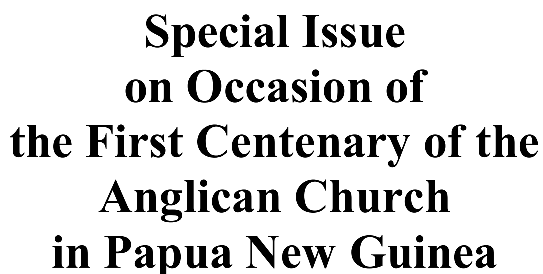
Vol 7, Nos 1 and 2 August 1991

MELANESIAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY



Special Issue on Occasion of the First Centenary of the Anglican Church in Papua New Guinea

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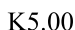
Journal of the Melanesian Association of Theological Schools


K5.00

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The **Melanesian Journal of Theology** appears twice yearly, in April and October.

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES COUNTRIES	DEVELOPING COUNTRIES	DEVELOPED
Annual subscription	PNG K5.00	US $7.50
Single issue	PNG K3.00	US $5.00
Students per issue	PNG K2.00	
MATS membership (incl. annual subscription)	PNG K10.00	

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ISSN 0256-856X Volume 7, Number 1 and 2, August 1991 PNG K5.00

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EDITOR'S FOREWORD

One of the sad features of the history of the Christian church is the way in which relations between the different denominations have often been marked by bitterness and conflict. The memory of past disputes is still with us, and can provide an obstacle to the search for Christian unity.

However, in his survey of Roman Catholic-Anglican relations in PNG, Fr Theo Aerts has shown that, even in the days before Vatican II and the modern ecumenical movement, we can find examples of friendship and cooperation between the two churches. When Fr Michael McEnroe left Port Moresby in 1942 to join the army, he handed over the keys to the RC chapel at Bomana, for safe keeping, to the rector of St John's Anglican church, telling him to carry on. Yet this was the time when Catholics and Anglicans were officially not allowed to pray together! It is the memory of such incidents, in the past, which has helped foster such warm and close relations between Catholics and Anglicans in PNG today. Particular note should be taken of the friendship between Bishop de Boismenu and three successive Anglican bishops: Sharp, Newton, and Strong.

Although one of the two pioneer Anglican missionaries to PNG was an evangelical, the ethos of the church in this country has been overwhelmingly Anglo-Catholic. No doubt, that has made it easier for Anglicans and Catholics to understand each other better. Looked at from the outside, the two churches must appear very similar in theology and spirituality. The Anglican church is much smaller than the Catholic church in PNG, and possesses less in the way of material resources. It is more localised, and still heavily concentrated on the north coast of Papua. All this means that, in the search for unity, there are bound to be fears, among some Anglicans, that they will be taken over by a much more powerful sister church.

But unity clearly is our Lord's will for His church, and, given their closeness in theological outlook, it is a goal that Anglicans and Catholics in PNG surely have a duty to pursue together. The fearful

should remember that union does not mean absorption, and that no less a figure than Pope Paul VI has paid tribute to the patrimony of the Anglican church, and expressed the hope that this rich spiritual treasure will be preserved in any future reunion.

A much-respected figure, Archbishop Sir George Ambo appealed for Catholic-Anglican unity in an address to the Catholic Bishops' Conference, which Fr Aerts describes. Following that address, bishops of the two churches have entered into a dialogue, which has also involved Rome and the Anglican Consultative Council. Despite some misrepresentation in the press, this is a development that has been welcomed in the very highest levels of both churches, as offering a possible way forward at the local level that could have much wider implications for the search for unity. The origins of the present negotiations go back to a special Catholic-Anglican Commission in PNG, which was set up in the early 1970s. The reports of the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission have had an important role in stimulating and guiding the discussions in this county.

Before any final decision about closer unity between Anglicans and Roman Catholics in PNG is taken, there will have to be the widest possible consultation in both churches. In the case of the Anglicans, this will mean debate in diocesan synods. Parish councils and clergy gatherings will all need to discuss the issue. For this, the essay of Bishop Santer, in the appendix, is very useful, although he did not write it with the Melanesian situation in mind. Still, the moment has come that nationals have to address the practical issues, which divide the two churches. They have now the task to heal the memories of the past. Fr Aerts has given all of us a very valuable background survey to help us get to know each other better. I hope that what he has written will be widely read, by both Anglicans and Catholics in PNG (and overseas), as we try to see how, in obedience to our Lord's will, we can grow closer together.

Paul Richardson,
Bishop of Aipo Rongo.

ROMANS AND ANGLICANS IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

INTRODUCTION

There are several ways of looking at the history of the churches in Papua New Guinea (hereafter: PNG). One can, for instance, approach this history as a churchman, or as a businessman, or as a government official. In fact, each of these people is often unaware of their counterparts, and so their histories proceed as if each one presents the whole truth.

In mission history, the usual way is to rely on church documents, that is, on the writings of a particular mission itself. But this type of literature is not wholly reliable, because it was written for the eyes of the overseas benefactors. Thus, whatever is written in such literature attempts to advance the good cause, and to elicit monetary contributions from the distant readership.

A second method of discovering PNG church history is to concentrate on the life and work of other ecclesiastical bodies. One thinks here, in the first place, of what Roman Catholics, Methodists, and other churches achieved in their areas, especially when these areas overlapped with the spheres of influence of other denominations. There is, here, a continuous bickering over whom was first in a certain place, and over who constitutes a full member of a particular congregation.

A third way for the historian is to scrutinise other historical sources, for example, reports made by traders and administrators. Traders may easily speak out, for instance, when a mission also engages in business activities, whereas administrators are keenly concerned with maintaining law and order among competing religious groups. On the other hand, church personnel complain

about the loose living of traders, or about the lack of principles, and a certain partiality shown by the government.

In the following essay, we will try to gather information from all the said sources, particularly to retrace the advances of both the Roman Catholic (RC) and the Anglican churches. We want to see whether these churches avoided each other, or worked together, whether they tackled their objectives in a similar, or different, ways, and also whether they followed certain specific methods, which made them similar to other Christian groups, or distinguished them from others.

Some attention will also be given to the contacts between Roman Catholics and the London Missionary Society (LMS), because the two were the first bodies of missionaries on the island of New Guinea, and their mutual relations better allow us to appreciate the contacts between RC and Anglican churches. At the same time, this discussion will show us how the application of the so-called spheres of influence was gradually more and more circumvented.

It seems appropriate to divide this long history into four segments, devoted to the founding age, to the period between the two World Wars, to the lead-up to political and ecclesiastical independence, and, finally, to the most recent times, after World War II. In each of these cases, we shall treat directly of Roman Catholics and of Anglicans, and – as far as it is warranted – also of other Christian churches.*

* The following essay has been read by Dr J. Garrett and Dr D. Wetherell, and partly by Mrs Chr. Luxton, Can T. Alderitt, whose comments have been considered presently, while the whole text has been processed by Fr J. Regal, and proofed by Can Warren Croft. We thank them all for their cooperation.

I. THE FOUNDING AGE

The Christian faith entered the Far East with the Spanish Armada, which gave the name of its king, Philip, to the Philippines, one of the largest groups of islands in the area. In the train of the Spanish conquistadors, Dominican and Franciscan friars followed. People believe that a chaplain of one of these ships set foot on Samarai, where a recent monument remembers the celebration of the first RC mass at Rowen Point, Samarai, in 1605. However, these state-sponsored missions of Spain and Portugal (under the so-called patronage system) were nothing more than a fleeting contact.

The mission era in the Pacific, both among Roman Catholics and Protestants, started in the 19th century. It was a voluntary movement, and, although RC authorities encouraged it (such as Pope Gregory XVI, a former prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide), it was mainly carried out by new religious groups from France. One of these societies, that of the Picpus Fathers (SSCC), began its work in 1827 on the Hawaiian Islands, which were not so far off, and to which Protestant preachers had gone already. They are still famous, through the name of Fr Damien De Veuster. However, no further expansion from Hawaii to PNG occurred, and the second contact did not enter into the local history either.

Things became different when another French group, that of the Society of Mary (or the SM Fathers), entered the area. In 1845, they were entrusted by "Rome" with the whole of Oceania. As a matter of fact, these French missionaries reached out from Fiji and Samoa to the islands in the west, around today's PNG. They opened missions on Umboi, now Rooke Island, near Lae, and on Woodlark Island, off Samarai. In 1848, with the death of Mgr Jean-Georges Collomb on Rooke Island, the Western Oceanic mission of the SM Fathers ended in disaster. Then, the remaining Marists concentrated

on Eastern Oceania, while, 45 years later, they returned to the present PNG, and resumed work on the North Solomon Islands.

Meanwhile, “Rome” strongly pushed other mission societies to occupy the abandoned battlefield. This happened, especially, because some Protestant churches had established themselves on Tahiti, in the east, and began to reach out towards the unevangelised shores of the West Pacific region. In 1852, the arrival of the Italian Fathers of Milan (or the PIME Fathers) re-established, for a short while, the RC presence in these lands. But, once again, with the death of Fr Giovanni Mazzucconi in 1855, a provisional end was made to the Italian endeavour.

A Roman presence would not be established again before 1882, when the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (MSC), a third group of French missionaries, landed near Rabaul, with the assignment of converting Melanesia and Micronesia. We will return to them in due course, but, now, we want to pursue the Christianisation of PNG, from 1870 onwards.

1. The London Missionary Society

New Guinea, being an island close to the Australian continent, was the most obvious area of expansion, both for the British Crown, politically, as for the established church, religiously. Now, the Church of England was mainly concerned with British citizens, and left it to voluntary agencies to worry about the heathen in foreign parts. This explains the emergence, in the Church of England, of several mission societies, some of which were more Protestant (as the societies, which came about in the wake of the Evangelical revival of the 19th century), while others were more Catholic (as the ones associated, in the 18th century, with the Oxford movement). The LMS belonged to the first group, and was, for the period starting now, the first to enter the local apostolic scene.

The LMS society had been founded in 1795, by two Anglicans, John Eyre and Thomas Haweis, together with one independent Christian, David Bogue. Soon afterwards, the group became the rallying point, in Great Britain, to undertake mission work overseas. As time went on, the Society established a closer association with the English Congregational church. Elements of this were the greatest reliance on the Bible, a strict Sabbatarianism, and also the active role entrusted to the laity.

An important stage was reached, when, in 1840, the LMS came to the Loyalty Islands, including New Caledonia and Tahiti. But, in this French-dominated mission, they met a fierce opposition from the RC missionaries. Eventually, one of the LMS preachers, the Revd Samuel McFarlane, was accused of desecrating a church building, and left the island.

This incident was, for him, and also for the Revd Archibald W. Murray, and eight families of Loyalty Island teachers, the opportunity to transfer their mission to the Torres Strait Islands. They were now under English, that is, under Queensland, rule. From past experience, they carried with them an antipathy against whatever was Popish and French. In no time, they made the small Murray Island into the main centre of their outreach.

From Murray Island, the LMS tackled “the great region of darkness and sin”, that is the southern coast of Papua, from the Fly River, at one end, to East Cape, at the other end. Experienced missionaries, like the Revd William G. Lawes, from Niue, and also the Revd James Chalmers, from the Cook Islands, soon joined the group. In 1874, Lawes was appointed as the first resident missionary at Port Moresby, a site already reached three years earlier. Christianisation proceeded, according to each one’s ability and liking, with McFarlane scattering Polynesian evangelists, and the linguist Lawes rather opting for a more intensive work.

On the island of Yule, the LMS had placed, in 1872, a teacher from Mare, Waunaea, but, four years later, after the murder of Dr

James and Captain Thorngren, the Society withdrew him. In addition, the people of Yule moved to the New Guinea mainland, to the nearby station of Delena. They first lived around the LMS teacher, Henere, and, from 1894 onwards, around the European missionary, the Revd H. M. Dauncey, previously the LMS preacher at Vanuamai.

From his first arrival in Papua, the Revd Dauncey was a most respected man. He arrived in Papua in 1888, and would devote 40 years of service to the mission. Father G. Gennochi MSC admitted that the Revd Dauncey trusted Sacred Heart missionaries, and sincerely loved them, although, through his upbringing, he was an independent churchman, a bit like the Evangelical Anglican, John H. Newman, who, in the end, became a Cardinal of the RC church.

On one occasion, the Revd Dauncey set forth a clear account of the LMS faith. There was, for him, no church, no superior, nor any other guide in the faith. And, whenever like-minded people met together, they formed a Congregational Union, in which anybody could read the scriptures, and explain them. This was, of course, a far cry from the tradition-bound Frenchmen living across Hall Sound Bay!

The presence of the RC missionaries used to dictate the priorities of the LMS. At the very beginning, still on Thursday Island, McFarlane tried to keep the MSC away from Yule Island. But Bishop Navarre did not accept this, nor McFarlane's suggestion to settle in Fairfax Harbour (over against Port Moresby), nor his idea to move to the Louisiade Archipelago, at the far east of the island.

Meanwhile, the LMS had abandoned the view of changing its headquarters from Torres Strait to Yule Island, while the Society began to concentrate its activities mainly on the Papuan Gulf, just to stop the other mission. In 1900, for instance, the Society got very worried when the Roman Catholics obtained their first plot of land in Daru. And then there were the actual clashes between the opposing missions on Yule and elsewhere.

In September 1888, with the arrival of the then Lieutenant-Governor, William MacGregor, the government realised that the small band of LMS missionaries could not possibly do effective work over the 800 miles of coastline of Papua. MacGregor, therefore, aired the idea of attracting other missions also, and approached both Methodists and Anglicans.

MacGregor's previous experience with the governor of Fiji, and high commissioner of the Western Pacific, had put him in contact with the Methodist church, for whom he had only good words. Now, he asked the Methodist Missionary Society of Australasia to occupy the islands to the east of New Guinea. Although the governor did not act on church instructions, he plainly entered in the LMS spirit, as appears from the later comment of R. W. Thompson, the Foreign Secretary of the Society, when writing to the Revd James Chalmers. In this letter of 1891, Thompson agreed that RC missionaries might be better than nothing, but that he had little or no hesitation in trying to keep them out altogether. Such an opinion was consistent with the view of all missionary societies at the time – including the Roman Catholics – who saw themselves as the only bringers of salvation, and tried to ward off all outsiders, as unwanted intruders or rivals.

Following a suggestion of Samuel McFarlane, the governor favoured a delimitation of the mission boundaries. A meeting was held by the heads of churches, in Port Moresby, on June 17, 1890. The comity agreement then reached, provided:

> "That . . . so as to use, to the best advantage for the native population, the force available for mission purposes, and in order to prevent, as far as possible, further complications re missionary boundaries, we express the opinion that, as the missionaries of the London Missionary Society have agreed, to make the boundary of their mission at Ducie Cape, on the north-east coast, that the Anglican mission should occupy the coast from Cape Ducie to Mitre Rock, on the north-east coast of New Guinea, and that the Wesleyan Missionary Society

> should occupy the whole of the outlying islands, with the exception of those islands lying west of Rocky Pass, on the south-east coast of New Guinea."[1]

Subsequently, on August 14, 1890, the three Protestant groups held a further mission conference in Port Moresby, now on the possible transfer of South Sea teachers from one mission to the other. Another meeting was held at Kwato, on May 8, 1893, discussing native marriages, Sabbath observance, and principles of Bible translation. The administration tried hard to make the Roman Catholics enter the covenant, in order to serve the best interests of the country, but it was all to no avail. The Sacred Heart Fathers of Yule Island did not sign the text, nor did they otherwise signify that they agreed with it. Nevertheless, the arrangements between the three non-RC missions regulated, for many years, the expansion of the churches. It became the foil, against which most of the decisions, and most of the future difficulties, can be judged.

In a way, the government's position was not always clear, with the LMS blaming the administration for lack of assistance, and the MSC accusing them of discriminating against their apostolate. Surely, the decisions of successive administrators were not consistently leaning towards one side only. MacGregor, for instance, is known for his *bon mot*:

> "I make no distinction between the different missions. I am most anxious to see a Christian catechism brought to every tribe in this colony. To what sect that catechism may belong, is, to me, as far as religious teaching is concerned, a matter of complete indifference."[2]

He was also known for appealing to his immediate superiors, both in Queensland and in London, to legislate on the spheres of influence. And he even appealed to Cardinal Mieceslaw Ledochowski, in Rome, to get rid of the troublesome Archbishop Navarre. On the other side, the RC historian, André Dupeyrat, calls this Protestant Scotsman, a man of good faith, generally sympathetic

towards the missionaries. He recalls that, on one occasion, the governor showed his liberality towards Fr H. Verjus, and that, on another occasion, he saved the life of Fr G. Gennochi. So he deserved – at least at the beginning – to be recognised as a benefactor of the French mission.

In all these conflicts, therefore, it should be noted, that the government, itself, was not formally part of what one could call the "MacGregor Settlement", nor that it added any new regulations or ordinances to enforce it. One reason for acting as it did was public security, or the fear of a French *coup d'etat* (in case French war ships would be heading for Yule Island). Another reason was the defence of internal law and order, by which it tried to prevent fighting between opposed groups of missionaries.

2. The Sacred Heart Mission

After the departure of the French Marists, and the Italian PIME Fathers, no attempts were spared to find another RC congregation to take on the responsibility for New Guinea, and the adjacent islands. "Rome" did not omit to build up its case. Not only could it rely upon the reports from naturalists, and from Protestant missionaries, or from such adventurers, as the Marquis de Rays, but it acted also upon its own RC explorers, originating from Northern Queensland, who personally went to study the situation in Papua.

As a result, in June, 1881, one Father John Cani reported to Cardinal Giovanni Simeoni, in Rome, the positive chances along the Papuan coast. His list of possible locations included Maiva, about 22 miles to the west of Hall Sound, and also Yule Island. This island had formerly been occupied by the LMS, who had now transferred to Delena, opposite the former ancient station of Yule. Fr Cani had made sure to have the permission of the local chiefs, and also the assurance of the Revds Chalmers and Lawes, who promised not to place South Sea teachers in the villages around Waima.

As said before, when the MSC society accepted New Guinea, the missionaries first reached Rabaul in 1882. Then, two years later, they made a second attempt to establish a base on Thursday Island. Here they picked up some Filipino pearl fishers, who then became the first RC catechists in New Guinea. The following year, in 1885, they landed on the island of Yule, as another jumping board to reach Port Moresby, and the rest of New Guinea. It was not long before a clash broke out with the government, and with the LMS. The first bone of contention became Yule Island (1885-1887); then came Vanuamai (1891-1896), closely followed by Waima-Kivori (1897-1901).

At their arrival on Yule Island, the MSC Fathers bought, for their immediate needs, a piece of ground from one Rauma Kaima. Then, in 1885, they began to work on the island, from where the South Sea teacher, Waunaea, had left. They naturally believed that the LMS had abandoned the place for good. However, the LMS at Delena expressed their earlier rights, also saying that the location of the new establishment was far too close to Delena, being, as it were, "in another part of the same village". Still, in 1887, in the interest of peace and goodwill, W. G. Lawes withdrew his teacher, Ratsu, and the island became the headquarters of the RC mission.

Another clash followed, in Vanuamai, among the Pokao people. Here, too, a Protestant teacher had lived and left. But when, in 1891, the Roman Catholics flew their improvised flag of the Sacred Heart, Frank Lawes, the brother of the great LMS minister, came to trample the emblem underfoot. In the end, MacGregor could only repeat his disapproving words, while the LMS had to leave the stubborn locals to their own devices.

Faced with such difficulties, Bishop Navarre appealed to the Congregation of the Faith. The Office in Rome had always been credited with issuing the assignment to convert New Guinea, even though it left the actual policies to the people on the spot. In a letter from the Congregation, dated January 28, 1889, Rome encouraged the bishop to further oppose the powerful government. Still, it

blamed the bishop for lacking in diplomacy, when dealing with his civil opponents.

Soon afterwards, a third conflict emerged at Waima-Kivori. The Roman Catholics, and later, among them, also Fr de Boismenu, did not budge one inch. Therefore, when, in 1889, Beata Kupa asked the Roman Catholics to settle at Waima, notwithstanding the presence of several Samoan evangelists, they agreed, in no uncertain terms. Consequently, the Yule Island mission appointed, one after the other, various missionaries of its own to the place. And since the government refused to allocate them a piece of ground, they bought, in 1899, a plot at Ovia Pokina, from the European, Jean Oberleuter. In addition, in 1900, they acquired, at Ama Pokina, another hectare from the Australian company, Burns Philp. In doing so, they circumvented the law on the transfer of native properties, and robbed the government of its main ground to expel the Catholic missionaries from Waima.

Even though the Revd Dauncey wrote, in 1905, that spoiled relations with Roman Catholics had been the "major problem" for the previous 20 years, one must add that, in this part of the world, the opposition between the various churches was minimal, in comparison with the Polynesian experience in Tonga, the Loyalties, etc. Actually, in 1898, MacGregor admitted that, in British New Guinea, there was hardly such a thing as sectarianism, while, with the benefit of hindsight, the LMS historian, Patricia A. Prendergast, could recently write that, if, in PNG, church relations were not always cordial, they surely were not surrounded with the degree of bitterness and intensity found in nearby places.

The same can also be deduced from Archbishop Navarre's *Handbook for Missionaries*, a booklet of over 100 pages, published in 1896, and in which Protestants feature only three times, occupying less than one full page. This shows that, even in such a document, written for internal use, non-Catholic missionaries did not loom large. In addition, the Bishop was surrounded by such valuable helpers as G. Gennochi and H. Verjus, whose broad-

mindedness was admitted by the most unsuspected sources, such as W. G. Lawes and W. MacGregor.

Finally, especially since A. de Boismenu made his influence felt, there was a practical concentration on different fields of action, with the MSC Fathers rowing up the St Joseph, or Angabunga, River, and opening up the Kuni district (from 1900 onwards), and the LMS mission personnel rather working along the southern coast of New Guinea.

It will cause no surprise that such a gifted missionary as Alain de Boismenu, who arrived back in January, 1898, and became, the following year, the coadjutor of Bishop Navarre, initially took over the standard opinions of the French mission. For this, we can, among others, refer to his very long letter to the MSC scholastics of Canet, and also to his more-official address to the Catholic Congress of Melbourne, both dating from 1904. The first letter (which runs over 40 pages in the *American Annals*) speaks about the daily concerns of the missionaries, and is totally silent about the Protestant mission.

The other document specifically addresses the issue of the spheres of influence, but sees them as an anomaly, for the Australian administrators, since it was jeopardising their much-vaunted fair play, and contradicting their religious feeling, enshrined, in paragraph 116 of the country's Constitution. However, after discussions with Cardinal Francis Patrick Moran, and other bishops, in Melbourne, and after reading his text before the members of the congress, Mgr de Boismenu was dissuaded from airing his views in public. The local authorities felt that the time was not ripe, and that, in fact, greater harm could be done by starting a public debate.

As is known, in 1906, a Royal Commission of Enquiry visited British New Guinea. Subsequently, the coadjutor got the chance to detail his remarks about what he felt to be "a discrimination against the Roman Catholics". Unabashed, he asked from the government:

> "(our) entire share of freedom, recognised in the whole British Commonwealth, no more, no less".[3]

But this time, too, his voice was not heard, and, in 1908, Minister Alfred Deakin stood with the Commission's recommendations, thus upholding the status quo, and using the ground laws in Papua to stop any missionary from entering a village claimed by another Christian mission.

Meanwhile, effective expansion was taking place. To the township of Samarai, short visits by de Boismenu are recorded, from 1902 onwards, while the place was also visited by the Australian, Edward A. Bailey, whom Bishop de Boismenu ordained in 1912. In Port Moresby, after the first recorded Catholic baptism, by H. Verjus, in 1889, a school for European children was opened in 1911, while, in 1917, four Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart (OLSH) moved to Musgrave Street to occupy one of the cottages of Mr B. W. Bramell, the then Commissioner of Native Affairs and Control. In 1914, the first resident priest, Fr Dennis Elliot, was ordained, but he quickly died of blackwater fever.

In both ports of entry to British New Guinea, Samarai and Port Moresby, Roman Catholics began to realise how many of their own migrants lived outside the areas of active missionary involvement. Their attention went first to the white settlers, but quickly other baptised Catholics joined them, so that the occupation of cities became another way of undermining the spheres of influence, so dear to those in authority.

A major change was to come about. By 1903, Pope Pius X had taken over the reins of Pope Leo XIII, and, in 1911, Bishop de Boismenu was due for his second *ad limina* visit in Rome; this was one year before the Father would become Vicar Apostolic of Papua. Still, it marks a turn in his thinking. On November 11, he discussed, with the Pope, the burning question of either opposing the Protestants, or showing his fear, and lack of courage. But then, the Pope pronounced these liberating words:

> "No. Work on virgin ground. It is not fitting to engage in a fight. . . . Protestants are, somehow, our helpers. . . ."[4]

How this impressed the Bishop, is made clear in his private diary, by writing Pius' words in red, and with capitals. They are the very motto, under which the 34 coming years of his office will take shape.

3. The New Guinea (Anglican) Mission

The Pacific area came to the attention of the Church of England sometime back in 1841, when Samuel Marsden turned his attention to the New Zealand Maoris. Although he, himself, belonged to the Church of England, the Anglicans obtained a real foothold in the region only in 1841, when George A. Selwyn became the first Bishop of New Zealand, with a diocese reaching to a latitude far beyond Japan! Even though this point of reference was a slip of the pen (34 degrees "N" instead of 34 degrees "S" latitude of the equator), the Bishop accepted the challenge and intended to evangelise the whole of Melanesia. He actually came as far as Guadalcanal, in the Solomon Islands, leaving it to his successor, John C. Patteson, a bishop since 1861, to establish the Anglican Province of Melanesia.

It should be noted here that Bishop Selwyn himself made his lasting imprint on the future Anglican Mission. He never trod on ground held by other missions; he trained local evangelists, in preference to expatriate staff, and he encouraged Melanesians to keep to their own ways, as long as they were not clearly in opposition to the gospel. Yet, all these nearby events belong to the prehistory of the Anglican New Guinea Mission, which has fully been described in *God's Gentlemen*, of D. Hilliard (1978). We will concentrate here on the PNG situation, drawing especially on D. Wetherell's book, *Reluctant Mission* (1977), which details this story till 1942.

We have to wait until 1888, that is four years after Captain James Erskine proclaimed "British New Guinea" to be a colony, before the Australian Board of Missions gave any thought to the conversion of the land. First there was a private tug of war going on between Bishop Alfred Barry, of Sydney, and Bishop G. H. Stanton, of North Queensland. Each one tried to thrust the responsibility for New Guinea on the other, and nothing happened. Still, the SPG (Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts) set at least £1,000 aside, to assist in planting the New Guinea Mission. This also ended SPG involvement, and put the Australian church, that is, especially, the North Queensland Diocese, in charge of the enterprise.

Then came the turnabout, when Albert Alexander Maclaren, a Scots priest from Queensland, and also a convert from Presbyterianism to the Anglican church, offered himself for the assignment. At that time, he had shown already his interest for the coloured people, by caring for the sugarcane workers around Mackay. In 1890, he became the first private secretary of the then Lieutenant-Governor, William MacGregor, and so, got the opportunity to explore various parts of the colony. At the same time, he could look out for a suitable place to establish the future mission of the Anglicans.

In May, 1890, the party visited the Mekeo district, where there was a meeting with the young Bishop Henry Verjus. They also visited the LMS and MSC schools. It was probably on this occasion that Maclaren went to say his prayers at the Catholic chapel, and felt refreshed by the sight of a place of worship. Subsequently, Bishop Verjus could remark to MacGregor:

> "They tell me he is more a Catholic than I am."[5]

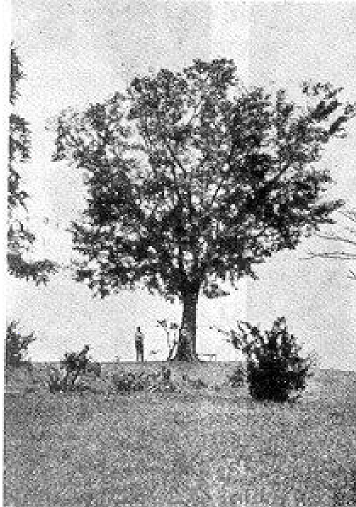
From his side, the bishop gave to Maclaren his photo, asking him to remember him in his prayers, and wishing him all success in his work.

Revd Albert Maclaren.

Revd Copland King.

It had been the initial idea of Governor MacGregor to assign to the Anglicans the Fly River area in the west, while John Douglas, the Special Commissioner, with residence at Thursday Island, had suggested that they make their headquarters on Bentley Island, in the east. Hence the confusion, which arose, when, later on, MacGregor, too, offered Eastern Papua to the Church of England, while the LMS also claimed the north coast of British New Guinea. This problem was sorted out when, in July, 1890, the famous comity agreement was reached among the three Protestant churches. It was mainly due to the courteousness, and spirit of understanding, of Maclaren that the understanding came off as quickly, and as well, as it did.

Soon after the said meeting, the Revd Copland King joined the New Guinea Mission. The two pioneers landed near Dogura, close to Wedau village. On St Laurence Day, August 10, 1891, they officially began their mission work. Sad to say, Copland King became sick almost immediately, and, within five months, his friend Maclaren was carried away for good. He died of malaria at sea, on December 27, 1891.



The Modawa Tree. The corner post
of the first church at Dogura took root and grew.

The character of the two missionaries was not altogether alike. Maclaren is known for his catholic tendencies (as the remark, above, of Bishop Verjus showed already, while, also, W. G. Lawes considered him to be "very high"). Although born and brought up an Evangelical, he became, by choice, an Anglo-Catholic, full of sympathy with the Oxford Movement of his day. While a priest with the labourers on the sugar fields, he offered himself to Bishop Barry, the Primate of Australia, and was chosen to lead an Anglican Mission to New Guinea.

As an avowed high churchman in the, otherwise, low Anglican diocese of Sydney, Maclaren had planned, among other projects, to open, in British New Guinea, a sisters' convent, while in Sydney he once was refused permission to officiate among a predominantly unsympathetic audience. Still, when visiting the old LMS missionary, Lawes, he joined him in his family worship, and in their common service. Of this he once wrote:

> "Surely, in a heathen country, we don't want to shock the poor natives with our unhappy divisions. . . . I trust that I am, nonetheless, a Catholic in the deepest sense."[6]

The right hand, and successor, of Maclaren was the Revd C. King, who, for seven years, became the head of the New Guinea Mission. He was, theologically, the exception. Brought up as Sabbatarian, and a staunch Evangelical, he surprised his family by joining the ritualistic Maclaren, whom he followed scrupulously. At Dogura, for instance, he refused to remove the cross from the altar, because Maclaren had put it there. Again, he showed no ambition to extend the missionary boundaries beyond those laid down by his deceased friend, even when, in 1893, MacGregor threatened him with calling in the Sacred Heart Fathers of Yule Island. Finally, when the Sydney authorities pressed him to become the new Bishop of British New Guinea, he firmly declined. Instead, he kept to his interest in theology, linguistics, anthropology, and botany.

The best tribute one can still give to King, is to meditate on the letter he wrote to a Sydney church paper, on October 12, 1903. He, here, undertakes to defend the Anglo-Catholic trend taken by his mission diocese, and says that it is much better to teach the creed (that is, in its non-evangelical version) than not to teach it at all. That is exactly what King did, in following the trace of Maclaren, or, also, in supporting Bishop Stone-Wigg, whose ideas differed from his own. The letter, referred to, is preserved in King's biography, and concludes pathetically:

> "Pardon my length: I am excited. Pardon my incoherence: I am tired. Pardon my brevity: I have not said half enough."[7]

The stamp of King on Papuan Anglicanism is unmistakable, still, these days.

The bishopric, refused by King, was assigned to a canon of the Brisbane Cathedral, the Revd Montagu John Stone-Wigg. He became the first Bishop of New Guinea, in 1897, and held this office

till he resigned, in 1908, for reasons of ill health. He, too, was a high churchman, as many have witnessed. Charles Abel, of Kwato, once said that it was impossible for a Congregationalist to come to any terms with him, while the LMS, as a whole, was offended that Bishop Stone-Wigg dared to doubt the validity of their ordinations. Similarly, while Governor MacGregor used to express his utter dislike for such “Popish trappings” as crucifixes, candles, incense, pictures, and the like, they found acceptance in the eyes of the new bishop, even though it cost him the financial support of the Anglicans in Sydney, the most populous diocese in Australia.

One point, which explains Stone-Wigg’s direction is his esteem for the guidelines of the UMCA (Universities’ Mission to Central Africa). It was the most Anglo-Catholic of the missionary societies, and wanted to run missions by a celibate clergy, and by communities of sisters. This was in line with the bishop’s basic thinking. Then, there were also the Roman Catholics themselves. When Stone-Wigg, for the first time, went on home leave, and spent three weeks in Rome, he daily attended Holy Mass, and visited many churches. But, in British New Guinea, he did not always show this attraction to the Romans. This might explain his advances near the Mambare River, and in Samarai, which were partly done to stop, or, otherwise, to hold the fort, against the RC missionaries.

Also famous, in this regard, is Stone-Wigg’s protracted discussion with the government about who properly deserved to be called “the Catholic Mission”. In 1905, the government had officially accepted the title, instead, of “the Sacred Heart Mission”, to indicate the RC group of Yule Island. But the Anglican bishop was quick to point out that the Church of England, in all its official documents, and in the actual words of its services, similarly used this title. He added that the general meaning of such a title was quite in line with British usage, while “the Roman Mission” could better refer to the Roman Catholics. After all, the Anglican church had always claimed to preserve the traditions of the ancient church, as known, e.g., from scripture, the Fathers and the first Councils.

To finish the story, let us add that, two years later, a final reply was received from the Australian Department of External Affairs, to keep the status quo of 1904. Still, the incident shows that, within the Anglican group, there was the awareness that it was itself truly Catholic as well.

The first Bishop of the New Guinea Mission did much for his diocese, especially in terms of personnel and money, and – as said – also in covering new terrain. He generally favoured the local people and the local ways. When W. G. Lawes urged him to condemn Motuan dancing, he remained silent, and when the Resident Magistrate, C. A. W. Monckton, advised him to arm his missionaries against the locals, he refused to do so. Also, towards the end of his episcopal term, between 1906 and 1908, he accepted some 25 Melanesians from the North Queensland sugar fields, and employed them as evangelists, rather than have them sent to a homeland, at which some of them had not lived for many years.

Stone-Wigg's stand on liturgical matters, and on native affairs, is indirectly also important for his critical attitude towards the expatriate settlers, and the "White Australia" policy in general. Still, he sent King and two nurses to the gold fields of the Northern Division. He also sent two lady teachers to open a school in the township of Samarai, an act, which was called "monstrous" by some of the Protestant missionaries, who considered the place as entrusted to them only. He finally began an Anglican chaplaincy in Port Moresby.

As a matter of fact, both the Church of England (as being the principal church of the Commonwealth) and the Roman Catholics (as being part of an even greater, that is, worldwide organisation) could not ignore the call of their faithful in other places as well. In doing so, Bishop Stone-Wigg made clear that, the Anglican church understood the needs of the white people, and of the indentured labourers, differently from the way the government would have liked it. The pastoral concern for the miners, and the schools for

white and mixed-race children, indicated that he had not written them off at all.

After the departure of Stone-Wigg, it took two years before the second bishop was appointed to New Guinea; it was the Revd Gerald Sharp, fresh from the United Kingdom. He became, in 1921, Archbishop of Brisbane. His call from England stresses, once again, the lasting links between the New Guinea Mission and the British mother church.

Whereas Bishop Stone-Wigg had laid the foundations, the new Bishop, Gerald Sharp, began to build, with no mean success. By 1910, there were about 1,000 baptisms a year, to which one can add about the same number of confirmations. The keynote of his time was that, in spite of all physical and temporal disaster, the work of God went straight on. There were setbacks, like the emergence, in 1912, of the Baigona cult, one of the first recorded cargo movements in the Colony. There was also the loss of Henry Newton, who, in 1915, became Bishop of Carpentaria, on Thursday Island. But there were also happy events, such as, in September, 1914, the ordination of the first two local deacons, one of whom, Peter Rautamara, later became the first Papuan priest.

After the end of the First World War, the responsibility for ex-German New Guinea was thrust upon the Papuan Anglicans, whereas, up to that time, it belonged to the Melanesian Mission. For a while, nobody really knew what to do about it, and no extra help was forthcoming from anywhere. The Anglican expansion, however, went ahead in the direction of Port Moresby. Bishop Sharp visited the town again in 1912, when there was no Anglican priest or church there, and all non-Roman Catholics went to the Ela Beach church. He appointed, in 1915, Fr Robert Leck, from Victoria, to become the first resident priest of Port Moresby.

Of clashes, or particularly close cooperation, with Roman Catholics, nothing is known, except an occasional line in Bishop de Boismenu’s private letters. He had met his Anglican counterpart

G. Sharp, and was deeply impressed by the bishop's high culture, and his sincerity for God's cause. On September 4, 1913, he wrote to his sisters:

> "I am always convinced that, in these far corners of the earth, where the church cannot come yet, the good God performs His work through these good people. They are so close, yes, so close to us! This is so consoling, when one thinks of these immeasurable regions, of which we cannot possibly take care."[8]

Words like these, echoing those of Pope Pius X, surely intimate that the Roman Catholics were not going to work in a place, which was already well looked after by a church so close to their own.

4. The Other Denominations

Although the islands of the Louisiade Group were once visited by Catholic Marists, and, in 1855, honoured by the death of Fr Mazzucconi, they were never again a Roman stronghold. The sporadic visit by Roman Catholic, or, also, Anglican Fathers, to, say, Samarai, can most easily be compared to what happened in Northern Australia. Here, riding on horseback, the priests in charge, from time to time, visited their scattered faithful, only in Papua, the situation of an island church prevailed, depending on the availability of sea transport.

By 1890, on the request of the Administrator, William MacGregor, the elderly George Brown came to British New Guinea. He was the General Secretary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and had arrived to assume, for his church, the eastern part of the Papuan mainland. The limits then reached, would stay on, in missionary geography, except that the Wesleyans would obtain some 20 miles of coast (to also have one mainland station, near East Cape), and take over, from the LMS, both Teste and Ware Islands.

But, the fatalities in Papua were numerous. For instance, in 20 years, the lot of some 50 men, women, and children, which W. E. Bromilow had brought from Australia, Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa were all gone, some dying of fever, and others returning to their own land, broken down in health. Everywhere, the blood of martyrs became the seed of new Christians, with success coming in due time.

The approach of the Methodists had its own characteristics. George Brown is known for his word that no one could be expected to endanger his life in New Guinea. Hence, his missionaries were regularly armed, and were not used to the tradition of martyrdom, so often found among Roman Catholics and Anglicans. His group, too, definitely had the sense of mission in the British Empire, and were led by an awareness of urgency. The Catholic missions, on the other hand, often looked, with a critical eye, to the initiatives of the government, and could bide their time. Finally, instead of entertaining an accommodating attitude towards local customs (as mentioned earlier), the Methodists loved to give the full blast of Evangelical disapproval to persisting heathenism, even if they did not do it so strongly, as some LMS preachers, such as Charles Abel. On the other hand, they showed great interest in industry and sports.

It did not take very long, in fact, from 1908 onwards, before yet a fifth group of Christians tried to enter British New Guinea, the Seventh-day Adventists (SDAs). They started on unoccupied land, in the hinterland of Port Moresby, and first clashed with the Anglicans in 1917, when they applied for land in the Kumusi Division. The then Governor, J. P. H. Murray, did not see any objection, because there was no Anglican station in the neighbourhood. However, both the Anglican bishop and the resident magistrate strongly disagreed about the advisability, and, in the end, the Australian minister did not grant the permission sought.

The next year, the SDAs wanted to go into the Kukukuku area, also away from existing missions. Again, the missions opposed the positive opinion of the governor, and no result

followed. As a rule, the first SDAs worked spottily, in several distant locations, and caused no problems with the settled missions till after World War I. The two incidents reported above are useful to see that the SDA mission, too, did not agree with the official policy of the government, while the governor, himself, Sir Hubert Murray, showed a quite-impartial attitude in dealing with the whole matter.

Whereas all the previous cases affected British New Guinea, or the Territory of Papua, we should also pay attention to the northern parts of today's country, PNG. This matter does not need to worry us unduly, because, in fact, both the north-eastern coast and the Bismarck Archipelago did not come under British, but under German rule. This led to a favouring of German Lutherans, around Madang and Finschhafen, and of German Roman Catholics, around Rabaul and Alexishafen.

It cannot be said that these groups were completely free in their activities, because, especially on the Gazelle Peninsula (where there was a previous presence of French RC missionaries), the colonial authorities were keen to favour "spheres of influence". Bishop Louis Couppé did his best to oppose this policy in German New Guinea, just as strongly as Bishop André Navarre did in British New Guinea. Each time, the main weapons were "reason" and "Rome", freedom of conscience, and the saving function of the church: *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*.

The civil administration in German New Guinea did not last beyond World War I, when an Australian military administration was set up. Then, under the Treaty of Versailles, enemy property, such as plantations and businesses, were handed over to the Reparation Commission, while German missionaries were marked to be deported. The Protestant missionary societies in Australia, via the United Missionary Council, and also the Anglican Province of Queensland, and the New Guinea Mission interceded for their German colleagues. First, these Germans were allowed to stay for a certain time, which was later extended, and finally – when Germany

had become a member of the League of Nations – the rule was no longer enforced. A similar action was initiated by the Catholic authorities, including Bishop de Boismenu, and the Apostolic Delegate in Sydney, to assist German RC missionaries. They were joined by the Anglican Bishop, H. Newton, as appears from a letter of thanksgiving, which Fr Heinrich Nollen MSC, of the RC mission in Vunapope, sent to him, for having pleaded in favour of the German RC missionaries of "our beloved mission" in Rabaul.[9]

In the course of time, here, too, loopholes were found in the law, so that the missions started overlapping, or also adapting, to the new political configuration. Already, in 1916, Australian SDAs and Methodists began to enter the Solomon Islands, which, up to that time, had been missionised by the Marist Fathers only. At that stage, the Marists had shifted their headquarters to Bougainville Island, thus preferring the more-centrally located Kieta to the rather isolated Shortland Islands.

Conclusion

We are now able to draw some conclusions from the founding age of the missions in PNG. We close, provisionally, with the war of 1914-1918, which raged upon the European scene, but left New Guinea very much alone. Still, locally, too, the dates are important, because the ties with Europe became cut, the generation of the pioneers was dying out, and soon the responsibility for the ex-German colonies would be thrust upon Papua, while also some new leaders were entering the scene.

A first characteristic we see is that PNG is an exception on the missionary scene of the Pacific. It has not one original, and predominant, church in existence, but it has five mainline churches. This excludes the SDAs, but includes, not only the Lutherans (which were again divided), but also the Kwato Extension Association (an early LMS offshoot, operating in south-eastern Papua, and which, for a while, would be united again with its mother church). This

may have something to do with the vastness, and the linguistic diversity, in PNG, and also with the prevailing social system, where local "bigmen" rule over a relatively small following. In Polynesia, on the contrary, there are many much smaller, and more homogeneous, islands, and these are ruled according to the chiefly system.

Secondly, the Melanesians' peculiar situation of having many missions, or churches, also explains the mission zones, or the so-called "spheres of influence", to avoid religious wars. Here the Anglicans, together with the SDAs and Roman Catholics, became the successful opponents of the government's official policy.

Thirdly, on the theological level, and not prejudging the Lutheran identity, there is, on the one side, a lining up of Anglicans and Catholics, and, on the other side, a lining up of the LMS and the Methodists. The latter are supported by the Evangelical missionary societies, which are strongly opposed to the darkness of heathenism (including everything, which was of a pre-Reformation nature), while the Anglicans and the Romans were considered more lax in practice, and too staunch in doctrine. The latter, for instance, held most strictly that their church would be the only means of salvation. Each subgroup, however, tended to work independently.

Fourthly, we note that the type of Anglicanism, which came to PNG, was more of the ritualist type, stressing bishops and sacraments, although some of its individuals were rather Evangelical, or Reformed, Anglicans. This is mainly due to the imprint of the early missionaries, Fr Albert Maclaren and Bishop Stone-Wigg, and it links the local mission church to the Tractarians, or the Oxford Movement, in England, and to the Anglo-Catholics, in other early missions, such as South Africa and the West Indies.

Fifthly, the country was luckily spared religious wars, even though some historians have exaggerated the clashes between LMS and RC missionaries. The latter were really local incidents, offset

by various open-minded missionaries, such as H. M. Dauncey, and even W. G. Lawes, of the LMS, and some Roman Catholics as well.

As to the encounter between Romans and Anglicans, there was the distance between the spheres of action, exploited by the two groups. In fact, a huge mountain range separated the north-eastern end of the RC mission, from the lower western tip of the Anglican mission. In addition, clashes were also unlikely, because Anglicans, as such, were unknown to French Catholics (and the other way around), and because, from the start, there was a personal respect for one another's representatives.

II. BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS

The founding age of the historical Christian missions came to a close with the great period of turmoil in Europe. Although this time did not affect, too much, the various denominations in PNG, it dried up the sources of supply for staff and funds. It also added new responsibilities to the missions, once the Australian Army had occupied ex-German New Guinea. But the material pinch did not prevent the churches from expanding, or, rather, consolidating, the positions of the past. For our purpose, we will concentrate here, once again, on the Roman Catholics and the Anglicans, and only on those places in the country, where the two groups met, or where their spheres of action overlapped with the territories held by other churches.

1. The Roman Catholic Expansion

In his early reply to the government, Bishop Navarre had pointed out two things: one, that his missionaries were sent to New Guinea as a whole, and two, that "for the time being", for reasons of courtesy, they would not go to Port Moresby, where the LMS had already settled. Logically, then, he refused to go to Eastern Papua, because that would put him even further off from his objective of the New Guinea mainland.

Although Port Moresby was then still a small township, the move to become the future capital was already on the cards, among other reasons, because it had a good harbour. The place increased, especially after the First World War, when RC office workers and business people, including Chinese, came from all over the country to the administrative centre of PNG. Only then, the Roman Catholics consolidated their presence.

In 1919, Fr Edward Van Goethem began building the church of Our Lady of the Rosary, in Musgrave Street, dedicated by Bishop de Boismenu, in October, 1923. In that year, too, a second Catholic school for migrant Catholics followed, at Ela Beach (to be transferred to Badili in early 1928), while, in June, 1926, St Michael of Hanuabada opened, as the third Catholic school in the same locality. Already, in 1923, the Australian, Fr Michael McEnroe, arrived, to be the parish priest of the whole area, down to Brown River in the east, a position he held till 1947.

While the combined efforts of RC Fathers and Sisters went on, the people began to see how various missions vied for their allegiance, and not always refrained from slandering one another. Since some of the locals were perplexed, it is only normal that they asked yet another party, that is a representative of the government, what was the true religion.

One of the civil officers, writing under the nickname Lagani-Namo, published his ideas on the matter in the September, 1930, issue of *The Papuan Villager*, at a time when Bishop de Boismenu was in Europe for his fourth *ad limina* visit. In less than one page, he compared Methodists, Anglicans, Romans, SDAs, and the LMS, to as many companies of mountaineers, who, each from its own side, ascended Mount Victoria. During the climb, they never set eye on one another, yet in the end they all reached the same summit, heaven.

The LMS missionary, Benjamin T. Butcher, who relates the story, adds, with approval, that here was the answer of a man, who understood how there were “many missions, but only one God”. Yet, the RC church sent a stern protest against the story, threatening to forbid its adherents to read the paper, should another such article be published again. Whatever one thinks of who was right or wrong, the letter to the editor clarifies the RC outlook, and the kind of indifferentism it was sometimes faced with, in what was then called the Territory of Papua (1906-1942).

While this was going on, the Yule Island missionaries urged their Australian confreres, not only to help out in Port Moresby, but also to take over the eastern end of the island, up to then, mainly under the influence of the Kwato Extension Association. Now, before accepting the offer of the French Fathers, in August, 1921, the Australian MSC delegated Fr John Doyle and Brother E. Baker, from Thursday Island, to make a feasibility study.

Although they were able to buy some properties in Milne Bay, and on Normanby and Fergusson Islands, they were not well received by the local people, who ran away, and closed their doors, whenever they sighted a RC missionary. Naturally, the final report was negative, because Fr Doyle felt that the existing missions already cared well for the people, and that it would cost the Roman Catholics too much to buy properties, and to run their own boat service between the islands.

The 1921 plan for Samarai was then kept in abeyance, while some suspected a certain insistence from higher authorities, when, in 1926, the Roman Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith entrusted the whole region to the Australian MSC. It subsequently nominated the reluctant Fr Doyle as its first Vicar Apostolic. This rather professional approach did not escape the attention of the Protestant missionaries in the area. The Revd M. K. Gilmour, the Chairman of the Methodist Missionary Society, was very active to enlist the help of all like-minded missions to stop any RC encroachment into their territories. The Protestants knew, of course, about its recent purchase of properties in Milne Bay, and about the canvassing of support in Canberra, and they did all that was possible to stop the menace of a new mission.

The government was involved quite early in the piece, among others, in its dealings with C. C. Abel, the chairman of the Combined Missions Committee, who, in 1930, wrote to the Lieutenant-General and Government Secretary, H. W. Champion. As a matter of fact, the whole problem had already been one of the great concerns of Champion’s predecessor, Sir Hubert Murray.

Although a professing Roman Catholic, Murray had not shown any religious bias, because he was well aware that the other missions favoured the existing arrangements. For him, the practice should remain in force as it was, and not be changed, without full consultation with the missionaries. Still, he was against extending the policy, because of its defects: it did not indicate any inland limits of mission influence, it was never applied to town allotments, with their white and mixed-race populations, and it was not agreed to by the single biggest group of expatriate missionaries, the Roman Catholics. Finally, on the legal side, there was a clash with Australia's constitution. In addition, the practice was very critically seen by the League of Nations, which had given ex-German New Guinea to Australian Trusteeship, and which had encouraged the abolition of mission territories in places such as Tanganyika and Sudan. In this situation, H. W. Champion could only repeat to C. C. Abel what his predecessor had already said, namely, that he had no legal grounds to enforce the gentlemen's agreement from the past. To do so would be showing religious intolerance.

It must be noted that one dissenting voice against the Congregationalist and Methodist moves came from the Anglican Bishop, Henry Newton. He was made the third Anglican Bishop of New Guinea (1922), and wrote, in 1931, to M. K. Gilmour that, in all fairness, the Roman Catholics had some justification for expansion, because, in the past, they had been allowed only a small stretch of coastline, whereas the other churches could not say the same.

This type of argument had never been used before, and showed some cracks in the non-Catholic camp. It linked, once more, Anglicans and Romans, as it had done before. Another incident of this same character, without giving the year, is referred to by Pastor Butcher, where he describes a sports rally in Isuleilei, which the host people wanted to conclude with a common Holy Communion service. Here, too, in typical RC fashion, the Anglicans forbade their adherents to share the rite with the Methodists and the LMS.

As far as our case goes, it would be unfortunate to ignore how frequently there was actual contact between Bishops de Boismenu and Newton. We know, for instance, that Beatrice, the wife of the Kwato bigman, C. W. Abel, who lived and died in New Guinea as an Evangelical Anglican, said of Bishop Newton that he was "a Roman, out and out". In addition, several other indications have survived, showing that, not only H. Newton, but also his predecessor, and his follower, entertained excellent relationships with the mission of Yule Island.

The RC drive towards the east went ahead as planned, first by sending, for instance, the Australian, Fr John Flynn, who was based in Koki (Port Moresby), and visited Samarai in 1931. Then, in 1932, the mission sent the Australian, Fr Francis Lyons, with his several local helpers. Still, in that year, a Catholic school was opened on Sideia Island, while, in 1934, four Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart (OLSH), from Yule Island, came to the same place. The real founders of the diocese were Frs Hugh Tomlinson and Bernard Baldwin, both MSC, and fresh arrivals from Australia. Special care was taken by the new Vicar Apostolic, John Doyle, to avoid proselytising among the native population. Still, his method of working through schools, unavoidably gave rise to it, because, sometimes, the majority of school pupils were not Roman Catholics at all.

Besides arranging for Australian Fathers to go to the east, the French, themselves, expanded towards the north, in the Anglican-claimed Chirima Valley (1927), and towards the west, to places, such as Toaripi, and down to Daru, both erstwhile LMS territories. For such plans, they had to wait until local people offered them their ground, or until they, themselves, could buy land from expatriate owners. Both ways entailed the disadvantage of not ending up in the middle of the indigenous population, or, also, of obtaining a plot of ground in a place, which was closer to another mission station than the government would have liked. But it clearly showed that, with the development of the country, the rules, which were never

intended to settle later situations, could no longer be applied without further adjustment.

The Vicariate Apostolic of Papua was not the only place occupied by RC missionaries. There were other MSC Fathers in Rabaul, SM Fathers in Bougainville, while the Society of the Divine Word (SYD) occupied Alexishafen and Wewak (Madang), respectively called the Vicariate Apostolic of East New Guinea, and the Apostolic Prefecture of Central New Guinea. The size and importance of these regions added practically four more "dioceses" to that of Yule Island, as becomes clearer from the following statistics.

Statistics of Roman Catholic Mission Personnel in PNG

	Foreign Priests	Brothers	Sisters	Teachers Catechists	Catholics	Catechum
Rabaul	44	37	92	301	25,595	10,000
Papua	26	22	71	70	11,629	900
East NG	21	20	38	65	9,891	2,700
Centr NG	7	2	13	14	3,995	725
N Solomon	18	4	22	193	8,262	2,800
TOTALS	116	85	236	643	59,372	17,125

Source: C. Streit, ed., *Atlas Hierarchicus*, 1929, 44.

It has been said that Bishop de Boismenu was not very practical, that is, as far as pick and shovel were concerned, but he did give his missionaries the guidance they expected of him. When new outposts were to be made, he was always with his coworkers, while, all the time, he gave a lot of thought to the existence of competing mission societies. As said already, he had brought up this subject with Pope Pius X, before, in Rome (1901), and was rightly proud that some of his own ideas were taken up by the mission encyclical *Maximum illud*, of Pope Benedict XV (1919). In the matter of an authentic baptism, his views well preceded the insights of Vaticanum II, and of the 1983 Code of Canon Law.

In 1934, he took the initiative to write to all the mission agencies in Papua, to find out exactly what they though about baptism. Apparently, he could live with a lot of different rules and approaches. However, here was the basic link with the source of grace, and which affected the regular state of most Christians, who were married people. He, thus, sent out a questionnaire to 54 European ministers, belonging to six different missions, and also solicited the opinion of the famous Roman theologian, Fr A. Vermeersch SJ.

The results of his inquiry were published, in January, 1936, in a ten-page Latin document: *De Baptismo Haereticorum nostrum in ordine ad Matrimonium*. In general, the bishop urged his collaborators to always make the necessary investigation, till, at least, a reasonable presumption was reached, or till his office could be consulted. For him, the case of baptism was most important: hence, also, by a tiny doubt, whether a baptism was valid, a RC re-baptism was required, whereas when there was a serious doubt about the validity of a previous baptism, the permanent, sacramental marriage was not affected (as, also, the old canon 1118 said, because such a marriage was indissoluble before God).

As to the specific results obtained, the bishop noted a general doubt regarding the translation of the biblical formula from Matt 29:19 – a fact which also held for the RC versions. As to the other churches, Bishop de Boismenu had no difficulties with the Anglican concept, mentioned in the first place, basing himself on the reply of his colleague, Bishop Newton.

Nor did de Boismenu have serious objections to the answers from the Interdenominational Fellowship of Papuan Christians (Kwato), and the Unevangelised Fields Mission (Daru), or with the replies received from the Methodist Missionary Society of Australasia (of Salamo, on Fergusson Island). The latter added that, in Papua, they used to enjoin baptism, even though this was against their own church rules. As a matter of fact, the Methodists said, no rite was, in itself, essential to salvation, because to be “a Christian”

was not yet to be "a church member". Still, the RC bishop felt that there was sufficient agreement, even though the standpoints were very different.

On the other hand, the bishop made some remarks about the baptisms of the SDAs (because they said that the sacrament was secondary to an adult's conversion). However, seeing that the LMS practice differed, even within the same district, and that the accompanying doctrine was so different from that of all other missions, he concluded that the LMS sign of being a Christian showed hardly one case where it could be regarded as a Christian sacrament. In such a situation, therefore, the (first) administration of baptism was called for.

Let us add that this negative attitude of the bishop was not a total write-off of the LMS approach. Thus, when the Society notified him, in 1936, of certain criticisms against the book *Papouasie*, of Fr Dupeyrat, he concluded his answer with the following confession:

> "I wish most sincerely that your Society may, one day, put its undisputed dedication in the service of the church, which always expects your return, and will greet it with the greatest joy".[10]

Child of his time, Bishop de Boismenu saw only the one possibility of "conversion" and "return" to the Master's fold, so that the Chairman of the Papua District Committee somewhat amusingly replied that:

> "People of the prophetic tradition and vision smile at the possibility of "return" to sacerdotalism".[11]

In light of the attitude described, one should also read the pastoral letter of the same year, now written in French, about the Protestant danger. Although technically the French equivalents for "sects", and "heretics", "apostasy", "crime", and "error", applied to

all non-Catholics, its truth varied in application from the LMS to the Anglicans, and was especially directed towards the first group, which his staff most met in its daily apostolate.

The 1936 letter was full of good advice. His staff should not get carried away, by being obsessed by the Protestant presence, but adopt a religious point of view. They should, in all circumstances, imitate their divine Master, and show the patient love and tolerance of Jesus, and have the necessary respect for each one's God-given freedom. They should even try to see the situation from the point of view of the others, who were now losing ground, and believed that their opposition to the Roman Catholics was a service rendered to God. If they kept quiet, no battle should be started, but, otherwise, no compromise could be entertained. They were "poor souls", "pitiable heretics", "our Protestants".

On the negative side, Bishop de Boismenu also warned that his missionaries should never try to solve their problems before a civil court, and went even so far as to say that, if ever a RC mission agent should lose his life, nobody should expect him, the bishop, to point a finger to the culprit. Such a conciliatory spirit, together with his diplomatic decision to work in the Owen Stanley Ranges, no doubt, explains why the intra-denominational relations lost much of the aggressiveness once attributed to them.

For the subsequent years, it appears that the guidelines, given in 1936, were having their effect, because there is no later pastoral letter devoted to the issue. However, it was customary that, each year, a few "case studies" were taken from the daily problems of a missionary. The details were sent out, written answers were expected, and followed up, by public discussion, when the Yule Island Fathers met for their yearly retreat, at the beginning of July. One can reckon that, in his long administration of about 30 years, the bishop submitted, yearly, two moral cases to his staff, but those concerned with intra-denominational difficulties are not more than three, or only five, per cent, dating from the years 1939, 1944, and 1945.

The first moral case concerns one Father Paul, who validly, but still too easily, baptised young people, without thinking enough of their future family situations, which would hinder the profession of the Catholic faith. Another concerns one Father Arnold, who, in re-baptising two Anglicans, did not, in time, obtain the necessary permission to remarry them also (since the man had formerly been joined to a Methodist woman). Finally, in the third case, one Father Timotheus was eventually blamed, because he considered a particular Anglican marriage as invalid, whereas, in fact, it was a real sacrament. In each case, the bishop manifested a great prudence, showed respect to the relevant ecclesiastical canons, and also used the opportunity to teach his Fathers the meaning of the faculties he had granted to his coworkers.

A bishop is nothing without his staff: fathers, brothers, sisters, catechists, teachers, all engaged in administering sacraments, building roads, running schools, instructing people, and so on. While, occasionally, there were localised confrontations, the fear of treading on one another's feet was not great. Bishop de Boismenu did not rub in the encyclical *Mortalium animos* of Pope Pius XI (1927), neither did his subjects use to write about the "sects", except one article of Fr J. Dubuy, in 1929, and the sections on the spheres of influence, in the 1935 book of Fr A. Dupeyrat.

Especially after World War I, the bishop's heart was turned towards localisation, on all levels. Only the Handmaids of the Lord, founded in 1919, proved to be a lasting success. The first local seminarist died overseas (1922), and the second candidate, the future Bishop Louis Vangeke, was only ordained in 1937.

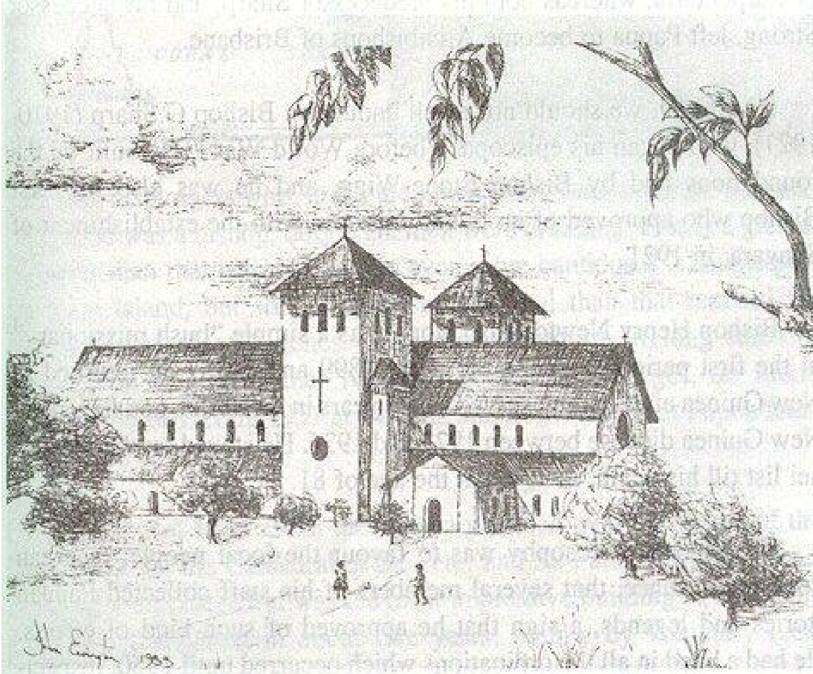
Some have believed that the failure to reply more generously to the Pope's call for indigenous vocations was mainly due to the bishop's low esteem for the local people. But his high respect for the local "nobility", such as elders and chiefs, his professed aim that native clergy should be formed, like priests in Europe, and not like an inferior clergy, and the fact that he sent his candidates to France and Madagascar does rather suggest the opposite. One can also

consider that the bishop's cautious approach to administering baptisms would apply *a fortiori* to the ordination of local priests, at whatever level this would be. And, finally, there was the *jus commissionis*, which Rome had given to a definite society, to which the bishop, too, belonged. Thus, all French MSC would make it a point of honour to keep to the job, once given, even though local recruits would not be forthcoming. The fact remains, though, that we still have to reckon with part of de Boismenu's bad luck, and that, from the start, the Anglican church was more successful in localising its leadership.

One could say much more about the way Roman Catholics consolidated their positions between the two wars, and especially about the impact left by its long-time Bishop, A. de Boismenu. Let us simply conclude with one of his last visitors, the Dominican, Fr M. H. Lelong. We can repeat with him that only the clash with the LMS was, in the bishop's mind, the one great problem of his career, even worse than facing, say, the custom of cannibalism, which he had met in the mountains. On the other hand, he was most supported by the attitudes of the successive Anglican Bishops: G. Sharp, H. Newton, and P. N. W. Strong, with whom he lived on the best terms. Of their church, the old bishop used to say: "they are all right".

2. The Anglican Advance

Whereas the period between the wars, among Catholics, receives some unity, by having the same bishop all the time, there were, between 1910 and the Second World War, three different bishops for the (Anglican) New Guinea Mission. It can be repeated that all of them were on really good terms with their counterpart at Yule Island. From Bishop de Boismenu's writing, we gathered already, that he considered Bishop Sharp to be one of his friends (as he said in 1913, in a letter to his sisters), and that when, in October, 1947, he heard of the death of Bishop Newton, he noted in his diary he had lost one of his good friends.



The Cathedral at Dogura, drawn by the Revd John Ewington.

As to Bishop Strong, it is reported that he told his own entourage that, when the old French bishop met him for the first time, Bishop de Boismenu fell on his knees and asked for his episcopal blessing. We know, also, that it was claimed, in 1963, that, when Bishop Strong was consecrated in London (1936), a Greek Orthodox, or an Old Catholic bishop had taken part in the ceremony, a detail that would make Strong a validly-ordained bishop, even in the eyes of strict Roman Catholics. We do not know, however, whether Bishop de Boismenu was aware of this fact.

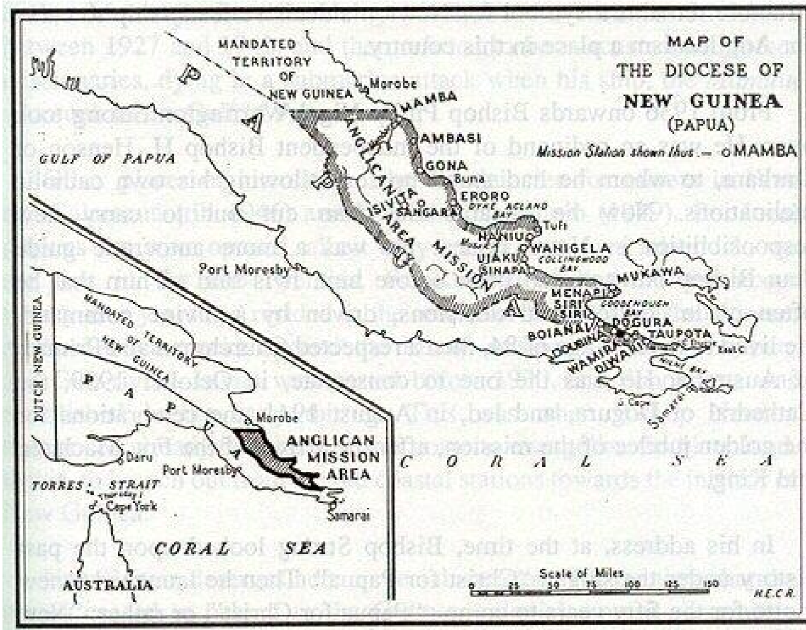
In their own right, the successive bishops of the Church of England showed a steady relationship to their work. A reliable sign of this is that Bishop Newton (who, by the way, was the only Australian Anglican bishop, ever) was called away from Papua to

become the second Bishop of Carpentaria, whereas both his predecessor Sharp, and his successor Strong, left Papua to become Archbishops of Brisbane.

At present, we should not dwell unduly on Bishop G. Sharp (1910-1921), who began his episcopacy before World War I. He built on the foundations laid by Bishop Stone-Wigg, and he was also the first bishop, who approved of an inland mission, with the establishment of Sangara, in 1921.

Bishop Henry Newton also worked as a simple "bush missionary" in the first period, between the years 1899 and 1915. He returned to New Guinea, after having served seven years in Australia, and he led the New Guinea diocese between 1922 and 1936. He stayed on the personnel list till his death in 1947, at the age of 81.

His general philosophy was to favour the local people. One can note, for instance, that several members of his staff collected Papuan stories and legends, a sign that he approved of such kind of efforts. He had a hand in all the ordinations, which occurred until 1950, respecting the wishes of those, who wanted to delay their ordinations, and refusing, also, others who, in his judgment, were unsuitable for the task. While he was a bishop, only eight men were ordained. This is a greater number than that achieved by his even-more-cautious RC counterpart at Yule Island, but still a much smaller total than that reached for ministers in other churches, which did not require lifelong commitments. He lives on in the "Newton Theological College" for future priests, established in 1951, at Dogura, and now situated at Popondetta, in Oro Province.



On August 10, 1934, the bishop presided over the laying of the first stone for the Cathedral of St Peter and St Paul at Dogura. For a long time, this cathedral was the most impressive building in the whole of PNG, completed in about five years, mainly by voluntary local labour, and dedicated just before the outbreak of hostilities. Its solid structure remains a symbol of Newton's decisive leadership, to carve, for Anglicanism, a place in this country.

From 1936 onwards, Bishop Philip Nigel Warrington Strong took over. He was an ordinand of the independent Bishop, H. Henson of Durham, to whom he had stood up for, following his own catholic inclinations. Now, he became the man cut out to carry new responsibilities in New Guinea. He was a more-autocratic guide than Bishop Newton had been before him. It is said of him that he often made controversial decisions, driven by a divine command. He lived to the ripe age of 84, then a respected churchman, and

Primate of Australia. He was the one to consecrate, in October, 1939, the Cathedral of Dogura, and led, in August, 1941, the celebrations for the golden jubilee of the mission, after the arrival of Frs Maclaren and King.

In his address, at the time, Bishop Strong looked upon the past history, under the slogan "Christ for Papua". Then, he launched a new motto for the 50 years to come: "Papua for Christ", or rather: "New Guinea, all of it, for the Lord". In fact, following the Dogura festivities, he embarked on a jubilee visitation of all the districts in his diocese. Most of the time he was impressed by the people's resolve,

> "to undertake evangelistic campaigns among the heathen. In the Boiani area, to the mountain people of Denewa; in the Menapi area, to the inland people behind Kolebagira; in the Wanigela area, to the Dorii people; from Eroro, to the Managalasi people, and so on".[12]

At the time, these were only plans, which had to wait for some years before they could be put into realisation.

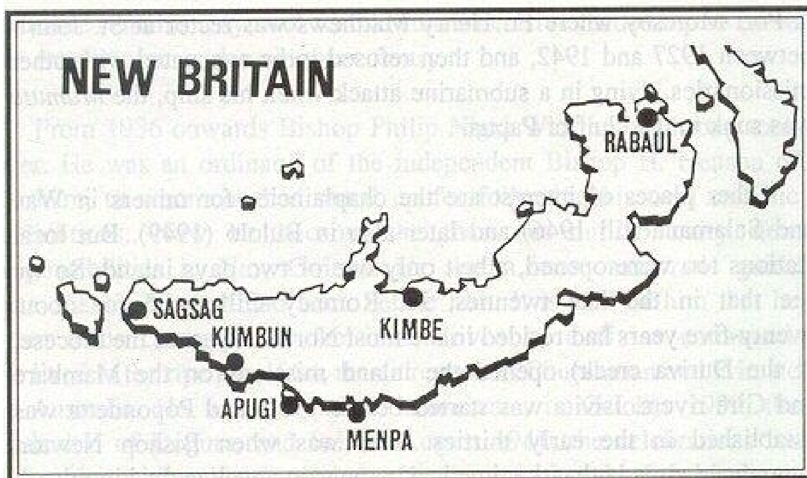
While generally allowing others to go their way, the Anglicans, too, did make some progress in this second period. One place to be recorded is Port Moresby, where Fr Henry Matthews was rector at St John's, between 1927 and 1942, and then refused to be evacuated with other missionaries, dying in a submarine attack, when his ship, the *Mamutu*, was sunk in the Gulf of Papua.

Other places of interest are the chaplaincies for miners in Wau and Salamaua (till 1946), and later, also, in Bulolo (1949). But local stations, too, were opened, albeit only one or two days inland. So we see that, in the late 1920s, Fr Romney Gill (who, for about 25 years, had resided in the most northern part of the diocese, at Duriva Creek) opened the inland missions on the Mambare and Gira Rivers. Isivita was started before 1930, and Popondetta was established in the early 1930s. This was when Bishop Newton

announced, already, that the time had come to evangelise the hinterland, that is, to branch out from the old coastal stations towards the interior of New Guinea.

New Britain deserves a special mention here. Till the time that the region ceased to belong to the German colonial empire, there were hardly any people of the Church of England on the island. They were, rather, not allowed by the Germans to have residence, for political reasons. But, when the Australian Commonwealth took over the government, of the many who flocked to the administrative centre of Rabaul, a great number were Anglicans. In 1924, Fr Fred Bishop became the first resident parish priest, who cared for the European population of the township.

Closer relations between Melanesia and New Guinea must have begun around 1919. Indeed, we are lucky to have a letter of John M. Steward, Bishop of Melanesia, written on December 11, 1919, to Gerald Sharp, Bishop of New Guinea. In this letter, the Bishop of Melanesia asked his colleague, very privately, what he and his clergy thought of a united Province of the Pacific. The occasion for such a request was that, in the intercession leaflet of the *Australian Board of Missions Review*, the two existing dioceses had been named together. Was this a sign of things to come? The letter was probably a consequence of the June, 1919, decision of the Australian Board of Missions to include the ex-German islands in the Diocese of Melanesia. To this, the Melanesian Mission had agreed, in August, of the same year. The idea of a new diocese was revived during the Lambeth Conference of 1929, in which the island of New Britain became placed under the new Bishop of Melanesia, F. Molyneux, residing at Siota, in the Solomon Islands.



The first evangelists to New Britain, who had arrived, in 1916, among the Arawe people, on Kaptumete Island, were Lutherans, from across the straits. However, the Revd E. Bamler, of the Neuendettelsau Mission, on Siassi Island, granted, still in 1925, that three or four Lutheran evangelists would work for the Church of England before the Anglican, Fr Vernon H. Sherwin, could find helpers of his own. The replacement arrived in the same year, when six members of the Melanesian Brotherhood, arrived in Rabaul, and later moved southward, around the centres of Kaptumete and Sagsag. This indigenous order was a rather-recent foundation, where the native religious consecrated themselves for one year at a time, and specialised in breaking the ground for a first contact with Christianity. For them, New Britain was the ideal place.

This is really the beginning of the "Anglican Mission" for the local people on New Britain, as distinct from the "Anglican church" for expatriates in Rabaul. Practically, both mission work and church apostolate depended, then, on the support of New Zealand and the Solomons, even though, politically, since 1920, the island belonged to Australia. Only in 1932, when Fr Harold Thompson transferred from the New Guinea Mission to New Britain, to train local

evangelists, a first sign of greater collaboration within the Territories of Papua and New Guinea came about.

Around the 1930s, the RC Mission moved, also, towards the south coast of New Britain; founding Kilenge in the west, in 1929, and, in 1931, establishing Malmal in the east. Before that, in 1925, one Amga, from Pililo, had been recruited by the Australians to become a policeman. In Vunapope, he learned to know the Roman Catholics, was baptised as Carl, and further trained at the Taliligap catechist school.

When, in the early 1930s, he returned to his Arawe people, he could do the work of a catechist, and, in 1932, welcomed the future Bishop, Leo Scharmach, the first RC priest in the area. He, himself, travelled the whole south coast to win converts. Subsequently, between 1935 and 1939, Catholic parishes were established in Turuk, Valanguo, and Uvol. Partly due to the theological climate of the time, proselytising methods were not always shunned, and the coexistence of the two Christian missions did not always foster good relations. In short, mutual relationships were not so happy on New Britain as they had been in Papua. Many years later, Fr Alfred Hill, the future Bishop of Melanesia, and then, already, a good friend of Fr Scharmach, could say, with tongue in cheek, and probably with some exaggeration,

> "In the good old times, we built a church, and they burned it down, and they built a church, and we burned it down."[12a]

This point deserves our special interest, also, beyond New Britain. Let us recall that there had been no friction with the Methodists when, in the beginning, C. W. Abel surveyed the East Cape, till the Anglicans would come. Neither was there any strife, in 1915, (right before the appointment of Fr Newton to a bishopric in Australia), when the Church of England took over the Torres Strait Islands from the LMS. In fact, the London Society felt that it had done its work there, and that the needs and openings in New Guinea had become greater. Again, from the time of Copland King,

and during the hassles after World War I, there had been good relationships between Anglicans and Lutherans, so that, in 1925, they were quite willing to assist the Anglicans to open up an area on New Britain, where they themselves had begun working in 1916. In 1937, the relationship with the Lutherans soured, when the Australian Board of Missions heard of local difficulties and raised its objections.

All the cases of strife recorded were rather isolated incidents. They were not unlike the one of 1900, when some Protestants had not liked the Anglican intrusion into their territory, by opening the St Paul's school on Samarai Island. In addition to this first factor, one should also be aware of a nationalistic element present. This would explain a lack of collaboration between a German missionary and a British subject, even if both of them were Catholics, or even if both of them were SVD or MSC Fathers. Furthermore, it would make it easier for an Englishman, of a different religious persuasion, to work together with another Englishman, and make it more strained for a "Protestant" missionary, either from the United Kingdom or Australia, to display a heartfelt welcome for a "catholic" missionary, from either Ireland or Germany.

As regards the RC exploration and occupation of the Chirima Valley, in 1927, one suspects that Bishop Newton had already realised that there were no inland borders the missions had agreed upon, or, also, that he, himself, did not have the material means of occupying this particular valley. We know, however, that Bishop Newton had his doubts whether the efficiency of the Roman method would be greater. On the other side, he also said, in 1934, that there should not be too much concern about the expansion drive of the Roman Catholics, but more about the encroachment of the SDAs, who, sometimes, appeared in places, which were already in the hands of another mission. About the latter situation, he wrote in his report of June, 1936:

> "Hitherto, we had been able, on the whole, to confine our teaching to "positives". For the protection of our people, we

may have to introduce something negative, explaining where others are departing from the catholic faith and order. It is sad, but it will be a necessary punishment for the sin of our division."[13]

The opinions of Bishop Strong would not be much different from those of Bishop Newton. He, too, had his questions with the Roman approach in the Pacific. He once described their work as an ambition to achieve political supremacy, by influencing the governments, via rapidly-developing parochial schools, Catholic youth organisations, and other societies. He, too, warned first on some quasi-Christian groups, and advised on the ways to follow with his own staff, so that they, too, could cope with the opposing forces.

The strength of Bishop Strong's group of coworkers was not exceptionally great, but quite adapted to the then existing needs (even though it is well known that comparisons across the board are difficult to realise). Discounting both the retired expatriates and the licensed Papuan teachers (who also did active evangelistic work), we have the following picture for a total of 59 Anglican mission workers:

Statistics of Church Personnel in the New Guinea Mission

Bishops		Priests		Deacons		Laypeople	
Act.	Canon	Mel.	Expat.	Mel.	Expat.	Mel.	Expatriate
1	1	10	13	2	2	3	3m+24f

Source: New Guinea Mission, *Occasional Papers*, 1942, inside cover.

With such a backup group, things would have been very different for the Anglicans, had various calamities not befallen them in PNG.

In the previous pages, we have not surveyed all the developments, which united Anglicans and Romans. One of these

was, surely, the Government and Mission Conference on Education, held in 1941, which brought representatives of the two groups together. Then there are, also, the visits to Europe, for Roman Catholics to make their decennial *ad limina* visit to the Pope, and for the Anglicans to attend, every ten years, the Lambeth Conference in London. Here, most of the respective bishops could encounter one another, a thing, which did not so easily happen in the mission, itself. Even though there are no specific minutes of these encounters, it was an appreciated occasion to talk about priorities, and to take decisions of mutual interest. One may easily suspect that the relations with the other church featured on the agenda, but this can, as yet, not be substantiated.

Conclusion

The above discussion allows us to draw some tentative conclusions for the period between the two World Wars. As with all wars, this period lends itself easily to be seen as a break. Pastoral action was, for a time, not only slowed down, but, in the case of the Japanese onslaught, almost reduced to nil. In addition, a new situation was created, once the victorious troops had left, and a new civil administration had taken over. Then, a general interest in the Territories of Papua and New Guinea came about, not only in Australia, but also worldwide. With regards to the past 25 years, or so, one can make the following observations.

One, the two missions concerned, but especially the Roman Catholics, desired to expand in all directions to reach new tribal groups. Still, the Anglicans also branched out, especially to New Britain, while both churches did not neglect the expatriate population, either, both in the townships and in the mining areas.

Two, each group showed more clearly its own physiognomy, with the Catholics regularly looking over their shoulder to the central authorities in Rome (e.g., by quoting the 1917 Code of Canon Law, or insisting on the same international standards before

ordaining indigenous priests), and the Anglicans being very much concerned with the ways and the wishes of the local people. They considered having a local bishop, well before World War II began.

Three, the presence of such eminent bishops as A. de Boismenu and H. Newton, made sure that, although there was overlapping, e.g., in the cities, there were no actual clashes, and each mission contributed, in its own way, to abolish the "spheres of influence", till the idea was completely abandoned after the Second World War.

We do not want to say that all this amounts to ecumenism *avant la lettre*, but, surely, it was a kind of pre-ecumenism, which was not only based upon good personal relationships, but considered, already, the others as a sister church, on a way to God, which was all right.

III. FROM MISSION TO CHURCH

After the two previous periods, each one about 30 years long, and both concluded by a disastrous World War, we now enter the next phase of mission history. It begins after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour, when the whole area was thrown into the Pacific War (1942-1945). On the other hand, it leads to one of several high points in PNG history, such as, politically, the attainment of self-government and independence (1973-1975), and religiously, the establishment of the local hierarchy, first among the Roman Catholics (1966), and, then, among the Anglicans (1969). The latter date would surely have been earlier, had the eruption of Mount Lamington not wiped away a whole generation of church leaders, and, thus, retarded developments in the New Guinea Mission. Still, the two dates of ecclesiastical independence are the convenient resting points for the third segment of our overview.

1. A Colony Becomes an Independent State

The surroundings, in which the missions were to take the step towards becoming full-fledged churches did not happen in a vacuum. One of the reasons was that those in charge of political life shared a common concern for the well-being of the same people, who were also adherents of different churches. Again, the leadership, exercised by Papua New Guineans on the local level, benefited their greater duties on the national level, or the other way around. Collaboration became imperative, and also much easier than any time before.

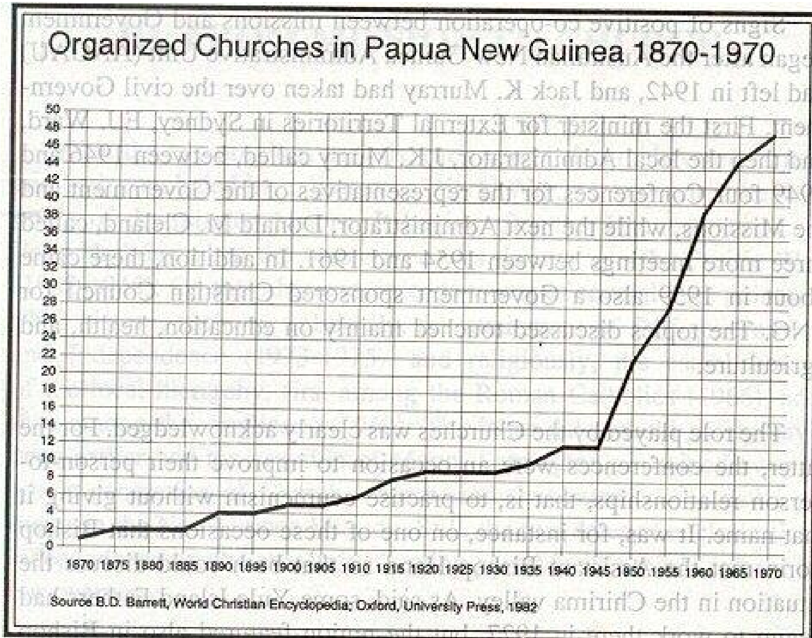
There were some negative elements in the nation building done by the government. Insofar as they appealed to have German missionaries replaced by other nationalities, they multiplied the number of incoming missions without, in the end, being able to limit their entry.

Signs of positive cooperation between missions and government began after the Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit (ANGAU) had left in 1942, and Jack K. Murray had taken over the civil government. First, the Minister for External Territories in Sydney, E. J. Ward, and then the local Administrator, J. K. Murray, called, between 1946 and 1949, four conferences for the representatives of the government and the missions, while the next Administrator, Donald M. Cleland, called three more meetings between 1954 and 1961. In addition, there came about, in 1959, also, a government-sponsored Christian Council for PNG. The topics discussed touched mainly on education, health, and agriculture.

The role played by the churches was clearly acknowledged. For the latter, the conferences were an occasion to improve their person-to-person relationships, that is, to practise ecumenism, without giving it that name. It was, for instance, on one of these occasions that Bishop Sorin met Assistant Bishop Hand, so that both could discuss the situation in the Chirima Valley. As said, some Yule Island Fathers had begun to work there in 1927, but the region featured also in Bishop Strong's post-war plan of the Four Valleys (see below). Since the Anglicans did not plan to advance in that area, the RC missionaries were allowed to go on with their work.

Meanwhile, the time had come for the Administration to cater for the "new tribes" discovered in Central New Guinea, and, for which pacification, it needed, very much, the help of Christian missions. The older churches were not asked to do the work (as happened with the German Lutherans), or they could not fulfil the immense job (because they did not have sufficient volunteers), or also they declined to accept the task, because it would spread them out too thinly. Consequently, the administration called upon other mission agencies to help out.

With this, we leave the so-called secular field, and address the religious problems proper, and, among others, those caused by



Australian and American army men, visiting PNG for the first time. Many of these soldiers encountered, now, a kind of indigenous Christian, who differed from the stereotypical poor and wild pagans they had heard about. They were the famous “Fuzzy-Wuzzy Angels”, with a kind of honesty, loyalty, and courage, which the Europeans were not accustomed to. In short, to paraphrase the title of a book by H. Van Dusen, the Allied military “found the church in Papua New Guinea”, whereas, conversely, Papua New Guineans finally got the chance to show Christ to the outside world – to adapt yet another formula, once used by Bishop Strong.

From this encounter, derived the fact that World War II created a great interest in the South Pacific. Australia appreciated that the region was a defensive screen for its national security, while America, after, the war, became even more convinced of its “national calling”, so that many of its citizens perceived a personal responsibility to proclaim the gospel to PNG, the last unknown land

on earth. This sense of mission was particularly strong among North American Evangelicals.

According to the data, published in D. B. Barrett's *World Christian Encyclopedia*, PNG counted, in 1982, at least 80 organised church groups. Their number has grown steadily from the beginning till the end of World War II, when it reached only a dozen. However, from 1945 onwards, there was a steep and steady rise in numbers. If one compares Barrett with a more-recent government paper, which lists over 150 church organisations in PNG, one must conclude that the figures of the *Encyclopedia* are rather on the low side, although still eloquent in the tendency shown.

According to another source, one sees that, on a world scale, there were, in the early 1920s, some 14,000 foreign, that is North American Protestant missionaries from the Evangelical sector. In the mid-1980s, this total became 39,000 career missionaries, to which one can add another 30,000 short-term overseas workers, from the same persuasion. This figure, too, gives us some indication about the PNG situation.[14]

Although the new churches were all Protestant, they were not all of the same kind, in theology. Historically, the terms Protestant and Evangelical were first used interchangeably, but now the latter term was opposed to those of the mainline churches. They included fundamentalists, Pentecostals, and Holiness Wesleyans – not to count the independent, more ephemeral, faith missions. One can count, here, the Assemblies of God, the Church of the Nazarene, the Summer Institute of Linguistics, a service organisation, like the Missionary Aviation Fellowship, or even a like-minded group, such as the Lutherans of the Missouri Synod, who came only in 1948.

There were other differences as well. In lifestyle, the new churches were usually made up of affluent Americans, with budgets to shame all pre-war missions, and to impress the materialistic Melanesians. Finally, all these groups were against organised religion, whether under the aegis of Rome, or of the World Council

of Churches. "Ecumenism" did not belong to their exclusivist vocabulary.

With such a great number of missions coming to PNG, and treading almost on one another's toes, the government could only forbid the access to "restricted areas", where personal safety could not yet be guaranteed. Later on, it could only impose the rule of a one-mile distance between the various missions. It so happened, in the early 1950s, that, in Tari, four competing missions settled in the smallest possible area, and that, in Goroka town, around 1980, there were some 43 denominations for a population of not quite 19,000 people.

Mainline churches felt particularly sad, because the newcomers were "sheep stealing" among their own, baptised members. The latter were now degraded to nominal Christians, who did not recognise Jesus as their personal Saviour, or, also, who were not impressed enough by the nearness of the Last Day. In practice – the old churches felt – the affiliation to a new group was often the stepping stone to leaving Christianity altogether, so that, for this reason, too, they waged a war against pre-war and post-war "sects" alike.

Up to the 1960s, the government viewed political independence as being beyond the horizon. But then, things took a quick turn, leading up to self-government in 1973, and, two years later, to political independence from Australia. What happened, at the time, in the churches, was only the ecclesiastical counterpart of what occurred in the country at large. To these independence movements, in RC and Anglican churches, we will now turn.

2. The Establishment of the RC Hierarchy

The RC missions have known a gradual branching out of overseas missionaries till they reached all borders of PNG. There is, however, an important distinction, before and after 1966, that is,

between the missions given to the care of certain religious societies (under the so-called *jus commissionis*), and the newer local churches, with their own residential bishops, and supported by an increasing number of lay people and local priests.

At one stage, as we saw already, the MSC were assisted by the SVD, who assumed north-east New Guinea (1896). On another occasion, the SM Fathers resumed their activities in the North Solomon Islands (1898). On its own ground, that is, in British New Guinea (from 1906 onwards, called Papua), mission stations spread out from Daru to Samarai, while, in German New Guinea, the same occurred in the area between the Admiralty Islands and the Gazelle Peninsula. This matter is not very relevant, though, for the dealings between the RC and Anglican missionaries.

The coming of World War II put a halt to all this progress, cutting off supplies from overseas, and flattening, in PNG, what 50 years of expansion had managed to build up. Especially at this juncture, there was no time for internal Christian squabbles and aggression.

After the war, there was a slow reconstruction, together with a constant distribution of responsibilities to new agencies. The latter relied mainly on help coming from Australia, and from the United States. They turned the four mission centres of Vunapope, Kieta, Yule Island, and Alexishafen/Wewak into 15 independent dioceses, which were clustered around the four metropolitan sees of Rabaul, Port Moresby, Madang, and Wewak, all elevated, in 1966, to the rank of Archdioceses. This was the time, when people wanted to make sure that nobody else would build on their foundations. Thus, jealousies were easily kindled, and led, in some places, to a "race for territory and converts" between the various missions. For our purpose, it might be appropriate to zero in on the progress in the RC missions.

Almost 50 years after the French Fathers had landed on Yule Island, the next new diocese in Papua was entrusted to the

Australian MSC Fathers. They resided around the island of Samarai, and in the townships of Sideia and Alotau (1941). Before that, the two nationalities had worked together, and, for a while yet, internal contacts would not be stopped (e.g., when French missionaries wanted to improve their English, and started their career in Eastern Papua).

Another early division occurred in Central New Guinea, when, in 1952, Australian Franciscan Friars settled in Aitape, thus leaving the older centre of Wewak to the continued care of the SVD.

Between 1957 and 1959, a whole spate of divisions was put into practice, spearheaded by Mgr R. Carboni, Apostolic Nuncio in Sydney. On the side of Rabaul, the provinces of New Ireland and Manus were entrusted to the American MSC (1957), while under Mgr André Sorin, the French MSC saw their see transferred from Yule Island to Port Moresby, and sections of their old vicariate given to the American Capuchins, around Mendi, and to the Canadian Montfort Fathers, who occupied Daru (1958). The next year, Yule Island regained its independence, under the new Bishop, Eugene Klein, successor of the deceased Bishop Sorin.

In 1959, too, the diocese of Alexishafen was divided. On the one side, the dioceses of Goroka and Mount Hagen came about, still catered for by the SVD Fathers, while, on the other side, the diocese of Lae went to the Dutch Mill Hill Fathers. With the vicariate of Vanimo given to the Australian Passionists (1963), most of the present dioceses were set up, being a total of 15 circumscriptions for the whole Territory of Papua and New Guinea.

In practice, the borders of each Vicariate Apostolic tended to coincide with the borders of a civil province, although there were some exceptions, usually dictated by established mission policies. It is, however, significant that Oro Province did not receive any RC See, but was attached to Port Moresby, in the Central Province. It does not seem that the paucity of Roman Catholics was responsible for this fact (because, at the time, Daru, too, had only a few baptised

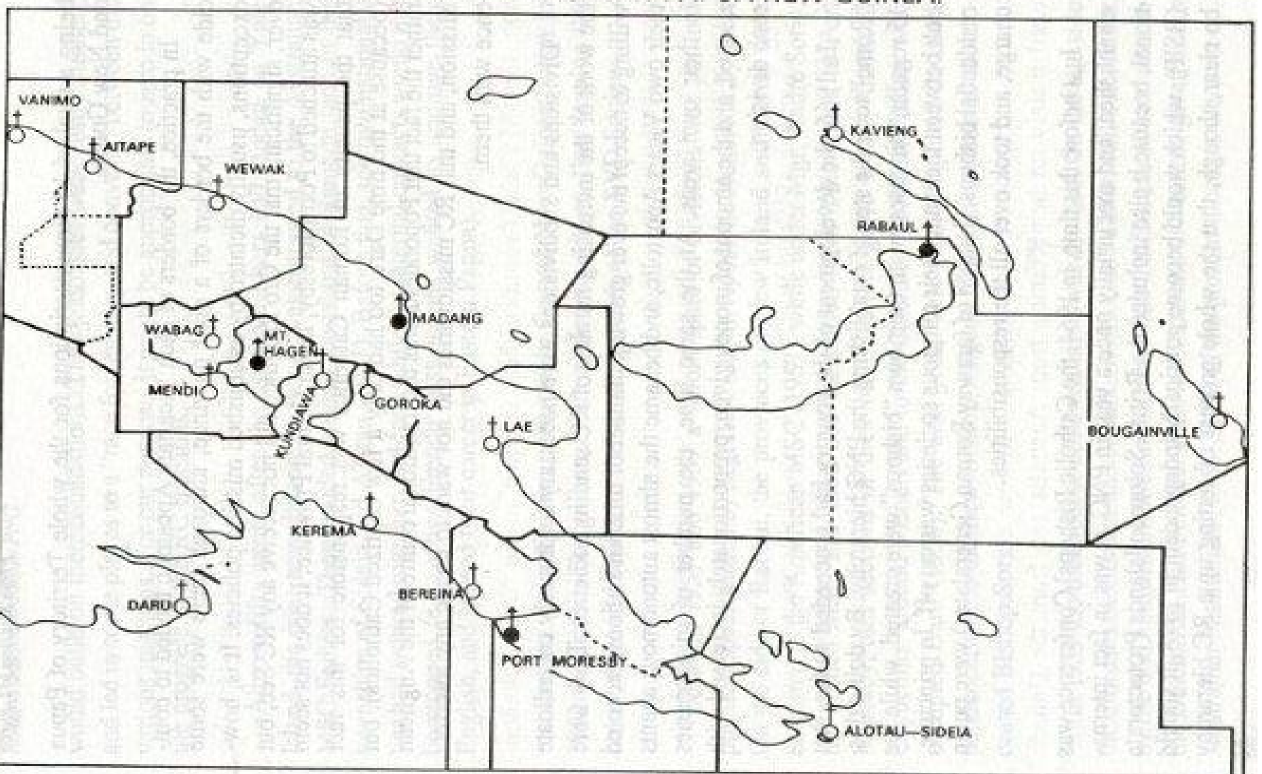
Catholics), but, rather, the fact that Popondetta was the traditional centre of the Anglican Mission, and that RC missionaries did not want to create any interference with them.

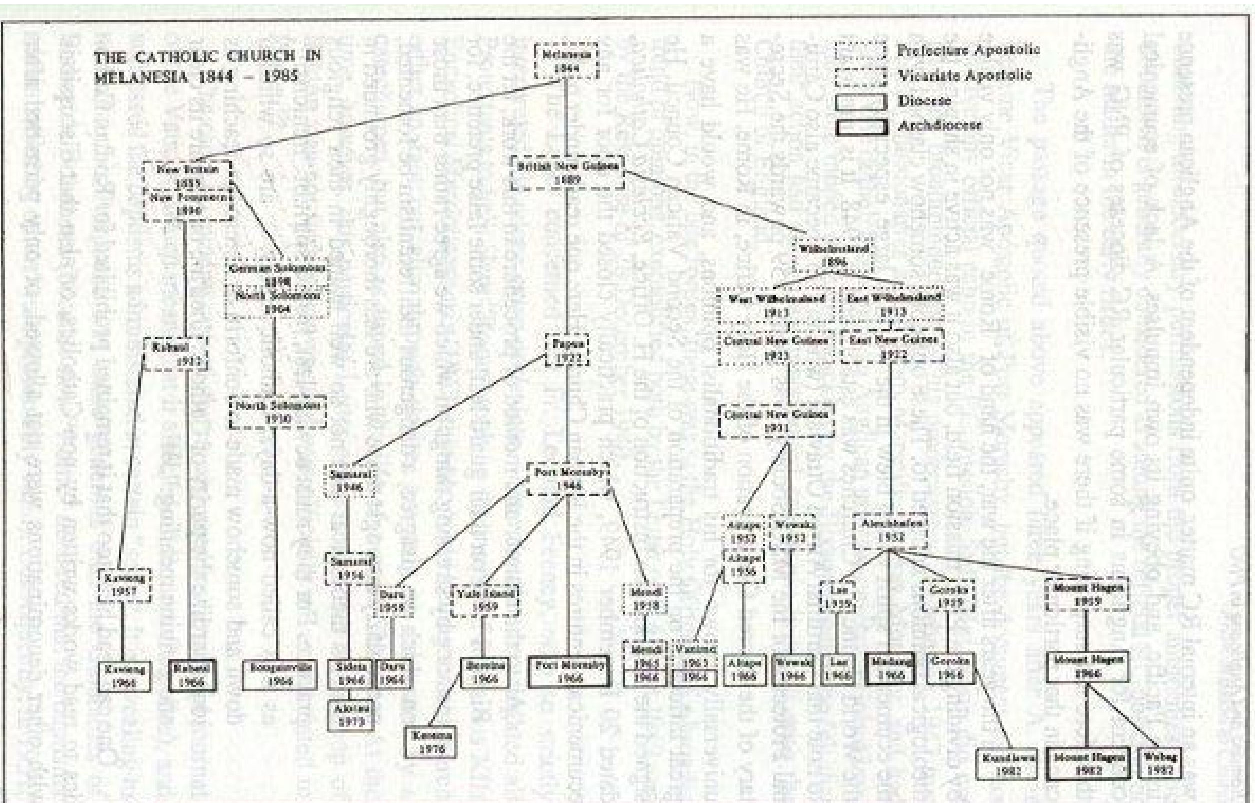
Divisions and subdivisions were necessary to properly coordinate the work of the increasing number of RC sending societies. They were willing to accept the ever-growing number of mission stations, receive their own Vicars Apostolic, and become the almost-autonomous agents in their own areas. At the same time, the number of missionaries allotted, and the amount of money given, proportionately increased with each division.

In 1966, the development of the country had proceeded so far, that “Rome” took the step of establishing the PNG hierarchy. By doing this, 15 regular “dioceses”, with their own “bishops”, were created, while the link between them, and their religious societies, was cut off. In principle, residential bishops (instead of faraway Roman Generalates) were put in charge, and took over all the responsibilities.

Just before this time, in 1964, the Catholic Bishops’ Conference was established, and met, usually once a year, in PNG. It was, in fact, international, because it also included the British Solomon Islands Protectorate (BSIP), which would become politically independent in 1978. It should be clear, though, that the whole process of setting up a RC hierarchy was an internal RC matter, quite independent of the Anglican presence in the Pacific, and obeying its own impulses. A lack of ecumenical concern for Anglicans, in some particular RC dioceses of PNG, was, therefore, not surprising, if there was no visible presence of the Anglicans in that particular place.

In the years after the war, the hand of “Rome” was not only visible, by dividing the PNG mission field, but also it was active in shaping the theological opinions adhered to. These opinions somehow clashed with the ecumenical spirit, which blew, in the world at large, especially since the World Council of Churches was


CATHOLIC HIERARCHY IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA.
VANIMO
AITAPE
WEWAK
KAVIENG
RABAUL
BOUGAINVILLE
MADANG
WABAG
MT. HAGEN
MENDI
GOROKA
KUNDIAWA
LAE
KEREMA
DARU
BEREINA
PORT MORESBY
ALOTAU—SIDEIA


THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN MELANESIA 1844 – 1985
Prefecture Apostolic
Vicariate Apostolic
Diocese
Archdiocese
Melanesia 1844
New Britain 1885
New Pomerania 1890
British New Guinea 1889
Wilhelmsland 1896
German Solomons 1898
North Solomons 1904
West Wilhelmsland 1913
East Wilhelmsland 1913
Central New Guinea 1913
East New Guinea 1922
Rabaul 1922
Papua 1922
North Solomons 1930
Central New Guinea 1931
Samarai 1946
Port Moresby 1946
Aitape 1952
Wewak 1952
Alexishafen 1952
Samarai 1956
Aitape 1956
Kavieng 1957
Daru 1959
Yule Island 1959
Mendi 1958
Lae 1959
Goroka 1959
Mount Hagen 1959
Kavieng 1966
Rabaul 1966
Bougainville 1966
Sideia 1966
Daru 1966
Bereina 1966
Port Moresby 1966
Mendi 1965 1966
Vanimo 1963 1966
Aitape 1966
Wewak 1966
Lae 1966
Madang 1966
Goroka 1966
Mount Hagen 1966
Alotau 1973
Kerema 1976
Kundiawa 1982
Mount Hagen 1982
Wabag 1982

established in 1948. It is important to note that Cardinal Alfred Ottaviani (who, in 1953, also became Cardinal-Protector of the MSC Society) was, from 1959 onwards, the Secretary of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office, in Rome. He was universally known for his traditionalist opinions, and would have a great influence on the preparation of the Second Vatican Council. He signed the well-known Instruction of the H. Office, *Ecclesia Catholica*, dated December 20, 1949, which practically closed the door for any ecumenical ventures in the Roman church. Here, one reads, under n. 11:

> "As to the manner and method of procedure in this work, let the bishops . . . be on their guard, lest, under some false pretence, for instance, by stressing things, on which we agree, rather than those on which we disagree, a dangerous indifferentism be fomented, particularly amongst those who are less thoroughly grounded in matters theological, and not so well trained in their religious practice. For they must beware, lest, from a spirit of "irenicism", as it is called now-a-days, Catholic tenets . . . are so whittled down, and, somehow, made to conform to heterodox teaching, as to jeopardise the purity of Catholic doctrine, or obscure its clear, and genuine, meaning."[15]

One can read here, too, that it remained prohibited for Roman Catholics to read works written by non-Catholics, or, also, that discussions with other denominations were not allowed, or only permitted after obtaining all necessary permissions from the proper authorities. This document is generally considered as stating the official RC position on the matter in the early 1950s.

The passage, quoted above, appeared three years after A. Sorin became Vicar Apostolic of Port Moresby, but the document did not receive any official echo in the RC mission. Still, Mgr Sorin did not have the broad-mindedness of his predecessor. So, when, in 1947, two French missionaries sailed from Marseille to Port Moresby, and had given one of their chalices to an Anglican priest

to celebrate Holy Mass, they were rapped over the knuckles by the bishop, because he felt that their action had shown an unwarranted *communio in sacris* with the Church of England.

Now, in the late 1940s, there was, at the Holy Office, also a broader trend of opinions, exemplified both by the Letter of August 8, 1949, and by the Response of December 28, 1949.

The Letter concerned one Fr Leonard Feeney, who so strictly interpreted the adage *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*, that he relegated all Protestants to hell. Here "Rome" took up the insight of Pope Pius XII's Encyclical *Mystici corporis* (1942) that one could belong to the church, either in fact, but, also, through desire, not only as expressed by a catechumen, but, also, as found in the life of a good Christian. At the time, however, this particular Letter, addressed to the Archbishop of Boston, was not widely known, and was never officially circulated in Papua.[15a]

The other document, quoted above, appeared in the official journal of the Vatican (which means that it affected all Roman Catholics), and addressed baptisms administered in certain "sects". It is revealing to note that this Response was more generous than the Guidelines of Bishop de Boismenu (because now "Rome" declared that baptisms administered by others were presumably valid). Consequently, in 1951, Bishop Sorin amended the 1936 instructions of his predecessor, and had his own *Notes Théologiques* of 1947 repealed, requesting even that his staff should sent back all existing copies to his office.

To this action, on a diocesan level, one can add the regional conferences, or moral cases, discussed in Port Moresby, for 1954/1955. These concerned one Father Francois, who asked himself whether, in his dealings with Protestants, he was exaggerating in one way or the other, and the case of one Father Henri, who simply refused to baptise all children of mixed marriages. The latter was reprimanded, but the other's case is still

more illuminating, because its solution treated of the relation between Catholics and Protestants in general.

Bishop Sorin recognised that the stress on preserving the faith (among Catholics), and on showing fraternal love (to non-Catholics), had varied in history, although there was a continuously-growing softening of disciplinary measures against the outsiders. As in the time of Bishop de Boismenu, he underlined the example of Jesus, and the subsidiary role of the church in leading people, in their union with God. Nevertheless, compared with today's judgments, Bishop Sorin was still pre-Vatican II in his outlook. In short, we can maintain that, on the diocesan level, the openness towards other Christians did not die with Bishop de Boismenu, but that it continued, unhindered, in Catholic circles.

When, in 1960, Bishop Eugene Klein succeeded Bishop Sorin, the same policy continued. On the one hand, there were, for instance, some Roman documents, which were taken into account (such as the Decree *Matrimonia mixta*, to be mentioned below). Hence, the new bishop recalled, to his coworkers, that all marriages contracted before a non-Catholic minister remained invalid, and that, in mixed marriages, strict promises were required, regarding both the Catholic baptism and the education of the children. Again, he published a negative answer regarding the admission of high-church Anglicans to Holy Communion. This was, then, the official adhesion to Rome, in one RC diocese, in July, 1966.

Coming down to the grassroots level, good relationships were prevailing, not so much with the Anglicans (who were rarely met in this particular mission), but with the United church followers, who, through mixed marriages, sometimes made up half of the population in a given parish. The opening of the RC church at Kavora village (Terapo), in Bishop Klein's diocese, is one of the examples of this living together. The ex-LMS carpenters added the porch to the church building, while one Protestant deacon, after recalling his previous opposition to the RC newcomers, said to the local missionary:

> "Now you have come. We know that you are friends. You preach the same Christ, in whom we, too, believe: I am old, and I do not want to change. My wife is your friend, and she does not want to change either. However, our children are free. They know the two missions. It is up to them to make a choice."[16]

As a matter of fact, the deacon had his son baptised by the church of Rome. Then, when the moment came to open the new church, each of the villages, or groups, made a public donation. The Congregationalists won the race, and so obtained the right to "cut the ribbon", and open, officially, a RC church in their midst. This happened back in October, 1961.

3. The Anglican Province of Papua New Guinea

The Pacific war came, first, to New Britain where, under continuous air raids, most of the mission stations were flattened, and the bulk of the personnel died. As a matter of fact, both the RC and the Anglican missions ignored official advice to withdraw to safety. Illustrative is the famous radio message of Bishop Strong, broadcast to his personnel on January 31, 1942. He urged all of his coworkers to stay, saying:

> "God expects this of us. The church at home, which sent us out, will surely expect it of us. The universal church expects it. The tradition and history of mission requires it of us. Missionaries, who . . . are now at rest, are surely expecting it of us. The people, whom we serve, surely expect it of us. Our own consciences expect it of us. . . . If anyone had required us to leave, then we would have had to obey God rather than men. . . . We have made our resolution to stay. Let us not shrink from it."[17]

The enemy attack was blind, and made no distinction as to which mission one belonged, and so, it happened, that only a few

people went through the war unscathed, while the majority experienced hardships, or lost their lives. The Anglican parish priest, Fr Romney Gill, survived the hostilities by moving from one hiding place to the other, whereas the RC Fr, Heinrich Bender MSC, was left in peace, because the enemy considered him as a harmless scientist, mainly interested in exotic flora and fauna. Again, Fr James Benson, the parish priest of Gona, first lost his way in the bush, and finally was interned in the Ramale camp, where he spent most of the wartime period with some 140 RC mission personnel.

Although there are cases where outsiders, or lapsed Christians, betrayed the missionaries, one minor incident well indicates that early catechesis on New Britain had done its work well. About 1945, a Japanese prisoner of war tried to open a ciborium from the RC church of Vuvu (on the Gazelle Peninsula), but could not. After him, an Anglican soldier managed to do it, so that the children present spontaneously explained that the first could not, because he was a pagan, but that the other was able to do it because he was an Anglican, and “Anglicans and Roman Catholics are the same”.[18]

Port Moresby, and Papua, in general, stayed outside the fighting zone proper, since the adversary was halted in the ranges, on the Kokoda Trail. But the place had to deal with Japanese air raids, and with a great influx of Allied soldiers. In April, 1942, Fr Michael McEnroe departed for the army, and left the keys of the RC chapel at Bomana in the hands of his Anglican counterpart, Fr Henry Matthews. Bishop Strong noted in his diary that this was a rather wonderful gesture from a man who, in the past, “had been rather prejudiced against the Anglican church”. In a moment of need, he knew who were his true friends. As to Fr Matthews, then Anglican rector of St John-on-the-Hill, in the city, he soon found out that he could not enrol as a chaplain (because he had reached retiring age), and, afterwards, died at sea, together with the people he wanted to save.

The negative result of the whole operation in PNG and the Solomon Islands was that up to 95 percent of mission buildings were destroyed. Churches, hospitals, schools, rectories, convents, and all the rest, no longer existed, while 11 Anglicans died, 15 Lutherans, 24 Methodists, and 188 RC Fathers, Brothers and Sisters. In addition, one could list the various war cemeteries left behind in the country, plus the 18,000 or so Japanese soldiers, whose bodies were usually repatriated after the war. When, eventually, post-war reconstruction came, it differed from place to place, with, initially, not much help coming from the sending countries in Europe.

There were also positive results of the war, especially on the local population, made by American and Australian soldiers. In the army, the Papua New Guineans met yet another type of white man. Usually, these soldiers were young, and inexperienced in the bush, or were also in need of shelter and assistance. But they were, as a rule, generous in payments and handouts, and were often not impressed by differences of colour and race. Some of them were also practising and believing Christians.

One such group were the Anglican soldiers of the gun batteries and workshops, belonging to the Australian Imperial Forces in Port Moresby. They had refurnished the St John's church, vandalised by the ill-disciplined military force, some time earlier. Later, they met regularly for the Padre's Hour to discuss with their chaplain, Fr F. M. Hill, various religious and moral issues. So, they talked also about the unity of Christendom, and showed interest in the efforts towards reunion. They never could understand the failure of Rome to enter into negotiations with other churches.

After the war, the Anglican missionaries were the first to resume their work, in full strength. They started along the south coast of New Britain, which was, then, still part of the Archdiocese of Melanesia. Their early coming even created the opportunity to treat the RC promises as "lies", because the Sacred Heart Fathers were much slower in returning to the south coast of the island.

Bishop Strong did not lose any time in resuscitating his earlier plan of expansion. First, the strategic centres of the New Guinea Mission should be built up to the strength required, then made into natural bases, then used to occupy the four unevangelised valleys.

Starting from the south-eastern end of Papua, an Anglican drive had to come from Wanigela, up into the Musa Valley; from Eroro, towards Managalasi; from the more-inland station of Sangara, into the Chirima Valley, and, finally, from the head stations on the Mambare River, into the Goilala area. This four-pronged attack was to cover the whole mission area. But more was in store. There were still the vast regions on the New Guinea mainland, to the border with Dutch New Guinea, and there were, also, all of the New Guinea Islands.

The request of the Anglican bishop to get 12 new priests and 40, or more, other recruits, to realise the "Great Forward Movement" did not materialise. What he got, however, was a young dynamic missionary, Fr Geoffrey David Hand, ordained in 1942, and arriving in PNG only four years afterwards.

Fr Hand was first put in charge of Sefoa, near Tufl, and then of Sangara, so that he quickly learned the language, and got used to the bush ministry of the mission. In 1950, he was made Assistant to Bishop Strong, and first Archdeacon of New Guinea. While he had his residence in Madang, the coastal town between the headquarters of Dogura and the beckoning border of Dutch New Guinea, his first assignment was to boost the Anglican presence in New Britain, and in the Bismarck Archipelago at large, (as was asked by the faithful adherents of the Church of England). The area had been transferred, in 1949, to the New Guinea Mission, after the islanders had asked the Church of England for greater consideration, and, after an agreement had been finalised with the Melanesian Mission, during an encounter of the bishops concerned, at the Lambeth Conference of 1948. In addition, he also had to establish an Anglican presence in the New Guinea Highlands.

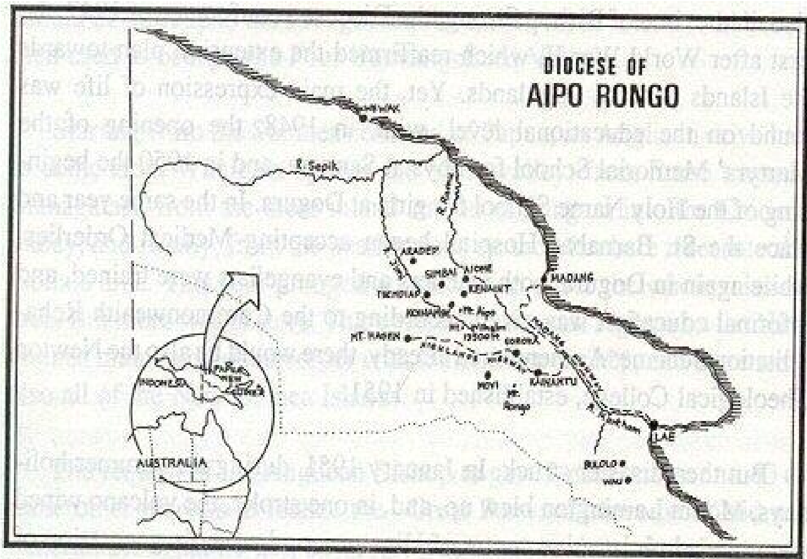
His arrival was not the only sign of Anglican vitality. There was, also, in the time of Bishop Strong, the Diocesan Conference of 1947, the first after World War II, which reaffirmed the extension plan towards the islands and the highlands. Yet, the main expression of life was found on the educational level, with, in 1948, the opening of the Martyrs' Memorial School for boys at Sangara, and, in 1950, the beginning of the Holy Name School for girls at Dogura. In the same year and place, the St Barnabas Hospital began accepting medical orderlies, while, again in Dogura, both teachers and evangelists were trained, and informal education was given, according to the Commonwealth Rehabilitation Scheme. As mentioned already, there would be also the Newton Theological College, established in 1951.

But then, disaster struck. In January, 1951, during the summer holidays, Mount Lamington blew up, and, in one stroke, the volcano wiped away the administrative centre of Higaturu, and a whole generation of church leaders, assembled at Sangara for their in-service training. Some priests, 30 teacher-evangelists, and thousands of people lost their lives, and the whole country, including some RC churches, held memorial services for a loss on such a scale. For the Anglicans, many long-cherished plans were shelved, while Assistant Bishop Hand was called back for two years to help restore the losses in the region.

As early as 1953, Bishop Hand was again walking up and down the south coast of New Britain, usually arriving on the trading vessel *Maimuna*, and advancing on foot to the Whiteman Ranges. He celebrated the eucharist, performed marriages, and, in the eyes of all, did not spare himself one bit.

In his first year already, the new station of Apugi was established. His RC counterparts were, in Pililo, the Irish, Fr John O'Hanlon, and, in Valanguo, the Austrian, Fr Alois Hartmann, both of the MSC mission of Vunapope (Rabaul). The particular national background of each missionary, and also the chequered mission history over the last 20 years or so, were not conducive to hearty

relations, and, on at least occasion in Pililo, fire and axe were not spared against the opposing institution.



An echo of the strained relations can still be found in a field report, published in 1960, even if the context of an overseas mission magazine might have led the author to an overstatement of the situation. Nevertheless it is said there:

> “. . . the miracle is that, with the little that Anglicans have been able to do for the people, and with the “arrogant imperialism” of Rome, who unremittingly compasses sea and land to make proselytes, our people have remained so loyal and strong. . . .”[19]

In the year 1953, Bishop Hand also undertook visiting Aiome, beyond the Middle Ramu River, over 100 km to the west of Madang. He had also been asked to go there by the Australian Administration, who, in 1948, had opened up the area for outsiders, but disliked German Lutherans. However, the nearest RC priest, Fr Jacob Ziegier, was not happy about this turn of affairs. His Society

had, before the war, made contact in the area, and even had one or more catechists from there, but it had never established a mission station.

On his second visit to Aiome, Bishop Hand was met on the airstrip, by 25 catechists in uniform, flanked by the Father, who refused to shake hands with the "opposition". Bishop Hand submitted the matter to the newly-appointed Bishop of Madang, Adolf Noser, who asked:

> "Give me two months to get around my diocese, to see what I have got, and to get my act together, and then I will answer you."[20]

The result was that the RC missionaries kept to the north-east side of the Ramu River, and the Anglicans to the south-west side – as is the case, even today. Agreements like this – also between Anglicans and Lutherans – have assured that the mainline churches in the Schraeder and Bismarck Ranges, have maintained religious peace ever since. Thus, once again, a division of terrains was made (as had occurred, at one time, between the Yule Island Fathers and the Dogura mission).

The Chirima Valley also numbered among the places, which Bishop Strong had wanted to win over to the Anglican church. This did not happen in his time, nor during the period of Bishop Hand. Still, an arrangement was reached, and the actual extension was pushed ahead, by the Roman Catholics.

In 1955, the offer came to the New Guinea Mission to employ again the Melanesian Brotherhood, which 30 years earlier had begun to evangelise the south coast of New Britain. The bishop was happy with the offer, and, in the following year, a group of ten Brothers began working in the Highlands, with their headquarters outside Goroka. The bishop assured for them an expatriate Anglican chaplain, who also cared for the Europeans in the town. Wherever the Brothers went, they were the first to make new contacts, and so,

they assured the foundation of the stations of Movi (1951), and of Koinambe, Aiome, and Simbai (1956), respectively, in the Siane, Jimi, and Schraeder Valleys. Their work was a success story, and accounted for several new branches on the Anglican tree. In 1961, there were 40 staff in the Highlands, while eventually the number of believers in the Simbu, Western Highlands, and Madang Provinces, would be almost as high as those from all the other Anglican areas, reckoned, in 1958, to be around 100,000 baptised members.

Assistance came from other religious societies as well. Years in a row, there had been the request of Bishop Strong to the Society of St Francis (SSF), the largest order for men in the Anglican communion, and of which the Bishop himself was a Tertiary. Unfortunately, the answer had always ended with the paucity of the people available. So, in 1959, Bishop Strong admitted:

> "I think I understand, and so I go back to New Guinea in the second, and 20th year as bishop, without the Brothers I was promised 18 years ago."[21]

But, starting in March 1959, the Brothers did come, and, from their new parish in Koki (Port Moresby), they began to cater for indigenous migrants coming to the capital. Soon, they branched out to other centres, both in PNG, and in the neighbouring countries.

The arrival of another religious congregation for men, the Society of the Sacred Mission (of Kelham, England), planned for 1950, did not eventuate. But, in 1951, the Community of the Holy Name Sisters came to Dogura, to start the Holy Name School for girls. They went, in 1964, to Popondetta, and also assisted in the foundation of the Community of the Visitation, a group of local sisters, who found their own identity in 1977.

ANGLICAN HIERARCHY IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA 1898–1991

1898 : NEW GUINEA MISSION
as Missionary diocese of the Church of England in Queensland

1898-08	Montagu J. Stone-Wigg
1910-21	Gerald Sharp
1922-36	Henry Newton
1936-63	Philip N. W. Strong
1963-77	Geoffrey David Hand

Highland and Islands Region
1950-63 David Hand
1967-76 Bevon S. Meredith

Papua Northern Region
1960-77 George K. Ambo

Port Moresby Region
1963-77 David Hand

Papua Eastern Region
1964-67 J. Chisholm
1968-75 H. Kendall

New Guinea Islands
1976-77 B. Meredith

New Guinea Highlands
1976-77 J.C. Ashton

1977 : PROVINCE OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA
as independent province of the Anglican Communion

1977-83	David Hand, Archbishop
1983-90	George Ambo
1991-. . .	Bevon Meredith

Dioc. of Popondetta
1977-83 G. Ambo
1983-90 . . . .
1990-. . . W. Siba

Dioc. of Rabaul
1977-. . . B. Meredith

Dioc. of Aipo Rongo
1977-81 J.C. Ashton
1981-86 B. Kerina
1986-. . . P. Richardson

Dioc. of Dogura
1977-. . . R. Sanana

Dioc. of Port Moresby
1977-83 . . . .
1983-. . . Isaac R. Gadebo

In the 1960s, the Great Forward Movement came to an end. Most of the future places and institutions had been set up, George Koiaio Ambo had been consecrated as the first local bishop (1960), and after Bishop Strong was translated to Brisbane, the Bishops of Queensland appointed Bishop David Hand to be the first diocesan Bishop of PNG.

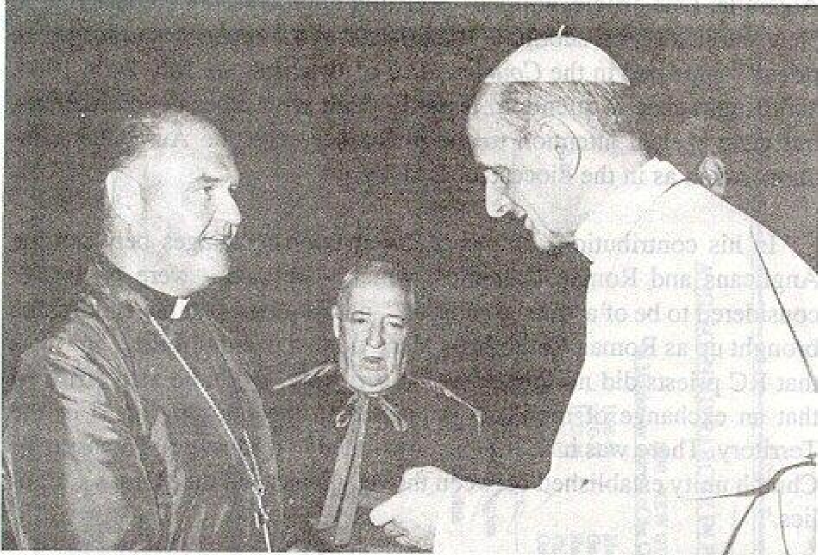
It was a great occasion for the Anglicans in PNG. Congratulations were sent to the retiring, and to the incoming, bishop, from various corners, including, for instance, the RC Archbishop of Madang, A. Noser, while, at Dogura, an impressive ceremony was staged for Bishop Hand, then over 13 years an Archdeacon and Assistant Bishop in the country. Some RC priests attended the festivities, for instance, the well-known Fr Bernhard Franke MSC, of Rabaul, who "sat through several Anglican Masses".

Among the overseas visitors was, also, the freelance journalist, Douglas Rose, who used the opportunity to write a series of articles on church life in the Territory, and had promised them to various newspapers in Australia. One article, entitled "Startling approach to church unity in New Guinea", and subtitled "Anglicans and Roman Catholics share priests", appeared in the *Courier-Mail* of Brisbane, on July 24, 1964, and caught special attention. It partly dealt with other denominations, but gave special attention to the difference with the Australian situations, such as in the diocese of Sydney.

In his contribution, Mr Rose dwelt upon marriages between Anglicans and Roman Catholics, which – he said – were no longer considered to be of a "mixed religion", nor required that the children be brought up as Roman Catholics. Of the dogma of infallibility, he wrote that RC priests did, no longer, take it seriously, while he also affirmed that an exchange of ministers happened in the outlying areas of the Territory. There was, in PNG – he concluded – "a substantial measure of church unity, established between the Anglicans and the Roman Catholics."

Reactions were quick to come, and further printing of the article was stopped, while Bishop Hand sent a letter of apology to all the RC Vicars Apostolic in PNG. It would seem – Bishop Virgil Copas wrote to the editor of the newspaper – that local Christians were one in charity to one another, but not at one in doctrine and faith. Mr Rose had overlooked, e.g., the mandatory recourse to dispensations by the authorities, or presupposed some current misunderstanding of infallibility, which made it far too wide. He might not have seen the need of pastoral care – that is, of charity – for people living in isolation of their own ministers. With this, the incident died down.

In 1963, Bishop Hand took on his new responsibilities till, in 1973, he became the Metropolitan Bishop of Port Moresby, and the first Anglican Archbishop of PNG. As we will see, below, he was a very ecumenically-minded man, who, from the start, was engaged in the Melanesian Council of Churches, and in its various initiatives. In this capacity, he worked, in the mid-1960s, to establish an interdenominational Department of Religious Studies at the University. He was also the one who, in July, 1970, launched the idea of a dialogue between Anglican and Roman Catholic theologians.



Bishop D. Hand, received by Pope Paul VI, Rome, 1968.

Before becoming the leader of the Province of PNG, he led the famous Bishops' Walk from Gona, over the Kokoda Trail, to Port Moresby, held between May 17 and 30, 1972. This march was intended to raise funds for the Garamut Fund, to assist the Anglican ecclesiastical province, then in the making. But it was an ecumenical venture, too, because it enlisted, for the total stretch of 150 miles, or for a part of it, the participation of Archbishop Marcus Loane, and of his Archdeacon, John Reid, of Sydney, that of the United church Bishop of the Papuan mainland, Ravu Henao, and that of the RC Archbishop of Port Moresby, Virgil Copas. Said Bishop Hand about the 14-day trek:

> "This walk was not just a money-making gimmick. It would have been worthwhile if it had raised nothing, because it was a demonstration of teamwork between people of different churches and traditions."[22]

Five years later, the Anglican church in PNG could establish itself as the 27th independent province in the worldwide Anglican Communion. Before this, in the colonial time, Assistant Bishops, or Coadjutors, had already been installed for the Highlands and Islands (1950), for the Port Moresby region (1960), and then, also, for the Northern and Eastern Papua Regions (1960/1964). A recent development was the separation of the Islands from the Highlands (1976).

With this, five Anglican dioceses now existed; together they formed one single PNG province, comparable to the Province of Melanesia (in the Solomon Islands), and to the extra Provincial Diocese of Polynesia (still a missionary diocese of New Zealand). In turn, all three made up the South Pacific Anglican Council, with each one retaining the right to its own voice, both at the Lambeth Conferences, and in the Anglican Consultative Council. In PNG, Archbishop Hand was in charge, till he retired from his church responsibilities in May, 1983. On his farewell, the RC clergy of Port Moresby handed him a stola, a vestment to be worn at Mass. The Archbishop could quite lightly observe that this was an implicit recognition of his order – not unlike the gesture of the Roman pontiff, who gave his own ring to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Michael Ramsey, in March, 1966.

Conclusion

The end of the mission era coincides with the end of the political dependency on the colonial power, Australia, although the respective ecclesiastical dates are spread over a period of about ten years. From this period, we can learn several facts about relations between the Anglican and the RC churches.

Firstly, we note, in general, that the mutual encounter between the mainline churches increased. This started from shared experiences during the Japanese occupation, till the common participation in the Government-Missions Conferences after World

War II. All this led to a wide cooperation in para-church activities, mainly in health and education.

Secondly, although the war provided a new start to pre-war apostolic engagements (as symbolised especially by the Anglican drive to take over the four unevangelised valleys), fresh difficulties arose from the many "sects", which had entered the country, while the government seemed to be unable, or not prepared, to check their movements.

Thirdly, the divisions and subdivisions, which led to the establishment of 15 RC dioceses in PNG, did not affect, negatively, the relationship with the Anglican church. Instead, there were very good contacts between Bishop Hand, for the Anglicans, and, e.g., the Bishops Copas, Noser, and Sorin, for the RC side. In addition, the RC authorities were also loath to establish a Catholic diocese at Popondetta, in the traditional Anglican area.

Fourthly, the clashes, which did occur in PNG – and we gave two examples of them – were not a consequence of differing beliefs of the participants, but, rather, a consequence of their non-compatible national outlooks. They make, however, 1960 an all-time low in ecumenical relations.

Finally, it is noteworthy that various religious orders entered PNG, to assist the Anglican evangelistic work. This feature, too, brought out, once again, the Anglo-Catholic nature of the New Guinea mission.

IV. "THAT THEY MAY BE ONE"

Already, before PNG Independence, indigenous bishops were ordained, George Ambo, for the Anglican church, in 1960, and Louis Vangeke, for the RC church, in 1970, showing the maturity of the respective Communions. The Catholic bishop died in 1982, after having fulfilled various functions. Archbishop Ambo retired in 1990, but, before doing so, he made news by his appeal for a greater church unity in the country. It remains our task to sketch, now, church life over the last 30 years or so, up to 1991. We will mainly concentrate on the factors outside and inside PNG, which were bringing Romans and Anglicans closer together, to the fulfilment of Jesus' deep desire, when he prayed: "That they may be one" (John 17:21).

1. The Second Vatican Council

The papal election of October 1958, when Cardinal Angelo Roncalli, at the age of 77 years, was made Pope John XXIII, appeared, at first, to be a provisional measure, taken by prelates, who did not want to commit the church of Rome to one particular direction, for any length of time. But, as a matter of fact, by convening the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), Pope John opened the windows of his church, not only for a much needed *aggiomamento*, but, also, for a basically new understanding of Christianity. This vision incorporated various fresh ideas, held by many bishops and theologians, over the past decennia, and was often inspired by the great Cardinal John H. Newman, sometimes called the "invisible expert" of the last Vatican Council.

As far as we are concerned, Pope John XXIII was well prepared for his new task, especially by his contacts with other churches in the Balkans, while he was still Apostolic Nuncio at Constantinople. He also had good collaborators, such as Cardinal

Augustin Bea, and, since 1960, various other people at the (Pontifical) Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity. The impact of the Council depended much on its well-polished statements, the tune of which was set by the Constitution on the Liturgy, the first of all documents to be issued by Vatican II. One non-Catholic observer said, about the people who wrote the Council text, that "if this goes on much longer, they'll find that they've invented *The Book of Common Prayer*".[23]

For outsiders, much of the Council's success derived from the famous Decree on Ecumenism, and from the subsequent documents, which were added to it. Still, these papal and other statements, did not reach the public without a hitch. The first draft of the Decree on Ecumenism was prepared under Pope John, and sent out in March, 1963, that is, before the Second Session of the Council. But then, on June 3, the Pope died, and the whole enterprise was put into jeopardy.

It was of paramount importance, that on June 25, of the same year, Cardinal Giovanni Battista Montini became Pope Paul VI, a position he held for the next 15 years. He, too, was "a providential man", who, from his student days, had shown great interest in Anglicanism, and during his time as Archbishop of Milan, became particularly well informed about the Anglican Communion (e.g., through Bishop George Bell). He decided to continue with the Council, and, during its Second Session, the Decree on Ecumenism was discussed, while, during the Third Session, the final text was promulgated. This happened on the very day that the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church received its publication (November 21, 1964).

The Vatican statement on the church, itself, *Lumen gentium* (as distinguished from the much-longer text *Gaudium et spes*, on the church in the modern world of 1965), is the proper framework to understand Rome's new thinking about the relationship with other Christian bodies. We cannot, here, lift out all the passages, which

are interesting for ecumenists, but two quotes from the text may do. Thus, under n. 15, the document says:

> "The church recognises that, in many ways, she is linked with those, who, being baptised, are honoured with the name of Christian. . . . For there are many who honour sacred scripture, taking it as a norm of belief, and of action. . . . They lovingly believe in God . . . and in Christ. . . . They are consecrated by baptism. . . . They also recognise and receive other sacraments within their own churches, or ecclesial communities. Many of them rejoice in the episcopate, celebrate the Holy Eucharist, and cultivate devotion toward the Virgin Mother of God. . . ."[24]

It is explained, here, by which kind of ties the church of Rome feels itself linked with non-Catholics, and that it recognises in them the action of the Holy Spirit. Hence, there can no longer be any talk that others have only to "return" to the church of Rome, or that they are only "outsiders". They are real "brothers", although separated from us now, and living in their own "churches, or ecclesial communities". There is the implication that the RC church, too, needs improvement, according to the old saying, *Ecclesia semper reformanda*.

Worthwhile quoting, also are some passages from n. 10 and n. 12, which speak of "the priesthood of the believers", and of the various tasks, which are found in the people of God. It says here:

> ". . . the faithful join in the offering of the eucharist, by virtue of their royal priesthood. They, likewise, exercise that priesthood by receiving the sacraments, by prayer and thanksgiving, by the witness of a holy, life and by self-denial, and active charity."[25]

> "The holy people of God also share in Christ's prophetic office. It spreads abroad a living witness to Him, especially by means of a life of faith and charity, and by offering to God

> a sacrifice of praise, the tribute of lips, which give honour to his name . . ."[26]

In other words, there is no need to oppose any prophetic (read, "non-Catholic") and sacerdotal (read, "Catholic") understanding of Christianity, because the whole people of God partake in all Christ's functions. The stress given to one, or the other, element of Christ's message might differ in time and place, or from group to group, but allowances for this are possible within the one body of Christ.

Let us now come to the Decree on Ecumenism, *Unitatis redintegratio*, especially n. 3. Here, the church of Rome recognised, for the past ages, the guilt on both sides, and the impossibility of attributing the sin of erstwhile separation to those, who are now born in another ecclesial community. They are, through baptism, members of Christ's body, while He finds ways and means to communicate to them all necessary graces. The same paragraph says:

> ". . . these separated churches and communities, though we believe they suffer from defects . . . have by no means been deprived of significance and importance in the mystery of salvation. For the Spirit of Christ has not refrained from using them as a means of salvation, which derive their efficacy from the very fullness of grace and truth, and entrusted to the Catholic church."[27]

It is clear that "Rome" does not sacrifice its own self-understanding, and that certain deficiencies it sees are not glossed over. Notwithstanding this stand, it has often been remarked that, whatever the Council affirmed, must be understood on the merits of each separate case. And here it is said of the Anglican church (n. 13):

> "Among those, in which Catholic traditions and institutions, in part, continue to exist, the Anglican Communion occupies a special place."[28]

In n. 11 of the document on Ecumenism, one particular suggestion is made regarding the "hierarchy of truths", of which one observer – nobody less than the Swiss theologian Oscar Cullman – stated that it was the most important point of the whole text, in view of (any) dialogue. It reads as follows:

> "When making comparisons of doctrines, they should remember the existence of an order, or "hierarchy", of the truths of Catholic teaching, since they differ, in their connection with basic Christian belief."[29]

Although it is not stated that any human logic, but rather, the person of Jesus Christ is the centre of all belief, the suggestion is most apt to distinguish what is of fundamental importance, and what touches the periphery only, thus allowing serious discussions to be held.

This conviction was the particular background why, in PNG, the Romans and the Anglicans could take seriously the many links formed between them over the years, so that, finally, there was scope to bring them closer to one another.

2. National Moves Towards Unity

Before addressing the bilateral conversations between the Roman Catholics and the Anglicans, it is necessary to underline that, in PNG, there has been an astonishing amount of multilateral contacts, and interchurch services. To mention only a few will contribute to the maintenance of a proper perspective of church unity aimed at, between Roman Catholics and Anglicans. We will concentrate on only three organisations: the Melanesian Council of Churches, the Melanesian Association of Theological Schools, and the Melanesian Institute. The first two are interdenominational in nature, while the third one constitutes a RC initiative, which soon became interdenominational (that is, grouping various denominations, or ecclesiastical bodies), and then began

contributing towards church unity, that is, becoming truly ecumenical.

General union talks began, in PNG, in the 1960s, when the drive towards forming an independent country grew in momentum, so that some people even talked about establishing "one national church". The latter opinion was favoured by outsiders, that is by non-theologians, but also by ecclesiastics, who, out of their own experience, were accustomed to nationally-defined groups of Christians.

There were several results of the trend towards cooperation and unity. One dates back to 1956, when the Lutherans of Finschhafen (and their helpers from Australia) joined with the Lutherans of Madang (supported by the group of the Missouri Synod), and formed the Evangelical-Lutheran church of New Guinea (ELC-NG, or later, ELCONG). Before this, they also wanted to join the Pacific Conference of Churches (PCC), but later they withdrew from it.

Another amalgamation, was that of the United church of PNG and the Solomon Islands, which came out of the union of the Papua Ekalesia (ex-LMS and Kwato), the Methodist Synod, and the small United church for expatriates at Ela Beach (Port Moresby), and happened in 1968. In 1971, this group was the only Melanesian church to join the PCC. There were bilateral union talks between the Lutheran and the United churches in the mid-1970s, which, after producing papers on baptism and eucharist, were broken off, despite the insistence of the local Lutheran bishop.

A. The Melanesian Council of Churches

The first multilateral talks, for the Pacific Islands, began at a conference, held in May, 1961, at Malua, in Samoa. Serious union talks followed, locally, three years later. In these, the Anglicans and Lutherans favoured a federation of independent churches, while

other Christians tended towards an organic union of one new church. The practical result was that, in 1965, six bodies joined to form the "Melanesian Council of Churches" (MCC). They were the Anglican church, the Baptist Mission, the Evangelical-Lutheran church, the Salvation Army, the Methodist church, and the Papua Ekalesia. In the discussions then held, leading roles were played by Bishop David Hand, first chairman of the MCC, and also by Fr John Key, sometime Ecumenical Relations Officer of the Anglicans in PNG.

Church Affiliation in PNG Townships (10 years and older)				
	Citizens		Non-citizens	
	Total	%	Total	%
Anglicans	11,200	78.8	3,000	21.2
Baptists	2,300	82.1	500	17.9
Evangelical Alliance	9,500	95.0	500	5.0
Jehovah's Witnesses	2,000	90.9	200	9.1
Lutherans	61,000	99.1	600	0.9
Roman Catholics	79,000	93.3	5,600	6.7
Seventh-day Adventists	17,500	98.8	200	9.1
United church	57,500	97.1	1,700	2.9
Others	4,000	76.9	1,200	23.1
Not stated	12,000	61.5	7,500	38.5

Source: 1980 National Population Census.

The nature of the MCC was somewhat unique, because of the inclusion of the Western Highlands Baptists, and of the Salvation Army, which showed that not only major churches came together. However, no contact was established with the PCC, founded in the early 1960s. Some reasons for this were – as the Anglicans said in 1972 – that PNG was large enough, and cohesive enough, to form a unit of the world church on its own, and that the expense of getting to the Eastern Pacific seemed unwarranted. In addition, the MCC had no official link with the World Council of Churches in Geneva, although a good working relationship with it was established. The history of the MCC makes it clear that, neither in 1964, nor later,

was a new super-church born, or that matters of theological doctrine, or ecclesiastical discipline, were swept under the carpet. Relations with Geneva were less in Melanesia than with the PCC. Yet, the friendly cooperation, then established, was full of promises for the future, and would justify this hope also.

The inclusion of the RC church is a story apart. Right from the start, its inclusion in the MCC was advocated by the Anglican Bishop, John Chisholm, who wrote, in 1964, to Dr Ian Maddocks, the Secretary of the Executive Group:

> "There are some, who feel that, as this Melanesian Council is not affiliated with WCC, there is no reason why the RCs should not be invited to be members of it as well. Indeed, there would be quite a lot to be said, for it could, perhaps, be a real attempt at ecumenism, and it could be a guide to other territories and countries in the Christian world."[30]

It took a long time before the prophetic words of Bishop Chisholm were fulfilled, but, about six years later, it was so far. In the press release of March 24, 1971, Fr Key could announce, on behalf of the MCC, that the Roman Catholics, too, had decided "to accept the invitation to join, as a full member". This followed the call of the MCC founding members, assembled in August, 1970, at Madang, and the decision of the CBC, gathered at Kensington (Sydney), in November of the same year. As a result, a RC representative, Fr Patrick Murphy SVD, attended the Annual General Meeting, held at the Baptist Mission of Baiyer River, in October, 1971.

The entry of the Roman Catholics happened, among other reasons, because of outside pressures, the main ones being the influence of the Second Vatican Council (see above), and also that of the, more or less, independent Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, in Rome. The later had called several international meetings, from 1967 onwards. Invitations came also to PNG, and at least the

Conference of 1979 was attended, by Fr John Anshaw MSC, the successor of Fr Murphy.

The Main Organisations Between the PNG Churches	
1915	Missionary Aviation Fellowship (MAF)
1957	Christian Radio Missionary Fellowship (CRMF)
1965	Melanesian Council of Churches (MCC)
1965	Heads of churches meeting
1969	Melanesian Association of Theological Schools (MATS)
1970	Churches Education Council (CED)
1971	Melanesian Institute (MI)
1974	Churches Council for Media Cooperation (CCMC)
1975	Churches Medical Council (CMC)
1983	Word Publishing
1984	Christian Institute of Counselling (CIC)

On the local scene, the entrance of the RC Bishops' Conference into the MCC was an event of exceptional importance. It was thought at the time, that only the Christians of Trinidad and Tobago, in the West Indies, had made a similar step, but later it appeared that, at that stage, half-a-dozen RC hierarchies (including those of nearby Fiji and Vanuatu) had done the same already. Mgr Gino Paro, the Apostolic Delegate in Port Moresby, was most pleased that the Roman Catholics in this country could take such a decision. One can say that what had begun, some 50 years ago, among Protestants only, and had been kept at a distance by "Rome", for such a long time, became now a fact of life among Roman Catholics in PNG. Following the lead of the 1910 Missionary Conference of Edinburgh, the specific evangelisation work in the country contributed greatly to this step.

B. The Melanesian Association of Theological Schools

Conscious cooperation with others, which surely led the RC church into the MCC, also had its effect in the rather-specialised field of theological education, when, in 1969, the Melanesian Association of Theological Schools (MATS) was set up. This happened, when the first post-war graduates were ready for tertiary education, and when several mainline churches faced the same problems with the formation of their future indigenous ministers. They proposed, among themselves, to clarify the level of theological formation achieved in their schools, and, if possible, to share the existing resources, and to face, in the same way, the challenges from secular education, and from the civil administration.

Noteworthy for PNG, is that, through the acceptance of the Christian Leaders' Training College, of Banz, where Evangelical ministers were trained, the Association was wider than the MCC. For the Anglican Communion, it incorporated the students, both from Dogura in PNG, from Kohimarama, in the Solomon Islands, and even a theological scheme from Northern Australia, in which several churches worked together.

Not all the possibilities of such an enterprise were widely realised, although some of them, for instance, the exchange of staff and students, were now and then practised. This included that RC lecturers from Holy Spirit Seminary, Bomana, gave courses at Newton Theological College, and that Anglican clerics from Port Moresby lectured at Bomana (with, on one occasion, an Anglican teaching Church History to the RC seminarians). Similarly several Anglican students were enrolled at Bomana, just as later, Anglican nuns went to the nearby Xavier Institute of Missiology.

C. The Melanesian Institute

Whereas the MCC and MATS were, from the start, ecumenical in outlook, and interested all major churches, we should

mention, here, one initiative, which first brought all Roman Catholics together, but eventually, also, became ecumenical in the usual sense. By this, we refer to the Melanesian Institute for Socio-Economic and Pastoral Service (MSPI), later shortened to the Melanesian Institute (MI).

The origins of this venture go back to the late 1960s (1968), when three RC sending societies – SVD, SM, and MSC – felt a need to better equip their foreign missionaries in PNG. It centred around greater appreciation of the native religion and culture, and was initially sponsored by the Association of Clerical Religious Superiors (ACRS), and later by the CBC. It was, therefore, natural that the first Orientation Course, held in November, 1969, was only for mission personnel, who were Roman Catholic, all male, and mainly clerical and religious, and not exceeding the ambit of the RC Bishops' Conference. In due time, the Melanesian Institute had its own publications, such as *Catalyst* and *Point*, and its proper facilities built at Goroka.

The Melanesian Institute saw a gradual opening up of the initiative, mainly because the same needs also existed across ecclesiastical boundaries. First, the CBC took over the venture; then the doors were opened for RC Sisters, then also for members of other denominations (both on the level of direction, funding, staff, and students), and eventually even for people of nearby countries. In other words, what was not ecumenical by purpose, became ecumenical in fact, and here the Anglican church was first represented, when, in 1978, Bishop Jeremy Ashton joined the governing body. Consequently, the Constitution was changed to make the Institute fully interdenominational. The founding members of the Institute were originally not evangelically minded, and leaned, rather, towards the mainline churches. However, as time went on, an observer of the Evangelical Alliance was invited to the Annual General Assembly, and, on another occasion, a couple of missionaries from the Churches of Christ attended one of the orientation courses.

The pastoral theological issues, which, for a time, were pushed back by the anthropological thrust of the Institute, came back later, for instance, with the projects of the RC Self-Study (1972), the Planning Survey of the Evangelical-Lutheran church (1976), the Seminar on Ministries in the Church, and the current studies of the Marriage and Family Life Project. In view of this development, Fr Ennio Mantovani, Director of the Institute, rightly noted how, within the group, the divisions, and the consensus, did not, necessarily, follow interdenominational lines. In consequence, the relativity of confessional distinctions became apparent, not on a theoretical, but on the experiential, level, so that theological pluriformity was experienced before it was being discussed theologically. In this way, too, the Melanesian Institute became a teaching ground of true ecumenism in PNG.

In short, we can say that various examples of church unity, such as the creation of the MCC, joint theological research, and common theological formation, are only a few of the instances where active cooperation was achieved. To these nationwide links, one can add, of course, many examples of practical cooperation on the local level. They range from Catholics giving hospitality to Anglicans in Bomana, or Alexishafen, for an annual retreat, or even, for a provincial synod, the joining of efforts by industrial chaplains, e.g., near the copper mine of Panguna, or, also, the reciprocity practised in catechetical instructions, especially between Anglicans and Catholics, whenever the minister of the other church was absent, or not available. All these incidents and groupings formed a web of links for practically uniting most Christians within PNG, and, also, for bringing together both “Rome” and “Canterbury”.

3. The Anglican/Roman Catholic Commission

While the Second Vatican Council made its impact on the church of Rome at large, and within the country, the MCC came about, and was even joined by the Roman Catholics. A further local initiative was started by Archbishop D. Hand. He made the

suggestion to the CBC, in July, 1970, to take the first concrete steps towards effective unity with the Anglicans. In doing so, the Archbishop repeated, on the national scene, what Archbishop Michael Ramsey and Pope Paul VI had done, on a bigger scale, when they earlier agreed to establish "The Anglican/Roman Catholic Permanent Joint Commission" (from 1970, known as ARCIC, and now as ARCIC I).

The PNG group of theologians was known as "The Joint Commission of the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches in PNG". The meeting operated from November, 1970, to March, 1974. It had, as its permanent secretary, the RC, Fr P. Murphy, who, afterwards, too, remained ecumenical officer, till his accidental death in December, 1978.

Phrased for the general public, the purpose of the Joint Commission was to overcome ignorance of each other's life and doctrine, or, to say it with the more official text:

> "to study theological matters, and to encourage a closer relationship between the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches in Papua New Guinea".[31]

There were, in all, 14 meetings, happening about every three months, spread out over three years, and bringing together three theologians of each church, and often, also, one consultant. Although the Anglican theologians were rather of the Catholicising tendency, the Anglo-Evangelical voice was also heard, albeit indirectly. On the request of the Moderator of the United church, the Revd Jack Sharp, the Revd Peter Wedde became a regular observer of the dialogue, although a move from the Commission, to change his status to that of a full-time member, was not followed through. Wedde contributed at least two published papers to the proceedings, and made many other interventions. To his voice, one can add a few Anglo-Evangelical documents, as the one emanating from Archbishop Loane, of Sydney, although it was observed, in the

Commission, that his diocese was unrepresentative of the theology of the Anglican Communion at large.

As said, above, there existed from the beginning, a link with ARCIC, often expressed in the perusal of existing study papers, or agreed statements, and heightened by correspondence with the Anglican secretary of ARCIC, the Revd Colin Davey, and by the visit of Archbishop Felix Arnott, of Brisbane, both Anglicans on ARCIC. Several Vatican documents were studied (e.g., the paper *Matrimonia mixta* of March, 1970), while the local Chargé d'Affaires, Mgr C. Faccani, also took an active interest in the various proceedings, and regularly informed the highest authorities in the Vatican of the progress made in PNG. In addition, there was substantial correspondence with people in Australia, the Pacific, Europe, and ARCIC, itself, so that many interested and authoritative persons abroad could follow the national religious dialogue.

Inside the country, publicity was one of the great concerns of the Commission. It enlisted the help of the Melanesian Institute (then preparing for the RC Self-Study of 1972), of the various RC Commissions for Ecumenism (e.g., in the dioceses of Mendi and Port Moresby), and also of the specialists from both denominations, engaged in catechetical training.

A consistent effort was made to ensure the cooperation of nationals, and, quite often, definite names were put forward. At one stage, it was even thought that there should be a parallel, local commission. In the end, it was recommended that the task of the Joint Commission should be taken over by a committee of indigenous people only.

There also were continuous efforts to fully inform, and to obtain the vital interests of, the PNG Bishops. Still, the 1972 questionnaire, addressed to all of them, received only five short answers, out of a total of about 20 copies distributed among the two hierarchies. One might think that this reflected the national

Archbishop David Hand.

situation, where the two churches were most unevenly distributed over the whole territory.

What, now, were the points the Joint Commission talked about? There is a list of over a dozen topics, which were discussed, but, practically, they can be reduced to the study of the four main sacraments: baptism, marriage, holy orders, and eucharist, to which one can add such a special case as the salvation offered through non-Christian religions.

At first, the Commission considered the various rites of baptism, with one RC paper on the degrees of incorporation into the church. The conclusion of this initial discussion was that each church should fully recognise the validity of the other church's baptism, as was actually also done.

The next discussion centred around the sacramentality of marriage, which, again, did not create any special problems. This cannot be said about the issue of mixed marriages. The latter were treated in reference to the Lambeth statements of 1948, the Roman

Motu Proprio of March, 1970, and the echoes this document had found in Germany and Switzerland. It was noted that "Rome", for the first time, had given any attention to the partners' consciences, but the team was still not happy with the insistence on "promises", required for a RC baptism, and a RC education of the children. Here, the Anglican theologians advocated a complete choice of action for the parents concerned. All agreed, however, that, for mixed marriages, "dual ceremonies" should not be allowed, but that only one determined sacramental rite was to be followed.

Much more time was devoted to the problems associated with the ministerial priesthood. This issue included the topic of ordination, and the validity of the Anglican orders, the exercise of ecclesiastical authority, especially by the bishops, and, finally, the office of the Pope. More than half the papers, prepared for the Commission, touched upon these particular matters (some of them only affecting H. Küng's 1964 book on Infallibility). Besides this, an irenic Anglican paper was worked out in reply to the RC opinions, while the Commission, as a whole, also prepared a two-column presentation of both positions (1972). In the latter, the Anglicans said, for instance:

> "We look on the Papacy as a Presidency . . . *in* and not *over* the church. . . . The Pope would preside as *primus inter pares* amongst the bishops, involving a personal concern . . . for the affairs of the whole church . . . to express the mind of the whole church . . . holding a primacy of love . . . implying honour and service . . . to be a personal sign of the visible unity of the church . . . and the guarantor of the church's pluriformity."[32]

The RC theologians did not accept that such a view was only based upon practical and empirical grounds. They said it was not merely given to the Pope by the church, meeting in a council, and not possessed by him according to the will of Christ, or not an essential element in his church. Still, they admitted that the Pope could make laws for the universal church, and they did not see any

great difficulty in having a centralised administration, as is now found in Rome.

It would appear that both groups often relied on their familiar "authorities", so that, on the Roman side, one detects the views on collegiality, found in Vatican II, or among RC theologians, while, on the Anglican side, one may see a reliance on what Lambeth 1968 had to say about authority in the church. It was also explained that, for an Anglican, it was possible to take a line similar to a RC line, but that it was equally possible, within the Anglican Communion, to adhere to other views of authority.

In general, one can maintain that the positions taken reflected the different nature of the two communions, one accustomed to greater uniformity, and the other used to more pluralism, or, also, one being a single worldwide organisation, and the other rather a family of individual Provinces, each one moving at its own pace, and having, among themselves, a more tenuous link of unity. In the PNG situation, the papacy, as such, did not seem to be an insurmountable difficulty, although people were not happy with the way in which this office was often exercised.

A last great topic of discussion, yielding nine position papers, was that of the eucharist, which was shown, in the words of Jean Tillard, to have an intrinsic link with the priestly ministry. The commissioners addressed the usual aspects of the real presence, the sacrifice of the Mass, the meaning of transubstantiation, and the different eucharistic rites in use.

Particular attention was given to the work done by ARCIC I, such as, the Windsor Statement of 1971, and the reactions it had called for from various theologians, including Archbishop Marcus Loane, of Sydney. In sum, the Commission welcomed the Windsor Statement for the advance it represented in the mutual understanding of the eucharist as a sacrament of unity. As regards "transubstantiation", it was made clear that the term was only ratified by the Council of Trent as a convenient designation of the

"wonderful exchange" taking place in the eucharist, and not as an explanation of this mystery. The Anglican group, on its side, pointed out that they did not wish to be tied down to any one explanation of Christ's presence in the eucharist. Belief in the Real Presence was sufficient.

Almost the last paper presented concerned the possibility of the Holy See reexamining the validity of Anglican Orders. The two RC authors of this statement took a rather cautious position, while, subsequently, the bishops on both sides came out for a further study of this sore point, with Archbishop Hand arguing for a regional sacramental intercommunion, instead of the passive sacramental "hospitality", which was upheld officially.

Several criticisms were made of this particular bilateral dialogue, even from among its own members. Here, it was said that the Commission lacked precise, proximate goals, and was becoming "an armchair exercise" of expatriate theologians – an opinion echoed in the definitive report of 1974, drawn up by the group's secretary. Maybe one can agree that the lack of nationals in the discussions was the most serious defect of the deliberations. However, the small number of indigenous theologians, and, also, the nature of Anglicans in PNG (where, in the cities, expatriates form about one-fourth of their adherents) somehow explained this shortcoming.

In hindsight, one can add that not all evidence existing at the time was taken into account. Thus, one can recall the stand taken by Bishop de Boismenu, for his whole circumscription, in 1936, regarding the validity of baptisms administered in certain other missions. Furthermore, one looks, also in vain, for the RC statement, issued against Fr Feeney (on the topic of incorporation in the church), or for the theological essays prepared by the "groupe des Dombes".[33]

Another criticism might zero in on the traditional points of litigation between the two churches. Although Papal infallibility, and the legitimacy of Anglican orders, were considered, no mention

was made of the marial dogmas, such as Mary’s assumption to heaven, her immaculate conception, and the ancient belief in her perpetual virginity.

Regarding the procedure followed, one can say that the study of baptism by the Commission, was probably the right one for the Commission to gear up for its further discussions, while it was never the intention to present a first and comprehensive study of whatever could be of mutual interest. It was also no real disadvantage that, say, the nationality of the commissioners played a part in what, and how, things were discussed, because it still reflected the church life as it really was lived in PNG.

4. The Appeal of Archbishop Ambo

While, during the 1970s, the RC and Anglican theologians held their conversations, and subsequently various interchurch bodies maintained the links between the two ecclesiastical bodies, one has to wait till 1986 before another important event took place, when Archbishop George Ambo was nearing the end of his term in office. Before that, however, in 1980, Archbishop Hand had called for a new round of discussions between the two churches, but the RC bishops replied to wait till some indigenous priests had returned from overseas studies, so that these could be the ones involved in the dialogue.[34] We will start, therefore, with the more recent initiative of Archbishop Ambo.

George Ambo was one of the two teacher-catechists, who had escaped from the Lamington disaster, because, just then, they happened to be absent from the Sangara mission. Later, Ambo was ordained to the priesthood (1958), and served for two years at Boianai. In 1960, he became the first local Bishop of the Papua Northern Region, with residence at Popondetta, while, in 1983, he succeeded Archbishop Hand as first indigenous Archbishop of the Anglican Province of PNG. He was known for his catholic sympathies, no doubt confirmed by his rich pastoral experiences.

Bishop G. Ambo, with his wife Marcela, Kuron, c1970.

He showed his ecumenical interests, especially since he headed the Anglican Province of PNG, and once visited Pope Paul VI, when on his way to the Lambeth Conference of 1968.

He came into the news in early 1986, when the Anglican Synod, meeting at Dogura, wholeheartedly approved the ARCIC I agreements on eucharist, ministry, and authority in the church. At the time, the Synod also passed a recommendation to seek closer union with the RC church. In the following year, when the Archbishop, and his ecumenical officer, Fr Michael Hunt, attended the annual meeting of the CBC, at Bomana, he made the formal request that new discussions be held with the church of Rome, but now on the level of the higher authorities.

Recent events in the Anglican Communion, and also on the national scene, had convinced Archbishop Ambo that the church needed a stable authority, a function, which could be best exercised by the papacy. He saw no objection to acknowledging the Pope's universal primacy, which involved a certain degree of jurisdiction, as well. Other reasons for his move were his concern about isolated and scattered Anglicans in the RC areas, and his worries about the

inroads made by small fundamentalist sects everywhere. He, finally, wanted to put his limited resources for education and health work to the best use, although he admitted to the fear that his smaller group of about five percent of the total population could be swallowed up by the much-bigger RC church.

The move did not mean that, now, the Province of PNG wanted to leave the Anglican Communion, but, rather, that Anglicans wanted to associate themselves more closely with "Rome", according to a pattern found already among Orthodox Christians, and ancient Oriental churches (in India) living in union with Rome. Consequently, his church could acknowledge the papal primacy, and still retain its own identity, e.g., in liturgy (sacraments and rites), and in church law (possibility of a married clergy, lay participation in the Synod, etc.). It was believed that the leeway allowed to an Anglican Province enabled the local church to go one step further than all other Anglican Provinces. It might even become a beacon for the rest of the world, so that, in due time, other Provinces, too, could follow the PNG example.

There was no secrecy about the 1987 initiative. Not only had successful theological discussions had already taken place (of which ARCIC had been informed), but the resolution passed at Dogura shared in the normal publicity given to all synodal decisions. This included that, now, the Anglican Consultative Council (ACC) had also been duly informed.

The address of the Archbishop to the CBC was practically the same as the Response formulated at the Anglican Synod a year earlier, although some national issues might have been added to it. Again, there might have been some reticence in passing on the information to the grassroots people. As a matter of fact, as wise pastors of their faithful, the bishops did not want to raise false expectations, especially, because the topic touched upon, fell in an area, where they knew that "Rome" progressed only cautiously.

The appeal did not immediately receive the warm approval of the RC bishops, maybe, not only because the CBC was made up of prelates from both PNG and the Solomon Islands, but also because the situation within the country was so different, with Anglican concentrations limited to only a few dioceses. There were also reactions pro and con in the national newspapers, and even some rumblings in the media overseas.

According to the *Post-Courier*, negative reactions were expressed by Bishop David Piso, of the Gutnius Lutheran church, and by Pastor Bert Godfrey, of the SDA church, to which one can add one issue of *The Protestant*, a leaflet produced by the Presbyterian Reformed church of PNG. The main worry here was that the existence of the papacy, was felt to be unscriptural. There also were some unfavourable words from the Pentecostal, or charismatic, side, including two articles printed in *Family*, the diocesan newsletter of the Anglican church. For the rest – as appeared from the defence made – the local reaction was rather positive.

An external event, however, complicated the issue, namely the consecration of the Revd Barbara Harris, who was made an Episcopalian Bishop in the United States (February, 1989). This raised, once again, the issue of the ordination of women, also discussed at the Lambeth Conference of 1989, but without achieving any unanimity. The discussions, then held, showed the privilege of the Anglican Provinces to move in their own direction. However, some newspapers in the United Kingdom (such as the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Spectator*) quickly predicted the end of the Anglican Communion, and interpreted the PNG rapprochement with the Roman Catholics as another crack in worldwide Anglican solidarity.

As a matter of fact, the two issues were not related, as Bishop Paul Richardson observed in the British *Church Times*. In addition, according to indigenous culture, the problem of ordaining women was hardly a local issue. Incidentally, it would not constitute a

Archbishop B. Meredith, at the consecration
of Bishop W. Siba, Popondetta, 1990.

theological difference, separating Roman Catholics and Anglicans in PNG.

The appeal of Archbishop Ambo did find several supporters in the CBC, so that an episcopal commission was set up, including Bishops Peter Kurongku, Albert Bundervoet, Desmond Moore, and Raymond Kalisz, Archbishops of Port Moresby and Rabaul, and the Bishops of Alotau and Wewak. To this group, Archbishop Michael Meier, of Mount Hagen, was later added. They held their first meeting in February, 1989, together with the parallel commission from the Anglicans, which included Archbishop George Ambo, and Bishops Isaac Gadebo, Bevan Meredith, and Paul Richardson, respectively, of Popondetta, Port Moresby, Rabaul, and Aipo-Rongo (Mount Hagen).

At this first encounter, various topics were aired (such as the possibility of a joint theological formation), and some difficulties were brought forward (such as the validity of the Anglican orders). Regarding the latter, it was observed that the climate had changed since the publication of the Apostolic Letter *Apostolicae curae*, of Pope Leo XIII (1894). Nowadays – Bishop Richardson pointed out – the emphasis had changed from apostolic succession to unity in faith, from defect of intention to community of belief, so that there were new hopes for an official recognition from Rome. Even so, some Anglican prelates were prepared to accept conditional reordination, if this would serve the cause of church unity.

The issue of the ordained ministry was felt, however, to be too big to be resolved by the PNG commission, mainly because it touched upon an area where "Rome" would decide the issue. Further on, the Commission saw the need to operate through a smaller consultation committee, made up of six people only: two bishops and a theologian from each side, delegated to coordinate studies, and to examine practical schemes of cooperation, and other possibilities for unity at the national level. It was asked to invite, for the next encounter, some experts from what, since 1989, was known as the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity, while a letter was also considered, to ask guidance from Rome to lead the future deliberations.

The second meeting was held five months later, and was much bigger. In addition to the regular members, there were two RC consultants, Mgr Kevin McDonald, Roman representative for Anglican matters, and Bishop Basil Meeking, who, before being appointed to Christchurch, had worked some 20 years for the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity. There were also two Archbishop observers from the Solomon Islands, the Anglican, Amos Stanley Waiaru, and the RC, Adrian Smith. Mgr McDonald clarified the value of various reports and statements, which could be construed as representing the official Roman answer to ARCIC I. Furthermore, he told the group that all existing schemes of union (e.g., from South India), were *ad hoc* solutions, while the existing

Roman pronouncements were intended for Roman Catholics only. In the PNG case, however, the two churches were at one in their approach to "Rome", while RC headquarters were ready to deal with the local situation separately.

The main proposal from the second meeting was to work out a joint statement of faith, to be tested against the Council for Unity, and aimed at stimulating a reaction, leading to a reexamination of all implications. "The onus is on PNG" – Mgr McDonald said – "to move forward, since Rome cannot be expected to have the local knowledge, enabling it to indicate the way forward." The Roman expert also said that, if there was official agreement on the ministry and the eucharist (as implied by ARCIC I), there would be a new context for seeing the Anglican orders in the light of living faith, and, thus, a reason to reassess them.[35]

From various sides at the meeting, including Archbishop Bundervoet, and Bishops Gadebo and Meeking, it was stressed that the Commission's ideas should first be tried out in their own restricted group, and bring them to the clergy, and the people, only afterwards. One of the consultants added that, not only theological, but also practical and historical considerations had to be respected, and that no steps could be made locally, apart from the rest of the church. In general, the two consultants were impressed, and happily surprised, by the degree of unanimity and realism shown at the meeting.

In the end, the Commission decided to call for an expert from the Anglican Consultative Council (ACC) to sound out his reactions, while meanwhile, work should be done on a confession of faith, agreeable to the two sides, a task given to Archbishop Bundervoet, and to Bishop Richardson. The July meeting was also used to finalise a common pastoral letter of all the bishops present, to be issued on occasion of the publication of the Tok Pisin Bible, later in the year. There would be two editions of the Bible, one, without the apocrypha or deuterocanonicals, and one, according to the expressed wishes of the Roman Catholics and the Anglicans. The second

edition would include the seven disputed books of the Old Testament (as had also been the case with the original King James Version of 1604). The circular was a proper sign of a common belief, expressed in the face of many small evangelical groups, who totally rejected the "apocrypha".

The third general meeting of the Commission was held in October, 1989, with, as visitor, the Revd Donald Anderson, the associate secretary for ecumenical affairs of the ACC. Immediately before the meeting, Archbishop Bundervoet had prepared an 11-page, closely-typed statement of faith, while Bishop Richardson had produced a three-page declaration of belief, and Bishop Moore added a two-page historical note, to serve as a provisional introduction. All this work had been discussed at a meeting of the subcommittee, held at Goroka, some time in March, 1989. Since then, the Archbishop of Rabaul had died, and the chair had been taken by Bishop Richardson.

It is interesting to note, at this point, that Archbishop Bundervoet, whose Marian devotion is beyond any questioning, did not touch upon this topic at all. This might just have been an oversight, or following from the fact that the paper closely followed ARCIC I. On the other hand, the Anglican paper recalls the point that, in their communion, "the Mother of Our Lord is invoked in such devotions as the 'Hail Mary' ". This detail would surely indicate that, in PNG, mariology is not sensed to be a point of divisions.

Dr Anderson, in his address to the third meeting, approved of the "fast-lane strategy", embarked upon by PNG, and found some parallel instances with union schemes between Anglicans and other churches in New Zealand, Malaysia, and Tanganyika. He also encouraged what was happening on the level of Anglican-Roman Catholic relations in PNG. On the other hand, Bishop Richardson quoted similar remarks from Bishop Mark Santer, of the ARCIC II team, while he did not fear to change relationships with other

Anglican Provinces, as long as the local church kept in touch with the rest of the Anglican Communion.

As to the next move, the prepared documents were be sent to Rome, from where further advice would be expected. Thus, Mgr McDonald's letter of August 20, 1990, arrived, recommending that PNG Anglicans should require from the Commission the exact type of unity they desired. This is, then, as far as the dialogue on episcopal level has now progressed.

There have since been no further meetings of the whole Commission, although unilateral gatherings have been held by the Catholic bishops, e.g., in Goroka, and at their annual general meeting (where they are briefed by Bishop Richardson). The Anglican bishops, on their turn, met at various provincial synods, and also, more informally, at the centenary visit of Archbishop George Carey, of Lambeth, in August, 1991. Hence, the work is still progressing on the draft reply to the Vatican authorities.

While the authorities were gearing up for a new round of talks, other conversations happened on the local level. One occurred in August, 1989, when Archbishop Bundervoet visited the far end of New Britain, and had three sessions of talks with a dozen RC and Anglican clergy, in Kilenge. For the occasion, he used the well-known *ARCIC Catechism* of E. Yarnold and H. Chadwick, which addresses the traditional disagreements between Rome and Canterbury: eucharist, ministry, and authority. As stated in the minutes (in the section about ministry), one can repeat that there seemed to be no deep divisions of opinion, but rather an obvious wish to proceed along the lines of ARCIC.

Something along the same lines went on for months in Port Moresby, under the guidance of the RC parish priest in Boroko, and his Anglican counterpart at St John's, in Port Moresby. Here, too, the *ARCIC Catechism* was the guiding text, while a special newsletter was about to appear, when, by mere coincidence, the two movers of the conversations were transferred to other localities. To

these encounters one can also add discussions about the so-called "Lima Document" on baptism, eucharist, and ministry, issued by the World Council of Churches (1982), which was discussed at length, e.g., by the Eastern Highlands Churches' Council at Goroka, some time in the mid-1960s. Here, too, Anglicans and Roman Catholics took an active part in the proceedings.

On a more-individual level, contacts became more frequent all the time. In Port Moresby, for instance, Anglican clergy join the Roman Catholics in their monthly gatherings in one of the town's parishes. Personal invitations to ordinations and installations, or, also, to synods and Bishops' Conferences are not unusual. Occasionally, even a RC priest preaches the annual retreat of his Anglican confreres, or both groups share pulpits, while the use of the same church buildings is not infrequent. There is at least one case where Catholics have contributed to the rebuilding of an Anglican parish centre.

Seen individually, one is surprised to see so many initiatives happen, or also come and go, and are being influenced by the presence, or absence, of certain particular personalities. Yet, viewed over a longer period of time, one cannot but admit that, under the surface, something is boiling, finding, every so often, a way to express itself.

The Revd Rufus Pech has drawn attention to the fact that, in Melanesia, the myth of the two estranged brothers has always been of pervasive importance. Maybe, this is, then, the reason why, time and again, unity across ecclesiastical borders becomes, here, more important than whatever kind of confessional distinctions have been erected, based upon past European history, and separating the sister-churches of "Rome" and "Canterbury".

Conclusion

The last segment of the history of Romans and Anglicans in PNG is most interesting, because it has occurred within living history, and because it shows a new rapprochement, when ecumenical initiatives, elsewhere in the world, rather tend to slow down. Let us sum up the main lessons of this recent period.

The most important event of this era is the call of Pope John XXIII for a universal Council, where many old standing practices and attitudes were updated to match modern times. There was a greater appreciation for the earthly realities, for the value of non-Christian religions, and – in the RC church – there occurred a new awareness that exaggerations and mistakes had been made in the past.

Together with this appreciation for non-Christians, there also grew a much more positive attitude towards non-Catholics, and particularly toward the Anglican Communion. The repercussions almost caused a crisis in the mission fields, where a further expansion was stalled, but, at the same time, many schemes of inter-church collaboration took place. In PNG, most schemes were undertaken, in line with the convictions held by the World Council of Churches, and not those of the Evangelical Alliance, although Melanesia is special, in keeping its door open for some less-liberal churches, and ecclesiastical communities as well.

The amicable relationships with the Anglican Communion grew very much, in this time, so that both theologians and church authorities came together for discussions and dialogue. In fact, a chance for real unity became possible, and grassroots encounters did happen occasionally.

Especially since the appeal by Archbishop Ambo, concrete steps have been multiplied, including the fact that ecumenical experts from both Rome and Canterbury have visited the country,

and watched the progress made. It is now time to formalise, and bring to a good end, the communion started in these ways.

EPILOGUE

In our essay, we have not addressed the reasons why Romans and Anglicans ever separated in the 16th century, mainly because this is an imported issue, of little interest to people living in PNG. This is especially so, now that many countries of the Commonwealth have no living relationship with British history, and have become independent states. Let us simply say that the English Reformation was a mixture of "theological conviction and political advantage", and that, at one stage, Roman Catholics used to stress the former, and nowadays have more attention for the latter. What remains, then, of the religious differences?

Especially since the Second Vatican Council, many theoretical and practical changes have occurred in Roman Catholicism, which were the avowed aim of the one-time Archbishop of Canterbury, who introduced *The Book of Common Prayer*. Since these changes are already part and parcel of RC daily living, it is good to remember them at present.

Thomas Cranmer fought for a simplified, understandable, vernacular liturgy, instead of an elaborate, silent, and Latin ritual. He, too, promoted the reception of holy communion under both species, and wanted the eucharist to become a community celebration, thus superseding the older practice of Holy Mass, as a private devotion of priests, turned away from the people, or being without a community. His plea for more scriptural readings has also been heard, so that quite a few other churches have adopted the new Roman lectionary, with its much-greater scriptural content than before. To this, one can also add Cranmer's plea for more-frequent sermons, or homilies. Furthermore, there is his opposition to, what he called, the RC cult of images, which has had its effect, for instance, on church architecture of the last decennia. And, finally, there is his opposition against enforced celibacy for the clergy, which the Latin church of the West has actually not abolished, but

for which it is beginning to allow some exceptions (as there have always been, e.g., in the Eastern tradition). Even this point shares in the flexibility, which characterises much of post-Vatican II church life. One tends to agree here with the Anglican Evangelical theologian, who said about the Reformation: "It has done its work."[36]

It might be clear that the 16th-century reasons no longer hold water. Again, we do not live anymore at the beginning of mission history, nor at the time of Archbishop de Boismenu. Instead, we might now look back at the long road to unity, travelled by Romans and Anglicans in PNG. The guiding posts for this exercise are the words of Cardinal Basil Hume, when he wrote about *The Experience of Ecumenism* (1989), and distinguished five stages of interchurch relationships: confrontation, coexistence, cooperation, commitment, and communion. This applies to PNG as well.

Between Romans and Anglicans, there has never been a state of confrontation, or competition, although one cannot ignore a few individual cases, where one missionary refused to shake hands with the "opposition", or his whole group believed that there was, at most, doubtful salvation possible outside its own church. In fact, nationalistic prejudices sometimes won the day over doctrinal differences, which remained minimal.

The basic quality of relationships was that of coexistence, also fostered by the geographical distance between the different areas, in which the two sister churches operated. If there was any separation of loyalties, this occurred between "evangelicals" and "Catholics", thus drawing together both Romans and Anglicans. Famous here is the word of Archbishop de Boismenu, who once said about the Church of England : "They are all right."

Cooperation has existed in the country as long as feasible, often also encouraged by the government. There might not be many local schemes of union in PNG, but the country is rather special, in having so many organisational links, of which, some were listed

above, while others (such as Lifeline, the Police Chaplaincy Board, the Bible Society of PNG), and the Summer Institute of Linguistics are rarely mentioned. On this level, the impulses of Rome – especially of the Second Vatican Council, and of the 1983 Code of Canon Law – cannot possibly be ignored.

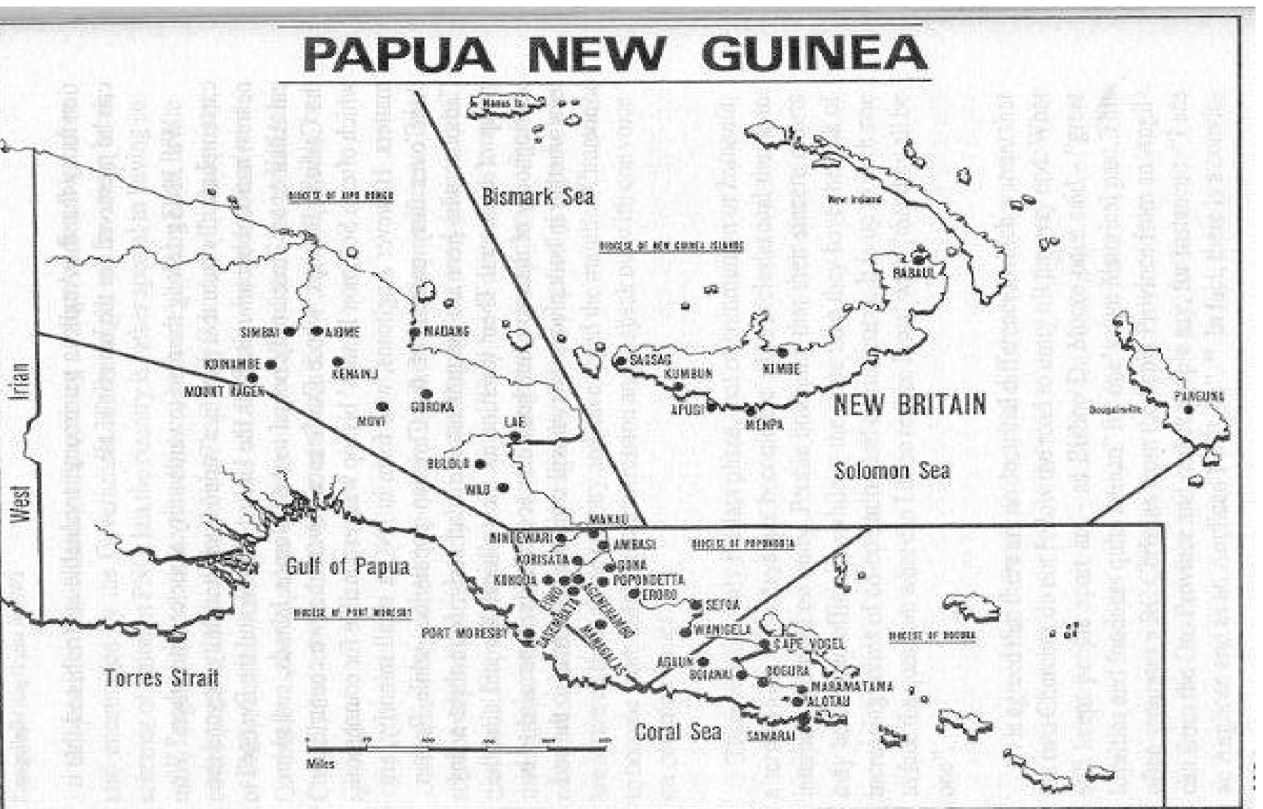
The next step, where we now are, is rather that of commitment. This relationship was particularly manifested through the many initiatives of Archbishops D. Hand and G. Ambo. They led to discussions among theologians, among bishops, and among the ordinary people. Such a move was indirectly also encouraged by the many revival groups, which are active all through the country, and have urged the mainline churches to become more faithful to their mission, and to speak out with one voice on common issues.

There remains only the last phase, that of communion, or *koinonia*, a term, which, these days, has become the great ecclesiastical theme in international talks on unity. People now pray that their sincere efforts may be blessed officially, while, at the same time, they have the task of increasing forms of cooperation and commitment. It is up to each one to face the question: what can I do to realise Jesus' wish "that they all be one".

It is agreed that there are no doctrinal differences, which warrant that the two churches do not follow the road to unity till the very end. What still keeps people apart are – as Bishop D. Moore once said – "great loyalties, and fondness quite human" for one's own historical past. This often separates a RC Christian from the Sepik Province from an Anglican from the Oro Province, and makes people say, for instance, "I am an Anglican, and as an Anglican, I will die".[37] In fact, there is a conviction today that the Anglican patrimony is valuable and rich, and that it can be preserved for the benefit of all.

Will PNG go along the road towards unity alone, or with others? We can emphatically state that there is a varied interest in unity, beyond the nearest national boundaries. Both the United

church and the Evangelical Alliance are structurally bound to the Solomon Islands, and so are the Catholic Bishops, whose Conference covers the two countries, in which, often, a Solomon Islands' bishop was responsible for ecumenical matters. However, Anglicans, who form, in PNG, a small minority, are, there, over 40 percent of the Christian population, while Roman Catholics, who here are the greatest Christian body, form, there, a tiny group of believers. Their insertion in the political life, and also the physiognomy of the two churches, differ accordingly. It remains to be seen whether, in both places, the two will walk the same road to the end, or not.


PAPUA NEW GUINEA
Bismark Sea
NEW BRITAIN
Solomon Sea
Coral Sea
Gulf of Papua
Torres Strait
West
Irian
New Ireland
RABAUL
SASSAG
KUMBUN
KIMBE
APUGI
MENPA
PANGUNA
SIMBAI
AIOME
MADANG
KOINAMBE
KENAINJ
MOUNT HAGEN
GOROKA
MOVI
LAE
BULOLO
WAU
MANKU
AMBASI
KORISATA
GONA
KOKODA
POPONDETTA
ERORO
SEFOA
WANIGELA
CAPE VOGEL
AGAUN
DOGURA
MAMAMATANA
ALOTAU
SAMARAI
PORT MORESBY
Miles

ABBREVIATIONS

ACC Anglican Consultative Council
ARCIC Anglican-Roman Catholic International Dialogue
CBC Catholic Bishops' Conference
LMS London Missionary Society
MCC Melanesian Council of Churches
MSC Missionaries of the Sacred Heart
PCC Pacific Conference of Churches
PNG Papua New Guinea
RC Roman Catholic
SDA Seventh-day Adventist
SM Society of Mary (Maiist Fathers)
SVD Society of the Divine Word

NOTES

1. Cf. W. E. Bromilow, in J. W. Colwell, ed., *A Century in the Pacific*, 1914, 540.
2. Cf. W. MacGregor, in his diary, according to D. Wetherell, *Reluctant Mission*, 1977, 75; see also A. Dupeyrat, *Papouasie*, 1935, 257 footnote.
3. A. de Boismenu, in *Proceedings* . . ., 1905, 275.
4. Pius X, Audience of 22-11-1911, quoted in G. Delbos, *The Mustard Seed*, 1985, 169.
5. H. Verjus, quoted by D. Wetherell, *Reluctant Mission*, 1977, 75.
6. A. Maclaren, in F. M. Synge, *Albert Maclaren*, 1908, 70.
7. C. King, quoted by G. White, *A Pioneer of Papua*, 1929, 64.
8. A. de Boismenu, Letter to his sisters, 4-9-1913, quoted by G. Delbos, *The Mustard Seed*, 1985, 169.
9. Quotation of H. Nollen MSC to H. Newton, c1921, by courtesy of D. Wetherell, Geelong (Australia).
10. Quotation of A. de Boismenu, Letter to LMS, 18-12-1936, by courtesy of J. Garrett, Suva (Fiji).

11. H. Short, Draft reply (?) to A. de Boismenu, quoted by courtesy of J. Garrett.
12. Ph. Strong, *Out of Great Tribulation*, 1947, 57.
12a. Personal interview with Fr Norbert Birkmann MSC, Mai, 8-7-1991.
13. H. Newton, *Report to the Secretary of the Church Assembly Missionary Council*, June, 1936, kept at Lambeth Palace Archives, London.
14. Cf. J. A. Carpenter/W. R. Schenk, eds., *Earthen Vessels*, Grand Rapids MI: William B. , 1990, xii.
15. Official translation from: *The Catholic Mind* 48, 1950, 379-384, quoted 380-381.
15a. Rome's position was no doubt known in the mission via such magazines as *L'Ami du Clerge* (62, 1952, 741) and *Ecclesia* (4-11-1952), not to mention Henry M. Robinson's well-read novel *The Cardinal*, London UK: Macdonald, 1951, p. 88-89.
16. Quoted by A. Fournier, in *Annales* (Issoudun), 1966, 160-161.
17. Quotation of Ph. Strong, in D. Tomkins/B. Hughes, *The Road from Gona*, 1969, 27.
18. Personal interview with Fr John Dempsey MSC, Rome, 21-8-1990; a simpler story, based on the memories of RC nuns, is given by Bishop Leo Scharmach, *This Crowd Beats Us All*, 1960, 52-53.
19. Quoted by L. A. Cupit, *Ecumenical Relationships in Papua New Guinea* (M.Th. thesis), Melbourne, 1976, 107 (with permission).
20. Personal interview with Archbishop David Hand, Port Moresby, 4-6-1990; see also: *The Times of PNG*, 7-1-1989.
21. Quotation of Ph. Strong, by courtesy of Mrs. C. Luxton, London.
22. D. Hand, quoted by I. Hicks, "Trail-beating prelate would do it again", in *Post-Courier*, May 29, 1972.
23. Quoted by B. and M. Pamley, *Rome and Canterbury*, 1974, 349.
24. Cf. Vatican II, *Lumen Gentium*, n. 15, quoted after W. M. Abbott.
25. Ibidem n. 10 (Abbott, p.27).

26. Ibidem n. 10 (Abbott, p.29).
27. Vaticanum II, *Unitatis redintegratio* (Abbott, p.346).
28. Ibidem n. 13 (Abbott, p. 356).
29. Ibidem (Abbott, p. 354). Attention to this phrase was drawn by Archbishop G. Carey, in his address during the ecumenical service at Mount Hagen on 8-8-1991, printed in *The Times of PNG*, 22-8-1991.
30. Quoted by L. A. Cupit (see note 19), p. 160 (with permission).
31. Cf. P. Murphy, ed., *Report* . . ., 1970-1973, 1.
32. Ibidem, (18-20).
33. This group of Swiss and French theologians, of various persuasions, named after the abbey, in which they usually met (since 1937), discussed, in September, 1971, the possibility of a common eucharistic faith.
34. Cf. C. Renali, *The Roman Catholic Church's Participation in the Ecumenical Movement in Papua New Guinea*, Rome, 1991, 102.
35. See, now, the ARC/USA Statement on Anglican Orders of May 8, 1990, quoted in *One in Christ* 25, 1990/1993, 256-279. Cardinal Willebrands' letter is found, ibidem 21, 1986/2, 199-204.
36. Cf. J. de Sargé, *Christ and the Human Prospect*, 1978, 88.
37. Cf. the words of the Resident Magistrate to A. Musgrave, quoted in C. A. W. Monckton, *Some Experiences of a New Guinea Resident Magistrate: First Series*, Harmondsworth UK: Penguin, 1936, p. 213.

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APPENDIX

The Reconciliation of Memories

On December 1, 1981, the Roman Catholic community in England celebrated the fourth centenary of the martyrdom of the Jesuit, Edmund Campion. Of the Elizabethan and Stuart martyrs, he is probably the best known outside the Catholic community. But, in the community at large, the names of the earlier martyrs, John Fisher and Thomas Moore, are much better known, as are the Protestant martyrs, Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley. The difference is significant. Fisher and Moore died in the reign of Henry VIII. They were central figures in a Christian commonwealth, which was not yet fragmented. They are remembered as public figures, who belong to all England: Fisher, among other things, as Chancellor and great benefactor of the University of Cambridge, and Moore as Lord Chancellor of England. Forty-five years later, when Campion returned to England as a Jesuit missionary, he did so as a man, who had deliberately rejected the Church of England, to serve the cause of a persecuted minority. That is, the community, which has continued to remember him. To put the point differently: Anglicans do not naturally think of Fisher and Moore as “Roman Catholics”. They do think of Campion, if they think about him at all, as a “Roman Catholic”. He figures in the history of the Anglican community, only as an outsider.

Most informed Anglicans are, indeed, scarcely aware of the Roman Catholic martyrs, who died in England between 1570 and 1680. If Campion’s name is known, that is, chiefly, because of the biography written by Evelyn Waugh. Yet, any Anglican, who comes into close contact with English Catholicism, will soon discover the vital importance to that community of the tradition of the martyrs. He will find a community, which keeps the memory of those martyrs alive by liturgical observance, and for whom it is as natural to ascribe the cause of their deaths to the Church of England,

as it was natural for a medieval Christian to ascribe the cause of the death of Jesus Christ to the Jews.

This, I can illustrate, from recent experience. A few months ago, I was invited to lunch by one of the local Roman Catholic clergy – an extremely open, friendly, and ecumenically-minded man. Also present was a young seminarian. I asked the seminarian why he wasn't in his seminary. He replied that they had a free day, for the feast of the Douai Martyrs. "Who are they?", I asked. "Some of the ones you killed", replied the parish priest.

There can be no institution, to whose self-understanding, these traditions are more important than the Venerable English College in Rome, founded, in 1579, by Pope Gregory XIII, for the training of priests for the English mission. The first name in its register of students is that of Ralph Sherwin, who was to be executed at Tyburn, together with Edmund Campion, and who, with Campion, is now canonised as one of his church's martyrs. I mention him, because, until I spent two months as a visiting member of the College, in 1979, I had never so much as heard of the generous-hearted Sherwin; yet he was the most illustrious of the "old boys" of a foremost institution of English Roman Catholicism. He was not part of my history. Only when I had been welcomed as a member of a community, of whose history his memory was a constitutive part, did he become, in a sense, part of my history.

The point of these anecdotes is to bring out the connection between our self-identification, as members of particular communities, and the stories we tell about the past. It is by the things we remember, and the way we remember them, and by the things we fail to remember, that we identify ourselves as belonging to this or that group. What we remember, or do not remember, moulds our reactions and our behaviour towards others, at a level, deeper than that of conscious reflection. This is as true of the history of families as of larger communities. It is astonishing to discover what different memories adults, who are brothers or sisters, will have of their common childhood. An incident, at which both

were present, will be scarred on the memory of one, and completely forgotten by the other. Thirty or 40 years later a child will still be hurt by some action, to which its parents gave no further thought. The experience of neglect is particularly poignant, precisely because it cannot be deliberately intended. Marriages are, likewise, littered with memories, exploding like landmines, under the feet of the ignorant, or the careless.

It is, of course, notorious that warring communities have their different stories of history, which they share, and which, yet, divides them. In the British Isles, one, naturally, thinks of the Protestants and Catholics of Ulster. In itself, it is quite natural and proper that the various groups and societies we belong to should be characterised by particular myths and stories, which, like modes of dress and speech, help to form our sense of identity. Sin comes in when difference is turned into division, and when our different stories, with their distinctive emphases, distortions and omissions, are put to use for the maintenance of grievance, for self-justification, and for keeping other people in the wrong. Myths sustain institutions, and institutions (such as separate schooling) sustain the myths. Sin borders on blasphemy, when Christians justify their fear, loathing, and persecution of each other in the name of the Christ, of whom we read in the gospel, that He died to gather into one the scattered children of God. It is characteristic of such divisions that we more readily remember the hurts we have received than the hurts we have inflicted; that we hold the children responsible for the sins of their fathers; and that we should be seriously put out if the "others" were actually to repent of the sins we hold against them. All of this can be illustrated from the history of the English churches, and not only from relations between Anglicans and Roman Catholics. It is sobering, and, sometimes, quite a shock, for an Anglican to discover that Methodists and Roman Catholics react in the same way to the unconscious superiorities, which go with "the establishment". Anglicans think of John Bunyan as a great Christian writer; Free churchmen think of him as a preacher, persecuted by the Church of England. In the same way, part of the offence of Anglicans, as perceived by Roman Catholics, is that they are simply

unaware of the Catholic martyrs. The same thing could, undoubtedly, be said about Roman Catholics, in countries like Bohemia or Italy, where they have held political and social power, at the expense of other Christians. It is also true that, however much we may say we want unity, most of us become alarmed when practical steps are ever proposed. This is because moving the boundaries makes us insecure.

Christians are kept apart, much more, by these social facts than by their ostensible theological, or religious, differences. To say this, is not to deny, or to underestimate, the importance of theological arguments, nor is it to deny the centrality of the search for truth in the quest for unity in Christ. But schism occurs, not when Christians disagree, but when their disagreements take institutional form. Then, because they have a bad conscience about disunity, they tell bad stories about each other, to justify their own positions. Theological arguments take their place in these stories, primarily as justification for the status quo. Division, once institutionalised, perpetuates disputes, which, within one communion, would never be seen as sufficient cause for the breaking of Christian fellowship. No "theological" agreements between churches will be sufficient for the restoration of communion, unless they form part of a much more profound social reconciliation, in which we can learn no longer to see each other as strangers, but, rather, to trust one another as friends.

This means, among other things, that we must learn to tell new stories about ourselves, and about one another. In other words, we need to reeducate our memories. We need to look at the past afresh.

Many Christians suppose that, to attend to the past, in such a way, is, at best, an irrelevance, and, at worst, will serve only to keep us enmeshed quarrels and memories we could better leave behind. It is, indeed, true that the present and the future are of more consequence than the past. It is also true, that talk about the past can provide yet more excuses for failing to serve Christ together in the

present. It is also true that the actual business of working and living together acts like nothing else in opening up a gap between inherited story and experienced reality. Nevertheless, those who have actually engaged in close cooperation, or community life, across denominational boundaries, very soon discover that they cannot escape the past; or, rather, they find that they cannot escape it until they have faced it. Just at the point, when one party thinks that there can be no objections to a proposed course of action, it will find that it raises all sorts of spectres for the other. Differing attitudes to habits of devotion, to the exercise of authority, or to the relationship between the Christian community and the world at large, reveal unquestioned assumptions, both in ourselves, and in each other, of whose existence we were scarcely aware. It is when we get close to each other that we begin to discover how deeply rooted are the prejudices and fantasies, through which we see one another. Sooner or later, the past has to be faced. We must find out how far our prejudices conform to the facts, and what the same events look like to those, who are heirs to another story. We must find out why we remember some things, and others remember others. Only in this way, can we get free of our fantasies.

This is, above all, a spiritual exercise. It is also an intellectual exercise; but it is primarily an exercise in self-examination. It is a law of the spiritual life that there is a direct proportion between the accuracy of our perception of others and the accuracy of our self-perception. To achieve a properly-detached and dispassionate view of the fears and fantasies of others, we must acquire a proper detachment towards our own anxieties and needs. This is as true of a community, as it is of an individual.

A classical model for growth in self-knowledge, and detachment, is furnished by St Ignatius Loyola, in his well-known directions for the examination of conscience. This takes the form of a five-finger exercise, comprising the following points:

(i) thanksgiving for the favours we have received;

(ii) prayer for grace to know our sins, and to be rid of them;

(iii) the examination, or review, hour by hour, of the period in question;

(iv) prayer for forgiveness;

(v) resolution to amend, with the grace of God, concluding with the Lord's Prayer.

Four characteristics of this method are of particular significance to Christians, who are concerned, as we are, to make of their past a source, not of division, but of reconciliation.

1. The process begins and ends with attention to God. It begins with thanksgiving and praise; it continues with prayer for the light of the Holy Spirit; it concludes with the Lord's Prayer, with the petition that, in all things, God's will may be done, and with the prayer for grace to do it. To centre everything on God, to enclose everything in attention to Him, is to put everything that is not God in its proper place. The God, who thus enfolds us, is the God of us all.

2. It is of great importance that St Ignatius directs us to begin with thanksgiving for the favours we have received, just as St John Chrysostom ended his life with the words, "Glory to God for all things." In the context of our search for unity, we do well to thank God first, for the gifts we share with all Christians: the knowledge of God in Christ, the gift of the Holy Spirit, our common baptism, our mission in the world, the holy scriptures, the example and prayers of holy men and women, and the hope of God's kingdom. These gifts, shared in common, are infinitely more important than the things which divide us.

As well as these gifts and promises, which we share with all Christians, there are the particular gifts, which God has given us in England, which are also a common inheritance. There are the churches, great and small, which fill our land, still cared for, with love and devotion, a visible remembrance of a time, when our communion was unbroken. We have a common tradition of Christian literature and devotion. Not only do we share the treasures of a common past, *The Dream of the Road*, Julian of Norwich, *The Cloud of Unknowing*, the miracle plays, and carols of medieval England. A glance at any modern hymnbook, or book of prayers, will show how much we also draw on the gifts, which God has given us in our separation: the poems of Donne, Southwell, and Herbert, the hymns of Newman – "Lead, kindly light", which he wrote as an Anglican, and "Praise to the Holiest in the height", which he wrote as a Roman Catholic – and the poems of T. S. Eliot. We do not only share the treasures of the past. In our own day, theology and spirituality are increasingly seen as a common enterprise. We use each other's retreat houses, and conference centres. We take advice and direction from each other's spiritual guides. We read each other's books – so that I was astonished to see how many copies of Bishop Michael Ramsey's addresses on *The Christian Priest Today* were to be found on students' bookshelves in the Venerable English College.

We may thank God, too, for the particular gifts He has given to others, and which, by His mercy, we may enjoy: John Bunyan (who placed both Giant Prelate and Giant Pope among his ogres), Richard Baxter, Isaac Watts, Charles Wesley, P. T. Forsyth, C. H. Dodd. Where God raises up His saints and teachers, none of us can say that there is "no church".

This brings us to another important matter of thanksgiving. We must thank God for the diversity of His creation, and for the otherness of other people. We should thank Him, not only for bringing us to where we are, but also for bringing others to where they are. Though we find one another baffling, and, at times, quite incomprehensible, that is because of the limits of our own understanding and sympathy. It is human sin, which turns diversity into division, and which perpetuates, and multiplies, division, by giving it institutional form, so that the sins of the fathers are visited on the children, and we go on sinning against each other. Nevertheless, despite what we do with it, our otherness remains a fundamental gift from God, and so, a matter for thanksgiving. We are to enjoy what God has put into the world, and into the church, even if sin has marred it. God's creative hand does not give up when sin comes on the scene. He makes something new, for which we are also to praise Him. This matter of thanking God for our differences, even when we do not understand them, of accepting the fact that God's work in us is not yet complete, and of trusting Him to bring it to perfection in his Kingdom – this is central to our ecumenical work.

3. After thanksgiving, comes prayer for the illumination of the Holy Spirit. The point of this is that we should put ourselves into the hands of God before we turn to the examination of ourselves, and of our past. In other words, we are not going to tell Him what we have done; we are asking Him to show it to us. If we tell our story, or our forefathers' story, it will be full of self-justification, and self-pity. It will be a story told against someone. St Paul's principle is crucial: we are to refrain from judgment, both of ourselves, and of others. We ask for the light of God's true and merciful judgment. So, we ask for the light of the Spirit, that we

may see all things in Him – in both constructions of that phrase – we want to see all things by His light, as being ourselves enfolded in Him; and we want to see all things, as they are enfolded in Him. Thus, as we pray for light and understanding, we pray for the action of God upon us. We put ourselves into His hands.

4. It is only at this point that we turn to self-examination, or to the examination of our memories. By asking God to call the past to mind, we open ourselves to noticing facts and events, of which we were scarcely, if at all, aware; we open ourselves to the recollection of experiences so painful that we had suppressed all memory of them; we open ourselves to the consciousness of the hurts, which we, or our fathers, have inflicted on others; we open ourselves to the rearrangement, and reinterpretation, of the past.

When the individual examines his life, he tries to recollect, and observe, his thoughts, and words, and deeds, as dispassionately as he can; he abstains from rewriting the story, either for praise or blame, leaving judgment to God. This leaves space for a proper gentleness and compassion, both towards oneself, and towards others. The same principle applies to our examination of our communal past. To examine the past, not in order to justify or to blame, but in order simply to understand, brings with it a gentleness, and a compassion, towards our embattled ancestors. Protestants begin to appreciate the Catholic martyrs, and Catholics the Protestants. We begin to perceive the deep ambiguities of the situation, in which all found themselves. We see that there were few really bad men, but that there were many confused and frightened men, whose vision was conditioned by their own memories and fears.

> One of the most hopeful aspects of the ecumenical scene in England is that, at last, we are beginning to get free of apologetic history. It still hangs around, to be sure, particularly in regard to the 16th century. But historians are helping us to see the whole terrible tragedy with a greater measure of objectivity and compassion. They are helping us to see what our fathers did to each other (and to others, such as Free churchmen), what we, following in their footsteps, have continued to do to each other, and also how we have come to do it. This can only do good. Why? Because it helps us to face our memories, our fears, our resentments, and our hurts, and to face them together. There are three steps here:
>
> (i) we see more clearly and dispassionately what our fathers did;
>
> (ii) we take responsibility for their deeds, acknowledging that we are, indeed, their children;
>
> (iii) we face the past together with those from whom we were estranged, asking each other for forgiveness.

As we do this, we learn to see that those who suffered and died, though deeply estranged from each other in this life, died for the one faith. That the Church of England, in its revised calendar, should include both Thomas Moore and Thomas Cranmer as martyrs, is a sign of hope in the God who has reconciled us all to Himself by the cross. So, too, is the fact that, when Pope Paul VI canonised the Catholic martyrs of Uganda, he also remembered the Anglican martyrs, who had died for the same Jesus Christ.

For Christians, remembrance is an inescapable category. At the heart of our religion is obedience to the Lord's command: "Do this in remembrance of Me." He did not tell us to forget the past, as

containing memories too painful to be borne; He told us to remember it, and to find, in remembrance, both healing and hope. He told us to remember His death: the body given for us, and the blood poured out for the forgiveness of sins. Now, it is impossible to remember the night, on which Jesus was betrayed, without remembering who it was that betrayed Him; impossible to remember His abandonment, His condemnation, His mockery, and His death, without remembering who abandoned Him, who judged Him, who mocked Him, and who killed Him. These things were done by men, who, because they happened to be there, were acting out the fear and violence, which is in us all. It is, therefore, impossible to remember the cross without calling our own sin to mind; or rather, it is not possible to remember the cross as a healing sacrifice, nor to appropriate it as the instrument of our own forgiveness, other than by the painful process of appropriating and repenting of our own sins. Only those who recognise their own hand in the process can recognise the body as truly given for them. Without remembrance, there is no repentance; and without repentance, there is no forgiveness.

This has profound consequences for our understanding of Christian and human unity. To look on the cross, in faith and repentance, is to see our own fear and violence made into the instrument of our peace and healing. If the Son of God has united all the pain and sorrow we inflict on each other with the pain He bore on the cross, then, whenever we look, with faith and repentance, on the hurt we have done to one another, there, too, we may find the healing of the cross. If we do not own up to our deeds, we cannot be sorry for them. The tears of sorrow offered, and accepted, are a necessary condition for the tears of joy in reconciliation.

This life-giving remembrance of the past is inseparably linked with hope. When we celebrate the eucharist, we remember the death of the Lord until He comes. So, what we look for, when, as still separated Christians, we remember our martyrs together, is much more than the reconciliation of the broken fragments of the church.

Rather, what we look for is a living sign of that healing of all the sins and hurts of mankind, which brought the Son of God to the cross. When, by forgiving one another, we have all accepted the forgiveness of God, then Christ's work in us will be done.

There are signs of this universal hope, even in the bitterness of the 16th century. On both sides, the truth was perceived, that the mark of the true disciple is union with the crucified Christ. Thus, that implacable Protestant, John Foxe, introducing his account of Protestant suffering at the hand of Catholic persecution, wrote of the continuity, through all the ages, of "the poor, oppressed, and persecuted church of Christ". Edmund Campion, on the other side, was a Jesuit, a follower of Ignatius of Loyola, for whom the Christ, with whom he and his companions were united, was Christ poor, scorned, and carrying the cross. Though men's differences ran so deep, that they felt constrained to die for them, all died for the one Christ, whom all tried to serve, and to follow. That, indeed, is what makes a martyr: a martyr calls us to the imitation of Christ. The martyrs transcend our causes, our partial perceptions of the truth. They belong to us all, because they witness to Christ, who is Lord of us all.

On both sides of that rent in the body of believers, men sought to serve not a partial cause, but the universal church of Christ. It was explicitly for the sake of the church's catholicity that Thomas Moore rejected the actions of Henry VIII: "Sith (since) Christendom is one corps, I cannot perceive how any member thereof may, without the common assent of the body, depart from the common head." But it was not only the "Catholic" side, which had a sense of the universal church. Foxe prefaces his account of *The Acts of God's Holy Martyrs, and Monuments of His church* with a calendar, which includes the martyrs and confessors of the Reformation, in one list, with the apostles and evangelists. He had no doubt that Christ had founded a universal and continuing church. But nothing is more eloquent than the words of Campion, as he faced his death, words which speak of the fellowship of Christians as a communion of forgiven and reconciled sinners: "Almighty God, the Searcher of

Hearts, sending us Thy grace: set us at accord before the day of payment, to the end we may, at last, be friends in heaven, where all injuries may be forgotten."

Bishop Mark Santer.

I N D E X

Melanesian Journal of Theology

Vol. 7, 1991

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