the Solomons twice yearly on a visitor's visa, provoked Anglican protests by travelling to the outer eastern islands, including the Reef islands, to distribute Watchtower literature: Letter to District Commissioner Talasasa, 5 November 1973. CM, F22-Guadalcanal.

⁶⁴ Religious strife was not new to New Ireland. The Methodists had established their first stations on New Britain and New Ireland in 1875, and Catholic stations were established soon after, in 1881 and 1901, and rivalry between the missions was so intense that the German administration had attempted to "zone" mission activity on New Britain, and on New Ireland it prevented Catholic settlement at Kavieng, the only port for the island, until 1912. For a brief description of the attempt to settle "The Free Colony of New France" on southern New Ireland and the Gazelle Peninsula, see Georges Delbos, *The Mustard Seed*, (Port Moresby, 1985), 42-4; Williams points out that Catholic entry to the Duke of York Islands, in 1905, also led to bitter disputes with the Methodist Mission, Ronald Williams, *The United Church in Papua, New Guinea, and the Solomon Islands*, (Rabaul, 1972), 108-127.

⁶⁵ On New Ireland, for instance, the converts to the new groups, noted a 1971 patrol, were "mainly people from other districts living in Kavieng or from other census districts in New Ireland": Patrol Reports Kavieng and Konos 1972-73. PR 2. Kavieng Sub.Div. Tigak Census Division, P. White. TPNG

of the SDA mission...indeed Rev. Ben Chenoweth is on a seven days patrol at present, along the west coast".⁶⁶

Seventh Day Adventism, which had first taken hold in the St Matthias Islands in 1931, was spread by the 1960s to Tabar and Djoul Islands when St Matthias canoe-builders converted their clients, and thus made inroads into what had been, on Djoul, a Methodist "theocracy", and on Tabar, a Methodist-Catholic community. In the case of New Hanover, Adventists were invited by the luluai Singaru, a Catholic, apparently seeking some advantage by admitting a rival mission.⁶⁷

Jehovah's Witnesses Ken and Rosina Frame arrived on New Ireland in February 1958. Frame, employed at Lemakot plantation, conducted Sunday services, and gathered a following which included labourers from the Gulf District, where the movement was already known in some LMS areas. Members were subsequently gathered from several villages on New Ireland, but an attempt to proselytise on the St. Matthias Islands in 1968-69 was unsuccessful.

Bahá'í beliefs were brought to New Ireland in 1956 by Apelis Mazakmat, who had met Vi Hoehnke, a hospital matron on Manus, and one of two Bahá'ís who entered the territory in 1954. Mazakmat joined the movement early in 1956, mostly because it advocated racial equality. He accompanied Rodney Hancock, a New Zealander in business in Rabaul, to some New Ireland villages, to introduce him to friends he thought would be interested in the Bahá'í teachings. Of the several villages Hancock spoke in, the response in Medina was the most immediate, with several people wishing to join the new religion.⁶⁸ In response, Methodist missionary Chenoweth planned a revival to "off-set the invasion of the other religions",⁶⁹ and increased his patrols to Government schools.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Lewis to Gribble 21 June 1950. MOM UPNG New Guinea District 1950. 471.

⁶⁷ "The Seventh Day Adventists are really in Lavongai on false pretences. They were brought in by Singarau and Pita when these two broke with their respective Missions. These requests for the SDAs to evangelise in New Hanover were not prompted by a desire for enlightenment, but rather they were genuine and successful attempts at being malicious." TPNG, Patrol Reports Kavieng 1958/59. PR 4 of 58/59. New Hanover. PO Blomfield.

⁶⁸ According to Hancock, the Methodist mission had "given up" the Medina people, as many were "drunkards who had their own brews and stills". In addition, he stayed in village houses and ate off the same plates, with the same spoons, as did the villagers, unlike missionaries who resided separately. Interview, Kimbe, 12 December 1986. When Chenoweth learnt from Newman, (District Education Officer following Gibson) early in 1957, that some administration teachers had accepted the Bahá'í movement, he enquired as to its nature, and in May 1958 he visited Medina to conduct services, and to assess the impact of the Bahá'ís on the Methodist congregation. Concluding that the movement would "not take on", and hoping that the rumour that "the Bahá'í boys were anti-European" could be proven (Chenoweth to Lutton, 1 May 1958. MOM UPNG Folder 64) Chenoweth reported to Gribble that three administration teachers and their wives had joined the movement, and submitted an article on his patrol to his mission's journal: Ben Chenoweth, "Bahais and their teachings", *Missionary Review*, December 1958, 6.

⁶⁹ Chenoweth to Lutton, 8 May 1958. MOM UPNG Folder 64.

⁷⁰ "Because of certain of the Administration Native Teachers swinging towards the Baha'i cause -- three with their wives have signed as members of the nine forming the Local Assembly -- and their constant supervision of scholars who are all Methodists, I am taking regular patrols at five or six weekly intervals when religious instruction is given the scholars in eight schools reaching fifty seven miles from home." Chenoweth to Gribble, 1 July 1958. MOM UPNG Folder 64.

Whereas he felt that the administration took "little or no trouble over the matter" of new religions,⁷¹ patrol officers in fact monitored their impact closely.⁷² Many were skeptical about genuine religious conversions by Melanesians, and felt that the proliferation of missions catered to "sampling" by villagers interested in learning what each mission had to offer. Also, they perceived, perhaps more clearly than some missionaries, the extent to which many villagers professed conversion, but retained their traditional beliefs.⁷³

There were several ironies in the attitude of the major Christian missions to religious change. In the 1950s, attempts to suppress innovators, whether political or religious, were made by more powerful, yet quite transient, Europeans. The desire to enforce uniformity of social practice and belief, which had been protected by comity agreements and by other attempts to direct theological and intellectual discourse, were based on erroneous conceptions of spiritual and social unity, and were hardly democratic. Finally, the attempt to impose scriptural authority on Melanesians, by such a variety of competing and conflicting Christian agencies, when coupled with the array of educational opportunities they established and promoted, contributed to the laying of the very foundations of the secular and open societies they had hastened forth to rally against.

The appearance of many new missions and religious doctrines in Melanesia contributed to the rapid change that was taking place in Melanesian societies a decade after the war. The once mighty influence of mission institutions, including industrial missions, and centres for pastor/teacher training, were being outpaced by centres for secular training.⁷⁴ Colonial governments generally welcomed the wide variety and number of mission societies to their areas. They were unperturbed by the animosities that existed between them, which originated in theological disputation and competition for "territory". What did disturb administrators was the emergence of social movements whose leaders' programs were based

⁷¹ Chenoweth to Lutton, 1 July 1958. MOM UPNG Folder 64. Letters to Gen.Sec. MOM Sydney Jan.57-Nov.59. According to Mazakmat, DEO Brashford discouraged his involvement in a new religion, but PO Collins encouraged him, and Newman, education officer at Kavieng, told him that the United Nations allowed "freedom of worship" "so no-one should stop you from believing in what you want." Interview, 1986.

⁷² An excerpt from the October 1958 half yearly report, reporting a small Bahá'í following under the guidance of Hancock, who visited periodically from Rabaul, was placed in a "Native Thought File" (T.G. Aitchison, "Native Thought File", 18 February 1959. TPNG New Ireland District 51/1/9 - 13913). PO Peter Edwards reported the view in 1968 that of the faiths practiced in the Nalik area, Bahá'í was "the most practical and most reasonable one to adopt", as it placed no unreasonable restrictions on everyday life, and seemed to be based on "common sense, common decency and respect for the law" (Patrol Reports Kavieng 1968-69. Nalik Sub Division. Patrol Report 2 of 68/69. September 1968. Peter S. Edwards, Missions, 14.) Abernathy, reporting a patrol in April 1969, suggested that "the reason why 'not one Bahá'í had any complaints regarding money, pigs, or women' during the previous patrol is because their numbers are very small and in relation to the law of averages they would not be expected to have many complaints as a group", and noted also that Bahá'ís had lodged complaints during the latter patrol (Patrol Report 15 of 1968-69. Nalik. J.I. Abernathy, April 1969, Missions, 12).

⁷³ "It would appear many villagers ...have a foot in each paddock so one will be ready when the day arrives." Patrol Reports Kavieng and Konos 1972-73. Kavieng sub-District, Tigak C.D. P.M. White. In Mandak, "every person attends church, but local beliefs are still evident, especially on the Lelet Plantation." Patrol Report 1 of 72/73. D.C. Ruediger. TPNG

⁷⁴ See, eg, Tippet's critique of Methodist industrial missions in the Western Solomons, Alan Tippet, *Solomon Islands Christianity*, 67.

the mission force expands

on an incomplete assimilation of Christian teachings, and premature aspirations to political control. Such politico-religious movements were regarded by missions and administrations alike as unlawful challenges to Western political and religious control.

CHAPTER FIVE

PROTO-NATIONALISM:

mission responses to politico-religious movements

*As God created men equally, therefore we must fight for our native land. The Finger of God is here.*⁷⁵

The post-war movements that emerged in support of a variety of political, religious, social and economic causes¹ were most often local, or regional in outlook, reflecting the traditional fragmentation of Melanesian polities, and they addressed local rather than national grievances.² In places where missions had exercised considerable influence, the emergence of indigenous leaders was not always welcome and Europeans associated the term "nationalism" with incidents of unrest, non co-operation with government officials, and expressions of "pride" by "difficult" individuals - men such as Apelis Mazakmat, from New Ireland, whose personality one government official suggested included "premature nationalism"³ - rather than with political movements that spanned traditional ethnic, linguistic and regional boundaries.⁴ Even the Kwato mission in Milne Bay, it has been argued, produced collaborators rather than nationalists, a religious rather than political elite, who were more disposed to a separatist theocracy than to an independent country.⁵

Because Melanesian movements were not easily defined as either "religious" or "political", but more often had characteristics of both, missionaries treated them warily. SSEM missionaries were confused, for example, by the way in which Maasina Rule mixed "the religious side" with the political.⁶ Such other significant movements as John Frum on Tanna, the Paliau movement on Baluan, Tom

⁷⁵ Exhibit F2 (1951). BSIP, 12/V/9.

¹ Steinbauer identifies and classifies 185 movements: Freidrich Steinbauer, *Melanesian Cargo Cults: New Salvation Movements in the South Pacific*, 1979.

² This is not to say that such movements sometimes combined language groups and widened political horizons, as suggested by Peter Lawrence, "Statements about Religion: The Problem of Reliability", in L.R. Hiatt & C. Jayawardena (eds), *Anthropology in Oceania*, (Sydney, 1971), 142.

³ Ian Downs to Director, DDSNA, 4 February 1950. New Ireland District. TPNG, 13913 - 51/9/1 pt.1. Laracy describes Maasina Rule as "a powerful proto-nationalist movement", Hugh Laracy, "Marching Rule and the Missions", *Journal of Pacific History*, 6, 1971, 96. Lawrence surveys the proto-nationalist phase in Madang in "The widening political arena in the Southern Madang District", in M. Ward (ed), *The Politics of Melanesia*. Post-war religious and political change on New Ireland is examined in Graham Hassall, "Religion and Proto-Nationalism: Apelis Mazakmat and 'traces of mild sectarian strife' on New Ireland" (mss).

⁴ E.P. Wolfers, "Christianity, Sorcery and Men", *New Guinea and Australia, the Pacific and South East Asia*, Dec 68/Jan69, 20.

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.

⁶ Letter to Mr Kenny, 14 September 1947. SSEM, Missionaries, 1947.

Kabu's New Men of the Purari Delta, confused missionaries and administration officials alike with their mixture of religious belief, traditional cosmology, and political ideology. Yet it is possible to distinguish between cargo-cults, whose epistemological bases were non-Western, or pre-industrial, and politico-religious movements, whose originators had some glimmer of the cultural and economic bases of modernisation processes.

But the politico-religious movements - sometimes labelled "nativist", and which I describe as proto-nationalist - which preceded the Melanesian Nationalism of the 1960s and 1970s, faced powerful opposition from the missions, and their legitimate political aspirations often declined into forlorn attempts to remove the missions and colonial administration. Not all social movements were viewed with hostility, however, and there existed a different sense of "nationalism", which was viewed positively by both missions and administrations. Melanesians who showed leadership abilities, and who were prepared to work within a framework of loyalty to both church and government were cultivated as potential leaders in a future period of self-government.

Those in the "Christian hierarchy of elders, teachers and pastors"⁷ were regarded as the country's future leaders. John Metcalfe was one missionary who perceived by 1946 that the Methodists would do well to commence sharing power with their members, and proposed that a "District Native Church Court" be established.⁸ In the New Hebrides, the Presbyterians believed that their church's annual General Assembly - the first island-wide gathering of New Hebrideans - germinated the seeds of the Vanuatu nation. Activists, on the other hand, who did not work with the missions, were regarded by them as cargo cultists, and the promoters of politico-religious absurdities.

European missionaries were fearful that the anti-colonial and anti-missionary sentiment which had appeared in some African countries might spread in the South Pacific,⁹ but nationalism capable of forcing decolonisation, such as emerged in Africa, South, and Southeast Asia in the 1940s, developed more slowly. Paradoxically, the missions helped to create the conditions in which political nationalism could eventually emerge - sometimes consciously but most often unconsciously. Their pragmatic and strategic selection of some languages and neglect of others, for instance, by contributing to a steady decrease in the number of operative languages in the region, helped connect peoples who had previously had little constructive communication; just as their efforts to develop literacy contributed to the growing

⁷ Jean Guiart, "Forerunners of Melanesian Nationalism", *Oceania*, XXII:2, December 1951.

⁸ Metcalfe, Choiseul Circuit Report 1946. MCNZ, OMD. Board Minutes.

⁹ Margery Perham, "Anatomy of the African Revolution", *ABM Review*, November 1964, 152-4. The LMS, for example, forwarded to the administration in Papua New Guinea in 1952 a publication of the "Closer Association in Central Africa", which examined the prospects for the British High Commission territories in Southern Africa. TPNG, 172, GH, 15/2.

influence of the printed word in the region.¹⁰ Although the number of living languages in Melanesia remains vast, the language policies of the various missions enhanced a select number of vernaculars, in addition to Pidgin, and English.

On Malaita these factors - literacy, administrative ability gained from involvement in church structures, and growing discontent with the existing colonial order - combined to make Maasina Rule the most potent of the post-war politico-religious movements.¹¹ Although it commenced with clear political and economic objectives, its unity was always precarious, and its methods and purposes degenerated once its original membership was arrested, prosecuted, and jailed. The movement rejected the overbearing patronization of European mission leaders, but not their religion.¹² Christian motifs were retained, and helped define the movement's political and economic aims.¹³ Its jailed supporters believed they were suffering for Christ's sake,¹⁴ and leaders found Biblical analogies for their own quest for freedom from the bondage of an oppressive government. Because eight of the nine original chiefs who were elected leaders of the movement had been trained by, or worked for, the SSEM, both

¹⁰ The influence of missions on the development of literature is considered in chapter seven; and the use of print media in the nationalist struggles in Papua New Guinea and the New Hebrides, especially *Kundu* and *New Hebrides Viewpoints*, is noted in chapters twelve and thirteen.

¹¹ "Maasina" is the Ariari word for brother. It is also the name given to the young shoot which sprouts from a yam which has been planted. For discussion of Maasina Rule, see Roger Keesing, "Politico-Religious Movements and Anti-colonialism on Malaita: Maasina Rule in Historical Perspective", *Oceania*, pt 1 48:4 June 1978; pt 2 49:1, September 1978. Also important is Hugh Laracy (ed), *Pacific Protest: The Maasina Rule Movement, Solomon Islands, 1944-52*, (Suva, 1983). Cochrane regards Maasina Rule as a cargo movement, rather than a proto-nationalist movement: see Glynn Cochrane, *Big Men and Cargo Cults*, (Oxford, 1970). A prior movement, initiated by the Anglican priest Richard Fallows, although important to subsequent events in Ysabel, is not explored in detail here. Fallows had advocated a "forum for natives to discuss matters concerning their common interests", (Fallows to High Commissioner, 19 June 1939); and his efforts had brought together men from Nggela, Santa Isabel, Malaita, Savo, Guadalcanal, Cape Marsh and Maravovo. BSIP - 1, 43/14. He was deported from the Protectorate at the urging of his own bishop. BSIP - G. White, "Big Men and Church Men: Social Images in Santa Isabel", PhD, (San Diego, 1978).

¹² The missionaries Dr Northcote Deck, Norman Deck, Waite, and McBride, were obliged to leave the Solomons permanently.

¹³ Nine chiefs were elected to the leadership of Maasina Rule, to represent Malaita's nine major tribes, and to formulate and present the movement's objectives, which included the installation of a paramount chief, at the head of a committee, to negotiate fairer wages for plantation workers; an effective educational system; the employment of Solomon Islander magistrates who understood custom law; and the transfer of the residence of the British High Commissioner from Fiji to the Solomon Islands (which occurred in 1953). At the commencement of Maasina Rule, the British administration was aware that it was the movement of "a people seeking self-administration in local affairs". District Commissioner, 30 April 1947, ("D.C.'s Tour report San Cristoval - MARCHING LAW". BSIP, 8/1. 42/4). The government was petitioned with other objectives, which indicated Maasina Rule's regional basis. A group of Kwara'ae and Baelalea people, for instance, handed their District Commissioner a document that called for Malaitan independence; the preservation of custom but loyalty to the King; "sufficient payment"; and the living of a "good and happy life, where-ever at home, or abroad, or in foreign lands" (Document handed to D.C. Malaita at Auki on 22.11.49 by Batalofo of Foate, Kwara'ae, on behalf of a meeting of about 550 Kwara'ae & Baelalea people. BSIP - 4, SF108, V, vol.3.) Some Malaitans, in addition, were familiar with the 1941 "Peace Aims" of Roosevelt and Churchill, which mentioned, among other objectives, that no territorial changes occurred which were not in accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people; and that they respected the right of all peoples to choose their form of government, and wished to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who had been forcibly deprived of them: "Roosevelt-Churchill. Peace Aims", BSIP, 12/V/9. Exhibit F5.

¹⁴ An SSEM missionary wrote to his mission secretary: "They are prepared to go to jail with a martyr spirit and feel they are suffering for Christ's sake. A teacher in prison at Auki for misconduct and defiance to a Govt. Officer said to Mr Vance when he said how sorry he was to see him in goal:- "All things work together for good to them that love God." He was quite cheerful over it all with no signs of repentance." Letter to Mr Kenny, 10 November 1947. SSEM, Chairman to missionaries, 1947-48.

the colonial administration and the missions followed events keenly. The Catholic, Anglican, and Adventist missions, as well as the SSEM, were affected by Maasina Rule to differing degrees. District Commissioner Masterman reported:

The Roman Catholic Bishop preached against Marching Rule, the Church of England Bishop kept well out of it, the Seventh Day Adventist Pastor has not sought to interfere and the SSEM Superintendent will not have any Marching Rule adherent on his property.¹⁵

European SSEM leaders attempted in vain to restrain their adherents, who gave Maasina Rule important backing. Many of the mission's 150 head-teachers temporarily deserted their European staff, to support the new movement, and Norman Deck's delivery to them of a "very clear lesson on the attitude of the Christian to properly constituted authority", had little effect.¹⁶ Although Vance and Tomlinson worked "aggressively" against Maasina Rule at Ulu,¹⁷ key teachers, including Justus Jimmy and Shadrach Diotee, became involved,¹⁸ and Shem Irofulu was unseated as the mission's head teacher in To'obaita after having ignored the Mission's instructions not to become involved. The SSEM's Bible schools and head-station, Onepusu, were boycotted, as part of the movement's protest against the low wage levels offered by European enterprises, but such actions only convinced leaders such as Norman Deck of the Malaitans' extreme sense of materialism and covetousness.¹⁹ Others saw even darker, Satanic, motives, and suggested they were "right up against a very formidable and subtle attack of the devil."²⁰ District Commissioner Allan believed that Maasina Rule's leaders did not create a movement, so much as they took over the SSEM's organisation, and developed and improved it. "In propagating the movement", he suggested,

¹⁵ D.C. Malaita, "Political Appendix to handing over report", 20 June 1950. BSIP, 4 - SF 108, pt VII, vol 4. Hill, Melanesian Mission priest at Pawa, called the movement "the present madness": BSIP, 8/1, 42/4.

¹⁶ Letter to Mr Kenny, 31 August 1947. SSEM, Mr Kenny's Correspondence.

¹⁷ McBride, on the other hand, was thought to be favourable inclined toward it. Clark to Kenny, 1 August 1949; 12 June 1949. SSEM, Chairman to Missionaries, 1947-48.

¹⁸ Letter to Kenny, 1 March 1946. SSEM, Kenny's Correspondence.

¹⁹ One SSEM missionary wrote "Love of the World, and money with materialism has to a great extent taken control of people and absolutely distorted their ideas of spiritual values." Letter to Kenny, 25 February 1948. SSEM, Mr Kenny's Correspondence, 1945-51.

²⁰ Anon. to A. Kenny, 16 December 1947. SSEM, Chairman to Missionaries 1947-48. The same theme was pursued in the mission's journal, *Not In Vain*, March 1951, 7. Later, SSEM missionaries changed their perspective: in 1966 the mission's secretary wrote "Marching Rule wasn't anti-God nor was it adulterous. It would be wise, especially as far as Malaita people are concerned, to be careful in referring to it as Marching Rule unless they themselves who were implicated in Marching Rule refer to it as such.", Griffiths to Haldane, 8 November 1966. SSEM, Missionaries A-H, 1966.

in creating the atmosphere of fear, in every aspect of the action, leaders of the Marching Rule translated the techniques of the SSEM evangelising process into political action.²¹

In the Solomon Islands, the emergence of Maasina Rule afforded Colin Allan, District Commissioner on Malaita 1950-1952, the opportunity to disarm what he regarded as the excessive influence of the SSEM and the Melanesian Mission. Allan, an Anglican, sought to "balance" the powers of church and state, and have each operating in its "proper sphere".²² Allan felt that SSEM teachers had "schizophrenic minds" in which "truth plays no part anywhere"²³, while his predecessor Major Sandars, who had the "greatest respect" for the work of the SSEM, felt that many of the administration's troubles were "directly traceable" to the SSEM head-teachers and leaders who had "gone wrong through lack of supervision".²⁴ Allan had emphatically denounced the strong secular influence exerted by the mission in earlier years, and was determined to take the opportunity of ensuring that similar influence could not re-emerge. Before the war, he asserted, the SSEM engaged in "gross and persistent interference with administration and undoubtedly with justice":

Failure of the District Officer to conform to the "mission line" on matters of marriage disputes, illicit fornication disputes, divorce, feasting, bride price, the authority of teachers and the such like would result often in threats from the worthy heads of the mission like the Decks, that pressure would be brought to bear and the wretched young man would lose his job. The mission authorities through the Young family ...had direct and powerful access to the High Commissioner and Colonial Office...The Decks operated on Malaita in much the same way as J.F. Goldie operated in the Western Solomons.²⁵

Maasina Rule was clearly a politico-religious movement, in which economic conditions were linked to the creation myth. A document handed to a government officer by Batalofo, on behalf of 500 Kwara'ae people, included a diagram in which the material condition of Malaitans was linked to the creation

²¹ Colin Allan, D.C. Malaita, "Notes on the Historical Background and development of the South Sea Evangelical Mission", BSIP - 1, 23/9.

²² DC Malaita to Sect. to Government, 18 February 1952. BSIP, 4 - SF 108.

²³ DC Malaita (C.H. Allan) to Sect. DNAD, 27 November 1950. BSIP, 4 - SF 108.

²⁴ DC Malaita (G.E. Sandars) to RC, 6 July 1947. BSIP, 4 - C91.

²⁵ DC Malaita (C.A. Allan), "Notes on the Historical Background and Development of the South Seas Evangelical Mission", 14 January 1951. BSIP, 1 - 23/9, 7. Allan suggested to the Resident Commissioner that several steps be taken so as to alter the effectiveness of a re-emergent SSEM. The first required a reduction in the authority and independence of mission teachers, especially "head" teachers. The second sought curtailment of the "confessional" system because this had given the mission disciplinary functions that were more properly functions of the headmen and future native courts. Furthermore, Allan suggested that the mission be encouraged to give secular education higher priority; that it be more appreciative of traditional culture; and that its head-teachers not be allowed to dispense homeopathic medicines. SSEM followers were convinced of the effectiveness of homeopathic medicines, and had sought a doctor in 1946 to instruct them in their use (Letter to Kenny, 2 January 1946, SSEM) and Allan's attempts to suppress their use continued a traditional struggle between establishment and dissenting attitudes on the subject.

myth, and to a "second step", by which conditions were dramatically improved:

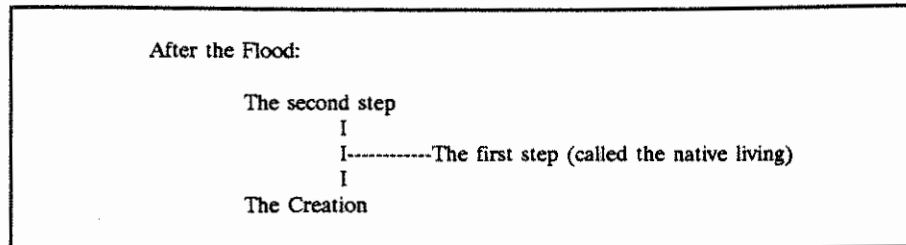


Figure 17 From Kwara'ae and Baelalea document, handed to the District Commissioner, Malaita, in November 1949.

In its attempt to appease the movement through an appeal to their religious beliefs, the British administration employed such counter-tactics as dropping scripture-laden instructions from a Sunderland aircraft. One example read:

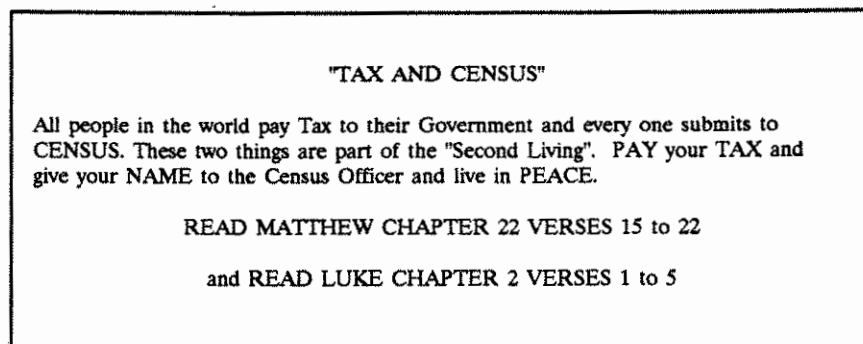


Figure 18 Example of leaflet dropped on Maasina Rule areas of Malaita by the British Administration.

The Melanesian Mission was also considerably affected by Maasina Rule. The efforts of Charles Fox and Bishop Baddeley to prevent the spread of Maasina Rule on Nggela and Ysabel were partly successful, although Brown Jeleman, who had been for eight years in the Melanesian Brotherhood, and Ben Hageria, who also worked for the Melanesian Mission, actively promoted the movement on Ysabel through church meetings and processions, in which Jeleman and others carried crosses and candles, dressed in catechist robes, presenting the movement as "a syncretic blend of religious and political apocalyptic messages".²⁶ Subsequently, Jeleman languished in jail until 1951.²⁷

Many Anglicans defected to the SSEM or to Catholicism when a pastoral letter from the Anglican Bishop forbade involvement in Maasina Rule.²⁸ Anglicans were "going to Rome", recorded

²⁶ Geoffrey White, "Big Men and Church Men", 253; Also, H. Laracy, *Pacific Protest*, 23.

²⁷ Geoffrey White, "Big Men and Church Men", 253.

²⁸ W.J. Marquand, "Community Development in the BSIP with particular reference to the Marching Rule Movement in the island of Malaita, 1949-50". BSIP, 4 - SF 108, pt VII, vol 4.

Fox in his diary on 30 April 1948, after the Bishop's command to the faithful to "all leave Marching Rule at once": few did so, none were excommunicated, as had been threatened, although "Rome" had been "ready to have them".²⁹ Although the Catholic mission did benefit from Maasina Rule at the expense of the other missions, Allan went too far, surely, in suggesting that it had "fixed itself upon the rotting body of the S.S.E.M. like a carrion crow".³⁰ The Resident Commissioner, like Allan, believed that "the day of the South Sea Evangelical Mission" was over,³¹ and one wit, Masterman, suggested that the administration could do well by offering £10,000 "walkin-walkout" for their main station, at Onepusu.³² Despite such predictions, each mission rebuilt through the 1950s, and 1960s, and placed special emphasis on the provision of schools and medical services, and conformity with regulations that determined financial assistance. To Allan, R.W. Gibbins, head of the SSEM, "seemed pathetically eager to cooperate with Government".³³

The Melanesian Mission had traditionally been regarded as a stabilising influence on Malaita. Melanesian Mission villages were considered as being reliable in paying taxes,³⁴ and the mission's hospitals at Fauabu and Fiu, and district schools at Auki and Fiu contributed significantly to social and economic advancement in the Kwara'ae district.³⁵

²⁹ C.E. Fox, 30 April 1948. Box 30. CM, Charles Fox Diaries. The trend was also noted by Allan, writing to Sect. DNA, 1 August 1950. BSIP, 4 - SF 108, pt VIII. Some conversion figures for the period 1940-50 are included in Hugh Laracy, *Marists and Melanesians: A History of Catholic Missions in the Solomon Islands*, 129.

³⁰ Colin Allan, "The Missions and the Marching Rule", 1 August 1950. BSIP - 4, SF108, pt.VIII.

³¹ "They have not failed to observe the religious note in Marching Rule propaganda, and the danger that it may result in the founding of some new amalgam of the various Christian faiths is not one that they have dismissed. I sympathise with them in their dilemma ...I fear, nevertheless, that the day of the South Sea Evangelical Mission is over. RC to HC, 13 August 1958. BSIP, 4 - SF 108, pts III&IV.

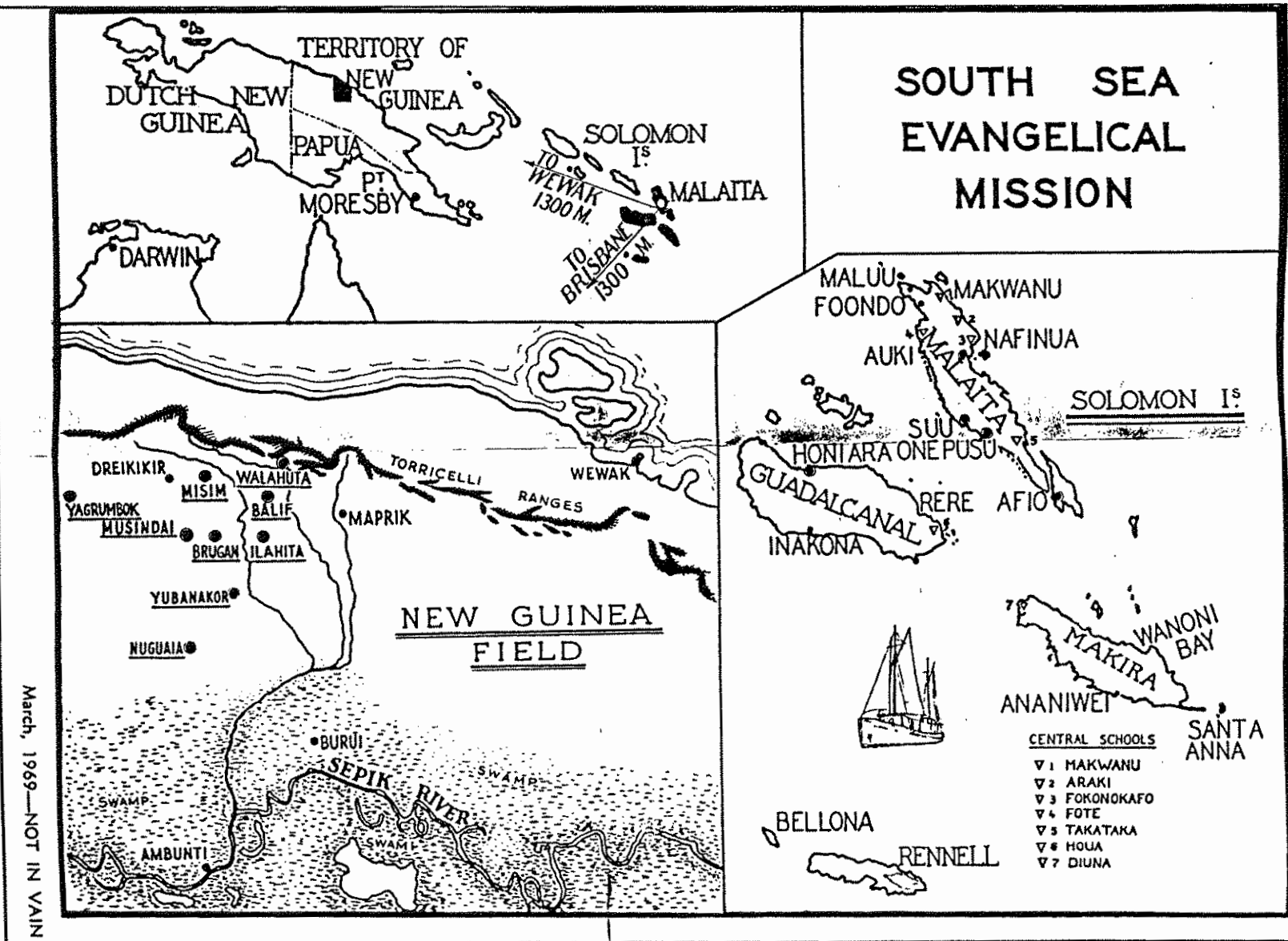
³² "Political Appendix to handing over report by D.C. Malaita", Honiara, 20 June 1950. BSIP - 4, SF 108.

³³ D.C. Malaita to Sec. to Govt. 22 October 1951. BSIP, 4, S166.

³⁴ For example, in October 1950 Allan pointed out that Melanesian Villages in Kwara'ae district north of Auki - Tantalau, Narafata, Gwailiki, Faeako, Bio, and North Dala - had either paid their taxes 100% or were in the process of doing so. "Report on the political situation in Kwara'ae", 17 October 1950, 2.

³⁵ *ibid.*, 2.

Figure 19 South Sea Evangelical Mission stations in Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea (source: *Not in Vain*, March 1969).



pro-nationalist mission responses to politico-religious movements

Melanesian Mission priests were singled out for their "fine character and a good influence" in North Malaita,³⁶ and the British administration appreciated receiving reports from Bishop Hill and Philip Baker.³⁷ Allan sought from the Anglican Bishop more, rather than less, involvement from Melanesian Mission adherents in Malaita's emerging politics. Two Malaitan Anglicans, rather than Europeans, devised a positive response to the drastic impact of Maasina Rule on the Anglican community. Willie Masurah and Timothy Faifu established, at first in secret, and diligently in conformity with Biblical precedents, a "Church Association", through which Anglicans could legitimately pursue economic improvement.³⁸

Although the Catholic mission also established an organisation to attract mission members back from involvement in Maasina Rule, the British administration responded more favourably to the Protestant initiative. In general, Marist attitudes toward Maasina Rule had been shaped by its impact on the mission, rather than by its attitude toward the state. Hence they paid little attention to whether or not their members joined the movement until they perceived, in 1949, that Maasina Rule was turning against the mission.³⁹ Stuyvenburg, at Buma, regarded Maasina Rule as an attempt to preserve custom, rather than as a political movement, while Espange, at Star Harbour, argued to his flock to considerable effect, that they should obey the government laws, not Maasina Rule. Kamphuis was suspected by the High Commissioner of fostering the discontent, whereas District Officer Marquand sought his aid in countering it.⁴⁰ The posting to Malaita of Devlin, an American Marist, proved an unfortunate piece of timing, as his American origins excited cargoist tendencies in the movement (although this support declined early in 1950 when the myth that the Americans were to return was exploded).⁴¹ Devlin's view, shared by another Marist, Jan Tigglar, who died of blackwater fever in 1950 - that Maasina Rule was anti-British, but loyal to Catholicism - led to Allan's appraising him as an "impetuous young fanatic",⁴²

³⁶ DO Malu'u (Sandy) to DC Malaita, Political Report on North Malaita, 17 August 1951. BSIP, 12/V/7.

³⁷ "The Bishop of Melanesia accompanied by Father Baker reported that they considered the general atmosphere satisfactory", DC Malaita to Chief Secretary, "Political report for Malaita district July - August 1956", 12 September 1956. BSIP, 28 - VI/22.sc3.

³⁸ F.W. Coaldrake, *Floodtide in the Pacific*, 36-43; Peterson, Nicolas, "The Church Council of South Mala: A Legitimized form of Maasina Rule", *Oceania*, 36:3, March 1966.

³⁹ Marquand, op cit, 12. A decade later, reports reached the government that Father Moece, in the Western Solomons, was "anti-government"; and that he was against the establishment of LGCs. "Quarterly Intelligence Report Western Solomons", 1 July - 30 September 1950, 4. BSIP, 21 - IX.

⁴⁰ Michael Foster to J Kamphuis, 15 June 1948; W.J. Marquand to J Kamphuis 18 July 1947. DH, Takwa Corresp.

⁴¹ Pemaki, one of the myth's propagators, lost his standing when some doubters followed him into the bush to see if he did in fact hold secret meetings with Americans: "Of course they found straight away that the tale of meeting Americans was a complete fabrication. As a result the leaders were badly discredited." "General Political Report, Kira Kira, 31 May 1950. BSIP - SF 108, pt. VII, vol.4.

⁴² C.A. Allan to Sect. DNAD, 27 November 1950, 12. BSIP, 4, SF 108.

who suffered from a "surfeit of American self consciousness",⁴³ suspected of actively promoting the movement.

When the two Dutch fathers, van de Walle at Rohinari, and Geertz at Tarapaina, attempted to counter Maasina Rule by establishing a Catholic Welfare Society in Ariari in February 1950, Resident Commissioner Gregory-Smith reported to the High Commissioner Catholic involvement in "semi-political manoeuvres that are outside the purview of a religious body - especially in a native area".⁴⁴ Following the High Commissioner's suggestion, the matter was discussed with Bishop Aubin,⁴⁵ who reluctantly had the Welfare Societies disbanded.⁴⁶

Methodists in the Western Solomons had perceived Maasina Rule as essentially a Malaitan struggle, rather than one of all Solomon Islanders.⁴⁷ Yet, because it affected Guadalcanal, Santa Ysabel, Florida, Ulawa and San Cristobal, (and prevented the rapid rehabilitation of the copra industry), it demonstrated to the British that Solomon Islanders - Malaitans in particular - were able to achieve a high degree of organisation, and to do so across traditional tribal barriers. Other Malaitan movements, the Federal Council, the Wiris, the Israel/Remnant Church, and the Boboa church, further demonstrated a desire to find political, cultural and religious redemption outside the authority of British administration, or of Western Christianity.⁴⁸

⁴³ "It had been thought that he was a priest first and an American second. The reverse seems to be the case." D.C. Malaita, 18 February 1952. BSIP, 4, SF 108.

⁴⁴ RC to HC, 25 November 1950. BSIP, 4 - CF 187.

⁴⁵ "You should lose no time in approaching the Right Reverend J.M. Aubin, communicating to him the facts and rumours which have come to your notice, and inviting his co-operation in bringing the offenders to task. You may add that in the absence of effect co-operation on his part you will have no alternative but to report forcibly on the situation to higher authority, with a view to ensuring that the matter is laid before the Holy See". BSIP, 4 - S123.

⁴⁶ Gregory-Smith recorded on 28 November 1950 "Bishop Aubin came to see me again this morning and informed me that after due consideration he had decided that the time was inopportune for the inauguration, or perhaps one should say, the continuation, of the CWS, and he gave me the assurance that it would now cease; but he did say that he would like our help in the demise of this organisation and he feels that the prestige of his church may suffer unless the death of this society is tactfully carried out". BSIP, 4 - SF 108 pt VIII. Some welfare societies were re-established by 1954. At Buma, for example, Dan Stuyvenberg reported to Bishop Aubin that a society established 15-16 December 1954 had been "completely approved by the DC. 9 February 1955. DH, Buma Corresp.

⁴⁷ A squad of "war veterans", for instance, had easily been recruited from the Western District in August 1947 to help, in the words of one Methodist missionary, "meet the Marching Rule madness...The rebellion could not have been quashed without bloodshed. They formed the spearhead of the various movements". Choiseul Circuit Report 1947 (Metcalfe), MCNZ, Overseas Mission Department. Board Minutes.

⁴⁸ See Meshach Maetoloa, "The Remnant Church", in Carl Loeliger & Garry Trompf, (eds), *New Religious Movements in Melanesia*, (Suva, 1985). The "Wiris" movement, which evolved from the Federal Council ("Wiris" was the Koio pronunciation of "village"), with Timothy Anaefelo as secretary, comprised mostly non-Christians from Koio, which was arguably the "poorest and most primitive area on Malaita" and concerned itself mostly with recording genealogies, and traditional land boundaries. "Our land tenure was affected...because our Fui-nwae-ki (descent groups) were disrupted by the introduction of Christianity. Not everyone in a Fui-nwae immediately accepted the Christian teaching and Fui-nwae-ki were thus split. Parts remained faithful to our Aakaol-ki, while others left to join the Christian communities where they were encouraged to discard all material dealings with our traditional religion. This severely affected the keeping of our genealogies which, as we have seen, were inextricably part of our religion.", Leonard P. Maenu'u, *Bib-Lami na Ano: Land and Land Problems in Kwara'ae*, (Honiara, 1981), 25. The Wiris movement continued till about 1960, when Mae'anadi, a Wiris leader from Uru, assembled 100 men to meet the tax collector. The Dolaisi

John Gutch, Western Pacific High Commissioner between 1955 and 1961, perceived the possible involvement of new religious movements in future political developments, and observed "newly independent native churches" closely.⁴⁹ Gutch felt that the two areas of politico-religious import were Malaita and New Georgia - where the influence of the Methodist mission appeared to be waning, and that of the Dominicans and the Adventists increasing. At that time his administration believed there was a real danger of political disaffection spreading in schools established by splinter churches and poorly organised missions.⁵⁰

Although the Malaita council was established in 1952 - in which many former Maasina Rule leaders participated - other politico-religious movements on the island continued to resist the authority of both missions and colonial administration. Supporters of the "Federal Council" continued the belief in the American return, "prohibited" the movement of police through Federal Council villages, and based itself on war-time statements of war-time leaders Roosevelt and Churchill.⁵¹ The Council's leader Sau, an ex-police sergeant, instructed the Baegu people in 1951 to resist paying tax, labouring for wages on plantations, or obeying the government.⁵² Furthermore, the Federal Council promised to forgive those who paid tax in 1949 and 1950, and activists discouraged men from signing on as plantation labourers by telling them they were actually being recruited by the police.⁵³

Ironically, when the Solomons government confronted the activities of the Federal Council, Head teachers of the SSEM who had for long been opposed to the government, but who had by 1952 become reconciled to it, became the government's instrument for change. By recognising a reconstituted SSEM, the government sought an end to its impasse on tax and Federal Council issues.⁵⁴ Gibbins, who sought to out-manoeuvre the Council in Kwara'ae, the mission's evangelical heartland, came to an

custom movement, effective on Malaita 1964-66, was a further attempt to preserve and protect Malaita custom: "Summary of Factors affecting recent and future political developments", March 1961. BSIP, 21/IX. FSC 31. Vol.II.

⁴⁹ John Gutch, WPHC, Secret Despatch No. 364, 30 July 1960. BSIP, 21/IX FSC 31 vol.1. On the Remnant Church see Ben Burt, "The Remnant Church: A Christian Sect in the Solomon Islands", *Oceania*, 53:4, June 1983; Garry Trompf, "Independent Churches in Melanesia", *Oceania*, 54:1, September 1983.

⁵⁰ At that time the Gutch administration believed there was a real danger of political disaffection spreading in schools established by splinter churches and poorly organised missions: "Summary of factors affecting recent and future political developments", BSIP, 21/IX. FSC 31. vol. II.

⁵¹ A public notice posted by the Council in March 1951, "prohibiting" the free movement of police through villages, listed as the principles upon which it was founded, as "1: The four freedoms which were written down by F.D. Roosevelt. 2: The peace aims which were written down by F.D. Roosevelt and W.S. Churchill. 3: (The statements of) the Federal Council which was held at Washington D.C. 4: (The statements of) the Federal Council which was held at New York. 5: (The statements of) the Federal Council which was held at Philadelphia in the U.S.A." "A Translation of the notice from the Federal Council, 12 March 1951". BSIP, SF 108 Vol.1. pts. I & II.

⁵² "A Political Report on North Malaita", 28 June 1951. BSIP, 4/108.

⁵³ "A Political Report on North Malaita", 28 June 1951. BSIP, SF 108 vol.1, pts.I & II.

⁵⁴ D.C. Malaita to Sec. to Govt. Political Situation Report, 16 January 1952. BSIP, 4, SF 108.

understanding with the administration that, should an SSEM revival secure in all areas a rededication to the mission, and a repudiation of the aims of the Federal Council, the SSEM headteachers would be allowed to reorganise the Kwara'ae Evangelical Church on the basis of congregations with presidents, vice presidents and clerks - as had existed prior to Maasina Rule. Rendering the January air "hideous with tambourines accordions and drums", (to use Allan's description) the SSEM re-launched its fortunes on the island.

V.J. Anderson, Allan's successor as DC on Malaita, favoured a reconstituted SSEM with regional church councils as a good counterweight to the Federal Council. The nine Maasina Rule leaders arrested in 1947 were released by the administration in June 1950 on the understanding that they would work with the administration rather than against it. Moses Lauabena, a tax evader and long-time opponent of government, was reabsorbed as vice-president of the Southern Kwara'ae SSEM churches;⁵⁵ Justus Jimmy, a Maasina Rule leader from Kwai became by 1950 a pro-administration SSEM leader;⁵⁶ the Malaita Council, comprising 20 men appointed by government and 20 elected, included SSEM adherent Salana Ga'a as first president. So successful was the absorption of SSEM leaders into the Malaita council - with SSEM members as president and vice-president in its first four years of operation (1952-56) - that the administration once more became wary of the mission's potential power.⁵⁷

Following the demise of Maasina Rule, two Malaitan "churches" re-defined for themselves Old-Testament world-views, in their efforts to remain beyond the authority of the secular state. The "Remnant Church" established by England Kwaisulia and Sisimia in 1952, on a basis of SSEM and Adventist teachings and rituals, had 125 members in 1960, mostly in the Kwara'ae and Koio districts.⁵⁸ Although expressed in religious terms - the "Remnants" flew a flag of twelve stars, representing the twelve tribes of Israel, of which the Remnants believed themselves to be one - the movement was, rather, a refusal to accept central government. Church members, including Sisimea, refused to cooperate with the Malaita Council, or the central government, and many were prosecuted in West Kwara'ae court for failing to pay Local Council tax, and give census details. By 1960 the movement had essentially disappeared.

Although the second movement, the "Boboa Church" established by Shem Irofulu in north Malaita, reached larger proportions than the "Remnant Church", it did not create any major administrative difficulties, and troubled the SSEM -from which its members had defected - more than

⁵⁵ DC Malaita to Sect. to Govt., "Quarterly Political Report, Malaita District, for period ending 31st March 1952". BSIP, 4 - SF 108.

⁵⁶ DC Malaita (C.A. Allan) to RC, 27 November 1950. BSIP, 12/V/6.

⁵⁷ "Review of Politico-Religious Trends in the BSIP", March 1957. BSIP, 21 - IX.

⁵⁸ In 1960, the Remnants "preached" in Okwala, Animola, Namosugwata, Fuliamota and Furu - which were all custom, not Christian, villages.

it troubled British officials. Irofulu's movement emerged from prayer meetings, first conducted in 1951 at Sinaria for SSEM teachers from Bitama to Matakwalao. In 1962 many members of the "Boboa Church" carried their anti-establishment sentiments with them, when they converted to Jehovah's Witnesses.⁵⁹ Neither Shem Irofulu's Boboa Church nor the Remnant Church of England Kwaisulia and Sisimia succeeded in establishing significant followings and both attempted to isolate their "churches" from state control and authority, through such tactics as refusing to pay head tax, and refusing to provide details to census collectors.⁶⁰

In the movement of Silas Eto in the Western Solomons, in contrast, religious motives were equally as important as political. Following the retirement of John Goldie from the Methodist Mission's Western Solomons District in 1952, and with the apparent failure of his successor Metcalfe to live up to his predecessor's material and spiritual stewardship (Goldie had extended patronage throughout the district using his private wealth), Silas Eto, one of Goldie's protégés, emerged to lead a spiritual revival he had long felt called to.

Inspired by Eto, Kusage and Kolobagea people withdrew from the Methodist Mission in September 1960, followed by some Rovianna speaking villages in April 1961. Mission head felt that Eto's movement had political overtones and the potential of becoming anti-government, but rather than confronting Eto, the mission pursued an official policy of keeping church and schools open to any who wished to return to Methodism.⁶¹ There were, nevertheless, heated arguments between Methodists and followers of Eto in 1960 to which police were called, and individually, some European mission heads responded to the movement disparagingly, one describing it as "mass suggestion, emotional excitement, and resurrected heathenism with elements of the Christian Faith", which was based on "strange heretical doctrines, strongly laced with 2nd adventism and racial discrimination, turning from white Christ to black messiah".⁶² The 1961 Methodist annual synod at Sasamuqa on Choiseul decided that followers of Silas Eto were no longer mission members, and the movement surrounding the charismatic Eto gradually became routinized as the Christian Fellowship Church, "the largest independent church in Melanesia".⁶³

The response of the British administration was more pragmatic. Although at first the

⁵⁹ BSIP. 12/1/42.

⁶⁰ John Gutch, "Political Report - BSIP", 30 July 1960. BSIP, 21 - IX. cf Meshach Maetoloa, "The Remnant Church: Two Studies", in Wendy Flannery (ed), *Religious Movements in Melanesia Today* (2) (Point, 3), 1983. Moro, on Guadalcanal, similarly sought exemption from government authority.

⁶¹ "The Eto Movement in the Rovianna Circuit", ts. MCNZ.

⁶² "Troubled...yet not distressed", Annual Report of the Chairman of the Solomon Island District. MCNZ Overseas Mission District. Board Minutes. George Carter, in addition, likened Etoism to other movements: John Frum, Maasina Rule, and Kuperism: 56th annual synod. MCNZ Overseas Mission Department. Board Minutes.

⁶³ Garry Trompf, "Independent Churches in Melanesia", *Oceania*, 54:1, September 1983.

"uninhibited religious fervour" of Eto's church services had caused concern,⁶⁴ and the movement had been observed on both sides of the Solomons/Papua New Guinea border (the Australian administration watched for any signs of the movement on Bougainville), the British administration recognised the Christian Fellowship Church as a voluntary agency in 1965, eligible receive funding educational subsidies. To the Methodist mission, it was a warning that self-government would soon be required within the church and thus gave impetus to negotiations which resulted in the formation of the United Church of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands.⁶⁵

The John Frum movement had as much impact on Christian missions on Tanna in the southern New Hebrides, as Etoi had on the Methodist Western District. The boycott of church services in May 1941 by nine-tenths of Tanna's Presbyterians marked the beginning of a struggle between Christian laws and beliefs, and traditional world-views, and aspirations. Dismissed at the time by Presbyterian missionaries as "the foolish fantasies of ignorant minds",⁶⁶ the movement showed that the Tannese understanding of Christian doctrine was quite superficial, and that the missionaries had mis-judged their effectiveness. John Frum, like the Christian Fellowship Church, bred a syncretic religion, more than a political party,⁶⁷ although one more reliant on custom than on Christianity.

Elsewhere in the region, messianic movements were overcome through the provision of improved welfare services. On the northern New Hebridean island of Raga, for instance, followers of Silon Dan, a reformist movement within the Anglican mission which had commenced in the 1930s, were attracted back to either the Melanesian or Seventh Day Adventist mission in the 1960s by the prospects of medical facilities, and schooling.⁶⁸

In Papua and New Guinea, leaders of the post-war generation were not only defined in regional rather than territory-wide terms: they acted in the context of traditional notions of time, change,

⁶⁴ Although Gutch regarded this as merely an indication of the "dullness of existence in a strict Methodist community": John Gutch, High Commissioner, Secret Despatch no. 364, 30 July 1960. BSIP Eto's Rovianna followers, who had traditionally believed that "heaven" and "hell" were actual geographic locations, at opposite ends of their island, established as new villages Paradise, Jerusalem and Hell, so that one's spiritual status could be aligned with place of occupancy.

⁶⁵ R.G. Williams, "From mission to church: a study of the United Church", in M. Ward (ed), *The Politics of Melanesia*. Concerning the Christian Fellowship Church see also Richard Cheshire, "Holy Mama, Solomons prophet built a paradise for his people", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, July 1978; Esau Tuza, "Silas Eto of New Georgia", in G. Trompf (ed), *Prophets of Melanesia*.

⁶⁶ E.G. Jansen, "Annual Report 1961-62". PCNZ.

⁶⁷ See Robert J. Gregory and Janet E. Gregory, "John Frum: An Indigenous Strategy of Reaction to Mission Rule and the Colonial Order", *Pacific Studies*, 7:2, Spring 1984. Guiart labelled John Frum "neo-pagan and nationalist", Jean Guiart, "John Frum Movement in Tanna", *Oceania*, XXII:3, March 1952, 165. Also, A. Capell, "An Anthropological Study of a Mission", *International Review of Missions*, 45: 1956.

⁶⁸ See Singoleo Hanson Matas-Kalkot, "Silon Dan: A Movement on the Island of Pentecost (Raca) in Vanuatu", in Carl Loeliger & Garry Trompf, (eds), *New Religious Movements in Melanesia*.

prosperity, and progress, which Western observers have labelled "cargoist".⁶⁹ Unlike cargo movements characterised by such features as unrealistic expectations of material reward, cessation of normal agriculture, increased sexual licence, and resistance to Christian missionaries and their teachings, there were other movements which missionaries regarded as being cargoist, which had a more pragmatic and reasoned basis. The Paliau movement in the Admiralty Islands and Tom Kabu's "Kompani" in the Purari Delta, typified attempts to integrate political and religious motifs, in pursuit of social and economic advancement.

Paliau Maloat's movement, through which he hoped to initiate social, political, economic, and religious reforms, was betrayed by the cargoist mentality of the Manus population, with which Paliau neither necessarily concurred, nor emphatically denounced.⁷⁰ He had returned from Rabaul to his home village of Lipan on Baluan Island in 1946, intent on promoting social change. The recognition by some administrators that Paliau's original movement held promise counted for nothing when he failed to debunk the cult, for fear of losing his popular support, and political leadership. By synthesising what he knew of Christian doctrine, Paliau constructed, with the aid of vivid dreams, a version which accounted for the disparity between the wealth of the European, and the wealth of the native:

The "Long Story of God" tells of the conspiracy on the part of both mission and government to keep the native in ignorance. Worse yet, by teaching them partial truths and false beliefs and allowing them to continue customs derived from the old culture, incompatible with the teachings of Jesus, the missionaries were causing an increase in death and sickness among the natives. Christianity in error was considered to be more dangerous than had been the old culture, coupled as it was with complete ignorance. Paliau and his followers believed that the missions had lied and had given the native a Bible in which truth had been disguised. Paliau reinterpreted the teachings of the missionaries.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Recent thinking on Melanesian politico-religious movements, suggesting that the common description "cargo" is the semantic construction of Western observers merits attention. It must be recognised that anticipation of material benefit accompanied the activities of Christians as much as of non-Christians, and that incidents of mass conversion or revival were often as much the result of cargoist mentality as were any incidents outside mission, and Christian, auspices. See Nancy McDowell, "A Note on Cargo Cults and Cultural Constructions of Change", *Pacific Studies*, 11:2, March 1988. Earlier, Belshaw had suggested that modern cargo cults, specifically Jon Frum, the Naked Cult, and Maasina Rule, were not nationalist movements, but showed that Melanesians had the capacity to organise nationalist movements: C. Belshaw, "The Significance of Modern Cults in Melanesian Development", *Australian Outlook*, 4:2, 1950, 124.

⁷⁰ When the administration took Paliau to Port Moresby for an "orientation course" the rumour circulated that the administrator had conferred special powers on him; that he was a prophet inspired to teach the true religion of Christ, which had been perverted by the missions; and that "cargo" would arrive as soon as Paliau had made five tours of Manus. A.A. Bloxham, Patrol Report 7 of 1947-48. Eastern Islands. 17 January - 4 February 1948. Manus Patrol Reports 1946-47. TPNG.

⁷¹ Theodore Schwartz, *The Paliau Movement in the Admiralty Islands, 1946-1954*, (New York, 1962), 258. To the administration, Paliau was representative of the younger generation of Manus men who detested the traditional system of marriage and mortuary feasts, that hindered them from gaining economic independence, and who sought, in the years after the war, to rid themselves of such traditions. Paliau's campaign to improve the condition of his people included the organised destruction of traditional houses, the construction of a "model village", a decrease in the importance of bride price, and the "drilling" of men, as they had seen American soldiers do.

By 1950 Paliau had established himself at the head of his new "religion". His directives forbidding the arbitration of disputes before government magistrates; use of hospitals, attendance at government or mission schools, or contact with European missionaries, resulted in his imprisonment until October 1950 for incitement of cargo activities,⁷² and his subsequent alteration of strategy in favour of assisting the administration in the formation of the Baluan LGC, on which he was elected chairman.⁷³

The administration's success in incorporating "cult leader" Paliau Maloat into the Baluan Council, however, hindered the formation of another Local Council of the island's North Coast where the predominantly Catholic population regarded the Baluan Council as no more than a front for Paliau's movement, with which they would have nothing to do.

Reactions toward Paliau from the two religious communities on Baluan differed. Adventists shunned him, (they were, in any case, from villages traditionally at odds with the Paliau-influenced villages), while Catholics followed him, to the extent of establishing a Catholic church, independent of Lamers, the Catholic priest at Patusi.⁷⁴ When another Manus Catholic, Kua of Kwaliup, promulgated "laws" which resulted in the excommunication of those who followed him, a split between the European missionary and the Catholic church on Manus resulted in the formation of the Baluan Native Christian Church.⁷⁵ The feud between Lamers and the Baluan Catholics would not have lasted several years, had not Lamers reacted with hostility and upon hearsay evidence, at the time of the 1947 cargo outbreak (the "roughhouse tactics" on Manus of a second Catholic priest, O'Connell, in the first half of 1947, were thought to have also aggravated the rebellious features of Paliau's movement).⁷⁶ Nor was this the only time clerics, living in isolation amidst cultures foreign to their own, dealt poorly with a movement of social and religious discontent. Although villagers began to drift back to the church after a decade in which some 400 children had missed the chance of receiving village-school education, the Baluan

⁷² Summary of Investigations. Manus Patrol Reports 1949-50. TPNG. Documents concerning the Baluan Christian Native Church are included in P. Maloat, "The Story of my life from the day I was born until the present day", in M. Ward (ed), *The Politics of Melanesia*.

⁷³ Paliau was elected Chairman in July 1951. The Rambutyo people, who followed Paliau, continued to be attracted by cargo beliefs. Similarly, Lucas, a member of the 1946 cargo cult, was elected to Manus LGC in 1960, to replace a government and mission sympathiser. In 1960 Kipel engaged in cult activities on Rambutyo Island.

⁷⁴ Following Paliau's comment that the Virgin Mary was a German, Lamers dismissed several catechists from their appointments on Baluan, and refused to provide the sacraments to the Baluan Catholics: P.F. Sebire, "Patrol Report No. 2 of 1947/48", 17 January - 6 March 1948. TPNG, Manus Patrol Reports 1946/49.

⁷⁵ Kua's laws, which administrators recognised revised those of the "big men before", more than they revised Catholic laws, forbade such activities as holding, attending, or helping others to give large feasts; holding feasts to celebrate births or deaths; selling one's daughter to a man she didn't like; cutting off and keeping a dead person's head; and adorning women for their marriages: P.F. Sebire, "Patrol Report 4 of 1947/48", January 1947. TPNG, Manus Patrol Reports 1946/49. Catholics on Baluan, led in part by Pityilu, a local government councillor, criticised the mission for only providing pidgin instruction in its elementary schools; and they established their own church manned by ex-Catholic catechists, followed church rituals, but refused to negotiate with European church leaders.

⁷⁶ M.B.B. Orken, a/DO, to DNA, 17 October 1955. TPNG, 872 - 32/25.

Church survived.

The Hahalis Welfare Society (HWS) on Buka was a reaction against the attitudes of Catholic priests, as much as it was a proto-nationalist movement in search of social and economic reform.⁷⁷ Initiated in 1956 by Anton Keari, a former seminarian who had fallen foul of the Catholic hierarchy, and formalised in 1960 by John Teosin, son of a Catholic catechist, the HWS program was initially welcomed by the administration, and Hahalis was regarded as a model village, since the movement sought to improve hygiene, encourage cash cropping, and break down traditional taboos and beliefs. But the emergence of increased sexual license, and the establishment by 1961 of a "Baby garden", wherein men had their choice of young women, created antagonism between HWS members and La Pointe, the Catholic priest at Lemanmanu. Lamarre refused medical treatment to those who did not obey church orders, and HWS villagers refused to send their children to the mission's newly established schools. After La Pointe refused the sacraments to HWS members in July 1961, the society established its own Sori Lotu (church), and adopted Joseph as the society's patron saint: just as St Joseph had been ordered by God to look after the family of Jesus, the Welfare did St. Joseph's work by likewise looking after all families.⁷⁸

By 1962 the Methodist mission had also withdrawn its services from HWS villages. The withholding of welfare services by Catholic priests especially concerned the administration partly, since they were supposedly administering them on its behalf. In religious matters, the mission had every right to discipline their parishoners as they saw fit, (and some colonial officials approved La Pointe's "stone-wall" tactics, and predicted their success),⁷⁹ but the boycott of schooling which was being provided on behalf of the secular administration called in to question the administration's policy of supporting mission medical and educational facilities.⁸⁰

Throughout the refusal of some 700 members of the HWS to pay personal taxes in 1961 and again in 1962, and the subsequent violent confrontation with riot police which resulted in the short-term imprisonment of the society's leadership and several hundred society members,⁸¹ both the

⁷⁷ Trompf describes HWS as first appearing as an "anti-colonial, anti-taxation movement", based on Teosin's "own syncretic philosophy of nature of natural feelings", Garry Trompf, "Independent Churches in Melanesia", *Oceania*, 54:1, September 1983, 54.

⁷⁸ M.V. Neal, "Native Situation Lontis - Lemankoa - Lemanmanu Area - North Coast Buka Island"; also, "Interpretation of Native People April/May 1962", TPNG, 13914 - 51/1/13.

⁷⁹ Patrol Officer Dishon described La Pointe's refusal to meet his flock as "stiff-necked and stupid": W.R. Dishon, "Hahalis Welfare Society", 6 February 1963. TPNG, 13914 - 51/1/13.

⁸⁰ Until 1962, neither the mission nor the administration had village schools in the large villages of Lontis, Lemankoa and Lemanmanu on the north coast of Buka Island, although each village had approximately 100 children.

⁸¹ Downs, *Australian Trusteeship*, 202-4; A. Kiki, *Ten Thousand Years in a Lifetime*, chap. 7, "The Buka Affair".

Methodist and Catholic missions denounced the HWS as a cargo cult.⁸² The Chairman of the Solomon Islands Methodist District showed no sympathy for the movement, which he described as a "pagan cult" run by a "lunatic fringe... with a strong political bias under the stimulus of the violent disapproval of the community at large."⁸³ The efforts of Anton Kearei - a government employee and future President of the Buka Council - to discuss grievances with other Buka leaders, brought upon him the mission's hostility, and rumours that he was promoting cargoism.⁸⁴ Despite the efforts of catechist Mikael ToBilak, Methodist church membership on the north coast of Buka dropped from 700 to 100 by 1963.⁸⁵ The society sought recognition, a medical aid post, and school from the administration; continued its boycott of mission facilities; and only gradually made its peace with either mission.⁸⁶

In the Papuan Gulf the activities of Tom Kabu's "New Men" - while they did not provoke such an open breach with the LMS, as those of Paliau, Teosin, Keraei, and others had provoked elsewhere - nevertheless indicated the LMS attitude toward proto-nationalist aspirations.⁸⁷ Kabu's attempts to purchase sago in the Purari delta, and transport it for sale in Port Moresby, were opposed by Europeans who did not believe he truly intended, nor was he capable of, using the capital generated by sale of sago to establish trade stores, and to purchase and operate an independent trading vessel. Because the Pai people asserted their independence, and did not want the administration's assistance, or registration of their "Purari Sago Trading Company" with the Cooperative Department, Jones, acting director of DDSNA, reported in 1948 that Kabu's "authority throughout the district appears already to be adversely

⁸² This is not to say that cultic expectations formed no part of HWS expectations: The popularity of one priest at Lemanmanu was discovered to be based on the belief that he was the incarnation of a priest who had been be-headed by the Japanese (although even he was unable to commence economic projects because 6/7 of the Catholic community were involved in the HWS): Laracy, *Catholic Missions in the Solomon Islands*, 325.

⁸³ "Solomon Islands Methodist District. Chairman's Report 1963". MCNZ, SI Synods. OMD.

⁸⁴ Lebel labelled Keari "anti-Christ", and it was said that men were visiting Buka from Kieta, as Keari's agents.

⁸⁵ "Annual Report. Buka Circuit, 1963". MCNZ, SI Synods. OMD. On the role of ToBilak see Rodger S. Brown, "Tribute to a New Guinea Pastor", *Mission Review*, January 1979, 14.

⁸⁶ In 1966 HWS leader Francis Hagai studied English, book-keeping, co-operatives and administration, under Marist sponsorship: Downs, *Australian Trusteeship*, 205. By 1980, Teosin claimed some 8,000 supporters, but Trompf disregards this figure and points out that Adventist, United Church, and even Jehovah's Witnesses' efforts had made inroads on Hehela Church membership: Garry Trompf, "Independent Churches in Melanesia", *Oceania*, 54:1, September 1983. 54-5.

⁸⁷ Concerning Tom Kabu see Robert Maher, *New Men of Papua: A Study in Culture Change*, (Madison, 1961); Robert Maher, "The Purari River Delta Societies, Papua New Guinea, after the Tom Kabu Movement", *Ethnology*, 23:217-27; Nigel Oram, "Rabia Camp and the Tommy Kabu Movement", in Nancy E. Hitchcock and N.D. Oram, *Rabia Camp: a Port Moresby Migrant Settlement*, (Port Moresby, 1967). L.W. Allen explains something of the LMS's attitude to Kabu in "The Purari Kompani", in *The Purari Delta: Background and Progress of Community Development*, South Pacific Commission Technical Paper No. 35, Noumea, 1952. Allen's narrative, however, conceals the extent of the ridicule placed on Kabu by the mission. The work of Kabu, and other Papuans including the LMS pastor Posu Semesevita, from Toaripi, is analysed in Catherine Snowden, "Co-operative Societies in Papua New Guinea", MA, UPNG, 1983. More extensive use of LMS records concerning Kabu is included in Graham Hassall, "The failure of the Tommy Kabu movement: a reassessment of the evidence", *Pacific Studies*, (forthcoming).

affecting our administrative control".⁸⁸ In response, the administration supported a "rebel group", centred on village constable Kiri, that produced copra outside Kabu's influence, as it also supported Semesevita's Toaripi Association, partly because it felt the founder's links with the LMS would prevent its members from becoming too materialistic. The missionary Fenn wrote of his concern at Kabu's "enormous prestige" and the "extraordinary things" he had been able to do with the manpower of the district:

At his orders all gods were thrown out and many Ravis (Dubus) burnt down. Considerable quantities of native garden produce have been shipped to Port Moresby and have found a ready market at high prices. Some thousands of contributors subscribed funds to finance the purchase of a boat which subsequently burnt out before it had so much as commenced its first voyage. We do not desire to go into detail about the whole situation except to say that our work has been affected in many ways".⁸⁹

Annual reports to the LMS Papua District Committee reveal missionary attitudes toward Kabu and his movement. Fenn, writing from Aird Hill in 1947, referred to the threat to the peace of the mission from "King Tom, a Papuan with brawn, boldness but little brain", who was "Gifted with a certain shrewd cunning and backed by the influence and teaching of what are to us the undesirable elements of European civilisation".⁹⁰ Fenn hoped for more lay-readers or teachers to counteract Kabu's influence,⁹¹ while Allen, missionary at Urika station, referred to the "utterly yet impossible company".⁹²

Kabu had aspired to uniting the Delta peoples politically, and to "secure a sovereignty for the Purari tribes as a unity separate from the Australian administration."⁹³ But whereas Europeans operated vessels freely, Kabu was obstructed in raising sufficient capital to purchase similar transport; and whereas the LMS freely established mission districts, which grouped tribes together, and made possible the formation of the Papua Ekalesia, and later the United Church, Kabu's attempts to establish supra-clan economic ventures were obstructed and denigrated. By failing to conform to missionary expectations, Tom Kabu alienated himself from the modes of missionary and colonial patronage that existed in the first post-war years. Lacking power over the printed word, and possessed of insufficient

⁸⁸ J.H. Jones, "Ina Company", 1 June 1949. TPNG, Patrol Reports. Gulf (Bera) Patrol Report 6 of 1948-49; J.H. Jones, memorandum for D.O., Delta Division, 2 June 1948. TPNG, Patrol Reports - Bera. The Purari people treated Kabu with more respect than they did patrol officers, and he was able to instruct them in relocating villages to healthier sites, reconstructing houses, and rejecting costly, and non-productive, traditional customs. He relocated his remote village, Maipenairu on a site called Hevasea nearer the coast and opposite the Port Romilly Sawmill, and he worked to secure a boat for the transportation of sago.

⁸⁹ Allen, "Urika Report", LMS, Annual Reports 1948-49, 3/8.

⁹⁰ Fenn, "Aird Hill, Annual Report 1947", LMS, 3/7.

⁹¹ "...we would feel more happy if we had one or two more lay-readers or teachers out there helping Tesimale". Fenn, "Aird Hill, Annual Report 1947", LMS, 3/7.

⁹² Allen, "Urika Report", LMS, Annual Reports 1948-49. 3/8.

⁹³ Maher, *New Men of Papua*, 59.

facility with the English language to convey his ideas, Kabu was one of many proto-nationalists who sought social reform, but who encountered considerable missionary opposition. Breaking with tradition, Kabu had been able to override the traditional divisions between Purari tribes, and had established contact with the Ipiko, Goaribari, and the inland Pawaia peoples.

Missionaries and administrators often regarded early political movements as having communist rather than nationalist inspiration. Anton Kears, who was employed by the administration on Buka from October 1959, and Apelis Mazakmat, similarly employed in Kavieng in 1954, were among those whose thinking was considered communistic,⁹⁴ while concern at the spread of communism in Southeast Asia motivated Oala Oala Rarua to send administrator Cleland material on the moral rearmament movement. Kuder, Superintendent of the Lutheran mission, expressed the fear that the withdrawal of the Netherlands from West New Guinea might lead to New Guinea becoming a "colony of communism".⁹⁵

Although Gutch believed that no serious attempts had been made to introduce Communism to the Solomon Islands Protectorate, and that the term was nothing more than an "interesting word" to Solomon Islanders,⁹⁶ Kifu, a Maasina Rule Chief from Auki, caused the British concern by discussing communism and likening it to the Federal Council.⁹⁷ When the British administration was investigating the activities of the Watchtower association on Malaita, it was also looking out for literature from several communist organizations.⁹⁸ But fear of communism was misplaced. Just as the pre-Christian Melanesian world-view had been filled with a pantheon of spirits, many proto-nationalists emphatically incorporated Christian dogma and rituals into their political programs. They each lacked, furthermore, the Western intellectual training with which to fully grasp the communist program. Melanesians sought equality with the white man on the basis of the Christian teachings, and not on any God-less substitute philosophy. Melanesian politico-religious movements generally distinguished between the message of Christianity - which they sought to appropriate under local authority - and its European couriers - whom in some instances they sought to dismiss.

A full sense of nationalism was rarely expressed in Melanesia in the 1940s and into the 1950s -

⁹⁴ In 1958 W.D. Allen, ADO Sohano, suggested Kears be offered a position with the administration "I feel sure I could get him on our side if I had the authority to make him a suitable offer, something perhaps in the nature of the job once done by Osinero Dickson at the District Office in Port Moresby". W.D. Allen, Native Situation - Buka Island, 25 October 1959. TPNG, 51/1/11 pt.1.

⁹⁵ John Kuder, "President's Report 1962". ELC, 193/51/81. Some contemporary mission publications inferred that failure to resolve the Irian Jaya issue invited Communist insurgency: Maslyn Williams, "More New Guinea Martyrs?", *Harvest*, October 1966.

⁹⁶ "Summary of Factors affecting recent and future political developments", March 1961. BSIP, 21/IX. FSC 31. Vol.II.

⁹⁷ D.C. Malaita, 18 February 1952. BSIP, 4 SF 108.

⁹⁸ These included: World Federation of Democratic Youth, Woman's International Democratic Federation, International Union of Students, World Federation of Trade Unions, Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers Parties. BSIP, 28/VI/22. SC3.

whether in social, economic, or political terms. The allegiance Melanesian leaders commanded was based on regional, or ethnically defined and traditionally defined terms and none of these movements bridged completely the geographic and ethnic distances between them. When potential leaders emerged, their careers were thwarted by pessimistic overlords, unwilling or unable to recognise sincere but untrained motives. Effective national leaders only emerged after the Melanesian colonies developed more significant educational and economic infrastructures - activities in which the missions figured prominently.

CHAPTER SIX

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

*Independence would eventually come, said Bishop Hill, but in the meantime "White man is to teach and lead"*¹

At a time when African and Asian nationalists were seizing political power from their colonial overlords, the impetus to political change in Melanesia came more slowly. Here, the struggle for nationalism was unique in that, apart from the New Hebrides, where the National Party forced the issue of independence upon the Anglo-French administration, independence was achieved amid non-violent tension. Melanesian nationalists, in contrast to many African nationalist leaders who spent years in prison, or who fronted armies of liberation that emerged from a groundswell of social revolution, did not have to add the use of weapons to their struggle for political independence. The peaceful achievement of independence in Samoa in 1962 demonstrated that Pacific nationalism was not necessarily opposed to mission interests and from this time forward, missionaries referred with increasing frequency to the desirability of eventual nation-hood and independence for the Melanesian colonies. Bishop Strong's 1961 warning of signs of "nationalism and all the disturbing elements that accompany it" referred more to the experience of other continents than to colonies such as Papua and New Guinea.²

Whereas the struggle on other continents was for outright independence, the call in the South Pacific in the 1950s was for initiatives toward self-government, and for more autonomy at local level. In Papua and New Guinea the administration was guided by the U.N. Charter, chapter xi of which stated that the basic objectives were to "promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of trust territories, and to promote their progressive development towards self government or independence".³ The missions supported these. In 1958, for example, the Australian National Missionary Council urged the government to announce that its objective for Papua

¹ Bishop Alfred Hill, addressing the Melanesian Brotherhood Annual Conference 1962. CM, F2/1.

² DNG, 3/8: Presidential Address Synod January 1961, 9. Albrecht suggested that some missions in Africa favoured the colonial order, rather than African independence movements, in reaction to what they considered to be excessively secular nationalism in Europe: Paul Albrecht, *The Churches and Rapid Social Change*, (New York, 1961). Attitudes such as Strong's may have been similarly motivated. The LMS was experiencing self-government and independence in African countries. One writer described the impact of Christian education in Bechuanaland and Botswana, with 14 of 31 members of the former's Legislative Council being mission educated: Albert Locke, "The Christian in Politics: Views from Bechuanaland", *LMS Chronicle*, July 1965.

³ J.K. Murray to W. van Baar, MSC, 12 September 1946. TPNG, 172 - 15/1.

and New Guinea was the creation of an independent New Guinea.⁴ The 1961 missions-administration conference passed a resolution stating that, in the advance to self-government, the missions wished to work with the administration to build up a Christian nation. Implicit in such calls for political development was recognition of the need for the gradual transfer of responsibility from colonial administrators to indigenous leadership.

Following the Papua New Guinea Act of 1949, which called for the establishment of Executive and Legislative Councils, local government councils were established in the 1950s. A Legislative Council was established in 1951 with the stipulation that three of its nominated members be mission representatives.⁵ Its other Melanesian members were men of demonstrated ability, and proven loyalty to the Administration. Most had benefited from mission education. Participation at this time in the Legislative Council, or in District and Town Advisory Councils, although it implied representation of a population, was not construed in political terms, and, since no political parties existed, there was little talk of political ideology. If affiliations were apparent, they were affiliations with one or other of the missions.

Involvement in government councils at local level, in contrast, had more immediate and alarming implications for religious bodies, since the missions generally lost their influence over the public affairs of a locality to LGCs - over which their influence was uncertain. As Keith McKenzie noted in reference to the newly established council at Mailu, the danger was that such bodies might take over activities which had been in the hands of the missions.⁶ Whereas Melanesians appointed to Legislative Councils had impeccable records of loyalty either to their mission, or to the administration (or to both); the elected members of Local Government Councils were men of all degrees of moral integrity: whether former luluais or tultuls; or former or present cargo-cult leaders and aspiring entrepreneurs. For this reason, the establishment of Local Government Councils forced each mission to assess its attitude toward this devolution of power to "native", and secular, councils. In 1954 the missions suggested that government councillors be dismissed for moral lapses, in order to improve the moral integrity of elected representatives.⁷ They also urged the Legislative Council to pass laws on such

⁴ "Where do we stand in New Guinea?", *Mission Review*, August 1958, 1.

⁵ Diocese of New Guinea. Presidential Address and Charge. January 1963. DNG, 3/9. The three missions represented were the LMS (the oldest mission in Papua), Catholic, and Methodist. Murray later recorded his regret that room could not be found on the first council for Miss P.D. Abel of Kwato, Mrs Doris Booth of Wau, and P.N.W. Strong, Anglican Bishop of New Guinea: J.K. Murray, "In Retrospect 1947-52: Papua-New Guinea and Territory of Papua and New Guinea", in K.S. Inglis (ed), *The History of Melanesia*, 178. Strong replaced the Methodist C. Lewis, who retired in 1954.

⁶ Keith McKenzie to Don Dunstan, 21 September 1963. PCNZ, 1963 O-P.

⁷ "Conference of Christian Missions in the Territory and the Administration, November 1954. TPNG, 833 - 1/1/9/ (4) B.

moral issues as censoring "profane language",⁸ the control of "indecent literature", and the banning of alcohol, gambling and Sunday sport.

Although mission support for local councils resulted from the belief that their success was required in the movement toward self-government and eventual independence, some missionaries remained opposed to the rise of councils, which they rightly regarded as a threat to the missions' traditional local-level hegemony. Others, however, welcomed them as legitimate arenas for the exercise of Christian principles and example. Approving local government for the Northern Province, for example, Anglicans claimed that government had taken the idea from the example set by Romney Gill, who had established a local council among Anglicans at Boianai before the Second World War.⁹ Whichever path a mission took, whether reactionary or progressive, political involvement became inevitable, and few missions remained distant from the new local field of power. In Papua and New Guinea, as it turned out, only half the population was covered by Local Government Councils when the House of Assembly was established in 1964. In the New Hebrides, similarly, the development of local government was "poor and slow".¹⁰

Those who doubted the efficacy of local councils called also for continuation of colonial rule. Independence would eventually come, Bishop Hill advised the Melanesian Brotherhood in 1962, but in the meantime white men were to "teach and lead".¹¹ Hill, among others, favoured continuation of the British presence in the New Hebrides, and the attitudes of missionaries throughout the region were considerably paternalistic.¹² Among educated Melanesians, however, talk of an end to white rule was irrepressible. Independence was discussed on the remotest islands of New Guinea, as well as in Port Moresby, and in Mussau, off the coast of New Ireland. The political interests of selected Papuan and New Guinean Catholics, particularly from Wewak and Rabaul, were being stimulated through such activities as courses at Melbourne's Institute of Social Order.

In some areas, the introduction of local government was seen as an antidote to cargo cult movements, (on Manus, for example), which the administration interpreted as frustration caused by lack of opportunity for social and economic advance. Thus, in the Gulf District, efforts were made to

⁸ The missions referred to a case in which a European foreman with the Australasian Petroleum Company persisted despite warnings, "in addressing his charges in a manner which indicated that their colour was black and their parentage doubtful": he was "badly battered and fortunate to escape with two black eyes". Native Labour - Papua - Labour Control, 4 June 1954. TPNG, 833 - 1/1/9(4)B.

⁹ Diocese of New Guinea. Presidential Address and Charge. Synod. January 1961. DNG, ALX-2.

¹⁰ A.K. Jackson, "Towards political awareness in the New Hebrides", *Journal of Pacific History*, 7, 1972, 157.

¹¹ Bishop Alfred Hill, address to the Melanesian Brotherhood Annual Conference, 1962. CM, F2/1.

¹² Jeremy Ashton, "Traditional beliefs and Christian teaching", *ABM Review*, Aug/Sept, 1970; Ian Stuart, "The Life Style of the Anglican Mission", *ABM Review*, Aug/Oct 1971.

incorporate into local councils such leaders as Nanai Gigiove, who organised social and economic improvements in the Kikori area. Tom Kabu and his followers in the Delta area, Beara, on the other hand, preferred economic to political organization, and remained outside local council initiatives. The emerging Elema (Kerema) leaders (people from Cape Possession to the Purari River) Gabriel Ehave, of Moveave, Moveave Jack, Torea Erefoka, Avosa, and Hasu Moava, of Iokea; each used cooperative societies, religion and the lure of "cult" for political ends.

The influence of missions on such men as Erefoka went beyond education. Not only were most of the first councillors at local government level mission educated: the very presence of mission-stations in a region sometimes made possible the formation of LGCs. In Milne Bay, among other locations, councils were established near mission and government stations,¹³ and in the Southern Highlands, newly established mission stations provided the local cash economies that made LGCs viable. Through trading with the CMMML at Kelabo and the Baptists at Tanggi, for example, the Kelebo people in the Koroba LGC area earned the cash with which council tax could be paid.¹⁴ Similarly, trade between the Del people and the Capuchin station at Del, established in the Mendi sub-district in 1964, enabled them to join the Upper Mendi LGC which had commenced in 1962.¹⁵

On New Ireland, where there was less tendency toward cargo thinking, the introduction of LGCs met considerable mission antagonism. Apelis Mazakmat, for one, first president of the Tikana Local Government Council established in 1957, experienced the reactionary response of Catholic and Methodist missionaries to those who dared to question their authority, and place more confidence in the emerging council system. For several years previously, John Black, director in of Policy Planning and Research, had sought, with the assistance of Advent Tarosi, to acquaint "emergent native leaders" with the administration's welfare and development policies in such areas as local government, the establishment of co-operatives, small businesses, cash cropping, and facilities for expanded educational activities; and did so irrespective of their standing with the missions.¹⁶

Black felt that Mazakmat, whom the missions regarded as an adversary, had considerable leadership potential, if given the right advice, and the right environment, and Mazakmat proved his concern for development, by spending seven months introducing the idea of local government in the Nalik speaking villages Munawai, Laraslaba, Logagun and Medina, and working toward such village-level improvements as decreased levels of gambling, more knowledge of how to bank and to use money,

¹³ "The District Officer, Milne Bay reports that an atmosphere of indolence and apathy prevails in the District except where Co-operatives or Local Government Councils have been established or near Administration and Mission stations", Interpretation of the Native People Report for April 1959. TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/17 pt.1.

¹⁴ ADO M.R. Haywood to DO, SHD, 7 August 1964. TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/17 pt 4.

¹⁵ TPNG, Mendi Patrol 29 of 1963/64, "Native Affairs".

¹⁶ John Black, pers. comm.

and more obedience to government officials, especially paramount luluais, tultuls, and village headmen.¹⁷ Despite Mazakmat's progressive thinking, he was viewed by nearby Catholic and Methodist missionaries as an agitator, whose activities required watching closely.

The establishment of Local Councils on New Britain's Gazelle Peninsula compounded an already complex ethnic and religious situation. There, as on Manus, the administration sought to include in the new councils able men such as Stanis To Boromilat, vice-president of the Vundadir Council, a man of drive and personality, whom the administration felt could either be of enormous value or could cause considerable trouble. Whereas Methodist pastors clashed with Local Government councillors in Kabakada circuit when they refused to pay the council's £4 head-tax, 10 local preachers on Rabaul's LGC were judged to have been "a great help to the work of the circuit".¹⁸

Wesley Lutton, Methodist missionary at Raluana, reported his pleasure that Methodist men were prominent in the district's LGC, and that "Methodist policy and method" had enabled the mission to produce "men who are sought after and who will bring Christ into their government".¹⁹ However, Lutton also noted that Local government had eroded the position of the "misinare" - the locally trained pastor-teachers.²⁰ Although Brown reported in 1954 that the church was still the centre of "native village life", and that Christian principles were guiding social, government and economic growth, he also noted tensions between the local council and the church.²¹ On Bougainville also, sectarian clashes which had occurred for a generation were given a new impetus when newly established LGCs polarised the population into pro- (mostly Protestant) and anti-(mostly Catholic) LGC factions.²² Although several colonial administrations suspected the Jehovah's Witnesses of anti-council activities, no evidence was found when allegations were made that Witness members agitated against the formation of Mengen LGC, New Britain.²³

Some Catholic priests agitated against council formation, while others actively involved in their development, suggesting that the Catholic hierarchy had not, at the time, formulated a definite policy

¹⁷ Mazakmat to Black, 7 December 1947. Mazakmat had based his reforms on the booklet given him by Black, *Notes and Instructions of Native Local Administration in the British Solomon Islands*.

¹⁸ R.S. Brown, N.G. dist. Kabakada Ct. An. Rep. 1954, MCA, O/M 364.

¹⁹ W. Lutton, Raluana dist rep. 1955. MCA, District Minutes Ct reps. 1955. Box 363. In the North Solomons Daniel Keskes, a local preacher who had served as a missionary in the highlands, was vice-president of Buka LGC in 1962.

²⁰ W. Lutton, "Lotu Taslatala and misinare: Who is the real missionary?", *Missionary Review*, 67:2, 1 Aug 58, 6-7.

²¹ R. Brown, New Guinea District. Kabakada Ct., 1954. MCA, Overseas Mission. Box 364.

²² Mamak, Alexander & Richard Bedford, *Bougainvillean Nationalism: Aspects of Unity and Discord*, (Christchurch, 1974), 5.

²³ "Interpretation of the Native People August 1962", 26 September 1962. TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/21 pt.1.

on the matter. On New Britain Steven White encouraged the Reimber people to withhold council tax,²⁴ while Wally Fingleton at Tobago, Buin, gave avid support to council initiatives. LGC funding for mission schools was the most contentious issue. During 1953-54, when councils on New Ireland decided not to allocate funds to purely denominational schools, the Catholic mission protested. Although five councils had proposed, in their budget estimates for 1955, to build Catholic schools, they each upset Bishop Scharmach by deciding they were not financially strong enough to build other than non-denominational area schools. It was left to Cleland to negotiate with and appease the bishop. By the 1970s, missions and LGCs were co-operating in the provision of primary schooling, the councils providing the land and buildings, and the missions supplying qualified teachers.

In the Papuan Islands, where the Methodist Mission professed to take a neutral position politically, it nevertheless hoped church members and leaders would take an active part in LGC matters; and on the Papuan mainland the missionary Ralph Grant suggested that Methodism contributed to the transformation of Papuans into a self-governing nation by conducting classes on the laws and regulations concerning self-government and village councils, and holding mock elections and council meetings.²⁵ Referring to the Trobriand Islands, Grant hoped that the introduction of LGCs might reduce the power of the Paramount Chief at Kiriwina.²⁶ In 1962, the villages of Kereogea and Sawatupwa on Normanby Island opposed the formation of local councils because they were already making what they felt were high payments to the Methodist mission.²⁷

In the New Guinea Highlands, no less than in other parts of the colony, missions sought influence in local councils. Baptists sponsored Pidgin classes among their members, partly with a view to improving the performance of members on the Sau Valley Council.²⁸ Sectarian feeling between Catholics and Lutherans at Pangia in the Southern Highlands was carried into the council first elected in 1965, when a Lutheran missionary, Hertle, provoked friction between the two communities by holding meetings to persuade Kauwos to only vote for Lutheran candidates.²⁹ Elsewhere in the Southern Highlands, the Methodist mission supported candidates in LGC elections.

Under British administration in the Solomon Islands, missions were as involved in the

²⁴ a/ADO M.J. Cockburn to DO, East New Britain, 11 January 1962. TPNG, 1269 - 7/4/10.

²⁵ Ralph Grant, "The Papuan and His Leisure", *Mission Review*, March 1961, 4-5.

²⁶ "The wisdom of such an appointment is doubted today and, for months a Government anthropologist has been in the area making a study of chieftainship and its ramifications." Ralph Grant, "A Chieftain's Daughter", *Missionary Review*, January 1961, 3.

²⁷ "Interpretation of the Native People August 1962", 26 September 1962. TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/21 pt.1.

²⁸ Geoff Waught, "Lapolama, Place of Beauty", *Digest*, 1966, 15.

²⁹ ADO P. Barber to ADC Ialibu SHD, 25 August 1965. TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/17 pt 4.

development of LGCs as was the case in Papua New Guinea. Goldie, typically, believed that Clemens, whom he regarded as the secular arch-villain, developed local councils to counter Methodist influence.³⁰ Goldie was probably correct. The first "native councils" had been introduced on Savo and Gela in 1948. On Malaita, sub-district councils were discontinued in 1947, but in the aftermath of Maasina Rule, efforts were made to establish "loyal" local councils. In 1954 DC Anderson encouraged the heads of the Anglican and Catholic missions, Hill, and Stuyvenberg, to help by getting their members involved in local Malaitan politics.³¹ In later years, Hill approved of the appointment of Bosamata, an Anglican priest, as President of Gela Council.³²

The subtle involvement of missions in the Condominium politics of the New Hebrides increased through the 1950s, and prepared the way for the ascendancy of the Melanesian political clerics three decades later. In 1959 the Presbyterian Church declared in a major policy shift the separation of its interests from those of the British administration. This statement indicated - despite the definite tendency before and after 1959 for Presbyterians, (and the other Protestant missions) to ally themselves with the British rather than with the French administration - a genuine attempt to see New Hebrideans as other than merely subjects of the Condominium. It reasoned that, since they were forbidden from holding either French or British nationality, New Hebrideans had to develop their own sense of nationality. Subsequently, the mission itself proposed to "strive, in all loyalty to the principles of the Condominium, to prevent the people of the Presbyterian Church of the New Hebrides from thinking of themselves as under French or British influence."³³ This did not mean, on the other hand, that any missionaries in the New Hebrides sought self-government for the islands: most Europeans felt that step to be at least 30 years in the future.³⁴

The New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission Council welcomed the establishment of LGCs, and the increasing importance of the advisory council. Following joint regulation no.9 of 1957, numerous LGCs were established 1957-58, while others continued to be established in the 1970s.³⁵ Some sections of the Melanesian Mission (particularly in the Banks and Torres Islands) and Church of Christ Mission,

³⁰ Goldie to Scriven, 14 January 1945. MCNZ, SI District. Corresp. with J.F. Goldie, 1922-51.

³¹ DC Malaita to Tom Russell, DC Designate, "Handing over notes", 13 September 1954. BSIP, 12 - 1/15.

³² A. Hill to D.C. Central (Ian Tedde) 16 September 1963. CM, BSIP Govt. & HCWP 1959-63. F29.

³³ New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission Council, 1959 Minutes, Minute 127, quoted in Charles W. Forman, "Missionaries and Colonialism: the case of the New Hebrides in the Twentieth Century", *Journal of Church and State*, 14:1, Winter 1972, 75-92.

³⁴ see Robert Langdon, "Talk of Self-Government in the New Hebrides, but it's a long way off", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, March 1963, 63.

³⁵ Myers suggests that only five LGCs were functioning by 1970, and that the missions were the only effectively functioning organizations at village level: Michael Myers, "Independens long Vanuatu", PhD (Auckland, 1988), 70. It is clear, however, that the British and French regarded LGCs as important in the development of self-government and eventual independence: *New Hebrides News*, 84, 23 September 1977, 4.

however, remained opposed. On Santo, the general support of the Melanesian Mission for LGCs was one reason that Jimmy Stevens, founder of Nagriamel, withheld support for the NHNP,³⁶ and Nagriamel supporters and some Catholics continued to oppose LGCs established on Ambrym in the 1970s.³⁷ Members of the Church of Christ refused to join a council established on Aoba in 1960,³⁸ although Roger Bawden, a missionary with the church, was a member of Haleta LGC until defeated in an election in 1964. The autonomous nature of each Church of Christ congregation was to disrupt that mission's work later, when many of them chose to participate in the Nagriamel movement.

By 1964, there were 17 LGCs in the Solomon Islands, and by 1970 some 19 in the New Hebrides and 141 in Papua New Guinea.³⁹ And just as Stevens opposed the formation of local councils in the northern New Hebrides, the Malaitans Shem Irofulu, Timothy George, Po'ioia, Sau and Sisili organized opposition to the Malaita Island council in the Solomon Islands. Although these councils fostered political development at local or regional level, their operation had no impact on colonial policy, and their decisions only affected missions in local issues. Advisory Councils, however, were more consequential, and the missions regarded their representation there as an acknowledgement of their social and political indispensability.

In small colonies, missionaries on Advisory Councils regarded themselves as statesmen, concerned with the weighty political problems of the time. In Papua New Guinea such men as Strong, Dwyer⁴⁰ and Ure propounded solutions to the question of West Irian (Irian Jaya) when Indonesia was pressing for expulsion of the Dutch. Philip Strong, who believed his participation on the Council to be of considerable value to Anglicanism, sparked debate in the Australian parliament by favouring self-determination.⁴¹ LMS representative D.E. Ure also took his role on the Council seriously, recommending at one time that the term "Papuan" be adopted as the "general name for all the indigenous population", in order to promote unity among the diverse barriers of tribe and language.⁴²

³⁶ Myers, "Independens Long Vanuatu", 82.

³⁷ Whereas the first LGC on the Island, South East Ambrym, was established successfully in February 1968, Nagriamel supporters and some Catholics opposed the North Ambrym council, established in December 1971, as they also opposed a council proposed for Paama: New Hebrides, "Annual Reports. Central District No.2, 1969, 1970 and 1971.

³⁸ Michael Allen, "Innovation, Inversion and Revolution", in *Vanuatu: Politics, Economics and Ritual in Island Melanesia*, (Sydney, 1981), 128.

³⁹ *Catholic Missions*, March 1971, 5.

⁴⁰ A "militant churchman", according to Barrett: D. Barrett, "Rubber stamp or Parliament?", in M. Ward (ed), *The Politics of Melanesia*.

⁴¹ Strong's view was that West New Guinea should be made a UN Trusteeship under Australian control, and that the New Guinea island eventually become one political unit. See *Pacific Islands Monthly*, October 1955, 132. Strong's proposal, however, took no account of Indonesian aspirations.

⁴² *Pacific Islands Monthly*, August 1955, 15.

In District (DAC) and Town Advisory Councils, mission representatives deliberated on such issues as cultural practices and economic development; and raised issues affecting their own missions - especially the status of mission lease applications.⁴³ In addition to the mission representatives, who were always European, Melanesians who had generally benefitted from a mission education were appointed to Advisory Councils. But whereas the Kwato mission may have been proud of the positions its protégés attained in the colonial administration, its European heads were no less paternalistic toward Papuan abilities. Merari Dickson, among the first three Papua New Guinean appointees to the Advisory Council (the others being Aisoli Salin and Simogen Peta), earned the displeasure of some Kwato missionaries by applying himself unsparingly to council matters. He spent so much time "studying and trying to master the legal phraseology and meaning of the many ordinances passed", Beavis reported to Murray, that he displayed a "mental taughtness".⁴⁴ Like Salin before him, Dickson did not seek reappointment to the Council, when his term expired in 1957.⁴⁵ After the Council was enlarged in 1960, missions lent their support in regional elections for candidates to the Legislative Council. Nicholas Brokam of Lokon, New Ireland, for instance, was elected to the Council in 1961 with the assistance of "vigorous, but perfectly legal", support from Kelleher, the Catholic priest at Karu.⁴⁶

In the New Hebrides the British and French agreed in 1954 to the formation of an Advisory Council to which were appointed several Melanesian clerics, including Titus Path and Gerard Leymang. Derek Rawcliffe, also appointed to the Council, regarded service on it as a natural extension of service to the church.⁴⁷ In the British Protectorate, similarly, Solomon Islanders were appointed to a protectorate-wide Advisory Council from 1950, and elected to it from 1964.⁴⁸ In 1960 the Advisory

⁴³ The Southern Highlands DAC established May 1964, included Otmar Gallagher, a Capuchin from Mendi, C.J. Keightley, a Methodist from Nipa, K.W. Liddle, of the CMML at Koroba, and Wilhelm Hertle, a Lutheran from Pangia. Southern Highlands District, District Advisory Council. TPNG, 13823 - 1/55/15. Missions were similarly represented in the Eastern and Western Highlands DACs. The Gulf District Advisory Council, included in 1960 LMS & Catholic missionaries, planters, a trader, and a mill manager.

⁴⁴ Beavis to Murray, 6 June 1952. TPNG, 172 - 15/5.

⁴⁵ Ian Grosart, "Native Members in the Legislative Council of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea 1951-1963", *Journal of Pacific History*, 1, 1966.

⁴⁶ F.V. Robb, 5 June 1961, TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/9; J.K. McCarthy, Director, DDSNA, "Native Situation - Lokon area", 14 June 1961. TPNG, 13913 - 31/1/9. There were reports that expectations of cargo surrounded Nicolas Brokam's first trip to Port Moresby in 1961, as an elected member of the Legislative Council.

⁴⁷ "In our islands it is acknowledged that the Church must have a place in the Government of the people, so certain members are chosen for Legislative Council or Advisory Council, just because they are representatives of the Church - our Bishop is one of them. It is an acknowledgement that the Church's mission reaches out to the whole of life", "Toronto - A Melanesian Viewpoint", *Southern Cross Log*, 83, December 1963, 126.

⁴⁸ See M.J. Campbell, "Devolution in the Solomon Islands: A Study of Major Reforms", *Journal of Administration Overseas*, 16:4 October 1971; Cf Stephen Pokawin, "Solomon Islands: Uniting the Diversity", *Politics in Melanesia*, (Suva, 1982). Jacob Vouza was one of the first four appointees to the Council, and others appointed in the 1950s included Ariel Sisili, President of the SSEM, and Salana Ga'a.

Council evolved into the Legislative and Executive Councils, with six Solomon Islanders included among the 10 unofficial members of the Legislative branch, including the presidents of four island councils: W.G. Paia (Roviana), J.S. Sunaone (San Cristoval), Mariano Kelesi (Malaita) and Jimaur (Marovo), as well as Francis Bugotu, at teacher at All Hallows School (Pawa) on Ugi Island, and the clerics Alfred Hill and Leonard Alufurai. In 1964 all but two of the unofficial members were elected by electoral colleges.⁴⁹ The council included at various times the Anglicans Harry Reynolds, Silas Sitai, a Pawa graduate, senior public servant and recipient of the Coronation medal; Leslie Alufurai, Leslie Fugui, and John Gereia; the Methodist J.W. Kere, (appointed to the Executive Council in 1964);⁵⁰ and a Marist, Jim Wall, (who was on both the Legislative Council, and its Executive Council in 1964).

Although Melanesians were being elected to the Legislative Council, colonial rule was far from over, and the missions had access to the administration through periodic mission-administration conferences at which their thoughts on administration of the Territory were voiced. In Papua New Guinea issues of Christian morality were discussed at mission-administration conferences, and in countless mission meetings. Some policies advocated by missions in the shaping of legislation, regarded by them as measures required for the protection of Melanesians, were more restrictive than those proposed by the secular administration. Liquor regulations "protected" Melanesians from alcohol, and allowed expatriates to educate them by example, in how to consume it; the Native Womens' Protection Ordinance, "protected" Melanesian women by restricting their movements after nightfall. At other times, the missions approved the idea of work passports and work permits. A Native Employment Bill was favoured by some to "protect the natives' social structure from too rapid or ill controlled change".⁵¹ Mission-administration conferences resolved that nationals not be allowed to work on commercial vessels proceeding to Australia, or other overseas ports.⁵²

But the days of mission influence in advisory bodies were numbered. A total of 29 missions - representing 15 denominations - sent delegates to the 1952 conference, and 34 missions sent delegates to the 1954 conference.⁵³ The lack of unanimity achieved or expressed at conferences between the missions and the administration over several decades hampered the missions' position. Not only did they

⁴⁹ "Partially-Elected Legislative Council for Solomons", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, November 1964, 12; "Meeting on the BSIP Political Steps", *ibid*, February 1964, 50.

⁵⁰ MCA, Board Minutes. 25 February 1964.

⁵¹ Bishop Strong, "Presidential Address. Synod. January 1961, DNG, 3/8.

⁵² "Summary of Proceedings of Conference of Representatives of Administration and Missions, held at Conference room, Government House, Port Moresby, from May 21st to 28th inclusive". AA, CRS, A518 AB 838/1 pt.3. Later, the missions advocated such measures as limitations on free movements into urban areas (the 1970 Public Order Bill): The bill was opposed at church meetings in Port Moresby led by Jack Sharp. MCA, Board Minutes 21 September 1970, 238. Book 352.

⁵³ "Report on Missions/Administration conference held 15/11 - 22/11/54", TPNG, 310 - 33/4/1/6.

oppose at various times government policy concerning language, school enrolment policy, the location of mission institutions, local government councils, and co-operatives; there were major differences between the missions which complicated mission-administration dialogue, particularly with regard to marriage and alcohol laws. By 1954, the administration felt that it knew the missions' views on a range of topics, and required no further consultation with them. One official's advice was

Whether anything further will be achieved by referring the matter back again to the missions is questionable. My own view is that the administration has made up its mind what it wants after hearing and examining the views of the missions over a period of years and that we should now proceed to legislate. Mission representatives in the Legislative Council will have the opportunity of presenting their views again.⁵⁴

A report to the 26th U.N. Trusteeship Council, in 1960, questioned "the appropriateness of granting representatives of religious missions as such in the Legislative Council",⁵⁵ and when the House of Assembly was established in 1964 the missions agreed that their conferences with the administration were no longer necessary.⁵⁶ The missions did, on the other hand, participate in the political education campaign conducted by the administration prior to the election, in which 54 of 64 members were elected).⁵⁷ Although the program was subsequently criticised for the manner of its conduct, as well as for its content,⁵⁸ a few missionaries took the opportunity to interpret the Territory's political needs for their followers. A group of expatriate Christians in Rabaul who felt that political education had been inadequate formed the "Christian Committee for National Development".⁵⁹ On Bougainville, Hanrahan expected that missionaries in Hutjema sub division would have to be brought on side, before a campaign of political education could take effect.⁶⁰ One Methodist missionary likened the formation of electoral

⁵⁴ "Marriage Ordinance", 5 August 1954. TPNG, 310 - 33/4/1/6.

⁵⁵ "Trust Territory of New Guinea: Conclusions and recommendations adopted by the United Nations Trusteeship Council at its Twenty-Sixth Session, April-June, 1960", *Current Notes*, 31:7, July 1960.

⁵⁶ The LMS' Papuan Church Assembly, for instance, replied to the administrator in February 1964 that, with the formation of the House of Assembly, "The continuing of regular conferences of administration and mission representatives is open to question", "P.C.A. Executive Meeting, 7 February 1964", LMS, 12 - Minutes 1962-64. In planning for some form of self-government in Papua and New Guinea, the Australian administration knew that political agitation in Papua New Guinea was sure to increase: the experience of African colonies taught it that people preferred ill-government by themselves, to efficient administration by a metropolitan power. In 1962, when a select committee of the Legislative Council was considering means for implementing self-government, the 1962 U.N. visiting mission gave impetus to the formation of a House of Assembly, suggesting it be elected in 1964, (the report also urged that steps toward independence be taken in the New Hebrides, and the Solomon Islands): *Pacific Islands Monthly*, December 1964, 15. J.T. Gunther, "Background to the House of Assembly", in M. Ward (ed), *The Politics of Melanesia*.

⁵⁷ TPNG, Tari Patrol Reports 1963/64. PR 1 of 1963/64, 3.

⁵⁸ R.J. May, "The Political Education Program", in David Stone (ed), *Prelude to Self-Government*, (Canberra, 1976), 25-36.

⁵⁹ *The Christian Committee for National Development*, (Vunapope, 1963).

⁶⁰ K.J. Hanrananm "Native Affairs - Kunua/Keriaka Divisions", 30 January 1964. TPNG, 13914 - 51/1/13.

rolls to the Biblical story of Mary and Joseph returning to their home for a census.⁶¹ The Anglican Mission circulated pamphlets stressing the need for a Christian candidate to win the Open electorate in Milne Bay.⁶² Kuder, typically, had wished that the missions had been consulted, somehow, on the selection of candidates.⁶³ Also typical was the Cult activity that surrounded various candidates.⁶⁴

In Central District voting was along religious lines, the main candidate receiving the LMS votes, and the Kerema candidate the Catholic votes, although LMS members in Kerema bay voted for the successful candidate Gabriel Ehava, a Catholic who already had experience on the Legislative Council.⁶⁵ In Maprik, SSEM adherents were under the impression that Peter Lus had been "marked" by the mission to represent them in the House of Assembly.⁶⁶ Administration officers supervising the election in the highlands noted strong polling near mission stations, and in mission-influenced areas.⁶⁷ Also, in some areas, polling took place on mission stations, and mission airstrips.⁶⁸

In the Southern Highlands the Methodists openly supported the candidature of Handabe Tiaba for Tari Open electorate. Tiaba, who spoke neither Pidgin nor English, was elected with 4300 votes, a win by 349 votes, after the allocation of preferences. The involvement of the Methodist mission in backing Tiaba did not please the administration,⁶⁹ and Tiaba's subsequent performance as an elected representative of the Huri people did not bring any advantage to the mission.⁷⁰ Percy Chatterton, a retired LMS missionary who had participated on the Central District Advisory Council for many years, was the only cleric elected to the first House of Assembly. Chatterton won the Central special electorate, hoping that the new parliament would be left alone by the Trusteeship Council. Although he intended to form a Christian fellowship with House members, the majority whose actively Protestant

⁶¹ Edith James, "We have Chosen Our Government", *Missionary Review*, May 1964, 14-5.

⁶² "Native People, Interpretation to the Administration, Reports from Milne Bay", TPNG, 51/1/23.

⁶³ John Kuder, "President's Report 1963". ELC, 193/51/81.

⁶⁴ Cult activity appeared, for example, around Ianopei, a Sepik candidate for the first House of Assembly election. "Interpretation of the Native People to the Administration", 5 December 1963. TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/23.

⁶⁵ This is despite the fact that Ehava had on occasion supported the Catholics of Heavala village, Gulf District, in their disputes with LMS villagers concerning land usage: "Gulf District Annual Report", 1961, 14. TPNG, 5516 - 48/2/2.

⁶⁶ Political Education - Gawanga Census Division, 9 December 1963. TPNG, Patrol Report No 5 - 63/64. Maprik.

⁶⁷ TPNG, Tari Patrol Report 1963-64. PR 20 of 1963/64, 6.

⁶⁸ Lumi Patrol Report 9 of 1963/64. TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/23.

⁶⁹ TPNG, Tari Patrol Reports 1962-63. PR 25 of 1963/64.

⁷⁰ "His subsequent poor showing has resulted in loss of status not only to himself but also to the mission which sponsored him." Annual Report, Southern Highlands District 1964-65. TPNG, 13933 - 72/2/15.

members were Lutheran, there was little evident result.⁷¹

Members of the 64 seat first House of Assembly who had strong mission patronage included Nicolas Brokam, John Guise, Dirona Abe, Matthias Toliman, Robert Tabua, Zure Zurecnuoc, and Paul Lapun. Ties between these politicians and the various missions involved the administration in the arbitration of innumerable local level disputes. Catholic patronage for Denis Bokap, for example, the member for Kavieng open, was resented by Pukinos Kabani, from the United Church village of Usil, who accused Bokap of unfairly favouring Catholic villages in the region.⁷² But as with arbitration of inter-mission rivalries, the administration generally tolerated missionary involvement in political affairs, believing that political clients of established missions were stable products of colonial tutelage.

With the House of Assembly now functioning, the prospect of future mission-administration conferences was broached, but not proceeded with. Missions already had access to the relevant government departments, ran the administration's argument, and matters of "general Government policy" now rested with the emerging representative political institutions. A further conference, if held, might have wished to discuss tariff concessions for missions, land policy, royalties and the mining ordinance, mission broadcasting stations, and medical and educational subsidies⁷³ - matters which Johnson, then assistant Administrator, felt were best left alone. He perceived more disadvantages than advantages in convening such a conference, and recommended, significantly, that "recognition of missions as agencies independent of parliament (seemed) undesirable".⁷⁴

Thereafter the missions could only express their views through the press, or sympathetic national politicians, and found it less easy to contribute to the formulation or modification of legislation and ordinances which most concerned them, except on specifically educational matters, through the Education Advisory Council. The desire to maintain a representative voice with the administration may have added impetus to the formation in 1965 of the Melanesian Council of Churches. Another factor in the discontinuation of mission-administration conferences was a feeling that, with the influx of numerous smaller missions, the conferences were becoming unwieldy.

By 1968 departmental heads in the Australian Administration in Papua New Guinea had reassessed the role of missions: while it was acknowledged that missions were valuable in providing a set of values "in the context of the psychic disturbance which accompanies development and change in

⁷¹ P. Chatterton to D. Duncan, 8 June 1964. PCNZ, Secretariat 1964 P-R.

⁷² "this is totally unfounded as Mr. Bokap is showing no religious discrimination in this regard - he's ignoring the lot": Peter White, Kavieng Patrol Report 1B of 1971-72. Kara Census Division. TPNG, Patrol Reports Kavieng Konos 1971-72. In 1972-3 Bokap was instructor at Boys vocational school.

⁷³ This was the assessment of L.W. Johnson, Assistant Administrator (Services), in a minute "Mission/Administration Conference" to the Administrator, 30 March 1967. TPNG, 9370 - 40/3/1.

⁷⁴ L.W. Johnson, "Mission/Administration Conference", 30 March 1967. TPNG, 9370 - 40/3/1.

the Territory", they no longer felt obliged to extensively fund mission programs.⁷⁵ Now, more than at any previous time, the missions were obliged to justify their work in the colonies, and to devise new strategies to maintain their influence in the emerging secular states.

By the mid-1960s Papua and New Guinea, New Hebrides and Solomon Islands had each attained some degree of political responsibility. This devolution of authority, even at village level, had significant impact on the missions, since it was at the village level that most of their influence was concentrated. With the rise of wider political autonomy, designed to give the Melanesian more authority and responsibility, the missions had to respond, or risk losing much of their hard-won influence. Although the major missions, both Catholic and Protestant, encouraged involvement in the political process, church affairs, rather than secular matters, remained at the centre of their deliberations. None of the major missions had ruled against involvement in colonial advisory councils, and LGCs, by either clergy or laity. If anything, mission leaders, through their involvement in such councils established a precedent which was not lost on a later generation of Melanesian clerics.

Yet missionary involvement in politics had in no way been decisive. They had participated to a certain extent in the government's political education program, and had supported political candidates. But the concept of elected offices was new in the Melanesian colonies, and European missionaries were better at serving on colonial advisory councils than fostering indigenous authority. Development of Western political structures brought the missions to the realisation that their partnership with the colonial state was temporary rather than permanent, and that the security of their tenure in the region lay rather in the depth of their authority within the emerging Melanesian societies.

⁷⁵ The respondents were McNamara (Education), Thomson (Trade and Industry), Newby (Information and Extension Services), and Bowler and Scragg (Public Health).

CHAPTER SEVEN

LANGUAGE, SCRIPT AND MISSIONARY INFLUENCE: *engineering social change*

OUTLINE FOR OUR APPROACH

At first we will make a base-camp at Meni, the last village before Kapakinin. From there we will go into Kapakini to check their attitude toward us. We will take a good supply of medical aids and trade goods, hoping to convince the people by means of these and our own friendliness that it will be of benefit to them for us to live among them...

A thorough knowledge of the language is basic for us. A strong native church is our goal; and this will be accomplished only when these people have the Bible in their own language with an ability to read it as well. We can only see this happen as we thoroughly master their language...

We intend in the long run to see these people literate. We hope to have sufficient written material translated by that time to continually give them practice in reading and writing once they have begun. Perhaps once the job is well along the way, the Administration would like to take over the secular aspect of this work and leave only the religious phase to us. This would be not only acceptable but welcomed. But that is a long way off, probably several years ahead of us.

I trust I have fulfilled your request for information, but will be pleased to supply you with any further information you desire.

Very sincerely,

*Charles Driver,
New Tribes Mission*

the native is the copra of the missionary - Paliau

In the remotest locations, mission stations established ostensibly for evangelism symbolised at the same time colonial rule, welfare services, and even the availability of cash in exchange for labour rendered, or for food supplies. Where missions had established a presence and a loyalty at village level far greater than that established by the colonial government, but were without the means to provide the larger services their members increasingly expected, colonial administrations absorbed them as much as possible within their own development plans, by funding some facets of the missions' presence.¹

¹ Thus, according to one Patrol Officer, the burden of providing welfare services in New Ireland's Kara District would have been, if not for the missions, "intolerable": Patrol Report 1 of 1971/72. New Ireland. Kara. R.G. Saker, Missions, 12. TPNG. At Lemakot the mission had schools, medical facilities, a nursing school, primary school and vocational and technical training (male and female), a trade store, sold fuel and sawn timber; and employed trained nurses drivers, storekeepers, and general labourers. The station at Noatsi consisted of the priest's house and church, trade store, copra drier, and a lighting plant which provided village street lighting: Patrol Reports Kavieng and Konos 1972-73. PR 2 of 72/73. Kavieng Sub-District. Tigak C.D. P. White. TPNG. For similar descriptions of the Baitabag Lutheran mission near Madang, see A.C. Frerichs, *Anutu Conquers*, 91. Mission plantations employed more labour in Nalik division than did commercial plantations. In 1970 25 labourers were employed on 5 mission plantations, and 20 on 4 commercial plantations. Patrol Reports. Kavieng 1970/71. New Ireland - Nalik Census District. Patrol Report 3 of 1970-71. November 1970. A. Wellensky and M.O. Towa., 13. TPNG. The manner in which the Catholic mission at Vunapope, in New Britain, controlled labour, travel and education, for the Kilenge of West New Britain province is described by Marty Zelenietz & Jill Grant, "The ambiguities of education in Kilenge, Papua New Guinea", *Pacific Studies* 9:3, July 1986.

When the Salvation Army enquired about commencing work in Papua New Guinea late in 1955, Cleland cabled the Department of Territories in Canberra:

SUGGEST VISIT FIELD SECRETARY WORTHWHILE AND WORK IN SOCIAL SPHERE PROBABLY BEST START STOP THIS COULD INCLUDE MEDICAL WORK ESPECIALLY TB LEPROSY HOSPITALS INFANT MATERNAL WELFARE STOP NEW PRISONS ORGANISATION OFFERS FIELD IN REFORMATORY WORK ESPECIALLY JUVENILES STOP IF MISSION ESTABLISHED OUTSIDE URBAN AREAS COULD ENTER EDUCATION TRADE AGRICULTURAL TRAINING STOP IN LESS ACCULTURED AREAS MAY BE NECESSARY LIMIT OPEN AIR EVANGELISM WEARING UNIFORMS BADGES FLYING FLAGS USE MILITARY TITLES STOP THIS ASPECT REQUIRES FURTHER EXAMINATION BUT CAP FOR EXAMPLE SIMILAR LULUAI BADGE OFFICE STOP MISSIONS ESTABLISHED ALREADY MOST AREAS IN TERRITORY AND IMPOSSIBLE OBTAIN AN EXCLUSIVE AREA²

All such activities were regarded by the administration as positive contributions to the Territory's social and economic development. The relationship between colonial governments and missions in the provision of welfare services, then, was one of convenience: the missions and various government departments frequently disagreed on matters of policy, or funding levels, but ultimately, both valued the arrangement, and sought its continuation. Church and state knew how much they required each other, if the peoples' rising aspirations and expectations were to be satisfied. The administration equated satisfactory relationships between missions and their adherents with its own satisfactory relationship with the population.

In Papua New Guinea the first comprehensive review of the work of missions in 1951, preceding the first visit to the Territory by External Affairs Minister Paul Hasluck, pointed to the potential role of missions in future development programs: it found that the administration's Department of Education relied on mission schools to educate student numbers far beyond its own resources and geographic reach (particularly in Bougainville, New Britain, and the Sepik);³ the Department of Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries was operating agricultural extension services through three missions following the cessation of the Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme, (CRTS); while J.D. Gunther, Director of Health, estimated that missions were responsible at the time for 25% of the Territory's medical work.⁴

When Hasluck decided, as a result of his tour, to terminate J.K. Murray's appointment as Administrator, the missions voiced their dissent. They viewed Murray's replacement by Cleland as political meddling, and feared that Cleland would shift administrative policy to their disadvantage. But the protests of Bishop Strong, and others, including ABM chairman C.S. Robertson, only resulted in forcing Hasluck into stating publicly that he had dismissed Murray on the basis of performance, rather

² Cleland to Dept. Terr. 16 September 1955. TPNG, 9369 - 40/2/8.

³ W.C. Groves to Govt Sect. 24 December 1951. TPNG, 310 - 33/4/2. As recalled by Hasluck, "The round figures in 1951 were over 100,000 in mission schools and about 3,000 in Administration schools.", *A Time For Building*, 86. The educational situation during this period is summarised by R. Pearce, "Mission-Administration Relations in Education in Papua New Guinea", *Journal of Christian Education*, 62, September 1963.

⁴ Significantly, only 1 of 20 missions in the Territory was not engaged in medical work: J.T. Gunther to Govt Sect 13 December 1951. TPNG, 310 - 33/4/2. In 1965 the missions maintained 88 general and 5 special hospitals, although there were only 18 mission doctors in the Territory. IBRD, *Economic Development*, 337.

than on political or policy issues.⁵

As it turned out, financial assistance to missions increased during the Cleland/Hasluck administration, and throughout the 1950s the activities of mission societies continued to expand. Between 1955-56 and 1958-59 aid for mission education in the Territory doubled to 20,000 pounds, according to a policy devised in 1956 by a joint mission-administration committee.⁶ The Methodists maintained their teacher training institute at Buin, on Bougainville, rather than in the Solomon Islands, because mission secretary Scrivener saw that generous government grants would come from the Australian rather than the British administration.⁷ The Territory of Papua New Guinea's policies toward missions were shaped partly by the periodic reports to the United Nations Trusteeship Council. The 1956 UN Visiting mission, for example, judged that the missions' education systems were inadequate for the development of public servants and others who might participate in government, and recommended that the administration raise the educational standards of mission schools.⁸ In 1955 governmental and mission-sponsored developmental projects in the New Hebrides were invigorated with 150,000 pounds from Britain's Colonial Development and Welfare fund, (from some 250,000 pounds ear-marked for "tiny tots" among British possessions).⁹ Increasingly, colonial policy sought to link mission resources with government plans, and with local aspirations.

But there were complications on the path to development, the first of which concerned language. Several missions pursued language policies different to the administration's, for reasons historical and theoretical. Missions first entered different language areas of Papua New Guinea, at different times, and from different directions. Their subsequent use of vernacular languages in their organisation, and village schools, contributed to their sense of religious as well as cultural identity. In Papua New Guinea, where a 1954 survey identified 453 languages,¹⁰ and surveys in the 1960s identified a further 250, each mission chose a language or languages in which to operate. Missions in Papua supported Kiwai, Toaripi, Motu, Suau, Dobu and Wedau.¹¹ In New Guinea, Lutherans introduced Katte,

⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 June 1952.

⁶ C.R. Lambert, Govt. Sec. to C.F. Gribble, Gen. Sec. MOM, 22 December 1958. TPNG, 9369 - 40/2/9.

⁷ Scrivener cabled Goldie suggesting that Carter replace Ada Lee. Scrivener to Goldie, 18 March 1948. MCNZ, SI District. Corresp. with J.F. Goldie 1922-51.

⁸ Ian Downs, *The Australian Trusteeship*, 129.

⁹ Morgan, D.S., *The Official History of Colonial Development. Vol.3: A Reassessment of British Aid Policy 1951-65*, 1,2; *Vol 4: Changes in British Aid Policy 1951-1970*, (Great Britain, 1980), 153, 188.

¹⁰ J.E. and W.M. Rule, 'Language, Literacy and the Indigenous Church in Papua New Guinea', *Journal of Christian Education* 6:2 (September 1963), 63.

¹¹ John Lynch, 'Church, State, and Language in Melanesia: an Inaugural Lecture', 28 May 1979, UPNG.

a coastal language, into their highlands schools,¹² and spread Graged and Jabem along the coast, beyond Madang and Lae (although Kuder, by 1946, had suggested that the Lutherans prepare "select leaders in English");¹³ Methodists introduced Kuanua to New Ireland from the Gazelle Peninsula, and extended Roviana throughout the Western Solomons; Mota, a Banks Islands language, was used by the Church of Melanesia in its education system throughout the Solomon Islands, and also by the Melanesian Brotherhood, (until replaced by English instruction by Hill, in the 1950s); Motu was spread along the Papuan coast by the LMS; and Presbyterians had selected for use about ten New Hebridean languages.¹⁴ The majority of the missions, with the exception of Anglicans, the SSEM, and perhaps a few others, believed that religious principles were only successfully conveyed through vernacular languages, not through English. If governments insisted on English language instruction, according to this view, it was because they were more concerned with raising an elite group, than with educating the majority of the population, those lives were to be spent in the villages.¹⁵

By the late 1950s vernacular language instruction came under pressure from colonial education policies, which favoured English language instruction.¹⁶ Missions which instructed in vernaculars were forced to consider whether to continue teaching in the vernacular, for reasons of principle, or change to English instruction, for reasons of pragmatism.¹⁷ Schools of the London Missionary Society in Papua adopted English language instruction through expediency. The mission stated in 1952 and again in 1957, that it felt obliged to provide elementary education in vernacular languages, and that the administration should provide further educational facilities.¹⁸ By 1965, vernacular language instruction had decreased markedly, although the influential ecumenical report *Responsibility in New Guinea*

¹² A practice regarded as 'useless' by J.R. McArthur, Patrol Officer in the Eastern Highlands District. Patrol no. 1 of 1952-53. Department of Native Affairs. Missions Conference 1952. TPNG, 1-1-9(4)A/833.

¹³ John Kuder, "Superintendent's Report for the Year 1946". ELC, 190/51/81.

¹⁴ "Remarkable results have been achieved in this respect as regards Ngunese (reaching from South Epi to South Efate) and Tangoan (Tangoa, Malo, South Santo and a few adjacent small islands). Karel Niejs, "An Investigation of Literacy in the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides in its Social and Linguistic Setting", 32.

¹⁵ J.E. & W.M. Rule, "Language, Literacy and the Indigenous Church in Papua-New Guinea", *Journal of Christian Education* 6:2, September 1963. The importance of language in conveying religious concepts is conveyed in detail in Theodoor Aerts, "Melanesian Gods", *Bikmaus*, IV:2, June 1983.

¹⁶ By the 1960s, for example, English had virtually replaced Katte in Lutheran schools in the Eastern Highlands.

¹⁷ Prince suggests that mission educators were more concerned with the great majority of their students, rather than with the smaller number who might join the tertiary elite. The view of SIL was that the concepts of the Christian Gospel were grasped most quickly when taught in the students mother tongue. J.R. Prince, "Role and Contribution of Missions to Education in Papua and New Guinea", *Journal of Christian Education*, 10:1, June 1967. SIL involvement in adult literacy is examined in R.E. Gwyther-Jones, "ASdult Literacy: from a Vernacular Language", in M. Ward (ed) *Change and Development in Rural Melanesia*.

¹⁸ London Missionary Society, Papua District Committee, Statement of Educational Policy. November 1957. TPNG, 9369 - 40/2/4.

advocated its continuation.¹⁹ Despite some discontent, most missions were lured into participation in grant-in-aid programmes by incentives offered for the training of islanders. The Methodist Mission on Bougainville, for example, set itself the challenge of qualifying for £40 per annum for each of twenty certified national teachers trained by the end of 1958.²⁰ The American Lutheran Church engaged 70 volunteer teachers between 1957-1964 to convert its New Guinea schools to English language instruction.

Although Methodists had used Roviana widely in the Western Solomons, Goldie was one missionary who noted the emerging popularity of English, and the later Methodist mission's General-Secretary, S.G. Andrews, decided after his tour of the mission field in 1958 that although the many vernacular languages in the Solomons were valuable, they were not to stand in the way of English, arguing:

It is not a matter of cultural empire building ...it is simply that English is the language of commerce and culture - a world language - a world that has gone home to these people.²¹

In Papua New Guinea, the administration favoured missions that produced English speaking nationals, such as the Kwato, and Seventh Day Adventist missions. Although the official language of Anglican education at Dogura remained Wedau, the anthropologist Wedgwood found written in school books in the Anglican Hula and Kalo districts in 1944 "the first thing to do is always speak English; English is the most important thing we learn in school".²² The Methodist college at Koau, Bougainville, taught in English to students of 16 linguistic backgrounds.²³ Melanesian Mission schools in the Solomon Islands used English, as did all Seventh Day Adventist schools. Members of the Melanesian Brotherhood were taught that English was the language to unite Solomon Islands, and that it was the language of the Protectorate's trading partners.

Bishop Hill believed that Pidgin was not a language,²⁴ and his aversion to it was shared by

¹⁹ Although the administration came to rely for an indication of the 'mission position' on publications such as *Responsibility in New Guinea*, which reported the deliberations of a 1965 ecumenical tour of the territory, not all missions agreed with the findings of the report. The 4th meeting of the Papuan Church Assembly, for instance, received a detailed critique of the report's recommendations: the PCA felt that the report underestimated the continuing role of expatriate missionaries, and emphasised secular training to the detriment of theological training: "Papuan Church Assembly," LMS, 10 - 1965.

²⁰ Methodist Church of New Zealand. MCNZ, Overseas Mission Department. Board Minutes. 23 April 1958.

²¹ S.G. Andrews, "Sabbatical Year: Report by the General Secretary on eight months spent in the Solomons", 1 October 1957. MCNZ, Overseas Mission Department. Board Minutes. 23 April 1958.

²² Douglas Abbott, "Anglican Mission Education in Papua New Guinea 1891-1972, D. Theol. (Sydney, 1984), 174.

²³ G. Carter, "Educational Work on Bougainville", *Open Door* 31:1 June 1951, 10.

²⁴ "...no books are written in it, it merely holds a people back in their learning." Father Bishop's Address, Melanesian Brotherhood, Annual Conference 1962. CM, F 2/2.

Presbyterian missionaries in the New Hebrides,²⁵ and some LMS missionaries in Papua.²⁶ Fiercely opposed by some, Pidgin was championed by others, including Catholic linguists Kirschbaum and Shebesta, who sought its use as a lingua franca for New Guinea.²⁷ In addition to the compilation of a dictionary and grammar some fifty booklets were printed at Alexishafen, including hymnals, bibles, fairy stories, histories, and a monthly magazine *Friend Belong Me*.²⁸ Linguist F. Mihalic also promoted Pidgin as the most suitable language for Papua New Guinea.²⁹ The 1955 and 1957 mission administration conferences agreed on production of literature in Pidgin and mission support for Pidgin gradually facilitated its spread in the highlands. Methodists taught pastors in Pidgin at St Pauls college, Mendi, while the Bible Society accompanied its production of a Pidgin New Testament in 1969 with the prediction that Pidgin would become the national language.³⁰ In the New Hebrides, the aversion of Presbyterians, and Anglicans, to Pidgin in the 1950s later gave way to promotion of Bislama as a way of uniting French and English speakers.³¹

Mission publications, as well as language instruction, supported a wide number of languages. They were, in addition, the first mass-publications available to Melanesians. The Kwato mission was producing the *Papuan Times* by 1949, and anticipated its distribution throughout Papua New Guinea, Asia, and the Pacific.³² Methodists first produced *Quarterly Church News* at East Cape in 1933. Other publications included *A Nilai Ra Dovot*, which had a 56,000 circulation in 1956, and *Bi Henenedago* (True Word), a small vernacular paper in the Huli language, begun in the 1950s. In the Solomon

²⁵ Percy Chatterton was critical of the use of Pidgin in Papua New Guinea: Percy Chatterton, "Search for a National Language for PNG", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, October 1976.

²⁶ According to Ben Butcher, former missionary at Aird Hill in the Gulf District, Pidgin existed because of the "laziness of the whiteman to speak correctly and his inability to speak simple English and his objection to the Papuan talking decent English"; by his own account Butcher had always insisted on "giving the leaders of the Papuans a common language and a language with a real native literature" which "English alone" could supply: Ben Butcher to Price, 23 November 1954. LMS, 12 - 13.

²⁷ Schebesta, J., S.V.D., & Meiser, Leo, S.V.D., *Dictionary of Bislama-English (Pidgin English)*, (Alexishafen, 1945).

²⁸ G. Hoeltker, "In Defence of Pidgin-English", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, August 1945, 26. In 1943 J.J. Murphy published his *Book of Pidgin English*.

²⁹ Frank Mihalic, *The Jacaranda Dictionary and Grammar of Melanesian Pidgin*, (Port Moresby, 1971); also, F. Mihalic, 'Neo-Melanesian a Compromise', *Catholic Missions*, March 1971; also, "It's Got a New Look", *Pacific Islands Monthly*.

³⁰ "Pidgin New Testament New Guinea's own Bible", The Bible Society, Press Release 23 February 1969, TPNG, 9369 - 40/2/16.

³¹ Presbyterian missionaries had in the 1950s regarded the use of English as a defence against French influence, but a study by Kevin Engel for the Australian Christian Literature Society, which suggested that the use of Bislama would encourage nationalism, influenced the Presbyterians to change their attitude, and the first Bislama dictionary was produced by Bill Camden, a Presbyterian Pastor. During the 1976 session of the Representative Assembly the National Party provoked fierce debate by proposing that bislama be used in addition to French and English - which Burns Philp manager John Staegler maintained was a "regressive step": *Pacific Islands Monthly*, February 1977, 17.

³² Report from Cecil Abel, May 1949. Department of District Services and Native Affairs. Kwato. TPNG, 15-5/172.

Islands Methodists produced the *Methodist Messenger* and *Ministers of Grace*. Other mission journals included *LMS Harina*, *Pacific Island World* (produced by the Pacific Christian Literature Society from 1949 - with a circulation of 3,500 in 1955),³³ *Southern Cross Log* (produced from 1895 by the Anglican Diocese of the New Hebrides), *Life Today*, *The Lutheran*, and *The Tatler*, an Anglican publication first published before the war as *Sala Usursur*.³⁴ The *Pacific Journal of Theology*, established in Samoa in 1961 through a grant from the International Missionary Council, found only a limited circulation within the Pacific, and was eventually discontinued. The *Tolai News*, first printed at the Catholic Press, Vunapope, in 1962, was in some ways a precursor to *Wantok*, a weekly newspaper for Papua New Guinea in Pidgin, founded by the Catholic linguist Mihalic in 1970.³⁵ The Catholic sponsored Melanesian Institute's semi-academic publications *Catalyst* (1971) and *Point* (1972) were not intended to reach village level, but have reached a Melanesian readership at tertiary level.³⁶

Facing the practical impossibility of printing materials in every language, Derek Rawcliffe suggested that the Melanesian Mission print school texts in just two or three Solomon Island languages, in order to lower printing costs, and simplify the Missions' education.³⁷ Charles Fox agreed, and suggested the mission use Gela for Guadalcanal, Santa Ysabel, Laumbe and Savo; Lau for Mala, Ulawa and San Cristoval; and Pileni for Santa Cruz, the Reefs and the Polynesian islands Lord Howe and Tikopia.³⁸ Fox had been in search of a lingua franca for the Solomons, and approved the Fijian precedent, in which the Bau language, promoted by the first missionaries, was adopted by the government for the whole of Fiji.³⁹

This pervasive influence exercised by the mission in matters of language and script - whether in harmony with colonial policy, or in disagreement with it - provided an important element of Christianity's influence in the emergent Melanesian societies. The methods missions used to adapt the cultures in which they worked to their understanding of Christianity varied. The mainline

³³ "Survey of the Year 1955: The South Pacific", *International Review of Missions*, 45, 1956, 70.

³⁴ *Southern Cross Log*, 43 (November 1953), 27.

³⁵ In 1976 the Lutheran, Anglican, and United Churches were invited onto the board of *Wantok*.

³⁶ Other Christian publishing houses appeared in the 1970s. In the Solomon Islands the Melanesian Mission established its Provincial Press, through which the Solomon Islands Christian Association published educational booklets on modern family life (eg, *Plan Your Family*, *Plan Your Spending*, both 1974). In Papua New Guinea, Christian Books Melanesia, and Kristen Press published similar booklets, which gave particular emphasis to family life, eg, David Price, *The Two Shall Be One*, 1974, (later followed by O.C. Fountain, *Marriage the Melanesian Way*, 1982); From Kristen Press came such titles as Margaret Reeson's *Sune of Telefomin: a brave man & Elliot Elijah: he helped another tribe*, n.d.

³⁷ *Southern Cross Log*, 43 (November 1953), 27.

³⁸ H. Reynolds, "Development of Common Languages in the Solomons", *Southern Cross Log*, 43 November 1953, 15.

³⁹ "Political situation on the island of Malaita and suggested changes in the present administrative policy: appendix c: extracts from a letter received from Dr Fox of the Melanesian Mission", 13 February 1948. BSIP - 4, SF108, III & IV.

denominational groups took what was generally a sympathetic approach to indigenous Melanesian customs and beliefs, seeking to change only those practices which ran counter to their own beliefs. The more conservative evangelical churches and fundamentalist groups, however, were generally more abrupt and confrontational in challenging the authenticity of Melanesian religious beliefs. In Papua New Guinea, the colonial administration cautioned the missions against "too hasty interference with existing ways of living",⁴⁰ but extreme missionary zeal was responsible for many post-war acts of cultural imperialism. In 1953 Roberts, acting director of District Services and Native Affairs, expressed concern at the zeal with which Lutherans suppressed traditional customs.⁴¹ Such influence in the Uruway/Yupna subdivision of Madang was regarded by PO White as being "not far short of totalitarianism":

It is obvious that village officials are mere figureheads with little or no knowledge of their duties. This is understandable in a backward and neglected area. Mission-helpers dominate all officials ...and instruct them in their duties - many of these "duties" are purely mission doctrines.⁴²

In Agotu, near Goroka, Baptisms in the 1960s were accompanied by the destruction of traditional tabus. Men were required to demonstrate their new faith by exposing their formerly mystical and sacred flutes to the view of women. In one instance,

Bible school teacher Yonggerong talked to the people at midnight about the power of Satan in their old life. He took one of the flutes and broke it in front of their eyes. Later on they did the same thing with all the flutes and the next morning they brought all the other items they used for all kinds of sorcery poisoning and killing and broke it before the eyes of many heathen people.⁴³

To such mission workers, the need to eliminate pre-Christian beliefs and values was self-evident: to the colonial administration, belief and ritual remained voluntary matters. There was thus a continuing tension between the desire to ensure a "Christian basis to the state", which many administrators acknowledged, and to face the cultural reality that despite the growth and spread of Christian influence, traditional Melanesian beliefs proved considerably resilient.

In many places administrators and missionaries mistook systems of ritual exchange, and spirit propitiation for "cult" activity, or worship of "evil spirits" - which they either disapproved of, or simply misunderstood. Some hoped that the Timp exchange practiced in the Southern Highlands, although

⁴⁰ J.H. Jones, Director, DDSNA, "Missions in Newly Opened Areas" (1952), TPNG, 833 - 1/1/9(4).

⁴¹ Such as the AMBU-INGO-BELYUKA ceremony, discussed in EHD DAC by Nilles, 1952: A.A. Roberts to Govt. Sect. 27 January 1953. TPNG, 310 - 33/4/1/3.

⁴² PO White, Uruway/Yupna Patrol report No 2-52/53. TPNG, 833 - 1/1/9 (4).

⁴³ Wolfgang Tuerschmann, "Agotu Wonenara Annual Report 1967". ELC, 1/51. A campaign against sorcery by Christian evangelists on Ambrym is described in R. Tonkinson, "Sorcery and Social Change in South East Ambrym", mss, 1979.

acknowledged as being a traditional fertility cult, could be "combated" by missions.⁴⁴ Following cult activities at Gembogl in Mitnande in the Eastern Highlands in 1962 mission representatives urged converts to destroy relics associated with pagan beliefs, and had visited house to house persuading people to bring out and destroy pagan religious emblems and later, other, non religious items, including clothing and plumes.⁴⁵ At Gumine hamlets were "purified" by collecting old stone implements and items of dancing costume - and the District Officer was authorised to collect stone items from missionaries to place in a museum.⁴⁶

It was often left to the judicial system to determine the limits of cultural militancy. In 1951 Catholic priest Paul Blasig was acquitted of charges of setting fire to five tambaran house at Maprik.⁴⁷ Lutheran missionaries raided tambaran houses in Madang, and in the Southern Highlands missionaries continued in the 1960s to destroy 'haus tambaran' and 'tambaran' stones without prosecution.⁴⁸ Between 1962 and 1965 nearly all haus tambaran in the Wiru district had been dismantled,⁴⁹ and by 1964 they were rarely found in Pangia.⁵⁰ Similarly in the Eastern Highlands, Lutheran catechumens from Alkena burned down spirit houses, usually without the owners' permission.⁵¹ In 1960-61 Anglican Bishop George Ambo supervised the burning of "arks" and idols constructed by the "Peroveta" cult among the Daga of Milne Bay.⁵² Condemnation of Gogodala culture by APCM (formerly UFM) missionaries during the period 1945-75 led not to prosecution, but to efforts by dissidents to have the missionaries removed from the Territory.⁵³ In the Rigo District of Central Papua traditional clothing, artifacts and tools were

⁴⁴ A. Jefferies, ADO. "Notes on the Timp Cult", (1961). Ryan's advice was that the Timp cult was harmless and should be left alone. D.J. Ryan to Director, DNA, 22 February 1962. TPNG, 51/1/17 pt.1. In 1962 field staff took action to stop violence and stealing associated with the cult: "Interpretation of the Native People December 1961 - January 1962", 13 February 1962. TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/21 pt.1.

⁴⁵ "Interpretation of the Native People August 1962", 26 September 1962. TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/21 pt.1.

⁴⁶ "Interpretation of the Native People August 1962", 26 September 1962. TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/21 pt.1.

⁴⁷ TPNG, 172 - GH 15/4.

⁴⁸ DO A.C. Jefferies to a/ADO Ialibu, SHD, 21 October 1964. TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/17 pt. 4.

⁴⁹ a/DC A.J. Zweck to ADC SHD, 29 June 1965. TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/17 pt. 4.

⁵⁰ 21 Septemeber 1964. TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/17 pt.4.

⁵¹ H.D. Klemm, "Alkena Report 1960". ELC, 2/51.

⁵² Norman Crutwell, "The 'Peroveta' Cult in the Daga", in Carl Loeliger and Garry Trompf, (eds), *New Religious Movements in Melanesia*, 102.

⁵³ The missionaries, through their long influence in cultural, political, and economic developments in the region, aggravated an increasingly able local elite, who petitioned the House of Assembly in December 1973 that Dudley Deasey and his wife, (he being the head of Mission at Balimo), R.B. Watson (the mission's education agency secretary), and Lankow (manager of the mission's Pasawe store at Kawite), leave the Territory before February 1974. Following an investigation into the matter by District Commissioner J.B. Gegeyo, at the direction of Chief Minister Michael Somare, the administration took no further action. Conflict

virtually extinct by the mid 1960s; at Iovei village, Seventh Day Adventist missionaries had introduced in their place "aluminium cooking pots, eating utensils and tools".⁵⁴ The Adventists' teaching that most traditional customs were sinful, drastically reduced the practice of bride-price, led to the discontinuation of shell currency, and to the practice of dietary restrictions which prohibited consumption of pigs, turtles and shellfish. Catholics, in contrast, tended to retain custom, unless it was in direct conflict with principles of the church.

Members of the Melanesian Brotherhood led the Melanesian Mission's assault on traditional beliefs in the Solomon Islands. The destruction of tambu houses at Ferasupua, Falisi and Magi, in North Malaita, following the death of the remaining Pagan priest Anita in October 1965, led to the trial of 21 people charged with insulting religion, and the jailing for one month of two Anglicans, including a priest, George Kiriau.⁵⁵ Subsequently, when newly converted Christians on the Polynesian outlier of Ontong Java were forcibly prevented in 1968 from continuing custom rituals,⁵⁶ Bishop Chisholm responded quickly to the Brotherhood's Head Brother, lest church workers once more be prosecuted and fined:

Will you explain to the Brothers that there may be some people who want to remain heathen and there is nothing we can do for them if they wish to remain this way, even though they may bear Christian names...I do not want the Brothers to be taken to court for putting down laws and customs which the people say they want to follow...⁵⁷

In addition to outright violence, and intervention in local-level politics, missionaries reported to the administration events with which they were not pleased, and in other instances withdrew the mission's patronage until irregular behaviour ceased. J.A. Goodwin, Methodist missionary in Papua from 1944 to 1955, responded to the re-introduction of a sexually promiscuous custom at Okaikoda village, Kiriwina, by withdrawing mission teachers.⁵⁸ On New Ireland in 1954, Malaggan and circumcision rituals in Methodist villages were "suppressed by the quarterly meeting and the paramount chief of Noatsi area

had emerged, and violence was threatened, when APCM missionaries opposed the erection of a Gogodala Cultural Centre. The centre, which many educated Gogodalans valued, and which contained artifacts connected with rituals and beliefs that the mission had been responsible for suppressing, was subsequently opened by Somare; while the Deaseys, due for furlough in June 1974, although they remained several months longer, took early retirement and finally left Balimo on 9 September: TPNG - 50/1/1. Loupis suggests that the APCM's presence among the Kaluli, in the Papuan Southern Highlands has not greatly interfered with traditional culture: specifically, the Longhouses, opposed by some APCM missionaries in western district, were retained on the slopes of Mt. Bosavi. George Loupis, "The Kaluli Longhouse", *Oceania*, 53:3, March 1983. Jackson notes that the APCM operated essential schools at Tari and Balimo, and was assisted with medical supplies at Rumginae by the Ok Tedi Development Corporation. Jackson, R., *Ok Tedi: The Pot of Gold*, (UPNG, 1983), 49.

⁵⁴ Patrol Reports. Rigo 1967-68. PR 1 of 67/68. TPNG.

⁵⁵ CM - F2/2.

⁵⁶ Bishop Chisholm to Mariano Kelesi, 27 November 1968. CM, F33/6.

⁵⁷ Bishop Chisholm to Head Brother, 27 November 1968. CM, F33/6.

⁵⁸ J.A. Goodwin. Kiriwina Ct., 1955. MCA, Overseas Missions. Box 363.

was put out of membership for re-constituting the "Goigoi" death practice" - although the chief recon-verted following a near fatal illness.⁵⁹

Missions and administration sought to reduce "sing sings" in the highlands, reasoning that such gatherings of large numbers of people decreased productivity, and even led to local famine, as food resources were consumed. The missions were also concerned at the effect on school attendance. In the mid 1960s "Sing sings" were being held in the Lai Valley every fortnight, according to an Apostolic missionary, and Cadet PO J. Meade "made it quite clear to all that it was about time 'sing sings' ceased and excess energy concentrated on road work".⁶⁰ Similarly, among the Western Highlands Enga, both government and mission personnel disapproved of the "tee" ceremonial exchange system because it "interfered with the civilizing process by interrupting attendance at school and church, road building, and other European-imposed tasks."⁶¹ In Wapenamanda Lutherans sought to abolish the Moka,⁶² while among the Enga at Alkena, missionaries complained that the Moka festival distracted new Christians from church duties, finances, and attendance for about two months in 1963, some two years after their baptism, and again in 1969.⁶³ Although Enga Baptists had renounced participation in the Moka exchange in 1959, reasoning that it took up too much time, and led to much disputation, they were unable to remain distant from such an important cultural process.⁶⁴ Some prospective Lutherans waited until the 1963 pig feasts held in conjunction with the Enga Moka were complete, before handing over their spirit stones to missionaries,⁶⁵ and in later years they substituted "Christian harvest feasts" for feasts they were no longer allowed to participate in.⁶⁶ Villages of up to 10 houses were formed from previously scattered settlements, and traditional housing, in which men and women slept separately, was replaced by family unit dwellings. Efforts to improve health included the relocation of pigs outside, rather than inside

⁵⁹ Pinikidu Ct. Report. MCA, Overseas Missions. Box 364.

⁶⁰ CPO J. Meade, Patrol Report 10 of 1965/66. Lai and Undiri CDs. "Political Situation". TPNG. On Malaita the SSEM banned smoking, betel nut chewing, as well as sing sings. LMS missionaries in Papua sought a ban on Gaba dancing, which they said had lost its original meaning and now merely led to intertribal quarrels, scarcity of food and the spread of venereal diseases, as well as interfering with school attendance: PDC Minutes 19 November 1946. LMS, ALX 31. 4/10.

⁶¹ M.J. Meggitt, "Pigs are our Hearts", *Oceania*, 44: 1974:180, cited in Daryl Keith Feil, "From Negotiability to Responsibility: A Change in Tombema-Enga Homicide Compensation", *Human Organization*, 38:4, 1979.

⁶² A cyclic competition between big-men, and even between kin groups, involving the accumulation and ceremonial distribution of pigs, pearl shells and even cash.

⁶³ H.D. Klemm, "Alkena Circuit Report 1969". ELC, 2/51.

⁶⁴ Joan Kale, "The Religious Movement among the Kyaka Enga", in Karl Loeliger & Garry Trompf, (eds), *New Religious Movements in Melanesia*, (Suva, 1985), 53.

⁶⁵ H.D. Klemm, "Alkena Circuit Report 1963". ELC, 2/51.

⁶⁶ "This was the first experiment by Christians to fill a vacuum in their lives.", H.D. Klemm, "Alkena Circuit Report 1966". ELC, 2/51. Lutherans in the Eastern Highlands continued to boycott the moka festivals and sing sings into the 1970s.

buildings, the location of latrines at some distance from the houses, and the introduction of knives, forks and plates, for the the eating of food.⁶⁷

At the same time that some cultural practices and beliefs were forcibly suppressed, some missions made new efforts to understand the societies in which they worked. Divine Word missionaries in the Western Highlands brought one of their number, an American anthropologist, to the Middle Waghi Valley in the 1950s, to study the people and language for two years.⁶⁸ In the Solomons, the Marist de Klerk, resident at Tangarere, supplied the British administration in 1959 with his observations on "Native Relationships" among the four main tribes of Guadalcanal.⁶⁹ The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) a semi-missionary organization which the administration had assisted in 1956 to obtain 500 acres of grassy, hilly land, at Ukarumpa in the Eastern Highlands, settled 350 mission workers in the Territory over the next 15 years,⁷⁰ from whom nine Doctoral dissertations and approximately 20 Masters degree theses on Papua New Guinean linguistics were produced between 1960 and 1972.⁷¹ Methodists looked forward to the results of the investigations of D'Arcy Ryan, an anthropologist at the University of Sydney, who worked at Mendi; and of Robert Glasse, from the Australian National University, who worked at Tari. In particular, the Methodists sought to understand the cycle of feasts, since their unpredictable occurrence affected school attendance: "if we could find a pattern to these occasions we should arrange school holidays accordingly".⁷²

No issue was as insistently addressed by missionaries than the apparent divergences between Christian law (and missionary values) and traditional marriage customs throughout Melanesia. Whereas missionaries insisted on monogamy, the economic and social structure of most Melanesian societies had depended on polygamy; and whereas the missionaries generally conceived of marriage as a contract freely entered into by two adults, they were confronted in Melanesia by customs of sister exchange, child brides, polygamy, and the almost universal practice of bride price. The transition between marriage systems was traumatic. Divorce rates reportedly climbed, as women bound in traditional marriages not to their liking left such arrangements under the protection of the new colonial law.⁷³ Most missions discouraged divorce, even in cases of disharmony, and encouraged the discarding of plural wives acquired

⁶⁷ "Mendi Annual Census Patrol No.10 of 1968/69", 27 February 1969. TPNG, Mendi Patrol Reports 1968-69.

⁶⁸ Patrol Report Minj 1 of 1952/53. TPNG, 13923 - 67/16/14 pt 1.

⁶⁹ BSIP, 8/II. F3/15/2.

⁷⁰ Karl J. Franklin, "SIL Language Strategy in Papua New Guinea", *Research in Melanesia*, 1:2, 1975.

⁷¹ *ibid.*

⁷² Education. Mendi Report 1956. MCA, Overseas Missions. Box 364.

⁷³ B. M. O'Neill, (ADO Pangia), Pangia Patrol 1 of 1964/65. TPNG, 13,913 - 51/1/17, SHD, pt. 4.

polygamously prior to a man's conversion.⁷⁴

In areas of early contact, such as the Gazelle Peninsula, polygamy had virtually ceased by the 1950s, but individual Catholic priests were divided on the issue of child marriages on New Britain, with some reportedly encouraging the practice,⁷⁵ while others, such as O'Hanlan, director of Catholic schools on the island, attacked the practice of child marriages in the New Britain District Advisory Council,⁷⁶ and colonial officials hoped that the mission would endeavour to "progressively reduce the incidence of child marriages amongst its adherents."⁷⁷ By the mid 1960s, administrators felt that education and the influence of missions had decreased the incidence of child brides in the Southern Highlands, and had enabled women to have some voice in the selection of their spouse.⁷⁸

Anglicans in the New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands were more tolerant than other missions of graded societies, kava, and bride-wealth exchanges,⁷⁹ but made efforts to end some burial customs, death feasts, and dancing to guitar music after dark.⁸⁰ The traditional porpoise hunt on Malaita, in which the mammals were slaughtered for their teeth rather than for food, continued into the 1970s despite the Bishop's disapproval, and with the blessing of Melanesian priests. In the northern New Hebrides, Derek Rawcliffe attempted to Christianize the pig-killing ceremonies, Hungwe, by proposing that the ceremonies were permissible if they were accompanied on the same day by Holy Communion.⁸¹

Throughout Melanesia missions struggled with the practice of bride price. The issue was whether to eradicate it, or merely to regulate it. In the 1940s the Presbyterians urged the British administration in the New Hebrides to limit bride price practices, arguing that the recognized limits had been

⁷⁴ This practice was reported of Lutheran communities in Madang: PO White, "Patrol Report No. W2 1952/53, Uruway/Yupna"; and Catholic communities in Chimbu: PO H.G. Routley, "Patrol Report No.6, 1952/53, Chimbu", TPNG, 833 - 1/1/9(4).

⁷⁵ George D. Oakes O.I.C. to ADO Kandrian, "Child Marriages in the Kol Area", 18 July 1962. TPNG, 1269 - 7/2/5.

⁷⁶ "Priest condemns native child bride custom", *Canberra Times*, 12 January 1965; "End NG child bride practice", *Sun* 12 January 1965.

⁷⁷ DO E.G. Hicks to DC New Britain, 1 August 1962. TPNG, 1269 - 7/2/5.

⁷⁸ A.J. Zweck (a/DC SHD), "Native Situation - Patrol No 5 - 1964/65". TPNG, 13,913 - 51/1/17, SHD pt. 4.

⁷⁹ M. Rodman, "Following Peace...", 152. For the Melanesian Mission, the goal was a civilization "truly Christian as well as Melanesian", in which traditional customs, languages and arts were retained [Melanesian Mission, *About Melanesia*, (Sydney, 1937)]. In the 1970s, Rawcliffe described the Melanesian Mission as "an agency for educating, civilizing, training the people of the New Hebrides, so as to prepare them for entry into this modern world", [D.A. Rawcliffe to the Editor, *Nakamal*, 5 October 1971. CM, F17/1].

⁸⁰ "Meeting at Lamalama, North Raga", 16 December 1960. CM, F42/3. Those present included Archdeacon Rawcliffe, David Tevi, David Salt, Philip Ilo and Martholomew Qai.

⁸¹ Derek Rawcliffe to John Yaxley, 20 February 1965. AV, British Residency.

breached in the "easy money" environment created by the American forces.⁸² By 1969, bride price among Anglicans in the Solomons was \$50. When a Melanesian priest sold his daughter for \$300, his licence was removed until he had paid back some money, and abided by the church rule.⁸³ Efforts had been made in the New Hebrides to introduce gift-giving, rather than cash, but without success.⁸⁴ On Mere Lava the Anglican Church Council sought government backing for its newly established bride price regulations.⁸⁵

By the 1970s, missionaries had become involved in indigenous attempts to preserve and sustain culture. Lutherans, for example, served on the Enga Cultural Committee,⁸⁶ and invited anthropologists to address their mission conferences.⁸⁷ The Melanesian Institute sponsored "Orientation courses" for missionaries and government personnel, and fostered publications examining Melanesian culture and religion.⁸⁸ In 1970, a conference of the United Church decided that skills of citizenship included the ability to read, knowledge of money, development, "how people behave", as well as knowledge of the past, of dancing, singing, and art.⁸⁹ In 1972 the Catholic Church conducted a conference on the "Catholic Church and the Development of peoples in the South Pacific".⁹⁰ On Malaita, Anglican priests blessed custom houses rather than destroy them, and Robert Pule and Dudley Tuti led movements to revive

⁸² Presbyterian to British Resident Commissioner, 15 August 1944. The Resident Commissioner responded by instructing all British agents to discourage the practice of giving bride price. PCNZ, New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission Council. Reports. 1950-56.

⁸³ "Malaita Clergy Conference held at Fiu from 16th-18th September 1969". CM.

⁸⁴ Diocesan Conference. 11 January 1973. AV.

⁸⁵ "The suggested bride price is \$60 plus 10 fathoms of shell money (rated at 20c per fathom) or a small pig (value up to perhaps \$4) the people wish to keep up the use of custom gifts, hence the provision for shell money. But if the custom gifts are not made, a bride price of \$80. In the case of a widow, a bride price of \$50, plus custom gifts as before, or \$60." Derek Rawcliffe to J. Yaxley (BDA Santo), 13 June 1968. AV, Correspondence Siota.

⁸⁶ See Paul W. Brennan, "Reply to Kundapen Talyaga", *Research in Melanesia*, 1:3&4, 1975, 28-9.

⁸⁷ Rod Lacey, for example, spoke on the Enga's World-view and the impact of Lutheran belief at a Lutheran conference in 1972: Roderic Lacey, "A Glimpse of the Enga World View": Some Thoughts from a Wandering Historian", 13 November 1972. ts.

⁸⁸ For example, Norman C. Habel, (ed), *Powers, Phumes and Piglets: Phenoma of Melanesian Religion*, AASR, 1979; Wendy Flannery, *Religious Movements in Melanesia Today* (1&2), 1983; Ennio Mantovani, *An Introduction to Melanesian Religions*, 1984; Gernot Fugmann, *Ethics and Development in Papua New Guinea*, 1986. In later years, students at the Pacific Theological College contributed studies on Christianity and traditional belief: see Michael Henry Tavo, "Toward Melanesian Christianity: with special reference to belief in spirit in islands of North Pentecost", 1977; Ezekiel Supa Visala, "Christianity and Spirit Worship in Ysabel Solomon Islands", 1985.

⁸⁹ MCA, UCPNGSI. Circuit Reports. Papuan Islands. 1970 Synod. Box 377.

⁹⁰ B.P. Ashby, "The Catholic Church and the Development of Peoples in the South Pacific: Conference 1972. Conference Report."

traditional singing, dancing, games, arts and crafts, as a legitimate part of the church's culture.⁹¹

The extensive networks of theological and leadership training developed by missions both Catholic and Protestant formed the basis of the continuing influence of Christianity at village level. Frequently, attempts to regulate village life were formulated by councils of European missionaries, and administered by Melanesian pastors, and successful adaptation to village rules was taken as evidence of successful conversion. From these centres, mission-workers spread into Melanesian villages to consolidate their respective value systems. While the influence of missions waned in urban areas, most activities at village level continued to be organized around the village church; pastors and deacons continued to dominate both religious and secular affairs⁹² - and on outer islands particularly, missionaries commanded authority. Melanesian responses varied from acquiescence and acceptance to rejection and hostility. Cargoism, revivalism, sectarianism, proto-nationalism and nationalism all contained responses to missionary involvement in matters of language, script, and social engineering.

⁹¹ "Minutes of the Meeting of Gela Church Association", 29-30 October 1969. CM. Malaita Correspondence 1972-74. F55.

⁹² Oram describes such an environment among the Hula, Central Province, in the late 1960s: N.D. Oram, "Culture Change, Economic Development and Migration among the Hula", *Oceania*, 38:4, Jun 1968. Allen describes the transformation of authority in Nduindui society, from legitimacy gained through hungwe titles - moli, levuhi and vira - to Christian ones - deacons, teachers and elders: Michael Allen, "Innovation, Inversion and Revolution", Michael Allen (ed), *Vanuatu: Politics, Economics and Ritual in Island Melanesia*, (Sydney, 1981), 127.

CHAPTER EIGHT
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT:
Christianity and the quest for cargo

The cargo cult, more than any other response, reminded the missionary of failure. Each cult had at its core either a rejection of Christianity, or a mis-interpretation of its teachings. Further, their epistemological bases were non-Western, and to the European mind, irrational. Both spiritually and intellectually, cargo cults were incompatible with Christian notions of social and economic advance. Consequently, missionaries treated their practitioners with little sympathy. Colonial administrations recognised that cult leaders often had some contact with Christianity, that cults generally developed in areas lacking social and economic development, and that they expected receipt of "manufactured goods through non-material agencies".¹ Thus Cleland regarded cargo movements as evidence of a people's economic frustration, and neglect, and noted the tendency for Melanesians to rely on "spiritual and/or magical assistance whenever they (felt) their knowledge of material techniques to be inadequate for the achievement of desired ends".² Many cults, despite their isolated and un-connected manifestations, shared characteristics, so that a cult in the Sepik district in 1956, which involved "a mixture of pagan and Christian religious teachings, cemetery wakes, sexual license, get rich quick schemes and minor variations concerning the manner in which the cargo will arrive",³ exhibited similar features to cults reported in geographically disparate districts.

Missionaries and colonial administrations responded differently to cargo thought and activity. Government agencies evaluated activities in relation to law and order, rather to belief systems. There was the hope that cultists would respond positively to the presence of missionaries, but in matters of belief, people were ultimately left free to choose. It was thought that a thorough schooling in Christian

¹ C.R. Lambert, Sect., Dept. Terr., to the Administrator, 5 December 1956. TPNG, 1269 - 7/2/3.

² Cleland to Sec. Dept. Terr. 14 December 1956. TPNG, 1269, 7/2/3. Thus, when the presence of American ornithologists and Americans in the 1959 U.N.O. visiting mission led to cargoistic speculation on New Britain that American servicemen might soon return, the administration took note, by way of response, of the relative neglect of people in the Kombe & Nakani divisions of Talasea, when compared with the Tolai of the Gazelle Peninsula: "Interpretation of Native Peoples Report to September 30th, 1959". TPNG, 13913, 51/1/17 pt.1.

³ D.R. Marsh, a/DO, 9 May 1956. TPNG, 1269 - 7/2/3.

doctrine would diminish belief in the powers of ancestral spirits, and that the economic activities of mission stations would provide a model for local communities wishing to improve their material conditions. Thus, one official anticipated that cultic activity near Madang would "become less frequent and finally disappear" as people became educated.⁴ The "remedy" to a 1200-member cult reported inland from Wewak in 1961, suggested one administrator, lay "with the mission societies".⁵ In many places such expectations were met. However, in numerous instances, the Christian message was somewhat "lost in translation", and the desire for Western goods, or "cargo", was expressed through a syncretic combination of introduced Christian tenets and traditional beliefs and rituals.⁶ In such places as New Guinea's Rai Coast, Moripi, the Sepik, on Bougainville, New Britain and other nearby islands, and on Tanna in the Southern New Hebrides, the activities of neither missions nor government were able to end quasi-religious movements and cargoism. Similarly, cults had appeared intermittently since the origins of LMS and Anglican missionary work in the Central District of Papua, and in Milne Bay, respectively.⁷

Cargo movements generally alarmed missionaries more than they alarmed colonial administrations, since their expansion necessarily implied a decline in Christian belief. Since cults generally developed in opposition to, or defiance of, one or other of the missions, European missionaries were alert to signs of unusual behaviour, and were often the first to report disturbances to the administration. Declining church attendances, and secretive or suspect behaviour often pointed to cargoist activity, and accusations of such behaviour - whether from Europeans or Islanders - were an effective means of sabotaging reputations (even if reports were found, upon investigation, to be without substance).

Where cults developed violent or disruptive tendencies, proponents were jailed for spreading false rumours, or for riotous behaviour. Secrecy, and the danger of European censure, whether simply ridicule from the missionary, or imprisonment by the government - in breach of regulation 71(b) of Native Regulations, preventing the spreading of lying reports, which many knew accompanied involvement in cult activities - meant that news concerning cults circulated in a murky swirl of rumour

⁴ J.H. Jones, (Acting Director, DDS) to DO Madang, 31 December 1948. TPNG, 1269 - 7/2/3.

⁵ "Interpretation of Native People March/April 1961", TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/21 pt.1.

⁶ Neophytes had difficulties grasping some elements of Christian teachings. In the Southern Highlands, in the 1960s, discussion was rumoured to have taken place as to whether government or missions had been responsible for the crucifixion of Christ, and Pigs were given to the UFM at Komio, for distribution in order to prevent rumoured destruction of the Huri people, according to a legend which predicted their end at their eleventh generation: "Huri Thoughts and Attitudes", 13 June 1964. TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/17 pt.4.

⁷ See, eg, Bedero Geno Noga, "The Mareva Namo Cult"; Norman Crutwell, "The 'Peroveta' Cult in the Daga"; Timo Ani Kila, "The Geno Gerega Movement", in Carl Loeliger & Garry Trompf, (eds), *New Religious Movements in Melanesia*.

and counter-rumour.⁸ Various rumours accompanied missionary reports concerning the Hahalis Welfare Society.⁹ There were, in addition, many reports from missionaries that were unduly exaggerated. Most cargo movements, however, were de-fused before they reached such proportions, whether because their leaders lost impetus, or lost credibility following the failure to accurately predict the course of events. Most movements had "no serious repercussions", since local missionaries kept a "wary eye on such news" and quickly referred to Native Affairs Officers for "corrective action".¹⁰ Alternatively, cults sometimes came to an end through the unilateral intervention of missionaries or religious congregations, which succeeded in either cajoling, intimidating, or otherwise coaxing cargoists to desist from their campaigns.

Numerous cargo movements, particularly those formed in response to the vivid dreams of malcontent individuals, were isolated incidents having no clear ideological content, or consequences. A 28 year old Moveave women, for instance, established a short-lived cult having dreamt that four days of storm and darkness, the return of ancestors, and the destruction of Catholics, were at hand.¹¹ At Kukipi, in the Gulf district, cultists responded to their leader's dreams by constructing "wharfs" and

⁸ A movement in 1962, for instance, in the Baniara sub-district of Milne Bay by Baruwapana of Etatu, in which prayers were offered in cemeteries in preparation for imminent flooding and the end of the world, led to his short terms of imprisonment; ("Interpretation of Native People, March/April 1961". TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/21 pt.1). Nilles reported the cleaning of cemeteries at Migende in 1961 - although it turned out that the purpose was to keep fences in good repair and keep pigs out (3 July 1961. TPNG, 13914 - 51/1/13 pt.1). Dams, of the Anglican mission at Movi in the Eastern Highlands reported that pigs were about to be killed by the Alango group at Nambaiyufa to prevent an earthquake that it was rumoured was to accompany a forthcoming eclipse of the sun (20 December 1961. TPNG, 13914 - 51/1/15). One, in 1959, predicted an uprising on New Britain, which did not eventuate. In 1964 it was rumoured that Huri people were to assemble to compensate for the death of Christ, and to establish who actually killed him; and Harland Kerr, of SIL, offered information on why people in the Porogo-Borona area of Pangia were pouring water into pig's ears to stop them from wrecking gardens (21 September 1964. TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/17 SHD pt.4). The hoarding of silver, reported by missions in the Tumbudu district of the Southern Highlands, was noted to be occurring over a wide area "The non-circulation of silver currency, despite its issue, is widespread through the highlands. Recently, the combined private banks estimated that several million pounds of silver was hoarded in the Territory generally, but more particularly in the Highland Districts", (DO A.C. Jefferies to ADO Koroba, 30 May 1964. TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/17 SHD Pt 4). Raymond Quirk reported "White" Sangguma activity at Vanimo ("Alleged "White" Sangguma Activities", 20 December 1975. TPNG, 1269 - 7/2/3). Although Shintoism, hidden Japanese societies, and Japanese inspired cargo cults were rumoured to have continued to exist in the Buka passage a decade after Japanese occupation, such were never proven.

⁹ At the height of HWS reports to the administration from Catholic priests, which were found to be inaccurate, were made at Lonahan in 1960, at Sailo in September 1962, and 1963, and North Buka in 1963. The administration was not sure of the extent of HWS influence, and suspected it where-ever it found non-cooperation. In the Teop-Tinputz area in 1963, villages near Hantoa Catholic mission station, in Sailo CD, were thought to have links with HWS, since they wished to remain outside Local Government Councils - although such reports were more indicative of tense relations between the people and the missions, than evidence of real movements. When Lepping, a priest at Haleha, reported that men were training in secret at night, in the belief that they were controlled but not supervised in person, by Anton Keri, for the purpose of joining an Indonesian invasion to chase away Europeans, Keri dissolved the rumour by assuring the administration that there was no movement, and that the men supposedly involved were all pro-council.

¹⁰ "Interpretation of the Native People March 1960", 28 April 1960. TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/17. An area study on sections of the Buka passage, Bougainville, for instance, suggested that "The majority of the population possess a cultist mentality or rather a superstitious mentality only to be expected from uneducated and unsophisticated peoples such as these are but constant contact by the administration and the mission seems to be giving the required amount of guidance to gradually diminish this mentality", Stuart Priestly, Kunua Patrol Report. Kunua, Keriaka & Hahon & Islands Area Study. Hahon & Islands Census Division, Buka Passage Sub-district, 24 July 1973. TPNG

¹¹ D. Ross, "Reported Cargo Cult Activity - Oiapu Villages", 9 June 1956. TPNG, 1269 - 7/2/3. On a similar movement, among the Mekeo, see Deane Fergie, "Prophecy and Leadership: Philo and the Inawai'a Movement", in G. Trompf, *Prophets of Melanesia*.

digging holes in cemeteries, in anticipation of the arrival of goods.¹²

Other cargo movements were considerably more complex, and more powerful. In the late 1940s many reports reached the administration concerning Yali Singina, whose post-war activities in promotion of social and economic reform had quickly developed a cargoist ideology that reflected the region's pre-war disposition toward magico-religious aspirations.¹³ Yali promoted the view that prosperity came not with conversion to Christianity, but through a return to traditional beliefs and customs. One phase of the movement, in Bosman in 1948, involved "speech" uttered in foreign languages, expectation of cargo, cleaning of ground for dropping areas, smashing of cooking and garden utensils, claims that Europeans had stolen cargo rightfully belonging to the cultists, belief in arrival of ancestors and in having direct communication with them, cleaning of cemeteries, and food shortages following neglect of village gardens. Its timing was associated, some officials thought, with recent proselytism in the area by Catholic catechists, who distributed the "Lik Lik Katolic Baibel", complete with "impossible scenes of angels and Christ performing superhuman acts".¹⁴ Several years later, another official anticipated that, "as time goes by and the hopes in Yali die, the people will renew their interest in the mission".¹⁵ Although Yali was jailed 1955-59 following charges laid by both missionaries and the administration, his movement continued to spread following his release.¹⁶ He campaigned successfully for a seat in the 1964 House of Assembly, but failed to be re-elected in 1968. Yali publicly repudiated cargoism in 1973 and died, his movement still alive, two years later.

Missionaries responded to Yali's movement in different ways across three decades. In 1948, Morin, a Catholic priest stationed at Kaiyan in the Madang district, engaged Kondom, who was spreading the "wind belong Yali", in a decisive encounter which was later reported by Hurrell, the acting district officer:

(Morin) arrived in a violent temper and sought out Kondom. On seeing him reclining with several others he went to him and shouted: "Take out your nose; take off your ears; take out your eyes and tongue! Who are

¹² Interpretation of Native People June 1960, TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/21 pt 1. draft reports. A movement in 1962 in Kaparo village, Siwai council area, Bougainville, by a Catholic "A" certificate teacher required the offering of prayers in cemeteries: "the general thinking was based on denial by the European of the road to progress". Following a talk by a patrol officer the ringleader was dismissed, and only three people continued in their belief. "Interpretation of the Native People December 1961 - January 1962", TPNG, 13913, 51/1/21 pt.1.

¹³ Peter Lawrence, *Road Belong Cargo: A Study of the Cargo Movement in the Southern Madang District, New Guinea*, (Parkville and Manchester, 1964); "The widening political arena in the Southern Madang District", in M. Ward (ed), *Politics of Melanesia*.

¹⁴ A.L. Hurrell, "Special Report. Cargo Cult Bosman Area", 18 October 1948. TPNG, 1269 - 7/2/3.

¹⁵ PO Szarka, memorandum to Govt. Sect. 30 January 1953. TPNG, 309 - 33/3/36.

¹⁶ J.F. Wagner surveyed Lutheran mission station reports from the period 1952-62 and found reports of Yali-influenced movements, or independent cargo movements, or at least "cargo" talk, at 26 locations: John G. Strelan, "Traditional and New Religious Movements", in Herwig Wagner & Hermann Reiner (eds), *The Lutheran Church in Papua New Guinea*, 479. In 1948, Hoffman reported the "Yali movement" was causing an "acute situation" for the mission on the Rai Coast: "President's Report 1948", ELC, 191/51/81.

you?" Kondom replied "who am I that I can do these things?". The father then plucked a crucifix from his belt and, holding it aloft with one hand threw water in Kondom's face from a bottle of holy water in the other. Kondom leapt to his feet and ran and picked up a pig-spear. He ran back towards Father Morin. Many of his followers grabbed sticks and ran with him. Suddenly however, Kondom explains, "The madness left me". He threw himself in front of his followers and, assisted by the Kaian natives, in particular the Med. tultul, stopped the attack. Meanwhile Father Morin, as he explained to Mr. Evans, assumed the posture representing the cross, both hands out flung and called on Jesus. Father Morin then left. Since then in villages in Kaian and Buliva any one affected is treated by zealous teachers by being doused with holy water. The whole incident was melodramatic and provoking. Father Morin should mix more common sense with his zeal."¹⁷

At the time, Catholic missionaries in the area operated without recourse to the administration.¹⁸ Morin, whom Hurrell regarded as a "highly nervous and fanatical person", did not report an earlier attack by Kondom's followers on a Catholic church, and despite the patrol officer's advice, repeated his "cure" in each village affected by the cult.¹⁹ In other cases, Yali's influence was countered through other means. A prominent "bisnisan" on Manam Island was diverted from fomenting ideas of cargo when nominated by a Catholic priest for an administration-sponsored tour of Australia, after which the former disavowed Yali's ideas completely.²⁰ For the next three decades, rumours concerning Yali's predictions, laws, and organisation ebbed and flowed throughout the North Coast of New Guinea. A man who travelled throughout the Bogia sub-district in 1961 predicting that Yali would soon bring about the eclipse of the sun, claimed he did so at Yali's instruction.²¹ Often, men who had walked long distances to be informed of Yali's ideas decided to inform their villages that Yali had made them his deputies.²² At Mugli, the missionary C. Van Baar reported cult activities, the use of "Yali water"; and gossip that said the Jehovah's Witnesses were "Yali's mission" - reports the patrol officer and district commissioner both dismissed as being "considerably coloured".²³

Press reports of cargo movements in the Territory were often grossly exaggerated. An inquiry by the administration into a "cult" in the Kerowagi area of Chimbu, reported in the *South Pacific Post*,

¹⁷ A.L. Hurrell, 18 October 1948. "Special Report. Cargo Cult Bosman Area". 1269 - 7/2/3.

¹⁸ J.H. Jones, acting director of DDS, wished Catholic missionaries would stop interfering in traditional customs, which he felt only made administration more difficult: J.H. Jones, a/director, DDSNA, to DO Madang, 31 December 1948. TPNG, 1269 - 7/2/3.

¹⁹ A.L. Hurrell, "Special Report - Cargo Cult - Bosman Area", 18 October 1948. TPNG, 1269 - 7/2/3.

²⁰ Anthony Maburau, "Irakau of Manam", in Carl Lloeliger & Garry Trompf, (eds), *New Religious Movements in Melanesia*, (Suva, 1985).

²¹ "He stated that those who had not given him (Yali) money would be destroyed by spirits and, further, that anyone who went to court over the matter would be killed by spirits. No one was to tell Government officers of these activities. There were no witnesses at the briefing. The District Officer claims that though the information is insufficient to prosecute Yali, it is "persuasive evidence" that he is a serious trouble-maker.", "Interpretation of the Native People February-March 1962", TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/21 pt.1.

²² Thomas G. Harding, "Cargoism in Sio", *Oceania*, XXXVIII, 1, Sept. 1967, 15; also, May, *Micronationalist Movements*, 1982, 36.

²³ Interpretation of the Native People February March 1962. TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/21 pt.1.

for example, found the report to be baseless.²⁴ Often, reporters gained their information from missionaries and planters, both of whom tended to give distorted accounts of otherwise innocent events.²⁵ Other cult reports were exposed as pure fabrication. The administration found that cooperation between Catholic priests and Australian journalist Steve Simpson in exposing a cult on New Britain was due more to their concern at the falling prestige of the mission (a priest had recently been defrocked for adultery, and another convicted for assault), than to any genuine fear of an uprising of the Iniet.²⁶ The administration's own actions to suppress the Iniet cult had, contrary to press reports, diffused the cult which it did not, in any case, believe was well regarded by the Tolai people.²⁷

Neither the administration nor the missions could always distinguish between genuine cargo movements, and other socio-economic reform movements. Throughout the New Guinea islands, the administration monitored indigenous movements which combined elements of economic rationalism, cargoism, and religious exclusivism.²⁸ In the Papuan Gulf there were such men as Torea Erekofo, who promoted in turns "cargoist", mission-sponsored, and administration-sponsored movements. After heading

²⁴ *South Pacific Post*, 580, 19 February 1960.

²⁵ One report in 1962, for example, commenced with the headlines "Americans, Cargo Cult and the Future...Complicated Aftermath of the New Guinea Buka Troubles...The presence of a permanent American base on Buka Island could result in an up-flaring of the Cargo Cult. Returning Buka Tax-rebels, their vanity inflated by VIP Treatment, could use this circumstance as evidence of their cult-powers", "A Rabaul Correspondent", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, July 1962, 27. One reporter continued to report on cargo-cults into the 1970s: see Gus Smales, "Cultists' ship in but not with cargo", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, July 1976, 17.

²⁶ *Times-Courier*, 1 March 1961, 8 March 1961, and 22 March 1961; *Australian Post*, 6 April 1961. Administrator Cleland requested Bishop Scharmach, in a cable, 29 March 1961, to substantiate claims appearing in press articles. The Bishop's reply of 8 April 1961 included translations of German documents dated 1931 and 1937 concerning the Iniet cult, but failed to support the wild press claims of an imminent uprising. Cleland reported to the Secretary, Department of Territories, that the mission's concern was a falling off in church attendance and that the newspaper reports were grossly exaggerated and did a disservice to the Catholic Mission. Cleland to Dept. Terr. 19 April 1961. TPNG, 1269 - 7/4/10.

²⁷ DO E.G. Hicks to Assistant Administrator, 23 March 1961. TPNG, 1269 - 7/4/10. Catholic priests on the Gazelle Peninsula consulted at length on the movement, and a regular committee meeting of Bishop Scharmach, his priests, and 50 laymen, on 27 February 1961, decided that the movement had to be "exposed and stamped out". The mission, apparently, hoped to exert pressure on the administration by having the story appear in the Australian press. ADO E.J. Emanuel to Assistant Administrator, 21 March 1961. TPNG, 1269 - 7/4/10.

²⁸ On New Ireland, several members of the United Church established the Noatsi Kristen Association (NKA) in unofficial opposition to the Central New Ireland LGC. Although the association shared such aims with the council as establishing development projects in the region, it advocated a "Christian Politic System" which combined the desire for harmonious co-operation (to work together as one body; to share things together) with zealous exclusivity (to worship together as one church or one God that is United Church and not allowing other sects to interfere and cause trouble between families): A.W. English, "Konos Patrol Report No. 1 of 1971/72", TPNG, Patrol Reports Kavieng Konos 1971-72]. Attempts at economic development among the Tungaks on New Hanover, commenced with the "Johnsonists" in 1964, who wished to vote the U.S. President into the first House Assembly. Although missionaries and administrators alike ridiculed the movement as being a typical cargo movement - some members attempted to raise sufficient money to pay for a ship to travel to America and return laden with a variety of consumer goods - efforts were simultaneously being made to improve economic prospects on New Hanover. In 1968 the Tutukuvul Kapkapis Association (TKA) - "stand up and work together" was established in Kara CD of New Ireland by mostly United Church (formerly Methodist) adherents, to increase crop planting and purchase trucks to transport produce to market - but also, for some members, to raise sufficient funds to pay for a ship to go to America and return with consumer goods. The movement soon spread to some Noatsi villages, and 300 coconuts were planted at Langenia. The administration felt that the United Church missionary Miller was involved in the formulation of the movement's rules: A.W. English, "Konos Patrol Report No. 1 of 1971-72", TPNG, Patrol Reports Kavieng Konos 1971-72.

cargo movements in 1951 (which resulted in four months imprisonment) and again in 1955, Erekofo joined the Inland Committee of the LMS in 1955, and participated in the mission's Torchbearers movement, which sought to take the gospel inland to the Kukukuku. Administration officials learnt that Erekofo personified a "promised Messiah" whose doctrine included the belief that goods were to arrive from God, and that all Europeans would be killed.²⁹ When Erekofo founded a "Christian Association" in 1955 to unite LMS and Catholic groups in the Moveave area, the Catholic priest in the area, Blanc, ensured that his flock boycotted it.

Although the LMS maintained a high profile in the colony's capital, through such figures as Percy Chatterton, the mission gradually withdrew from remote Papuan districts, prompting one official to suggest that it was "shirking its responsibilities".³⁰ The LMS was the longest serving mission in the Gulf region, had considerable land holdings - 75% of which had been developed by 1960³¹ - and had nearly 20 European missionaries in the field, but the administration observed by the middle of the decade that LMS proselytising had been "noticeably ineffective"; that its plans had been "deeply frustrated"; and that it was losing ground to Adventist and Catholic initiatives.³² In this context of religious charge and counter-charge, Erekofo fell to the intrigue of a group of Catholics who, wishing to counter-act the activities of the LMS inland committee, reported him to the Kukipi patrol officer as having revitalised his old cult. As intended, this action brought legal trouble for the LMS committee and brought Torea into disrepute.³³

Cultic activity was no less prominent on New Britain. The Tolai had a tradition of secret societies, including the Tuduan, Iniet and DukDuk, and the latter re-emerged in the 1960s, against missionary opposition, as a society devoted to using "secret powers against the white man".³⁴ In the immediate post-war years, the Catholic mission on New Britain had condemned a Tambaran cult, whose

²⁹ A.K. Jackson, "Cargo Cult - Moveave", 21 May 1956. TPNG - 1269 - 7/2/3.

³⁰ T. G. Aitchison, (Division of Govt and Research), "Jehovah's Witnesses" 20 November 1957. TPNG, 1269 - 7/2/3. Chatterton claimed in 1957 that the Jehovah's Witnesses were responsible for cargo activities in the Gabadi area, at a time when he had moved to Port Moresby and his replacement Bence had returned to Australia, and at the 1957 mission-administration conference Chatterton suggested that the teachings of the Jehovah's Witnesses had a "close affinity to cargo beliefs", Percy Chatterton to DO Port Moresby, 5 November 1957. TPNG 1269 - 7/2/3.

³¹ TPNG, Annual Report, Gulf District, 1959-60, 6.

³² TPNG, Gulf District. Annual Report 1963-64, 10.

³³ Further inter-religious antagonism, based on traditional opposition between the villages Heatoare and Heavala, was triggered by the events of Catholic Holy year, 1950; and by the failure of a timber milling project co-sponsored by the Dept of Forests and the Catholic mission, which had been intended to solve Moveave's economic problems ([H.H. Jackman, "Activities at Moveave" - minute for Chief of division of Development and Native Welfare, DNA, 27 May 1957. TPNG, 1269 - 7/2/3). Erekofo subsequently formed yet another society in the 1960s, Apamara, to conduct independent trading and land development, and in 1960-61 he was member of the newly formed East Kerema (Moveave-Toaripi) Council.

³⁴ Sack uses German-language mission sources to examine the role of the DukDuk in law enforcement, without discussing the missions' attitudes to the movement: Peter G. Sack, "DukDuk and Law Enforcement", *Oceania*, XKII:2, Dec.1972.

members it accused of theft and disorder. But attempts to suppress cultic activities by withholding a mission's welfare services, and religious rites, generally created further antagonism, rather than dissolution of cargoist belief, or practice. The withholding of church rites by Lutheran missionaries attempting to suppress the Tanget cult, rather than disciplining the cargoists as intended, merely convinced them they were on the right track, since: "withholding the sacraments was seen in terms of magic: the white men were obviously nervous that the secret of the cargo was near".³⁵ In Bogia district, manifestations of cargo thinking was allied to animosity toward Christianity which followed the concerted efforts of European clergy to suppress traditional religious carvings, beliefs, and dances.

Whereas cargoists and Christians differed in their interpretations of spiritual realities, and of the distinctions between spiritual and material phenomena, they had in common a desire for material advance. There was no dispute as to the desirability of acquiring material development, rather, one concerning the legitimate means of acquisition. A Lutheran conference, in its attempt to clarify the distinctions between Christian and cargo belief, drafted in 1964 a statement which said in part:

1. *God created all the things which are in this world, and they are here to serve my physical needs.*
2. *God says that I must apply myself diligently to the work he has given me to do, and earn my daily bread with sweat and toil.*
3. *Therefore I must place my trust in God, I work and I pray, and I thank God for his blessing.*
4. *There is no way in which a man can obtain manufactured articles, money, or other material goods from cemeteries, mountains, lakes, or holes in the ground.*
5. *Therefore, I must not pray (to the dead) in cemeteries. I must not speculate about different ways of obtaining cargo. I must not try to induce fits of shaking or quivering. I must not prepare a place in the bush to pray (for cargo). I must not pursue cargo through dreams and in many other ways. These things are nothing but illusions and deceptions of Satan.*³⁶

Not all business activity engaged in by missions was directed at off-setting cargoism. But the notion that wealth was only acquired through "sweat and toil", through the "work ethic" so clearly demonstrated in its European context, and which formed the basis of the "industrial" missions established in Melanesia early in the century, certainly informed the missions' strategy to counter cargoism and to attract (through the prospect of material advancement) a wider following. Coincidentally, this strategy paralleled colonial policies which sought economic development to ensure the future viability of the states (whether as colonies or nations).

From the 1950s, the administration in Papua New Guinea encouraged "Native Cooperative ventures", intended to develop greater participation by Melanesians in economic projects. Previously, sponsorship of economic ventures had come not from government but from some, (although not all) missions. Kwato mission, in Milne Bay and the Marists on Bougainville had engaged in development projects, but Anglicans, whose efforts in economic development in the Northern District Murray

³⁵ Peter Hempenstall & Noel Rutherford, *Protest and Dissent in the Colonial Pacific*, (Suva, 1984), 145.

³⁶ John G. Strelan, "Traditional and New Religious Movements", in Herwig Wagner & Hermann Reiner (eds), *The Lutheran Church in Papua New Guinea*, 481.

regarded as "idealistic and in some ways impractical", preferred not to engage in business projects.³⁷ The LMS, similarly, did not engage in commerce, although it later established the Bromilow and Chalmers Welfare Society at Samarai, just as the Methodists established the Methodist Welfare Society.³⁸ Also in Milne Bay, the agricultural projects of Cecil Abel, chairman of directors of Milne Bay Development Company, and a son of Charles Abel, who founded the Kwato Mission, resulted from his strong belief that Papua's redemption required cash cropping and a strong work ethic. Abel travelled to Britain in 1947 to enrol agricultural and animal husbandry specialists, and Kwato established an auxiliary training centre under CRTS, a rice project in Abau, and many other projects, including cash-crops, horses, and cattle.³⁹

In the Sohano district of Bougainville, cargoism in Kiriaka and South Kunia was arrested between 1959-63 by the economic initiatives of two Catholic priests, Mentzer and Brosman. Mentzer resettled the Kiriaka on a fertile coastal plateau, and organised the clearing of large tracts of land, introduced coffee beans, and increased production of copra and cocoa.⁴⁰ At Nasioi, disaffection with the Catholic mission, and support for a cargo movement that commenced in the mid-1950s continued into the 1970s and led to Catholic sponsorship of economic projects.⁴¹ Elsewhere on Bougainville, missions were instrumental in either growing, or purchasing, potatoes, rice, coffee and cocoa.⁴² Although successful, the initiatives of Mentzer and Brosman caused concern to the administration. The HWS had commenced with similar, apparently innocent origins, and besides, colonial officials felt missions should encourage support for the administration's agricultural initiatives, rather than establish their own.⁴³ The

³⁷ "Native Cooperative Ventures", 12 December 1951. TPNG, 172 - 15/5. The Anglicans had established a cooperative at Gona in the 1930s, which the mission hailed as the precursor to the cooperatives commenced by the administration in the 1940s, "Papuan Christian Co-operative Movement", pt 1., *Pacific Island World*, 3:3, 1951; pt 2: *ibid*, 3:4, 1952. The Anglican preference for non-involvement in commerce was confirmed by Bishop Jeremy Ashton at an executive meeting of the Melanesian Council of Churches, May 1978: MCC, Minutes of Executive Meeting, 12 May 1978, 8. According to Crocombe, the Anglican mission failed to support economic initiatives about 1950 for fear that individual cash cropping would result in migration from mission villages nearer to cash crop gardens: R.G. Crocombe, *Communal Cash Cropping among the Orokaiva*, (Canberra and Port Moresby, May 1964) 31. Surprisingly, Moulik found that Kwato-trained farmers lacked motivation for cash-cropping and attributed this to the mission's paternalistic style: T.K. Moulik, *Money, Motivation and Cash Cropping*, (Canberra and Port Moresby, 1973).

³⁸ It was against LMS policy to engage in trading, but private stores were maintained at which mission workers only could be purchased at wholesale prices: D.E. Ure, to Director, DDS, 10 March 1948. TPNG, 872 - 32/3/11.

³⁹ Alexander Ross, "Auxiliary Rural Training Centre - Kwato Mission (Amau)", 9 December 1949. TPNG, 833 - 1/1/9 (15)

⁴⁰ Mentzer and Brosman were from Kuraio and Sipai mission stations. D.J. Clancy, "Native Affairs - Keriaka and South Kunua. Mission Agricultural Societies", 19 February 1964. TPNG, 13914 - 51/1/13. See Mark Roberts, "The Kiriaka 'Cargo Cult'", in Karl Loeliger & Garry Trompf, (eds), *New Religious Movements in Melanesia*.

⁴¹ Robert Fahey, "Diary", 1 August 1973. OM. See also, Laracy, *Catholic Missions*, 319.

⁴² Wakunai Patrol Reports. 1947/48 to 1958/59. TPNG

⁴³ A similar situation occurred in the Kunua district, where Dionne, a Marist from Kuraio mission, reported a cargo cult in Keriaka, Buka, in 1961 (which he linked to Anton Keri), and expelled 400 Akopai people from a church service. In 1964 Dionne sought to establish a trade store operated by a "Christian Progressive Co-operative Association", and sought to prohibit the Hahon people from patronising the existing Hahon Society's trade store. Although Dionne instructed parishioners to "listen, obey, and

later involvement of Catholic missions in development was stimulated by a 1967 papal encyclical "On the development of Peoples", endorsed the "fully rounded development of man", especially the development of "those who are looking for a wider share in the benefits of civilisation". Missionaries were to teach local populations the means of deriving the best advantage from their natural resources, while recognising the separate powers of church and state.⁴⁴

In the New Guinea Highlands, more than in any other region, the missions practiced "agricultural evangelism", in which traditional beliefs and lifestyles were exposed to the processes and products of Western commercial enterprise. The Passionists at Ossima operated a cattle project, while the tea industry established on an 1800 acre lease (600 acres arable) by Capuchins at Inambu, near Iaria in the Southern Highlands in 1967 was the only rural development in the area and employed about 100 labourers from Iaria and Iore, in addition to being a large buyer of sweet potatoes.⁴⁵ Lutherans were also involved in tea production, which they regarded in a lesson in industry, an aid to the mission's finances, and a response to endemic cargo cultism.⁴⁶

Other mission businesses in the highlands included sawmilling, agricultural production and distribution, and even weaving and silk production. Mission stations in remote areas, and in newly contacted areas, were the 'advanceguards' of western economies. In the highlands, mission needs stimulated local economies, paying for labour and vegetables with silver which was sometimes hoarded for tax payments.⁴⁷ The Methodists raised cattle on a 145 acre agricultural lease at Mendi, granted in July 1955, and had other projects on a 25 acre special lease at Mendi, and a 79 acre special lease at Tari, granted in July 1956. At Nipa in the Southern Highlands, the United Church experimented with tea and strawberry production. The CMML operated trade stores and ran cattle at Kelabo. One official

work with the administration" (A. Roadknight, Kunua Patrol Report, 3 February 1969. TPNG) officials judged that the priest had "no effect on the general or economic attitude of the people": (H.S. Redmond to ADO Buka Passage, 23 June 1964. Native Situation Report 1961 to 1976. Buka Passage. TPNG.) In the estimation of PO H.S. Redmond, Dionne sought success in economic development in competition with Mentzer and Brosnan (F. Parker, Kunua Patrol No. 7 of 1962/63. TPNG) Prior to the Second Vatican Council, Catholics did not always join in government-sponsored economic initiatives, and government officers were sometimes hostile to Catholic involvement in any case. Commonly, Catholic and Protestant adherents supported different cooperatives. In Nakanai, New Britain, for instance, a cooperative with mostly Catholic members, was referred to by a Methodist as "a cross between Catholic action and a Roman cooperative society", while the cooperative established by the administration at Malalia was "kept alive by the Methodist section of the community", "Nakanai Ct. Report 1954", MCA, OM. 364.

⁴⁴ N. J. Thompson, Director, Dept. Trade and Industry. 4 November 1968. TPNG, 9368 - 40/1/6/ set III. Mekeo peasants, under Catholic influence, attempted rice production and sought to improve their technology (Director, DASf, "Native Rural Progress Society - an Experiment in Social and Economic Development", 17 September 1949. TPNG, 833 - 1/1/9 (7)). As an officer with the Department of Agriculture, the former Kwato missionary Cecil Abel formed a close working relationship with the Kuni, a Catholic tribe that migrated to Bakoiudu in August 1961.

⁴⁵ TPNG, Patrol Report Mendi 5 of 1968/69.

⁴⁶ H.D. Klemm, "Alkena Circuit Report 1963". ELC, 2/51.

⁴⁷ Native Situation - Tumbudu CD, SHD, 15 May 1964. TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/17 pt4.

described the missions in the Southern Highlands in 1969, as "those huge commercial enterprises".⁴⁸ Of 12 cattle projects established by 1964, two were mission sponsored.⁴⁹ By 1969/70 some 223 projects had been established.⁵⁰

Similarly, in the Western Highlands, missions provided a valuable outlet for local produce, and the Lutheran mission and CLTC at Banz both provided training in commercial agriculture, mechanics, and carpentry. The Baptists in Telefomin ran trade stores and a saw mill, and other trade stores at Tanggi. Missions provided trade stores in Lake Kapiago.⁵¹ Lutheran and CLTC colleges at Banz provided training in commercial agriculture. The CLTC had, in addition, trade courses in mechanics, carpentry, and courses in literary and domestic science.⁵² In 1964 the Lutheran Mission (Missouri Synod) established Waso in the Wabag-Wapenamanda region of the Western Highlands.⁵³ Mission economic activity was not considered extensive in the Eastern Highlands, although four missions employed trained agriculturalists, and the SDA mission at Kabiufa grew vegetables on a commercial basis.⁵⁴

Several of the major missions entered business for the combined purposes of subsidising mission activities and satisfying the aspirations of mission members. They established and operated printeries, slipways, joineries, plantations and trade stores, through which to acquaint their followers within the world of commerce.⁵⁵ In the Aitape and Lumi sub-districts Franciscans fostered selo "blind" weaving and a cane furniture business, developed a model farm near Aitape High School, and operated a

⁴⁸ TPNG, David Elkins, Patrol Report Mendi, No.5 of 1969/70.

⁴⁹ "Annual Report Southern Highlands District 1964/65", TPNG, 13933 - 72/2/15.

⁵⁰ "Southern Highlands District Annual Report 1969/70", TPNG, 13933 - 72/2/15.

⁵¹ Western Highlands District, Annual Report 1969/70. TPNG, 13934 - 72/4/13 pt 1.

⁵² *ibid.*

⁵³ Waso Ltd, a share-holding company with a considerable number of indigenous shareholders, was by the 1970s, the largest marketing establishment for produce grown in the Wabag and Lagaip areas of WHD. At Sattleberg, the Lutheran Metzner used economic development as a counter to cargo movements, and encouraged the establishment of "a score of trade stores and a plantation", as well as coffee and rice production: see A.C. Frerichs, *Anutu Conquers*, 87. See R.P. Freund, "An approach to the commercialisation of Enga agriculture", in M. Ward (ed), *Change and Development in Rural Melanesia*. Similarly, in the Solomon Islands, in 1975, the Alliance Training Association of the Solomon Islands (ATASI) took over the business operations and training programs of the SSEC.

⁵⁴ Trained agriculturalists were making their presence felt around Kabiufa SDA, Kamaliki (Catholic), Onerunka (Lutheran), and Kassam and Kompri (Swiss Evangelical Brotherhood). Annual Report, Eastern Highlands District 1971/72. TPNG, 13933 - 72/2/13 pt 3.

⁵⁵ Some in the administration believed local interest in missions derived largely from whether or not the mission established a trade store. ADO J.W. Kent, referring to Undiri and Kambiri CDs, SHD. Native Situation Report, 31 July 1964. TPNG, 13913 - 51/1/17, pt4.

sawmill. The number of saw mills established by the various missions in Melanesia was considerable.⁵⁶

In areas of longer mission contact, economic interests were even more firmly established. The Vunapope Catholic mission on the Gazelle Peninsula, it was said, had "deep coconut and copra roots".⁵⁷ The Lutheran mission sponsored the establishment of Namasu, to be a New Guinean owned and directed trading organisation, which used European capital to provide "in service training" for future leaders in trade and industry, and to provide regular services to underdeveloped regions. By 1968 Namasu had 20 branches in Morobe, Highlands and Madang districts, and operated a shipping service and a dress making business. Later, the Lutherans established Yanpela Didiman, a "young agriculturalist" movement.

The expansion of mission businesses was not without problems, and by the 1960s some mission businesses had expanded to such an extent as to provoke protests from other commercial enterprises. The Lae Chamber of Commerce protested to the administration that mission businesses were undercutting other enterprises since they were not taxed on the operating surpluses that resulted from their business activities.⁵⁸ F.O. Purnell, proprietor of Luwin Park Poultry Farm, the largest egg producing farm in New Guinea, protested at unfair competition from CLTC Banz, whose profits from poultry production went untaxed.⁵⁹ Similarly, the CLTC was accused by the New Guinea Road Transporters Association of undercutting prices on road-transport costs on the Highlands highway, while Carruthers, of Gona shipping, estimated that the Catholic vessel *Kelaua* had taken business worth some £30,000 yearly from commercial shipping companies.⁶⁰

Elsewhere in the region, missions and colonial administrations countered cargo movements with economic initiatives. On Guadalcanal the Moro movement, regarded as "cargo" by the missions, was found increasingly to have rational economic objectives. Led by Moro and Goraiga, the movement, which spread along the south coast and into the interior, was suspicious of Local Government Councils,

⁵⁶ For example: in 1958 Methodists were pit-sawing substantial stands of timber to the west of the Undidi people near Mendi. There were Catholic sawmills at Tabaije and at Hangapo, Tari, and another at Buranatoi, Buka, established c.1961. The UFM operated a sawmill at Tani, near Tari, and Adventists operated a saw mill at Belapa, in the Gulf District, by 1964. In the New Hebrides, also, timber was being milled for profit at the Lolowai Training Centre. J.F. Yaxley (Assistant BDA Northern District) to Derek Rawcliffe, 31 August 1965. AV, British Residency.

⁵⁷ Dwyer to Cleland, 17 April 1955. TPNG, 155 - 23/7. The Samarai mission had just purchased its own plantation, Lilinakai, in the Bainings region, in order to finance its various activities.

⁵⁸ Lae Chamber of Commerce, 16 May 1968. The administration justified this by saying that, since missions traded in order to support their religious activities, any taxation on their business surpluses would only have to be returned to them as increased subsidies for their medical and educational work. It did not agree with the Chamber's assertions that mission businesses obtained further advantage by receiving duty concessions on certain imports; or by obtaining land cheaply, since mission leases were different to commercial leases, which missions had to obtain in the same manner as non-mission businesses. TPNG, 9368 - 40/1/7. The missions had exemption from land rates for church and school properties, and from certain income tax provisions, which Hay later attempted to use as "hidden subsidy" to missions, to counter the mission arguments for increased educational subsidies.

⁵⁹ F.O. Purnell, 11 July 1968. TPNG, 9368 - 40/1/7.

⁶⁰ W.F. Carruthers (Gona Shipping) to Paul Hasluck, Minister for Territories, 29 December 1962. TPNG, 9369 - 40/2/3.

sought to preserve custom, and sought economic advancement for those living in remote places. But by 1961 the movement showed an interest in Western forms of economic development.⁶¹

Whereas mission involvement in commerce and in economic development projects, secular education, and instruction in Christian doctrines and values contributed to a diminution in cargo activities, the strength of movements such as Matthias Yaliwan's proved the durability of cargo beliefs.⁶² Also, the extent to which cargo beliefs and aspirations have been absorbed into "legitimate" economic activities must be considered.⁶³ Apart from such instances, the contribution made by Christian missions to the reorientation of cultists from magico-religious techniques of wealth acquisition, to other techniques grounded in Western rationalism, has been immense. The missions promoted a change in values, in which secular learning and secular values, figured prominently. Agricultural evangelism and commercial adventurism by the "Missions Inc." appealed to a traditional Melanesian materialism at the same time that it contributed to the economic viability of the colonial states.

⁶¹ William Davenport & Gulbun Coker, "The Moro Movement of Guadalcanal, BSIP", *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, June 1967.

⁶² Believing that a survey marker on Mt Hurun was preventing the arrival of cargo, Yaliwan removed it on 7 July 1971, amidst great fanfare, and the rumour that three men were to be sacrificed on the mountain. SSEM and Assemblies of God, and Catholic adherents, particularly at Yangoru, Walahuta and Balif, were either attracted by the movement, or scared of it, and the missions responded with intensified programs of evangelism. The SSEM missionary Burgess, for instance, sought in the lead up to 7 July, to get members to "decide for Christ now", rather than await the outcome. An article exposing the cult's origins appeared in the 2 June issue of *Wantok*. Whereas Yaliwan's big day passed without trouble, European missionaries were given an indication of how little influence they had over their members during such a crisis, and some local leaders were removed having proven "unreliable in time of trial" (Burgess to Griffiths, 15 July 1971. SSEM, *Missionaries A-Z*, 1971). Although Yaliwan was imprisoned for nine months for his disturbing activities, the movement attracted many Christians. Followers were made to kiss a cross to show their allegiance. Yaliwan's leaders, calling themselves "the door" of the sheep, made effective use of the Bible, which the region's well-versed Christians regarded as "the word of God" and Yaliwan also referred to a Jehovah's Witness publication "The Truth That Gives Eternal Life". One missionary reported to his home office "Our emphasis on the Bible being the word of God had not been accompanied by the warning that a Bible in the hand of one who is not truly the Lord's can produce confusion.", (Burgess to Griffiths, 15 July 1971. SSEM, *Missionaries A-Z* 1971). The movement continued to evolve, at first - by October 1971 - into the Peli association, and although Daniel Hawina, the movement's spokesman, was incorrect to anticipate American Rule, and predict some big event in January 1972, the movement continued, with many members supporting the Niu Apostolic church. As recently as 1986, Yaliwan's cult was responsible for ritual killings: "Cult chops up dead girl", *Post Courier*, 22 December 1986; "Cult Claims One Life", *Times of Papua New Guinea*, 19-22 December 1986.

⁶³ Many members of the well established Tanget cult, for instance, later participated in the Pitenamu society, a business cooperative which invested in such enterprises as Brambles Pagini.

CHAPTER NINE

RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY AND THE MAINTENANCE OF SECTARIAN AUTONOMY

When Arnon Wadili and Justus Jimmy, who had served a jail sentence for his involvement in Maasina Rule, spent several months in Sydney assisting Norman Deck's translations into Kwara'ae in 1955, and saw for themselves the wonders of a modern city, and Western society, the two Malaitans wrote to Tom Russell, District Commissioner on Malaita, to tell him what their island needed. Firstly, they had discovered Christian nations, in which "the Christians are very happy because their Rulers rule according to God's rules"; then "taxation", which had been used, they perceived, to construct good roads, good schools, very good hospitals, and "everlasting buildings". Because all this had resulted, they found, from the people obeying their leaders, obedience was their third point. Schools were the fourth, since they found that all children were in school, and their parents "troubled about it" (considered it as being important). Finally, Wadili and Jimmy mentioned "gardening", by which they referred to the apparent abundance of produce available in the cities, which they understood was grown by people "near the forest", who made good money from their efforts: they returned to Malaita with clear ideas on how their island should develop.¹ The impact of modern society on these two Malaitans, who travelled to Australia as Bible translators for an evangelical mission, illustrates the great irony of much missionary endeavour: in the pursuit of singularly religious aims, missions often became major agents not only of cultural change, but of secularism. It did not matter that a missionary spoke of concern for the "spiritual" rather than for the "material" life: the missionary came to change, and in addition to whatever "spiritual change" was produced, mission activities assisted in promoting - whether purposefully or inadvertently - the kind of secular thought and values which they had purposed to rally against.

Whereas both missions and administrations advocated economic, social, and political advancement, key religious leaders spoke of developing "truly Christian societies" while secular officials pursued more pragmatic goals. In Bishop Strong's view, Papua New Guinea in the mid-1950s still had the opportunity to become an exemplary Christian civilisation, since it had not been irretrievably affected by the "worst features" of modern civilisation, as he suggested had happened in the materialistic Western countries.² To do so, he often repeated, secularism had to be resisted "with might and main".³

¹ Arnon Wadili and Justus Jimmy to Tom Russell, 2 December 1955. BSIP, 10/II. Gen. 3.

² Bishop Strong. Presidential Address and Charge. January 1954. DNG 3/6.

³ Bishop Strong, DNG, 3/8: Presidential Address, Synod, January 1961, 10.

In the Solomons Gutch observed in 1957 that whereas the Anglican and Catholic missions appeared pleased with new administrative initiatives, the Methodist and SSEM missions were "somewhat resentful" at the loss of their secular influence there.⁴ Goldie had noted as early as 1944 that good Christians sometimes "failed" once they took up government positions at Tulagi, which was then the administrative centre,⁵ and the need to cater for church members in Honiara, where a Town Council was established in 1958, was great. Workers first went on strike in Honiara, for fairer pay conditions, in 1962. Bishop Hill took the opportunity to censor the government: if it allowed Solomon Islanders now to consume beer, and gamble, could it not expect them to now wish for greater incomes?⁶ In the New Hebrides, more labour was being paid for with wages rather than with provisions or trade goods, and the unpaid use of school-boys and other mission helpers as labourers on mission plantations was increasingly regarded as unfair: eventually it was outlawed.⁷

In the New Hebrides, sectarian autonomy was preserved well into the post-war period. Presbyterians on Tongoa regarded themselves as "members of misi's school" rather than as members of a New Hebrides-wide autonomous church, and saw the Presbyterian, Seventh Day Adventist, and French schools as being locked in a three-way battle for the souls of Tongoans.⁸ On Pentecost in the 1950s the British Agent complained of an Anglican priest who used "religious authority to undermine leadership of government appointed assessors", and who wielded control of local coconut plantations.⁹

In the Banks Islands, where the Melanesian Mission was established, and St Matthias Island, where a Seventh Day Adventist mission operated autonomously, LGCs established in the 1970s provided the first challenges to mission influence in local affairs. The influence of the Melanesian Mission in the Banks Islands remained intact into the 1960s, until the introduction of Local Government Councils. The British Agent had to seek the assistance of Bishop Rawcliffe in convincing the mission's priests to

⁴ HC (John Gutch) to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 13 April 1957. BSIP, Fsc3/volII. On Malaita, where Vance had observed "the temptations of modern civilization" by 1931, the SSEM established the daily routine of village life: Monday was for gardenings; Tuesdays and Fridays, for cleaning the village and collecting water; Wednesday, for either going to market or gardening; Thursday, for tending the Cocoa trees, and farming; Saturday, collecting food from the gardens; Sunday was set aside for church. [Robert Vance to "Dear Prayer Partners", 23 May, 1931. SSEM, Robert Vance Correspondence 1939-40; A. Lindley, Police Patrol Report 17 August 1957. BSIP, CF/DA/13/5].

⁵ "They cannot stand up in the environment of such places as Tulagi, and often in order to justify their slipping, they take a more offensive attitude than some who have no religion at all". Goldie to Scriven, 1 August 1945. MCNZ, SI District. Corresp. with J.F. Goldie, 1922-51.

⁶ Bishop Hill to Chief Secretary, WPHC, 31 October 1962. CM, F29. BSIP Govt. & H.C. Western. 1959-63.

⁷ Thus, Derek Rawcliffe wrote to Harry Bullen in 1957, "We shall be unable to go on using schoolboys for copra. I have never thought it was fair, because they cannot be up all night and be fit for school next day, and in any case, the education authorities are clamping down on it, so the Bishop says." 27 May, 1957. AV, Rawcliffe 1949-63.

⁸ J.R. Hyslop, "Tongoa Mission District Personal Report", June 1962. PCNZ.

⁹ J.R. Wrightson, BDA, to A. Teall (Archdeacon, Lolowai), 1 July 1954. British Residency, AV.

cooperate with the administration: "Do they continue with no distinction between church and state, as Calvin tried at Geneva", asked the exasperated agent, "or do we accept that the lesson of history generally decides in favour of the separate development of church and state?".¹⁰ That was in 1969. By 1970 Anglican priest Matthias was in favour of the establishment of councils, but on Mota a second priest, Francis, reported that although there were 105 in favour, there remained 50 against.¹¹ Rawcliffe had to persuade the priest on Gaua, Esuwa, not to oppose the councils, although Rawcliffe himself complained that people were "putting them in place of God".¹² In the 1970s the Bishop's influence remained such that official reports regarding tours of the Banks Islands by British government officers were passed informally to him.¹³ In 1973 Rawcliffe spoke to the people of Toga, Ioh and Hiu about the work of government geologists, so that work could proceed on the outer islands. The people were pleased to welcome the geologists, as 12 jobs were created for the duration of their stay.¹⁴

Elsewhere, missionaries remained resistant to the introduction by colonial administrations of secular curricula and English-language educational policies. In the Western Solomons, George Carter felt sure, the administration saw the missions "merely as tools to achieve secular ends in education and medicine",¹⁵ while in the New Hebrides the Presbyterian, Hyslop, complained from Tongoa that "too many think that the church's purpose is to teach people to read and write".¹⁶ Chenoweth, on New Ireland, felt the Methodist Mission was "going too far towards education at the cost of the spiritual", which was, he felt, the missions' real task.¹⁷ Bishop Strong agreed, suggesting it was more important to teach the "native races" moral strength and stability rather than to read and write.¹⁸

In Papua New Guinea resentment toward the expansion of government schooling came notably from the Kwato mission in Milne Bay, the Anglican mission in Northern District, and the Divine Word mission at Wewak. The Holy Ghost mission at Alexishafen withheld students from government schools,

¹⁰ Edwin Hackford (BDA) to Rawcliffe, 23 December 1969. AV, Correspondence, Siota.

¹¹ "Banks Islands Administrative Tour, 1-7 Feb. 1970". AV, Correspondence, Siota.

¹² Rawcliffe to Hill, 29 June 1955. AV, Correspondence Archives. Rawcliffe 1949-63.

¹³ For example, Colin Allan reported to the Resident Commissioner his tour of the Banks Islands in September 1972, to assess cyclone damage, and enclosed an extra copy for forwarding to the Bishop. CM, F17/2.

¹⁴ D. Rawcliffe to Senior Geologist, Vila, 12 February 1973. AV, Correspondence Siota.

¹⁵ George Carter, "Annual Report of the Chairman of the Solomon Islands District", MCNZ, Overseas Mission Department. Board Minutes.

¹⁶ J.R. Hyslop, "Tongoa Mission District Personal Report", PCNZ, June 1962.

¹⁷ Chenoweth to Lutton 25 August 1960. MOM UPNG, ALX 43/54.

¹⁸ P.N.W. Strong, *Out of Great Tribulation*, (East Cape, 1947).

until their own were ready.¹⁹ The response of the Sacred Heart mission to the opening of a government school at Talasea, New Britain, was open resistance.²⁰ Similarly, the Unevangelised Fields Mission and the South Seas Evangelical Mission chafed at coming under government regulations such as having to hold regular school hours.²¹ Lutherans expressed concern that the administration's language policy threatened the use of "church languages". Differences over the language of instruction were a continuing irritant to mission-administration relations. By continuing to use Pidgin Catholic schools in Papua New Guinea came into conflict with a 1962 Education Department ruling that all subsidised schools were to use English from first grade. The LMS, which persisted in the use of Hiri Motu, faced similar difficulties. In the New Hebrides Presbyterians sought relief from their educational commitments, and told the British that they were not prepared to increase their spending on education, but expected the administration to do more. In the field of health, some missions, particularly the Anglican, resisted the establishment of government aid posts, and jostled with the administration for access to scarce medical staff.²² Such disputes were localised demonstrations of a general resentment felt by missions to the encroachment of the secular state on what they had come to regard as their own territory. Their argument was that missions were satisfying the needs of their members, and should be allowed by the administration to continue doing so.

On occasion missionaries connected increased wages and copra prices with declining church attendance. On Tanna and other islands, Presbyterians encouraged cooperatives partly to counteract the influence of European traders.²³ Bi-lingual entrepreneurs such as Donald Gubbay were denigrated for

¹⁹ Concerning this, Groves's commented that it seemed to be: "a sealing-off of groups of native people from genuine benefits to allow their ultimate services as trained personnel being used in only a restricted sense and if applied to large-scale groups could be against the best interests of the Territory in general." W.C. Groves, "Ministerial Enquiry - Missions in the Territory", 24 December 1951. TPNG, 310 - 33/4/2.

²⁰ When the department of Education responded to an appeal from parents to provide a mixed-race school at Kokopo, Catholic students were ordered not to attend. Although a meeting of Catholic Bishops with administration officers de-fused the situation, the issue remained a "potential source of disagreement on the highest policy level thereby endangering Government-Mission relationship throughout the whole of New Britain, New Ireland and Manus." Sacred Heart (Catholic Mission, Vunapope), (1951). TPNG, 310 - 33/4/2.

²¹ As expressed by one missionary "We can't afford to be told what to do by Govt. Departments. We must be very definitely under the Holy Spirit's direction". Kenny to Schrader, 21 March 1959. SSEM, Missionaries H - Z, 1959.

²² For instance, in the Northern District, Romney Gill induced "Native Medical Orderlies" Dapusi and Leo to resign from the government medical service and work for the Anglican mission, rather than face an irate Bishop David Hand: TPNG, 172 - 15/3. On the importance of rural government and Anglican mission employees during this period, in the Northern Province, as "brokers of information with the urban, administrative centres", see William H. McKellin, "Social Stratification and Knowledge: the case of rural public employees", *Oceania*, 53:1, September 1982. In the Solomons, the Methodist Mission's medical doctor, A.G. Rutter, was lost to the Protectorate administration, while "still associated with the mission in an honorary capacity". "Report of the General Secretary's visit to the Solomon Islands District Nov-Jan 1946/7": MCNZ, Overseas Mission Department. Board Minutes.

²³ Cooperative efforts on Tanna between 1947 and 1952 by such missionaries as Ian Taylor and John Cooper were not considered totally successful, but improved and expanded in the 1960s, *Proceedings of the Eleventh Session of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the New Hebrides, Tongoa, 1959*, 14. See Ian Taylor, "Growing role for co-operatives in the New Hebrides", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, October 1964, 69-70.

their growing influence over labour. Presbyterian and Catholic missionaries opposed the "Malekula Native Company" established by Gubbay in 1949, accused its leader of promising to deliver power, large profits and good fortune to his followers on Malekula and Pentecost, and regarded the movement as being against missions, administration, and "all white folk", since its leaders issued laws of its own that "prejudiced good order and discipline".²⁴ Bertrand Soucy, an American Catholic priest who arrived at Wala in 1957, attempted to weaken the company by establishing a new settlement "Walarano", mid-way between Wala and Rano. By that time, new enterprises such as Gubbay's had had drawn some 500 men (including some 70 Presbyterian church members) from Paama, South East Ambrym and Lopevi to work on Santo.²⁵ Astute big-men, when not inclined to adopt Christianity, and struggling for control of village affairs with younger mission workers, sometimes invited traders to settle locally, to counter growing mission influence.²⁶

Just as missionaries in the New Hebrides neither appreciated or encouraged this attraction of villagers to urban areas in search of wages, their counterparts in Papua and New Guinea perceived an unwelcome attitudinal shift in their members, from religious to worldly values. Whether as eager to expand commercially as the Kwato mission, or as reluctant to engage in commerce as the Anglicans and the LMS, many missions in the Territory concluded that a too rapid move into commercial enterprise and a cash economy would end the prospect of establishing truly Christian communities. Similarly, some regarded the emphasis on establishing self-government, and forming local government councils, and co-operatives, as a too rapid step into a Western, secular, framework of government.

The threat to their sectarian autonomy posed by secularising and modernising forces continued to distract European mission leaders: did they not know the extent to which they themselves carried the seeds of Westernisation? Missionaries had assisted gladly and with purpose the process of pacification, contributed to the destruction of traditional barriers between clans and cultures, and campaigned to desacralize traditional concepts of spiritual power: under their influence sacred flutes became mere flutes, and sacred stones became just stones.²⁷ In general, coconut plantations developed to their maximum

²⁴ Ambrym Report, c.1950. PCNZ, New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission Council. Reports. 1950-56; Malekula Report, 1954 (Whyte), PCNZ. PCNH, "Minutes of the 4th session of the General Assembly", Iririki, 1952, 32. A brief biography of Gubbay is given in Brett Hilder, "New Boss of the BSI Trading Corporation", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, May 1962, 78.

²⁵ Paama - Southeast Ambrym - Lopevi Report, 1954-55. PCNZ, New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission Council. Reports. 1950-56.

²⁶ On South East Ambrym, for example, where Ambrymese catechists had been opposed by unbaptised and functionally illiterate chiefs during the inter-war years, the traditional chiefs enlisted the support of European traders soon after the war, to secure the removal of the Christian leaders from the island for several years: R. Tonkinson, "Sorcery and social change in South East Ambrym", 1979.

²⁷ Gary Trompf, "Secularisation for Melanesia?", in *Christ in Melanesia: Exploring Theological Issues*, (PNG, 1977), 213.

extent on islands where Christianity had been most effectively established and consolidated.²⁸ In political matters the missions had advocated the separation of church and state, and in economic matters they had campaigned for cash-cropping rather than subsistence farming.

This influence would not have been possible if not for the large number of missionaries who came to the region wholly for the purpose of creating social and religious change. Although virtually un-orchestrated, the efforts of individual missionary societies to train and deploy their representatives combined to create a powerful social presence. In Australia and New Zealand missionary training colleges expanded in the 1950s and 1960s, before contracting in the 1970s. "George Brown College", for instance, the Methodist Missionary College first established in Sydney in 1920, became "All Saints College" in January 1960, for the training of LMS, Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries. Whereas 299 missionaries passed through the program during 1960-67, there was a rapid decrease in graduates after 1970.²⁹ Anglican missionaries trained at the House of the Epiphany, Stanmore, until its closure in 1979. Training centres of the New Tribes Mission established in Australia in 1956, and Palmerston North, New Zealand, in 1958 had, by 1972, trained 86 missionaries and Pacific Islanders.³⁰ Other societies, however, were placing less missionaries in the field.³¹ Even so, the Territory of Papua New Guinea was home to some 3388 mission workers in 1970 (including 2630 of British, Australian, American or Canadian nationality, fluent in English).³²

Whereas the entry of European missionaries was hardly regulated, tighter controls applied to non-Europeans. The administration argued that it sought the development of skills and experience of Papua New Guineans, rather than the importation of non-European mission workers. In 1960, there

²⁸ See J. Bonnemaïson, *Custom and Money: Integration or Breakdown in Melanesian Systems of Food Production*, (Canberra, 1978).

²⁹ MCA, Church Overseas Missions Board. Board Minutes, 29 July 1970. Box 352. Anglicans participated in the Anthropological training given by B.R. Wyllie. The annual student intakes at All Saints during 1960-67 were 57, 55, 56, 55, 61, 51, 41; then 39 in 1968 and 37 in 1969: "All Saints College, Principal's Report 1967"; PCNZ 1967A, 1968A; "United Missionary College: George Brown and All Saints", *Missionary Review*, February 1960, 4. 16 Methodist men and 7 wives commenced the 1962 course: *Missionary Review*, March 1962, 9. University of Sydney academics Arthur Capell and Ruth Fink contributed courses on anthropology at All Saints in the 1960s.

³⁰ New Zealand Presbyterians attended Knox Theological College in Dunedin. SSEM missionaries attended Sydney's Missionary and Bible College, Tahlee Bible College, NSW, the Melbourne Bible Institute, and the W.E.C. Bible College in Tasmania. New Hebridean Presbyterians attended Croyden Missionary and Bible College. From the Melbourne Bible Institute came many of Australia's evangelical missionaries, and representatives of the Independent Christian Mission, including Ronald Teale.

³¹ Between 1969 and 1975 the number of missionaries supported in the field by the New Zealand Methodist Society dropped from 40 to 12: Methodist Church of New Zealand. Overseas Mission Department, "Methodist Report", "1975 Synod", 176. while evangelical missionaries from New Zealand numbered 18 in the New Hebrides, 18 in the Solomon Islands, and 132 in Papua New Guinea: *New Zealand Evangelical Missionary Alliance. Directory of Missions including a statistical survey*, (n.p., 1974).

³² Downs, *Trusteeship*, 49. *Report to the General Assembly of the United Nations, July 1971 - June 1972*, (Canberra, 1973), 444. By 1972 there were 973 Australian Catholic missionaries in Papua New Guinea, many organised by PALMS: E. Campion, *Australian Catholics*, 187.

were 135 Solomon Islanders in the Territory working for missions, 90 of whom were Seventh Day Adventists.³³ Pacific Islanders were working also for the Sacred Heart, Marist, SSEM and Methodist missions, and Presbyterian New Hebrideans were training at Kwato stations.³⁴ Although well-educated Adventist Solomon Islanders were ideal teachers for that mission's schools, they did not fit the administration's objectives. Short-term improvement in educational levels, argued Murray, prevented Papua New Guineans from rising to those teaching positions, besides which, imported teachers brought with them elements of Solomon Islands culture.³⁵ Hasluck's continuation of this policy, as part of his attempt to avoid a multi-racial society brought bitter pressure from missions wishing to employ Indians and Asians.³⁶ Although the administration's policy did not allow Asian migration, it recognised the religious concerns of Chinese Christians in Rabaul, and allowed the Methodist Mission to employ an Asian Methodist pastor.³⁷ An enquiry by the New Tribes mission about the use of Japanese missionaries, however, got nowhere.

Whereas many European missionaries felt, by the 1960s, a loss of prestige and influence in the towns and in the emerging state apparatus, their control over village affairs was more secure. The preparation of indigenous church leaders, able to maintain their position within Melanesian systems of power, rank and influence, yet able also to cope with an increasingly sophisticated, Western educated Melanesian elite, was vitally important. Thus, as the complexity of sacred and secular power-formation increased, the role of the pastor/teacher, was split in two: the quality of theological training was raised

³³ Administrator to Govt. Sect. 14 March 1960. TPNG, 47 - 62/5/9. Adventists sent large numbers of Solomon Islanders to its training college near Rabaul.

³⁴ In 1956 the Methodist Highlands District wished to employ South-Sea Islanders but found the administration "generally averse to the granting of permits to non-European immigrants". Methodist Church of New Zealand. Methodist Overseas mission Department. Board Minutes. 25-6 October 1956. MCNZ. Up to 1970, Forman suggests 561 Pacific Islanders entered Papua New Guinea as missionaries, 98 entered the Solomon Islands, and 73 entered the New Hebrides. Of these 139 were Solomon Islanders, the remainder being Fijians (269), Samoans (209), and Cook Islanders (197). See Charles W. Forman, "The Missionary Force of the Pacific Island Churches", *International Review of Mission*, LIX:234, April 1970. Several chapters concerning Polynesian missionaries in Papua and North Solomons are included in Ron & Marjorie Crocombe (eds), *Polynesian Missions in Melanesia*, (Suva, 1982).

³⁵ "It was found that Solomon Island teachers (through ignorance) were giving advice to natives that was in conflict with Territory law and Administration policy and also there was a tendency on the part of some of them to implant aspects of Solomon Islands culture upon the native groups to the detriment of their institutions as a basis for cultural development". Murray to the Supt. SDA Mission Port Moresby, 22 February 1947. TPNG, 172 - 15/8. Chowning suggests that incomplete acculturation between the Lakalai of New Britain and foreign mission personnel led to instances of distorted perceptions of Christian belief, of failure to distinguish between Christianity and introduced cultural practices, and even to the perpetuation and enhancement of cargo movements: Ann Chowning, "Recent Acculturation between Tribes in Papua New Guinea", *Journal of Pacific History*, 4, 1969.

³⁶ Hasluck mentions the pressure from the missions, *A Time For Building*, 31. Bishop Hand, in addition, sought entry by members of the Melanesian Brotherhood, and the United Church continued to seek pastors from traditional sources- Tonga, Samoa, Fiji, Cook Islands, Niue and, in 1968, India.

³⁷ Lutton to Gribble, 15 February 1957. MCA UCPNGSI - MOM 64/159. When, in 1962, Lutherans sought an Asian pastor for Chinese Lutherans in Madang and Lae, Gunther responded that he was sure, with the widespread Lutheran Mission activity throughout the world, that they would be able to find a candidate who satisfied the administration's existing immigration policy. J.T. Gunther, Acting Administrator, to Dr J. Kuder. 13 December 1962. TPNG, 9369 - 40/2/10.

to meet demands for indigenous church leadership and replacement of Europeans; and teacher training was secularized and professionalized, to meet the increasingly insistent demands from both colonial governments and the people for higher educational standards and opportunities.³⁸

The pastor/teacher, more than any other missionary officer, had been responsible for consolidating missionary influence in the villages of Melanesia, partly due to the absence of an effective educated Melanesian elite. Whereas many of the first Protestant pastor/teachers had been imported from Polynesia, their successors were often locally trained converts. In the century before sectarian autonomy in Melanesia was disturbed by secular learning, each mission looked on its pastor/teacher training institutions with pride, since on their success rested the future of the local church. Schools had often been established in order to maintain a mission's influence in an area, and although training had often been rudimentary, pastor/teachers had nevertheless possessed more education and knowledge than the remainder of the village, and had enjoyed preferential access through mission channels, to the wider world. But the pastor/teachers, so powerful in the pre-war years, failed to maintain their influence after the war when their rudimentary training - generally in one or other dialect, not English - was unable to meet the needs of a better educated younger generation.³⁹ Thus, in the 1950s and 1960s, many pastor/teachers left mission employment and sought better paid, non-teaching, jobs in the towns.

Mission education had, until the 1950s, been designed to meet the specific needs of the missions themselves, rather than the needs of government and commerce, and often required compulsory church attendance.⁴⁰ In some cases, mission education systems provided greater academic training for male students than for females, who were expected to also complete domestic courses, and only upgraded girls' schools following government cajoling.⁴¹ By the 1960s, facing crises in the standards of their theological training, Anglican, Catholic, Lutheran and Methodist missions, among others, modified their theological and educational training institutions.⁴² Methodists in the Western Solomons, for instance, commenced sending students in the mid-1960s to government Teachers Colleges, aware that

³⁸ The theme of secular education is addressed in chapter ten.

³⁹ Conflict between traditional UFM pastors, and younger school teachers is described in John & Moyra Prince, *No Fading Vision*, 175. Ian Grosart, "Disengagement in New Guinea: the mission paradigm", in M. Ward (ed), *The Politics of Melanesia*; Percy Chatterton, "The History of Delena", in K.S. Inglis, (ed), *History of Melanesia*.

⁴⁰ In 1969, for instance, PO D. Elkins reported that "several young, intelligent English speaking lads" were expelled from a Mendi mission school for failing to attend church on three consecutive occasions. TPNG, Patrol Report 5 of 1969/70.

⁴¹ W.C. Groves to G.G. Carter, Methodist Mission Education Officer, 30 December, 1957. TPNG, ED 53/2. pt.2.

⁴² "Need seen to raise standards for native clergy", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, June 1963, 53; "The Evangelism Commission", *Diocese of Papua New Guinea Newsletter*, Aug 29 - Sep 5 1967. The situation within the United Church is examined in R.G. Williams, "From mission to church: a study of the United Church", in M. Ward (ed), *The Politics of Melanesia*.

they would not return to mission areas as pastors.⁴³ Small, scattered training centres were amalgamated into a lesser number of more central ones and pastor/teacher training was phased out to be replaced by separate courses for theological training and for teacher training. Graduates became either educators, or pastors and priests, but not both: sacred and secular roles became more sharply defined.

Anglican theological training within the Solomons and the Southern (New Hebrides) Archdeaconries evolved from a training base established at Norfolk Island, which was later shifted to Gela, (St Peters, Siota, 1920-35 and 1947-70); then Malaita (St Peter's College, Makira, 1935-47), and most recently Kohimarama, outside Honiara from 1970. In 1963 the Bishops of Melanesia, New Guinea and Polynesia, while meeting in Honiara, defined three categories of theological training: preparatory, ordination training, and higher training. The first two were provided at existing facilities,⁴⁴ from where promising students were sent to St John's College, Auckland. In later years able students attended St John the Baptist Anglican College in Sydney, and Pacific Theological College. In Papua New Guinea Anglican pastor/teachers trained at St Aidan's, (Dogura, Northern District, 1916-1960), then Newton Theological College from 1952, and finally Popondetta since 1971.⁴⁵ Because prospective students had limited career prospects, the mission was able to select the best among them for further education: in 1947 Bishop Strong had described the 47 students who entered St Aidan's as "the cream of the North East side of New Guinea."⁴⁶ Pastor/teacher training at St Aidan's ended in 1969, when the Anglicans joined with Lutherans to train teaching staff at Balob, Lae.

The Lutheran Church realised soon after the war that it has a rapidly growing membership (approximately 60,000, with some 4,000 teachers and 800 evangelists), but no ordained national pastors. The practice established by pioneer Lutheran missionary Christian Keysser, by which traditional village elders were also the church elders, had proven successful at village level, but had not encouraged the evolution of national and indigenous church leadership. In response, seminaries were established at Logaweng and Ogelbeng in 1961, and in 1966 Martin Luther Seminary was established in Lae.⁴⁷ In the Eastern Highlands Lutheran Bible schools operated in all circuits,⁴⁸ where some 1500 pastors and

⁴³ S.G. Andrews, "Report by the General-Secretary on 8 months spend in the Solomons", 1 October 1958. MCA, Overseas Missions Department. Board Minutes. May 1965-December 1963.

⁴⁴ Siota, Kohimarama, and Tabalia (headquarters of the Melanesian Brotherhood). In 1970 Bishop John Chisolm moved theological training to the Bishop Patteson Theological College at Kohimarama, near to Honiara. In the New Hebrides, pastor/teacher training was at Lolowai.

⁴⁵ In 1983 the Robert Barnes Training Centre for village priests was established on the old Newton College site at Dogura. See Isaac Gadebo, "Pastoral Education in the Anglican Church of Papua New Guinea".

⁴⁶ Strong, *Out of Great Tribulation*, 136.

⁴⁷ P. Koehne, "Justification, the ministry and the Keysser method", *Lutheran Theological Journal* 17:3, December 1983, 110.

⁴⁸ Eastern Highlands District. Annual Report 1971/72. TPNG, 13,933 - 72/2/13.

evangelists received up to four years of sub-primary schooling, two courses of two years each in primary schools supervised by Europeans, and two years of advanced training. Sustenance for teachers was provided by the villages, rather than by the mission.⁴⁹

In Methodist areas, great emphasis was placed on the availability of pastor-teachers, and circuits were noted for the numbers of pastor-teachers and local preachers they produced.⁵⁰ Originally, Methodist missions established a network of circuit and district training institutions, which was later modified to provide separate training for preachers, pastors, and teachers. Theological colleges were established at Kabakada (Malmaluan) in 1958, and Rarongo in 1964. A two year course in Pidgin for pastors was conducted at St Pauls, established in Mendi in 1963.⁵¹ In 1960 there were 20 students at Mendi and 21 at Tari.⁵² By 1967 there were 200 at the main Tari school, and another 50 at two out-station schools.⁵³ In 1962-63, church membership moved from 287 to 1063, with 1,370 others in training.⁵⁴ Select students went for further training to Daivuilevu College, Fiji or to Malmaluan, on New Britain.

Throughout Melanesia Catholic higher education was often more advanced than that provided by colonial governments or by any other mission (although by 1961 only 5.5% of Catholic priests in the Pacific were islanders).⁵⁵ Each Catholic diocese sought to have its own seminary - ideally a minor seminary for humanities and a major seminary for the study of philosophy and theology. St Joseph's Native Seminary was established at Torokina, Bougainville, in 1945; a meeting in Sydney in 1953 of the Hierarchy of New Guinea, Papua and the Solomon Islands decided to establish St Peter Chanel College,

⁴⁹ Ken Griffiths to Kenny, 3 November 1948. SSEM - Mr Kenny's Correspondence.

⁵⁰ Thus, a missionary wishing to point to the great needs of the mission on Normanby Island, made a comparison between mission circuits:

	pop.	members	local preachers in training	pastor-teachers
Misima	4,400	1,760	218	13
South Normanby	4,000	640	18	0

Annual Report of the Board Representing Papua District. MCA, Overseas Mission District, Minutes. Circuit Reports. 1955. Box 363.

⁵¹ See R.G. Williams, *The United Church in Papua, New Guinea, and the Solomon Islands*, (Rabaul, 1972), 301.

⁵² "The Highlands of Papua and New Guinea", *Missionary Review* October 1960, 11.

⁵³ *Missionary Review*, 67:4 Oct 58, 5.

⁵⁴ "P.N.G. Highlands", *Missionary Review*, October 1963, 5.

⁵⁵ Foreman, *Missiology*, 428. Thus, although Catholic missions sent many Solomon Islanders overseas for clerical training, but by 1957, not one had completed a course. Peter Salaka, later a participant in Solomon Island national politics, was one who trained as a Christian Brother in Australia, but who returned home in 1959, without completing his course.

a Regional Seminary, at Rabaul.⁵⁶ The Holy Spirit seminary established at Bomana in 1964 also served the Solomon Islands.⁵⁷ In the New Hebrides, Catechist training was established at Montmartre, and an Education Centre at Melsissi, on Pentecost. In 1966 a Pacific Regional Seminary was established in Suva.

Pre-dating all of these institutions was the Presbyterian Church's Tangoa Training Institute, first established on Tangoa Island in the New Hebrides in 1895 for the training of pastor/teacher candidates from throughout the archipelago.⁵⁸ The mission placed importance on attracting men from the various islands, and expressed concern when an island failed to produce a candidate over several consecutive years. As with all other mission institutions, however, the emergence of teacher training led to changes in the Institute's role. The post-war standard for entry was to be equivalent to the Victorian Education system's grade eight, but it dropped lower in 1946.⁵⁹ Throughout the 1950s and 1960s only a handful of students (eg, in 1961, only five of 63) were theological students, the remainder being teacher trainees.⁶⁰ In 1965 the New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission Council decided to phase out teacher catechist training at Tangoa.⁶¹ Efforts were made in the early 1960s to increase the standing of pastors in Presbyterian villages, through a Pastors Overseas Training Scheme,⁶² and in the 1970s, some Presbyterians went to Rarongo Theological College on New Britain for pastor training.

The SSEM's training institution at Onepusu on Malaita was similarly transformed. In 1947, the year the mission's vessel *Evangel* brought the first post-war trainees from Rennell and Bellona to Onepusu for Bible training, SSEM missionaries felt that their institution would have to be regarded solely as a theological college, so as to protect it from the effects of government initiatives in education: "As a theological college", wrote one missionary to his home secretary, "I shouldn't think that the

⁵⁶ *Catholic Missions*, February 1955, 9. This, the first Catholic minor seminary in Papua New Guinea, opened in 1955.

⁵⁷ There are two Dioceses in the Solomon Islands, Gizo (Dominican) and Honiara (Marist). In 1974 a novitiate for the training of Dominican priests, and St. Joseph's Catechetical Centre were established at Moli, Choiseul.

⁵⁸ Smith, P.R., "The Presbyterian Church in the New Hebrides. The Tangoa Training Institute: A case study of missionary activity", MA, (Auckland, 1976).

⁵⁹ Presbyterian Mission Synod. 1945. Tangoa. PCNZ.

⁶⁰ The course included two years of pure high school subjects, and one year of biblical and doctrinal subjects. Rev E.G. Jansen, "Annual Report 1961-62". PCNZ. In the 1950s the curriculum included study of "False cults and native movements", *Presbyterian Church of the New Hebrides. 3rd Assembly, Taloa Church, Nguna*.

⁶¹ Magam Annual Report 1965. New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission Council. Reports. 1950-56. In 1977 the Presbyterians opened a Theological training centre at Aulua, Malekula, with Neal Whimp as Principal of 12 students. Methodist Church of New Zealand Overseas Division, "Report of Joint Interim Board for Mission Overseas", 1977 Synod, 179.

⁶² James Stuckey, "APBM: Report of Visit of General Secretary to the New Hebrides", 2-36 June 1967.

government would be able to interfere with what we do."⁶³ Later, the mission established other Bible colleges, Bethel in the Solomon Islands in 1968; and Makwanu and Yagarumbok, both in Papua New Guinea, in 1969. The Bible and Theological colleges established by the smaller missions were legion, and included the Church of Christ mission's Banmatmat college in the New Hebrides, established in 1965; the UFM's Balimo Bible School, (closed in the 1960s due to lack of European personnel and an over-abundance of pastors, and reopened in 1975 as the Gogodala Christian Training College);⁶⁴ the Enga Baptist Bible college, opened in 1962; and the ABMS Bible schools, established in the 1960s at Baiyer and Kwinkia.

Missions in Papua New Guinea had enough candidates to fill their own theological colleges, but it was more economical for missions in smaller Pacific Island countries to support regional or ecumenical institutions. Pacific Theological College, the most noted ecumenical training centre, was established in Suva in 1965. As early as 1944 Fijian Methodists had suggested the formation of a united theological institution, although its establishment was impractical at that time.⁶⁵ The LMS' Lawes college, with the collapse of pastor-teacher training, amalgamated with pastor training at Rarongo Theological college. At Banz, in the Western Highlands, evangelical missions established the Christian Leaders Training College (CLTC) in 1965,⁶⁶ while at Goroka in the Eastern Highlands, Catholics established the Melanesian Institute in 1968 as a decidedly ecumenical enterprise.

With the growth of colonial capitals and provincial centres in the 1950s came problems of urbanisation, the emergence of urban ministries, and the need to care for itinerant church members.⁶⁷ In response, the major missions each sought to establish hostels in the rapidly growing urban centres. The Port Moresby United Church wished to provide hostel accommodation in the Territory's capital in 1962,⁶⁸ and the following year an LMS missionary was seconded to the government's welfare service to

⁶³ Letter to Kenny, 3 December 1947. SSEM, Mr Kenny's Correspondence 1945-51.

⁶⁴ John & Moyra Prince, *No Fading Vision*, 174.

⁶⁵ MCA, Methodist Overseas Mission Board. Annual Meeting 8-11 February 1944, 79-80.

⁶⁶ By 1970 CLTC conducted courses in commercial agriculture, mechanics and carpentry, literacy and domestic science, and was actively involved in the economic development of the surrounding area: Western Highlands District, Annual Report 1969/70. TPNG, 13934 - 72/4/13 pt 1. J. Oswald Sanders, *Planting Men in Melanesia: The First Decade of the Development of the Christian Leaders' Training College of Papua New Guinea*, (PNG, 1978).

⁶⁷ The urban areas were also an expanding field for sectarian rivalries. Percy Chatterton, who opened the LMS district of Koke Bay in Port Moresby in 1957, recorded the presence of "Jehovah's Witnesses with little bags, and Salvationists with big drums": P. Chatterton, "Koke Bay 1957". PDC Annual Reports 1956-57. MOM UPNG ALX 31. 3/10. The pattern of urban migration among LMS adherents from Papua's Central District is considered in N.D. Oram, "Culture Change, Economic Development and Migration among the Hula", *Oceania*, XXXVIII:4, June 1968.

⁶⁸ TPNG, 9369 - 40/2/6.

address such problems in the Port Moresby suburb of Hoholo as gambling and alcoholism.⁶⁹

The Catholic bishops applied for permission to construct hostels at approximately the same time: Sorin, of Yule Island, applied in 1959 to build a hostel in Port Moresby; Copas, who made a similar application a short time after, converted the Catholic Mission school at Bomana into a "Boy's Town" for young male delinquents; while Arkfeld planned a hostel for Wewak. Hostels were an emotive issue, because of the access they gave missions for evangelism of itinerant urban workers. When the Salvation Army received an administration grant to establish a hostel in Lae, John Kuder, President of the Lutheran Mission, lodged strong protest. How could the administration so favour a new mission, Kuder asked, when the Lutherans had been denied financial support for an identical project? Experience in the Territory had already shown, Kuder pointed out to the Minister for Territories,

that when a Christian organisation carries out an activity it cannot do so and at the same time divorce itself from its nature as a missionary organisation...The Salvation Army officers who will be stationed here will, without a doubt, use their establishment as a proselytising agency and their prospective candidates will be members of the Lutheran Church.

In addition to concern at the impact on the township of Lae, Kuder's appeal indicated his awareness of much wider ramifications:

This year the Lutheran Mission celebrates its seventy-fifth anniversary. Surely the years of effort, sacrifices and expenditure of funds deserve a better recognition than that the Administration underwrites a competitive missionary effort which must have its repercussions in the remotest villages.⁷⁰

Two years later the administration was concerned at the lack of availability accommodation for single females in Lae, and at care for juvenile offenders, and again the Lutheran mission was prepared to build a hostel.⁷¹ Clearly, each mission knew the implications for evangelism that resulted from having hostel accommodation in the urban centres: without it, their itinerant members might have stayed at another mission's hostel, come under that mission's influence, and even transmitted that mission's influence to the remotest villages. Colonial administrations, on the other hand, showed no concern for the possible religious impact of urban hostels, and were only interested in obtaining the most efficient and reliable service. Governments were sympathetic to the moral, more than religious, implications of hostel accommodation, but their allocations of such projects to specific missions were ultimately based on financial considerations.⁷² Even in Goroka, in the Eastern Highlands, where mission influence had

⁶⁹ Letter to Don Duncan, 23 July 1963. PCNZ, 1963 O-P.

⁷⁰ J. Kuder to Minister for Terr. 14 April 1961. TPNG, 9369 - 40/2/10.

⁷¹ John Kuder, "President's Report 1963". ELC, 193/51/81.

⁷² The need for hostels in urban areas continued into the 1970s. When considering its needs in Honiara in 1973, the Melanesian Mission looked at the hostels of the Friars at Koke, and the Salvation Army in Port Moresby. In Vila, the New Hebrides Christian Council built a hostel in 1976-77 on five hectares of a low-cost housing estate leased by government to the

been diluted by the large number of missions present, missions reported their concern at rapid urbanisation, an acute housing shortage, and excessive consumption of alcohol.

Whereas the missions had shared a concern at increasing levels of alcoholism, they had not been able to affect government policy on the matter, being themselves unable to reach a unanimous position. At the 1954 missions-administration conference, some favoured the immediate granting of permits allowing consumption of alcohol, others favoured deferral of the matter for five years, while yet others favoured a total ban.⁷³ Subsequently, Percy Chatterton of the LMS and O'Hanlon, a Catholic priest from Rabaul, were the missionary representatives on a seven-member liquor commission which recommended to the administration in 1962 the gradual derestriction of alcohol consumption for Papua New Guineans.⁷⁴ Concerning marriage laws, missions in Papua New Guinea were more united, in calling for the registration of all Christian marriages, and government efforts to end such customs as brother-sister exchange and the giving of bride-price.⁷⁵

At the same time that social concerns were emerging, the ties that bound the missions to the administrative heart of colonial rule were being loosened. In Papua New Guinea the missions' acknowledgment that the House of Assembly was the legitimate emergent secular government, which was to eventually take full control of the country's affairs, contributed to a rapid decline in the influence of European missionaries in formulating colonial policies (apart from education policy, in which mission involvement continued). Also, by 1967, the administration recognised 33 mission organisations, and wondered how it could assess the "mission view" on important issues.⁷⁶ How could a "balanced appraisal of mission thought" be achieved when the "yardstick of most of the smaller missions" was often "a dogmatic and fundamental interpretation of what the Bible teaches rather than a realistic appreciation of the nature of a problem under discussion"?⁷⁷

The major missions shared this concern. Whereas they were responsible for the greater amount of mission activity in the Territory, (in 1968 five missions claimed 53% of the total population, and 85% of the Christian population),⁷⁸ their influence was weakened by the dispersal of votes to the smaller,

council: "A Youth Hostel for Vila", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, December 1976, 26.

⁷³ "Resolutions of the Conference", TPNG, 833 - 1/1/9(4)B.

⁷⁴ "Report of Liquor Commission in Papua and New Guinea (Statement by the Minister for Territories, the Hon. Paul Hasluck, M.P.)", 12 October 1962. ABM, Box 1, PNG.

⁷⁵ "Resolutions of the Conference", TPNG, 833 - 1/1/9(4)B.

⁷⁶ "The Role of Missions in Papua and New Guinea: Appendix B", TPNG, 9368 - 40/1/6.

⁷⁷ Report on Missions/Administration Conference held 15 - 22 November 1954. 2 December 1954. TPNG, 310 - 33/4/1/6.

⁷⁸ The 5 being Catholic, Lutheran, Methodist, Seventh Day Adventist and Anglican. "The Role of Missions in Papua and New Guinea, Appendix C: Missions in Papua/New Guinea. TPNG, 9368 - 40.1.6. Set II.

but more numerous missions, which were often less well-established and which administered smaller welfare programs.⁷⁹ The influence exerted by so many missionaries on some aspects of Melanesian societies into the post-war period was extensive. They largely determined the languages for the promotion of education, and in many areas they provided the first reading materials (even if the materials were mostly scriptural in nature). Yet their pervasive influence in transforming these facets of society was accompanied by an inability to prevent the spread of secular influences. The inability of Catholic priests in the Solomons to ignore their members' right to participate in the commemoration of such civil occasions as the birthdays of King George VI, and Queen Elizabeth II, Commonwealth Youth Sunday, Anzac Day, and Commemoration day - as they had done until the early 1960s⁸⁰ - was symbolic of the end of their mission's complete village-level hegemony. While it is true that in many areas, such as the Gazelle Peninsula, and the Huon Peninsula, the influence of the "lotu" remained strong, it was increasingly accompanied by the desire for secular as much as for religious advance.

The churches and missions were confronted with problems of urbanization, as well as with their village-level activities. International agencies increased their participation in such ecumenical projects as "The Church in the life of the Nation", organized by World Vision in January 1971, and a conference on "Melanesian Culture and Christian Faith", held in the Solomons in 1978. The skills of the district missionary were increasingly being matched by those of overseas trained Melanesian clergy. Significantly, theological training at regional institutions, such as Pacific Theological College and the Pacific Regional Seminary, instructed in the "colonial" languages - French and English - rather than in vernaculars: the elders and older pastors who had had inferior preparation were swept aside, with few being sufficiently educated to join the ranks of the nationalist cleric leaders.

Why was mission influence so pervasive for so long? Partly, this was due to the extensive networks each mission maintained - in which access to modernisation was often linked to the moral authority of mission figures. Another compelling factor was the isolation in which many missions worked. Villages on outlying islands or spread across formidable terrain, not easily accessible by road, air, or sea, provided few chances for interaction with peoples other than those engaged in traditional exchange patterns. Thus the removal of villagers to urban areas, improvements in communications, literacy and education, each contributed to the breakdown of the missions' autonomy, and in many cases to the alienation of relocated church members.

⁷⁹ Much of the clamour in the Australian press over the entry of "religious cranks" [the phrase used in William Courtenay's article "They've got the Fuzzy a bit Wuzzy", *Truth*, 29 June 1958] to the Territory resulted from anxiety at the loss of their traditional ascendancy. Bishop Strong's assertion that five American missions occupied what was known as the "missionary mile" at Mt Michael should be examined in the context of his mission's slow entry to the highlands, in addition to his concern at the religious confusion among the Mt Michael people. Anglican enquiries commenced in November 1949; by July 1951, all Central Highlands subdistricts were full of missions. Strong's protests also came in part from his preference for a return to the comity agreement established in the time of MacGregor, an attitude he expressed when speaking against a Bill concerning the entry to the Territory of the Swiss Evangelical Brotherhood: *Pacific Islands Monthly*, June 1956, 46.

⁸⁰ Vicar Delegate to Bishop, 6 October 1962. Buma Corresp. DH.

The contrast between traditional Melanesian societies and modern civilization was fully apparent. In the towns, local elites were emerging in public service positions, political aspirations were being voiced, political parties were being formed, and social problems such as alcoholism and urban drift were increasingly evident. On many fronts, the battle against the "evils" of Melanesian societies continued: strong custom movements continued on Malaita, in the wake of Maasina Rule, and on Tanna, in the formalised John Frum religion; Southern Highlanders continued to turn to the tambaran ceremony when Western medicine did not effect immediate cures, and the Timp cult and Tambaran ceremonies both increased in the mid-1960s, despite increasing numbers of converts to the missions.⁸¹ Although missions were universally intolerant of sorcery, "ancestors, tricksters and demons" had nowhere been overturned.⁸² In mission education systems lay the last possibility for securing effective widespread social control.

⁸¹ Annual Report, Southern Highlands District 1964-65. TPNG, 13933 - 72/2/15.

⁸² See, eg, Alastair I. McIntosh, "Sorcery and its Social Effects Amongst the Elema of Papua New Guinea", *Oceania*, 53:3, March 1983. Hughes' close investigation of Chimbu cosmology suggests that highlands societies sustained a complex traditional belief system, on which Christian belief has had marginal impact, Jenny Hughs, "Ancestors, Tricksters and Demons: An examination of Chimbu interaction with the invisible world", AASR Conference, August 1978, (mss). Keesing shows that inland and weather-coast societies, such as the Kwaio, have stiffly resisted Christianization, Roger M. Keesing, *Kwaio Religion: The Living and the Dead in a Solomon Island Community*, (New York, 1982). Whiteman accuses Keesing of merely looking for "pagan remnants" of Christian societies, Darrell L. Whiteman, "The Christian Mission and Culture Change in New Guinea", *Missiology*, 11:1, January 1974. Stephen, on the other hand, describes the increasing influence of Catholicism in Mekeo thought, Michele Stephen, "Dreaming is Another Power!': The Social Significance of Dreams among the Mekeo of Papua New Guinea", *Oceania*, 53:2, December 1982.

CHAPTER TEN

THE BATTLE FOR EDUCATION

Mission education systems faced two critical issues: first, at what point did religious and secular training become two distinct tasks? Secondly, what was to be the philosophical basis of the mission's educational policy: education of an elite, or education for the rural masses? The two questions dominated debate on mission education. Schools had been established by missions in the first instance as part of the evangelising process.¹ Literacy was promoted so that the Bible could be read, and so that leaders could be raised up for the promotion of the Gospel. This evangelistic motif became more sophisticated as colonial societies became more complex, and the village school became the initial component in a network of village, intermediate, secondary, technical, industrial, agricultural, theological and teacher training institutions.² Throughout the region, people demanded schools. The Catholic priest at Dala regarded this as a "great change in the ideas of the people":

In the past, I have made out from listening here, the Catholics were supposed to be the uneducated ones. Education was the property of Protestants. And among the elder people ours are the less educated. But now they are coming here spontaneously, to ask for their children to attend our school. Even the SSEM teacher of Kakara, as the only one from there wanted his child to come to school here ...I told the people in Fuabu (an Anglican area) that some of their people were sending children to my school, and they seemed to be pleased about it...³

But control over education was as important to colonial governments as it was to missions, and the two struggled continuously for influence over knowledge production and replication, modes of thought, and codes of moral behaviour. It was widely recognised that education was the able student's path out of the village into contact with a larger world, and that great social influence came with control over village and higher schooling. Thus, when colonial governments decided, in the first post-war decade, to join the missions in the education field, the latter reacted defensively, and part of their response was greater inter-mission cooperation on educational matters than had occurred previously.

¹ Missionaries often regarded their own schools as legitimate educational institutions, while regarding the schools of other missions as merely a stratagem to steal souls. Thus the Presbyterian Hyslop accused Church of Christ mission schools on Santo of having a "singularly evangelising purpose". J.R. Hyslop, "Tonga Mission District Personal Report", June 1962, PCNZ.

² See Bruce Palmer, "The Interaction of Churches and State in the BSIP over the Designated Schools Scheme, 1964-1967",

³ J. Synders to Bishop, 15 February 1960. DH, Dala Station. Dala 1959-1967.

Yet there was also greater cooperation between missions and governments. Whereas Seventh Day Adventists and a few smaller missions sought to keep their schools entirely beyond secular (ie, governmental) influence, most reached a suitable compromise: mission schools observed educational standards established by governments in return for financial support, but retained control over staff appointments. Control over village schools was handed to the administration, but missions reserved the right to develop their own secondary schools. Advisory bodies were established to improve liaison between voluntary agencies and colonial administrations in matters of educational policy and practice.

In the 1960s, several government-sponsored reports articulated the way in which education systems were necessary for the training of personnel to carry out the complex tasks of a modern state.⁴ In Papua New Guinea, the educational standards of missions as well as the Australian administration faced periodic criticism from UN visiting missions,⁵ while other pressures on mission education systems included lack of finances, large student numbers, a shortage of qualified teachers, and the loss of quality staff to government positions. Finally, missions faced internal pressure to adapt their curricula to meet modern needs.

Mission education was changing from Biblical and ecclesiastical syllabi, designed to meet the specific needs of the church rather than government or commerce. A 1953 report to the Presbyterian Church of Victoria, for instance, warned that unless Presbyterian mission schools and Teacher Training Institute in the New Hebrides were speedily improved, "control of village education [would] pass to a government department and [would] lose its Christian bias and content".⁶ The missions of two rival denominations, Seventh Day Adventist and Catholic, frequently spurred tiring mission authorities to action when the possibility was perceived that they might establish alternative education facilities in some nearby village.⁷

⁴ Such, for example, was the recommendation in the report by Commissioners Sir George Currie, J.T. Gunther and O.H.K. Spate, *Report of the Commission on Higher Education in Papua New Guinea, 1964, submitted to the Minister for Territories, C.E. Barnes*.

⁵ Following the 1959 visiting mission, for example, the view existed at the UN that emphasis on universal primary education had led to neglect of secondary education, and even neglect of political progress: Downs, *Australian Trusteeship*, 129.

⁶ *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, 1953, 106.

⁷ In a later incident, Bishop Chisholm likened the invitation extended by Nggelan Anglicans to the Adventist Mission to establish schools in its Halavo district to Judas' betrayal of Jesus, writing: "Gela has gone out of its way to invite the SDA mission to start work on their island. They are deliberately asking that Gela should be a divided people and the future people will never forgive what they are doing" (Bishop John Chisholm, "Memo from the Bishop to Bishop Dudley, Father Robert Pule and Father Matthias Kual", 4 January 1974. CM, F22 - Guadalcanal). The Adventists, in reply, pointed out that neither mission had the God-given authority to prevent anyone from entering an area or placing an educational institution or any other such institution, should that be the wish of the people of that area, adding: "The peoples of Lologana have requested us to conduct a primary school in their area. Inasmuch as your church has declined to offer them the education they desire for their children, and whereas it is in our power to help them, we are willing to do so. We first wished to clarify this with your church and proceed only as the education department was informed. With no legal power to prevent the spread of Adventist schools, the Anglican Bishop could only watch as a more energetic mission provided the educational facilities Ngela's population desired, (Gordon A. Lee to Bishop Dudley Tuti, 22 February 1974. CM, F22-Guadalcanal).

Responding to members' appeals for better secular training, the Presbyterian Church established district boarding schools on Tongoa for 20 students and Nguna in 1945 and 1946, and in 1949 the Church's mission council decided to establish a secondary school at Havannah Harbour, in an attempt to prevent Presbyterian students attending the Methodist Secondary School in Fiji, or Melanesian Mission schools in the northern New Hebrides and Solomon Islands. There was, at the time, disagreement within the Presbyterian mission as to the proper scope of the mission's work, with some supporting its role in providing secular education, and others preferring to engage in theological training, leaving all other education to the state. One Presbyterian in the New Hebrides who realised the need to accommodate growing secular influences referred to the "place where the road in education divides", and where his mission should "more and more" hand over its work to the government".⁸ The secular schools lobby prevailed, and such schools as Onesua were established. Onesua, on the opposite end of Efate to Vila, opened in August 1953 with twelve students,⁹ its buildings having been constructed by the men of thirteen enthusiastic Presbyterian villages, labouring on alternate weeks for two and a half years.¹⁰ By 1962 the mission operated fourteen district schools, approximately 180 village schools, with 5,800 students and 300 teachers. The French administration, by comparison, operated just fifteen schools, which educated 1,400 students,¹¹ and all 274 English-instruction schools in the Condominium were run by the Protestant missions.¹²

The Melanesian mission operated boarding schools in the New Hebrides - Torgil, for girls, (at Aoba 1920-74)¹³ and Vureas, for boys, at Lolowai - from where students graduated to either Pawa school in the Solomon Islands, Nasinu Teacher training college in Fiji, the Central Medical School in Fiji, or to Queen Victoria School in New Zealand.¹⁴ In 1961 there were 87 males and 103 females enrolled at the Lolowai schools, from Banks, Torres, Aoba, Pentecost and Maewo.¹⁵ Also in the

⁸ *Proceedings of the Eleventh Session of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the New Hebrides, Tongoa, 1959*, 24.

⁹ There were 11 from Nguna-Efate and 1 from Tongoa.

¹⁰ Neijs, Karel, "An Investigation of Literacy in the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides in its Social and Linguistic Setting", (Report on Tour 20 April - 9 June 1954), SPC, Noumea, 1955, 6.

¹¹ M. Campbell, "Educational Progress and Planning in the New Hebrides", *Encounter* 9:3, December 1962, 16-17.

¹² Presbyterian (184), Melanesian (51), Seventh Day Adventist (23), Churches of Christ (13) and Apostolic (3): Robert Langdon, "Talk of Self-Government in the New Hebrides, but it's a long way off", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, March 1963, 63.

¹³ Selwyn School at Torgil became, from 1975, a conference and training centre.

¹⁴ The boarding schools were first established on Vanua Lava in 1904, and moved to Pentecost in 1938. Until 1919 students had graduated to Norfolk Island for further studies.

¹⁵ Derek Rawcliffe to Wallington, 1 August 1961. AV, British Residency.

northern islands, the Church of Christ mission operated schools at Ranwadi, and at Londua, on Ambae.

Eventually the Condominium government established their own high schools. The French established non-denominational schools at Lugainville on Santo, Ysangel on Tanna, Lamap on Malekula, and at Vila, on Efate,¹⁶ while the British established the British Secondary School in Vila in 1962, as part of a National Education System which had been devised in 1959.¹⁷ An Educational Advisory Committee was established at that time to coordinate the educational facilities of the five voluntary agencies,¹⁸ convene missions-administration education conferences, and allocate overseas educational scholarships.

Resident Commissioner Allan, in particular, made it clear to the missions that his administration expected to exert complete control over medicine and education.¹⁹ When the Presbyterian Church informed the British Residency in the New Hebrides in 1968 that it wished to withdraw from primary education, agreement was made that the process should occur over a number of years, and the hand over of all the Church's schools, except Onesua occurred in 1971. This was a move various missionaries had been seeking for a decade. C.D. Johnson, for instance, who taught at Onesua from 1955 to 1958, had urged the move in 1961 while at Tongoa. The missions and the local councils were both attempting to retain control over scheduled (ie, operating at approved standards) well-financed schools, and be relieved of responsibility for unscheduled, poorly financed ones.

In the Solomons mission involvement in schooling from village to secondary level continued, in part, because the Protectorate administration lacked the funds to assume responsibility. Initial progress in education faltered following a mission-administration conference in Honiara in the late 1940s, through a "general failure to implement [its] recommendations".²⁰ Although an Education Department had been established in 1946, and an Education Regulation enacted in 1953, missions continued to provide some 90% of the Protectorate's education by the late 1950s, with only £7,000 p.a. in administrative support - a level with which the Melanesian Mission frequently expressed

¹⁶ Neijls, Karel, "An Investigation of Literacy in the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides in its Social and Linguistic Setting", 8-9.

¹⁷ Although a 1962 South Pacific Commission conference on post-primary education, held at the request of the advisory committee, recommended to the British that they establish a scheme similar to that which operated in Papua New Guinea, it was considered as being too costly, and in 1962 the British established the British Administration Secondary School at Malapoa, near Vila: A. Fowler, "Review of Present Courses Provided and Planned in the area at the Post-Primary and Secondary Education Level", Second Regional Education Seminar for the South Pacific, (SPC), Noumea, 24 August- 3 September 1964. In 1977 the British Secondary School and Kawenu Teacher Training College combined to become Malapoa College, *New Hebrides News*, 66, 12 January 1977, 1.

¹⁸ The 7th Advisory Council appointed to the first Educational Advisory Council Pere Janique, Derek Rawcliffe, Titus Path, K Hutton, M Guichard, and Dr Philip Ilo.

¹⁹ James Stuckey, "APBM: Report of Visit of General Secretary to the New Hebrides", 2-26 June 1967, PCNZ, 1967 A.

²⁰ Bruce Palmier, "The Interaction of Churches and State in the BSIP...", 48.

disappointment.²¹

The administration's 1953 plan, with which the missions basically agreed, was that local councils take over all responsibility for village primary schools. But whereas the government was prepared to give minimal subsidies to missions for village schooling, its objective was the training of a small elite with which to staff colonial offices, rather than to encourage expansion - particularly in higher schooling. The missions, on the other hand, operated 476 schools to the government's five, and accounted for all but 32 of 240 students in secondary education (most of whom were in forms I and II), and thus opposed the government's 1961 "elitist" plan, which defined an educational network of just 40 junior primary schools, to feed into 20 senior primaries, then into two secondary schools (one for males, another for females).²² Rawcliffe, for one, had instructed his staff that the Anglicans and Catholics, as well as the other missions, would do best by presenting a united front to the administration in regard to educational matters.²³ According to one account, the Catholic attitude was that "who owned the schools would own the Solomons"²⁴ - a point of view with which the several Protestant missions no doubt agreed.

Traditionally, the best students from mission village schools progressed to either government employment, or some form of theological training and religious vocation. Although much village-level schooling remained of inferior quality, missions preferred a wide-spread "education for all" than a narrower educational base: they were concerned at improving the quality of their education systems, but they deemed their very presence in the village as of considerable value. High Commissioner Trench, knowing the sensitivity of the issue, invited mission heads to discuss the administration's "White Paper" with him privately, before it went to the Legislative Council in December 1962.²⁵

As indicated in figure (20) between the mid 1950s and the late 1960s the number of registered mission schools quadrupled, government schools declined, and local council schools increased. . On Malaita, the Island Council sought co-operation with the missions, since educational rivalry between them was producing "tension and friction".²⁶ In the Western Solomons, Methodist village schools provided the highest standard of education in the Protectorate (basic reading, writing, arithmetic, and Christian morality) but in the early 1950s the mission lost its best teachers through lack of finances, and

²¹ Archdeacon to the Financial Secretary, WPHC, 17 March 1959. CM, F29/BSIP Govt. & H.C. Western 1959-63.

²² Bernard Schaffer, "The British Solomons: no pot of gold", *New Guinea*, March/April, 1966, 46.

²³ Derek Rawcliffe to "Dear Brothers", 18 May 1949. Correspondence. AV, Rawcliffe 1949-63.

²⁴ Laracy continued "Catholic efforts in training potential leaders was partly seen as an investment to ensure the security of Catholicism in the group when European overlordship was taken away": Hugh Laracy, "Catholic Missions in the Solomon Islands 1845-1966", PhD, Australian National University, 1969, 343.

²⁵ D.C. Trench to A. Hill, 31 May 1962. CM. BSIP Govt. & HCWP 1969-63. F29.

²⁶ DC Malaita to SSEM, 4 August 1959. SSEM, Government 1949-61.

REGISTERED SCHOOLS IN THE BRITISH SOLOMON ISLANDS PROTECTORATE		
	No. of registered schools	
	1955	1967
Government	8	7
Native Schools	9	8
Chinese School Committee	1	1
Anglican Mission	37	87
Roman Catholic Mission	36	67
Seventh Day Adventist Mission	12	97
Methodist Mission	3	72
South Sea Evangelical Mission	3	61
Christian Fellowship School Committee		9
Local Councils		8
Yandina School Committee		1
TOTALS	109	400

Source: British Solomon Islands, *Annual Reports*, 1956-56; 1967.

Figure 20 Solomon Islands, growth in registered schools, 1955-67.

lost its educational edge to the Melanesian Mission's All Hallows at Pawa, and the government's King George VI school.

By 1967 there were five secondary schools in the Solomons: The Marist St. Joseph's at Tenaru (moved to Aruligo in 1967, and renamed St. Paul's, now Tenaru),²⁷ the Melanesian Mission "All Hallows" at Pawa,²⁸ and three schools established in 1948: the Methodist "Goldie College" at Kokeqolo, New Georgia, the Adventist Betikama High School, and the British secondary school, King George VI, commenced at Auki, and relocated to Honiara in 1966.²⁹ In the 1970s these schools became the basis of the Solomons National Secondary School System.

By the early 1970s a marked change in attitude toward secular education had occurred within such missions as the SSEM. It established central schools at Onepusu, Su'u in 1950, and Fokanakafo. The SSEM's network of registered schools increased from three in 1956 to 61 in 1967. Student numbers rose from 150 to 2,536 between 1956 and 1964, and the number of registered teachers increased from 11 to 91. Solomon Islanders were placed in charge of central schools around Malaita, assisted by European teacher/missionaries. Ed Pollard, missionary at Su'u, wrote of the mission's educational

²⁷ According to Laracy Aruligo High School was established "to ensure a high proportion of Catholics in the better educated class": Laracy, "Catholic Missions", 345.

²⁸ The Melanesian mission's European-staffed boarding schools included Maravovo, Pawa, Alangaula, Pamua, Bunana and Tasia in the Solomon Islands.

²⁹ The school was officially named King George VI by the High Commissioner at a ceremony in 1952.

position in 1971,

we will be the last to have a girls secondary school and any real help for these standard seven leavers. We are not really attacking the problems in any vital sort of way, we also do nothing about sending people overseas for training so that we really don't have people to take over if independence comes sooner than we think.³⁰

Whereas SSEM missionaries had preferred in the 1950s to give only Bible training, they now felt a need (partly in response to initiatives by other missions) to consider providing higher levels of education, and even overseas training. But all missions faced difficulties in funding, since mission income, including government grants, hardly met educational and other expenditure.³¹

The United Church and the Melanesian Mission, upon reaching their financial limits in education, reversed their traditional stance on village education and became eager to hand to government responsibility for all primary education.³² The Melanesian mission was the first to relinquish to the administration control of its village schools.³³ By 1969 there were 393 registered primary schools in the Protectorate, of which 17 were run by government or local authorities.³⁴ After 1 January 1975, only the Seventh Day Adventist and the Christian Fellowship Churches retained control over primary schools.³⁵ With primary education in the hands of the government, the Melanesian mission converted its boarding schools at Tasia, Pamua, Maravovo, Bunana and Torgil into training centres for catechists, readers, and lay-readers.

In all regions the missions had learnt to plan ahead more carefully, and administrations realized the need for cooperation on long term planning. In Papua New Guinea educational conference, called by Hay in Port Moresby in July 1967, decided to retain the existing primary school system (but not the rural four year school), and recommended a four year secondary course with an additional two years for a highly selected matriculation stream. Immediate increases were sought in grants-in-aid to maintain existing staff levels; and it was recommended that a board of education be established for central administration of education at all levels with devolution of authority to district education boards.

In Papua New Guinea, the growth of secondary schools followed a similar, if more complex,

³⁰ Ed Pollard to K. Griffiths, 13 April 1971. SSEM, Missionaries A - Z 1971.

³¹ Bishop Hill to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 9 August, 1966. CM, F2/2.

³² John Chisholm to BSIP Social Services Committee 5 September 1972. CM, 5 - Correspondence with Government 1970-75. F17.

³³ Norman Palmer, "New Archbishop gives ideas on church and life today", *New Hebrides News* 47, 23 February 1976, 2.

³⁴ K. Groenewegen, *WPHC. BSIP. Report on the Census of the Population*, (England, 1970), 87.

³⁵ Bruce Stewart Palmer, "Options for the Development of Education in the Solomon Islands: A Critical Analysis", PhD, University of New England, 1979, 16.

pattern. Before the war, opportunities for higher training were distinctly limited.³⁶ ANGAU informed the missions in May 1944 that it proposed to establish a Central School in Port Moresby, and the following year a secondary school was established at Sogeri. By one report, Groves would have had the government monopolise secondary schooling if not for the firm opposition of the Anglican and Catholic missions.³⁷ Within the first post-war decade several Catholic missions, the Anglican, Lutheran and Methodist missions, established their own secondary schools.³⁸ The Anglican mission launched a ten-year rehabilitation plan based on the training of Papuan teachers at St Aidan's College, rehabilitation and expansion of pre-war schools, and establishment of secondary schools for selected candidates.³⁹ In Papua New Guinea the LMS alone decreased its educational involvement in the post-war period: by 1963, for example, it had virtually left the field of secular education in Milne Bay.⁴⁰

The development of secular teacher training was a more sensitive issue than either primary or secondary training, for it struck at the heart of mission education systems. For a generation and more, each mission's educational institutions had existed principally to produce pastor-teachers to give villages religious instruction, as well as a certain amount of secular learning. Now, both tasks were becoming more complex and demanding, and the roles of moral and secular educator were separated. In Papua and New Guinea, the requirements of the 1952 Education Ordinance, which linked grants-in-aid with teaching qualifications, contributed to the decline of pastor-teacher training, and the establishment of separate institutions for secular and religious education.⁴¹

The Methodist educational network developed a number of circuit training institutions, at which students suitable for educational and other mission work were sorted from prospective theological students. Increasingly, graduates from such institutions as Wesley High School in the Papuan Highlands, (55 students in 1955) which had first been established to improve pastor/teacher standards, and which

³⁶ There were mission training institutes at Kwato, Yule Island, and Salamo, and Malaguna technical school at Rabaul, in addition to some rudimentary teacher training institutes.

³⁷ Laracy, "Catholic Missions", 354.

³⁸ The Catholic De La Salle secondary boys school was established at Bomana in 1946 and in 1950 a Christian Brothers high school was established at Vuvu, near Rabaul, with others established later at Bundralis (Manus) and Mongop (New Ireland). In 1954 Fatima High school was established at Banz. The Anglicans established Martyr's Memorial school at Sangara in 1947. The Methodist mission ran a series of intermediate schools, such as the Macarthur School, and George Brown College (1955) at Vunairima, near Rabaul on New Britain, whose student body rose from 46 (including 14 women) in 1958 to 220 in 1963, selected from a body of 5,000 students in Methodist schools (Thelma Nicoll, "Vunairima - The Harvest is Plenteous", *Missionary Review*, January 1963, 6-7). There was, in addition, a central institution at Koau on Bougainville, which took students from the three Methodist schools in the circuit, Koau, Skotolan and Kekesu, and which provided training for girls at Kihili and Banga. By 1961 there were 862 students in the Methodist mission's circuit training institutes: Wesley Lutton, "Independence for New Guinea' - a world topic", *Missionary Review*, April 1961, 13.

³⁹ "The Bishop of New Guinea's Educational Policy", DNG UPNG, Diocesan Office, Education, 3/29.

⁴⁰ TPNG, Annual Reports, Milne Bay, 1962-63, 30.

⁴¹ D.J. Dickson, "History of the Anglican Mission in Papua-New Guinea", Anzass Congress 19970, section 26.

took only the best applicants,⁴² became teachers in Methodist circuit schools, or underwent further training at one of the two government teacher training centres, at Sogeri near Port Moresby, and Dregerhafen on the Huon Peninsula. In the 1960s the LMS discontinued pastor-teacher training for Papuans at Lawes Theological College, the College's principal, Raymond Perry suggesting in 1963 that the pastor/teacher system had failed because it was "unbiblical, underpaid, not effective, [and] not attracting the best men to the church".⁴³ The LMS Rautoka Teacher Training College was established in September 1963.

The first post-war Lutheran teachers graduated from Heldsbach and Hopoi in 1948, and later a Pidgin Teachers Training College was established at Rintebe, in the Eastern Highlands.⁴⁴ Eventually, the Amron, Heldsbach, Hopoi, Bumayong and Rintebe Teacher Training Institutions were replaced by Balob Teacher's College in Lae. The College, with help from two German organisations, the "German National fund for Underdeveloped Countries", and "Bread for the World", commenced operations in 1965.⁴⁵

Catholic-Protestant rivalry figured in the production of teachers. Thus, in 1964, Bishop Hand sought the assistance of the Papua Ekalesia in "mustering" 15 applicants for the government's teacher training crash program, to match the 15 applicants that Catholic missions had supplied.⁴⁶ The New Guinea Mission established an Anglican teacher training college at Alangaula in the mid 1950s to improve standards in village boarding schools, and from the 1960s Anglicans trained teaching staff in conjunction with the Lutheran mission. Newtown College was established for separate theological training.⁴⁷ A Methodist Teachers College was established at Vunairima, New Britain, although in the late 1960s a Teachers College at Ruatoka (Kwikila) was closed to cut costs, and eventually the Methodists only maintained one such college, at Galem, on the Gazelle Peninsula.⁴⁸ In 1971 the APCM established a Teachers College at Dauli, in the Tari Valley.

The tasks of training of pastors and teachers were similarly separated in the New Hebrides,

⁴² Annual Report of the Board. Papua District. MCA, Overseas Missions. Box 363.

⁴³ PCNZ, 1963 Assembly Committees. 1963 O-P.

⁴⁴ "Eastern Highlands District Annual Report 1972/72", TPNG, 13933 - 72/2/13.

⁴⁵ John Kuder, "President's Report for the year ending 1964". ELC, 193/51/81. Two-year training in Pidgin for village bible school teachers continued at Heldsbach and Rintebe: C. Zinkel, "Pidgin schools in the highlands", in M. Ward (ed), *Change and Development in Rural Development*.

⁴⁶ Letter to Don Duncan, 15 September 1964. PCNZ. Secretariat 1964 P-R, Knox.

⁴⁷ Isaac Gadebo, "Pastoral Education in the Anglican Church of Papua New Guinea: Reflections on the Open Present in the Light of the Past", BD, (Suva, 1981), 49.

⁴⁸ L.R. Newby, "The United Church", 29 January 1969. TPNG, 9369 - 40/2/9.

especially following the establishment of Kawenu college, the administration's teacher training institution, in 1962. Commencing with an intake of 72 students, (and with mission sponsorship for three of its four tutors),⁴⁹ Kawenu changed New Hebridean educational opportunities. In 1965 the Presbyterians decided to phase out teacher-catechist training at Tangoa,⁵⁰ and commenced upgrading district schools to senior primary level, and phasing out expatriate teaching staff. It was no longer necessary to teach educational methods and classroom practice, and, since only 5 of 63 students at TTI in 1963 were theological students⁵¹ Tangoa reverted to catechetical and theological training - a 2 year course of pure high school, one year of biblical and doctrinal subjects. By 1967, Tangoa's roll-call of just five students⁵² had the Church's European missionaries debating whether to transfer all theological training overseas, or to retain the course at TTI. The PCNH, observed TTI's Principal Jansen, faced not only a critical shortage of ministers, but the possibility of being left behind by rapid political, social, and economic changes, for lack of good leadership.⁵³ The Churches of Christ mission faced similar challenges at exactly this time, and established its Bible College at Banmatmat to preserve and consolidate theological training, when its educational curriculum was becoming decidedly secular.⁵⁴

In the early 1970s the British administration provided funds to Vureas (Anglican), and Nassawa and Onesua (Presbyterian) secondary schools. It did not subsidise expatriate staff, as happened in the Solomons, but it did meet the full cost of trained New Hebridean teachers' salaries. It argued that to fund expatriate staff discouraged localisation.⁵⁵ An education and manpower survey in September 1970 determined the basis of future school funding.⁵⁶ The administration wanted Onesua to continue as a secondary school, but with the addition of "a more practical bent",⁵⁷ though by 1973, the school's policy

⁴⁹ A. Blake, "Kawenu College, Vila", *Encounter*, 8:4 March 1964, 20.

⁵⁰ Magam Annual Report 1965. PCNZ, New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission Council. Reports. 1950-56.

⁵¹ E.G. Jansen, "Annual Report 1961-62", PCNZ. 1962 A-B.

⁵² E.G. Jansen, "Annual Report 1961-62", "Annual Report 1967". PCNZ.

⁵³ E.G. Jansen, "Annual Report 1961-62", PCNZ. 1962 A-B.

⁵⁴ According to Liu, "The establishment of this (Banmatmat) Bible College was mainly to cater for the need of the Churches. This was due to the fact that practically all the other educational institutions were switching over more to specialise in secular subjects, and there was a need for concentrated studies of the scriptures", John Liu, "Mission Imperatives for Churches of Christ in the New Hebrides", BD, PTC, 1976, 32.

⁵⁵ Resident Commissioner (Colin Allan), to Bishop John Chisholm, 15 February 1971. CM, F17/2.

⁵⁶ The survey was conducted by Beattie, economist with the Overseas Development Administration, and Wilson, London Institute of Education.

⁵⁷ Jim Stuckey to Des Davey, 26 June 1967. PCNZ, 1967 A.

of "education for the village" was deemed a failure.⁵⁸

In the Solomons, The British Solomons Training College was established near Honiara in 1959. A 1962 "White Paper" projected training for 288 teachers in the following eight years, with 24 of these to teach beyond primary standard IV, and 24 to teach secondary.⁵⁹ The government set 1973 as the deadline for the replacement of all untrained teachers with trained ones, and in 1974 control of all outstanding primary level education was assumed by the government, which suggested to the missions, that it was having trouble convincing officials in London that church schools required government grants. The key issue, identified by John Smith of the BSIP education department, was that "in a small country it is both more economic and educationally efficient to concentrate limited resources in one or two institutions."⁶⁰

In addition to rapid increases in the numbers of primary students and primary teachers, the numbers of students receiving overseas training increased. Whereas missions had been taking Melanesian converts overseas for training since the last century, only in the 1950s did the pace of overseas training quicken, and broaden to include secular as well as religious education. In the 1950s several Pacific Islanders were sponsored through U.S. university courses by "Crusade for Christ" scholarships provided by North American Methodists. Anglican Solomon Islanders attended St Stephen's School, Auckland. Presbyterians from the New Hebrides trained at Australian Bible Schools with assistance from the John G. Paton Fund in the 1950s, and the Presbyterian church initiated pastors overseas training scheme in 1962-63. Presbyterian women attended Turakina Moari Girls College in New Zealand, while others received medical training in Fiji.

In addition to providing their own positions overseas, the missions ensured that their students took government scholarships. In 1958 three-quarters of BSIP scholarships for overseas secondary schooling went to Methodist Students,⁶¹ and in the 1960s New Hebridean students competed for places at the Government run King George VI school, in the Solomon Islands. In the mid 1960s two thirds of students studying overseas did so under mission sponsorship,⁶² nearly all Solomon Islands teacher trainee entrants were from mission schools,⁶³ and 40 Presbyterian students were being sponsored by the

⁵⁸ "The purpose of Onesua, to prepare young men and women to help develop their nation from the village level, has been a failure for many reasons: lack of communication with villages, lack of understanding of the reason for the school ...", PCNZ, Onesua Policy Committee. Box C. NH 1973.

⁵⁹ Frank Coaldrake, "The Australian Board of Missions, Chairman's Report, 30th April-2nd May, 1963", CM.

⁶⁰ J.H. Smith to Bishop Chisholm, 13 May, 1971. CM, F17/5.

⁶¹ MCNZ, Overseas Mission Department. Board Minutes. 2 December 1958.

⁶² I.e 100 out of 150, *BSIP News Sheet* 9, 1-15 May 1965, 3. Other overseas scholarships were being provided at this time by the BSIP Chamber of Commerce.

⁶³ 30 of 31, *BSIP News Sheet* 2, 16-31 January 1965, 5.

British administration to secondary, professional and trade training schools in Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Fiji, New Zealand and Australia.⁶⁴

In the mid 1970s, the critical issue became mission ability to staff its higher schools. For several decades before and after the war the mission's Pawa school had the reputation of being the finest school in the Protectorate, and produced many graduates who became prominent not only as church leaders, but also as medical doctors, public servants and, later, politicians. Pawa school closed in 1969, and was replaced the following year by Selwyn college at Marovovo, Guadalcanal. Built with \$120,000 donated by churches in New Zealand, England and the United States the College commenced with 200 students and nine staff,⁶⁵ and by 1977 had 272 students, and 14 staff, 13 of whom were paid by government.⁶⁶

The mission felt the loss of such men as Baddeley Devesi and Willie Betu, who left employment with the Melanesian Mission Education service, to work for government. Both were headmasters, and Bishop Chisholm had hoped they would continue as such, taking off sufficient time to attend sessions of the Legislative Council, and in Willie Betu's case, conferences of the South Pacific Commission.⁶⁷ Chisholm was further upset when Ysabel, Honiara and Malaita councils began advertising teaching positions thus enticing teachers trained at the mission's expense.⁶⁸

Meanwhile, in Papua New Guinea in 1968, the Australian administration conducted the first full review of mission activities in the Territory since 1951. It considered existing government policy in relation to the missions' socio-political, economic, medical, and educational activities; and considered also their involvement in radio and communications and social welfare programs. The administration considered that it had sought to channel the missions' secular activities in directions desired by the government, but had not established clear policy concerning their political and economic activities.⁶⁹ The task of administrators Hay (1967-70) and Johnston (1970-73), was to convince the missions (at a time when McNamara, director of Education, believed their education systems to be in "a state of crisis",

⁶⁴ PCNH, "Proceedings of the 17th General Assembly, Magam, Ambrym", 1965.

⁶⁵ Diocese of Melanesia. Annual Report. 1970. CM, F17-5.

⁶⁶ Melanesian Mission, *Annual Report 1976-77*, "Selwyn College", 28-9.

⁶⁷ At one time the Bishop sought secondment of Bugotu from the administration to Head Selwyn College while Headmaster Betu was attending an SPC conference: [John Chisholm to Hibbert, 5 November 1969. CM, F33/2 Correspondence with Government, 1968-69]. In 1969 relations between Bugotu and the Anglican Bishop were strained. Bugoto had threatened to resign from his position as one of three advisers on matters affecting the Melanesian church, since the Bishop had at no time consulted him since his appointment: [F. Bugotu to J. Chisholm, 2 December 1969, CM, Correspondence with Government 1968-69].

⁶⁸ Thus the Bishop lamented to his assistant Bishop, "It is just too bad the way we educate these men and then they go off - look at the list - Francis, Baddeley, Lily, and now Matthias". J. Chisholm to L. Alufurai, 20 November 1970, CM, Malaita, Eastern District 1969-72.

⁶⁹ The Role of Missions in Papua and New Guinea. TPNG, 9368 - 40/1/6 set II.

unable to attract skilled staff, or cope with sharply increasing costs),⁷⁰ to continue in these fields until the administration could provide adequate replacement services.

Although by 1968 the administration perceived that the missions no longer constituted the cheapest source of education, it recognised their important political and social role, in the context of a rapidly evolving society, in search of a new set of common values. The review found that missions provided 72% of schools and 64% of school staff, trained 66% of teachers within the territory, provided 15% of all educational funding, and taught 62% of the school population. In the field of health they employed 31% of the Territory's medical staff, owned and operated 48% of all hospitals and medical centres, and provided 6% of all medical expenditure.⁷¹ Johnson felt the missions were ignorant of government budgeting processes and of the limitations on expansion. He found the Anglican mission the most difficult to deal with on education matters, because priests rather than educationalists operated the schools, and because of the mission's poor financial support.⁷² He saw the potential for Catholic missions to vote as a block, especially as they had appointed a Director for Education, Paul McVinney, and expected to face increasing Catholic pressure to be seen as equal partners with the administration in policy development. The hint was made that candidates for the 1968 House of Assembly elections would be lobbied to gain support for mission views.⁷³ From the late 1960s, the Australian administration had become conscious of the potential power base of the missions, should they have sought to influence government policy, and were thus concerned to bequeath to a future independent state full control over its education system. It was of the greatest importance, according to L.W. Johnson, Assistant Administrator,

that a new nation should fully control its education policy and it would be a better legacy if we left Papua-New Guinea a system in which a large section of the education of the country though fully financed by the Government was outside the control of that Government.⁷⁴

As predicted, the fifteen Catholic diocese in Papua New Guinea established the National Conference of Mission Education Officers in 1968, which canvassed support for increased grants-in-aid among members of the second House of Assembly. The thrust of its argument, with which the administration sympathised without so saying, was that mission teachers held certificates and

⁷⁰ McNamara to Sec. Dept. Admin. 10 September 1968. TPNG, 9368 - 40/1/6, Set II.

⁷¹ The Role of Missions in Papua and New Guinea. TPNG, 9368 - 40/1/6 set II.

⁷² L.W. Johnson, Minute 21 February, 1967. TPNG, 9370 - 40/3/1.

⁷³ "It is significant that missions are now gearing up to work through politics for the desired ends in education", D.O. Hay, Administrator, to Dept. Terr. July 1967, TPNG, 9370 - 40/3/1.

⁷⁴ L.W. Johnson, Minute, 2 August, 1968. TPNG, 9368 - 40/1/0. pt.II.

qualifications equal to those held by teachers in government schools, but were paid one third of the salary of government teachers because of the paucity of grants-in-aid to mission education systems. Because of paltry remuneration, it was becoming increasingly difficult for the missions to retain expatriate teachers in the territory, and to recruit trainee teachers. In May 1968 the National Conference petitioned members of the House:

If you are sincerely committed to the full development of this country - and we presume you are - then it is urgent to find an immediate solution to these problems. Such a contribution from you, the Leaders of the people, would give a tremendous boost to education and enable us to carry on ever more successfully, our important work of education, unhindered and untroubled by financial restrictions.⁷⁵

The missions found strong support amongst members of the House of Assembly, a high proportion of whom had received mission schooling. From the administration's point of view the argument implied massive increases in educational funding, and an unacceptable degree of control over educational policy. Bishop Hand was under pressure from such educators as David Wetherell to formulate a "realistic policy" which recognised the limits of the Anglican education system, and served the interests of the wider society rather than those of the church alone.⁷⁶

By 1969 there were Catholic, Anglican and United Church National Education Offices in Port Moresby. In the following year, the major Christian denominational schools (except Seventh Day Adventist) were incorporated into the National Education System. Under the new system mission personnel received the same pay as local teachers, but the payment by government of all teachers' salaries, led to some confusion as to the distinction between church and government schools, and some misgivings within the missions concerning the new scheme.⁷⁷ The Anglican mission, which had previously taught as many schools as possible to standard 3, improved the quality of its schools by reducing their number.⁷⁸

By 1974 Catholic agencies operated four teachers colleges (two in Rabaul, others at Mt. Hagen and Wewak), 550 primary schools and 23 secondary schools, as well as some 20 agricultural or vocational schools.⁷⁹ The administration intended that missions should continue to supply the greater number of village schools and hoped to achieve universal primary education and literacy in English by 1975.

⁷⁵ The National Conference of Mission Education Officers, 8 May 1968. TPNG, 9368 - 40/1/0 pt.II.

⁷⁶ "Further debate on Education in New Guinea", *ABM Review*, August 1964, 106-7.

⁷⁷ Sybil McKenzie, "Big Meeting for Church Education People", *Diocese of Papua New Guinea Newsletter*, 5:2 Trinity 1973, 14-15; Mark Lulung, "Some teachers are turning away from the church", *ibid.*, 17.

⁷⁸ Ann Chittleborough, *A Short History of the Anglican Church in Papua New Guinea*, Popondetta, 1975, 20.

⁷⁹ Callan, B.N., *The Hard Won Land*, (Melbourne, 1974), 7.

In all the Melanesian colonies mission-administration relations in the matter of education had largely accommodated conflicting demands: on the one hand, mission education systems had sought to prepare the majority of school leavers for life in the village and in the bosom of the church; yet they were at the same time expected to produce manpower to enable modern states to function.⁸⁰

Had the missions, through their immense efforts in education, contributed to the growth of modern states? Collectively, they had diffused values which incorporated ever-larger social groups - by propagating a reduced number of languages, by diffusing technical knowledge and secular learning, and by promoting a common set of social and religious values, based on Christian ethics. Even when education was secularised, the influence of missions on the education system was immense, and the Melanesian elite emerged mostly from mission-school networks. The issue was whether the elite, as much as the rural masses, would best remember their secular or their scriptural lessons.

⁸⁰ An Anglican submission to the Educational Policy Review Committee in 1972 described the Solomons education system as "elitist... and its curriculum mainly concerned with the area of needs, namely those of people who will climb higher up the educational and vocational ladder", B.S. Palmer, "Options for the Development of Education", 161.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

MELANESIAN CLERISY

One of the direct results of the dominance of mission education was the formation of a clerisy¹ in each of the Melanesian colonies. The major work by Samuel Taylor Coleridge on the relations between church and state, which argued that the state traditionally nurtured a state religion which, in return, offered goods and services not obtainable from the state's economic system, holds ideas usefully explored in colonial contexts. Coleridge suggested that the priesthood represented a "repository of experience", which was translated into the value system of the society. Elaborated over time, this priestly function came to be shared by a "clerisy" - a "body of learned men" who preserved the nation's cultural knowledge, and transmitted to each generation the knowledge that individuals required to become fully-fledged members of the group.

The clerisy included the leading exponents of all the arts and sciences, and through them reached down through the various trades and disciplines, eventually creating a network linking professional classes with commercial and middle classes, and achieving its primary role as the social mechanism essential for achieving rule by consent. Coleridge suggested that no more than a few individuals in society need understand this process; that leading members of the clerisy may be largely unconscious of the effect of the system as a whole, and may consider themselves to be merely pursuing knowledge for its own sake, or practising a profession. He suggested further that the national church may be unaware of the extent of its state patronage, with the state, in turn, unaware of the value of both the national church and the clerisy, to its successful operation.

These themes are readily identified in colonial Melanesia. The emerging states had new systems of power, and systems of knowledge, which were transferred through the Western processes of education, medicine, law, religion, communications, transportation, finance, and administration - fields that were, (and not just co-incidentally), the very foci of mission interest and the targets of mission influence. Bishop Cranswick envisioned a need for "missionary statesmanship" in combating the "fortresses of darkness and heathenism" in Papua New Guinea,² an attack which required that a Western-state system be super-imposed on traditional Melanesian communities; while Harold Finger, veteran Church of Christ missionary in the New Hebrides, wrote that the task was to "guide and direct the inroads of Western

¹ The concept of clerisy was articulated by S.T. Coleridge in his *On the Constitution of Church and State*, 1830. It is discussed in Peter Allen, "S.T. Coleridge's Church and State and the Idea of an Intellectual Establishment", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Jan-Mar 1985; also, T.S. Eliot, *The Idea of Christian Society*, (Great Britain, 1982).

² G.H. Cranswick, *Diocese of New Guinea in 1946: the first year after the close of hostilities with Japan, 1946*.

civilisation".³

Although the context of Coleridge's work was nineteenth century England, his evaluation of the social function of Christianity equally applies to church-state relations in the Pacific Islands, where the imposition of nation-state apparatus on Melanesian stateless societies by Europeans occurred in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries through a combination of religious, commercial and political motives.

In many Pacific Island colonies, theological schools had provided the only opportunity for educational advancement prior to the establishment of government schools and scholarships for higher training. Yet such training did not necessarily lead to a clerical profession, and there was a significant "drop-out" rate: many secular national leaders and public servants emerged as important public figures after an incomplete clerical training. Thus Islanders (mostly men, although some women had training within the Solomons) educated either through mission or government schools, even theological colleges and seminaries, filled positions in such administrative departments as education, health, and police, and in various technical fields. This emerging clerisy, a work-force well versed in the mission value systems, as well as in the issues facing the evolving colonial state, contained in addition a small elite prepared to enter and shape the political process.

From the mid 1940s, political leaders and academics had held that mission involvement in transformation of the South Pacific cultures was crucial. Felix M. Keesing wrote in "The South Seas in the Modern World" that the missions were largely responsible for the "success or otherwise" of "all steps taken in native welfare, medical, economic, political and social" development, noting also that Christianity was a "prime integrating force";⁴ while Evatt had declared in 1944 the Australian government's intention to "encourage all Christian work for the uplift of the peoples of the Pacific".⁵ By the 1960s, technocrats had learnt from experience in African colonies that the long term result of social change brought on by Western education was the development of a value-system which held the individual, not the group, responsible for his or her own destiny and welfare, and which resulted in a greater need for social welfare services as the nuclear family grew and as traditional support systems disintegrated. Thus, studies of "community education" projects produced by the South Pacific Commission viewed Christian missions as benevolent "voluntary agencies" which could, by participating in community development programs, "become involved in meeting the demand for accelerated social change".⁶

Increasingly, post-war mission theology emphasised secular involvement. An Anglican

³ H.J. Finger, "Danger of losing the spiritual", *Goodly Pearls*, 62, June 1950, 9.

⁴ *Goodly Pearls*, 40, 4 December 1944, 9-10.

⁵ *ABM Review*, 1 March 1944, 35.

⁶ Edward Clunies-Ross, "Community Development in Developing Countries", SPC, n.d.

commentator in 1959 saw the need for missionaries to go into the field, "not only as clergy, but educators, scientists, technicians, craftsmen, doctors, and not least, those who are called to live in foreign countries in secular capacities".⁷ Coaldrake referred to the task of converting Melanesian Christians from "medieval peasantry to modern plenty without losing [them] to heathen materialism".⁸ A Presbyterian urged Christians in the New Hebrides to become involved not only in social work, leadership training, literacy and education, but also in social action, trade and labour unions, and to become the reconciling agency in the Condominium, the nurturers of a "sense of national pride in their cultural heritage";⁹ the Vatican Council, suggested James Knight, SVD, considered the "impregnation of secular institutions with Christian values the proper task of the layman".¹⁰ The theme of such missionary rhetoric was constant and, although sectarian, each referred to the need to influence the emergent colonial societies of Melanesia.

The work of the Australian Baptist Missionary Society among the Enga of Papua New Guinea's Western Highlands demonstrated this process. From arrival in 1948, missionary strategy was to live Christian lives, tell stories on Sundays, and provide medicine and education.¹¹ From several bases established in the Sau Valley, the mission entered new areas as they were de-restricted by the Australian administration. Usually, newly opened villages had already been evangelised by Christian policemen, government interpreters, and medical aids, as well as by native evangelists sent ahead by the missions.¹² The Baptists were diligent to take opportunities as they appeared, lest another mission enter newly opened villages ahead of them.¹³

The mission regarded education as a tool for evangelism: "Every opportunity is taken to relate all learning to the Christian way", wrote teacher Geoff Holland, "Several of the older boys are Sunday school teachers in their villages... It is significant that the greater number of young folk who have been baptised of recent years are being reached through schools or training schemes and not in the villages".¹⁴ Australian missionaries provided education up to form three, after which approximately three students

⁷ Alfred Bird, "Field Survey of the missionary commitments of the Anglican communion", *ABM Review*, August 1959, 103.

⁸ "The Australian Board of Missions. Chairman's Report, 30th April-2nd May, 1963", CM.

⁹ *Encounter*, 13:1, 1967, 6.

¹⁰ James Knight, SVD, *Catholic Missions*, April 1968, 19020.

¹¹ J. Redman, *The Light Shines On: A story of One Hundred Years of Australian Baptist Missionary Work*, 137.

¹² G. Dickman, "Short History of the Wapi", *Digest*, 1966, 51; *Vision*, April 1950, 4.

¹³ ABMS Board papers, 1960, 6. ABMS.

¹⁴ Geoff Holland, "Evangelism Through Education", *Digest*, 1966, 26-38.

from each class of some 35 relocated to the upper primary school at Baiyer River.¹⁵ Other students entered administration technical schools in Lae or Madang, and spent their holidays at the Christian Leaders Training College (CLTC) in Banz. In March 1962 seven students commenced a two-year course at a newly opened Baptist Bible school.¹⁶ Of these, however, one left to be a "doctor-boi", one a pastor, one a teacher at Lapoloma, and another a general hand at Lumasa: three remained to complete the course.¹⁷ Eventually, Enga students graduated to lecture at the Baiyer Bible School, while others ministered Baptist Enga who had moved to urban centres. By 1969 Max Knight, a manual arts teacher with the mission, was anticipating the return of the first trained tradesmen to the Enga area, "not only as carpenters, mechanics, printers or bricklayers, but also as Christian leaders among their own people".¹⁸

When Local Government Councils were introduced to Enga, missionaries had to decide their attitude toward political involvement.¹⁹ Facing resistance from traditional leaders, the mission sought to influence affairs through support for Local Councillors, the new foci of village power; the Field Council determined that Baptists required representation on the Local Council, since the Enga pastors and Christians did not yet include the "strong men" of the area and would make "no headway whatever" if not politically involved.

The mission gradually established its ascendancy in the area, and was for long "the only avenue to personal advancement outside the sphere of traditional politics".²⁰ In 1968, for example, Kambipi Traimya, who had been trained to grade IV by the Baptist mission, and had then worked for it, won a seat in the second House of Assembly - a rise described by Wolfers as "little short of amazing for an area that has only recently been brought under government control".²¹

The progress of Lutheran missions in the Highlands followed a similar course. Americans of the Lutheran Missouri Synod, who had also settled among the Enga in 1948, had within six years established 28 schools, a hospital, and a teacher training centre with an intake of 20.²² By the late 1950s, evangelism to surrounding areas was undertaken by Lutheran Enga. The Duna of Lake Kopiago,

¹⁵ "Situation in 1965", *Digest*, 1966, 15.

¹⁶ "ABMS Field Council", Minutes 23 November 1961. ABMS.

¹⁷ "Evangelistic Report, Annual Field Conference", May 1963. ABMS.

¹⁸ Max Knight, "Junior Technical School, Baiyer River", *Digest*, 1966.

¹⁹ ABMS Board papers, 1960, 11. ABMS.

²⁰ E. Wolfers, "Christianity, Sorcery and Men", *New Guinea*, January 1969, 20.

²¹ E. Wolfers, "1968 Elections", *New Guinea*, October 1968, 58.

²² Erwin Spruth, "And the Word of God Spread: A Brief History of the Gutnius Lutheran Church, Papua New Guinea", (Fuller, DMiss, 1981), 127.

for example, a people only contacted by the administration in the 1950s, received simultaneously a government patrol post and airfield, and Christian Enga government medical workers, police, and general labourers: soon after they requested European missionaries.²³

This Lutheran mission system, with its emphasis on giving not only religious training but supporting leadership roles, promoted among the Enga new leaders, whose authority extended further territorially than had traditional authority, and who undertook radical social and cultural reforms. Spruth reports a 1956 meeting at which new leaders agreed to discontinue such practices as pig exchange (tee), death payments for children (laita), funeral customs (kumanda) and the bachelor cult (sandula), which they decided were incompatible with their new set of values.²⁴

The contribution made by each mission to an evolving Melanesian clerisy differed, depending on its attitudes toward the state, its church structure, and methods of support. Many of the "faith" missions were too small to provide substantial educational facilities; others stressed Biblical education to the exclusion of secular learning. If the mission disallowed involvement in the local government council, or in political processes generally, this avenue of influence was inaccessible; and if the mission was small, it offered fewer chances for employment, including later employment in the colonial state apparatus.

Invariably missions and colonial administrations had recognised a mutual concern for the placement of capable workers in satisfactory positions, and mission-educated clerks and technicians were consciously placed in the Pacific colonies' expanding civil services. As early as 1928 the International Missionary Council had suggested that the Australian government establish a "Pacific Civil Service along the lines of the training given to the Indian Civil Service, with a view to developing further a Pacific Civil Service worthy in ideals and efficiency to our new task".²⁵ It was common for the British administration in the New Hebrides to contact the Melanesian mission seeking opinions on job applicants, and the Mission's main school had provided educated men to the administration since the pre-war years;²⁶ John Goldie frequently boasted that the finest workers in the Territory of New Guinea, and in the Solomon Islands had been educated at Methodist schools;²⁷ a boast that was later matched

²³ Erwin Spruth, "And the Word of God Spread", 79.

²⁴ *ibid.*, 79.

²⁵ National Missionary Council of Australia to Prime Minister, 30 April 1928. AA, CRS A458 745/1/332.

²⁶ The Resident Commissioner thanked the Bishop in 1940, for example, for sending Hugh Gigini, John Kilatu and Hugo Kolitevo to the administration: "such good material", [27 July 1940, BSIP, 1 - 43/14 pt II]. It was acknowledged that Pawa graduates went to the better paid government jobs. Philip Baker, interview.

²⁷ "Almost the whole of the civil administration here is built on the foundation of our work. Native police, clerks, scouts, village and district headmen, and sailors and workers, trusted by the administration, and entirely worthy of trust - are young men who were trained by us.", Goldie to Scriven, 24 November 1944. MCNZ. SI District. Corresp. with J.F. Goldie, 1922-51.

by that of Percy Chatterton, who claimed that missions trained most of the first nationals in the Territory of Papua New Guinea public service, and trained also a majority of the under-secretaries in the first House of Assembly.²⁸ The hope of Hall, headmaster of the Methodist College when it commenced in 1948, was that it should produce "a few clerks, a few carpenters, mechanics and wireless operators," and should give teachers a "sound conversion, a thorough course in the theological college and knowledge of agriculture and animal husbandry."²⁹

Because the number of educated islanders remained relatively small, their services were in demand by the administration, as well as the missions. This clerisy, which possessed a growing appreciation of Western knowledge and skills and enjoyed improved access to government employment (perhaps as policemen, teachers, or medics), commanded improved pay, working conditions and status, and had greater access to local, regional and even international communications and travel. Throughout the region (as has been noted) mission representatives were appointed to such government offices as Advisory Councils (whether at colony, island, district or town level); Ports Authorities; Land Trust, Superannuation, and Public Service Boards; as well as to Education Advisory Committees. Clerics had occasion to act, in addition, as presiding officers at polling stations during elections, and as census supervisors.³⁰

Clerisy at village level struggled with the traditional authority of chiefs or big-men. Having returned from mission or government schools to spread and exercise new religious values, they often overshadowed old leaders, propagated a new lifestyle, and advocated changes in custom. Often, power was transferred from the big-man to the teacher/pastor. Graham Miller, a Presbyterian missionary at Ngnua in the New Hebrides, noted that chiefs had been "so 'deflated' in status and authority" that village teachers seemed to "rank above them for all practical purposes".³¹

Willie Betu, while an Anglican teacher on Ysabel, questioned whether the chiefly system should be maintained (although its continuing role was defended by the church council);³² but later, as Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs, he was to call on the churches to preserve traditions and culture

²⁸ Four of the ten were former mission teachers, and another three were mission educated: Percy Chatterton, "Earning More, but Enjoying it Less", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, Nov 67, 39; July 64, 47-8.

²⁹ Hall, "Educational Report", 1948. 1948 Reports. MCNZ. In this vein, the Presbyterian N.F. Gilkison, while visiting Papua in 1967, marvelled at Kwato's opportunities to send "Christian craftsmen out into the life of the country, especially a rapidly developing one like Papua". N.F. Gilkison, "Flying to Papua", PCNZ. 1976 Papua.

³⁰ Anglican priests presided at polling stations during elections in the Solomons in 1968 and 1970. In 1976, members of the Melanesian Brotherhood were engaged to collect electoral registrations in the Santo Bush area. BDA Santo to Rawcliffe, 31 August 1977. AV, Correspondence Siota.

³¹ Graham Miller, "Reply to Questionnaire, 'The Indigenous Church'", South Pacific Conference, Morpeth, 1948. (pers. comm)

³² Minutes of the Church Association and the Regional Council Meeting held at Nareabu 8-11 September (1970). CM, 22-Ysabel.

during his address to the first Synod of the Province of Melanesia.³³ In the New Hebrides the Presbyterian Church heralded such men as Iolu Abbil,³⁴ a Tannese graduate of Onesua, chosen by the British Administration as first Inspector of Co-operatives, who was sent for further training in Fiji, and later became first secretary to the Minister of Lands and Natural Resources;³⁵ and Masing Venavil, a Malekulan, who had risen from being a bushman, to mission teacher, then secretary of the Lorlow Co-operative Society in South West Bay.³⁶ The mission literature is replete with examples of men who have seemingly withdrawn from traditional roads to power, in preference for the modern paths, which take the individual into the church, the administration, or commerce.

Traditional village leaders, who resented such loss of power and privilege, often sought to revive repressed customs, or invited into the village a rival mission; alternatively, they accepted Christianity, and retained their village dominance through acquiring the office of church elders. But even this dominance of village affairs was challenged by better educated teachers or by more widely travelled men of a younger generation. Hence a Methodist Mission circuit report noted in 1956 that in some places, village church authorities faced difficulties because "the educated and often wealthy younger people want to take control of the village church affairs out of the hands of the actual church members".³⁷

Beyond the sphere of education, missions created opportunities in commerce and business. "Industrial missions", first established to earn money from copra and cocoa production, in order to finance other mission activities in education, health and evangelism, expanded in later years to include further cash cropping of tea and coffee, cattle, timber milling, carpentry, and trade stores. The Lutheran sponsored enterprise, Namasu, expanded to include aviation, shipping, trade stores and supply centres. Similarly, the Anglican New Guinea mission sought to finance its operations through a "small ship handling complex" at Lae, and blocks of apartments in Lae and Port Moresby.³⁸ The United Church established "Span Enterprises" to consolidate its finances.

A second motive for expansion into business was to train church members in business practice, and in the virtues of "industry". This had been the rationale behind the work of Charles W. Abel, founder of Kwato Mission, and of John Goldie, Chairman of the Western Solomon Islands Methodist

³³ *Solomons News Drum* 1:1, 7 February 1975, 3.

³⁴ Not to be confused with Alexi Abbil, who was killed on Tanna in 1980.

³⁵ Abbil has been described as one of the first ni-Vanuatu who "began to reconsider Western ideas more abstractly": Julie-Ann Ellis & Michael Parsons, "Vanuatu: Social Democracy, Kastom & 'Melanesian Socialism'", in Peter Davis (ed), *Social Democracy in the Pacific*, (Auckland, 1983).

³⁶ Ian Taylor, "Growing role for Co-operatives in the New Hebrides", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, October 1964, 69-70.

³⁷ MCA, "Raluana Circuit Report", 1956, Book 364, p739.

³⁸ *ABM Review*, May/July 1971, 18-19.

District. Abel had pressed for rapid transformation of Papuan society through industrial enterprise and agricultural improvement, and Papuan members were noted for being "the first members of the new elite which would dominate independent Papua New Guinea".³⁹

In some cases mission businesses, especially co-operatives, emerged to meet the challenge of cargo movements. A Catholic priest initiated the TIA (Tutukuvuk Isukal Association) to counter the influence of the "Johnson Cult" on New Hanover. The Association attracted both cult and non-cult members, and in 1968 a TIA candidate easily won the Kavieng open electorate. An Anglican worker-priest, Walter Ataembo, predicted future tension between skilled and unskilled workers in Morobe province, and became a clerk with the Bulolo Timber Company.⁴⁰ Donald Castonguay, a Catholic "integrated apostolic", initiated the Yoro Cocoa Development Project after becoming administrator of Yoro in 1962, in response to a cargo movement which he regarded as "a mighty hinge upon which communism (could) rotate".⁴¹ Catholic nuns of the "Little Sisters of Jesus" settled at Hanuabada village near Port Moresby to "help in establishing a norm of Christian living" by the mode of their life among the "rank and file".⁴²

In later years, taking the gospel to industry included an interest in the emergence of trade unions. In August 1968 the Jesuit P.F. Kurts, of the Institute of Social Order, Port Moresby, presented to Dan Stuyvenberg, Bishop of Honiara, a confidential report on workers associations and trade unions in the Solomon Islands.⁴³ Strikes had taken place in Honiara in April 1965 and Stuyvenberg wished to know the potential for Catholic involvement in the labour movement. Kurts advised that a suitable priest be found who was willing and able to act as adviser to the Civil Servants Association, but that it was inadvisable (for reasons alluded to but not stated) to have a Honiara priest act as union organiser and adviser to the inert Port and Copra Workers' Union and the Building and General Workers Union.

As indigenous leaders emerged to occupy political offices within the colonial state, missions increasingly sought to provide "leadership courses". In 1965, for example, the Catholic Church commenced a "Leadership Course and Social Justice workshop" series in Rabaul, to which it brought potential National leaders. For its first session, the archdiocese received funding from the Council of New Guinea Affairs to fly Jesuit W.G. Smith from the Institute of Social Order in Melbourne to

³⁹ Forman, *Missions in Papua New Guinea*, 25. Also, N. Oram, "The LMS and the emergence of an Elite", *Journal of Pacific History*, 6:1971, 115-32; David Wetherell, "Monument to a missionary: C.W. Abel and the Kevari of Papua", *Journal of Pacific History*, 1973.

⁴⁰ *ABM Review*, May/July 1972, 21-22.

⁴¹ *Catholic Missions*, March 1969, 21-22.

⁴² P. Chatterton, "The Missionaries", 16.

⁴³ P.J. Kurts, "Report to Bishop D. Stuyvenberg, S.M., on the State of Workers' Associations and Unions, B.S.I.P., August 1968. DH, Stuyvenberg Corresp. 1965-72.

Rabaul.⁴⁴ The course attracted participants from the churches, administration, business, and local councils. The third workshop, in December 1967, addressed the issues relevant to the second House of Assembly election, as well as the "acute problems likely to arise from the possible rapid onset of Self-Government".⁴⁵ A subsequent "Christian Leadership" course at St. Pauls Teachers' College, Vuvu, in 1968, attracted in addition to such prominent Catholics Kurts, Jansen and Hoehne; Matthias Toliman (MHA), who spoke on "Christian leadership and its relevance to Modern New Guinea", Assistant District Commissioners Kelly ("Practical Opportunities for Leadership in the Local Situation") and J. Nalau ("Local Government Councils and Community Development").⁴⁶ In the Highlands, Capuchins sponsored similar conferences on social and economic development, which attracted members of government departments, of the House of Assembly, and missionaries.⁴⁷

As the quality of secular education and leadership training improved, the missions also increased their efforts in training their indigenous clergy and other church workers. In 1965 the Presbyterian Church established a "Pastor's Overseas Experience Scheme", sending Manlon Vatoko to Victoria.⁴⁸ In the 1970s United Church leaders were travelling for further training to Great Britain and African countries.⁴⁹ Zurewe Zurenuo, before becoming Bishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea, spent six months with the Bavarian Lutheran Church in Germany.⁵⁰

With the development of Local Government Councils in the 1950s, missions saw variously a threat to their village hegemony, or an opportunity to exercise Christian leadership. Some observers noted that progression from the status of mission to church paralleled the change from colony to nation, and proposed that the path to church independence contributed to easing the progress toward political independence. In 1959, for instance, the *Missionary Review* suggested that experience in Methodist Quarterly Meetings, and leader's meetings, had tutored Church members in democratic forms of government.⁵¹ The Presbyterian Church was established in the New Hebrides in 1948; the London

⁴⁴ S.W. O'Hanlon to Assistant Administrator for Services, 12 December 1967. TPNG, 9369 - 40/2/3.

⁴⁵ S.W. O'Hanlon, 11 December 1967. TPNG, 9369 - 40/2/3.

⁴⁶ TPNG, 9369 - 40/2/3.

⁴⁷ "Socio-Economic Development in the Diocese of Mendi". TPNG, 9369 - 40/2/3.

⁴⁸ PCV, October 1964, 118; October 1966, 98.

⁴⁹ William To Kilala, for example, spent twelve months at Westhill College of Education, England; and Geno Vele attended Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation in Zambia to study youth leadership and national development. MCA, Department of Overseas Mission. Book 376. Minutes and Records of Assembly Exec. Mendi. Dec. 1969.

⁵⁰ Friedrich Steinbauer, *Shaping the Future: Papua New Guinea Personalities*, (Madang, 1974) 168.

⁵¹ *Missionary Review*, July 1959, 12-13.

Missionary Society established the Papua Ekalesia in 1962: Church members from these backgrounds were ideally placed to enter Western-style councils, or bureaucracies.

Local Government Councils were incorporated relatively easily in regions with homogenous religious communities. In some Lutheran areas, for example, mission elders constituted the membership of the first councils,⁵² while on Isobel, one of the Solomon Islands, which remains 96% Anglican, membership of church councils was replicated in area councils and the provincial assembly, and the people accepted the fact that, "on Isobel there is one people, one church and one government, equal and undivided".⁵³ Areas having numerous religious communities experienced more conflict, especially where well-established church councils struggled with new and diverse local councils, or where religious communities divided into pro- and anti-council factions. Basic inducements to participation in the new power structures, whether church or state, included increased mobility, and increased access to the introduced life-style of improved housing, income, and status. At local level, teacher/evangelists and pastors, while not immediately securing a large income, were often fed and housed by their communities, and were able to travel their circuits more frequently, free from the constant tending of their gardens.

Workers at coastal missions gained opportunities for inter-island travel on mission motor-launches, and workers inland had access to air travel through the Missionary Aviation Fellowship (MAF). Some missions had their own individual aircraft, and the Seventh Day Adventists operated their own service. Missions frequently possessed the only vehicular transport, and hence mission workers were often amongst the first able to drive. Melanesian missionaries and students were among the first islanders to travel beyond their home shores, and continue to do so.

In the Solomon Islands, schools such as Pawa educated not only churchmen such as Norman Palmer, Leonard Alufurai, Dudley Tuti and John Garae, but medical doctors including Francis Kikolo, Ellison Telena, David Dawea, Basil Leodoro and Michael Ala, and other such prominent public figures as Francis Bugotu, Silas Sitai, Norman Kitchener, Francis Talasea, Wille Betu, Baddeley Devesi, and Clement Ofai.⁵⁴ For several decades the Anglican and Methodist missions vied with each other in seeking to attract the colony's best students to their respective secondary schools. In the 1940s, the Melanesian Mission had scored two notable victories, by attracting to Pawa Francis Aqorau, who subsequently became a key Western Solomons politician; and Norman Palmer, who became in 1975 the

⁵² P. Lawrence, "Lutheran mission influence on Madang societies", *Oceania*, 1956

⁵³ Ben Zeva, "Church and State on Isobel", *Solomon Islands Politics*, 136.

⁵⁴ A 1971 list of civil servants listed twelve Pawa graduates in the Department of Agriculture, sixteen in Education, thirty-two in Medical Services, and twenty-four in the Police Department; also the permanent secretary of Education and Cultural Affairs, and two cabinet ministers: "BSIP Civil List 1971", Honiara, in B.S. Palmer, "Options for the Development of Education", 92.

Anglican diocese's Archbishop.⁵⁵

Bishop Chisholm had hoped that Baddeley Devesi and Willie Betu would continue as headmasters of Anglican schools, in addition to their commitments as members of the Legislative Council, and their eventual move to full employment with the administration caused the Melanesian Mission considerable concern.⁵⁶ In 1968 Chisholm had suggested to the High Commissioner that the mission and administration "share" prospective politicians in his mission's employ. He had spoken to all members of the Council, he informed the High Commissioner disingenuously, and found that not one was keen on standing for re-election to it:

It would seem to me that there are members and prospective members who are faced with a real dilemma, and that one of the major points to be discussed in Constitutional Development is the status of future politicians in the Protectorate. I myself have come to feel that it is irrelevant at this stage to talk of having "full time politicians" who might be expected to desert their present profession in order to take on full time parliamentary responsibility.⁵⁷

By December 1969, pressure on the Bishop and his men was mounting. It was unfair, the Bishop suggested to the Chief Secretary, to have his headmasters "given the choice" between their mission employment, and positions on the executive council.⁵⁸ Commencing as an Anglican school teacher, Devesi eventually became in July 1975 permanent secretary for Works and Public Utilities, and later the Solomon Islands' first Governor-General. Bugotu, an inspector of Schools for the Melanesian mission, member of the mission's financial advisory committee and nominated member of Legislative Council was subsequently appointed permanent secretary for Education and Cultural Affairs (July 1975) and became in 1977 secretary to the Chief Minister and the Council of Ministers.⁵⁹

In Papua New Guinea, Paul Lapun, Leo Hannet, and Alexis Sarai were among Catholic ex-seminarians who entered politics. John Momis completed his seminary training before entering politics. Lapun, a school teacher, entered the House of Assembly at the 1964 elections. Sarei attended Chanel College at Rabaul and the University of Rome, and in 1976 became first Premier of Bougainville.

Perhaps a result of having a less effective educational system, a relatively small number of

⁵⁵ Colin Allan was responsible for recruiting Francis Aqorau (Talasasa) to Pawa school from the Western District, by appealing directly to Bishop Baddeley in 1946. Aqorau studied in New Zealand and St Andrews, later at Canterbury University in Christchurch, where in 1958 he gained a degree in Economics and Geography: *Solomons News Drum* 99:21 January 1977, 8.

⁵⁶ See chapter 10.

⁵⁷ John Chisholm to High Commissioner, 16 June 1968. CM, F33-3.

⁵⁸ Bishop Chisholm to Chief Secretary, 1 December 1969. CM, F33/3. Govt. House Corresp. 1968-69.

⁵⁹ He was later appointed permanent secretary to the Department of Foreign Affairs and, in 1987, secretary general of the South Pacific Commission.

Anglicans gained public prominence in Papua New Guinea. John Guise, the most noted Anglican in public life, and considered a "son of the Anglican Church", was the first Papuan member for the Eastern Papua Electorate, entering the Legislative Council in 1961, and the House of Assembly in 1964; and eventually becoming its speaker.⁶⁰ Whereas some missions rued the secular path taken by some students after theological training, others welcomed this influence in the emergent nation-states.

The combined effect of mission interest in education, commerce, administration and politics, was to re-enforce nationalist, as opposed to separatist socio-political sentiments. The formation of the churches themselves challenged traditional ethnic rivalries and divisions. In several instances, missions actively campaigned against separatist political movements, and against cargo cults. Leo Arkfeld, Archbishop of Wewak, for instance, had denounced the Hurun cult of Mathias Yaliwan,⁶¹ and the Anglican Diocesan council spoke against the Papua Movement.

Other groups, however, drew on missionary strength to promote particular regional aspirations. Support by Catholic priests for local causes enhanced Tolai regionalism on New Britain's Gazelle Peninsula and Bougainvillean nationalism in what is now the North Solomons Province. In the Solomon Islands, Catholic priests had supported Maasina Rule, until it became a danger to their own position on Malaita; and the Remnant Church, whose members refused co-operation with the 1959 census, defied court rulings, and recognised no government but "God's government", emerged from the South Sea Evangelic Mission.⁶²

From within the Churches of Christ on Santo emerged Abel Bani, then Jimmy Stevens, whose Nagriamel Movement sought a regional council for each island, rather than the formation of a central and national government,⁶³ and promoted militant succession to achieve this. The John Frum movement, on the southern island of Tanna, while establishing an institutionalised cargo cult/religion, began with a revolt within the Presbyterian mission, and has so isolated itself that "a whole generation cannot read or write".⁶⁴ The Western Breakaway movement, in the Western Solomons, was fostered partly by the regional identity promoted by the Methodist mission, especially under the leadership of John Goldie.

⁶⁰ *ABM Review*, November 1971, 4; *ibid.*, January 1972, 4-5; *Diocese of Papua New Guinea Newsletter*, 4:3, 1971; *ibid.*, 5:2 Trinity 1972, 13. From the mid-1970s, Guise became a critic of the Anglican Church, and of missions generally. In January 1973, for instance, he suggested publicly to Bishop Hand that Bishop should speak on religious matters, and not on political matters: "Should we speak up or shut up?", *ibid.*, 5:1 Easter 1973; *ibid.*, 5:2, Trinity 1973.

⁶¹ R.J. May, "The view from Hurun: The Peli Association", in R.J. May (ed), *Micronationalist movements in Papua New Guinea*, (Canberra, 1982), 40.

⁶² Ben Burt, "The Remnant Church: A Christian Sect of the Solomon Islands", *Oceania*, 53:4, June 1983, 342.

⁶³ *Pacific Islands Monthly*, January 1980, 17.

⁶⁴ Robert J. Gregory & Janet Gregory, "John Frum: An Indigenous Strategy of Reaction to Mission Rule and the Colonial Order", *Pacific Studies*, 7:2, Spring 1984.

If some of political leaders were nurtured unintentionally by the missions, others were cultivated quite consciously. In surveying missionary influences in the Pacific in the 1970s, one commentator suggested:

The 1970s have been a decade of Pacific Nationalisms. The transfers of power to the new mini-states have been mainly peaceful. Much has been done by committed Christian leaders, including pastors and priests. This is the story in Western Samoa, Niue, Fiji, Kiribati, Solomon Islands, and Papua New Guinea. Some of Papua's hardest-hitting and most controversial cabinet ministers trained under Patrick Murphy...ministers and priests, some of the graduates of PTC, are members of the cabinet and parliament of the emerging nation of Vanuatu... many calm and determined leaders of independence movements in French Polynesia and New Caledonia have been helped in their thinking by the theological work of SODEPAX.⁶⁵

However it exists, clerisy in Melanesia has several facets. Firstly, the Christian presence has regarded itself as guardian of the people, and as separate to the state, but able to participate in the affairs of state whenever and wherever it has deemed appropriate. It has engaged in secular activities wherever it has felt that the state was not fulfilling its duties, particularly in the fields of health and education, and more recently in social and economic development. Its members have moved into various sections of the emerging state apparatus, and had considered political involvement a legitimate avenue for Christian endeavour.

Whereas Coleridge suggested that the process of clerisy formation was somehow a subconscious working out of social obligations between religious and secular powers, efforts by some missions in the Melanesian states to influence secular institutions has been quite overt. And whereas Coleridge supported the notion of a single state church (the Church of England), Melanesia clearly has had numerous missions vying for influence and position within the state, which suggests that it might be more useful to think of "clerisies". Religious communities have emerged around head mission stations, and according to comity agreements. Hence, in Vanuatu, Anglicans predominate in the northern Islands (Aoba, Maewo, Pentecost), and Presbyterians predominate in the central and southern Islands; Churches of Christ appear only in the north (Aoba, Maewo and Pentecost), and the Melanesian movements remain isolated: Nagriamel on Santo, John Frum on Tanna and Aniwa; Catholicism is strongest on Vao, Santo, Pentecost and Malekula.

Similarly in the Solomons, the Melanesian Mission has enjoyed "sectarian autonomy" in Ysabel, and is strongest in the central islands; the Christian Fellowship Church exists primarily on New Georgia; the South Sea Evangelical Church operates mostly on Malaita and Guadalcanal; and the Methodist mission, incorporated into the United Church in Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, has its strength in the Western Solomons. The British, in planning their withdrawal from the Solomon Islands,

⁶⁵ John Garrett, "A Letter from Oceania", in Ans J. van der Bent, *Voices of Unity: Essays in Honour of Willem Adolf Visser't Hooft on the Occasion of his 80th Birthday*, (Geneva, 1983), 37.

and from New Hebrides, developed Anglophile elites with the consent and involvement of the missions.⁶⁶ Although the clerisy in the Melanesian states has sought to fuse diverse elements and classes of society into a harmonious whole, these states continue to harbour separatist interests, most of which find legitimation in religious beliefs.

Some fundamentalist missions, which came to Melanesia with traditional evangelistic methods, have broadened their activities to include forms of development, either through necessity, or to expand and consolidate their appeal in Melanesian societies. Others, including some Western evangelical Christian missions, who were attracted to Melanesia by the presence of previously un-evangelised societies, have remained isolated from the affairs of the state. Some indigenous movements have maintained hostility toward the state and resisted its development: Nagriamel on Santo, John Frum on Tanna, as well as the earlier Maasina Rule on Malaita. Through maintenance of non-western intellectual and theological systems, such groups cannot attain representation in the clerisy, and look instead to *Kastom* as the road to wealth and power.

However much members of the Melanesian elite express their gratitude to the missions for raising them up, and providing them with Western learning and technology, there is always reflection on the price that has been paid. The elite remained ambivalent about the impact of Christian missions on traditional culture, and the more alert European missionaries knew this. A clerisy did emerge, but the Melanesian "elites" were so numerically small in Papua New Guinea, the Solomons and the New Hebrides, that their distribution between the offices of church and state were as much a source of contention as they were a source of satisfaction. Put another way, whereas publicly missions have claimed the honour of raising many of the region's "first sons" - mostly politicians and public servants - privately they concede to wishing that many of their illustrious school products had stayed physically, as much as spiritually, within the church.

⁶⁶ This included such Anglican New Hebrideans as Aiden Garae, Michael Liliu, (who represented Pentecost in the Advisory Council), Hansen Lini, and Grace Mera, who trained at Ardmore college, Auckland. Hansen Lini returned from Queen Victoria School and Ardmore College to teach at Torgill Girls School. The Melanesian mission was seeking to develop its native clergy, so that the mission could convert into a fully constituted church diocese of the Province of New Zealand, giving the Bishop equal voting powers in the General Synod. In 1970, when the Diocese of Melanesia supported ten students at tertiary institutions overseas, it established two overseas scholarships to honour Dr Charles Fox, and another in memory of Bishop Alfred Hill.

CHAPTER TWELVE

CHRISTIANS IN POLITICS (I)

The establishment of rudimentary political representation, through the House of Assembly in Papua New Guinea, and Governing Councils and Legislative Assemblies in the Solomons and the New Hebrides, brought several changes to the political relations between church and state. Whereas mission-administration conferences came to an end, ecumenical agencies were established to present a combined mission voice to colonial governments. Missions added an interest in grooming potential politicians to their traditional emphasis (with regard to the "public" sphere) on the education of future educators and public servants; and they were prompted by moves toward political devolution in secular affairs to consider also devolution of authority to indigenous leaders within the churches.¹

The attitude of Protestant missions toward political evolution in the South Pacific was expressed by Frank Coaldrake, chairman of the Anglican Australian Board of Mission, following a tour of several Pacific Islands in the early 1960s:

The election of village or district councils to manage an increasing area of local government puts new authority in the hands of men who many not be leaders in the church community of that area. Management of most things has been in the hands of the missions but now passes to men who have "caught" the vote. If local church leaders are not encouraged to participate in local politics the affairs of the region will often pass into the control of inactive churchmen or even those who have lost faith. Members of the church participating in local politics will eventually be caught in the growing circle of "national politics". The day of political activity (and soon it will include trade union activity) brings the church out of the traditional authoritarian structure of the village into the arena of national development. If nothing is done to keep up with the growing political consciousness of the villagers the church will be on the side of the backward, by default rather than by choice. The church at home must expect to see the young churchmen in the islands playing an active role in the developing leadership of the new nation.²

Coaldrake's concern at the missions' potential loss of influence was not misplaced. Whereas much advice had previously flowed informally, and unofficially, between mission heads and colonial administrators, there were now more Melanesian voices in the public arena, most being mission trained, and all seeking to help shape their nation's destinies.³ The potential political significance of mission

¹ This theme is considered in chapter 14.

² F. Coaldrake, *Floodtide in the Pacific*, 9.

³ In the Solomon Islands, for instance, O.C. Noel, the Resident Commissioner, had established in 1946 a scheme of partial government at village level by elected native councils which were able to levy and expend taxes and administer justice in minor matters: the Methodist Mission approved this step, and hoped to participate in it: "Report of the General-Secretary's visit to the Solomon Islands District, Nov-Jan 1946/47", MCNZ. Annual Board Meeting 1947.

organisations had long been recognised,⁴ and the evolution of political offices created the opportunity for missions to encourage the participation of their members.⁵ The involvement of Anglicans in political processes, for instance, was encouraged by statements made by the South Pacific Anglican Council (SPAC), to the effect that the Anglican church had always been committed to national independence, and should be prepared to pool its efforts in the task.⁶ But such statements were easily made during this period, by Europeans who were sure that political independence remained a distant prospect. Bishop Hill expressed concern at reports that Britain was soon to leave the New Hebrides, and was relieved that the French had made it clear, during Anglo/French talks in London concerning travel documents for New Hebrideans, that withdrawal from the Condominium was not being contemplated.⁷ Presbyterians were similarly comforted to note that Fred Lee, British Secretary of State for the Colonies, emphasised during his 1966 visit to the Solomon Islands and the New Hebrides that the British had no intention of leaving the Condominium.⁸ New Zealand Methodists were among the missionaries who said that the Australian administration was pushing Papua New Guinea into independence before its people were ready.⁹ The general pattern, however, was a shift toward political self-government, and independence, and the active involvement of missions in this process.

From 1964 the Australian administration in Papua New Guinea perceived covert mission involvement in political activities, and anticipated mission-influenced pressures on policy formation as self-government approached.¹⁰ Although many candidates touted their mission affiliations when campaigning for the first (1964) and second (1968) Houses of Assembly, this was mostly because mission education remained in many parts of the territory the only avenue to personal advancement "outside the

⁴ Crocombe, for example, referred to Christianity as "a potentially powerful system of unifying symbols in the New Hebrides": R.G. Crocombe, "The Pacific: The view from Vila: Peaceful change or ultimate violence?", *New Guinea & Australia, the Pacific and Southeast Asia*, June/July 1972, 32.

⁵ The ecumenical report *Responsibility in New Guinea*, for instance, suggested the missions had to "take an interest in the development in terms of the emergence of a new nation state".

⁶ Diocese of Melanesia. "Report to the Diocesan Conference of the SPAC meeting, 1969", Lugainville, quoted in M. Myers, "Independens long Vanuatu", 236.

⁷ "Minutes of an interview accorded by the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Right Reverend A.T. Hill, C.M.G., M.B.E., Bishop of Melanesia at Honiara on Tuesday, 9th August, 1966. CM, F22.

⁸ "APBM: Report of Visit of General Secretary to the New Hebrides", 2-26 June 1967, (James Stuckey), PCNZ. 1967A.

⁹ The mission thus decided that it faced the obligation to "heighten the political awareness and responsibility, of its people, and to take action itself". MCNZ, Overseas Missions Department, "Annual Report 1970-71", 1971 *Synod*, 214.

¹⁰ This was the view put by L.W. Johnson, then assistant administrator, to Warwick Smith, 29 September 1967. TPNG, 9368 - 40/1/6.

sphere of traditional politics".¹¹ Certainly, several seats were contested by individual missionaries, or by mission-sponsored candidates in 1968,¹² yet only one political party, the United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP), was established with considerable mission assistance.¹³ Although the UCDP was aided by the Catholic mission in the Sepik (one founding member had been sponsored to a political education and leadership course at the Institute for Social Order, in Melbourne), the party's political program failed to mobilise support throughout the Territory, and lost considerable impetus when the Minister for Territories, C.E. Barnes, declared the impossibility of achieving one of its aims, Papua New Guinea's incorporation as a seventh Australian state.¹⁴

The founding members of the PANGU party, the first effective and widespread political party in the territory, were, with the possible exception of Cecil Abel, more openly nationalistic and secular in outlook. Michael Somare and Maori Kiki were among those who were influenced by Abel's political science classes at the Administrative College at Waigani.¹⁵ Because PANGU, the party established by Somare, Kiki and others in 1967, held promise of becoming a cohesive political party, it gained the support of some European missionaries in Port Moresby, who did not necessarily attend meetings, but who contributed financially and encouraged others to participate.¹⁶ The two former missionaries Percy Chatterton (Moresby electorate) and Cecil Abel (Milne Bay) established the closest links with the PANGU Pati, but whereas Abel actually co-signed with them a submission to the Select Committee on Constitutional and Political Development, demanding further steps toward responsible self-

¹¹ In assessing the 1968 elections, Wolfers found that "all but two of the indigenous members of the second house claim to be adherents of one of the Territory's many Christian missions", indicating the central role of mission education or employment in gaining access to the state apparatus: E.P. Wolfers, "Christianity, Sorcery and Men", *New Guinea and Australia, the Pacific and South-East Asia*, Dec 1968/Jan 1969, 20.

¹² In Wapenamanda a Lutheran missionary ran against Leme Iangalyo; in East Sepik Alan Davidson, an Assembly of God missionary, ran. On New Hanover Daniel Bokaf, with both Catholic and TIA sponsorship, defeated United Church candidate Levi Miting, (although PO McNaught's assessment was that Bokaf was supported for his TIA, rather than his mission credentials: [Anthony McNaught, "Patrol Report 8 of 1967/68 Lavongai to Magam", TPNG, Patrol Reports Kavieng Konos 1967/68]. In the highlands Traima Kambipi's election to the second house was supported by the European staff at CLTC: J. Oswald Sandars, *Planting Men in Melanesia*, 153. In the Northern District, Anglicans Mackenzie Daudi (Northern Regional) & Stephen Tago (Sohe Open) were elected to the second House with considerable mission backing: *ABM Review*, February/April, 1968, 24.

¹³ The U.C.D.P. was established in March 1966 by Pita Simogen, MHA, Otto Kovingre (Under-Secretary for Police & manager of the Catholic mission plantation at Boiken), and Peter Maut, (vice-president of the Wewak-But LGC): "All members of the party's executive are associated with the Catholic mission in the Sepik", Edward P. Wolfers, "The Emergence of Political Parties in Papua and New Guinea", *Journal of Pacific History*, 3, 1968, 155; also, See E. Wolfers, *New Guinea*, II, Sept-Oct 1967, 20-3.

¹⁴ P. Loveday & E.P. Wolfers, *Parties and Parliament in Papua New Guinea 1964-1975: Two Studies*, 10-11.

¹⁵ David Wetherell, "An Elite for a Nation? Reflections on a Missionary Group in Papua New Guinea, 1980-1986", op. cit; Kiki, *Ten Thousand Years in a Lifetime*, 126.

¹⁶ These included Ian Fardon and Peter Wedde: Peter Wedde, interview, Auckland, 12 May 1986. Wedde was district missionary at Marshall Lagoon 1964-68; parish minister at Hohola, Port Moresby 1968-75.

government,¹⁷ Chatterton sat with Pangu members in the House of Assembly, without identifying himself as a party member.¹⁸ Chatterton contributed vigorously to discussion of the Territory's political development, but the federal form of government he suggested as "the only alternative to political fragmentation" was perhaps more tuned to colonial than to indigenous aspirations.¹⁹

Catholics, the United Church and Lutheran Missions were especially concerned with political education,²⁰ and some administrators made moves to incorporate mission projects in the government's political education program.²¹ Some expatriate Christians in Rabaul established the "Christian Committee for National Development".²² The first Anglican Diocesan Conference, held in 1967, decided that Anglicans were free to join or not join, any political party. Although the Church would not support particular parties or candidates, simply urging that "the right sort of people" be encouraged to stand for election,²³ a post-election report by Ian Stuart, Anglican priest in Port Moresby, hinted at approval of

¹⁷ Kiki, *Ten Thousand Years*, 150-1.

¹⁸ An anecdote offered by Peter Wedde: "Percy Chatterton sat amongst PANGU, and wore a brown suit, as they did. He denied being a member of the PANGU party. Wally Lussik said in the House 'If he looks like a duck, and he waddles like a duck, he'd better not complain if he gets some duckshot in his backside'. Chatterton replied 'There's still plenty of quack in the old duck yet'": Peter Wedde, interview, Auckland, 12 May 1986.

¹⁹ In Chatterton's view, a better solution required a federation of Highlands, New Guinea Lowlands, Papuan Lowlands, and Papuan Islands; plus a further four territories in the New Guinea Islands - the New Britain group, New Ireland Group, Bougainville group, and the Admiralty group. "As far as national unity is concerned", wrote Chatterton, "it is endangered already, and is likely to be still more endangered if we persist in our attempts to build national unity, in a colonial hang-over which has no natural unity, by means of a structure with strongly centralised government located in the capital", Percy Chatterton, "Is Federation in New Guinea the only Alternative to Fragmentation?". By 1970, Chatterton followed Guise in speaking of "provinces": P. Chatterton, "The possible role of regional assemblies in Papua-New Guinea", in M. Ward (ed), *The Politics of Melanesia; Pacific Islands Monthly*, May, 1969, 50; P. Chatterton, "Interview with M. Havini", *Oral History* 2:7, July 1974.

²⁰ The United Church sought to educate at village level about House of Assembly matters, so that Christians could assess the "life and policy" of the candidates. "We ask church members to vote responsibly and to realise that this is their obligation to the country" (UCPNGSI, Papuan Islands Region. 3rd Annual Synod, September 1970. M.C. Circuit Reports. Box 377.) In a "Christian nation", a session on "Church and Nation" led by Bishop Butler suggested in 1970, the church was involved in Politics, the country was non-Communist, and had friendly relations with its neighbours; its public service had high standards of ethics, well developed political parties, strong family life, cooperation between tribes, its churches were united (UCPNGSI. Urban Region Synod, 1970. Methodist Church O.M. Box 377.) At Margarima in the Southern Highlands, PO P.D. Tozer enlisted the support of the area's two missions in a four-day political education seminar in July 1972 (Situation Report 8 of 1971/72. TPNG); 1971 - Lutherans involved in political education at pastor refresher courses in the Eastern Highlands. David R. Tuff, "Report to the 1971 Field Conference Goroka District Missionary". ELC, 200 - 51/82.

²¹ L.R. Newby, Director of the Department of Information and Extension Services, to the Sect. Dept. of the Administrator, 17 September 1969. TPNG, 9368 - 40/1/6 set III;

²² *Christian Committee for National Development*, (Vunapope, 1963).

²³ *Diocese of Papua New Guinea Newsletter*, Aug. 29 - Sep. 5, 1967, 9; In August 1967 the newsletter included the following advice on choosing among the candidates: "They should look for men and women who would work in the House for the following aims: A greater sense of national oneness and a breaking down of the things which divide the people in the Territory; more and better education to give as many children as possible a good schooling as possible; fast economic development of the territory; and steady political development with greater use of native people in the work of the government...it would be best if they were well educated and could speak good English", "The Church in the Nation", *ibid.*, Aug 29 - Sep 5 1967.

the Pangu Pati's victory.²⁴ But despite the involvement of these and other missions in administration-sponsored programs of political education, and mission-sponsored programs in citizenship training, political education throughout the Territory remained incomplete.²⁵ The missions further criticised the pace of social and economic development. In 1969, for instance, the annual conference of Catholic Bishops criticised what it regarded as the slow rate of localisation of the public service, and excessive centralisation; urged the administration to end family separations caused by long absences for employment; called for improved housing standards, an increase in the population growth rate, and equal pay for mission and indigenous teachers; and cautioned against the effects of tourism and racial discrimination.²⁶

The Anglican and Catholic hierarchies also spoke out on international political issues. Although the Catholic and Anglican Bishops Copas and Strong united in encouraging a petition and march on the West Irian issue, and Strong encouraged his priests in Port Moresby to join the march,²⁷ such clerical vocalism on the future of disputed territory had no impact on the Australian government's policies. The involvement of Catholic missionaries with West-Papuan border crossers, on the other hand, caused the administration continuing concern.²⁸ Similarly, the views expressed in the Catholic Mission-sponsored publications *Kundu*, first produced on New Britain in 1967, and *Wantok*, established in August 1970, were an irritant to the administration.²⁹ *Dialogue*, a small journal produced by John Momis, Leo Hannett and others attending the Catholic seminary at Madang, aired views on racism, the church and economic development, which brought them into conflict with mission and administration authorities alike. In the magazine's first issue of August 1970, fourth year seminarian Cosmas Rimats put the view that was being expressed by Melanesian clerics throughout the region, that priests, whose aim was involvement in the "whole of life" were ideally suited to political involvement:

²⁴ Ian Stuart, "The 1968 Elections: A Special Report", *Diocese of New Guinea Newsletter*, Trinity 1968, 8-9. Prior to election of the third House of Assembly, Anglican candidates Mackenzie Daugi and Stephen Tago received substantial, although "unofficial" mission support: "The Church and Nation", *Diocese of New Guinea*, 2:3, 1969; *ibid.*, 4:3, 1971, 15.

²⁵ Even after the election of the second House of Assembly, the Mendi people remained, by one account, ignorant of the idea of a united territory of Papua New Guinea, and "ill-informed on the ideas of a central government and the follow-up of self government and national unity." "Mendi Patrol No. 2 of 1969/70", TPNG, Mendi Patrol Reports 1969-70.

²⁶ L.W. Johnson, "Authentic Summary of Statement by Catholic Bishops of Papua New Guinea arising out of their Annual Conference of April 1969", 30 April 1969. TPNG, 9369 - 40/2/3.

²⁷ "Diocese of New Guinea. 1969 Conference. Presidential Address". CM, 3/10; *Diocese of Papua New Guinea Newsletter*, 2:3, 1969; *ibid.*, 2:4 Michaelmas, 1969.

²⁸ According to Osborne, the Catholic mission at Kamberatoro was giving aid to West Papuan border-crossers: Robin Osborne, *Indonesia's Secret War: The Guerilla Struggle in Irian Jaya*, (Sydney, 1985), 102.

²⁹ In 1968 L.R. Newby, Director of the Department of Information and Extension Services, suggested that *Kundu* was being used in a campaign to secure increased salaries for mission teachers: Newby to the Sect. Dept. of the Administrator, 17 September 1969. TPNG, 9368 - 40/1/6 set III.

If we want to make this country a truly Christian country, then let us build it up towards this end. To attain this most effectively, we must be involved with the people, sharing their daily responsibilities, whether religious, political, or social, etc. And one may conclude that as politics is the focal concern of our modern Papuan and New Guinean the priest, whose care takes in the whole man, should show a helping hand in political matters.³⁰

In both the New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands, elections with full franchise came later than in Papua New Guinea, and Advisory Councils continued to provide the main form of political involvement throughout the 1960s and into the 1970s.³¹ In the New Hebrides, mission representatives on the Condominium's Advisory Council continued to advocate development, and wider indigenous representation, but not independence. When in 1967 British officials asked members of the Council to name the Condominium's most pressing needs, they mentioned not self-government or political independence but the establishment of civil status for New Hebrideans, a joint hospital, increased assistance with education and the formulation of a land policy.³² A short time later, Presbyterian representative Bob Murray urged that the Advisory Council be made more representative, and at the 16th session, in December 1968, addressed the Council sharply on the inadequacies of the Advisory Council system. At the time, the Council included eight members elected by local councils and the chamber of commerce, and New Hebridean members were in the minority.³³ Mission representatives included Titus Path, a Presbyterian pastor from Hog Harbour on Santo, and Gerard Leymang, a Catholic priest who also served on the Melsissi Advisory council in the 1960s, while European clerics on the council included Catholic priests Janique and Verlingue, the Presbyterian Bob Murray and the Anglican Derek Rawcliffe.

Rawcliffe, who was Anglican archdeacon in the New Hebrides from 1959, typified the European cleric who wielded great influence with the British administration, but who advocated progress through social reform, rather than through political devolution. As a member of the New Hebrides Advisory Council Rawcliffe suggested laws protecting the rights of individuals. In 1959 he campaigned on behalf of abducted young women, forced against their will to marry in accordance with custom.³⁴ Cases of

³⁰ Cosmas Rimats, "Priests in New Guinea Politics", *Dialogue*, 1:1, 15 August 1970. Excerpts from early issues of *Dialogue* are given in M. Maunsell Davis, "Student hang-ups and student action: student political activity at the University of Papua New Guinea", in M. Ward (ed), *The Politics of Melanesia*.

³¹ T. Russell, "The 1970 Constitution for the British Solomon Islands", in M. Ward (ed), *The Politics of Melanesia*.

³² Murray, New Hebrides Advisory Council Minutes 14th session, September 1967, 190.

³³ The Council held twenty-seven sessions during its seventeen years in operation, 1957-1975. In 1964 it was enlarged from eighteen to twenty-four members, and in 1969, from twenty-six to thirty, twelve of whom were ni-Vanuatans.

³⁴ D. Rawcliffe to Joint Presidents of the Advisory Council, 13 November 1962. AV, British Residency.

suspected infanticide were also reported.³⁵ Other episodes, including one in which a man sought a divorce in order to marry a younger wife who could cut his copra,³⁶ prompted Rawcliffe in 1962 to urge reform of the Condominium's marriage laws. Rawcliffe also watched the labour activities of traders and planters, and reported to the administration cases of illegal labour recruitment.

Titus Path, a 1950s graduate of the Croyden Missionary and Bible College and principal at Tangoa Training Institute (TTI), represented the Presbyterian Church on the council from 1963 to 1975, and particularly advocated the establishment of village courts, the training of magistrates, and the need for administering of justice at village level. Although he participated in the land registration debates of 1969, and contributed warnings against the Nagriamel movement's potential to steer the land issue "in another direction", Path exemplified the reformist Melanesian cleric who worked within the colonial state, without attempting its dismantlement.³⁷

As in the New Hebrides, the Solomons Governing Council included numerous clerics and clerisy. Bishop Hill supported the entry of men "of vision and courage" to the Council,³⁸ and in 1967 five Pawa graduates were elected to the Legislative Council: Baddeley Devesi, Willie Betu, John Hoka, Dr Clement Ofai, and Archdeacon Desmond Kiva.³⁹ John Chisholm, Bishop of Melanesia following the retirement of Hill in 1967, agreed that "some form of independence" was inevitable in the Solomons,⁴⁰ but only went as far as to advocate the creation of more constituencies and the utilisation of expertise from outside the Council when appointing committees.⁴¹ Chisholm was agreeable to his clerics serving on the Council, since it enabled them to assist the needs of outlying Anglican communities. Kiva, for example, had been able to promote the welfare of the Outer Eastern Islands, an economically disadvantaged, predominantly Anglican area.⁴² But Chisholm managed to discourage another priest, Robert Pule, from standing for the 1973 Legislative Council elections, by arguing that sufficient priests

³⁵ D. Rawcliffe to Allen, 18 June 1959. AV, British Residency.

³⁶ D. Rawcliffe to BDA Northern District, 8 December 1961. AV, British Residency.

³⁷ Advisory Council, 9th session, 13 December 1969, 243.

³⁸ Bishop Hill at All Saints Cathedral, Honiara, 25 June 1967, *BSIP News Sheet* 12, 22 June - 7 July. 1967, 9.

³⁹ *Southern Cross Log*, 98, November 1967, 93. In 1967 the Council was enlarged to twenty-nine, with most of the fourteen unofficial members being Solomon Islanders. By 1970, when a new constitution was proclaimed, seventeen members of the Governing Council were elected, (in addition to three ex-officio members and six public servants) and in 1971 the High Commissioner was replaced by a speaker, Silas Sitai, a District Officer from Ysabel. From 1973, twenty-four members were elected to the Governing Council.

⁴⁰ *Southern Cross Log*, November 1967, 93.

⁴¹ J. Chisholm to the Clerk, Special Select Committee of the Governing Council, 15 March 1972. CM. 5 - Correspondence with Government, 1970-72. F17.

⁴² John Chisholm, "Bishop's Address to the Outer Eastern Islands Archdeaconry Conference", October 1969. CM.

were already standing.⁴³

The first hint of nationalist outrage in the New Hebrides came not from Protestant clerics but from Gerard Leymang.⁴⁴ During the Legislative Council's 9th sitting, in December 1970, Leymang read a prepared statement which called for an end to the 1914 protocol (by which the British and French justified their colonial rule). The protocol, suggested Leymang,

oozes from every pore the stench of an antiquated colonial policy which inevitably bears no relation to the aspirations of the younger generation of New Hebrideans.⁴⁵

It reminded him of a "cantankerous, troublesome old grand-mother who tries to conceal her wrinkles with paint and make-up".⁴⁶ Leymang believed that only a "precarious balance" existed between Europeans and New Hebrideans, which was based on the subordination of an apathetic majority. He suggested that the national services could never be integrated into a joint service, and generally castigated the metropolitan powers for their failure to bring social, economic, or political development to the archipelago. The text suggested anger, which Leymang suppressed with feigned apologies, and made clear that his was not a call for independence. The motion that the protocol be revised was passed unanimously.

Shortly after, Anglican priest Walter Lini returned to the New Hebrides, and developed this theme into a concerted call for independence. Lini's ability had become apparent to the staff at the Anglican Mission's secondary school at Siota. A January 1964 report commenced,

Walter Lini: of all-round excellence. I think he should be earmarked already for some post of real responsibility in the future and specialist training be provided after the completion of his course here or that an early decision should be made for him to receive the full benefit of a period of training overseas.⁴⁷

Although Anglicans had gone to New Zealand for clerical training for several generations, Lini's education at St John's Theological College in Auckland between 1966 and 1968 was a turning point for Ni-Vanuatuan nationalism. It was, in addition, a severe loss to the Melanesian Mission, anxious to train Ni-Vanuatuan for future church leadership. Lini had been such a candidate, but his rapid move into

⁴³ Robert Pule to John Chisholm, 23 November 1972. CM, Malaita, Eastern District 1969-72.

⁴⁴ In 1970, George Kalkoa, later George Sokomanu, first President of Vanuatu, reported to the Waigani Seminar, "The people's attitude towards the government is a peaceful one. The people look to the governments for help and advice...one could expect political parties to come into being when there is a legislative council in the New Hebrides. At present with the Advisory Council there is perhaps not much point in having them. Moreover at present there is little indication that the masses of New Hebrideans understand the working of parties or with to have them," George Kalkoa, "The political situation in the New Hebrides", in M. Ward (ed), *The Politics of Melanesia*, 218.

⁴⁵ The full text of Leymang's motion was reproduced as "Whither the New Hebrides?", *New Guinea and Australia, the Pacific and South-East Asia*, 5:4, January 1971, 6-10.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 274.

⁴⁷ "Report on Students Resident at Siota in January 1964". AV, Correspondence Siota.

the political campaign for independence left his future with the church in considerable jeopardy. After a short period in the Solomon Islands, Lini was instrumental in establishing, in 1971, the New Hebrides Cultural Association, which became the New Hebrides National Party.⁴⁸ The movement resolved at its first meeting to seek support initially from "teachers, priests, pastors, dressers - in fact the educated elite", and later from the wider population.⁴⁹ Aiden Garae, from Santo, was the party's first president, and other prominent foundation members like Donald Kalpokas, Peter Taurakoto and George Kalkoa worked for the British National Service. Presbyterian pastor and later President of Vanuatu, Fred Timakata, from Emae, a graduate of TTI, Davuilevu, and PTC (1967-69), joined the National Party while stationed at Litslits, Malekula; pastor Simbolo joined in 1971, as representative for North Malekula; and many more Protestant clerics soon became involved.⁵⁰ The failure of the Anglo/French administration to listen to the mounting protests of educated New Hebrideans created an atmosphere of anger, and the will to succeed in the task of overthrowing the colonial order at whatever cost. The failure of the missions to act on racial equality in the manner that they preached it led to the desertion of increasing numbers of educated clerics, prepared to obtain mission-sponsored education, but determined to seek social justice through political means.

The extent of mission influence on the emerging Solomon Islands leaders became apparent following the 1973 Legislative Council election of a significant number of candidates who had graduated from mission secondary schools, and several clerics including Peter Thompson (West Kwara'ae), Leslie Fugui and Augustine Malefedona.⁵¹ Thompson and another priest Edmund Kiva had first resigned from their archdeaconries to concentrate on politics late in 1970.⁵² Following theological training in Papua New Guinea and Fiji, Fugui stood for election in 1973 at the request of Melanesian communities in Fataleka and Ata'a who were not happy with their previous representative, a Catholic, Mariano Kelesi. Because Thompson subsequently spent more time on Governing Council matters, Chisholm had him reclassified as a "worker-priest", and decreased the mission's financial support, although Thompson

⁴⁸ Kalkot Matas Kele-Kele, "The Emergence of Political Parties", in Chris Plant (ed), *New Hebrides: The Road to Independence*, (Suva, 1977).

⁴⁹ British Residency Files, 23 August 1971, quoted in Michael Myers, "Independens long Vanuatu", 74.

⁵⁰ Presbyterian Pastor Reuben Makikon, eg, wrote in *Nakamal* 22, 1 June 1973, of need for church participation in politics.

⁵¹ The election of these Anglican priests on Malaita, prompted Bishop Chisholm to state his policy that priests wishing to stand for political office were free to do so, that they would be given leave without pay for electioneering, and if elected, would be given leave of absence from staff. Of the members elected to the Governing Council in 1973, three were educated at Pawa then overseas; 3 at Maravovo, Pawa, then King George VI; one at Maravovo and Pawa; three at Catholic schools then overseas; one at just Catholic school; four at Goldie College then overseas; one at a council school then King George VI; two at King George VI; one at SDA senior primary; one at Su'u and King George; and one at SSEM Bible School: *BSIP Newsheet* 11, July 6, 1973, cited in B.S. Palmer, "Options for the Development of Education", 95.

⁵² J. Chisholm to Chief Information Officer, Information Services, 10 November 1970. CM. 5 - Correspondence with Government 1970-72. F17.

continued to have his pension contribution paid by the Diocese.⁵³

Thompson had come from England to replace Hill as headmaster at Pawa in 1954. Following several years as archdeacon at Fiu (with responsibility for Malaita, Sikaiana and the outer Eastern Solomons), he was instrumental in establishing the Malaita Development Corporation. Chisholm expressed to the High Commissioner his concern that Thompson's speeches in the Council were being interpreted as those of the church, since reactions to them had on several occasions been put to the Bishop "with some bitterness"; furthermore, he wished the church to have no connections whatever with the Malaita Development Corporation, fearing the enterprise's inevitable collapse.⁵⁴ In 1975, in poor health, and following the anticipated collapse of the Development Company, Thompson resigned as Minister for Health and Welfare.⁵⁵ His failure in the public arena, added to his neglect of diocesan obligations, inclined Chisholm to discourage other clerics from entering politics.⁵⁶

Late in 1974, when the governing council became the Legislative Assembly, only five of its fourteen sitting members were re-elected. The Solomons first Chief Minister, Solomon Mamaloni, leader of the People's Progress Party, devised plans for the country's social, economic and political development, on a platform of equal distribution of wealth, decentralisation and decolonisation. Although of Anglican background, Mamaloni, who chewed betel nut and preferred discussions held beneath banyan trees to those seated around a table, did not enjoy good relations with Bishop John Chisholm and, in 1973, had managed to offend the Bishop and to receive insults in return from assistant Bishop Leonard Alafurai.⁵⁷ Although the pettiness of Mamaloni's relations with both European and indigenous clerics soured church-state relations in the Solomons at a time when the country's independence was being planned, there did not exist the level of ethnic conflict and desire for political separatism to be found in Papua New Guinea.

On New Britain and Bougainville, ethnic nationalism and separatism threatened Papua New Guinea's territorial integrity, and engaged both Catholic and Protestant missions in diplomacy with the Territorial administration and the Australian government. On New Britain's Gazelle Peninsula, where Tolai nationalism and the issue of land ownership dominated the election campaigns, the administration called on the Catholic and Methodist hierarchies to help diffuse a potentially explosive situation. After

⁵³ J. Chisholm to P. Thompson, 9 April 1971, CM. 5 - Correspondence with Government 1970-72. F17; "Diocesan Conference", 9 January 1973.

⁵⁴ J. Chisholm to High Commissioner, 9 April 1971. *ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Malaita Newsletter*, July 1971, 21; *Solomons News Drum*, no 24, 18 July 1975, 1. Thompson was replaced in the West Kwara'ae seat in 1975 by Allan Taki, who, after being defeated by Solomon Mamaloni in a ballot for the Chief Minister's position in December 1975, was admitted to hospital suffering mental illness.

⁵⁶ J. Chisholm to Moses Razak, 10 January 1972. CM. Taroaniara 1973-75. F22.

⁵⁷ L. Alafurai to Bishop Chisholm, 24 February 1973. CM. Malaita 1973-75. F22.

Vin Tobaining, the sitting member for Kokopo (whose conservative views were more to the liking of the administration and the Catholic mission), was defeated in 1968 by the young Australian-trained Tolai Oscar Tammur. Catholic and Methodist leaders assisted negotiations between the administration and the Mataungan Association, of which Tammur was a leading figure. Methodist leader Jack Sharp wrote to the administrator urging that long term squatters be confirmed in the ownership of land; that more land be purchased for re-allocation among Tolai; and that an independent body be established to investigate future land claims.⁵⁸ Another Methodist minister, who later became Bishop, Saimon Gaius, served as a commissioner on the Inquiry into Local Government and other matters in the Gazelle Peninsula (which found that the multi-racial council was validly constituted).⁵⁹

Although Archbishop Hoehne and Monsignor Bata reported to the government that they had "strongly advised" Tammur not to make a major issue of the land dispute during his election campaign,⁶⁰ Tammur persisted, and served the electorate for some two terms. When East New Britain District Commissioner Jack Emanuel was murdered in August 1971 Saimon Gaius once again played an important negotiating role.⁶¹

The opposition by some Catholic clergy to the establishment of the copper mine at Panguna on Bougainville⁶² in 1968 strained relations between the administration and the Catholic hierarchy, and provided a rallying point for emergent Bougainvillean nationalists, most of whom had received some Catholic theological training. The critical issue concerned royalties to be paid by the mine operators to the land owners at Panguna. The North American Marist Fathers Moore, Mahoney and Wiley, with the apparent approval of Bishop Lemay, maintained that all minerals belonged to the landowners, rather than to the state, (as was the case in America, but not in Australia) and campaigned against the Australian government's compensation and mining-royalty plans. Although Paul Lapun, representative for Bougainville in the first House of Assembly, managed to secure legislation guaranteeing a 5% royalty payment to landowners - a percentage accepted by the Australian administration, but one which it doubted would please the Marist priests - the priests were only disarmed through confidential diplomatic

⁵⁸ The Parramatta synod of the Methodist Church in N.S.W. sent a resolution to Prime Minister Gorton urging a land commission to investigate Tolai land problems. The Catholic Archbishop made available for sale 10,000 Hectares at Put Put, D.O. Hay (Administrator), "Land Shortage - Gazelle Peninsula", 8 July 1969. TPNG, 9349 - 35/5/16. The Methodist church also made available a large area of its freehold land.

⁵⁹ Ian Downs, *Australian Trusteeship*, 430.

⁶⁰ S.S. Smith, 3 April 1968. TPNG, 9349 - 31/5/16. In 1988, however, Mr Tammur strongly denied to me that any missionary had ever told him how to campaign, and did not recall the intervention of the Catholic clerics.

⁶¹ Gaius saw the church's role as "God's agents seeking to reconcile men to him and each other", a reference to the divisive movements that arise more and more as the country approached independence. UCPNGSI. An. Reps. 1971. M.C. Circuit Reports 1971, Box 377.

⁶² By Conzinc Rio-tinto of Australia (CRA).

negotiations facilitated by Apostolic Delegate Domenico Enrici.⁶³ Subsequently, Momis and Lapun found accommodation with the existence of the copper mine, and argued that mining could provide government revenue, and employment, and attract other investment - although Momis did also argue for re-negotiation of the mining contract.⁶⁴ Not all missions were against the mine: Anglican, Catholic, Lutheran and United Church representatives met with Bougainville Copper officials in 1969 to discuss their role at the mine.⁶⁵

Other political and ethnic movements having the potential to split the Melanesian colonies faced resistance from one or other mission. The Anglican Diocese of Papua New Guinea, for instance, rejected the Papua Besena movement in July 1973, and called for support for the concept of national unity against the Papuan nationalism and separatism advocated by Josephine Abaijah.⁶⁶ APCM missionaries in the Western District similarly "counselled" against supporting the movement.⁶⁷ While Abaijah's movement did not develop into civil war, (despite its unilateral declaration of independence on 16 March 1975) as the Anglican reports feared it might, Nagriamel, a land reappropriation movement in the northern New Hebrides, led by Jimmy Stevens, resulted in modern military conflict.

More traditional and reactionary than nationalist, or even "proto-nationalist", Stevens established Nagriamel in February 1964, to oppose massive land alienation on Santo, and unite landowners according to custom law.⁶⁸ Linked to the political movement was the Nagriamel Royal Church, with at least twelve churches of bush materials constructed on Aoba, and others on Santo.⁶⁹ Stevens opposed the formation of local councils and the presence of the Melanesian Mission on Santo, which he regarded as a major European land-owner. He saw Protestant pastors as "the British Administration's informers of [his] ideas", and accused the missions of occupying more and more customary land, and of actively

⁶³ Correspondence between Minister for Territories, C.E Barnes, and Apostolic Delegate to Australia, New Zealand and Oceania, Domenico Enrici, is included in Ian Downs, *Australian Trusteeship*, 350-352.

⁶⁴ John Momis, "Bougainville Copper: The case for renegotiation"; Paul Lapun, "Papua New Guinea's Mining Policy: Choosing our own future", in Jean G. Zorn & Peter Payne (eds), *Foreign Investment International Law and National Development: Papers presented at the seventh Waigani Seminar, Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea, April-May 1973*, Butterworths, Sydney, 1975.

⁶⁵ N. Battersby, the United Church representative, was a specialist in "industrial ministry", *Islands Newsbeat*, 1:5, December 1969, 19.

⁶⁶ "Our Diocesan Council Speaks about the Papua Movement", *Diocese of Papua New Guinea Newsletter*, 5:2, 1973. According to Abaijah, "Papua is a nation in its own right. It has its own boundaries, its own very rich resources, its own language, its own history and its own area of cultural spread and influence. Any contact it has had with New Guinea has been forced upon it and has been mainly unpleasant and damaging to Papua.", "Letter from J. Abaijah, *Oral History* 2:7, July 1974, 6-7.

⁶⁷ Charles Horne to author, September 1985.

⁶⁸ In 1960 Stevens established "Namele", a custom movement that was a precursor to Nagriamel: Jommy Stevens, "Nagriamel" in Christ Plant (ed), *New Hebrides: The Road to Independence*, (Suva, 1977), 35.

⁶⁹ Garry Trompf, "Jimmy Stephens as betrayer of faith", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, November 1980, 29.

opposing his Nagriamel movement.⁷⁰ Stevens established alliances with some Church of Christ leaders,⁷¹ but he and his movement faced vigorous opposition from the Melanesian and Presbyterian Missions. Initially, the National Party had also hoped to find some accommodation with Nagriamel, since it too was concerned at lack of land legislation,⁷² but ultimately Nagriamel's failure to attract the nationalist clerics contributed to its eventual downfall.

Requests in the Advisory Council that the Nagriamel movement be thoroughly investigated were made by Anglican pastor Michael Ala, in 1970,⁷³ and by Leymang, in October 1971. Rawcliffe suggested in the Council that the solution to the problem lay in improved training for local councillors. The Advisory Council subsequently recommended that persons found guilty of intimidation should receive prison sentences of up to two years.⁷⁴ Also in 1971, shortly after Nagriamel presented a petition to the United Nations through the assistance of Fiji lawyer Ramrakha, Rawcliffe sought in the Advisory Council the assistance of both governments in correcting what he regarded as errors in Stevens' statement.⁷⁵

Although Nagriamel gained influence on the northern islands of Santo, Pentecost, and Ambae, where it spread easily through Church of Christ villages, on Ambae the priests Richard Hugwe, Michael Ala and Bartholemeu Quai led the Anglican church's resistance to the movement.⁷⁶ Hugwe twice visited Vanafo, the movement's headquarters, and questioned Stevens on having three wives.⁷⁷ Walter Lini accompanied Bishop Rawcliffe to a Nagriamel meeting at Lolovaki, on Ambae, on 28 October 1971 to hear Jimmy Stevens explain the aims of his party for the first time. Rawcliffe took the opportunity to accuse Stevens of lying in his speech before the United Nations General Assembly, and Stevens

⁷⁰ *Nakamal*, 27, August 1973, 8-9; 28, 1973, 16. Stevens wrote: "Nagriamel stands by custom. Custom is custom, and religion is religion - they should not be mixed up", Chris Plant (ed), *New Hebrides*, 40.

⁷¹ In 1967 Stevens and Buluk, his co-founder of Nagriamel, were baptised into the Church of Christ by Abel Bani, a Church elder who had persuaded many Church of Christ members to join Nagriamel in 1966. Samuel Wine, a Church of Christ pastor, also became extensively involved in Nagriamel. Abel Bani, "Aoba's Leader Speaks", *Goody Pearls*, March 1950, 11.

⁷² A.L. Jackson, "Towards Political Awareness in the New Hebrides", *Journal of Pacific History*, 7:1972, 160.

⁷³ In December 1970, Ala's proposal that Nagriamel be investigated by the administration was passed 15-0 with 5 abstentions. Advisory Council. 11th sitting December 1970, 324.

⁷⁴ New Hebrides Condominium, *Proceedings of the Advisory Council*, 19th Session, 3-4 March 1970.

⁷⁵ According to Rawcliffe, Ramrakha's papers in Fiji and Hawaii carried attacks against him, following his "corrections" to the "Lies" told by Jimmy Stevens at the United Nations.

⁷⁶ Robert Hugwe to Derek Rawcliffe, 14 August 1970. Ambae Ndundui 1967-78. CM. Santo. Hence Crocombe observed that Jimmy Stephens lost considerable political support by offending some key Christian principles: R.G. Crocombe, "The Pacific: The view from Vila: Peaceful change or ultimate violence?", *New Guinea and Australia, the Pacific and Southeast Asia*, Jun-Jul. 1972.

⁷⁷ Jimmy Stevens was reported to have had 18 children, by at least three wives - a life-style on which Anglican clerics, at least, commented disparagingly.

expressed the view that the New Hebrides was not ready for independence.⁷⁸ Whereas Stevens claimed a membership of 23,000 by 1973, only 600 members marched through Lugainville on 18 January 1974 in support of the French political party, MANH (Autonomist Movement of the New Hebrides).⁷⁹ Just as the French cultivated the Tannese John Frum movement to resist the advance of the anglo-protestant parties,⁸⁰ so they accommodated Jimmy Stevens' demand in 1975 for Santo's independence. The policy on both islands resulted in bloodshed. Although no movement appeared in the Solomons to oppose independence with the forcefulness of Santo's Nagriamel movement, the Aulutulau Alahas (traditional leaders) of Apuala-Malou, on Mala, wondered how independence could be achieved, believing their own area to be in a "poor and low state".⁸¹

Of the clerics who entered national politics in Papua New Guinea, Catholics played more prominent roles than Protestants. The subsequent wealth brought to the territory by the mining of copper kindled in the Bougainville elite a long-standing desire on the island for secession: their goal was not to close the mine, but to oppose political integration with the rest of Papua and New Guinea.⁸² Late in 1971 Bishop Lemay reluctantly gave in to pressure from Paul Lapun and others, and allowed John Momis, parish priest at Hahela Catholic mission, to run for parliament. Momis defeated Joseph Lue (a Marist teaching brother) in the 1972 Bougainville regional seat, with 85.4% of the formal vote,⁸³ and Momis went on to become the nation's most effective political cleric.⁸⁴

Momis had sought to express Papua New Guinea's national consciousness, and had campaigned across Bougainville on the issue of greater returns to the island from the copper mine. He felt no

⁷⁸ It was also apparent that the anxiety of some Nagriamel supporters had resulted from their uncertainty about the purpose of surveying pegs on Santo.

⁷⁹ Reported in *New Hebrides News*, 7, 5 February, 1974, 7; *Nakamal*, 44, Janvier 1974, 3. MANH, established in 1974 by Michel Thevenin and a small group of Francophone Melanesians in and around Santo, sought steady evolution of the territory towards autonomous status, the establishment of municipal councils, and progress towards a territorial type of assembly - goals that paralleled those proposed by the French administration: Kalkot Matas Kele-Kele, "The Emergence of Political Parties", in Chris Plant (ed), *The New Hebrides*, 30-32; Aimé Maléré, "Mouvement Autonomiste des Nouvelles Hebrides", *ibid*, 43-47.

⁸⁰ According to Ellis and Parsons, the French Inspector Jean-Jaques Robert was actively engaged in building an opposition party from Nagriamel on Santo, John Frum on Tanna, and the sprinkling of French Catholic and Protestant missions: Julie-Ann Ellis & Michael Parsons, "Vanuatu: Social Democracy, Kastom & 'Melanesian Socialism'", *op. cit.*, 118; Lamont Lindstrom, "Cultural Politics: National Concerns in Bush Arenas on Tanna", *Proceedings of the 1982 Politics Conference*, (Hawaii, 1982), 238.

⁸¹ Nori Hanai, *Malaita Newsletter*, July 1971, 21-22.

⁸² Alexander Mamak & Richard Bedford, *Bougainvillean Nationalism*, 1974.

⁸³ Shortly after Momis' victory, the Sisters of St Joseph held a dinner in his honour, attended by all Buka Fathers and Sisters, at which the novel politician spoke after dinner on his hopes and ideas for the House of Assembly. The mood of the dinner was one of celebration and satisfaction, rather than of disapproval at Momis' entry into the political arena: Robert Fahey, S.M., "Diary", 3 April 1972. OM.

⁸⁴ Momis has been Chairman of the Constitutional Planning Committee, 1972-74, the Minister for Decentralisation, Minister for Provincial Government, and Deputy leader of the opposition.

dichotomy between secular and religious affairs, once stating that he had decided to become a priest because he wanted to work with his people, and had stood for parliament at their request.⁸⁵ Central to Momis's political thought was the necessity to define leadership roles, and a value system in terms of which Papua New Guinea could replace colonial domination with genuine social and economic development. His interviews and statements repeatedly stressed such imperatives as egalitarianism, rural development, retention of positive cultural values, moral leadership, decentralisation, control over foreign capital, and a "forward looking" constitution.⁸⁶

Like Walter Lini, Momis did not accept the European division between church and state. "Man cannot be divorced from his context...in the Melanesian view, life is a unity".⁸⁷ An "integrated approach" to life, according to Momis, requires participation not only in unofficial social and economic development, but in creating a just society through involvement in the "political and socio-economic dimension". Momis did, on the other hand, recognize the limits to church involvement at the institutional level, yet the churches have a "responsibility for equipping the people of God for ministry in the political sphere of life."⁸⁸

When, in June 1974, Alexis Sarai, Leo Hannet and Apasai Toga led the movement for Bougainvillean secession, in opposition to the moderate position of Paul Lapun and Donatus Mola, Momis and Raphael Bille, from Rorovana, lent their support. Momis accused certain European missionaries of trying to influence people against the idea of secession.⁸⁹ One Catholic priest on the island, Wally Fingleton, gained a "certain notoriety" from his self-appointed role as spokesman for Bougainvillean grievances.⁹⁰ Hannet, for his part, had become increasingly demoralised with the attitudes shown by Catholic priests during his training, first at Chambai preliminary seminary on Bougainville, and later at Madang Seminary. Apart from what he regarded as the priests' institutionalised racial discrimination, Hannet was disappointed with his church's response to the Hahalis Welfare Society, and by negative responses to his statements in the second issue of *Dialogue*, concerning timber concessions on Bougainville. The final blow came with the church's eventual acquiescence in the matter of C.R.A.'s

⁸⁵ John Momis, radio interview N.B.C. 30 April 1974, quoted in Keith Jackson, "John Momis", *Yagl-Ambu* 1:3, September 1974, 247.

⁸⁶ John Momis, "Unity in Diversity", *Pacific Perspective* 3:1, 1974.

⁸⁷ John Momis, "Ministry in Politics", *Point*, 7, 279.

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, 282.

⁸⁹ Robert Fahey, S.M., "Diary", 18 July 1974. OM.

⁹⁰ H.L. Balfour-Ogilvy, Buin Patrol Reports. 2 of 1967-68, Lugakei & Kono CDs. TPNG. See Wally Fingleton, "Bougainville 2. A chronicle of just grievances", *New Guinea and Australia, the Pacific and South-East Asia*, 5:2. June/July, 1970.

copper mine.⁹¹ Politically, the move for Bougainville's secession was forestalled by the creation of Bougainville's provincial constituent assembly, announced by Chief Minister Somare in July 1974. At the same time, participation by Marist priests in the dispute over mining-rights alerted the administration to the potential role that missions could play in political activities. Although the question of mining royalties simmered for two decades,⁹² the role of missions in fuelling the secessionist movement ceased. As independence loomed, Chief Minister Michael Somare addressed the missions on nation-building and independence, and received assurances that they intended conducting studies on these subjects.⁹³ Although a Bougainville Interim Provincial Government declared unilateral independence on 1 September, 1975, some two week's prior to the Territory's independence, a solution to the threatened secession was found some six months later. By 1975, the year in which Papua New Guinea became the first of the Melanesian colonies to gain national independence, Momis was accusing the churches of fearing political change. He suggested that, since it was in politics that "laws were made, structures established and institutions decided on", that the church should be politically involved. To keep religion and politics totally separate, ran Momis' argument, was to prolong the "oppressive structures and institutions" of colonialism.⁹⁴

Walter Lini developed similar views. Lini formulated a "Melanesian socialism" in which Western Political ideals are integrated with "Kastom".⁹⁵ Specifically, Lini viewed Melanesian patterns of "land usage" as basically different to Western concepts of "land ownership", with the former being "essentially Melanesian socialism".⁹⁶ While posted in the Solomon Islands Lini's attitude to religious authority had caused Bishop John Chisholm concern,⁹⁷ and although Rawcliffe regarded him as one of three priests -

⁹¹ Leo Hannet, "Disillusionment with the Priesthood", *Kovave* 2:1, November 1970; L. Hannet, "The church and nationalism", in M. Ward (ed), *The Politics of Melanesia*.

⁹² In 1988-89 the issue of mining royalties, and ecological degradation developed into militant confrontation which forced the mine's closure.

⁹³ The United Church, for instance, expressed concern with independence issues at its 69th annual synod on Petats Island, off Bougainville, held in August 1974. Following Somare's letter on nation-building and independence, the synod assured the Chief Minister that it intended conducting studies on self-government and independence: United Church in the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea, Minutes of 69th Annual Synod, August 1974. MCNZ, UPNGSI, Synods and Assembly, 1974.

⁹⁴ John Momis, "Values for Involvement: Theology and Politics", *Catalyst*, 5:3, 1975. As a leader of the Bougainville succession move in 1976 Momis took John Teosin, HWS leader, to argue their case at the United Nations.

⁹⁵ Julie-Ann Ellis and Michael Parsons, "Vanuatu: Social Democracy, Kastom and 'Melanesian Socialism'", in Peter Davis, (ed), *Social Democracy in the Pacific*.

⁹⁶ Walter Lini, "Australia and the South Pacific", *Mission Review*, July/Sept 1982, 8.

⁹⁷ J. Chisholm to D. Rawcliffe, 12 February 1970. CM. New Hebrides Southern Correspondence with Archdeacon D.A. Rawcliffe. F17.

others being John Bani and Hari Tevi - having the potential to become a Bishop,⁹⁸ Lini's political involvement eventually concerned Rawcliffe also. On Aoba Lini rallied regional support through construction of the Longana People's Centre and obtained large inflows of international church-aid to provide adult education and the teaching of "custom". Although fears were expressed that the Centre's real purpose was the training of National Party cadres, the Presbyterian Church of Canada provided an initial \$10,000 in October 1972, and aid was eventually attracted also from Community Aid Abroad, Freedom from Hunger, the Australian Council of Churches, and the National Council of the Church of Christ in the United States.⁹⁹ The Centre's foundation stone was laid in 1971 by the Bishop of Christchurch, Alan Pyatt.¹⁰⁰ Lini was not alone in deciding on political activism: John Bani organised a demonstration in Vila against further land subdivision, in October 1971, just one month before the first vote by universal suffrage for a representative assembly. In later years TTI and PTC graduate Sethy Reganvanu, from Uripiu off Malekula, defended his involvement in politics while attacking French involvement in economic but not political development.¹⁰¹ Reganvanu relayed in nationalistic language the traditional Presbyterian idea of the church as "the only instrument" through which New Hebrideans had been able to speak their mind.¹⁰²

Gerard Leymang was the only francophone Ni-Vanuatu Catholic priest to become openly involved in party politics. When the first French political party, Union de la Population des Nouvelles Hebrides (UPNH) - which was established in 1971 - became in 1974 the Union des Communaites Neo-Hebridaises (UCNH), Leymang was the party's secretary.¹⁰³ Similarly, significantly more expatriate Protestant clerics were prominent in the Condominium's politics than were expatriate Catholics.

With such priests as Bani and Lini so involved in politics, Rawcliffe, as their Bishop, was increasingly implicated as a source of tacit support. Indeed, accusations that he supported the Nationalist movement emerged after the appearance of Lini's newspaper *New Hebridean Viewpoints*, first issued in August 1971,¹⁰⁴ one month after the appearance of a French paper, *Nakamal*.¹⁰⁵ John Bani had

⁹⁸ D.A. Rawcliffe to John Chisholm, 29 April 1971. CM, New Hebrides Southern Correspondence with D.A. Rawcliffe. F17.

⁹⁹ E. Mala, "Longana Peoples Center Report 1976", AV, Longana People's Centre.

¹⁰⁰ *Group News*, 30 April 1971, 3.

¹⁰¹ *Island News*, October 1973. Reganvanu set out his thinking on political education, as one facet of "adult Christian education", in his thesis, "A Proposed plan for Adult Christian Education in the Presbyterian Church of the New Hebrides", BD, PTC, 1973.

¹⁰² Sethy Reganvanu, "New Hebrideans will speak about political future through church", *Island News*, October 1973.

¹⁰³ Other office bearers were M. Remy Delaveuve (President), and Jean-Marie Lehye (Vice-President).

¹⁰⁴ In Auckland Lini had founded the journal *Onetalk* for Pacific Island students.

contributed articles to Lini's paper critical of French policy, warning New Hebrideans against buying land from the French nationals Solway and Ohlen, whose business contracts allowed the purchaser to lose deposit, plus land, if repayments fell behind.¹⁰⁶

Langlois, the French Resident Commissioner, expressed his concern to Allan, the British Resident Commissioner, who conveyed as much to Rawcliffe. If not explicitly involved, Rawcliffe became emotionally involved in his priests' activities. He considered *Nakamal's* second issue "extremely violent, unbalanced, and hysterical" on the issue of land speculation, and two letters in the third accused him of engineering the demonstration, lead by John Bani, that coincided with a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Advisory Council.¹⁰⁷ "There are now three political leaders in the New Hebrides", one letter suggested,

two Resident Commissioners and the Archdeacon. Under cover of soul-saving he has the advantage of close contact with the unthinking flock,¹⁰⁸

to which Rawcliffe replied:

There seems to be a belief among many that New Hebridean Melanesians are not capable of expressing an opinion of their own that is well thought out or of organising a demonstration. When they do so the cry goes up, "some white man must be behind it. They are being egged on by the Government, the Missions, the Archdeacon..." let it be clearly understood that some New Hebridean Melanesians are expressing their own opinions - some of which some people may not like - and are not being egged on by any European.¹⁰⁹

Skepticism at Rawcliffe's declaration of non-involvement was understandable, since *New Hebridean Viewpoints* was being produced on the Melanesian Mission press at Lolowai. Later, Rawcliffe requested Lini to re-locate the Vanuaku Pati's headquarters, as its presence on the Anglican church grounds at Vila during 1974-76 had given the impression that the church and the political party were one and the same.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, Rawcliffe was responsible for conveying to Lini the British Administration's policies and attitudes, through his contact with the British political secretary, Keith Woodward, who had been closely associated with the development of the cultural association, and with

¹⁰⁵ Later, *New Hebrides Viewpoints* was edited by Lini's sister, Hilda Lini. The Catholic church paper, *Ekalesia*, did not appear until 1978, under the editorship of the Irish priest, Derek Finlay. *Nakamal's* editor, Roland Brun, stated in the first issue (1, Juillet, 1971) that he had established his paper because the official publications of both the British and French residences published news of government and the travels of officials, rather than the problems of the New Hebrides.

¹⁰⁶ Derek Rawcliffe to Bishop... 3 September 1971. CM, F17-1.

¹⁰⁷ Derek Rawcliffe to Bishop... 9 October 1971. CM, F17-1.

¹⁰⁸ *Nakamal*, 3, September 1971.

¹⁰⁹ Derek Rawcliffe to the editor, *Nakamal*, 5 October 1971. CM, F17-1.

¹¹⁰ Walter Lini, *Beyond Pandemonium*, 26.

its decision not to support Nagriamel, which he considered a "backward looking trend", and lacking in educated leadership.¹¹¹

Following his October 1971 meeting with Jimmy Stevens, Rawcliffe entered an informal alliance with the British against Nagriamel. Tony Warner, the British Information Officer, sought from Rawcliffe information with which to discredit Stevens on Radio Vila, and in the administration's newsletter,¹¹² and there is evidence that Rawcliffe co-operated in transmitting detrimental reports about Stevens.¹¹³

The Presbyterian church entered the independence debate at its 1971 Assembly, and became instrumental in linking the nationalists with overseas support. When Lini wished to address the UN Special Committee of 24 on decolonisation, the Presbyterian Church in North America gave advice on whom to contact for prompt action,¹¹⁴ and Lini was assisted in his presentation by the United Methodist Church and the National Council of Churches of Christ, USA.¹¹⁵ The British subsequently agreed to communicate with the Committee of 24, while the French replied that they would not, as they did not regard the committee as having any legitimate authority.¹¹⁶

Ni-Vanuatu Nationalists subsequently participated in a series of politically-motivated conferences sponsored by Protestant bodies, which brought the struggle for independence to an ever-widening circle of sympathetic agencies. Following George Kalkoa and Sethy Reganvanu's attendance at a South Pacific Action for Development (SPADES) conference in Vila in January 1973,¹¹⁷ John Brown wrote on behalf of the Australian Presbyterian Board of Ecumenical Mission to ask how the Australian Presbyterian Church could help in the independence struggle. The Pacific Conference of Churches added its voice of condemnation to the continuation of British and French rule in the New Hebrides, and

¹¹¹ Woodward, quoted in Meyers, "Independens long Vanuatu", 74.

¹¹² Toney Worner (Information Officer) to Derek Rawcliffe, 12 January 1970. AV, British Residency.

¹¹³ Myers, "Independens long Vanuatu", 237. The Bishop reported to the administration Nagriamel's intimidation of Chief Androvoling, perhaps because he had allowed members of the Melanesian Brotherhood into Tombet the previous year: [Derek Rawcliffe to Dick Baker (BDA), 23 May 1974. AV, Correspondence, Siota]. Rawcliffe also periodically removed Nagriamel posters which had been placed on Anglican church property at Batnapni on Pentecost. D. Rawcliffe to F.E. Baker (DA), 16 April 1976. AV, Correspondence, Siota.

¹¹⁴ PCV Files, 2 Oct 1973, quoted in Meyers, "Independens long Vanuatu", 197.

¹¹⁵ Myers, "Independens long Vanuatu", 180.

¹¹⁶ Advisory Council of the New Hebrides. Proceedings of the 22nd session, 14-17 December, 1971.

¹¹⁷ The 1973 SPADES conference, extending over three weeks, involved 31 Melanesians and four advisors. In the first week groups visited Fiji, Western Samoa and Tanna to gather information on "social, economic and political affairs". Two weeks were then spent in discussions in Vila. The SPADES conference condemned colonialism, supported political freedom for "unheard" peoples, condemned French nuclear testing, and warned of the effects of Tourism and degradation of Pacific Island cultures: Mackenzie Asor, "Thinking about our problems and looking for the Christian answers", *Diocese of Papua New Guinea Newsletter*, 5:1 Easter 1973.

urged that immediate steps be taken to foster political unity.¹¹⁸ Within the Condominium, ecumenical retreats held ostensibly to discuss matters of liturgy, theology, and social and economic development, became impromptu sessions for expression of dissatisfaction with the administration.¹¹⁹ The Presbyterian Church held a series of conferences, the political intent of which was at all times apparent.¹²⁰

A resolution calling for rapid independence passed at its 1973 General Assembly on Tanna set the mood for Presbyterian political involvement.¹²¹ The Assembly adopted John Haysey's paper, "Citizenship and other matters", first presented to a Presbytery conference on Efate.¹²² Jack Taritoga, the Church's moderator, and later parliamentarian, spoke of the people's right to speak on matters of government, the right to elect their government, and to choose their constitution.¹²³ The Tanna Assembly agreed that the church's public role was to build the nation's unity and foster high moral values throughout the nation's life; and Biblical texts were cited to legitimate the church's political role,

¹¹⁸ In 1974 the PCC brought the Brazilian liberation theologian Paolo Freire to its conference on "Education for Liberation and Community" in Suva. In 1976 it established a "Church and Society" program, and in October 1978 jointly sponsored a conference on independence movements with the "Pacific People's Action Front". At its Third Assembly, in 1975, the PCC, identified itself with the anti-nuclear movement: *PCC, Report of Third Assembly*, January 1976, 85. At "Pacific 77", organised by the PCC, such political clerics as John Momis defended their involvement in politics.

¹¹⁹ When cyclone "Carlotta" prevented the departure of the delegates, following their discussion of the Holy Spirit, the Holy Spirit, and Vatican II, discussion turned to economic, social and political developments in the New Hebrides: Alan Mackay, "New Hebrides Second Ecumenical Retreat, 25 January 1972. CM. F17-2.

¹²⁰ In 1973 the Presbyterian Church established a "Church and Society", which co-sponsored in 1974, together with the National Party and the New Hebrides Trade Unions, conferences on "Strategies for Nation Building", and another, on Nguna, on the possibility of establishing a council of chiefs. Missionaries Bill and Roxanne Coop ran "leadership studies" and "awareness seminars", which "invariably (evolved) into late night 'story-yarning' about the political life of the New Hebrides". The Coops encouraged discussion of citizenship rights, and expatriate control of the economy, before making way in 1974 for a new education officer, Sethy Reganvanu. A further conference, in 1975, concerned "The role of pastors in helping to shape a Christian Nation".

¹²¹ The substance of the resolution read "The Presbyterian Church of the New Hebrides, representing more than half of the population of the New Hebrides, in this its 25th General Assembly as a self-governing church, DECLARES that it confidently looks towards the goal of responsible self-government of the New Hebridean people as a nation.

We see the British, French and Condominium administrators as partners with us as together we move towards this goal. We now bring this conviction to the notice of our administrators and to the attention of the South Pacific Commission and the United Nations Organisation with the urgent request that they co-operate with our New Hebrides administrations in achieving self-government without delay, without violence, and with due preparation of our people for the duties, functions, rights and responsibilities of independent government", quoted in Kalkot Matas Kele-Kele, "The Position of the Churches", in Christ Plant (ed), *New Hebrides*, 56.

¹²² Mary and John Haysey, *Epistle No. 5 - New Hebrides* 22 May 1973. PCNH, N.H. 1973. Box C; "Report of Presbyterian Church of the New Hebrides. Assembly Executive to General Assembly, 1973. No.1. Haysey's paper discussed independence, the court system, tourism and French nuclear testing, and accused the missions of paternalism and oppression, and of not practicing a practical theology of social change. He put his theology into practice by allowing the New Hebrides General Labour Union to use church facilities for meetings, printing their draft constitution, and offering union leaders advice, and his active involvement in protests in Vila against French nuclear tests in the Pacific. John Haysey, "The Development of a Theology of Social Change", 1 June 1973; (May & John Haysey, "Epistle No 6 - New Hebrides", 27 August 1973. PCNZ, Box C. N.H. 1973). A general strike by 500 members of the Union on 18 June 1974 resulted in publicity, and the formation the following day of an employers federation, *New Hebrides News*, 16, 14 May 1974, 1.

¹²³ *Island News*, October 1973.

and the leadership of chiefs and priests over political and religious, or sacred and secular, affairs.¹²⁴ That role increased in 1974, following the first congress of the National Party, at which Walter Lini was elected president, and Presbyterian pastor (and customary chief) Fred Timakata, vice-president.

By the end of 1975 New Hebrideans were facing municipal elections in Santo and Vila, Solomon Islanders were preparing to elect an increased Legislative Assembly and Papua New Guinea had attained independence. The region had experienced a decade of rapid political change in which Christian missions and personnel figured in deliberate as well as unforeseen ways. There had been a natural progression from mission representation on colonial advisory bodies to the involvement of clerics and clerisy in politics, since it was these classes - mostly civil servants and school teachers, together with European and Melanesian clerics - from which the colonial states had largely drawn their indigenous administrative manpower. Not all churches endorsed involvement in political struggle. In the New Hebrides, Anglicans and Presbyterians had been most involved. Although the Catholic hierarchy disapproved of political involvement, they were unable to prevent the participation of several priests, particularly in Papua New Guinea. Similarly, European Church of Christ missionaries had not had the power to prevent the involvement of some pastors in Nagriamel. There was little hindrance to the continued involvement of clerics in the struggle for independence in Vanuatu, and in the negotiations toward independence in the Solomons.

¹²⁴ *Pacific Perspective* 5:2, 1976.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

CHRISTIANS IN POLITICS (II)

The government legislates while the missionary renders his interpretation of the Bible to create the necessary mentality for colonisation and colonialism.¹

Protestant churches, especially, in the Solomons and the New Hebrides, strengthened their commitment to independence for the Pacific peoples in the 1970s and assisted in linking political parties with overseas non-governmental organisations - which were often church-run aid and development agencies. The churches were encouraged in their political stance by the Pacific Conference of Churches (PCC), the regional ecumenical organisation affiliated with the World Council of Churches. The PCC, at its Third Assembly in Port Moresby in January 1976, threw its weight behind the call for New Hebridean independence, calling on the British and French to take "immediate constructive steps" toward building political unity in the Condominium.² The extent to which the push within the churches for decolonisation came from Melanesian nationalist clerics as opposed to European missionaries is not yet clear, as both Melanesians and Europeans preferred for ideological reasons to claim that the impetus and consciousness came from Pacific Islanders, rather than from Western missionaries, who merely provided forms of "technical assistance", or filled "advisory roles".

In both the Solomon Islands and the New Hebrides, the pursuit of political office by clerics continued in elections held in 1975-76. In November 1974 the British and French governments decided to grant New Hebrideans suffrage and a legislative body, for which elections were to be held in 1975. The following month Anglican priest John Bani notified his bishop that he wished to stand for office. A second Anglican priest, Timon Gao, also joined the National Party.³ Both were greatly influenced by Lini's thinking on the clergy's political role, and by the success of his activities at Longana. Lini argued that church and state (politics) had similar purposes:

The Church is a body which should uphold moral standards of justice. Politics is the way in which moral judgements are erected, that is, it tears down that what [sic] is evil and unjust and creates new structures through which right judgements are channelled so that every man is protected from being exploited or robbed of his rights as a human

¹ Grace Mera, "Hammer blows from an angry New Hebridean", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, July 1976, 25.

² Commission III of the PCC's 3rd Assembly, "God's Purpose in Development", reported: "Christian Politicians with insight should be supported all over the Pacific. The Christian Politician's job is a very difficult one and subject to many forces and temptations; it requires the close support and understanding of the people in the churches. People can influence political decisions only if they are involved and participating in the decision making of their communities and nations", "Minutes of the 3rd Assembly", Pacific Conference of Churches, *Report of Third Assembly*, January 1976, 37, 68-9.

³ Timon Gao, "Church gives independence lead in Vanuatu", *Mission Review*, Oct-Dec 1980, 4-5.

being or as a nation among other nations.⁴

Crucial to Lini's perspective were the beliefs that a cleric had to do more than moralise from the pulpit; and that in secular government, rather than through the church, lay the best possibilities of "changing the system".⁵ Thus, Lini did not respect the European tradition of the separation of church and state.⁶ His political activism expressed of his belief that the missions had not engaged as they should have in the quest for social justice, and he was prepared to cultivate radical alliances as much as traditional ones. In May 1975, for instance, Lini arrived on Aoba with black power leader Roosevelt Brown, a Bermudan who, the authorities claimed, was sought in the United States for questioning about "Black Power" bombings. The British decided that the tone of Brown's first talk, organised by Kawenu College tutor Peter Taurakotu, was "rabidly anti-white",⁷ and expelled the visitor from the Condominium.⁸

Of some twelve missions in the New Hebrides, only the Anglicans and Presbyterians became committed to the political struggle for independence. The Presbyterian Church continued throughout 1975 to give maximum support to the National Party. It sponsored two representatives to a Pan African congress in Tanzania with \$3,000 from its "localisation fund",⁹ and held a conference early in the year on "The role of pastors in helping to shape a Christian Nation". The Church's Doctrine Committee requested theological studies on church and state, and human rights, and two papers, "Theology of church and state", and "A theology of human rights and liberation", were subsequently included in study materials for training pastors at Aulua Theological College at Malekula. Also in 1975 the convener of the church's "Church and Society Committee" wrote to both Resident Commissioners expressing concern at the lack of a clear policy for social, political, and economic development in the Condominium.¹⁰

These initiatives occurred in the context of the first general elections. Municipal councils were elected in Vila and Santo in August 1975, and the first twenty-nine members of the new forty-two

⁴ Walter Lini, "Should the Church Play Politics?", *Pacific Perspective* 3:2, 1974, 12. This doctrine was similarly expressed by Grace Mera, another Anglican National Party activist, who formulated Jesus' stand for "justice and the people" as "Jesus Christ was political": Grace Mera, "Politics in the New Hebrides", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, January 1976, 19-20.

⁵ Walter Lini, "Should the Church Play Politics?", *Pacific Perspective* 3:2, 1974, 13.

⁶ According to Lini, "churches listened too much to European missionaries and teachers ... caused problems. Some tried to emphasise the separation of church and state...", Walter Lini, *Beyond Pandemonium*, 40.

⁷ K. Woodward to D. Rawcliffe, 19 May 1975. AV, Longana People's Centre.

⁸ Grace Mera, "Politics in the New Hebrides", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, January 1976, 19.

⁹ *Pacific Islands Monthly*, July 1975, 1-2; *Nabanga*, 4:30, May 1975.

¹⁰ PCV Files, 23 May 1975, quoted in Myers, "Independens long Vanuatu", 205; the text of the July 1975 PCNH Church and Society Committee on the relationship between the church and political parties is reproduced in Christ Plant (ed), *New Hebrides*, 59-60.

member Representative Assembly were elected in November. The National Party, having won a majority of the "people's representatives" seats, changed its name to the Vanuaku Pati, and sought independence by 1977.¹¹ Five Presbyterian pastors and three elders won Representative Assembly seats,¹² and New Hebridean clerics were more successful candidates than were European missionaries who ran. Bob Murray failed to become an independent in the Vila Municipal council by-election of 24 January 1975, and Neal Whimp also stood unsuccessfully for the National Party in Vila.

Despite the National Party's overall success, the electoral process was muddled by the failure to resolve allocation of four chiefly seats - which prevented the Assembly from meeting until November 1976 -¹³ and by electoral irregularities on Santo, where five seats invalidated by the Anglo-French Court of Appeal were re-contested in October 1976.¹⁴ A demonstration on 27 March 1976, organised by the National Party, demanding that the Representative Assembly be allowed to sit, led to a riot in Santo in which the Anglican priest Francis Gilu was among the injured.¹⁵

In the Solomon Islands, progress toward political independence was less confrontational and, although political parties were established, their membership proved somewhat fluid. As in the New Hebrides, the issue of the churches' involvement in Solomon Islands' politics was much discussed. Five Anglican priests were among the one-hundred and seventy candidates for the enlarged, thirty-eight seat Solomon Islands Legislative Assembly. Of the five, however, only John Gereia was successful, defeating Allan Taki for the West Kwara'ae seat, which Taki won back in 1978, after Gereia resigned from the Legislative Assembly to concentrate on running the Fiu Youth Training Centre.¹⁶ Prior to his election, John Gereia had worked in community development in West Kwara'ae's Fui district. Leslie Fugui, who had been the previous member for East Malaita, was defeated by Faneta Sira. Three other priests,

¹¹ Walter Lini, (Lini Outlines National Party's Aims), *New Hebrides News*, 43, November 24, 1975.

¹² These included Jack Taritonga, graduate of TTI (1953-56 and 1960-62), former moderator of the Presbyterian Church of the New Hebrides, who became member for Epi-Paama, John Naupa, Presbyterian elder; Titus Path, one-time moderator, principal of TTI; Kaitak Kaltefer, TTI graduate 1925-29, and elder of Erekor Presbyterian church; Jack Hopa, TTI 1967-69, and PTC 1971-73.

¹³ Mera says the sitting of the Representative Assembly was postponed because the National Party had obtained a clear majority, and the colonial governments did not want to face assembly sittings, Grace Mera, "Hammer blows from an angry New Hebridean", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, July 1976, 25. The administration was accused of wanting to increase the number of chiefs seats to eight, to balance the National Party's power.

¹⁴ The election wins of Titus Path, Mary Gilu, Philibert de Montgremier and Thomas Reuben (National Party) and Michel Thevenin (Manh party) had been invalidated due to illegal procedures. "New Hebrideans clear the arena for the next round", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, January 1977, 19. In the re-election, which was accompanied by violence in Santo, Path, Gilu and Reuben were returned, in addition to Jimmy Stevens and George Cronsteadt, "New Hebrideans clear the arena for the next round", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, January 1977, 19.

¹⁵ Christ Plant (ed), *New Hebrides*, 86.

¹⁶ *Solomons News Drum*, 152:10 February 1978, 1; 160:7 April 1978, 1.

Augustine Malefodala, Robert Pule, and Dan Brock, were unsuccessful candidates.¹⁷ Once more, Pawa graduates were prominent among the successful candidates.¹⁸

United Church (formerly Methodist) members of the new Legislative Assembly included several Goldie college graduates who had become public servants, but no clergy.¹⁹ Benedict Kinika, a Marist Brother who taught at Tenaru, then at the Honiara Technical Institute, was the only Catholic former-cleric in the Assembly.²⁰ In addition to several members who had received their education at government schools, a few progressed through less conventional channels: Pulepada Ghemu (Marovo) had an Adventist education; while David Kausimae (West Are Are), graduated from the SSEM's Onepusu Bible School.

Although Legislative Assembly members had mission-education backgrounds, most distinguished clearly between church and state, and dismissed efforts by church leaders to comment on the workings of the Assembly. Thus, for instance, in September 1976 - after the Assembly suspended discussion of independence, claiming that many of the population, including some of themselves, did not understand a tabled constitutional report - the Assembly's refusal to meet with a delegation of church leaders on 16 September (at the latter's request) commenced a long public debate concerning the proper functions of church and state. Church leaders, concerned that they were being left out of important decision making processes, stated through the Solomons press their concern at the quality of debate within the Assembly.²¹ Their call on members of the "opposition" to strive for greater unity, was attacked by members of the Assembly as evidence of interference in political matters.

In response Waeta Ben, the member for North East Guadalcanal, pointed out that the churches had not even been able to prevent Sunday sport, while Bart Ulufa'alu, (East Honiara), called the church leaders "capitalists", and Johnson Kengalu (Malaita Outer Islands) regarded the clerical letter as "a

¹⁷ For the seats of North West Malaita, Nggela and the Second Eastern Outer Islands seats, respectively.

¹⁸ These included Colin Gauwane (Central Malaita), John Gereia (West Kwara'ae), Peter Menetiva (Russells & Savo), Daniel Ho'ota (Ulawa & Ugi), Ben Tumulima (Nggela), Wille Betu (West Ysabel), Moffat Bonunga (First Eastern Outer Islands), Johnson Kengalu (Malaita Outer Islands), John Melanoli (Second Eastern Outer Islands): *News Drum*, 23 July, 1976, 6-7. Francis Talasasa, (d. December 1976) a Pawa graduate who won the seat of VonaVona, Rendova, Tetepari, had taken his maternal grandfather's name Aqarao, in a bid to widen his political support: George G. Carter, *Ti-é Varané: Stories about People of Courage from Solomon Islands*, (Auckland, 1981), 147.

¹⁹ Goldie College graduates included Lawry Wickham (Gizo & Kolombangara), Andrew Kukuti (Vella Lavella). Other graduates of Methodist education included Gideon Zoleveke (North Choiseul).

²⁰ Kinika was first elected to the East Makira seat in 1973, and held ministerial rank from 1975. In 1975 Kinika was Minister for Education, and in 1981, Minister for Finance. Another Catholic, Mariano Kelesi, was chairman of the Takwa Catholic Welfare Society when formed in 1954.

²¹ Norman Palmer, Leonard Alufurai, Dudley Tuti, Daniel Stuyvenberg, John Pratt, Jezreel Filoa, & Elisha Goropava, "Churches warn the opposition", *Solomons News Drum* 84, 24 Sept. 1976, 1.

further example of colonial interference".²² "Opposition" was a Western term, which Kengalu rejected. Andrew Nori, a student at the University of Papua New Guinea, expanded this view, questioning whether any of the bureaucratic, political or legal institutions, first put together by "colonial architects", adequately served the interests and values of Solomon Islanders.²³

Although only one of the signatories to the Church leaders' letter was European (Stuyvenberg), it was left to Brian McDonald-Milne, an English Anglican priest in the employ of the PCC, to try to quell the debate by explaining their intent. He failed, and debate on the church's role in the Solomons continued. Joe Gaqurae, at Raronga Theological College, doubted if the Church leaders were prepared to "do things in the Melanesian way", and supported the notion that in the Melanesian way, church and politics are linked:

The sharp separation between politics and religion is a Western or European thing. There is no sharp division between what is sacred and what is secular in the Melanesian societies. If you follow the Melanesian way then Church leaders have the right to poke their noses into politics.²⁴

Kamilo Teke, Catholic priest at Rokera, South Malaita, commented on the origins of the Biblical positions for and against the close association of political and religious powers, but offered no solutions to the current crisis. In the Old Testament, he noted, the nation led by Moses, Joshua, Samuel, and others, did not admit a distinction between religion and secular organisation: church and state were "one", and

according to traditions as in the State of Israel there was no clear cut division between Church and State as we know it today.²⁵

In the New Testament on the other hand, was the advice: "Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things which are Gods", a text, Teke noted, which has been used to support "practically any views of state relations".²⁶ The ambivalence of Teki's communication probably reflected that of Archbishop Stuyvenberg, who preferred that Catholic clerics work "behind the scenes" rather than publicly, and who stressed economic as much as political development.²⁷

²² "Members reply to Churches", *News Drum*, 1 October 1976, 1.

²³ "Churches Argument", *News Drum*, 12 November 1976, 6.

²⁴ "Churches Argument", *News Drum*, 5 November 1976, 8.

²⁵ "Church and Politics", *News Drum*, 14 October 1977, 6.

²⁶ *ibid.*

²⁷ In 1976 the Legislative Assembly took steps to initiate a timber industry on Maramasike. World Vision of New Zealand had sponsored a saw-mill at Kwai on the north coast of Malaita, and Christian World Service was involved in another, on Maramasike Island, commenced in 1977. Frank McKean, "Maramasike Island Development Aid Project (for Christian World Service)". DH, Rokera Corresp.

If the church leaders lacked the support of all Assembly members, they were assured by Peter Kenilorea, installed as Chief Minister in July 1976, that the Protectorate had in fact gained self-government under Christian leadership. A political independent elected to represent East Are Are, Kenilorea was a District Commissioner on Makira before entering politics, in addition to being an SSEM lay-preacher. His council of ministers contained several clerics and other committed Christians, including David Kausimae, leader of the Rural Alliance Party, who in 1978 received wide media attention after advocating the death penalty for Solomon Islands because it had "Biblical support".²⁸

For Kenilorea, Christian ethics legitimated his role as Chief Minister, and provided a sense of values for underdeveloped Solomons societies on the path to political independence. He referred to the individual's "rightful place as a limited creature" before an omniscient creator, and implied that expectations of material advancement mirrored the "acquisitiveness of man".²⁹ This linkage between a negative religious value, "materialism", and the politically desirable goal of economic advancement, gave Kenilorea the potential to control "rising expectations" in Solomons society. The "Christian leadership" of Kenilorea and others, including David Kausimae, gave the missions much satisfaction.

In both the New Hebrides and the Solomons, however, there were issues of vital concern to the missions over which their influence had all but disappeared. Whereas previously they had enjoyed some degree of influence over legislative and executive actions, through their representatives on Legislative Councils, or through their close relations with colonial administrations, such access now decreased, due to the transfer of political power to elected representatives, over whom the missions' influence was found to be uncertain. The Solomon Islands Christian Association (SICA), for instance, displeased with the "American orientation" of the Radio Church of God's program "The World Tomorrow", failed to prevent airing of the program on the Solomon Islands Broadcasting Service (SIBS).³⁰ Calls to prevent new missions entering the Solomons were resisted by Mariano Kelesi, Minister for Education and Cultural Affairs, who decided that religions could enter upon application, so long as they co-existed peacefully.³¹ Although Kinika opposed the granting of a two-year permit to the Missionary Aviation Fellowship to service the SSEC, United Church, and the Church of Melanesia - arguing that the permit discriminated against Catholics -³² a permit was granted.

²⁸ *Solomons News Drum*, 190:7 April 1978, 3.

²⁹ Peter Kenilorea, "Cultural Values versus the Acquisitiveness of Man: A View from the Solomon Islands", *Pacific Perspective* 5:2, 1976.

³⁰ *Solomons News Drum* 124:15 July 1977, 3.

³¹ *Solomons News Drum*, 121:24 June 1977, 3.

³² *Solomons News Drum*, 1:9, 4 April 1975, 3; 1:15, 16 May 1975, 5.. The entry of new missions to the Solomons was being debated in the Legislative Assembly during this period: In 1972 Baptists had entered the Solomons, and by 1976 claimed 200 members at California village, Guadalcanal: *Solomons News Drum* 56:12 March 1976, 3); the YMCA took up management of a government Girls Hostel in Honiara, *Solomons News Drum* 149:20 January 1978, 3. Whereas an application for entry by the

More telling than such small incidents was SICA's criticism in July 1977 that the Legislative Assembly was purposely excluding church leaders from discussions on formation of the constitution. The churches' protest occurred after their offer of Archbishop Norman Palmer for "either informal or formal talks" with British envoy Richard Posnett and constitutional adviser Professor Yash Ghai was not taken up.³³ One member criticised SICA for craving prestige and "religious domination",³⁴ and the church body in turn criticised the Assembly for not giving sufficient information on the negotiations between it and the British. Kenilorea responded by listing citizenship and land-rights as the key issues: an automatic grant of citizenship at independence to all residents having a minimum of two grand-parents would have excluded Chinese and Gilbertese residents - including the Eurasian Anglican Archbishop Norman Palmer, who soundly criticised the proposal, and called for more inclusive terms for citizenship.³⁵ In the end, Gilbertese were granted full citizenship, and the issue was resolved.

Although by 1977 several political parties had emerged in the Solomon Islands, the missions had not played a significant role in their development. Church leaders did, on the other hand, become involved in the question of national unity and the attempt by some Western Solomons leaders at political secession, or at least a more federal political structure with guaranteed devolution of power.³⁶ Clerics generally supported self-reliance, and those from the Western Solomons, such as Esau Tuza, favoured decentralisation.³⁷ Joe Gaqurae, at Goldie College, on the other hand, opposed the attempt by the Western Council (with the support of Talasasa and several other Western members of the Assembly) to break away, suggesting that most villagers in the Western District did not support it.³⁸ To Gaqurae, Kenilorea led a "God given government", which he supported. John Pratt, United Church Bishop of the Western Solomons, also spoke against the Western Breakaway movement, as "breaking away weakens our nation rather than strengthening it".³⁹ Unfortunately for the bishop, his use of this

Summer Institute of Linguistics, despite support from SICA, was turned down: *British Solomon Islands. Annual Report 1973*, 109, the MAF commenced operations in the Solomons in 1975, and the Osborne Foundation, a North American evangelistic organisation, was attracting members by promoting a "money tree": *Solomons News Drum* 1:4, 28 February 1975, 8.

³³ *Solomons News Drum* 123:8 July 1977, 1; *ibid* 125:22 July 1977, 6.

³⁴ Talasala, who replaced his brother Aqarao, who died in December 1976, as member for Vona Vona, Rendova and Tetpari: *Solomons News Drum* 125:22 July, 1977, 6.

³⁵ "Tricky reefs on the Solomons' cruise to independence", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, September 1977, 8. At this time Kenilorea supported the application for citizenship of Charles Fox, who had been a resident of the Solomon Islands for 65 years.

³⁶ Ralph Premdas & Peter Larmour, "The Western Breakaway Movement", *Pacific Studies*, 7:2, 1984.

³⁷ *News Drum* 173:21 July 1978, 14. Gordon Volaka, at Rarongo Theological College, called for "self-reliance", *ibid*, 174:28 July 1978, 8.

³⁸ *News Drum* 17 February, 1978, 6.

³⁹ *News Drum*, 24 February, 1978, 6.

rhetoric of "unity" was followed by publication of evidence of his own discriminatory practices against members of other religious organisations.⁴⁰ Bishop Leslie Boseto joined the debate, urging that the issue of the Western Council's financial relationship with the central government be examined once independence had been achieved:

If the central government is not sensitive enough to accommodate (the Western Council's concerns) then perhaps that will be the time the Western Solomons can seriously consider breaking away. But now is not the time to break away but to pull together at every level and section of our society and country as a whole nation.⁴¹

Dudley Tuti, Senior Anglican Bishop of the Church of Melanesia, added his voice at this time to the call for unity:

We must be one people; Solomon islanders and Europeans or expatriates who choose to take citizenship, all must be installed with a sense of belonging; all must be part of a whole, the Independent Solomons.⁴²

The dispute may well have been settled in purely political terms, but the sentiments of religious leaders, who indicated their clear preference for preservation of Solomon Islands as defined by pre-existing colonial boundaries, contributed to peaceful resolution of the conflict. Deputy Chief Minister Benjamin Kinika assured the Western Council that provincial governments would be similar to the previously established local government system. Officially, the matter depended on the findings of a special committee on provincial government appointed in December 1977 and led by David Kausimae. In June 1978 the Kausimae committee met with leaders of the Western breakaway movement, and pleaded that there was not time to submit a report (as they requested) before independence. The committee only reported in May 1979. On 7 July 1978, despite the Western Council's boycott, the Solomon Islands attained full political independence.

If the involvement of Churches in Solomon Islands independence was more rhetorical than real, the events of 1977 in the New Hebrideans' twisted path to independence - especially the Vanuaku Pati's radical nationalist tactics - further tested the relations between church and state. On 24 February, with seats tied at 20-20 Vanuaku, Pati members refused to sit further, and on February 28 the French Resident Commissioner, Gauger, announced the session's permanent closure.⁴³ The atmosphere in Vila at this time was tense, and both Anglophone and Francophone parties expressed distrust with the intentions of the joint administration. In July the Vanuaku Pati boycotted a constitutional conference held in Paris, at which all other political parties were represented. Perhaps sensing trouble ahead,

⁴⁰ Frank Vaqa, "West's Unity", *News Drum*, 17 March 1978, 6.

⁴¹ *News Drum*, 28 April 1978, 8; *Pacific Islands Monthly*, September 1978, 19.

⁴² *News Drum*, 28 April 1978, 2.

⁴³ *New Hebrides News*, 70, 9 March 1977, 2.

leaders of the Catholic, Anglican and Presbyterian churches issued a joint statement calling for peace, and the avoidance of violence. Making clear that they did "not wish to make any political judgements", the leaders appealed for members of all churches and political parties to deliver a "truly Christian country, where peace and justice reign".⁴⁴ The Vanuaku Pati boycotted the 29 November elections for an enlarged (39 seat) Representative Assembly, and proclaimed on the same day a People's Provisional Government in some 47 centres throughout the islands, amidst considerable tension, confrontation and violence.⁴⁵ Office bearers in the "government" included Walter Lini as President, Maraki Timakata as Vice President, Barak Sope as Secretary-General, and George Kalkoa as Vice-Chairman of the Executive Council.⁴⁶ Lini's PPG functioned with the consent of the Council of Chiefs (in April 1977 named the "Malvatumauri" = "a chief standing on a stone that is alive and always growing"),⁴⁷ the Cooperative Federation, and the Presbyterian Church.

The Representative Assembly, meanwhile, was established with George Kalsakau as Chief Minister,⁴⁸ and self-government was attained on 11 January 1978. The Vanuaku Pati and the government traded demands and counter-demands throughout the year, and in May the major Christian churches observed "Christian Unity Week" to encourage peaceful political dialogue.⁴⁹ Only on 21 December was compromise reached between the Vanuaku Pati and the colonial administrations. Kalsakau was dumped as Chief Minister, and a Government of National Unity was proclaimed, with Gerard Leymang, (previously Minister of Social Services, Health and Works), as Chief Minister, and Lini as Deputy Chief Minister.

Although New Hebridean Protestants were in general fully committed to political struggle for independence, the issue of church involvement in politics proved divisive. Conflict emerged within the Presbyterian Assembly, with those opposed to political engagement likening the Church's activities to Israel's entry into politics in the Books of Samuel.⁵⁰ Ken Calvert, missionary on Tanna throughout the independence period, commented freely on political developments,⁵¹ while Whimp, Haysey and others

⁴⁴ *New Hebrides News*, 88, 25 November 1977, 1.

⁴⁵ *New Hebrides News* 89, 10 December 1977, 2-4,12.

⁴⁶ Others included were William Edgell, Donald Kalpokas, Charles Bice and Kalkot Matas: *Seli Hoo* 2, December 1977.

⁴⁷ *New Hebrides News*, 74, 4 May 1977, 6

⁴⁸ In the absence of the Vanuaku Pati the Representative Assembly comprised 16 Tan Union seats, 12 MANH-Nagriamel, 5 Natatok, 2 Fren Melanesian, 4 Independent, with one seat unallocated.

⁴⁹ *New Hebrides News*, 100, 20 May 1978, 1.

⁵⁰ David Burt, "Church's Role", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, January 1976, 21.

⁵¹ Eg, K.C. Calvert, "Martyrs and mercenaries", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, September 1980, 29-30.

pushed for independence and sought aid from other religious organisations, including BOEMAR.⁵² By 1977 the British Residency perceived a split between the older Presbyterian and Anglican church members and the younger more radical members, who were in control of the Vanuaku Pati machinery. Whereas Titus Path spoke at length on the need to preserve Christian principles in all party politics, Barak Sope and Matas-Kelekele were among those who demonstrated little regard for Christian beliefs. Also by 1977, Rawcliffe's relationship with his Melanesian priests had deteriorated. Lini, for example, refused Rawcliffe's request that the Vanuaku Pati flag be taken down at Lolowai, for fear that it would "split the Anglican Church". Anglican supporters of UCNH, meanwhile, threatened to stop paying their district priest.⁵³ Anglicans at Lobaha, Aoba, were divided between supporters of Nagriamel, and the National Party, which was being promoted by Charles Tari, a teacher at St Christophers Anglican school.⁵⁴

The most effective of the Melanesian nationalists, Lini was instrumental not only in the evolution of the Vanuaku Pati but also in maintaining and consolidating his standing on Pentecost as a local leader, and priest of the Melanesian Mission. Whereas the British Residency perceived that a return to customary ways had the potential to undermine the authority of the church,⁵⁵ Lini was adept in using kastom to his advantage.⁵⁶ In February 1977 he guided the establishment of an Island Government on Pentecost, the initial meeting of whose 514 leaders at Quatnapni, including 120 custom chiefs but not Pentecost-born UCNH founder Vincent Boulekone, called for independence in 1977.

In stark contrast to the "political success" of the Anglican and Presbyterian clergy, stood the "political and military failure of Jimmy Stevens, who described mission schools as "both a blessing and a plague", and mission attitudes toward custom as "arrogance".⁵⁷ Although Stevens had at first chosen not to stand at the 1975 elections, he and Liu Tamata, President of the Natui-Tanno movement on Santo, were the final two members elected to the 42 member Representative Assembly. Nagriamel had struck an alliance with the French party (MANH) and although the latter disclaimed association with

⁵² BOEMAR, eg, gave PCNH \$103,902 in 1976. (PCV files 1 June 1977), in Myers, "Independens long Vanuatu", 218.

⁵³ Rawcliffe to K. Woodward, 22 December 1977. AV, Aoba. Lombaha Letter 1967-78.

⁵⁴ Charles B. Tari to D. Rawcliffe, 9 January 1972. AV, Aoba. Lombaha Letters 1967-78.

⁵⁵ BRF 30 Sept. 1977, in Myers, "Independens long Vanuatu", 219. Maewo villages tired of both Christianity and politics, and, burning their bibles, returned to custom. John Detelwur to Rawcliffe, 14 November 1979. AV, Maewo.

⁵⁶ In 1977 Lini killed a full-circle-tusk pig on Pentecost to earn the title Livusiure ("running around the world"). Although Lini no doubt regarded such an action as politically favourable, and religiously permissible, fellow Anglican priest and Vanuaku Pati member Michael Ala considered pig-killing by a priest to be an unacceptable compromise between Christian and "pagan" values: *New Hebrides News*, 86, 28 October 1977, 3.

⁵⁷ Jimmy Moli Stevens, "The Na-Griamel viewpoint on the New Hebridean scene", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, February 1977, 16.

Nagriamel's unilateral declaration of independence on 29 December 1975,⁵⁸ the political movements subsequently repaired their alliance and won 12 seats in the Representative Assembly elected in November 1977. Stevens attracted to his movement many, but not all, Church of Christ adherents, and split the church into pro-council and pro-Nagriamel factions, which remained opposed until several years after the attainment of independence.⁵⁹ Throughout, Stevens lacked the type of international support which contributed so much strength to the nationalist cause.

In New Zealand the Methodists and Presbyterians formed a "New Hebrides Support Group", which included Greenpeace, the Committee for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), United Nations Association (UNA), Student Christian Movement (SCM), Citizen's Association for Racial Equality, the Peace Foundation and the Peace Squadron. The Presbyterian Board of Missions co-sponsored the October 1976 tour of Australia and New Zealand by Donald Kalpokas and Hilda Lini.⁶⁰

In Australia, the Australian Council of Churches and Australian Catholic Relief ran appeals "Force 10 Action" and "Education for Independence", which raised \$26,000 after being launched in June 1976. Also, an Australian Church Aid organisation provided \$2,000 to assist the 1976 campaign in a Santo by-election,⁶¹ and the Foundation for the Peoples of the South Pacific, Project 023, "Adult Education Program for Outer Islands" gave \$10,000 to Vanuaku Pati funds, and helped employ Chris Plant as publicity officer.⁶² In 1976 the World Council of Churches paid for a visit by Lini and Timakata to Britain and France, and French files suggest the Vanuaku Pati received WCC funds.

Although Rawcliffe upheld his neutrality in politics, the Melanesian Mission was intimately involved. In Honiara in September 1976, Alfred Alufurai successfully moved a motion at the 2nd Anglican Provincial Synod that Synod urge the Condominium to advance toward self government and independence.⁶³ Rawcliffe's consent to the use of members of the Melanesian Brotherhood in the process of electoral registration on Santo⁶⁴ must have clouded the distinction between church and state in the mind of Santo Bush dwellers, many of whom were Nagriamel supporters. When John Pinder,

⁵⁸ Chris Plant (ed), *New Hebrides*, 88-89. In 1977 MANH advocated that the Condominium achieve independence in 1984-85, *New Hebrides News*, 69, 20 February 1977, 6.

⁵⁹ John Liu, "Mission Imperatives for Churches of Christ in the New Hebrides", BD, Pacific Theological College, 1976, 60-65; Roger Bowden, interview, Lugainville, 1 September 1986.

⁶⁰ "They Seek Support for Independence", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, January 1977, 20.

⁶¹ British Residency Files, September 1976, quoted in Myers, "Independens long Vanuatu", 185.

⁶² This was an intervention not appreciated by Leymang: DOPV Files, 3 April 1979, quoted in Myers, "Independens long Vanuatu", 186.

⁶³ *Church of the Province of Melanesia. Proceedings of the 2nd Provincial Synod. Honiara. 22-5 September, 1976*, 49.

⁶⁴ British District Agent to Rawcliffe, 31 August 1977. AV, British Residency.

secretary of the Melanesian Mission in Britain, toured the Solomon Islands and the New Hebrides in 1978, and asked Lini when in Vila what the British Council of Churches could do to assist the New Hebrides through the NHCC, Lini suggested the BCC could finance the work of an independent constitutional adviser in the New Hebrides.⁶⁵

Although the Catholic Bishop Louis Julliard asserted Catholic neutrality in political affairs, his stand was hard to maintain in the intense political climate. Julliard's view was that while the church favoured no particular political party, individual Catholics were free to support the party of their choice. It was the duty of every Christian to seek out and vote for the best candidate. Both the laity and priests were free to involve themselves in political activities which were not against Christian principles.⁶⁶

This stance produced its difficulties. In 1976 Catholic priests vetoed the support of the New Hebrides Christian Council for a visit to Europe by Lini, Leymang and Tamakata, noting that these clerics were clearly on a political rather than religious mission.⁶⁷ Verlingue maintained his Bishop's line, citing, at the height of Protestant political involvement, Jesus' refusal to become King of Palestine,⁶⁸ while Bertrand Soucy, Catholic priest on North Malekula, took no stand during a secessionist attempt on that island.⁶⁹

When Walter Lini, George Kalkoa, Vincent Boulekone and Jean-Marie Leye addressed the United Nations Committee of 24 on Decolonisation in New York in August 1976, Boulekone used the occasion to attack the role of the churches in politics - Presbyterians in particular and British in general.⁷⁰ Thus, whereas orders of Australians and North Americans in Papua New Guinea tended to support local populations against administration policy, French Catholics in Vanuatu generally supported the French administration, leading to later accusations that the church became "an obstacle to the emergence of a much needed political unity amongst Melanesians".⁷¹

At elections held on 14 November 1979, the Vanuaku Pati won 26 of 39 seats, including majorities on all islands including Santo and Tanna. Lini was elected Chief Minister on 29 November. Five Presbyterian pastors (Timakata, Reganvanu, Korisa, Hoper, and Taritonga) and three church elders

⁶⁵ John Pinder, "With love to Melanesia", *Annual Report 1978-79*, 48.

⁶⁶ *New Hebrides News*, 42, 10 November, 1975.

⁶⁷ *New Hebrides News*, 50, 13 April, 1976; Chris Plant (ed), *New Hebrides*, 62-66.

⁶⁸ Michael Myers, "Independens Long Vanuatu", 197.

⁶⁹ Meyers, "Independens long Vanuatu", 145.

⁷⁰ "NH delegates differ at UN", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, November 1976, 14.

⁷¹ Gerald Arbuckle, SM, "The Church in the South Pacific", *Pro Mundi Vita: Dossiers*, Sept-Oct 1978, 25. The Catholic church also moved carefully because it was engaged in land disputes. In 1977, for instance, 1,000 villagers from Mele, outside Vila, reclaimed land occupied by the church, and by two other plantations: Julie-Ann Ellis & Michael Parsons, *op cit.*, 12.

(Naupa, Abbil, and Seru) were among those elected to parliament.⁷² In addition to the departure of clergy, some church employees resigned to take up public service positions; like Peter Taurakoto, who ran the church's "Nation building education program" established in June 1977, who had previously resigned to become secretary to the Minister of Social Affairs (Lini) in the Government of National Unity. The loss of so many clergy to the government caused the Presbyterian church to hold a crisis meeting "to decide what to do about the sudden drain on its pastoral strength".⁷³ and Stevens' hostility toward the Anglican community was vented in 1979, when the Vanuaku Pati's electoral victory provoked a rampage by Stevens' supporters through Lugainville wielding sticks and iron bars, causing some 900 people to flee Santo on boats for their home islands, and others to seek refuge in the grounds of the church headquarters in Lugainville. Although the French government sponsored visits to France in February 1980 by such opposition members as Jimmy Stevens and Alexi Iolu, Iolu returned to Tanna only to die in an attack on government headquarters in June, while Stevens received from his ill-fated rebellion a lengthy jail sentence.⁷⁴ On 30 July 1980, the New Hebrides Condominium became the independent Republic of Vanuatu.

⁷² Fred Timakata, vice-president of the Vanuaku pati since 1973, was chairman of the Presbyterian Assembly when he contested a seat on Epi. He subsequently became Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Home Affairs; Speaker of the parliament; and followed Sokomanu as second President of the Republic. Sethy John Reganvanu, for six years the church's director of Christian education, subsequently became Minister for Lands; Minister for Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries; then Deputy Prime Minister following Fred Timakata. Willie Korisa, a pastor on Tanna, and from 1978 the church's Social Development Officer, became Minister for Health. Jack Tugon Hoper, from South East Ambrym, became Vice-Speaker, then Speaker, of parliament; and then Minister for Fisheries. Jack Taritonga was a former moderator of the church 1968-69. John Naupa, a church elder, who had been Minister for Health in the Government of National Unity, became Minister for Transport, Communications and Radio, Post Office, Civil Aviation and Public Works; while Thomas Reuben Seru, another church elder, first elected for Santo Rural in 1975, who was Minister for Natural Resources in the government of National Unity, was also elected. In 1982 Seru formed the Vanuatu Alliance Party. Elder Iolu Abbil became First Secretary of the Ministry for Lands. See Thomas Niditaue, "Pastors in Politics: The Question of Political Involvement and Church Leadership in Vanuatu", BD, Pacific Theological College, 1985.

⁷³ Malcolm Salmon, "New Hebrides: High Hopes are haunted by high dangers", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, January 1980, 13.

⁷⁴ See Norman MacQueen, "Beyond *Tok Win*: The Papua New Guinea Intervention in Vanuatu, 1980", *Pacific Affairs* 61:2, Summer 1988.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE:

the response of the churches

The vast majority of religious bodies in Melanesia - missions, churches, and other organisations - regarded political independence as something toward which they had contributed to greater or lesser extents. Similarly, the quest for "nationhood" had been a religious as well as political objective, and denoted for some a spiritual, as much as a temporal unity; just as the term "independence" possessed spiritual as well as political connotations. In the latter case, the quest for political independence was held to be part of the quest for "true independence", which involved "liberation of the human spirit".¹ Colonialism had come to signify bondage of the human spirit and its removal, while not completing spiritual liberation, was a step toward this ideal condition. This convergence of political realities and religious beliefs marked a high point for clerical involvement in public affairs, unmatched in the decade preceding independence, or in the one following it.

Maasina Rule had been the first modern Melanesian movement to develop a "liberation theology" during its struggle against colonial oppression, and the use of Biblical texts concerning oppression and the freedom of nations by the movement's leaders in the 1940s was repeated by New Hebridean nationalists in the 1970s. Several ni-Vanuatu Presbyterians returned from training at the Pacific Theological College in Suva equipped with knowledge of South American liberation theology, although the struggle for independence and its call on militant Christianity was cut short by the French and British withdrawal in 1980.

In New Caledonia, where the anti-colonial struggle continued, the Evangelical Church in New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands endorsed the struggle for independence in 1979 after a program of study among its members on "liberty" (Romans 8) and "growing together" (Ephesians);² while in Papua New Guinea the little known Christian organisation, MUSGAS, continued to advocate the unification and independence of all New Guinea, including Irian Jaya.³ Melanesian clerics have examined the role

¹ Ryan, for example, suggests that the missionary presence was part of colonialism, and that the task of Christian ethics in the South Pacific was to "move decisively against all forms of colonisation, exploitation and destructive 'development' both within and without the various churches", John Ryan, "Moral Theology in the South Pacific - Colonisation or Liberation?", *South East Asia Journal of Theology* 17:2, 1976, 47.

² Jaques Ajapunhya, "Why the New Caledonian Melanesians want Independence", *Mission Review*, April/June 1982, 18; see also Djoubelly Wea, "An education for the Kanak liberation", BD, PTC, 1977. The Catholic Church, on the other hand, remained conservative: When Klein was appointed Catholic Bishop of Noumea in 1971, Rawcliffe picked up the rumour while in Noumea that the French government had put pressure on the Vatican to appoint someone who would not press for independence. Derek Rawcliffe to Bishop, 12 July 1971. CM F17-1.

³ *Islands Business*, September 1985, 31.

of Christianity in West Papuan nationalism.⁴ In these, and other instances, the distinction between political and religious notions of "independence" became considerably intertwined.

Clerical involvement in nationalist movements in Melanesia was encouraged by European missionaries who were concerned at the pervasive influence of secularism in the West, and at the apparent relegation of religious belief from the public to the private sphere. These missionaries asked whether in Melanesia lay the last opportunity for genuine social redemption: "Is it possible", a cleric asked an Anglican assemblage, only half rhetorically,

that God is calling you to become the first ever developed Christian nation? There is no other. Most of the other developed Christian nations have more or less deserted their Christianity when they became developed...⁵

This convergence of religious and political motifs also dictated missionary attitudes toward separatist movements, for just as successful nationalism signified a sense of corporate liberation, attempts at political secession signified the potential for spiritual fragmentation.⁶ Catholic acceptance of Bougainvillean nationalism, and the possibility that it raised for political secession, provided the only exception to the general position of missionary opposition to the separatist aspirations of such movements as Papua Besena, the Western Breakaway movement (in the Western Solomons), and Nagriamel in the northern New Hebrides. Missions in contact with these movements upheld the legitimacy of the national boundaries established and enforced by the metropolitan powers.⁷

In the New Hebrides Walter Lini identified Christianity with the imperative of nationalism and frequently used the rhetoric of missionary involvement in "preparing the people for independence" and for "nation-hood" in legitimating his involvement in politics in the 1970s.⁸ Certainly, the Methodist and Presbyterian missions in particular believed that their forms of church government trained their members in the democratic procedures of the nation-state, and the Presbyterian Assembly in the New Hebrides was widely considered to be the only "regular, representative, nation-wide forum of New

⁴ Eg, Paris Josafat Menai, "Nationalism and the Christian Faith: a study concerning Christian nationalism in Irian Jaya in the light of National and Christian unity", BD, PTC, 1979.

⁵ Eric Jones, "Development and the Church", n.d. MCNZ.

⁶ Hay, in his first speech as administrator, suggested that the increasing unity between missions gave Papua New Guinea the chance to become "one of the first countries to have the blessing of Christian unity". D.O. Hay to Kemp, 23 January 1968. TPNG, 9369 - 40/2/9. Michael Somare, as Chief Minister, urged the churches to develop greater understanding of nation-building and independence. MCA, UPNGS&SI, Synods and Assembly, 1974.

⁷ Horne, missionary with the ACPM, made sure to "work in the background" in political matters, but spoke disapprovingly of any separatist political tendencies: Horne, pers. comm. September 1985.

⁸ See, eg "The Church Connection", in Walter Lini, *Beyond Pandemonium*, 19.

Hebridean opinion".⁹

But whereas Presbyterian missions had established the Presbyterian Church of the New Hebrides in 1948, and claimed that they had led the colonial state in the way of independence, it has been argued that effective power was retained by expatriate mission councils, rather than transferred to the indigenous church. Considerable land holdings, and control over mission transportation and finances remained under missionary control. Significantly, despite the outward mission rhetoric, some Presbyterian missionaries continued to resist moves toward nationalism and independence when under discussion in the 1960s.¹⁰ Only in 1976, with national independence in sight, did the Presbyterian Churches of Australia and New Zealand transfer title for 23,000 acres to the Presbyterian Church of the New Hebrides.¹¹ Similarly, whereas a Baptist Union was established in 1959, Baptist Churches remained dependent on overseas mission councils, and finances.¹² Although "tribal churches" established by the APCM combined to form the Evangelical Church of Papua in 1966, the mission maintained control over eleven mission stations until the Territory attained independence in September 1975.¹³

Some missionaries made a good case for skepticism about the strength and maturity of Melanesian nationalism, by referring to significant separatist tendencies which threatened to eventually explode the colonial states, and the Christian communities within them - which were often adversely affected by strong inter-ethnic rivalries. Within the United Church, for example, tensions existed not only between rural and urban members, but also between coastal and highland societies.¹⁴ The concern was also expressed at times that church leadership, if given to indigenous hands prematurely, may endanger doctrinal purity.¹⁵

Such potentially divisive ethnicity also existed within church communities in the Solomon

⁹ Thomas Niditauae, "Pastors in Politics. The Question of Political Involvement and Church Leadership in Vanuatu", BD, PTC, 1985, 10.

¹⁰ Jim Stuke, for one, stated in 1967 his view that the growth of secular nationalism did not have to be mirrored within the church, and that the PCNH was not ready to take control of mission transportation, and courts, etc. Stuke to Don Duncan, 7 February 1967. 1967A. PCNZ.

¹¹ Michael Myers, "Independens long Vanuatu", 59.

¹² With the election of the first House of Assembly in 1964, and facing difficulties in sending Australian mission staff to Irian Jaya, India and Pakistan, the Australian Baptists felt pressured "make the church independent of foreign aid", by transferring more authority to indigenous church leaders. *Digest*, August 1965, 3.

¹³ Within a month of PNG independence in September 1975, the APCM signed over 11 mission stations to the ECP: John & Moyra Prince, *No Fading Vision*, 200.

¹⁴ Saimon Gaius, MCA, UCPNGSI. Annual Reports. Circuit Reports. 1971. Box 377.

¹⁵ Dennis Steley suggests that this was the case with the Seventh Day Adventist Mission in the Solomon Islands: "Juapa Rane", 264. By the 1970s, New Hebridean Presbyterians working in Noumea were joining the Assemblies of God, and reportedly returning to Santo to convert the remaining custom bushmen.

Islands, and the doctrine of "Christian brotherhood" doubtless contributed to maintaining the precarious balance between national unity and ethnic separatism. Thus, although Paia claimed with some accuracy in the mid-1970s that the Solomon Islands was "particularly prone to regionalism and all its detestable effects" - which he attributed to the country's archipelagic geography, and to the "kinds of socialisation process" that its people had experienced" -¹⁶ churches in the Solomons did not in general support regionalism. Although the Christian Fellowship Church branched from Western Solomons Methodism, regionalism in the Protectorate did not flower at independence into political separatism.

The contribution that missions made to relatively successful political unification at independence occurred, as has been noted at length, over a period of decades. Not only could missions cite with considerable legitimacy their role in the secular training upon which the bureaucratic, educational and even the technological infrastructure of the new states was raised, (in the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands more so than in Papua New Guinea): there was also a pervasive missionary influence in the creation of a new world-view, which integrated new values and beliefs with indigenous constructs, and oriented the traditional intellectual and spiritual constellations of literally hundreds of distinct ethnicities toward mutual accommodation within a single (colonial-, and later nation-) state.

Throughout, the missions upheld the legitimacy of colonial authority, and of the institutions and laws established by colonial administrations whether at local or national level. In the latter stages of colonial rule, (as the previous chapters have shown) they had fostered political awareness, and had in some cases become closely quite involved in the political process.

Conversely, there were ways in which the advent of secular independence fostered changes within the missions. Reassessment by clerics of their position in emergent national societies of the 1970s, for instance, helped produce a thaw in inter-mission relations. Negotiations with colonial administrations on such issues as the educational policies to be carried into the post-colonial period, transformed the missions more than ever into partners having mutual interests, rather than (as had so often been the case in the past) as sectarian adversaries. Relations between Seventh Day Adventist and other missions, whether Protestant or Catholic, which had once been presumed as having no possible point of reciprocity, became, by comparison, (even if not uniformly) mutually cordial.¹⁷

Melanesian clerics increasingly rejected the sectarian divisions maintained by their European counterparts, considering them as historical clashes of Western cultural origin, rather than as fundamental divisions on issues of religious principle. Such clerics paid less attention to the distinctions between various religious traditions, and called instead for improved ecumenical relations as a basis for

¹⁶ Warren A. Paia, "Nationalism and the Solomon Islands", *Yagl-Ambu* 1:2, June 1974, 98.

¹⁷ Parratt, eg, had put the view that "no possibility" existed for ecumenical relations between Adventist and other missions, because of the Adventists' different Sabbath, apocalyptic emphasis, and disregard for "spheres of influence": J.K. Parratt, "Religious Change in Port Moresby", *Oceania*, XLI:2, December 1970, 107.

genuine national unity.¹⁸

The most important of several major implications of political independence for missionary organisations resulted from the "paradigm shift" from mission to church that was implicit in most mission thinking concerning the progression from "colony" to "independent state".¹⁹ As political independence evolved, missions laboured to establish independent churches. Religious offices and administrative responsibilities were transferred from expatriate missionaries to indigenous authorities; and newly established churches sought to lessen their dependence on overseas funding.

The transfer from expatriate to indigenous authority was more easily achieved by Protestant groups in which less emphasis was laid on sacramental rites. The South Sea Evangelical Mission became a church in 1964.²⁰ The Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea was established in 1956, but did not become fully autonomous until 1976, when it joined with the Siassi Lutheran Church, a product of Australian Lutheran missionaries.²¹ By gaining independence in November 1962 as the Papua Ekalesia the LMS made a large concession to indigenous interests: just two decades previously, LMS missionaries had suppressed discussion of Papuan congregational leadership within the mission,²² and in 1965 the majority of LMS district missionaries continued to be expatriates.²³ Within the Methodist Mission the transfer of indigenous authority occurred only as racial attitudes toward Papua New Guineans were modified. Despite the mission's long presence on New Britain, for instance, Saimon Gaius was among the first Melanesians to preach in Rabaul's Methodist Church, in 1954.²⁴ In 1961, there were only seven Methodist ordained nationals, although there were 862 people in the Circuit Training Institutions.²⁵

¹⁸ As expressed by Johnson Naban, "If the churches are working together then they will have the better chances of creating more unified nation", *The History of the Work of the Anglican Church in the Solomon Islands*, BD, PTC, 1976. Anglican Bishop Leslie Boseto suggested "God's mission has no boundaries and his love to people throughout the world can never be politically or denominationally fenced around...", in Aminiasi Qalo, "Partnership in Missions: New Patterns of Teamwork", *Christianity Today*, 18 September, 1981.

¹⁹ See J.C. Baker, "The political education program of the Papua-New Guinea administration", in M. Ward (ed), *The Politics of Melanesia*, 37.

²⁰ The British Administration judged that the mission had the administrative capability, as early as 1957, to establish an independent church: "Review of Politico-Religious Trends in the BSIP", March 1957. BSIP, 21 - IX.

²¹ The Lutheran Mission New Guinea was established in 1953, incorporating the Finschhafen mission, formerly the Neuendettelsau Mission, the American led Madang mission, and the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia. A second American Lutheran mission, the Missouri Synod, having commenced work in Enga in 1948, established the Wabag Lutheran Church in 1963, later renamed the Gutnius Lutheran Church: Herwig Wagner & Hermann Reiner (eds), *The Lutheran Church in Papua New Guinea: The First Hundred Years 1886-1986*, 1986.

²² H.J.E. Short, at Hula, for instance, had not supported what he regarded as "premature birth of congregationalism in Papua", which would "flower as a symbol of freedom soon enough". LMS. PDC Annual Reports 1943-44. ALX31. 3/6.

²³ "Papuan Church Assembly", 3. LMS, 10 - 1965.

²⁴ MCA. Rabaul Circuit Reports. 1954. Box 364.

²⁵ Wesley Lutton, " 'Independence for New Guinea' - a World Topic", *Missionary Review*, April 1961, 13.

Progress was made in indigenisation, however, and by 1969 four of six United Church Bishops were Melanesians.

In the Solomons Methodist district, there were just ten ordained Solomon Islanders by 1966.²⁶ By the early 1960s Methodist missionaries had begun to consider the future of their Pacific Methodist districts, and were conscious of the need to progress toward Church independence at a pace that matched progress toward political independence. Wesley Lutton, for one, suggested a union of South West Pacific Methodist districts.²⁷ Although participants in the United Church of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands in 1968 hailed the union as a contribution to, and precursor of, nationalism,²⁸ Rapid localisation within the church only occurred after its formation, and the paternalism of a previous generation came under considerable criticism.²⁹ In the 1970s, a committee of the United Church reported as "important qualities that adults should have": the ability to read; knowledge of money, of development, and of "how people behave, and how the country is run"; as well as knowledge of their country; of how it was "one country"; and knowledge of their past, their dancing, singing and art.³⁰ Such exercises showed the extent to which the church identified concerned itself with social development, and with the transition from traditional to modern values.

With the approach of political independence Anglican missions similarly hastened efforts to transform mission dioceses into autonomous provinces. John Chisholm, Bishop of Melanesia, intended that Anglicanism gain independence in the Solomon Islands before the Protectorate gained political independence, to demonstrate that it was "ahead of the country", and so that it could "lead the country when independence comes".³¹ The Diocese of Melanesia became a Province on 26 January 1975,³² and the Diocese of the New Guinea mission became an autonomous province of the Anglican church on

²⁶ Leslie Boseto was the tenth. Methodist Church of New Zealand, "Solomon Islands District", "1966 Synod", 163.

²⁷ Wesley Lutton, "'Independence for New Guinea' - a World Topic", *Missionary Review*, April 1961, 13.

²⁸ see C.F. Gribble, "New Guinea's United Church: Congregationalists, Methodists, Presbyterians and others have joined together", *ABM Review*, August 1969, 8-9; also Neville Threlfall, *One Hundred Years in the Islands: The Methodist/United Church in the New Guinea Islands Region 1875-1975*, 1975, 217.

²⁹ Garurue, for instance, criticised John Goldie's autocratic, station centred rule, and the on-going "European" nature of the church: Joe Gaqurue, "Towards Indigenizing of the United Church in the Western Solomon Islands", BD, Rarongo, 1976, 1.

³⁰ United Church, Papuan Islands 1970 Synod. Appendix 1. Reports on Consultations - Education and Communication, 272. Box 317.

³¹ John Chisholm. CM. "Minutes of the Inner Eastern Regional Conference 23-26 February 1974", San Cristoval 1973-75. F22.

³² With John Chisholm as first archbishop, Norman Palmer as second. The New Hebrides became one diocese, under Rawcliffe, with another three diocese in the Solomon Islands. The Solomons Archdeaconry (Solomon Islands) and the Southern Archdeaconry (New Hebrides) had been established in 1959. David Hand became first Bishop of the New Guinea Province. By 1974 the Anglican Church had 120 priests and deacons, approximately 80 of whom were Melanesian, mostly Papuan: *Diocese of Papua New Guinea Newsletter*, Easter 1974.

28 February 1977.

These developments were accompanied by efforts to cultivate Melanesian clergy, and anticipated the enthronement of Melanesian bishops. In the mid 1950s there were some 20 ordained indigenous clergy in Papua New Guinea.³³ The consecration as assistant Bishops of George Ambo, in New Guinea in October 1960, and Dudley Tuti and Leonard Alufurai in the Solomon Islands in November 1963, commenced the devolution of ecclesiastical authority onto Melanesian clerics.³⁴ In the New Hebrides Derek Rawcliffe, archdeacon of the Southern archdiocese from 1959, and Bishop from 1974, was replaced at his retirement in 1980 by Hari Tevi, a Pawa graduate influenced by former Vureas headmaster Frederick Austin Roley, who foresaw at future time when a Melanesian would be Bishop of the Anglican church.³⁵ Tevi was consecrated Assistant Bishop on 4 February 1979.

Authority and hierarchy within the Catholic church, although more complex and international than in other traditions, was nonetheless influenced by the pace of secular independence.³⁶ In 1965-66 twenty-seven Vicariates and Prefectures in Oceania became Dioceses, and two Episcopal conferences were established.³⁷ Shortly after, responsibility for these dioceses was transferred from the missionary orders that founded them, to ecclesiastical control.³⁸

The recommendation of the 1971 United Nations visiting mission that self-government be granted to Papua New Guinea during the period 1972-76, and that independence be granted between 1976-1980, prompted the Catholic Church to examine its own situation. At that time there was only one indigenous Auxiliary Bishop,³⁹ when about 80% of the members of the House of Assembly were Melanesian. When, in June, Ebia Olewale raised the issue of localisation in the House of Assembly, Bishop Copas offered to resign as Archbishop of Port Moresby in 1974, and proposed also that a plan for indigenisation of the Catholic hierarchy be immediately implemented:

Very soon after Self-government comes to our country (probably by 1976)...if not before... there will be a demand for more Papuan New Guinean Bishops - and this from within and without the local Church. We must foresee - and anticipate - this

³³ David Hand to Sec. Dept. Terr. 26 July 1958. TPNG, 9369 - 40/2/7.

³⁴ "Two Anglican Priests Appointed BSIP Bishops", *Pacific Islands Monthly*, July 1963, 14, *ibid.*, January 1964, 12, 36.

³⁵ *New Hebrides News*, 118, 10 February, 1979, 1.

³⁶ For an analysis of the Catholic church in the 1970s, see Gerald Arbuckle, *The Church in the South Pacific: Pro Mundi Vita: Dossiers*, Sep-Oct 1978.

³⁷ CEPAC - Episcopal conference of the Pacific, and Conference of Bishops of PNG and SI.

³⁸ This occurred following abrogation of the *ius commissionis* in 1969. The Archdiocese of Rabaul had been established in 1968, and the various dioceses were no longer the responsibility of their founding orders, and were transferred to ecclesiastical, rather than religious, Bishops: see Eusebius J. Crawford, "Missionary Effort in the Pacific", *Australasian Catholic Record*, LXVI:2, April 1989.

³⁹ Louis Vangeke, M.S.C., was ordained in 1937 after seminary training in Madagascar.

legitimate demand.

While we hope that expatriate Missionaries will be able to remain and work in an Independent Papua New Guinea, we cannot be complacent about this matter ...if they were asked to leave the Country within the next five years, the Papuan New Guinean Church could be left with only one local Bishop - an elderly man. And we have fifteen Dioceses within the country.⁴⁰

Shortly before independence, in 1974, Gregory Singhai, was enthroned as Bishop of North Solomons Province. On the eve of independence, there were about 30 Papua New Guinean Catholic priests, and a further 60 in training at the regional seminary at Bomana.⁴¹

There was similarly a shortage of indigenous Catholic priests in the Solomon Islands, and in the New Hebrides. In 1953 the first five Papua New Guinean priests were ordained, apart from one trained in Mauritius in the 1930s.⁴² By 1958 there were just two New Hebridean priests, and the first Solomon Islands priest, Michael Aike, was ordained in December 1966. Following the ordination of the first New Hebridean Catholic priest, Cyriaque Aden, in 1955, little localisation had occurred, and at the time of independence in 1980, four of twenty-four Catholic priests were in Vanuatu. In 1976 the French Bishop, Julliard, was replaced by an American, Francis Lambert. In 1939 4% of Catholic priests in the Pacific had been Pacific Islanders; by 1961, they still constituted a mere 5.5%.⁴³ Not surprisingly, an introspective study in 1974-75 by the Marists of their Oceania Province concluded that more manpower and resources had to be drawn from within the region.⁴⁴

The preoccupation of missions in the twentieth century with evolution into independent churches, at a rate compared to the process of political decolonisation, was socially and politically motivated, rather than theologically motivated. In other words, emphasis on establishing indigenous churches owed much to the imperative of nationalism, and suggests that "missionaries" were at all times considered aliens to their adopted fields. The influence of the secular nationalist worldview was linked so closely with Christian ethics in the minds of most people that it was rarely questioned.⁴⁵

Apart from positive responses to the advent of independence there were also disruptive and even destructive religious impulses. In some areas of Papua New Guinea independence was anticipated

⁴⁰ Bishop Copas, "The Church in Papua New Guinea and its Indigenous Hierarchy: 1971 ...Specifically in relation to the Archdiocese of Port Moresby", TPNG, 9369 -40/3/2.

⁴¹ Callan, B.N., *The Hard Won Land*, (Melbourne, 1974), 9; P. Murphy, "From Mission in New Guinea to Church of New Guinea", in M. Ward (ed), *The Politics of Melanesia*.

⁴² *Catholic Missions*, February 1955, 9.

⁴³ Charles Forman, "The South Pacific Style in the Christian Ministry", *Missiology*, 1974, 428.

⁴⁴ G. Arbuckle & J. Harhager, "Self-Study Report. Sociological Survey, Marist Fathers, Oceania Province, 1974-75", OM.

⁴⁵ Stephen Neill, *History of Christian Mission*, (Great Britain, 1964), 515.

with feelings of uncertainty, anxiety, and the rebirth of millenarian and cargo movements.⁴⁶ Inland from Madang, for example, a millenialist "spiritual independence movement" among the Keine people during 1970-73 played on expectations surrounding political independence,⁴⁷ while a cargo movement emerged developed at Koponi in support of Bougainvillean secession.⁴⁸ Also on Bougainville, Methodists at Buin expressed concern in 1974 at the attraction of youth to the pentecostal movement.⁴⁹

Revival movements which played on the reservations concerning independence expressed by some New Guinea highlands societies had their origins in a revival movement on Malaita during 1970-71, which had been brought to the CLTC at Banz by visiting SSEM pastors.⁵⁰ Subsequent revival campaigns by both the Asia Pacific Christian Mission and the United Church brought "temporary disruption" to the Southern Highlands in 1973, and were marred by the conviction of five men for killing a villager at Homa in March 1974 in the belief that they were "driving ...evil spirits" from him.⁵¹ The APCM was "cautioned against further displays of missionary zeal" during court proceedings against the killers, but no action was taken against the mission.⁵² Apart from its concern at such "religiously" motivated killings,⁵³ the administration was equally concerned with subsequent reports which linked mass hysteria with independence. At Nipa, where there was a strong anti-independence feeling, evangelists had predicted the imminent arrival of Jesus amid claims that they could already feel his presence, causing government officers to monitor their activities closely.⁵⁴

⁴⁶ Richard Scaglione, "The 'Coming' of Independence in Papua New Guinea: an Abelam view", *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 92:463-86.

⁴⁷ See Alos Yagas, "The Begesin Rebellion and the Kein 'Independence' Movement", in Carl Loeliger & Garry Trompf, (eds), *New Religious Movements in Melanesia*.

⁴⁸ Herman Sipari, "The Kopani 'Cargo Religion'", in Carl Loeliger & Garry Trompf, (eds), *New Religious Movements in Melanesia*.

⁴⁹ United Church in the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea. Minutes of 69th Annual Synod, August 1974. MCNZ. UCPNGSI, Synods and Assembly, 1974.

⁵⁰ Joan Kale, "The Religious Movement among the Kyaka Enga", in Carl Loeliger & Garry Trompf, (eds), *New Religious Movements in Melanesia*.

⁵¹ G. Gomara (DC) to Sect. Dept. of the Chief Minister, 27 June 1974. TPNG, 50/1/1. None of the five was sentenced to more than three months jail. The incident, however, impelled the government to make a full enquiry into mission practices in the highlands: R.W. Robin, "The Role of Foreign Missions in an Independent Papua New Guinea", *Australian Outlook*, 35:2, August 1981.

⁵² Robert W Robin, "Revival Movement Hysteria in the Southern Highlands of PNG", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 20:2, 1981, 156.

⁵³ G. Schweinfurth, Situation Report 8 of 1974/75 (10 April 1975); Noah Tade, Situation Report 8 of 74/75 (10 April 1975); Noah Tade, Situation Report 4 of 1974/75 (3 March 1975). TPNG.

⁵⁴ Noah Tade, Situation Report 4 of 1974/75 (12 July 1975). TPNG. Robin reports, in addition to the Tari revival movement of 1973-74, later revivals of the APCM (1975-77), Bible Missionary Church (1975), Christian Mission in Many Lands (1975/76), Evangelical Wesleyan Mission (1975), United Church (1976) and the Wesleyan Mission (1975-76); Robert W. Robin, "Revival

Religious revivals had certainly been conducted intermittently throughout the post-war decades, but the imminence of political independence appears to have influenced the timing of several campaigns in the mid 1970s. Ralph Bell, a black member of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, toured Papua New Guinea in 1972, in the shadow of political independence, and a SICA sponsored a "Solomons for Christ" campaign by the same organisation in May 1977, one year before Solomons independence.⁵⁵ In October 1977, Legislative Assembly member for East Malaita, Faneta Sira, came under fire from constituents for attending a sixth month course at Faith Bible College in Tauranga, New Zealand, during 1977.⁵⁶

Although "revival" and "renewal" movements had begun to spread through Anglican communities in the Hebrides by 1975, before intensive agitation in favour of immediate independence, Norman Palmer, Bishop of Melanesia from 1975, to feel by 1978 that the involvement of government figures in the charismatic renewal movement would have a positive effect on achieving independence.⁵⁷ In the New Hebrides, a revival immediately before elections in 1976 may have contributed to the success of several pastors in winning office.⁵⁸ "Renewal" movements on other New Hebridean islands between 1976 and 1981 continued to effect the political involvement of Melanesian clerics.⁵⁹ In some places, renewal led to separation from the major churches, and the formation of the "Holiness Fellowship", a charismatic church led by former Presbyterian pastor, Kami Shing. Although the rapid increase in ecstatic

Movement Hysteria", 156.

⁵⁵ Melanesian Mission, *Annual Report 1976-77*, 5; *Solomons News Drum* 101:4 February 1977, 2; *ibid*, 111:15 April 1977, 3. Bell claimed that 73,000 attended his 25 day campaign, including 6,500 who had come forward to "commit themselves": *ibid*, 117:27 May 1977, 1. A United Church minister, Esau Tuza, opposed Bell's tour, believing that a Solomon Islander should have taken it.

⁵⁶ *News Drum* 21 October 1977, 2.

⁵⁷ Palmer to Rawcliffe, 6 June 1978. AV. Rawcliffe, Noumea.

⁵⁸ According to Niditauae, "The involvement of pastors got a big push when the church went through a great mission in 1976 in which many people were converted to the Christian life. This happened just in time for the election in which every body had to vote. It was good but later many individual Christian lives faded away after the challenges and also complaints from many people about the church's involvement in politics and the behaviour of the pastors who were seen as leaders", Thomas Niditauae, "Pastors in Politics", 45.

⁵⁹ European Anglicans were circulating charismatic materials on Tanna in 1975. Margaret Worek to D. Rawcliffe, 30 September 1975. AV. Vila. At about this time Tom Namauke, entrepreneur at Whitesands, began an association with the Assemblies of God. (interview, Whitesands) Rawcliffe was attracted to the renewal movement after experiences in Fiji in 1976, and brought Edward Subramani to Lolowai the same year. In 1977-78 Anglican priests in the renewal visited from New Zealand, and Australia. George Doreh preached Christian renewal on all islands of Motalava in 1977, and sought permission from Rawcliffe to do the same in normal Anglican services: George Doreh to D. Rawcliffe, 5 October 1977. AV. Banks. Others sought Rawcliffe's permission to take the renewal from Vila to the Banks Islands. George Worek, minister of Health, and his wife were the first Anglicans to be "baptised in the spirit" on Tanna, in 1974. In 1979 John Ashwin preached renewal on Maewo, and Derek Rawcliffe and Hari Tevi were among those in attendance at an international renewal conference in Sydney, in January 1979. In 1980 Anglican priest Albert Tovutu brought charismatic movement to Vanuatu after attending "Vision College" in Adelaide. Another Vision Bible college operated in Sydney.

phenomena has been attributed to urban growth, transient communities and tertiary education,⁶⁰ the tendency toward overlap with political change has not been documented.

Throughout Melanesia, the churches shared enthusiastically in independence day celebrations. In the Solomon Islands the close church-state relationship was celebrated in ecumenical services, and the Bishop of Melanesia blessed the newly raised Solomon Islands flag.⁶¹ 10,000 copies of the "Good News Bible" were printed to celebrate independence, with the nation's flag on the front, and containing essays by Anglican Archbishop Norman Palmer, Prime Minister Peter Kenilorea and Catholic priest Fr. Espaign.⁶²

When the New Hebrides gained independence on 30 July 1980, the new Republic's insignia bore the words "Long God yumi stanap". The New Hebrides Christian Council distributed 10,000 copies of "True Independence", a pamphlet printed by the Scripture Gift Mission of Australia. The Bible Society in the South Pacific produced a pamphlet, and a booklet, to mark independence. The pamphlet included psalm 67, in praise of nations, and Romans 13, beginning "Everyone must obey the state authorities because no authority exists without God's permission", and ending "This is also the reason that you pay taxes because the authorities are working for God when they fulfil their duties".⁶³ The booklet included translations into Pidgin of Biblical passages from Paul and Peter, in addition to photos of the first Vanuatu parliamentarians.⁶⁴

In countries which have such a variety of ethnic groups, languages, and traditions, Christian nationalism possibly held the best hope for political unity. The Melanesian elites understood this, and worked closely with the churches, just as colonial administrations had worked closely with the missions in previous decades.

⁶⁰ John Barr, "A Survey of Ecstatic Phenomena and 'holy spirit movements' in Melanesia", *Oceania*, 54:2, December 1983.

⁶¹ *Mission Review*, October 1978, 15.

⁶² *Solomons News Drum*, 171:23 June 1978, 3. "We give thanks to God", Norman Palmer wrote in the independence issue of *News Drum*, "for all that Britain has done for us over the 85 years we were under her protection", *News Drum* 172:7 July 1978, 23.

⁶³ Bible Society in the South Pacific, *Let us Pray for Vanuatu*, Suva, 1980.

⁶⁴ Bible Society in the South Pacific, *Leta blong Pol, Long ol Kristin Man Long Rom mo Fas Leta blong Pita*, Suva, 1980.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

CONCLUSION: CHRISTIAN NATIONS?

This study has shown that Christian missions contributed in ways both intentional and unintentional to the formation of the independent nation-states of Melanesia. Although the missions did not necessarily develop clear concepts of "state", the pursuit of their respective sectarian interests contributed significantly to the character of South Pacific societies. It was on the basis of emergent Christian, colonial societies, that the nation-states were constructed. That the three countries developed similar corporate worldviews in the period leading to independence is shown in the similarities in the preambles to their constitutions. The Papua New Guinea constitution commences:

We, the people of Papua New Guinea - united in one nation; pay homage to the memory of our ancestors - the source of our strength and origin of our combined heritage; acknowledge the worthy customs and traditional wisdoms of our people - which have come down to us from generation to generation; pledge ourselves to guard and pass on to those who come after us our noble traditions and the Christian principles that are ours now.

By authority of our inherent right as ancient, free and independent peoples,
We, the people, do now establish this sovereign nation and declare ourselves, under the guiding hand of God, to be the Independent State of Papua New Guinea.¹

The preambles to the later constitutions of the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu bear remarkable similarities:

We the people of Solomon Islands, proud of the wisdom and the worthy customs of our ancestors, mindful of our common and diverse heritage and conscious of our common destiny, do now, under the guiding hand of God, establish the sovereign democratic State of Solomon Islands.²

And,

We the people of the New Hebrides; proud of our struggle for freedom; determined to safeguard the achievements of this struggle; cherishing our ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity; mindful at the same time of our common destiny; hereby proclaim the establishment of the united and free Republic of the New Hebrides founded on traditional Melanesian values, faith in God, and Christian principles; and for this purpose give ourselves this Constitution.³

¹ Blaustein, Albert P., and Gisbert H. Flanz (eds), "Papua New Guinea". *Constitutions of the Countries of the World*. (New York, 1983).

² *ibid.* "Solomon Islands", 1979.

³ *ibid.* "Vanuatu", November 1980.

recognisably either Christian or traditionalist, hence making it easier to use the descriptive label "Christian nations".

Fourthly, Western religion in Melanesia has been sustained by elites. As Melanesian societies have progressively experienced tribalism, regionalism, nationalism, and international involvements, religion has been an agent of change at each of these levels, and the metropolitan powers, Western missionaries, and Melanesian elites, have been instrumental in creating the nation-states. Pacific nationalism emerged not through mass movements, but through small circles of intellectuals, students and professionals, whose education was based mostly on the liberal-democratic and Christian principles of their colonial masters. It is true that the religion of the West was conveyed to the remotest of villages by poorly educated evangelists, but it was sustained through complex networks of offices and information.

Fifthly, the missions, (with some exceptions) reinforced supra-ethnic identities, and suppressed regionalist sentiments. Melanesian nationalism was not so much forged through colonial oppression, as it was constructed through the efforts of colonial agencies, and their Melanesian clients, for whom Christian ethics began by making colonialism bearable, and later made decolonisation a crusade. For all the threatened post-colonial fragmentation of the Melanesian states, none has yet occurred. Political emancipation, no matter how troubled on such islands as Bougainville, or even Santo, did not match the intensity of struggle that had been required throughout Africa and Southeast Asia, and the colonial presence remained benign in Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands (attempted secession movements notwithstanding).

Sixthly, the missions' efforts re-orient Melanesian communities from innumerable traditional worldviews to others distinctly Christian - a basic facet of Christian missionary endeavour - was invariably accompanied by policies of standardisation and uniformity, and consequent devaluation of cultural diversity, ethnic distinctness and autonomy. One commentator referred to the Pacific Conference of Churches' "Long and painful" contribution to achieving Pacific homogeneity.⁵ This is not to say that all cultural differentiation has disappeared, for such a result in Melanesia is as unattainable as it is undesirable. But the point remains that "kastom", left sufficiently vague to accommodate diversity,⁶ has been used by clerics, and by politicians, to achieve and consolidate supra-ethnic, even national, unity.⁷

Lastly, the considerable involvement of Melanesian clerics in national politics was a natural consequence of the missions' activities within the emerging colonial states: mission societies had become

⁵ Rex Davis, "Pointer to a New Pacific", *One World*, 64, March 1981.

⁶ R. Tonkinson, "National Identity and the problem of Kastom in Vanuatu", August 1980 (mss).

⁷ Although "kastom" was traditionally divisive, and did not include the concept of "national unity": Julie-Ann Ellise & Michael Parsons, "Vanuatu: Social Democracy, Kastom and 'Melanesian Socialism'", in Peter Davis (ed), *Social Democracy in the Pacific*, (Auckland, 1983), 5-6.

established in the region with relatively little impediment from secular authorities; traditional Melanesian polities had not included the Western concept of "the separation of church and state"; mission societies had participated extensively in developing colonial medical and educational systems, in colonial states which were often viewed as tardy in pursuit of social, economic, and political development; European clerics, and some Melanesians as well, had enjoyed close relationships with colonial authorities, and had served on colonial Advisory and Legislative Councils; and islander clerics were often the best trained Melanesians in their environments, who either put themselves forward, or were put forward by their local communities, to pursue justice and development through political offices. Given these contributory factors, the view prevailed in the region that the church was "the only body which can fight and condemn the wrongs and bad developments which affect the life of the nation".⁸ Melanesian clerics were encouraged to take over where European missionaries had left off, in expecting roles in the decision-making processes of state, and the idea that "church" and "state" are inseparable remains prevalent among the Pacific clergy.⁹

The lack of distinction between "sacred" and "secular" or "spiritual" and "material", encouraged clerics to continue viewing religious objectives in material terms. They regarded political independence as being a "necessary step for economic independence",¹⁰ and hence toward achieving social justice. This produced a confusion at times between the struggle for nationalism, and the struggle for national integrity. Protestant thinkers invariably equated the two concepts. Others, generally Catholics, and Seventh Day Adventists, recognised a distinction between political determination - and social, cultural or religious determination. It was possible to be a nationalist and foster nationalism through fostering social, cultural and economic development, without engaging in politics.

Christianity in Melanesia, as in other parts of the world, increasingly concentrated on issues of social morality, rather than on spirituality: perhaps reflecting Melanesian beliefs, redemption was sought in the physical world. Such a theology quickly translated into political action. Thus, evangelism came to be identified with development issues, migration, trade, independence struggles - even opposition to nuclear testing.¹¹ Christian concerns in Melanesia were pragmatic, and cultural, as much as they were theological. The missions acted, as much as they could, as a filter for Western, secular learning; and

⁸ Quoted in Thomas Niditauae, "Pastors in Politics. The Question of Political Involvement and Church Leadership in Vanuatu", BD, Pacific Theological College, 1985, 29.

⁹ Gaqurae suggested that "In Melanesia there is no sharp separation between secular and sacred. Everything is seen as part of the whole religious atmosphere. This is why the indigenous church here cannot keep out of politics and other social concerns", Joe Gaqurae, "Towards Indigenizing of the United Church in the Western Solomon Islands", 51. Tupouniua, Director of the South Pacific Bureau for Economic Co-operation, maintained that economics, politics and religion were inseparable: Mahe Tupouniua, "What the Churches can do for Development in the South Pacific", 5th Lecture, William Floyd Memorial Series, Holy Trinity Cathedral, Suva, 12 November 1974.

¹⁰ "South Pacific Action for Development Strategy", Vila, 1973, quoted in Thomas Niditauae, "Pastors in Politics", 75.

¹¹ Eg, John Curnow, *The Pacific and New Zealand*, n.p. 1980.

sought to place themselves between the people of Melanesia and the "Western push", to cushion its impact. In effect they became, through their commitment to the provision of education, health and welfare services, the "welfare branch" of the secular state.

This outlook was compatible with the goals of colonial administrations. Whereas poverty was an admired condition in the gospels, to the modern state it was a curse; whereas Paul found no justification for attempting to change the social order by revolutionary means, clerics in the Pacific did.¹² To them, the state was not an instrument through which God exacted his will (the traditional Pauline view), but something to be part of, to guide and even control. As the missionary Gillen expressed it, following a tour of Papua New Guinea in 1950, "John Knox or reformers in Scotland did not separate secular from religious. Our natives must be prepared to take part in the governing of their own country".¹³

The impact of missionary endeavour included effects which were unpremeditated, and unintended. The promotion of literacy, for example, was related primarily to evangelism, and to the needs in individual church structures, and only secondarily motivated by concern at boosting literacy rates in colonial states. Pursuit of the former intention facilitated attainment of the latter.

The same holds true for education in general. Mission schools, established to fulfil the needs of individual missions, especially the development of indigenous church workers and clerics, became the basic component not only of mission education systems, but of colonial education systems. For most missions, the latter result was incidental, and most often a financial, administrative, and logistical burden.

A third, and generally unrecognised, unintentional mission contribution to the evolution of the Melanesian nation states, resulted from the endemic sectarianism embedded in the matrix of Christian denominationalism. The operation of such a number of alternate religious organizations reduced the ability of any single mission to effectively practice sectarian autonomy, reduced the likelihood of religious authoritarianism; provoked, then revealed the futility of, religious intolerance; and spurred rival mission organisations to provide constantly improving facilities to discerning adherents. In so doing, the missions introduced in a manner that was incidental to their primary objectives a wide range of Western influences, including Western technology, secular learning, and cultural values.

Fourthly, despite the close ties that apparently existed between "church" and "state", the missions were primarily concerned with such religious tasks as evangelism, conversion, education, leadership training, protection of members from the errors of other missions' teachings, the fostering of an indigenous church and clergy, and further propagation of the gospel. Relations with colonial

¹² Walter James, *The Christian in Politics*, Oxford, 162.

¹³ His passage included the cautionary ending, it must be noted, "and not leave it all for the Catholics", Quoted in Crump to Murray, 31 August 1950. PCNZ. New Hebrides 1948-51.

administrations comprised a supplementary agenda: winning government recognition for the work of the mission, obtaining subsidies for medical and educational projects, collaborating with the administration in overcoming what were perceived as retrogressive traditional political influences and cultural practices; and informing the administration on moral issues, particularly alcoholism, gambling and the detrimental effects of urbanisation. Perusal of a wide range of internal mission correspondence and documents suggests a general resistance to secularism, nationalist sentiment, and the emergence of the civil state, as these three forces were perceived as being the major threats to mission hegemony.

Fifthly, Melanesians educated by the missions for employment as teachers, medics, clerics and technicians in their own development programs, who transferred to employment elsewhere - although publicized as a willing contribution to the development of colonial societies - was privately lamented, and lured from the churches an already small elite. Having suffered through the loss of competent clergy and laymen to the offices of the secular state, some major churches have launched their independent eras with a cadre from the second rank.

On the basis of this study, several likely future trends in church-state relations can be noted. First, there is the possibility that significant sections of the Melanesian elites will adopt entirely secular perspectives, and depart from their religious roots. Should this happen, religion may come to be viewed cynically as an effective instrument for ideological control of the Melanesian peasantry. The decline of religion as a moral force could coincide with greater prospects for the political fragmentation of the Melanesian states.

Despite the tag "Christian nations", increasing levels of corruption are already appearing within the Melanesian political elites. The transparency of ministerial corruption is widely acknowledged. An attempted constitutional coup in Vanuatu only failed through the incompetence of its instigators; politicians victorious during independence have turned on each other. In Papua New Guinea the continuing violence of tribal warfare and sorcery are now being matched by planned and politically motivated urban riots. Failure to renegotiate mining rights, and the implementation of ever larger mining projects, present the threat of social and environmental devastation.

Within the independent churches, lack of universal perspective continues to breed schism, and religious confusion grows. A resurgence of religion, should it occur, will most likely assume either fundamentalist or syncretic forms, rather than resurgence of activity by the major denominations. Fundamentalism and syncretism have characterised religious renewal in other developing countries, in response to such globalising forces as consumerism; mass-media; and the increasing authoritarianism of many non-Western nation-states - and there is no reason that South Pacific societies will respond in ways significantly different. Since belief in spirits is so pervasive in Melanesian societies, a shift away from Western religion would more likely be accompanied by a resurgence of custom, than by a Western sense of atheism or agnosticism.

The intention in this study has not been to assert the total decline of traditional worldviews, through the unyielding impact of the West, but to trace the lines of power that have been constructed interactively with Melanesians, on the basis of which modern nation-states and religious institutions have been constructed. The connection between Christianity and nationalism was as strong in Melanesia as in any other region of the world, and the political processes by which the Melanesian nations were established were complemented by missionary interests which viewed the establishment of "nations" as something predestined, and having religious purpose. Thus, if Christian missionaries had not worked so prodigiously at the spiritual conversion and intellectual re-orientation of virtually all ethnic groups within the region, one may speculate that political fragmentation, based on ethnic conflict, may have assumed more serious dimensions. In this perspective, the nations of Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu are religious as much as they are political constructions.

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

[note: data, including dates, is indicative, not comprehensive]

ABALJAH, Josephine, advocated Papuan independence during years prior to Papua New Guinean independence. 1972 MHA Central; 1973 established Papua Besena; 1975 March 16 unilateral declaration of Papuan Independence; 1977 held National Capital District seat against Kiki challenge; leader of Papua Besena (1989)

ABBIL, Iolu, part of the Presbyterian clergy - worked in the British New Hebrides civil service, and entered national politics. From Lenakel, Tanna, Onesua graduate, first inspector of Cooperative Societies: "Began to reconsider western ideas more abstractly" Julie-Ann Ellis & Michael Parsons, in Davis, *Social Democracy...*; Presbyterian elder; from Nov 1988 Minister for Home Affairs and Health.

ABE, Dirona, b.1926, Rigo-Abau, LMS, taught at Kwato, 2 yrs Sydney Teachers College, Central District Advisory Council, 1964 elected to House of Assembly, became undersecretary for Health; 1968 House of Assembly; 1987 Minister for Home Affairs.

ABEL, Lorry, Moderator, Presbyterian Church of Vanuatu (1988)

ABEL, Cecil, b.1/2/1903. Of the famous missionary family in Papua. Eventually left Kwato to work for the Australian administration, and later enter national politics. 1968 MHA Milne Bay, defeated John Stunz, the sitting member, and bitter opponent of Pangu; wrote preamble to Papua New Guinea's constitution; "The impact of Charles Abel" in K. Inglis (ed), *The History of Melanesia*.

ABEL, Charles, founder of Kwato mission, d.1930.

ABEL, Russell, brother of Cecil Abel. Not as prominent in negotiating with the Australian administration on matters of economic development as was his brother. d.1964.

AFIA, David, SSEM, ran Honiara Book store 1974

AFIA, Jemual, exec. sec. SSEC (1971)

AGAUNDO, Mr., a Chimbu, member Legislative Council ? first educated Chimbu.

ALA, Michael, from Aoba, Anglican Priest, on New Hebrides Advisory Council (1971) At Diocesan conference, Honiara 1973; opposed Lini's 1977 pig killing, *New Hebrides News*, 86, Oct 77.

ALAFURAI, Leonard, member of the Anglican Melanesian establishment; one of the notable post-war clerics and member of British colonial bodies. Attended Te Aute College, St John's Theological College; Principal of Lilifia School; rural dean, delegate to SPC Suva 1956; accompanied Bishop Hill to England 1957; the Rt. Rev. Bishop of Malaita (1976). Recently asked to retire as Bishop. His son Alfred, possibly through frustration at not being named Bishop in place of his father, has recently made moves to establish a new church, independent of the Church of Melanesia.

ALASINI, President, Boda Kwato, 1983.

ALEBUA, Ezekial, Solomon Islands deputy Prime Minister; Prime Minister December 1986-1989.

ALEKONA, To'ambaita leader, Federal Council leader. Links with Shem Irofulu.

ALLAN, Sir Colin, BSIP 1945-57: member of the Solomons colonial establishment; an Anglican whose preferential treatment of the Melanesian Mission over the Marists and SSEM showed in reports written while District Commissioner on Malaita 1950-52; to New Hebrides 1959; assistant resident commissioner, British Resident

Commissioner. New Hebrides (1966-73); governor of Seychelles 1973-; First Governor General of Solomon Islands after Sir Donald Luddington (Oct 1976-July 1978); **ALLEN, Rev. L.W.**, LMS. Urika, involved with Tom Kabu. "The Purari Kompani" in *The Purari Delta* (1952)

ALLEN, Miss, Australian, Sec. of SSEM at Onepusu. (1955)

ALUFURAI, Leonard, St Mary's school Maravovo, Pawa. Te Aute College and St John's College (NZ), deacon 1952; ordained 1956; on BSIP Legco from its inception, a member of the executive council, and member of Malaita council. With Tuti, the first Melanesian Bishops, became assistant bishop to Bishop Hill in 1963. Melanesian Mission, rural dean of Malaita.

AMBO, Sir George Somboba, b. 1921, Kurou, Gona. m. Marcella Karau 1946; 1958 ordained priest, became "first native Bishop in any south seas mission", when consecrated assistant Bishop in October 1960. 1977 Bishop of Popondetta, consecrated Anglican Bishop 29 October 1960, resident at Boianai; 1983 Archbishop of PNG and Bishop of Popondetta

AMBUOFA, Peter, from Malu'u, assisted Florence Young establish SSEM on Malaita. d. by 1950

ANAEFELO, assistant headman. Uru, son of Basiana, who murdered DO. Bell. loyal to Govt. secretary of Wiris (1960)

ANDERSON, V.J., DC, Malaita (1952-54) MBE on Advisory Council 1955;

ANDERSON, Mr A. ACC missionary, Vanuatu

ANDREWS, S.G. NZ Meth Mission Sec. 1951-64

ANII, Fred, N.A.I.

ANILAFI, Timothy, President, Onepusu SSEM, Malaita (1955) Appointed to Malaita Council c.1955

APPELHANS, Bishop, Holy Ghost, d.1951 at Alexishafen

AQARAO, Francis Talasasa, Mr. District Commissioner, Eastern District, Kira Kira. (1973); 1976 member for Vona Vona, Rendova and Tetpari d. December 1976; replaced by his brother, another Talasasa

ARADO, Edwin Nuagoro, 1914 became Anglican deacon, Milne Bay, d. June 1969

ARAUBORA, leader at Arosi, San Cristobal

ARCHER, Mr F.P., made claims of shintoism among buka, (1949)

AREK, Paulus, 1930-73: 72 MHA Ijivitari; & 72 Houses of Assembly

ARKFELD, Bishop Leo, Wewak (1960s)

ARIMANA, Charles, Melanesian Mission, New Hebrides

ASHTON, Jeremy, English, POG 1960-61 at Menapi, Dogura; 1961-70 priest at Eroro; May 1976 Bishop of Aipo Rongo (East & West Sepic, Madang, Enga, Eastern Western and Southern Highlands, Chimbu and Morobe)

ASHWIN, John, Melanesian Brotherhood, head brother

ASOR, Mackenzie, Anglican Priest, PNG, attended UPNG (1967)

ATAEMBO, Walter, ordained deacon 1966; Gen Sec, Melanesian Council of Churches (1989)

ATOMEA, Arnon, of Malu'u. MR Chief released in 1950. To'ambaita, nephew of Shem Irofulu. Allan suggested Atomea for the Advisory Council, "teacher, leader and man of affairs."

AUBIN, Bishop Jean Marie, French Marist,

AUSUTA, Jatham, d. 9.5.77 at Loina Village, ran a school at Tavunaama, Kwara'ae

AUSUTA, Keriel Ofea, Gen Supt. Assemblies of God in

Solomon Islands (1989)

AVUSA, Tom, Presbyterian, Tongoa.

BACHE, Rev Wg. chairman of Papuan Church Assembly (1964)

BACON, Roger, member, General Purposes Committee, New Hebrides Representative Assembly (1977)

BADDELEY, Walter Hubert Bishop of Melanesia, 1932-47, had a galvanic personality, attempted to produce Melanesian clergy.

BAETALUA, headman, from Taebaita, Malaita, nominated to Council by DC Masterman, June 1950

BAITEL, Jim, Chair of Melanesian Council of Churches (1989)

BAKER, Alan, ACC Missionary, Ranmawat

BAKER, Philip, the only Melanesian Mission priest on Malaita, at Fuabu (1955-6) Malaita.

BALIFANGA, Jack, Lulasi, Langa Langa, didn't repair Sinaman Talu's cutter boat

BALL, Fr Earnest, Anglican, Society of the Sacred Mission, in Solomons 1963-64 with Melanesian Brotherhood

BAMBU, District Headman, Vella LaVella, BSIP; SDA, opposed by Lezutani

BANI, Abel, Church of Christ member, at Nduindui; ordained elder in 1941, led members of Church of Christ into Nagriamel c1966: M.Allen, *Vanuatu*, 130; Advisory Council Proc. 13/12/69; *Goodly Pearls* Sep46, 10; Mar50, 11.

BANI, John, Anglican Priest, New Hebrides, involved in independence struggle

BANKSTON, Mr, Evangelical Bible Mission, Pangia (1964)

BANGGA, Ishmael, ACC member on Santo

BARNES, C.E. Minister for Territories 1963-68, Minister for External Territories 1968-72. Did not consider independence a possibility for PNG.

BARROW, Mr, British Official, BSIP. (1946)

BARTHES, Fr J, RC Iongai Mission, Northern District, (1958) involved in chaining school children t152

BARTLE, Mr, DO, Malu'u (1951)

BARWICK, D.R., Acting Judicial Commissioner, Honiara (1958)

BASI, Mr Chief, Makwanu

BASUA, Clement, of Taba'a, Malaita, Jehovah's Witness

BATALOFA, of Foate, Kwara'ae

BATA'E, Jesimiel, from Bio, West Kwara'ae. Malaita Council Clerk (1955-61)

BAUME, SDA, Lou Island from 1951

BAWDEN, Roger, ACC, Santo

BEALE, F & Mrs, ACC missionaries New Hebrides

BEASO, Mathew, Bishop of North Solomons, d.March 1985.

BEAVIS, Arthur, Kwato

BEBI, Chief, member of Mel Vatu Mauri (1977)

BEGLEN, Joan, Melanesian Mission, New Hebrides (1971)

BELE, Raphael, 1969 treasurer of Napidakoe Navitu; 1972 MHA Central Bougainville;

BEN, August, ACC Pastor on Ambae

BENGOUGH, DC Auki (1942)

BENSON, James, Anglican PNG, involved in Cooperatives, d. 1955

BERGER, Fr, West Nakanai, New Britain, transferred from there in 1960, [t2186]; administration held him responsible for stirring sectarian trouble. associated with cult movement 1962,

BERNARDING, George, returned to Mt Hagen by end of 1944; consecrated Bishop of Mt Hagen 1960.

BETI, Daniel, Solomons Parliamentarian, member, Christian Fellowship Church.

BETI, Geoffrey, member for Roviana and North New Georgia 1977, supported Western Breakaway movement.

BETU, Willie, Anglican, 1973 member for West Ysabel; reelected 1976, Finance Minister;

BIA, J. of Rarumana, Western Solomons. A.D. Headman
BILI, Ariel, SSEM, Malaita

BINOIS, Fr. Marist, spent WWII on Choiseul.

BINSKIN, Mrs. of Baga, Western Solomons

BENCE, LMS missionary, Gabadi area (1957)

BENTLEY, Mr. BSIP official, Ysabel. (1947)

BLACKHALL, Pastor N, SSEC, on SICA 1974

BLAIKIE, R.W., ADO, Tari, SHD, (1962)

BLANC, at Terapo mission, in land issue, Heavala village (1941) t2451-61

BLANDIE, British rescom New Hebrides (1940-50) d.1964 aged 72

BOAS, Obed. from Larslaba, New Ireland, Rabaul Businessman. Chairman of NKA (1971) uncle of John Lasisi, founder of NKA; defeated Wally Lussik in 1972 for New Ireland regional

BOCK, Marist, Shortland Islands

BODNER, Cath. at Kup (1953)

BOEHM, E.A., president, NE New Guinea Mission of SDAs, which moved HQ from Madang to GOROKA in 1952 t495

BOKAP, daniel, instructor at Cath boys vocational school at Lemakot

BONGMATUR, WILLIE of Magam, North AMbrym, CD2 chiefly representative in Assembly (1977); elected Chairman of Council of Chiefs 1977,

BORAMILAT, Stanis, on Liquor Commission, 1962,

BOSAMATA, Fr A. Church of Melanesia, on SICA 1974

BOSETO, Leslie, Chairman, Melanesian Council of Churches (1973); Moderator, United Church 1978; Bishop of United Church of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands; President, SICA (1989)

BOURGEA, Cath priest at Sipai 1971.

BOUGEOIS, one of the managers of Nakamal

BOULEKONE, Vincent, b. 1944 Pentecost, lawyer, founded UCNH 1973; worked for French Residency; 1975 elected to Representative Assembly, 1976 addressed UN committee of 24, married to French woman Blandine. sec-gen of Tanunion, member, General Purposes Committee; elected to New Hebrides Representative Assembly Nov 1977, became Minister for Internal Affairs; represented Tan-Union at Paris talks, July 1977; Sept 1978 left UCNH & 1979 established Nakamal

BOULETARE, Raymond, Tan-Union, Pentecost, vc of Representative Assembly, 1977;

BRACK, J., acting sec. Dept. of External Territories.

BRENNAN, Paul W., Linguist, Wabag Lutheran Church (1975)

BROCK, Fr Dan, Anglican, BSIP. (1970); 1976 unsuccessful candidate for Second Eastern Outer Island seat

BROKAM, Nicholas, b. 1934 at Karu, New Ireland; mission school teacher; elected to Legislative Council in 1961; elected to House of Assembly 1964, where he became undersecretary to the Assistant Administrator for Economic Affairs; PANGU

BROOKER, Arthur, taught at Vureas School, New Hebrides, d. 1970 or 71.

BROSMAN, Australian Catholic priest, Sipai mission, Sohano, Bougainville (1963-) responsible for economic reform that alleviated cargo influence

BROUGHTON, A., Australasian sec. & treas, E&W Indies (1949)

BROWN, H.A. LMS, at Moru, Gulf district Papua (1941-1956) involved in cargo cult of Torea Erekofo; in disputes with catholics, and Blanc, over land, dating to 1941 t2451; in charge of catechists working in the kunimaipa in late 1940s **BUARE, Jerry**, president of Western Solomons Council at time of Breakaway movement, lost Inner Shortlands seat to Peter Salaka in December 1979.

BUGU, Clement, SSEM - had picked up "some kind of

- Pentecostal-Holiness way" from Guadalcanal (1944)
- BUGOTU, Ambrose**, Provincial Secretary, Province of Melanesia (1984)
- BUGOTU, Francis**, co-author of "This man", first SI to get an MA; Anglican financial advisory committee (1966); standing committee of the diocese of Melanesia (1967); "Politics, economic and social aspects in the Developing Solomons", in M. Ward (ed), *The Politics of Melanesia*; permanent secretary to the Department of Foreign Affairs; Secretary-General of South Pacific Commission, 1987-
- BULA, Daniel**, first Methodist convert on Vella Lavella.
- BULUK**, baptised Church of Christ member 1967, involved in Nagriamel
- BUNDERVOET, Albert-Leo**, Catholic Archbishop of Rabaul (1989)
- BURTON, John Wear**, (1875-1969) MA, General Secretary of the Methodist Overseas Mission 1925-45; External Affairs (1949); *Modern Missions in the South Pacific* (1949) *The First Century*; "The Atlantic Charter and the Pacific Races". Retired from the Methodist Mission to accept a position with the South Pacific Commission.
- BUSTIN, G.T.**, E & West Indies, 1948 western Highlands
- BUTU, Thomas**, Anglican priest, vila 1977
- CAIN, Tom**, RC priest at Lamussong, Noatsi CD (1972-3)
- CALDWELL, L.J.**, Marist, 1st european at Tsimba for several years, c.1961
- CALVERT, Ken & Ann**, Presbyterians at White Sands, Tanna, July 1967-
- CAMERON, Mr**, BSIP Official (1947)
- CARLOT, Maxime**, chairman of Erakor Community Council, Natatok Assemblyman for Anaabrou/Tasiriki area of Vila, first chairman of Representative Assembly (December 1977-), 1979 established Nakamal with Boulekone
- CARNEY, Les**, Jehovah's Witness, a plantation manager on Guadalcanal
- CARTER, George**, Chairman, Methodist Mission, Solomon Islands District, (1959-66)
- CAULTON, Bishop Sidney Gething**, 9th bishop of Melanesia 1948-53; d 22 August 1976.
- CHALFORD, Dr Harold**, of the Four Square Gospel in Los Angeles, rang PNG 1958.
- CHAMPION, John**, Res.Com. New Hebrides (1977)
- CHAN, Julius**, Prime Minister 1980-
- CHANEL, Brother**, Australian Lay Brother managed sawmill at Buma (1945-62) expert boat builder and mechanic
- CHATTERTON, Percy**, English born LMS missionary who arrived in Papua 1923, and after retiring from the LMS entered politics; stationed at Delena 1939-57; "The History of Delena", in K. Inglis (ed), *History of Melanesia*; member educational advisory board 1953-63; first chairman, Papua Ekalesia (1962); on Liquor Commission, 1962; won Central Special Electorate 1964
- CHENOWETH, Ben**, Methodist missionary, Kavieng 1927-60.
- CHISOLM, John**, assistant Bishop 1964; Bishop of Melanesia 1967- d.24 May 1975.
- CHOWNING, Ann**, Anthropologist, worked on Fergusson Island, 1950s.
- CLELAND, Brigadier Sir Donald**, Administrator of the Territory of Papua New Guinea 1952-67; O St J. became Chancellor of Diocese of New Guinea
- CLINT, Fr Alfred**, Anglican, Northern District, succeeded Benson in working with cooperatives among Orokaiva.
- COALDRAKE, Canon F.W.**, chairman, Australian Board of Missions (1963)
- COHEN, David**, in New Hebrides 1971, Melanesian Mission
- COLE, Robert**, D.C. SHD (1956)
- COOMBES, Rev V.W.**, sec, foreign mission committee, Presbyterian Church of NSW, 1945.
- COOPER, John**, Presbyterian in New Hebrides, involved in cooperatives, retired from field by 1964
- COPAS, Virgil**, Bishop of Port Moresby (1961); Archbishop
- COPE, Tass**, Anglican rector of Samarai (1973)
- COPELAND, Sister P.**, Fuabau hospital from c.1947-55. Frm NZ. ran training school for Malaitan nurses.
- CORCID, Catholic Father**, Malaita
- CORNWELL, Rev G.**, Methodist, at Skotolan, from 1949
- CORRIGAN, Mr**, a builder for Catholic Mission, Malaita
- CRANSWICK, G.H.** co-author, *A New Deal for Papua*, 1949
- CRAWFORD, BISHOP Eusebius J.**, OP, president of SICA 1975, Bishop of Gizo (1989)
- CRAWFORD, Sister P.**, New Zealander, at Fauabu leprosanium, from c.1952-55
- CRONSTEADT, Georges**, MANH party member for Santo Town, Omember, General Purposes Committee, New Hebrides Representative Assembly (1977); present at Paris conference, July 1977;
- CRUMP**, Presbyterian Missionary, NH
- DALE, Stan**, left the UFM by April 1949. A friend of ADO Lake Murray, Ted Hicks, Dale was looking for an inland site in Papua.
- DAMS, Rev Fr**, Anglican, Movi, Chuave, EHD (1961)
- DAMBUI**, Catholic priest in politics.
- DANIEL, Kalorib**, Onesua student from Fila, then Central Medical School, Fiji
- DAIMOI, Rev Joshua**, Chair, MCC (1979)
- DAUGI, Mackenzie**, Anglican, taught at CLTC 1968; inspector with dept. of education, Popondetta; spoke on Irian Jaya issue at Anglican Diocesan conferences; 1972 MHA Northern: United Party, Anglican, headmaster at Popondetta. Later Momis group
- DAUSABEA, david**, d. 25 Dec 1976 assistant to Sirua; promoted to District Headman on £60 per annum, 1950; assisted with suppression of Federal Council
- DAVIES, Mr**, BSIP
- DAVIES, Miss G.G.** SSEM, Onepusu (1956)
- DAVIS, Rex**, toured Pacific for FPSP., wrote in "One World" supporting military intervention on Santo.
- de Roo, Johannes**, Protestant Evangelical Mission, Manus, died in car accident, Lorengau, 21/11/52
- de Theye, Albert**, Marist, Marist, Guadalcanal
- DEASEY, Dudley**, UFM at Balimo 1940-74; 1975-85 Port Moresby
- DECK, Norman**, SSEM missionary, returned to Malaita post-war, but was forced to return to Australia by Maasina Rule.
- DELACROIX, Phillipe**, moderate in the Advisory Council, editor, *Nakamal*; President, UPNH; member, General Purposes Committee of New Hebrides Representative Assembly (1977)
- DELANEY, Jean**, ACC nursing sister, Ranmawat
- DELAUNEY, French Rescom** New Hebrides (1962-4)
- DELAVEUVE, Remy**, senior civil servant with the French administration; founding president of UCNH, Feb.1974; mayor of Vila (1977); member, General Purposes Committee, New Hebrides Representative Assembly (1977)
- DEMURS, Catholic priest** at Asitave, Aita CD, Wakunai, North Solomons.
- DESCHAMPS, Rt Rev Gerard-Joseph**, Bishop of Daru-Kiunga; pres Bishop's conference of Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands (1989)
- DEWDNEY, LMS**.
- DEVESI, Baddeley**, Solomon Islands first Governor General 1978-July 88.
- DEVLIN, Fr**, Marist at Dala, Malaita. American, (1947-1956)
- DIBELA, Kingsford**, at SPAC, Fiji, 1966; later Governor

General of Papua New Guinea.

DICKSON, Osineru, brother of Merari, one of the first Papuan clerks, employed in District Office, Moresby. Kwato product; Wetherell, "A Missionary Group..."; contested Milne Bay 1964 against John Guise;

DICKSON, MERARI, brother of Osineru, Milne Bay, Kwato, on MLC from 1951-57 (did not seek reappointment)

DINI, Luke, b.1940, Motalava. Independent, Banks & Torres, elected to Representative Assembly Nov 77, became Minister for Transport, Posts & Telecommunications;

DIO, Shadrach, MR leader, Auki, assisted with suppression of Federal Council

DIONNE, Cath priest at at Kuraio mission, in Deriaka division, moved to Tsimba, by November 1962 -68

DIXON, Mr J.R., Anglican Bishop's secretary, SI (1959)

DIXON, Osineru, was having house constructed by Kwato for government in 1949

DOWNS, Ian, 1961 member of Legislative Council; 1962 member of select committee of Legislative Council; European member of the Legislative Council, 1964 House of Assembly.

DOYLE, Francis, MSC, appointed Prefect Apostolic of Samarai 1951

DUDLEY, Job, Holy Mama of Christian Fellowship Church (1989)

DUNCAN, Rev Don E., PCNH

DWYER, on first Papua and New Guinea Legislative Council, 1951; parish priest rabaul and sec. to Bishop Scharmach (1957)

DYER, Keith W., District Officer, SHD (1962)

EFULU, Walter, Melanesian Brotherhood (1962)

EHAVE, Gabriel, Gulf District, Catholic, LegCo; president, East Kerema LGC (1960); elected to House of Assembly 1964; ran trade store at Malalua; ran for Western Papua Electorate 1961

EICHHORN, WILLIAM, 1972 member for Angoram

ELLIS, G.R., of the Independent Christian Mission, 1958

ERAKALI, Silas, President, SSEM (1989)

ESPAGNE, Fr, RC, at Star Harbour, Malaita (1950)

ETA, of Kusage, BSIP, regarded by Allan as an agitator.

ETO, Silas, 1905-d.January 1983. Western Solomons protege of Methodist Missionary John Goldie, concerned with interpreting Methodist worship in harmony with traditional beliefs, established a breakaway movement, the Christian Fellowship Church.

EVATT, H.V. Minister for External Affairs.

FAHEY, Catholic Priest, Hanahan (1962-4)

FAIFU, Timothy, SI, Anglican Layman, assisted Willie Masurah establish the Church Association on Malaita in 1949, still involved in 1963;

FAIRLEY, R.D., New Hebrides, WPHC Suva; on secondment to SPC and WPHC, DO Malu'u from 1955;

FAKAIA, Bro William, Melanesian Brother, served in New Guinea, retired 1959.

FALLOWES, Richard, Anglican priest of the Melanesian Mission, at Tulagi, Solomon Islands, 1929-35, 1938.

FANGALEA, Gideon, SSEM son of Peter Amboufa, d.13/6/71.

FERGUSON, SDA Pastor, in SI to AUGUST 1960, then to PNG

FIELD, Mr J.D., DO Tataba, Ysabel.

FIFI, Jonathan MR Chief jailed for 2 years, Sinarago; USIP leader; 1973 member for East Kwaio; reelected 1976 Minister for Home Affairs, 1976; Seventh Day Adventist

FILOA, Jezreel Pastor, Assoc. Supt 1974; General Superintendant SSEC, (1976)

FILOA, Joshua, SSEM, Malaita

FINGER, Rev K. P., commenced SSEM work Wewak, 1949

FINGLETON, Wally, Catholic priest at Tabago, 1969;

covered Lugakei & Kono CDs

FINLAY, Derek, Catholic priest, Vila (1977)

FLANNERY, Catholic priest at Tabago, 1953

FLEMING, Kevin, Irish Marist, New Ireland, arrived at Lowanatom, Tanna, in August 1986.

FOLDI, John, D.C. New Britain (1963)

FO'OFUAU, Nelson, of Kaligwata, Malaita, JW

FOSTER, Mr, J.M. District Commissioner, Malaita BSIP.(1948)

FOSTER, Sir Robert, British High Commissioner (1964-70)

FOTORAFA, Charlie, MR chief, took refuge at Dala

FOWLER, Mr A. NH British Administration Education Officer from 1959.

FOX, Rev Dr Canon Charles E., MBE MA, Litt D. (1878-1977) b. England Anglican, at Pawa; then Fiu; a linguist, wrote *Threshold of the Pacific* (1924), *Kakamora* (1962), *The Story of the Solomons* (1967)

FRANK, Peni, Papuan, trained accountant, involved in Moral Reamament, toured New Zealand in 1958

FREEH, Vincent, MSC, american, Lemakot (1971)

FRERICHS, Albert, Lutheran Mission New Guinea, at Raipinka, became acting supt. Luth mission new guinea in May 1951 until kuders return from furlough in 1952

FREUND, A. chairman, New Guinea Lutheran Mission - Missouri Synod, established in November 1948 in Wabag sub-district CHD

FRICKE, Dr. Lutheran

FUGMAN, W.W., managing director, Namasu (1968)

FUGUI, Leslie, Malaita, ordained Anglican priest 1967; member of Leg co 1973; lost seat of East Malaita to F. Sira in 1976; in 1980 studying at Fuller Theological Seminary Pasadena; also a carpenter

GA'A, Salana, from Aimela, West Kwara'ae, BEM 1955; member of Advisory Council, BSIP; president of Malaita Council (to Sept. 1955). In 1959 DC Malaita was not happy with Ga'a performance as President of the council (376) described as opportunist (399)

GADEBO, Isaac, from Popondetta, director of Christian Training Centre at Popondetta from 1982; Bishop after Hand

GALABETI, active MR, Ata region

GALIS, Robert, MLC, sec. of NKA (1971) from Lossu

GALLAGHER, Otmar, OFM, Mendi, on SHD DAC (1964)

GAM, Getake S., Bishop of Evangelical Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea (1989)

GANDAPETA, Stephen, Solomon Islands Methodist, grew up in Goldie's household, first islander to enter ministry: Luxton, *Isles of Solomon*.

GANIFIRI, Justus, president of SSEC, (1971); 1972 led a team of SSEM into Sepik; gen. supt of SSEC 1974;

GANISUA, Deferii, of Darawarau, in To'mbaita, a Maasina Rule Chief

GARAE, Aiden, first president of National Party, 1971.

GARI, Leana, with TPNG admin

GASS, Sir Michael, K.C.M.G., governor of BSIP (1970-74)

GATU, Fr Patteson, Melanesian Mission

GAUGER, R. French Resident Commissioner, New Hebrides, (1977)

GEERTS, Rev Fr P. Tarapaina (1956)

GEGEYO, Kingsley, ordained Anglican deacon 1966, Newton Theological College, St. John the Baptist Theological College, Suva

GENDO, active promoter of Etoism, had been head teacher at Methodist High school.

GENJIM, David, from Karumdek, Asai, among first Anglican priests, attended Newton Theological College (1973) *Diocese of PNG Newsletter*, 5:1 easter 1973.

GEORGE, Timothy, lived at Ra'one, Port Adams, one of the largest villages on Malaita. Recognized by Govt. as the

leader of Mala (169)

GEREA, John, Malaita, ordained Anglican Priest 1968, member of LegCo; won West Kwara'ae seat 1976

GERMOND, Mr, acting Res.Com. BSIP (1949)

GERTZ, Catholic father, Malaita

GIBBONS, Rev W.E., Baptist, involved with SSEM, aided the administration in diffusing the Federal Council in 1952; resigned from its leadership in 1955.

GIGINI, Hugh, Anglican Layman, SI, involved in Church Association, Ysobel.

GILES, Pastor, President, SDA church in New Hebrides (1970)

GILLIN, Rev J.W.P., Principal at TTI 1934-46.

GILMORE, Graham, MHA for South Markham special electorate, involved in U.C.D.P. - Catholic

GINA, Belshazzar, Western Solomons. Educated in New Zealand under John Goldie's sponsorship. Worked for mission until 1944. Worked for Treasury in 1950; Melanesian Master, Auki School 1951; carried correspondence with Silas Lezutuni; c.1955 became the first indigenous Bahá'í in Solomon Islands, but subsequently returned to the Methodist Mission. In 1957, head of Honiara elementary school.

GINA, Maepeza, son of Gina, speaker of Parliament from July 1978 - c.1989.

GIREGIRE, Snake, developer of Goroka coffee plantations, market garden, carrier business and trade store, president of Asaro LGC, 1964 House of Assembly, became undersecretary for Assistant Administrator (Services); 1972 MHA Daulo

GOLDIE, Rev Dr John Francis, 1870- , chairman of the Solomon Islands Methodist District 1902-1951.

GOSLING, SDA, Marau

GREGORY-SMITH, H.G. (1897-1976) Resident Commissioner BSIP (1950-52)

GREY, Lawrence, LMS Saroa 1959-62

GRIFFITHS, W.E., one of three directors of SSEM, surveyed the Central Highlands and the Sepik in November 1948

GUISE, John, Anglican, Milne Bay, Attended the Queen's coronation in 1953 with PNG Constabulary, 1962 Pago SPC conference; MHA (1964), became undersecretary for Information and Extension Services; member Legislative Council, won 1964 Milne Bay open electorate against Bob Bunting; PANGU; 1972 member for Alotau; headed Select Committee on Constitutional Development; Governor General 1974-76;

GUNTHER, Dr John, Assistant Administrator, TPNG (1961); 1962 Chairman of Legislative Council select committee with Hurrell and Downs.

GUTCH, Sir John, Western Pacific High Commissioner (1955-61); chairman Melanesian Mission 1976-8;

GWIMEL, Peter, from Karum village, in Asai valley, among first Anglican priests.

HAGA, District Headman, Wanoni, San Cristobal, involved in Maasina Rule but by 1950 urged his people to obey the law.

HAGAI, Francis, leader of HWS, Bougainville, with Teosin; jailed.; candidate for Bougainville Open electorate for 1964 elections, defeated

HAGEN, Fr, RC, at Vunamarita (1955)

HAGERIA, Ben, Anglican, involved in Maasina Rule, Ysabel.

HAGESI, Fr Robert, lecturer, Bishop Patteson (1977)

HALLIMAN, Rev Fred, and family, of the Macedonia Baptist Church, Chicago, Illinois, to PNG 1960. visited Bougainville 1966

HANASIA, Government Headman, Funarite, Malaita, loyal to BSIP during MR.

HAND, David, 1946-50 Anglican mission priest; 1950-63

assistant bishop. Diocese of New Guinea: 1963-83 Bishop of New Guinea; 1977-83 Archbishop. Province of Papua New Guinea

HANNETT, Leo, Nissan Island? Marist Brothers School, Kieta; preparatory seminary Chambai on Bougainville; Madang Seminary

UPNG (1966)

HANRAHAN, K.J. with Govt, Kunua, Bougainville (1964)

HARRINGTON, G.S. Headmaster, Rabaul Technical School, Malaguna (1960)

HARRISON, Roy, SDA, Talasea

HARVEY, Mr, Evangelical Bible Mission, Pangia (1964)

HARVEY-KELLY, Mr, District Commissioner, Kira Kira, Solomon Islands (1964)

HASKELL, Rev. C.W., Gen.-Sec of the N.Z. Board of Mission (1959) Melanesian Mission

HASLUCK, Paul, Minister for External Territories 1952-

HASTINGS, David, in charge of revolving publishing fund (SI), left c.1974 to become coordinator of Bible Society work in Pacific, from Fiji

HAUCHA'BA, from Mala

HAY, David O., Administrator of the Territory of Papua New Guinea 1967-71; then Sect. of Dept. of External Territories

HAYSEY, John, Presbyterian missionary on Efate 1970s

HAYWOOD, M. R., A/Assistant District Officer, Koroba, SHD, (1963)

HEDLEY, Heber, teacher involved in educational section of mass survey, Malaita. (644)

HEPEPAINA, Michael, Melanesian Brotherhood.

HERTLE, Rev., Luth, Pangia (1965)

HILL, Alfred T., CMG, MBE, Maintained school on Pawa during Japanese invasion; Bishop of Melanesia 1954 - 1967.

HILL, Mr H. Melanesian Brotherhood

HILLY, Francis, Minister for Home Affairs, 1978, responsible for negotiating between Kenilorea's government and the dissenting Western District, prior to independence; resigned from cabinet and later became president of Western Council, won Western Provincial Assembly seat of South Ranongga 1979; 1980 won national seat and became deputy PM to Kenilorea;

HITU, Stephen, Western Solomons

HOASIHU, from Wairakai, AriAri; assisted with suppression of Federal Council

HOE, Asa, Government Headman, San Cristoval, involved in Maasina Rule.

HOEHENKE, VI, Bahá'í in Papua New Guinea.

HOEHNE, Catholic Archbishop, Rabaul

HOGAN, Cath priest at Asitavi, Bougainville, 1949

HOGBIN, Ian, Experiments in Civilization

HOKOVANI, Luke, Melanesian Brother on New Britain.

HOLMES, SDA pastor, President in SI, after Ferguson

HOPA, Jack T., member, General Purposes Committee, New Hebrides Representative Assembly (1977); 1987 Minister for Agriculture and Livestock; from Nov 88 Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing

HORNE, Charles, APCM, to Papua 1939, in Western District until 1955, then worked among Huli in SHD 1955-57; Dutch New Guinea 1957-64 among Dani; Western District 1964-72 among Gogodala; Tari 1972-76.

HORWELL, Graham, PCNH, at Lamenu 1966

HURRELL, A.Lloyd, ADO, Bogia, reports cargo cult in bosman area, 1948, 1961 member of Legislative Council; initiated 1962 select committee on implimentation of government policy on self-government.

HURST, H. Leonard,

HYSLOP, J.R., Presbyterian missionary Tongoa 1967-

IANAMU, Cliff, chaira LMS district committee at Mailu, and chair, LGC (1962)

IANOPEI, cult leader, Sepik, candidate in 1964 House of Assembly election.

ILA, Tony, Pangi Pati

IROFALU, Shem, SSEM head-teacher from Bokolo. To'baeta. SSEM evangelist at Malu'u; regained leadership of SSEM in To'obaita in 1951; in 1956 trying to regain leadership of SSEM; established Boboa church

IROFIALA, Jaspas, of Bugua, Kwara'ae; Vice President of Malaita Council Sept. 1955-

IROGA, Matthew, Society of Mary seminarist, Solomon Islands (1980)

IROMEA, from Baegu'u

ITIA, district headman, from Rakwane village, Fataleka, Malaita.

JAMES, JOHN & LOIS, of World Missions Incorporated entered PNG in 1957, keen to work among the Kukuku in the Eastern Highlands, armed with a calling card that read "don't pray for us unless you believe your prayers will help make the difference between success and failure in defeating the satanic forces which hold the heathen in bondage".

JANNIQUE, Robert, RC priest, New Hebrides, 1952-77.

JANSEN, Rev E.G. Principal, TTI 1967

JANSEN, Dr Herman, Sacred Heart, to PNG, c1966; director, Melanesian Institute

JEFFERIES, A. ADO, SHD, (1961)

JELEMANA, Brown, "The demented MR leader on Ysabel in 1947" (by DC western, 1950); dismissed from the Melanesian Brotherhood. IN Honiara prison until 1951.

JIMMY, JUSTUS, MR leader, Kwai. Jailed; By June 1950 was supporting the government. 1955 spent some months in Sydney translating with Norman Deck.

JOHNSON, David, Methodist Mission worker, Mendi. interested in Timp cult

JOHNSON, Leslie W., Administrator of the Territory of Papua New Guinea 1971-74

JONES, J.H., acting director, DDS (1949)

JULLIARD, Catholic Bishop of Port Vila, enthroned 1954 (1970)

KABU, Tom, famous as instigator of "New men of Papua", a post-war reform movement. First Papuan Bahá'í.

KAKALUAE, C.H. District Headman from Lau, Malaita; nominated by Masterman to Council June 1950; B.E.M. Anglican

KALANGIS, Ps, Moderator, PCNH 1959

KALEBETI, headman, of Ata'a, Lau, east Fataleka (1965) complained about destruction of Tambu houses by Anglicans in 1965.

KALIPUA, Shadrach, Anglican, Solomon Islands.

KALKOA, George, see Sokomanu

KALMET, Charlie, Chief of Erakor village,

KALPOKAS, Donald, Ardmore Teachers College NZ; USP Graduate, school teacher, co-founder of Cultural Association, National Party Executive, member of representative assembly for North Efate (1977); Minister for Education; from Nov 88 minister of Foreign Affairs and Judicial Services;

KALSAKAU, Graham, elected vice-chairman, council of chiefs (1977), represented council of chiefs at Paris talks, July 1977

KALSAKAU, George, b.1930 son of Chief Kalsakau, Fila Island, educated at All Hallows (Pawa). After working as clerk at PMH, radio operator with Vila Radio, joined British division, New Hebrides Constabulary 1953, 1959-60 police training in Britain, became second inspector in 1960, inspector in 1967, senior inspector 1972, assistant-Supt. in 1977. Australian police college 1975, president of co-operative federation 1974-75, resigned from Police November, member Efate Natatok Alliance Party,

KALSAKAU, Kalpeau, French educated, member of UPNH

KALSAKAU, Kalpokor, chairman. General Purposes committee of the Representative Assembly (1977)

KALUAE, District Headman, non-MR, in Lau Lagoon

KAMBIPI, Traimya, MHA, Baiyer River: to CLTC. ran for House of Assembly in 1964 but failed, and attended CLTC: elected 1972 for Kompam-Baiyer. on WHD DAC (1970)

KAMPHUIS, Fr, on Basakana Island, Malatia

KAMPLER, Fr, Malaita

KAPUTIN, John, attended Australian secondary school: Mataungan Association; 1972 MHA Rabaul; 1987 Minister for Minerals and Energy.

KARAI, James, Church of Christ pastor loyal to Jimmy Stephens

KASAU, Pika, Pangu Pati

KASSO, Samson, Middle Bush Tanna, neo-Pagan, anti-John Frum. visited SI

KAUSIMAE, David, SSEM advocate from Kiu who entered politics; chairman, natural resources committee (1971) Kausimae went to England in 1966 with a European member of the Legislative Council, Eric Lawson.

KEADY, Catholic, Buka (1950)

KEARI, Anton, Bougainville, regarded as a man seeking power and/or notoreity; resident in 1950 at Lonahan village, Kieta. Attended Catholic School to grade V, Buka Island, 5 years at Catholic Seminary, Vunapope, employed on Buka from Oct 59, as Clerical Assistant.; head of Buka LGC in 1964, contested 1964 election against Hagai, ex-seminarian;

KEADY, Catholic priest, Buka (1940s)

KELESI, Mariano, 6 years training St Joseph's, Tenaru; 1954 Chairman, Takwa CWS; Malaita Council 1957-60; President Malaita Council 1960; did fishery course in Noumea, worked with Malaita Native Council; MLC 1968; 1976 defeated sitting member J. Ausuta for Lau & Mbaelelea;

KENDALL, Henry, Bishop of the eastern region of Papua, 1968

KENILOREA, Sir Peter, member of the SSEM who worked for the British Solomons administration before entering politics in the pre-independence period, later became first Prime Minister. Attended Ardmore Teachers College, taught at KGVI (c1968-); (President of Civil Servants Association); assistant secretary, dept of finance; district officer, district commissioner; leader of United Party; Chief Minister (July 1975-77); first Prime Minister 1978-August 1981; re-elected October 1984- resigned Nov 14 1986; became deputy prime minister to Alebua & minister of Natural Resources; In Feb 88 Minister for Foreign Affairs;

KENNY, A., chairman of directors, SSEM (1949)

KERE, John Wesley, mission educated son of New Georgian headhunter, graduated Suva Medical school 1940, in 1968 a doctor at Helena Goldie Hospital, Munda;

KERR, Dr Harland, SIL, worked at Borona. s. of Pangia station, (1964)

KEVU, B., from Western Solomons, senior clerical officer (1955)

KEY, John, Port Moresby Assistant Anglican priest, involved in 1969 protest march concerning Irian Jaya.

KIFU, MR Chief, jailed, released.

KIKI, Albert Maori, b. c1931 Kerema, worked with administration at Hanahan. Bougainville, transferred to Hutjena (1962); did not nominate for 1964 House of Assembly; defeated in 1968 by Tom Koraea; 1972 MHA Moresby Inland; full time sec. of PANGU. deputy prime minister in 1976-77; 1977 unsuccessfully challenged Josephine Abaijah for National Capital District seat; lost by-election 1978 and retired from public life

KILAGE, Ignatius, first highlander Catholic priest; into politics; governor general in 1989

KILATU, J., trained Central Medical School, Suva; 1955 at

Auki Hospital.

KINIKA, Benedict, Deputy chief minister, 1978: at independence. Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance. Leader of United Solomon Islands Party to August 1974;

KIRA, Andrew, N.A.I.

KIRIAU, B, Anglican, SI, standing committee of the diocese of Melanesia (1967)

KIRIAU, George, Melanesian Mission priest involved in destruction of custom sites, Malaita, 1965.

KIVA, Edmond, Melanesian Mission

KLEIN, Yule Island; Bishop of Noumea 1971-

KODAVARU, Stephen, Choiseul Council Clerk, SI member of Advisory Council for Western District (1957)

KOIERA, Caedmon, New Guinea, ordained Anglican deacon 1966

KONING Father Theo, SM, sec of SICA 1974

KORISA, Willie, Tannese, Onesua, british police force 1968, Rarongo, Minister for Health

KOSMEIER, SDA, St Mathhias

KOSUI, Peter, headman, Malaita

KOUTINI, Christian, teacher, Malaita

KOVINGRE, Otto, manager of Catholic plantation at Boiken, co-founder of United Christian Democratic Party, 1967;

KRONERT, Baptist

KUALI, Mathhias, Anglican priest, Guadacanal (1974)

KUDER, Dr John, to PNG 1934-43, Supt Lutheran Mission New Guinea (American Lutheran Church) 1945;

KUKU, Samuel, SI politician 1972-75 involved in Western Breakaway movement, and supporter of Silas Eto, *PIM*, Oct 1978, 8; chairman/sec. of Christian Fellowship Church (1983)

KULO, headman, Kwara'ae

KUPER, Charlie, Santa Ana, Eurasian, a government dresser, formed a religious group from Melanesian mission 1959-65 (Davenport)

KURONGKU, Sir Peter, Catholic Archbishop of Port Moresby (1989)

KURTS, Rev Fr P.R., S.J., Port Moresby 1968. National Director of the Social Order for the Catholic Church

KWAISULIA, England, hid for two years, reemerged against govt. 1952, est. the Remnant Church with Sisimia, which combined SSEM and SDA teachings. By 1960, he was the only member in Tae, North Malaita.

KWAN, Perry, campaigned for 1972 H.Ouse, New Ireland

LAMARRE, Marist Priest, Buka, refused medical assistance to members of HWS.

LAMBERT, C.F., Sect. Dept. of Territories (1960s)

LAMBERT, Francis Roland, born in Massachusetts, USA, c.1921, of an old French family which emigrated first to Canada then to the USA, arrived in the New Hebrides c.1948. Catholic Bishop Port Vila, (1977-); spent years at Lamap, Melsisi, Vila, and Fiji; chairman of New Hebrides Christian Council; elected Provincial of the Marist Fathers in the South Pacific, August 1971;

LAMERS, Rev Fr, MSC, Patusi, during Paliau movement (1947-53)

LANGLOIS, French Resident Commissioner, New Hebrides (1971)

LANGRO, Paul, United Party, Momis group

LAPUN, Sir Paul, b.1923. Buin, Bougainville, Catholic schoolteacher, ex-Marist (Vunapope & Torokina) seminarian, 1964 House of Assembly, became undersecretary for Forests; 1969 elected President of Napidako Navitu; 1972 MHA South Bougainville tried to increase mining royalties to Keita landowners; chairman of Napidakoe Navitu, established July 1969; reelected to 1972 House of Assembly, Minister for Mines and Energy, "Papua New Guinea's

mining policy: choosing our own future", in Zorn, Jean G. & Peter Payne (eds), *Foreign Investment International Law and National Development: Papers presented at the seventh Waigani Seminar, Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea, April-May 1973*: knighted 1974. Keith Jackson, "Paul Lapun", *Yagl-Ambu*, 1:3. Sept 1974: PANGU

La POINTE, Catholic Priest, Lemanmanu, Buka (1962)

LARMOUR, Edward Noel, British High Commissioner for the New Hebrides, knighted 1977.

LASISI, John, founded Noatsi Kristen Association (NKA); did he stand for Namatanai open in 1972?

LEBEL, Marist priest, Siwai, 1966; (iv,5); 1969 at station at Monoitu, Buin;

LEE, Gordon A., President SDA, Western Pacific Union, SI. (1974)

LEE, J.R., SDA President of Western Pacific Region - SI (1989)

LENI of Kwainfala, of Kwainafela, a clerk of tahe Kwara'ae council. arrested as a tax defaulter

LEPPING, Catholic priest at Hahela, Bougainville, reported cargo rumours (1963)

LEPPING, Sir George, Solomon Islands Governor General 1988-

LEYE, Jean-Marie, first president Aneityum LGC 1959; vice-president. UCNH, 1974; Tan-Union president (1977)

LEYMANG, Fr Gerard, b 1937 Malekula. ordained Catholic priest 1962. 1967-69 studied sociology at Lyons University, assistant priest Melsisi, Walarano, Lamap & Vila. Also worked part-time in French Residency Labour Dept. Member of Advisory Council. 1976 in UCNH delegation to Paris & London. Tan Union, New Hebridean Catholic priest educated in France, secretary of UCNH 1974; member, General Purposes Committee & Minister for Social Services (education, health and Labour), New Hebrides Representative Assembly (1977); represented Tan-Union at Paris talks, July 1977; Union of the Communities of the New Hebrides, Chief Minister from December 1978

LEZITUNI, Silas, Paramount chief of Vella LaVella. (1947) Methodist, Supported MR aspirations, corresponded with Gina; convicted in 1951 of collecting fines without proper court procedures. expressed anti-European sentiments

LINI, Hilda, editor, *Vanuaku Viewpoints* (from 1975-1977)

LINI, Walter, enjoined the struggle for Vanuatu's independence shortly after qualifying as an Anglican priest. Representative member for Pentecost 1977, member, General Purposes Committee, New Hebrides Representative Assembly (1977); prayer breakfast meeting with US President Jimmy Carter 18 January 1979; elected chief Minister November 1979; first Prime Minister of Vanuatu, in 1987 also Minister for Planning, Information and Public Services.

LINOSSIER, Pere, Catholic priest, Port Olry. 1971.

LIU, John, Churches of Christ, educated PTC, sec. Vanuatu Christian Council (1988)

LOCK, Pastor, SDA, Buka

LOFT, Rev Fr A Catholic, Takwa (1956)

LOGRIN, Rev. Fr, Catholic in Melankoa & Lemanamanu areas 1947-

LOKOLOKO, Tore, Governor General of Papua New Guinea 1976-

LOKOPIO, ALEX, education advisor to United Church, from Marovovo Lagoon, lecturer Dauli Teachers College, PNG, 1967-77.

LOUHMANN, Jack, Presbyterian, Tanna.

LOWA, Patterston, lost parliamentary by-election in 1978

LUDDINGTON, D.C., BSIP High Commissioner, 1974-76

LUE, Joseph, educ. at catholic schools, and completed in Australia; Minister for Transport, defeated 1972 by John Momis.

- LUKE, Sir Charles**, Western Pacific High Commissioner (1939)
- LUS, Peter**, 1972 MHA Maprik
- LUSSICK, Wally**, lost 1972 election to boas
- MACDONALD-MILNE, Brian**, Melanesian Mission, Honiara. Christian Education and Communication sec. for SICA in 1974; sec. of SICA 1967; on PCC staff April 77-; in Vila 1978-80
- MACKAY, Fr Alan**, Noumea (1971)
- MADDEN, Benjamin**, OFM, Mendi (1964)
- MAEKALI**, district headman, Malaita
- MAELIGENI**, of Ramei, Malaita, MR
- MAELIOMEA**, of Aniuke, Malu'u
- MAELIAU, Michael**, SSEM, Auckland Bible Course, 1972
- MAENA'ANDE**, from Koio
- MAESIEDI, David**, Malaita Council (1955)
- MAHIT, William**, from Nov 87 Vanuatu Minister of Lands, Minerals and Fisheries
- MAIDAO**, headman, Makwana area, Malaita
- MAKIKON, Reuben**, wrote in *Nakamal* 22, 1 June 1973, of need for church participation in politics.
- MALEFODOLA, Fr Augustine**, Catechist School, SI, Melanesian Mission, failed candidate for North West Malaita, 1976;
- MALERE, Aime**, b.1942 Rano, Malekula, francophone vice-chairman of New Hebrides Cultural Association, (1971) later, President of MANH; Minister for Tourism 1977;
- MALLINSON, Patrick H.**, Marist Priest, Tsiroge, Sohano, Bougainville. Mission education officer involved in circularising to members of second House of Assembly concerning grants in aid to mission education.
- MALONEY**, first headmaster, Auki Govt. School
- MAMALONI, Solomon**, an Anglican not necessarily in good standing with his bishop. Leader of Peoples Progressive Party; chief minister August 1974-6; resigned 31 December 1977; Prime Minister August 1981, and for a second term commencing in 1989.
- MANEBONA, John**, vi-Vanuatu, Melanesian Mission (1971)
- Mann, E.L.** LMS, Saroa (1962)
- MANN, Rev Allan**, attended Presbyterian synod 1947 to consult on taking Apostolic Church to New Hebrides, d.1949 Aoba.
- MARAS**, Timot, from Umbukul village, New Hanover, 1967-71 Rarongo Theol Coll, 1971 to Lakuramau, Kara CD
- MARIWATA**, CHief, member of Mel Vatu Mauri 1977
- MARCHANT**, Col. Resident Commissioner, BSIP (1942)
- MARK, David**, on Malaita Council (1965)
- MARQUAND, J.R.**, Administrative Officer, BSIP (1950)
- MASTERMAN**, Major, D.C. Malaita.
- MASURA, Willie**, Anglican Priest, established the Church Association, 1949, discussed in Coaldrake's *Floodtide in the Pacific*
- MAU, Kabay**, New Guinea, ordained Anglican deacon, 1966.
- MAYE, Fr RC** at Zailapu, Kunimaipa (1947) .
- MAZAKMAT, Apelis**, Utu intermediate school, president Tikana LGC; attended Leg.Co conference in Sydney; teacher until retirement in 1970; first Bahá'í in Papua New Guinea.
- McDONALD**, Catholic Priest, Gizo.
- McVINEY**, Catholic Priest, Education Officer, Moresby; Education Advisory Board; campaigned for increased mission teachers salaries (1966-1968)
- MEA, Reatau**, Chairman of Papuan Church Assembly (1960); first VC, Papua Ekalesia (1962);
- MEAD, Mr C.B.**, Agricultural Officer, Auki, involved in Mass Education Surveys
- MEDO, Willie**, headman, Malaita
- MEGELE**, from outside the DUna district, but Candidate for 1964 House of Assembly in Koroba, with support of CMML.
- MEIER, Michael**, Catholic Bishop of Mt Hagen (1989).
- MELO, Tambu**, MHA. ran mission-owned cattle station. SHD (1965) .
- MENTZER**, Catholic priest, Asitavi station 1956; Kuraio mission station. Sohano. Bougainville. (1964) responsible for economic reform, and alleviation of cargo.
- MERA, Grace**, Anglican, at USP 1976. "Politics in the New Hebrides" PIM Jan 76.
- MERA, Joel**, member, General Purposes Committee, New Hebrides Representative Assembly (1977).
- MERIDETH, Bevan**, appointed assistant Bishop February 1967.
- METCALFE, Rev John R.**, Chairman of Solomon Islands Methodist District following John Goldie. d.1971.
- METO, Jimmy**, from Nov 88 Vanuatu Minister of Tourism.
- MEK, Leo**, at Catholic seminary Madang, 1960s.
- MEKSI, Mathias**, 1st sec. Hehela church, beheaded 1976.
- MICHAEL, rev. broth**, at Tabago, 1953.
- MICHELLOD**, Kamurai mission, (1984) .
- MIDDLEMASS, Barry**, co-founder, April 1969, Napidakoe Navitu.
- MILLER, Miss**, of the Apostolic Christian Church, Oregon, who arrived in PNG in November 1960 direct from the Wycliffe Bible Translators jungle camp in Chiapas, Mexico.
- MILLER**, Associated with TIA TKA.
- MISIK, E.** Catholic priest, SVD, Banz (1952).
- MITCHELL, General Sir Philip**, Western Pacific High Commissioner.
- MOCE, Jone**, Fijian, Bishop of North Solomons 1985 following death of Mathew Beaso.
- MOI, Herbert Prout**, Melanesian Brotherhood, in PNG.
- MOLA, Donatus**, 1972 MHA North Bougainville.
- MOLISA, Grace Mera**, teacher, Anglican.
- MOLISA, Sela**, Presbyterian. Vanuatu Minister of Foreign Affairs (1987); Minister of Finance and Housing from November 1988.
- MOMIS, John**, Catholic priest interested in social justice and political power. b. 1942 Salamaua; 1972 MHA Bougainville; chairman of Constitutional Planning Committee; attended Pacifique 77; part of Somare's Pangu pati; Keith Jackson. "John Momis", *Yagl-Ambu*, 1:3, Sept 1974; chairman of Melanesian Alliance (1989); "Bougainville copper: the case for renegotiation" in Zorn, Jean G. & Peter Payne (eds), *Foreign Investment International Law and National Development: Papers presented at the seventh Waigani Seminar, Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea, April-May 1973*
- MONI, David**, Tongan Methodist, Tugup, Lai valley.
- MONTABAN**, Catholic priest, Torokina 1950.
- MOORE, Denis**, d.1976.
- MORIN, H.** Divine Word, at Kaiyan (1948) wished to report the "trouble at bosmun" to the administration, but had to go through his bishop at Alexishafen.
- MURPHY, Patrick**, Champion of ecumenism in Papua New Guinea, tragically killed in car accident. "From mission in New Guinea to Church of New Guinea" in M. Ward (ed), *The Politics of Melanesia*.
- MURRAY, J.K.**, Administrator of the Territory of Papua New Guinea 1945-52 (June).
- MURRAY, John Stanley**, attended formation of Presbyterian Church of the New Hebrides in 1948.
- MURRAY, Bob**, Moderator, PCNH, 1951
- NAKE, John**, SSEM, bible course Auckland, then CLTC.
- NAKO, Charlie**, member for Tanna on Representative Assembly (1977).
- NAMALIU, Rabbie**, leader PANGU; Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea.
- NAROKOBI, Bernard**, prominent Papua New Guinean Lawyer. Roman Catholic layman and politician; Chairman of Law Reform Commission in Papua New Guinea.

NATAPEI, Edward Nipake, from Nov 87 Vanuatu minister of Economic Development, Commerce and Industry.

NATO, Daniela, VP Youth work organiser, involved in organising 22 October 1977 'young peoples demo' for 18+ voters".

NAUPA, John, Presbyterian layman and sometime politician involved in opposition to Walter Lini's government following his own fall from the Vanuaka Pati. 1979 Minister of Health in govt. of National Unity; Transport Minister 1980-83; 1986 established National Democratic Party, and advocates stronger links with France and the UK.

NELSON, Francis Robert, County Court Judge of Victoria, on PNG Liquor Commission 1962.

NEWMAN, John, SDA Pastor, SI (1952).

NGATU, District Headman, B.E.M., from Maravovo Lagoon

NILLES, John, Catholic priest, Migende, EHD DAC (1953-61).

NIXON, Maurice, sec. LMS (1952)

NOI, Lucious, SSEM Pastor, Kwai, complained of activities of Clement Basua

NOAL, Thomas, Port Resolution, Tanna, former John Frum, Became SDA

NOEL, O.C. Res.Com. BSIP 1943-50

NOMBRI, Joseph, formed PANGU with somare, 1967, public servant

NONOHIMAE, of Kiu. one of original MR chiefs, AriAri. Controlled the south during MR; jailed 1948; assisted with suppression of Federal Council; on Malaita Council to c.1955

NORI, Andrew, MR leader. Periods as an indentured labourer, his trading ventures failed. His influence in AriAri appeared to have declined by 1950. Oct 1985 established Nationalist Front for Progress; in 1988 Minister for Home Affairs and Provincial Government;

NOSER, A.A., SVD, Archbishop of Madang (1967-9; chairman of Catholic bishop's conference

NIUKWAI, supported Federal Council, arrested

NOSS, Father, at Dumadum, Bogia SD (1948)

O'CONNELL, Catholic priest, on Manus at time of Paliau, whose "roughhouse tactics" may have promoted the anti-social features of the movement; by 1955 was at Talasea 1936

O'HANLON, Catholic priest at Rabaul, on Liquor Commission, 1962

OLEWALE, Ebia, MHA 1972 South Fly

OLIO, E. MLA for Maramasike, SI (1974-6)

OLISUKULU, Johnson, left King George VI "under a cloud"

OLOMAELANA, headman, from Baelelea, Malaita

ORMSBY, R.G., PNG Territory Stipendiary Magistrate, on Liquor Commission 1962.

ORR, A. Henry, hon. sec. Baptist New Guinea Mission.

OSIFELO, Sir Frederic, Aubarua, (1929-) from NE Malaita, speaker of Parliament until July 1978, reigned to resume as chairman of public service commission, replaced by Maepeza Gina.

OTALIFUA, Aerial, headman Malaita.

PAIA, Hugh, permanent secretary of the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs (1978).

PALAVI, Rev Daniel, Tongan at lagama, Bougainville 1950s.

PALIAU, (Paliau Maloat) b.1907; held meetings on Manus 1946 to discuss post-war changes, President Manus LGC 1951-1967, and remained council member after; won Manus open electorate, 1964, 1968-72.

PALMER, Kitchener, Archbishop of Melanesia 1975 following Chisolm; (1976).

PANGIAL, Momei, from Mulim, SHD, president of upper mendi LGC; toured Australia with potential political leaders; Member for Mendi Open, 1964.

PAPAKU, Levi, BEM, District Headman, Choiseul. (1957).

PARAO, Anton, United Party, later Momis Group.

PARSONAGE, Fr, RC Wainoni. Central Solomons.

PATERSON, Edward Ray, Jehovah's Witness, Solomon Islands.

PATH, Titus, member of the New Hebrides Melanesian colonial order. From Hog Harbour. 1950 attended Croyden Missionary and Bible college; ordained as pastor 1954. Moderator PCNH 1961; Principal TTI 1973; on New Hebrides Advisory Council 1963-73; member for Santo Rural in Representative Assembly (1977).

PATON, W.F., Moderator, PCNH, 1950.

PEEBLES, Mr A.P., DO Malu'u (1951).

PELLATIER, Marist, Buka.

PEMAKE, of Namugi village, San Cristobal. Had promoted the myth that Americans were returning.

PEPYS-COCKERELL, J.L., District Officer, North Malaita, BSIP (1965).

PHILEMON, Member of Mel Vatu Mauri (1977).

PIDOKI, John Palmer, Chief and Government Headman of Gela, worked with Richard Fallows. Petitioned the British Administration in June 1939.

PITA, Simogen, of Wewak. Aitape, born c.1900, BEM for coastwatching, 1951 appointed to Legislative Council, 1964 elected for Wewak-Aitape to House of Assembly, became undersecretary for police.

PITAU, John, assisted in boat building by Franciscan priest at Ali Island.

PITAKAMOKE, Corporal. BSIP.

PITKEATHLY, G., Chief Education Officer, New Hebrides (1971).

PLANT, Chris, employed as publicity officer for Vanuaku Pati.

PLATTEN, Gil, MOM, in 1951 on secondment from TPNG to SPC.

POON, Bernard, Chinese, on New Britain.

PRATT, John, Melanesian, from Rovianna, Bishop of the United Church (Munda) from 1976-.

PRENTER, Rev H.A., Presbyterian Missionary on Santo (1952).

PREVOT, Michel Guy, b.1935 tanna, treas. UCNH, visited Europe in 1976 with Gerard Leymang & Remy Delaveuve. elected to Representative Assembly Tan Union, Vila Central, Nov 1977 became Minister for Finance and the Public Service.

PRICE, Gordon, LMS Daru (1959-62).

PRICE, Mrs T., on PNG Liquor Commission, 1962.

PULE, Robert, Anglican priest, Guadalcanal (1974); 1976 unsuccessful candidate for Nggele.

PWASIHIO, rev. Willie, chaplain to Norman Palmer; to NZ 1976 .

QOLONI, Isaac, 1978 appointed sect. to Kenilorea.

QUALAO, Harold, 1987 Minister for Civil Aviation. Telecommunications, Forestry and Energy; Nov 88 Vanuatu Minister of Transport and Public Works.

QUIRK, Fr Raymond, Australian MSC, Pilolo New Britain 1949; Vaimo (1957).

RAGU, Elijah, treas. Hehela Church, jailed 1979.

RAMOGALO, Assistant Headman, Makwana area, Malaita.

RANKIN, Susannah, LMS, Saroa, Rigo. 1928-1956, replied to an article of Kiki's in South Pacific Post in December 1965; conducted correspondence with Mrs Alice M. Wesson of the American Soul Clinic .

RARUA RARUA, Mahuru, Secretary of the Papuan Federation of Cooperative Associations, on Legislative Council following Merari Dicksom, 1957-.

RARUA, Oala Oala, son of LMS pastor, unsuccessful candidate in 1964 Port Moresby Open electorate; president of Papua and New Guinea workers association; pang'u but expelled.

RAVUTIA, Albert, Melanesian Pati, Santo, elected to Representative Assembly Nov 77. Minister for Natural Resources.

RAWCLIFFE, Derek, Melanesian Mission priest, at Pawa; archdeacon, New Hebrides. 1959-80; consecrated Bishop 25 January 1974; had the task of coping with Walter Lini's entry into politics; left Vanuatu in 1980 to become Bishop of Glasgow.

REA, Gavera, lost PNG Parliamentary byelection 1978.

READ, J.R. DO, New Ireland (1950).

REGANVANU, Sathy John, Presbyterian pastor from Malekula who entered national politics. Attended Onesua, Malmaluan (Rabaul), TTI, PTC, director of Christian Education 6 years; Minister of Lands, mining and minerals; 1981 Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries; deputy prime minister; 1987 Minister for Education.

REI, Mr M, Papuan, on Liquor Commission, 1962.

REID, Ernest, (ernie), French educated New Hebridean born Australian, member UPNH; worked for CFNH; owned land outside Vila; member, General Purposes Committee of the New Hebrides Representative Assembly (1977).

REISCHL, Catholic priest, Volavolo, New Britain; involved in press reports on Inlet Cult, of Steve Simpson.

REITZ, Gerhardt, Luth stationed at Bagasin, Morobe, 1953.

RENNIE, John, British Resident Commissioner, New Hebrides (1957-8).

REUBEN, Thomas, Minister of National Resources in government of National Unity, 1979.

REYNOLDS, Harry V.C., (d. 13/7/78) Archdeacon Melanesian Mission.

RICHTER, Mr, director, Betikama SDA school, Guadalcanal (1951).

RICKWOOD, Mr, Malaita, (1950).

RIDLEY, controlled south Malaita.

RIMATS, Cosmas, attended Holy Spirit Regional Seminary, contributed "Priests in New Guinea Politics" to vol 1:1 August 1970.

RITI, Rev Philemon, ge.sec SICA (1979).

ROBERTS, Jean, from Melbourne, toured Papua, 1959, for Moral Rearmament.

ROBERTS, Byam, Anglican archdeacon, OBE, to Papua New Guinea 1952, headmaster at Martyr's School for 16 years, then mission education secretary.

ROSCOE, G.T., Director of Education, TPNG (1958).

ROSS, Fr William, SVD returned to Mt Hagen by the end of 1944. Alexishafen pro-vicar, but living in Mt Hagen t 558 d.1973. "The Catholic mission in the Western Highlands", in Inglis, *The History of Melanesia*.

RUSSELL, J. DO Malu'u, (1949).

RUSSELL, Tom, District Commissioner, Malaita (1954-); "The 1970 constitution for the British Solomon Islands", in M. Ward (ed), *The Politics of Melanesia*.

RYAN, D'Arcy, Anthropologist, ASOPA. Did field work in Mendi.

SACHARE, District Headman, BSIP, regarded by Allan as an agitator.

SALAKA, Peter, from Malece village, Shortlands, incomplete training in Australia as Christian Brother, returned 1959. 1960 trying to get funds for university training in Australia, Member for Honiara, in Governing Council (1970); part of delegation to Australia 1978 in support of Western Breakaway movement; won Inner Shortlands seat, Western Provincial Assembly, from Jerry Buare in 1979.

SALIN, Alsoli, Bougainvillean, New Guinea islands representative on Legislative council 1951-55; (did not seek reappointment) a New Ireland school teacher; had attended South Pacific Conference Suva.

SALINI, John, Anglican on Gela, responsible with others for inviting SDAs in to establish a primary school at Lologana, when the Melanesian Mission was unable to (1974).

SAMANA, Utula, Premier of Morobe Province. Papua New Guinea. 1988 established Melanesian United Front.

SAMANI, Malcolm, of Saofura, a Remnant leader. (1960).

SANANA, Rhynold, from Eroro, Papua, Anglican, educated Martyr's Anglican Boys High school, Newton Theological College (1962), curate in England, then at St Augustine's College Canterbury, St Barnabas in Adelaide; May 1976 became Bishop of Dogura.

SANDARS, Maj. Euston, DC Malaita TO July 1947.

SANGAR, assistant headman, Malaita.

SARAU, Johnson Nase, Tannese, Presbyterian. Visited SI.

SAREI, Dr Alexis, chairman, self-proclaimed Republican Government of North Solomons. Sept 1, 1975. Later Premier of North Solomons Province.

SAU, Sgt. Malaita policeman, from To'baeta, dismissed during MR; "the most virulent figure in north malaita"; promoted Federal Council - described as a "canker which is obstructing the rule of government" in the subdistrict of Fataleka.

SCHARMACH, Leo, Bishop of Rabaul 1950s, d. before 1970.

SCHLIEKER, Marist, Hantoa, Buka. 1960.

SCHMIDT, Firmin M., OFM Bishop of Mendi (1969).

SCHULZ, Rev. Paul Luth, american, at Bongu, madang district, 1952-3.

SCRIVEN, Arthur Henry, General Secretary for Foreign Missions until 1952; d.1969.

SEETO, Justin, Chinese trader, Buka, bought copra from HWS.

SEMESEVITA, Posu, of Toaripi, LMS pastor from Hamu Hamu village, attempted business enterprises.

SERAVATU, A.M.P.

SERU, Thomas Reuben, 1982 formed Vanuatu Alliance Party, after being dismissed as VP Minister.

SHARAIN, Norman, Jehovah's Witness, arrived Malaita, November 1960.

SHEARMAN, Donald, chairman of ABM, 1971.

SHEVILL, I.W.A., co-author of A New Deal for Papua (1949).

SHING, Kami Mesai, At Nasinu TC, Fiji, later expelled from PCNH for involvement in Holiness Fellowship.

SIAMA, Gordon, SI Methodist, served on GOVERNING Council, 1970s.

SIAU, Malaita constable.

SIDES, B.W., Methodist, reported on HWS, 1964.

SIMLER Fr, Catholic, at Rokera (1956).

SINAMAN, of Suava.

SINCLAIRE, Mr, UFM, SHD (1963).

SINGKAI, Gregory, Bishop, North Solomons, from 1974

SIOTO, Ysabel, dismissed from the Melanesian brotherhood; worked on "Southern Cross".

SIPOLO, Stephen, Sgt. Maj., Malaita policeman, from Kwai area, recommended for BEM in 1945. , dismissed during MR. jailed 1948, 'bitterly regretted his error'; c.1955 at Onepusu, appointed to Malaita Council; Became Baha'i?; in 1970s, joined Pentecostals (A/God?).

SIRA, F. beat L. Fugui for East Malaita 1976.

SIRU, T., Government Headman, Arai, Kawara'ae Malaita.

SISILL, Ariel, SSEM teacher. member Advisory Council; President of Malaita council (Sept. 1955-57).

SISIMIA, est. Remnant Church with England Kwaisulia, which combined SSEM and SDA teachings.

SITAI, Silas, Ysabel District Officer (1963); represented BSIP at 3rd South Pacific Conference, Suva 1956; standing committee of the diocese of Melanesia (1967).

SMITH, ADRIAN THOMAS Archbishop of Honiara (1986-89).

SMITH, Graeme, United Church Bishop, Highlands (1970).

SMITH, Rev Fr W.G., S.J. Institute of Social Order Movement, Kew, Victoria (1967-8) a sociologist.

SNODGRASS, John, head of Pacific Dependent Territories Dept, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London, from September 1977.

SOBENIDI, MR leader, Ata.

SOKOMANU (= "leader of thousands"), Ati George, (1937-) changed name from George Kalkoa, from Mele, Efate. Former school teacher who became first President of Vanuatu, lost the position following a failed constitutional coup against Walter Lini. Attended Iरिकी district school, Lelean Memorial School, Nasinu training college, served British National Service as school teacher for 20 years. member of advisory council, 1968-75; member for South Efate on representative assembly 1975-; member, General Purposes committee of the Representative Assembly (1977); deputy chief minister; minister of public administration 1978-; deputy chief minister & minister for home affairs; Vanuaki Pati, 1980 first President of Vanuatu; "The political situation in the New Hebrides", in M. Ward (ed), *The Politics of Melanesia*.

SOMARE, Michael, agnostic politician of Catholic background, father of Papua New Guinean party-politics. PANGU established 1967; 1972 MHA East Sepik. Chief Minister (1972) Prime Minister 1975-1980.

SOPE, Barak, from Fila Island, BA USP completed 1973; took managerial position with Cooperative Federation until January 1977; then full-time sec-gen of Vanuaku pati, a position held since 1974. 1987 Minister for Transport, Tourism, Public Works and Water Supply; 1988 Unsuccessfully challenged Lini for Presidency, dismissed from Lini's Council of Ministers after rioting in May; July resigned from Vanuaku pati and dismissed from parliament at Lini's request; established Melanesian Progressive Party.

SORIN, ANDRE, Vicar Apostolic of Port Moresby (Yule Island) (1958).

SOTUTU, Rev Usiah, Methodist, in Buka Passage for 20 years to October 1949. Regarded as anti-European.

SOUCY, Bertrand, Catholic priest, ordained '53, to New Hebrides in 1956, Wwala in 1957 opposed Gubbay's Malekula Native Company.

STANLEY, Sir Robert, layman of the Church of England, High Commissioner (1952-55).

STANLEY, Mr H.S.H., British High Commissioner for the New Hebrides, based in London (1977).

STEMPER, Bishop, Kavieng (1968).

STEVENS, Mr, Jehovah's Witness, visited Solomon Islands twice yearly in 1970s, distributing literature.

STEVENS, Jimmy, Born on Santo with Tongan and European ancestry, established Nagriamel in 1960s; attended Paris talks, July 1977. Currently in jail.

STRACHAN, Rev G.G., SSEM, Afio, Malaita (1956).

STRINGER, Rev W. United Church, Sec. SICA (1977).

STRONG, P.W.N., born in England 1899, was vicar of Sunderland when offered bishopric of New Guinea; Bishop of New Guinea 1937-62; 1963 elected archbishop of Brisbane.

STUART, Ian, Anglican canon of Port Moresby (1971).

STUYVENBERG, Dan, Marist, on Malaita during WWII; at Buma during MR to at least 1956; the Most Rev. Bishop of Honiara (1976).

SUAFILOA, Shem, Ambu, West Kwara'ae, President West Kwara'ae SSEM Assoc. (1961).

SURIOA, a teacher trained in Fiji.

SWEENEY, Bishop, Passionist, PNG 1967.

TABAANIA, Andrew, Melanesian Brotherhood, served in PNG.

TABUA, Robert, Fly River, LMS educated; 1957 appointed to Western DAC; 1964 elected House of Assembly, became

undersecretary for Works.

TAGO, Stephen, 1961-63 teacher training. 1963 Newton College. 1964-65 teacher Dogura. 1966-7 teacher Gona. 1968-70 teacher Masnau; 1969 spoke at Anglican Diocesan conference on Irian Jaya issue; 1971 teacher Popondetta. 1972, third house of assembly, minister of state.

TAHI, Omneyn, Speaker of Vanuatu Parliament (1987-).

TAKANAKAE, Timon, former Govt. Headman, involved in MR, and later Federal Council; then Vice President of West Kwara'ae Native Court, and member Malaita Council (1955).

TAKI, Allan, defeated for Chief Minister's position by Solomon Mamaloni in December 1975, taken to mental hospital; defeated for West Kwara'ae by Fr Gereia.

TALASASA, see Aqaro

TALASASA, John, 1978 became member for Vonavona, Rendova and Tetepari following death of brother Francis. Supported Western Breakaway, lost seat July 1980.

TALASASA, Milton, 1st chairman of Christian Fellowship Church.

TALONGA, from Langa Langa, nominated to council by DC Masterman, June 1950.

TALU, Sinaman, headman at Ata; of Faufania, Suaba.

TAMATA, Tasi, member, General Purposes Committee, New Hebrides Representative Assembly (1977).

TAMBE, James, represented Council of Chiefs (Mel Vatu Mauri) at Paris talks, July 1977.

TAMMUR, Oscar, led Ulagunan people onto Raniola Plantation in November 1967; in 1968 defeated Vin Tobaining, the sitting member of House of Assembly for Kokopo; 1972 MHA Kokopo.

TANAKAKWAO, association with JW. Israel Church.

TARILEO, Richard, Anglican diocesan secretary, Vanuatu, 1979.

TARIPOAMATA, Kalosik, Presbyterian, North Efate.

TARITONGA, Jack, member, General Purposes Committee, New Hebrides Representative Assembly (1977).

TAUFA, John, Tongan Methodist minister, Bougainville.

TAURAKOTO, Peter, co-founder of cultural association, school teacher; headed PCNH's "Church and Society" committee and organised such conferences as "Strategies for nation building" in 1974; resigned to become sec. to minister of social affairs (Lini) in Government of National Unity.

TAUREKA, Reuben, 1972 MHA Rigo-Abau.

TAVATO, Peter, BEM, District Headman, Choiseul.

TAYLOR, Ian, involved in Presbyterian cooperatives, NH, 1959-61.

TAYLOR, Methodist missionary among Siwai, 1966.

TEALL, Ven. Archdeacon, returned to New Hebrides July 1944.

TEDDER, James, District Commissioner, Malaita, (1960).

TEIOLI, Timmeus, Native Administration Staff, BSIP.

TEKE, Camilus, at Holy Spirit Seminary, Madang, 1967; an "ex-catholic priest" by 1978.

TELA, William, AMP, Malaita.

TEOSIN, John, b.1938; founded Hahalais Welfare Society.

TEVI, Hari, b. 1930 at Atabulu, North Pentecost, to SI 1939 with his father, 1946-47 to Pawa, returned to New Hebrides 1948 to teach at Vureas. 1955-61 taught at Bwatnapni, Central Pentecost; 1961-65 headmaster at Aobabulu school; 1966 attended Siota College, 1967-69 gained Diploma of Theology at PTC; lecturer, Bishop Patteson Theological College, (1976-7), returned to New Hebrides 1977. first wife died 1965. Married a Fiji-indian while at PTC, and had 5 children. assistant bishop 4 Feb. 1979; Bishop of Melanesia. Tevi taught at Vureas until 1955, then established Aobabulu senior primary school, on Aoba in 1961; he went to Siota for theological training in 1966, and to PTC in 1967-69, to Lolowai for ordination in 1970, to Santo 1972, taught at Patteson 1973-77. Enthroned Bishop of Vanuatu 1986. 1980

moved HQ from Lolowai to Luganville. 1988 Chair, Vanuatu Christian Council.

THEVENIN, Michel, son of Pentecost French settler, founder of MANH 1974.

THIELE, Otto, Exec. Sec. & Treas, board of foreign missions of the evangelical lutheran church of australia (1949).

Thompson, Peter, lone Anglican priest on New Britain, 1948.

THOMPSON, Archdeacon Peter, Melanesian Mission.

TIABE, Handabe SHD DAC (1964).

TIGGLER, Jan, Marist, at Rokera, South Malaita. d. 1945 from Black Water fever.

TILLEY, Mrs/s SDA, Kwailibesi Malaita (1952).

TIMAKATA, Fred Maraki, from Emae, began school 1953; attended TTI, Daivilevu, PTC 1967-69; pastor at Litslits, Malekula where he became involved in the National Party. Replaced Coop as Presbyterian Church Education Officer. Elected VP National Party 1973; elected to Representative Assembly as custom chief for CD1; 1979 was clerk of Presbyterian church of the New Hebrides, 18 January attended prayer breakfast with US President Carter, with Walter Lini; Nov 79 elected chairman of the Assembly; then deputy prime minister and minister for home affairs; speaker of parliament; 1987 Minister for Health; 1989 President of Vanuatu.

TIPOLAMATA, Chief, member of Mel Vatu Mauri (1977).

TTIMUR, Epinere, Tolai from Matupit, 1961 suggested to the administration that Australia leave Papua and New Guinea.

TITULU, Fr Timothy, Anglican priest, Ulawa.

TOA, Oscar, from Pentecost, Anglican priest at Mota, Banks Is. (1972).

TOBAINING, Tovin, MLC, (1961) Tolai; PANGU; 1968 president of LGC.

TOBUNBUN, Thomas, Tolai, chairman of Melanesian Independence Front branch, later member of multi-racial council, employed by Education Department.

TOKEREKU, Mataungan Association, attended Australian Secondary school.

TOLIMAN, Matthias, Rabaul, 1972 MHA Gazelle, CBE; d.1973. inspector of Catholic schools, moderate on Tolai land issue, 1964 elected to first House of Assembly, became undersecretary for the Administrator's department, minister for education.

TOLIMAN, Stanis, 1972 member for Bogia; Peoples Progress Party, later Momis group.

TOMOT, clerk for Gazelle LGC, member Mataungan Association.

TOMARITA, Stanley, Tolai, chairman of Melanesian Independence Front branch, later member of multi-racial council, employed by Education Department.

TOU, Bewa, 1972 MHA member for Bewani.

TO VARPIN, Benedict, Catholic Archbishop of Madang (1989).

TOWERS, RIGHT REV Kenneth, in Caribbean and South America; then lecturer in psychology and anthrop at Rarongo Theol Coll, United Church Bishop c.1971-75 ; President of SICA 1974.

TOWNSEND, M.M., DC Malaita (1961).

TRENCH, Lt. Col. David Acting Res.Com. Solomon Islands, 1943; High Commissioner 1961-63.

TSIBIM, Daniel, at Madang Catholic Seminary.

TUDOR-POLE, David, BSIP.

TUITA, Jabin, a baker at Langa Langa.

TUPOUNIUA, Mahe, Tongan finance minister & first commoner to hold a portfolio; Director, South Pacific Bureau for Economic Cooperation 1972-78; returned to Tonga.

TURPIN, R. District Commissioner. Auki. (1965).

TUTI, Dudley, the Rt. Rev. St Mary's school Maravovo. Pawa, Te Aute & St Johns College, (NZ); deacon in 1946, ordained priest in 1954; member. BSIP Advisory Council; made assistant bishop, with Alufurai in 1963; rural dean of Ysabel, "refused" the post of hereditary chief of the island, because he was a priest, but later took the title. Bishop of Ysabel (1976), Solomons.

TUZA, Esau, from Choiseul.

UIARI, Kipling, educated Martyr's School, first Papua New Guinean to get BA, University of Queensland, 1963-.

ULUFA'ALU, Bart, leader of National Party (1976).

UNGEA, Samuel, educated at Gona Mission School, initiated cooperatives in Northern Province in 1940s.

URE, D.E. LMS, Papua, (1958); first sec/treas Papua Ekalesia (1962).

UREKIT, Mr Koriām, New Britain, appointed to District Advisory Council 1962.

van Baar, W. Holy Ghost, (SVD) head, returned to Alexishafen August 1945.

van Baar, C. Catholic, Mugil. PNG.

van de Riet, Fr, at Takwa 1949-1959; Holland-.

van de Wall, Fr, Rohinari, Malaita, (-1956) established Catholic Welfare Societies.

VANCE, Mr. SSEM.

VANGEKE, Louis, b. 1904 Beipa, Mekeo. first PNG Catholic priest (1904-82).

VASETHE, James, Melanesian Mission priest, Solomons 1970.

VASKESS, Harry, secretary to W.P.H.C. (1939).

VERLINGUE, Charles.E., Vila (1964).

VOCOR, Ps, Presbyterian, Hog Harbour, d.1952.

VOSS, Cath at Neragaima, Chimbu (1953).

VOYCE, A.H., Methodist, at Kahili, Bougainville, 1953; misled government on CRTS payments.

VULA, John, President of Rabaul Native Village Council, on Legislative Council following Aisoli Salin 1955-.

WADDINGTON, Mr/s SDA, Kwailibesi, Malaita, (1956).

WADE, Bishop Thomas, 1950.

WADILL, Arnon, SSEM, 1955 spent some months in Sydney translating with Norman Deck. sec. West Kwara'ae SSEM Association (1961).

WAEPARO, of Marou village. Chief of Takataka. "The People do not wish him to be a (Malaita) council member in case 'the custom' is contaminated by modern ideas".

WAGNER, Luth, at Ulap (1953).

WAIARU, Amos Stanley, first Bishop of Diocese of Temotu March 1981, (diocese established in November 1980); Archbishop of the Province of Melanesia (1989).

WAITASU, Peter, government headman, Ugi, from 1918. loyal to BSIP during MR.

WAITE, Rev J., SSEM, Su'u (1955-6).

WALASI, son of pagan priest Anita (d.1965).

WALKER, Jehovah's witness, Gulf (1957).

WALL, Fr James, (1907-1976) ordained 1931; to Visale 1933, Director of Catholic Education, appointed to LEgCo, OBE, left Solomons 1969. Malaita, worked with mission vessel "Hambia".

WALSH, Fr Gerald, OFM, Pro Vicar, Aitape 1969.

WALTERS, Luth Missionary at Loniu, Manus, during Paliau movement.

WARAHIMAE, Jabin, assistant District Headman, Hau Hui. Brother in law of Hamual Hoahania.

WARD, E.J. Minister for Territories.

WARIUA, Government Headman of Bauro, Malaita, loyal to BSIP during MR.

WARREN, M.A., Canon, sec, ABM.

WARWICK SMITH, G. Dept. of Territories, Canberra (1967)

WATE, Tama, assistant Headman, Malaita.
WATSON, Lepani, Chairman, Methodist Welfare Society, Port Moresby (1959); Premier, Milne Bay Province, 1980s.
WEDEGA, Alice, of Ahioma, nominated member of MLC from 1961-63, first Papuan woman to sit in the council; Kwato product; did not stand in 1964 election.
WHITE, D. Supt. Solomon Island Mission of SDAs, Western Solomons (1947).
WHITE, Steven, MSA, Kabanga, New Britain; first missionary to return to the Poi area (Kombe, Talasea) after the war, there in 1957; convicted of assault, against SDAs.
WILEY, Cath priest at Sipai, 1961.
WILKIE, British res com. New Hebrides (1962-4).
WILKINS, Darvall, BDA CD2 1957-1977.
WILLIAMS, F.E. Government Anthropologist, Papua, 1924-1943.
WILSON, Adam, Presbyterian Missionary NH 1945.
WOLL, Rev Bert, of Niu Apostolic Church, at the time that Yaliwan's cult committed 1986 ritual killing.
WOODS, Sister, ran Melanesian Mission hospital at Kerepei, Ugi (1950).
WOODWARD, Keith, Political Secretary, British Residency, New Hebrides.
WOREK, George, helped establish New Hebrides Cultural Association.
WUNSCH, Gerald, Plymouth Brethren involved in bee keeping sought entry in March 1951.
YALI, Matthias, (Yali Singina) cargo cult leader Madang area, served jail sentence in Lae; beaten in 1964 election in Rai Coast open electorate.
YALIWAN, Matias, b. Ambukavo Village. 1972 MHA Yangoru-Saussia.
YEHNAIU, James, Bethel, West Tanna, SDA.
YOUNG, Rev G. Methodist, SHD, -61.
YUWI, Matlabe, United Party, later Momis group.
ZAPO, Oliver, member of Western Provincial Assembly 1978.
ZOLEVEKE, Gideon, A.M.P. (644) 1978 Solomon Islands Minister of Health.
ZURECNUOC, Zure Makili, Finschhafen, son of first ordained Lutheran pastor; 1962 SPC Conference Pago; 1964 House of Assembly, became undersecretary for the Treasury.
Zurenuo, Sir Zurewe K., Bishop, Evangelical Lutheran Church.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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1. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

- 1a. Mission records
- 1b. Government records
- 1c. Private papers.

2. PUBLISHED SOURCES

- 2a. Newspapers and mission journals
- 2b. Official Documents
- 2c. Works by participants and observers
- 2d. Books, articles and theses

1. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

1a. MISSION RECORDS

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Diocese of New Guinea. [DNG UPNG]

Box 3:

Files: 1: Diocese of New Guinea. Conference. Presidential Address and Charge, 1955-1963; 3: Diocesan Office Dogura Report of annual staff conference 1945; 5: Presidential Address 1955; 6: Diocese of New Guinea. Presidential Address and Charge January 1956; 7: Presidential Address and Charge. Synod, 16 January 1958; 8: Presidential Address Synod January 1961; 9: Presidential Address and Charge, January 1963; 10: Diocese of New Guinea. Presidential Address & Charge 1969; 29: Diocesan Office. Education 1944.

Box 7:

Files: 1: Station Reports 1958; 35: Papua Legislative Council Native Representation 1920; 57: SDA Church establishment Papua 1917.

Box 30

Files: 3: Bishop Strong; 6: Bishop Strong, correspondence with sec. Feb 1950 - April 1956; 7: Bishop Strong corresp. with sec. (Fr Allan Daw), April 1956-September 1958;

Box 32

Files: 1: Anglican diocesan office, Lae, corresp. with various missionaries.

Box 35

Files: 2: Bishop Strong staff notes 1938-63; 3: Bishop Strong.

Anglican Board of Mission. [ABM Sydney]

Box 1a: Papua New Guinea. Missions

Box 9: Missiology. Lambeth Advisory Council on Missionary Strategy. Resolutions August 1963.

Anglican Church of Vanuatu [AV Santo]

Box 3: Correspondence. Archives; Rawcliffe 1949-63.

Box: **British Residency.**

Box: **Correspondence, Siota.**

Box: **Rawcliffe:**

Files: Noumea; Aoba. Lombaha letters 1967-1978; Ambae. Nduindui 1967-1978; Longana People's Centre 1975-78; Aoba-Longana 1968-77; Aoba Lolowai 1980-84; Aoba Lombaha letters 1980-84; Aoba Nduindui 1982-1984.

Box **Rawcliffe:**

Files: Raga; Banks; Vila; London Office; Big Bay Santo Bush 1981-1983; Santo Letters 1979-1984; Maewo 1969-1978; Maewo 1979-81; Torres 1972-79; SPAC 1979-1984; Budget - Bishop Derek; Travaux-publics; Noumea; Selwyn College 71-78; NZ Inward Letters; NZ ABM.

Church of Melanesia (CM Honiara)

Box 17: Correspondence 1970-72.

- 1: New Hebrides Southern Correspondence with Archdeacon D.A. Rawcliffe.
- 2: New Hebrides. General Correspondence and Education.
- 3: Archdeacon Brock Outer Eastern Islands.
- 4: Solomon Islands Christian Association.
- 5: Correspondence with Government.

Box 18:

New Hebrides 1965; 3: Leonard Alafurai, Malaita, Eastern District 1969-72;

Box 29: General Correspondence 1968-74.

BSIP Govt & WPHC 1959-1963.
U-Z 1961-1963.

Box 30: Diaries of Dr Charles Fox.

Box 33: Finance Committee Correspondence:

1: Government Correspondence 1968-69; 2: Corresp. with Govt. 1968-69; 6: Melanesian Brotherhood, Tabalia 1967-69.

Box 42:

1: Archdeacon. Malaita, Outer Eastern Islands 1961-63; 2: Levers Plantation 1960, 1962, 1963-65; 3: Conferences - mission staff and clergy 1959, 1963, 1965; 4: Melanesian Clergy - school teachers 1960-1963-1965.

Box: Com F/46:

Northern Archdeaconry 1934-47; Synod Motions 1965; Local Correspondence;

Box 52: ABM 1931-1974:

Box 53: NZ ABM 1958-1964:

F2 Bishop's Correspondence

- 1: Melanesian Brotherhood 1958-63, 1964.
- 2: BSIP Govt. District Commissioners 1959-62, 1964-65.
- 3a: Govt - New Hebrides 1960, 1963, 1965.

F22 Correspondence with Bishop John Chisholm:

Malaita 1973-75; Ysabel 1973-75; Guadalcanal 1973-75; San Crisostoval including Pamua 1973-75; Eastern Outer Islands 1973-75; Taroaniara 1973-75;

Box 55:

Malaita Correspondence 1972-74.

Box 97:

Dr Charles Fox Letters 1951-73;
Dr Fox 1960-63;

Baptist

Australian Baptist Missionary Society [ABMS Melbourne]

Enga Field Council Minutes 1961-1967.
Evangelistic Report - Baiyer - Lumasa Conference May 1964
Baiyer River Baptist Primary School Report May 1965
Lumasa Station Report 1965
Field Conference Sunday School Supervisors Reports June 1966
ABMS. New Guinea Regional Committee. Annual Report 1959-60
- Board Papers 1960

Catholic

Diocese of Honiara [DH Honiara]

Correspondence 1959-1977 General.

Bishop Stuyvenberg, Correspondence 1965-72

Correspondence with stations: Avu Avu 1959; Buma 1947-1962; Dala 1956-67; Rokera 1974-1979; Takwa 1946-1959; Tarapaina 1951-1963.

Diocese of Honiara. "Five yearly report", mss. n.d.

- "Quinquennial Report. Vicariate Southern Solomon Islands 1959 to 1964", mss.

Oceania Marist Province [OM Suva]

Incoming and Outgoing Letters between various regions and procurator. E4 New Hebrides Region 1953-1971.

Provincial Superior's office: Incoming letters.

Miscellaneous documents

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Arbuckle, G. SM, and J. Harhager, SM, *Self-Study Report. Sociological Survey, Marist Fathers, Oceania Province 1974-75.*

Fey, Robert, SM, "Diary", Haleha Religious Superior, 1972.

London Missionary Society [LMS UPNG]

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Box 3:

Files: 5: Annual Reports 1942-43; 6 PDC Annual Reports 1943-4; 7 PDC Reports 1946; 7 Annual Reports 1948-49; 8 1948-9; 9 PDC Annual Reports 1950-55; Cocks, N. Report following a secretarial visit to Papua by the Reverend Norman F. Cocks (Secretary in Australia and New Zealand), July 25th November 28th 1954. Chalmers house Sydney; 11 Annual Reports 1960-62

Box 4:

Files: 10: PDC minutes 11 November 1946; 12: PDC meetings Nov 15-Dec 1 1952; 13: PDC meetings 11 Nov - 22 Nov 1957; 15: PDC minutes 21 Nov - 2 Dec 1960

Box 5:

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