

## Chapter 4

### **The Anglo-Catholic Tradition**

This Chapter looks briefly at the origin and characteristics of the Anglo-Catholic tradition in the Church of England and how that tradition links with the Anglican Church in Melanesia. It has no intention of going into detail about the whole politics of the movement. The Anglo-Catholic tradition in Melanesia may strongly reflect the tradition in which the pioneers of the Melanesian Mission were brought up and trained. Selwyn and Patteson were moderately high church in tradition, but as it will be discussed later, they were also associated with the Oxford Movement

#### **The Rise of Anglo-Catholic Expression of Faith in the Church of England**

The English Anglican high church tradition had preceded the emergence of the Oxford Movement by about two hundred years. Its characteristics included the regard for apostolic succession, ritualism in worship, and an "emphasis on the sensible and the sober, its defence of establishment, and its deep suspicion of religious enthusiasm."<sup>114</sup> The term 'high' was first used in 1688 by Anglicans who wanted to be Catholic but not Roman. According to Owen Chadwick:

It meant, in its original intention, strict; a man who was stiff for the Church of England rigid; careful and precise in observing the rules

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<sup>114</sup>Sohmer, 141.

of the Church about prayer and fasting, even perhaps when those rules had begun to seem archaic; a man who stood for the privileges of the Church against the dissenters; a strong defender of the Establishment.<sup>115</sup>

The terms 'high' and 'low' had come into use to distinguish between political parties and originally had not been associated with religion. However, by the early nineteenth century, the members of the Anglican Church could be identified as belonging to three major traditions; High Church, Low Church and Evangelical but during the second half of the nineteenth century, the Evangelical and the Low Church groups appeared to merge.<sup>116</sup> The main contrasts between the two groups were seen in their approach to ritual and doctrine. As will be discussed later in this chapter, the High Church was more catholic in doctrine and more ritualistic in worship. The High Church believed that the Church should include rituals in the liturgy which could create an atmosphere to enhance spiritual experience of the worshippers so long as these rituals were scripturally acceptable. It was the responsibility of the Church to make worship decent and meaningful. The High Church accepted the use of vestments, incense or the making of the sign of cross. The Low Church, however, emphasized simplicity in ritual and would not do things that were considered

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<sup>115</sup>Owen Chadwick, The Spirit of the Oxford Movement (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 4. Hereafter quoted as S.O.M.

<sup>116</sup>Whiteman, 395.

not to have scriptural warrant.

In the High Church tradition, eucharist and baptism were also recognized as the two most important sacraments because they were instituted by Christ himself. Both have an inward grace and an outward sign. However, eucharist was emphasized to be more important of the two. In baptism there are only two parts to it - the outward symbol and the inward spiritual grace. No consecration is involved. While the water must be blessed, a deacon could do that in the absence of a priest "because baptism depends upon an act which all Christians may perform, and not upon any consecration which requires a special commission."<sup>117</sup>

In eucharist, however, there are three parts to it - the outward sign, the inward gift and the accompanying blessing. Consecration is the most important aspect of this sacrament and it is for that reason that only a priest can perform this function. For this reason the High Church tradition maintains the orders of bishops, priests and deacons as distinct ministries in the Church.

### **The Origin of Oxford Movement**

The Anglo-catholic tradition originated in the Oxford Movement in the Church of England in the 1830s, as a result of conflict between the church and

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<sup>117</sup>Eugene R. Fairweather, The Oxford Movement (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 364. Hereafter quoted as T.O.M.

the state. Prior to the emergence of the movement, the liberal movement in England had grappled with the need for reforms. As Fairweather quotes J.H. Nichols,

In England the liberal movement of Constitutional reform had begun with Catholic emancipation and the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts, and proceeded through reform of the parliamentary franchise and municipal government to consideration of the abuses of the Church itself, especially in its finance and administration.<sup>118</sup>

It was in this line of action that the Oxford Movement was embarking on, but the movement's action was to raise issues of reform from within the Church. However, unlike the liberal movement, the actions of the Oxford Movement could be seen as a

"conservative reaction ... to secure the foundation of community life against reform and revolution by asserting divine right of ecclesiastical government and the necessity of adherence to defined doctrine."<sup>119</sup>

The authority of the Church was the centre of the movement's concern. It was felt that the Church's association with the state had weakened its spirituality by condoning malpractices, abuses and corruption.

Recognising these problems, a group of clergymen who lived at Oxford attempted to initiate changes in the Church. The proposed Irish Church Bill of

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<sup>118</sup>Fairweather, 3-4.

<sup>119</sup>ibid., 3.

1832<sup>120</sup>, seeking to reorganize the dioceses of Ireland led John Keble to preach a sermon on “National Apostasy” at Oxford on July 14, 1833. The sermon was also a reaction against Erastian ideas and liberalism which in his opinion had corrupted the Church. According to Donaldson, the sermon,

was an endeavour to stem the tide of a fatal latitudinarianism that, outside the Church, threatened to break down her defences, and, from within, to betray her very citadel.<sup>121</sup>

The sermon is believed to have triggered the Oxford Movement.

Later, tracts that were published expanded upon the issues raised in the sermon. The first of the tracts was a four-page leaflet, written by J.H. Newman, and released on September 9, 1833, defending the principle of ‘apostolic succession.’ In brief, the ideals which the Oxford Movement stood for were:

- (a) To recognise the place and value of historical tradition,
- (b) “to justify order and authority in the Church as well as state.”<sup>122</sup>
- (c) To fight irreverence and sacrilegious activities which were introduced by the reformers in the sixteenth century.<sup>123</sup>

One of the things that the group was concerned about was the integrity of

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<sup>120</sup>Sohmer, 142.

<sup>121</sup>Aug.B. Donaldson, Five Great Oxford Leaders (London Rivingtons, 1902), 4.

<sup>122</sup>Sohmer, 142.

<sup>123</sup>Stewart, 22.

the mission of the Church. They complained that secularism and liberalism have corrupted the Church and that the state played a part in all these. It was therefore one of their ideals to see that the Church functioned independently of the state.

The movement also differed in opinion about the Evangelical theology of 'justification by faith alone.' They argued that to stand on 'justification by faith alone' "undermines the sacramental instruments of grace and obscuring the real moral effects of grace."<sup>124</sup> They agreed with the doctrine of justification of faith but they also believed that there was place for good work in one's own life. In contrast to the Evangelical movement which had been active and popular during the period, the Oxford Movement believed in the tradition as well as in the scriptures. The value they placed on historical tradition signified their belief on the sacramentalism of the things of this world.

The Oxford Movement argued that while the reformers had done good work in correcting abuses and corruptions in the Church, they had also destroyed many positive things. They focused mainly on the ministry of the word and on justification by faith and believed entirely on the authority of the Bible. However, the movement believed that the approach by the Reformers to rely on the Bible alone was a deviation from the Christian tradition. The Bible "was

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<sup>124</sup>Sohmer, 142.

never intended to be, the one standard of reference in disputes about faith or order.”<sup>125</sup> They believed that “the witness of the spirit in the living Church”<sup>126</sup> was also to be taken into consideration and the inclusion of the celebrations of the sacraments was important. They believed that sacraments were important aspects of worship because through them worshippers experience the presence of Christ. In view of this, the movement transformed Anglican worship by encouraging regular celebration of the Eucharist with ritual. Because Jesus is present in spirit in the sacramental acts, reverence is important in all acts of worship.

To the Reformers of the sixteenth century, no tradition was sacred. However, the Oxford Movement believed that while the episcopal order was not instituted by Jesus, it was established by the apostles and inherited by their followers. The Church had been passed down to where it is now through the apostles and through men and women in its entire history and to discard all that tradition altogether would have adverse effects on the growth of the Church. They recognized the value of the religious practices which had been used prior to the Reformation and their intention was to restore the pre-reformation faith and tradition to allow the link between the age of the apostles and the church

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<sup>125</sup>Fairweather, 34.

<sup>126</sup>John R. Griffin, The Oxford Movement: A Revision (Virginia: A Faith & Reason Booklet, 1980), 5.

to continue. In view of these arguments, the Oxford Movement was taking the middle ground between the Roman Catholic tradition and the Protestant position of the Reformers. It is this 'middle ground' position which has been called the Anglo-catholic tradition. The Anglo-Catholic stood on Richard Hooker's triadic principles of scripture, tradition and reason. In fact it was the intention of the movement to "get back some of the solid learning and holiness of the School of Hooker and Andrews."<sup>127</sup> They recognized the authority of all three and they believed that the stability of the church could come about only by listening to all three.

The Movement's concern over worship, sacraments and a disciplined spiritual life in the Church did not go by unnoticed. It aroused renewed interest in the areas of liturgy, ritual and church architecture. The Camden Society in Cambridge took an interest in reviving Victorian Church designs.<sup>128</sup> Various spiritual disciplines were re-introduced in the life of the Anglican Church. Fasting during Lent and before communion, retreats and private confession were restored. The quest for spiritual growth among lay people led to the re-introduction of religious communities for both men and women in the Church. The aim to maintain Catholic doctrine within the Anglican Church laid the way

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<sup>127</sup>John R.H. Moorman, A History of the Church of England. New York: Morehouse - Gorham Co., 1954), 340.

<sup>128</sup>Sohmer, 146.

for dialogue with Rome and the Orthodox Church. This has led to modern day ecumenical relations.

Nevertheless, scholars and historians have struggled to define the true position of the Oxford Movement. Some have viewed the Movement as “exclusively ‘academic’ and spiritual in its interests”<sup>129</sup> with little to offer in major social issues. Griffin quotes Alex Vidler in affirming this view that:

The Movement had limitations which it is important to notice. Its being called the ‘Oxford Movement tells us more than that it originated at Oxford .... It tells us also that the movement was academic, clerical, and conservative .... The movement was academic in that its appeal was restricted to the educated classes, not so much from deliberate intention, as from the interests and sympathies of its protagonists. It was not until after 1845 that the Anglo-Catholic revival reached out to the poor and got a footing in the slums.<sup>130</sup>

This view suggests the movement presented no “theological and intellectual”<sup>131</sup> contributions to the well-being of the Church because its members were merely carried away by emotions. Sohmer quotes Chadwick that the main characteristic of the Oxford Movement can only be viewed in combination with the Anglican High Church tradition which accord reverence to “the authority of the Church fathers and episcopacy based on Apostolic succession and the

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<sup>129</sup>Fairweather, 20.

<sup>130</sup>Sohmer, 147.

<sup>131</sup>Griffin, 39.

emphasis on feeling of nineteenth century Romanticism."<sup>132</sup> However, another view which defends the Oxford Movement states that the academic element of the Movement was a later development after the Movement had ceased in 1845. It came about as a result of the Anglo-Catholics trying to rediscover the historical and traditional aspects of the English Church. It was this exercise of rediscovery which played down some of the outcomes of the Reformation. The influence of the Movement revived the Anglo-Catholic tradition and brought changes into the religious life of the English people. The movement

succeeded ... in transforming the atmosphere of English worship, in deepening the content of English prayer, in lifting English eyes, not only to their own insular tradition, but to the treasure of the Catholic centuries, whether ancient or modern.<sup>133</sup>

There was also a zeal to bring the Church to the ordinary people in the slums at home and to the heathens and pagans abroad.

### **Leaders of the Movement**

The leadership of the movement included John Keble, John Henry Newman, Edward B. Pusey and Richard Hurrell Froude. All four men were fellows of Oriel College, Oxford. Oriel College was known for its training in logic and patristic studies and used academic merit as the basis for selection of its

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<sup>132</sup>Fairweather, 5.

<sup>133</sup>Sohmer, 144.

fellows.<sup>134</sup>

Having grown up within the Anglican tradition, John Keble was concerned at the interference of the state in the running and administration of the Church. It appears that Keble did not want non-Anglicans in the state to be involved in making decisions for Anglicans. John Griffin quotes Newman as saying that Keble was the “true and primary author” of the Oxford Movement and Fairweather describes him “as the true begetter of the Anglo-catholic Revival.”<sup>135</sup> John Keble’s contribution to the Oxford Movement could be summarized in Griffin’s words:

Keble’s great role was to call men back to doctrines and traditions that had been put aside in the eighteenth century. So far as Keble had any greater importance than the example he provided in his own life and to Anglicans who might be wavering in the faith, Keble reflected the ‘pastoral’ and ‘moral’ element of the Oxford Movement.<sup>136</sup>

Keble believed that if the Church was to be both functional and relevant, it must know its roots — the tradition and history of the early Church. The Christian values used in the spiritual growth of the community of faith could be found in the tradition which had been passed down from one generation to another in the Church. Keble believed that an understanding of what constituted the belief and

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<sup>134</sup>Ibid., 144.

<sup>135</sup>Ibid., 23.

<sup>136</sup>Chadwick, 10.

tradition in the early Church would help Christians of the day to find meaning and purpose in the present Church. However, he stated that honouring and preserving the tradition of the past was not about maintaining every practice as it was but about using innovation, correction and selection processes to make changes. In this way, the tradition of the early church was purified and allowed to play a part in the life of the present Church.

John Henry Newman was regarded as the spokesperson for the Oxford Movement. Out of the ninety Tracts for the Times, twenty-eight were written by him. He grew up in an Evangelical Anglican background but became a defender of the Anglo-catholic movement. While Keble's contribution to the Movement was on 'pastoral' and 'historical' issues, Newman's contribution was on 'faith'. During the eighteenth century the concepts of reason and logic were highly emphasized amongst both academics and scholars as well as in secular society. However, Newman argued that in matters of religion and spirituality, reason plays no significant part. It may "test or verify faith" but, "it could not create it."<sup>137</sup> As Fairweather puts it, Newman believed,

on unwavering faith in the self-disclosure of the transcendent God; the authority of the Church as interpreter of divine revelation; the impotence of mere human reason to demonstrate the mysterious truth given in revelation; the necessity of a moral submission to the

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<sup>137</sup>Ibid., 22.

message of judgement and grace.<sup>138</sup>

Because Newman was a very spiritual person, social and political issues did not concern him unless they affected spiritual matters. He argued that the Church of England had become a Church that was only concerned about the needs of the wealthy. The clergy seemed to have no functions to perform. Their tasks should be to work with the poor and the needy, ensuring the presence of the Church among the ordinary people. However, his eventual conversion to the Roman Catholic Church made him very unpopular with Anglican scholars.

Edward Pusey was an Anglican of strong conviction. Unlike other members of the movement who defected to the Roman Catholic Church, he remained loyal to the Anglican tradition. Like Keble and Newman, he played an important role in the Movement and he is described as the most scholarly of its members. His other contributions were in the areas of physical and spiritual discipline. These included prayer, meditation, obedience and self-denial designed to help one experience the mystery of God. In the pursuit of discipline in his own life, his self-denial was "extended to abstinence from wine, the use of a hard chair and bed, no gloves in cold weather and even the use of a hair shirt."<sup>139</sup> Discipline was therefore seen by the Oxford Movement as one of the

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<sup>138</sup>Ibid., 4.

<sup>139</sup>Sohmer, 143.

foci to be encouraged by the Church.

Richard Froude was a friend of both Keble and Newman as well as a student of the former. He was the youngest member of the Movement but it was his "sharp sayings on the low spiritual state of the clergy, the evils of the Reformation, and the Erastianism of the English Reforms"<sup>140</sup> that laid the foundation of the Oxford Movement. He became sick of consumption and spent a good part of his remaining years out of England. After his death in 1836, the content of his private diary was edited and published under the title, the *Remains*. In his writings he greatly criticized the Reformers. People were surprised to read in his writings that he was more Roman Catholic in doctrine and belief than Anglican.

### **Characteristics of the Oxford Movement**

The main aim of the Oxford Movement was to restore high Church practices of the Seventeenth century, and in particular, to defend a number of positions.

#### **(a) The church of England as a Divine Institution**

They sought a renewed awareness of transcendent mystery and a renewed sense of human life as guided by a transcendent power to a transcendent goal. ... they insisted on the authority of the church, ... because they saw in the Church an indispensable witness to the grace and truth that came by Jesus Christ. ... Influenced both by the traditional High Church appeal to history and by the deepened historical interest characteristic of the early

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<sup>140</sup>Fairweather, 7.

nineteenth century, they saw the gospel of God's real intervention in human history and the Church as the tangible, historical in each and every age.<sup>141</sup>

Nevertheless, it must be noted that the "renewed awareness of ... transcendent power to a transcended goal" was seen in every religious movement throughout the centuries except that they differed in convictions. The 'transcendent goal' of the Evangelical movement, for instance, was concerned about personal conversion experience of an individual while the Oxford Movement was concerned about building a strong Christian community to attain "corporate holiness"<sup>142</sup> through appropriate liturgy in the celebration of Holy Communion. The Movement recognised the tradition, practices and rituals which had been part of the Church before the Reformation as important components of the institutional church because they believed such components were inherited from those who had known the apostles. According to them, Jesus not only taught his followers about 'faith' but also established the institutional church. Therefore, his followers must keep faithfully to the tradition.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>141</sup>T.O.M., 2.

<sup>142</sup>Herber L. Stewart, A Century of Anglo-Catholicism (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1929), 22.

<sup>143</sup>*Ibid.*, 24.

(b) The doctrine of apostolic succession

They upheld "the episcopal order of Church government."<sup>144</sup> They believed that "the three-fold ministry of bishops, priests and deacons is not among the arrangements left to our choice"<sup>145</sup> but the apostles arose through succession producing the three-fold episcopal order. They maintained that the authority of the Church was God-given and that "the episcopacy was a God-ordained ministry."<sup>146</sup> In view of this doctrine, the movement appealed to the clergy "to unite in defence of their holy office."<sup>147</sup> The movement believed that the clergy should maintain the integrity of their position which is in the Apostolic succession. Some clergy have been led astray to please the ordinary people at the sacrifice of their divine commission other than teaching the people about respecting the office of the ordained ministry.

(c) Sacraments

Worship is a sacramental act, "through which it is the will of Christ that grace shall be imparted to those who communicate in the spirit and after the forms which he ordained."<sup>148</sup> Through the sacraments, humanity makes a

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<sup>144</sup>Sohmer, 143.

<sup>145</sup>Griffin, 2.

<sup>146</sup>Ibid., 3.

<sup>147</sup>John, R.H. Moorman, 340-341.

<sup>148</sup>Sohmer, 143.

covenant with God and, through them the grace of God and human salvation are reciprocated. They also believed that the efficacy of the sacraments could only be realized if they were administered by an ordained person, a view that was in line with their stand on the doctrine of apostolic succession.

The movement was attacked by bishops and those in the liberal party at Oxford University. They were called “sacramentalist, high church people, ritualists and Romanisers.”<sup>149</sup> Within the movement there was a small group leaning towards submission to Rome, and on February 13, 1845, this group led by Faber joined the Roman Catholic Church. At a later date, in the same year, J.H. Newman also converted to Roman Catholicism. Newman left a vacuum in the remaining group and that slightly affected its credibility. The majority of the members, however, remained within the Church of England and had a major influence on the course of Anglican Church in the nineteenth century.<sup>150</sup>

### **Missionary Activities of the Anglo-Catholic Tradition**

The spread of Anglo-Catholicism in others parts of the world during the nineteenth century was inevitable because some of the missionary bishops were influenced by the Oxford Movement, such as, Robert Gray in South Africa, John

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<sup>149</sup>Ibid., 143

<sup>150</sup>S.O.M., 49.

Medley in Canada and George Augustus Selwyn in New Zealand.<sup>151</sup> Selwyn had objected the terms of reference in his letter of appointment as Bishop of New Zealand because they implied his authority to ordain was derived from the authority of the monarch. He argued that the power to ordain was given to a person by an episcopal laying on of hands and not by the monarch.<sup>152</sup> This argument reflects the position taken by the Oxford Movement to set the Church free from the influence and control of the state. It was that insight that set the pace and direction to achieve independency in the Colonial Church in South Africa, Canada and New Zealand.

From the 1890s, the Anglo-Catholics became more influential in the Church of England and took a special interest in Missionary activities abroad. Young priests were encouraged to embark on Missionary services overseas in order to spread the catholic faith of the Church of England. In response to the need, young men offered themselves to serve in Central Africa, South Africa, West Indies, Korea and Melanesia.<sup>153</sup>

### **The Oxford Movement's Link with Melanesia**

Bishop George Augustus Selwyn, the founder of the Melanesian Mission and

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<sup>151</sup>Fairweather, 7.

<sup>152</sup>Stewart, 174.

<sup>153</sup>Hilliard, 232.

John Coleridge Patteson, first bishop of Melanesia seemed to have some personal connection with the Oxford Movement. Sohmer refers to George Augustus Selwyn

as a sterling example of the new type of 'Churchman militant' whose vision of an expanded mission role for the Church had its origins in the corporate, autonomous view of the church emphasized in Tractarian Writings.<sup>154</sup>

Patteson entered Oxford to begin undergraduate studies in 1845, the same year that Newman defected to Rome. He would have been privy to the excitement, which no doubt pervaded Oxford climate at that time. In a letter he wrote to his sister Fanny in 1846, he described an event during the Fourth Sunday after Epiphany when he listened to Pusey preaching "on the 'Entire Absolution of the Penitent'."<sup>155</sup> He said,

I have just returned from University sermon, where I have been listening with great delight to Pusey's sermon on the keys for nearly two hours. His immense benevolence beams through the extreme power of his arguments, and the great research of his inquiry into all the primitive writings is a most extraordinary matter, and as for the humility and prayerful spirit in which it was composed, you fancied he must have been on his knees the whole time he was writing it. I went early to Christ Church, where it was preached, and, after pushing through such a crowd as usually blocks up the entrance into Exeter Hall, I found on getting into the Cathedral that every seat was occupied. However, standing to hear such a man was no great exertion, and I never was so

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<sup>154</sup>Sohmer, 149.

<sup>155</sup>Yonge, Vol.I., 36.

interested before.<sup>156</sup>

Patteson appeared highly impressed and admiring of Pusey. In another letter to his sister he mentioned that he had talked to Pusey who recommended some books for him to read. Writing from Melanesia he maintained his appreciation for Pusey's books and sermons to provide him insight.

Similarly the works and writings of Newman impressed Patteson. In a letter he wrote to his sister from Melanesia he mentioned that Newman's sermons on 'Contemplation or Meditation' and on a 'Particular Providence' have been very helpful in his own personal life.<sup>157</sup> According to Sohmer, when Patteson read Newman's the Apologia "for the first time in 1866, he professed his astonishment at the profundity of Newman's thought."<sup>158</sup>

However, it was John Keble to whom Patteson was very close, because Keble and his wife were close friends of the Patteson family. To help Patteson in his work in Melanesia, Keble contributed to building a 65-ton boat which became the first Southern Cross.<sup>159</sup> In a letter dated, March 1 1863, 10:30 p.m. Patteson wrote to Keble;

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<sup>156</sup>Ibid., 36-37.

<sup>157</sup>Ibid., Vol.II, 81-82.

<sup>158</sup>Sohmer, 150.

<sup>159</sup>The one that is currently the flag ship of the Church of Melanesia is the ninth.

My dear Mr. Keble,  
 One line, though on Sunday night, to tell you of the safe arrival of the 'Southern Cross'. You have a large share in her, and she had a large share in your good wishes and prayers, I am sure .... My kindest regards to Mrs Keble; I hope she is better.<sup>160</sup>

In one of the letters that Keble wrote to Patteson in 1865, he talked about faith and discipline in the Church and his views of the Bible. He said that the Church was being "damaged more and more by our entire and conscious surrender of the disciplinary part of our trust."<sup>161</sup>

Patteson was attached to Keble and he referred to him as a Saint. In a letter to his uncle in 1866, Patteson wrote:

My dear uncle, How can I thank you enough for telling me so much of dear saintly Mr. Keble and his wife? He had been, for my dear father and mother's sakes, very loving to me, and actually wrote me two short letters, one after his seizure, which I treasure. How I had grown to reverence and love him more and more you can easily believe.<sup>162</sup>

He always treasured Keble's book, The Christian Year, and the "meditations" of Thomas à Kempis.

In the matters of devotion and worship in the Church, there was commonality between Patteson and the members of the Oxford Movement. Patteson said, "I take the real, so to say, representative teaching of the Church

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<sup>160</sup>Yonge, Vol.2, 31.

<sup>161</sup>ibid., 90.

<sup>162</sup>ibid., 139.

of England to be the divinity of the truly primitive Church.”<sup>163</sup> He always described the services he either conducted or attended in Melanesia, whether it be a Holy Eucharist, Baptism, Confirmation, Ordination, Wedding or Funeral in terms of solemnity, reverence and beauty. During his first few months in New Zealand he must have missed the traditional Anglican worship when he said,

what a training it is here for the appreciation of the wondrous beauty of our Church services, calming all feeling of excitement and irreverent passion zeal, and enabling one to give full scope to the joy and glory of one's heart, without, I hope, forgetting to rejoice with reverence and moderation.<sup>164</sup>

He emphasized that reading of the Bible was necessary not only for devotional purposes but also for intellectual, theological and even “as a revelation not only of truth, but of comfort and support in heavy sorrow.”<sup>165</sup> Nevertheless, while Patteson was concerned about reverence, solemnity and beauty in worship, he did not expect the same standard in the Mission field in Melanesia. He said,

It isn't High or Low or Broad Church or any other special name, but longing desire to forget all distinctions, and to return to a simple state of things that seems naturally to result from the very

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<sup>163</sup>Ibid., Vol.1., 145.

<sup>164</sup>Ibid., Vol.2, 273.

<sup>165</sup>Ibid., 80.

sight of heathen people.<sup>166</sup>

This view is in line with his belief not “to make English Christians” of the Melanesian converts. He said,

We seek to denationalise these races, as far as I can see, whereas we ought surely to change as little as possible — only what is clearly incompatible with the simplest form of Christian teaching and practice.<sup>167</sup>

Thus that although Patteson had some personal connection with the Oxford Movement, the Melanesian Mission was not Tractarian Mission during the first forty-five years of its establishment. As discussed in Chapter 2, the Anglo-Catholic tradition in Melanesia was officially established during the second phase of the the Mission.

Even then, self-denial and austerities were not imposed as part of the rules of the Mission. The absence of this was probably influenced by the fact the Mission’s founder, Bishop George Augustus Selwyn himself was married with children and most likely received a stipend. According to Sohmer, Selwyn

provided ... the best insight into the role of self-denial and Mission. If, Selwyn maintained, by self-denial one meant asceticism and withdrawal from the world, one was dangerously close to self-indulgence. Why did those who complained of the lack of expression of self-denial in the Church of England not ‘... throw themselves into the dark wastes of our manufacturing towns, or upon the millions of the unconverted heathen (where they may

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<sup>166</sup>ibid., Vol.1, 185.

<sup>167</sup>ibid., Vol.2, 112.

practise without observation and without reproof all the austerities which may best express their sense of bearing of the daily cross').<sup>168</sup>

The Melanesian Mission never adopted celibacy or unpaid work. Patteson and many others who served in the Melanesian Mission did not marry but many others did and together with their wives and children, went to live at Norfolk Island and later to the islands of Melanesia. In addition they received modest stipends. Patteson was of the opinion that a mission served by both married and single people was one that best met the mission of the Church.<sup>169</sup>

The Melanesian Mission thus inherited the "High Church" tradition from the missionaries who came from England. Most missionaries, whether they be men or women, were young, single and moderately High Church in traditional persuasion. Most were university graduates either from Oxford or Cambridge. The emphasis was to recruit qualified men and women to teach the Christian faith. Even Patteson who did not want to emphasize academic qualification as a requirement for Melanesians to be ordained or to work as laymen, "speculated on an 'ideal' missionary; a paragon of education, resourcefulness, common sense, athletic prowess and piety."<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>168</sup>Sohmer, 158.

<sup>169</sup>Ibid., 163.

<sup>170</sup>Ibid., 29.

As time went on, most missionaries who joined the Mission had trained in the Anglo-Catholic tradition. Its emphasis on more ritualistic forms of worship including colourful vestments, use of incense, use of symbols such as a cross and candles on the altar and Holy Communion strongly influenced the forms of worship.

The spread of the Anglo-Catholic tradition in Melanesia was believed to be facilitated by a pragmatic attitude of the Melanesians. Culturally, Melanesians were ritualistic. Therefore it was believed that the ritualistic forms of Anglo-Catholic worship would capture the imagination of the Melanesians. Walter John Durrad, a teacher at Vureas School in the New Hebrides, introduced “regular sung celebrations of the Holy Communion”<sup>171</sup> in 1911. He believed that there was a need to make changes in the forms of worship introduced by the earlier missionaries. According to Hilliard, Durrad’s argument was:

The staid and sober services of half a century ago, still to a certain extent in Vogue here, seem to make no appeal to these emotional people, who are like Southern Europeans in love of colour and the dramatic element. We need to get rid of the drab from the picture and give some appeal to the imagination and the eye. These people are children. With them laughter and tears are close together, and they are as easily moved to the one as to the other.<sup>172</sup>

From the 1910s to the 1930s, missionaries who were placed in central

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<sup>171</sup>Hilliard, 233.

<sup>172</sup>Ibid., 233.

schools like Durrad in Vureas and George Warren at Maravovo on Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands, changed the whole pattern of worship in Melanesia. Anglo-Catholic ritualistic worship was introduced into the schools and the sacrament of confession was taught, encouraged and practised. According to Durrad, the observation of the sacrament of confession "has helped much in checking the spread of evil."<sup>173</sup> On returning home, schoolboys and girls introduced the tradition into the villages. Dudley Tuti, a student of George Warren at Maravovo and later one of the first two Melanesian bishops, wrote about the impact of the Anglo-Catholic tradition on him as a schoolboy at Maravovo school:

One felt at first like a stranger with so many customs and rules. But one thing united us with all in the school, teachers and boys, and went deep into our hearts - the chapel at Veranaaso (Maravovo). To belong to the Guild of the Servers and serve and worship at the altar was something weighty. Faith grew in one's heart as one served the priest at the Eucharist; one felt as though one were one of the Heavenly Host serving before God. All the teaching in class one might forget, perhaps, when one left Maravovo; but the worship in St Mary's school chapel was rooted and growing within, never to be forgotten all one's life, something to guide one in one's own home.<sup>174</sup>

Bishop Dudley's experience about the solemnity and holiness under an Anglo-catholic form of worship at the chapel in Maravovo was a translation of

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<sup>173</sup>Fox, 234.

<sup>174</sup>Ibid., 234.

Melanesians religious experience in act of worship in their sacred places and shrines.

The connection between Melanesian religion and Anglo-Catholicism was based on their similarities in the following aspects. In Melanesian religion, ancestral spirits were respected and worshipped. They were believed to play a part in the daily activities of the living. Whatever 'mana' people had in their life time was believed to be transformed into supernatural power and became more effective at death. The living could communicate with the dead by prayers, and a good relationship between them was maintained by offering of sacrifices. This practice would be in line with the commemoration of the Saints and the prayers for the dead in the Anglo-Catholic tradition. Below is a prayer for the Saints and the dead, taken from the Melanesian English Prayer Book:

... We praise and glorify your name for all your servants who have finished their life on earth fearing and believing in you, for holy men (people) and prophets of old times, for the blessed Virgin Mary, the Apostles and Martyrs, and for all other true servants of yours known or not known by us, and we pray you that with courage from their examples, and strength from their friendship, we also may be found fit to share in the life of the saints in light ....

The idea of maintaining a relationship with the saints and martyrs to acquire 'courage' and 'strength' is clearly expressed in the prayer. The dead are regarded as role models that set a standard in the quality of life which the living must strive to achieve. The living believe that the dead do play an active part in their

life. That is, there is a sense of accountability to the dead. The imagery presented in the prayer is equivalent to the belief on ancestral spirits in Melanesian religion, where they are believed to continue to influence the activities of the living.

In chapter three, cannibalism was said to have associated with ritual and sacrifice in the Melanesian religion. That is, the consumption of human flesh and blood was a form of sacrifice to acquire the 'mana' and 'strength' possessed by the victim, and to maintain a right relationship with the 'source of mana' and not a habitual craving for human flesh and blood. In Christian rituals, the practice could be identified with the doctrine of the 'Real presence' of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist. That is, one receives Communion in order to be empowered, strengthened, healed and to be like Jesus.

The concept of priesthood was another similarity. In Melanesian religion, only those who have been groomed and taught the secrets of doing the right rituals could perform priestly functions. Such functions included offering prayers and petitions to the 'source of mana' as well as offering sacrifices. Melanesians recognized the same expectation in the ministry of priesthood in Anglo-catholicism. Those who would be priests were expected to under-go long periods of training and only then could they perform sacramental functions such as presiding at eucharist and administering baptism.

The power of ritual was important in communicating with the 'source of mana' in Melanesian religion. Rituals were performed with reverence. Those who involved in performing rituals knew exactly what parts each played. There were 'tabus' that they were expected to observe, honour and comply with. Interestingly, Anglo-catholicism, emphasized ritual in liturgy and worship to enhance reverence, solemnity and orderliness just as how Melanesians used rituals in their own religion. For this reason, Melanesian religious ceremonies that were compatible with Christian principles have been Christianized. For instance, Christian prayers and rituals have been used to bless canoes, nets, houses and gardens in the place of traditional spells. The traditional ritual of offering 'first fruits' has been Christianized. First fruits of nuts, yam, taro and other produce from gardens would now be brought to the Church to be blessed instead of offering them to the traditional 'source of mana'. It was these similarities that enabled Melanesians to accommodate the Anglo-Catholic tradition.

Melanesians accepted Christianity as an alternative form of the 'source of mana' not only because of its teaching about peace, but because,

there were also many points of identification between Melanesians' traditional religious beliefs and Christianity, for Melanesians had always used ritual as a means of gaining

'mana'.<sup>175</sup>

That is, as far as Melanesians were concerned, conversion to Christianity was an application of a new ideology and ritual to obtain "the traditional ends of social and material well-being."<sup>176</sup> As Hilliard said,

Through sacrifices, prayer and magic, they (Melanesians) expressed their dependence upon unseen powers superior to their own. All these were secure foundations or preparations for Christian teaching. The gospel was new to the Melanesians, but not alien to their religious conceptions; they passed 'naturally' out of the old into the new.<sup>177</sup>

However, as the twenty first century lurks just round the corner, Melanesia needs to evaluate the tradition it has practised for the last 149 years. Melanesia has used 'tradition' as a shield not to respond to changes. Like any other traditions, the Anglo-Catholic tradition has its strengths and limitations. Those qualities must be thoroughly assessed. When the tradition was established in the mid-nineteenth century, the people recognized that it addressed the issues that directly affected them. The mission of the Church was seen to be relevant to the life of the people in that it promoted spiritual awareness which led to the spread of the tradition. The question, however, is whether the tradition continues to uphold the mission of Church in the contemporary times.

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<sup>175</sup>Whiteman, 228.

<sup>176</sup>Ibid., 228.

<sup>177</sup>Hilliard, 191.

Melanesia needs not only to defend the tradition it has inherited from the missionaries, but to re-examine it through culturally sensitive eyes to generate new meaning to the mission of the Church.