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In this paper, I attempt to summarize my research in the general field of cargoism in the southern Madang Province, Papua New Guinea, since 1949. I am concerned with three issues. The first is the reactions of the inhabitants of the general area to their gradual incorporation in the modern international world from 1871 until the present day. The second is the main problem they have to overcome if they are to settle comfortably and successfully in this new order. The third is the relevance of my conclusions for areas outside the southern Madang Province. I limit my account to Papua New Guinea because I believe that those who have worked in other parts of Melanesia should discuss them.

I present my argument in the following stages. In the context of the first issue, I concentrate on cargoism, the set of assumptions that underlie cargo cult and provide a series of explanations of the nature of the colonial and post-colonial order in the southern Madang Province. I summarize its history from 1871 until 1980. In the context of the second issue, I discuss the people's concept of 'true knowledge', which they attribute to divine revelation and which obviously impedes their understanding of the modern world. I consider why traditional epistemology has been so impervious to change and suggest that we have been wrong to assume that it would automatically atrophy when we changed socioeconomic conditions. I compare this situation with that in seventeenth century England, in which secular science eventually replaced many 'magical' explanations of reality previously associated with and endorsed by Christianity. In the context of the third issue, I glance at other parts of Papua New Guinea and comment on certain criticisms of my own work.

CARGOISM IN THE SOUTHERN MADANG PROVINCE, 1871-1980

At the outset, I stress two points about my outline of cargoism in the southern Madang Province. First, I concentrate on rural villagers because I have not worked among urban dwellers. This is not to suggest that cargoists are mentally retarded yokels. Cargoism is a culturally induced phenomenon, and many cargoists I have known are perceptive and intelligent men. Second, cargoism is not invariably anti-European. To interpret it as such is to ignore the subtleties of Papua New Guinean traditional politics, which are best summed up in Lord Palmerston's classic enunciation of wise foreign policy: no permanent friends; no permanent enemies; but only permanent interests. Cargoism is an expression of what the people see as their permanent interests in the modern world. Through it they have
expressed both good will and hostility towards outsiders in alternating waves in keeping with changes they have perceived in their situation: their behaviour has acceded with whether or not they have thought that white men would reveal to them the secret of their wealth or make ample supplies of it available. Even during periods marked by strong anti-white feeling, there are differences in local attitudes. In 1948 (Lawrence 1964) and 1972 (Lawrence and Lawrence 1976), cargoists in the southern Madang Province were said to be planning physical violence against whites. I am now satisfied that, although this was true of the immediate vicinity of Madang, where there was a long tradition of racial bitterness, it was less so of the inland Ramu area and the Rai Coast near Saidor, paradoxically the stronghold of Yali, the Cargo Movement's figurehead, where the people were relatively friendly.

To understand cargoism in the southern Madang Province, it is essential to begin with the people's interpretation of the traditional cosmic order, of which it is an outgrowth. As I have written elsewhere (Lawrence 1964:28-33), the people's outlook has always been anthropocentric and materialist: the cosmos exists for man and he is master of it. They have always conceived their total cosmic order as a single physical realm inhabited by gods, ghosts and men, and have never attributed to it any significant element of super-naturalism or transcendentalism. Deities and spirits of the dead are believed not only to live on the earth near human habitations but also to be, like men and women, corporeal. The deities created the cosmic order by introducing vital resources, economic skills, and the social system. The spirits of the dead are not creators but protect their living kinsmen's interests. Man believes that the cosmos will always provide him material concomitants of living that are his by right of birth - land, crops, livestock and game, sylvan and marine products, and serviceable artefacts - as long as he can maintain harmonious relationships with both its human and its superhuman inhabitants. He sees himself as the focal point of two networks of relationships: between himself and other human beings (social structure); and between himself, deities, and spirits of the dead (religion). For our present purposes, the different forms of social structure (patrilineal, double unilineal, and cognatic), which have been reported from three different parts of the total region, are irrelevant: they all rest on common principles of social equivalence. In general terms, what is important is that by fulfilling his social obligations to kinsmen, affines, and economic associates man ensures for himself the physical help he needs in major tasks, and gets access to rare and valued goods that he himself cannot produce, and whose source of supply is outside his society and controlled by 'foreign' trade partners. By the same token, he has to fulfil his ritual obligations to gods and spirits of the dead so that they will use their powers to guarantee the success of his important secular and ceremonial undertakings. He has to perform ritual to gain the co-operation of the specific god or goddess who introduced and still presides over the particular activity in which he is engaged, and honour his forebears' ghosts so that they will support the deity's efforts.

Cargoism is no more than these social values and intellectual assumptions in modern dress. During my first visit to the field, my most intelligent Garia informant explained this to me elegantly and cogently: 'You ask us about this "cargo talk". It is like this. Everything that we have was created by its own particular deity: taro, yams, pigs,
slit-gongs. If we want to grow taro, we perform ritual to the taro goddess — and so forth. All right, you white men come with your goods and we like them, so that we ask ourselves: "Who and where is the god of the cargo? How do we contact him?" Then the missionaries arrive and tell us about your Jehovah, and we assume that he is the key to our problem'. In fact, his explanation was incomplete on two counts. First, cargoism can also be secular: the search for what Burridge (1960) has called the 'moral European', who will hand over either the secret or ample supplies of the new wealth. Second, the cargo god or gods can at times be pagan rather than Christian. Nevertheless, my informant's summary gave me the clue to the history of the cargo movement in the southern Madang Province from 1871 until the present day: the people's search for either of two buttons to press, one labelled 'Tame European' and the other 'Cargo Deity'. In sociological terms, the people have tried to incorporate Europeans into a cosmic order that they have never ceased to conceive in traditional terms, and to establish their right to European goods once again as concomitants of living, a sine qua non of existence. Yet beyond this they have used cargoism as a means of explaining and coming to terms with virtually all the important events in their area since 1871: administration, missions, two world wars, the postwar development programme, self-government, and independence. Indeed, the achievement of self-government and independence, in the view of many people, should have guaranteed the acquisition of cargo: the two concepts were synonymous. Briefly, cargoism in the southern Madang Province is a false but highly sophisticated philosophy that so far has absorbed virtually every foreign import.

Space allows me only to summarize the genesis and growth of cargoism in the southern Madang Province, which I have described in detail in other publications (Lawrence 1954, 1959, 1964, and 1965; Harding and Lawrence 1971; and Lawrence and Lawrence 1976). Briefly it has passed through five general stages: two pagan, one Christian, one syncretic (Christian-pagan), and the fifth pagan. Although the sequence is clear, by no means every linguistic group in the area went through them all in a regular manner.

The First Cargo Belief began in 1871 on a note of friendship for white men. The people of Astrolabe Bay treated their first European visitor, the Russian scientist Miklouho-Maclay, as their god Kilibob, who was believed to have sailed along the coast in his canoe, establishing language groups and giving their members material and social culture, after quarrelling with his brother Manup, who tried to kill him with the post of a man's club house. They seem to have assumed that Maclay-Kilibob had once again appeared in their midst with new gifts, although they saw no point in performing ritual in his honour because they enjoyed face to face dealings with him. Ritual was merely a substitute for ordinary social interaction when the deity was not visibly among them. Yet this technique did not work with their next visitors, the Germans, who arrived after 1884, and were mean in exchange dealings and greedy for land. Friendship gave way to hostility: the Germans were evil gods who had come to enslave the people by means of fire-arms, although at the turn of the century, having witnessed many European deaths — notably that of Governor von Hagen, shot in 1897 by an escaped native convict — the people decided that the foreigners were merely malign human beings with superior religious knowledge. They revised the Kilibob-Manup myth as the Second Cargo Belief: Kilibob had sailed along the coast in a modern steam-ship, offering the people the choice between rifles and bows and arrows, and dinghies and
outrigger canoes. In each case, the people chose the second alternative, so that Kilibob went to the land of the white men and gave them what was left in his ship: the cargo. In an alternative version of the myth, the brothers' roles were reversed: Manup rather than Kilibob was the cargo god. In practical terms, this matters little: either god was to return with rifles with which to expel the Europeans.

The Second Cargo Belief gave way to the Third after 1914, when the people decided to make their peace with what appeared to be a more amenable Australian Administration and convert to Christianity, which they revised in their own terms. God had given cargo to Adam and Eve at the time of the Creation but later confiscated it in circumstances I do not need to repeat. After Cain's murder of Abel, He decided to exterminate mankind, with the exception of Noah and his extended family, whom He taught to build the ark (again a modern steam-ship) and to whom He restored the cargo. After the voyage, Ham lost the cargo when he laughed at his father's nakedness, while his brothers Shem and Japeth, who had shown proper filial devotion, were allowed to keep it. Ham became the ancestor of the Papua New Guineans, and was allowed the local gods and the culture they invented, while Shem and Japeth were the forbears of the economically superior Europeans. To regain the cargo, the people had to adopt Christianity and observe its rituals faithfully. They believed that God had sent the missionaries, their 'brothers' as common descendants of Adam and Noah, to this end. As this was a period of friendship, they no longer hoped for rifles with which to drive out Europeans but merely for consumer goods. They believed that God and their ancestors made cargo in Heaven, which was a suburb of Sydney or above Sydney in the clouds with a connecting stairway.

After about 1933, the Third Cargo Belief was superseded by the Fourth, when cargo had not arrived and the coastal people had begun to distrust their missionaries. Once more they became hostile to whites and worked out two new theories, blending the Kilibob-Manup myth with Christianity, so that Kilibob was equated with God and Manup with Jesus Christ. Both lived as émigrés in Sydney but would return with rifles to expel the Europeans. This explained collaboration with the Japanese who occupied the area in December, 1942, and were evicted only in 1944.

At the end of the war, the people were disoriented. As many of them still hoped for the return of the Japanese, the Australian Administration welcomed the services of ex-Sergeant-Major Yali Singina, who was making propaganda on its behalf, urging the people to restore the prewar order on the grounds that they were to achieve a higher standard of living in the future. Immediately the people switched to friendship with whites on the grounds that the latter had been persuaded to make available ample stocks of cargo, even if they had not as yet revealed its source. Yet there was complete misunderstanding on both sides: while the Australians thought in terms of their Government's development programme, Yali assumed that he would be given a bulk reward of European goods in return for his and the people's allegiance. His hopes were dashed when he visited Port Moresby in 1947 and the officers told him the truth. He vented his spleen on the missionaries and, on his return to the Madang Province, urged the people to renounce Christianity and adopt paganism for purely traditional ends. Yet his pagan revival was soon subverted by a renegade Catholic catechist, who turned it into the Fifth Cargo Belief. This caused considerable unrest in the southern Madang Province between 1948 and 1950, especially around
Madang, where the people openly hoped for a war of liberation against the Europeans.

Yali's imprisonment in 1950 saw the gradual decline of the Cargo Movement as such but not of cargoism as a general phenomenon. After his release in 1955, he was able to reorganize his followers only on a limited scale because their numbers had dwindled after his public disgrace. Yet he could still make his presence felt. When he stood as a candidate in the 1968 national election, his platform was interpreted in strictly cargoist terms: he would go to the Parliament to inaugurate the economic millennium, which was identified with impending self-government and independence (Harding and Lawrence 1971). It was only a little more than a year before his death that he publicly dissociated himself from the Movement.

Between 1955 and 1980, however, throughout the whole southern Madang Province there has been a succession of minor cults and comparable incidents, often not connected with Yali and, in fact, sometimes denounced by him while he was alive: claims to be the Black Jesus; the actual sacrifice of a Black Jesus in 1961; a theory that Miklouho-Maclay was Jesus Christ; the use of my book Road Belong Cargo (Lawrence 1964) as a sacred text; the Red Box Cargo Cult (Morauta 1974); the renaissance of Kukuaik on Karkar Island (McSwain 1977); an attempt in 1972 to destroy the monument erected in honour of Governor von Hagen after 1897 on the grounds that it was the house post with which Manup had tried to murder Kilibob – the representation of evil that was impeding the cargo millennium; and, in 1980, an announcement by one Josephine of Utu in the Gogol Valley that God had told her in a dream that she was to take over all the money in the vaults of the Madang branch of the Papua New Guinea Banking Corporation. At the same time, the people have consistently sought for 'tame' Europeans whom they could induce either to reveal the cargo secret or make available the supplies they crave. In one case, an indigenous ordained Lutheran pastor importuned his German missionary companion of twenty-five years to this end and, in another, Garia students from Tusab High School in Madang urged their parents to prevail on me to buy them a four-wheel drive truck on the grounds that I had become rich and famous by learning traditional religious secrets.

THE TRADITIONAL CONCEPT OF KNOWLEDGE

As cargoism is a logical modern continuation of traditional religion, by the same token, it must rest on traditional epistemological assumptions – old ideas about the source of knowledge – even though, with the introduction of Christianity and western secular education, some new beliefs have arisen. It is essential, therefore, to consider these assumptions. I summarize here what I have written on this score in other publications (Lawrence 1959, 1964, and 1965; cf. also McSwain 1977).

As an outsider, I define two categories of knowledge: secular or empirical knowledge, which the people actually possess; and sacred knowledge, which has no empirical foundation but which they believe to have been revealed to them by their deities. I discuss each category in turn.
That the people have a sound body of secular knowledge is attested by their proficiency in agriculture, use of slit-gongs for telecommunication, and seamanship. In terms of our own concepts, these skills represent their own achievements in the field of human intellectual endeavour. Yet the people do not interpret and evaluate their secular knowledge in this way. Except in minor matters, they dismiss the principle of human intellectual discovery. They accept myths as the sole unquestionable source of important truth. They claim that their deities invented all the valued parts of the culture, and taught their forbears both the secular and ritual procedures for exploiting them: deities either lived with men or appeared to them in dreams, showing them how to plant crops, make artefacts, and so forth, and instructing them in ritual formulae and taboos. Even when a man composes a new melody or dance, he authenticates it by claiming that it came from a superhuman source rather than out of his own head.

Moreover, the people not only assume that the deities are the sole authentic source of both types of knowledge but also, of the two, emphasize sacred knowledge as paramount. They describe secular techniques as 'knowing' but only at an elementary level. The hard core of knowledge is mastery of mythology and secret spells, as is evident in traditional education and leadership. A small boy's upbringing is informal. Although often left to himself, he constantly imitates his elders' activities - dancing, hunting, even garden work - so that by early adolescence, with little formal instruction, he has picked up much of the secular knowledge of his society. Yet this is not rated as high intellectual achievement. He gains 'true knowledge' only during and after initiation, when he is introduced exclusively to taboos, mythology, and ritual. Again, secular skills alone are inadequate for leadership. Big men have to master religious secrets which ensure success: they 'really know' and can direct the activities of others - those who do not 'really know' - to the best advantage. Popular recognition of this ability makes it possible for the particularly successful leader, who has an outstanding personality and has never been defeated by unforeseen circumstances, to lure followers away from less fortunate rivals.

Nevertheless, the predominance of religion in intellectual life does not signify a high degree of mysticism in the people's thought, which is, in fact, essentially pragmatic. As gods and ghosts, like human beings themselves, are conceived as corporeal inhabitants of the natural environment, their existence is never doubted: it is physically real, and their co-operation with men in any task is as certain as that between human beings themselves. Although the people regard work as a compound of secular and ritual techniques, they see both as equally valid: both derive from the one source and involve collaboration between beings on the same plane of existence. In a word, these are religions not of faith, which allows the possibility of doubt, but of conviction, which allows only certitude.

THE PROBLEM: THE PERPETUATION OF TRADITIONAL EPISTEMOLOGY

At this point, I must emphasize that I do not argue thatcargoism has arisen in the southern Madang Province simply because its people have the epistemological system I have outlined. As I have pointed out in Lawrence (1964), we must distinguish between motivation and conceived means: why do...
the people want cargo? Why do they explain its source in theological terms and see religious ritual as an effective means of getting it? Motivation is clearly economic and sociopolitical: people want the new wealth for its obvious utility but also as a prestige symbol allowing them relationships of equality with Europeans, in keeping with those they enjoy among themselves in traditional society. Conceived means, however, must relate to their epistemological system: they apply the techniques by which they believe they have always controlled their cosmic order to the new one they conceptualized after European occupation. Although problems of motivation have their place, I find them less interesting than those of conceived means, which are more difficult to understand, which defy slick interpretation, and on which I now concentrate.

Some may argue that cargoism is a non-issue: that the people have the democratic right to use it, if they wish, as a means of coming to terms with the twentieth century and should thus be left to their own devices. I regard this as unrealistic. Papua New Guinea is an important nation in our region. For her people to take their rightful place, they must pay their own way by developing more village economies to the stage where they contribute to the country's budget, and rely less on Australian aid and royalties from transnational companies. (There are already warning signals: Australian aid is likely to be cut by 5 per cent as against 3 per cent and Bougainville Copper will lay fewer golden eggs than in the past [The Sydney Morning Herald, 26 October 1980].) Yet to do this - even to achieve the limited objectives of the Somare Government's Eight Point Plan - there must be a population that understands the operation of the modern world. The traditional epistemological system is a chief obstacle to this. It has proved remarkably durable because, once its underlying assumptions are accepted, it is so logical yet flexible that, as I have indicated, it has easily incorporated in cargoism (its modern form) virtually every major event and imported institution during the last 110 years. The problem is how to get the people either to discard it or, at least, to keep it in proper perspective.

The whole issue must be seen against the background of the people's increasing material prosperity and educational opportunities. In 1949, a man was affluent if he wore shorts as against a laplap. In 1968, the criteria were transistors and bicycles, and in 1980 motor vehicles owned by kinship associations or individuals. Again, in 1949, many had been to mission primary, and somewhat fewer to mission secondary, schools. By 1980, there were opportunities for young people to go to Government primary and secondary schools, and to tertiary institutions. Initially, this might seem to provide a solution to the problem. Certainly, it was the basis of Worsley's (1957 and 1968) and my own (Lawrence 1964) suggestions that by changing material conditions we could liberate the individual from the prescriptive socioeconomic kinship bonds of his own society, and thereby induce him to think for himself and understand the world in our terms. Worsley was the more extreme: he argued that cargoism would retreat before modern economic development and secular political institutions in the near future. I was more moderate: I believed that there would be a longer time lag but that eventually the process could take place of its own accord.

McSwain (1977:xv-xvi) chides both Worsley and myself on this score. She argues cogently that, for cargoist epistemology to disappear by itself in her field work area,
economic change must be far more comprehensive than anything so far inaugurated in Papua New Guinea or suggested by Lawrence's analysis. On Karkar, considerable economic, political and educational change has occurred over a relatively long period, yet the traditional intellectual system remains....

There is good evidence from the southern Madang Province in both the economic and educational fields to support her argument. The Karkar own copra plantations, trucks, tractors, trade stores, and bakeries. Yali of the Rai Coast enjoyed a relatively high standard of living. Josephine of Utu was driven with about 300 followers to the Papua New Guinea Banking Corporation offices in Madang in native-owned trucks. Material prosperity by no means dampened enthusiasm for cargoism in any of these cases. Again, the Karkar have long had good mission and now government schools. Yali's last secretary was a high school drop-out, as were many of Josephine's older followers. She had recruited also some primary school children. The well educated indigenous pastor clung to his German friend in the hope of discovering the cargo elixir, and it was Garia high school students who suggested that I had got ahead through my knowledge of traditional religion. All this accords with what European school teachers in Madang have told me during the last twenty years: that their pupils, certainly at secondary level, have given evidence of a high degree of magico-religious thinking. It suggests also that there is no automatic remedy. Thus I turn to a different but analogous setting, England in the seventeenth century, to see what it can suggest.

THE TRIUMPH OF SCIENCE OVER 'MAGIC' IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND

For this paper, the importance of the seventeenth century in England is that it witnessed the substitution of modern natural science for much of what Thomas (1971) calls the 'magic' embedded in Christianity as a system of explanation of the working of the physical cosmos. Yet it was a schizophrenic age: the struggle between science and 'magic' was hard and long drawn, and for all its triumphs at the end of the period science had to suffer many decades of magico-religious extravaganza. Even the most prominent and best educated tried to solve their economic and socio-political problems by such practices as alchemy (in which even Sir Isaac Newton experimented) and astrology (whose practitioners were the associates and sources of comfort of monarchs and aristocrats in times of political upheaval). Witchcraft was accepted as a fact, a capital offence before the law. Moreover, the answers being provided by the new science were not accepted immediately: they threw up many new problems that tormented men's reason and consciences because they challenged Holy Writ. How did creatures from the ark, starting as they did from Mount Ararat, become scattered all over the world despite the dividing seas? As gold does not turn to powder in high temperatures, how did Moses calcinate the golden calf? Sir Thomas Browne, medical practitioner and devout Christian, called the debate playing chess with the devil.

The seventeenth century was also an era of religious chiliasm. Many Englishmen believed that their colonization of North America would hasten the establishment of Christ's kingdom on earth (Porter 1979). Others supported the Fifth Monarchy Movement, the doctrines of which were first
enunciated about 1630, and were taken very seriously during and after the Civil Wars. They believed that, with the death of Charles I, who represented for them total iniquity, Jesus Christ himself would reign as King in England with the aid of his personally selected saints. Some of them held these doctrines with such conviction that, after the accession of Charles II, without backsliding or even flinching they were prepared to be executed in an unspeakably barbarous manner: hanged, drawn, quartered, and disembowelled (Rogers 1966).

Nevertheless, by the end of the century, 'magic' was much discredited among intellectual men. Although not finally dismissed by the Royal Society until 1783, alchemy's false assumptions and claims were largely destroyed by Boyle's chemistry. The Royal Society disproved by experiment the idea (inherited at least from the time of Pliny the Elder) that insects could pullulate spontaneously. The scientists progressively discarded astrology as its principles could no longer be shown to be true — a view that Newton endorsed by his own cosmic experiments. The surgeon William Harvey, famous for having demonstrated the circulation of the blood, struck a body blow at witchcraft by carefully dissecting a toad, alleged to be a practitioner's satanic familiar, and exposing the falsity of popular assertions about the nature of its entrails. Religious chiliasm progressively passed into the secular utopianism of the eighteenth century Enlightenment and socialism of the nineteenth century.

The debunking of 'magic' was never complete: quacks (like the self-styled Count Cagliostro in superficially rationalist Paris) could always make a living. Yet the years after 1700 broadly represented a new intellectual climate: an age of comparatively secular reason. Thomas (1971:656-7), an Oxford historian who has read a good deal of social anthropology, has much to say on this score that I regard as relevant to the problem of the southern Madang Province. He argues that although 'most sociologically-minded historians are naturally biased in favour of the view that changes in beliefs are preceded by changes in social and economic structure', in the case of 'magic and technology' (in seventeenth century England), 'it seems indisputable that...magic lost its appeal before the appropriate technical solutions had been devised to take its place. It was the abandonment of magic which made possible the upsurge of technology, not the other way round'. In a word, it was the case of one logical system replacing another because it was seen to be based on sounder epistemological assumptions. In this context, we should not forget a remark by Weber (1958:55), which supports Thomas and to which social anthropologists have paid too little attention: 'without doubt, in the country of Benjamin Franklin's birth (Massachusetts), the spirit of capitalism was present before the capitalistic order'.

This is not to negate sociological argument but to keep it in its proper place. As Tawney (1948), who never was at ease with Weber, has shown very well, the Protestant Reformation liberated the individual from the commercial and intellectual restraints of mediaeval society so that he could amass profit by lending his money at reasonable rates of interest without fear of spiritual damnation, and new information by means of his own relatively unfettered intellect rather than having to attribute his discoveries to divine revelation. Yet I do not believe that the advance in intellectual discovery was automatic. There was a joker in the pack: another factor to which we have given too little consideration.
In western Europe, Christianity had to come to grips with two distinct epistemological traditions, the second of which was the key to its eventual decline as an intellectual force: the Judaic and the Graeco-Roman. The Judaic tradition was based on the assumption of divine revelation: that all knowledge came to man from God. In the thirteenth century, its Christian champions were St Bonaventure, Franciscan Professor of Theology at the University of Paris, and the heterodox millenarian scholars. The Graeco-Roman tradition was that man had to accumulate knowledge by means of his own secular intellect. In the thirteenth century, its Christian champions were St Thomas Aquinas, Dominican Professor of Theology at the University of Paris, and the alchemists, who tried to syncretize the belief in divinely revealed knowledge with Aristotelian natural science. From the end of the thirteenth century, there was a running battle between the Christianized forms of the two traditions. By 1400, the Graeco-Roman forged ahead as the central principle of the Renaissance in Italy and the Scientific Revolution in northern Europe. In brief, when liberated and individuated man of the seventeenth century was ready to think for himself and become a scientist, he found ready-made and ready to use a secular intellectual tradition originally forged in ancient Greece.

If we consider the southern Madang Province in this context, the two essential factors are the individual's socioeconomic liberation from the bonds of precriptive relationships and his intellectual liberation from the tradition of divinely revealed knowledge. The first is the enabling condition for the second. Neither the Australian administration nor the indigenous Government has achieved the first condition. The villager is still enmeshed in a network of traditional relationships because, contrary to our expectations of thirty years ago, his traditional sociocultural system has survived the impact of western development. Yet, even if this first condition had been met and the villager had become a citizen-isolate, I doubt now whether his transition to the second condition - the world of the inquiring secular intellect - would have been easy for him. As I have stressed, the people's epistemological tradition is akin to the Judaic rather than the Graeco-Roman: divine revelation as against independent human investigation. They certainly possess empirical knowledge, as I have shown, but no immemorial usage whereby they can forge it into a system of explanation leading to further discovery: a system in its own right. Rather, they tend to sweep such knowledge under the carpet of religion, as it were, in the manner of St Bonaventure and the millenarians. They validate it as afflatus from a deity: not the product of their own minds as such but of a dream experience of some kind. This in no way reflects on their capacity for logical thinking but only on their perception of fact. Many of their essential 'facts' (largely their deities) have no empirical foundation but the analyses they base on them are devastatingly reasoned.

PAPUA NEW GUINEA: BEYOND MADANG

If I venture outside the southern Madang Province, I have to take into consideration criticisms of my own work. My rejoinders explain my views about other areas of Papua New Guinea. The first critic is Worsley (1968), who suggests that I have oversystematized the traditional religious systems I have studied. I should argue that he is confusing two issues: basic assumptions (the epistemological system) and the different expressions of belief (the superstructure), which they underlie. Certainly, I contend
that basic intellectual and religious assumptions are consistent and systematic: that gods (of some kind) created the cosmos, and that they and the spirits of the dead must be ritually honoured to keep it functioning. Yet, in both traditional and especially cargo doctrines, beliefs built on these assumptions are invariably flexible and allow contradictions. There are always variants of local myths, and the identity of the cargo deity is constantly redefined with an obvious loss of regularity.

The second critic is Chowning (1977:63-65), who has questioned Meggitt's and my Introduction to Gods, Ghosts, and Men in Melanesia (Lawrence and Meggitt 1965). In this work, Meggitt and I stressed, initially, the broad uniformity of social values in Papua New Guinea. Despite local idiosyncrasies, all traditional societies were essentially stateless and organized on the basis of kinship, marriage, and descent. This generalization is widely accepted, so that I need say no more about it. In religion, we maintained that the basic element were beliefs in creative or regulative spirit-beings (such as gods and goddesses) — although we cited apparent exceptions — and spirits of the dead, most of whom lived on the earth with men. Once again, there was no concept of a transcendental realm. Ritual was used to manipulate both gods and ghosts for economic and social ends.

Beyond this, we agreed that seaboard religions were generally comparable to those in the southern Madang District that I have outlined above: people relied heavily on gods and ghosts as guarantees of material benefits, and regarded 'true knowledge' as the esoteric formulae that could harness their power to serious undertakings. For the highlands, we suggested that religion dominated people's lives to a lesser degree: men relied more on secular skills. Yet we added several caveats, especially individual field workers' personal equations, and the different experiences of highlands and seaboard peoples under colonialism. In the first context, when highlands ethnography was in the ascendant, Durkheimian structuralism, including the social approach to religion, dominated research. Field workers steeped in this theory were not likely to see epistemological themes as important: their interest was to portray the quasi-secular sociopolitical systems of the peoples they studied. In the second, race relations in the highlands were more equitable than on the seaboard. Australians entered the highlands mainly after 1945, when colonialism was already in decline and it was essential for them to achieve a modus vivendi with the people. Administrative techniques were beginning to improve. Hence the people experienced relatively little frustration and engaged only infrequently in cargo cults, which — had they been more prevalent — would have forced the anthropologists to study epistemology. In contrast, on the seaboard, there was a long history of unfortunate race relations and cargoisim: anthropologists had to provide epistemological answers.

Chowning has criticized this survey on technical grounds. First, she indicates that the suggested distinction between highlands and seaboard religions is too extreme. Especially in view of Strathern's (1979) recent discussion of this subject, I am happy broadly to take her point. Yet I still believe that the differences Meggitt and I suggested do to some extent exist, although probably they are distributed randomly throughout Papua New Guinea as a whole instead of being confined to the highlands and seaboard respectively. Second, Chowning asserts that we over-emphasized the importance of 'creative or regulative spirit beings' and were wrong to
state that 'all Melanesians perform rituals for the dead with economic ends in view'. As she does not quote chapter and verse in either context, it is difficult to answer her specifically. Yet, in the context of creative or regulative spirit-beings, her reading of the literature published before 1965, which we examined carefully, obviously differs from ours. Since then various authors have produced accounts that support our generalization: Smith, R.A. (1973) on the Adzera of the Markham Valley (whom, on the basis of previous evidence, we listed as definitely not possessing creator gods); Trompf (1977) on the Sauwo Valley people in the Papuan Highlands; Smith, M.F. (1980) on the Kairiru islanders in the East Sepik Province; Tamoane (1977) on the people of the Murik Lakes; Counts and Counts (1976) on the Kalinge of West New Britain; Strathern (1979) on the Mount Hagen people; Flannery (1979) on the Tolai: and Johnson (personal communication) on the adherents of the Peli Association in the Sepik region. In the context of ritual honour to the dead to get economic benefits, once again I beg to disagree: 'all' may be somewhat of an overstatement but I am ready to assert, in my turn, that the practice is so common that its failure to be universal is of small significance.

CONCLUSIONS

Generalizations for all Papua New Guinea, let alone all Melanesia, are difficult. Nevertheless, I offer three tentative opinions. First, if Chowning and Strathern are right in believing that there is no rigid dichotomy between highlands and seaboard religions — a point that, with few reservations, I readily concede — and if Meggitt and I are justified in arguing the overall prevalence of creative or regulative spirit-beings and of ritual honour to the dead for economic ends, then despite varying degrees of reliance on ritual as a technology, as it were, there are probably more wide-spread regularities in Papua New Guinea religions than Chowning allows, and even than Meggitt and I originally claimed. Mutatis mutandis, the general picture I have sketched for the southern Madang Province is valid also for many other areas throughout the whole country.

Second, it is against this general background that we must view the intellectual crisis through which, I believe, some Papua New Guineans at least are going at the present time, which has expressed itself in cargoism in the past, and to which western secular education is now probably contributing. I think particularly of one incident. In August 1977, a Rai Coast lad attending a Government secondary school told me that he was confused: in science classes, he had been told that 'human beings came from animals' and — well, that was very different from what the Lutheran mission had said. He could easily accept the Genesis alternative, which was in keeping with his own society's mythological traditions, but he could not fathom the basic concept of evolution.4 In recent years, there has been trouble over this issue in the universities. Again, Smith, M.F. (1980) describes the current situation in Koragur village on Kairiru Island, East Sepik Province. The people became committed Catholics at the beginning of this century and, like the inhabitants of the southern Madang Province, assimilated orthodox Christian teachings to their own religious assumptions. All went well until Vatican II, when a new spirit emanated from the mission: toleration of the old religion, a decline in sacramentalism, voluntarism, the substitution of symbolism for dogma and doctrine, and so forth. The people saw this as a dilemma: certainly many
of the young were no longer impressed by a religion that ceased to claim to represent literal, total unquestionable truth. They turned to scepticism and even, in one case, secular rationalism 'as a better tool for the explanation and understanding of the world' (Smith, M.F. 1980:50).

Third, we should consider seriously Thomas' analysis of the change from 'magic' to science in seventeenth century England: that it was due to the recognition that one system of logic was superior to another rather than to an automatic response to technological change. The two examples I have just cited indicate that villagers argue at least as much in intellectual as in materialist-technological terms: indeed, in neither case did materialism or technology enter, for the sole issue was the nature of cosmic explanation, which they espoused or rejected largely on the basis of what they perceived as its claim to represent factual truth. Hence, although every attempt should be made to improve material conditions, educationists should not pin their faith on this as an ultimate panacea but must seriously address themselves to the problem of introducing modern secular knowledge as a satisfactory explanatory system in its own right. For this, they must do two things: understand the epistemological system their pupils bring with them into the classroom (Philp and Kelly 1975); and not use their own epistemological system uncritically to explain their pupils' inability to understand, for it too can get in the way. I cite, with diffidence, examples reported to me from the universities.

During the last fifteen years, several university lecturers have stressed to me the great difficulty they have found in presenting to their students in Papua New Guinea what we should regard as basic scientific concepts. One of them, a self-defrocked Catholic priest, blamed his mission for teaching so much nonsense that undergraduates could not be expected to follow what he was trying to impart. Obviously, this could not be true: many of his students were not Catholics and had been educated in secular Government schools. He was projecting his own hang-ups. A second argued very reasonably that his pupils had not been given the sciences basic to the subject he was presenting. There is no reason to doubt this as far as it goes, although I believe that the problem lies much deeper. He learnt that many of his students still believed in sorcery. Hence I make two suggestions: First, he has been offering them concepts culturally so alien that they could not be expected to comprehend them unless they had been most carefully prepared from their earliest years. Second, they are learning western science largely by rote, and sorcery still represents for them a more satisfactory logical system when they are in critical situations. I mean no disrespect by what I have just written, but I recommend that the next generation of field workers address themselves to this issue with greater care and interest than mine has done: I should be very happy to be proved wrong. Its resolution is of vital concern for the future prosperity and stability of the Pacific community — certainly that part of it that we inhabit — for reasons I do not see as needing elaboration.
NOTES

1 I am indebted to Mrs Deidre Koller and Mrs Carol Wise for reading and commenting on an earlier and longer draft of this paper.

2 Josephine is, as far as I am aware, the second woman to have led a cargo cult in the southern Madang Province. The first was Polelesi of Igrure in 1947 (Lawrence 1964).

3 I must say in my own defence that in my study of Garia religion I concentrated on the principles underlying it rather than on learning the esoteric spells that were regarded as its power. I was taught a few, but not a great many, of these spells. Of those I did learn, out of respect for Garia belief, I have never revealed any to outsiders. The same is true of my field work among the Ngaying of the Rai Coast.

4 Yali Singina had a similar experience in Port Moresby in 1947, when he was told about the concept of evolution by a well read indigene. He was able to evade intellectual dilemma by equating the idea with his society's belief in ancestral totemism (Lawrence 1964:173-175). My schoolboy informant was probably too sophisticated to make this sort of equation. Hence his disquiet.

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INTRODUCTION

Vanuatu is no less culturally diverse than the rest of Melanesia, and has in the era since European contact been subject to the same kinds of outside influence, as colonial powers, Christians and entrepreneurs have sought in various ways to transform 'traditional' societies. This paper examines the changing sociopolitical significance of diversity, particularly the effects of Christianity and the dynamic nature of the resulting symbiosis of Christian and customary values.

First, the nature of cultural differentiation in 'traditional' Vanuatu societies is summarized. Despite considerable ethnocentrism and a high level of intergroup tension, there was also considerable communication and diffusion of new elements, such that trade in lore was as common as that in material goods. These were relatively mobile, flexible societies geared to cope adequately with fairly continuous diffusion via external contacts.

Second, some factors affecting the rapidity and success of the spread of Christianity are outlined, notably historical developments between first contacts with Europeans and Christianity's coming, the nature of the new faith and its purveyors, and certain characteristics of the traditional cultures.

Thirdly, the nature of the transformation wrought by Christianity is discussed, with respect to its effects on diversity and on attitudes to cultural differentiation, and to indigenous reworkings of the new faith. The effect of Christianity on 'traditional' values and on attitudes to the past is also discussed. The major difference between Christian lore and that which was traditionally exchanged throughout the islands was the Christians' insistence that theirs was the only valid belief system. It was intended to replace all that preceded it, rather than be added on to existing systems. In fact, many continuities remained, but these elements were absorbed into Christianity. The new faith became a potent force in breaking down Melanesian cultural boundaries and creating new unities that went beyond the islands to parent churches overseas.

Fourthly, the revival of kastom (Pidgin; 'traditional culture, customs') and development of national identity are discussed, together with some problematic aspects of the modern symbiosis of Christian and 'traditional' values. The use of kastom to promote a sense of cultural
historical accounts of the process of conversion are relatively few and one-sided, it is impossible to say for certain why people became Christians. We do not know what ni-Vanuatu thought about it, except indirectly through missionaries' brief accounts.

The introduction of European diseases, trade goods, rifles and liquor via sandalwood-buyers, labour recruiters and traders preceded the arrival of missionaries in most islands. The strong opposition encountered by some missionaries could well have stemmed from prior traumatic Melanesian encounters with Europeans, and the deaths of several Christians were allegedly motivated by revenge, to balance earlier deaths at the hands of whites. But as Shineberg (1967:13) notes, the more numerous, mobile and affluent sandalwood-traders got in first, and thus raised the indigenous people's expectations concerning European wealth. Their desire for iron and other trade goods thus whetted, the Melanesians accepted the presence of missionaries as a potential source of this wealth, in the early years at least. In those areas where rifles had changed the technology of the feud and escalated the death-rate, the missionary presence may well have been welcomed with relief because of its insistence on peace.

The association in Melanesian minds of whites with superior power, which was no doubt primarily assessed on the basis of technology and much later on the weight of colonial authority, had much to do with their acceptance of the Christian presence. In line with dominant 'traditional' values, acquiescence to the superiority of European power also involved attempts by individuals and groups to gain access to it. Historical contingency, in the form of sheer luck, sometimes played a major role in early attempts by Christians to 'prove' the superior power of their God. In southeast Ambrym, where I worked, the bearer of Christianity was a south Ambrymese man who had been converted while in Queensland. He met with strong initial opposition, but was quick to turn to Christianity's advantage his 'miraculous' escape from death when fired on, allegedly at point-blank range, by an enraged local chief. His explanation that God's power protected him was widely accepted and gained him a solid core of devotees, and he never looked back.

Despite undoubted communication gaps, missionaries and their Islander and local converts must have managed to convey to the local people some basic elements of the new faith, particularly those that were broadly congruent with indigenous values and understandings. Ideas of rewards and punishment, of reciprocity guaranteed as long as certain rules or procedures were faithfully adhered to, and of spiritual and/or human retribution for persistent disregard of the rules, all accorded well with existing understandings. However, the notion of a reciprocation delayed until the next life was, in its reward aspect, neither traditional nor particularly satisfying (cf. Keesing 1967:96). Likewise, the notion that rewards in the afterlife depended principally on moral conduct in this would have been nonsensical to a people who judged ritual efficacy mainly in terms of correct performance.

The possession by Christians of esoteric knowledge, and its intimate association in Melanesian cultures with power and status differentiation, did not in itself set them apart from other whites encountered by the indigenous people. The uniqueness of the Christians lay in their great
willingness to impart this knowledge, and thus share with the Melanesians a considerable portion of it. The fact that the missionaries expected people to labour for the Church in return would have been perfectly acceptable. Knowledge given freely by people outside a narrow range of kin and friends would have been perceived as lacking value and therefore power (cf. Lindstrom n.d.a). The establishment of schools, as well as concerted attempts to bring literacy to the indigenous people so that they could read the Bible, proved the sincerity of the Christians in wanting to communicate their esoteric knowledge.

In the 'traditional' society, the mark of the big-man or chief was his achievement of a nodal position in local and regional information networks such that he could significantly monitor and influence the flow of messages as well as material goods. As Lindstrom (n.d.b) notes, he gained prestige by the selective use of socially usable knowledge, but would never have told others all that he knew, since it was his reputed possession of unshared knowledge that differentiated him and made him 'bigger' than others. Lindstrom also points out, that esoteric knowledge is vital but its management is problematic: a person without secrets is without prestige, and a person with too many unshared secrets negates a fundamental imperative to exchange, so he too lacks prestige. Prestige, then, depends on the judicious husbandry of knowledge. It follows that missionaries would not have been expected to tell the whole story, and that what they withheld contained the major secret of their greater wealth and power. Melanesians who in later years became involved in cargo cult activities often said as much when they accused missionaries of hiding that part of the Christian message that contained the key to the cargo. For a majority of ni-Vanuatu most of the time, however, the new faith appeared to offer sufficient promise to ensure their continuing adherence and support.

It may also be possible to account for the success of Christianity satisfactorily in terms of certain shared features of Melanesian social structures. Their receptivity to external forms undoubtedly predisposed men to view Christianity in pragmatic terms as a likely medium for increasing power and prestige. Lawrence (1964) has argued persuasively that Melanesians' cosmic order was a predominantly physical realm, and their religion centred on reciprocal relationships conceived to exist among humans, gods and spirits. There was an undisguised materialism and anthropocentrism in the view that males had of their cosmic order and its utility to them in their largely individualistic strivings. The focus of power lay not in any supernatural realm, but in the interaction between the environment and man, usually through the medium of spirits, with human activity as an essential ingredient of the mix that made power available; through the application of esoteric knowledge and intelligence, men could generate power while in a state of heightened receptivity to co-resident spirit-beings (cf. Lane 1977:365-374). As Lawrence has shown, religion was for them a technology, a potent means for achieving patently secular socioeconomic ends. Individual self-interest predominated, even in many collective rituals and related activities such as food distribution (Barnes 1962; Brown 1962; Feil 1978).

While gathering data concerning what people could recall of the 'traditional' religious life in southeast Ambrym, I was struck by the apparent lack of integration of the various elements and the complete
absence of anything functionally analogous to the over-arching 'Dreamtime' concept of the Australian Aborigines, which lends to their religion an internal logic, consistency and strength. There was no fit between southeast Ambrymese myths and rituals, very little among songs, dances and rituals, and no evidence that people saw any organic unity among the components they described. Guiart (1951) had concluded of north Ambrymese rituals that they lacked mythological validation and exhibited a high degree of secularization; I was led to the same assessment in the case of southeast Ambrym.

This lack of systematization I initially attributed to cultural loss and the effects of several decades of Christianity. But considering the openness of much of the rest of the social system, it is probably that the various components of the religious life had been quite loosely integrated. My data suggested that individual magical rites and communication with ancestral ghosts assumed far greater religious importance than collective rituals and appeals to mythic beings (cf. Deacon 1934). Individualism pragmatism and materialism were dominant, but with the exception of certain sorcery acts, individual rituals were acts towards, and reactions to, concerns of wider social groupings (Tonkinson 1968:34-35).

There was ample evidence that the southeast Ambrymese had been in prolonged contact with neighbouring islands, such as Paama and Lopevi, and also that they had adopted the graded society from Malekula via west Ambrym not long before their first contact with Europeans. Their receptivity to innovations from elsewhere showed them to be typical Melanesians in this important respect. This willingness to borrow was congruent with the kind of flexibility and openness that has been reported for much of the region. Observers as far back as Codrington (1891) noted the lack of systematization in Melanesians' worldviews and the willingness to borrow cultural elements. Lane (1965), discussing the religion of the people of south Pentecost, who have close links with north Ambrym, conceded that order may have existed in the religious system, but it was certainly not an explicit feature of what he observed; beliefs were not developed in precise and systematic detail, nor woven into any overall scheme. Brunton (1980:112) makes the same general points when he suggests that Melanesian religions are '...weakly integrated, poorly elaborated in a number of sectors, and subject to a large degree of individual variation and a high rate of innovation and obsolescence'.

From the foregoing, it should be clear that individuals had considerable freedom to choose whether or not to try new forms, and that once the Christians had established beachheads they were usually assured of at least a few people willing to give them a hearing and dabble in the new faith - if only to see if Christianity was a difference that would make a difference, as Bateson would have put it. In this kind of society, any initial opposition by big-men or chiefs would not appear to have been a decisive factor. In southeast Ambrym, despite strong initial opposition from some of the chiefs, it took little more than two decades for the culture area to go from 'pagan' to close to 100 per cent nominal Christian. In many other parts of Vatuatu, Christianity enjoyed a similarly rapid success.
CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

The missionaries and their zealous converts set out to win Melanesian hearts and minds as much by emphasizing the sinfulness and shortcomings of the old way of life as by stressing the advantages of the promised new life. Many were certainly not averse to rough, direct methods to get the message across to those who appeared incapable or unwilling to heed it. But in the early years, particularly, the Christians were at times the objects of physical violence in some areas (cf. Miller 1975). In all but a few interior areas on large islands, such as Tanna, Santo, Malekula and Ambrym, Christianity triumphed throughout the archipelago. The Presbyterians (who remain by far the largest denomination) concentrated their efforts in the southern and central islands, agreeing to leave the north to the Anglicans (who now rank third). The Roman Catholics, predominantly French-speaking, began later (1887); they ignored the earlier Protestant agreement and established missions throughout the islands. Churches of Christ, Seventh Day Adventists and Apostolics followed later, and in the last two decades there has been a proliferation of other religious groups in Vanuatu.

The processes of rapid transformation of the pre-contact societies, a major facet of which was the revolution wrought by iron tools, were set in train by the European traders and labour recruiters, but these men had specific and immediate goals in their interaction with the Melanesians. They did not see themselves as social reformers, however barbaric they may have judged (and in turn, have been judged by) the indigenous peoples. It was the missionaries and their converts who mounted the first deliberate assaults aimed at transforming 'traditional' cultures. Different missionaries and churches varied in their attitudes to *kaetom*, but most considered much of the Melanesian cultures unacceptable. Their frequent revulsion and disgust are forcefully revealed in their diaries, as is their dogged determination to triumph over the forces of evil. Their tropologies of conversion, aimed at the home congregations whose physical and financial support they sought, were rich in metaphor and made much of the 'light versus darkness', 'soldiers of Christ going forth into battle', 'rescue of the innocents' kinds of imagery (cf. Young 1980). The word of God was delivered as an imperative, a replacement for rather than an adjunct to existing knowledge, and it carried with it the promise of rich rewards for compliance and hellfire and damnation as certain consequences of its rejection. The Melanesians were doubtless much more attracted by the material possibilities of the former than repelled or terrified by the latter.

Such was the fusion of natural and spiritual components of their cosmic order that many ni-Vanuatu converts continued to have belief in, and react to, various kinds of co-resident spirits whose activities either helped or hindered them. Likewise, the belief that other people may resort to sorcery also remained powerful. Today, trade in many different kinds of magical substances (for protection, fighting, sorcery, love-magic and antidotes) continues to thrive, in convincing demonstration of the constancy of 'traditional' Melanesian notions about power.
Attacks by white and black Christians on all that was un-Godly in the indigenous cultures struck at the very heart of the old way of life: polygyny, pig sacrifice, kava-drinking, singing and dancing, men's secret societies, 'devil-worship' (i.e. ritual communication with spirit-beings), 'idolatry' (any carved anthropomorphic image was deemed an 'idol'), physical violence, practices that degraded women and so on came under persistent heavy fire as typifying 'heathenism' and the forces of evil. But the seeds of destruction of major social institutions, such as the graded society, had already been sown by labour recruiters, traders and other Europeans who preceded the missionaries into most islands.

In pre-contact times, the great game of climbing the grade-ladder to socioeconomic pre-eminence was played with finite resources and a predictable modus operandi, and the older men were apparently in complete control of the moves. The introduction of valued European material goods, via traders and returning plantation workers, in effect short-circuited the grade system. The returnees were predominantly young; they re-entered their home communities with wealth and, perhaps more importantly, with esoteric knowledge - that which generates power. By both retention and judicious distribution of portions of their wealth, they achieved a level of prestige quite out of proportion for men of their age and grade-rank in the pre-contact society. Many either bought their way in high up the ladder, or refused to participate at all. Their skills in Pidgin and assumed sophistication in the ways of the whites assured them of a useful and prestigious role in societies that were suffering drastic, unforeseen depopulation and change. In many coastal areas, it seems, disorganization bordering on chaos prevailed, and Melanesians faced with grave threats to their very survival would have ignored the old game and looked instead to the repatriated sophisticates, whose presumed knowledge of the ways and strategies of the whites might well have been the key to the regaining of some kind of equilibrium.

Whether the ex-Queenslanders were zealous Christians or fervently anti-white in their attitudes and behaviours, ni-Vanuatu soon came to realize that continued resistance to the newcomers was futile in view of the great difference in power. The threat and periodic application of punishment, which took the form of bombardment of offending communities by French or British warships, did much to convince the Melanesians of the reality of 'God's wrath'. Besides, in view of the traumatic events that in many areas preceded Christianity, the donning of clothes and cessation of certain overt behaviours may have seemed a small price to pay for peace and the opportunity it offered for re-organizing what was left of the old life. Any realistic appraisal of their situation would have led the indigenous people to accept the label of 'convert' and acquiesce to the demands of the newcomers. It is most unlikely that people understood much of the theological content of the new faith; their interest lay in its materialistic possibilities rather than its theological detail. As Lane (1965:277) notes:

The dissociation of Christians from aboriginal traditions does not involve rejection of aboriginal ideas as false or erroneous, but rather an acceptance of a system empirically demonstrated to be more practical in the contact situation...non-Christians
adhere to their system not because they believe that it is more valid but because, assessing the contact situation differently, they believe that the older ways continue to offer a better solution to their problems.

The fact that at the time of the first official census in 1967 about one ni-Vanuatu in six identified themselves as following a ka'atom religion attests to a negative assessment of Christianity's exclusive claim to the truth about power. Many ka'atom believers are cargo cultists who abandoned Christianity in favour of a new 'faith' more compatible with their perceptions concerning the road to wealth and self-respect.

Even among those who steadfastly remained Christian, there were significant continuities in their understandings. Behaviour of some kinds can be effectively forbidden, but beliefs and values, those denizens of an individual's cosmic order, cannot. Their variability in the old society was maintained and augmented in the new. Whites inevitably occupied a major place in the new cosmic order that was fashioned from the old. The missionaries tried to dichotomize the old and new, but they failed to negate prevailing conceptions about power.

The important point here is that in ridiculing and condemning 'traditional' beliefs in spirits and ghosts as 'savage superstitions' and the work of the devil, the Christians were in effect affirming that such powers indeed existed and impinged significantly on human affairs. The Melanesians would have been most interested to learn that there are ultimately superior and triumphant benevolent powers (i.e. the Holy Ghost) ranged against malevolent powers (i.e. the devil) in an uneven contest. This absolutist conception of clearly dichotomized good and evil powers flatly contradicted a fundamental Melanesian notion; namely, that power in itself is undifferentiated, but depending on the technologies applied to it by human or spiritual beings, it can have a wide range of effects, from positive to mortally negative.

The potential for people with the necessary esoteric knowledge to exploit these powers was considerable, whether or not the Christians were correct in claiming a clear demarcation between good and evil. If they could be safely tapped (a foregone conclusion in Melanesian understandings), both kinds of power would be socially useful, just like productive and destructive magic. In 1973, when southeast Ambrymese church leaders decided to mount an all-out attack on sorcery through an evangelical campaign, their strategy lay not in the denial of the reality and efficacy of sorcery power, but was instead phrased in terms of the inevitable triumph of the Holy Spirit, whose superior power, activated by prayers, confession and the destruction of magical objects, would render sorcery impotent (Tonkinson, n.d.a). Furthermore, the wholly benevolent Holy Spirit could be indirectly destructive, by turning the power of sorcery objects inwards upon their possessors, causing illness or death by backfire.

There were other important cultural continuities besides notions about power. Local languages have been maintained strongly, notwithstanding the universality in Vanuatu of Pidgin, the national lingua franca. Despite the introduction of steel tools, basic subsistence strategies remained much the
same, even after cash-cropping became an integral part of local economies. Shared notions about exchange and compensation persisted, however much the content and social contexts of exchanges were transformed. Kinship ideologies, and strongly supportive behaviours among kin and co-residents, have continued to figure significantly in village life and beyond. Arranged marriage, bridewealth payment, adoption and many other valued institutions have survived, some despite strong opposition from Christian leaders, and others with the blessing of the church if they were held to be compatible with Christian values.

As in the past, outward conformity to the new order masked great variability in personal beliefs. For want of understanding or inclination, many people remained nominal or 'subsistence' Christians, whose emotional and spiritual commitment to the faith was marginal. Despite this, the work of the church increasingly assumed a central place in the social life of village communities, taking up the slack caused by cessation of major institutions such as the graded society and men's secret clubs. It was possible to be an 'active Christian' in public life while maintaining private commitment to aspects of the past and to alternative avenues for enhancing personal power. A strong measure of at least outward conformity to Christianity was assured since in the church and mission schools the people saw obvious avenues to gain an understanding of the origins and nature of superior European power — and with understanding came the possibility of gaining access to it.

Contact with Europeans brought a sudden and unprecedented broadening of the cultural horizons of the indigenous people, which was accelerated by the Queensland labour trade and by the establishment of plantations whose demand for labour stimulated considerable local migration by able-bodied men. These experiences, plus the spread of Pidgin, contributed greatly to a dramatic increase in people's awareness of cultural variation as well as shared cultural elements throughout Vanuatu. The diffusion of ideas and objects increased in momentum and geographical range, blunting the role of local parochialism while dramatizing the ethnic and socioeconomic gulf that separated Melanesians from the white masters who now dominated and exploited them.

In the case of the Christians, however much the missionaries privately believed about innate racial differences, their public profession was of a common humanity demonstrable in the sharing of one true faith and the attainment of unity in the body of Christ. Their active attempts to bridge the cultural gap made Christianity a very strong force in eroding ethnic boundaries and creating new bonds of 'brotherhood'. Not only did the new faith link ni-Vanuatu of different districts and islands and thus weaken the feared category of 'stranger', but it also bonded the Melanesians through their missionaries to home congregations overseas. Christianity was presented as a world faith, blind to skin colour (despite the manifest 'whiteness' of Jesus and company) and cultural difference, as long as people professed belief and behaved as Christians should. The gulf in attitudes and behaviours that separated missionaries from a lot of other whites might have puzzled the Melanesians, especially in view of the considerable material wealth of many of the 'heathen' whites. Whatever their puzzlement, however, Melanesians went to work for both categories of European, expecting reciprocity of a material kind from their plantation
employers and hoping that rewards from the missionaries would be both material and spiritual.

During World War II, the presence of huge numbers of American service personnel and vast quantities of war material, food, etc., certainly created a lasting impression among ni-Vanuatu and broadened their horizons. Much of the able-bodied male population went to work for them, and encountered a material generosity and friendliness that had not been characteristic of their Anglo-French colonial masters. The ni-Vanuatu were especially intrigued by the black servicemen and impressed by the attempts of some of the latter to assert brotherhood on the basis of colour; but they noted, too, the fact that the blacks held low status positions in the service hierarchy. The American presence certainly spurred cargo cultism on some islands, most notably Tanna, and it left a lingering gratitude and feelings of indebtedness among many ni-Vanuatu who had experienced for the first time in their lives genuine comradeship and bonds of affection with Westerners. Also, because many of the servicemen were Christians, ni-Vanuatu associated the egalitarian behaviour of the troops with the shared faith.

One of the major consequences of Christianity was its generation of a new baseline in indigenous conceptions about time. In the pre-contact cosmic order, people recognized ecological time, the succession of the seasons; genealogical time, which spanned only a few generations and remained constant in depth; and mythological time, an era in the distant past with no chronologically marked beginning or end (cf. Lawrence 1973: 223-224). Notable events of the recent past were no longer gradually and easily absorbable into the mythological past, once a clear dichotomy between the pre- and post-Christian worlds was established in people's minds.

This dichotomy was both a moral and a sociological one. It solidified in a decidedly negative way Melanesian perceptions of what had been a dynamic and flexible culture. Brunton (personal communication) makes the important point that the effects of Christianity were always such as to rigidify people's notions about their pre-contact culture, and thus to develop in their minds an 'uncustomary' attitude towards cultural variation. The early fundamentalist missionaries communicated their lack of tolerance for variation and a blanket condemnation of all things 'traditional' to many of their local converts. With a clear baseline to work from, Christians could convey much more meaningfully dichotomies such as 'light-darkness', 'morality-immorality', 'Christian-pagan', 'civilized-savage' and 'life-death'. It was easier for the missionaries to adopt an absolute rather than selective view of the aboriginal past, especially since most had trouble sorting out 'religious' from 'secular' elements in the cultures that confronted them. While there must have been some syncretism and stress on shared values as part of the emphasis Christians placed on common humanity, the over-whelming impression gained by the Melanesians was that to look back was to peer into the darkness, at their former 'depravity'.
THE CONTEMPORARY SYMBOISOS OF CHRISTIANITY AND KASTOM

As noted earlier, in a few areas of Vanuatu there were pockets of strong resistance to Christianity, and the stand-off between the two groups has continued into the present. Traditionalists in Santo, Tanna and elsewhere have maintained that Christianity contains neither the only nor the best truths, and they have continued to look to kastom as a road to power and material wealth. But they have also looked to the French government and to certain American capitalists, and have achieved a degree of success through secular political manoeuvrings. Their claim to a monopoly on things kastom, as basic to their group identity and well-being, remained uncontested until the past decade when kastom began to gain favour in the opposing Christian camps.

The Christian majority in Vanuatu have long since come to terms with their religion and have given it a distinctive Melanesian stamp. In many cases local churchmen have turned a blind eye to practices that had been deemed un-Christian but were destined to persist: smoking, periodic drinking, premarital sex, bouts of physical marital strife, the use of magic, beliefs in non-Christian spirit-beings, observance of 'traditional taboos', and so on. Theirs was a fairly relaxed Christianity in most respects; it expected regular church attendance as well as physical and financial support for church-related activities, but otherwise placed few strong demands on its followers beyond observance of the sabbath and an outward conformity to its principal values.

The granting of local autonomy to major Vanuatu churches by parent bodies overseas served to strengthen ni-Vanuatu claims to an indigenized kind of Christianity, one closely in tune to Melanesian life-styles. The biggest church, that of the Presbyterians, became self-governing in 1948, and in the decades since there has been in most churches a steady replacement of overseas personnel with local people. Significantly, this major shift in responsibility began long before the Anglo-French colonial regimes made any similar moves. When the colonial powers finally began to demonstrate some genuine commitment to education and other forms of development, it was the British who led the way, and therefore British educated ni-Vanuatu who established the first political party, which was to develop into a nationwide independence movement.

The founders of the New Hebrides National Party (later renamed the Vanuaaku Pati) were practising Christians who in the course of their overseas training became highly sensitized to the iniquities of colonial domination of their homeland. They saw a vital need for the development of a distinctive national identity and a raised political consciousness concerning the weight of colonial oppression and paternalism. To achieve this, they needed a powerful symbol of shared values that would appeal to all ni-Vanuatu, uniting them by evoking their uniqueness and their difference from whites.

Despite its pre-eminence, Christianity clearly would not do as a dominant symbol. For one thing, a sizeable minority of ni-Vanuatu did not profess belief in it, so its appeal was not universal. For another, there was not one but several different kinds of Christianity in active competition for people's allegiance, and the major division between
Anglophone Protestants and Francophone Catholics meant that the new party would probably fail in its appeal to members of the second largest church in the country. Faced with this dilemma, the leaders chose instead the notion of *kastom*, that body of distinctive non-European 'traditional' cultural elements, as the focus in their quest for a national identity to underpin the independence movement.

*Kastom* would have to simultaneously represent and transcend local and regional diversity if it was to successfully symbolize ni-Vanuatu unity. Unfortunately, Christianity's effect had been not only to rigidify indigenous notions about *kastom* and the past, but also to bind *kastom* more closely and inflexibly to place - to freeze it in space and time. As a result, it gave rise to notions that important surviving *kastom* should remain unshared and thus mark local ethnic and cultural boundaries rather than transcend them. While it is true that there has been a continuing diffusion of magical knowledge throughout Vanuatu, larger complexes such as rituals have remained closely identified with particular groups and areas, as anchors of local rather than national group identity. This highlights a major problem with *kastom* as a dominant unifying symbol: it is inherently divisive if treated at any level more analytical or literal than an undifferentiated and vague symbolic one.

Lindstrom (n.d.b), in a recent paper on the political reevaluation of tradition on Tanna, notes, 'If shared custom defines national unity, unshared custom is able to define national separation'. Because of the extent of cultural loss and of Melanesians' vagueness about the content of their 'traditional' past, questions concerning *kastom* are inherently political, open to different claims by rival factions. The leaders of the fledgling independence movement, while cognisant of the suitability of *kastom* as a symbol of ni-Vanuatu unity, free of the taint of colonial domination, were no doubt also aware of its dangerous ambiguity. In the face of so much cultural diversity in Vanuatu, shared *kastom* was inadequate for underpinning a nationwide political structure capable of supporting a mass movement. The party leaders hoped that the *kastom* rallying-cry would bring to their side both the *kastom*-based Nagriamel and John Frum movements and the Francophone ni-Vanuatu. However, they were not surprised when no such alliance materialized, since influential European commercial interests and the French administration had laboured hard to encourage the formation of an opposition coalition of Francophones and *kastom*-followers.

The party activists decided that they had the numbers to prevail despite this opposition, so while continuing to champion *kastom* and the need to revive and maintain it, they looked to the organizational strengths of their churches. By exploiting existing church structures, they could bridge the rural-urban and educated-uneeducated gaps so as to broaden and strengthen their political power base. The fact that several prominent party leaders were also Protestant clergy helped influence the churches to lend active support to the independence movement.

Among the organizers were men and women who had studied elsewhere in the Pacific, and for whom the promotion of *kastom* was much more than just a catch-cry. They had come to appreciate its vital role in providing indigenous peoples with a strong sense of the uniqueness of their cultural heritage, and as a source of identity that seemingly owed nothing to
European forms. In seeking to promote kastom, they realized that ni-Vanuatu Christians were faced with a drastic re-evaluation of their 'traditional' past. After decades of internalizing essentially negative values and attitudes about the time before Christianity, the people now had to adjust to the notion that not only was 'tradition' not all bad, but some of it was an essential component of their shared identity as ni-Vanuatu.

Coming to terms with a new symbiosis of values drawn from past and present, 'paganism' and Christianity, proved to be problematic for many ni-Vanuatu in the 1970s. Much of the problem lay in the party leadership's need to keep the kastom symbol as generalized and undifferentiated as possible. They hoped that the people would undergo a consciousness-raising experience through unquestioning acceptance of the message in the ideological spirit in which it was being promulgated. On the contrary, many people tried to grapple with it pragmatically, wondering which kinds of kastom they would have to embrace, where it would be obtained from if long lost among them, and what Western elements they would have to abandon as a result of the swing to kastom. The result was considerable confusion and much debate, as I have detailed elsewhere (Tonkinson n.d.b: 7-12). The main reason why so many people were puzzled about the composition of the new symbiosis was because their leaders had failed to make clear that some kinds of kastom would certainly not be resurrected; i.e. that kastom could be morally evaluated as good or bad on the basis of whether or not it was held to contradict or undermine Christian values.

Many ni-Vanuatu did not appreciate that what their party was promoting was in fact kastom-within-Christianity. In this period, the movement's leaders were seeking the support of the major kastom-based regional movements, both of which had strong anti-Christian biases. It is thus not surprising that in promoting kastom, the party leaders left unstated the corollary that any kastom which conflicts with Christian values should not be revived. Everyone was aware of Christianity's central role in devaluing and destroying a great deal of kastom, so it must have been perplexing to have political leaders who were also prominent clergy extolling kastom in unqualified terms.

Rather than attempt to disambiguate kastom, the leaders chose instead to affirm publicly the essential compatibility of both kinds of cultural elements. By the time that independence was granted, in mid-1980, this symbiosis had become so firmly entrenched in the collective consciousness that no ni-Vanuatu could possibly have failed to get the message. In the official platform of the Vanuauku Pati, in the new constitution, in the myriad events leading up to and surrounding independence, kastom and Christianity were fused in the public imagination. The new nation's anthem and flag include elements of both and affirm that the alliance is fundamental to national identity.

As the new republic takes its place in the global arena, the emphasis given by its government to kastom will doubtless remain predominantly symbolic. Its utility will lie mainly in the validation of a distinctive ni-Vanuatu, Melanesian or Pacific 'way', some of whose major component values are held to be 'traditional', even though they may well owe much to Christian morality. Father Walter Lini, the nation's first Prime Minister, says, 'We believe that small is beautiful, peace is powerful, respect is
honourable, and that our traditional sense of community is both wise and practical for the people of Vanuatu' (1980:290).

Certainly, in the post-colonial era more attention and respect will be paid to Kastom in matters of land, mechanisms for dispute settlement and compensation payment, chiefly authority, life crisis rites and other ceremonial activities, symbols of rank, and so on. But the dangers inherent in the use of Kastom are many and real, so '...tradition's future will depend very much on what value it is given by the Government of Vanuatu and other bodies like the church and education' (Lini 1980:285). It is thus most probable that in the drafting of new legislation and the creation of enduring political institutions and strategies, Vanuatu's leaders will utilize principles that are broadly Western and Christian.

The newly elected government is heavily Christian in composition: the Prime Minister is an Anglican priest, and the Deputy Prime Minister and three other members of the government ministry are Presbyterian pastors. Several other ministry members are Church elders, and a leading member of the Opposition is a Roman Catholic priest. The nation's motto is 'long God yumi stanap' ('In God we stand') and its self-identification is as a Christian country, regardless of the presence of non-Christian minority groups within it. Church and state are likely to remain closely allied in the foreseeable future, so the dominance of Christian values seems assured.

Despite the new stress on Kastom and its re-evaluation into much more positive terms, there has been no significant shift in the dominant values of the ni-Vanuatu. In the past, many of the values and attitudes that persisted from pre-European times merged with those of Christianity and became indistinguishable from them: norms of mutual support, sharing and cooperation among close kin and friends, small-group solidarity, strong affection for children, a willingness to work hard when the occasion demanded, ideals of peace, harmony and balance between individuals and groups, and so on.

The choice of Kastom as rallying-cry can in no way be interpreted as some cold-blooded strategy of a cynical intellectual elite. Theirs was a heartfelt move to claim back for Kastom much that had once belonged to it, before Christianity usurped many of its positive aspects and claimed them as its exclusive property. This process is part and parcel of a strongly felt need among colonized peoples to claim self-respect and national pride by restoring legitimacy and moral strength to their 'traditional' cultures.

People have not begun to behave much differently, but their altered perceptions of their 'traditional' past are according it a much larger share of the total Kastom-Christian symbiosis. Just as the Christianity preached to them was a set of norms and ideals that were not in fact attained in much of the everyday behaviour of the Europeans with whom the Melanesians were acquainted, so also is their old culture capable of a much more positive assessment than whites have given it, when it too is judged in terms of its ideals. Thus the recent statement by a prominent ni-Vanuatu woman that '...traditionally we are peacemakers', a people who settled all disputes by Kastom (Sope 1980:53), should be accorded at least the same status as a Christian commandment, since both express ideals whose achievement everywhere and all the time is impossible. Since 'tradition'
is such a heavily filtered artifact of the present, it matters very little whether or not those elements now attributed to the pre-contact past were in fact part of it; as long as the re-evaluation is a positive one, ni-Vanuatu can draw satisfaction and pride from it.

The continued identification and revival of elements of kastom and reinforcement of the notion of nationally shared kastom will serve to further solidify the new nation's identity. If the emphasis remains on unities that transcend regional diversity, the divisive potential of kastom unshared could stay dampened. Following the recent successful quelling of the Santo rebellion, the government is bound to continue the heavy stress on national unity, but with assurances that regional diversity will be catered for by decentralization. With the removal of European agitateurs and the allaying of fears about major losses of local autonomy, there is good reason to believe that the Melanesian members of the kastom-based Nagriamel movement will offer no further resistance to the government. The new respect for kastom should help ensure this.

NOTE

1Field research was carried out on Efate and Ambrym Islands in 1966-7, 1969, 1973, 1977-8, 1979 and 1980. Financial assistance for these trips was provided by: National Science Foundation, University of Oregon, University of British Columbia, Australian National University and the National Institute of Mental Health. My thanks to Myrna Ewart Tonkinson, Anthony Forge, Hank Nelson and Marian Sawyer for their helpful comments on earlier drafts.

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BINANDERE VALUES: A PERSONAL REFLECTION

J.D. Waiko

INTRODUCTION

After a brief description of the territory of the Binandere people of the Oro Province, Papua New Guinea, I discuss the way in which they classify their physical surroundings as an integral part of their value system. This is followed by a story which illustrates Binandere values, some of which have changed since contact with Europeans. Lastly, I reflect on values in a changing situation, and on my role as a member of the Binandere community.

There are about four thousand Binandere people whose land is within the Binandere Census Division, Ioma District, Oro Province. All Binandere are familiar with their land boundaries which are marked by prominent physical features and are given names with evocative associations. The Binandere share their boundary with the following people: the Taian Dawari in the east; the Agea in the south; the Sirima and Biage in the southwest; the Goilala in the west; the Bia-Mawae in the northwest; and the Jia and Suena in the north. (See map).

The Goilala mountains\(^1\) provide the sources of the Mamba, Gira and the Eia Rivers which flow north to the sea. All the villages are situated on river banks or along the sea board. The climate is divided into two seasons, wet and dry. Around September to April rain falls on the ranges, and drains out to sea, depositing silt on the fertile plains. The drier and cooler period occurs between May and August. The wet season is called Wareba when the tree of the same name is brilliant with red berries. The dry weather is termed Twira, after a tree that produces beautiful dark red flowers. The Binandere know times to plant taro, their main crop, as well as other vegetables, and when not to plant them. Out of economic necessity and from close observation of their environment, the Binandere are always conscious of the passing seasons.

We cannot discuss values, customs and tradition without describing the way in which the Binandere classify their physical surroundings. Naturally we start in the village and move out to the forest.

The Nasi: The village is about one hundred yards long by forty yards wide, and the arapa, the street, is bare ground. The houses are built on stilts with thatched sago leaf roofs and the walls are made of sago palms split and tied together. There used to be two rows of houses, one row of
The Binandere Lands of the Northern Province of Papua New Guinea
mando, houses belonging to women, and the other of org, the men's houses. This segregation has changed so that now a family has a house with one or two wasa, platforms, beside it.

Green grass invades the bare street in spite of the constant sweeping of the women. At the back of the houses the grass meets the variegated crotons and hibiscus of many kinds. Behind this decorative vegetation there are village bananas and above these rise betel-nut trees and coconut palms. The latter's fronds are the tallest of the leaves swaying against the sky. The varying sizes of the trees provide a strong hedge which protects the village against the wind and blazing sun. Beyond the hedge three types of bush flourish.

The Rorobu: There is rorobu where the villagers cut and clear patches of bush to make gardens. The wild animals are few in number here because the villagers are constantly moving through the area to tend their gardens and they are ready to pursue any edible game. This consists of lizards, bandicoots, cuscus, birds, etc. The teenagers make traps here to catch birds and bandicoots especially during the twira season. The rorobu also provides fruits of wild trees on the higher ground, and ground fruit such as was ato, and many others. The fruits are ready for picking during or after the wareba season. On the river plains and meanders the tame pigs root and roam in the damp ground and scavenge food scraps near the village. In fact the villagers do not often hunt here with their dogs to avoid killing domesticated pigs, an act which is a source of constant conflict among the residents.

The land in rorobu is dudumba, river silt deposits, and therefore meta, 'heavy' and fertile. The growth in this area ranges between fifteen and thirty feet in height. The vegetation is cleared for planting at an approximate interval of between five to twelve years. The trees are not too big to cut and this provides for easy clearing, less labour and regular gardens for the Binandere. In the river meanders tawa, bread fruit trees, are everywhere and their bearing season is between December and May.

Wood for fuel, sticks and logs for housing and other needs are obtained in the rorobu. In some cases certain species of trees such as benawa are cut here for canoe making. Strings from strips of tough bark, vines, liana, and some type of lawyer canes for fastening are also collected in the rorobu.

The Taote: Passing the rorobu one comes to the taote, where the trees are tall and the undergrowth less dense. In the damp ground there is a lot of wild game, especially pigs which meet with some domesticated animals for breeding. During the twira, the drier and cooler seasons, the wild fruit of various kinds ripen and fall to the ground. These include wasawa, waera, taga or wild pandanas, rawe, tao nuts, and other innumerable berries; and here the pigs gather in herds.

The villagers hunt the animals with dogs, or at other times they set pu waso, pig traps. They obtain goroba, black palm for various uses – handles of axes, knives, spears, parts of canoes, and so on. Some sticks are cut and black palm pieces are sharpened to set traps in holes in garden fences to catch pigs when the latter come to root in the crops.
Trees are much taller than in the rorobu and the fallow period may range between fifteen to sixty years. Ponds and creeks are infested with fish and the wild animals abound. Hard wood for building materials is also obtained in the taote.

The Toian: Beyond taote and furtherest from the village there is the toian, the hunting ground. The trees are tallest here and the wild game and fish of all sorts breed under the damp forest and in the streams. Wild pigs, wallabies, tree kangaroos, echidna, cassowaries, cuscus, lizards, and birds of all kinds, including hornbills and birds of paradise, live among the forest. Villagers build bush huts here to hunt animals and to fish. The fish is smoked, sago is made, and nuts are collected and taken to the village for distribution.

In some cases there are babaro to, flying fox caves, where virtually thousands of flying foxes and bats of various species are found. The caves are blocked with sticks and leaves and the flying foxes are caught, killed and smoked for consumption and distribution.

Thus toian is ujivo, a vital capital resource from which the Binandere draw food and material to sustain their way of life. Since all Binandere villages are on the river banks and since they make gardens in the rorobu and sometimes in the taote, the natural forests in between the rivers have not been cut at all since the Binandere invaded and conquered the rorobu, taote and toian from an enemy tribe. This was the Girida who were either wiped out or absorbed, most probably around the turn of the eighteenth century. The Binandere visit toian during the twvira season when it is drier and cooler.

The Wogoro: Not every clan owns toian because some villages are situated on low lying land, at the edges of extensive swamps. Therefore, they have swamps for sago making and creeks for fishing as well as places to set traps for catching pigs. During the wareba season heavy rain causes floods which bring wo bodari, the flow of fish and eels from the ujivo, the heart of the swamps, into the creeks and rivers. The size of the fish range between ten centimetres to fifteen centimetres and the eels are about fifteen centimetres to one metre. They both flow with the flood almost in millions.

Near or in the wogoro there are three types of sago: manboro and kutao species have no thorns on them. They are entirely propagated vegetatively by humans. Both types are planted on banks of rivers and creeks as well as edges of swamps. The other specie is jinuma, a wild variety propagated by seed from mature flowering trees. The jinuma variety has thorns on it.

The Koita: The land on the coast, the koita, is sandy. Apart from owning rorobu and taote clans living on the seaborb also have rights over and access to sea resources, particularly fish and shell-fish of various kinds. Imia, the collection of shell-fish by women, is an important activity. In many ways toian is for the inland dwellers what koita is for coastal inhabitants. Temporary huts of nipa palms are built, and a variety of imia and fish are collected or caught and smoked before taking them to the villages. More often than not the shell-fish are carried with shells
in baskets. These are loaded into the canoes which are paddled home where the food is cooked and eaten.

Thus the Binandere classification of their local environment begins with the village to rorobu, toian, wogoro and kotta. In terms of exploiting the resources in the various zones, rorobu is most utilized for its land and tree growth; some parts are sometimes overused while other areas are underused depending on the sparsity or the density of the village population in the vicinity. All types of trees, plants, snakes, lizards, cuscus, bandicoots, insects, grubs and so on in the rorobu are well identified and their uses are known widely. This knowledge and the utilization diminishes as one moves from rorobu into toian and wogoro. This means that the forest furthest from the village represents a partly unknown and complex eco-system. Thus the near village areas are regarded as the periphery of the total forest to be exploited by man. The toian, or the centre of the primary forest, is the growing core from which all the other areas are rejuvenated, i.e. taote, toian, wogoro, and the sea can be termed capital resources.

The resources obtained from taote, toian and wogoro include the following:

(a) Housing materials - hard woods of various types including bendoro, bove, tato, kimia, etc., for posts, stilts, cross-beams, rafters and so on; sago leaves for roofs and stalks for walls; various palms for flooring including black palms; various types of lawyer canes; and several kinds of trees for dugout canoes.

(b) Food - nutritious nuts such as tao, rarewa, sino, dendegi, areda, etc. Some wild fruits include mema, mango, streira, as well as edible leaves, especially genda, tulip (two leaves in Tok Pisin); sago - tiwi, sago grubs; mono, tree grubs, especially the delicious warawa mono. The game includes pigs, wallabies, kangaroos, cuscus, huge lizards, echidnas, birds and bird eggs, particularly ground bird eggs like tombori, cassowaries, riara, etc.

(c) Medicinal plants applied by individuals or by sorcerers to kill, heal, protect, counteract, strengthen or weaken.

The villagers see taote, toian, wogoro as distinct but linked. They are intensely conscious of the need for all to be conserved, and if possible, to be flourishing. Now we want to concentrate on rorobu.

Because of the constant use of rorobu through gardening activity, we want to describe the latter in two separate phases. The first stage starts with buro yawari, the cutting of the stunted growth, vines and lianas. Most sticks are piled, and lianas collected and put aside for fencing. This may take several hours to a couple of days depending on the size of the new garden and number of people involved in the labour. Buro dari, felling of trees follows and the leaves and logs are left to dry. Buro dungari takes place when the trees are burnt. Most of the logs are cut and pumangu detari, the logs are leaned against the stumps of trees. These are carried to the village when dried and used for firewood. The wood on the pumangu is also split for making fences around the perimeter of the garden.
Buro tetu follows with clearing and burning logs and debris. Then the
urari, planting, starts with ba-kopuru, selected taro species, planted
before others. The gardening activity described so far is done mostly by
men and each stage is carried out by individual nuclear families, or on a
communal basis. If it is the latter then the owner of the garden with
other members of the clan provide buro tau, food, for the days when the
work is being done. If an invitation is given for planting taro, then the
suckers must be ready before the day appointed for placing them in the
ground. The women prepare food in the village when men plant in the
garden, although sometimes food may be cooked in the garden as well.

The second phase is to do with weeding and attending the taro when it
is growing. This may be further divided into three stages. Ba papa dari
is the stage when the taro is planted in the ground until new suckers shoot
up beside 'mother taro'. This is followed by ba devi ketari when the
suckers are removed for replanting and some taro is pulled out for spacing
purposes. In fact this is the stage when the ba jtarri, the taro, is almost
mature with only four or five leaves on the plant. The taro is really
mature when there are only three or less leaves left on it.

The women are given the responsibility for tending and picking taro.
They are thought to be much more careful and resourceful than men. But
some women, especially newly married ones, are badaia, that is, they pull
out taro and other vegetables before they are ready. There are careless
women but the mukina women, particularly the wives of the middle aged men,
are quite resourceful. They leave the vegetables until they are mature.

This means that the second phase has three stages with distinct
markers - the growing period, the ready stage when the taro is three
quarters mature and manene. The latter is the final stage in the garden
when the taro and bananas ripen and rot. In the manene, or the moero,
bushes have grown up to about two metres high but still the mukina women
preserve taro and other vegetables under this growth.

In fact jiroru and baioga, varieties of balsalm, are planted at the
same time as taro. The former grows and flowers within six months and dies
- a sign that the taro is mature. jiroru and baioga, therefore, are
maturity indicators for the taro harvest. After taro is pulled out,
bananas, pataku and hibica remain in the manene, though the bush overtakes
them sooner or later. Thus the old garden returns to vorobu for about ten
years before the garden cycle begins again.

BINANDERE BELIEFS AND VALUES

Having described the Binandere classification and use of their land
and forest, we now turn to discuss perception, beliefs and values relating
to the various zones of the local environment. The Binandere man is always
conscious of that village environment and he interacts with it in an
intricate way. He is always guided by customs, traditions and experiences,
all of which are embedded in a complex belief system called sinenembari.

Sinembari is the way in which a Binandere perceives himself in
relation to his physical environment. It is a complex concept to
understand. Nevertheless, we want to define this term because it is basic to the Binandere belief system.

The word *sinenembari* is translated literally as *being*. As a verb it is to be or to become. It does not connote separate pieces becoming to make a whole, nor does it indicate stages of evolving from something. *Sinenembari* is the total and independent being or thing itself which is not created as there is no creator. As a noun *sinenembari* is a conceptual frame in which a being or thing is placed and there is neither a point of reference nor context; it is the very existence of the being or thing. In Binandere legends, the origins of living and non-living things are not explained: they just are. A character in the story may take on several forms: he may appear as a person, an animal or an object, but his essence, which just *is*, remains constant. That is to say *sinenembari* connotes wholeness, enmeshed unity and changeless manifestations of essence. Rather than continue with an abstract explanation of *sinenembari*, I will use a particular incident to illustrate the integration of the Binandere and their environment, and how their values flow from that context.

A Binandere sees a crocodile basking in the sun on the *banga*, that yellowish, brittle river bank rock which crumbles when passed between the fingers. He knows that he must be cautious for he believes that the animal has four eyes: two that sleep when it is basking and two that remain open and alert in case of danger.

He approaches with *karowa dungari*, a spear made from *goroba*, the strong black palm tree. It has an arrow pointed end with a barbed hook which is burnt on either side. Once it hits its target, it emits poisonous magic to kill its victim.

With the spear in his right hand and a steel axe in his left, he walks slowly but stealthily, avoiding treading on the rattling leaves, towards the basking animal. With his eyes fixed on the crocodile, he pulls the small plants under his armpit and touches the big trees and whispers to them when he passes 'Imbagha tabo giure', do not tell the crocodile. He reveals no more and no less because the crocodile is not alone on the *banga*. It, too, has relatives, friends and enemies who guard and watch ready to expose or assist any attempt to kill it. The Binandere, therefore, is obliged to pay respect to and communicate with the living things as he draws near. Failure to observe this obligation would mean that the trees and birds would warn the animal to return to the water.

Cautiously he comes near enough to throw the spear and stops at that range. He has done all he can do within the limit of human knowledge and as custom has required.

Bending his knees and peeping through the bushes he sends his eyes to explore the body of the animal from head to tail in order to decide the exact spot to aim the spear. Trusting the spirits of his ancestors encased in the *karowa*, and not too sure where on the body the spear will land, he chooses to aim at the *jimi tatari*, the joint between the two hind legs and at the base of the tail where it meets the hip. His past observations tell him that crocodiles usually paddle mostly with their two hind legs and their tail. This experience assures him that once the spear reaches that
joint the animal is unable to swim, but instead it will sink to the bed of the river.

The choice, therefore, is to give a wound which will be fatal or at least prevent it from running away. Even if he does not kill the crocodile instantly for meat, he feels the urge to attack it to gain revenge for a villager once taken by a crocodile. Conscious of the obligation he has to fulfil, feeling the blood pulsing through his body for revenge, the muscles bulge on his right hand. Before the spear is discharged he invokes the spirits of his ancestors encased in the shaft to take charge of the weapon when it flies between his hand and the crocodile. Chewing the *beawaxa*, that hot and powerful ginger, the Binandere lifts the spear and blows onto the barbed and hard-burnt end. Turning, he blows some ginger behind him to drive away enemy spirits that might have followed him to foil his aim. Lifting his mouth he spits the ginger to his front, in the direction which the ancestors spirits are to travel with the spear to the victim; the ginger's power must go ahead to remove any obstacle that might hinder the spear.

With all his force he quivers, then launches the spear which lands on the desired spot. The crocodile makes a raucous noise, jumps into the water, thrashing it like the sea breaking on the rock. With the spear sticking out like a mast of a canoe, the animal is taken by a whirl-pool produced by the eddy close to the *banga*. The hunter, his heart beating and his hand shaking, stands, watching the animal struggling as if to knock out the spear. But the body sinks to the bottom with the spear stuck on the *jimi tibari*. He dare not pursue it in the water for he stood firm on the land to inflict the wound; the crocodile is in a stronger position in the river to challenge his life. The water is the crocodile's element; the land is man's. He asks the spirits to remain with the animal, and hold it where it sank near the mouth of a small creek.

Cutting a stalk of *dayana*, a fern, he hollows it and blows a *tumbari* to, an emergency call. This goes far and wide like a conchshell blowing and brings his clansfolk to the bank of the river. They build a fence and block the mouth of the creek. With long poles they locate the crocodile and it is caught.

It is taboo for the clans of this village to eat the meat of the crocodile. For generations they have never touched the flesh of the animal. The urge to kill it is to avenge the death of a woman whose body was swallowed by a crocodile in the past. The people from a nearby village cooperated in the search for the woman. It is decided therefore that the meat of the animal will be given to the neighbouring clansfolk to fulfil an obligation entered into a generation ago.

This story is chosen to place the general comments in a specific location and to add detail to the previous comments on the belief system of the Binandere. He lives in a complex social relationship with the animate and inanimate world. He has obligations to the entire physical environment and spiritual universe. He is not free to use the crocodile meat because the customs of the clan regulate the way in which members dispose of the meat. On the other hand the Binandere is not absolutely controlled or enmeshed in the system. His own empirical observation and knowledge passed to him by others guide his opportunities and limit his actions as he
encounters the challenges and obligations. This is shown when he has to calculate the chances of his success or failure in his decision to spear the crocodile on the jimt tabari. He could indeed have decided not to attack at all; or he could have aimed at other parts of the animal.

I now turn to another fundamental idea out of which the Binandere derive their intrinsic belief system, that of amenga or chance.

The Binandere believe that there is no such thing as chance. If the hunter of the crocodile, for example, was about to throw his spear and a branch entangled the end of it causing him to miss, he would accept that the spirit of the crocodile had been responsible.

The assumption that spirits intervene in human affairs is used by the Binandere to give authority for accepting new ideas. This intervention is often in the form of dreams, and the knowledge resulting from such a source is called aturo da gari, or knowledge acquired from dreams. That is, ancestors are said to appear in dreams to show their kin new medicines, magic, sorcery, dance dramas and so on.

A person who has received ideas in dreams from his ancestors must test them before he introduces them to the public. If it is a revelation of new elements in a dance drama, the individual undertakes to work out the plots and the motifs, bearing in mind the normal performance. This is sorted out during the rehearsal stage. The drama in the new form is then performed in the village for public view. This is an opportunity for others to criticize the new elements. Later the innovation may be rejected or accepted. If it is accepted, the drama becomes part of the traditions.

Dreams, therefore, are an important form through which innovation occurs and through which the creative imagination contributes to the dynamic culture: it is the way in which the Binandere rationalize and legitimize change in their culture.

Ge be ari. and Gari: There is a distinction between ge be ari and gari, or beliefs and knowledge. Beliefs are accepted or taken for granted without serious questioning of their moral basis or their rationality. These consist of sinenembari, codes of moral behaviour, origins of traditions, legends and so on. Gari, on the other hand, is empirical and it contains elements based on experience, observation and practice. It is accumulated and has been passed down from one generation to another. Both ge be ari and gari exist side by side, but the latter can be tested and its source and reliability is open to challenge.

Binandere distinguish several areas of gari. Dubo gari is the knowledge that stems from the neck, that part of the body which is said to contain wisdom. Hence dubo embo, man of neck, means a man of wisdom who commands respect and power. Tari gari is knowledge given or told without the possessor showing how it works. Ari gari, on the other hand, is the knowledge which is imparted and the giver shows the receiver how it works. More often than not the giver and receiver both take part in an attempt to make the knowledge work. A good example is that of a sorcerer or a magician who teaches others how the sorcery and magic works. The teacher gives advice, warns against dangers and explains how the process involves specific items: plants and stones, and rituals of avoidance. Ari gari is
knowledge acquired by watching while the teacher demonstrates: it is action-oriented. This knowledge includes *ipa ove*, dexterity, or artistic work done by hand. This may be done on the prow of a canoe, in the carving of an image, or the style of building a house, etc. Lastly, there is *atuor da garí*, or knowledge acquired from dreams. Here, as indicated earlier, the role of the individual is reduced and innovation attributed to the spirits. But dreams are also considered important sources for more mundane information. In the ordinary early morning conversation, as people find scraps of food and prepare for the day's work, they will discuss their dreams and look for signs of coming events or warnings. Once it is accepted that ancestors and spirits are important, and they communicate through dreams, then it is inevitable that the people will spend time speculating on dreams.

There have been changes in the last eight decades. Certainly Christianity has had its impact on the villagers. The Anglican Church has had a long influence and in the last few years a Christian Revival Crusade has penetrated the villages. The Binandere community is now divided between the Anglicans and the Revivalists. The Binandere express their balance between old and new values when they use the image of a house. They say that when you build a new house, that does not mean you have to abandon the old one. You might often find it convenient to move back to the shelter of the old home. Also you will probably shift a lot of your possessions from the old to the new, even taking the strongest of the poles and split palm to build into the new. The Binandere are as pragmatic in their acceptance of beliefs as they are in building; and they do not necessarily see the tensions and contradictions that might worry outsiders.

I want to illustrate this image with two examples. Firstly, the Binandere have acquired new items of magic or sorcery from outsiders but they still use their old techniques to achieve the desired aim. For example, some sorcerers obtain DDT solution to kill other people but claim that traditional sorcery is still at work. That is, the old belief system and the old techniques are sustained although there is no doubt that a new agent has been used to bring about the actual death.

Secondly, the Binandere have modified the way they use ritual magic when hunting with dogs to catch wild animals. The ethnographic data on the way in which the Binandere use medicines and other rituals to cause the dogs to bite the hunted animals do not concern us here. But with the introduction of fire-arms the Binandere applied the traditional medicines to the gun to make it shoot well.

If we now modify the earlier description of the crocodile hunter to bring it up to the present, we can see more clearly the blend of new equipment and old beliefs. In the early dawn a Binandere hunter leaves the village with a gun on his shoulder and a steel bush knife in his hand. On entering the *rorobu*, the immediate bush after the village, the hunter pulls *bini gabu* (literally, ancestor stick) and places this plant across the track. The hunter appeals to the house spirits to return to the village and he calls upon his dead kin to hunt with him. The hunter asks that the dead kin provide him with animals, and guide his bullets to inflict fatal wounds.
Walking through the damp ground he sees a wild pig digging near the buttress of a huge tree. He hides behind the leaves, drops the knife and lifts the gun. Pointing the gun at the pig, he puts the butt on his shoulder. The hunter aims at the animal just below the base of the front legs where the heart is located. This is the spot he would choose to thrust his spear into for a quick kill. He pulls the trigger, but he misses his target. Something must be wrong. The dead kin had provided the animal as requested by the hunter; the fault must lie with those relatives who did not observe the rules of distribution when he shot an animal last time. One member of the clan desired to eat a specific part and this was not given to him. As a result he was angry; and now he has directed a spirit to make the bullet miss the pig. The hunter therefore has to return to the village to sort out the fault before he uses the gun again.

Again we see the close association between the man, his past and his environment. He is a Christian but when he acts in ways similar to his ancestors, he practices the rituals associated with old beliefs. The old easily accommodates new tools and techniques, as no doubt it did in the past.

Participant and observer. What is it like to be a participant and observer in one's own community? I was born to ordinary, subsistence farming parents. They do not know how to read and write. My date of birth is said to be around August 1944. I grew up in the village of Tabara on the Gira River. By the 1950s the Binandere had abandoned the elaborate initiation ceremonies so I missed that traditional formal education and test. One important custom which was not lost with initiation, however, was that described in the local language as 'growing under the armpit of the parents'. That is, the child was expected to develop while maintaining a close relationship with an adult. The child would constantly be instructed, taught by example, and given tasks. Children of my age had to collect firewood, betel nuts and other things. In the evening we had to light a fire in front of the men's house, the opr. We sat around it and listened to an elder who told legends, gave accounts of warfare, discussed moral issues, and presented a view of the world and its meaning. Another fire was always lit under the house during the early evenings because the ancestors would only 'give taro' where the fire was. The fires under the house were built up late in the night and the members of a family went to sleep.

In the early dawn the teenagers lit fires in front of the house again. Before the day's work began the family sat around the fire and talked about current issues and moral behaviour. They shared dreams of the previous night interpreting them and relating them to the day's work - warning children and adults if misfortunes were predicted, giving hopes and expectations if good luck was shown. By the time I was ten years old, I must have heard the legends and other stories a thousand times. I had absorbed much of the oral tradition and other customs before I entered a formal system of western education. That is to say, I was a village child until about twelve years old, and then I received all my primary and secondary education within my home province. I have never had the misfortune to feel alienated from the language, customs, old people or age mates of the village.
In 1967 I entered the recently established University of Papua New Guinea. I had begun the training to enable me to be an observer of my own people. After graduating I was awarded a British Commonwealth Academic Scholarship to complete an MA at the University of London. While at the University of Papua New Guinea and since coming to the Australian National University I have returned to the Binandere with some of the technical and theoretical equipment of the social scientist. I have sat with old men and some women with my tape recorder between us. As I have prepared to ask them for the sorts of evidence that I know western scholarship expects, they have reminded me of my grandparents, referred to incidents in my childhood, and asked about recent political changes. Often I avoid interviews; I prefer to record stories, quarrels, chants and other events when they happen in their natural contexts. This method saves me the embarrassment of asking questions of elders because the juniors are not expected to raise queries.

I am conscious of my role as participant in a community, and as observer of it. My informants too are aware of my two functions. They know that I share much common oral culture with them, they need not explain allusions or point out the obvious. They want their history preserved and they want it to be full and accurate. But some knowledge gives prestige to share it with others is to devalue it or risk it being used irresponsibly. Also the members of some clans might see me as the representative of rivals; and they are therefore reluctant to be completely frank with me. Such occasions are rare although there is knowledge that has some practical value that old men are reluctant to give away easily.

An outsider would not necessarily find the old people any more ready to reveal their knowledge: the outsider is just as likely to be perceived as unworthy or as an enemy agent. On balance I trust that my education in two cultures has given me advantages that are not available to foreigners dependent on limited time in the field. Very few outsiders have gained the degree of familiarity with a Melanesian language to allow them to penetrate the metaphors, the words charged with sentiment because of their association with past events, and the terms without English equivalents.

My systematic attempt to record Binandere culture began in 1966 even before I went to the university. Most of the old people who knew the pre-Christian community are now dead or dying. Slowly but steadily some Binandere are regarding me as a worthy custodian of their traditions. Just like a father transmits his knowledge to his trusted son, so that he in turn can preserve the family's special learning, I find myself in the position of being the carrier of Binandere traditions. Already the old and the young alike are demanding from me oral traditions dealing with customary land rights.

What kind of oral traditions and values are the Binandere not teaching their children due to changes that have taken place? Are oral traditions to be just relics to be preserved in museums? Or notes and manuscripts for scholars' academic exercises in the brick wall seminar rooms? Am I bowing down to cry over the lost cause of dying traditions?
There have been situations in which I have been expected to act like a disinterested anthropologist and others when the authorities have depended on me to help with problems that have threatened the official position. At times I have acted against the interests of the authorities. I feel that I have to make up my own mind over issues that concern the Binandere. I cannot accept the decisions of others in trying to synthesize the different viewpoints I can see. Sometimes I must act against the national government, sometimes I act against village authorities.

In June 1978, for example, I planted a large area of garden and built a fence around it. In early November when the taro was growing, several pigs belonging to a 'big man' from Taire, the next village, broke down the fence and destroyed the taro. I mended the fence only to have it broken again. I got a spear and killed one pig. I reported the case to the village komiti, a representative of the Tamata, Local Government Council. He carried the pig to the owner. I heard that a lot of young men brandished their steel axes in the air threatening to cut me up because I had killed the pig.

Other pigs kept uprooting the garden. My warning to the big man had fallen on deaf ears. So I speared another pig in mid-December. This time I sent word for the big man and his young men to come to the garden, cut me up and carry away their pig. Some of my own young men and I remained in the garden, but no one turned up except the big man's wife. She said that the pig was earmarked for another man from Tubi village and we carried the pig there.

On New Year's Day 1979, both national and provincial politicians called a meeting to discuss a proposal from a trans-national corporation to buy timber rights. It was scheduled to take place in Taire village and in front of the house of the 'big man' whose pigs I had been killing. Tamata Council President, Clive Youde, was in the chair and the politicians explained the benefits that would flow to the village people from the investment. Some leaders opposed the politicians, while others supported the proposal. I spoke last, pointing out the weakness of the politicians' case and the advantages and disadvantages of the investment.

The big man whose pigs I had killed has a lot of land and forest, especially in the third zone or toiaa. He said that he wanted nothing from the politicians and the companies. He refused to agree to sell the timber rights from his land, and other land owners followed his example. The politicians, with their uniformed police escort, left the village in disgust on the next day. Their belief that the big man would use the occasion to oppose and shame me had proved false.

I do not think that I could sit and watch the march of multi-national corporations to exploit Binandere resources anymore than I could watch the pigs uproot my garden. Nor could I sit aside and observe only the mounting of the village opposition against the authorities who regard them as naive, irrational or even label them as cargo cultists. In this situation I have to declare where I stand.

To be a participant/observer is a contradiction. There is a tendency among scholars to sit on the fence and merely observe the events as they go by. But to participate is to have some responsibility for causing change.
As far as I cannot and would not be an observer in the Western sense. I must take part in changing things. This is why describing myself as an actor and the custodian must be part of my description of the events. I can only take heart from the view that true knowledge comes only with praxis.

Binandere values stem from the community's interactions with the zones of the immediate physical environment; their beliefs and customs are closely interwoven with the various classifications. The hunter is always conscious of his relations with the material and the non-material. He assumes that his prey is equally capable of making allies and enemies in the environment. To be successful the hunter must constantly ensure that he has met all his obligations so that at the moment when he most needs aid, when he launches his spear, he has a maximum of support and a minimum of opposition. In a world where nothing is attributed to chance the pressure on the hunter to resolve all disputes and look to every detail of his behaviour are great. As one brought up within the Binandere community and then trained in the techniques of Western social sciences, I am at the same time a participant and an observer; a custodian of tradition for the Binandere and an interpreter of Binandere ways to outsiders; and I accept my responsibility to play a part in changing Binandere life.9

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am grateful to Dr H. Nelson for his comments on the various drafts of this paper; and I benefitted from discussing with Ms I. Riebe the first draft. I am responsible for the views and interpretations appearing in this paper which is based on my own observations and participation as a member of the Binandere community.

NOTES

1I prefer to use 'Goilala mountains' in recognition of those peoples' occupation of the ranges rather than 'Owen Stanley' as on official maps.

2I entered the University of Papua New Guinea to do a Preliminary Year, a bridging course between university and school. I enrolled for a BA in 1968 and obtained the degree in the middle of 1971. Then I enrolled for BA with honours and completed it by mid-1972.

3I completed my MA between September 1972 and September 1973, and returned to Papua New Guinea in December of that year.

Daniel Boruda of Tabora village, who saw the practice of cannibalism, died in 1964. He used to tell me a lot of traditions when I was a boy. It was his death that made me conscious of the loss of valuable traditions. During the Christmas vacations I started writing down the oral traditions from other old people in the village. Later I used tape recorders.

For example, in July 1980, a magistrate of the Provincial Court at Popondetta handed down a decision on a land dispute between Kanevidari and Doebo clans of Yundari and Datama villages, and Buikane clan of Kurereda village, all on the upper Mamba River. The decision favoured Kanevidari and Doebo. I was asked to provide some information for the appeal case to be prepared.

For full accounts of the village political struggle against authorities, and the opposition which I represented at the conference tables, see Waiko, J.D., 'The People of Papua New Guinea, Their Forest and Their Aspirations', in Winslow, J., ed., The Melanesian Environment, 1977, Canberra: Australian National University Press.

I took up my scholarship at the Australian National University in May 1977. I returned to Papua New Guinea in March 1978 on field work. I had planted the garden because a big flood had destroyed most gardens in the previous year. I had to make a garden for food and at the same time started my field work. I could have reported the matter to the government officer at Ioma Patrol Post and demanded compensation from the 'big man'. I have estimated that he would have paid about K100.00 based on the number of taro, bananas, tapioca and other vegetables destroyed in the garden. Despite my parents' pressure to claim the compensation, I decided not to pursue the matter as the 'big man' did not have that amount of money. He would have gone to gaol and I did not want that either.

Dr Louise Morauta has alleged that I distort Binandere views to suit my ideological ends. I responded that I write about the Binandere as a Binandere and that she failed to appreciate the political position of the village people. See her 'Indigenous Anthropology in Papua New Guinea' along with my comments in Current Anthropology, 20(3), 1979.
MISSIONARIES IN MELANESIA BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Diane Langmore

The European missionaries who came to Melanesia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries carried with them a system of beliefs, values, attitudes, opinions and assumptions which were as much part of their baggage as the solar topees, quinine and mosquito netting packed in their trunks. Although, like all human beings, their behaviour was at times impulsive, irrational or perverse, much of their activity in the field was a translation into action of these particular thought-forms. To understand mission activity, or more generally, culture contact, in Melanesia, therefore, it is as necessary to understand the conceptual world of the European participants as of the Melanesian. It has been the lament of at least two distinguished anthropologists that so far, the belief and value systems of the European missionaries have received scant attention (Beidelman 1974; Burridge 1973:207).

The purpose of this paper is not to describe or evaluate mission activity in Melanesia but to look at some of the beliefs and values which informed it. Although it refers mainly to missionaries in Papua (or British New Guinea as it was previously), they can to some extent be seen as representative of missionaries throughout Melanesia, for all belonged to the same or similar organizations. The London Missionary Society (L.M.S.) which began work in New Guinea in 1871 had its main Pacific sphere of activity in Polynesia, but also had missionaries in the Loyalty Islands till 1922. It handed over its other Melanesian field, the New Hebrides to the Presbyterians in the 1840's, but much the same style and outlook were maintained. The Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (M.S.C.), a French Catholic congregation which arrived in British New Guinea in 1855, also worked in German New Guinea as well as in Micronesia. In structure and orientation it was similar to the Society of Mary at work in the Solomon Islands, the New Hebrides and Fiji. The Methodists who worked in British New Guinea from 1891 were employed by the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, which also staffed the Methodist missions of Fiji, German New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. The South Seas Evangelical Mission, a non-denominational mission also at work in the Solomon Islands, had no counterpart in Papua, but its missionaries were not far removed from those of the evangelical wings of the Protestant missions. The Anglican mission in New Guinea, sole Pacific field of the Australian Board of Missions was, in its High Anglican orientation as in other respects, similar to its neighbour, the Melanesian Mission. The four missions in Papua covered the broad theological spectrum – Roman Catholic, Anglo-Catholic, liberal Protestant and evangelical Protestant – of mission
activity in that period. From 1914, the incursion of a proliferation of sect-type missions complicated the scene.

THEOLOGICAL BELIEFS

Despite the vast range of social, economic and psychological motivations which influenced the decision of individuals to become missionaries, there was one belief which lay behind all mission activity in Melanesia as elsewhere. This was a belief in the necessity for obedience to the divine commission: 'Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature'. Mostly raised in deeply religious families, Protestants and Catholics alike felt it was a matter of 'plain duty' to obey. Many believed this general command to have been translated, for them, into a personal call from God. An Anglican woman missionary, who subsequently died in the missionfield, explained to her bishop 'My Lord, I came out to New Guinea in answer to a command from God which I dared not disobey' (Newton n.d.).

For some missionaries, Roman Catholics especially, an additional incentive to mission activity was provided by their aspiration for personal sanctification, which, according to contemporary Catholic belief, was to be achieved through suffering and sacrifice, the ultimate manifestation of which was martyrdom. 'The only true missionaries', wrote Bishop Verjus, spiritual leader of the M.S.C., 'are those who aspire to missions for one sole reason - to suffer and sacrifice themselves totally for the salvation of souls' (Vernard 1966:28). Sacred Heart missionaries 'begged of God the grace to die for Him in the missions' (Ceresi 1934:186) and many did. Some Protestants were totally unsympathetic towards this orientation to the missionary vocation. 'By a course of privation and hardship, they are all engaged in saving their own souls', wrote one (Crossfield 1897). Nevertheless echoes of this same preoccupation are also apparent in the Wesleyan quest for 'entire sanctification' and amongst evangelical Protestants influenced by the 'holiness movement' of the late nineteenth century, which saw suffering both as a proof of spiritual vitality and as a source of spiritual growth. One such Protestant, informing his brother of his application to the L.M.S., wrote: 'I cannot describe to you exactly what prompted me to do this. It may only be possibly to try my faith and lead me to further consecration' (Tomkins 1895).

Throughout most of the nineteenth century, all missionaries, Catholic and Protestant alike, believed that their task was to save the 'perishing heathen' from eternal punishment and give him the assurance of everlasting life. But towards the end of the century, amongst non-Roman Catholics, their belief came under attack and was finally abandoned. John Wear Burton, going to the Methodist mission field of Fiji in 1903, gave his interpretation of his task to an audience on the eve of his departure. It was not, he told them, the belief that the heathen was destined to hell that impelled him to go, but the 'unhappy condition of people deprived of the joy of the Gospel'. His statement provoked a violent response from one of his audience, the venerable Presbyterian missionary, John G. Paton:
'Young man', he almost roared, 'do you think I would have risked my life among the savages and cannibals of the New Hebrides if I had not believed that every man, woman and child I met was going to hell?' (Burton 1949: 12).

Knowledge afforded by the evangelisation of distant lands led to an uncomfortable awareness of the immense numbers condemned to eternal torment by the current Protestant theory of the everlasting punishment of the wicked. It was challenged in 1853 by F.D. Maurice in his Theological Essay and more fully in 1877 by Samuel Cox in a series of essays published as Salvator Mundi. Their doctrine of universalism or the 'larger hope' which inspired Tennyson's influential 'In Memoriam', was taken up in the theological debate which gathered momentum in the seventies and eighties. An alternative theory was advanced by a Congregational theologian, Edward White, who, while also attacking the grounding of mission activity in the belief in hell, felt that universalism reduced the urgency of the missionary imperative. His doctrine of 'conditional immortality' hypothesised that God created mankind mortal but with a capacity for immortality, achieved through Christ. For those without faith, mortal life was followed not by eternal torment but by annihilation.

These challenges to traditional doctrine were reflected in the stated beliefs of missionaries in New Guinea. The last L.M.S. missionary to New Guinea to express the traditional doctrine was Albert Pearse who, in 1866, had written that his heart 'burned to save the perishing heathen' (Pearse 1966). In his exposition of conditionalism, Life in Christ, published in 1875, Edward White claimed that the doctrine of everlasting punishment was doubted amongst L.M.S. missionaries and in 1882, one of their number, T.E. Slater, declared that it had been abandoned. It appears to have survived longer amongst Methodist missionaries, whose theology was generally more conservative than that of their L.M.S. counterparts. They continued to preach a confident hell-fire theology till the closing years of the century, though by the early years of the twentieth century, missionaries such as Matthew Ker Gilmour, possessed of a more enlightened and humanitarian theology, probably shared the convictions of their colleague, J.W. Burton. Amongst Anglican missionaries, the doctrine of everlasting punishment was also abandoned. 'It was no grim feeling such as had moved our forefathers that the heathen would be damned if they were not converted that inspired [us] to spread abroad the religion of Jesus Christ', asserted one (Occasional Paper, 51:4). Only the Roman Catholic missionaries retained unchallenged the doctrine of the salvation of souls as the proclaimed raison d'être of their apostolate.

Despite the demise of the doctrine of the perishing heathen amongst Anglican and Protestant missionaries, conversion remained for them, as for their Roman Catholic counterparts, the pivot of missionary endeavour. All believed their prime task to be to bring 'the heathen' to a knowledge and acceptance of the Christian faith. Much mission activity, including teaching and healing as well as their specifically religious tasks, was directed towards this goal. Believers in the 'convincing power' of the Holy Spirit, they saw themselves as its 'co-workers' in the conversion process. For many, this belief was a source of disillusionment when 'the
heathen' remained disbelieving of, or, more commonly, indifferent to, their presentation of the gospel.

Although all agreed on the primacy of the task of conversion, conceptions of it differed. While for all it implied a confession of faith following a period of instruction, the Tridentine doctrine, extra ecclesiam nulla salus, meant that for Catholic missionaries conversion was essentially incorporation into the visible church through the sacrament of baptism. Protestant missionaries had a more individualistic concept of conversion. It was the establishment of a personal relationship between an individual and God, through faith in Jesus Christ. These fundamentally different conceptions underlay contrasting attitudes to mass and individual conversions, varying modes of instruction and differing expectations of converts.

Changes in contemporary theology, from the wrath of God to the fatherhood of God, from atonement to incarnation, from transcendence to immanence and hence to a more socially-oriented gospel, meant that, towards the end of the century, Protestant and Anglican missionaries came to place conversion in a broader context. Concern for the after-life of 'the heathen' was largely replaced by a concern to ameliorate the conditions of his life in this world. Interest in his soul gave way to an interest in the whole man, body, mind and spirit. Teaching and healing were undertaken for the benefits that they might bring, rather than simply as instruments of conversion. In the rhetoric of the Protestant missionaries of the late nineteenth century, their role was seen as to 'raise' or 'uplift' rather than 'convert' or 'save'. Sacred Heart missionaries, despite their adherence to traditional doctrines of salvation, also allowed themselves an uplifting role. Only the Anglican missionaries, while sharing the broader conception of the missionary task, resisted the rhetoric of 'uplift', their resistance symptomatic of a fundamentally different perception of native cultures and their own relationship to them.

CULTURAL BELIEFS

The conviction of the missionaries that their task was to 'raise' the Papuan was related to and reinforced by their perceptions of Papuan cultures. Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries alike believed themselves to be confronted with inferior peoples and cultures in New Guinea. William Lawes, first European missionary on the mainland, likening the vices of civilization to 'weeds in a cultivated garden', contrasted them with the vice of heathenism which, he said, was 'one wilderness of little but weeds'. New Guinea was a land of 'moral degradation and spiritual darkness', he told L.M.S. supporters in England (King 1909: 136, 150). The verdict of Archbishop Navarre, M.S.C., was similar: 'Our kanakas are like wasteland which has never been cultivated - all weeds grow there...' (Navarre 1889:455). In the Methodist missionfield, William Bromilow, settling at Dobu, saw only 'sullen savages, brutal cannibals and merciless women' (Bromilow 1908:7), while his colleague Samuel Fellows, found, at Kiriwina, a 'dark and degraded people' (Fellows 1897:xxiii). Allowing for the evangelistic intent of some of these statements, those of the Protestants at least can be seen as a reflection of the 'ignoble savage' stereotype, promulgated by evangelical literature since the end of
the eighteenth century in reaction against the 'noble savage' of the enlightenment.

While such judgements abound in the writings of Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries, they fall less readily from the pens of the Anglicans, for whom the 'ignoble savage' was less a part of their thoughts and experience. Their impressions of Papuan culture were generally warm and appreciative and unclouded by the metaphors of darkness and degradation in which Protestant responses were soaked. Albert Maclaren, arriving among the Massim in 1891, found them a 'very social, kind-hearted, contented lot of folk, and very affectionate' (Maclaren 1891:95). Bishop Gerald Sharp wrote even more appreciatively of the 'great attractiveness of the Papuan people':

Affectionate, confiding, sunny tempered, polite in manner, attentive to one's works, very graceful and winning in their manners, most distinctly good-looking, with a wealth of intelligence...they are people for whom one can easily conceive a very strong personal affection (Sharp 1910:169).

Missionaries of all persuasions found their preconceptions modified by experience. For some, close acquaintance with Papuan cultures reinforced their opinions. William Bromilow, for nearly two decades the guiding spirit of the Methodist mission, wrote of the people of Dobu: 'As we learn their manners and customs and get an insight into their village life...we are brought face to face with the terrible sin prevailing in the heart' (Bromilow 1897:lxvi). All his years as a missionary served only to convince him of the 'essential vileness' of this 'ignorant and barbarous race' (Bromilow 1929:98; 1914:543). More commonly though, increased contact led to growing understanding and appreciation. Even the pioneer missionaries of the L.M.S., who had only their own observations to mould their impressions, made thorough and not wholly unsympathetic assessments of the cultures of the Motu and their coastal neighbours. Lawes, visiting the village of Kerapuna, found a new 'respect for the stone period', extolling its technology, its social organization and its 'cleanliness, order and industry' (Lawes 1876:37). In 1878 his colleague W.Y. Turner read a paper to the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain, on the ethnology of the Motu, the first such study of mainland Papua (Turner 1878). Although some of his observations perpetuated stereotyped beliefs about the 'native', many were careful and objective. He believed the Motu to be moral, affectionate to their children and peaceable, but conservative, deceitful and dirty in their habits. His colleagues Lawes and Chalmers followed his lead in writing ethnographical papers, as did pioneers of the other missions, amongst them Frs. Jullien and Guis, M.S.C., Methodist missionaries, J.T. Field and Samuel Fellows and the Anglican bishop, Stone-Wigg.

The new science of anthropology was crucial in helping the missionaries to shake themselves free of their initial cultural assumptions and in giving them a conceptual framework for their observations. Although none of the missionaries of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century had much exposure to anthropological theory during their training, some found, when in the field, that intellectual curiosity or contact with practising anthropologists guided them towards it.
For a small minority this led to close involvement with the discipline. One such was L.M.S. missionary J.H. Holmes. A poorly educated Devonshire house-painter, Holmes arrived in New Guinea with the same prejudices as most of his colleagues. He found the nakedness of the Gulf men 'repulsive', the Maipua dūbu (sacred house) 'too horrid to describe' and the New Guinean generally avaricious and insensitive (Holmes 1893, 1894, 1897). In 1898 the anthropologist, Seligman, visited Holmes' station at Moru and towards the end of the year Holmes started reading Tylor's *Anthropology*. From that time on, a change is apparent in his writings. His diary for January 1899 records his reactions to a cannibal raid which he witnessed at Maipua, where 'the whole night was given up to debauchery and revellings of the most immoral and base kind'. Juxtaposed with this judgement, however, are scholarly and dispassionate notes describing the feast and the associated sexual ceremonies. His subsequent writings, which culminated in his large study, *In Primitive New Guinea* (1924), are marked by an attempt to see the Gulf peoples on their own terms. In his preface to his book he wrote: 'Their views of life do not lack a philosophy which was intelligible to them. I do not endorse them, neither do I condemn them. I have set them down as I got to know them'.

In a more diffuse way, anthropological thought influenced all but the most rigid and inflexible missionaries after the turn of the century. Wholesale condemnation of practices such as infanticide and polygamy gave way to attempts to explain them. Missionaries stressed the need for understanding and at the annual conferences of the various missions, members read papers and discussed aspects of traditionnal cultures. The terms used to describe the people softened. Throughout the first decade of the twentieth century there were decreasing references to 'savages' and 'degradation'.

The influence of anthropology on missionary thought is best illustrated by the evolution of attitudes towards Papuan religion. 'Religiously all is a blank', declared W.G. Lawes after five years' residence in New Guinea (King 1909:138). Pioneer missionaries of the Methodist and the Sacred Heart missions endorsed this opinion, as did his own colleagues. They saw only a 'slavish fear of evil spirits' and a 'deep and terrifying belief in magic' (Bromilow 1914:594). The Papuan had no 'religious enthusiasm', no 'devotional instinct', no 'notion of prayer' and no 'true penitence'.

The Anglican missionaries seem to have been more agnostic about the lack of Papuan spirituality from the outset; their writings avoid the confident assertions made by their colleagues. The first sustained appreciation of Papuan religion was made by Bishop Stone-Wigg, in an essay entitled 'The Papuans, a People of the South Pacific', published in 1907. In his essay, Stone-Wigg defined and analysed that 'religious instinct' among the Papuans, the lack of which had been asserted by many of his counterparts. Addressing himself to the question: 'How far can traces be discovered of anything that may be called a religion?', Stone-Wigg answered that 'the Papuan lives in daily and hourly realisation of an immaterial world in which he believes intensely'. He saw the whole of Papuan life as regulated by totemism. With a wealth of Illustrative detail, he analysed the features of Papuan belief and observance, concluding that they embraced 'all the elements of a religious system', an openness to the supernatural,
the use of propitiation, incantation and sacrifice, and a belief in the
immortality of the soul. While Stone-Wigg's perceptiveness depended in
part on his own learned and flexible mind, it was also stimulated by an
acquaintance with anthropology. In 1902 his sympathetic observations had
combined with the theoretical understanding of A.C. Haddon to produce a
joint lecture at Cambridge on the similarities of Papuan religion and
Christianity.

The writings of two anthropologists especially were important in
opening the shuttered minds of the missionaries to the presence of the
spiritual in Papuan culture. They were E.B. Tylor and Sir James Frazer.
Although Tylor's *Primitive Culture* was published in 1871 there is no
evidence of missionaries in New Guinea reading it until the late nineties,
and it was Frazer's more popular work, *The Golden Bough*, published in 1890,
which was frequently the missionary's introduction to the concepts of
'primitive' religion. Missionaries who came to Papua in the early
twentieth century often came with a knowledge of Tylor's axiom that all
people had a religion, an insight of which the pioneers had not been aware.
They looked at Papuan culture guided by Tylor's comprehensive definition of
religion as 'the belief in spiritual things' or by Frazer's alternative
definition: 'A propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man,
which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human
life'. It is not surprising that they found evidence of religion that
their forebears failed to see. Ben Butcher, arriving in 1904, could
assert, albeit with hindsight, that he never felt himself to be among 'an
irreligious people' (Butcher 1963:121). Older missionaries, originally
disseminate of Papuan religion, revised their opinions. Holmes, for
example, used animism, Tylor's minimum definition of religion, to organize
his thoughts about the religion of the Papuan Delta, which he compared with
the totemism of the Elema (Holmes n.d. a:12).

Paradoxically, though, as anthropology encouraged in the missionaries
a greater flexibility towards aspects of Papuan cultures, it also
stimulated a greater rigidity in their overall assessments of them. As the
doctrines of cultural evolutionism gained popular currency in the early
years of the twentieth century, the missionaries' vague metaphors of
darkness and degradation gave way to confident pseudo-scientific
statements. 'Poor New Guinea, it is awfully low in the scale of mankind',
wrote L.M.S. missionary Will Saville in 1902 (Saville 1902). Archbishop de
Boismenu told an Australasian Catholic Congress in 1904 that the Papuan was
'near to the lowest type', while one of his colleagues found him
'incontestably at the lowest level of humanity' (de Boismenu 1905:270;
Casper 1911:610). Most believed him to be 'below' the African negro, the
American Indian and the Polynesian; some held him to be 'above' the
Australian Aboriginal. As they became familiar with the various peoples of
Papua, some of the missionaries were tempted to arrange them on the scale.
J.H. Holmes found the people of Maiva 'higher' than those further west;
Percy Schlencker believed the 'awful drop' occurred at Orokolo. In both
cases they reflected a belief widespread amongst missionaries and
consistent with popular opinion, that the 'black' Papuans of the west were
inferior to their light-skinned neighbours in the east. The only known
dissenter from the hierarchical model was the Anglican bishop, Stone-Wigg,
who, in a letter to the Lieutenant-Governor, castigated government officers
for regarding the Papuan as an 'inferior type of humanity' (Stone-Wigg 1901:169).

At one with most of their contemporaries in the belief that the Papuans were a degraded people 'low in the scale of humanity', the missionaries were at odds with many of them in their conviction that they could be 'raised' from this lowly position. Their belief was based upon the Christian doctrine of the spiritual unity and equality of all humankind, a source of optimism which was not necessarily available to non-believers. In cultural terms, this was translated into a firm adherence to the doctrine of monogenism which asserted the unity of the human race as descendants of Adam. Despite an almost universal acceptance of the alternate theory of polygenism by the end of the nineteenth century, their respect for the scriptures ensured their adherence to the Adamite interpretation. Believers then in the unity of mankind, they were therefore believers in the modifiability of human nature. Racial differences were seen not as innate - a logical corollary of the polygenist position - but as the result of an evolutionary process involving constant interaction with the environment (Harris 1968:83).

These assumptions are reflected in the comments of even the earliest missionaries to New Guinea. The term almost universally used to describe the condition of the Papuan was 'degradation'. This term implies a decline from a higher to a lower state rather than an innate lowness or inferiority. Moreover the missionaries generally described the Papuans as having been exposed 'for generations' to the corrupting influence of a heathen environment. This qualification again suggests that they did not see their condition as permanent and immutable. Heathenism was seen as an environmental influence, like a disease, to which the people had succumbed and from which they could be retrieved. Holmes stated explicitly in his preface to In Primitive New Guinea: 'The savage is soul-sick, and we cannot help him satisfactorily till we can diagnose his disease of heathenism'.

The conception of a fall from a higher state may have been loosely related to the biblical doctrine of the Fall, but it seems to have been more directly influenced by theories of degeneracy which, current since the eighteenth century, were given new significance as a concomitant of cultural evolutionism. According to such theories, the unilinear progress of certain groups was arrested at particular points by hostile or difficult environmental factors, often encountered through migration. Under pressure from these influences, the people slipped backwards while other races continued along the path of progress. Although only implicit in most missionary writings, theories of degeneracy were explicitly stated by a few. Samuel MacFarlane believed that the Papuans had 'fallen from a higher civilisation', that their progress was 'downwards' and that they were merely 'remnants of a worn-out race' (MacFarlane 1888:96, 98). William Bromilow saw the dignified dancing of the Dobuans as 'a vestige, probably, of better days' (Bromilow 1929:114). Fr. Jullien, M.S.C., glimpsed in the death rites of the Roro and Mekeo 'vestiges of a higher civilisation, of a primitive religion, of which these poor people, across numbers of migrations, have preserved the practice while forgetting the meaning' (Jullien 1898). Fr. Hartzer wondered if they were the lost tribe of Israel.
The doctrine of cultural evolution was attractive to the missionaries because it gave a conceptual framework to their belief in the unity of mankind and a 'scientific' imprimatur to their attempt to 'raise' the Papuan. It gave coherence to another of their assumptions: that they had the right and the ability to 'raise' the Papuan. Like most of their contemporaries, many missionaries believed in a triangular hierarchy of races with, in H.A.C. Cairns' words, 'the white race, western civilisation and Christianity' at the apex, then the 'complex but stagnant' cultures of the east and a broad base of the 'non-literate, technologically backward cultures' of Africa, America and the Pacific (Cairns 1965:74). It was with unshaken complacency as to their position at the pinnacle of the racial hierarchy, that many European missionaries reached out to give the Papuan, whom some saw as a 'contemporary ancestor', a 'guiding hand' along the evolutionary path. Seen from the 'giddy heights of modern civilisation', the Papuan may seem 'a sorry type of manhood', wrote Holmes. 'He is nevertheless a man following the trail the rest of mankind has trod' (Holmes n.d. b:6).

SOCIAL BELIEFS AND VALUES

The national and social backgrounds of the missionaries were diverse. The L.M.S. missionaries in Papua during this period were almost all British, and lower middle class or artisan in origin. The Methodist missionaries came from comparable strata of society but, although a quarter were of British origin, most grew up in the colonial societies of south-eastern Australia or New Zealand. Where the L.M.S. missionaries were almost entirely urban, mostly from the provincial towns in which nonconformity was strong, the Methodists were more often from rural backgrounds. If the shop and counting house were the main recruiting ground for the L.M.S., that of the Methodists was the farm. The composition of these two missions was notably different from that of the Sacred Heart Mission which drew most of its missionaries from continental Europe. Among the Roman Catholic priests were a few whose family were aristocrats or notables in French society, but the majority were the sons of peasants or artisans for whom a career in the church was a recognized avenue of social mobility. The Sacred Heart brothers were artisans from Holland or Belgium, or French or Italian peasants. The sisterhood of the mission embraced daughters both of affluent middle-class families and of peasant families, mostly from Brittany. The majority of Anglican missionaries were recruited from the capital cities of eastern Australia, though one-third were British-born. Many of the priests and a number of the women missionaries were from upper middle-class, often professional families, while most of the laymen, some of the women and a few priests, ordained during their missionary service, had origins similar to those of their Protestant counterparts.

Missionaries differed in their understanding of what it meant to 'raise' the Papuan. All were committed to some degree of change - a metamola - in the lives as well as in the hearts of their converts (Burridge 1975:10). All assumed the need to introduce education and medicine; all agreed to oppose such practices as cannibalism, head-hunting, malign sorcery and infanticide - objectives in which they supported and were supported by government policy. Although each of the
four missions proclaimed the intention of retaining all native customs compatible with Christianity, the decision as to what was or was not compatible was a unilateral one. In their choice of what to oppose, what to retain and what to introduce, the missionaries most clearly revealed the beliefs and underlying values which were a product of their own social origins.

Earlier in the century, missionaries had debated whether they should first civilize or Christianize. Samuel Marsden in the Pacific and the Moravian missionaries in Greenland had chosen the former. By the 1870's Protestant missionaries were inclined to assume that civilization without Christianity was meaningless; that 'a savage in a shirt is no better than one without' (King 1909:139). This axiom reflects what the missionaries meant by civilization. It was associated in their minds with the externals of western culture, especially the adoption of clothing. Most Protestant missionaries, although sceptical about attempts to civilize before converting, still saw the two as inextricably intertwined. Their goal, as one of them explained, was the 'Christian civilization of the Papuan people' (Beharell 1915). Only a small minority expressed any doubts as to the necessity of their civilizing role.

In their efforts to 'civilize' the Papuans, the Protestant missionaries showed a concern for the minutiae of behaviour which was not so common among their Anglican and Sacred Heart counterparts. While all but a few of the older Protestant missionaries were free of the inhibitions about traditional dress, or the lack of it, associated with their predecessors in the Pacific, they interfered with numerous other aspects of Papuan cultures. Bishop Stone-Wigg, visiting the Methodist head-station of Dobu in 1901, noted the 'very persistent opposition given by the Mission to many native ways' (Stone-Wigg 1901:161). These included the chewing of tobacco, the marking of the face with black gum, use of impure language, the observation of traditional funeral rites, and the beating of the drum on Saturday nights. Strict Sabbath observance was imposed. That other great hallmark of late Victorian Methodism, teetotalism, was less prominent, because of effective government enforcement of the regulations prohibiting alcohol to Papuans. In the L.M.S. which, consistent with its congregational tradition, was less unified than the Methodist mission, there was greater diversity of practice. While some of the staff earned the respect of anthropologists for their tolerance and restraint, others adopted prohibitions comparable to those of the Methodist mission. The bitter campaign waged by W.G. Lawes and some of his colleagues against the traditional Motu dance, the mavaru, was the most notable example (Lawes 1898).

In the early years of the twentieth century there was growing recognition amongst Protestant missionaries, as amongst their secular contemporaries, that changes induced and prohibitions imposed by mission and government had led to apathy and a loss of direction in village life. This conviction meshed with a fashionable neo-Darwinian pessimism about the survival of the 'backward races' to stimulate them to seek substitutes for the activities which they had banished.
Their answer was the 'gospel of work'. They would teach the Papuans the 'dignity of labour' and thus provide them with a corrective to apathy, skills with which to compete in a secular world and training in the 'necessary habits of thrift and industry'. Earnest self-improvers themselves, imbued with the Samuel Smiles philosophy of self-help, they would enable the Papuans to help themselves to a future other than that of hewers of wood and drawers of water. Amongst Protestant missionaries of the early twentieth century, in Melanesia as elsewhere, these objectives were frequently translated into a policy of 'industrial mission' through which local peoples, generally gathered into settlements away from the 'contaminating' influences of the village, were taught carpentry, boat-building and other manual skills.

The Sacred Heart Mission adopted, in theory, a position close to that of the Protestants. Archbishop Navarre stated for the benefit of the government that their object in coming was to 'civilize' as well as 'convert' (Navarre 1887). But in practice, for the Sacred Heart missionaries, civilizing seems to have been seen as a concomitant of conversion rather than as an intrinsic part of a two-pronged objective. Unlike many Protestant missionaries, they encouraged traditional dancing until 1908, when a review of mission policy suggested that it was interfering too severely with church attendance. Their attitude towards other aspects of traditional cultures was tolerant and pragmatic. Early denunciations of sorcery gave way to attempts at understanding and some accommodation, and in Mekeo, opposition to mortuary ceremonies was withdrawn when church attendances plummeted (Hau'ofa 1975:17). Although industrial education was a dimension of the activity of the Sacred Heart Mission, it generally took place within the routine of village life, the brothers, artisans themselves, imparting their skills to the people amongst whom they lived.

The link between Christianity and civilization was most firmly repudiated by the Anglican missionaries. Bishop Stone-Wigg drew on the tradition, exemplified by Bishop Tozer and his successors in the Universities Mission to Central African and also endorsed by the Melanesian Mission, of divorcing Christianity from its western context and integrating it with village life. Less convinced of the superiority of the European or the degradation of the Papuan, the Anglicans in New Guinea did not want 'a parody of European or Australian civilisation' (Newton 1914:251-2). Aware of the limits to their understanding and knowledge of Papuan cultures, they remained 'conservative in dealing with native customs' except those universally condemned. They debated what attitude to adopt towards death feasts until 1929, when they decided they should be opposed. Dancing was encouraged and they looked at the possibility of synthesizing initiation ceremonies, usually opposed by their Protestant counterparts, with their own ceremony of confirmation. In 1900 Bishop Stone-Wigg, inspired by his Protestant neighbours, introduced industrial work into the mission, but it was never carried out with sufficient vigour to interrupt the even tenor of traditional life, and during the episcopacy of his successor, it was abandoned.
Implicit in such different perceptions of how the Papuan was to be 'raised' were a range of social beliefs and assumptions. Mostly middle class or artisan in origin, the Protestant missionaries reflected, in Papua as they had elsewhere, the values of that section of society, in their greater preoccupation with dress, decent language and sabbatarianism, and in their condemnation of secular pleasures such as dancing and feasting. Men and women, generally, of limited education and narrow cultural experience, they assumed moral and spiritual renewal to be associated with particular cultural forms. They attacked customs which, while perhaps an affront to lower middle class respectability, were scarcely iminal to Christianity, replacing them with the mores of their own society and its values of improvement, industry, sobriety and decency. In contrast, the leaders of the Anglican mission, mostly well-educated members of the upper middle class, exhibited on most issues a greater broad-mindedness, flexibility and tolerance which was probably derived in part from their scholarly education. Their more muted enthusiasm for industrial mission may well have been a product of a less intimate association with the world of business and trade than that of their Protestant colleagues. Similarly, the leaders of the Sacred Heart Mission, though in some cases of more modest origins, had shared with the Anglicans the experience of an academic education with its benefits of objectivity and perspective. Their greater tolerance towards traditional culture may also be partly explained, as Burridge has suggested, by their origins in southern and Mediterranean Europe where 'diverse cultural forms and moralities exist in some profusion' rather than in the monocultural countries of northern Europe (Burridge 1973:205).

It is artificial and misleading however to separate the social attitudes of the missionaries from their other beliefs and values, with which they were in constant interplay. As in all aspects of the missionary's conception of his role, theological beliefs were crucial. Greater acceptance of traditional cultures on the part of Catholic missionaries was closely tied to their Natural Theology which held that while sin had brought about a certain perversion of human nature, by his surviving powers of reason, man could comprehend God through the reality of creation. A partial manifestation of God could be sought and found in all cultures, and thus a greater measure of accommodation and assimilation allowed. By contrast, Protestant missionaries influenced by the Reformation doctrine of total corruption, which rejected the competence of fallen human reason to engage in Natural Theology, saw a greater need for a total break with heathenism.

Differing conceptions of the Church also influenced the relationship of the missionary to the Papuan and his culture. For both Roman Catholics and Anglo-Catholics, the Church was a universal, divinely-ordained institution which, for centuries, had embraced all manner of people. Its preservation insofar as it rested on human endeavour at all, depended upon the fidelity of its clergy, not upon its members. From the convert was expected assent to a formal theology and a faithful observation of the sacraments. The evangelical Protestant's understanding was totally different. For him the Church was not an institution which derived its strength from divine ordination and historical continuity. It was the body of believers. With a lower view of the sacraments and the ministry, and a less formal theology, the Protestant church defined itself in terms of its
members. Hence it was impelled to a much greater concern for the ethics and morality of each individual convert.

Protestant enthusiasm for industrial mission drew its inspiration in part from the influential 'social gospel', which provided both a model in the carpenter of Nazareth and an imperative in its concern for the whole man. It was reinforced, in some cases, by the cultural belief that the Papuan was too benighted to receive a purely spiritual gospel.

Missionary activity in Papua, as elsewhere, is then partly explicable in terms of the professed beliefs of the missionaries and the values, often unarticulated which lay behind them. But it would be naive to explain missionary behaviour solely in these terms. Nor do they explain the range of missionary responses to the Papuan and his culture. Some missionaries came to Papua with an affection for the Papuan, others did not. Copland King regretted that it was duty that brought him to the Anglican mission field rather than the love which inspired his leader, Albert Maclaren. Another Anglican, Arthur Chignell, at first felt revulsion at the touch of a brown skin, but later his warm-hearted, enthusiastic nature guided him to a genuine, albeit paternalistic, affection for the Papuans. Charles Abel of Kwato, in contrast, continued to feel 'nausea' in their presence throughout his long career. James Chalmers, despite his autocratic manner, was motivated by a deep affection for the people which enabled him to fling his arms around them as spontaneously as he stamped his foot at them. Such a response depended on no theoretical understanding. Chalmers was completely unlettered in anthropology, while his colleague Will Saville, for example, combined a solid theoretical understanding with a cold and remote personal style. While the missionary was unquestionably moulded by beliefs and values absorbed from his national and social origins, his religious upbringing and training, his education and the intellectual climate to which he was exposed, at the heart of his response to the Melanesian lay the mysteries of his own personality.

NOTE

1For detailed studies of missionaries in other parts of Melanesia, see Hilliard 1966 and 1978, Laracy 1976 and Thornley 1979.
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The main sources for this paper are the diaries, letters, reports and other writings of the missionaries, some of which are in libraries and archives, and others in private hands. The chief archival deposits are the L.M.S. Archives (Council for World Mission Archives, School of Oriental and African Studies, London): the Anglican Archives (University of Papua New Guinea); Archives of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (Rome, and Bereina, P.N.G.): Methodist Overseas Mission Papers (Mitchell Library) and the United Church Papers (University of Papua New Guinea). The following bibliography refers only to works cited in the text.


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In the century before 1945 some 440 Fijian men were ordained and worked as Wesleyan (after 1902, Methodist) ministers in their native land. 'A decidedly fine lot of men', they were once casually described by a British civil servant (Brewster 1922:147). Christian missions have a well-worn cliche that indigenous pastors in most foreign work were the backbone of evangelical work. It was largely the truth in Fiji, simply because the handful of missionaries, who by 1875 were coping with an enterprise of over 100,000 church adherents, could scarcely fulfil the demands of an administrative role let alone of proselytisation. So they turned to their new converts as possible preachers. Who then were these Fijians who chose the ministry, or more correctly the church, as a career? What was the background of these men, their work, their achievements, their failures? How were they regarded by missionaries on the one hand and chiefs - the traditional secular leaders of Fijian society - on the other? In an area of study deficient in the detailed sources historians crave to work with (such as correspondence and journals), how much can we uncover of the ministers' collective and individual characteristics?

Wesleyan Methodist mission work began in Fiji in 1835, the same year as a mission was commenced in Samoa and thirteen years after a mission had been started in Tonga. Of these three island groups, Fiji sprawled over the largest area and the Methodists were soon afflicted with a transport and communications problem, their own 'tyranny of distance'. So it was not unusual that by the late 1840s missionaries were considering the ordination of indigenous teachers and more especially at that stage Tongans who had figured largely in the early years. The development of the mission had not beenspectacular, almost to the contrary, but more ministers were needed at strategic centres to overcome the difficulty of extending mission work to even half of Fiji's 300 or so islands.

The Fijian and Tongan converts who worked for the mission had initially and modestly been described in mission reports as 'Native Helpers'. But in the early 1850s four men from within this category were elevated to the rank of 'Native Assistant Missionaries'. According to the missionary R.B. Lyth, these men, one of whom was the legendary Joeli Bulu, were rewarded with promotion because of their 'superior piety, ability, diligence and faithfulness' (Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society 1854: 127-129). As a result of these ordinations Christian rites such as communion and marriage could be extended into more isolated areas.
After 1860 church membership mushroomed and ordination figures reflected this growth (see Table 1). But even when a general decrease in population brought a corresponding decline in church membership more Fijians continued to be ordained. There were two reasons for this: firstly, the demand from local chiefs who, for reasons of status and prestige, preferred an ordained man rather than a teacher to be stationed in their village; secondly there was considerable pressure from within the church hierarchy as the burgeoning ranks of teachers and catechists sought the greater social position and improved remuneration of the ministry. After 1920 the missionaries severely reduced recruitment and the proportion of Fijian ministers to church supporters settled back to somewhere near the figure it had been at the turn of the century.

Table 1

| Development of the Fiji Methodist Church, 1852-1946 |
|----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
|                | 1852      | 1880      | 1911      | 1946      |
| Church Members (Communicants) | 2,322 | 24,109 | 33,959 | 28,915 |
| Church Adherents (Those who attended services regularly) | 5,120 | 102,639 | 78,542 | 102,567 |
| Fijian Ministers | 4 | 47 | 89 | 102 |
| European Missionaries | 6 | 11 | 13 | 8 |

Mention has been made of the strong Tongan complexion of early Methodist work, a result partly of the Methodist connection between Tonga and Fiji and partly of the general spread of Tongan influence that occurred during the reign of King George Tupou I. An important effect of this expansionism which reached its zenith in the 1850s and 1860s was that those areas in the east of Fiji — virtual Tongan colonies at this time — were the provinces that first confronted the impact of Christian missionaries and subsequently supplied many ministers. If a line is drawn from the westward tip of Kadavu, south of Viti Levu, through the south-eastern corner of Viti Levu, thence to skirt Taveuni in the north, the Fijian ministry was dominated by the island groups to the east of that line (see Table 2). That dominance was most evident in the nineteenth century and has lessened in more recent years. But the fact remains that a primary trend in the spread of Christianity is that those people from the first areas of conversion have a greater influence than their numbers might warrant over the whole island group. In a curious twist of this argument, the scholarly missionary, Lorimer Fison, jumped to the erroneous conclusion that these 'highly favoured circuits' in eastern Fiji thereby had 'a monopoly of the cleverest men' (Methodist Mission 1881). It was beliefs such as this, held widely at the end of last century, which persuaded missionaries to maintain the central theological institution in the same favoured area and hence contribute to the regional dominance within the Fijian ministry.
Table 2

Native Province of Fijian Ministers (those known)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1850-1900</th>
<th>1900-1940</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
<td>Southern and eastern areas of Fiji:</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bau, Kadavu, Lau, Lomaiviti, Rewa, Tailevu.</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern and western areas of Fiji:</td>
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<td>Ba, Bua, Cakaudrove, Macuata, Matailobau, Nadroga, Naitasiri, Ra, Rotuma, Serua Vuda, Yasawa.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>115</td>
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There are some interesting consequences - if somewhat peripheral to the intent of this article - of the geographical bias in the ministry. The Methodist Church has never been strong in Macuata, Bua and Cakaudrove (where Tongan intrigue was greatly resented) and in Ra, Ba, Nadroga and Navosa (where there is long-standing antagonism to the power of Tailevu and Bau). In these areas the Roman Catholics and Seventh Day Adventists have gained their largest following, although their combined totals have never exceeded more than 20 per cent of the Fijian population. Further, the Methodists have had to face the continued influence of traditionally-based and syncretic religious beliefs, both of which have flourished on the two main islands away from the areas of strongest Methodist influence.

Turning now from questions of a minister's regional origin, we must consider the more individual factors of background and motivation in the choice of a church career. Of the first generation of ministers there is insufficient data to reliably answer what is a crucial and tantalizing question - from what ranks in traditional society were ministers drawn? Were there chiefly representatives among them or did all ministers (as present day scholars usually prefer to argue) come from the lower echelons of society and bring social prestige on themselves and their families by 'graduating' into a respected church position? Both views carry some weight. Missionary records, usually rich sources of detail and statistics, are disappointingly incomplete on the background details of Fijian ministers. However they do reveal sufficient to calculate about 5 per cent of ministers coming from a titled family. A reliable secular account dating back to the late nineteenth century remarks that in one of the more prominent Methodist districts in Fiji, Bau/Tailevu, 'all the subordinate native clergy were the flower of the flock and the pick of the training institutions and were principally members of chiefly families - Fijian gentlemen in fact' (Brewster 1922:147).

By contrast there is the case of Josefa Ravuaka from the Lomaiviti island of Koro who, in the words of a missionary, had been taught elementary subjects at his village school but while on a canoe voyage to the mission centre at Levuka was said to have been impressed by the better clothing and education of 'the boys who lived with the Missionaries'. Ravuaka's intelligence and strength of character were noted by missionaries who claimed that he achieved a 'chief-like' position even though he was not
a chief by birth (Wesleyan Missionary Notices 1873:83). The desire to attain chief-like status in the eyes of the non-titled undoubtedly motivated Fijians into the ministry. In 1888 missionaries disapprovingly commented on the tendency of native ministers to 'lord it' over teachers and lay preachers.

There is less of a problem in discovering the background of twentieth century Fijian ministers. In 1940 a fairly comprehensive survey of ministers was carried out. It revealed that of the fathers of 139 ministers, three were high chiefs, thirteen were minor chiefs and the remainder were non-titled village heads or commoners. Of further relevance the survey showed that one half of all the ministers' fathers occupied official positions in the church, ranging from lay preacher to minister. The remainder all came from strong church families. Many ministers would have been like Mataiasa Vave who, when talking of his intentions in the church, indicated a frequent desire to 'take the place of my father' (Chambers 1953:881). Two main conclusions can be drawn from this survey: firstly, generations other than the earliest either initiated or maintained a new tradition of family involvement in the church, if possible by aspiring to the ministry; secondly that there can be no easy solution to the question of motivation for while some ministers might see the pulpit as a road to influence and a chance to better themselves, others showed classic symptoms of an emotional struggle involving choice of career.

It has been noted that only a handful of ministers were of chiefly origin, even fewer of high chiefly rank. The decision of sons of chiefs to enter the ministry bears the most fruitful examination for these were the men with guaranteed employment opportunities in the civil service (and attractive salaries) as well as customary obligations and privileges stemming from their position in Fijian society. In addition chiefly titles gave no automatic status in the mission hierarchy and denied the use of traditional personal services. Putting aside these adverse features, several young chiefs resisted considerable pressure in their determination to gain ordination. Ratu Nacanieli Mataika, son of Ratu Josua Tubunavere and Adi Laisa Beci, inherited one of the highest chiefly titles in Lomaiviti, Tui Nairai. From 1902 he spent three years at the district training institution for aspiring ministers. He then faced a crisis over a choice of career:

My heart was heavy at this time as I went about my daily tasks for within me I heard clearly the call of God to His service, but being a Chief of my people, the Government was urging me to serve my people in the capacity of an officer of the government in connection with the survey of native lands; my own home Province was also making overtures to me to return and engage in provincial work. But I resisted these offers because of the voice of God within me. (Chambers 1953:874).

Again Ratu Kolinio Saukuru was from a Kadavu chiefly family. Having led the life of a prodigal after finishing school, Kolinio became interested in the scout movement which was introduced to Fiji by a Methodist missionary. He goes on:
It was about this time that my mother told me of the wish expressed to her and my father by the Rev. C.O. Lelean namely that I should become a minister and a missionary. This caused a great deal of heaviness of heart to me, for I loved my work as a technical instructor...I presumptuously prayed that God would make me forget my mother's words, but the harder I then prayed the more persistent was the impression of her words on my mind (Chambers 1953:877).

Kolinio Saukuru worked many years as a missionary in western Melanesia. Both he and Mataika believed themselves influenced by a 'calling' though it is difficult to know how much this view was the interpretation of the missionary who recorded their testimony. Though the concept of a 'call' makes sense to Europeans, it was less important to Fijians; their most crucial decision came at a relatively young age (middle or late adolescence), when their elementary education at a mission school was complete and they chose, sometimes at the parents' bidding, to attend one of the provincial mission stations for one or two years' training as a village teacher. The students or viti were then deemed qualified to take up preaching appointments in the villages and from that situation to begin their move up the mission hierarchy.

For the first fifty years of the mission, training played a secondary role to experience. No formal theological education commenced till 1857 and then only to a few ministers. Most gained their small amount of learning through years of residence in the mission compound where education depended entirely on the abilities and whims of the circuit missionary. From the 1860s, one missionary was set aside to take responsibility for theological training which began in Rewa in 1857 and shifted to Kadavu, Navula and finally Davuilevu. Until the early 1900s Fijian ministers required no formal educational standard. Their years in the various training institutions gave most an adequate grounding in a fairly predictable course of study: the Bible, especially Jewish history and the Prophets from the Old Testament and Pauline doctrine from the New Testament, the sermons of John Wesley and some didactic literature such as Pilgrim's Progress.

In 1905 oral examinations gave way to written to try and improve the educational level of new candidates and in 1909 the new principal, William Bennett (later to head Leigh College in Sydney), discouraged the applications of older and sometimes illiterate catechists and made two or three years' fulltime theological training a prerequisite for the ordained ministry. Some ministerial candidates after 1920 were qualified school teachers while by the 1940s theological students were familiar with Bible criticism and Old Testament documents. A pass rate of 60 per cent was mandatory for success in the annual examinations; yet in 1945 the rules were still being bent to allow the ordination of men who had passed the test of experience but could not cope with examinations.

Though somewhat limited in their theological expertise, most Fijian ministers excelled in the pulpit, to which rostrum they took the oratorical skills encountered with few exceptions throughout the Pacific Islands. Preachers by instinct rather than learning, these men moved people and
impressed the missionaries in so doing. Their diction was eloquent and poetic, their prayers powerful and emotional, their mode of address centred around analogies rather than biblical exegesis. Apparently this teaching method was of greater instructional value to the congregation. One minister of whose preaching more than a passing comment has survived, was Ratu Osea Tuni, a chief from the island of Moala in eastern Fiji, who showed he had imbibed deeply from the evangelical well of the Wesleyan missionaries. Tuni was portrayed:

with one hand, containing a cambric hankerchief, admonishingly raised and the other gracefully reposing in the fields of tapa, vigorously declaiming and apparently with much fire and eloquence from the pulpit. Of the nature of the discourse we were entirely ignorant, but the effect upon the feminine portion of the congregation was great - violent fits of hysterical weeping, wailing, as if in the very extremity of penitential woe (Britton 1870:38).

As a warning to the reader who might wish to regard Tuni as a typical minister, note parenthetically that he was expelled from the ministry in 1876 for boxing the ears of his wife. He was partially forgiven in 1881 when permitted to work as a lay preacher.

Naturally ministers' preaching commitments were only one facet of their work. How were they generally employed? Under the Wesleyan circuit system of organization, Fijian ministers were distributed amongst the thirteen circuits or parochial districts of the Fiji mission, each minister having responsibility for between fifteen and twenty-five villages. The number of ministers in each circuit varied according to its size but in 1911, a fairly typical year for stationing of ministers, the largest circuit of Ra had eighteen and the smallest circuit - the isolated island of Rotuma - had two.

Ministers were appointed by the annual meeting of the Fiji District on the recommendation of each circuit. Usually missionary opinion carried the greatest weight though local chiefs lobbied frequently and occasionally successfully for a minister of their choosing. Unwritten rules were observed in the stationing of ministers; normally they were not appointed to their home district since the missionaries believed that 'familiarity breeds contempt'. Lau was an exception to this rule since the locals had a reputation for paying scant attention to strangers. Furthermore, in deciding Fijian stations, missionaries avoided placing a man near his wife's home since the latter was tempted to frequent absences from her husband. The length of one term of service was about five years though some ministers who were well-liked stayed considerably longer.

Ministers involved themselves in the predictable and the unexpected. They conducted church services, celebrated communion, baptisms and weddings and officiated at funerals. They organized class meetings - held once a week along strict Wesleyan lines - and prayer groups, received prospective candidates for membership and examined those members who had been on the compulsory probationary period of a year. In addition ministers were required to visit all the villages under their jurisdiction once a quarter.
Ministers maintained church discipline and checked on the work of the local teacher or catechist. In more isolated areas older ministers would maintain a small training centre for boys interested in becoming a teacher or catechist.

Once every three months all ministers were required to meet with their missionary at the circuit headquarters for the Quarterly Meeting, the cornerstone of Wesleyan organization, at which the day-to-day local work of the church was reviewed and any problems dealt with. Some of the more senior ministers were called to the annual mission gathering or Synod where questions of finance and stationing were resolved. Apparently Fijian ministers were not impressed with this frequently volatile meeting of European superintendents. They nicknamed the Synod 'Gaua ni Veidruvi' - a time of quarrelling - because there was a notable absence of Christian brotherliness at this gathering (Methodist Mission of Fiji 1928).

Along with official duties, Fijian ministers confronted a wide range of demands from missionaries. They acted as local representatives of the mission in relations between chiefs and the church, conveying messages of congratulation, condolence and occasionally criticism. Cultivating harmonious relationships with the more influential chiefs had been a constant theme in church-state affairs from the days when Ratu Seru Cakobau had championed the Wesleyan cause throughout most of Fiji. But at times it was a difficult task for it was well known that the information ministers gathered reached mission headquarters more quickly than the telegraph could send it. It was little wonder that some chiefs were lukewarm in attitude towards the agents of an institution that campaigned aggressively for loyalties over and above the local concerns of chiefs. Generally speaking however, except for a few years shortly after British annexation in 1874 when church-state relations plummeted to dangerous levels, the Methodists sought to uphold traditional leadership by supporting communal obligations ahead of church commitments and gaining in return almost unfettered access to their existing and potential converts. Chiefs were not ungenerous either in the grants of land for church sites though ownership of the soil never changed hands.

As far as the Fijian minister was concerned, he often suffered in the tangled web of church-state relations. If ministers were found unsuitable in the eyes of local chiefs they were sometimes shifted. At other times the mission refused to accede to the demands of the chiefs if their grievances against ministers lacked clear evidence. Then again the shrewd minister who did not wish to shift could manipulate chiefly opinion in his favour and thus resist consideration at the time for reappointment.

What emerges from this detail of mission organization is the tight centralized control exercised by the Methodists over every Fijian village and the role played by the minister in that process. Such was the penetration of mission influence into every village that in the first decades of colonial rule, the Methodist bureaucracy probably gained better reports on the state of Fiji than government officers could hope to gain access to. And the intelligence fed by Fijian ministers to their superiors gave missionaries useful ammunition in their attacks on a seemingly hostile colonial administration.
With the proportion of church adherents to missionaries running at almost 10,000:1 by 1900, many Fijian ministers increasingly took on positions of onerous responsibility. They performed beyond expectation. They organized the collection of large sums of money for the church coffers, either bringing the money directly to their circuit missionary which sometimes involved an open boat trip of eight to ten hours, or drafting the money through a local copra agent (such was the case in Rotuma). After thirty years of mission work in Fiji the senior missionary Arthur Small testified to the faithful honesty of ministers in this aspect of work. Apart from dealing with finance, ministers chaired church meetings, contributed hymns and translated others for the revised hymn book of 1938, made long and exhausting journeys with missionaries on their visitation and initiated campaigns for the building of local schools and churches. In many respects then, the leadership potential of ministers was recognized and utilized from an early stage, a phenomenon not all that usual in Christian missions elsewhere (Neill 1966:515). However as will be seen this enthusiasm for granting local responsibility had well-defined limits.

Having examined generally the experience of Fijian ministers, a glimpse at the career of one particular minister might illustrate the qualities that missionaries praised and the individual flair of the Fijian pastorate.

Eliesa Bula was born in the village of Somosomo on the island of Gau in 1839. A first generation convert, Bula joined the church as part of a wave of conversions that occurred in Lomaiviti after the high chief Cakobau's nominal acceptance of Christianity in 1854. Bula was baptised by Joseph Waterhouse in June 1856 and four years later he was recorded as teaching in a Gau mission school. His ability as a village teacher was quickly recognized and in 1865 he was nominated for the ministry, one of a group of younger men given rapid promotion due to the shortage of ministers. Bula was ordained in 1869. Among his appointments were Vuda, Nadroga and Taveuni but almost half his ministry was spent at Naduri in the Macuata province (1877-83, 1895-1907). A man of imposing appearance though not of high rank, Eliesa Bula earned the respect of chiefs; they utilized his reputable architectural skills in the building of council and chiefs' dwellings, and responded to Bula's diplomatic approach to problems of morality, well illustrated in an incident involving an unnamed 'great chief' whose wife had recently died:

After a short time the chief sent for a native woman and church member to live with him - there was no question of marriage. Before going to the chief's house Eliesa met her but at that stage did not prevent her from going on to the chief's house. Later on he visited the chief and advised him against retaining the woman. 'Arieta is a member of class and if she stays with you she must be expelled and you will endanger her soul. If you want her have a marriage arranged'. The chief yielded (Missionary Review 1915:14-15).
It is possible that Eliesa's good relationships with the chiefs of Macuata stemmed partly from his astute exploitation of the traditional *tawu* (lit. 'joking') connection between the people of Gau island and Macuata in Vanua Levu. Such links exist between villages and provinces throughout the Fiji group and their advantages and disadvantages for ministers in a particular situation is an area of study that needs further investigation. In 1907, one year before Eliesa was due for retirement, the missionaries were obliged to re-appoint him from Naduri to Verata after his position was compromised by the alleged association of his daughter with the high chief of Macuata. Subsequently the chiefs of Macuata province petitioned unsuccessfully against Eliesa's removal.

Between 1881 and 1908 Eliesa frequently represented his fellow circuit ministers at the annual district meeting. He retired to Gau where he died in February 1915. Described by various missionaries as a man of 'undoubted piety and worth' and a 'perfect Christian gentleman', Eliesa's most laudable characteristic in their estimation was a self-effacement to the point where 'he never took liberties nor overstepped his position' (Missionary Review 1915:14). In short, Eliesa Bula displayed the qualities stressed in circuit training institutions and designed to reinforce mission organization, i.e.: reliability, diplomacy, conscientiousness, discipline and loyalty. For the Fijian who sought adventure in church work, the kind of challenges that ministers had faced briefly in the 1850s, then the place to go was westwards, to New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. People like Eliesa Bula are scarcely recalled in Fiji today; rather it is the Fijian missionaries such as Aminio Baledrokadroka and Simioni Momoivula, whose exploits abroad have been preserved in vernacular mission literature.

Of course not all Fijian ministers can be counted as success stories. There were failures within the organization, the incompetent and inefficient, the fallen and the rebellious. Forever hanging over a minister's head was the shadow of a complicated and strict disciplinary code, parts of it stemming from the European experience in Australia and England, and applicable equally to European and Fijian alike, but in addition many local rules devised by the missionaries were imposed on the Fijians. Most ministers acknowledged the need for rules, abided by them, interpreted them narrowly in judgement on their peers and were more severe than missionaries in applying the general mission code throughout the community. A high standard of conduct characterized the Fijian ministry, a product of frequent discipline as much as highly competitive selection. Ministers who invoked personal impositions on teachers, drank *yaqona* (the local beverage) to excess, misappropriated mission funds, or by-passed mission convention such as the calling of marriage banns in church, were all either suspended or expelled from the ministry, depending on the seriousness of the charge. However -missionaries found it difficult to expel persistent minor offenders and in these cases the ministers were either superannuated for a period or simply left without any appointment, a penalty which must have resulted in considerable loss of face for the recipient.

Two of the most difficult areas of discipline were questions of morality and the influence of traditional beliefs. Missionaries tended to act high-handedly and with a minimum of visible justice when Fijian ministers were charged with a moral offence such as adultery. On this
obviously delicate matter a double standard tended to operate, one law for the missionary, one for the Fijian. Imbued with the secretive attitudes of Victorian times, missionaries would dispatch any suspected compatriot back to Australia where more often than not he was dealt with leniently. But there was no mercy shown to the Fijian offender; evidence was sometimes slight, punishment severe. The Fiji church was only reflecting the hard-line moral precepts inherited from the days of Wesley but the discrepancy in treatment of expatriate and local did not go unnoticed among the whole church community and had an immeasurable effect on the image of the church in Fiji. For the record, charges of a moral nature accounted for over 40 per cent of all disciplinary measures against ministers.

A second major transgression of the Fijian ministry was the tendency to lapse into traditional practices and beliefs, including forms of syncretic worship. A catalogue of these activities, interesting though they be, would consume too much time and space. The fact is that some ministers, whether consciously or not, found it difficult to cut themselves off from the world of custom and tradition. This statement challenges the long-held myth, first perpetuated by the influential writer, A.B. Brewster, that all of the Fijian Wesleyan ministers were 'trained to show contempt for the old superstitions' (Brewster 1922:89). Some ministers undoubtedly saw their function as breaking down irrational beliefs inconsistent with Christianity; thus Reverend Joni Ulunaceva was recorded by Brewster as confiscating stones of religious significance in inland Fiji. Again Matalasi Vave, the revered tutor at Davullevu Theological Institute for twenty years, visited one town where the people were terrified by the old foundations of a dead wizard's house; to approach them meant certain death. 'Matalasi showed his complete emancipation from the ancient dead by deliberately climbing onto the site' (Deane 1921:164).

Contrary to Brewster's sweeping assertion, some ordained ministers (and many more teachers and catechists) were so steeped in their environment as to make detachment from the ancestral spirit world an impossibility. Only occasionally did their involvement reach the ears of a church court. One minister, Apaijia Tuilomanikoro, was accused of acquiring medicine from a traditional priest in order to release himself from a spell. In his own words, 'the sickness which has taken me is from the land belonging to the work, and I think it is draunikau' (Methodist Mission of Fiji 1903). (Draunikau in Fiji is sorcery or priestcraft and is the secretive use of certain leaves to affect other people). Although expelled from the ministry, Tuilomanikoro was defended by at least one missionary who claimed in 1903 that 999 out of 1000 Fijians of Tuilomanikoro's generation believed in draunikau spells.

Significantly, three years later, the Synod imposed less severe discipline upon a minister who had been implicated in draunikau practices on the island of Koro in Lomaiviti. Rather than face the disapprobation of the missionary and inevitable church discipline, church workers often remained tight-lipped when instances of draunikau were known to have occurred. Thus in 1907, when such ceremonies were celebrated in parts of the Macuata province on Vanua Levu with the obvious knowledge of church officers, nothing was disclosed of the affair. As one missionary report stated; 'It is practically a case of European versus Fijian, with the
usual result. Blood is thicker than water and the natives will not declare the names of wrongdoers' (Methodist Missionary Society of Australia 1907).

Of all the rules formulated within Fiji the most sensitive and contentious related to questions of missionary authority, and by implication, to the limitation of ministerial rights and the degree of responsibility which Fijian ministers could be accorded. The concluding section of this article is concerned with the crucial matter of local autonomy.

In 1863 the missionaries allowed all ordained ministers to meet before the annual meeting and pass on any recommendations they might have to the missionaries. This meeting was gradually phased out due to the logistical problems of gathering all the ministers from throughout Fiji and accommodating them for a considerable time. In 1875 the Fijian ministry was thrust backwards with a new constitution which severely limited the representation of Fijian ministers in the Synod and also placed them in a subordinate, arguably servile, position for the next seventy years. Through this constitutional change missionaries cleverly neutralized the impact of a growing Fijian ministry and assured themselves of European domination in the Synod, for the number of ministers at Synod was limited to the number of circuits - each represented by one minister.

It is at this point that one of Fiji's most dynamic and colourful Methodist ministers rose to fleeting prominence. Few would know of him today; that is the fate of even the best Fijian ministers. Within his church during his lifetime he was controversial, a rebel with a cause, certain to fail. The extent of comment on this man by missionaries testifies that he must have been an extraordinary minister for very rarely did missionaries refer to individual Fijian ministers in their letters except it be on their retirement or death.

His name was Tomasi Naceba (pronounced Nathemba). Born at Weilangi on the island of Taveuni in 1842, Tomasi was converted at the age of seventeen and faced 'bitter persecution from heathen chiefs', a missionary reference to the sustained opposition to Christianity from the ruling families of Cakaudrove led by their high chief. Tomasi attended the district training institution on Kadavu during the 1860s, was sent to take charge of the Rewa circuit institution at Dauilevu and then, on the suggestion of missionary Lorimer Fison, returned to Kadavu as an assistant teacher at the district institute from 1869-71. The principal there, Jesse Carey, was impressed by Tomasi. To Fison he wrote, 'He is really a worthy fellow. I have known him now for twelve years and his course like a river, though not without a few windings, has ever been onward' (Mitchell Library Manuscript Collections 1870). Fison too thought highly of Tomasi and proposed him for the ministry in 1871, describing him as a candidate of 'notable diligence and unquestionable faith' (Methodist Overseas Mission 1871).

Received on probation in 1873, Tomasi worked at the Navuloa Training Institution and then in various circuits until 1892 when he returned to Navuloa as senior Fijian tutor. Of those nineteen years between 1873-92 very little is known. Thomas Williams, co-author of Fiji and the Fijians, met him on the island of Viwa in 1885 and noted Tomasi's command of English and his strong preaching. However Tomasi's most formative and crucial
years would have been between 1874-77 when he worked as a relatively young man in the same circuit as Joseph Waterhouse, missionary and fierce supporter of equal rights for Fijian ministers at the Synod. Naceba was no doubt witness to the intense and sometimes bitter wrangling between Waterhouse and his younger Superintendent, Frederick Langham, over the place and position of Fijian ministers. Clearly influenced by his association with Waterhouse, Tomasi attended the Fiji Synod as one of the twelve ministerial representatives in 1883, 1886, 1888 and 1890. At the 1886 meeting there was a long but little reported tussle between missionaries and Fijian ministers over grievances relating to salaries and general conditions. Tomasi's role in that debate is not known.

By 1890 Tomasi was expressing his discontent with the rights of Fijian ministers to his colleagues at the Synod. Frederick Langham, who was throughout his forty years in Fiji unsympathetic to such demands by Fijian ministers, has left the only account of Tomasi's opinions. His prejudices are obvious:

Apisai [Radrau] and Tomasi told us that they would vote for having an increase to their [salaries?] and the latter would like to be free to 'live by the cakacaka' - meaning to feed on ones Teacher 2 or 3 days and on another same time and so on while he was on raicakacaka [visitation] - the teachers would have to spin round and find fowls ... and their wives would have to go out fishing etc. etc. to prepare feasts while the Rev. T. Naceba was 'doing the Lord's work'. You may depend on it there is a lot of feeling on all these subjects. I would there were as much about getting souls saved. I told [Tomasi] very plainly that I would not allow other native ministers to be anxious or ashamed through his stirring them up and that if he had anything to propose to do it frankly at Synod ...

He is the cutest native minister we have ... and has more in his head than most folks in his position (Methodist Overseas Missions, Langham 1890).

In May 1892 Tomasi rebelled. He had been only five months at the Navulolo institute where, as Qase ni Vuli or the senior Fijian tutor, he occupied a position of considerable influence among the students. Mission records are silent on the rebellion; any documents that should exist have been excised from their proper place. The only account—and a sparse one—comes from the governor of Fiji at the time, Sir John Thurston who, over many years, did not have cordial relations with either Langham or almost all missionaries. According to Thurston, six young Fijians, described as 'young chiefs' were expelled from Navulolo for refusing to cut wood for the Mission steam launch. The missionaries gave the remaining students - almost 200 of them - the opportunity to submit to mission rules or leave if they were 'hurt' by the decision against their fellows; the next morning the Institution was empty. Tomasi Naceba led a deputation of aggrieved students and appealed to Thurston to intervene but the Governor replied he would only if the students returned to Navulolo. They complied and Thurston travelled to Navulolo where he heard both sides of the case and
delivered judgement, bringing about 'a perfect reconciliation' (Pacific History 1892).

Subsequent mission accounts indicated that Tomasi Naceba was at the centre of the rebellion and a most effective leader. He argued the students' case in front of Thurston clearly and with moderation. Langham wanted to expel Tomasi from the ministry immediately but his immediate superior in Australia, George Brown, counselled delay since precipitate action might bring further trouble. The missionaries were shaken by the whole affair. They believed Tomasi's part in the rebellion to be purely a callous act of insubordination. Brown unfairly placed more blame on Waterhouse. In fact for over fifteen years before his outburst, Tomasi Naceba had been campaigning, with the support of other ministers, for improvements in the position and pay of Fijian ministers. His action in 1892 was the culmination of growing frustration with missionary intrusiveness and domineering authority.

At the end of 1892, Tomasi and Apisai Radravu - his closest supporter - were expelled from the ministry. No record remains of the disciplinary committee meeting. Six years later in 1898 Tomasi was reinstated as a local preacher by a unanimous Synod decision. According to the official record he had, since expulsion, 'acknowledged his guilt and shown a spirit of contrition' (Methodist Overseas Mission 1898). In 1900 he was reinstated as a minister, eight years being taken off his standing. After serving at Navuso for four years he died of pneumonia on Christmas Day 1904 and was buried on his own request at Navula. There appears to be no trace of his grave at Navula today. After the catastrophic influenza epidemic in Fiji in 1918, most graves at Navula were covered up.

The spirit of reform which Tomasi Naceba espoused was slow to gather momentum and grievances continued to be expressed. In 1904 the dozen or so ministers of Ra Circuit submitted to their annual meeting an astonishingly lengthy document (fourteen pages) requesting equality between missionary and minister in the mission house - to be able to sit on the chairs, eat at the table and drink from a china cup rather than a tin mug. The missionaries dismissed the document as puerile folly and replied arrogantly with a sermon on their heavy responsibilities as white missionaries:

If we were all one and the same in social and general development and in ability to judge and rule, there would be no longer need of the white Missionary to remain here. But there is a vast difference between us, of which they seem to be unaware, and it is impossible to treat them as equals if we are to have the rule over them and watch on behalf of their souls, as those that must give account (Methodist Missionary Society of Australasia 1904).

Faced with this evidence of unrest among Fijian ministers, one is tempted to look beyond day-to-day problems such as wages and working conditions. These were urgent problems but may not be the only source of explanation. One grasps at straws such as the minister Rusiate Vunivalu's futile request for a special meeting of all ministers about 1911 to discuss the condition of Fiji in the light of the declining native population. Or
the bizarre case of the two ministerial representatives who appeared at Synod in 1916 wearing the missionary colours of black instead of the usual white reserved for Fijian ministers. Could this minor agitation be part of the overall growth of nationalist feeling in Fiji, the same current of dissatisfaction with white rule which saw the explosive emergence of Apolosi Nawai and the Viti Kabani (Fiji Company) during World War I? The conjecture is tempting and the theme of nationalism has yet to be thoroughly explored in Fiji's history.

As far as the church was concerned, it was not till the 1930s, with the great depression, that the Fijian ministry was finally given the opportunity to display its leadership and management abilities. After a drastic reduction in the allocation of Australian mission funds to Fiji three European missionaries were forced to return to Australia. In their place three Fijian ministers were appointed to take charge of circuits with the official title of 'Assistant Superintendent' and under the overall responsibility of the senior missionary, Richard McDonald.

McDonald quickly recognized the potential of this new scheme. He travelled around the three circuits, encouraging the ministers, assisting them with financial advice and noting the degree of chiefly approval for the Fijian superintendents. When McDonald retired from Fiji in 1935 it appeared as if Fijian ministers had permanently achieved a degree of responsibility and were considered as competent administrators by their European brethren. However McDonald's successor, Charles Lelean, had less faith in the leadership qualities of Fijians. He removed the Fijian Superintendent from one circuit but Fijian opinion within Synod prevented him from doing likewise in the two other circuits. In essence Lelean believed that greater responsibility for Fijian ministers was a premature move. A number of missionaries still believed that Fijians had not yet graduated to the level of skills possessed by Europeans, for instance in book-keeping and circuit management. Secondly it was believed that only Europeans, since they were not Fijians, could resist the dominant influence of chiefs.

Missionaries had often raised the argument of chiefly influence over ministers and had used it to maintain their stranglehold on authority. They could support their case with evidence. When, in 1922, a suggestion was made to replace European missionaries with senior Fijian ministers, Ratu Aseala (government representative on Kadavu and a high-ranking chief) claimed that the chiefs had no confidence in the Fijian ministers as leaders. One senses in that comment the heavy influence of tradition and rank; ministers were pulpit chiefs only and should remain as such. Besides, the zealous and 'straight' minister, if given authority, might expose his social superiors for the shams that some of them were. Even if Fijian ministers had gone on record in the late nineteenth century as saying that chiefs might manipulate them if missionaries withdrew, this feeling had declined by the 1940s. The Fijian superintendent scheme had entrusted a degree of authority on the ministers which had been denied them for many decades and which they were not prepared to relinquish. Even the chiefs recognized that the church was entering a new phase of development after World War II and that leadership would eventually be transferred to Fijian churchmen; as Ratu Tevita, a chief of Vuda, said in 1945, 'the day
when the things in the church were decided vakavanua (according to custom or tradition) seemed to be passing' (Methodist Mission of Fiji 1945).

The search to identify and give some flesh to Fijian ministers, indeed probably ministers of all Melanesian churches, has just begun. Many of them, it has been noted, leave no other evidence of their work than a name on the station sheet in the annual mission report. A bare handful in the nineteenth century leave any trace through missionaries' letters. Because an autobiography was written for him by a missionary, the best known Fijian minister is a Tongan! - Joeli Bulu. To simply conclude that a paucity of written material on the rest sums up their unimportance is totally inadequate. Oral accounts can play a part here in filling the gaps.

What were the strengths and weaknesses of the Fijian ministry? Their weakness was primarily one of position - caught between the traditional power of a chiefly society which quickly gained ascendancy within the church and the untouchable authority of the missionary. Within these narrow constraints, ministers performed more than adequately. Their strength lay in their conviction born of character and commitment. They were not mimics of their teachers; had they been, the Fiji Methodist church might never have survived for the missionaries often displayed cultural ignorance and unfeeling disapproval of Fijian thought and behaviour.

Finally, this is not the kind of article that carries a major line of argument. It has no sustaining thesis to emphasize unless that be the remarkable tradition of service that has not been well recorded and hence neglected. More simply, this article is the story of the contribution of hundreds of men to the establishment of an institution which is now part of Fiji's heritage for the Fijians speak of the three pillars of their society as the land (vanua), the government (matanitu) and the church (lotu).

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