idiomatic. . . . He had a great genius for mechanical pursuits [p. 254]. He had great inventive power [p. 255]. He wrote a clear, distinct, beautiful hand, and filled page after page without a blot or mistake. . . . He was a man of simple tastes and frugal habits. . . . He was specially careful of the Church's funds" [p. 255]. He could turn to anything. He was ready, ever ready, for all manner of work, and for every emergency.

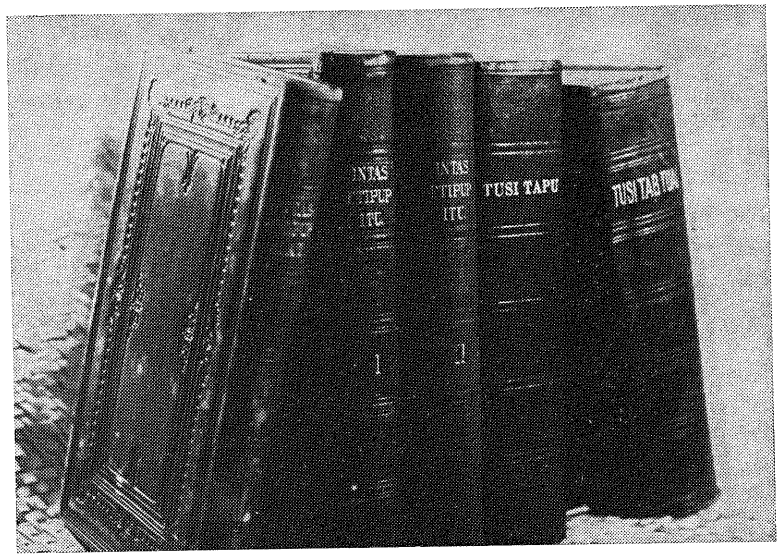
This was "little John Geddie" whose appointment in 1845 was so noisily challenged in the Synod of Nova Scotia. His critical brethren lived to regret their mistake and to rejoice in Geddie's success.

Dr. Robert Steel of St. Stephen's Presbyterian Church, Sydney, the first historian of the New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission, wrote the memorial epitaph inscribed behind the pulpit in Geddie's church at Aneityum. Part of this reads:—

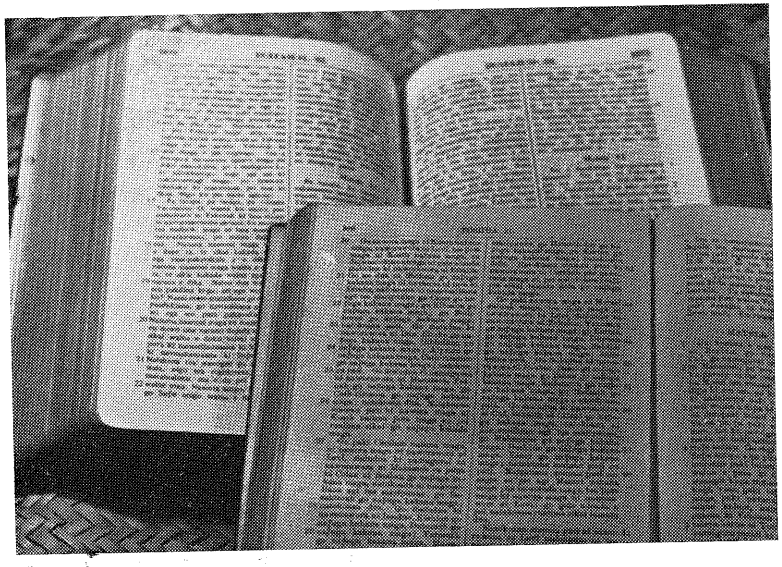
WHEN HE LANDED IN 1848 THERE WERE NO
CHRISTIANS HERE,
AND WHEN HE LEFT IN 1872 THERE
WERE NO HEATHENS.

PART FOUR

Topical Surveys



From left: the three volumes of the Aneityumese Bible (1863-1879); the Nguna-Tongoa Bible (1972); the Nguna-Efate OT (1908).



Nguna-Tongoa Bible (Tusi Tapu) open at Isaiah Chapters 52, 53; Nguna-Efate OT (Tusi Tab Tuai) open at Joshua Chapters 21, 22.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

The Birth of a Literature

The rock carvings on Aneityum

ON THE NORTH side of Aneityum, about a mile inland from Aname, Dr. Inglis' old station, is a large volcanic rock covered with a variety of carvings. None of the people knew who wrote them, even as far back as 1852 when Dr. Inglis landed there. Some of the drawings look like birds, some like trees, one is like a turtle. These carvings are cut about half an inch deep in the rock and must have been the work of many people over a long period of time. The rock is about twenty feet long and twelve feet high. The carvers would have needed some kind of platform or scaffolding to enable them to do the work.

Dr. William Gunn, the scholarly missionary-doctor on Futuna and Aneityum, published a photograph of the rock drawings in the New Hebrides Magazine for January 1906. He wrote to Professor A. H. Sayce of Oxford who said he could not offer any explanation of the rock carvings. Sayce added, "It is one more proof that man is a writing animal all over the world." There are also rock drawings in caves at Lelepa in Havannah Harbour, Efate. Professor Henry Drummond drew his own impression of these Lelepa drawings when he visited the caves in 1890.

Symbolic writing

In the New Hebrides the ancestors had their own forms of writing, but these were limited to drawings, designs and symbols. The *siloa* or food bowl was often made to look like a turtle. A kava bowl of stone, from Big Bay, Santo, now in the Bible College museum at Tangoa, has the head of a flying fox. Both these creatures are totem-animals.

Tattoo marks and the designs on the outside of Santo clay pottery had meanings. Mats were woven into different patterns, each with its name and meaning. The faces on old idol-drums or

images and fire-signals by which messages were sent from island to island were also understood without written help. They were grasped more widely than local languages.

New Hebrides' languages

A recent language survey of the New Hebrides has shown more than one hundred separate languages among about one hundred thousand people. They are a treasure house of culture and must not be lost, neglected or despised. If our languages die so do proverbs, folklore and respect for the past wisdom and history of the people. In welcoming western culture people are tempted to let slip their own. Thus use and development of New Hebrides languages is important.

In 1939 the World Dominion Press published "The Bible Throughout the World." To that date one hundred and fifty-four languages of Polynesia and Melanesia had portions of Scripture in translation, including forty-one translations in the New Hebrides. Of these forty-one translations, thirty-four had been made by Presbyterian missionaries and their New Hebridean informants, seven by missionaries of the Melanesian Mission and the Churches of Christ. Others have been added since 1939.

Now, at last, the task is passing to local translators. Conferences are held regularly, made up chiefly of New Hebrides translators, under the inspiration and guidance of the Bible Society and its well-qualified staff.

The importance of Bible translations

The first missionaries spent so much toil, time and trouble on learning the languages and making translations because they saw that, without the Bible, the people would remain in ignorance of God's Word. Only in the Bible can we find God's way of salvation for man and his society. The early missionaries did not despise the local languages.

They regretted the growing use of the trade language, then called Sandalwood English and now called Bislama. They believed that this medium was crude, clumsy and ambiguous. Bislama could not take the place of the local and ancestral languages, however useful Bislama might prove in communication between people of differing languages.

Partly to avoid this use of a trade language the early Methodist

missionaries in Fiji selected one of the fifteen larger dialects for their translation work. They thus standardized a Fijian dialect for all the people. The Melanesian Mission tried to do the same by using Mota, from the Banks Islands as standard for their work.

Presbyterian translators

No such attempt was made in the New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission. Apart from Bislama, English, and perhaps French, the nearest approach to a common language, a *lingua franca*, in the New Hebrides is the use of Ngunese translations by the Efatese people as far north as South East Epi.

Translations required much work by many people. Translators needed a good ear to listen to new and strange sounds, a good choice of symbols to record those sounds accurately, and understanding of island thinking so as to unravel the principles of Melanesian languages. All this needed checking over many years.

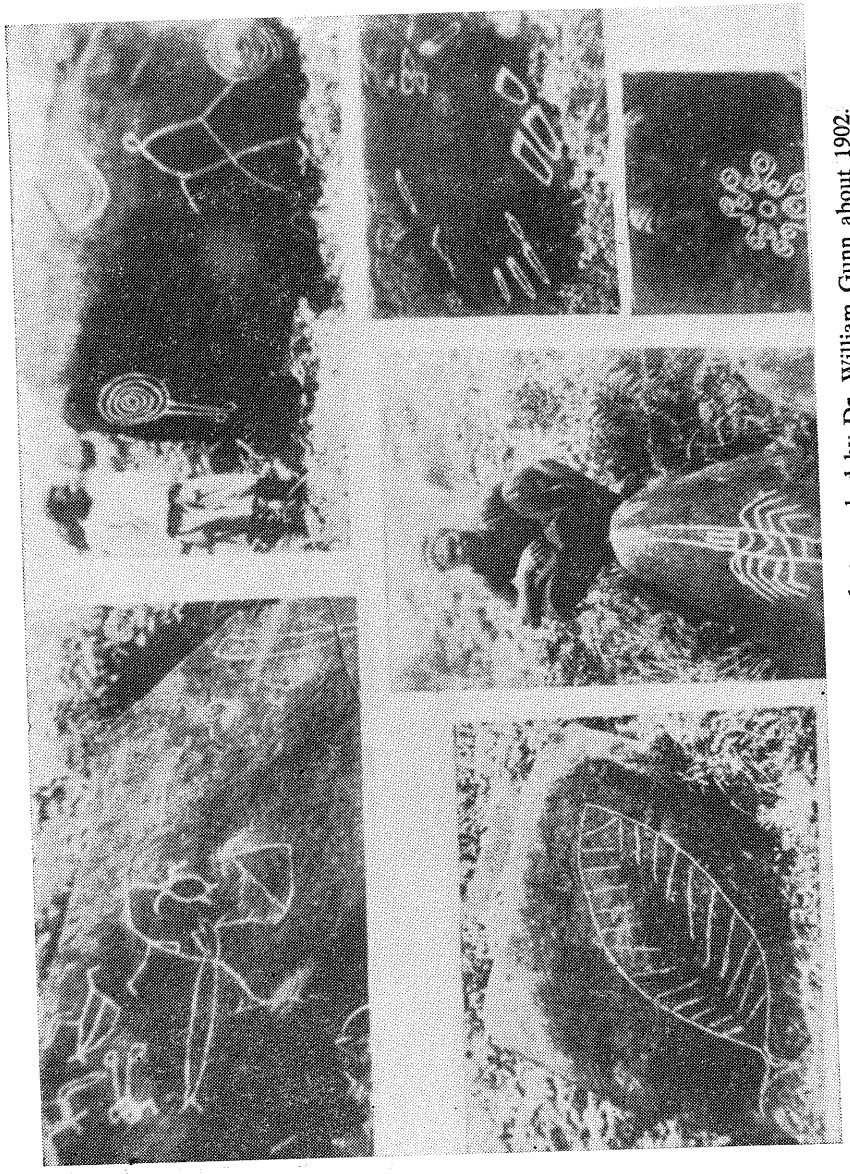
The example of Eromanga

George Gordon had been about three months on Eromanga when he printed the Ten Commandments in the language. A year later he printed Jonah. Then came Luke's Gospel, translated by Gordon, and written out by his wife Ellen, and printed on Geddie's press at Aneityum by an LMS missionary, the Rev. S. Ella.

Robertson says Luke's Gospel was translated before George Gordon was fully familiar with the language and so was not well done. His work on Acts was much better. This was the manuscript that his brother James was revising when he was murdered in 1872. James Gordon's translations, said Robertson, were "almost perfect." He far surpassed any missionary on Eromanga in his knowledge of the language. The people often told Dr. Robertson that James Gordon spoke the language like themselves and that he knew all the dialects.

Orthography

To save confusion among the early workers on the many languages the Mission Synod agreed upon a standard orthography, or list of letters for equivalent sounds. English-speaking people cannot easily pronounce sound like Mele (they say "May-lee"), or Nguna (they say "Noona").



The ancient rock carvings at Aneityum, photographed by Dr. William Gunn about 1902.

Literacy

The first steps towards literacy were taken when the early missionaries put letters on charts in front of the new learners. Many of the first charts were printed by the Rev. William Watt on his press at Kwamera, Tanna. The Mission seems to have been guided by primers and literacy charts used by the LMS in Polynesia. Many older people remember learning, in their First Reader:

a	e	i	o	u	
ma	me	mi	mo	mu	and so on.

The First Reader led to a harder reader, with simple words and and sentences, then to a Bible Story Book with favourite passages of Scripture, such as the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the twenty-third Psalm.

Literature

The Bible, a library of sixty-six books, is the richest literature that this world has ever known. It has been translated into many more languages than any other book in the history of the world.

To our people this Book, or even portions of it, opened a whole new world of knowledge. Side by side with its message of salvation in Christ the Bible gave a course of higher education in universal knowledge. It enriched the people with a great variety of ideas, breadth of thought, nobility of character and direction of life. Here they discovered history, geography, biography, social behaviour, songs, proverbs, parables, miracles, life-stories, and wisdom. By this gradual process this sacred literature made the New Hebrideans the people they have become.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

A Broad Basis for Education

Bishop Patteson's views

WHAT IS A true and sound education?

John Coleridge Patteson, the first Anglican Bishop of Melanesia, wrote in 1866, ten years after he began his journeys among the islands at the age of thirty-eight:

> "Education consists in teaching people to bear responsibilities, and laying the responsibilities on them as they are able to bear them." [In a speech at St. John's College, Auckland. Life of Patteson, C M Yonge, II 159].

Patteson never married. He lived with his Melanesian students, ate with them, and cared for them when they were dying. He saw the gifts of the people and knew that intellectually they are not inferior to other races. He laboured to educate and build up an indigenous leadership. He died at Nukapu in the Santa Cruz Islands in 1871, believed by many to be the victim of "pay-back" for five men who had been stolen by a recruiting ship. The bronze cross on the beach at Nukapu states simply that his life was taken by the people for whom he would willingly have given it. He was then fourty-four. His life had been an object lesson in the principles of education for our Melanesian society.

Patteson showed by his life that example is the best language of education. This language was clearly spoken in life and in death by our pioneers, both Polynesian and European with medicine and hammer, pen and pulpit, with prayer and muscle.

Training in responsibility

The aim was not to fill the head, but to enlarge the whole life, head, heart, home and community. The demonstration lessons were given by the people themselves.

Dr. Inglis writes of the educational development in the first

generation of church life on Aneityum. Much the same pattern unfolded on Aniwa, Eromanga, Efate, Nguna, Tongoa and elsewhere. Failure in some areas, not named, was due to early deaths of the missionaries, the smallness of the tribe or language group, lack of available workers, rapid depopulation, or loss of vision. Few had the stature of Geddie, Patteson and Inglis.

Dr. Inglis Account

Here is the record in Dr. Inglis' own words:

> "On our arrival (1852) . . . we found what might be called a system of National Education hopefully inaugurated. Mr. Geddie had brought with him a small second-hand printing press, and a small font of half-worn type. He had prepared a primer, a small catechism, six hymns and a small selection of Scripture extracts. (By 1852) he had completed a translation of Matthew, (and had) proceeded to Mark." [Inglis, In the New Hebrides p. 75].

Mark's Gospel, printed in Sydney, "gave an immense stimulus to education all over the island." A new Bible book was thereafter printed about once a year. "We never gave a new book until pupils had mastered the old one."

Inglis says that women and girls excelled in memorising Scripture. In a competition to repeat Acts chapters 1-6, six women repeated the whole passage in the language of Aneityum without missing one word.

> "My plan was this, to make the school at my station as much of a model school as possible, and to aim at education being national, scriptural, free as far as fees were concerned, but compulsory as to attendance. [Inglis, In the New Hebrides p. 76].
> "I applied my chief strength, as far as education was concerned, to make the natives good readers . . . Our primary object was to teach them to read, that they might be able to read the Bible, and learn the will of God and the way of salvation for themselves." [Inglis, In the New Hebrides p. 78].

Text Books

Some may think that this was a one-book school, but the late Mr. Justice Ferguson's three-volume History of the New Hebrides Mission Press shows the astonishing number, range, breadth and usefulness of the school texts provided, one hundred and ten years ago, for the schools on Aneityum. The literature included hymn collections and a geography, printed in Aneityumese, in 1862

Slates were used for writing lessons until the pupils graduated to the Teachers' Institution, when they used pen and paper.

School and work

A happy rhythm was established for preserving the responsibility of all pupils to assist in the gardens and thus keep close to the land-based economy of the culture.

> "When the morning school was dismissed, the natives went all off to their work; they were not a lazy or indolent people, even in their heathen state, and Christianity, as it was embraced, greatly stimulated their industry." [Inglis, In the New Hebrides p. 78].

Teacher Training

"I opened an afternoon class for the teachers, their wives, and assistants, so that the whole teaching staff might be kept fairly abreast of their scholars. This was the germ of our Teachers' Institution, which bore good fruit in after days [p. 78]. We wished to raise up a large number of native agents (teachers) moderately qualified, to act as teachers to their fellow-countrymen, who should instruct them in the art of reading, so as to make them able to read the Bible." [p. 85].

Industrial Training

Mr. and Mrs. Inglis expanded what the Geddies had begun by giving vocational training to both young men and women.

In 1856 Bishop Selwyn called at Aname, with Patteson on board, and both went ashore to visit the Inglises. Patteson recorded his pleasure at what he saw in the co-educational industrial and vocational school.

> "(Mr. Inglis) showed us the arrangements for boarding young men and women — twelve of the former, and fourteen of the latter. Nothing could well exceed the cleanliness and order of their houses, sleeping rooms, and cooking rooms. The houses, wattled and plastered, had floors covered with native mats, beds laid upon a raised platform running round the inner room, mats and blankets for covering, and bamboo cane for a pillow. The boys were, some writing, some making twine, some summing, when we went in; the girls just putting on their bonnets, of their own manufacture, for school. They learn all household work—cooking, hemming, sewing, etc; the boys tend the poultry, cows, cultivate taro, make arrowroot, etc. All of them could read fluently, and all looked happy, clean, and healthy. The girls wear their native petticoats of cocoa-nut leaves, with a calico body (bodice). Boys wear trousers, and some had shirts, some waistcoats and a few jackets." [Life of Patteson, C. M. Yonge, I 158].

The effect of this vocational training was to make the teachers who went to other islands good evangelists and teachers, but also good builders of houses, boatmen who could replace planking and make a whaleboat seaworthy, good cooks, nurses, and general helpers. Geddie records the astonishment of some heathen from Futuna who saw Aneityumese men working as builders and masons on Geddie's new and strong mission house at Anelgauhat. They could not believe that this house could be built by men, still less by New Hebrides men. They said *natmasses* must have built it.

Curriculum

Inglis was busy every morning with his village school, but gave four afternoons a week to the Teachers' Training Institution, with two sessions of four months each year. The aim was to have enough teachers for the fifty or more schools on Aneityum and to provide Aneityumese teachers for the growing demand of the heathen islands.

The institution was well attended until Inglis left in 1877, with a record roll of nearly ninety, including a junior division of promising boys and girls.

Community projects

No village on Aneityum was left out. No child was more than one mile from a school. Every school was built by local community effort, without cost to anyone and in good materials. Aneityum became a strong, united island with a healthy, busy, peaceful, and progressive community life.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

The Seeds of Self-Government

General Assembly Declaration, 1973

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the Presbyterian Church of the New Hebrides at Tanna in May 1973 passed an important unanimous declaration that, "representing more than half of the population of the New Hebrides, in this its 25th General Assembly as a self-governing Church, . . . it confidently looks towards the goal of responsible self-government of the New Hebrides people as a nation."

The Church said it saw the British, French and Condominium administrators as its partners in moving toward this goal and asked the local governments, the South Pacific Commission, and the United Nations to co-operate in achieving "self-government without delay, without violence, and with due preparation of our people for the duties, functions, rights and responsibilities of independent government."

It was fitting that this wisely worded Declaration should come from the Presbyterian General Assembly, for our Church is based on a biblical pattern of church government, which trains Christian men and women to use the gifts of the Spirit of God for the building up of Church and nation.

When the Presbyterian Church of the New Hebrides was inaugurated on 1 July 1948 there were still some people who doubted whether New Hebrideans were ready to accept the responsibility of self-government. This was, in fact, the first self-governing Church in the Western Pacific, though others soon followed.

Aim of self-government

Self-government was certainly the goal of the first Presbyterian missionaries. We have already seen in chapter twenty how the Church on Aneityum was furnished by God with its own deacons and teachers, and how the hereditary chiefs were able to

take increased responsibility in the unified government of the civil life of Aneityum.

The basis of Presbyterian Church government is the office of elder. The word for elder in the Greek New Testament, *presbyteros*, has given the name to the denomination. A Presbyterian Church is ruled by elders, through graduated democratic church courts. In these courts mature Christians chosen by the congregations for their spiritual gifts and experience are entrusted with ruling the affairs of the Church. They are thus trained in responsibility, accepting their duties as from God, and as a trust for the whole Church.

Our Church believes that the gifts of the Spirit are necessary for a self-governing Church. Such equipment as advanced education and overseas experience may be useful, but the gifts and calling of God are essential. Every convert and community has high potential. A missionary who believes this is saved from interfering in the direction of a young Church. He is there to help but not to run the Church. Geddie and Inglis saw this as their task as they looked to the future.

The first elders

Soon after the opening of the great stone church at Anelgauhat in 1860, Geddie wrote:

> "Seven men have been nominated for the office of ruling elders, and we expect to ordain them next week. . . . They are all persons in whom I have much confidence." [Misi Gete p. 255].

Later on 8 October 1860 Geddie added:

> "I am greatly assisted by seven elders recently ordained. Each one has a certain number of church members assigned to his charge, whom he visits, with whom he holds meetings for conversation, exhortation and prayer. At our meetings of session, each elder gives a report of the state of religion in his district." [Misi Gete p. 258].

Geddie felt that his people had enough of the Scriptures in their language to guide them in the choice of the right men. He did not choose them. God chose them, and Geddie trusted the Word and Spirit of God to guide the election by the members of the Church. If this pattern had been followed on all the islands the Church would have matured more quickly, more usefully and more responsibly. But this plan was followed only half-heartedly on some islands and not at all on others.

The LMS tradition

None of the four earlier Protestant missions in the Pacific followed the Presbyterian form of church government. The most influential mission, so far as the New Hebridean Church was concerned, was the LMS.

The LMS was founded in England in 1795 with the rule that no form of church government be laid down for converts, who must be free to choose the form of church government which appeared to them to be most agreeable to the Word of God. The LMS work developed with committees of missionaries presiding over the work in each area. The missionaries saw to the training and stationing of teachers and the opening up of new areas to the Gospel. The teacher became the key to the local work and witness, and was answerable to the missionary. The missionary was responsible to the Conference. Later the LMS trained and placed pastors in congregations. The LMS had no system of ordained elders. The Church government in LMS areas of the South Pacific developed along broadly Congregational lines.

Impact on the New Hebrides Mission

This also gradually became the pattern in the New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission, especially where the missionary did not establish a session of elders. The teacher became the key figure in the village and he was under the direct control of the missionary. The local church was robbed of its responsibility to encourage, support, guide and appoint its own leaders. The missionary was left without the counsel and conscience of the local church, and was cast more and more upon his own judgement in personal decisions.

This weakened the local congregation and robbed the church of the leadership for which God had made provision. It left the missionary in a position of isolation and one-man government of the church and gave the people the impression that the church was foreign, something which had arrived with the missionary and could not live without him and his western ideas, money and authority.

The early desire for Presbyteries

By 1860 the Presbyterian Mission was strong enough to meet in annual conference with six missionaries present. They decided

to make a request to their Home Churches for approval to set up a Presbytery or Presbyteries.

A Conference Minute of 17 July 1860 resolved that Geddie should write to the Board of Foreign Missions of his Church in Nova Scotia and Copeland to the Foreign Mission Committee of his Church in Scotland about forming a united Presbytery or Presbyteries in the mission.

Geddie was clearly feeling his way towards the next step in self-government within the Church. Aneityum had a session and he saw how well the Aneityumese church was developing in self-government. He wanted the New Hebrides Church to have a higher court to guide, unify, and encourage the new churches. Dr. Steel refers to this desire, but seems to imply that the Presbytery would comprise only missionaries. Geddie, however was thinking of the living Church of the New Hebrides, rather than the scaffolding of the mission.

At the next annual conference of the mission on Aneityum in October 1861 only two Presbyterian missionaries were present, Geddie and Copeland. Both men reported to the meeting that they had written to their boards of missions and been told the step proposed was "premature," a word commonly used to question and discourage the steps which led to the constitution of the Presbyterian Church of the New Hebrides in 1948.

The two home churches of 1860, thousands of miles away from the young New Hebrides Church and from each other, could not really understand the situtation in these islands. The idea of Presbyteries was kept alive until the 1870's, but the death of Geddie seems to have ended any hope of the New Hebrides Church finding representation on Presbytery or Synod.

The New Hebrides Mission Synod.

In 1872, as Inglis writes, the missionaries "found it convenient to apply the name Synod to the annual business meetings of the mission; and it has been universally accepted as expressing the corporate existence and the corporate action of the missionaries . . . No native elders sit as members." [Inglis, In the New Hebrides p. 157].

The name Synod described what was simply a council of missionaries. Inglis and Watt (for many years the clerk of Synod) when they were cornered used to say in effect, "By 'Synod' we

mean what we like." Inglis has written: "Our mission, which is the most abnormal of anything known, has a Synod, but no Presbytery . . . We are all most orthodox and loyal Presbyterians." [Inglis p. 157].

Inglis had become part of the corporate drift into missionary control of the Church. This situation continued almost unchanged until 1941.

The Mission Constitution of 1892

The Constitution of the Synod, adopted in 1892, gave it Presbyterial or Synodical powers over the entire mission in all its areas and activities, but made no further mention of representation from the New Hebrides Church. The vision of self-government had died. This was a tragedy for the Church, the mission and national development.

Fine New Hebrides leaders worked and witnessed through all the years down to 1941 when the tide began to turn. The relationships between them and the Mission were almost always healthy, positive and happy. We need only mention Sopi, Kalsakau and Kalorib of Efate; William Tariliu of Tongoa; James Kaum of Ambrym; Dete of Nokuku and Winzi of Malo. Every island had its loyal team even in the darkest days of our history — proof that God does not desert His people in their hour of need.

The John G. Paton Mission Fund was established in 1890, with its head office in Great Britain. Its aim was to hasten the evangelization of the heathen areas in the New Hebrides. Gradually, as the other and older home boards began to transfer their support from the New Hebrides Mission to the larger fields of Korea, India and China, the role of the John G. Paton Mission Fund grew more and more important. The time came when the Fund supported almost half of the work of the New Hebrides Mission. This was God's provision at a difficult time in the Church's history.

Unfortunately the John G. Paton Mission Fund did not represent any church. It was out of touch with the ideals and principles of a self-governing church. Non-Presbyterian missionaries were also sent and supported from the fund. These influences affected the character of the church, which tended to drift on rudderless into the twentieth century.

The late discovery of church ideals

In 1917 the Rev. J. Noble Mackenzie of Korea re-visited the New Hebrides and spent some time back in his old area of North West Santo. He spoke to the mission synod of what had happened to the Presbyterian Church in Korea as a result of biblical teaching on self-government and self-support within the young Church. The 1917 Mission Synod thereupon resolved:

> "While fully recognising the widely different material upon which missionaries have to work in the respective fields, Synod, after hearing Mr. J. Noble Mackenzie, who has worked in both, believes that with a view to laying the foundation for a stronger native ministry, the call has come . . . to make a larger use of native elders and pastors amongst the New Hebrideans."

The Synod's minute shows that the missionaries had fallen into the belief, common at that time among anthropologists, that Melanesians are on a lower intellectual plane than other races. This was not Patteson's view, or Geddie's view, but it still prevailed when Mrs. Miller and I came to the New Hebrides in 1941, and hindered the development of church and people towards self-government.

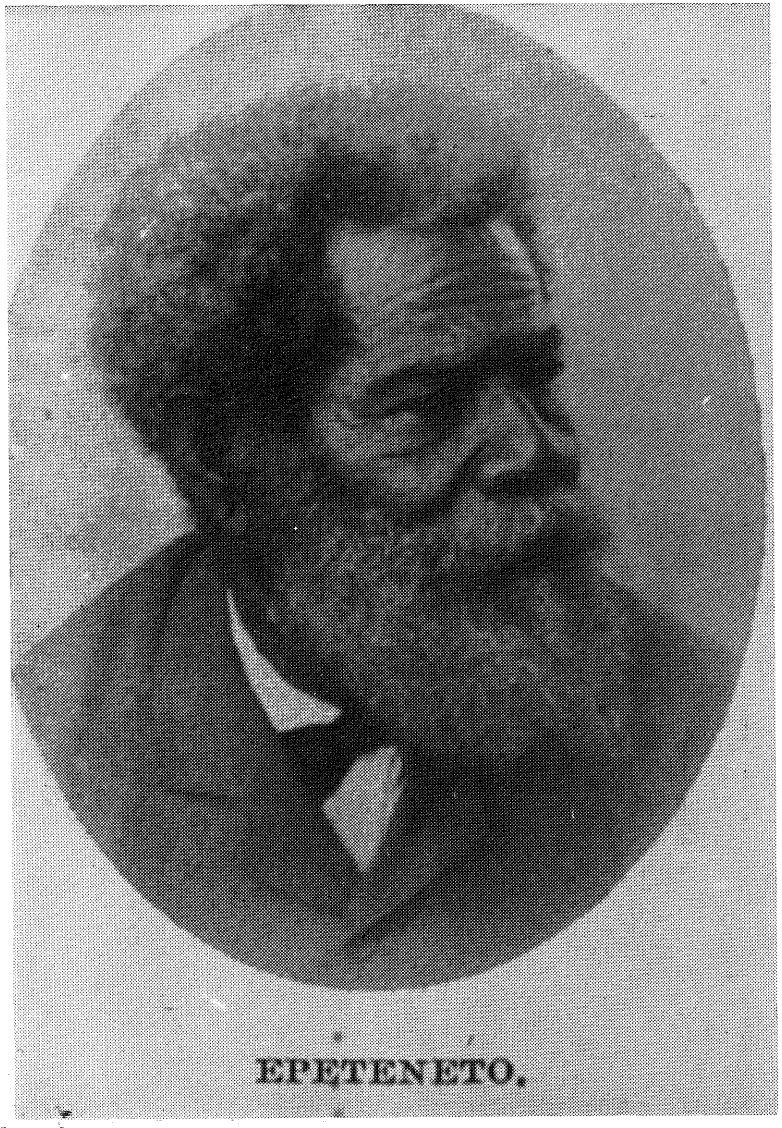
The ideals of church-growth, which steadily built up the Korean Presbyterian Church, were expounded in the writings of Roland Allen, "Missionary Methods, St. Paul's or Ours?" (1912) and "The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes which Hinder it" (1927). The World Dominion Press of London did a great service to the younger churches when it began to print these books cheaply. These books enlarged my own thinking, and influenced what took place in the New Hebrides after 1940. They thus led indirectly to the preparation of our church for self-government.

Pastors

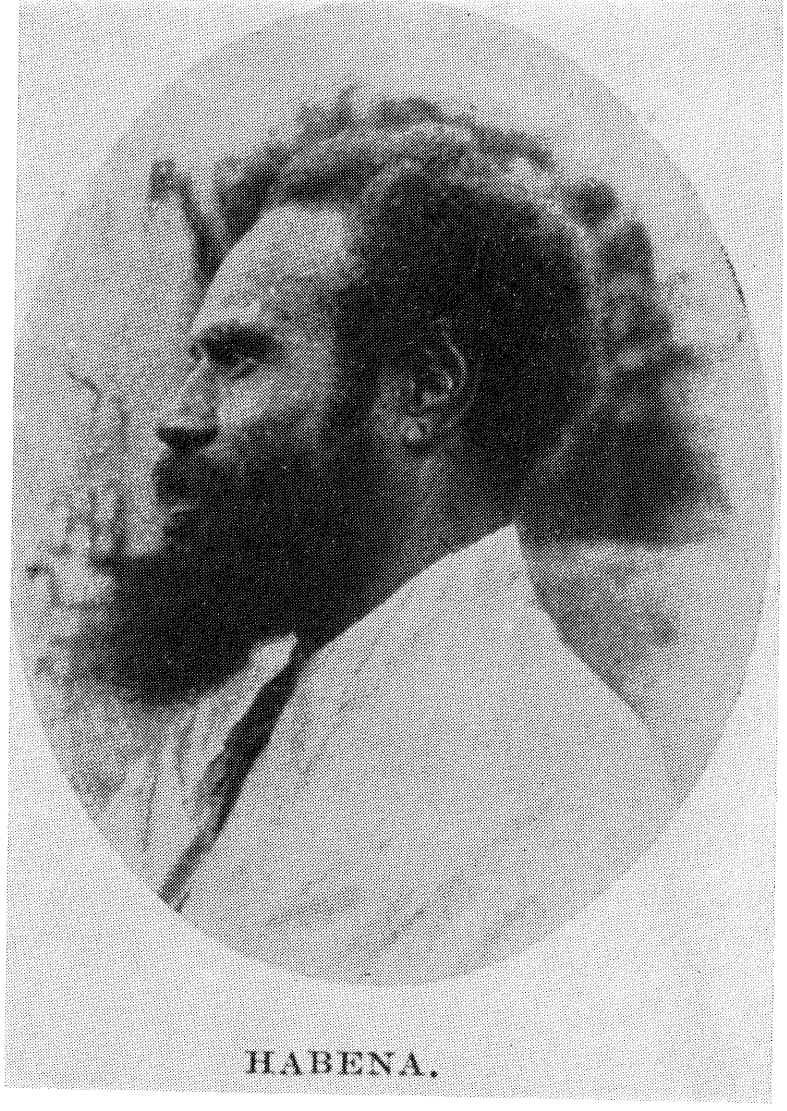
Meanwhile the Synod had tried, off and on, to face the need for leadership in the church life of the New Hebrides by appointing native pastors. The first of these was Epeteneto of Aneityum. He was ordained in May 1897 during the Synod meetings at Aneityum, and died in 1905 at the age of about 71. He was a "man of superior intelligence, a true Christian, and devoted to his master's work" reported Dr. William Gunn, his missionary and close friend.

The Dayspring Report for 1896 refers to Kamasitea "a native pastor of high order" on Aniwa. He was clearly in office before

Epeteneto, but without Synod's authority. His death took place about 1898.



Epeteneto of Aneityum, the first ordained pastor of the New Hebrides Presbyterian Church (1897-1905).



Habena of Futuna, the second ordained pastor (died 1917).

Pastor Habena, the next pastor to be ordained, worked on Futuna. He died about 1917. The Synod of 1917 recorded, on the subject of native pastors:

"After Dr. Gunn had established clearly that the ordination of Epetineto, the first pastor ordained in these islands, was a truly forward step, he moved Synod to sanction the ordination of Habena as pastor of Futuna.".

Synod then recorded Dr. Gunn's tribute to Pastor Habena.

"For about 17 years he was teacher on Futuna, and . . . pastor for

nearly the same period. . . . The Futunese trusted him, and the teachers took their orders from him and obeyed him."

This account of Pastor Habena's work stirred the Synod to think about J. Noble Mackenzie's words of 1917 being at least partly fulfilled by the ordination of more pastors. Owing to the first World War no Synod was held in 1918 or 1919. When it met in 1920 the idea of more pastors had germinated in the minds of the missionaries.

Synod "sat in committee to consider the ordination of certain teachers as pastors." The result was the approval by Synod for the ordination of Sopi of Efate, Judah of Onua, Malekula and Winzi of Malo.

The Synod also appointed a commission of six missionaries to act in further ordinations "to avoid delay . . ." David of Hog Harbour was ordained in 1934. I had the privilege of knowing all four men — well-tried leaders, from the first generation of converts.

Sessions; and Synod of 1941

Unfortunately there was no comparable concern for the growth of local church government through sessions. The first reference seems to be in the Synod Minutes of 1920 which authorize "the missionary *after consultation with the session*" to appoint or dismiss teachers.

About 1940, when World War II had prevented the Synod from meeting, the Rev. Dr. A. S. Frater of Vila ordained Saurei, and the Rev. C. K. Crump of Nguna ordained Robert Manamena, without authority from Synod. When Synod met in 1941 members wondered if these irregularities would make for difficulty, but the Synod gladly confirmed the two irregular ordinations.

Even more important was the decision of that Synod to open the way for final growth into self-government within the church; the Synod resolved that Dr. Frater, Mr. Crump and Mr. Miller should be the Committee to examine the proposal that Native Pastors be associated with Synod, and make recommendations.

The innocent-looking resolution led rapidly on to the inauguration of the Presbyterian Church of the New Hebrides on 1 July 1948.

The decisive influence behind this action was the oldest missionary present, the Rev. Fred J. Paton, MBE, who died after

forty-nine years' service, in December 1941. I shall never forget his parting words to the Synod. "I believe that this will be my last Synod; but I am happy to leave now." He saw further than we realised.

Since 1948 the people have been learning, through self-government within the life of the church, how to approach the similar question of self-government within the life of the nation. The first experience was the preparation for the second. So long as the life of the church is vital and responsible, so will be the exercise of self-government within the nation of the New Hebrides.

Freedom

On Wednesday 2 August 1949 I had the honour of presiding as moderator over the first meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the New Hebrides. My close friend Pastor Moses Manasakau of Tongoa came up to me with a smile, just before the meeting, and said, "A man stopped me on the mainland as I was walking down the street. He asked me, 'Is this the day we gain our freedom?' "

We both smiled at this confusion of two kinds of freedom and continued to smile as we sensed how apt that man's question was. A self-governing church is the preparation for a self-governing nation.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

The White Wings of the Gospel

THE LIBRARY OF the Bible College at Tangoa has a valuable historical relic, the two wooden nameplates from the "Dayspring." It is a reminder to each intake of students that the Good News came to our islands on the white wings of the sailing ships. This chapter tells the story of these early ships.

The Spanish explorers

In 1606 the Spanish captains Quiros and Torres reached Santo in two high-pooped sailing ships. They were the "Capitana" of 150 tons under Quiros, and the "Almiranta" of 120 tons under Torres. The ships had Roman Catholic priests on board. Quiros and his men took possession of the new land in the name of Jesus Christ and the King of Spain. Their memorial in our islands is the name they gave to the land which they discovered, Tierra Australis del Espiritu Santo — the Southern Land of the Holy Spirit, Santo for short.

Captain Cook and his successors

Captain Cook's voyage of discovery in the New Hebrides took place in 1774 in the "Resolution," a naval ship of 462 tons. In 1777 Cook published in England the record of his voyages in a book famous for its careful observations, called "Voyages of Discovery," which opened the eyes of the civilised nations to the unknown island peoples of the Pacific and made Christian people begin to pray and plan to bring the Gospel to the islands.

Before long France, Britain, USA, Germany, Norway and other nations were venturing among the islands of the South Pacific. Whalers, sandalwood ships, and trading schooners followed. Then came ships of war and adventurers of all sorts. They brought firearms, tobacco, and liquor—all unknown before. The islands opened to the world. At that stage the white wings of the Gospel also appeared in the South Pacific.

The London Missionary Society's ships

The first LMS ship, the "Duff," of just under 300 tons, reached Tahiti in 1797 and settled the first Protestant missionaries in the South Pacific. Her commander was Captain James Wilson, a remarkable Christian man. The people of Tahiti, used to all kinds of crews were astonished at the decent conduct of the crew of the first missionary ship to visit them.

In 1817 John Williams arrived, the most adventurous of all the LMS sailors and missionaries in the South Pacific. Because he had no ship and wanted to move from island to island, he set to work and built the "Messenger of Peace," a sixty foot schooner. He kept asking his Society in London for a larger vessel.

In 1839 John Williams came out in the "Camden." She made her first voyage to the New Hebrides in November of that year, when Williams was killed at Eromanga. The ship sailed on. She had already landed the first Polynesian teachers on Tanna. Later she brought teachers to Futuna, Aniwa, Aneityum and Eromanga.

In 1845 the "Camden" was replaced by the "John Williams," a new ship, built in England, and fittingly named after the great sailor-missionary. She was a barque of 296 tons with three masts. Her figurehead showed John Williams with an open Bible in his hand.

This beautiful vessel served the LMS in Melanesia as well as Polynesia for twenty years until she was wrecked on Niue Island in May 1864.

A second "John Williams" was built in Britain. She nearly met disaster on her first voyage to the New Hebrides when she ran on a reef in Anelgauhat Harbour, Aneityum in September 1866. But the "Dayspring" was there and convoyed the stricken "John Williams" to Sydney. A willing crowd of Aneityumese men worked day and night at the pumps to keep the ship afloat. Soon afterwards she also was wrecked on the reefs of Niue Island.

In the two years from the arrival of the "Dayspring" until the repair of the second "John Williams" the Presbyterian Mission was able to repay a little of the kindness shown to them by making the "Dayspring" serve the LMS as well.

The LMS ships flew their own mission flag showing "three white doves with olive branches on a purple field." The flag was first hoisted on the "Duff" on 10 August 1796. The doves and olive

branches refer to God's covenant of peace in Genesis 8.11.

The Melanesian Mission ships

In 1848 Bishop G. A. Selwyn took a voyage through Melanesia in a warship, HMS "Dido." When he found the great number of heathen islands in Melanesia he decided to bring Melanesian students to New Zealand. He planned to train them for Christian work and witness and then send them back to their own islands.

In 1849 he set out in a small schooner of 22 tons, the "Undine," escorted by HMS "Havannah." They travelled through the southern New Hebrides to Efate, then to New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands. The Bishop took five young students, but none from the New Hebrides.

Having begun this method of work, the Melanesian Mission needed a ship to pick up Melanesian students and return them to the islands during the New Zealand cold season. The "Undine" proved too small for this work and was replaced by the "Border Maid."

Then the friends of the Mission raised the money to build the "Southern Cross," a graceful sailing ship which made her first visit to the New Hebrides in 1856 with the future Bishop of Melanesia, John Coleridge Patteson on board. He soon learned to navigate her.

Throughout the years till 1871, when Patteson was martyred, the "Southern Cross" was known to Christian and heathen Melanesians as a safe ship, a "mission" ship. She often assisted the Presbyterian mission and took an interest in its workers.

The first "Southern Cross" was a schooner of 100 tons built in England. She was wrecked in New Zealand in 1860. Several ships were chartered until 1863, when the second "Southern Cross" came into service to be replaced by other ships of the same name, down to the present.

The ships of the Presbyterian Mission

At first Geddie and Inglis had only whaleboats, and the occasional assistance of a trading ship and the ships of the LMS. With the birth of the Church on Aneityum their people were eager to take the Good News to nearby islands.

Their first ship was the 5 ton ketch "Columba." Inglis says, "We named it 'Columba' after the apostle of Iona (Scotland),

as we were striving to make Aneityum the Iona of the *New* Hebrides. This boat served us for some time till we received from our friends in Glasgow a small schooner of 12 tons which we called the "John Knox," after the great Scottish Reformer. This enabled us to extend our visits as far as Eromanga. Beyond this we could not go. . . . [Inglis. In the New Hebrides p. 164, 165].

The money for the purchase of the "John Knox" was given by friends in Britain, Canada and Australia. Even the infant colony of New Zealand had a share in her support. She was only thirty-five feet long and was built for three hundred and twenty pounds. There was great excitement on Aneityum when she arrived. The people shouted "John Knokis he come!" Geddie built a cradle for her and she was able to be hauled ashore on rollers by three hundred men to be safe during the hurricane season. Geddie, as the captain of this little ship, often spoke of her splendid seaworthiness in gales and head seas. The "John Knox" served from June 1857 until the "Dayspring" arrived in 1864. She was then sold for one hundred and fifty pounds. But in the meantime she had been very useful to the LMS in the Loyalty Islands and had been used to open up the new LMS Mission to New Guinea.

The "Dayspring"

Three ships carried this famous name. The "John Knox" was too small for growing needs. In 1861 the Mission conference met at Aneityum with only two Presbyterian missionaries present. Paton's wife had died. Johnston had died. George Gordon and his wife had just been murdered on Eromanga. It was a time when everything seemed to be saying "finish." But that was far from the minds of Geddie and Copeland, and of A. W. Murray of the LMS. The London Mission in the Loyalties, which worked in close association with the Presbyterian Mission in the New Hebrides, sent a minute to the conference on 4 and 5 October 1861 and thus made the first move towards the building of the "Dayspring." They said that missionary work in the New Hebrides could not be safely and successfully carried on unless the teachers were more frequently visited, and that a vessel of not less than 60 tons was needed. As the London Missionary Society supported the "John Williams they asked the New Hebrides missionaries to appeal to the children of their home churches to raise the money.

The New Hebrides Mission Conference, in this dark hour, went forward in obedience. They agreed with the Loyalty Islands resolution and decided to appeal to the children of the churches in Scotland, Nova Scotia, Australia, and New Zealand to aid in raising funds to buy and support the ship.

John G. Paton, the man who raised the money

When the mission conference met at Aneityum on 11 February 1862 the outlook was darker than ever. The Tanna mission had just been broken up. Paton, now a widower, had fled to the Mathesons at Anuikaraka, South Tanna. The Mathesons had just buried their only child Minnie. Paton urged flight by ship which was standing by ready to evacuate them. Matheson and his wife were dying of T.B. God overruled this collapse of the Tanna mission in the decision of the mission conference to send Paton to the Australian colonies to bring the claims of the New Hebrides group, as a mission field, before the Presbyterian Churches there. He was also asked to invite the co-operation and aid of the Sabbath School children in the purchase and support of a missionary schooner.

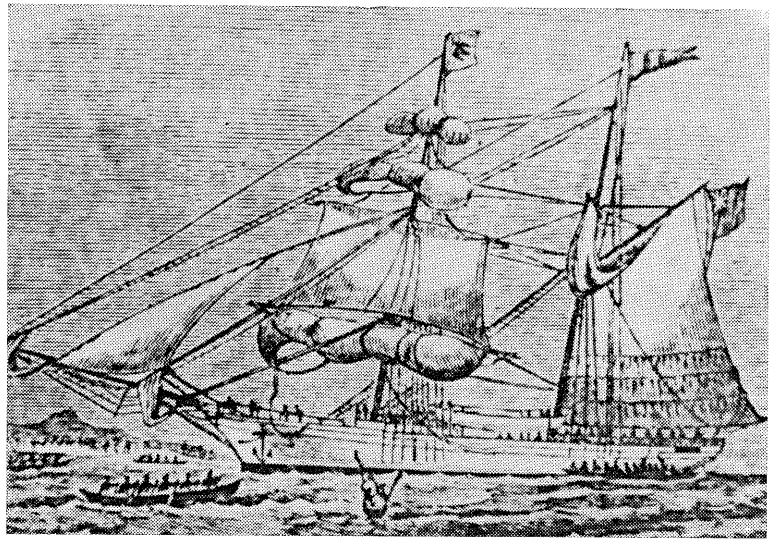
That resolution gave Paton his opportunity to exercise his gifts as a deputation speaker and money-raiser. He was God's man for the hour, and went about his task like an apostle. Till the end of his long life the names Paton and "Dayspring" went hand-in-hand.

The huge oil-portrait of Paton in the Assembly Hall, Melbourne, testified to the fact that he was as Dr. Robert Steel said, the means of creating a new era in the history of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria, and of infusing a missionary spirit into its new life. He travelled to New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania. The gifts poured in. He went to Scotland and Canada to look for more missionaries.

Altogether Paton raised over five thousand pounds. The ship cost three thousand eight hundred pounds after the addition of a new deck-house in Sydney. Paton secured promises totalling one thousand five hundred pounds a year towards the cost of running the ship. More than this came in, much of it from Sunday Schools.

The first "Dayspring"

Paton wished that the honour of building the ship should go to

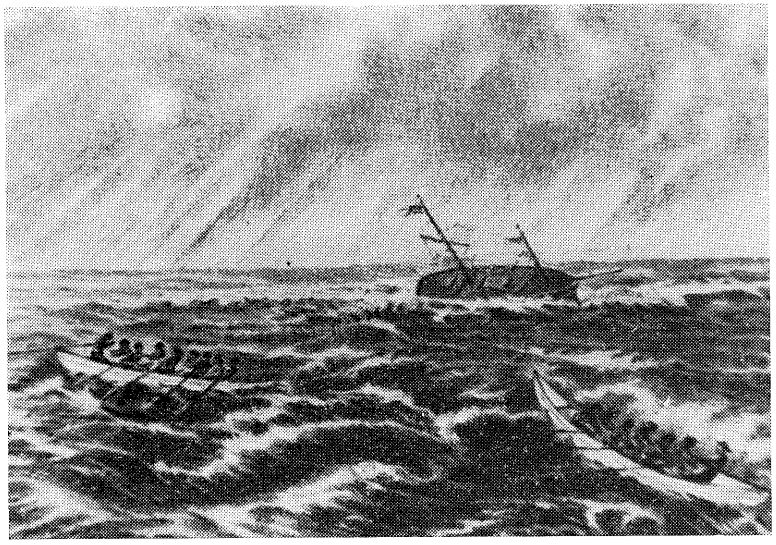


"Dayspring" I, a barquentine of 115 tons, built in Nova Scotia in 1863 for the New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission.

the country which sent the first Presbyterian missionaries. The contract was let to Carmichael and Co. of New Glasgow, Nova Scotia, in January 1863.

She had to be built of the best materials. She was of 115 tons displacement weight and 100 feet long. The planking was fastened with copper spikes. The knees were made of wrought iron. Local timber was used. The sails and rigging came from Scotland. She was painted white with a gold band round her gunwales, then launched, and dedicated on 22 October while still at New Glasgow. She finally sailed from Halifax on 7 November. The master was a Nova Scotian, Captain William Fraser, a man trusted, loved and honoured by all who knew him. The crew signed a promise not to use tobacco, liquor or bad language. One of the original crew was to become the Rev. Dr. H. A. Robertson of Eromanga.

The name "Dayspring" is taken from the Gospel of Luke 1.78 and is part of Zacharias' hymn concerning the birth of the Saviour ". . . the *dayspring* from on high hath visited us, to give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, to guide our feet into the way of peace." No name could have been more fitting, and no Scripture more prophetic of the mission of



The wreck of the first "Dayspring" during a hurricane, Anelgauhat Harbour, Aneityum, 6 January 1873.

the "Dayspring." On the first voyage every ship encountered was overtaken and left behind.

Dr. Geddie and family were delighted to see her in Melbourne on their way home to Canada for furlough. Three new missionary families came out from Canada on her first voyage.

The "Dayspring" brought new life and hope to the Mission in the New Hebrides. For the next ten years she was their life-line with the outside world. She always sailed under the direct instructions of the mission conference, visited each mission station with stores and mails twice each year, and carried all the missionaries to and from the annual conference. The "Dayspring" spent the hurricane season away from the islands, in Australia, for refitting and provisioning. Much of her success lay in the character of the captain and his devoted wife. They mothered the sick, loved the children of the mission and attended to the missionaries' orders in Sydney.

The wreck of the "Dayspring"

When in 1872 Captain Fraser, with his growing family, felt he must resign and return to Canada, the mission was very sorry to

see them leave the "Dayspring." Captain Benjamin Jenkins the mate, who was trusted as a man of Christian character was appointed master.

The ship was delayed in Aneityum until after the New Year. On 6 January 1873 a hurricane devastated the southern islands and drove the "Dayspring" over the reef in Anelgauhat Harbour. Inglis described her as "a total wreck." No lives were lost, but it was three months before her passengers reached Sydney by other ships.

Considering the risks to navigation in the islands the "Dayspring's" life of ten years was a good record. But her loss was like the death of a high chief. The islands mourned for her. She was insured, and the underwriters sold the wreck by auction.

A French company from Noumea who bought the wreck for thirty-eight pounds cut a passage through the coral reefs and refloated her, planning to use her for recruiting island labour. The mission was against the slave-trade for its violence, and ruinous effects on the people and the islands. The owners left the ship at anchor and went ashore to celebrate their success with a party. That night a storm arose and the "Dayspring" dragged her anchors. At dawn the Aneityumese saw her on the reef, this time with her back broken and beyond repair. John G. Paton's first thought was that she had served the Lord so long and would not now serve the devil.

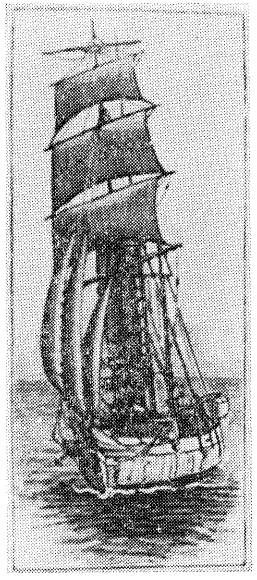
"Dayspring" II

Again through the efforts of John G. Paton, on behalf of the mission, enough money was raised for a second ship. A schooner called "Paragon," of 159 tons, was bought in Sydney for three thousand pounds. Later re-named the "Dayspring" she was slow but dependable. But the mission, as it grew in numbers, was concerned that this ship could not do all the work that was required.

Sea travel on the second "Dayspring" was not pleasant: In 1883 the Mission Synod passed a private minute calling the attention of Captain Braithwaite to the fact that the "pantry was in a very filthy state, smoking and shaving took place in the cook's galley, the toilet was not ventilated and the mattresses were never aired. Cockroaches, grubs and sections of various insects have been repeatedly found in the bread, porridge, soup, rice, butter, sugar and tea."

There were other nuisances. John G. Paton, in the "Dayspring" report for 1879, said "On reaching the islands in April, the escaping gases from the bilge water had greatly injured the paint, and were so sickening and injurious to all on board" that time had to be given for her to be "thoroughly cleansed" in Sydney.

In the late 1880's the Mission Synod decided to sell her, but could not agree on how to service the mission stations without her. Some wanted a steamer. Others felt that commercial shipping could do the work more cheaply and regularly. For some years the mission passed through turmoil on this vexed question. Dr. Robertson says of the first two "Daysprings," "For twenty-three years the 'Dayspring' has not had a single loss of life by drowning or other accident," a remarkable record. The faithful old "Paragon," — "Dayspring II" — had many close calls. Mrs. J. G. Paton was on board in April 1889 when she stuck on a reef in the entrance to Anelgauhat Harbour, Aneityum.



"Dayspring" II, formerly the "Paragon", was a schooner of 159 tons and the longest-lived of the "Daysprings".

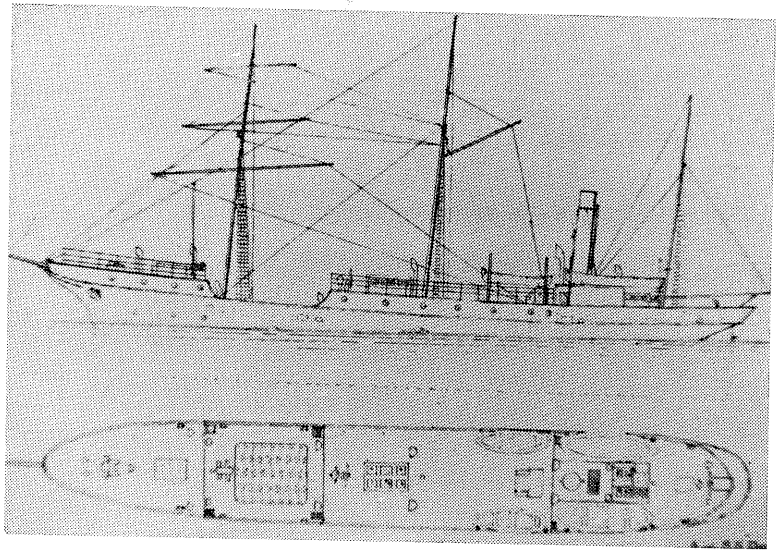
All hands toiled to free her as the tide rose. The missionaries could do no more and began praying. Suddenly they heard Captain Braithwaite shout "Hallelujah! She's off! She's off!" At

the next meal the Captain turned his grace into a prayer of thanksgiving.

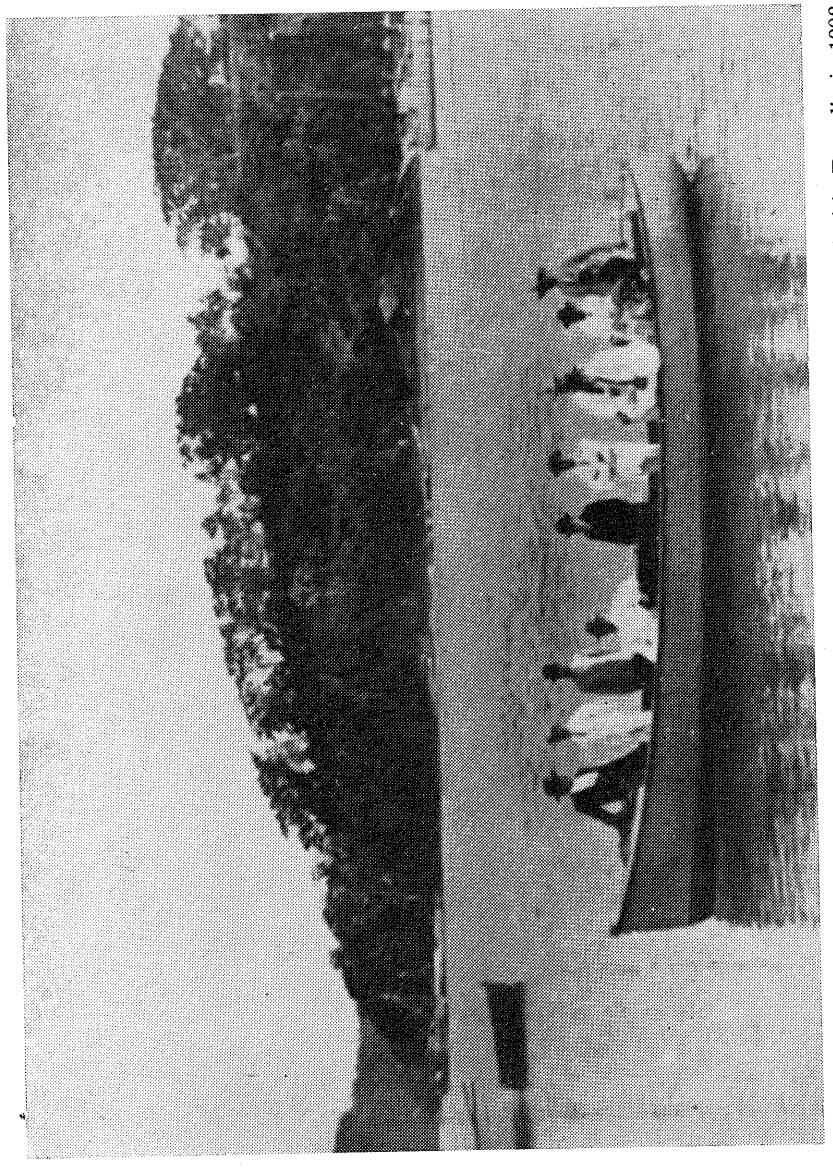
A mission flag was designed, painted by Mrs. J. G. Paton, and approved by the Kwamera Synod in 1889. This flag was to flutter gaily from the masthead of the Mission ships and launches for sixty years. It showed a white St. Andrew's cross upon a cloth of Presbyterian blue. The letters N.H.P.M. (New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission) were done in red on the four arms of the white cross.

"Dayspring" III

By 1895 Dr. John G. Paton had convinced the Mission Synod and the supporting Churches that a new ship, with steam power, was necessary. "Dayspring" III, the biggest and best of all the "Daysprings" reached Melbourne from Scotland where she had been built. She was 157 feet long and also carried sails. On her fourth voyage to the islands she struck an uncharted reef north of New Caledonia and was lost with all her cargo. The



"Dayspring" III was an auxiliary steamship which served from 1895-1896. She struck an uncharted rock off the north of New Caledonia and was a total loss.



The Mary Milne Memorial launch in memory of the wife of the Rev. Peter Milne who died in Dunedin in 1908. Vila Harbour 1909 with Iririki Island in background. Rev. Peter Milne at centre dressed in black.

passengers reached safety in two boats, one of which navigated all the way to Australia. No lives were lost. This was the end of the "Dayspring" era of over thirty years.

For some years the thought of another Mission ship lingered on. Commercial shipping was often unsatisfactory, but finally proved the only solution. Sir James Burns, of the Sydney shipping firm, Burns Philp and Co. was a well-known Presbyterian shipping merchant. The New Hebrides Mission trusted him for a fair deal and reasonable courtesies. World War II saw the end of these arrangements. The Mission Synod annually recorded its thanks to Burns Philp and Co. and to the captain and crew of each successive island steamer for their great assistance.

The early whaleboats

Almost all the early missionaries had a whaleboat as normal equipment at their stations. New Hebrideans made reliable and willing crews. The early missionaries speak of days and nights spent at sea under all kinds of weather conditions.

The smallest of these craft was about 18 feet, The longest, the "Yarra Yarra" of 35 feet belonged to James McNair at Dillon's Bay. It later became the hard-worked boat of H. A. Robertson of Eromanga, who often made trips to Tanna and Aniwa in rough weather and high seas.

The motor launches

The slow but faithful whaleboats were displaced in the early 1900's by motor launches. By 1910 every isolated missionary with a good anchorage at his station felt he needed such a launch for his work. Those who possessed one wrote gratefully of how they could do their work in half the time, and without the former risks. In 1913 there were sixteen launches in the service of the mission and the church.

Here is a paragraph from a letter of the Rev. Fred J. Paton of Malekula, who travelled 4,000 miles a year in his sturdy launch in spite of a twisted arm and a wooden leg. He encouraged, guided and directed the fifty teachers on that island, many of them on the edge of heathenism and under threat of muskets and death:

> "We ran on, having midday meal in the boat. Sea would have been too big for my boat. I have a native who takes charge of the engine . . . a really fine boatman and fairly reckless. We had

the dinghy tow-rope, a big one, part several times. I wasn't sure once or twice whether the launch would turn turtle. My own boatman was watching wave after wave come smashing over the hood, soaking us, and said with a beaming smile, "Suppose our boat, he drown finis!" (Our boat is as good as gone).
The tow-rope broke as we rounded into the Maskelynes, and I hesitated about retrieving the dinghy, the reef was so close. We managed it nicely. At night we anchored at Ahambe, and the natives had an old ship's anchor, which we fastened to the launch anchor. Next morning I rose between 2 and 3 as usual on boat trips, but sea was wild and we couldn't have seen to go into the next place, so we waited until an hour before dawn then risked it."

For many years the launches carried sails. With the advent of dependable diesel engines the sails were put away.

In 1974 there were only four large launches left, and one or two smaller craft. Inter-island planes have reduced the need for launches, and the bearing of responsibility by island sessions and pastors has meant the approaching end of the era of costly sea-craft. The Melanesian Mission still has its "Southern Cross" for the Solomons and its "Selwyn" for the New Hebrides, but they are very costly to maintain.

Many whaleboats, some launches, and one or two larger vessels have been lost in the service of the mission in the New Hebrides. But the writer knows of no missionary, pastor or full-time teacher who has lost his life at sea through drowning accidents in mission craft — a miraculous record.

The big ocean-going canoes

The white wings are folded now, and the white sails are seen only in pictures. The work of carrying the Good News from island to island in the group could not have been carried on without these ships and their crews, including the many fine sea-going canoes of the early years of the church in the islands.

I shall not forget Pastor Moses' *napakura* canoe, launched in 1941, in which I did most of my visitation of Epi, Tongariki, and Buninga while missionary of Tongoa from 1941-47.

This canoe's long life recalls such sea-faring pastors as Seulemanu of Tongariki, whose parish was the heaving ocean. By means of such giant canoes with spreading sails he shepherded the scattered islands, as far away as Mataso and Emae. What pastors they were, what seamen, and what canoes!

CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

Roman Catholic Missions and the Presbyterian Church

An outline of the early Missions

WE HAVE ALREADY noted that the Spanish Roman Catholic explorers Quiros and Torres were the first to bring the name of Christ to the islands, in 1606. The French and British explorers who followed in the 18th century had no such aim.

We have seen that the first Protestant Mission to reach us was the London Missionary Society.

The Melanesian Mission came in 1850 under the inspiration of the first Bishop of New Zealand, G. A. Selwyn, who had already visited Melanesia twice before that date and laid plans for the mission.

These four Missions were the main Christian influences at work in the New Hebrides until the end of the 19th century.

From the mid-1860s we hear of Pacific Islanders who had become Christians and settled in the New Hebrides where they maintained a witness for Christ.

In the 1890s independent lay missionaries arrived to work as traders. The pioneer was Houlton Forlong of New Zealand. They were followed soon after 1900 by the pioneers of the Churches of Christ and Seventh Day Adventists.

We now turn to the effect of the Roman Catholic and Melanesian Missions on the work of the Presbyterian Church in the New Hebrides.

Roman Catholic Missions

When Spanish Catholics under Quiros and Torres arrived in May 1606 their ships anchored in Big Bay, Santo, and established a Christian mission staffed by priests.

Quiros was a native of Portugal and a loyal son of the Roman Catholic Church. Priests came with him to teach the Catholic faith. In a ceremony on shore he invested his men with the title of Knights of the Order of the Holy Ghost. Each received a blue cross as his badge. A little chapel was built and masses were said.

The men shouted "Long live the King of Spain! Long live the faith of Jesus Christ!" Their vision was splendid, but the mission was a failure.

Spanish conquests in Central and South America had forced Christianity on the Indians in the most brutal way with sword and gun. Quiros was a mild man but resorted to the same harsh methods. The Spaniards stole pigs and food and kidnapped some of the people. Fighting broke out. Some of the Santo people were shot. The Spaniards seem to have quarrelled among themselves. Quiros and Torres parted, and sailed away never to return. Their mission lasted less than two months.

Quiros tried to get his king to assist him to return. He told the king many wonderful stories about the island. He said that Santo was bigger than Europe, was rich in gold, and had no mosquitoes, all of which was untrue.

It was a bad omen for the future of Christianity in the islands that its first apostles came armed to fight and kill. The reasons for failure are plain.

French Roman Catholic Missions

In 1815 the Society of Mary, commonly called the Marists, was formed in France. The vast field of Oceania was set aside for its mission. In 1835 the Pope placed Western Oceania — or Melanesia — under the care of the Marist Mission. Another order was given the care of Eastern Oceania — or Polynesia.

In 1843 Marist priests landed in New Caledonia under the protection of a French warship. The people drove the priests out or killed them. In 1851 the Marists made a second and successful attempt to begin the mission, backed by French power. In 1853 France annexed New Caledonia and its dependencies, including the Loyalty Islands.

The Govenor of New Zealand, Sir George Grey, arrived at the Isle of Pines in 1853 with the intention of annexing New Caledonia for Britain. He had with him Bishop G. A. Selwyn, who had formed a strong interest in these islands and wished to evangelize them through the Melanesian Mission. They were just too late.

The LMS Mission ship "Camden" had first visited the Loyalty Islands in 1841. Two Polynesian evangelists were landed on the island of Mare, Taniela and Tataio. In 1854 Messrs. Creagh and Jones were settled there as LMS missionaries. In 1864 the first

Roman Catholic priests arrived at Mare. The people did not welcome them and their presence caused so much trouble that the Mare people were glad to see the priests leave in 1870. Others returned in 1875.

Lifu, the largest island in the Loyalties, received its first LMS evangelists in 1845. One of them, Pao by name, became the apostle of Lifu. In 1859 the LMS settled two missionaries there and the work prospered. In 1864 French soldiers were posted to a spot only half a mile from the Mission station. The LMS historian writes of what followed: Christian work was almost entirely stopped, the natives were oppressed, many were killed, many imprisoned . . . the English missionaries were not allowed to officiate in any public capacity." [Lovett, Hist. of LMS 1 414]

Uvea, a smaller island, was evangelized by LMS converts from Mare in 1856. In 1857 French Roman Catholic priests arrived. In spite of opposition the Protestant Church grew. An LMS missionary was appointed to Uvea in 1864 but the French authorities refused to allow him to land. He spent a year serving the New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission on Aneityum. In 1865 he was allowed to enter Uvea. He was the Rev. S. Ella.

It is easy to see the unsettling effect that these events in the Loyalty Islands would have on the New Hebrides Mission barely 150 miles to the east.

The minutes of the New Hebrides Mission conferences from 1864 onwards show growing anxiety for the LMS in their troubles with the French government and with the Roman Catholic priests. During these years the Loyalty Islands mission of the LMS was the closest of all missions to the Presbyterian mission in the New Hebrides. The "Dayspring," served both missions, which missions worked almost as one fellowship. The Loyalty Islands mission undertook to send some of their evangelists to open up Ambrym, but seem to have been prevented. Ambrym later refused to take the teachers when they did arrive in 1865.

These events in the Loyalty Islands influenced the thinking of the New Hebrides Mission. The Presbyterians viewed with alarm the growing possibility that France would move into the New Hebrides, annex these islands, and use the Roman Catholic Church as an ally in its political purposes. However the Roman Catholic mission, after its short-lived stay at Aneityum from 1848 to 1852, did not return to the New Hebrides until 1885.

CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

Anglicans and Presbyterians

THANKS TO THE character of the fathers of the Presbyterian and Anglican missions in the New Hebrides, relationships between the the two churches were close, practical and constructive. They began their work about the same time. Whatever difficulties arose came with the later generation of missionaries after 1880.

George Augustus Selwyn was only thirty-two years of age when he was consecrated the first Bishop of New Zealand in 1841. The Colony was in its infancy, with growing problems between the Maoris and European colonists. Selwyn's instructions from the Archbishop of Canterbury placed the great spread of islands north of New Zealand under his care. Selwyn was young and vigorous and took the challenge seriously. By 1847 he had convinced the Synod of the Church of England in New Zealand of their duty to evangelize the islands of Melanesia. In 1848 a voyage of H.M.S. "Dido" gave Selwyn his first chance to see the islands.

The bishop met Captain Paddon at the Isle of Pines, New Caledonia. Paddon convinced Selwyn that Melanesian people respect fair play. Selwyn at once took the lesson to heart and soon earned the respect and trust of the people of Melanesia and made voyages in small schooners each year from 1849 to 1852.

In 1849 he was thrilled to take his first five Melanesian students for training at his college in Auckland, all from the Loyalty Islands. He planned to get young men from the islands, test them on board ship, then take them to New Zealand for seasonal training before sending them back to their own islands and people. He hoped to sustain them by regular visits of encouragement in the first "Southern Cross," provided in 1853.

This plan was like that of the LMS whom he seemed to follow in this matter. The idea was expressed in his words to the 1847

Synod of his Church in New Zealand: "A native agency is the great thing needed."

Selwyn had two basic principles: Never to begin Anglican work where another mission was already established, and never to encourage new converts to give up their own ways of life unless these clearly conflicted with Christian teachings. He went out of his way to call on Geddie in the first difficult years of Geddie's work on Aneityum, and in 1852 gave a free passage from New Zealand to Aneityum to the Rev. John Inglis and Mrs. Inglis. Inglis admired Selwyn as much as Geddie and called him a "man to whom the New Hebrides Mission was much indebted during the earlier years of its history." [Inglis, In the New Hebrides p. 308].

The first money contributions to reach the Presbyterian Mission from New Zealand were collected by Selwyn. Even the Anglicans in Dunedin gave thirty-four pounds sixteen shillings and four pence. "And mind you," said the Bishop, "I got only thirteen pounds for my own Mission." These gifts helped to pay for the upkeep of the little schooner "John Knox."

In 1861 Selwyn's young admirer John Coleridge Patteson was consecrated first Bishop of Melanesia. He built faithfully upon Selwyn's foundations. Together they had made missionary visits during the late 1850's.

Of that period Inglis wrote that Selwyn "Did everything in his power to promote the interests of our mission. . . . The greatest services that he and Bishop Patteson rendered to the South Sea missions was their example. As a missionary Bishop Selwyn stood unsurpassed for his self-denial, his energy and his enterprise. His modes of operation did not, however, commend themselves to the majority of South Sea missionaries." [Inglis, In the New Hebrides p. 310, 317].

Inglis is here probably referring to the failure of the Melanesian mission to settle resident missionaries. Because of this failure the fruits of the training programme in New Zealand and Norfolk Island largely disappeared. The island of Emae was one such failure, after long years of sacrifical labour by the Melanesian mission.

The Presbyterian mission returned the warm respect of the Anglicans. Inglis kept his Reformed Presbyterian Church in

Scotland in touch with the Bishop's kindnesses. The children of that small Scottish Church raised the fifty pounds for the first "Southern Cross" in 1853. They also raised three hundred pounds for the repair of the LMS ship "John Williams" in 1860.

When word reached the Presbyterian Synod of the death of Bishop Selwyn, Synod recorded "its sincere esteem and grateful rememberance of a high-spirited and noble worker in the Master's vineyard."

The Presbyterian mission thought just as highly of Selwyn's young colleague and successor Bishop Patteson who was able to "rough it" among the islands in a way that endeared him to Christians and cannibals alike. All who knew him trusted him. He loved the people and lived close to them in their troubles with the blackbirding ships. His students at the college were like his sons. They lived and ate as one family in Christ.

After 1865 Patteson's work suffered from the ravages of the recruiting ships as they traded in the bodies and souls of the people.

In 1872 the Presbyterian Synod declared that Patteson's labours had "greatly elevated the character of missions in the eyes of all classes in the colonies, and "conveyed unspeakable benefits to the degraded natives of Western Polynesia."

Two matters nevertheless complicated the relationships of Anglicans and Presbyterians in the New Hebrides.

Bishop Selwyn's high church convictions

Dr. Inglis wrote: "When he (Selwyn) brought my wife and me to Aneityum, he said to me, 'Now Mr. Inglis, you know that owing to the different principles of our respective churches, I can not hold any ecclesiastical fellowship with you; but in everything secular, I shall be always happy to do anything in my power to assist you and your mission.' " [Inglis. In the New Hebrides p. 312].

The bishop, as a high churchman, could not recognize either the ordination of Mr. Inglis or the sacraments dispensed by him. Mr. Inglis could not expect to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper from the bishop and his clergy.

A Presbyterian finds this difficult to understand, as for a hundred years after the reformation of our two mother churches, in Scotland and England, the two churches accepted each other's

ministers and each opened its tables to communicants from the other.

The partition of the islands between the two Missions

Some years after the death of Patteson the son of Bishop G. A. Selwyn was consecrated as the second Bishop of Melanesia.

Bishop J. R. Selwyn wrote to the Presbyterian mission Synod asking that some plan of joint action be arranged for the two missions in the New Hebrides — the Melanesian mission and the Presbyterian mission.

The Presbyterian Synod in 1880 dealt with this request and referred Bishop Selwyn to the terms of his fathers plan of 1853.

This plan, contained in a letter from Aneityum to the Samoan Mission of the LMS, of 12 August 1853, proposed that the whole of the New Hebrides Group should be recognized as the field of the Presbyterian Mission and the LMS, while the Melanesian Mission should occupy other groups as named in the letter.

The Presbyterian Synod pointed out that the LMS had withdrawn and "the Synod has felt that this group of islands is the Presbyterian field by common consent."

Bishop J. R. Selwyn replied on 7 July 1880 and 23 April 1881 withdrawing as a Mission from Emae and drawing a boundary between the two missions whish left the whole of the New Hebrides to the Presbyterians, except Oba, Aurora (Maewo), and Pentecost, and the Banks and Torres Islands further north.

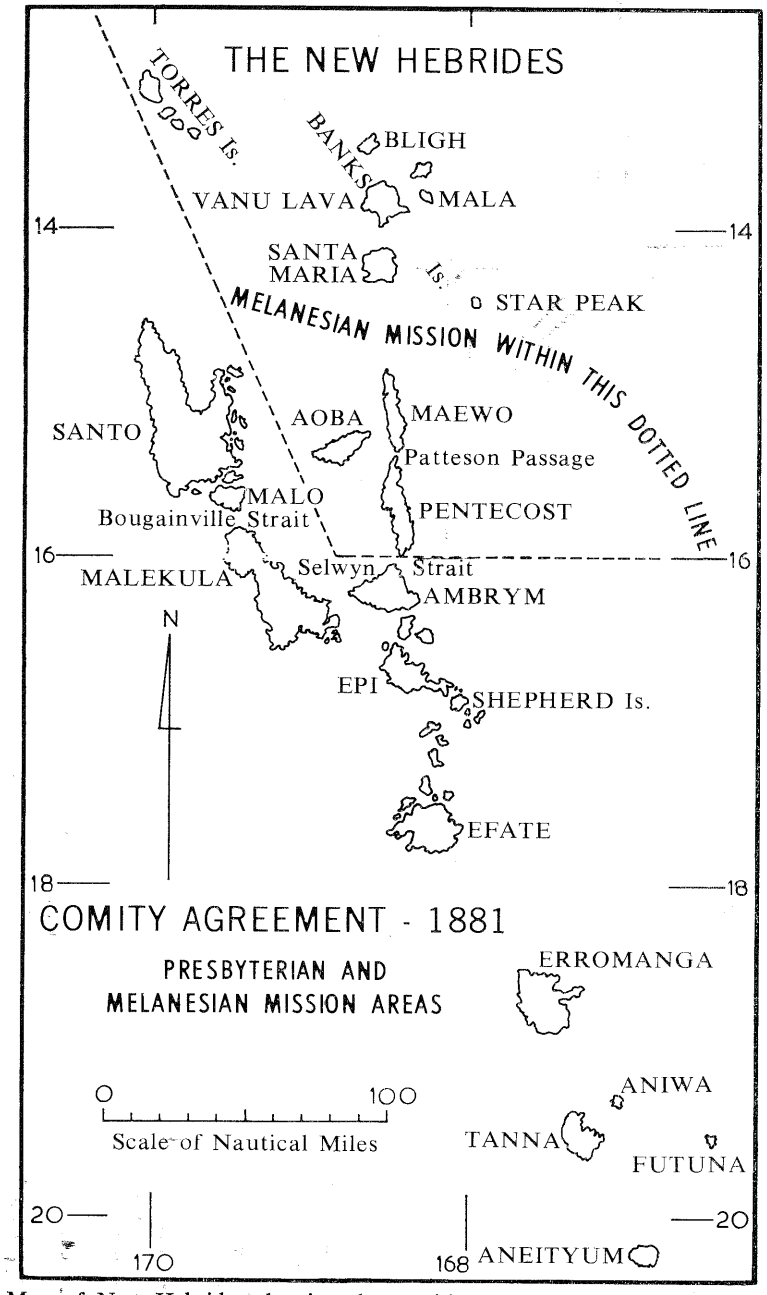
The Presbyterian Synod in 1881 acquiesced in this arrangement. The map shows by a dotted lie where this partition was made.

This was the most fair and proper settlement that could have been reached. Yet the decision has led to some restiveness on both sides as the years have passed and situations have changed in the New Hebrides.

Summary

Thus, by 1881 the LMS had finally withdrawn; the Roman Catholic mission had not recommenced work; the Presbyterian mission was no longer responsible for the evangelization of the whole group.

The Melanesian mission had a clear field for evangelism in the three northern islands, and in the Banks and Torres Islands, but they were late in settling workers on the Islands of Oba, Aurora, (Maewo), and Pentecost.



Map of New Hebrides showing the partition of the islands between the Presbyterian and Melanesian Missions, 1881.

CHAPTER THIRTY

A Tree With Many Roots

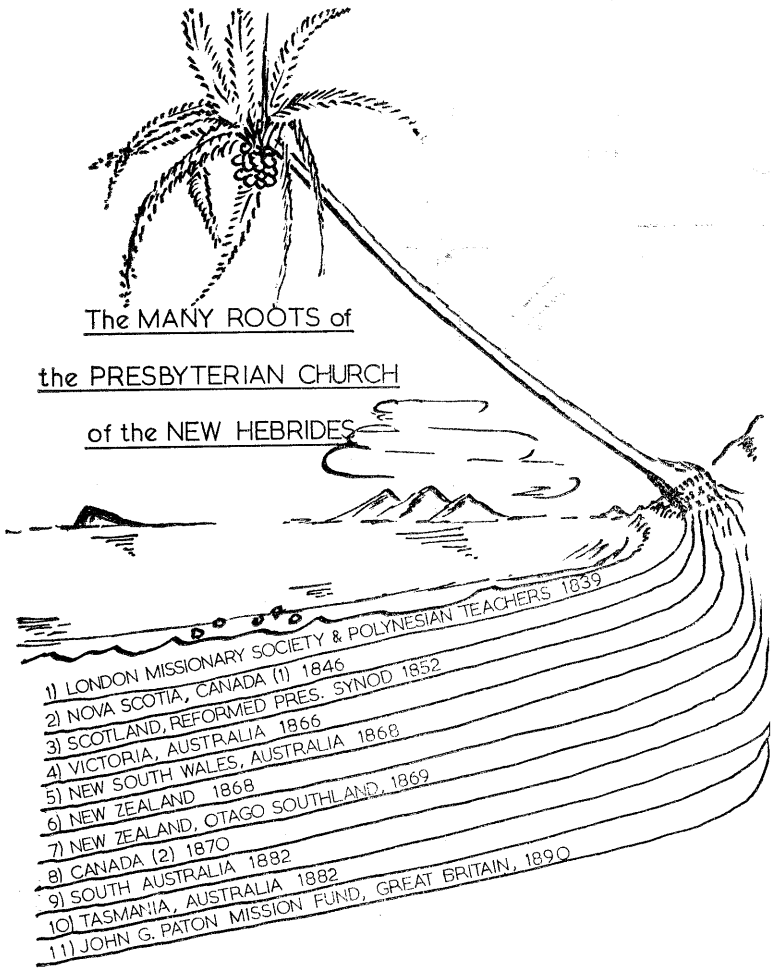
THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH of the New Hebrides is today like a tall coconut palm with spreading leaves and abundant fruit.

Its *navara* (seedling) was planted by unseen Hands before the coming of the first Christian missionaries. Gradually the young palm drew life from many tender roots. These roots are the churches which began and continued the New Hebrides mission and finally brought the Presbyterian Church to self-government in 1948.

This chapter tells the story of the team-work of many partner Churches from different countries, cultures and languages which led to the healthy growth of the Church in these islands.

Here in the illustration is the palm tree and here are the roots, numbered in the order of arrival of the missionaries of these missions and Churches:—

1. The London Missionary Society and its daughter Churches in Polynesia, especially those on Samoa and the Cook Islands, from 1839 onwards.
2. The Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces of British North America. This is the full name of the small United Secession Church which sent Geddie and most of the Canadian missionaries to the New Hebrides, from 1846 onwards to 1873.
3. The Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland sent the Rev. J. Inglis and others from 1852 to 1875. This Church united with the much stronger Free Church of Scotland in 1876.
4. The Presbyterian Church of Victoria in 1866 appointed as its first missionaries the Rev. J. G. Paton and J. Cosh. Both men had come to the New Hebrides as missionaries of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland.
5. The Presbyterian Church of New South Wales in 1868 appointed as its first missionary the Rev. J. D. Gordon of Canada.



The coconut palm symbolises the Presbyterian Church of the New Hebrides. The roots symbolise the missionary churches and agencies which helped to plant the Church, 1839-1890.

6. The Presbyterian Church of New Zealand in 1868 appointed as its first missionary the Rev. William Watt. He trained in the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland. This New Zealand Church is referred to as the Northern Church.
7. The Presbyterian Church of Otago and Southland, New Zealand, appointed its first missionary in 1869. He was the Rev. Peter Milne, trained by the Free Church of Scotland and the Presbyterian Church of England. The two Presbyterian churches in New Zealand united in 1901 and this Church has helped the New Hebrides ever since.
8. The second Canadian church to send workers was the Church of the Maritime Provinces of British North America in connection with the Established Church of Scotland. This Church sent out the Rev. John Goodwill in 1870, and the Rev. H. A. Robertson in 1872.
   The various Presbyterian Churches in Canada united in 1875 to form the Presbyterian Church in Canada. The Mission took note of this event in the 1875 meeting of the Synod, and hoped that misionaries would continue to be sent to the New Hebrides. In spite of this moving appeal from the New Hebrides no further ordained Canadian missionaries were sent out. Dr. Annand later had the help of lay relatives Mr. and Mrs. Ewan G. McAfee, from Canada, at the Teachers' Training Institution.
9. The Presbyterian Church of South Australia sent out the Rev. William Gray in 1882 and continued to support the New Hebrides.
10. The two Presbyterian Churces in Tasmania (the Free Church and the Church of Scotland) united to send out their first missionary, the Rev. R. M. Fraser of the Free Church of Scotland in 1882. They continued to support the New Hebrides.

To these ten roots must be added the great assistance of the John G. Paton Mission Fund, established in 1890. For some years this was the largest supporting body in the Mission Synod, with a special interest in the unevangelized areas of the New Hebrides.

Two points are worth noting.

The first missionaries of the Churches of Australia and New Zealand all came from Scotland and carried the loyal, Bible-based Reformed faith of the smaller branches of Scottish Presbyterianism. This has left a definite mark on the character of the island church to this day.

Further, most of these Scottish missionaries and some of the Canadians later became influential in the life of growing colonial Presbyterian Churches in Australia. None stood higher than Dr. J. G. Paton, but Dr. J. Cosh, Rev. J. Copeland, T. Watt Leggatt,

Frank H. L. Paton, J. Noble Mackenzie, J. D. Landels, Dr. Daniel Macdonald and others continued to give effective leadership.

The famous Dr. Alexander Duff of India, when he was secretary of the Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, had a great love for the work in the New Hebrides. He helped to bring about the union of the Reformed and Free Churches of Scotland in 1876, which strengthened the work in the New Hebrides.

When the World Presbyterian Alliance met for the first time in Edinburgh in 1877 the New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission was represented by Dr. John Inglis. Dr. Duff had hoped to be present to propose to the Churches of the World Presbyterian Alliance that they co-operate in strengthening the New Hebrides Mission, but was too sick to attend. Instead he sent a letter setting out his grand vision. However, he died in 1878, and the hopeful plan died with him.

God has made the New Hebrides mission a good example of a great variety of churches working together, within the Presbyterian order, to bring the island church into being. We are a tree with many roots — long and strong roots.

CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE

Money in the Young Church

Williamu's four dollars

WHEN THE FIRST LMS teachers settled at Ipeke, near Aname on Aneityum in the year 1841 a lad named Williamu, then about fourteen years old, joined them. He was one of those who welcomed the coming of John Geddie in 1848. Williamu was baptized by Geddie in 1854, one of two young men who were the first-fruits of Mr. Inglis' district.

Williamu wanted to show his love for Mr. Inglis. He brought him a fine pig weighing over sixty kilos, the best gift he could offer within his culture. Williamu became one of the first evangelists to go to a heathen village on Aneityum — and was later elected deacon and elder. When Williamu, who always showed deep interest in the Bible, was about thirty, Inglis took him to Scotland to assist in completing the Aneityumese New Testament.

As a young man he sold four valuable shells to a trader for four silver dollars. These shells were highly prized by the chiefs on Eromanga. The trader knew that with each shell he could buy a boatload of sandalwood. Williamu gave the four dollars to the Bible Society to help to pay for the translations of Scripture portions into his own language. Those four dollars were the first money Williamu owned.

Trade goods and money

In the early days of trading in the islands trade goods were used to pay for produce and labour. Tobacco, and later matches, were commonly used. That is how smoking became so common among heathen and church people alike.

There was very little money about until the people began to be recruited to the plantations in Fiji and Queensland. In Queensland they were paid in gold sovereigns. I remember seeing some of these sovereigns as late as the year 1941. The custom was to

hide the coins in a hole in the ground because there was no bank. In this way much money was lost.

Sharing the cost

The cost of planting a mission station was borne by the church which sent out the missionary, the cost of building up the congregations by the local people. This seems clearly to be the New Testament pattern for church-planting, church-growth and church-support. The first missionaries saw this clearly and gave the church a chance to be self-reliant and responsible.

Missionaries paid wages to the people who helped at the mission stations in building and maintaining mission property, and in other ways. The payment in those early years was often in food and clothing. Work done for the local church was free. Thus the first teachers on Aneityum went out to heathen villages without receiving any payment, except a gift of clothing at the end of the year.

When a new building was needed, such as a church, teacher's house or day school, the whole village, or wider Christian community, worked to collect the material and construct the building. Workers were fed daily with community feasts. This is the way the people have always said "thank you" for work-parties. The people learned from the beginning that local support is the responsibility of the local Christians, not the home churches or the mission.

Payment of teachers

When teachers were sent out to other islands as evangelists among the heathen the Aneityum missionaries believed that the sending church on Aneityum should support them. Unfortunately another way was also found.

The mission received gifts from friends in the home churches to pay their salaries. The gifts were placed in a Teachers' Fund under the control of the Mission Synod. From this fund missionaries could ask for help to pay the teachers who came to assist them on their stations.

This practice of having the Mission pay the teachers grew stronger and finally became general in the Presbyterian mission. Rates of payment were fixed by the Synod. The responsibility for payment, support and supervision of these teachers passed out

of the hands of the local churches into the direct control of the synod and its missionaries.

Thus a practice which at first seemed helpful, proved a serious hindrance in later years when the churches should have been self-supporting. Mission support of teachers hindered the growth of responsibility in the island congregations and made them dependent upon missionaries and the bounty of the home churches.

Team work

Big jobs in the villages are undertaken by the whole village; the system is part of the culture. No money payments are made. When a village or island turned to Christ this old system of communal work parties accomplished the building of the churches, schools, and teachers' houses. There was no need for any payment in cash.

One of my happy recollections of the use of this kind of community work was the building of the first residential district school at Ere, Tongoa, in January 1942, just one month after Japan's blow against the USA fleet at Pearl Harbour.

The session talked with the chiefs. The chiefs agreed to the project and together the session and chiefs made all the plans. In one exciting day nine huts and larger buildings were erected, all in island materials. The volleys of yodelling and singing as the big timbers and bundles of wild cane were carried in by sweating work-parties told its own story. This is the New Hebridean way of doing the work of the Church.

Arrowroot as a cash crop

The cost of schoolbooks, translations, Bibles, hymn books and catechisms was met in a different way. The LMS missionaries trained their converts to use arrowroot as a cash crop. This potato-like tuber, which grows in sandy land about the beaches, had no use among our ancestors. The early missionaries showed people how to grate arrowroot, wash it in the sea, then in fresh water, dry it, and sift it. This was a long and careful process. The arrowroot was then packed in casks for sale in overseas markets.

For nearly a century this new and easy source of revenue covered most of the cost of Bible translation at a time when no other cash crops could do so. A small island like Futuna would produce as much as a ton of arrowroot in one year. On most of

the Christian islands the production of arrowroot continued until copra and cash offerings replaced it in the economy of the local churches.

The Aneityum cotton company

Both Geddie and Inglis felt that there was need for some cash crop to assist their people on Aneityum. They started a cotton-growing project, under the guidance of a Glasglow firm of cotton manufacturers. Mr. H. A. Robertson of Nova Scotia, a member of the crew of the "Dayspring" when she arrived in 1864 on her first voyage, agreed to become the local manager on Aneityum for the cotton project. The experiment was tried for only a few years with limited success. From this experience Mr. Robertson gained a love and respect for the people. He returned in 1872 as missionary to Eromanga.

Inglis found that the people of Aneityum did not seem to want money and hardly knew what to do with it when they had it. They could not eat the cotton crop and saw little sense in taking the trouble to grow it. In 1868 Inglis recommended to the company in Glasglow that the Aneityum cotton company be wound up. The directors in Glasglow were disappointed. They did not consider that the project had been a failure. Their main object was not to make money but to encourage an industry that would benefit the people of Aneityum and thus help the young church.

Church offerings in cash begin

The absence of cash during the early years of the island churches helps to explain the late commencement of church offerings. The first reference seems to be in the 1891 report for the church on Aniwa. At the close of the Lord's Supper on 14 October 1891 a collection was set apart by the Aniwa session for the Mission Fund of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria, Dr. John G. Paton's home church, to be used in sending the Gospel to the people of the New Hebrides who were still in darkness.

From this time onwards we find frequent reference to cash offerings being given for the local churches. Soon offerings became a means of encouraging the local churches in self-support and evangelism.

PART FIVE

Faith, Worship, Hope and Love in the Young Church