

INDIGENOUS PROTEST IN COLONIAL SĀMOA: THE *MAU* MOVEMENTS AND THE
RESPONSE OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY, 1900 – 1935

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Dedicated to Taito Tusigaigoa Failautusi and Susie O'Brien Alofaituli, *fa'afetai tele i lā oulua tatalo ma fa'amanuiaga.*

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Abstract

The two Sāmoan-led pro-nationalist movements, *Mau a Pule* and *Mau*, have dominated Sāmoan historiography. The word *Mau* represented a firm “opinion” of Sāmoans against both Germany and New Zealand’s colonial regimes. Before the two recognized movements, Sāmoan clergymen successfully protested in various *maus* of their own against the London Missionary Society (L.M.S.), and challenged European mission leadership, which resulted in multiple reforms and the Sāmoanization of the L.M.S.

At the start of the 20th century, Sāmoans experienced a peaceful period, and had proven their potential ability to govern themselves politically, economically, and religiously. Despite Sāmoa’s move toward modernization, the L.M.S. church and colonial institutions attempted to limit agency in leadership, implement colonial policies against *fa’a-sāmoa* (Sāmoan customs and traditions), and disregard Sāmoa’s nonviolent attempts to instigate changes. Although intense at times, the different *mau* movements reflected a Christian society under the authority of titled chiefs or *matai* who maintained peace.

The aim of this study is twofold. The first is to investigate whether a hybridity between *fa’a-sāmoa* and the civilizing mission by missionaries and colonizers produced a civil society within the colonial context that organized nonviolent protests to effect reforms within the foreign institutions. The second is to explore the link between the *Mau* movements and the L.M.S. While there has been plenty of research on the *Mau* movements, few studies have focused on the *mau* protests within the L.M.S., or their response to the *Mau a Pule* and *Mau*. This re-examination places the Sāmoan *Mau* movements within the wider discourse of protest studies in Oceania, and the rise of an indigenous civil society within the colonial context.

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Abbreviations

A.B.C.F.M.	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
C.C.C.S.	Congregational Christian Church of Sāmoa
C.P.L.C.C.	Central Polynesian Land and Commercial Company
C.W.M.	Council of World Missions
D.H.P.G.	Deutsche Handels-und Plantagen-Gesellschaft
E.F.K.S.	<i>Ekalesia Fa'apotopotoga Kerisiano i Sāmoa</i>
L.D.S.	Latter-Day Saints (Mormon Church)
L.M.S.	London Missionary Society
M	German Mark (Currency of Germany)
Mal.	Malietoa
M.P.	Member of Parliament
N.A.C.	Native Advisory Council
N.G.O.	Non-Governmental Organization
N.Z.	New Zealand
N.U.S.	National University of Sāmoa
P.M.B.	Pacific Manuscript Bureau
P.M.C.	Permanent Mandates Committee (League of Nations)
Rev.	Reverend
S.D.C.	Sāmoa District Committee
S.O.A.S.	School of Oriental and African Studies
T. T.	Tupua Tamasese

Chapter 1. Introduction

The *Mau* movements of the early 20th century have dominated Sāmoan historiography, especially that of the Independent State of Sāmoa.¹ “Scholars have appropriated Sāmoans,” Peter Hempenstall argues, “as the exemplary Pacific community caught up in the history of Western imperialism.”² As the first Pacific Island country to achieve independence from a colonial power, Sāmoa evoked a great deal of nationalist pride. Monuments, burial headstones, t-shirts, books, and tattoos have expressed the spirit of independence and nationalism throughout the western Sāmoan Islands. Sāmoa’s triumph serves as a reminder for tourists and locals of the achievement of “freedom” from the control of colonialism. As indigenous people³ became entangled in direct and indirect rule by both Germany and New Zealand’s Administrations, Sāmoans organized themselves under prominent *matai* (chiefs) in strategic nonviolent protest movements for change. The Sāmoan people communicated across fluid political, linguistic, and cultural boundaries of their now hybrid identity to achieve Sāmoan agency as well as protect century-old customs and traditions through the *Mau* movements.⁴ The knowledge, skills, and

¹ Western Sāmoa gained independence in 1962 (Upolu, Savai’i, Apolima, and Manono) and the Eastern Islands or American Sāmoa (Tutuila, Aunu’u, and the Manu’a Islands) remain a territory of the U.S.

² Peter Hempenstall. 2000. “Releasing the Voices: Historicizing Colonial Encounters in the Pacific.” In *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts: An Invitation to Remake History*, edited by Robert Borofsky. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 47.

³ International law refers to “indigenous” as a subset of humanity subjugated under colonialism. Today, indigenous peoples identify themselves in terms of “cultural survival and self-determination” of distinct peoples that predate “historical encroachment.” See: S. James Anaya. 2004. *Indigenous Peoples in Indigenous Law*. Second Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 4-5. According to Linda Smith, “indigenous peoples” is a recent term from the 1970s used during the struggles of the American Indian Movement. The term has enabled indigenous peoples to come together and “learn, share, plan, organize and struggle collectively for self-determination on the global and local stages.” See: Linda T. Smith. 1999. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed Books Ltd, 7.

⁴ Keri Iyall Smith. 2006. “The Impact of Indigenous Hybridity on the Formation of World Society.” In *World Society Focus Paper Series*. Zurich: World Society Foundation, 2. See also: John Keane. 1998. *Civil Society: Old Images*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 3.

values of *fa'a-sāmoa* (Sāmoan customs and traditions),⁵ together with the moral and political awareness of Christianity (*lotu*) and colonial governance (*Malō*), reflected a transition to *aso o le mālamalama*⁶ (enlightenment). In this dissertation, I define *aso ole mālamalama* as the start of “new political orders” and the modification of chiefly societies in light of “new perceptions of power.” Sāmoans adjusted themselves to achieve personal, family, and political gains within the new modern Sāmoan society together with the chiefly traditions.

Today, the world witnesses protest and resistance of civil societies from the U.S. to Europe and beyond; social movements challenge the decline of the welfare state, promote the human rights of peoples, and campaign for both progressive as well as conservative ideologies. Social movements reflect a “set of opinions and beliefs in a population representing preferences for changing some elements of the social structure or reward distribution, or both, of a society.”⁷ The Sāmoan *Mau* movements reflected indigenous struggles for national sovereignty and independence. Therefore, I choose to define the *Mau* movements as protests within the colonial context that “involved positive actions to bring about change in a system.”⁸ Although protest is a universal practice, “the particular forms it takes and the particular impact it has are constantly

⁵ Malama Meleisea. 1987. *Making of Modern Sāmoa: Traditional Authority and Colonial Administration in the History of Western Sāmoa*. Suva: University of the South Pacific, vii.

⁶ According to Meleisea, the majority of Sāmoans accepted the beginning of the “modern epoch in Sāmoan history” as the *aso ole mālamalama* or “time of enlightenment.” The arrival of John Williams clearly changed the way Sāmoans defined time. Although still connected to the alliances of the past, Sāmoans ceased major civil wars, and slowly forged new associations based on the colonial and economic environment. Professor Leulu Va'ai at the National University of Sāmoa organized the years 1830 to 1900 as the “Late Sāmoan Society” and 1900 to 1962 as the “Modern Sāmoan Society.” See: Leulu F. Va'a. 1989. *The Emergence and Significance of New Political Parties in Western Sāmoa*. Paper presented at the Pacific Islands Political Science Association, University of Guam, December 16-18; Donald Denoon, et. al. 1997. “New Political Orders.” In *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders*, 184-217. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Malama Meleisea. 1992. *Change and Adaptations in Western Sāmoa*. Christchurch: Macmillan Brown Centre.

⁷ John D. Zald and Mayer N. McCarthy. 1987. *Social Movements in an Organizational Society*. New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 20.

⁸ Peter Hemptenstall and Noel Rutherford. 1984. *Protest and Dissent in the Colonial Pacific*. Suva: University of the South Pacific, 2.

modified by the geographical, economic, cultural, historical and other influences.”⁹ Hence, I have situated protest within the context of the Pacific region, but specifically in a Sāmoan colonial framework.

According to Meleisea, Western notions of Sāmoa and other Polynesian political systems have been based largely on observations by foreign explorers and visitors before the arrival of Christianity. Unfortunately, based on the evolutionary scale, “Sāmoa has been accorded a low position...because there was little centralisation of authority that was intelligible to Europeans.”¹⁰ European and American representatives of Sāmoa made major efforts before 1900 to tweak *fa’a-sāmoa* based on an 1875 constitution, and old chiefly rivalries. The authority once rested with Sāmoan chiefs, especially the process of finding the *tafa’ifa* (*Ali’i* possessing the four highest titles). In 1900, a colonial state was imposed on *fa’a-sāmoa*, with new policies that increasingly marginalized chiefs and the culture, thereby pushing the latter into a civil society role. In this dissertation, I put forward the claim that within a Sāmoan colonial framework, chiefs and supporters of the *Mau* movements actively challenged Western notions of inferiority and, at the same time, developed a quasi-modern civil society.

The term *Mau* means “opinion,” or as J. W. Davidson states, a “firm opinion.”¹¹ The *Auckland Star* compared the term *Mau* to the Maori word, “Kia mau,” which means “hold tightly,” “be firm,” “be steadfast,” and have an “unshakable determination.”¹² Similarly, the *Mau* newspaper, *Sāmoan Guardian* (1927), defined *mau* in the Sāmoan language as a “manatu,”

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁰ Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 1.

¹¹ J. W. Davidson. 1967. *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa: The Emergence of the Independent State of Western Sāmoa*. London: Oxford University Press, 119.

¹² Tangiwai. 1928. “Kia Mau.” *The Auckland Star*, January 18. Accessed at <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/AS19280118.2.38>.

“taofi,” “o se mea e lē mafai ona fa’agae’etia.”¹³ The *Mau a Pule* of 1908–1909 during the German Administration, and later the *Mau* (1926–1935) under New Zealand, dramatically expressed Sāmoan “opinions” through protests against imperial regulations and laws. In both movements, Sāmoans challenged racism from colonial powers, pleaded for the maintenance of the institution of the chiefly *fa’a-sāmoa* in its grandeur and pomp, and demanded more possession of cultural lands. In particular, Sāmoans demanded more input in the decision-making process of the newly formed colonial governments.¹⁴ According to Meleisea, Sāmoans seemed “initially impressed with the new principles of action” of the two colonial administrations; however, the crucial decisions of change “which they were only partially able to comprehend” derived from European-derived bureaucratic and legal principles.¹⁵ Despite the new system of authority, “Sāmoans have maintained consistently that their traditions and customs should be the only basis of legitimacy in government.”¹⁶ In this dissertation, the discussion focuses on two hierarchical systems, colonial and indigenous, that coexisted and were in competition. Consequently, cultural hybridity and adaptability enabled forms of political syncretism to emerge for Sāmoans.

Meleisea defined *fa’a-sāmoa* as a “unitary system of dispersed power” with a *fa’a-matai* chiefly system that encompassed Sāmoa, and sometimes allowed for a “single national authority.”¹⁷ That same chiefly authority became the force behind the *Mau* movements of the 20th century, and the civil wars prior. Although the chiefly system brought order at the village level, allegiance to a faction took the finessing of orators and diplomacy of village chiefs.

¹³ [no author]. 1927. “O le Mau.” *Sāmoa Guardian*, June 23. Definitions: *manatu* means “a thought,” *taofi* means “to hold on to, to retain,” and *o se mea e lē mafai ona fa’agae’etia* means “unshakable.” See: George Pratt. 1893. *Grammar and Dictionary of the Sāmoan Language: With English and Sāmoan Vocabulary*. Third Edition, Papakura: Southern Reprints.

¹⁴ Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, xii.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

Switching sides based on political, familial, and economic outcomes was not uncommon. For the influential Malietoa family, paramount chief Malietoa Vainu'upō's acceptance of Christianity in 1830 secured a special bond that meant support for almost anything British.

The history of the *Mau* movements not only dominates Sāmoan historiography, based on the narrative of the native chiefs versus the colonial regimes, but the storyline also suggests that other key groups in Sāmoa, at the time, were merely spectators. This dissertation explores the link between the London Missionary Society (L.M.S.) as the “other” voice and the *Mau* narrative. As an extremely religious and a very politically structured society before European contact, Sāmoans accepted representatives of the Christian faith and foreign powers, together with their bureaucratic and legal principles.¹⁸ Before the arrival of the colonial powers, Sāmoan chiefs forged a special relationship with Christianity by successfully accepting the faith with widespread conversion. Sāmoan orators time and again quote the following: *E va'ava'alua le Talalelei ma le Aganu'u* or “Christianity and *fa'a-sāmoa* travel in the same canoe.” Therefore, this dissertation creates space for new voices in the narrative of the *Mau* movements.

As the dominant denomination in Sāmoa then and now, the London Missionary Society commanded the attention of all its followers, even during the *Mau* movements. This research re-examines the rise of the Sāmoan civil society during the *Mau* movements and the overall response of the L.M.S. institution. Such a revisionist historical approach challenges the popularized narrative of the movements; specifically, the notion that the L.M.S. remained “neutral.” Furthermore, a closer examination of the L.M.S. during the pre- and early 20th century indicates that the church had its own *mau* movements that eventually led to multiple internal church reforms.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

Historical Context

The Sāmoan Islands currently have two political statuses (see map in Appendix A). The western Islands of Upolu, Savai'i, Manono, and Apolima attained independence in 1962 after being previously occupied by Germany from 1900 to 1914, followed by New Zealand from 1914 to 1962. The eastern Islands of Tutuila, Aunu'u, and the Manu'a group currently have U.S. affiliation as an unincorporated and unorganized U.S. territory.¹⁹ The islands of Sāmoa culturally connect through *fa'a-sāmoa* traditions and customs, a common language, a *fa'a-matai* or chiefly system, material wealth, a general lifestyle, common physical features, migration, and inter-island marriages. Today, the Independent Nation of Sāmoa practices a Westminster democracy²⁰ with an elected Prime Minister, whereas American Sāmoa reflects a U.S. system with an elected governor, a *fa'a-sāmoa* senate and a house of representatives.²¹

Amid a contentious period of late 19th century Sāmoan colonial history, the foreign powers of Britain, the U.S., and Germany sought the islands of Sāmoa for economic, political, strategic, and national prestige reasons. Although the western system of government differed immensely from Sāmoan political authority, the Sāmoan *matai* strategically positioned themselves within particular foreign institutions to achieve religious, political, and cultural relevancy. For their part, the foreign governments and Christian denominations tried to achieve rights to lands, peoples, resources, and laborers. Meleisea believes that the Sāmoan civil wars of

¹⁹ As a territory of the U.S. with no path to statehood, American Sāmoa is labeled as an unorganized and unincorporated U.S. territory. U.S. Congress ratified the Deeds of Cession in 1929. See: Eni F. H. Faleomavaega. 1995. *Navigating the Future: A Sāmoan Perspective on U.S.-Pacific Relations*. Carson: KIN Publications.

²⁰ The Legislative Assembly comprises Sāmoan *matai* who are elected from the districts or electorates of Sāmoa. European elected members retain a few seats in the Assembly. Only *matai* can run for office, and only two out of forty-seven seats are reserved for non-Sāmoans. The 1990-1991 voting reform gave voting rights to all citizens twenty-one years old, not only *matai*. See: Malama Meleisea. 1987. *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Sāmoa*. Suva: University of South Pacific, 153-154.

²¹ High ranking *ali'i* are selected by the districts of Tutuila and Manu'a to the Senate seats. The House of Representatives or *Fono* is open to any American Sāmoan citizen that meets election qualifications. See: Malama Meleisea and Penelope Schoeffel. "Western Sāmoa: 'A Slippery Fish'." In *Politics in Polynesia*. Suva: University of the South Pacific, 81; Fofu I. Sunia. 1983. "American Sāmoa: Fa'a Amerika?" In *Politics in Polynesia*. Suva: University of the South Pacific, 114.

the 19th century “had been aggravated by foreign meddling.”²² Samson agrees that American agents exploited the wars for “their own commercial benefit.”²³ Although there exists truth to the previous statements, *fa’a-sāmoa*’s political structure included competition for “paramount chieftaincy,” even at the height of European presence. The Sāmoan civil wars inadvertently justified the presence of Christianity and of the three powers to maintain a “civil” and “peaceful” society. The Europeans criticized Sāmoan resorting to warfare as the “most disruptive feature of Sāmoan political life in the nineteenth century.”²⁴ Yet, they also sold guns to Sāmoans for land. As a result of the wars, colonial and legal structures became the new governing system with Sāmoan authority limited to the local (village) council. In 1899, the Washington Agreement divided the islands between Germany and the U.S. Great Britain left Sāmoa and occupied parts of German spheres of influence in Africa and the Pacific.²⁵

As the Sāmoan Islands developed under the new political administrations, German Sāmoa in the west and American Sāmoa in the east, a faction from Savai’i (*Pule*) under the influential and highly ranked talking chief (*tulāfale*) Lauaki Namulau’ulu Mamoe (see Appendix E) challenged German Governor Dr. Wilhelm Solf and German policies. Dr. Solf’s direct disregard of certain practices of *fa’a-sāmoa*, the limited political authority of orators of *Tumua* and *Pule*, and the limited involvement of holders of Sāmoa’s paramount chiefly titles in the colonial government resulted in Lauaki’s *Mau a Pule*²⁶ of 1908–1909. Unfortunately, Lauaki

²² Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 105.

²³ Jane Samson. 1998. *Imperial Benevolence: Making British Authority in the Pacific Islands*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 60.

²⁴ Peter Hemenstall. 1978. *Pacific Islanders under German Rule: A Study in the Meaning of Colonial Resistance*. Canberra: Australia National University Press, 6

²⁵ The Western Solomon Islands and parts of West Africa went to Britain. See: J. A. C. Gray. 1960. *Amerika Sāmoa: A History of American Sāmoa and Its United States Naval Administration*. Annapolis: United States Naval Institute, 101. British involvement in the Boer War meant “friendly relations” with Germany. See: R. P., Gilson. 1970. *Sāmoa 1830 to 1900: The Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 432.

²⁶ Lauaki Namulau’ulu Mamoe led a “rebellion” against the Germans in 1909. *Mau a Pule* means the “Opinion of Savai’i.” See: Chapter 5.

received little support from Upolu (*Tumua*) and part of Savai'i due to century-old family alliances and successful German government propaganda. In one of his early speeches, Solf informed *matai* that there is “only one Government and that is the Government of His Majesty Kaiser²⁷ Wilhelm the Second” and this government are called the Imperial Government. The word “imperial means that which belongs to the Kaiser and are under his control.”²⁸ The *Mau a Pule* movement minimally changed German policies, but it left a lasting impact on the lives of the Sāmoan people; more importantly, it inspired methods to challenge the colonial regime for another time.

A decade after the removal of the Germans by New Zealand in 1914, during World War I, the new administration witnessed the rise of the second *Mau* movement under Ta'isi O. F. Nelson (see Appendix F). Similar to the *Mau a Pule*, the *Mau* became a direct response to the lack of agency in government, a disregard and termination of certain *fa'a-sāmoa* practices, and a lack of reverence for the “royal” titles of Sāmoa.²⁹ The *Mau* became a national movement with ninety-five percent support, unlike the *Mau a Pule* that relied solely on the island of Savai'i (*Pule*) and chiefs of the Tuamāsaga district on Upolu.³⁰ The *Mau* comprised Sāmoan chiefs, some European residents of Apia, and the *'afakasi*.³¹ In American Sāmoa, a *Mau* protest

²⁷ The German Kaiser or Emperor became an “imperial monarch who headed the political executive and the military apparatus, controlled all personnel appointments and enjoyed specific prerogatives such as the right to declare war or martial law in an emergency.” See: John Breuilly. 2001. *Nineteenth-Century Germany: Politics, Culture and Society 1780-1918*. New York: Oxford University Press, 167.

²⁸ Tracey Mar. 2016. *Decolonization and the Pacific: Indigenous Globalisation and the Ends of Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 83.

²⁹ The Sāmoan proverb, *O Sāmoa ua ta'oto, a o se i'a mai moana, aua o le i'a a Sāmoa ua uma ona 'aia* – “Sāmoa is like an ocean fish divided into sections.” Sāmoan genealogies and ranks are divided and complex as an open fish. Therefore, the origins of the principal chiefs of Sāmoa are connected to gods and their decedents. Sāmoan families claim themselves as “royal.” The term “royal” is not used in the same manner as European royalty, but bloodline connections to pre-contact Sāmoan gods, warriors, and revered paramount chiefs. See: Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 6.

³⁰ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 133. The Sāmoan *Mau* newspaper claimed 95% to 98% of Sāmoans supported the *Mau*. See: [no author]. 1928. “Happy Sāmoa.” *Sāmoan Guardian*, March 29.

³¹ A social class of “mixed race” Sāmoans. Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 156.

occurred against the U.S. Navy, but became a “less dramatic affair.”³² Unlike the Western Sāmoa *Mau* movements, the American Sāmoa *Mau* sought full civil rights and “was a protest against arbitrary U.S. Navy rule, not a demand for independence”³³ (see Appendix H).

As this dissertation will demonstrate, before the two *Mau* movements, Sāmoan clergymen had successfully protested against the L.M.S., and challenged European mission leadership, which led to multiple reforms and the Sāmoanization of the L.M.S. The L.M.S. *maus*³⁴ elevated Sāmoan clergymen (*faiife’au*) within the institution of the church and Sāmoan society. The Sāmoan indigenous civil society organized themselves under Sāmoan chiefs or clergymen and promoted a series of demands for nationalism, independence, cultural relevancy, and native agency.

Purpose and Significance

The *aso o le mālamalama* (enlightenment), or the age of transition to Sāmoa’s new political order became a period of changes within *fa’a-sāmoa* and the political system. This research investigates the evolution of Sāmoans into *aso o le malamalama*, beginning with Christianity and later under colonialism. During the German colonial era, I show Sāmoa’s proven potential to govern itself politically, economically, and religiously. Before colonial rule, the Sāmoans and the L.M.S. depended on a civilizing mission to effect changes. Education, literacy, capitalism, clothing, technology, firearms, biblical laws, and Christian morals became the route Sāmoans took to become “civil.” Although the acceptance of Christianity helped to reform the lives of the Sāmoan people, Sāmoan family rivalries plagued island politics up to the

³² I. C. Campbell. 2005. “Resistance and Colonial Government.” *The Journal of Pacific History*, 40(1): 46.

³³ David A. Chappell. 2000. “The Forgotten Mau: Anti-Navy Protest in American Sāmoa, 1920-1935.” *Pacific Historical Review*, 69(2): 218.

³⁴ *Mau*, with a capital “M” refers to the *Mau a Pule* against the German Administration and the *Mau* against New Zealand, however, *mau* with a lower case “m” indicates all Sāmoan protests, including disputes within the London Missionary Society church.

year 1899. The establishment of the Malua Theological College trained Sāmoan clergymen for teaching the Gospel, and for the spreading of the civilizing mission to all three sub-regions of Oceania as witnesses of the Great Commission.³⁵

Between 1873 and 1875, under Colonel Albert Steinberger, Sāmoan chiefs contributed to the provisional government that helped propel the islands into a Western governing system, with a recognized Bill of Rights and Constitution. The Sāmoan islands soon adjusted to colonial powers at the beginning of the 20th century with Germany, followed by New Zealand. Sāmoans witnessed the changes in their society—religiously, socially, economically, and culturally. When excluded from the decision-making processes and when European institutions threatened *fa'a-sāmoa*, including the chiefly titles, Sāmoans reacted collectively under their chiefs to effect changes of inclusiveness. Sāmoans viewed the changes as inevitable with the increase of foreign presence in the islands, but they wanted to play an active role in the decision making process. Material wealth and newly created positions within the colonial government and churches encouraged change.

In the early part of the 20th century, the *matai* and *'afakasi* organized business ventures and expressed interest in the political agendas of the Germans. The *Mau a Pule* used petitions and peaceful meetings to express the needs of the Sāmoan people. During the anti-New Zealand *Mau*, in addition to using newspapers, Sāmoans practiced civil disobedience and traveled to the League of Nations meeting in Geneva to petition grievances against New Zealand. As a “guardian of public peace,” the League refused to acknowledge the potential of Sāmoans to

³⁵ According to the Christian tradition, the “Great Commission” was Jesus’ command to His disciples to preach the Gospel to the “lost.” The commission is emphasized in the following Bible verse: “Go therefore and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I commanded you; and lo, I am with you always even to the end of the age” Matthew 28:19-20. See: Bible, New American Standard. 1995. *The Holy Bible*. Grand Rapids: Word Publishing Inc.

govern themselves,³⁶ and believed Western Sāmoans were low savages that never possessed “any semblance of self-government or organic laws.”³⁷ *Mau* leader, Ta’isi O. F. Nelson, sought help from New Zealand’s political leaders to assist in Sāmoa’s struggle for self-determination. The *mau* movements used methods, technology, and western notions of leadership together with *fa’a-sāmoa* to promote Sāmoan ideas and values.

For each *mau* movement, chiefs and clergymen pushed their agenda as a way to express their potential to lead and contribute to each institution on a larger scale than expected. On these grounds, we can argue that a syncretism or hybridity between *fa’a-sāmoa* and the civilizing mission of the church and colonizers produced a civil society that had organized nonviolent protests to effect reforms within the L.M.S. church and colonial governments. Sāmoa’s notion of hybridity, in terms of government structures, did not always fit the colonial perspective no matter how convincing and dedicated Sāmoans were within the foreign institutions. This dissertation, therefore, shows the resilience of *fa’a-sāmoa* and the *lotonu’u* (nationalism) of chiefs to remain relevant to the changes in Sāmoa through *mau* movements.

This research centers on two questions with a couple of sub-questions. Were Sāmoans capable of forming an effective civil society to influence reforms of the colonial governments, as they had already achieved within the L.M.S. church? How did the European-led L.M.S. choose to respond to the *Mau* movements? The following sub-questions support the main purpose of investigation: How did the indigenous civil society respond to colonialism in Sāmoa? Could the

³⁶ Norman Bentwich. 1930. *The Mandates System*. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 2; Fredrick Pollock. 1922. *The League of Nations*. London: Stevens and Sons, Ltd., 165.

³⁷ Western Sāmoa. 1931. *Sāmoan petition, 1931. To: The Secretary of Foreign Affairs for His Britannic Majesty's Government, The Secretary of State for the Government of the United States of America, The Reichs Chancellor of the Government of Germany. The petition of the accredit*. Auckland: National Printing Co.

L.M.S. have done more to support the *Mau* initiative, given the strong hybrid relationship and commitment of *fa'a-sāmoa* toward the church?

The L.M.S., in letters between the missionaries in Sāmoa and their superiors in London, officially claimed a “neutral” position. However, I would argue that the church naturally supported colonial objectives and suppressed the Sāmoan voices of dissent under the guise of “peace talks.” The L.M.S. promoted peace in every *Mau* movement, but at the same time politically upheld their objectives as a dominant Christian institution in Sāmoa; hence, they supported the colonial leadership.

Why is it important to examine the church during the *Mau* movements? First, the policy of the colonial Sāmoan church is a neglected narrative of Sāmoan historiography hidden behind the nostalgic memory of Rev. John Williams’ arrival in 1830 on board the *Messenger of Peace*. Second, *fa'a-sāmoa* and the church travel in the “same canoe,” as the orators state; therefore, it is of particular importance to reflect holistically on the Sāmoan identity as Sāmoan-Christians. Third, Christian missionaries are advocates of change throughout the world, and have influenced kings and colonial leaders. Despite the demonstrated potential of Sāmoans to achieve advancement in the new era of a civilizing mission, serve as missionaries for the Gospel, and successfully institutionalize the L.M.S. in every village of Sāmoa, the L.M.S. refused to investigate potential avenues with the colonial government for political change. Fourth, the L.M.S. witnessed first-hand the leadership capacity and commitment of Sāmoan clergymen to the Gospel, despite their issues with *fa'a-sāmoa*. Fifth, the vast majority of the work on the *Mau* movements has focused on the indigenous versus colonial binary, with little on the role of the L.M.S.

Within the discipline of Pacific historiography, this dissertation contributes to the themes of Pacific resistance studies and the role of Christian missions. This research examines the colonial and missionary connections in the region, and specifically within Sāmoa. Moreover, I highlight the major players in the *maus*, the L.M.S., and the colonial governments that inspire this narrative.

Literature Review

In a critique of Western historiography, Terence Wesley-Smith argued that Pacific Island historians should consider not only the content but also the framework of Pacific Island history.³⁸ Sāmoa's complex imperial past highlights both the "colonial" and "islander-oriented" histories to properly frame this dissertation. To assume that a "correct" paradigm or framework exists to interpret Sāmoa's colonial history is false. Rather, multiple approaches to Pacific and Sāmoan historiography exist. Combining "academic approach[es]" of colonial archival research and theoretical concepts, together with an island-centered history is important to the overall narrative. David Chappell prefers "a tool-kit approach: because the problems of evidence are often unpredictable; it pays to have more than one wrench."³⁹

James W. Davidson, of Australia National University, challenged the limitations of Pacific Island history in the 1950s and 1960s. Rather than focusing on imperial historical methods to examine the Pacific, Davidson promoted an islander-oriented approach. Davidson's pivotal article, "Problems of Pacific History," looked at the importance of islander agency, especially within "imperial history." According to Davidson, "Imperial history must give way to

³⁸ Terence Wesley-Smith. 2000. "Historiography of the Pacific: The Case of The Cambridge History." *Race and Class*, 41(4): 101-119.

³⁹ David A. Chappell. 1995. "Active Agents versus Passive Victims: Decolonized Historiography or Problematic Paradigm." *The Contemporary Pacific*, 7(2): 318.

the history of European expansion.”⁴⁰ Therefore, in order to stay relevant to “alien cultures” and their stories, Davidson encouraged “new forms of evidence, to involve himself in other men’s ways, and to avoid interpreting men’s actions in terms of the pattern of his own culture.”⁴¹ As an approach to islander-oriented history, this research weaves together the oral traditions and histories of Sāmoa’s old and modern society. The decentering of history is important, according to David Hanlon, because the expression of the past “can be sung, danced, chanted, spoken, carved, woven, painted, sculpted, and rapped as well as written.”⁴² For Tui-Ātua, in Sāmoa, “If you want to research indigenous knowledges and histories you have to research these chants and dances, for these cultural institutions are the history books of our ancestors.”⁴³

As a revisionist approach, Pacific historians have critiqued writings that assumed a “fatal impact” of Pacific cultures from contact with the West. Alan Moorehead’s *Fatal Impact* criticized the impact from the West and portrayed islanders as victims from diseases and cultural loss. That approach ignored how “adaptable, resourceful, and resilient”⁴⁴ island societies were during contact and interactions with European and American institutions. Pacific islanders played a major role in their histories as main actors and active participants to achieve their goals. In *The Cambridge History of Pacific Islanders*, Denoon points out the negative outcome of contact that led to diseases and colonial takeover of lands, but he believed that people of the Pacific “responded in markedly different ways, and elaborated their cultures into the robust and unique forms which they retain to the present day.”⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Davidson, “Problems of Pacific History,” 8-9.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁴² David Hanlon. 2003. “Beyond the ‘English Method of Tattooing; Decentering the Practice of History in Oceania.” *The Contemporary Pacific*, 15(1): 29-30.

⁴³ Tui-Ātua Tupua Tamasese Taisi Efi. 2005. “Clutter in Indigenous Knowledge, Research and History: A Sāmoan Perspective.” *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, Issue 25: 62-63.

⁴⁴ Kerry Howe. 1984. *Where the Waves Fall*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 352.

⁴⁵ Donald Denoon, Stewart Firth, Jocely Linnekin, Malama Meleisea, and Kareen Nero, eds. 1997. *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 148.

The terms syncretism and hybridity are defined differently, but this dissertation uses the terms synonymously to both mean the mixing of different cultures and institutions. Other relevant terms used to define the mixing of cultures are, for example: diaspora, intercultural interaction, transculturation, or creolization.⁴⁶ Syncretism represents an avenue leading to cultural compromise, according to Jerry Bentley. Specifically, beliefs, values, and, customs “find a place within the framework of a different cultural compromise.”⁴⁷ Hybridity is used by anthropologists, sociologists, and historians to refer to the blending of people of diverse backgrounds and “in the process reproducing themselves as a mixture, not definable in terms of autonomous categories.”⁴⁸ Therefore, this dissertation examines the relationship between the West and *fa’a-sāmoa* that successfully formed a hybrid society that helped push for reforms within the L.M.S. and against colonial Powers. Hybridity is often an unequal relationship, where colonialism was not always in keeping with *fa’a-sāmoa*. Colonialism tried to achieve policies, but at the same time limit Sāmoan agency. Sāmoan notions of hybridity did not always fit with the perspectives of colonial administrations. As the “inferior” race, Sāmoans could learn the ways of the West, but never achieve full equality. Furthermore, learning the culture of the West became “normal,” and at times this worked against *fa’a-sāmoa* in terms of government structures.

Anjali Prabhu understands hybridity as a “politics of liberation for the subaltern constituencies in whose name postcolonial studies as a discipline emerged.”⁴⁹ Prabhu defines hybrid as a “racial” term used within a colonial concept to understand a subordinate race. Homi

⁴⁶ Anjali Prabhu. 2007. *Hybridity: limites, transformations, prospects*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2.

⁴⁷ Jerry Bentley. 1993. *Old World Encounters: Cross-Cultural Contacts and Exchanges in Pre-Modern Times*. New York: Oxford University Press, viii.

⁴⁸ David Armitage and Alison Bashford, eds. 2014. *Pacific Histories: Ocean, Land, People*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 112.

⁴⁹ Prabhu, *Hybridity*, xi.

Bhabha viewed hybridity as a resilience of the subaltern against the imperial hegemonic powers. In Bhabha's *The Location of Culture* he writes, "The social articulation of difference, from the minority perspective, is a complex, on-going negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation."⁵⁰ Bhabha challenges the notion that indigenous cultures are entirely controlled by a hegemonic power; rather, the subaltern identity is not repressed, but has mutated into a hybrid identity.⁵¹

Marwan Kraidy's *Hybridity, or the Cultural Logic of Globalization* (2005) deconstructs the different forms of hybridity and might situate the Sāmoan hybrid experience within both the pre-colonial and colonial contexts. Therefore, to study the *Mau* movements without a discussion of all their elements, including the Christian missions, would be an incomplete analysis. Hybridity is highlighted in this dissertation because a purist recovery of absolute cultural or socioeconomic dichotomies between the colonizer and the colonized was not realistic. The institutions, especially colonialism, within Sāmoa imbricated the people in all sorts of ways, including the spiritual, economical, and social ways; the *Mau* movements reflected hybridity as a method of remaining relevant during the colonial era.

Initially, Sāmoa developed a deeply hybrid society that blended Christianity and *fa'a-sāmoa*. Jerry Bentley's *Old World Encounters* (1993) closely examines the process of cross-cultural interactions and observes, "conversion to foreign beliefs, values, or cultural standards took different forms" and "conversion most often brought something more than just spiritual or cultural advantages."⁵² Bentley's seminal book on cross-cultural contacts argues that the large-scale conversion to foreign cultural standards occurred "only when powerful political, social, or

⁵⁰ Homi Bhabha. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, 3

⁵¹ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 159.

⁵² Bentley, *Old World Encounters*, 8.

economic incentives encouraged it.”⁵³ Furthermore, Sāmoa’s initial interaction with the London Missionary Society was centered on material wealth. The Sāmoan Christian who accompanied Rev. John Williams via Tonga asked his kin,

Can the religion of these wonderful papalagis be anything but wise and good?’ said our friend to his naked countrymen...‘Let us look at them, and then look at ourselves...they have clothes upon their very feet, while ours are like the dogs’;- and then look at their axes, their scissors, and their other property, how rich they are!’⁵⁴

As Sāmoa experienced the introduction of more outside institutions, such as Christianity, capitalism, and eventually colonialism, there existed an unequal balance in the relationship between Sāmoans and a new structural hierarchy, especially within the government.

When looking at the relationship between colonialism and the colonial state, Ranajit Guha defines the colonial state as having “dominance without hegemony.” The colonial state acted as a force of dominance and governed the colonized with “little room for the development of a civil society governed by economic and legal contracts.”⁵⁵ Colonizers executed their laws and policies under a combination of coercion and persuasion. However, the subordinates expressed agency through collaboration and resistance. Under dominance, when persuasion outweighs coercion, according to Guha, that would lead to hegemony. As a result, that leaves a society “open to Resistance” and collaboration.⁵⁶ Guha highlights that colonialism was not a “unified field with all the ideologies and political practices.” Rather, colonizers and the subordinates were autonomous in their own way.⁵⁷ Sāmoans were, therefore, able to gain their own agency in protest toward the institutions of either the L.M.S. or the colonial powers.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁵⁴ John Williams. 2009. *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprise in the South Seas*. First published in 1837, London: J. Snow, 327-328.

⁵⁵ Gyan Prakash. 2002. “Civil Society: Community, and the Nation in Colonial India.” *Etnografica* VI(1), 31.

⁵⁶ Ranajit Guha. 1997. *Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 23.

⁵⁷ Guha, *Dominance without Hegemony*, ix.

Ranajit Guha's essay, *The Prose of Counter-Insurgency*, examines the counter-insurgency historiography and the representation of peasant revolts. Guha's close analysis of the colonized and the colonizer shows the challenge of disentangling the voices of the two. The binary between the two "voices" has always been artificial. Therefore, a hybridity of the different institutions in Sāmoa is a more realistic approach. Edward Said's *Forward to Selected Subaltern Studies* refers to Guha's essay:

no matter how one tried to extricate subaltern from elite histories, they are different but overlapping and curiously interdependent territories...if subaltern history is construed to be only a separatist enterprise...then it runs the risk of just being a mirror opposite of the writing whose tyranny it disputes. It is also likely to be as exclusivist, as limited, provincial, and discriminatory in its suppressions and repressions as the master discourses of colonialism and elitism. In fact, as Guha shows, the subaltern alternative is an integrative knowledge.⁵⁸

To remove subaltern histories from elite histories would be unrealistic. The L.M.S. and the colonial governments depended on Sāmoan *faife'au* and *matai*, and vice versa. When Sāmoans viewed their limitations, due to direct and indirect colonial rule, they organized under a civil society to initiate changes.

The discussion of civil societies is associated usually with post-colonial frameworks and the building of nation states. But the concept of civil society was first articulated in the 17th century by writers such as John Locke and Thomas Hobbes. Locke, Hobbes and other writers of that period viewed a civil society as a "well-ordered society that ensured them [the people] maximum freedom to pursue their self-chosen purposes."⁵⁹ In the modern era, German philosopher G. W. F. Hegel argued that a civil society needed to be ordered by the state; therefore, there is an interdependence between individuals and the state based on the laws.⁶⁰

Antonio Gramsci believed that within civil societies, states "exercise ideological hegemony over

⁵⁸ Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Spivak, eds. 1988. *Selected Subaltern Studies*. New York: Oxford Press, viii.

⁵⁹ Bhikhu Parekh. 2004. "Putting civil society in its Place." In *Exploring Civil Society: Political and Cultural Contexts*, edited by Marlies Glasius, David Lewis, and hakan Seckinelgin. New York: Routledge, 15.

⁶⁰ Joel Migdal. 2001. *State in Society: Studying How States and Societies Transform and Constitute One Another*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 130.

their subjects.”⁶¹ Gramsci also believed that a civil society was not based on domination by means of force, “but of consent by means of political and ideological leadership.”⁶² Therefore, given the hegemonic state of affairs within a society, “individuals negotiate, argue, struggle against or agree with each other and with the centres of political and economic authority.”⁶³ According to Gramsci, the group that controls the institutions of both the state and civil society can influence the society.⁶⁴ The colonial state acted as a force of dominance, and that left little room for the development of a civil society.⁶⁵

The discussion about civil society has undergone a massive global revival and re-emerged in the mid-twentieth century. Using Gramsci’s ideas, Yoshihiko Uchida of Japan, argued that the Japanese civil society was weak and that “patriarchal family life and individuals’ deference towards power” enabled “Japanese capitalism to grow at an exceptional speed without significant social resistance.”⁶⁶ Uchida challenged the authoritarian quality of the Japanese state. In the 1970s, Latin American activists embraced the concept of civil society against the authoritarian military regimes. Edgardo Landar’s analysis re-centers the South American issue of civil society around colonial and Eurocentric aspects of the nation-state. Overall, activists rejected “liberal democracy” that served to “reproduce and legitimize class domination.”⁶⁷ While there is wide agreement that the concept of civil society fits post-colonial challenges, it remains debated whether the discussion is relevant in the colonial context. *Exploring Civil*

⁶¹ John and Jean Comaroff. 1999. *Civil Society and the Political Imagination in Africa: Critical Perspectives*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 93.

⁶² Roger Simon. 1991. *Gramsci’s Political Thought: an Introduction*. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 21.

⁶³ Mary Kaldor. 2004. “Globalization and Civil Society.” In *Exploring Civil Society: Political and Cultural Contexts*, edited by Marlies Glasius, David Lewis, and Hakan Seckinelgin. London: Taylor & Francis Group, 192.

⁶⁴ Iati Iati. 2007. *Civil Society and Political Accountability in Sāmoa: A Critical Response to the Good Governance Agenda for Civil Society From A Pacific Island Perspective*. Doctorate Dissertation, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 76.

⁶⁵ Prakash, “Civil Society,” 31.

⁶⁶ Keane, *Civil Society*, 13.

⁶⁷ Edgardo Landar. 2011. “The discourse of civil society and current decolonisation struggles in South America.” In *The Dark Side of Globalization*, by Jorge Heine and Ramesh C. Thakur, R. C., editors. New York: United Nations University Press, 1.

Society by Marlies Glasius, et al. (2004) examines the different cultural contexts in which civil society is relevant. According to Glasius, et. al., civil society depends less on abstract definitions than on “the extent to which it is grounded in actual experiences from around the world and embedded in local realities.”⁶⁸

Mahmood Mamdani’s *Citizen and Subject* reexamines the colonial situation in Africa and believes that “the history of civil society in colonial Africa is laced with racism.”⁶⁹ Racism excluded the “uncivilized” from “civilized” civil society. The subject population was incorporated into the colonial power, but marginalized. Within this paradigm the “indirect” rule through a Native Authority relegated to a subaltern role excluded from civil society. In effect, the struggle of the subaltern was both against “customary authorities in the local state and against racial barriers in civil society.”⁷⁰ The indigenous struggle meant equal rights in the alien state and economy. Mamdani believed that independence started at “the birth of a deracialized state.”⁷¹ Once the state becomes modern enough and deracialized, the demands within the civil society are “formulated in the language of nationalism and social justice.”⁷² The *Mau* movements were led by Sāmoan chiefs who challenged colonial notions of Sāmoan inferiority and demanded inclusion of indigenous actions in the “modern” state. The problem rested on the fact that the colonial administrations did not recognize the Sāmoan civil society as deserving of equal rights.

The response of Sāmoan civil society leaders of chiefs and clergymen within different situations reflected power relations between groups. Whether a group in authority represented

⁶⁸ Marlies Glasius, David Lewis and Hakan Seckinelgin. 2004. *Exploring Civil Society: Political and Cultural Contexts*. London: Taylor & Francis Group, 10.

⁶⁹ Mahmood Mamdani. 1996. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 19.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 21.

native elites or colonial administrators, subalterns retained active agency. In this research, I am interested in applying the term civil society within a colonial context. The idea of a civil society is complex and represents multiple facets. John Keane defines civil society as a community “which is self-regulating and empowered through the use of knowledge, skills, and values inculcated within the people.”⁷³ According to Iati Iati, Joseph Camilleri’s definition of civil society fits the context of Sāmoa, and the colonial and post-colonial movements. Camilleri believes,

The diverse associations that fall under this category include extended families, clans, villages, local communities, unions, craft guilds or firms, groups for leisure or charity, and religious organizations; indeed, the whole gamut of voluntary associations formed to advance particular interests or objectives.⁷⁴

Iati Iati proposed that civil society “should be defined to the context in which it is applied.”⁷⁵ According to Joel Migdal, the notion of a civil society “has had different shades of meaning in various theoretical contexts.”⁷⁶ “All societies have ongoing battles among groups pushing different versions of how people should behave,” states Migdal; therefore, “The nature and outcomes of these struggles give societies their distinctive structure and character.”⁷⁷ The *Mau* movements represented a response of Sāmoans under the power of distinct groups, clergy or *matai*, to advance particular Sāmoan interests. The families, clans, and villages, as presented by Camilleri, organized themselves to advance family interests and Sāmoan nationalist objectives.

The response of Sāmoans toward the centralized institutions naturally came with opposition because colonialism is inherently an unequal relationship. Certain elites and groups believed in the colonial state, but the structure of the chiefly system gave power to the village

⁷³ Keane, *Civil Society*, 3.

⁷⁴ Joseph Camilleri. 1995. “State, Civil Society, and Economy.” In *The State in Transition: Reimagining Political Space*, edited by Joseph A. Camilleri, Anthony P. Jarvis, and Albert J. Paolini. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 216.

⁷⁵ Iati, *Civil Society and Political Accountability in Sāmoa*, 8.

⁷⁶ Migdal, *State in Society*, 130.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 12.

and district family chiefs. Under German Governor Solf, his newly formed colonial government elevated lesser ranked chiefs to power, and made their authority dependent solely on him. The same situation occurred during the New Zealand Administration. *Fa'a-sāmoa* system of governing shifted, and that mobilized Sāmoans. According to Lauren Benton, “Conquered and colonized groups sought, in turn, to respond to the imposition of laws in ways that included accommodation, advocacy within the system, subtle delegitimation, and outright rebellion.”⁷⁸

The L.M.S. church represented an influential force, but it was not as dominant as the colonial state. However, the church remained hierarchical both within the European missionary and Sāmoan contexts. Fortunately for Sāmoans, they freely moved between denominations, and made decisions whether to join the church or not. Disagreements within denominations and, at times, the lack of recognition of certain chiefly titles resulted in major church schisms. The Malietoa family committed themselves to the L.M.S., whereas the families associated with the paramount title Matā'afa remained loyal to Catholicism. Unlike the colonial government, the L.M.S. became susceptible to reforms from the *fa'a-matai* system due to the “peaceful” and non-combative nature of the church. This dissertation emphasizes hybridity as a negotiated space between colonial government and *fa'a-sāmoa* that left wiggle room for modern protest tactics within a changing civil society.

Contextualizing the arrival of the missionaries in Oceania and the cross-cultural experiences became the focus of Anna Johnston's *Missionary Writing and Empire* (2003), providing a more thorough analysis on the topic of Christian missions. Johnston viewed the missionaries as part of the overall colonial experience, with similar objectives. The civilizing mission argument concentrated on the premise to save indigenous populations from

⁷⁸ Lauren Benton. 2002. *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History, 1400-1900*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2-3.

“backwardness and inter-tribal wars.”⁷⁹ Unfortunately, indigenous groups only “became significant when they were part of colonial exploits.”⁸⁰ Gary Wilder claims that colonial governments rationalized and racialized native society; therefore, the “civil society could be an impossible promise.”⁸¹ Wilder believes that civilizing the natives became a justification for imperialist intervention; the native exclusion within the colonial state meant “they are not yet civilized.”⁸² Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and the London Missionary Society presented *Christianity the Means of Civilization* (1837) before a Committee of the House of Commons in London. According to the church secretaries, “No man can become a Christian, in the true sense of the term, however, savage he may have been before, without becoming a civilized man.”⁸³ The missionary sources challenge the notion of missionaries promoting only a religious experience, but as Neill states, “they were, in fact, the tools of governments, and that missions can be classed as one of the instruments of Western infiltration and control.”⁸⁴ European missionaries received huge support from native religious converts to achieve their Christian mission work within the islands and throughout Oceania. Christianity, however, was used by Sāmoans to show how civilized they had become through established churches, literacy, and missionary work.

J. W. Davidson argues, “If the historian is to understand the course of European contact with the non-European world at all fully, he must place his work within a conceptual framework

⁷⁹ Eghosa E. Osaghae. 2006. “Colonialism and Civil Society in Africa: The Perspective of Ekeh's Two Publics.” *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 17(3): 236.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Gary Wilder. 1999. “Practicing Citizenship in Imperial Paris.” *Civil Society and the Political Imagination in Africa: Critical Perspectives*, edited by John L. and Jean Comaroff. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 45.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ D. Coates, J. Beecham, and W. Ellis. 1837. *Christianity, the means of civilization: shown in the evidence given before a committee of the House of Commons, on aborigines*. London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, L. and G. Seeley, and T. Mason, 174-175.

⁸⁴ Stephen Neill. 1966. *Colonialism and Christian Missions*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 12.

which is equally broad-based.”⁸⁵ This dissertation places the European institutions in Sāmoa, namely the L.M.S. and colonial powers, alongside an “analysis of the indigenous forces that have similarly contributed to the making of the contemporary Pacific.”⁸⁶ I consulted literature that provides an analysis of the broader scope of European influences and the responses of Pacific Islanders. Paul Kennedy’s *The Sāmoan Tangle* (1974) aimed “to place the lengthy dispute over Sāmoa in a wider diplomatic and imperial context.”⁸⁷ Kennedy called the interactions between the Sāmoans and the colonial powers as “one of the most interesting examples of great power rivalries in the Pacific.”⁸⁸ In *The Origins of International Rivalry in Sāmoa* (1934), Sylvia Masterman approaches the Sāmoa situation similarly. However, J. W. Davidson and his student R. P. Gilson treated Sāmoans as capable people with an indigenous agency within the church and governments. Davidson recognized the leaders of Sāmoa as “a proud and politically capable people,” but regarding leadership, they received “no authority, in matters of government.”⁸⁹ The colonial administrators limited the role of Sāmoan chiefs to an advisory role.

At the start of the 20th century, the Germans displayed a strong political fortitude and colonial presence in the region as well as a proven strength to withstand the powers of Great Britain, France, and the U.S. German businesses had high economic stakes in the western Sāmoan islands since the 1850s. In addition to territory on the continent of Africa, the Germans established colonies in all three sub-regions of the Pacific. Numerous scholars have written extensively about the German-Sāmoan relationship from different economic, political, and colonial perspectives. John Moses and Paul Kennedy’s *Germany in the Pacific and Far East*,

⁸⁵ J. W. Davidson. 1966. “Problems of Pacific History.” *Journal of Pacific History*, 1(1), 8-9.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁸⁷ Paul Kennedy. 1974. *The Sāmoan Tangle: A Study in Anglo-German-American Relations 1878-1900*. New York: Barnes & Noble, x.

⁸⁸ Kennedy, *The Sāmoan Tangle*, x.

⁸⁹ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 12. See also: Jocelyn Linnekin. 1997. “Contending Approaches.” In *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islands*, edited by Donald Denoon, et. al. New York: Cambridge University Press, 25.

1870–1914 (1977) follows in the footsteps of Davidson and provides a multi-dimensional approach of Germany’s impact in the region, including a Pacific response. Steward Firth (1986), Arthur Knoll and Lewis Gann (1987), and Hermann Hiery and John MacKenzie (1997) provide detailed accounts of that colonial experience. The majority of the material for the *Mau a Pule* movement against German colonialism came from primary archival sources, which I will discuss in the Methodology section. Davidson’s *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa* (1973) and Peter Hempenstall’s *Resistance in the German Pacific Empire* (1975), have detailed historical accounts of the events that led to the *Mau a Pule* movement. Hempenstall’s research on resistance in the Pacific was framed by re-examining African attitudes to European civilization. The Pacific Island response to the German Pacific empire established a “comparative generalization” between the Pacific and African forms of protest.⁹⁰

The New Zealand occupation at the start of World War I (1914) resulted in another colonial experience for the western islands of Sāmoa. Colonialism in Sāmoa is obviously not monolithic; however, the conversation of Western colonialism in the Pacific is sometimes viewed that way. The material on the New Zealand-Sāmoa relationship came mostly from the writings about the *Mau* movement. *Mau* leader O. F. Nelson’s *Sāmoa at Geneva: Misleading The League of Nations* (1928) and first-hand accounts from *The Truth about Sāmoa* (1928) criticized the New Zealand government and its policies. Nelson’s pro-Sāmoan published works set context to Sāmoa’s issues with New Zealand’s colonial government. He called Sāmoan supporters of New Zealand “loyalists,” and situated Sāmoans as a “civilized” group of island people. A professor of the National University of Sāmoa, Malama Meleisea, published *Lagaga* (1987), *The Making of Modern Sāmoa* (1987), and *Change and Adaptation in Western Sāmoa*

⁹⁰ Peter Hempenstall. 1975. “Resistance in the German Pacific Empire: Toward a Theory of Early Colonial Response.” *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 84(1): 5.

(1992). Meleisea highlights the lack of fit between the complex *fa'a-sāmoa* and foreign systems to understand the context of the *Mau* movements. Meleisea argued that the *Mau* movement was a “short episode in the continuing struggle by the Sāmoans to defend their system.”⁹¹ The “system” referred to by Meleisea meant the process of maintaining lands and titles as part of *fa'a-sāmoa*. The process to protect this system started before the arrival of New Zealand, but during the German administration by Lauaki Namulau'ulu Mamoe.

Davidson's involvement in Sāmoa's political transition to independence has made him a “passionate partisan” in Sāmoa's past.⁹² Sāmoans were capable of leading their own government, according to Davidson. He recognized that fellow colleagues from New Zealand would disagree with him on many subjects that pertained to Sāmoa, because his experiences had affected his presentation of events. Albert Wendt's master's thesis *Guardians and Wards* (1965) and Michael Field's *Mau: Sāmoa's Struggle for Freedom* (1991, 2006) placed an emphasis on racism as a major contributor to the *Mau* movement. According to Field, the ideological foundation of colonialism centered on racism. Therefore, New Zealanders refused to accept any Sāmoan point as a valid one.⁹³ Patricia O'Brien's *Tautai: World History, and the Life of Ta'isi O. F. Nelson* (2017) received access to shared family stories of Ta'isi Nelson, including personal papers to understand the life and purpose of the *Mau* leader. O'Brien's thorough research on the life of Ta'isi Nelson revealed the valid arguments made by Ta'isi about the *Mau*. Ta'isi's character is under the microscope during the *Mau*, but O'Brien reveals the resilience of Ta'isi to overcome many obstacles to set Sāmoa on a better path of self-determination.

In *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, Davidson's thorough analysis of Sāmoa's political history, from first “contact” to independence, has provided historical agency to the people of Sāmoa. In the

⁹¹ Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 128.

⁹² Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, x.

⁹³ Field, *Mau: Sāmoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 221.

Introduction he writes, “Since the arrival of the first missionaries and traders just over 130 years ago, the Sāmoans have accepted much from the West, but they have also retained the basic patterns of their traditional culture.”⁹⁴ This dissertation broadens the scope of understanding Sāmoa, specifically the *Mau* movements. Western civilization and all of its social, economic, and educational benefits naturally “created the need for modern forms of government.”⁹⁵ I have used the concept of civil society to help conceptualize the ways in which Sāmoans used foreign institutions to organize themselves during *mau* movements. I do not see Sāmoans during the colonial era as “passive, helpless, and always persecuted.” The *Mau* movements represented Sāmoa’s acceptance of Western changes, but like Meleisea, wanted to defend their systems. More importantly, Sāmoans viewed the era of colonialism as *aso le malamalama* “enlightenment” as the period of advancement. The foreign systems were not “evil,” rather, Sāmoan leaders wanted to incorporate the church, colonial laws, and influences from the West without colonial powers dictating the laws of the land. *Lotunu’u* (patriotism) is clearly defined in this dissertation as the act of maintaining a Sāmoa governed by Sāmoan elements, and not necessarily clear independence from foreign institutions. Sāmoans who remained loyal to the L.M.S., or either of the two colonial powers, had as much *lotonu’u* as the chiefs that led the *Mau* movement. Although there existed factions within Sāmoa, one thing remained—the passion to practice *fa’a-sāmoa*—even during its transformation as a result of Christianity and colonial governments.

Pacific Resistance Studies

A significant part of this research centers on Pacific resistance studies. In *Protest and Dissent in the Colonial Pacific*, Peter Hempenstall and Noel Rutherford used the terms

⁹⁴ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, ix.

⁹⁵ Davidson, “Problems of Pacific History,” 16.

“resistance” and “protest” to examine “social and political behavior” across several Pacific cultures during the 18th and 19th centuries. Hempenstall and Rutherford’s research compared resistance and protest in the different Pacific societies, and the use of definitions, classifications, case studies, and analysis. The framework used is suitable to examine the multiple *mau* movements. Furthermore, the authors place the *Mau* movements within the context of Pacific resistance studies as a prime example of political protests and the renegotiation of colonial power relations. Similar to other Pacific island resistance movements, the *Mau* movements used technology, knowledge, and ideologies from within and outside of their islands to challenge American or European institutional laws.

Hempenstall and Rutherford defined “resistance” as a failure or refusal to cooperate with another body of power.⁹⁶ They said the term “protest,” on the other hand, carried a more positive connotation of an active movement for change. It promoted islander agency and renegotiated change to fit the cultural context of the people involved.⁹⁷ Both terms refer to conflict, but protest is more “general and less restrictive” and “stresses the positive rather than the negative side of the indigenous response to domination.”⁹⁸ Pacific protests stemmed not only directly from European influences but also from inter-island conflicts based on power, prestige, and wealth.⁹⁹ I prefer to use the term “protest” to define the *mau* movements in Sāmoa.

Adapting Terence Ranger’s theoretical categories of African resistance, Hempenstall and Rutherford analyzed the different responses given by Pacific Islanders toward domination, occupation, unknown relationships, miscommunication, disruption of *tapu* (sacredness), and collaboration for power and benefits. The conflicts represented frustrations from both European

⁹⁶ Hempenstall and Rutherford, *Protest and Dissent in the Colonial Pacific*, 2.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

influences and the internal cultural rivalries for authority and prestige. The following categories feature the major themes of Pacific resistance studies and case studies throughout the region that reflect multiple examples of indigenous Pacific societies responding to “outside” influences. As a result of the interactions with the new institutions, ample evidence exists to suggest that natives contributed to, benefitted from, and collaborated at the local, religious, and colonial levels.

Armed Protest

Indigenous Pacific peoples used armed protest as an option against colonization, unfair wages, and land occupation. In the early contact history of the Mariana Islands, in the sub-region of Micronesia, the Spaniards arrived with both religion and material wealth. As early as the 1660s, the Mariana Islands “were marked by sporadic outbreaks of fighting occasioned by local political intrigues and rivalries, grievances suffered at the hands of the Spanish troops, and the programme of cultural reform initiated by the missionaries.”¹⁰⁰ By the early 18th century, the combination of irregular warfare and illnesses led to a drastic decline in the population of Marianas by 70%.¹⁰¹ The strategy of divide and conquer resulted in multiple deaths too.

In New Zealand, the Maori traded with whalers and traders as early as the late 1700s and early 1800s. European traders desired Maori weapons, dressed flax, and cloaks, and received nails, iron tools, and European clothing in exchange; but muskets became the ultimate wish.¹⁰² The “musket wars” started in 1814 and ended with the signing of the Waitangi Treaty of 1840. Maori efforts at self-determination emerged in the Land Wars between the 1840s to the 1860s. The Maori took up arms due to the rise of settlers, a misrepresented treaty, and a hostile atmosphere. By 1892, an estimated 42,000 Maori survived; since the first contact, the

¹⁰⁰ Francis Hezel and Marjorie Driver. 1988. “From Conquest to Colonisation: Spain in the Mariana Islands 1690-1740.” *The Journal of Pacific History*, 23(2): 137.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 140.

¹⁰² Pat Hohepa. 1999. “My Musket, My Missionary, and My Mana.” In *Voyages & Beaches: Pacific Encounters, 1769-1840*, edited by Jonathan Lamb, Bridget Orr, and Alex Calder. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 183.

indigenous population dropped by 75 percent.¹⁰³ The Sāmoan civil wars among rival chiefs in the 1860s and 1870s amid outside meddling is another example of armed protest within the Pacific.

Cultural Protest

A cultural protest movement displayed the syncretism between the newly introduced Christian Faith and indigenous spirituality, referred to by Kosken as, “semi-heathen heretical religions.”¹⁰⁴ The Oceanians borrowed Christian teachings. However, they wanted to maintain customary practices, such as feasting, dancing, and ceremonial protocols. At the same time, the Oceanians could adopt and adapt to Western styles of worship and achieved personal agendas. As early as the first contact with missionaries, Islanders exploited Christianity to either appropriate material wealth, promote cultural agency, or resist foreign dominion and influence. The cultural protests represented self-empowerment for native islanders interested in the new religion. The Sāmoan Siovili Cult and the Mamaia of Tahiti represented different forms of cultural protest and resistance toward a foreign presence in the islands.

The Sāmoan Siovili cult enthused followers as early as the 1820s. The inspired leader, named “Joe Gimlet,” claimed the ability to both heal the sick and embody Jesus Christ. Siovili’s exposure to the Mamaia cult in Tahiti, during his travel on a whaling ship, spiritually moved the Sāmoan religious leader to begin a version of Christianity in Sāmoa. The Mamaia started in 1826 by two dissident prophets, Teao and Hue. The Tahitian-based syncretic religion articulated a combination of the “pagan” religion of Raiatea and the newly established Christian faith. Lanternari believed that the movement exhibited a clear protest against both the missionaries and

¹⁰³ Hohepa, “My Musket, My Missionary, and My Mana,” 182.

¹⁰⁴ Aarne A. Koskinen. 1953. *Missionary Influence as a Political Factor in the Pacific Islands*. Helsinki: Helsingfors Universitet, 223.

the local authority.¹⁰⁵ The Mamaia cult showed resistance as well as rejected the written Word of God and translated biblical books. The cult claimed religious superiority over the L.M.S. because of the belief in the “supernormal without any literary aids.”¹⁰⁶ Both the Mamaia and Siovili movements phased out in the 1840s. As cultural movements, both the Mamaia and Siovili cults drew on opportunities to reinstate pre-contact practices that the London Missionary Society banned due to its heathen nature.¹⁰⁷

Economic Protest

In both Sāmoa and Tonga, at different times, a business cooperative started challenging colonial counterparts. In Sāmoa, the *Oloa* Company was started by local Sāmoan elites in 1904 as a commercial interest to by-pass the Germans who paid low prices and “adapt[ed] the native copra industry to the vagaries of the world market.”¹⁰⁸ *Oloa* referred to the money contributed to the *Malō* (government), and later became the name of the patriotic venture to “emancipate the Sāmoans from their ‘slavery’ to the white copra traders.”¹⁰⁹ The *Oloa* accumulated vast amounts of property and money; unfortunately, German Governor Self suppressed the initiative and, ironically, shut down the Sāmoan economic project. Copra production remained at the center of the Sāmoan economic livelihood.¹¹⁰ The *Oloa* resistance proved that Pacific Islanders benefited from capitalism and learned the ins and outs of how to function within the new political and economic paradigm. The formation of an economic cooperative positively proved the knowledge indigenous people gained about capitalism, but it surprised colonial administrators

¹⁰⁵ Vittorio Lanternari. 1963. *The Religions of the Oppressed: A Study of Modern Messianic Cults*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc, 240.

¹⁰⁶ Jukka Siikala. 1982. *Cult and Conflict in Tropical Polynesia: A Study of Traditional Religion, Christianity and Nativistic Movements*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 240.

¹⁰⁷ Derek Freeman. 1959. “Joe Gimlet or Siovili Cult: an episode in the religious history of early Sāmoa.” In *Anthropology in the South Seas; essays presented to H. D. Skinner*, 185-200. New Plymouth, N.Z.: T. Avery and Sons, 190.

¹⁰⁸ Hempenstall, *Pacific Islanders under German Rule*, 202.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 44.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 202.

who still believed “Sāmoans lacked the education and commercial knowledge.”¹¹¹ The civilizing mission had perhaps worked, as Pacific Islanders themselves benefitted from the education and European methods of trade, commerce, and communication. As long as there existed a colonial administrator, colonial hegemony remain enforced.

The *Tonga ma’a Tonga Kautaha* movement of 1909 promoted the same economic resistance as the *Oloa*. During the early 1900s, Tonga experienced a prosperous period of trade in the Pacific, and the local Islanders benefitted financially in the same way as the European traders. The colonial rule favored the expats living on the island. Unfortunately, while the Europeans received a 50% discount in shops, Tongans paid the full price.¹¹² Unfair trading and business relationships brought resentment and bitterness against the small European trading community. As a response, a beachcomber named Alister Cameron, who had married a local Tongan woman, encouraged the Tongans to form a trading company for themselves. The successful initiative extended to include manufactured goods, e.g., sugar, biscuits, and butter. The British saw the *Tonga ma’a Tonga Kautaha* as a threat, and took the founder of the cooperative to court. After much discussion and trial, sovereignty remained in the power of King Tupou II and his Privy Council. Tonga’s successful court case against the British Crown limited British influence, and at the same time allowed for the opportunity to continue *Tonga ma’a Tonga Kautaha*.

Political Protest

In 1949, the Guam Congress staged a political walk out in protest to the blatant disregard of indigenous Chamorro people by the U.S. government. That peaceful act of defiance allowed

¹¹¹ Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 117.

¹¹² Hempenstall and Rutherford, *Protest and Dissent in the Colonial Pacific*, 50.

Guamanians to gain a new status as U.S. citizens under the Organic Act of 1950.¹¹³ The Organic Act represented a step “forward” for the Chamorro people. However, the indigenous population viewed the passed Act as problematic because of its political limitations regarding voting rights, and no representation in Washington D.C. The Guam political protest had called for more indigenous rights, self-determination, and agency in Guam politics. Today, Guam’s political status as a U.S. territory is still an ongoing debate, and the option for commonwealth or independence has been elusive.¹¹⁴ Hattori writes, “While our island has changed so much, and while our people have ostensibly achieved so much, ironically the hopes and dreams of previous generations – for sovereignty, self-reliance, and freedom from land alienation – provokingly linger.”¹¹⁵ David Robie’s *Blood on their Banner* (1989) examines the liberation struggles of islands of the region and the “quest for national sovereignty that takes into account the legacy of more than two centuries of colonialism.”¹¹⁶

The *Mau a Pule* and the *Mau* fall under the category of political protests in Pacific resistance studies. The Pacific peoples and cultures experienced different impacts from colonial and foreign influences; so, they responded culturally, economically, politically, and at times violently. The church remained “neutral” throughout the resistance movements, but pursued “peace” as a means of civilizing the “savage natives.” Protests existed not only within the context of colonialism but also amongst the native elites. Hempenstall and Rutherford point out

¹¹³ The Organic Act of Guam granted civil and political rights for the citizens of Guam. In addition to American citizenship, Guamanians or Chamorros received a bill of rights, a legislature, and a judiciary system. However, this Act did not give the citizens of Guam equal rights to United States citizens. See also: Carlos Taitano. 1988. “Guam: The Struggle for Civil and Political Rights.” In *Micronesian Politics*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, 151-156. American Sāmoa wanted an Organic Act at first, but later changed their minds. Both Guam and American Sāmoa have a non-voting delegate in the U.S. House of Representatives.

¹¹⁴ Taitano, “Guam: The Struggle for Civil and Political Rights,” 159.

¹¹⁵ Anne Perez Hattori. 1994. “Righting Civil Wrongs: Guam Congress Walkout of 1949.” *Journal of Micronesian Studies*, 3(1): 68.

¹¹⁶ David Robie. 1989. *Blood on their Banner: Nationalist Struggles in the South Pacific*. London: Atlantic Highlands, 23.

that implying that the protest ended with the colonial era is false, but “new forms adapted to the changed context.”¹¹⁷

Church Protest

The Kingdom of Tonga became the pioneer of church independence in the Pacific. Under the advice of ex-missionary, Shirley Baker, in 1885, the crowned King George Tupou I set up the Free Church of Tonga “in opposition to the Wesleyan missionaries from Australia and gathered most of the people of the country into their new fold.”¹¹⁸ The Tongan Church became self-sufficient and an example for the L.M.S. Sāmoan church to follow.

In Sāmoa, the L.M.S. gave into demands for a more independent church. Although the L.M.S. directors in London pressed for independent congregations, the European missionaries on-site refused to give up control. In Fiji, the famous Methodist missionary, Rev. George Brown, tried to avoid what happened in Tonga twenty years earlier. Rev. Brown started a “Free Church” in the Lau islands and used a Tongan pastor. Brown “believed they were evidence of the need for a greater voice for chiefs and people in the church.”¹¹⁹ The situation in Fiji became even more complicated when the Christian Indians wanted a synod of their own. By 1926, three separate synods existed, one Indian, one Fijian, and a European synod “over them both.”¹²⁰

Other Forms of Resistance and Protests

Resistance or protest included “everyday forms of resistance – such as foot-dragging, passive noncompliance, deceit, pilfering, slander, sabotage, and arson.”¹²¹ James Scott argues

¹¹⁷ Hempenstall and Rutherford, *Protest and Dissent in the Colonial Pacific*, 2.

¹¹⁸ Forman, *The Island Churches*, 125.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 131.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 133.

¹²¹ Susan Eckstein and Manuel Merino. 2001. *Movements, Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 8.

that everyday actions made no headlines and resistance became a crime against the law.¹²² Not all Pacific Islanders protested, but some supported the new social order established by the governing power. In the Fiji plantations, some “attempted desertion...Hoping perhaps to submerge themselves in the free Indian community slowly emerging on the fringes of the plantations. Some vented their range on the crops and tools of the employers, feigned illness, and absented themselves from work.”¹²³ The German firm in Sāmoa, Godeffroy and Son, exploited and abused its workers, according to Brij Lal, and that form of plantation discipline discouraged overt expressions of disobedience and resistance.”¹²⁴ The acceptance of the status quo and any associated “comforts” that it brought appeared enticing. Unfortunately, to challenge labor bosses and get a conviction for physical abuse proved difficult since “violence, coercion, and control are an integral part of the plantation system.”¹²⁵

Methodology

The majority of the primary sources gathered for this dissertation came from archival research in London, Berlin, Aotearoa, Wellington, Apia, and the Pacific Collection at the University of Hawai‘i in Honolulu. Boxes filled with organized labeled folders of original letters, memorandums, documents, reports, and minutes helped to piece together a narrative of the popularized *Mau* movements. I used secondary literature and bibliographies to fine-tune the research while abroad. Communication with the archivists before the trip abroad helped with preliminary research, using online library archive catalogs.¹²⁶

¹²² James C. Scott. 1985. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, xvii.

¹²³ Brij Lal, Doug Munro, and Edward Beechert. 1993. *Plantation Workers: Resistance and Accommodation*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 212.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 106.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 202.

¹²⁶ I am grateful to the following people and organizations for the sources of funding: Sāmoan Congregational Christian Church, the Congregational Christian Church of American Sāmoa California, the Faith C. Ai Memorial

The Council of World Mission/London Missionary Society Archive housed original documents of all L.M.S. overseas missionary sites around the world.¹²⁷ The C.W.M./L.M.S. Archive has approximately 2,660 boxes of thousands of materials from incoming correspondences to journals and reports dating from 1764–1977. The *Missionary Magazine*, the *Chronicle*, the *Sulu*, and *Annual Reports* provided detailed accounts of early established mission sites and the missionary work throughout the outer islands. Furthermore, both primary and secondary sources vividly portrayed deputation visits that addressed multiple issues of colonialism, civil wars, installment and the replacement of missionaries, established new schools, and internal disagreements among managing missionaries.

I spent a week at the British Museum, a fifteen-minute walk from the C.W.M./L.M.S. archives at the University of London. The British Museum kept the complete microfilm records of L.M.S. official meeting minutes, specifically the Sāmoa District Committee, with detailed accounts of events that occurred within the island ministry. The minutes recorded the missionaries and *faife'au* present at the session meetings, the discussed topics, and the finalized resolutions. As the L.M.S. experienced major challenges during the protest of Sāmoan clergy and the two *Mau* movements, the minutes provided detailed accounts of the unfolding drama.

The University of Auckland Special Collection housed material on New Zealand's Governor of Western Sāmoa, General George Richardson, and both official as well as unofficial documents labeled *Lauati Rebellion*, Vol. 1 and 2.¹²⁸ The *Lauati Rebellion* comprised of letters and reports from Sāmoa and administrators during the *Mau a Pule*. The New Zealand National

Scholarship Fund, John F. Kennedy Memorial Fellowship Award (History Department at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa), and friends, colleagues, and family. See also: Acknowledgements.

¹²⁷ In 1977, thirty-one Christian institutions worldwide formed the Council of World Missions (C.W.M.) that grew out of the London Missionary Society, the Commonwealth Missionary Society, and the Presbyterian Board of Missions.

¹²⁸ Two spellings of Lauati, with a "t" and with a "k" as in Lauaki.

Archives in Wellington held detailed colonial accounts under the following folders: *Mau Agitation*, *General Correspondences of O. F. Nelson*, and *Mau Publications*. The reports, court cases and laws of both Germany and New Zealand's Administrations provided a colonial context. I found limited material written by Sāmoans. Despite Lauaki's gifts as an orator and Sāmoan statesman, the reports represented the outspoken critic as a "liar" and an "agitator." The reports of O. F. Nelson during the *Mau* against New Zealand remained one-sided in their official accounts. Hempenstall states, "This collection, and Braisby's [police] interpretive comments were designed to prove that New Zealand was dealing with an irrational movement in the 1920s, driven by the same stone age tendency that drove Lauaki."¹²⁹ The majority of *Mau* voices and experiences remained not in the open, but, rather, as family treasures. Meleisea states it best, "For Sāmoans, knowledge is power, and the most powerful knowledge is historical knowledge: treasured and guarded in people's heads, in notebooks locked in boxes and matai's briefcases or with their precious mats under mattresses."¹³⁰ Western residents and the Colonial Administrators left written records of their experiences and detailed accounts, but "few islanders did."¹³¹ I used secondary sources to investigate the mandate system under the New Zealand Administration.

Music captures the essence of events around the world. Sāmoans composed songs that described the attitude, both positive and adverse, of colonialism during the *Mau* movements (see Appendix J). In addition to music on the *Mau* movements, attained from the University of Auckland, a private tour of the Museum New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa in Wellington opened up a visual past to Sāmoan flags from the colonial era, war clubs, and fine mats or 'ie

¹²⁹ Hempenstall, "Releasing the Voices," 51.

¹³⁰ Meleisea, *Lagaga*, vii.

¹³¹ Robert Borofsky, ed. 2000. *Rememberances of Pacific Pasts: An Invitation to Remake History*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 23-24.

toga dating hundreds of years to the pre-contact era. Sāmoan historiography is not only in the literature or the oral histories, but also in the objects of the past. A visual history through photos opens up a time capsule to Sāmoa's political past (see Appendix E, F, G, and H).

In Berlin, I discovered significant information on the minutes and letters of Dr. Solf, Dr. Schultz, Lauaki and the *Mau a Pule* "rebellion." The German Bundesarchiv at Berlin-Lichterfelde housed hundreds of materials written in German, English, and Sāmoan. The Sāmoan written material enriched the story further, especially the exiles to the German colony in Saipan. I tried to look beyond the elite players and searched for the voices of the other subalterns.¹³²

While in Sāmoa for the final phase, I met and interviewed the former Head of State, Tui-Ātua Tupua Tamasese Tupuola Efi as a direct descendant of the *Mau* leader, Ta'isi O. F. Nelson. Unfortunately, the government archives remained closed at the time. Instead, I spent much time at the Ta'isi Nelson library in Apia, reviewing several original newspapers of Sāmoa and listening to Sāmoan perspectives on the influence of the *Mau* movements. The staff at the National University of Sāmoa (N.U.S.) helped tremendously. They opened access to resources, the N.U.S. library, and the faculty.¹³³ The N.U.S. Instructor, Dionne Fonoti, generously opened up her grandfather's journals as a *Faipule* member during the New Zealand Administration. High Chief Sofeni Fonoti saw the *Mau* as a threat to Sāmoa's future, and strongly supported the Colonial Administration. *Faipule* Fonoti's commitment to Sāmoa cannot be challenged by pro-*Mau* literature because *lotonu'u* or patriotism had the basic tenets of *fa'a-sāmoa*: *tautua* (service), *alofa* (love), and *fa'aaloalo* (respect). As a *Faipule*, Fonoti helped in the

¹³² Borofsky, *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts*, 53.

¹³³ Dr. Malama Meleisea is currently the Director at the Centre for Sāmoan Studies at the National University of Sāmoa.

modernization of Sāmoa in the same way as Malietoa Tanumāfili I did as an anti-*Mau* proponent.

The Pacific Collection at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa provided relevant material and primary sources not found abroad. The archival sites provided information to colonial, missionary, and indigenous histories from journals, photos, documents, newspapers, and court cases. I found the archival experience both enlightening and refreshing. I plan to use the archival material for future research topics on the Sāmoan colonial church, the *Mau* movements, and Sāmoa’s move toward independence. For preparation for the archives, I used the following sources: *Introduction to Archives* by F. G. Emmison (1964), *Researcher’s Guide to Archives and Regional History Sources* by John Larsen (1988), and Steven Fisher’s *Archival Information: How to Find It, How to Use It* (2004).

Challenges

Although this dissertation promotes agency and an “island-oriented approach” in examining the resilience of Sāmoans during their colonial era, I lack primary sources by Sāmoan chiefs and clergymen. In Peter Hempenstall’s study on colonial resistance in the Pacific, he recognized that regarding New Guinea, “I have relied mainly on European documents. However, I am aware that these sources alone fail to do justice to the whole history of Papua New Guineas. Many events, conflicts, and interpretations, which Papua New Guineans themselves consider important have been neglected...”¹³⁴ Perhaps, the missing voices and experiences by Sāmoan chiefs and clergymen are limited to family histories and most likely remain inaccessible to the larger academic community.

¹³⁴ Hempenstall, *Pacific Islanders under German Rule*, ix.

At the L.M.S. archives in London, I found Sāmoan written sources; but they were insufficient in amount. According to the archivist, during the transfer and collection of documents, the L.M.S. prioritized collected material relevant to the “European missionary voice,” and the C.W.M./L.M.S. returned Sāmoan written material to the respected congregations or native churches that later became independent.¹³⁵ Despite the loss from Sāmoan language correspondence, significant indirect information from L.M.S. Sāmoan voices are used to show civil disobedience by *faiʻeʻau*.

During the final phase of archival research, I met with the archivist from the Congregational Christian Church of Sāmoa (formerly known as the Sāmoa-L.M.S. Church); unfortunately, the church received no letters and documents from the L.M.S. archives. Due to the lack of material on Sāmoan agency in the archives, I relied on material from Sāmoan scholars Teʻo Tuvalu, Malama Meleisea, and Albert Wendt to provide a valuable Sāmoan perspective of the *Mau* movements.

Practitioners of *faʻa-sāmoa* question the validity of others’ genealogies, oratory rhetoric, the appropriate use of proverbs, and rights to chiefly titles. For example, the orators (*toʻotoʻo*) and high chiefs of the Manuʻa Islands claim to have a more esteemed genealogy and creation story as the “sacred center.” Upolu chiefs challenge the Manuʻa creation story. To keep a “balanced” history, I used sources from both Manuʻa and Upolu.

According to Tui-Ātua Tupua Tamasese Efi, in *faʻa-sāmoa*, orators removed information to “camouflage embarrassing allegations” and, therefore, made the work of historians difficult.¹³⁶ Based on the archival research and secondary literature, I am proposing another interpretation of Sāmoan history. I include information from both Sāmoan and European-American writers not to

¹³⁵ After my first month of research, I found limited resources from Sāmoans. I approached the L.M.S. archivist and she apologetically explained that most of the Sāmoan written material had been returned to the Sāmoan church.

¹³⁶ Tui-Ātua Tupua Tamasese Efi. 1994. “The Riddle in Sāmoan History.” *Journal of Pacific History*, 29(1): 68.

camouflage anything “embarrassing,” but to present a balanced historical account of the role of the *matai*, the church, and colonial government.

As a Sāmoan and graduate of the L.M.S. seminary, I am presenting this research through a Sāmoan Christian lens. Although much of the “true” history is locked in “their [Sāmoan elders and chiefs] heads and notebooks,” I have relied “extensively on facts from documentary sources.”¹³⁷ This research recognizes that the telling of this history inevitably includes personal interpretations and certain biases.

Framing the Chapters

Chapter two defines *fa’a-sāmoa* and *fa’a-matai* systems as recorded by missionaries and illustrated by Sāmoan scholars. The stratified chiefly system experienced major changes with the arrival of foreigners and colonial powers. Before foreign contact, Sāmoans had a structured society, organized under the *fa’a-matai* system. This chapter traces the major turning point in Sāmoa with the rise of “royal” families and Sāmoa’s interaction with foreign governments. The pre-1900 Sāmoan history creates a context for the *Mau* movements and the adaptability of *fa’a-sāmoa*.

Chapter three surveys the L.M.S. and the politics within the Christian organization in Sāmoa. The conversion to Christianity became a massive change, inspired not entirely by European missionaries, but “Sāmoa’s own gods, who decreed that this must happen.”¹³⁸ The Sāmoans expressed active agency within the church setting, and enjoyed the shift to a “civil” society. This chapter provides an overview of the close hybrid nature of *fa’a-sāmoa* and Christianity. Over time, within the institution, Sāmoan clergymen protested and achieved

¹³⁷ Meleisea, *Lagaga*, viii.

¹³⁸ Malama Meleisea. 1999. “The Postmodern Legacy of a Premodern Warrior Goddess in Modern Sāmoa.” In *Voyages and Beaches: Pacific Encounters, 1769-1840*, edited by Alex Calder, Johnathan Lamb, and Bridget Orr. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 59.

internal reforms. Four major case studies illustrate the attitude of protest and dissent with the L.M.S. *mau* movements.

Chapter four examines the German Administration in Sāmoa and the events that led to the *Mau a Pule*. Case studies illustrate the Sāmoan response through economic ventures and resistance to German policies. The L.M.S. worked closely with the Germans, despite European differences, and supported each other's agenda. This chapter highlights the German, L.M.S., and Sāmoan figures of the period. Lauaki Namulau'ulu Mamoe pushed for a Sāmoan-led government, but failed to receive the support needed.

Chapter five surveys the *Mau* under New Zealand and the mandate system placed upon the islands. The Sāmoans challenged themselves and went beyond the scope of village politics and century-old family relationships to organize over 90% for independence. Unlike the *Mau a Pule*, the *Mau* published the grievances in movement-led newspapers, and representatives traveled to discuss the issue in New Zealand, and before the League of Nations. The desire of Sāmoans to govern themselves became evident. However, the L.M.S. enforced the status quo and limited promotion of Sāmoans despite the history of multiple *mau* movements.

Finally, the conclusion summarizes research findings based on the questions posed. I will set parameters for future research on the topic and review major themes of the response of the L.M.S. during the *Mau* movements of Sāmoa. The *Mau* played a major role as the “primary vehicle” for Sāmoan national ambitions when the colonial administrations replaced the political system of *Tumua* and *Pule*.¹³⁹

¹³⁹ Va'a, *The Emergence and Significance*, 7.

Reflections

I come from a genealogical line of dedicated members of the L.M.S. Sāmoan Church. As a devoted member, I attended the L.M.S. seminary Kanana Fou in American Sāmoa.¹⁴⁰ The L.M.S. traditions, liturgy, hymns, and clothing restrictions minimally changed. Even in the era of globalization and technology, the Sāmoan L.M.S. continue to keep the church traditions as *mamalu*.¹⁴¹ The strict environment reflected a missionary college with a hierarchy based on grade level, first year to the fourth year, set next to a Sāmoan village. The seminary groomed students not only for the “Great Commission,” but also to prepare for a position of power that only a *faiife’au* (pastor) would receive.

The four-year seminary prepared the “cream of the crop” to educate the clergy for a position as a village *faiife’au*. Post-seminary, we returned to our villages and patiently awaited the “call” from a village congregation. The appointment of a new *faiife’au* is sometimes political, based on good lobbying skills of chiefs, other *faiife’au*, and members of the congregation. Unfortunately, family members that disagree with the appointed *faiife’au* either stay in the church, switch to a new denomination, or attend an L.M.S. congregation in a neighboring village. When appointed, the congregation comprising of village chiefs and elders approaches the selected candidate after a “democratic” vote. When the new *faiife’au* agrees, families and villages prepare the installation of the new village *faiife’au* with hundreds of fine mats (*‘ie toga*), thousands of dollars, the presentations of fattened cows and pigs, and the presence of hundreds

¹⁴⁰ In 1980 the American Sāmoa district of the Congregational Church decided to move away from the “Mother Church” at Malua in Western Sāmoa and begin an independent church later called the Congregational Christian Church of American Sāmoa. The Kanana Fou Theological Seminary was established in 1983. The two churches practice the same liturgy, hymns, traditions, and Biblical doctrine.

¹⁴¹ *Mamalu* means sacred or influence. See: Pratt, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Sāmoan Language*, 206.

of chiefs and families to witness the event. Sāmoans believe that God's blessings flow from this *Auauna ole Ātua* (servant of God) to his family.

Although not common, a *faiife'au* may choose to teach and pursue academia as a career to be of service to the Sāmoan people and the ministry. I am in that position. I can choose the role of a *faiife'au* if a village calls, but I am content to set my canoe into the wide open ocean with Christianity, *Fa'a-Sāmoa*, and the Academy. As an important and widely supported institution, the L.M.S. demands the attention of powerful chiefs of Sāmoa as a popular mainstream denomination. Methodism and Catholicism are the other two mainstream Christian denominations in Sāmoa.

Initially, I proposed this dissertation as an object lesson for the church to understand the response of the L.M.S. to social issues and the multiple “*mau*” or “opinions” of its parishioners through the popularized *Mau* movements. As in the *Mau* movements of the colonial era, the role of the church in social issues is limited, and positions itself as “neutral.” In early January 2017, the Prime Minister of Sāmoa encouraged *faiife'au* to use the pulpit to preach against obesity and promote healthy lifestyles. Prime Minister Tuilaepa states, “The main reason is because they (church ministers) preach the word of God. They can preach and send this message to the people as a threat. But if we ask the M.P.'s to do that, no one is scared of the M.P.'s.”¹⁴² People expressed mixed messages, but generally, Sāmoans believed the responsibility of a “healthy lifestyle program” should come from government seminars, not the church. Tuilaepa later stated, “It is time for church leaders to stand up and help out the government to have a healthier Sāmoa. I believe that noncommunicable diseases such as diabetes and obesity are real problems in

¹⁴² Sarafina Sanerivi. 2017. “P.M. Calls on Churches to Deliver Health Message.” *Sāmoa Observer*, January 16. Accessed at: http://www.Sāmoaobserver.ws/en/16_01_2017/local/15892/PM-calls-on-churches-to-deliver-health-message.htm

Sāmoa, and it is time to address them.”¹⁴³ Multiple “maus” and “opinions” on issues still need attention. Similarly, to the *Mau* movements, people are interested in the response of the church, but are afraid to question the “neutral” position. Although their appointment as *faiife’au* is an honor, Sāmoan clergymen know that their voices in issues beyond the biblical teaching can be censored by the congregation that appointed them.

I do not intend to have answers, or to address all the issues of the church in this research. Historically, I examine Sāmoa’s colonial past and the “silent” voice of the church during the *Mau* movements to inform this research. Perhaps this research will set possible parameters of future research in addressing the role of the church on issues related to power, social, economic, political, sexual, and environmental themes. As stated by Malama Meleisea in his book *Lagaga*, Sāmoa’s history is woven through knowledge of oral tradition, prehistory, globalization, colonization, family histories, and interpretations.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

Chapter 2. Sāmoa's Cultural Context and Foreign Influence Before 1900

Sāmoa's cultural, religious, and political society slowly progressed from "traditional" Sāmoan practices to a hybrid of both the old and the new after European contact. Although interactions occurred with Tonga, Fiji, and the neighboring islands for hundreds of years before the arrival of Europeans, those relations and exchanges would never compare to the influence from the West. Missionaries, explorers, whalers, and beachcombers helped to facilitate development with the introduction of a new language, laws, technology, lifestyle, and religion. Fortunately, as a result of missionary work, Western orthography preserved the oral traditions, genealogies, cosmologies, and cultural rituals in the written form. The arrival of the Europeans in the Pacific Islands in the 16th century introduced new lifestyles; but, as Keesing believes, "The social worlds of the Pacific prior to European invasion were, like the worlds of the present, multifaceted and complex."¹

In this chapter, I will examine the adaptability of *fa'a-sāmoa* (customs and traditions) to foreign influences and the ability of Sāmoan chiefs to implement changes toward modernization. I will begin by reviewing Sāmoa's pre-European contact history and the social structures that sustained, and continue to maintain the islands. Sāmoans developed a flexible *fa'a-matai* system (chiefly) that organized the people according to birth rank, gender, and responsibility. The chiefly system became significant to the rise of the *Mau* movements and protests by clergymen within the L.M.S. Eventually, Sāmoa accepted and committed to a Western religion that would

¹ Roger M. Keesing. 1989. "Creating the Past: Custom and Identity in the Contemporary Pacific." *The Contemporary Pacific*, 1(1-2): 25.

greatly impact every aspect of *fa'a-sāmoa*. After the arrival of Christianity came a new governing system that the three powers of Germany, U.S., and Britain controlled; *fa'a-sāmoa* adjusted to meet the new demands. Rather than passive agents, Sāmoans sought after active participation in the process of change in each institution. The two influential extended families of Malietoa and Tupua contested for supremacy, and the three powers used the civil wars to achieve their political objectives. Likewise, Sāmoans adapted and learned to use European and American methods of control to benefit themselves.

Pre-Contact Sāmoa

Sāmoan spirituality, whether exercised within an organized religious setting or through the roles of the *matai*, served at the forefront and center of all cultural protocols and interactions. The stories and oral traditions captured the essence of Sāmoan spiritual connections, and these accounts varied based on the orator and location in Sāmoa. Fortunately, missionaries realized the value in the stories and, therefore, recorded different versions of Sāmoa's ancient history. The personal connections with the islands, seas, trees, plants, and all animate and inanimate objects reflected the "Sāmoan indigenous reference," in which spirituality and reverence played a major role.² The reverence for *fa'a-sāmoa* continued despite the introduction of Christianity, the new government, and the adoption of Western material wealth.

The L.M.S. missionaries played a critical role by prioritizing orthography as a key method of spreading the Gospel.³ In addition to a written language, the missionaries introduced aspects of European culture. In exchange, missionaries learned the *matai* system of governing and forged key alliances that benefited the objectives of the mission. As the "dominate" culture, the West had no intentions of adopting *fa'a-sāmoa*; rather, they learned enough of the language

² Tui-Ātua Tupua Tamasese Tupuola Efi. 2009. "Bioethics and the Sāmoan indigenous reference." *International Social Science Journal*, 60(195): 116.

³ Ulrike Mosel. 1992. *Sāmoa Reference Grammar*. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 6-7.

and culture to introduce Western lifestyles of civility through Christianity and a more organized government structure. Missionary journals, reports, books, and correspondences preserved traditions of old Sāmoa in the written form. The transfer of the oral traditions to a written form became a method Sāmoans used to record family, village, and other genealogies up to contemporary times. Missionaries served the critical role as both spiritual leaders and as untrained anthropologists. One of Sāmoa's senior and revered missionaries during the late 19th century, Rev. J. E. Newell, recorded an account of Sāmoa's creation story. Newell's "The Geneology of the Kings and Princes of Sāmoa"⁴ made connections of Sāmoan origins through *Papa tū* (great rocks) and *Papa ele* (earthy rocks). Newell impressively recorded a detailed explanation on genealogical ties to Sāmoa's prominent chiefly titles. Versions of Sāmoan creation traditions varied from family to family, from village to village, from district to district, and from island to island. Obviously, the oral traditions of the different islands of the Pacific shared commonalities in characters and legends, but for the most part, the latter were unique to particular islands.

According to one oral tradition, the creator-god Tagalōa desired land under the heavens and formed *lalolagi* (land). A huge stone rolled down from the sky and created the island of Savai'i, followed by Upolu. Tagalōa then formed the rocks of the islands using *fe'e* (octopus), and the plants, ants, small coral, and stones from the *tulī* (plover bird). According to the writings of Rev. George Turner of the L.M.S., Tagalōa created humans from a species of mussel.⁵ In another account, the Sāmoan creator looked down from above and noticed the trees of the forest nearly reached his heavens. Worried, Tagalōa sent his servant *fue*, a creeper vine, that crept onto

⁴ Rev. Newell's journal entry, date unknown, Special Personal J. E. Newell Papers, South Seas, Box 3, No.14, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

⁵ George Turner. 1884. *Sāmoa, A Hundred Years Ago and Long Before: Together with Notes on the Cults and Customs of Twenty-Three other Islands in the Pacific*. London: Macmillan and Co., 7-8.

the treetops and weighed the trees down. The *tulī* bird surveyed the land below and reported to Tagalōa that the trees ceased producing fruit due to the vines that grew to immense proportions. After much thought, Tagalōa removed the *fue* from the trees, and the remnants fell to the ground and rotted. From the decayed remains came huge worms or maggots. Depending on the source, some creation traditions believed that the first humans emerged from the tiny crawling creatures.⁶ One myth claims, “the god came down and provided these worms with heads, legs, arms, and a beating heart. Thus, the worms became men.”⁷ According to a New Zealand based publication, the direct descendants of god Tagalōa grew from the worms and populated nine key villages⁸ in Savai’i and spread to the other uninhabited islands.

The people of the Manu’a Islands⁹ share a similar version of Sāmoa’s creation. Although politically situated within the American Sāmoa, the Manu’a genealogy claims superiority over Tutuila, Upolu, and Savai’i. According to a Government of the American Sāmoa curriculum project, after Manu’a, Tagalōa created the islands of Savai’i, Upolu, Tutuila, Fiji, and Tonga, followed by the title *Tui*¹⁰ as lords of certain islands and districts. Krämer believed that the Tui-Manu’a, Tui-Ā’ana, Tui-Ātua, Tui-Tonga, and Tui-Fiti claimed divine descent, and *pa’ia* (sanctified); therefore, everything the sacred chiefs touched became *tapu* (taboo).¹¹

⁶ Brother Herman. 1987. *Tala o le Vavau: Myths, Legends and Customs of Old Sāmoa*. First published in 1976, Auckland: Pasifika Press, 99.

⁷ Lowell Holmes and Ellen Holmes. 1992. *Sāmoa Village: Then and Now*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers, 15.

⁸ The following villages claim direct lineage to Tagalōa and therefore the first Sāmoans: Safotulafai, Saleaula, Safotu, Satupaitea, Palauli, Matautu, Sataua, Salega and Safune. See: Herman, *Tala o le Vavau*, 98.

⁹ The Manu’a Islands are Ta’u, Olosega, and Ofu and for centuries the home of the Tui-Manu’a (King of Manu’a). Many genealogies of Sāmoa claim Manu’a as the “sacred center” and first creation of Tagalōa.

¹⁰ The word *Tui* is translated as “king” or lord. The main *Tui* titles included: Tui-Aga’e (Lord of Fitiuta, Manu’a), Tui-Ta’u (Lord of Ta’u, Manu’a), Tui-Ofu (Lord of Ofu, Manu’a), Tui-Olosega (Lord of Olosega, Manu’a), Tui-Ātua (Lord of Ātua, Upolu), Tui-Ā’ana (Lord of A’ana, Upolu), Tui-Tonga (Lord of Tonga) and Tui-Fiti (Lord of Fiji). See: Fred Henry. 1980. *Talafaasolopito o Sāmoa*, translated by T. K. Faletese. Apia: Commercial Printers Ltd.

¹¹ Augustin Krämer. 1994. *The Sāmoan Island*. Translated by Theodore Verhaaren. First published in 1903, Aotearoa: Polynesian Press, 11.

The god Tagalōa desired a ruler greater than all the lords that would reside in the “sacred center” of the Manu’a-tele (Manu’a Islands). Tagalōa, therefore, called forth the son of *pō* (night) and *ao* (day) to become the sacred leader of the islands. Injured by the attachment to his mother’s womb, *Sātia i le Moaatoa*, translated as “attached by the chest,” became the boy’s name. The *Sā* of *Sātia* and *Moa* of *Moaatoa* formed the name *Sā-Moa*,¹² and after the mother had realized her son’s injury, she responded, “*se manu’a a tele*,”¹³ translated as “what a great injury.” Tui-Manu’a Moaatoa became king of all the *Tui* titles.¹⁴ Regarding the name Sāmoa, Tui-Ātua Tupua Tamasese Efi, the former Head of State of the Independent Nation of Sāmoa, wrote on the traditions of Tahiti, Aotearoa, and Rapanui as well as their references to Savai’i (Hawaiki), Manono, Upolu, Tutuila, Manu’a, Tonga, and Fiji; but there was no mention of Sāmoa. Tui-Ātua claimed that the name Sāmoa became a new label for the islands.¹⁵ Tui-Ātua’s theory explained how the titles of Tui-Tonga (King of Tonga) and Tui-Fiji (King of Fiji) existed as opposed to a Tui-Sāmoa. With Manu’a as the exception, Sāmoa’s dispersed power among chiefs ruled at the village and district levels only. The rise to paramountcy in Sāmoa became a rare occasion, one that became strategically, politically, and spiritually governed.

According to Sāmoan tradition, the political influence of the Tui-Manu’a lost power upon the western islands after Pili from Manu’a married the daughter of Tui-Ā’ana Tava’etele, and had his sons Tua, Ana, Saga, and Tolufale. Although the genealogy of Pili varied in different districts, Sāmoans considered Pili the progenitor of the Sāmoans in Upolu and the founder of the

¹² Mageo suggested the following interpretation of the name Sāmoa. *Sā* means “sacred” and *moa* means “center” or the “sacred center.” See: Jeannette Mageo. 2002. “Myth, Cultural Identity, and Ethnopolitics: Sāmoa and the Tongan ‘Empire’.” *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 58(4): 494. Also see: Lowell Holmes and Ellen Holmes. 1992. *Sāmoa Village: Then and Now*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers.

¹³ The islands name Manu’a came from the mother’s statement, *Se Manu’a a Tele* (Manu’a-Tele) or “What a great injury.” There are many versions of the Sāmoan creation story; the stories vary from families, villages, and districts.

¹⁴ Napoleone Tuiteleapaga. 1980. *Sāmoa Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*. Great Neck: Todd & Honeywell, Inc, 23-25.

¹⁵ Tui-Ātua Tupua Tamasese Tupuola Efi. 2007. “In search of Tagaloa: Pulemelei, Sāmoan mythology and Science.” *Archaeology in Oceania*, 42(1): 7-8.

new political organization. Krämer suggests that the new political order took place approximately 1,100 A.D.¹⁶ In contrast to the Sā Tupuā family, the Malietoa family rose to prominence later in Sāmoa's history. The Tui-Tonga, the leader of Tonga, occupied the Sāmoan islands for hundreds of years before two brothers, Tuna and Fata, successfully organized a revolt that resulted in the defeat of the Tongans. As the Tu'i-Tonga Talakaifaiki departed the shores of Sāmoa, he said

<i>Malie toa, Malie tau</i>	Super Warrior, superbly fought
<i>Malie toa, Malie tau</i>	Super Warrior, superbly fought
<i>Ou te le toe sau i se ao auliuli tau</i>	I will never come in the late daylight time of war
<i>A e a ou toe sau</i>	But I shall come back
<i>Ou te toe sau lava, (i Sāmoa)</i>	I shall come back (to Sāmoa)
<i>I le ao auliuli folau</i>	In the late daylight time of peaceful sailings ¹⁷

The title of Malietoa or “super warrior” became the title established following the Tongan War in Sāmoa. Although a new title in the hierarchy of Sāmoa, the Malietoa became a paramount chief reigning in parts of Upolu, Savai'i, and Tutuila.¹⁸

L.M.S. missionary, Rev. Thomas Powell, collected the origin story of Sāmoa from a Manu'a chief of Ta'u, named Fofō, in 1870. According to Fofō, Tagalōa gave his parting command to “Always show respect to Manu'a; if anyone does not, he will be overtaken by calamity; but let each one do as he likes with his own lands.”¹⁹ A cordial and respectful relationship between the Manu'a islands and chiefs of Upolu, Savai'i, Tonga, and Fiji continued over the centuries as a result of Tagalōa's direct command. During the Tongan occupation²⁰ of

¹⁶ Krämer, *The Sāmoan Islands*, 11.

¹⁷ Misilugi Tu'u'u. 1999. *Malietoa of Sāmoa: The Crown and Title*. Petone: G. P. Print, 62-63.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 37.

¹⁹ Malama Meleisea. 1987. *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Sāmoa*. Suva: University of South Pacific, 7.

²⁰ The Tongan empire in Sāmoa lasted for 300 years, from A.D. 950 to 1250. Two Sāmoan brothers, Tuna and Fata, fought against the reigning Tui-Tonga Tala'aifei'i and won. As a result of the Tongan defeat, the Malietoa family came to power in the Tuamāsaga district on Upolu Island. See: Fred Henry. 1980. *Talafaasolopito o Sāmoa*, translated by T. K. Faletese. Apia: Commercial Printers Ltd. The Malietoa family played a significant role in the

the western islands of Sāmoa and Tutuila, only the Manu'a islands lived in peace. The L.M.S. missionary, Newell, recorded and confirmed the genealogical superiority of Manu'a in a journal. Newell wrote that Manu'a became "the first part of the group to be inhabited and from it, the Sāmoan race spread over the group."²¹ The recorded oral traditions and genealogies shared the history of Sāmoa. However, scientists in the 20th century demonstrated new perspectives of understanding "old Sāmoa."

Scientific Data on Sāmoan Origins

Western scientific data and evidence revealed another version of the Sāmoan pre-contact history. The introduction of a Western religion and government opened up new options for understanding the Sāmoan Islands, its people, and connections with neighboring Polynesian islands. The non-religious approach to Sāmoa's origins entertained Sāmoans, but *matai* refused to believe any other theories. Early 20th century Maori scholar Te Rangi Hiroa (Sir Peter Buck)²² wrote of an experience in Sāmoa regarding a meeting with *matai* of Manu'a on the origins of Polynesian and Sāmoan ancestry. After Buck's explanation of Polynesia's Asiatic connections, a Sāmoan orator responded,

We thank you for your address. The rest of the Polynesians may have come from Asia, but the Sāmoans – No. The Sāmoans originated in Sāmoa. I [Buck] said, 'The good book that I have seen you carrying to church three times on Sundays says that the first parents of mankind were Adam and Eve, who were created in the Garden of Eden.' In no way disturbed, the oracle replied, 'That may be but the Sāmoans were created here in Manu'a.' A trifle exasperated, I said, 'Ah, I must be in the Garden of Eden.' I took the silence which followed to be a sign of affirmation.²³

mid-19th century when Malietoa Vainu'upō accepted the London Missionary Society and forged an alliance through Sāmoa's colonial history.

²¹ Rev. Newell's journal entry, date unknown, Special Personal J. E. Newell Papers, South Seas, Box 16, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

²² Sir Peter Buck graduated from medical school and served as a medical doctor before pursuing anthropology. See: M. P. K. Sorrenson. 1982. "Polynesian corpuscles and Pacific anthropology: the home-made anthropology of Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck." *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 91(1): 7-28.

²³ Peter H. Buck. 1959. *Vikings of the Pacific*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 294-295.

Sir Peter Buck believed the Sāmoan island of Savai'i was the “dialectical equivalent of Hawaiki, the traditional homeland of the Polynesians, Sāmoa was considered [by Buck] to be the island first reached by Polynesian voyagers after they had left Fiji.”²⁴

Although Sāmoans knew little about the scientific data on the islands, some islanders embraced anthropologists, academics, theologians, medical doctors, and scientists who shared different perspectives on Sāmoa's past. The archaeological family trees, artifacts, plants, animals, biological traits, and linguistic trails revealed both the complexities and the relationships between the different islands in the region and with Asia.²⁵ The Lapita pottery-making population spread from the Bismarck Archipelago (New Britain, New Ireland) to as far east as Tonga, Fiji, and Sāmoa.²⁶ The unique designs of the pottery changed over the migration period. According to Howe, once the pot-making ended in Sāmoa and Tonga about 2,000 years ago, the travelers who went to eastern Polynesia ceased making the ceramic pots.²⁷ Patrick Kirch, among other researchers, strongly supported the theory of a “long pause” of a thousand years between the initial Lapita settlement of Tonga-Sāmoa and the expansion into the eastern islands of the Pacific.²⁸ The isolation in Western Polynesia (Tonga, Sāmoa, and Fiji), allowed

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 43.

²⁵ Scientific data proved that 50,000 to 60,000 years ago the first *homo sapiens* reached as far as New Guinea's southeast coasts. The extended continents during the Pleistocene ice age formed the landmass of Sunda and Sahul and allowed for travel on foot. It took thousands of years, nearly 2,000 to 4,000 years ago for Austronesian-speaking seafarers from Southeast Asia to journey east and populate the islands of the Pacific. See: Kerry Howe. 2003. *Quest for Origins: Who First Discovered and Settled New Zealand and the Pacific Islands?* New York: Penguin Books, 76-87.

²⁶ The term Lapita or “digging holes” received its name during the 1952 excavation on New Caledonia, and the discovery re-examined the peopling of the Pacific and Sāmoa's past. Lapita pottery provided a clue that the ancestors of Polynesia originated from Fiji and the Melanesian chain. See: Brij Lal and Kate Fortune, eds. 2000. *The Pacific Islands: An Encyclopedia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 58-59. See also: Howe, *Quest for Origins*, 78.

²⁷ Howe, *Quest for Origins*, 78.

²⁸ Patrick V. Kirch. 2000. *On the Road of the Winds: An Archaeological History of the Pacific Islands Before European Contact*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 232.

the language²⁹ and culture to take on distinctive features before moving east to islands known today as the Cooks, Tahiti, and the Marquesas Islands, and eventually—at a later period—to Hawai‘i, Rapanui, and Aotearoa.³⁰ Furthermore, Western Polynesia of Tonga, Sāmoa, Futuna and ‘Uvea Islands share a common ancestry with Fiji; therefore, the cultural connections through oral traditions have always maintained a strong affinity. In further scientific research, D.N.A. genetic strands showed the strong connections of people of the region.

For anthropologists and archeologists, Sāmoa played a larger role in the region as one of the oldest cultures of Polynesia that informed other island languages and practices. Krämer writes, “Sāmoa is considered by most people who know the South Seas to be the central island from which the other Polynesian islands were populated and must, therefore, be judged especially worthy of a particular exact study.”³¹ The prehistory of Sāmoa dates its earliest settlement to Upolu at Mulifanua as long ago as 1,000 B.C. The broken pieces of lapita pottery in Sāmoa connected the Sāmoan Islands to Melanesian counterparts. Sāmoa’s archeological sites, such as Sasoa’a in Falefa Valley, Pulemelei at Palauli, the “star mound” at Mulifanua, the To’aga site in Manu’a and other notable places, retraced Sāmoa’s ancient past.³² Science, together with indigenous oral traditions, paved a new way of understanding “old Sāmoa,” because both stressed the centrality of Sāmoa.

²⁹ With an exception to Australian Aborigines and the non-coastal people of Papua New Guinea, the similarities of the Malayo-Polynesian languages proved a remarkable journey of Pacific peoples and a strong Austronesian language genealogical trail. The first linguistic category in the Pacific or the Non-Austronesian speakers, comprised of all of Australia, most of New Guinea and some locations in “Near Oceania.” The expansive Austronesian language group spanned from the Southeast Asian archipelago (Indonesia, Borneo, Philippines, Taiwan) to Malaysia, Vietnam, Cambodia, Burma and as far west as Madagascar. According to Howe, except western Micronesia, all of the Austronesian languages belonged to the Oceanic group, which consisted of some 450 languages. Furthermore, Howe claimed that the “linguistic and archaeological trails independently provide evidence for the Melanesian island route to Fiji, Sāmoa, and Tonga.” See: Howe, *Quest for Origins*, 70 - 88.

³⁰ Roger Green. 1967. *The Immediate Origins of the Polynesians*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

³¹ Krämer, *The Sāmoan Islands*, 2.

³² Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 18-20.

Sāmoa's Social Structure

By the beginning of the era of colonialism, *matai* learned a great deal about Western society and the different ideologies associated with foreigners. Sāmoans maintained the core beliefs of *fa'a-sāmoa*, including oral traditions and legends, but straddled two worlds to survive in a changing Sāmoa. The social structure of Sāmoa obviously changed as all active cultures do,³³ due to different influences, but certain aspects of *fa'a-sāmoa* remained *tapu* and uncompromisable, i.e., the *fa'a-matai* system.

The etymology of the word *matai* or “*mata i ai...*has the connotation of ‘being set apart’ or ‘consecrated.’”³⁴ Milner’s *Sāmoan Dictionary* defined a *matai* as a “titleholder” and “master.”³⁵ The word *matai* came from an Austronesian linguistic category of proto-Polynesia but defined as “chiefly” in Sāmoa.³⁶ As the head or “master” of an extended Sāmoan family or ‘*āiga potopoto*, the *matai* possessed sole authority and responsibility for members under his leadership. As the trustee of the extended ‘*āiga* land, authority in the family genealogies, knowledge of Sāmoan customs and protocols, and representative to the council of chiefs within the village and district, the *matai* served as the center of social, political, and religious life in Sāmoa. Although both male and female received *matai* titles, the structure remained male dominated. Attainment of *matai* titles spanned a spectrum of avenues from hereditary to direct appointment from war. Unlike the Melanesian achievement-based structure, the *matai* system followed a Polynesian hierarchical arrangement. All Sāmoans, with the emphasis on male subjects, who politically and culturally navigated *fa'a-sāmoa* achieved a *matai* status. Turner

³³ “Cultural identity is process not product.” See: Vilisoni Hereniko. 1999. “Representations of Cultural Identities.” In *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific*, by Vilisoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 138

³⁴ Malama Meleisea. 1992. *Change and Adaptation in Western Sāmoa*. Christchurch: Macmillan Brown Centre, 15.

³⁵ G. B. Milner. 1993. *Sāmoan Dictionary*. Auckland: Polynesian Press, 136-137.

³⁶ Serge Tcherkézoff. 2000. “The Sāmoan Category Matai (‘Chief’): A Singularity in Polynesia? Historical and Etymological Comparative Queries.” *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 109(2): 151-190.

states it best, “the difficulty in Sāmoa is not to find who is a chief, but to find out who is a common man.”³⁷

Although not all Sāmoan individuals attained a chiefly title; the label of “commoner” never existed due to the interconnected bloodlines to chiefly titles. Even the *aumaga* (untitled men) practice *tautua* (service) to their chief with the hope to continue as a *matai* and preserve their “royal” bloodline. Certain chiefly titles received additional status from *mana* (supernatural prestige) and *tapu* (sacred), but the *matai* responsibilities varied. Unlike other Polynesian cultures, with a class system of chief versus commoner status, Sāmoa remained unique. A *matai*’s bloodline and kin connections through marriage allowed both mobility and flexibility to negotiate one’s place in the Sāmoan hierarchy.³⁸

There existed two classes of Sāmoan *matai*: the *ali’i* (high chief) and *tulāfale* (orator). Both served as leaders within their respective ‘*āiga potopoto* or extended families. However, their roles and responsibilities differed. Sāmoa’s former Head of State, Tui-Ātua Tupua Tamasese Efi, believed that both positions worked in tandem to “inform the decision-making powers of the collective *fono* (meeting) or *saofaiga a matai* (gathering of chiefs).”³⁹ The titular leader of the ‘*āiga*, the *ali’i* gave the final word in family deliberations and village affairs. With the power and privilege bestowed upon the leader, the role as a sacred leader exceeded the material world. Sāmoans traced family genealogies to gods, such as Tagalōa, the creator, and recognized chiefly titles as sacred and conduits of supernatural power with success in war, health, political support, and the power of blessing and cursing.⁴⁰ According to Krämer, titled

³⁷ Turner, *Sāmoa, A Hundred Years Ago and Long Before*, 174.

³⁸ Loau Luafata Simanu-Klutz, PhD (Department of Sāmoan Studies, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa), in discussion with the author, March 2016.

³⁹ Tui-Ātua Tupua Tamasese Tupuola Efi. 2009. “Bioethics and the Sāmoan indigenous reference.” *International Social Science Journal*, 60(195): 123.

⁴⁰ Tuimaleali’ifano, *O Tama a ‘Aiga*, 2-3.

chiefs “were sanctified (*pa’ia*) and thus everything they touched became likewise sanctified, *tabū* (*tapu, sā*).”⁴¹ Furthermore, Tui-Ātua believes the “division of these roles is sacred and presumes divine designation.”⁴² With the arrival of foreign missionaries, the sacredness of the *matai* transferred to the *faiife’au* or pastor. Although the status of the *matai* remained recognized, Christianity opened up a new *mana* or power from the heavens.

The second class of *matai*, called the orator chiefs or *tulāfale*, practiced a special “administrative power” in support of the *ali’i*. As the mouthpiece or speaker of the *ali’i*, the *tulāfale* served as “a statesman, an ambassador, an envoy, a philosopher, an intercessor, an advisor and a mediator.”⁴³ The orator could not possess the same *mana* as the *ali’i*, but his role as “kingmaker” elevated family power. Meleisea traced the etymology of the term *tulāfale* as the “house foundation.” The *nu’u* or village became the main Sāmoan political unit, and within each *nu’u* existed extended families or *‘āiga*. A group of villages formed districts or an *itū malō*. Meleisea explains that at “every level the rank of *tulāfale* titles was related to the rank of the *ali’i* title with which they were associated. The leading districts were associated with groups of *tulāfale*, the secular patriarchs who served the *ali’i* and controlled success to the paramount titles (*Ao*) of each district.”⁴⁴ As a spokesperson, the *tulāfale*’s knowledge of family, village and district genealogies, myths, legends, and political situations remained critical to the prestige of the extended family. At important ceremonies and speeches, a *tulāfale* wore the *fue* (fly whisk) as a symbol of wisdom and the *to’oto’o* (staff) for authority. During the *Mau*, *tulāfale* traveled throughout Sāmoa and promoted the objectives of the movements. The leading orator of Savai’i,

⁴¹ Krämer, *The Sāmoan Island*, 11.

⁴² Tui-Ātua, “Bioethics and the Sāmoan indigenous reference,” 123.

⁴³ Tuiteleleapaga, *Sāmoa Yesterday*, 137.

⁴⁴ Malama Meleisa. 1995. “To whom gods and men crowded: chieftainship and hierarchy in ancient Sāmoa.” In *Tonga and Sāmoa: Images of Gender and Polity*, edited by Judith Huntsman. Christchurch: Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, 23.

Lauaki Namulau'ulu Mamoe became the leader of the *Mau a Pule*, and influenced the politics of the *Tumua* and *Pule*.

The *fa'alupega* or honorifics remained the political structure of the Sāmoan *nu'u*.⁴⁵ Sāmoans trace their genealogical origins to multiple village *fa'alupega* on both the father and mother's side. During the meeting of chiefs or *fono*, the village honorifics highlighted the prestige of the *nu'u* and the chiefly titles present. To not recognize a chief's *fa'alupega* would display ill toward the visiting party and clearly break Sāmoan protocol with a clear act of disrespect. Each village maintained its political structure or constitution; therefore, the *fa'alupega* varied as a result of a *nu'u*'s unique history.⁴⁶ All Sāmoans pride themselves in their village *fa'alupega* because it displays the village titles in their hierarchical order. The *fa'alupega* became the cultural makeup of a Sāmoan.⁴⁷ Unfortunately, the *fa'alupega* of Sāmoa came under duress and changed to fit the new colonial regimes during the early 1900s. Governor Solf promoted lesser chiefs to positions of power in the new government, and the *fa'alupega* had Solf as the head chief in Western Sāmoa.

With representation from the extended 'āiga, a group of *matai* meet as a *fono* or council to discuss issues, concerns, and political topics related to the village or district. Each family has a representative in the village *fono*. *Matai* of high status in the *fono* had pre-assigned the seating in the open Sāmoan house, known as the *fale tele* (*ali'i* meeting house) or the *fale talimalō*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Meleisea, *Change and Adaptation*, 18.

⁴⁷ My father's *Ali'i* title, Taito, hails from the village of Manase on the island of Savai'i. At 'ava ceremonies or gatherings, I am greeted according to the *fa'alupega* or honorifics of my father: *Tulouna a Taito ma ou Alo* (Greetings to chief Taito and Sons), *Tulouna a le 'Āiga Sā Umalaū* (Greetings to the family of Umalaū). I am greeted under the *fa'alupega* of the *Ali'i* title Alofaituli from the village of Vatia in American Sāmoa: *Tulouna a le Tamaitai o le Ao o Gaoteote* (Greetings to chief Gaoteote), *Tulouna a le Tagoilelagi* (Greetings to chief Tagoilelagi), *Tulouna a Nofofanau o Patea ma Alofaituli* (Greetings to the Sons, chief Patea and chief Alofaituli), *Tulouna a Usoalii* (Greetings to the chiefs under Usoalii), *Tulouna a Matua o Masaniai ma Tuiasosopo* (Greetings to the elder venerated chiefs, Masaniai and Tuiasosopo), *Tulouna le Saofaiga ma le Lautinalaulelei* (Greetings to the chiefs under the Saofaiga and Lautinalaulelei). See: Aiono Fanaafi Le Tagaloa Aiono. 1997. *O le Faasinomaga: Le Tagata ma lona Faasinomaga*. Alafua: Lamepa Press: 79, 281-281.

(*tulāfale* meeting house). At the council meeting, the *tulāfales* demonstrated oratorical knowledge of proverbs, myths, legends, stories, genealogies, and cultural understandings through the Sāmoan *lāuga* or speech. According to Duranti, “lauga in a fono becomes the vehicle for political appraisal and political confrontation,” but “the Sāmoan speechmakers present to their audience a model of the universe in which the traditional social order, with its hierarchies and values, is given historical and philosophical justification.”⁴⁸

Although *matai* embodied ancestral names of a particular group or ‘āiga within a *nu’u*, certain titles received a higher recognition and were acknowledged at both the district and national levels. According to Meleisea,

Origins of the rank and status of *matai* titles cannot be explained by simple generalization: it seems contradictory, for example that certain *tulāfale* titles outrank certain *ali’i* titles in some contexts. In fact the rank of each title can be understood only in the context of the *nu’u* and district of its genealogical origins.⁴⁹

The recognition of the chiefly titles and the political maneuvering of *matai* led to strategic alliance networks between certain villages and families to maintain power and prestige. The traditional power dynamics of “old Sāmoa” eventually found new ways to survive and adjust to colonial rule. Although each extended family maintained authority over the next successor to a chiefly title, rather than the option of war, unresolved disputes went to the Land and Titles Court.⁵⁰ Today, if unresolved by family discussion, the courts use any of the following criteria to determine the next family *matai*: genealogy, popularity, character, and the ability to provide for the family. Regardless of the process of the appointment of a *matai*, either by family

⁴⁸ Alessandro Duranti. 1995. “Heteroglossia in Sāmoan Oratory.” *Pacific Studies*, 15(4): 161.

⁴⁹ Meleisea, *Change and Adaptation*, 15.

⁵⁰ The Land and Titles Court formed in 1903 and helped extended families resolve title disputes. See: Morgan Tuimaleali’ifano. 2006. *O Tama a 'Aiga: The Politics of Succession to Sāmoa's Paramount Titles*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, 20.

consensus, war, or the courts, the chosen individual to carry the honor of the family title name maintained the *pule* (power) and *mamalu* (dignity and sacredness) as befitted a chief.⁵¹

According to Aiono Fanaafi, *fa'a-matai*, or the chiefly system, consisted of the following four parts: *tama'ita'i* (daughters of *matai*), *aumaga* (untitled sons of *matai*), *faletua ma tausī* (wives of *matai*), and *tamaiti* (young people, including children).⁵² Huffer and So'o demarcated the *fa'a-matai* social organization into five similar houses: *ali'i ma faipule* (house of the *matai*), *faletua ma tausī* (house of the wives of *matai*), *sa'oa'o ma tamaita'i* (house of unmarried women), *taule'ale'a* (house of untitled men), and *autalavou* (house of the youth, including young children).⁵³ For the *fa'a-matai* system to run effectively, each system or house functioned together. The *fa'a-matai* system played a critical role during Sāmoa's two political movements in the early 20th century, *Mau a Pule* and the *Mau*. The *matai* leadership either deterred involvement in support of the colonial presence or challenged the colonial administrative changes to *fa'a-sāmoa* and the *fa'a-matai* systems.

The *faletua* and *tausī* (house of the wives of *matai*) played a critical role in support of a Sāmoan chief. *Faletua* means "the house in the back," which, in this case, referred to the advice and support given to a *matai*. The *faletua* sat behind her husband during family and village affairs and listened, watched, and at times counseled or warned the *matai* with a whisper.⁵⁴ The term *tausī* is a respectful salutation given to the wife of an orator chief, which means to "nurture." The *sa'oa'o ma tamaita'i* (house of unmarried women) played the critical role as daughters of the *matai* and were privileged as female heirs to titles and land. Many of the

⁵¹ Fineaso T. S. Fa'alafi. 2005. *Carrying the Faith: Sāmoan Methodism 1828-1928*. Apia: Piula Theological College, 21.

⁵² Fanaafi Le Tagaloa Aiono. 1986. "Western Sāmoa: The Sacred Covenant." In *Land Rights of Pacific Women*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, 104.

⁵³ Iati Iati. 2000. "The Good Governance Agenda for Civil Society: Implications for the Fa'aSāmoa." In *Governance in Sāmoa: Pulega i Sāmoa*, Elise Huffer and Asofou So'o, eds. Canberra: Asia Pacific Press, 72.

⁵⁴ Tuiteleapaga, *Sāmoa Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*, 44.

unmarried women belonged to the *aualuma*, and were called the *feagaiga* or covenant. This particular group of young girls played a critical role of honor within the *nu'u* or the village. A Sāmoan proverb states *o le teine o le i'oimata o lona tuagane*, translated as “a sister is the inner corner of her brother’s eye.”⁵⁵ The “brother-sister” relationship held a special *mana*. The special *feagaiga* brother-sister relationship mirrored the newly formed *fai'e'au* or village pastor relationship. The L.M.S. church represented the “sister” role as the *feagaiga*, and the village took on the role of the “brother” who cared for the *fai'e'au* and his family.

Untitled men of the village or the *taule'ale'a* or *aumaga* made up the third house of *fa'a-sāmoa*. The untitled men remained the strength of every Sāmoan family and village. The *aumaga* dedicated their lives to service or *tautua* to the *matai* in war to protect their family lands and titles. As a part of *tautua*, the *aumaga* served the chiefs during ceremonial 'ava gatherings and prepared their meals for village meetings. The *aumaga* protected the sacredness of *fa'a-sāmoa* and that service elevated the status of young future *matai*. A Sāmoan proverb states, *o le ala i le pule o le tautua*, translated as “the one who serves will eventually lead.” The *aumaga* received chiefly titles as a result of the magnitude of the *tautua* to family, district, and especially *matai*. The etymology of the word *tautua* comes two words, “*tau*” meaning “war” and “*tua*” translated as “in the back.” As the *matai* led his village or family to war, the *aumaga* dedicated their lives and followed their leader to the battlefields or to any function the family *matai* dictated. This *tautua* became visually evident during Sāmoa’s political struggles during the two *Mau* movements. The success of a village and *matai* depended on the *aumaga*. The children of the village made up the last house. As the future chiefs and leaders of Sāmoa, the children maintained status and power within certain families based on bloodline. The village exposed the

⁵⁵ Meleisea, *Change and Adaptation*, 14.

children at a very early age to cultural protocols, *tautua* to the extended families, and genealogies through stories.

The social structure of *fa'a-sāmoa* comprised the four main houses with the *ali'i ma faipule* (house of the *matai*) at the core. Although certain practices remained constant throughout the islands, *fa'a-sāmoa* had subtle differences within the families, districts, and villages. Sāmoan *tulāfale* 'Aumua Simanu points out the following two relevant Sāmoan terms: *aganu'u* and *aga'ifanua*. *Aganu'u* referred to cultural practices throughout Sāmoa. For example, the social structure of the *matai* system and the general cultural protocols related to funerals, weddings, *saofa'i* (bestowal of *matai* titles), and *'ava* ceremonies remained consistent from the western islands of Savai'i to the eastern Islands of the Manu'a chain. The *aga'ifanua*, on the other hand, reflected cultural ceremonies within *fa'a-sāmoa* unique to certain villages and districts. 'Aumua quotes the famous Sāmoan proverb, *'O Sāmoa fō'i 'ua 'uma ona tofi*. In other words, “Sāmoa has been divided,” and the *matai* and people of different villages know the appropriate protocol when applicable. The *matai*, aware of proper Sāmoan protocols and customs at both the *aganu'u* and *aga'ifanua* levels, gained great respect and became widely admired.⁵⁶

The fundamental concept at the heart of *fa'a-sāmoa* was *fa'aaloalo* (regard highly with respect). *Alo* means to “face” or “facing” someone; *fa'a*, which is a causative verb, means to face the other with love. The root of the word *alofa* (love) is *alo*.⁵⁷ For a *matai*, *fa'aaloalo* meant respectful ceremonial communication, behavioral expressions of honor, and courtesy in actions in family and village meetings.⁵⁸ The *matai* reciprocated in peaceful gestures, language, and actions during formal functions of *fa'a-sāmoa*. However, in the absence of respectful

⁵⁶ Simanu, *'O Si Manu A Ali'i*, 68-69.

⁵⁷ Fa'alafī, *Carrying the Faith*, 28.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 29.

protocols, families reverted to war. This practice of *fa'aaloalo* played a critical role in Sāmoan interactions with sailors, beachcombers, missionaries, and the different colonial powers that chose to occupy and visit Sāmoa. The *fa'aaloalo* reflected a personal interaction with humans, and a relationship as well as reverence to the gods, ancestors, spirits, lands, animals, and the material culture of fine mats and tapa. Without the core tenet of *fa'aaloalo*, the Sāmoan social structure easily reverted to a perplexed and chaotic society.⁵⁹ The lack of *fa'aaloalo*, during the *Mau* movements toward paramount chiefs and cultural protocols, eventually led to protests against the colonial regimes. According to David Chappell, the practice of *fa'aaloalo* became the Sāmoan measure of civilization.⁶⁰

Foreign Contact: Explorers, Beachcombers, and Whalers

According to Epeli Hau'ofa, “the sea was open to anyone who could navigate a way through,” and by the 16th century, contact with Europeans happened.⁶¹ European explorers navigated Oceania with new forms of transportation foreign to the native canoes used during war, travel, and exploration. The interactions between the Oceanians and Europeans became more common over time; contact opened the Pacific world to missionaries, governments, and material goods. The “first contact” with Europeans continued up to the 20th century in the highland areas of Papua New Guinea.⁶²

The initial contact between the West and the people of Oceania occurred in the 16th century, with the voyage of Spanish explorer Ferdinand Magellan in 1521. Through South

⁵⁹ Elise Huffer and Asofou So'o, eds. 2000. *Governance in Sāmoa: Pulega i Sāmoa*. Canberra: Asia Pacific Press, 74.

⁶⁰ David A. Chappell. 2000. “The Forgotten Mau: Anti-Navy Protest in American Sāmoa, 1920-1935.” *Pacific Historical Review*, 69(2): 232

⁶¹ Pacific Islands “denotes small areas of land sitting atop of submerged reefs or seamounts.” Oceania “denotes a sea of islands with their inhabitants.” Epeli Hau'ofa. 1994. “Our Sea of Islands.” *The Contemporary Pacific*, 6(1): 153-155.

⁶² See: Michael J. Leahy. 1994. *Exploration into Highland New Guinea: 1930-1935*. Bathurst: Crawford House Press Pty Ltd.

America, Magellan sought an alternative route to the “Spice Islands” of Southeast Asia, but arrived on the island of Guam (Guåhan) instead. In addition to religious settlements, European explorers expressed interest in trade, exchange, and exploration of the region. At first, indigenous islanders believed the Europeans to be spiritual strangers visiting or returning “home.” In Sāmoa, the term *papālagi* (*papā* or burst and *lagi* or heavens) referred to white foreigners as “bursting from the heavens” and descended upon the earth. Cultures within Oceania believed that “gods and ancestral spirits were described as coming from the sea or from beyond the horizon.”⁶³ Sāmoans initially viewed the presence of the white man as a spiritual experience, and over a period, realized that the encounters remained merely human to human. Schoeffel believed that Sāmoans viewed the *papālagi* as “supernaturally endowed but only mortal.”⁶⁴ Once Sāmoans realized the true identity of Europeans, Sāmoans “had no way of understanding where these strange visitors came from, the origin of many things that they brought with them, or why they had come.”⁶⁵ Sāmoan *ali'i* recognized themselves as not supernatural like an *aitu*, but rather as men with a particular *mana* that “bestowed order and dignity on society.”⁶⁶

The Sāmoan islands experienced an influx of foreigners by the 17th century. In 1642, Dutch navigator Abel Tasman sailed toward the East Indies and close to the Sāmoan islands; however, he made no exchange, but closely observed the islands. Dutch navigator Joseph Roggeveen’s search for *Terra Australis Incognita* or the unknown continent led to the first written descriptions of the Sāmoan islands in 1721. The first contact with the eastern Sāmoan

⁶³ Paul D'Arcy. 2006. *The People of the Sea: Environment, Identity, and History in Oceania*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 119.

⁶⁴ Penelope Schoeffel. 1987. “Rank, Gender and Politics in Ancient Sāmoa: The Genealogy of Salamasina O Le Tafaifa.” *Journal of Pacific History*, 3(4): 177.

⁶⁵ Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 42-43.

⁶⁶ Schoeffel, “Rank, Gender and Politics in Ancient Sāmoa,” 177.

islands of Manu'a resulted in the first exchange between Sāmoans and foreigners of goods for food. The Dutch noticed the Sāmoan *tatau* (tattoo) that garnished the Sāmoan men from the thighs down to the legs. Interestingly, the Dutch observed a girl with a blue beaded necklace, which historians suggested came from Tonga's interaction with the Dutch in 1616 and 1643.⁶⁷

Nearly fifty years after the first contact, new explorers and navigators reached the Sāmoan islands. French navigator Louis de Bougainville arrived in 1768 and admired Sāmoa's navigational skills far from the land; Bougainville named the islands "Archipelago of the Navigators" or commonly known as the "Navigator Islands."⁶⁸ The French explorer La Pérouse led the third expedition in 1787. The explorers kept careful records in journals about the experience overseas. Bougainville described Sāmoans as men and women with savage-like features as opposed to the Tahitians. La Pérouse made similar observations stating in his journal that "these islanders are very turbulent."⁶⁹ When a group of La Pérouse's men went ashore on Tutuila, there occurred an altercation that resulted in the death of both the Sāmoans and the Frenchmen. The representation of the "Garden of Eden and Land of Abundance" switched to a more critical and philosophical reassessment of the Pacific region. La Pérouse's "description of Sāmoa is probably the first account which seeks to contrast the beauty of the Polynesian islands with the ferocity of the inhabitants."⁷⁰ La Pérouse's incident deterred explorers, navigators, and missionaries from Sāmoan shores. Missionary Turner stated, "The massacre, at Tutuila, of M. de Langle and others, belonging to the expedition under the unfortunate La Pérouse, branded the whole group for fifty years as a race of treacherous savages, whose shores ought not to be

⁶⁷ Serge Tchekézo. 2004. *'First Contacts' in Polynesia: The Sāmoan Case (1722-1848)*. Canberra: ANU Printing Service, 19.

⁶⁸ Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 43.

⁶⁹ Jocelyn Linnekin. 1991. "Ignoble Savages and Other European Visions: The La Pérouse Affair in Sāmoan History." *The Journal of Pacific History*, 26(1): 6.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.

approached.”⁷¹ The London Missionary Society kept missionaries away from Sāmoa for safety between the years 1791 to 1824. Tcherkézoff states that a couple of ships were docked at Tutuila in 1802 and 1823, but made short visits.⁷² Russian explorer Otto von Kotzebue described Sāmoans, during his 1824 visit, as the “most ferocious people.”⁷³

Traders and whalers started to call regularly for supplies in Sāmoa by the end of the 18th century, after a period of fear of Sāmoans.⁷⁴ Tcherkézoff writes, “those returning on these ships were told that the reputation of Sāmoa was perhaps inaccurate and that, in any case, the islands there had much to offer regarding provisions of wood, water, and fresh food. In 1834 and 1835 the number of recorded visits suddenly jumped to forty-two.”⁷⁵ The rise in European trade in the region resulted in more foreigners in Sāmoan waters. Beachcombers settled throughout the Pacific at the time; they engaged in cultural activities, lived among the “natives,” learned and spoke the language, shared Christianity, and became key members of the island society. Almost entirely European, the beachcombers had either been ex-convicts from an Australian prison settlement or abandoned ship, or in “search for a new and stable identity.”⁷⁶ Sāmoans accepted beachcombers for practical reasons, such as fixing muskets, building a *fautasi* (whaleboat), and helping Sāmoans explain the “strange ways of the papālagi.”⁷⁷ As active participants in a new foreign culture, beachcombers engaged up to multiple degrees in a new “savage life.” The “Island life gave him a chance to become something greater than he was.”⁷⁸ Furthermore,

⁷¹ George Turner. 1861. *Nineteen years in Polynesia: missionary life, travels, and researches in the islands of the Pacific*. London: J. Snow, 97-98.

⁷² Tcherkézoff, *First Contacts*, 72.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁷⁴ Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 45.

⁷⁵ Tcherkézoff, *First Contacts*, 79.

⁷⁶ Susanne Milcairns. 2006. *Native Strangers: Beachcombers, Renegades and Castaways in the South Seas*. New York: Penguin, 127.

⁷⁷ Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 45.

⁷⁸ Milcairns, *Native Strangers*, 141.

“indigenous beachcombers” existed along with *papālagi* and traversed the Pacific Ocean in search of adventure and a new experience, sharing their cultural knowledge and skills.⁷⁹

The introduction of steel tools, muskets with gunpowder, and iron nails impacted the economy, politics, warfare, and the beliefs of the Sāmoans.⁸⁰ According to Tcherkézoff, beachcombers benefited from the relationships “by offering their services to captains of incoming ships and living off the back of the Islanders by exploiting the prestige that accrued to them from their specialized knowledge (iron instruments, firearms).”⁸¹ Foreign interactions eventually opened the islands to wider exposure that challenged *fa’a-sāmoa* ways of life and the local politics.

Family Rivalry of Sā Tupuā and Sā Malietoā⁸²

Sāmoa’s political history reflected the complex and multiple familial divisions that controlled both the social and political atmosphere before, during, and after contact with the *papālagi*. Rev. John Williams and the L.M.S. missionaries arrived in Sāmoa in 1830 during a heated battle, known as the War of Ā’ana, between the chiefs and supporters of Malietoa Vainu’upō⁸³ and the district of Ā’ana. The killing of Tamafaigā, kin of Malietoa, at the hands of Ā’ana district warriors caused the war between the two rival families. The rivalry between the two leading families, Sā Malietoā (Tuamāsaga district on Upolu and Savai’i) and Sā Tupuā of Ā’ana and Ātua districts, went on for years. Unfortunately, the rise of colonial powers of the

⁷⁹ David A. Chappell. 1997. *Double Ghosts: Oceanian Voyagers on Euroamerican Ships*. New York: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 97.

⁸⁰ Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 45.

⁸¹ Tcherkézoff, *First Contacts*, 80.

⁸² When *Sā* is placed in front of a family title name, it refers to all villages and extended family members with blood ties to that particular title. For example, Malietoa would refer to the individual title, whereas Sā Malietoā refers to all kin with blood ties. Alofaituli refers to the chief title, but Sā Alofaitulī refers to the extended families connected to Alofaituli.

⁸³ Sources have two spellings of the Malietoa paramount chief as Vai’inupō or Vainu’upō. Tui-Ātua Tupua Tamasese used Vainu’upō in his article. See: Tui-Ātua, “The Riddle in Sāmoan History.”

West used the family rivalries for social, political, and economic benefits. The Sāmoan *matai* too benefited immensely from the interaction with the *papālagi*, as a means to gain more power.

Of all of the chiefly titles in Sāmoa, the paramount or *pāpā*⁸⁴ titles included Tui-Ātua, Tui-Ā'ana, Gatoa'itele, and Tamasoālii. The victory of Malietoa Vainu'upō at the War of Ā'ana resulted with the bestowal of two great titles, namely Tui-Ā'ana (paramount chief of the Ā'ana district) and Tui-Ātua (paramount chief of the Ātua District), both connected to the rival Sā Tupuā family. Before the war, Malietoa Vainu'upō received the Gato'aitele and Tamasoāli'i paramount titles and, therefore, required the titles of Tui-Ā'ana and Tui-Ātua to become *tafa'ifā* or the “four-sided” chief, holding all four ancient paramount *pāpā* titles. According to Sāmoan tradition, the individual that received the four highest-ranking titles became *tafa'ifā*, or the sanctified head of Sāmoa, excluding Manu'a.⁸⁵ Gilson writes, “there were united in him several of the most direct links with the deities.”⁸⁶ The Tui-Manu'a title from the Manu'a islands to the east at one point received reverence as the greatest of all titles of Sāmoa, as widely told in genealogies, mythologies, and family histories. However, the reign of the Tui-Manu'a dynasty lost its political influence and, therefore, limited the title's power to only the Manu'a island chain. According to Meleisea, the title of *tafa'ifā* had “arisen in the western islands of Sāmoa as

⁸⁴ The *pāpā* titles of Tui-Ātua, Tui-Ā'ana, Gatoaitele, Tamasoali'i are conferred by the leading orator groups of the districts of Sāmoa. The orator chiefs of Leulumoega, the capital of Ā'ana district are responsible for conferring the Tui-Ā'ana title. The orator chiefs of Lufilufi, the capital of Ātua district are responsible for conferring the Tui-Ātua title. Within the Tuamāsaga district in the center of Upolu, Gato'aitele is conferred by the village of Afega and the Tamasoālii title is bestowed by the village of Sāfata. Collecting all four titles holds the supreme honor of being *tafa'ifā*, sole paramount chief of Sāmoa, excluding Manu'a. See: Tuimaleali'ifano, *O Tama a 'Aiga*, 5-9.

⁸⁵ Although not similar to European royalty, the *tafa'ifā* is interpreted as a “King.”

⁸⁶ R. P. Gilson. 1970. *Sāmoa 1830 to 1900: The Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 58.

an alternative focus of aristocratic rank to that of Manu'a, the seat of Tui-Manu'a, the title that to this day is acknowledged to be the highest ranking of all Sāmoan chiefly titles.”⁸⁷

Sāmoa's complex politics during the 19th century went on for hundreds of years, and was deeply rooted in past wars, family and village alliances. The western islands of Sāmoa comprised of the islands of Upolu, Savai'i, Manono, and Apolima. Politically, three major districts represent Upolu Island, Ā'ana to the west, Tuamāsaga in the center, and Ātua to the east (see map in Appendix B). The divine ruling titles of Tui-Ā'ana of Ā'ana district and Tui-Ātua of Ātua district solely depended on important orator groups from the respective political centers, Leulumoega of Ā'ana and Lufilufi of Ātua. The two titles of Tui-Ātua and Tui-Ā'ana are politically connected to the Sā Tupuā family, which is not divine nor of ancient origin. However, “through its connections with other great families and the success of many of its leaders in war and politics, it had come to possess a standing and a power to command wealth... that ensured its preeminence in both districts.”⁸⁸ The Sā Malietoā family controlled the Tuamāsaga district in the center of Upolu Island and hailed from the village of Malie as its political capital. Politically, Sā Malietoā connected to the villages of Fa'asaleleaga in Savai'i, 'Āiga-i-le-Tai of Manono and certain villages in the Ātua district, namely Faleapuna, Saluafata, and part of Falealili.⁸⁹

For more than three centuries, the Sā Tupuā dominated the important political lineages of Sāmoa since the time of Salamasina,⁹⁰ the first *tafa'ifā*. By avenging the death of Tamafaigā

⁸⁷ Malama Meleisea. 1995. “To whom gods and men crowded: chieftainship and hierarchy in ancient Sāmoa.” In *Tonga and Sāmoa: Images of Gender and Polity*, edited by Judith Huntsman. Christchurch: Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, 25-26.

⁸⁸ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 25.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁹⁰ Salamasina, who was female, is the first *tafa'ifā* to hold the four *pāpā* titles. Malietoa Vainu'upō was *tafa'ifā* during the 1830s and 1840s at the beginning of the Christian era. Matā'afa Iosefa held the necessary titles “in order to have the support of all the districts in the 1890s, but foreign intervention prevented him.” See: Judith Huntsman.

during the late 1820s and early 1830s, the Sā Malietoā claimed a place as the new powerful family of the four *pāpā* paramount titles of Sāmoa. The arrival of Rev. John Williams and the London Missionary Society to Malietoa Vainu'upō eventually further elevated the status of the Malietoa family, and “consolidated the Sā Malietoā fortunes.”⁹¹ In 1841, the Christian convert Malietoa Vainu'upō made his last *mavaega* or dying will and divided the four *tafa'ifā* titles. Although it was a very controversial *mavaega*, the prominent *matai* of Sāmoa honored Malietoa Vainu'upō's dying wish. To'oa Sualauvī of Falelatai received the Tui-Ā'ana, Gato'aitele, and Tamasoālii titles, Tui-Ātua went to Matā'afa Fagamanu of Sā Tupuā, and the Malietoa transferred to Vainu'upō's half-brother Taimalelagi.⁹²

Malietoa Vainu'upō's⁹³ *mavaega* divided the powerful titles of Sāmoa and declared a peaceful Sāmoa with no war. Unfortunately, the period of peace lasted for a short while. The term *malō*⁹⁴ identified with the conquerors and victors in war as opposed to *vāivāi* or the weaker defeated side. For a long time, the districts of Ā'ana and Ātua dominated position as the *malō*, and possessed the *tafa'ifā* within the Sā Tupuā family.⁹⁵ As customary in Sāmoan battle, the losers or the *vāivāi* received forced exile, and the *malō* controlled the prestige, including the *pāpā* titles. The term *malō* became the word used to mean “government.” For example, the German *Malō* or the Malietoa *Malō*.

After the War of Ā'ana, the leaders and village allies of Sā Malietoā controlled the power of Sāmoa up to the 1840s. In 1848, the Ā'ana district of Sā Tupuā and Manono, a Sā Malietoā

1995. *Tonga and Sāmoa: Images of Gender and Polity*. Christchurch: Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, 26.

⁹¹ Tuimaleali'ifano, *O Tama a 'Aiga*, 12.

⁹² Tuimaleali'ifano, *O Tama a 'Aiga*, 41; Misilugi Tu'u'u. 1999. *Malietoa of Sāmoa: The Crown and Title*. Petone: G. P. Print, 222-224; Meleisea states that the titles Gato'aitele and Tamasoali'i went to Taimalelagi. Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 28.

⁹³ After Malietoa Vainu'upō's Christian conversion, he adopted the name David or Tavita.

⁹⁴ The word *Malō* with a capital “M” refers to the government.

⁹⁵ Felix M. Keesing. 1934. *Modern Sāmoa: Its Government and Changing Life*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 60.

ally, engaged in war. The reigning Malietoa Taimalelagi (brother of Vainu'upō) and nephew, Tonumaie'a Talavou (son of Vainu'upō), led the charge against Sā Tupuā. To maintain the status of power, the chiefs of Manono Island negotiated with allies to combat any challenges from the Ā'ana district. Meleisea recorded that as a result of the war, the majority of the people from Ā'ana took refuge in Ātua district because of the alliance through genealogical links to Sā Tupuā.⁹⁶ The battle of the two “royal” families of Sāmoa intensified, and the L.M.S. missionaries negotiated a cease-fire. According to Gilson, “The Sāmoans were afraid of firearms and ignorant of how to use them most effectively; yet they wanted them, and they bought enough of them to render obsolete their clubs and spears.”⁹⁷

Sāmoa-Foreign Political History Before 1900

Sāmoa experienced an increasing number of traders, whalers, and beachcombers during the 1850s and 1860s. Apia harbor “provided reasonable anchorage and had a relatively deserted foreshore.” A ranking chief of Apia named Seumanutafa Pogai welcomed foreigners and collected port fees, acting as an intermediary for the new visitors.⁹⁸ Apia became one of the few major ports in the Pacific, along with Pape'ete in Tahiti, Levuka in Fiji, and Lāhainā in Hawai'i. Along with an influx of foreigners and visitors came new lifestyles foreign to the islands. Visitors saw Apia “as one of the ‘hell holes’ of the South Pacific, a town of wild, dangerous, drunken adventurers from all over the world.”⁹⁹ The eastern islands of Tutuila and Manu'a had their share of beachcombers and foreign visitors, but never to the capacity of the western islands.

Sāmoa lacked a central government to regulate actions of both the settlers and indigenous people; so, in 1838, Apia established port codes that regulated the conduct of the ships to Sāmoa.

⁹⁶ Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 29.

⁹⁷ Gilson, *Sāmoa 1830 to 1900*, 121.

⁹⁸ Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 31.

⁹⁹ Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 76.

The port codes enforced charged fees for each ship that docked in Apia harbor; also, ship captains had to explain the reason behind the visit. The L.M.S. collaborated with the British and American consuls in Sāmoa on the appropriate port codes for the new visitors to follow. The rules of conduct attempted to limit the amount of liquor on land, to restrict any labor work on the Sabbath, to refuse access to spend the night on shore, and to require that sailors and whalers provide permission from the “government” before passengers and crew members discharged in Sāmoa.¹⁰⁰ In 1857, the Foreign Residents’ Society formed to operate as a “town meeting government” and established regulations, appointed judges, and created a “court” system that handled issues and matters where both Sāmoans and Europeans involved.¹⁰¹ Both the British and American consuls received specific appointments to watch over the interests of their citizens. The British consul appointed former L.M.S. missionary George Pritchard. J. C. Williams, son of the famous Rev. John Williams of the L.M.S., became the American consul. The Germans found interest in Sāmoa in 1857, and established the first coconut plantation that eventually dominated the Sāmoa trade. The dynamics of the British, American, and German presence in Sāmoa complicated the political atmosphere in Sāmoa, and that eventually led to colonial occupation in 1900. Regardless of the political agendas of the colonial powers, the Sāmoa remained entrenched in *fa’a-sāmoa*, and continued with their traditional political power struggles.

The political changes impacted the islands with new rules and laws. Despite the new regulations, Sāmoan chiefs continuously battled amongst themselves for paramount positions in villages and districts. Malietoa Taimalelagi died in 1858 and his nephew, Malietoa Molī—elder son of Malietoa Vainu’upō—became the successor. Not long after Molī’s bestowment, he too

¹⁰⁰ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 40.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 41-42.

passed away; that left two potential contenders who eventually caused more wars and battles on Sāmoan soil. The Malietoa title remained in the spotlight not because of its relationship with the L.M.S. church, but because of the family's powerful position as the leading *'āiga*.

The Sā Malietoā got divided, after the death of Molī, between two contenders for the Malietoa title. The Tuamāsaga district supported Laupepa, son of Molī, and Talavou, the half-brother of Molī, gained support from Sā Malietoā allies on Savāi'i. To maintain peace in a "Christian Sāmoa," Sā Malietoā agreed and confirmed the two titles with Laupepa in Tuamāsaga on Upolu, and Talavou as a representative in both Fa'asaleleaga district in Savai'i and Manono Island. The Sā Malietoā family in Tuamāsaga favored the experienced Talavou. The much younger Laupepa received a Christian education at the L.M.S. Malua Theological College; the L.M.S. supported Laupepa "because the missionaries believed that he had been brought up to favour peace and the church."¹⁰²

Throughout Apia, the lawlessness and trouble-making between Sāmoans and Europeans became more apparent.¹⁰³ The settlers, missionaries, and government council representatives agreed on more stringent laws, and perhaps an established central government to deal with issues facing Apia. The foreigners in Sāmoa understood that the village and district laws of *fa'a-sāmoa* varied, and that the implementation of foreign laws would centralize the Apia area amidst the growing changes on the island. Therefore, the formation of a centralized government with an indigenous monarchy proved essential. The Pacific witnessed, at the time, new forms of governments established in Tonga with Taufa'ahau George Tupou, Pomare in Tahiti, and King Kamehameha in Hawai'i. Obviously, each foreign-Pacific Island relationship varied, and the forms of government reflected the issues of the time, but Sāmoans slowly realized the digression

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 44.

¹⁰³ Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 77.

of authority from the rule of orators or “kingmakers.”¹⁰⁴ A central government meant leaders’ appointment to power. Before the distribution of the *tafa’ifā* title by Malietoa Vainu’upō, the claim of the four *pāpā* titles of Sāmoa by one individual took years and even generations of political maneuvering and alliance building.¹⁰⁵

The British consul supported a government led by a confederation of chiefs as the solution to the “lawlessness” in Sāmoa; in fact, the British wanted Malietoa Laupepa as king. The direct disregard of Talavou’s opinion on the matter resulted in a jealous rivalry between the two factions. Malietoa Laupepa established a confederation or *faitasiga* at Matāutu in Apia “in which all the districts of Sāmoa would be represented as a kind of parliament.”¹⁰⁶ With British support, Laupepa’s family and allies declared him king of the new confederation and the “sole holder of the Malietoa title.”¹⁰⁷ The older and more experienced Talavou and his supporters established another headquarters at Mulinu’u later that year. The War of Faitasiga between the Sā Malietoa family began in 1869 and resulted in the split of Tuamāsaga support for Laupepa. The older and mature Talavou eventually gained strength from Manono, Savai’i, Ātua, Ā’ana, and a portion of Tuamāsaga. The Sā Malietoa rivalry damaged European properties in Apia. Unfortunately, guns and other forms of ammunition became highly desired by Sāmoans during the 1860s. Sāmoans began recklessly selling family lands for guns. As a result, foreigners took advantage of the Sāmoan wars to buy lands and sell the properties for profit. The British Consul of Apia, Thomas Trood, recollects the following:

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 77-78.

¹⁰⁵ According to Sāmoan historian, Morgan Tuimaleali’ifano, the Tongan presence in Western Sāmoa under the Tu’i Tonga dynasty from the 12th to the 14th century “was maintained with the assistance of the Tui Manu’a.” The *tafa’ifā* system therefore became a device by chiefs to “establish an alternative focus on aristocratic rank to that of Manu’a.” See: Morgan Tuimaleali’ifano. 1998. “Titular Disputes and National Leadership in Sāmoa.” *The Journal of Pacific History*, 33(1): 91.

¹⁰⁶ Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 78.

¹⁰⁷ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 44.

For nearly two years previously several thousand men, though being under arms, had been prevented from working on their food plots or otherwise doing anything to support their families, and so the sale of land as stated became absolutely necessary; for like nearly all the island races the Sāmoans are thoroughly improvident; what will become of them or their children and successors in future years gives them no anxiety so long as the present necessity is grappled with; and pieces of land which would have supported them and their families for the next hundred years were bartered away for a rifle or a few tins of biscuits.¹⁰⁸

A San Francisco-based company, Central Polynesian Land and Commercial Company (C.P.L.C.C.), moved to Sāmoa in 1871 to profit from the civil wars. As a land speculator, C.P.L.C.C. became “less interested in developing plantations than in buying land which they hoped to sell at a considerable profit to commercial plantation companies or to foreigners wishing to become settler-planters.”¹⁰⁹ Sāmoan land tenure suffered during the era of Sāmoa’s civil wars. In addition to the valuable copra estates of the Sāmoan-based German company Godeffroy and Son, the Americans found interest in using the Pago Pago Harbor on the eastern island of Tutuila as a coaling station. U.S. Captain Meade’s survey of the island resulted in a “treaty” with Pago Pago chief Mauga.¹¹⁰

Following the War of Faitasiga in 1873, the Sā Malietoa family agreed on a provisional government. The three consuls from Britain, the U.S., and Germany, together with clergymen from the L.M.S., Wesleyan, and the Roman Catholic church held “peace talks” on May of 1873 with representatives from both Malietoa clans.¹¹¹ As a result of that meeting, the war ended and a provisional government was formed. The older Malietoa Talavou returned to Savai’i and

¹⁰⁸ Thomas Trood. 1912. *Island Reminiscences: A Graphic, detailed Romance of a Life Spent in the South Seas Islands*. Sydney: McCarron, Stewart & Co., 61.

¹⁰⁹ Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 36.

¹¹⁰ Commander Richard W. Meade of the U.S.S. *Narragansett* sailed to Pago Pago on Tutuila to possibility set up a naval station. Meade made an agreement with High Chief Mauga of Pago Pago in 1872 in return for “the friendship and protection of the great government of the United States.” According to Gray, Mauga had no authority to negotiate a treaty on behalf of Sāmoans. See: J. A. C. Gray. 1960. *Amerika Sāmoa: A History of American Sāmoa and Its United States Naval Administration*. Annapolis: United States Naval Institute, 58.

¹¹¹ Three consuls, three L.M.S. missionaries, one Wesleyan missionary, the Roman Catholic bishop and several priests met on 1 May 1873. See: Asofou So’o. 2008. *Democracy and Custom in Sāmoa: An uneasy alliance*. Suva: IPS Publications, 35.

granted the power of kingship to both the younger Malietoa Laupepa and a representative of the Sā Tupuā family. The new government included the newly formed *Ta'imua*, comprised of seven district members with the sole responsibility of drafting a new constitution, enacting a code of laws, and conducting the executive government.¹¹² Thirty-six *Faipule* representatives from sub-districts of Sāmoa became “law-makers” and made up the second branch of the government. The newly formed *Ta'imua* and *Faipule* were composed of chiefs of high status, but were not considered “royal.” The status of *Ta'imua* and *Faipule* eventually elevated and, therefore, challenged the decisions of the “royal” families. The Sāmoan political dynamics started to shift as a result of new influences.

U.S. Colonel Albert B. Steinberger became the newest influential foreigner in Sāmoan politics. Steinberger arrived in Sāmoa on 7 August 1873. Immediately after his arrival, Steinberger helped draft the first Sāmoan Constitution and Code of Laws in 1873.¹¹³ Well-liked and trusted, Steinberger received full support by the majority of settlers and foreigners. During Steinberger’s first visit as a “special agent” of the American State Department, he gained the trust of the Sāmoans. Steinberger hoped for a stable Sāmoa by introducing a central government with a constitution. The Sāmoans worried about the foreign incursion upon their lands, and a strong central government “created by them [Sāmoans] and guided by the United States,” would help reduce that problem.¹¹⁴

A revised Sāmoan Constitution was drafted in 1875, and in this new constitution, two kings from the rival families, Sā Malietoā and Sā Tupuā, were appointed. King Malietoa Laupepa recognized Steinberger as Premier of the government. The revised constitution

¹¹² Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 47.

¹¹³ Stephen Stathis. 1982. “Albert B. Steinberger: President Grant’s man in Samoa.” *Hawaiian Journal of History*, v.16: 90.

¹¹⁴ Gilson, *Sāmoa 1830 to 1900*, 303.

remained intact until 1900, the year when Germany took over the western Sāmoan islands.¹¹⁵ Term limits and the process of election were implemented for the councils of *Ta'imua* and *Faipule*. The democratic approach to *fa'a-sāmoa* gave power to lower chiefs, a status they never had. The dual monarchy system between the two leading Sāmoan families meant a positive compromise. Also, Steinberger recognized the importance of L.M.S. teachers in the villages and as “mediators between the modern and traditional worlds.”¹¹⁶ Sāmoans expected it to be a U.S. protectorate. However, Steinberger’s premiership ended not long after taking office.

At the beginning of 1876, Steinberger’s political career halted after U.S. Consul Foster accused the Premier of fraudulent dealings. Steinberger’s efforts to control the liquor trade produced opposition from the settler community. According to Davidson, Steinberger ignored the interests of the foreigners on the island, and supposedly made side deals with the German company, Godeffroy and Son’s. The complaints came mostly from Foster, missionaries, and the settler population. There was a widespread effort among some of the foreign communities to get rid of Steinberger. To execute the deportation of Steinberger, the consuls required the signature of King Malietoa Laupepa. Known as a humble but not strong man, Laupepa gave in to the demands, and Steinberger received orders for deportation on board the H.M.S. *Barracouta*. The stable government of *Ta'imua* and *Faipule* responded and dethroned Laupepa and the members of his council. After returning to his headquarters in the village of Malie in Tuamāsaga, Laupepa and his followers formed a new government in exile called *Puletua*, translated as the “authority in the back.” With Laupepa removed, the rival family of Sā Tupuā saw the opportunity as a joint leader to regain status as king. However, the Sā Tupuā struggled to choose the right heir, and so

¹¹⁵ So’o, *Democracy and Custom in Sāmoa*, 35.

¹¹⁶ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 48.

did the Sā Malietoā. The three factions of Tupua Pulepule, Tamasese Titimaea, and Tui-Ātua Matā'afa challenged each other for the highest position in the Sāmoan islands.

Dethroning Malietoa Laupepa led to the battle between the newly formed *Puletua* and the existing provisional government of *Ta'imua* and *Faipule* in 1877. The victory of *Ta'imua* and *Faipule* made them the new *Malō* over the Sā Malietoā. For the first time in Sāmoan history, an institution other than an extended family gained the status of *Malō*. However, the political powers and foreign settlers in Sāmoa believed that *Ta'imua* and *Faipule* lacked the proper guidance of a foreign advisor; so, the two councils became “increasingly incapable of maintaining their authority.”¹¹⁷ Although Sāmoa maintained its “independence,” the Europeans and Americans felt that the provisional government gave “the country away, and the people judged and censured them accordingly.”¹¹⁸ Support for the provisional government diminished not only among the foreign powers and settlers but also among Sāmoans. So, in 1878, Malietoa Talavou of the Sā Malietoā returned from Savai'i, and was declared as the new head of the government. A year later, the new government at Mulinu'u called itself *Pulefou* or the “new authority,” while his nephew, Malietoa Laupepa, became vice-king. The Europeans supported the *Pulefou* of Malietoa Talavou, because Tuamāsaga and Ā'ana supporters had “most of the foreign plantations.”¹¹⁹ Talavou died a year after the establishment of the *Pulefou*, and Laupepa replaced his uncle as the sole ruler in 1880.

The three powers present in Sāmoa recognized the *Pulefou* as the new leadership. With Laupepa as King of Sāmoa again, the Sā Tupuā family elected Tupua Tamasese Titimaea as paramount chief and challenged Sā Malietoā for power. Titimaea established his headquarters at

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 58-59.

¹¹⁸ Gilson, *Sāmoa 1830 to 1900*, 346.

¹¹⁹ Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 90.

the capital of Ā'ana district in Leulumoega, the traditional headquarters of the *Tumua*¹²⁰ orator group. A short battle between the two factions ended with a treaty signed aboard the U.S.S. *Lackawanna*. The two families agreed to respect the first Steinberger constitution under the *Ta'imua* and *Faipule* and took turns to be King of Sāmoa. At first, Malietoa Laupepa remained King, and Tupua Tamasese Titimaea was vice-king. Kennedy writes “The Lackawanna peace provided no lasting solution, but rather the calm before the storm.”¹²¹ Before the agreement, Tui-Ātua Matā'afa,¹²² related to both Sā Malietoā and Sā Tupuā families, hoped to gain the kingship at the death of Talavou. The political parties offered Matā'afa Iosefo no part of the administration (see Appendix E). However, he later played a critical role as *Ali'i Sili* (High Paramount Chief) at the turn of the century, a reduced puppet title under the German Kaiser.

The three powers in Sāmoa recognized the provisional government, but not all Sāmoans did. In the local villages, Sāmoans continued to organize themselves traditionally and were reluctant to pay taxes to the government because of the lack of knowledge of where the funds went. The leader of the 1920s *Mau* against New Zealand, O. F. Nelson referred to this act of protest as “an old-time *Mau*.”¹²³ In 1884, the new government petitioned Queen Victoria twice to make Sāmoa a British protectorate due to the fear of the Germans. Except for the Pago Pago Harbor on Tutuila, the U.S. had no interests in the Sāmoan islands.¹²⁴ The petition to Queen Victoria angered the German Consul, Theodore Weber. In retaliation, Weber claimed ownership

¹²⁰ The two main orator groups are *Tumua* and *Pule*. *Tumua* is represented by the orators of the villages of Leulumoega in Ā'ana and Lufilufi in Ātua. *Pule* are represented by the orator chiefs of the villages of Safotulafai, Asau, Palauli, Sātupa'itea, Sāfotu and Sāle'aula from Savai'i. At the beginning of the twentieth century the *Mau a Pule* or the “Opinions of the Pule District” resistance movement will rise under the leadership of famed talking chief, Lauaki Namulau'ulu of Safotulafai.

¹²¹ Paul Kennedy. 1974. *The Sāmoan Tangle: A Study in Anglo-German-American Relations 1878-1900*. New York: Barnes & Noble, 25.

¹²² Tui-Ātua Matā'afa was one of the three contenders for the Sā Tupuā title. The title was conferred upon Tupua Tamasese Titimaea instead.

¹²³ O. F. Nelson. 1928. *The Truth about Sāmoa*. Auckland, New Zealand, 5.

¹²⁴ In 1877, *Ta'imua* and *Faipule* sent a deputation to meet with the British Governor of Fiji, Sir Arthur Gordon, to request British protection but that request was denied. They then sent Sāmoan *matai* M. K. Le Mamea Faletoeso to Washington D.C. to request for U.S. protection and involvement, but that attempt failed.

of Mulinu'u, the government headquarters, and he expelled the reigning King Laupepa.¹²⁵ The Germans went a step further and encouraged Tupua Tamasese Titimaea of Sā Tupuā to establish his government at Leulumoega, the traditional center in the Ā'ana district. The Germans campaigned to eliminate the British-American influence under the Sā Malietoā government. To enforce the German objective, the German consul appointed Eugen Brandeis, a German worker of the newly formed German company, Deutsche Handels und Plantagen Gesellschaft (D.H.P.G.), which was the successor to Godeffroys and Son; the original German trading company was in Sāmoa. Brandeis served as Premier to the Titimaea government, which later moved to Mulinu'u where the Sā Malietoā government once existed. The Germans went so far as to train the Ā'ana people and their allies for a war against the Sā Malietoā government.¹²⁶

With the strong backing of the Germans, the Titimaea faction gained much support from the respective districts and defeated Laupepa in 1887. Laupepa unsuccessfully enlisted support from King Kalakaua and the Polynesian confederation.¹²⁷ The *Kaimiloa* arrived in Sāmoa, and Laupepa managed to sign an agreement with the Hawaiian Kingdom, making the two island kingdoms allies in the beginning of 1887. However, German warships prevented the *Kaimiloa* from fulfilling its mission. The attempt by Laupepa angered the Germans even more, and after defeat, Laupepa received exile orders to the German Pacific colony in the Marshall Islands. On September 15 with strong German support, Tamasese's *fono* (meeting) convened and prominent *Ali'i* of Malietoa's kin from the districts of Tuamāsaga, Manono, Safotulafai, and Itu-o-Fafine arrived; but Malietoa Laupepa remained in hiding to avoid exile.¹²⁸ Tamasese took offense and

¹²⁵ Mulinu'u is the traditional seat of the current Sāmoan government. The parliament building and burial sites of paramount chiefs are at Mulinu'u. Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 90.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 91.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ Rev. Newell Journal Entry, no date, Box 3, No. 13, South Seas. Special Personal J. E. Newell Papers, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

demanding a search party from the *'au o taua o Ā'ana* or war party of the Ā'ana district, to search for Malietoa. Tamasese threatened Malietoa's powerful allies, Seumanutafa and Tafai, to turn themselves in by midnight and join Tamasese's political efforts or suffer the consequences of "war on their territories."¹²⁹ Two days later, Rev. Newell recorded in his journal that Mulinu'u was filled with boats and people because the Tuamāsaga chiefs of Malietoa traveled to Apia to sign a "German condition of peace," and to declare their allegiance to Tamasese as the sole King of Sāmoa.¹³⁰ The Tamasese supporters of Ātua and Ā'ana walked "boastfully" and taunted the Malietoa chiefs of Tuamāsaga and Safotulafai. At three o'clock that same day, Malietoa Laupepa gave himself up to the Germans and went onboard the *Bismarck* as a "prisoner of war."¹³¹

Tupua Tamasese Titimaea held only one of the four *tafa'ifa* titles, Tui-Ā'ana, but his German supporters believed that his "attainment of nominal supremacy was to be coincident with the actual subjection of his country to the will of Germany."¹³² Titimaea's victory over Laupepa made him king, and the Germans falsely recognized him as *tafa'ifā*. The blatant disregard of *fa'a-sāmoa* chiefly protocols, and reverence for the *tafa'ifā* titles resulted in another Sāmoan civil war. The supporters of Tupua Tamasese Titimaea from the Ā'ana and Ātua districts did not support the bestowal of the *tafa'ifā* upon him even though they politically supported this Sā Tupuā kin. As a result, Tui-Ātua Matā'afa Iosefo and kin of the Sā Malietoa used the absence of Laupepa, and raised support from the Sā Malietoa district of Tuamāsaga and those from Ā'ana and Ātua to oppose the illegitimate bestowal of the *tafa'ifā* upon Titimaea. The civil war between Matā'afa and Titimaea threatened the lives of everyone on the island and,

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 62.

thus, caused American, German, and British consuls to request naval support. Seven ships docked at Apia Harbor ready for battle, but a strong hurricane stopped the war efforts and wrecked six of the ships and claimed 155 lives.¹³³ Sāmoans saw the storm as an act of God. The incident at Apia led to the signing of the Tripartite agreement of 1889.¹³⁴ Unfortunately, the agreement “offered little to the Sāmoan people and limited their independence.”¹³⁵ The representatives of the powers met in Berlin and the Sāmoans became a “neutral territory in which the citizens and subjects of the three signatory powers’ were to have ‘equal rights of residence, trade, and personal protection.’”¹³⁶

Although Matā’afa defeated the Titimaea camp in war and deserved the kingship, the Tripartite agreement recognized the exiled Malietoa Laupepa as the sole king. Both the British and Germans supported Laupepa as a puppet king for political affairs. According to Davidson, the decisions imposed by Europeans stopped Matā’afa, as “the Sāmoans’ choice,” and ceased a favored solution of alternation between Sā Malietoa and Sā Tupuā.¹³⁷ Even the famed author Robert Louis Stevenson promoted “so ardently and with such strong partisanship” the cause of Matā’afa.¹³⁸ Stevenson accused the L.M.S. of conspiring against Matā’afa, but no proof substantiated the claims.¹³⁹ Matā’afa’s religious affiliation as a Roman Catholic perhaps motivated Stevenson’s accusation.

Lauaki Namulau’ulu Mamoe, traditionally a Malietoa supporter, felt that Matā’afa exemplified an elderly statesman with traditional “royal” connections throughout Sāmoa and deserved the position. Even after Laupepa’s death, Lauaki continued his support campaign for

¹³³ Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 40.

¹³⁴ Some sources refer to the 1889 Tripartite agreement as the Berlin Conference of Germany, the U.S., and Britain.

¹³⁵ Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 92.

¹³⁶ Keesing, *Modern Sāmoa*, 70.

¹³⁷ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 72-73.

¹³⁸ Rev. Newell’s “Decennial Review of the Sāmoan Mission, 1891-1900,” date unknown, Box 6, Folder 35, South Seas. Reports, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

Matā'afa. Davidson writes, "Lauaki's position at this stage was a difficult one. He knew that Sāmoa must have a stable government if it was to resist the encroachments of foreign interests. For this reason, he supported Matā'afa against Tanumāfili."¹⁴⁰

Matā'afa's jealousy toward Laupepa's appointment led to a battle in 1893, and resulted in Matā'afa's exile to the German-ruled Marshall Islands along with ten other supporters. King Laupepa died in 1898, and his son, Tanumāfili, replaced him. Not long after, Tupua Tamasese Lealofia'ana became the new representative of Sā Tupuā, following the death of his father, Titimaea. Matā'afa returned that year to Sāmoa from exile and declared war on the Tanumāfili camp, but was defeated. The joint commission of the powers agreed to collect all armaments in Sāmoa, and declared Tanumāfili as the sole heir of the title of king. However, the young Tanumāfili received advice to "resign the office, so that the field was cleared for future developments."¹⁴¹ The young Tanumāfili left for Fiji and continued his education; he returned to a newly formed government at the turn of the century.

At the end of 1899, the three powers agreed to partition the Sāmoan Islands between the U.S. and Germany. Tutuila and Manu'a went to the U.S., and the Germans occupied Upolu, Savai'i, Manono, and Apolima. The British "in return for its agreement to this arrangement, would obtain recognition by the Germans of certain claims and interests in other parts of the Pacific and Africa."¹⁴² Davidson states that before the partition the consuls of the powers organized this new German government with Dr. Wilhelm Solf of Germany as its executive officer. In 1900, Dr. Solf became the new Administrator under the German flag. In light of the political changes, Sāmoan historian Meleisea claims that

¹⁴⁰ Davidson, "Lauaki Namulau'ulu Mamoe," 289-290.

¹⁴¹ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 67.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

no matter how much Europeans claimed they wanted a Sāmoan government and king, they were not going to accept any dictates from Sāmoan leaders or any limitation on their power to do as they pleased and to follow their own interests. They wanted a token government which they could control. The Sāmoans were not fooled but realized clearly that the limitation of such a government was that it would not protect Sāmoan lands from being alienated.¹⁴³

The interactions between the three powers, settlers, missionaries, and indigenous populations became a challenging situation as Sāmoa headed into the 20th century.

Reflections

The rise of the new foreign *Malō* in Sāmoa challenged “traditional” protocols, and ushered in a new era for both Sāmoan politics and *fa’a-sāmoa*. Rather than remaining passive members of their society, Sāmoan *matai* engaged with the foreign systems and adjusted to the colonial environment. Although economic, cultural, and social changes took time, Sāmoans experienced an inevitable change. The syncretism of Christianity with traditional *fa’aaloalo* slowly transformed Sāmoan society through village churches and schools. As within any society, battles over power and position came in different forms, including war. The foreign powers, traders, beachcombers, whalers, and Christian denominations impacted the lives of the Sāmoans, and eventually made Sāmoan civil wars a part of their past, *aso ole pōuliuli*. The Sāmoans had slowly veered away from war tactics to political engagement with the provisional government, and the Bill of Rights, followed by a Sāmoan Constitution in 1875. However, the Sāmoans struggled to establish unity.

The Sāmoan chiefs both accepted and challenged new interpretations of their pre-contact legends and the new changes to customary guidelines of the social structure based on the *matai* as the supreme head. The influence from the West brought new goods and knowledge that Sāmoans highly desired. Sāmoan chiefs wanted foreign rule by either the U.S. or Britain for

¹⁴³ Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 100.

protection, but ultimately “rejected the attempts of foreigners to dictate a solution to their problems, whether of the kingship or the structure and functioning of the church.”¹⁴⁴

The Sāmoan society continued to run within a *fa’a-sāmoa* framework during colonialism, but was never a “feudal” society of landowner and serf relations as in medieval Europe.¹⁴⁵ Rather, as in the past, the “*āiga* was the property-owning group, and a *matai* was the custodian of the property of his ‘*āiga*.”¹⁴⁶ A closer look at the literature and archival material indicates that the organizational structure of *fa’a-sāmoa* and its basic tenets of *fa’aaloalo* and *tautua* remained relevant with the changes. In the era of colonialism, rather than armed resistance, the Sāmoans would express their frustrations through new methods of protest, such as refusal to pay taxes, stopping children from attending government and church schools, staying away from hospitals, and forging alliances between families that never existed before. Davidson believes that “Sāmoa had remained Sāmoa” during the transition of powers and “continued to evolve according to the particular logic of its own culture.”¹⁴⁷ Davidson’s statement lends support to previous findings in the Sāmoan historiography of the adaptability of *fa’a-sāmoa* to the West and the hybridity that occurred as a result.

¹⁴⁴ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 74.

¹⁴⁵ Meleisea, *Changes and Adaptations*, 25.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 75.

Chapter 3. Sāmoan Spirituality and the L.M.S. Church

In the last chapter, I demonstrated the resilience of *fa'a-sāmoa* during the transfer of power to the U.S., Germany, and Britain. I defined *fa'a-sāmoa*'s resilient organizational system to support my argument that *fa'a-sāmoa* and the new governing systems would eventually forge a new era in Sāmoan politics. With the help of the colonial governments, Sāmoan chiefs embraced the laws and lifestyles of the West, e.g., a Bill of Rights of 1873 and the Sāmoan Constitution of 1875. The shift of power to the U.S. and Germany initially resulted in no unified opposition or protest.

Before the three powers, the London Missionary Society had started an efficient civilizing mission by introducing a written language, Western education, and technology. The close relationship between the L.M.S. and *fa'a-sāmoa* forged a syncretic connection that continues even today. The shift to Christianity summoned a new faith, based on Western belief and philosophy which was new to the Sāmoan Islands. Despite the changes, Sāmoans remained faithful to the core tenets of *fa'a-sāmoa*: of respect (*fa'aaloalo*), service (*tautua*), and love (*alofa*). Civil wars continued throughout the 19th century, over issues related to chiefly titles, lands, and family disputes, but Christianity influenced them as a peaceful option that the Sāmoan *matai* saw as “acceptable” living. The institution of the church slowly gained traction in the islands and became a huge success, with converted and dedicated members. Eventually, the rallying call of the Great Commission aroused the Sāmoan graduates of the established Malua Theological College to travel to the three sub-regions of the Oceania as missionaries and become dedicated servants of God (*auauna o le Ātua*). L.M.S. historian, Richard Lovett, described the

reaction of the L.M.S. toward the Sāmoan ministry as “abundantly satisfied with what we have seen in Sāmoa.”¹

This chapter provides an overview of L.M.S. history, with an emphasis on the Great Commission. The Sāmoan clergymen had embraced the call and Sāmoan chiefs had protected the sanctity of the church, as a result. I then explain the syncretic relationship between *fa’a-sāmoa* and the church. Although there existed a strong bond between the two institutions, protests within the L.M.S. by Sāmoan clergymen had proven the Sāmoan desire to embrace the church, the Great Commission, civilizing mission, and the willingness to implement *fa’a-sāmoa*. Sāmoan clergymen pushed for reforms within the L.M.S. institution, leading to a Sāmoanized L.M.S. church.

Spirituality and the *Vā* Relationship

Fanaafi Le Tagaloa Aiono defined the *vā* as the sacred space and betweenness of the “Creator and the created and between all of creation.”² The *vā* refers to a sacred relationship “between all things” or *vā tapuia*.³ Pre-contact religious⁴ convictions informed the political, social, and communal attitudes of *fa’a-sāmoa* through legends, myths, and genealogies. European missionaries attempted to define Sāmoan actions, attitudes, and practices within the context of both culture and the new-found religion of Christianity. At the same time, Sāmoans made sense of the new foreign structures through the framework of *fa’a-sāmoa*. Despite the religious changes, Sāmoans unlocked the role of spirituality in the relationship between

¹ Richard Lovett. 1899. *The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895, Vol. 1*. London: H. Frowde, 403.

² Fanaafi Le Tagaloa Aiono. 2003. *Tapuai: Sāmoan Worship*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 7-8.

³ Melanie Anae. 2010. “Teu le Va: Toward a Native Anthropology.” *Pacific Studies*, 33(2-3): 222. See also: Tui-Ātua Tupua Tamasese Tupuola Efi. 2009. “Bioethics and the Sāmoan indigenous reference.” *International Social Science Journal*, 60(195): 115-124.

⁴ The word “religion” initially referred to “devoutness” or “piety” in the early periods of the church up to the sixteenth century. This changed in the seventeenth century when “religion” meant “a system of beliefs and practices.” See: David J. Bosch. 1991. *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 268.

themselves and the outsiders, with a clear immersion into the new spiritual realm. The old spiritual relationship relied chiefly on the *fa'a-matai* system, while the new religion filtered through the *matai* relationships.

The concept of the Sāmoan *vā* played a significant role in the acceptance and practice of Christianity in Sāmoa. Overall, the idea of the *vā* defined Sāmoan attitudes throughout the *mau* movements, within the church as well as during the colonial era. Sāmoan spirituality and the *vā* permeated every aspect of life in the islands and became the cornerstone of *fa'a-sāmoa*. Sāmoa's pre-contact notion of the *vā* adjusted into the new religious system, but never dissolved. Sāmoan society negotiated with the *vā* between the *matai* and colonial powers, *matai* and *matai*, *matai* and 'āiga, and the *lotu* and *matai* among other complex social dynamics. The *vā* referred to the following contexts: *vā tapua'i* (worship space), *vā fealoaloa'i* (social space), *ia teu le vā* (cherish the relationship), *vā feiloa'i* (proper protocols during gatherings), and *vā fealofani* (brotherly/sisterly love).⁵ To maintain a peaceful *vā*, Sāmoans prioritized *fa'aaloalo* (regard highly with respect), *alofa* (love), *tautua* (service), and *migao* (reverence).⁶ "True *fa'asāmoa*" reflected a respectful relationship between both the animate and inanimate objects.

Similar to other Polynesian societies, pre-contact Sāmoa enforced a *tapu* and a spiritual *vā* in human relationships based on *fa'a-sāmoa*. Tui-Ātua Tupua Tamasese Efi recognized the sanctity of the practice of *fa'a-sāmoa*, as a spiritual experience with "a sacred essence that underpins our relations with all things; our gods, the cosmos, environment, others and the self."⁷ Furthermore, according to Fa'alafi, the two primary phenomena of the Sāmoan religion rests on

⁵ I'uogafa Tuagalu. 2008. "Heuristics of the Va." *Alternative: An International Journal of Indigenous Scholarship*, 4(1): 110.

⁶ See: 'Aumua Mata'itusi Simanu. 2002. *'O Si Manu A Ali'i: A Text for the Advanced Study of Sāmoan Language and Culture*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 124-128.

⁷ Tui-Ātua Tupua Tamasese Tupuola Efi. 2009. "Bioethics and the Sāmoan indigenous reference." *International Social Science Journal*, 60(195): 116.

pule (power) and *mamalu* (sacredness).⁸ As previously mentioned, the god Tagalōa served as the supreme being and creator. He held the ultimate *pule* and *mamalu*, that later transferred through direct channels to the spirits and chiefs of Sāmoa. Therefore, in essence, Sāmoans revered a *matai* in the same way as a god with the same *pule*, *mamalu* and direct authority to either bless or curse the other chiefs and people within a family.⁹ The *vā* between the *matai* and his family encouraged the members of the *‘āiga*, especially the young untitled men of the village, to support the efforts of the *matai*. The *Mau* movements relied on alliances among the districts, villages, and families which were based on special *vā* relationships that spanned over hundreds of years.

There are five levels which make up the Sāmoan traditional religion: Tagalōa the creator, mythological spirits, ancestral spirits, village *matai*, and finally the family *matai*.¹⁰ Sāmoan cosmology organized the first three levels, whereas the final two served as mediators of the families, villages, and districts to the gods. L.M.S. missionary Rev. George Turner noted that early European and Russian visitors viewed the islanders as “the godless Sāmoans.” Turner pointed out that “on closer acquaintance with them [Sāmoans], however, it was discovered that they lived under the influence of a host of imaginary deities, claiming alike belief and corresponding practice.”¹¹ Rev. John Stair’s 1897 book, *Old Sāmoa*, included a thorough list of the different Sāmoan gods from different villages and districts on Upolu and Savai’i. Reverence toward the pre-contact gods and spirits meant a strong *vā* relationship based on traditions, stories, myths, legends, family histories, and “real life” interactions. Specifically, Meleisea emphasized on two categories of gods: those of a non-human origin or *ātua*, and those of human origin or

⁸ Fineaso T. S. Fa’alafi. 2005. *Carrying the Faith: Sāmoan Methodism 1828-1928*. Apia: Piula Theological College, 22.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 22

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹¹ George Turner. 1884. *Sāmoa, A Hundred Years Ago and Long Before: Together with Notes on the Cults and Customs of Twenty-Three other Islands in the Pacific*. London: Macmillan and Co., 17.

aitu. The *ātua* resided in *pūlotu* (the afterworld) or *lagi* (the heavens). However, the *aitu* or half-men/half-gods returned to dwell with the living “to interest themselves (for good or evil) in the doings of their descendants.” As spirits of the dead, the *aitu* returned to the human realm in the “form of animals, birds, humans, and other natural objects.”¹² Within this spiritual relationship between the living and the spirit world, certain *aitu* received more reverence due to their connections based on mythological, historical, and genealogical ties between the families and villages. The practice of the *vā* reflected a relationship with both the deceased and the living.

Reverence for the gods of old Sāmoa varied from village to village. For example, the people of the Ā’ana district on Upolu worshiped the *fe’e* (octopus), and therefore the *fe’e* became a *tapu* which was not allowed to be touched. However, people in the neighboring districts and villages consumed the *fe’e* as a mere seawater creature and delicacy. A former consul to Sāmoa and Fiji during the mid 19th century pointed out, “He whose god was in the pigeon never ate that bird, never injured a feather. He whose god was in the dog has forever forbidden the delicacy of dog-flesh, while his neighbors feasted on it to their hearts’ content.”¹³ Although district and village gods existed, each family worshiped a particular god or gods. The *matai* fulfilled the role of a spiritual leader in all the aspects of family, village, and district life; this chosen leader secured the sanctity of the gods and the spiritual relationships of the members of his ‘*āiga*. The different forms of Sāmoan worship recognized the *vā* or the sacred space between. The disrespect of these spaces or the lack of *fa’aaloalo* led to war or battle to regain the honor or prestige that had once existed. The *mana* resonated in every aspect of the interactions within the Sāmoan society. With the influx of new visitors, Sāmoans negotiated the practice of *vā* with a

¹² Malama Meleisea. *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Sāmoa*. Suva: University of South Pacific, 36.

¹³ W. T. Pritchard. 1968. *Polynesian Reminiscences of, Life in the South Pacific Island*. London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 107.

foreign population that viewed the concept differently. The L.M.S. missionaries quickly learned their role in Sāmoan spirituality and successfully converted the islands from the “old religion” of worshipping animate and inanimate objects into Christianity, while maintaining the spiritual concepts of the *vā* at the same time. The *faiʻeʻau* (pastor) and European missionaries eventually received the highest treatment by the Sāmoans, based on reverence and *vā*, as their spiritual leaders. The same *vā* applied to the *matai* during the *Mau* movements. The concept of *tautua* (service) and *faʻaaloalo* (regard highly with respect) toward the *matai* leaders meant complete reverence for those in power.

The Great Commission

The call of the Great Commission, to make disciples in all nations and baptize "in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit", became the foundation of the Christian faith.¹⁴ The spread of Christianity began after the life of Jesus Christ and continued with his disciples and apostles. Apostle Paul transformed the movement of Christianity from a quasi-Jewish religion to spread its message among the Gentiles and eventually, it achieved success as the leading religion in the world. The vision of evangelism, as referred to by the Protestant denominations, evidently grew since its humble and persecuted beginning. Christianity dominated the spiritual belief system of the West; this influential religion permeated cultures and countries, to some degree throughout the world, through its missionary work. The success of the religious conversions made the Pacific a popular Christian region in the world. The Christian faith eventually adapted to the “Pacific conditions and incorporated into Pacific life.”¹⁵ Christianity is quite prominent in the literature on Sāmoa. However, little research has been

¹⁴ “Go therefore and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I commanded you; and lo, I am with you always even to the end of the age” Matthew 28:19-20. See: New American Standard, *The Holy Bible*. 1995. Grand Rapids: Word Publishing Inc.

¹⁵ Raeburn Lange. 2005. *Island Ministers: Indigenous Leadership in Nineteenth-Century Pacific Islands Christianity*. Canterbury: Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, 9.

conducted on the role of the colonial L.M.S. church during the *Mau* movements. A closer look into the literature indicates a Sāmoan response that is strongly based on a hybrid of *fa'a-sāmoa* and the Christian values of peace.

Not until the revival or the “Great Christian Awakening”, in both the Europe and the British-American colonies, did a new vision and purpose of Christianity come alive in the Protestant churches. The “Great Awakening” also coincided with the Industrial Revolution and urbanization. During the 18th and 19th centuries, the Protestants demanded a “personal conversion and holiness of life,” and with this new life came a civic responsibility for reform through both the abolition of slavery and a new zeal for missionary work.¹⁶ The revivals inspired “born-again” believers to witness their faith in ways they had never done before. Some relevant organizations that were formed during the revival period include the Baptist Missionary Society in 1792, the London Missionary Society in 1795, the Edinburgh and Glasgow Missionary Societies in 1796, the Anglican Evangelical Church Missionary Society in 1899, and the Wesleyan Missionary Society in 1817.¹⁷ These “voluntary societies” promoted both religious and societal concerns, like “antislavery, prison reform, temperance, Sabbath observance, the ‘reform of manners,’ and other charitable causes.”¹⁸

Jesuits of the Catholic Church had reached Guam in the 17th century, but the Pacific region experienced a spiritual “awakening” of Protestant evangelism in the late 18th century. During the process of introducing a new religion, the missionaries demythologized the belief systems and practices of old. As a result, the religious authorities replaced the old convictions

¹⁶ Neil, *A History of Christian Missions*, 214.

¹⁷ In America, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (A.B.C.F.M.) in 1814 along with the American Baptist Missionary Board formed by dedicated Christians. Countries that followed in Christian faith-based voluntary organizations include Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, France, and Norway. At the turn of the century, modern Christian countries supported more missionary groups.

¹⁸ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 328.

with new interpretations of faith, spirituality, and divine authority. Although interested in eradicating certain notions of gods, spirits, myths, and traditions, the missionaries required assimilation to achieve their denominational goals. The Pacific Islanders viewed the new religion through syncretic lenses to understand the objectives of the missionaries. Europeans have always used syncretic lenses of culture to understand Christianity, e.g., Halloween, Easter Bunnies, and Christmas. The Pacific Islanders adopted not only Christianity but also the European customs too. The Pacific renegotiated the *vā* between the old and the new through its languages, religious traditions, and cultures. In the case of Africa, Andrew Walls stated that the utilization of the African vernaculars and the African past shaped African Christianity.¹⁹ The Sāmoan vernacular and spiritual history shaped Sāmoan Christianity, and the syncretism of the two annoyed the early missionaries. Sāmoans continued to practice oratory by recognizing their ancestors, legends, and traditions of old. The *faiʻeʻau* used his oratory skills to connect the Sāmoan legends and proverbs to biblical stories. Even during the transition and introduction of new concepts, Sāmoans refused to dismiss their *faʻa-sāmoa* traditions and customs entirely. The preservation of *faʻa-sāmoa* practices became a part of the reason behind the *Mau* movements. The church believed that *faʻa-sāmoa* hindered the growth of Christianity.

As Sāmoans realized, the new system of spirituality meant “improving” the lives of the “heathen,” namely through a “civilizing mission.” The civilizing mission achieved the objectives of the church through education, new cultural norms including clothing, grooming, proper hygiene, laws, regulations, and the introduction of capitalism. These practices remained synonymous with Christian missions around the world, well into the 20th and 21st century. The changes occurred slowly, but the missionaries, specifically in Sāmoa, struggled to understand the significant role of *faʻa-sāmoa* within the population. Although Sāmoans showed signs of “true

¹⁹ Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process*, 120.

conversion” and commitment, the followers attached themselves to *fa’a-sāmoa*, e.g., exchanged fine mats, used traditional medicines for healing, maintained special relationships with the deceased, conducted ‘ava ceremonies, built political alliances, and practiced marriage dowries. Despite the complaints of the European missionaries, Sāmoans dedicated themselves to the work of the Gospel in education, missionary work, and their everyday living.

History of the L.M.S.

The Industrial Revolution contributed to the rise of Christian organizations in Europe. Many farmers lost their lands and moved into new factory cities and slums. The increased urbanization in England resulted in the rise of missionary work. Therefore, the Industrial Revolution provided an impetus for the First Great Awakening. The end of the 18th century and the complete 19th century became known as “The Great Century” of Christian missions.²⁰ The L.M.S. was created as a collective body of believers aiming to fulfill a common cause. A group of London ministers created the *Evangelical Magazine* in July 1793 to “arouse the Christian public from its prevailing torpor and excite to a more close and serious consideration of their obligations to use means for advancing the Redeemer’s Kingdom.”²¹ The magazine ignited a spiritual flame within the people in London to literally “take up their crosses and follow Christ.”²² The involved ministers used pulpits, wrote letters, and produced publications that encouraged their fellow Christian believers to heed the call. The founder of the new Baptist Missionary Society in 1792, Dr. William Carey, published an essay entitled *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use means for the Conversion of the Heathen*. British subjects in the field already, as clergymen and chaplains, pleaded with their fellow British Christians in open

²⁰ Norman Goodall. 1954. *A History of the London Missionary Society 1895-1945*. London: Oxford University Press, 1.

²¹ Charles S. Horne. 1894. *The Story of the L.M.S.* London: John Snow & Co., 4.

²² *Ibid.*

forums to harvest the mission field for God. The influential Rev. Melville Horne published a convincing book, *Letters on Missions* in 1797, where he addressed the Protestant Ministers of the British Churches. In the publication, Horne made an unapologetic cry to his fellow clergy that refusing to act on God's call was an "open violation of Christ's command, 'Go, preach the Gospel to every creature.'"²³ The fire and brimstone sermons touched a particular chord with the ministers, which led committed Christians to gather to discuss a future commitment to missions and the call of Christ for the Great Commission.

On 4 November 1794, a group of ministers from different denominations met at the Baker's Coffee House in London and discussed the potential responsibilities of missionaries as representatives of God. An initial meeting with the ministers eventually led to a second meeting with other sympathizers. The group of clergy agreed, at a general conference in September 1795, to discuss the logistics of the new unnamed group of believers. Two hundred ministers from different denominational groups met and heard a powerful sermon by Rev. T. Haweis. Scheduled as an informative meeting, not everyone in attendance decided to join the new missionary society. After the sermon, Rev. Haweis and the organizers invited the clergy present to take action "to spread the knowledge of Christ among heathen and other unenlightened nations."²⁴ The "Missionary Society" was formed and the commitment to the Gospel became a priority. The "Missionary Society" later added "London" as a prefix, to distinguish it from other mission groups, e.g., Edinburgh Missionary Society and Glasgow Missionary Society.²⁵

The London Missionary Society began as an organization committed to the cause of the Great Commission with a "nondenominational" stand. Rev. Horne defined the objective of the L.M.S. in the following words:

²³ Ellis, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, 13.

²⁴ Horne, *The Story of the L.M.S.*, 10.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

It is not Calvinism, it is not Arminianism, but Christianity that he is to teach; it is not the hierarchy of the Church of England, it is not the principles of Protestant Dissenters that he has in view to propagate; his object is to serve the church universal...He should be infinitely more concerned to make men Christians, than to make them Church of England men, Dissenters, or Methodists...Instead of observing with jealousy the prosperity of any other denomination of Christians, and considering it an obstacle to the success of our own party, we should rejoice in hearing that Christ is preached, and souls are saved.²⁶

The involved ministers shared different denominations or traditions, and the collaboration proved to be encouraging for the men involved. Once the L.M.S. established itself in 1795, the Congregationalists strongly supported the organization. However, the L.M.S. remained non-denominational because choosing one specific denomination went against the objectives of the new missionary society.²⁷ Although the clergy remained open to the other faiths, the L.M.S. organization reflected that of Presbyterianism.²⁸ Once the clergy established themselves in the islands, the practice of presiding over a group of pastors reflected an Episcopal-style²⁹ of religious leadership.³⁰ Over time, the L.M.S. leadership found that a majority of the missionaries supported Presbyterianism while others remained Independent. Regardless of their denominational affiliation, the involved men and women served their designated populations as dedicated missionaries of the L.M.S. The L.M.S. was associated closely with the Congregational Churches of Great Britain, while the non-Congregationalists only remained “deeply in sympathy with the work of the Society.”³¹

The L.M.S. eventually spread to the Pacific, China, Africa, Madagascar, and India. The newly appointed leaders of the L.M.S. opted to send missionaries to the famed Tahiti. The

²⁶ Ellis, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, 14.

²⁷ Horne, *The Story of the L.M.S.*, 17.

²⁸ Presbyterians followed an egalitarian system with clerical and lay leaders controlling the individual churches. The authority of the church rested with the “presbyteries” or the body of elders and clergymen. See: Carla Gardina Pestana. 2009. *Protestant Empire: Religion and the Making of the British Atlantic World*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 39.

²⁹ Episcopalians are organized under a hierarchy of bishops, and not a general assembly as practiced in the Presbyterian denomination. See: Pestana, *Protestant Empire*, 39.

³⁰ Horne, *The Story of the L.M.S.*, 18.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 19.

L.M.S. leadership bought a ship, *The Duff*, for £4,800. Voluntarism and the spirit of service became a huge characteristic of the L.M.S. Captain James Wilson, an atheist, became a Christian and volunteered his professional experience into captaining *The Duff*. Thirty missionaries bound for Tahiti, Tonga, and the Marquesas, accompanied Wilson and his crew of twenty men. Of the thirty missionaries, only four had received ordination. The other twenty-five had careers as carpenters, artisans, tailors, weavers, blacksmith, and gunners.³² The L.M.S. accepted volunteers committed to the cause of spreading the Gospel. Unfortunately, the missionaries experienced a difficult time adjusting to the overall cultural and political differences in the islands.

Regardless of the issues initially faced by the L.M.S., the missionaries persevered and met their goals to promote the cause of the Great Commission. A majority of the missionaries hailed from the lower middle classes. The recent young converts considered the mission field as an adventure away from their lives in Europe.³³ The young recruits remained positively fueled by “duty, compassion, confidence, optimism, evangelical revivalism, and premillennialist urgency.”³⁴ Over time, the missionaries to the “heathen” worlds built “tolerance for all people and a relativistic belief, however, it did give birth to Western superiority and prejudice.”³⁵ The first missionaries of the L.M.S. came from modest educational backgrounds and were skilled with their hands, thus the nickname “tinkers.” However, during the late 1830s, the composition of the L.M.S. missionaries greatly belonged to the middle class.³⁶ By 1844, the Malua Theological College in Sāmoa required qualified instructors as educators. Therefore, a great transition occurred in the type of missionaries who were sent to Sāmoa since the beginning. With Westernization came the introduction of new forms of feasting, agriculture, architectural

³² *Ibid.*, 23. See: Neil Gunson. 1978. *Messenger of Grace*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 11-12.

³³ Gunson, *Messenger of Grace*, 31-32.

³⁴ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 332.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 344.

³⁶ Gunson, *Messenger of Grace*, 41.

styles, reading, writing, and a foreign education system. As the L.M.S. and other missionary societies developed themselves in the region, the “ecumenical” climate declined while the initial objective of “non-denominational” became more doctrinaire.³⁷

L.M.S. in Sāmoa

Rev. John Williams,³⁸ also known as Ioane Viliamu, became the famed *pālāgi* who first evangelized and introduced the organized religion of L.M.S. in Sāmoa. Named the “Apostle of the south seas,” Williams started his missionary work in Tahiti in 1816.³⁹ Williams’ name became forever synonymous with Sāmoa’s conversion to Christianity; specifically, the change from *pō* (night) to *mālamalama* (light). The L.M.S. Board in London had initially removed Sāmoa from their mission grid map due to the attack of La Pérouse and his Frenchman on the village of A’asu in Tutuila Island in 1787.⁴⁰ Williams felt “called” to Sāmoa and the New Hebrides, and pleaded with the L.M.S. Board, in as early as 1824, to redirect the mission field to the “untouched” islands. The incident with La Pérouse redefined the peaceful Navigator islands of the Pacific as “savage.” Although viewed as dangerous initially, the Sāmoan Islands proved to be an overwhelming “success” in the establishment of a Pacific ministry and native converts.

³⁷ Gunson, *Messenger of Grace*, 330; Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 332.

³⁸ John Williams was born in the year L.M.S. was formed and grew up as an apprentice to an ironmonger. He was around ironwork most of his life and those skills were useful in building the *Messenger of Peace*. At the age of eighteen, he dedicated his life as a devoted Christian and in 1816, he left England for the South Seas as a missionary for the L.M.S. Moved by his devotion to the Christian mission, his motto was “For my own part I cannot content myself within the narrow limits of a single reef.” See: Horne, *The Story of the L.M.S.*, 41-42.

³⁹ Horne, *The Story of the L.M.S.*, 41.

⁴⁰ The La Pérouse Expedition to Upolu and Tutuila in 1787 resulted in the death of Captain Vaisseau de Langle, (second in command to La Pérouse), French crewmen, and Sāmoans. Tuiteleapaga writes that the initial contact with La Pérouse and the French sailors was peaceful, which included a special ‘ava’ ceremony which is the highest honor given to guests. During this unscheduled arrival, the village of A’asu on Tutuila was hosting guests from the village of Falelatai, Upolu. After the welcome, the Frenchmen and Sāmoans traded goods. On the ship, a Sāmoan man was caught “stealing” a leg of ham under his arm. He was disciplined by tying his right hand and hoisting him to the mast. The offender was not from A’asu, but from Falelatai and this angered the guests of Falelatai as well as some A’asu villagers. A heated battle ensued resulting in the death of Capt. De Langle, some of the crew and Sāmoans. This incident at A’asu Bay, known as Massacre Bay was not easy for the people of A’asu. An enclosed monument was erected in 1863 in honor of the dead. See: Napolene Tuiteleapaga. 1980. *Sāmoa Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*. Great Neck: Todd & Honeywell, Inc., 144-148.

In 1824, while at the L.M.S. site in Rarotonga, Williams “began more seriously to think of taking a voyage” to the two island groups untouched by the L.M.S. missionaries, Sāmoa and New Hebrides. After Williams had received approval from the L.M.S. leadership in London, he planned accordingly to set out on a “dangerous” journey. However, Williams’ wife fell ill while in the field and pleaded with her husband not to go, which he wrote, “induced me to relinquish, for a time, my voyage to the ‘Navigator Islands’ or Sāmoa.”⁴¹ Months later, Mrs. Williams retracted her plea and offered her blessings to her husband. Williams then wrote, “I looked upon it as the first indication of Providence favorable to my design, and began immediately to devise the means by which I might carry it out in execution.”⁴² Williams faced an obstacle, because he had no ship for transportation to Sāmoa. The chiefs of Rarotonga encouraged Williams to build his own vessel to travel to Sāmoa and offered the Gospel to the islands, which was initially denied by the L.M.S. Directors. Despite limited shipbuilding knowledge, at the end of three months, Williams and the laborers from Rarotonga completed *The Messenger of Peace*, sixty feet in length and eighteen feet in breadth.

The sturdy missionary ship used material gathered from Rarotonga and abroad. Missionaries en route to Rarotonga or Tahiti brought the necessary parts of the ship from London to complete this huge project. Moreover, the *Messenger of Peace* reflected the commitment of Williams to the cause of missions and the Great Commission. From Rarotonga, Williams sailed 170 miles and visited the next L.M.S. station at Aitutaki to test the stability of the vessel before sailing to Tahiti, the main L.M.S. station. John Williams, Charles Barff, six Tahitians, and two Aitutakians sailed for Sāmoa on 24 May 1830.⁴³ Before reaching Sāmoa, Williams met the

⁴¹ John Williams. 2009. *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprise in the South Seas*. First published in 1837, London: J. Snow, 142.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 143.

⁴³ Umia, Teava, Moia, Boti, Tereauone, Anea, Tuatone, and Ratu. See: Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 58.

Wesleyan Missionaries, Nathaniel Turner and William Cross, in Tonga and discussed the best methods to communicate the Gospel effectively. During the brief meeting in Tonga, the missionaries reached an amicable verbal agreement that the Wesleyans would continue their ministry to the Fiji Islands and Tonga, but Sāmoa will be reserved for the L.M.S. According to Williams, the separation of the denominations were not based on doctrinal differences, rather the differences in the “modes of worship” would require explanations and lead to potential divisions.⁴⁴ The directors in London reached a more formal written agreement between the L.M.S. and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in 1836. However, Williams and Barff witnessed the close cultural and familial connections between Tonga and Sāmoa, that exposed several Sāmoans to Christianity through their Methodist kin from Tonga.⁴⁵

Williams met two Sāmoan Christians in Tonga, chief Faueā and his wife Puaseisei. Faueā served as an interpreter and cultural specialist for Williams, given his status as a Sāmoan *matai*. After a week in Tonga, Williams, Faueā and the missionaries sailed for Sāmoa. On the journey, Faueā encouraged Williams by predicting that the *matai* of Sāmoa would accept the message, but he feared that chief Tamafaigā would stop his efforts to spread the Gospel. Faueā, a close kin of the Malietoa family, sailed for Sapapalii in Savai’i, the seat of the paramount chief Malietoa Vainu’upō. As the *Messenger of Peace* neared the shore, Sāmoans traveled out in canoes to greet the new visitors. Faueā asked, “Where is Tamafaigā?” and the greeters responded, “Tamafaigā is dead!” Williams said that Faueā expressed so much joy that he ran

⁴⁴ John Garrett. 1974. “The Conflict between the London Missionary Society and the Wesleyan Methodists in 19th Century Sāmoa.” *The Journal of Pacific History* 9(1): 68.

⁴⁵ A Sāmoan *matai* named Saiva’aia embraced Christianity while in Tonga in either 1828 or 1829, prior to Williams’ arrival. He returned with Tongan converts and persuaded two villages, Tafua and Salelologa on Savai’i to accept Christianity. See: Andrew Robson. 2009. “Malietoa, Williams and Sāmoa’s Embrace of Christianity.” *The Journal of Pacific History*, 44(1): 23. Malietoa Vainu’upō confessed to Williams that he heard of the *lotu*. Perhaps, Malietoa is referring to interactions with Tongan Methodist converts.

toward him shouting *Ua mate le Devolo, ua mate le Devolo*, interpreted as “The devil is dead, the devil is dead!”⁴⁶

The L.M.S. witnessed that the “successful” Sāmoan mission and the “easy embrace of Christianity” included material goods, and was not purely faith-based. Williams recorded the words of the Sāmoan Christian Faueā on his first interaction with his fellow men when the *Messenger of Peace* docked at Sapapali’i in Savai’i. Faueā had stated,

‘Can the religion of these wonderful papalagis be anything but wise and good?’ said our friend to his naked countrymen, who by this time had filled the deck, and who, with outstretched necks and gaping mouths, were eagerly catching the words as they fell from his lips: ‘Let us look at them, and then look at ourselves; their heads are covered, while ours are exposed to the heat of the sun and the wet of the rain; their bodies are clothed all over with beautiful cloth, while we have nothing but a bandage of leaves around our waist; they have clothes upon their very feet, while ours are like the dogs’;- and then look at their axes, their scissors, and their other property, how rich they are!’⁴⁷

The L.M.S. missionaries arrived at a somewhat shocked and surprised group of Sāmoans; the atmosphere in the islands remained intense because of the raging War of Ā’ana. Malietoa Vainu’upō avenged the death of his kin, Tamafaigā, the *devolo*. The battle damaged the villages and divided the families in Sāmoa. Upon arrival, the missionaries witnessed a “destructive blaze” and smoke in certain areas. Williams also recorded that Malietoa had ravaged the houses of the opposition, desolated the plantations, and chased them to the mountains.⁴⁸ The arrival of Williams and his crew came at an opportune time, because even though the war was raging in the islands, the Sāmoans connected to Tonga initially heard the Gospel through their family members who had converted to the Wesleyan Christian sect. According to Williams, Malietoa Vainu’upō “professed to be highly delighted and said that he had heard of the *lotu*, and being desirous of instruction, was truly glad that we had come to impart it.”⁴⁹ In addition to the

⁴⁶ Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprise*, 325.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 327-328.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 335.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 334.

exposure from their converted Tongan kin, beachcombers on the island had earlier introduced Christianity in a very informal way.⁵⁰

Williams never intended to stay long during his first arrival. The objective of the short one-week stay allowed ample contact with the Sāmoans and ensured the proper treatment of the eight native missionaries before his return to Raiatea with Barff. Today, Sāmoans praise Williams and Barff as the sole contributors to the spread of the Gospel. However, it is also true that six Ma'ohi and two Aitutakian teachers remained on the island on Williams' departure and started the Sāmoan ministry.⁵¹ After Williams' departure, the native teachers dispersed throughout Sāmoa under the leadership and care of the different chiefs.⁵² Williams returned two years later in 1832 together with Rev. Aaron Buzacott and the king of Rarotonga, Makea.

On his return to Savai'i in 1832, Williams and his crew first stopped at the eastern islands of Manu'a. Surprised, Williams noticed that the Gospel had reached the Manu'a islands within the two years since his departure. When the missionaries neared the shores of Manu'a, Sāmoan men paddled canoes toward them. Sāmoans expressed excitement and hoped for more missionaries. Williams realized that the conversion of Manu'a happened not as a result of the L.M.S., but rather by the natives of Ravavai.⁵³ Lost at sea for three months, converted Ravavai men had drifted approximately 2,000 miles toward Manu'a.

Williams was delighted by the spread of the Good News in Sāmoa. When Williams arrived at the waters of Tutuila, a chief met the missionaries with great excitement. According to Williams' account, the chief asked, "Where is our teacher?" Williams stated, "I was truly

⁵⁰ Beachcombers shared the Gospel to people of the Pacific and "made no conscious attempt to change island life," but "explained many aspects of the incoming civilization." See: Caroline Ralston. 1978. *Grass Huts and Warehouses: Pacific Beach Communities of the Nineteenth Century*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawai'i, 42.

⁵¹ Lange, *Island Ministers*, 79-80.

⁵² Umia to Palauli, Teava to Manono, Moia to Falelātai, Boti to Mulifanua, Tereauone to Sale'imoa, Anea to Apia, Tuatone to Pago Pago and Ratu to Leone. See: Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 58.

⁵³ Ravavai is located in French Polynesia.

grieved at being compelled to tell him that I had no missionary. On hearing this, he was affected almost to tears, and would scarcely believe me; for he imagined that the vessel was full of missionaries and that I could easily supply the demand.”⁵⁴

Once Williams reached the western islands, Matetau of Manono was provided with a Rarotongan missionary named Teava. Ever since 1830, Malietoa Vainu’upō had become a committed Christian. Vainu’upō, renamed Tavita or David, promised protection to the native teachers left under his care. After three weeks in Sāmoa, Williams received more requests for missionaries to teach Christianity to the natives. The requests overwhelmed Williams, and he wrote, “But I am only one, and there are eight islands in the group, and the people are so numerous that the work is too great for any individual.”⁵⁵ Malietoa gave Williams his *mana* and blessings to return with more servants of God. Malietoa stated, “go, go with speed; obtain all the Missionaries you can, and come again as soon as possible.”⁵⁶ One may argue that Malietoa’s “conversion” meant an opportunity for him to gain material wealth from the West. Sāmoans today view the interactions between Malietoa and Williams as the beginning of Sāmoa’s in-depth commitment to practice the new religion, as opposed to the old. Not long after this contact, Sāmoans, including Malietoa, desecrated families and village gods and turned to the new *Ātua* (God). A polytheistic Sāmoa gradually became monotheistic, with the *matai* at the lead.

The presence of the L.M.S. in Sāmoa introduced a new moral compass that led to a more peaceful society. To successfully achieve his goals, Williams strategically forged relationships with the paramount chiefs to effectively spread the Gospel. The committed impact of the L.M.S. slowly changed the way people lived and believed. To successfully Christianize the islands, Sāmoans needed to avoid “war, revenge, adultery, theft, lying, cheating, their obscene dances,

⁵⁴ Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprise*, 416.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 430.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

and many of their pastimes.”⁵⁷ Although viewed as surface changes, the “true commitment” to the Gospel for Sāmoans happened as a result of their leadership responsibilities in Sāmoa and abroad in the mission field.

Rev. Charles Barff and Rev. Charles Buzacott both arrived to Sāmoa in 1834 with literature and published material written in the Sāmoan vernacular. The distributed pamphlets and literature started a wave of literacy in the islands. A year later, Rev. George Pratt arrived in Sāmoa and wrote the first Sāmoan dictionary, which was used as a learning tool by the new missionaries to the islands. The L.M.S. missionaries produced effective publications, focused on Christian ideologies, and propagated a strong biblical message. Missionaries set up “Day Schools” in the villages to teach reading and writing. While the L.M.S. slowly established themselves in Sāmoa, Williams made his way back to London, recorded his experiences in the South Pacific, and entitled his bestseller *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands*.⁵⁸ At a stop in Sydney, a ship captain shared the story of the rise of Christianity in Sāmoa with Williams. According to the captain, rather than muskets and powders, Sāmoans and the Rarotonga desired “missionaries, books, pens, ink, slates, and paper” and generally, the “missionaries were loved by the people.”⁵⁹ Literacy helped Sāmoans read the Bible, record family genealogies, communicate through letters, and spread the Gospel to various other missionary sites. The successful conversion of Sāmoans proved to be a powerful testament to the work of the L.M.S. in the Sāmoan mission field. According to the *Missionary Chronicle* of 1840,

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 432.

⁵⁸ The money gathered from the proceeds of the book allowed the L.M.S. to purchase a new vessel, the *Camden*, which would return to the Pacific with more missionaries dedicated to the cause. Williams would return to Sāmoa in 1838, having witnessed the quick spread of this message and the success of his L.M.S. missionaries and native teachers.

⁵⁹ James A. Huie. 1842. *History of Christian Missions: From the Reformation to the Present Time*. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 340.

At the time, 1838, there were in Upolu twenty thousand natives who professed Christianity; on Savai'i, between twelve and thirteen thousand; on Manono, one thousand; and in Tutuila, six thousand: altogether, nearly forty thousand, within the short space of eight years after the visit of the first Christian missionaries to the islands.⁶⁰

The area once labeled “savage islands” became an excellent example of “success” for the London Missionary Society. Baptisms and catechisms took place throughout Sāmoa; as a result, both the young and the old received and accepted the Gospel.

Perhaps the initial acceptance of Williams and the Gospel was connected more with Sāmoan myths and legends as opposed to the actual message. According to Sāmoan legend, the war goddess Nāfanua prophesied that a “government from the heavens” would fall upon Sāmoa. The *Matai* of Sāmoa believed that the arrival of the *Messenger of Peace* was that government from the *Lagi* or Heavens as prophesied. An incestuous relationship between an *aitu* who ruled *pulotu* (underworld) and his sister's daughter, Tilafaigā, an *aitu* herself, gave birth to Nafanua. At a certain stage of her pregnancy, Tilafaigā aborted the baby and buried the ‘*alualu toto*’ or clot of blood. From the ground was born Nāfanua, translated as “Hidden in Earth.” Sāmoans feared the warrior goddess Nāfanua and her supernatural abilities and strength. After Nafanua had conquered the entire island of Savai'i and assisted the Ā'ana district on Upolu against its rivals, the goddess received the paramount titles of the Sāmoa: Tui-Ātua, Tui-Ā'ana, Gatoaitale, and Tamasoali'i. Rather than holding the titles for herself, Nafanua transferred the four *pāpā* titles to her adopted daughter, Salamāsina, the first *tafaifā* or paramount chief of Sāmoa. Nafanua conquered Sāmoa and distributed its sections to the allied chiefs. A great *matai* named Malietoa Fitiseanu arrived too late, but still asked for his share of the government or *malō*. Being apologetic, Nāfanua stated, “*Ua e susū mai Mālietoa 'ua te'a atu Ao o malō, 'ae fa'atali ia i le*

⁶⁰ Ellis, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, 374.

lagi se Ao o lou malō.”⁶¹ Nāfanua assured Malietoa that she had dispersed the “head” of the governments among the different chiefs, hence only the “tail end” existed. The warrior goddess encouraged Malietoa to await a new “head” government from the heavens. The Nāfanua prophecy, also called the *valo’aga a Nāfanua*, was fulfilled a generation later when John Williams arrived to Malietoa Fitisemanu’s son, Malietoa Vainu’upō, with the *Messenger of Peace*. Sāmoans believed that the arrival of Williams was a fulfillment of the prophecy. Consequently, the L.M.S. influenced every aspect of Sāmoan life, including its government and village affairs.⁶² In his book, *Narrative of Missionary Enterprise in the South Seas*, Williams made no reference to Nafanua or any discussion of the prophecy. The question remains whether this discussion happened years later, or if the Sāmoans had immediately made the connection the moment John Williams arrived at the shores of Sapapali’i. Based on the lack of evidence found in Williams’ book, the connection between Nafanua and the arrival of John Williams may have become a later discussion. Today, *faiife’au* and *matai* agree that the prophecy became a factor in the quick spread of Christianity.

Malietoa Vainu’upō’s acceptance of the missionaries associated the Sā Malietoā family with Christianity forever. Vainu’upō demanded, “*Sāmoa, ‘ole’ā ‘ou alu ia i le ‘ele’ele ma mea ‘uma tau ‘āigatupu, ‘a ‘ia tupu tasi Sāmoa i le Ātua,*”⁶³ translated as “Sāmoa, soon I will be buried along with all of the aspects of our worldly kingships, but may we seek God as our true King.” The arrival of the Gospel slowly altered *fa’asāmoa*. The *fa’alupega*, or honorifics of the Malietoa title, states “*Lau Susuga a le Malietoa na fa’alogo ‘i ai Sāmoa,*” meaning “the honorable Malietoa, the one Sāmoa listens to.” The Sāmoans embraced Christianity in the

⁶¹ “Malietoa, I have dispersed portions of Sāmoa to various chiefs, but wait, a new government will arrive from the heavens.” (author’s translation).

⁶² The motto of the current Government of Sāmoa is “Sāmoa muamua le Ātua” or “Sāmoa place God first” while in American Sāmoa, the government motto is “Sāmoa Fa’avae i le Ātua”.

⁶³ Simanu, *O Si Manu A Ali’i*, 581.

context of their oral histories and traditions, but *fa'asāmoa* adjusted with it to fit in the new religious “government.”

Denominational Conflict: L.M.S. and Methodist

The Wesleyan Methodists rejected the Calvinist position that Christ had predestined the “elect”. Rather, they believed that Christ died for all men. Similar to the Methodists, the L.M.S. believed in the basic tenets of the Great Commission, and therefore, designed their religious society not on “any form of Church Order and Government.”⁶⁴ Initially, when Williams and Barff arrived in Sāmoa, Malietoa Vainu’upō controlled the dispersion of the native teachers and this had led to resentment by the chiefs of Satupa’itea on Savai’i. In much haste, chief Tuina’ula of Satupa’itea arranged for Tongan Wesleyan teachers and white missionaries, to “offset Malietoa’s advantage.”⁶⁵ Early Methodist converts arrived in Sāmoa before the L.M.S., but not as a formal religious organization. The close family connections and constant travel between the islands had created this opportunity of a shared Christianity throughout the Wesleyan faith. According to Meleisea, Saiva’aia of Tafua-Salelologa on Savai’i brought news of the Tonga church or the *Lotu Toga* to Sāmoa in 1828, while another important *matai* named Lilomaiava requested his kin in Tonga to send more Christians in Sāmoa to teach the new faith.⁶⁶ Not until 1835 did the Wesleyan missionaries, Peter Turner and Matthew Wilson, land in Sāmoa with three missionaries to introduce a more “formal” liturgy of Methodist worship. Methodism in Sāmoa became short-lived when the L.M.S. missionaries, Buzacott and Barff, returned to Sāmoa with the London agreement that stated the separation of the ministries. Turner reflected on the initiative of the Sāmoans in the ministry, stating:

⁶⁴ Garrett, *Live Among the Stars*, 9-10.

⁶⁵ John Garrett. 1974. “The Conflict between the London Missionary Society and the Wesleyan Methodists in 19th Century Sāmoa.” *The Journal of Pacific History*, 9(1): 67; See also: Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 61.

⁶⁶ Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 61.

You forget one thing, viz that, we had many hundreds in these islands who called themselves of the tonga lotu years before I came. Such places were Satupaitea, Uliamoa, Neiafu, Samatau (Upolu), Lilia, Salitoa and many more places...Are you aware that the chief of Satupaitea went on propose to Tonga to seek the lotu & that he received a promise from Mr. Thos. That at some future time some Missionaries would be sent? Several Sāmoans who had been baptized left Vavau while I was there to whom I gave permission to teach and furnished them with books.⁶⁷

The unfolding drama between the two churches showed the commitment and excitement of the Sāmoans for some form of *lotu*. Perhaps, it was something more than spiritual; it was also an opportunity for the *matai* to control the new institution and its political and economic advantages. The message of the Gospel preached against divisive attitudes. However, despite the Scripture, both European missionaries and the Sāmoan *matai* desired control. Nonetheless, Sāmoans embraced the new faith wholeheartedly.

Methodist missionaries left Sāmoa in May 1839, with John Williams on the *Camden*, bowing their heads to the “superior authority” of the L.M.S. Even the newly converted Tongan King George Tupou Taufa’ahau made an unsuccessful attempt to reestablish the mission in Sāmoa. Christian organizations competed for power and control, as did the colonial nations. Not only did this reflect the same attitude of chiefly superiority, but it also countered the basic tenets of Christianity, namely humility, community, and sharing. In the 1840s, an ordained Tongan chief named Benjamin Latuselu continued the expansion of the Wesleyan Church in Sāmoa, but it was not until 1857 that the Sāmoan Wesleyan Methodist Church officially reopened. For the Sāmoans who accepted the Methodist Church or *Lotu Toga*, the decision was derived from a cultural commitment between the Tongans and Sāmoans that spanned over centuries. Sāmoan Methodist converts protested against the removal of the Methodist church, stating:

You know that Tonga chiefs are chiefs here, and Sāmoa chiefs are chiefs at Tonga. And shall we be separated by the Lotu, or by our Lotu relatives in England? No-no-NO. Never let it be thus. But what do we know of Tahiti? What communications had the Tahitians with us, or with Tonga? We only heard of Tahiti last night.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Garrett, “The Conflict between the London Missionary Society,” 70.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

Embracing the religion became a cultural phenomenon based on loyalty toward one's close kin and family. Sāmoa had no cultural connections with Tahiti; thus, an insult to their closest Tonga kin was associated with the *lotu toga*. Sāmoans chose a denomination mostly due to their chiefly politics and regional alliances. According to one missionary source, Sāmoans changed their religions whenever a quarrel occurred between two families due to power struggles or when they were displeased with the pastor. This was a problem not only for the L.M.S., but also for the other denominations. The missionaries believed that "Sāmoans lack the firmness of their conviction."⁶⁹

The work of the European missionaries greatly impacted Sāmoa, and these individuals remained revered names. Not long after the first contact in Savai'i, more Sāmoans had begun embracing Christianity. London labeled Sāmoa as an example of a successful mission site while Williams desired to reach other islands in the region. On 20 November 1839, Williams, accompanied by Captain Morgan, Rev. Harris, and Rev. Cunningham traveled to the shores of Erromanga in Melanesia. Not too long after the ship had arrived, the natives attacked both Williams and Harris and instantly killed the two missionaries. Rev. Cunningham managed to return to the ship without any harm. Unfortunately, the L.M.S. had arrived at Erromanga during the sandalwood trade in the Pacific; the indigenous people thought that the sandalwooders had returned.⁷⁰ Rev. Cunningham and the crew returned safely to Sydney, and the Auxiliary Missionary Society requested a ship of war to go to Erromanga and recover the bodies of both Williams and Harris. The committee requested no revenge, but wanted the remains. In 1840, on

⁶⁹ Rev. Müller Report, 1916, Box 8, Folder 51, South Seas. Reports, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

⁷⁰ The sandalwood tree, mostly found in Polynesia and Melanesia, became a valued product in China. The trade of the product led to violence and havoc between the islanders and sandalwooders. Chiefs, especially in Hawai'i, financially benefitted from the trade and as a result, many islanders were bullied and mistreated in the process. The trade ended in Melanesia in 1865. Rev. John Williams and his men were mistakenly identified as sandalwooders and the people of Erromanga murdered the famed missionary. See: K. R. Howe, Robert Kiste, and Brij Lal. 1994. *Tides of History: The Pacific Islands in the Twentieth Century*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 20.

board the *Favourite*, Rev. Cunningham accompanied Captain Croker and retrieved the martyred missionaries. In the month of March of that same year, at the request of Mrs. Williams, the remains of both Rev. Williams and Rev. Harris were returned and interred near the L.M.S. Apia church.⁷¹

The *Faife'au* (Sāmoan Pastor)

The L.M.S. established the Malua Theological College in 1844.⁷² Malua became a prestigious institution in Polynesia. In addition to biblical studies, the “native agents” learned mathematics, reading, and science. A graduate from Malua was more likely to receive a prestigious position as a part of the clergy. Malua graduates wore white collared shirts, ties, and coats, similar to the white European missionaries, to distinguish themselves within the village. This status elevated the attendees and their extended families. Sāmoans preferred to worship within their own villages and therefore, refused to visit the mission stations. Malua became an opportunity to train the servants of God for the village ministry and become “representative of God.”⁷³

Sāmoa experienced a “spiritual awakening” with the translation of both the New Testament in 1850 and the Old Testament five years later. Translating the Bible became a collaborative effort between the Sāmoans and the L.M.S. missionaries.⁷⁴ After Malua, the

⁷¹ The Apia church has since rebuilt their chapel and the bodies are located below the chapel. See: William Ellis. 1844. *The History of the London Missionary Society*. London: John Snow, 381-383.

⁷² The first class was held on 25 September 1844, with 25 students of ten to twenty years of age: Lupo, Toga, Tala and Timoti (Sapapalii); Elia, Pu'a, Maatusi, Tausaga and Mailei ('Iva); Simo (Lalomalava); Fanuelu, Galemai, Pulumu, Tapaa (Falelatai); Tui, Taetafe (Fasitootai); Luteru, Rusia, Salamo, Vaafa'i and Peniamina (Faleasi'u); Tini (Vailele); Apokalupo, Tupuola, and Meisake (Lepa). See: K. T. Faletese. 1961. *Tala Faasolopito o le Ekalesia Sāmoa (L.M.S.)* [History of the L.M.S. Sāmoa Church]. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 27.

⁷³ Ron Crocombe and Marjorie Crocombe. 1982. *Pacific Islanders as International Missionaries: Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands*. Suva: University of the South Pacific, 9.

⁷⁴ In 1953, the L.M.S. Sāmoan church appointed six *faife'au* to revise the original translated *Tusi Paia* (Holy Bible) and correct the different “mistakes”: K. T. Faletese, Alesana, T. Ioelu, I. Imo, P. Faifua and V. Toma. The Methodist church showed interest in this endeavor. Hence, they too appointed representatives to assist in this difficult task: Tupu, Kopelani, Poasa, and Kamu. See: Faletese, *Tala Faasolopito*, 53.

Leulumoega High School was established in 1890 by the L.M.S. to prepare young men for entering the ministry. Two years later, the L.M.S. started the Papauta Girls School on Upolu followed by Autauloma on Tutuila. At the Jubilee celebration of Papauta, one of the patrons of the school stated:

It is not possible for the work of God in Sāmoa to go forward, nor indeed for the country to make progress in the understanding of the light unless successive generations of girls are also educated so that they may become educated wives of pastors and chiefs. It will be impossible for the work to be blessed unless the girls and women are adequately educated.⁷⁵

Both men and women received a Western education to achieve the goals of the L.M.S. Papauta became the premier learning center for young girls going into ministry. The western institutions became the source of knowledge for the Sāmoans, who had never been exposed to European education and the so-called “civilized” world. By the 1900s, almost all of Sāmoa received a native teacher, an ordained *faiife’au*, or pastor. The L.M.S. successfully established church schools throughout the islands as well.⁷⁶

Although few in number throughout Sāmoa, the Methodist churches established a theological seminary and trained its pastors to serve their limited number of parishioners. The L.M.S. decided to establish the Malua Theological College at Leulumoega, the center of the powerful Ā’ana district. Methodist missionaries in Sāmoa established Piula Theological College at Lufilufi in the 1860s, the seat of the powerful talking chiefs of the Ātua district.⁷⁷ The rivalries between the districts and families became both cultural and religious. Sāmoa’s religious and cultural divisions became more complicated with the advents of Catholicism, Mormonism, Seventh-Day Adventist, and Pentecostal churches.

⁷⁵ Papauta Girls’ High School Jubilee, 1945 May 15, Box 3, Elizabeth Moore Papers, South Seas Personal, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

⁷⁶ The following middle and high schools were established by the L.M.S.: Maluafofou (1912), Tuasivi Fou (1948), Fagalele (1949), Nuuausala (1956), Vaisigano (1955), and Logologo and Laumoli fou. See: Faletese, *Tala Faasolopito*, 47.

⁷⁷ Garrett, *To Live Among the Stars*, 129.

The Malua graduates served in Sāmoa and elevated their status as missionaries to “pagans” in the other islands of the region. This legacy proved Sāmoa’s “true commitment” to the ministry and their acceptance and practice of the Gospel. Due to the limited number of European missionaries in the field, “native agents” successfully spread the message of Christianity. The first Polynesian missionaries came from the Rarotongan Institution at Takamoa, followed by Sāmoans in 1839,⁷⁸ nine years after the arrival of the L.M.S. Sāmoans answered the call to New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Papua New Guinea, Loyalty, Tokelau, Gilbert and Ellice Islands. Before the establishment of Malua, no formal training existed to preach the Gospel except for merely a pledge of doing God’s work. The Sāmoan missionary work lasted up to the 1970s.⁷⁹ Native teachers of the Methodist Overseas Missions served in the field too. The Methodist and L.M.S. decided to work together in the 1940s to spread the Gospel to other islands in the Pacific, besides Sāmoa. In the spirit of ecumenicalism, the village pastors organized combined services, encouraged the interchange of pulpits between the ministers from the two denominations, and found ways to collaborate with a community of believers that shared a belief in “one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism.”⁸⁰ During the *Mau a Pule* and *Mau* movements, the L.M.S. and Methodists collaborated with each other and assisted in achieving peace during Sāmoa’s movements. The Mormons and Seventh-Day Adventists also had a few converts, but they too contributed in maintaining peace throughout Sāmoa.

The L.M.S. introduced the important position of *faife’au* or pastor. Malua’s educated individuals replaced the priests and prophets of the ancient Sāmoan religion as the new mediators

⁷⁸ Without any formal education, the following 12 missionaries left with John Williams in 1839: Sa’u of Apolima, Le’iataua of Manono, Fasavalu and Paulo of Falelatai, Seupule of Saleimoa, Mose of Fuaiupolu, Mose of Saleimoa, Lalolagi of Malie, Salamea, Filipo, Mose and Ioane of ‘Iva. See: Faletese, *Tala Faasolopito*, 18.

⁷⁹ Sione Latukefu and Ruta Sinclair. 1982. “Pacific Islanders as International Missionaries.” In *Polynesian Missions in Melanesia: from Sāmoa, Cook Islands and Tonga to Papua New Guinea and New Caledonia*, edited by Ron and Marjorie Crocombe, 1-5. Suva: University of the South Pacific, 2

⁸⁰ Joint Committee of the London Missionary Society and Methodist Churches, 1941 November 4, Box PAC 23, 1941-1950, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

between God and man. Their spiritual authority and “rites” as the *feagaiga* or covenant gave them the power to proclaim the Word of God. As “seekers of truth” and “men and women of God,” the *faife’au*’s responsibility included: following the dogmatic L.M.S. rules, maintaining the sacredness of the Sabbath, performing proper burials and marriages within the Christian doctrine, encouraging the spiritual growth of the village, and educating Sāmoans through village curriculums, in what were called *Aoga Sāmoa* or Sāmoan Schools. As the “spiritual parents” of a village, the *faife’au* and his wife received support from the *matai*, who served as deacons or *tiakono*. The status of the Sāmoan *faife’au* remained “unmatched by that of their counterparts in other Pacific Islands.”⁸¹ The *faife’au* usually became a haven for families during a war, they visited the sick, and kept updated records of births, marriages, and deaths in the village.⁸²

The *faife’au* became the mediator between God and Man through their intercessory prayer. Missionaries turned the village pastors into “models of the family life they wished Sāmoans to adopt” while Sāmoans transformed the pastors into a new kind of “sacred chief.”⁸³ *Fa’asāmoa* honored the *mana* and *tapu* of the *faife’au* as selected servants. In the *fa’alupega* or honorifics of Sāmoa, the *faife’au* received the honor first, even above the *matai* of a village. The spiritual leadership and guidance of the *faife’au* became both critical and necessary in village council meetings and within families. Although revered within *fa’a-sāmoa*, the *faife’au* could also be removed if there was reasonable cause.⁸⁴

Before the formal *faife’au* existed, sailor cults and the siovili cult received much favor in Sāmoa. The European missionaries significantly impacted the Pacific, but it was also the

⁸¹ Ruta Sinclair. 1982. “Preparation for Mission: The Sāmoan Faifeau.” In *Polynesian Missions in Melanesia: from Sāmoa, Cook Islands and Tonga to Papua New Guinea and New Caledonia*, edited by Ron and Marjorie Crocombe, 7-15. Suva: The Institute of Pacific Studies, 12.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 12-13.

⁸³ Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 18.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 13.

beachcombers who contributed to the spread of religion. The sailor cults taught Christian principles to the natives, but in a more relaxed version. The cults appealed to the indigenous population and claimed that “the missionaries were too strict and that polygamy, night dances and other customs the missionaries had pronounced immoral were quite harmless.”⁸⁵ In a conversation with two sailor cult leaders, Williams recorded that two to three hundred natives had converted to such cults. One sailor cult leader told Williams, “Why, Sir, I goes about and talks to the people, and tells ‘em that our God is good, and theirs is bad: and when they listens to me, I makes ‘em religion, and baptizes ‘em.”⁸⁶ When asked about baptism, a beachcomber stated, “I takes water, and dips my hands in it, and crosses them in their foreheads and in their breasts, and then I reads a bit of a prayer to ‘em in English.” Williams asked if the islanders understood what they were doing. The sailor responded, “No, but they says they knows it does ‘em good.”⁸⁷

The sailor cults impacted the indigenous islanders and provided the “authority” and “rights” to teach the Gospel. When the beachcombers jumped ship, the captains replaced them with indigenous seamen. During the 1820s, a young Sāmoan named Siovili⁸⁸ from the village of Eva on Upolu traveled to Tahiti onboard a whaling ship. While in Tahiti, Siovili learned of the Mamaia cult.⁸⁹ When Siovili returned to Sāmoa in the 1830s, he successfully introduced a new version of Christianity and gained support and followers. Siovili’s indigenous version of the Gospel believed in “spirit possession, adventism and a return to customs which newly arrived

⁸⁵ Holmes “Cults, Cargo and Christianity,” 477.

⁸⁶ Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprise*, 419.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Siovili was skilled in using the drill or *vili* and his messmates called him Joe or Sio. Siovili became his name, but the L.M.S. missionaries called him Joe Gimlet (drilling tool). See: Derek Freeman. 1959. “Joe Gimlet or Siovili Cult: an episode in the religious history of early Sāmoa.” In *Anthropology in the South Seas; essays presented to H. D. Skinner*, 185-200. New Plymouth, N.Z.: T. Avery and Sons, 187.

⁸⁹ The Mamaia Movement started in Tahiti under a zealous church member named Teau in 1827. Proclaimed to be possessed by Jesus, he and a friend named Hue had many followers. The Mamaia leaders were banned to the Leeward Islands for spreading heresy. See: Freeman, “Joe Gimlet or Siovili Cult,” 190-191.

London missionary teachers had outlawed.”⁹⁰ Specifically, Siovili believed that Jesus possessed him and gave him the ability to heal the sick and raise the dead. The L.M.S. feared that both the sailor and Siovili cults would hinder the growth of their missionary efforts. Therefore, the L.M.S. tried to suppress people’s beliefs in the new religion. The Sāmoan *matai* latched onto Siovili, perhaps because it allowed the followers to practice both Christianity and *fa’a-sāmoa*. Followers of Siovili believed that conversion meant more trading of goods, new technology, and muskets.⁹¹ The spread of L.M.S. and the building of new churches throughout Sāmoa improved literacy and led to the acceptance of ideologies and theologies of the Christian church. With Sāmoans’ growing involvement in the commercial world of the West, members of the Siovili religion began to favor more “traditional” Christian denominations, e.g., Wesleyans, L.M.S. or Roman Catholics.⁹² As a result, the Siovili cult eventually declined. The Siovili cult became a form of resistance against the L.M.S. church; however, Sāmoans were still interested to practice *fa’a-sāmoa* together with their new faith. Perhaps, it was more about the material wealth that Siovili followers were interested in. John Williams, in 1832, recorded a religious hymn associated with Siovili’s religion:

Behold, come is Sio Vili
A man-of-war will present itself on the sea
With knives and musket balls and ramrods
Run in haste and be saved
She will bring for us blue beads
How long is our ship coming on her watery way.⁹³

Sāmoan Hybridity: *Fa’a-sāmoa* and *Lotu*

The syncretism of Sāmoa’s past and new religion blended different ideas that defined the way Sāmoans understood Christianity. The new belief system suppressed the pre-Christian past

⁹⁰ Lowell D. Holmes. 1980. “Cults, Cargo and Christianity: Sāmoan Responses to Western Religion.” *Missiology: An International Review*, 8(4): 479.

⁹¹ John Garrett. 1982. *To Live Among the Stars: Christian Origins in Oceania*. Geneva: World Council of Churches.

⁹² Freeman, “Joe Gimlet or Siovili Cult,” 198

⁹³ Holmes, “Cults, Cargo and Christianity,” 480.

of myths and legends, but *fa'a-sāmoa* navigated through the new terminologies and beliefs through Sāmoan practices, i.e., *feagaiga* or brother-sister covenant. The brother-sister relationship in *fa'a-sāmoa* is the *feagaiga* (covenant). The brother cares for his sister and protects her sanctity. When Christianity arrived, the church assumed the role of the sister and *matai* or congregation/village became the brother. The *fai'au* is called the *fa'a-feagaiga* or “the one with the covenant” or the one who has a special covenant with the congregation/village. The pastor and the institution of the church is treated well like the “sister” and highly respected within *fa'a-sāmoa* context.

The *matai* played a significant role in the spread of Christianity. The chief's *mamalu* (dignity) and *pule* (authority) as family leader was an important strategy used by early European missionaries to secure the conversion of hundreds of Sāmoans. The missionaries knew that the influence of *fa'aaloalo* (respect) helped in maintaining a strong *vā* between themselves and the *matai*; this would later influence conversion. Syncretic lenses established the meaning of Christianity in Sāmoa, but early believers refused to detach themselves from their “old” belief systems, therefore they reinterpreted the information to fit the new foreign faith. For example, Nafanua's prophesy helped Sāmoans understand Christianity as a worthy spiritual experience from the heavens.

The hybrid of aspects of both the old tradition and the new *lotu* impacted Sāmoa so immensely that by the year 1849, there “were practically no self-confessed heathen left.”⁹⁴ As the *lotu* developed and new denominations entered Sāmoa, the *matai*, like pre-contact practices, chose religious denominations based on political and cultural ties.⁹⁵ The spiritual role once

⁹⁴ Robson, “Malietoa, Williams and Sāmoa's Embrace of Christianity,” 24.

⁹⁵ The center of the L.M.S. Church is Leulumoega, which is the political center of paramount chief Malietoa. The center of the Methodist Church is Lufilufi, the political center of paramount chief Tui-Ātua. The revered Matā'afa

practiced by the head of the extended family or *matai* became the responsibility of the *faiife'au*. Furthermore, the arrival of the Gospel to Malietoa Vainu'upō symbolically represented the obligation of *fa'a-sāmoa* to care for the *lotu*. However, despite the religious changes in Sāmoa, the role of power attributed to the “royal” families within *fa'a-sāmoa* context continued. Sāmoa slowly transformed into a hybrid society of culture, church, and government. To understand Sāmoan historiography, highlighting the hybrid nature of the three institutions, especially *fa'a-sāmoa* and *lotu*, is important for contextualizing Sāmoa and the *Mau* movements.

The term hybridity has diverse meanings and encompasses a myriad of examples, from cultural to religious hybridity. The use of the term in this dissertation is based on Jerry Bentley's approach that cross-cultural conversions can only be successful “when favored by a powerful set of political, social, or economic incentives.”⁹⁶ The Sāmoan “conversion” no doubt contained elements of political and social status as well as material wealth and, therefore, meant benefits in both worlds. The conversion was a broader process that transformed the whole society rather than individuals.⁹⁷ The L.M.S. knew they needed to cater to Sāmoan desires to achieve the mission's objectives; therefore, “to support new cultural alternatives,” the L.M.S. worked effortlessly “through the socialization of successive generations of individuals.”⁹⁸ Rather than an Euro-centric perspective, Bentley gives agency to indigenous peoples and their pre-contact activities and decisions. Sāmoan chiefs carved their routes to achieve success within a changing environment. These leaders formed a hybrid relationship based on material benefits, status, and Christian conversion.

chose the Catholic church. Sāmoans embraced the Christian faith and served as missionaries abroad to islands in Papua New Guinea and in Micronesia.

⁹⁶ Jerry H. Bentley. 1993. *Old World Encounters: Cross-Cultural contacts and exchnages in pre-modern times*. New York: Oxford University, viii. See also: Kraidy, *Hybridity, or the Cultural Logic of Globalization*, 2.

⁹⁷ Bentley, *Old World Encounters*, 8.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

The connection of hybridity and power is evident from the relationship between *fa'a-sāmoa*, *lotu*, and *malō*. The chiefs desired the control of *fa'a-sāmoa* despite the changes accompanied by new religious beliefs and political bodies. The acceptance of Christianity contained elements of “genuine conversion,” but evidence shows missionaries complaining about the lack of practice of the “true” Christian faith. Bentley writes,

large-scale social conversion always involved some degree of syncretism rather than wholesale acceptance of alien system of beliefs and values: social conversion depended upon some form of compromise between the demands of an inherited cultural tradition and the promises of a foreign alternative.⁹⁹

Nevertheless, Sāmoans were aware of the *mana* and power of the *papālagi* and their big boats, clothing, and European ways.

The following Sāmoan saying provides an apt description of the hybrid nature of the church and *fa'a-sāmoa*: *ua va'ava'alua le talalelei ma le aganu'u* (the Gospel and *fa'a-sāmoa* travel in the same canoe). Other relevant sayings included *e puipui ele aganu'u le talalelei* (*fa'a-sāmoa* protects the Gospel), *e mamalu le talalelei ona ole aganu'u* (the Gospel is prestigious and honored in Sāmoa because of *fa'a-sāmoa*). Both institutions were desirous of benefits, in need of support to achieve their goals, and more importantly they demanded as much control over the other as possible.

Other Denominations in Sāmoa

In addition to the L.M.S. and the Methodist church, other Protestant denominations also found their way to Sāmoa. Initially, Protestant denominations refused an ecumenical collaboration, especially with the Roman Catholics and the Mormons. Anti-papal rhetoric by Protestants was not only confined to Sāmoa, it existed throughout the Pacific. The Roman Catholic Marist missionaries arrived in Sāmoa by way of Wallis and Futuna in 1845. Father

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 16.

Gilbert Roudaire from the Diocese of Clermont in France, Father Theodore Violette, and two Sāmoans, Constantine and Joachim setup the Catholic mission in Sāmoa. The cultural connections between the Wallis Islands and Sāmoa, like those with Tonga and Fiji, stretched back centuries; these connections proved positive for the spread of Catholicism. Despite the vocal negativity of both Protestant Sāmoans and L.M.S. missionaries, the Catholics secured their highest patron, paramount chief Matā'afa Fagamanu.¹⁰⁰ Similarly to Malietoa fifteen years earlier, Matā'afa became the Catholic church's strongest supporter and protector.

The three recognized “mainline denominations” in Sāmoa included the L.M.S. (*lotu taiti*), Methodist (*lotu toga*), and Catholicism (*lotu pope*). Although the L.M.S. started as a missionary society without any particular denomination affiliation, over time they began to recognize themselves as Congregational. Prominent chiefs associated with certain denominations elevated the status of that particular church. L.M.S. missionaries complained about the *matai*'s lack of commitment to one particular denomination. The *matai* constantly kept changing denominations either due to family politics or an argument with a church. As Christianity grew and Sāmoans began to understand how to indigenize the religion to “properly fit” within the *fa'asāmoa*, village councils made it mandatory to attend the church and to keep the Sabbath holy. Sāmoan village councils ensured the reverence and sanctity of Christianity, regardless of the denomination. The L.M.S. continued to dominate the religious community in Sāmoa, but certain families opted to be Methodist or Catholic. Rev. J. E. Newell promoted

¹⁰⁰ Matā'afa Fagamanu was initially a Siovili adherent followed by the Methodist church (*lotu toga*). His son, Iosefo Matā'afa became a staunch Catholic (*lotu pope*). See: Andrew Hamilton. 1998. “Nineteenth-Century French Missionaries and Fa'a Sāmoa.” *The Journal of Pacific History*, 33(2): 168-169.

peace despite the religious divisions. He writes, “Let all Sāmoa know and also all those who plot to produce quarrels between Protestants and Catholics that there is no good in these things.”¹⁰¹

Mormonism (*lotu mamona*) entered Sāmoa through the Hawaiian Latter-Day Saints headquarters. The two Hawaiian missionaries, Kimo Belio and Samuela Mānoa, had arrived on the small island of Aunu’u, Tutuila in 1863, and later moved their headquarters to Apia, Upolu by the 1890s. Both the Protestants and Catholic missionaries despised the Mormons not only because of their “false doctrine” but also because their religion was not embraced by any prominent chief. At the turn of the century, Mormons complained about “mainline denominations” becoming territorial. When the eastern islands of Tutuila and Manu’a became American Sāmoa, the Mormons felt that the U.S. Constitution now applied to that region and therefore ceased the opportunity to proselytize the Mormon faith freely.¹⁰² The sectarian tension persisted at all levels; even among families within different villages.

The Seventh-Day Adventists followed in 1891. Like Mormonism, the new religious practice received significant criticism, especially regarding their eating practices and observation of the seventh day.¹⁰³ It had taken twenty years for the Sāmoans to positively respond to the Adventist doctrine in the form of open commitment. The “mainline” churches of L.M.S., Methodist, and Catholicism feared that “disaffected” members would choose Mormonism and Seventh-Day Adventism as an alternative.

Despite the introduction of new denominations into Sāmoa, L.M.S. remained dominant. The Sāmoan leadership within the L.M.S. proved very successful as the years passed by.

¹⁰¹ J. E. Newell’s diary entry “Let Sāmoa Be Blessed,” 1899 January, Box 5, South Seas. Special Personal J. E. Newell Papers, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

¹⁰² Rev. Hawker to Rev. Thompson, 1904 December 15, Box 48, Folder 2, South Seas.Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

¹⁰³ John Garrett. 1992. *Footsteps in the Sea: Christianity in Oceania to World War II*. Suva: Oceania Printers Ltd., 208-209.

Sāmoan *faife'au* took a strong stance against certain rules and challenged the European missionaries regarding matters of allowances, leadership positions, and mistreatment. The *faife'au* as leaders navigated themselves through both *fa'a-sāmoa* and European worlds as village leaders, educators, and spiritual parents. The determination of the *faife'au* as spiritual leaders led to the formation of an independent L.M.S. Sāmoan Church in the 1960s.

Case Study: *Faife'au* Protest for Financial Compensation

The first recorded attempt by unordained Sāmoan *faife'au* teachers to protest against the L.M.S. occurred in 1850 on Tutuila Island. The recently established Malua Theological College prepared Sāmoan native teachers and pastors for the village ministry. Not long after establishing the Malua, Sāmoan graduates working in the villages began criticizing the L.M.S. for the lack of compensation for their services. Before Sāmoa transitioned into a capitalist society, contributions came in the form of personal goods. Rev. A. W. Murray, stationed on Tutuila, wrote in his published memoirs,

After the morning services the people brought their contributions. They had no money, but they gave literally of such things as they had. Their offerings consisted of a quantity of arrowroot, about 2000 lbs., fifty-two pieces of native cloth, and twelve fine mats. These, the mats, are the most valuable property, in their estimation, that they possess their gold as they used to style them after they became acquainted with gold. Such was the first missionary collection made on Tutuila, not a great matter in itself, but interesting as being the first effort of the kind.¹⁰⁴

The offerings to *faife'au* and missionaries reflected a mixture of the *vā* with both the servants of God and competing “eager worshippers.”¹⁰⁵ Although the Sāmoans functioned in a new spiritual paradigm under the direction of an organized religion, pre-Christian spirituality still continued to influence Sāmoan attitudes but in a much reduced tone. According to Charles Forman, “The pre-Christian concept of taboo continued to operate in this ambient, although with a range of

¹⁰⁴ A. W. Murray. 1876. *Forty Years' Mission Work in Polynesia and New Guinea: From 1835 to 1875*. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 154.

¹⁰⁵ Delavan L. Pierson. 1906. *The Pacific Islanders: From Savages to Saints*. New York: Funk Wagnalls Company, 94.

application much reduced from that of pre-Christian times.”¹⁰⁶ For example, Sāmoans abstained from sex in accordance with the Holy Communion, and they hesitated to tear down the old church buildings.¹⁰⁷

Sāmoans became pro-active in the distribution of funds after the introduction of money currency. According to Gilson, the first funds collected were never intended to compensate Sāmoan teachers, rather all proceeds “were credited to the general funds of the Society in London” and not the “mission’s actual costs in Sāmoa.”¹⁰⁸ In 1850, nineteen Sāmoan teachers united and expressed resentment of their “inferior status in the mission”¹⁰⁹ and threatened to resign if the L.M.S. church failed to meet their demands. Apparently, the revolt had initially started when the L.M.S. missionaries required the teachers’ wives and assistants to pay for their Bible Testaments.¹¹⁰ The nineteen Sāmoans disagreed to pay and demanded free books and clothing. The Sāmoan teachers demanded that British donors should finance the missionaries and that “all local contributions be paid out to the trained Sāmoan teachers.”¹¹¹ From the perspective of the L.M.S., the Sāmoans’ blatant demand denoted an act of human selfishness. Rev. Thomas Powell initially refused to bargain with the Sāmoans, which led to the dismissal of four Sāmoan teachers. Of the fifteen that remained vigilant, five backed down and ten resigned.¹¹² Powell seemed confident that he could replace the displeased *faiife’aus*. However, word spread throughout the villages of Tutuila Island, and certain village councils forbade the

¹⁰⁶ Forman, *The Island Churches of the South Pacific*, 93.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ R. P. Gilson. 1970. *Sāmoa 1830 to 1900: The Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 128.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ Murray records that in July 1850 a vessel arrived with the new Sāmoan New Testament printed in England by the British and Foreign Bible Society. He writes, “the arrival of the whole New Testament, in one neatly bound volume, was quite an event in our mission’s history, and awakened a deep interest throughout the group. The volume was sold at 2s. 6d. per copy.” See: Murray, *Forty Years’ Mission Work*, 272.

¹¹¹ Gilson, *Sāmoa 1830 to 1900*, 129.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

taking up of collections; villagers refused to accept new teachers too. Even Powell's closest church members joined the movement. Gilson states that the boycott against the church became a "movement of village councils to deny the mission its control of the teachers and congregations."¹¹³

The Sāmoan church community's dissatisfaction with the religious and economic situation marked the beginning of their assertion in mission affairs of the L.M.S.¹¹⁴ At the same time, the L.M.S. were forced to reduce European missionaries on the island due to financial constraints. Murray reports, "we have had as many as sixteen, but that number was not long kept up; and at present there are only six in the field."¹¹⁵ The revolt exposed the vulnerability of the L.M.S. missionaries and provided an opportunity for Sāmoan teachers to gain more agency in the decision-making process.

Despite complaints from European missionaries, Sāmoan *faiife'au* and village parishes eventually won their case. A decision was passed in 1854 to "supply teachers with housing, food, and facilities for conducting classes and worship, must also pay them the allowance which the mission itself could not afford."¹¹⁶ Eventually, the L.M.S. began to collect two separate allowances, one for the indigenous teachers or *faiife'au* and the other for the L.M.S. missions. Teachers that worked directly with village congregations were given compensation. As the L.M.S. church membership expanded, Sāmoans became more involved in the running of the congregation through leadership positions as teachers and pastors within the villages. Control of the Sāmoan Ministry rested in the hands of the European missionaries but, slowly, selected

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ Sharon W. Tiffany. 1978. "The Politics of Denominational Organization." In *Mission, Church, and Sect in Oceania*, edited by James Boutilier, Daniel Hughes, and Sharon Tiffany, 423-456. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 432.

¹¹⁵ A. W. Murray. 1863. *Missions in Western Polynesia*. London: John Snow, 456.

¹¹⁶ Gilson, *Sāmoa 1830 to 1900*, 130.

teachers mainly in remote areas began to receive authorization to “administer the sacraments and to act as the missionaries’ chief agents and advisors in other matters of church business.”¹¹⁷

The revolt of the Sāmoan teachers against Tutuila proved to be a favorable domino effect that opened up more opportunities for the *faiife’au* to serve in the ministry. The collection of funds and compensation of Sāmoan *faiife’au* elevated the role of indigenous ministers within the church system. Providing financial support to the church became a “delight” for Sāmoans, “not so much to support the mission as to seek the favor of God and the respect of men in the volume of their sacrifices.”¹¹⁸ Also, chiefs would compete with each other through their donations to the church, which were either monetary gifts or farm goods. At the turn of the century, Sāmoans assumed full responsibility of financing and supporting the church ministry. Rev. Victor Barradale’s comment challenges the notion of Sāmoan *faiife’au*’s lack of desire to truly serve God. Barradale wrote,

Now all these ministers are supported by the Sāmoans, and more than that all the Churches are built and paid for by the people themselves. Sāmoa neither asks nor receives a single penny from the Society for these purposes. Is not that one proof of their love for Jesus? For, generally speaking, people do not give their money for Christian work, unless they love Christ. But the Sāmoans do even more than pay their ministers and build their churches. They raise something like £2,500 every year for the building of new churches and repairing of old ones, and some like £1,500 to pay their ministers; but in addition to that, they give more than £1,000 every year for the carrying on of missionary work in lands other than their own. I am sure you will agree with me that the Sāmoans are generous helpers of Christian work.¹¹⁹

A deputation from L.M.S. arrived in 1916 and recommended that the islands should take full responsibility of raising funds to support themselves, the European missionaries, and its churches and schools. The L.M.S. Sāmoa ministry financed every aspect of the mission site with little to no resources from London. As a result, Sāmoans within the L.M.S. accepted this great

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 131.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 133.

¹¹⁹ Victor A. Barradale. 1907. *Pearls of the Pacific: Being Sketches of Missionary Life and Work in Sāmoa and other Islands in the South Seas*. London: London Missionary Society, 151-152.

challenge and “became the only country in the world where the foreign missionaries were entirely supported by local funds.”¹²⁰ Forman writes, “if any church would have ‘earned’ the right to complete self-government it was the church in Sāmoa.”¹²¹ Although Forman’s book was based on archival research, he seems to favor the efforts of the Pacific clergymen.

Case Study: *Fono Tele* and *Faife’au* Ordination

As a “result of seeming conflict between the missionary policies and the Sāmoan insistence on their preferred course of actions,” the Sāmoan District Committee inaugurated the first *Fono Tele* or General Assembly meeting in 1874.¹²² The first session convened at Malua Theological College on 8–9 November 1875; this meeting allowed for a direct conversation between European missionaries and Sāmoan representatives. The *Fono Tele* promoted the active responsibility of Sāmoans within the L.M.S.¹²³ The important yearly meeting opened opportunities for the Sāmoans to demand for further changes in the L.M.S.-Sāmoan church.

In addition to financial compensation, the *faife’au* demanded ordination of Malua graduates. Before the 1870s, only a selected group of *faife’au* were ordained as “agents and advisors,” and representatives of the L.M.S. European missionaries appointed certain *faife’au* as representatives of the L.M.S. to extend their influence to the remote unsupervised villages.¹²⁴ Over time, as Sāmoans witnessed the retirement of the “old hierarchy,” *faife’au* “rushed into demand more far-reaching and, to them more equitable concessions.”¹²⁵ Rather than a select handful of ordained *faife’au*, Sāmoans at the *Fono Tele* demanded that all qualified teachers should gain full pastoral responsibilities, including ordination. In fear of a boycott or break

¹²⁰ Forman, *The Island Churches of the South Pacific*, 129.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² Elia T. Ta’ase. 1995. *The Congregational Christian Church in Sāmoa: The Origin and Development of an Indigenous Church, 1830-1961*. Doctorate Dissertation, Fuller Theological Seminary, 198.

¹²³ Ta’ase, *The Congregational Christian Church in Sāmoa*, 199.

¹²⁴ Gilson, *Sāmoa 1830 to 1900*, 131.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 135.

away, the L.M.S. European missionaries agreed to the demands. In 1875, Sāmoan graduates of Malua received ordination; as a result, deacon-chiefs began to regulate the “spiritual affairs of their congregations.”¹²⁶ The new church government of the Sāmoa District Church introduced traditional Sāmoan church sub-districts and districts. The districts reflected the traditional divisions of Sāmoa, and the village pastors formed committees and met regularly to discuss problems within the church administration. In addition to district meetings, the yearly *Fono Tele* gathered at Malua, where all the *faife’au* and selected deacons met to discuss church-related topics, such as finances and annual responsibilities.

Ordination was accompanied by new rules for the Sāmoan *faife’au*. Pastors and deacon-chiefs served responsibly within their respective villages and provided reports and letters to their Sāmoan District Church leadership. Established rules served as a reminder of conduct, responsibilities, and actions. *Faife’au* behavior reflected the “Enlightenment” period of Sāmoa’s acceptance of Christianity, which cleansed them of any temptations or actions reflective of “the world.” *Faife’au* refrained from drunkenness, holding *matai* titles, and participation in any cultural events that deemed them unworthy as representatives of the L.M.S.

European missionaries expressed their discontent with the practice of the Sāmoan Ministry as the *faife’au* deviated from the original objectives of the church and practiced *fa’a-sāmoa*. Despite the differences between European missionaries and *faife’au*, the “force of Christian principles” motivated the Sāmoan churches, and the Christian population grew.¹²⁷ Sāmoans often followed the denomination of their family *matai*.

The Sāmoan *faife’au* achieved a great deal regarding compensation, ordination, the *Fono Tele* for more agency, and representation within their respective villages. Overall, the Sāmoan

¹²⁶ Tiffany, “The Politics of Denominational Organization,” 433.

¹²⁷ Gilson, *Sāmoa 1830 to 1900*, 137.

faiife'au became a towering figure in Sāmoan politics and government. The voice of the *faiife'au* in the village and government affairs became critical, as it was deemed to be the voice of reason. According to Forman,

They were the chief representatives of the new life and new learning that had come in with Christianity. They normally sat on the village council or were consulted by the chiefs. They were usually the leaders in proposing improvements in village life. In more isolated areas where government and mission contacts were weak, the pastor sometimes became a dictator in the village.¹²⁸

Case Study: Rev. Goward and Sāmoan *Faiife'aus*

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (A.B.C.F.M.) served in the Gilbert Islands as missionaries since 1857. Hawaiian and Gilbert Island converts served the islands until the L.M.S. officially joined in the 1860s. After an agreement between the British and Hawaiian Boards, L.M.S. Sāmoan missionaries moved to the southern islands of Gilbert to assist the ministry. The northern islands remained under the A.B.C.F.M.¹²⁹ The enthusiasm of A.B.C.F.M. regarding missions declined by the 1890s due to the lack of experienced Hawaiian missionaries, the overthrow of the Hawaiian kingdom, and the pressure from the Roman Catholic Missionaries of the Sacred Hearts.¹³⁰ The Gilbert Islands became a British protectorate in 1892, which was followed by a request for the presence of more British missionary. Therefore, long-time L.M.S. missionary in Sāmoa, Rev. William E. Goward, was appointed to the Gilbert Islands; he took over the L.M.S. ministry in 1900.

Before Goward's arrival, Sāmoan L.M.S. missionaries served the five southern islands of the Gilbert Islands – Beru, Nikunau, Arorae, Tamana, and Onotoa. To the people who knew Goward, he had a “domineering character and boundless energy.”¹³¹ The “pioneer Sāmoan

¹²⁸ Forman, *The Island Churches of the South Pacific*, 73.

¹²⁹ Garrett, *To Live Among the Stars*, 153.

¹³⁰ Garrett, *Footsteps in the Sea*, 260.

¹³¹ Forman, *Island Churches of the South Pacific*, 77.

missionaries” in the Gilbert Islands did not appreciate his asserted authority as the new L.M.S. representative. When Goward asserted force, the Sāmoan pastors responded in a similar manner. During his tenure, Goward forged a strong bond with a Sāmoan pastor named Rev. Iupeli and his wife Sera who helped mediate and resolve any problems with other Sāmoan pastors.¹³² According to one “Gilbert and Ellice Islands Report,” Goward condemned any decision to leave the Gilbert Ministry in the hands of the Sāmoan ministers. Goward believed the “general work and character of our Sāmoan Missionaries are not and has not been what it should have been, had they been ordinarily loyal to their Lord and Master, and faithful to their position among their people, and zealous in the performance of their duties.”¹³³ Indigenous Gilbert Islanders greatly resented the chiefly authority of the Sāmoan missionaries and their blatant mistreatment of their “Pacific Island brethren.” Goward regarded the Sāmoan pastors as ruling people, not pastors of a church; they were the head of the island’s ruling class by virtue of their chiefly status.¹³⁴ The acceptance of the civilizing mission and teaching those concepts to others did not necessarily mean that the Sāmoans would automatically forget *fa’a-sāmoa* or the *fa’a-matai* systems.

Sāmoan missionaries in Papua New Guinea, Gilbert, and Ellice asserted their chiefly status and domineering attitude of superiority over other indigenous cultures. Goward blamed *fa’asāmoa* for the missionary behavior at the L.M.S. sites. He stated, “because of the *fa’a-sāmoa* it is a dreadful thing, no man that I have every known in Sāmoa has been able to stand alone and be God’s man.”¹³⁵ In another correspondence to the Secretary of the L.M.S., Thompson stated, “he [the Sāmoan] is slave of the *fa’a-sāmoa*, he is not his own man.”¹³⁶ Goward’s presence in

¹³² Garrett, *Footsteps in the Sea*, 263.

¹³³ Rev. Goward’s *Report of Work in the Tokelau, Ellice, and Gilbert Groups: September 1900 to September 1902*, 1902 November, Box 4, South Seas.Odds, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ Rev. Goward to Rev. Thompson, 1903 March 27, Box 48, Folder 1, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

Gilbert posed a threat to Sāmoan pastors, and perhaps the revolt stemmed from a pastoral accountability. Reports claimed that the Sāmoan pastors who called the Gilbert people “bad names” and were “striking them with sticks.”¹³⁷ In Papua New Guinea, the Sāmoan missionary gained the reputation of being “bad-tempered men, who oppress the natives.”¹³⁸ According to Sione Latukefu, Sāmoan pastors viewed themselves as the “cream of the Pacific,” and thus, they looked down on others. Latukefu claimed that Sāmoan pastors expected the same respect in Melanesia as they had received in Sāmoa.¹³⁹ While in the field, Sāmoan missionary wives imitated female European missionaries in both action and clothing. Sinclair writes, “the Sāmoan missionaries appeared on Sunday among pandanus-clad worshippers clad in a waistcoat, neckerchief, and collar, or sometimes a frock coat and holding an umbrella.”¹⁴⁰ Fortunately, the majority of Sāmoans in the mission field received praises for their services.

Due to unfortunate incidents of bad leadership, Sāmoan pastors protested against Goward and the L.M.S. ministry. A disagreement regarding the practices of ministry led a Sāmoan missionary named Apelu to denounce Goward publically, and when asked for an apology, Apelu refused. Four Sāmoan pastors banded together in opposition to Goward during the incident, which eventually led to Apelu’s return to Sāmoa. However, Goward had claimed in his letters that Apelu had left on his accord. When Apelu returned to Sāmoa, he unsuccessfully campaigned against Goward and demanded the immediate removal of the L.M.S. missionary.

Goward faced another incident with another group of Sāmoan pastors, with Alefaio and Mane as “ringleaders.” Alefaio and the pastors initially protested against the fee that had to be

¹³⁷ Rev. Goward Report, 1902 November, Box 4, South Seas.Odds, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

¹³⁸ Ruth Sinclair. 1982. “Sāmoans in Papua.” In *Polynesian Missions in Melanesia: from Sāmoa, Cook Islands and Tonga to Papua New Guinea and New Caledonia*, edited by Ron and Marjorie Crocombe, 17-38. Suva: The Institute of Pacific Studies, 18. See: Sione Latukefu. 1978. “The Impact of South Seas Islands Missionaries on Melanesia.” In *Mission, Church, and Sect in Oceania*, edited by James Boutillier, Daniel Hughes, and Sharon Tiffany. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

¹³⁹ Latukefu, “The Impact of South Sea,” 98-99.

¹⁴⁰ Sinclair, “Sāmoans in Papua,” 19.

paid for schools, which was £1 per annum. The two *faiife'au* threatened to leave if Goward passed the decision to increase the fee. Alefaio and the Sāmoan pastors claimed that Goward, for his financial gain, had started a store in Beru. Alefaio and Mane began to spread rumors about Goward and how his lack of leadership led to his failure in Sāmoa during his tenure as a missionary. The portrayal of Goward as a “domineering” figure became a part of the conversation.¹⁴¹ On the other side of the discussion, Goward complained about the misuse of funds by the Sāmoans and their demand for compensation. The L.M.S. report sent to headquarters by Goward stated that Sāmoan pastors collected monies by charging wedding and burial fees, allegedly selling traditional mats for profit, and that they acted out of pure “selfishness.”

Despite the conflicts in the Gilberts, Goward’s trusted and loyal friend, Pastor Iupeli, served as a peace mediator in Gilberts between Goward and the upset Sāmoan pastors. At some point, the Sāmoan pastors in Sāmoa met at Papauta on Upolu with a “united wisdom” to demand the return of all the Sāmoan missionaries from Gilberts.¹⁴² However, the church leadership reached a compromise, and the fate of the Gilbert Ministry was left to be decided by a letter, written in both English and Sāmoan, dated January 1903. The council of European and Sāmoan pastors agreed for the Sāmoan pastors in the Gilberts not to leave the ministry in revolt, but to continue their spiritual work as missionaries of God.¹⁴³ Before the agreement, L.M.S. missionaries defended Goward and accused *faiife'au* of personal attacks against the missionary. The missionaries insisted that it was the pride of *fa'a-sāmoa* that created the rift between

¹⁴¹ Forman, *The Island Churches of the South Pacific*, 27-28.

¹⁴² Rev. John Hills to Rev. R. Thompson, 1902 October 7, Box 47, Folder 2, South Seas. Incoming Correspondences, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

¹⁴³ Rev. Goward to Rev. Thompson, 1903 March 27, Box 48, Folder 1, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

European missionaries and Sāmoan *faiife'au*.¹⁴⁴ Furthermore, Goward negatively publicized the *faiife'au* as “inconsistent, incompetent and un-Christ-like men.”¹⁴⁵ In response to the allegations about the integrity and competence of the *faiife'au*, Rev. Newell wrote a letter dated 21 June 1903 defending the Sāmoan pastors and challenging the notion of their lack of dedication,

You have had the Resolution of our Committee concerning the Gilbert Islands. For my own part, I am astounded that anyone at all acquainted with the real worth of Sāmoan Pastors can bring such sweeping charges as those now accepted to a great extent by as many outside our own Committee. And yet when specific names are mentioned, one gets such testimony as that as after given by Abel of New Guinea in England. A letter from Dr. Lawes which is brought by one of our men from New Guinea says, ‘I have known South Sea Island Teachers for forty years, and they are now so trustworthy and capable of such splendid work as Sāmoans. This man I could speak of without hesitation as a prince among teachers.’ I am quoting from memory, but the whole letter is noteworthy as coming at such a time as this.¹⁴⁶

Forman writes,

Goward also established strict discipline over the Sāmoan pastors working in Kiribati [Gilbert]. The pastors did not take kindly to the imposition of a new master. They resisted his tight controls, and Goward had to answer charges that the pastors brought against him in the missionary meeting in Sāmoa. The missionaries, however, refused to judge the merits of the case because they did not want to encourage further possible Sāmoan unrest, and Goward was left as master of southern Kiribati.¹⁴⁷

In 1902, Charles Abel published his book *Savage Life in New Guinea*. Abel praised Sāmoan missionaries as “noble descendants of savages,” who served in the mission field with “character.”¹⁴⁸

In the minutes of the Southern Committee meeting, the Sāmoan District Committee contacted Goward and reminded him that “it is very undesirable that any missionary should hold a trading license.”¹⁴⁹ According to records, Goward was involved in the trading of goods, but

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ Lange, *Island Ministers*, 212.

¹⁴⁶ Rev. Newell to Rev. Thompson, 1903 June 21, Box 48, Folder 1, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

¹⁴⁷ Forman, *The Island Churches of the South Pacific*, 27.

¹⁴⁸ Abel, Charles W. 1902. *Savage Life in New Guinea: The Papuan in Many Moods*. London: London Missionary Society, 165.

¹⁴⁹ Committee Minutes, Southern Committee (South Seas Department), 1902 November 24, Fiche 757, Council for World Mission Archives. South Seas, British Library, London.

the extent of his involvement remains a mystery. The return of the four Sāmoan pastors to Sāmoa “disgraced” their families, therefore the Sāmoan District Committee agreed that their punishment had sufficed, and their brethren would not degrade the fallen *faiife’au* further. It was Rev. Goodall who defended the Sāmoan *faiife’au* and their service to the London Missionary Society. Goodall reflected on the weaknesses of the Sāmoans, but he also emphasized Sāmoa’s deep commitment to the Great Commission. According to Goodall, “with all their marks of weakness as well as strength, Sāmoans ventured forth; they responded to a challenge which they knew to include a far larger element of risk and discomfort than normally belonged to their life at home.”¹⁵⁰ *Faiife’au* who worked as native missionaries might have been both positive and controversial figures. *Fa’a-sāmoa* penetrated the perspectives and attitudes of the *faiife’au* in both Sāmoa and abroad. Sāmoan “unorthodox” methods showed that the *faiife’aus* navigated through *fa’a-sāmoa*, Christian spirituality, Sāmoan discipline, desire for material wealth, display of power and prestige, and as active agents whose “calling” combined both Sāmoan spirituality and the Christian faith.

Case Study: ‘Au Toeaina (Board of Elders)

Along with the Sāmoan ministry, the demand for more authority by the *faiife’aus* also grew. The well-loved and highly respected Rev. John E. Newell played a critical role in Sāmoa’s political history during the early 20th century. Although viewed as “pro-Sāmoan,” Newell consistently and continuously called for peace and harmony among all political and cultural players. Newell’s status as an European clergyman helped in his peace-making efforts. However, Newell’s role has been unrecognized and overshadowed by the towering L.M.S. leader, Rev. John Williams. Newell played a critical role and convinced L.M.S. Directors to

¹⁵⁰ Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society*, 379.

form a Board of Elders or '*Au Toeaina* to play a more crucial part in the development of the Sāmoan church as a Native Advisory Council. The '*Au Toeaina* board was formed in 1906 and consisted of forty-five members who were elected by the District Meetings or Synods. As elected ordained pastors and lay deacons, the Board watched over the annual *Fono Tele* with “special” responsibilities. The '*Au Toeaina* approved candidates for ordination, disciplined the *faife'au*, settled difficult topics of district meetings, and handled “questions arising out of relationships between the churches and the government.”¹⁵¹ Today, the '*Au Toeaina* plays the same role and comprises of ordained elderly pastors and elderly deacon-chiefs who have served years in the ministry and have proven “wise” in their service. Goodall describes the *faife'au* appointed to the '*Au Toeaina* in the following manner: “Although there were exceptions, the most notable facts about this body were the maturity of judgment displayed by its members and the insight of the districts in selecting for it men with the *gravitas* of elder statesmen.”¹⁵² To select a member of the '*Au Toeaina*, the congregants of the district appointed one *faife'au* among the village churches to an important role. Elderly deacon-chiefs or *tiakono toeaina* served as representatives of the council to maintain balance between *fa'a-sāmoa* and the L.M.S. church. The '*Au Toeaina* served a leadership role to assist European missionaries.

In 1920, the '*Au Toeaina* protested to remove a senior missionary named Rev. J. W. Sibree. According to records, on a trip through American Sāmoa, Rev. Sibree gave an interview with an American newspaper reporter of *The Sunday Oregonian* in Portland on 15 August 1920 about an incident in Tutuila regarding the U.S. Naval Administration. Although Rev. Sibree worked in Upolu as an L.M.S. senior missionary, he was asked for his opinion on the matter by a

¹⁵¹ Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society*, 368. Initially, the Advisory Board dealt on matters affecting the church and not involved in “Matters between the Government and the Church as a whole.” See: J. E. Newell to Dr. Thompson, 1909 March 12, Box 51, Folder 1, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

journalist. Rumors surfaced that Sibree had made critical statements about the Sāmoans and as a consequence “the Elder Pastors of the London Missionary Society church demanded that he leave the islands immediately.”¹⁵³ According to a confidential memorandum, Rev. Sibree wrote, “natives of Sāmoa were fools; the missionaries could get them to do anything they liked; they could get all the money they wanted from them, etc.”¹⁵⁴

The pressure exerted by the ‘*Au Toeaina* to remove Sibree despite his several years of service came under much scrutiny. In a letter to the Foreign Secretary of the L.M.S., Rev. Hough wrote in defence of Sibree that he seemed genuinely apologetic and that his words had been misconstrued by the newspaper. The ‘*Au Toeaina*’s role in writing directly to the Board complaining about another member of the L.M.S. missionary staff exposed a serious offense. Rev. Sibree’s words had offended Mauga of Pago Pago, and according to Hough,

He [Rev. Sibree] wrote a private apology to Mauga. He explained most carefully that this was not a report of actual words. He accepted all the responsibility but pointed out to them that his interview consisted of a talk with a lady friend of his host and hostess and that she worked up the article afterward. Many things were said which he did not mean to be published but were only used to make the lady fully understand the situation in Sāmoa.¹⁵⁵

Interestingly, the L.M.S. Board suspected that the Sibree incident had to do with the use of the word’s “High Chief” to define Mauga of Pago Pago. Although no direct proof of this exists, the L.M.S. correspondence suggests that Malietoa Tanumāfili I pushed for the removal of Sibree because he referred to Mauga as “High Chief” or *Ali’i Sili*. The letter from Hough stated,

We think some explanation may be found in the American use of the word High Chief. It is more than probable that Malietoa over here resented it. He wants to be considered as the only High Chief. We know that Malietoa had a lot to do with the pastor's decision. The word high chief has been translated back into Sāmoan as *Alii Sili*. There has only been one Alii Sili in Sāmoa. That

¹⁵³ Forman, *The Island Churches of the South Pacific*, 23.

¹⁵⁴ J.M. Gillespie re: *Confidential: Boycot Rev. Mr. Sibree*, 1920 Dec. 6, Box 60, Folder 1, South Seas.Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

¹⁵⁵ Rev. Hough to Rev. Lenwood, 1921 April 25, Box 60, Folder 3, South Seas.Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

was the title given by the Germans to Mataafa and after his death the Germans made Malietoa and Tamasese, Fautua, which means Mediators.¹⁵⁶

The *'Au Toeaina* won their case, and Sibree returned home. Hough wrote to the Foreign Secretary to update him on the Sibree incident. The *'Au Toeaina*'s role grew stronger within the L.M.S. Sāmoan District Committee and they eventually took on more authoritative roles in the church, especially during the *Mau* protests of the 1920s.

Reflections

Whether within the foreign government or the Christian churches, the Sāmoans attempted to gain an upper hand in leadership positions, and to gain complete control. Indigenous protests by the Sāmoan clergymen reflected a direct response to the lack of agency within the L.M.S. institution despite its proven ability to lead and manage the affairs of the church. The Sāmoan clergymen achieved what other Pacific native churches were unable to accomplish during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, namely the financial support of both indigenous and European missionaries. The role of the *faife'au* and the *fa'a-matai* system worked in tandem to achieve the goals of the whole of Sāmoa spiritually, culturally, and economically. Lovett wrote, “the Christian Church resembled in some of its features the old family life, and the old independent spirit was reflected in the determination of each community to be self-governing in its affairs as a church.”¹⁵⁷

The Sāmoans maintained a sense of *vā* and respect in their efforts to gain control. Although the L.M.S. missionaries viewed *fa'a-sāmoa* as a hindrance to their Christian faith, it became the only lens for understanding the new institutions. Although not always perfect, the Sāmoan missionaries built a reputation of being committed to the Christian work. According to the Sāmoans, the protests were justified, because of their contributions to the cause of Christ.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, 396.

Their only fault, according to the missionaries, was their dedication to *fa'a-sāmoa*. The Sāmoans understood the concept of *vā* but pushed its limits to achieve their goals within the L.M.S. Church. The Sāmoan clergymen refused to limit themselves to the mere confines of the *faife'au*, but naturally they pushed for what they deemed was their destiny— complete control of the L.M.S. ministry.

Even during the *Mau* movements, the L.M.S. maintained the prestige of the institution within Sāmoa, despite the the civil society's resistance to colonial rule. The L.M.S. leadership responded to the protests of the *faife'au* with opposition, but eventually, the L.M.S. Church gave in to the demands of the Sāmoan clergymen. This study re-examines the response of the L.M.S. to the *mau* movements, including the changes within their institution. There is ample archival material to support the view that the L.M.S. had an agenda to limit Sāmoan access to the core responsibilities of what it meant to be a *faife'au*, e.g., ordination and leadership. However, the resilience of the Sāmoans and their willingness to practice a faith that was received negatively in some islands reflected a picture of progression from *pōuliuli* to *mālamalama*.

Overall, the Sāmoans embraced the new religion and maintained its reverence within the context of *fa'a-sāmoa*. Sāmoans desired to know more about the Christian faith even within the context of their old religions. The reverence for their old gods never vanished, rather, the monolithic Christian God took over under a more organized structure that included all people. That commitment toward their old gods transitioned to their service to the Christian God. Lovett praised Sāmoan Christians for being “a community well acquainted with the Scriptures.”¹⁵⁸ He went on to write, “young people in Sāmoa are better acquainted with the Bible than the average Sunday-school scholars in England, and the Sāmoans' knowledge of the Bible in very many cases has changed the heart and lifted the old pagan life to the level of conscious communion

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 403.

with God.”¹⁵⁹ The effective chiefly system in Sāmoa led to the “smooth” acceptance of the Gospel and the quick conversion. Although the European missionaries questioned their true conversion, Sāmoans as a people dedicated themselves to the Christian faith in missionary work and within the village setting.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

Chapter 4. German Administration, *Mau a Pule*, and the L.M.S.

The German Administration suppressed the *Mau a Pule* movement of Lauaki Namulau'ulu Mamoe of Safotulafai, Savai'i in 1909. Pacific scholars have drawn parallels between the rise of the *Mau a Pule* and the lack of Sāmoan agency in political affairs.¹ Building political alliances proved difficult for Lauaki throughout Sāmoa, partly due to family factions. The Sāmoan sense of “nationalism” remained within the village and districts at the time, but Lauaki attempted to build a united Sāmoa. Unfortunately, Dr. Wilhelm Solf, the German Governor, proved influential beyond the scope of *fa'a-sāmoa*, and he implemented his agenda using naval warships.

The aim of this chapter is threefold. The first is to set the historical context of the rise of the German regime in Sāmoa. The second is to demonstrate how Sāmoans navigated themselves under the first colonial administration, including the formation of a small faction that promoted an indigenous protest. The third is to provide a detailed account of the role of the L.M.S. and other Christian denominations during the *Mau a Pule*. The *Mau a Pule* is a neglected topic of inquiry in the Sāmoan historiography, especially with the response of the L.M.S.

German-Pacific Colonies

German-owned business ventures in the Pacific region during the mid to late 19th century benefitted economically from Pacific resources, specifically copra.² The Hamburg-based firm, Johann Caesar Godeffroy and Son, developed a strong business reputation in Latin America

¹ Malama Meleisea writes, “Namulau'ulu [Lauaki] felt that Sāmoans should take part in all aspects of national development, and not be excluded, as they had been, by the German Administration.” See: Malama Meleisea. 1987. *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Sāmoa*. Suva: University of South Pacific, 118.

² W. O. Henderson. 1993. *The German Colonial Empire: 1884–1919*. London: Frank Cass, 67–68.

since the 1830s, and they later expanded to the Pacific.³ August Unselm, the general manager, received a special commission from the Hamburg headquarters in Germany to seek new ventures. Unselm expanded the company from Valparaiso, Chile, to share in the wealth of the coconut oil trade of the Pacific. Thus, in 1857, Unselm established a company branch at Matafele in Apia on the island of Upolu in Sāmoa. Unselm found Apia “an ideal base for the development of this [coconut oil] trade.”⁴ Sāmoa’s good soil and accepting attitudes made the islands a prime location with little opposition from both Sāmoans and *papālagi*.⁵ The German business owner realized quite early that the native islanders candidly denied any interest in working as low-paid labor. The German company therefore looked elsewhere to recruit laborers, mostly from Micronesia and Melanesia. Unselm viewed Sāmoa as paradise and the Sāmoans as a “free race of people, who, though of a lively disposition, since nature furnishes them everything, are disinclined to work.”⁶

The town area of Apia gradually became a booming business district in Sāmoa. The islands attracted British, American, and German businesses from grog shops to bowling alleys.⁷ Unselm, the German businessman, described the whites living in Apia as “of the worst kind – adventurers, black sheep, deserted sailors, and the like.”⁸ Sāmoans, especially those in and near Apia, became accustomed to lifestyles different from what the L.M.S. white missionaries taught.

³ Peter Hempenstall. 1978. *Pacific Islanders under German Rule: A Study in the Meaning of Colonial Resistance*, Canberra: Australia National University Press, 16.

⁴ J. W. Davidson. 1967. *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa: The Emergence of the Independent State of Western Sāmoa*. London: Oxford University Press, 39.

⁵ Sylvia Masterman. 1934. *The Origins of International Rivalry in Sāmoa, 1845-1884*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 66.

⁶ Florence Mann Spoehr. 1963. *White Falcon: The House of Godeffroy and Its Commercial and Scientific Role in the Pacific*. Palo Alto: Pacific Books, Publishers, 23.

⁷ R. P. Gilson. 1970. *Sāmoa 1830 to 1900: The Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 178.

⁸ Spoehr, *White Falcon*, 23.

Sāmoans knew the difference between missionaries, whalers, beachcombers, and agents of any of the three powers (Britain, U.S., and Germany).

Godeffroy and Sons seized the opportunity to supply European markets with coconut oil and in return, accumulated huge profits with hundreds of tons of exports valued at over £100,000.⁹ Sāmoans themselves produced coconut oil to sell to traders and contributed to the missions.¹⁰ A young German named Theodore Weber expanded the copra industry in the Pacific, and he monopolized that trade in the region.¹¹ Weber successfully established forty-six trading stations as far west as the Marshall and the Caroline Islands in Micronesia, and eventually “pioneered the practice of exporting dried copra rather than coconut oil.”¹² During the late 1860s and early 1870s, firearms became a hot commodity during Sāmoa’s civil war between the newly formed *Malō* and Malietoa Laupepa. The exchange of land for a firearm during the war resulted in the loss of nearly all the land in villages near Apia.¹³

The German occupation of Sāmoan lands led to disputes over land claims. Townsend writes, “a chief would sell land sometimes without even the knowledge of his family, and the Germans had to resort to bullying methods to oust ‘the squatters’ on the land they had purchased.”¹⁴ Johann Caesar Godeffroy, the founder of J. C. Godeffroy and Son, received great praise and accolades for the success he and his firm achieved in the Pacific region, specifically in Sāmoa. As a result of that success, Godeffroy established the Godeffroy Museum in Hamburg to

⁹ Masterman, *The Origins of International Rivalry in Sāmoa*, 58.

¹⁰ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 39.

¹¹ Called the “South Seas King,” Weber expanded the copra industry in the Pacific and later developed cotton plantations. In Sāmoa, Weber served as the Consul for Hamburg and the North German Confederation. Staff in Apia included “a supervisor, an accountant, a harbor-master, a doctor, a surveyor, 2 engineers, 11 clerks, 10 ship’s carpenters, 2 coopers, 4 plantation overseers and 400 plantation workers.” See: Henderson, *The German Colonial Empire*, 23 and Mary E. Townsend. 1930. *The Rise and Fall of Germany’s Colonial Empire, 1884-1918*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 48.

¹² Malama Meleisea. 1987. *Making of Modern Sāmoa: Traditional Authority and Colonial Administration in the History of Western Sāmoa*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, 35-36.

¹³ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 46.

¹⁴ Townsend, *The Rise and Fall of Germany’s Colonial Empire*, 71.

“exhibit the geography, ethnology, and natural history of Sāmoa, for which purpose he sent out many expeditions.”¹⁵

The high demand for copra oil and the dried kernel market in Europe became an attractive commodity in the 1840s; Europeans realized the cosmetic and practical benefits of copra.¹⁶ Before the Germans arrived, the exportation of coconut oil from Sāmoa was commenced as early as 1842 by the son of the famed L.M.S. missionary Rev. John Williams.¹⁷ Within eight years, coconut exports increased from 6 to 592 tons, and by 1875, exports were valued at £121,360.¹⁸ In addition to copra, traders desired cotton, pearl-shell, cottonseed, coconut fiber, tortoise shells, and candlenuts.¹⁹ According to Firth, exported products were estimated at M 6,103,000, with M 4,722,000 from copra alone.²⁰ Townsend reported that, as early as 1868, the Sāmoan waters witnessed up to twenty-four German trading ships annually as compared to thirty-four English ships, and within seven years, German ships increased to fifty ships.²¹ The “Golden Age” of the 1870s benefited the German firms immensely.

J. C. Godeffroy and Son accumulated massive wealth, and opportunities opened for more German firms to benefit from the fast-growing copra industry. In 1863, Fred Hennings’ company set up business in Fiji, and was later joined by Ruge, Hedemann & Co. in 1875. Capelle & Co., another German company, established themselves in the Marshall Islands before J. C. Godeffroy and Son; they were followed by the Hershheim brothers, Eduard and Franz in the

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 48.

¹⁶ Masterman, *The Origins of International Rivalry in Sāmoa*, 57–58.

¹⁷ John Chauner Williams became the first “Christian trader” in Sāmoa. Many English Evangelicals believed that “‘legitimate commerce’ was a part of the foundations upon which ‘civilization’ must be built.” See: Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 38.

¹⁸ Masterman, *The Origins of International Rivalry in Sāmoa*, 58.

¹⁹ Firth, “German Firms in the Pacific Islands,” 7.

²⁰ *Ibid*.

²¹ Townsend, *The Rise and Fall of Germany's Colonial Empire*, 49.

1870s. The Hernalshel brothers expanded to Palau and the Bismarck Archipelago.²² German businesses moved into parts of New Guinea and strengthened commercial trading on that island as well. New Guinea proved more valuable, much bigger, and less resistant, but Germans felt that the “late start” and the indigenous diversity meant that penetration of foreign rule there moved at a slower pace than in Sāmoa.²³

Bankruptcy looked inevitable for the once popular Godeffroy and Son company. German companies throughout the Pacific struggled to maintain themselves due to political limitations and rival new interests in the region. The rising competition during the scramble for Pacific colonies meant limited access to particular islands. For example, the Spanish obstructed German trading in both the Philippines and the Carolines. The British, U.S., and French removed German businesses after the annexation of Fiji in 1874, the Reciprocity Treaty between the U.S. and the Kingdom of Hawai‘i in 1875, and the French occupation of the Society Islands periphery.²⁴ The political environment limited German access to land in what became new colonial territories.

In response to the collapse of Godeffroy and Son in 1879, German Chancellor Bismarck pushed for a “state controlled” German firm. The Godeffroy enterprise had accumulated 160,000 acres of land in Sāmoa, and the company feared losing German-owned lands to British hands.²⁵ Bismarck sought options for the German government to save both the company and their interests in the Pacific region. Bismarck’s “Sāmoan Subsidy Bill” subsidized 4% of the total capital of 10,000,000 marks for twenty years. The *Reichstag* defeated the bill by a ratio of

²² Firth, “German Firms in the Pacific Islands,” 5–6.

²³ *Ibid.*, 13.

²⁴ Hempenstall, *Pacific Islanders under German Rule*, 17 and Masterman, *The Origins of International Rivalry in Sāmoa*, 77–78.

²⁵ Masterman, *The Origins of International Rivalry in Sāmoa*, 160.

128 to 112 votes.²⁶ Fortunately for the Germans in Sāmoa, the Baring Brothers Company paid the debts of J. C. Godeffroy and Son and forged a new company, Deutsche Handels-und Plantagen-Gesellschaft of Sāmoa (D.H.P.G.).²⁷ Soon after, the German trading companies became significant “for political rather than economic ends to expand German imperial interests in the region” (e.g., company rule in New Guinea and East Africa).²⁸

Bismarck’s anti-colony stance changed in 1880 when he publically announced an overseas economic policy that would encourage merchants and traders in Africa and the Pacific to contribute financially to the German Empire.²⁹ Trading companies overseas had accepted political responsibilities in German interests “as part of a bargain with Bismarck to obtain protection and support through an active colonial policy.”³⁰ As an asset, Bismarck supported colonies “solely from an economic standpoint,” but strongly “opposed the establishment of settlement colonies.”³¹ German scholars believed that Bismarck used colonialism as an instrument of social manipulation “to build consensus in a fragmented society, and as a means of tightening social bonds and diverting the people’s attention from domestic misery to foreign glory.”³² Due to massive immigration, expansion, political maneuverings, and public pressure, Bismarck changed his views, and he felt it necessary to claim lands in Africa, the Pacific, and the Asia region; Germany’s efforts ushered in a new era of German imperialism.³³ Despite the fears

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 160–161.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 161.

²⁸ Bollard, “The Financial Adventures of J.C. Godeffroy,” 16.

²⁹ In 1871, thirty-seven sovereign German states unified under the leadership of the Prussian emperor Wilhelm I and Chancellor Otto von Bismarck. The German public and leadership had denied any initial discussion or request for colonies after Germany became a newly formed Nation-State in 1871. The newly appointed Chancellor, Otto von Bismarck, initially preferred domestic development instead. Bismarck adamantly argued, “the advantages claimed for colonies were illusory, that the acquisition of an overseas empire would lead to conflicts with other powers.” See: Henderson, *The German Colonial Empire*, 32

³⁰ Woodruff Smith. 1978. *German Colonial Empire*. Chappell Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 43.

³¹ Smith, *German Colonial Empire*, 29–30.

³² Lewis H. Gann. 1987. “Marginal Colonialism: The German Case.” In *Germans in the Tropics: Essays in German Colonial History*, edited by Arthur J. Knoll and Lewis H. Gann, 1-17. New York: Greenwood Press, 9.

³³ Woodruff Smith. 1978. *The German Colonial Empire*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 39.

and risks of maintaining colonies, Bismarck realized its necessity as an outward symbol of Germany's strength and prestige to the world and a "repository of future wealth and prosperity."³⁴

Bismarck secured Germany's first colony in Southwest Africa in 1883, followed by Togo and Cameroon in 1884.³⁵ In the Pacific, Emperor Wilhelm I granted an imperial charter to the German New Guinea Company. From 1884 to 1889, Germany acquired the Northeast mainland of New Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago of New Britain, New Ireland, Admiralty, Hermit, and the Anchorite group.³⁶ Germany expanded to the Shortland Islands, Bougainville, Buka, Choiseul, Santa Isabel, and the northern Solomon Islands. The Germans annexed the Marshall and E. Carolines in 1885,³⁷ followed by Nauru in 1888.³⁸ In a "secret agreement" with Spain in 1898, Germany claimed and purchased the Marianas a year later, excluding Guam.³⁹ Then, the Germans acquired Palau, the Carolines, and the remaining islands of the Marshalls. In the Western Pacific, Germany jostled with Britain, Spain, and the U.S. for particular islands. During the scramble for Pacific islands, the Germans strategically introduced Western goods and technology to different Pacific groups with limited Western contact in order to create economic dependency (e.g., tobacco and firearms). According to Firth, "On other island groups, the Germans themselves were among the first to bring the products of Western technology to the

³⁴ Paolo Giordani. 1916. *The German Colonial Empire: Its Beginning and Ending*. London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 21.

³⁵ The acquisition of colonies was preceded by years of German activity by explorers, traders, and missionaries spanning nearly one hundred years, from 1788 to 1884. See: Henderson, *The German Colonial Empire*, 17.

³⁶ Hempenstall, *Pacific Islanders under German Rule*, 125–126.

³⁷ An 1885 arbitration between Spain, Britain, and Germany by Pope Leo XIII resulted in the Caroline Islands in Micronesia going to Spain. However, the agreement allowed Germany access to naval stations and trading posts on the islands. The Marshall Islands became a German protectorate, except Enewetak and Ujelang. See: Richard G. Brown. 1977. "The German Acquisition of the Caroline Islands, 1898-99." In *Germany in the Pacific and Far East, 1870-1914*, by John A. Moses and Paul M. Kennedy. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 140.

³⁸ Firth, "German Firms in the Pacific Islands," 17.

³⁹ The U.S. annexed Guam in 1898 during the Spanish-American War and occupied the Philippines in 1899.

inhabitants and to create among them that economic dependence on the European which was the prerequisite of vigorous trade.”⁴⁰

The policy for colonial expansion reflected Germany’s industrial and political strength in the world as a newly formed country. Bismarck’s *Realpolitik* philosophy demonstrated Germany’s resilience, but *Weltpolitik* replaced the domestic agenda in the 1880s to secure markets and resources from overseas and transform Germany into a global power through aggressive diplomacy, the acquisition of colonies, and the development of a large navy.⁴¹ Kaiser Wilhelm II’s expansionist and militaristic position led to the firing of Bismarck. The *Reich* pursued *Weltpolitik* with an aggressive world diplomacy up to the First World War. According to Woodruff Smith, Germany’s 1890s *Weltpolitik* paralleled British colonial objectives to gain the status of the world’s wealthiest and powerful state.⁴² Winfried Baumgart suggested that *Weltpolitik* did not mean hegemony, but rather equality with other world powers at the time.⁴³ The German steel industry grew seven times as fast as England’s, and the German Empire enjoyed the fruits of their labor. Germany no longer took a passive role in colonial affairs, but became more assertive, raising “anti-German feelings” with other world leaders.

German-Sāmoan Affairs

A strong English interest in the region challenged the political and economic agenda of the Germans. In fact, at the 1883 Australasian Inter-Colonial Convention, representatives of Australian colonies, New Zealand and Fiji, discussed immediate annexation of New Guinea and

⁴⁰ Firth, “German Firms in the Pacific Islands,” 6.

⁴¹ Winfried Baumgart. 1987. “German Imperialism Historical Perspective.” In *Germans in the Tropics: Essays in German Colonial History*, edited by Arthur J. Knoll and Lewis H. Gann, 152–170. New York: Greenwood Press, 152.

⁴² Woodruff D. Smith. 1997. “Contexts of German Colonialism in Africa: British Imperialism, German Politics, and the German Administrative Tradition.” In *European Impact and Pacific Influence: British and German Colonial Policy in the Pacific Islands and the Indigenous Response*, edited by Herman Hiery and John MacKenzie, 9-21. London: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 11.

⁴³ Baumgart, “German Imperialism Historical Perspective,” 152.

other islands in the Pacific to safeguard British possessions and interests of the British Empire.⁴⁴ The Germans always knew that Malietoa Laupepa preferred “things English,” and the prominent role of the L.M.S. in Sāmoa brought familiarity with the British people, culture, education, and lifestyle.⁴⁵

German business owners in the Pacific expressed discontent with British ambitions in the region. Therefore, to protect German interests, Bismarck received requests to annex Sāmoa, New Guinea, and islands in Micronesia. Germany possessed no unilateral rights to Sāmoa and feared annexation by the British due to the unsatisfactorily weak Government of Malietoa Laupepa.

German Consul Oscar William Stübel pressured the Malietoa government against British annexation; however, the Sāmoans secretly preferred the British and the American⁴⁶ protection over the German. The Germans purchased the seat of the government, Mulinu’u Point, from an American settler⁴⁷ and used that piece of property for leverage. Historically, Mulinu’u played a significant role in Sāmoan history, with connections to the great *tafaifā* title. Mulinu’u remains the seat of the Sāmoan government today. When Malietoa Laupepa refused to

⁴⁴ Paul M. Kennedy. 1974. *The Sāmoan Tangle: A Study in Anglo-German-American Relations 1878-1900*. New York: Barnes & Noble, 32–33.

⁴⁵ Hempenstall, *Pacific Islanders under German Rule*, 18; Kennedy, *The Sāmoan Tangle*, 32–33.

⁴⁶ In 1877, the *Malō* government of *Ta’imua* and *Faipule* sent a deputation to Fiji with a request for Sir Gordon to seek British Protection. Later, the *Malō* sent Le Mamea Faletose to Washington D.C. to request American protection as well. Both Britain and the U.S. denied the requests. Sāmoa only requested protection and denied annexation. See: Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 59-60. Meleisea writes, by a “‘protectorate’ they wanted one of the great powers to exercise control over its own nationals in Sāmoa while keeping other foreigners out.” See: Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 101.

⁴⁷ A Sāmoan named Pinot (Paito) and his sister Palepō in 1883 sold Mulinu’u to Mr. J. M. Coe for 300 dollars. At the same time, Coe was the U.S. Commercial Agent in Sāmoa, and Weber’s land agent. Originally, Coe planned to sell Mulinu’u to the Malietoa Government for 2,500 dollars down, and later, 1,500 dollars. Instead, the deed of the land transferred to Weber, “who refused to sell.” On 18 December 1885, Weber sent a letter to Malietoa stating, “That your Majesty and your Government should pay down the sum of 50 dollars for each month, that this should be the payment for dwelling upon our land at Mulinu’u, and if the payment should not be promptly made to us, then we will add the interest accruing thereto.” See: Great Britain Foreign Office. 1889. *Correspondence respecting the affairs of Sāmoa, 1885–89*. London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 14. See also: Statement made by Lauaki at Fagamalo Savaii before Richard Williams, 1909 February 27, *Lauati Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

sign Oscar Stübel's "treaty" to give Germany more influence in native affairs, Stübel ousted the Sāmoan government from Mulinu'u in October 1884.⁴⁸ The Germans used their "legal" claim to Mulinu'u to expel the Sāmoan government from the traditional headquarters. To support the German cause, two German warships, *Marie* and later H.I.M.S. *Elizabeth*, arrived in Apia harbor the same month.⁴⁹ With adequate military support, the German Consul Stübel forced Malietoa Laupepa and the vice-king Tamasese to "sign a treaty which turned Sāmoa into a de facto German protectorate" with hopes of securing more German rights to the islands.⁵⁰ King Malietoa Laupepa feared for the lives of the Sāmoans and signed the treaty to maintain peace.

The Sāmoan-German treaty controlled Malietoa Laupepa, and financially secured labor to work in the plantations. From 1867 to 1884, the Sāmoan German plantations had up to 4,857 laborers from the Gilbert Islands and later from the New Hebrides, the Solomons, and New Britain.⁵¹ The German annexation of northeastern New Guinea and the Western Solomon Islands in 1884 meant that the majority of the Melanesian labor would come from this area of the Pacific. Once Germany secured the northeast New Guinea and the New Guinea islands under the New Guinea Company, the D.H.P.G. pushed to have indenture laborers work in Sāmoa. The economic interests of the Germans in Sāmoa reflected their ambitions to occupy as much land as possible. According to Meleisea, before 1900, the recruits obtained foreign goods like knives,

⁴⁸ Hempenstall, *Pacific Islanders Under German Rule*, 28.

⁴⁹ Masterman, *The Origins of International Rivalry in Sāmoa*, 186.

⁵⁰ Paul M. Kennedy. 1977. "Germany and the Sāmoan Tridominium, 1889-98: A Study in Frustrated Imperialism," *Germany in the Pacific and Far East, 1870-1914*, by eds. John A. Moses and Paul M. Kennedy. Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 90. See also Masterman, *The Origins of International Rivalry in Sāmoa*, 187.

⁵¹ Doug Munro and Stewart Firth. 1993. "Sāmoan Plantations: The Gilbertese Laborers' Experience, 1867-1896." In *Plantation Workers: Resistance and Accommodation*. Edited by Brig Lal, Doug Munro, and Edward Beechert. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 102.

axes, guns, liquor, and cloth for their services.⁵² Additionally, the treaty agreement prevented any Australasian intrigues with German colonies.⁵³

Governor Self strongly supported the D.H.P.G. and the big companies as the “mainstay of the colonial economy.” However, he protected Sāmoans from exploitations and land alienation.⁵⁴ The Melanesian laborers were forbidden to mix with the Sāmoans because of “prejudices among Sāmoan leaders and Europeans.”⁵⁵ When New Zealand invaded Sāmoa in 1914, approximately 850 Melanesian laborers worked in Sāmoa at the time. With the exception of a couple of hundred workers that stayed in Sāmoa, the rest returned to their islands after the First World War.⁵⁶ Meleisea’s *O Tama Uli* recognizes the contribution of the Melanesians to the economy of Sāmoa and the negative attitudes they received based on racial discrimination by both the colonialists and the Sāmoans. Melanesians were often called, *mea uli*, or a black thing, which referred to people with a darker skin tone. Meleisea defines *tama uli* as “black boys.” The racial term is still used in Sāmoa today. Having a tanner brown color is viewed as more appropriate in Sāmoan society as opposed to a darker hued skin color. The Sāmoans were “very rank and status conscious,” and declined to work the menial tasks performed by the Melanesians.⁵⁷ In order to gain more respect, Melanesians found that church membership was an important way of achieving inclusiveness. According to Meleisea, “It was the Melanesians who took the initiative to become church members, not the church which came to them.”⁵⁸ During

⁵² Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 109.

⁵³ Kennedy, *The Sāmoan Tangle*, 35.

⁵⁴ Meleisea, *O Tama Uli*, 3–4.

⁵⁵ Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 110.

⁵⁶ Malama Meleisea. 1976. “The Last Days of the Melanesian Labour Trade in Western Sāmoa.” In *Journal of Pacific History*, 11(2), 127.

⁵⁷ Meleisea, *O Tama Uli*, 48.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 49.

the *Mau* movement in the 1920s, the Melanesians marched in solidarity with the Sāmoans and adopted the Sāmoan language and customs.⁵⁹

A day after signing the Sāmoan-German treaty with Germany, Malietoa appealed for protection from Great Britain and New Zealand.⁶⁰ In a private letter to Queen Victoria, he wrote, “we are in distress on account of the Government of Germany lest they should take our islands.”⁶¹ He further wrote,

I have entreated the English Consul here to make clear to your Majesty all the reasons of our fear, which have led us to accept the treaty; and to make clear to your Majesty the meaning of that treaty, and to inform your Majesty of myself and my Government, and our great desire to give our islands to the Government of your Majesty.⁶²

According to William Churchward, the British Consul, Malietoa asked him if “it was a practice amongst white nations to make one another sign treaties without first reading and discussing their points.”⁶³ The agreement “virtually handed the control of the Sāmoan Government to Germany” with a Sāmoan-German Council.⁶⁴ Eventually, the Germans learned of the letter to the Queen, which angered both Stübel and Weber. Consequently, on January 1885, Stübel hoisted the German flag at the seat of the Sāmoan Government in Mulinu’u, denounced Malietoa Laupepa as the king, and supported his rival, Tupua Tamasese Titimaea as the sole heir of the Sāmoan government.⁶⁵ Unfortunately, the Germans used Tupua as a puppet, while Malietoa represented the close relationship of the Sāmoans with the British and Americans. The Germans pressured for more control in Sāmoan politics, and that aggressiveness placed both the British and the Americans in awkward positions. The newly appointed Premier of Sāmoa, Eugen Brandeis, prepared for war with the objective to secure full control of Sāmoa. The defeat of

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 48.

⁶⁰ Masterman, *The Origins of International Rivalry in Sāmoa*, 187.

⁶¹ William B. Churchward. 1887. *My Consulate in Sāmoa*. London: Richard Bentley And Son, 375.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 374.

⁶⁴ Masterman, *The Origins of International Rivalry in Sāmoa*, 188.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 192.

Malietoa Laupepa indirectly weakened the position of the Americans and Britain. The Sāmoans expressed weariness at the situation and feared a complete German annexation. Matā'afa Iosefo and kin of Sā Malietoā challenged the German puppet Titimaea of Sā Tupuā. The civil war threatened the lives of everyone on the island. American, German, and British consuls requested naval support, and seven ships docked at Apia Harbor ready for battle. A strong hurricane stopped the war efforts and wrecked six of the ships. One hundred and fifty-five lives died that day from the hurricane.⁶⁶ The three Powers agreed on a Tripartite agreement of 1889.⁶⁷

The Sāmoan Islands or the “pearl of the South Seas”⁶⁸ proved too complex for the three powers to engage in the politics of the islands. In the “town” area of Apia, on 2 September 1889, the Tripartite Powers gathered to discuss the political future of Sāmoa. As a result of the meeting, representatives from the U.S., Britain, and Germany agreed to place the islands under joint consular control.⁶⁹ The British Foreign Officer present at that meeting stated, “Tripartite government, can only lead to two things, failure with immediate ruin to the natives, and bad blood among ourselves, or success, involving future rivalry for the possession of the islands.”⁷⁰

The Tripartite agreement recognized the 1875 Sāmoan Constitution that had been facilitated by the former Sāmoan Premier Steinberger and had allowed the two leading families, Sā Malietoā and Sā Tupuā, to take turns in power. The *Ta'imua* and *Fono a Faipule*⁷¹ government bodies (the House of Nobles and the House of Representatives) supported the new Sāmoan *Malō* (government) under the agreed Tripartite agreement. The *Ta'imua* position

⁶⁶ Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 40.

⁶⁷ Some sources refer to the 1889 Tripartite agreement as the Berlin Conference of Germany, the U.S., and Britain.

⁶⁸ Otto Ehlers wrote a book in 1895 titled *Sāmoa – Die Perle der Südsee* or “Sāmoa – The Pearl of the South Seas.”

⁶⁹ The three powers discussed: rights to a naval station, exclusive jurisdiction in disputes involving nationals, and exemption from payment of import or export duties. See: Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 60.

⁷⁰ Masterman, *The Origins of International Rivalry in Sāmoa*, 168.

⁷¹ The Government of Sāmoa consisted of the following: representatives from the two leading Sāmoan families, Sā Malietoā and Sā Tupuā, *Ta'imua* represented major districts, and *Faipule* represented sub-districts. *Ta'imua* received executive powers, drafted a constitution and enacted code of laws. See: Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 47 and Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 36.

represented the paramount titles known as *tama 'āiga* (“the sons of the families”). Sāmoa had never established a centralized government under a formal kingship or a Western governing system outside of the traditional rule of *Tumua* (Upolu) and *Pule* (Savai’i). The Tripartite Agreement weakened the traditional authority of the *tulāfale* or orators of Sāmoa. Before that agreement, the responsibility of “kingmakers” rested on the elite class of *tulāfale*.

The L.M.S. viewed the 1889 agreement as a “failure.” European L.M.S. missionaries in Sāmoa wrote to their Directors in London about the social and political situation in Sāmoa. The “non partisan” letter called for “prompt and effective intervention on the part of the Treaty Powers.”⁷² The L.M.S. wanted more control by the Three Powers. When “nothing was done by our Consular authorities...The Mission [L.M.S.] through the Native Delegates’ Assembly, sent circular letters to Pastors and Chiefs, appealing on the highest grounds of a true Christian Patriotism for the maintenance of local authority.”⁷³ The L.M.S. missionaries wanted a more peaceful Sāmoa, and at the time same time, a more aggressive control by the Powers. Sāmoans realized that “some central, nationally recognized form of representation was needed in order to deal with foriegners.”⁷⁴ The L.M.S. European missionaries in Sāmoa expressed their strong opinions with their superiors in London, but they took on a more “advisory” role with the Powers.

In April 1899, the U.S., Germany, and Britain partitioned the Sāmoan Islands in the Washington Convention and at the end of the year, in December, the Germans occupied the western islands of Upolu, Savai’i, Manono, and Apolima. The U.S. acquired Tutuila for the

⁷² Rev. Newell’s “Decennial Review of Sāmoan Missions, 1891–1900,” date unknown, Box 6, Folder 2, South Seas. Reports, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 43.

Pago Pago harbor and the Manu'a Islands.⁷⁵ Davidson wrote that Britain made arrangements to obtain German claimed lands in parts of the Pacific and Africa.⁷⁶ Before any agreement was signed to partition the islands, Matā'afa Iosefo wrote a letter dated 16 August 1899 to the Three Great Powers lamenting the political situation in Sāmoa and the suffering of his people. In his letter, Matā'afa wrote,

I rejoice, and my people are glad, at the prospect of a new and stable Government for Sāmoa. If the Great Powers will send good men to take charge of the Government, and not those who care only for money they receive, Sāmoa will become peaceful, happy, and prosperous. I pray to God that this may be so, for I love my country and my people greatly.⁷⁷

The *Reich* agreed with the acquisition of Sāmoa, and the islands became an important colony of the German Empire. The German government appointed Dr. Wilhelm Solf as the leader of the newly formed German-Sāmoa. On 1 March 1900, the Germans again raised the German flag at Mulinu'u; Solf appointed Matā'afa Iosefo as *Ali'i Sili* or paramount chief and placed himself as the *Tupu Sili* or head of the government. The young Malietoa Tanumāfili I received no appointment in the government, but decided to continue his education in Fiji.⁷⁸ Solf implemented the *Fono a Faipule* or council of *matai* (House of Representatives), made up of representatives of the two royal lineages and district chiefs. The *Fono a Faipule* advised the *Ali'i Sili* (Matā'afa Iosefo) on any issues regarding the German *Malō*.⁷⁹ Solf appointed the following as *Ta'imua* to serve as advisors: Tupua Tamasese, Tuimaleali'ifano, and Saipa'ia (of the Sā Tupuā), and Fa'alata (half-brother of Malietoa Tanumāfili I).⁸⁰

⁷⁵ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 67. The Manu'a Islands at the time of the agreement was controlled by their King, Tui-Manu'a Elisara. Tui-Manu'a and the chiefs of Manu'a ceded their islands to the U.S. in 1904.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 104. Signed on 16 August 1899.

⁷⁸ Meleisea and Schoeffel, "Western Sāmoa," 99.

⁷⁹ Lauaki Namulauulu Mamoe, the famed orator of Safotulafai, enjoyed the benefits as *Faipule* before his push for independence against Solf.

⁸⁰ Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 50.

The policy to form the new German-Sāmoa allowed Sāmoans to administer themselves under the Kaiser's "supervision and control," but Solf would work with the newly formed councils to inform the Sāmoan people of his decisions.⁸¹ He appointed district judges or *fa'amasino*, village mayors called *pulenu'u*, district chiefs called *taitai itū*, police officers or *leoleo*, and plantation inspectors or *pulefa'atoaga* in the native "government."⁸² His new appointed positions changed the process of how leaders were appointed according to Sāmoan customs and removed the traditional authorities originally placed upon Sāmoan chiefs. In his address on 17 August 1900, at the seat of the Sāmoan government in Mulinu'u, he publically stated,

Nobody has to rule in the country except the Governor; his power extends over the white inhabitants of the islands and over you Sāmoans. It is not the intention of the German Government to force you to adopt our morals and customs; the Government has a regard for your old traditions, and respects them in as far as they do not give offense to the precepts of Christianity, and to the well-being and safety of the single man.⁸³

Although it is debatable, some scholars have claimed that the Germans in the Pacific tried to maintain local customs and practices the best they could. Steinmetz wrote, "Rather than forcing the indigenous people to relate to their colonizers within a foreign idiom and suppressing their native terminology, as in Southwest Africa, the German administrators governed Sāmoa within a revised and codified version of their own culture."⁸⁴ Although the implementation of laws did not reflect that of Africa, the German administrators did interfere with the Sāmoan politics and practices. The L.M.S. needed a new administration to implement laws that regulated

⁸¹ Davidson, "Lauaki Namulau'ulu Mamoe," 293.

⁸² Peter Hempenstall and Noel Rutherford. 1984. *Protest and Dissent in the Colonial Pacific*. Apia: Commercial Printers Ltd., 25.

⁸³ Governor Solf's Speech to Sāmoans, 1900 August 17, *Lauati Rebellion Vol.1* (Documents compiled of the Lauati Rebellion of 1909), University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

⁸⁴ George. Steinmetz. 2007. *The Devil's Handwriting: Precoloniality and The German Colonial State in Qingdao, Sāmoa, and Southwest Africa*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 319.

and properly certified marriages. One privilege of a “legal marriage” was the eligibility to hold Government appointments.⁸⁵

With Germany at the helm of the German-Sāmoan government, the indigenous response presented itself in different forms; Sāmoan leadership did not sit by idly. Rather than civil war and military tactics, the Sāmoans learned to use European methods to communicate their requests. Involuntarily, the Sāmoans moved into the period of *aso ole mālamalama* at this point. Lauaki Namulau’ulu Mamoe of Safotulafai, Savai’i (see Appendix E), the Sāmoan orator, became a leading advocate for *fa’a-sāmoa* and publically criticized the new German leadership under Governor Solf. As early as 1903, Lauaki reported,

Oh, the Governor is a very good man, but he is too tricky. At first he cuts up all the different districts, so as to weaken them, and gradually takes away all the power from the Ta’ita’i-itu’s [district chiefs], and lately, he deprives the Sāmoans of the high position of Fa’amasino Sili [chief judge]. After this, the Governor will even take away the position of the Ali’i Sili, so that no higher office remains for the Sāmoan people.⁸⁶

Lauaki Namulau’ulu Mamoe⁸⁷ played a crucial role in the late 19th and early 20th century Sāmoan politics. The famed orator epitomized the brightest of *tulāfale* at the time; he became an outspoken opponent of the Germans. As one of six influential districts on Savai’i, Safotulafai possessed recognized authority (see map in Appendix B). In *fa’a-sāmoa*, the two leading orators of Safotulafai, Namulau’ulu and Tuilagi, spoke on behalf of the whole of Savai’i.⁸⁸ The Tripartite Powers first noticed Lauaki’s traditional political involvement in 1868 when the Sā

⁸⁵ Plan of Registering of Marriages – Sāmoan, Solf to Rev. Newell and Rev. Nuckett, 1900 July 12, Box 46, Folder 3, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

⁸⁶ Davidson, “Lauaki Namulau’ulu Mamoe,” 293–294.

⁸⁷ Historically, the title Lauaki is a *matāpule* (orator) title from Ha’apai, Tonga and was gifted by Taufa’ahau (King George I) to Lauaki Namulau’ulu’s father during a visit to Safotulafai, Savai’i. The date is unknown, but perhaps the meeting happened in the 1850s. Lauaki is also spelled with a “t” as Lauati. Lauaki’s brother, Pulali, held the traditional orator title Namulau’ulu but because of the family connections and recognition as a gifted orator, Lauaki often spoke on behalf of Savai’i instead. Davidson writes, Lauaki used the “title of Namaulau’ulu, despite the fact that it had not formally been conferred upon him.” See: Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 72 and J. W. Davidson. 1970. “Lauaki Namulau’ulu Mamoe: A Traditionalist in Sāmoan Politics.” In *Pacific Islands Portrait*, edited by J. W. Davison and Deryck Scarr, 267–299. Canberra: Australia National University, 271.

⁸⁸ Davidson, “Lauaki Namulau’ulu Mamoe,” 268.

Malietoā family sought a new representative after the death of Malietoa Molī, either Talavou or the young Laupepa. As a leading orator of *Pule* (Savai'i) and kin to Malietoa, Lauaki traveled extensively using his oratory skills to persuade villages and districts to support the young Laupepa instead of the elderly Talavou. Davidson wrote,

Siumu, like the neighboring sub-district of Safata (which controlled the ancient title of Tamasoālii), had strong ties of kinship with Sā Malietoā and with Savai'i. As Lauaki, in his speech, emphasized these ancient links and described the present plight of Malietoa Laupepa, he brought the people of Si'umu to tears and gained an assurance of active support: Laupepa's forces and the men of Si'umu would proceed together into Ātua to seek the help of Falealili.⁸⁹

As deacon and member of the L.M.S. denomination, Lauaki felt that it was his responsibility to maintain the cultural practices of Sāmoa. In an interview conducted by a Sāmoan *faiife'au*, Lauaki stated, “the land which brought the Gospel now becomes the destroyer of Sāmoa.”⁹⁰

The “Oloa Affair”

Lauaki's open opposition toward Governor Solf and the German administration started in 1904. Although Solf allowed a “native bureaucracy at the district level,” he made it clear that the control rested with him; Solf undermined the old-style government.⁹¹ The Sāmoan orators expressed frustration that Solf did not permit the full cultural practice of *fa'asāmoa* with all of its benefits and styles. Rev. Newell knew that Lauaki and *matai* desired to restore “the prestige of the leaders (*tulafale*) which the Govt. have quietly but effectively taken away.”⁹² When the price of copra dropped⁹³ in 1904, an *'afakasi* Sāmoan named Pullack⁹⁴ encouraged Lauaki and *matai*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 273.

⁹⁰ Report by Rev. Molimuaina of Saipipi of an interview with Lauaki and Toelupe, 1899 March 20, Box 5, South Seas. Special Personal J. E. Newell Papers, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

⁹¹ Kennedy, “Germany and the Sāmoan Tridominium,” 215.

⁹² Rev. Newell to Dora (daughter), 1909 April 2, Box 4, Folder 2, South Seas. Special Personal J. E. Newell Papers, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

⁹³ According to Erich Shultz, in 1903, Sāmoans received 8 pfenning per pound and lowered to 7 pfenning a year later. Pullack promised the Sāmoans 16 pfennig for the copra, “and to sell the goods at coast price.” See: Governor Wilhelm Solf Report, 1905 February 18, *Lauati Rebellion Vol. I*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

⁹⁴ Pullack's father served as a German Customs Officer in Sāmoa. Solf reacted quickly and deported Pullack “who was suspected of preparing a major swindle for his own benefit.” See: Hempenstall, *Pacific Islanders under German*

to form a “copra-producing and copra-marketing company run by Sāmoans themselves.”⁹⁵ Lauaki and *matai* started the Sāmoan-run company; they named it *Oloa* or *Kumpani* (Company). *Oloa* is simply defined as “goods,” but in the context of the “Oloa movement,” the term meant “trade” or a Sāmoan trading company.⁹⁶ The prices of copra fell in 1903–1904, and the Sāmoan officials requested that Solf adopt a stabilization policy, which Solf rejected. The Sāmoan officials agreed to establish a Sāmoan-owned company to “buy and export copra.”⁹⁷ Using their own boat, Sāmoans secured a stable and high price for copra and rights as a cooperative. As the *Ali’i Sili* of the Sāmoan *Malō*, Matā’afa ordered Sāmoan men to contribute four to eight marks as capital. When the initiative started, *Oloa* expected to obtain 30,000 dollars within the month.⁹⁸ The *Ali’i Sili* advertised the *Oloa* Company and ordered, “All people must pay taxes, from male and female adults to children and weak people, for the purpose of establishing a new Oloa for Sāmoa, to be styled ‘The Company.’”⁹⁹ Matā’afa promoted a sense of patriotism under the motto *lotonu’u*.¹⁰⁰ The Sāmoans evoked a national sense of pride and started a positive movement that reflected their “advancement” in economic initiatives at the turn of the century. Protestant missionaries preached modernization and civilization, and thus, the Sāmoans proved their ability to organize the new economic cooperative right away. L.M.S. European missionary J. W. Sibree

Rule, 44–45. The Germans feared Pullack because of his education in the U.S. and viewed him as a “dangerous acquisition should he return to his native” Sāmoa. See: Introductory Note Lafoga Oloa, 1905, *Lauati Rebellion Vol. I* (Documents compiled of the Lauati Rebellion of 1909), University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

⁹⁵ Peter Hempenstall. 1977. “Native Resistance and German Control Policy in the Pacific: the Case of Sāmoa and Ponape.” In *Germany in the Pacific & Far East 1870-1914*, edited by John Moses and Paul Kennedy, 209–233. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 217.

⁹⁶ Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 79.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Sāmoa Times*, 1904 December 3, *Lauati Rebellion Vol. I* (Documents compiled of the Lauati Rebellion of 1909), University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

⁹⁹ Erich Schultz to Wilhelm Solf, no date, *Lauati Rebellion Vol. I*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹⁰⁰ *Lotonu’u* comes from two words, *loto* meaning heart or a passion for, and *nu’u* meaning village or land. An individual with *lotonu’u* is viewed as patriotic.

reported that Sāmoans “were the dupes of a clever half-caste lad.”¹⁰¹ However, *matai* used their authority and ordered that the Sāmoans should support the new business initiative. Clearly, the L.M.S. disagreed with how the Sāmoans occupied their time, even if it that meant “advancing” themselves economically.

The momentum of a Sāmoan-led business proved both positive and exciting, but unfortunately, it was short-lived. Solf spoke against the initiative because not only did *Oloa* challenge the white traders and the “primary *raison d’être* of colonization,” but it undermined the power of the German Governor.¹⁰² Solf forbade taxes or *lafoga* to be paid to the *Oloa*, and declared the business venture as illegal on 14 December 1905. The Governor used the tactic of “divide and conquer” and persuaded chiefs of *Tumua* (Upolu) to believe that Lauaki encouraged the initiative to benefit himself and *Pule* (Savai’i).¹⁰³ Hempenstall argued that to view the Sāmoan participants of the *Oloa* as powerless during the German colonial era is a misconception. He wrote,

In seeking to compete with Western commerce in its own idiom, the *Oloa* would have allowed Sāmoans to shape their own economic life. It failed to get off the ground and its immediate consequence was the dispersal of the old central government (*Malō*), but these were the result less of Sāmoan incapacity to develop the scheme than of the solid opposition of the German regime under Solf, who could not allow plantation companies (especially the D.H.P.G.) and white settlers to be challenged economically by a ‘subject’ people.¹⁰⁴

Although Solf banned the *Oloa* company and prohibited the collection of a *lafoga*, Lauaki and his supporters continued the operation of the Sāmoan-led business. The *Oloa* grew stronger when Solf left for New Zealand for a short vacation. Dr. Erich Schultz, Lt. Governor, attempted to control the resistance in Solf’s absence. Schultz issued a decree, “The Malo Kaisalika alone has the power to order the people to pay their taxes to the Malo, for the taxes are

¹⁰¹ Rev. Sibree to Rev. Thompson, “Report of the Apia District,” 1906 February, Box 6, Folder 40, South Seas. Reports, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

¹⁰² Hempenstall, “Native Resistance and German Control Policy in the Pacific,” 217.

¹⁰³ Hempenstall and Rutherford, *Protest and Dissent*, 28.

¹⁰⁴ Hempenstall, “Resistance in the German Pacific Empire,” 13–14.

purely a Government concern and not the affairs of a company.”¹⁰⁵ Before Solf’s departure for New Zealand, Lauaki met with Solf, Shultz, and Kraus, the district judge, on 14 December 1904. According to reports, Lauaki “promised the Governor to work against the Oloa,” but Lauaki remained loyal to the *Oloa*.¹⁰⁶ The Governor wrote to Lauaki and expressed his disappointment. Solf wrote, “I have found a letter from which I see to my surprise that letters were issued immediately after our fono [meeting] on the 14th December, to the effect that the districts should defy my tulafono [law], which strictly prohibits the collecting of the Oloa money.”¹⁰⁷

Lauaki directly disobeyed Solf’s orders and encouraged the people of *Fa’asaleleaga* District in Savai’i at a *fono* in early January 1905 to “continue their work.” As a result, Schultz arrested Lauaki’s brother Namulau’ulu and the *pulenu’u* (mayor) Malaeulu of Lano, and imprisoned them in Vaimea in Apia. Matā’afa sent a letter and pleaded for the release of the two prisoners for following “the will of the Malo respecting the Oloa.”¹⁰⁸ However, the prisoners remained in jail. As an act of solidarity, in January 1905, Sāmoan chiefs of the *Malō*, including Tupua Tamasese, broke into the prison and freed the prisoners, but avoided any use of weapons.¹⁰⁹ Lauaki, Matā’afa, and Schultz met and agreed to dismantle the *Oloa* at a *fono* dated February 1905. Rev. Sibree described the Sāmoans as “overzealous and misguided chiefs.”¹¹⁰ The tone of the L.M.S. European letters reflected a pro-colonial position, and overall, the L.M.S. felt that the Sāmoans were engaging in activities beyond their understanding.

¹⁰⁵ Erich Schultz to Wilhelm Solf, no date, *Lauati Rebellion Vol. I*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹⁰⁶ Wilhelm Solf to Lauaki Namulau’ulu, 1904 December 25, *Lauati Rebellion Vol. I*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ Erich Schultz memo, 1905 January 31, *Lauati Rebellion Vol. I*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ Rev. Sibree to Rev. Thompson, “Report of the Apia District,” 1906 February, Box 6, Folder 40, South Seas. Reports, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

Schultz heard rumors that “white men had played a part in the agitation for the Oloa” and that H. J. Moore, a *pālāgi* businessman, planned to benefit from the *Oloa* initiative.¹¹¹ Similar to the *Mau* protests against New Zealand, the administrators believed the Sāmoans to be incapable of such ideas. German opposition “meant that Sāmoans had to keep their subordinate status and remain at the mercy of the middlemen who controlled copra exports.”¹¹² Solf feared that the redistribution of wealth as a result of the *Oloa* could profoundly benefit the *matai* and the *papālagi* involved.¹¹³

In August of 1905, Solf made drastic changes to the *Malō* as a consequence of the defiance of the Sāmoan leadership. As a result of that defiance, Sāmoan chiefs offered an *ifoga* or a traditional apology ceremony. However, Solf rudely denied it. The Sāmoan apology or *ifoga* represented having the humility to cover oneself in shame with a fine mat to express remorse. Instead, Solf revamped the Native Parliament and placed himself as the sole head of the government.¹¹⁴ In a speech delivered on 14 August 1905, Solf addressed the “double-face” of the Sāmoans. He stated, “The one looking toward myself showed obedience to the Kaiser and his representatives, the Governor, while the other whispered to the Sāmoans in this strain, ‘We are *Tumua* and *Pule*, we are the rulers of Sāmoa.’”¹¹⁵ He considered the people involved with the *Oloa* as “people who have no love for Sāmoa,” and who were selfish to “support their artful designs.”¹¹⁶ Without hesitation, Solf ordered an immediate removal of the two ringleaders,

¹¹¹ Erich Schultz memo, 1905 February 6, *Lauati Rebellion Vol. I*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹¹² Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 117.

¹¹³ Hempenstall and Rutherford, *Protest and Dissent*, 26.

¹¹⁴ Davidson, “Lauaki Namulau’ulu Mamoe,” 293.

¹¹⁵ Wilhelm Solf speech, 1905 August 14, *Lauati Rebellion Vol. I*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

Moefaaū and Lauaki, into exile.¹¹⁷ Strategically, Solf appointed new leadership and ignored the *tulāfale* class to “break their great power, and give it back to those who originally had it.”¹¹⁸

The Sāmoan “traditional” government installed new positions to support and justify Solf’s political agenda. The *Fono a Faipule* met twice a year. Solf desired a broad representation and included lesser *matai* rather than the role of powerful *Tumua* and *Pule* orators. The Germans wanted to centralize the government more, and in the process, reduce the input or participation by the Sāmoans. This marginalization of *fa’a-sāmoa* offended the chiefs. Furthermore, Solf removed *Tumua* and *Pule* from the formal salutations of the *fa’alupega* or honorifics, and added himself or Kaiser as the *tupu* or king of Sāmoa. The *fa’alupega* or honorifics had maintained a powerful role identifying Sāmoans and their traditional positions within Sāmoa. However, Solf enacted a new custom that forbade the use of the old formal salutations in any meetings or gatherings.¹¹⁹ Despite ill feelings toward the new measures against the traditional Sāmoan system, Solf continued to consult with Lauaki and even appointed him to the *Fono a Faipule* in 1907.¹²⁰ Meleisea points out the old and new *fa’alupega* in his book, *Lagaga*.¹²¹

Old *Fa’alupega* (Honorifics)

Sāmoan	Translation
1. Tulouna a Tūmua ma Pule ¹²²	1. Respect to Tumua and Pule

¹¹⁷ According to records, Moefaaū of Lufilufi went to New Britain, and Lauaki remained on probation by the Magistrate of Savai’i. See: Wilhelm Solf speech, 1905 August 14, *Lauati Rebellion Vol.1*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹¹⁸ Rev. Sibree to Rev. Thompson, “Report of the Apia District,” 1906 February, Box 6, Folder 40, South Seas. Reports, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

¹¹⁹ Wilhelm Solf speech, 1905 August 14, *Lauati Rebellion Vol.1*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹²⁰ Davidson, “Lauaki Namulau’ulu Mamoe,” 295.

¹²¹ Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 114-115.

¹²² *Tumua* refers to the following key villages in the major districts of Upolu: Leulumoea in Ā’ana, Afega and Malie in Tuamāsaga, and Lufilufi in Ātua. *Pule* refers to the following six district centers: Safotulafai in Faasaleleaga, Saleaula in Gaga’emauga, Safotu in Gagaifomauga, Asau in Vaisigano, Satupaita in Satupaitea, Palauli in Palauli. See: Te’o Tuvale. 1918. *An Account of Sāmoan History up to 1918*. Victoria University, New

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|--|---|
| 2. Tulouna a Itū'au ma Alātaua ¹²³ | 2. Respect to Itū'aua and Alātaua |
| 3. Tulouna a 'Āiga-I-le-Tai ¹²⁴ | 3. Respect to 'Āiga-I-le-Tai |
| 4. ma le Va'a o Fonoti ¹²⁵ | 4. And the crew of Fonoti |
| 5. Tulouna Tama ma o latou 'āiga
po'o 'āiga ma a latou tama | 5. Respect to the sons and their families
to the families and their sons |

New *Fa'alupega* (Honorifics)

1. Tulouna a Lana Maiesitete le Kaisa, o le tupu mamalu o lo tatou Malō Kaisalika aoao
 2. Tulouna a Lana Afioga le Kovana Kaisalika o le sui o le Kaisa i Sāmoa nei
 3. Sūsū mai Malietoa, Afio mai Tupua, ua fa'amanatuina ai 'āga e lua; I lo outou tofiga Kaisalika o le Fautua
 4. Tulouna a le vasega o Faipule Kaisalika o e lagolago malosi i le Malō
 5. Afio mai le nofo a vasega o tofiga Kaisalika o e ua fita I le tautua I le Malō
-
1. Respect to his Majesty the Kaiser, the most dignified King of our Imperial Government.
 2. Respect to his honor, the Imperial Governor, the Kaiser's representative in Sāmoa
 3. Welcome to Mālietoa and Tupua who represent the two families in your positions as advisers to the Imperial government
 4. Respect to the Faipule [village mayors] Kaisalika who are strong supporters of the government.
 5. Welcome to the various officials who have served the Imperial government faithfully.

At the beginning of the German administration in 1900, the L.M.S. leadership in Sāmoa had expressed their full support for the German government's take-over in Sāmoa. Rev. Sibree believed that the Sāmoans should “remain in their districts and represent the ‘Kaisalika Malo,’ and to see laws and orders are explained and enforced.”¹²⁶ Solf recognized that the influence of the L.M.S. spanned years of exposure and service in education and discipleship. The L.M.S. European missionaries and native *faife'au* did not interfere much in the policies of Solf or the government, but voiced opinions when they felt Solf hindered the expansion of the Gospel. For

Zealand Electronic Text Collection. Accessed: <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/name-111722.html>. Of the six districts, Safotulafai is designated the “mightiest.” See: Krämer, *The Sāmoan Islands*, 19.

¹²³ Districts referring to Safata and Faleata in Tuamāsaga. See: Krämer, *The Sāmoan Islands*, 19.

¹²⁴ *Āiga-i-le-Tai* refers to the island of Manono, Apolima, and Mulinu'u translated as “family of the sea.” See: Tuvale, *An Account of Sāmoan History up to 1918*, no page number.

¹²⁵ Villages of Falapuna and Fagaloa in Ātua district. See: Tuvale, *An Account of Sāmoan History up to 1918*, no page number.

¹²⁶ Rev. Sibree to Rev. Thompson, Report of the Apia District, 1906 February, Box 6, Folder 40, South Seas. Reports, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

example, sending missionaries to New Guinea ceased for a bit. Solf stopped L.M.S. Malua graduates from traveling to New Guinea as missionaries. The Governor refused to send natives to British colonies. However, the L.M.S. European missionaries argued that Sāmoan *faiife'au* “have been going to New Guinea for many years.”¹²⁷ The missionaries eventually continued mission work in New Guinea.

Mau a Pule

The ban of the *Oloa* never stopped the Sāmoans from expressing their opinions (*mau*) against the German Administration. The role of *Tumua* and *Pule* diminished, and Western “civilization” controlled the politics of the islands.¹²⁸ Davidson wrote that “Though the position of the traditional leaders had been weakened by social change and governmental decision, it had not been destroyed.”¹²⁹ Solf worked closely with Lauaki as an appointed *Faipule*, but despite that appointment, Solf viewed him as a “trouble-maker,” “nuisance,” and “bad influence” on the Sāmoan people.¹³⁰ Once again, Lauaki rose to the occasion and challenged the German Administration as a powerful and gifted orator. Lauaki was born in an earlier era and was the last of the generation of the traditional “kingmakers” of Sāmoa.

During the early part of 1908, Lauaki visited his close friend, the *Ali'i Sili* Matā'afa Iosefo at Mulinu'u. Matā'afa shared with Lauaki his dissatisfaction with the political changes in Sāmoa, and the way that *fa'aaloalo* or the high respect once afforded him as a paramount chief or *Ali'i Sili* had diminished. Matā'afa revealed how he “wept” when Solf's new appointees paraded along the main road at Mulinu'u with their white coats without acknowledging and

¹²⁷ Rev. Newell explains the many reasons for Solf's refusal to allow native missionaries to Papua New Guinea. Not only is New Guinea a British colony but “notoriously unhealthy and the mortality alarmingly great.” Rev. Newell to Rev. Thompson, 1904 October 15, Box 48, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

¹²⁸ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 84.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ Statement made by Lauaki at Fagamalo Savai'i before Richard Williams, “The Lauaki Incident,” 1909 February 27, *Lauaki Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

consulting him as the *Ali'i Sili*.¹³¹ Solf's objective to remove the "traditional" status of the powerful chiefs worked, and *matai*, once considered lower in power, now received more honor due to appointed positions in the *Malō*. According to Lauaki, Matā'afa directed him to summon the principal *matai* of *Pule* and *Tumua*. Matā'afa wanted Solf to reinstate the Sāmoan government at Mulinu'u and to restore the old power to the hereditary princes.¹³² When the Governor briefly left Sāmoa to get married, Lauaki used that absence to re-organize *Tumua* and *Pule*.¹³³ Although Solf had deliberately diverted attention away from "national" politics, and thus, reduced the power of Sāmoan high chiefs, the "impact of colonial rule of Sāmoans at large was not traumatic."¹³⁴

As a paramount chief, Matā'afa requested that Lauaki revive Sāmoan indigenous agency and challenge the existing government structure. Lauaki's proposed task ignited different opinions among *matai* because German Sāmoa had remained relatively peaceful after the reorganization of the *Malō* by Solf. Additionally, the appointed members of the *Fono a Faipule* enjoyed "their tenure of salaried official positions."¹³⁵ To reawaken the old Sāmoan spirits of *Tumua* and *Pule* proved a challenge for Lauaki due to the newly established Solf system.

At the close of the *Fono a Faipule* in August of 1908, Lauaki and the Sāmoan leaders drafted a list of requests for Solf to review upon his return. Of course, the Sāmoans did not agree with Solf on multiple issues; however, the *vā* of respect remained between Lauaki and the other *matai* in the *Kaisalika Malō*. Lauaki and the *Ali'i Sili* used peaceful methods to communicate

¹³¹ Matā'afa referred to Tolo and Laupu'e. See: Statement made by Lauaki at Fagamalo Savaii before Richard Williams, "The Lauaki Incident," 1909 February 27, *Lauaki Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland. Auckland and Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 84.

¹³² Statement made by Lauaki at Fagamalo Savaii before Richard Williams, "The Lauaki Incident," 1909 February 27, *Lauaki Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹³³ In January 1908, Solf's father passed away and made a short trip home. However, in September, Solf remarried to Hanna Dotti, daughter of a wealthy Berlin landowner. Solf returned to Sāmoa on 22 November 1908. See: Peter Hempenstall. 2005. *The Lost Man: Wilhelm Solf in German history*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 71.

¹³⁴ Hempenstall, "Resistance in the German Pacific Empire," 16–17.

¹³⁵ Davidson, "Lauaki Namulau'ulu Mamoe," 296.

their requests with “no intention of armed rebellion.”¹³⁶ What exactly were Lauaki and Matā’afa asking from Solf? The *Ali’i Sili*’s role in the *Malō* should increase and receive the respect that is due to him. The requests demanded that the “prince” titles or former *Ta’imua* (Tamasese and Tuimaliealiiifano of Sā Tupuā and Tanumāfili and Fa’alata of Sā Malietoā) should hold office again in the *Malō*. Lauaki and the *Fono a Faipule* planned to restore the traditional political order of *Tumua* and *Pule*.¹³⁷ An unknown author of an L.M.S. letter stated that the Sāmoans complained about the “large numbers of white officials employed by the Government.”¹³⁸ According to the letter, the Sāmoans criticized the colonial officials for their constant travel expenses between Sāmoa and Germany. Lauaki traveled to strategic villages and promoted the petition of requests known as a *mau* or opinion. The Sāmoan chiefs involved planned to use the return of Solf in November 1908 as the best time to present the requests.

After the August meeting, Lauaki visited with *matai* of the Ātua district and the villages of Siumu, Lotofaga, and Satalo to present the new opinion or *mau* of Matā’afa and the *Fono a Faipule* of Sāmoa. Lauaki’s *malaga* became the origin of the *mau*.¹³⁹ Lauaki made numerous speeches to gain support, but not every village reciprocated positively. In Vaovai of Falealili, for example, the *matai* “laughed and joked about the trifling things” Lauaki brought over from Apia.¹⁴⁰ In Lotofaga, *matai* replied that Matā’afa possessed no power or influence in the *Malō* due to his old age. Matā’afa reached the age of seventy-six at the time of Lauaki’s political travels and was “becoming senile.”¹⁴¹ Lauaki and the other *matai* worried that Matā’afa would

¹³⁶ Hempenstall, “Native Resistance and German Control Policy in the Pacific,” 223.

¹³⁷ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 85.

¹³⁸ “Miscellaneous letters and papers relating to the 1888-1939 church in Sāmoa,” no date, Box 3, South Seas. Odds, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

¹³⁹ Statement made by Lauaki at Fagamalo Savai’i before Richard Williams, “The Lauaki Incident,” 1909 February 27, *Lauaki Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ Hempenstall, *Pacific Islanders under German Rule*, 55.

not designate a successor before he passed away, or would become unable to communicate due to his mental state.¹⁴²

When Lauaki returned to Safotulafai on Savai'i, he advised the people of the district about the conversation with Matā'afa. With *Pule* on board, Lauaki needed to convince *Tumua* to unite the districts and "not to yield lightly to Solf's decisions."¹⁴³ With much support, three chiefs of Lauaki's village set out for Leulumoega, the political seat of Ā'ana district to gain their support. The district of Leulumoega agreed to the petition or *mau* to the Governor.¹⁴⁴ When interviewed about the situation, Lauaki emphasized to Richard Williams, the Resident Commissioner on Savai'i, that the instructions did not come from Safotulafai, but directly from Matā'afa, the traditional paramount chief of Sāmoa or *Ali'i Sili*.¹⁴⁵ A chief named Liumaauga suggested offering "suitable" gifts to Solf and his new bride when they returned to Sāmoa followed by a list of requests. Chief Alipia of Leulumoega sent another chief named Umaga to two principal districts to inform their chiefs of Matā'afa's plans. Umaga traveled to speak with the orator chief Tuisamau of Tuamāsaga District, the political center of the Ātua District Lufilufi, and to the district of Va'a-o-Fonoti. Lauaki successfully organized the political centers of Saleaula and Safotulafai on Savai'i. Leading orators of the political centers of Sāmoa from Leulumoega, Lufilufi, and Safotulafai planned to meet at Mulinu'u to greet Governor Solf in November 1908, and to represent the *pule* (authority) and *mamalu* (reverence) of *Tumua* and *Pule*.¹⁴⁶ In the meanwhile, the Sāmoans loyal to Solf had informed the administration of Lauaki's plans to unite *Tumua* and *Pule*.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 83.

¹⁴⁴ Statement made by Lauaki at Fagamalo Savaii before Richard Williams, "The Lauaki Incident," 1909 February 27, *Lauaki Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* The Resident Commissioner is also referred to as "Amtmann," meaning a civil certain or official.

¹⁴⁶ Hempenstall, *Pacific Islanders under German Rule*, 57.

¹⁴⁷ Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 83.

Before departing for Apia, Lauaki received a letter from Lt. Governor Schultz forbidding the gathering of the Sāmoans in Mulinu'u to await the arrival of Solf. Schultz sent letters to chiefs of different districts of Sāmoa and informed the people that Solf planned to greet everyone in their villages or districts instead. The Germans worried about any potential of a political coup.¹⁴⁸ The Secretary of the German Administration stopped at least twenty-two long *fautasi* boats approaching Manono Island and the District of Ā'ana from traveling to Mulinu'u to meet the Governor.¹⁴⁹ Leilua Taumei, the *Pule o Fa'atoaga* or appointed director of farming, advised Lauaki and the other participants to return to Savai'i, but Lauaki disobeyed Schultz's orders. Matā'afa eventually changed his mind and encouraged the messengers to have all the Sāmoans retreat to their villages; Lauaki expressed great anger and resentment toward Matā'afa for his weak stance.¹⁵⁰ Eventually, the chiefs involved obeyed Schultz's order and awaited the Governor's visit. Interestingly, Matā'afa, before the 20th century, was a powerful and brave warrior in the politics of Sāmoa. Perhaps his old age contributed to his defeatist attitude.

On Friday, 18 December 1908, Governor Solf and his *malaga* party arrived on Savai'i and was greeted by a warm welcome by all the villages from Salelologa to Safotulafai. After the traditional *ta'alolo* ceremony,¹⁵¹ Lauaki spoke on the wishes of Matā'afa and criticized Solf's new laws that forced Sāmoans to beg for changes.¹⁵² According to Meleisea, Lauaki pushed for full independence from Germany. He wrote,

German authorities should show more respect to Matā'afa as he was the representative of the dignity of the Sāmoan people. All the tama-a-āiga should stay at Mulinu'u to assert the dignity of the Sāmoan government. Matā'afa's signature should appear beside that of Solf on important

¹⁴⁸ Statement made by Lauaki at Fagamalo Savaii before Richard Williams, "The Lauaki Incident," 1909 February 27, *Lauaki Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ Taumei to Wilhelm Solf, 1908 December 22, *Lauaki Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹⁵¹ *Ta'alolo* is a traditional offering of gifts and foods.

¹⁵² Statement made by Lauaki at Fagamalo Savaii before Richard Williams, "The Lauaki Incident," 1909 February 27, *Lauaki Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

government papers. The German administration should account to the Sāmoan people for their expenditure. Sāmoa should become fully independent as soon as possible.

Lauaki became the center of Solf's speech. Solf accused Lauaki of spoiling the "happiness of Sāmoa" and compared his speech to the "brackish" kava they drank in the morning.¹⁵³ Using the symbols of the German flag to define the German-Sāmoan relationship, Solf stated, "But this flag with its eagles' large spreading wings protect me and all loyal Sāmoans, while its powerful beak and sharp talons are meant to tear all evil doers."¹⁵⁴ The Germans detested Lauaki and his schemes to promote a complete *Tumua* and *Pule*. According to a German report, "Lauaki continued his work according to plan" in Savai'i, promoting all the points of the *mau* (opinions or petitions).¹⁵⁵ In December 1908, Solf called a meeting of chiefs and orators of Upolu and shared the speech that he had presented to Lauaki and the chiefs in Savai'i. The German Administration successfully dismantled any efforts to promote a unified Sāmoa. During this meeting, Solf concluded his speech to the Upolu chiefs with,

Poor LufiLufi! Poor Leulumoega! Where is your power and splendor. You are living in the shade. Tear down your huts and go to Safotulafai. There is power and splendor. You are living in the shade. Tear down your huts and go to Safotulafai! There is power and splendor, there is the rule over Sāmoa. Your glory is gone, for Lauaki is the maker of Kings. He confers the high honours – not you. He inuncted¹⁵⁶ Mataafa. He will inunct himself – as Tafaifa he will go with his queen Sialataua to Mulinu'u and will be lord over you fools.¹⁵⁷

For Lauaki's rebellious acts against the Imperial government, in January 1909, Solf summoned him to Mulinu'u in Apia for an open trial. Despite the failed attempt, Lauaki patiently stated, *E tusa lava le oti po'o le avea i se atunuu, a se faigata le fefe I le Faasaleleaga ma Pule* or "I fight for the liberty of Faasaleleaga and Pule, whether I die or am banished is the

¹⁵³ Wilhelm Solf speech, 1908 December 18, *Lauaki Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ German Report, 1909 May 10, *Lauaki Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹⁵⁶ According to the Webster's dictionary, the word "inunct" means "anoint." See: Gove, Philip B. Gove, ed. 1976. *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*. Springfield: G. & C. Merriam Company, Publishers.

¹⁵⁷ The speech was a part of Dr. Solf's report to the Berlin colonial office. See: Wilhelm Solf. 907. *Dr. Solf to the Imperial Colonial Office, Berlin*. Berlin.

same to me.”¹⁵⁸ Unfortunately, the quest for agency proved a difficult one as fellow kin decided to support Solf and the *Malō* instead of Lauaki.

Rather than a broad-based *mau* or opinions of the entire *Tumua* and *Pule*, the *Mau a Pule* became the “Opposition Movement of Savai’i.”¹⁵⁹ After Solf’s speech, chiefs of *Tumua* (Upolu) deserted Lauaki and his efforts and called him a coward and liar. *Tumua* also pushed for either the banishment of Lauaki or a death sentence by hanging. The chiefs of *Tumua* had accepted the political control of Solf, and since his arrival to the islands, they had viewed him as the “Father” of Sāmoa. Therefore, *Tumua* collaborated with Solf to achieve the German-Sāmoa colonial agenda set by the Governor. As previously ordered, Lauaki obeyed Solf’s command to meet him in Apia in January 1909. Approximately ten key villages throughout Savai’i obeyed Lauaki’s request and accompanied him using twenty-two *fautasi* longboats. Lauaki met with Solf alone, and when asked about the troops from Savai’i, Lauaki replied, “they were not troops, but people [from *Pule*] who had come to say goodbye to me [believing that I was to be hanged].”¹⁶⁰ The people of Savai’i received instructions to “prevent my body from being buried in Tuamāsaga, or thrown into the sea” but to return his body to either Manono (‘*Āiga-i-le-Tai* District) or Safotulafai in Savai’i.¹⁶¹

Rev. Newell called Lauaki’s men “wild young fellows” that “surrounded the houses in which the Governor and friends and chiefs sat. These fellows armed with clubs and knives.”¹⁶² Lauaki represented an elite group of orators in Savai’i, and although Sāmoa experienced a period of peace during the German era, the *aumaga* or untitled men of the villages of Savai’i naturally

¹⁵⁸ Wilhelm Solf Papers, 1909 January 4, *Lauati Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland. The English interpretation by the author.

¹⁵⁹ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 86.

¹⁶⁰ Statement made by Lauati at Fagamalo Savaii before Richard Williams, “The Lauaki Incident,” 1909 February 27, *Lauati Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² Rev. Newell to Dora, 1909 April 2, Box 4, Folder 2. South Seas. Special J. E. Newell Papers, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

protected their chiefs and the respect due to them, especially against the chiefs of *Tumua*. Similarly, Lauaki struggled to protect the office of the *Ali'i Sili* and the respect due to Matā'afa as a political and cultural leader of Sāmoa. Lauaki stated, "Despite the fact that it was raining, my people did as I had told them and began to leave Vaiusu [returned to Savai'i]." ¹⁶³

After the meeting with Solf, Lauaki received orders to take a "pleasure" trip to Tonga as a "punishment" for his actions against the German government in Sāmoa. Perhaps with a little hesitation, Lauaki agreed but asked permission to collect fine mats to take with him as gifts for his family in Tonga. ¹⁶⁴ As a key spokesperson of Savai'i, Lauaki sought approval from the authority of "*Pule* and '*Āiga*,'" referring to Savai'i and Manono (*Āiga-i-le-Tai*), before departing. The *matai* of Savai'i disagreed with the trip and expressed anger with Solf's decision.

After the meeting of *Pule* and '*Āiga-i-le-Tai*, Solf received a letter from Lauaki, which stated that he refused to leave for Tonga. The bold orator stated, "I shall remain here and will pleasure at the spectacle (the farce) of war between *Pule* and *Tumua*." ¹⁶⁵ Lauaki made threats to *Tumua* and their false accusations against him, and blamed Matā'afa for the current state of affairs in the islands. After sending the letter to Solf, Lauaki and his men from Savai'i gathered at Vaiusu in the Tuamāsaga district on Upolu to prepare for war. In the adjacent village of Vaitele, the D.H.P.G. leaders of the German plantation summoned the German Administration Office. Both Solf and Matā'afa met Lauaki and his chiefs at Vaiusu to diffuse the situation. The Tuamāsaga district supported Lauaki and his men from Savai'i because traditionally, Tuamāsaga and Safotulafai are the political seats of the Malietoa title. ¹⁶⁶ Although frustrations ran high,

¹⁶³ Statement made by Lauaki at Fagamalo Savaii before Richard Williams, "The Lauaki Incident," 1909 February 27, *Lauaki Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ Wilhelm Solf report to Berlin, 1909 May 10, *Lauaki Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹⁶⁶ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 86.

Lauaki remained peaceful. Lauaki's love for Sāmoa and the "old ways" prompted him to act against the German Administration.

After the meeting with Matā'afa and Solf, Lauaki agreed to return home and "keep the peace and undertake nothing against the Malo or Tumua."¹⁶⁷ However, rumors spread that Lauaki continued to unite the districts of Savai'i. Hempenstall stated, "his agitation continued unabated" and Meleisea stated, "Solf could not persuade Lauaki to give up his opposition to German rule."¹⁶⁸ The German newspaper *Samonaische Zeitung* (22 May 1909) used the words "he started agitating all over Savaii."¹⁶⁹ However, in an official German report after meeting Solf, Lauaki claimed that the Governor agreed to his demands. He wrote,

[Lauaki] did not stay in Safotulafai, but visited the other Districts to bring together the different bodies of the followers of *Pule*. Where he could not go himself, he sent messengers, and he had announced all over the country that the Governor was a good friend of his, and that he had granted all the Sāmoans' demands, and that he wanted to form a Government with him, Lauati, which would suit the Sāmoans better, with *Tumua* and *Pule* with a king at the head. He expected to enlist, with these delusive accounts, the chiefs of Palauli, the West Coast and Safotu, on his side, who were, naturally not without ideas, but were still loyal.¹⁷⁰

According to Lauaki's interview with Richard Williams on 27 February 1909, Lauaki returned to Manono and Savai'i and promoted peace and that "Sāmoa was prosperous" (see Appendix I).

A month before Lauaki's oath to Richard Williams, Leilua Taumei, a Solf supporter, wrote a letter to Solf, dated 28 January 1909. Taumei wrote, "when Faasaleleaga [Lauaki's district in Savai'i] will return from Manono, there will be evil things befall us, and they were going to burn our houses and rob our property."¹⁷¹ Before Lauaki's arrival on Savai'i, rumors had already spread regarding actions that he might take upon his return. An anonymous letter

¹⁶⁷ Wilhelm Solf report to Berlin, 1909 May 10, *Lauati Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹⁶⁸ Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 119. See also: Hempenstall, *Pacific Islanders under German Rule*, 62.

¹⁶⁹ "Sāmoanische Zeitung," no date, *Lauati Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹⁷⁰ Wilhelm Solf report to Berlin, 1909 May 10, *Lauati Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹⁷¹ Taumei to Wilhelm Solf, 1909 January 28, *Lauati Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

from the L.M.S. archives stated, “They [Mau a Pule] were clearly determined not to allow Germany to rule Sāmoa without them and Dr. Solf of course could not give them all they asked.”¹⁷²

At the urging of leading chiefs of Ā’ana and Ātua districts, the *Fono a Faipule* met at Mulinu’u from 25– 31 January 1909, and unanimously agreed to remove Lauaki from Sāmoa by exile. *Tumua* pressured Solf to deport Lauaki from Sāmoa and allow Ā’ana and Ātua districts to take up arms against *Pule*.¹⁷³ The anger of *Tumua* against *Pule* resulted in fear amongst the white settlers. Chiefs of Ā’ana district ordered men to travel to “Apia to get the guns from the whites for the war against the people of Tuamāsaga, who had joined Lauati in their majority.”¹⁷⁴ According to Missionary Newell, a high ranking chief Leiataua of Manono told him to write to Solf that “if Lauaki were deported every German in Sāmoa would be killed.”¹⁷⁵ On 5 February 1909, Solf telegraphed German warships and troops for protection in case any battle ensued between the Sāmoans and German nationals. With urgency, Solf concluded his telegraph with, “Demonstration of at least three men of war absolutely necessary at once to restore order and secure lives and property of whites.”¹⁷⁶ One Sāmoan *Faipule* named Saga expressed gratitude to Solf because of the fear of losing lives in war.¹⁷⁷ Three German warships arrived at the Apia Habor, YMS *Leipzig* on the 18th, YMS *Arcona* on the 21st, and the steamer *Titanis* on the 26th.

¹⁷² “Miscellaneous letters and papers relating to the church in Sāmoa,” date unknown, Box 3, South Seas. Odds, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

¹⁷³ Hempenstall, *Pacific Islanders under German Rule*, 61. Davidson’s article “Lauaki Namulau’ulu Mamoe” conflicts with Hempenstall’s claims that “He [Solf] persuaded the Fono of Faipule to ask for Lauaki’s deportation.” See: Davidson, “Lauaki,” 297.

¹⁷⁴ Wilhelm Solf report to Berlin, 1909 May 10, *Lauati Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹⁷⁵ Rev. Newell to Dora (daughter), 1909 April 2, Box 4, Folder 2, South Seas. Special J. E. Newell Papers, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

¹⁷⁶ Wilhelm Solf report to Berlin, 1909 May 10, *Lauati Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹⁷⁷ Rev. Saaga to Wilhelm Solf, 1909 March 3, *Lauati Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

Despite the threats by the Germans and *Tumua*, Lauaki continued to plead his case for the overall benefit of Sāmoa and the restoration of the old powers. On March 21, Lauaki sent a petition regarding taxes and critiqued the spending of monies by the German Administration. The powerful orator continued to stress the significance and the position of the *Alii Sili* as the voice of the Sāmoans.¹⁷⁸ Lauaki and his chief supporters received orders for their immediate removal from Sāmoa as issued by the *Fono a Faipule* and the Governor. Solf allowed Lauaki and his chief conspirators until March 29 to surrender on their free will, or be forcibly taken into exile. Lauaki received limited support from *Pule*, but certain villages continued to show loyalty to him and the cause. Yet, Matā'afa sent Lauaki a letter and encouraged him to obey the call of Solf and surrender. Lauaki felt betrayed by Solf when he broke his promise regarding the reinstatement of all the *mau* presented to him. Solf responded that Lauaki lied, and broke his word by "spreading lies all over Sāmoa, that the Government had granted all the foolish maus brought forward by Pule and 'Āiga."¹⁷⁹ Furthermore, Solf learned that Lauaki sent a chief named Tagalotea to encourage people to disobey any commands by their Governor. Matā'afa and the other paramount chiefs of Sāmoa discredited Lauaki and sent the following proclamation,

We most solemnly deny that we have authorized him to work in our favour in any matter concerning Tofigas [duties] of the malo as we are and wish to be loyal to the Malo and signed Matā'afa (Le Alii Sili), Tamasese, Tuimalealiifano, Fa'alata, and Tanumāfili.¹⁸⁰

The Germans needed foot soldiers to fight the potential battle, and therefore, a German warship stopped at Friedrich Wilhelm Hafen in German New Guinea and recruited 120 "black boys" from the Melanesia area to help with the cause.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ *Pule* and 'Āiga to Wilhelm Solf, March 21, 1909, *Lauati Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹⁷⁹ Solf Proclamation, 1909 March 26, *Lauati Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

Rather than resorting to war tactics, Lauaki continued to communicate via mail. The British Consul Trood received a letter from Lauaki asking him to contact the three powers to protect Sāmoa. According to Lauaki, “the protectorate of the three Powers has not come to an end, that the King of England, the Emperor of Germany, the President of America” still have rights in Sāmoa.¹⁸² Thomas Trood replied that Sāmoa “was now under German rule and there could be no redress from the other Great Powers.”¹⁸³

Although a considerable body of research has been done on Lauaki and the *Mau a Pule*, less attention has been paid to Lauaki’s unwavering respect for the office of the *Ali’i Sili* and the paramount title of Matā’afa that forced him to act. Ample archival material exists to suggest that Lauaki responded based on his own interests. At the end of the 19th century, when the two factions of Malietoa Tanumāfili and Matā’afa had sought the position of *tupu*, Lauaki had supported Matā’afa, rather than his kin, Tanumāfili. Matā’afa’s elderly status and experience proved a good match for Sāmoa. Lauaki organized *Tumua* and *Pule* out of respect of the *vā* between himself as a ranking orator of *Pule* and Matā’afa as the *Ali’i Sili*. He practiced the true essence of *tautua* (service), *fa’aaloalo* (respect), and protected the sacred *vā* between himself and Matā’afa. Therefore, Lauaki did not act only on his own accord, rather, he fulfilled his duty as a *tulāfale*. Matā’afa, the *Ali’i Sili*, eventually sided with Governor Dr. Solf, and Lauaki argued,

I swear on this Bible that I have been unjustly blamed by the High Chief Matā’afa for being the instigator of what has happened since I told you at Safotulafai all that Matā’afa wished me to go. He alone is responsible for this. It was Matā’afa himself who asked me to summon the ‘Tumua

¹⁸¹ “Miscellaneous letters and papers relating to the church in Sāmoa,” date unknown, Box 3, South Seas. Odds, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

¹⁸² *Pule*, ‘*Āiga*, and *Tuamāsaga* to Trood, 1909 March 27, *Lauati Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹⁸³ Hempenstall, *Pacific Islanders under German Rule*, 63.

and Pule' to Leulumoega so that we might decide what was to be done because Matā'afa no longer had any say in the government of the country.¹⁸⁴

L.M.S. and the *Mau a Pule*

The Sāmoans associated with the L.M.S. knew of Rev. James Newell because of his in-depth knowledge of *fa'a-sāmoa*. Rev. Newell was born in Bradford, Yorkshire in 1852. In 1880, Newell joined the London Missionary Society as a missionary to Sāmoa. After seven years of serving on Savai'i island, the L.M.S. moved Newell to Malua to serve as a teacher.¹⁸⁵ Newell recorded the Sāmoan political atmosphere between the two leading families, Sā Tupuā and Sā Malietoā, and Sāmoan genealogical ties of various families. His interest in *fa'a-sāmoa* is clearly recorded in his journal accounts. Additionally, the famed missionary wrote letters about church affairs at his village site. At the time of Newell's death in 1910, the missionaries and the *faife'au* mourned greatly. One missionary colleague wrote that Newell's 30 years of experience in Sāmoa and mastery of the language made him loved and trusted as a father.¹⁸⁶

As a fluent Sāmoan speaker, Newell possessed the cultural knowledge to impact Sāmoa's current situation with Lauaki. With fear in the air, Newell traveled to Savai'i as an advocate of peace. In a letter to Thomas, Newell stated, "I should like to say that I went to Savai'i on March 27th on my own impulse, and because of my love for the people and not as a messenger of the Government."¹⁸⁷ Newell arrived on March 28¹⁸⁸ and the following day, a *fono* was convened by

¹⁸⁴ Statement made by Lauati at Fagamalo Savaii before Richard Williams, "The Lauaki Incident," 1909 February 27, *Lauati Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹⁸⁵ Fuimaono Na'oia Fasavalu Toluli F. Tupua. 2016. "Tala Fa'asolopito o Sāmoa mai le Amataga – Lonetona Misionare Sosaiete i Malua." *Sāmoan Observer*, July 8.

¹⁸⁶ Testimony by Griffin on Newell's death, 22 October 1910, Box 51, Folder 2, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

¹⁸⁷ Rev. Newell to Rev. Thomson, no date, Box 51, Folder 1, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

¹⁸⁸ Newell writes to his daughter Dora that when the people of Savai'i saw his boat, "the wildest joy was expressed by the young people – whilst the older folks cause to express their gratitude an angel from heaven could not have had a more joyful welcome." See: Rev. Newell to Dora, 1909 April 2, Box 4, Folder 2. South Seas. Special J. E. Newell Papers, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

Mau a Pule supporters from Safotulafai, Manono, Palauli, Satupaitea, Saleaula, and Faasaleleaga.¹⁸⁹ Handwritten minutes of the *fono* revealed the Sāmoan process of consensus. At the meeting, Lauaki and the chiefs of Savai'i expressed the highest respect to Newell and Solf's Resident Commissioner in Savai'i, Richard Williams. The concept of *vā* permeated the attitudes of the participants during the drama in Sāmoa. Lauaki opened the meeting with the following words, *O le ā tatou filifili I se tonu o lelei, e manuia ai Sāmoa* or "we are here to seek a good decision, for a better Sāmoa."¹⁹⁰ Three chiefs of Manono, Salea'ula, and Palauli opined that they planned to *usita'i i le Malō* or "obey the Malō."¹⁹¹ Asiata of Satupaitea agreed that the decision made by *Pule* and 'Āiga¹⁹² represented his village. Lauaki interrupted and acknowledged the district officer of Savai'i, Richard Williams, who had a letter from Solf.¹⁹³ After Williams had read the letter, Lauaki directed the attention to Misi Neueli (Rev. Newell) for his words of encouragement. Newell replied,

*O'u te lē aiā i upu o le Malō. A'o lo'u alofa i'a Sāmoa ua o'u tula'i ai ma o'u valuvalusia o lo outou finagalo, a'o lenei ua tusuia e le Kovana lo'u igoa e fai ma ana savali ia te outou. Ua o'u talia le finagalo o le Kovana. O leā apoapoi atu ai ia te outou e ona talatala ma Lauaki.*¹⁹⁴

Translation: I have no control of what the Government says, but my love for Sāmoa is the reason why I came and I beg to your hearts, the Governor has asked me to come on his behalf. I have accepted the Governor's decision. I will advise you as you discuss with Lauaki.

The English interpretation by the author.

Lauaki replied,

*Ua mae'a le faitauina o le tusi ona laulauina, ai lea o le lauga a Viliamu ma le lauga a M. Neueli ua mae'a lea lau lauga ona lafo ai lea ona i'u – O le ā talia le galuega alofa a le Kovana ma Viliamu ma M. Neueli. O le ā matou malaga I atunu'u e tusa o le poloaiga mamau a le Malō.*¹⁹⁵

¹⁸⁹ 1909 March 29, Folder 75522, Bundesarchiv, Berlin-Lichterfelde.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.* The English interpretation by the author.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.* The English interpretation by the author.

¹⁹² 'Āiga is 'Āiga i le Tai referring to the islands between Upolu and Savai'i or Manono and Apolima. See map in Appendix B.

¹⁹³ Arthur Knoll and Hermann J. Hiery, eds. 2010. *The German colonial Experience: select documents on German rule in Africa, China, and the Pacific 1884-1914*. Lanham: University Press of America, 131–132.

¹⁹⁴ 1909 March 29, Folder 75522, Bundesarchiv, Berlin-Lichterfelde.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

Translation: The letters have already been read, we heard from Williams and the speech from Missionary Newell, and I have come to a decision – We are going to accept the passionate job conducted by the Governor, Williams, and Newell. We are going to travel to a new place as per direction of the Government.

The English interpretation by the author.

Newell's influence with both the German Administration and Sāmoans proved strong. The L.M.S. European leadership played a critical role, mostly due to Newell and his encouragement for indigenous pastors not to get involved. One letter stated, "We [L.M.S. European missioanries] have always insisted that our pastors must not take any part in the Sāmoan politics."¹⁹⁶ The day after arriving, Newell met with a group of Savai'i *faife'au*. The *faife'au* of Lano recorded that after that meeting, all the pastors in attendance returned to their villages and shared the news of peace that Newell brought.¹⁹⁷

The day before the *fono* on Sunday the 28th, Newell preached a sermon using a text from Amos VII 7–8.¹⁹⁸ Newell's sermon convinced the hearts of Lauaki and the congregation of Fogapoa in Safotulafai to go into exile.¹⁹⁹ The next day, the chiefs agreed at the *fono* to surrender and travel to wherever the Governor desired.²⁰⁰ On behalf of Lauaki and *matai* of *Pule*, Newell requested an extension to April 1 to gather the families and goods. Newell sought a "sentence as a whole as light as possible" due to Lauaki's failing health, and wanted open communication of letters and papers permitted from time to time between the L.M.S., families, and the exiles.²⁰¹ The influence of Newell and other *faife'au* reflected diplomacy and a strong

¹⁹⁶ "Miscellaneous letters and papers relating to the church in Sāmoa," date unknown, Box 3, South Seas. Odds, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

¹⁹⁷ Rev. Siuvao, 1909 August 25, Box 8, Folder 1, South Seas. Special Personal J. E. Newell Papers, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

¹⁹⁸ "The Lord has sworn by the pride of Jacob, 'Indeed, I will never forget any of their deeds. Because of this will not the land quake and everyone who dwells in it mourn? Indeed, all of it will rise up like the Nile, and it will be tossed about and subside like the Nile of Egypt.'" Amos 8:7–8. See: Bible, New American Standard. 1995. *The Holy Bible*. Grand Rapids: Word Publishing Inc.

¹⁹⁹ Rev. Newell to Dora (daughter), 1909 April 2, Box 4, Folder 2, South Seas. Special J. E. Newell Papers, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

²⁰⁰ "Meeting at Safotulafai," Folder 75522, Bundesarchiv, Berlin-Lichterfelde.

²⁰¹ Reel 1004, Folder 75522, Bundesarchiv, Berlin-Lichterfelde.

objective to maintain peace. One missionary stated that the Sāmoans told Newell that “they would have yielded for no other man.”²⁰² The Sāmoans loved Newell and expressed it, by accepting the *savali o le filemu* (walk of peace) during such trying times in the islands. The people of Savai’i expressed their joy with the decision. Hundreds of people heard of the success of the meeting and Lauaki’s decision to go into exile. Newell received praise and blessings even up to the moment at the beach before returning to Malua.²⁰³

The many attempts of Lauaki to find alternative options have been overshadowed by the colonial narrative of war during the *Mau a Pule*. In his interview with the Resident Commissioner, his initial meeting was not a “political coup” as people had assumed, rather an attempt to have a conversation with Governor Solf regarding the relevancy of *fa’a-sāmoa* during the colonial administration. When people of Savai’i accompanied Lauaki to Apia for talks, officials and settlers assumed the worst. However, the great orator thought he would be hanged and wanted his body to be taken back peacefully rather than being “thrown into the sea.”²⁰⁴ According to Hempenstall, “Lauaki’s surrender to the German government in 1909 was an act of patriotism, to save the islands from civil war.”²⁰⁵ Lauaki and his men may have threatened war, but they understood the consequences of their actions if that happened. Germans threatened back with naval warships, making armed resistance futile.

²⁰² Rev. Griffin to Rev. Thomas, 1910 October 22, Box 51, Folder 2, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

²⁰³ Rev. Newell to Dora (daughter), 1909 April 2, Box 4, Folder 2, South Seas. Special J. E. Newell Papers, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

²⁰⁴ Statement made by Lauaki at Fagamalo Savaii before Richard Williams, “The Lauaki Incident,” 1909 February 27, *Lauaki Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

²⁰⁵ Hempenstall, “Resistance in the German Pacific Empire,” 21. *Faife’au* play the same role in Sāmoa today. Family, village, and church disputes are often mediated by the *faife’au*.

Lauaki and his chief supporters agreed to leave for Saipan in the Marianas (a German colony) until further notice. A total of eleven leading *matai*²⁰⁶ of Savai'i and their families boarded the German ships, *Jacquar* and *Arcone*, bound for Saipan (see Appendix E). Approximately sixty souls left for the Micronesian German colony. The L.M.S. at Malua appointed a young pastor named Tamatoa Uria²⁰⁷ and his wife Orepa to accompany the exiled community. Before Lauaki's departure, the Governor visited the prisoners and informed everyone that Saipan would welcome them as "distinguished visitors," and in due time, they could return to Sāmoa.²⁰⁸ Newell and a *faiife'au* named Saaga conducted a service on April 18 before their departure in early May.²⁰⁹ The Governor of Saipan provided land for the Sāmoans to build their church and raise cows, pigs, and chickens.²¹⁰

Before the exile, Vice Admiral Coerper arrived on behalf of the Emperor of Germany to investigate the situation in Sāmoa. Coerper's thorough report highlighted the events that led to the Lauaki incident or the *Mau a Pule*. Interestingly, Coerper defended Lauaki's tactics, approach and motives, which were based purely on internal Sāmoan affairs. Coerper's report stated,

The rebellion, if it may be called that, was in no way directed against Y.M. Government or against the German Protectorate... A man like Lauati who had for decades nearly unlimited influence upon the course of Sāmoan history, who installed and dethroned kings, whose whole

²⁰⁶ Lauati, Letasi, Tagaloa, Namulauulu, Asiata Taetoloa, Asiata Maagaolo, Tevaga Matafa, Malaueulu, Leiatuaua Mana, Taupāū, and Iiga Pisa. See: Solf Letter, 1909 April 5, Bundesarchiv Folder 75522, Berlin.

²⁰⁷ Received twenty pounds annually for his work (Sāmoa District Committee Meeting May 3-8, 1909). He completed Malua in 1908.

²⁰⁸ Davidson, "Lauaki Namulau'ulu Mamoe," 297.

²⁰⁹ *O le Sulu*, 1909 June, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

²¹⁰ Rev. Uria to Rev. Newell, 1909 June 10, Box 8, Folder 1, South Seas. Special J. E. Newell Papers, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London. At the site Puntan Flores, the Sāmoans built a village similar to Sāmoa and planted coconuts, breadfruit, taro, and vegetables. The children attended school Garapan. See: J. W. Davidson. 1970. "When Sāmoans Lived in Distinguished Exile." *Pacific Islands Monthly*: 41(11): 79.

life was interwoven with political and demagogic activity, could by no means satisfy himself with the role of the dumb onlooker for any considerable length of time.²¹¹

No doubt, Solf's pursuit of colonial objectives clashed heavily with the traditional Sāmoan culture.²¹² Lauaki claimed that his actions justified his love and responsibility for Sāmoa. While onboard the SmS *Leipzig*, on 19 April 1909, Lauaki wrote to his district of Safotulafai and admitted his "wrong and misdemeanor toward the Government."²¹³ Lauaki reminded his district that the *pule* or rule belonged solely to the Kaiser, and the remnants of *Tumua* and *Pule* should cease to exist. Discouraged and defeated, Lauaki stated, "His Majesty the Kaiser is our sole tupu [king]."²¹⁴ The sense of *lotonu'u* or patriotism revealed itself with the *Mau a Pule* and also with the men and women supportive of the *Malō*. The acts of the *Mau a Pule* and the *Malō* both exemplified nation-building with all its complexities. Historians viewed both Solf and Lauaki as "cultured, stubborn, articulate, devious, aloof. A showdown was inevitable."²¹⁵ Changes immediately took place on Savai'i following the exile. In a formal proclamation letter, Solf politically reorganized Manono (*Āiga-i-le-Tai*) and Savai'i (*Pule*), enforced taxes, and confiscated all guns.²¹⁶

Newell received letters from those in exile, who updated him regarding their time in Saipan. An individual named Areta wrote to Newell about the development of the church and the death of Namulau'ulu, a devout Christian and deacon, and brother to Lauaki. Although away, Lauaki continued to plead through Areta to Newell to update him on the status of the *Malō* in Sāmoa. Interestingly, Areta criticized the people of Saipan as living in the dark ages *pōuliuli*

²¹¹ Coerper Report to German Emperor, 1909 April 9, *Lauati Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

²¹² Hempenstall, *The Lost Man*, 83.

²¹³ 1909 April 19, Folder 75523, Bundesarchiv, Berlin-Lichterfelde.

²¹⁴ Lauaki to Safotulafai, no date, Folder 75523, Bundesarchiv, Berlin-Lichterfelde.

²¹⁵ Joseph Theroux. 1983. "It is my love for you that has me punish you so lightly." *Pacific Island Monthly*, 54(8): 56.

²¹⁶ Proclamation by Solf, 1909 April 5, Folder 75522, Bundesarchiv, Berlin-Lichterfelde.

and “savages” or *fa’apaupau*.²¹⁷ The Sāmoans believed themselves to be “enlightened,” and pushed the Christian civilizing mission in the field, even while in exile.

Having been likened to Moses, Solf’s popularity elevated after the Lauaki affairs as having freed Sāmoa from Lauaki’s political agenda.²¹⁸ In 1910, Solf departed Sāmoa for the last time and accepted a new position as the State Secretary for Colonies in 1911.²¹⁹ Before leaving Sāmoa, Solf introduced the *Fautua* (Advisors) position to replace the *Ali’i Sili* after the death of Matā’afa in 1912. As *Fautua*, one from each of the Sā Tupuā and Sā Malietoā families represented the “royal” voice in the *Malō*.²²⁰

At the end of the German rule in Sāmoa, Lauaki and his party received clearance to return to Sāmoa, and thus, on 30 October 1915, sixty-four Sāmoans boarded the S.S. *Tambo* bound for Sāmoa.²²¹ Unable to travel any further due to health reasons, Lauaki, his wife, and six other family members departed the ship at Tarawa, Gilbert Islands, while the rest of the crew continued. Lauaki died, and his body remained buried in the Gilbert Islands until months later when after arriving in Apia, Lauaki’s wife requested a return of his remains to Sāmoa.²²² After a “native ceremony” on 29 May 1916, the *sā*²²³ of Lauaki, the fearless leader of the *Mau a Pule*, lay in state for three days in Apia. Fogapoa in Safotulafai, Savai’i became Lauaki’s final resting place.²²⁴

²¹⁷ Areta to Rev. Newell, 1909 October 15, South Seas. Special J. E. Newell Papers, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

²¹⁸ Hempenstall, *Pacific Islanders under German Rule*, 67.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 68.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 67. As per Imperial Order after Matā’afa’s death the Emperor declared, “I authorize My Deputy in Sāmoa, the Governor, to select one member of the Tupua and one member of the Malietoa family to be his trusted friends and advisers.” As a result, Malietoa Tanumāfili and Tupua Tamasese Lealofi became *Fautua*. See: Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 88.

²²¹ British and Western Sāmoa Administrative Records, *Lauaki Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

²²² The age of Lauaki at the time of his death is unknown, but some records assume he was in his mid-60s.

²²³ *Sā* means sacred. However, in the context of death, the *sā* refers to the body of a chief or respected elder.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*

Hempenstall praised Lauaki's surrender as an act of "patriotism" and "not the expression of a commitment to nationalist liberation, or to modernization of Sāmoan politics."²²⁵ Giving in to the demands of the Governor showed Lauaki's true love for Sāmoa and the peace everyone desired. The heated situation between the *Mau a Pule* and the rest of Sāmoa, including the German administration and churches, represented natural reactions from both sides. In Vice Admiral Coeper's report to His Majesty the Kaiser of Germany, he wrote, "Lauati's plans were based on purely internal Sāmoan affairs, matters which like other cases...are not easily understandable to a stranger."²²⁶ The installation of the chief titles would not mean a return to the past, but an expression that two worlds can thrive together if given a chance. However, Self removed any potential power of the old traditional *tulāfale* of *Tumua* and *Pule*.

At the end of the *Mau a Pule*, Lauaki had proven his ability to execute and promote peace when confronted by the L.M.S. The "neutral" position of the L.M.S. institution helped maintain the change the Sāmoans had desired for themselves. The response of the civil society initially followed peaceful tenets that reflected Christian values of respect, but heated interactions led to a potential clash between the Sāmoans and the Germans. Exile to Saipan proved a nonviolent approach to maintain the harmony that Sāmoa needed at that time.

Other Religions

Although the L.M.S. dominated the Sāmoan Islands, the Wesleyans and Roman Catholics revealed a strong competitive presence. They were the "dominant religions" in Sāmoa at the time, but the Mormon and Seventh-Day Adventist churches struggled to establish themselves. The Catholics constantly accused an L.M.S.-Malietoa alliance of limiting any power of the Roman Catholics. During the battle between Matā'afa and Malietoa (late 19th century), Cardinal

²²⁵ Hempenstall, "Resistance in the German Pacific Empire," 21.

²²⁶ Vice Admiral Coeper to His Majesty the Kaiser, 1909 April 9, *Lauati Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

Moran stated that Protestants used “their influence with some of the commanders of British warships to get them to shell the Catholic presbytery and church.”²²⁷ The Erich Schultz Report stated that due to “the competition of other Missions the Catholic Mission may be urged on many occasions into making compacts with the Natives.”²²⁸ During the *Mau a Pule* incident, the Roman Catholic Bishop traveled to Fa’asaleleaga, Savai’i two days after Newell’s return to continue the message of peace to the people of Savai’i.²²⁹ Newell, the L.M.S. representative, influenced the decision of Lauaki to surrender and go into exile. Newell expressed disappointment that Solf called him a “messenger” and placed his name together with the Bishops as facilitators of the situation.²³⁰ The main negotiator was Newell, and he refused the title “messenger,” but he met with the supporters of the *Mau a Pule* on his own accord. The peace mission went beyond only one church.

The Methodists contributed to the peace process with the *Mau a Pule*. Rev. E. G. Neil of the Methodist Mission encouraged and persuaded *Mau a Pule* supporter, Asiata Taetoloa of Satupaitea, to surrender.²³¹ The village of Satupaitea became the headquarters of the Methodist Mission, and Neil influenced the spiritual lives of the people associated with the Methodist congregation.²³² According to the report by Vice Admiral Coeper,

...the fact that Asiata Taitoloa, the first chief who surrendered was well received on board Y.M.S. ‘Leipzig’ and well treated, has been quite instrumental in inducing the other chiefs to prefer imminent deportation to a long and uncertain bush life.²³³

²²⁷ Statement of Cardinal Moran, date unknown, Box 10, Folder 1, South Seas. Special J. E. Newell Papers, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

²²⁸ Erich Schultz Report, 1905 February 18, *Lauati Rebellion Vol. 1*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

²²⁹ 1909 May 10, *Lauati Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

²³⁰ Sāmoa District Committee, 1909 May 24, Box 51, Folder 1, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

²³¹ Hempenstall, *Pacific Islanders under German Rule*, 63.

²³² R. W. Allardice. 1984. *The Methodist Story in Sāmoa, 1828–1984*. Apia: Methodist Conference of Sāmoa, 6 and 19.

²³³ Vice Admiral Coeper to Kaiser, 1909 April 9, *Lauati Rebellion Vol. 1*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

Missionaries from the three top denominations worked separately, but together with the *Malō* under Solf, and resolved the situation with *Pule*. The influence of clergyman, both European and native, penetrated Lauaki's movement and allowed for a peaceful outcome.

The Mormon church grew during the 1900s but remained relatively small in comparison to the “mainline” churches. As an unfavored religion by the L.M.S., Methodist, and Catholics, the Mormons struggled to maintain a congregation and “the penalty for becoming Mormon was the destruction of one's property, the burning of his *fale*, and expulsion from the village.”²³⁴ The Mormons attempted to make converts, spoke to L.M.S. native members, and warned them that “the money is appropriated by us [L.M.S.] and that it does not find its way to the general funds for the carrying on of the work in other countries.”²³⁵ In the Manu'a Islands and on Tutuila in American Sāmoa, the Mormons challenged the authority of Tui Manu'a (King of the Manu'a Islands) and claimed their American constitutional rights to spread the Mormon gospel on a U.S. territory.²³⁶ The religious institutions impacted the Sāmoan lives at the local and government levels to some degree, especially during the pre 20th century wars.

Although the clergy voiced opinions on issues such as financial obligations, ordination, and education, the Sāmoan L.M.S. *faife'au* joined the European missionaries and supported the cause of peace and cooperation in the islands. It is important to note that not all Sāmoan clergymen supported the *Mau a Pule*. Similarly, chiefs of *Tumua*, specifically Lauaki's close kin, Sā Malietoā, refused to get involved against the German colonial government. Although, both the *Oloa* and *Mau a Pule* had focused on the theme of *lotonu'u* or patriotism, Lauaki, Matā'afa, and the revered title holders of Sāmoa recognized the *lotonu'u* of *faife'au* and their

²³⁴ R. Carl. Harris. 2006. *Building the Kingdom in Sāmoa: 1888 – 2005*. Herber City: Peczuh Printing Co., 34.

²³⁵ Rev. Hawker to Rev. Thompson, 1904 December 15, Box 48, Folder 2, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*

contributions made as servants of God in Sāmoa. The L.M.S. leadership used *lotonu'u* to maintain peace; however, it was a specifically Christian *lotonu'u*. Referring to the wars before 1900, in Newell's report to London, he writes,

The Mission through the Native Delegates' Assembly sent circular letters to Pastors and Chiefs appealing on the highest grounds to a true Christian patriotism for the maintenance of local authority, and begging for their sympathy and support that at least our educational work might be vigorously carried on.²³⁷

The *Faipule* involved in the government, including the highest title holders of *Tumua*, expressed *lotonu'u* to Sāmoa through positions and appointments in the *Malō*. After the *Mau a Pule*, during the *Fono Tele* or General Assembly Meeting of the L.M.S., 25–29 April 1910, the respected *faiife'au* Saaga prepared a sermon on “*Lotonu'u*.” According to the L.M.S. magazine, *O le Sulu Sāmoa*, attendees expressed joy to hear this topic on “*lotonu'u fa'ale-Ekalesia*” or Congregational or Christian patriotism. The L.M.S. maintained strong programs within the villages, schools, and churches, already in full effect during Sāmoa's *Mau a Pule*. Missionaries and *faiife'au* continued the work of evangelism and the civilizing mission, despite the situation in *Pule*. Within the state, the L.M.S. independently grew to mass proportions in the region. The L.M.S. Report of 1909 stated,

The missionary interest of the South Sea Churches, and especially of the Sāmoans, shows no sign of diminution. Their contributions to the Society's funds are larger than ever, and their readiness to go forth as missionaries is earnestly sustained.²³⁸

The church population increased, students interested in English and German education enrolled, and in the Ā'ana district, “the percentage of Church members as compared with the population continues to grow.”²³⁹

²³⁷ Rev. Newell's “Decennial Review of Sāmoan Missions, 1891–1900,” date unknown, Box 6, Folder 35, South Seas. Reports, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

²³⁸ One Hundred and Fourteenth L.M.S. Report, 1909, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*

Reflections

Lauaki represented a “traditionalist” view from a previous era that gained the support of a small group of chiefs. The Germans and the L.M.S. regarded the *Mau a Pule* as a failure; however, to the leaders of the subsequent *Mau* movement against New Zealand, Lauaki and the exiles became pioneers and patriots.²⁴⁰ In Mikael Karlström’s article, “Civil Society and Its Presuppositions,” he identified civil society beyond voluntary associations but placed civil society within an indigenous clan-based political order.²⁴¹ Within the Ugandan case context, kinship in Africa took on both public and private domains. Karlström stated, “kinship in Africa is not simply going to wither away with the advent of ‘modernity.’”²⁴² The *Mau a Pule* became a public and vocal expression of pride in *fa’a-sāmoa* and not a “private” affair. Although kinship and “royal” titles mattered, Lauaki had no intention of centralizing a government only on *fa’a-sāmoa*, but one based on “their [Sāmoans] own ideas about government.”²⁴³ As a leader, Lauaki desired peace through the proper channels of talks and petitions. Rev. Newell wrote, “I have never seen a more clever piece of diplomacy than Lauaki’s, though I am ready to admit that the self-restraint of the Governor was most admirable.”²⁴⁴ Again, as previously mentioned, Lauaki opened the meeting with the *Mau a Pule* and Rev. Newell with the following words, *O le ā tatou filifili I se tonu o lelei, e manuia ai Sāmoa* or “we are here to seek a good decision, for a better Sāmoa.”²⁴⁵ Lauaki loved Sāmoa, and desired a peaceful island, even if that meant exile.

²⁴⁰ Hempenstall, “Native Resistance and German Colonial Policy,” 230.

²⁴¹ Mikael Karlström. 1999. “Civil Society and Its Presuppositions: Lessons from Uganda.” In *Civil Society and the Political Imagination in Africa: Critical Perspectives*, John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. See also: David Lewis. 2001. “Civil Society in non-Western contexts: Reflections on the ‘usefulness’ of a concept.” In *Civil Society Working Paper 13*, 9.

²⁴² Karlström, “Civil Society and Its Presuppositions,” 109.

²⁴³ Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 120–121.

²⁴⁴ Rev. Newell to Mr. Laurance, 1909 January 30, Box 8, Folder 7, South Seas. Special J. E. Newell Papers, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

²⁴⁵ 1909 March 29, Folder 75522, Bundesarchiv, Berlin-Lichterfelde. The English interpretation by the author.

The *matai* and *fa'asāmoa* adjusted to the new institutions and they knew the limits of their influence. Fortunately, the *Mau a Pule* demanded more indigenous agency through the decision-making process. When Sāmoans expressed their economic potential to control their financial affairs, Solf refused to entertain the thought of any potential success, thus, justifying the need for colonialism. Hempenstall argued that when it comes to the *Oloa*, “their initial failure was due less to indigenous incapacity than the destructive opposition of colonialist regimes.”²⁴⁶

The L.M.S. church influenced how the natives processed the colonial institutions. In a lecture before the German church on leadership and mission work, Solf stated, “Natives were the best asset of the colonies, but they must be brought under proper control by mission work. Christianity and *kultur* – German *kultur* – were to go hand in hand.”²⁴⁷ Hempenstall claimed, “the ultimate loyalty of the missions lay with the colonial regimes, and the European missionary basically supported the regime’s primary instincts of law and order and native discipline.”²⁴⁸ Naturally, in Sāmoa’s case, the L.M.S. needed the backing of the colonial government to support their institution as much as the Germans needed the church.

The situation during the *Mau a Pule* overwhelmingly resulted in peace due to the work of *faife'au*, missionaries, *matai*, and the *Malō*. Even while exiled, Lauaki continued the practice of faith as a deacon of the L.M.S denomination. While in Saipan, “Every evening the tolling of a bell called the community, led by the dignified Lauaki, to church.”²⁴⁹ The civilizing mission of the L.M.S. continued to be relevant in exile, where Lauaki and the exiles mimicked a Sāmoan village, established a church, practiced their Christian faith under an appointed *faife'au*, and used their level of “civility” to measure the “modernization” of the Saipan people. Sāmoans in exile

²⁴⁶ Hempenstall, “Native Resistance and German Control Policy,” 230.

²⁴⁷ Theroux, “It is my love for you,” 57.

²⁴⁸ Hempenstall, “Native Resistance and German Control Policy,” 230.

²⁴⁹ Davidson, “When Sāmoans Lived in Distinguished Exile,” 79.

thought of themselves as superior to the people that hosted them in Saipan. Sāmoans understood the notion of what it meant to be civil in the European sense through the education, mission work, government, and colonialism.

Chapter 5. New Zealand Administration, the *Mau*, and the L.M.S.

The New Zealand Administration occupied German-Sāmoa at the start of the First World War with no recorded casualties. Sāmoa temporarily came under the New Zealand rule until the League of Nations formally made the western Sāmoan islands a part of the mandate system together with other former German colonies. The islands received full attention by the New Zealand Parliament, but the League of Nations maintained strict guidelines to follow. New Zealand played a parental role as overseer and the enforcer of laws, ordinances, and guidelines as per the League of Nations. The lack of agency of the Sāmoans within the New Zealand led government forced natives to form the *Mau* movement or the “opinion” of Sāmoans under Ta’isi Olaf Fredrick Nelson’s Citizens’ Committee.

The nationalist *Mau* movement, which 95% of Western Sāmoans supported, challenged the New Zealand Administration’s political authority. The former *Mau a Pule*, under Lauaki Namulau’ulu, impacted certain villages and *matai* of Savai’i (*Pule*), but could not reach the influence of the second *Mau*. Ta’isi Nelson and the *Mau* leaders strove to regain Sāmoan control, but no longer within the context of *Tumua* and *Pule*. The *Mau* believed in the modernization of Sāmoa through the proper political avenues, with civil disobedience to promote “peace, order, good government and the general welfare of the territory.”¹ The impact of the influenza epidemic of 1918, the direct disregard of submitted petitions by *matai*, the banishment laws affecting certain paramount *matai*, the interference with native customs, and the “unfair treatment of the Sāmoans” caused the beginning of the Sāmoa *Mau* movement during the New

¹ Author Unknown, 1927, “O le Mau a Sāmoa: The Sāmoan League,” *Sāmoan Guardian*, May 26.

Zealand Administration. The *Mau* evolved from submitting petitions for more agency to a clear push for self-government through civil disobedience. Ta'isi Nelson saw benefits from *fa'a-sāmoa* and the West “to move Sāmoa forward in the twentieth century.”² When the *Mau* became illegal and its members fled to the Sāmoan mountains, Sāmoan women formed a peaceful Women's *Mau* to challenge the New Zealand leadership.

In this chapter, I will examine issues that led to the *Mau* movement and the rise of the indigenous response. The *Mau a Pule* set the right tone and prioritized *fa'a-sāmoa*. I will support my argument by showing the hybridity of *fa'a-sāmoa* and the civilizing mission by the London Missionary Society and colonizers that shaped a Sāmoan civil society of nonviolent protests. As Sāmoan society's important pillar, the church, specifically the L.M.S., played a critical part in promoting peace and serving as facilitators between the *Mau* members and the government. Although the L.M.S. impacted the lives of Sāmoans during the *Mau* movement, the church could not reach the success Rev. J. E. Newell had with Lauaki in reaching a quick compromise. Throughout the *mau* process, the L.M.S. officially sided with the New Zealand government.

New Zealand Administration in Western Sāmoa

The German Empire in the Pacific collapsed at the beginning of the First World War. Rather than relying on British or African colonial troops to take over German territories, as in Africa, in the Pacific, British Crown's settler colonies achieved the confiscations.³ South Africa took over South West Africa, while Australia and New Zealand occupied German colonies in the

² Patricia O'Brien. 2017. *Tautai: Sāmoa, World History, and the Life of Ta'isi O. F. Nelson*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 302.

³ In Africa, the Germans used indigenous military troops and white soldiers to achieve the colonial objectives. In German East Africa, there were 230 white soldiers and 2400 Africans. See: Peter Humpal. 1978. *Pacific Islanders under German Rule: A Study in the Meaning of Colonial Resistance*. Canberra: Australia National University Press, 23.

South Pacific.⁴ New Zealand seized Apia, Western Sāmoa⁵ on 30 August 1914, and on the first of September, the Union Jack replaced the German flag.⁶ In addition to Sāmoa, the Allies occupied the region's coaling stations and telegraph installations.⁷ The Western Sāmoan Islands slowly experienced a new era of control by a new colonial power different from the previous power in leadership, language, tactics, and laws. The different administrations had one leadership quality in common, both governed the Sāmoan people autocratically.

The island's takeover occurred with no previous treaty or formal discussions. While there is a wide agreement that New Zealand's objectives in Sāmoa were not commercial and financially based, the literature review shows a different side. Meleisea writes, "New Zealand was proud that it had no profit motive in its administration."⁸ Davidson believes that New Zealand's interest in Sāmoa started between 1870 and 1900, and that "the participation of Americans and, more particularly, of Germans in its economic and political life had been regarded both as a challenge and threat."⁹ Therefore, New Zealand had pushed Britain to annex or place a protectorate over the Sāmoan Islands. Henderson states, "Britain coveted the copra resources of Sāmoa and the phosphate deposits of Nauru."¹⁰ The islands' occupation revealed a new era of control, and the former German "pearl of the south seas" became an official mandate of New Zealand in 1919, five years after the start of the Great War.

⁴ W. O. Henderson. 1993. *The German Colonial Empire: 1884-1919*. London: Frank Class, 117.

⁵ The name "Western Sāmoa" became the official name of the islands after World War I. See: J. W. Davidson. 1967. *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa: The Emergence of the Independent State of Western Sāmoa*. London: Oxford University Press, 92.

⁶ Mary E. Townsend. 1930. *The Rise and Fall of Germany's Colonial Empire, 1884-1918*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 368.

⁷ Australia occupied New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago, while Japan seized German colonies in Micronesia, namely, the Caroline, Marshall and Marianas. The Germans lost a total of 1,027,000 square miles of territory and a population of approximately 14 million people during the Great War. See: Henderson, *The German Colonial Empire*, 117 and Townshend, *The Rise and Fall of Germany's Colonial Empire*, 356 and 368.

⁸ Malama Meleisea. 1987. *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Sāmoa*. Suva: University of South Pacific, 132.

⁹ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 91.

¹⁰ Henderson, *The German Colonial Empire*, 118.

As patriotic subjects of the British Empire, New Zealanders successfully hoisted the Empire's flag in Western Sāmoa without bloodshed.¹¹ After England had declared war on Germany, Governor Dr. Schultz met with his Government Council and surrendered rather than defending their rights to Sāmoa due to the lack of firearms, ammunition, and manpower.¹² On August 1914, Dr. Schultz greeted Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Logan of New Zealand, and the peaceful handing over of power became the first time the Empire sent a British Dominion overseas to capture a foreign territory.¹³ Rather than drastically changing the governing tactics right away, Logan maintained Solf's strategy and "guided" Sāmoans by relying on *matai*'s authority to uphold the existing government.¹⁴ Yet, Campbell suggests, "Logan returned to the Sāmoans some of the power and dignity that Solf had taken away."¹⁵

The new administration occupied the Sāmoan Islands as a jurisdiction on a "caretaker basis" before the League of Nations' official mandate system in 1919.¹⁶ Not long after the shift in power, the Germans in Sāmoa naturally criticized the occupation. Germans believed that the New Zealand rule "led the whole nation swiftly backward by undoing social and economic progress achieved under Solf and Schultz, neglecting the Sāmoans and persecuting the Germans."¹⁷ Obviously, the Germans, Sāmoans, and New Zealanders disagreed with the rule of power and the way of implementing regulations applicable to the current local and global situation.

¹¹ Stephen John Smith. 1924. *The Sāmoa (N.Z.) Expeditionary Force, 1914-1915*. Wellington: Ferguson & Osborn Limited, 8.

¹² Hermann Hiery. 1992. "West Sāmoans between Germany and New Zealand 1914-1921." *War & Society*, 10(1): 54.

¹³ Smith, *The Sāmoa (N.Z.) Expeditionary Force*, 64.

¹⁴ Mary Boyd. 1968. "The Military Administration of Western Sāmoa, 1914-1919." *The New Zealand Journal of History*, 2(2): 152.

¹⁵ I. C. Campbell. 2005. "Resistance and Colonial Government." *The Journal of Pacific History*, 40(1): 50.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 50.

¹⁷ James N. Bade. 2011. *Karl Hanssen's Sāmoan War Diaries, August 1914-May 1915*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 3.

On the Sāmoan front, Tupua Tamasese Lealofi¹⁸ III, *Fautua* or advisor to the governor, extended hospitality to the New Zealand troops. However, New Zealand still viewed him as a German sympathizer.¹⁹ The Sāmoan leaders of the *Fono a Faipule* took a neutral position and patiently allowed God's will to happen. One *Faipule* commented, "Sāmoa does not take sides in this...we stand by and allow the Great Powers to work out the will of God."²⁰ After fourteen years of German colonial rule, Sāmoans were "ambivalent toward the changing of the colonial 'guards' at the beginning of World War I."²¹ Meleisea claims that Sāmoans saw the German period as a "good time in Sāmoan history."²² Of course, Sāmoans' disposition varied, but Solf "protected Sāmoan land rights, preserved Sāmoans from being forced to labour...restricted white settlement in Sāmoa, and gave the country a period of peace and prosperity."²³ Pro-German attitudes existed in the Ā'ana District, but Dr. Schultz refused any talks about taking up arms against New Zealand. Naturally, supporters of Lauaki from *Pule* (Savai'i) and *Tuamāsaga* expressed wide support for New Zealand.²⁴ *Pule* and *Tuamāsaga* closely followed and supported Sā Malietoā, and since the arrival of the L.M.S. in 1830, there always existed that close affinity with Britain. The L.M.S. rejoiced under the British flag.²⁵ Logan praised the L.M.S. for the work conducted in Sāmoa and recognized the Christian influence on the lives of the people.²⁶

¹⁸ Full name is Lealofioā'ana.

¹⁹ Boyd, "The Military Administration of Western Sāmoa," 150-151.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 151.

²¹ Bade, *Karl Hanssen's Sāmoan War Diaries*, 8.

²² Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 120.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Hiery, "West Sāmoans between Germany and New Zealand," 55.

²⁵ Rev. Griffen to Rev. Lenwood, 1914 September 28, Box 54, South Seas. Incoming Correspondance, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

²⁶ Rev. Lenwood to Rev. Hawkins, 1915 October 24, Box 55, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

Western Sāmoa During the Transition

With the German-New Zealand transition, *fa'asāmoa*'s institutions, government, and churches embraced the political changes. Based on international conventions on military occupation, existing laws remained enforced except when "repealed or amended by the Administrator."²⁷ Each institution had developed a strong sense of hierarchy. Sāmoans, Europeans, and foreign residents generally respected the rule of law. Even with the changes, *fa'alupega* or honorifics, genealogies, political and social alliances dominated how Sāmoans maneuvered themselves within all three institutions.

Matai directed family affairs and maintained strict control within the two pillars of *fa'a-sāmoa* and religious affiliation at the local level. As a leader of the extended family, the *matai* remained in control of family lands. Family members supported *matai*'s decisions regardless if they felt opposition to it. The *vā* maintained a strong connection despite the increase of foreign presence and power. The *matai* held limited access to the government *Fono a Faipule* and maintained positions at the mercy of the administrator in charge. Meleisea writes, "The Faipule asked for legal recognition in government, the power to make laws, and control local finance, and for representation in the New Zealand parliament."²⁸ *Tumua* and *Pule*'s "kingmakers" or orators continued to be powerful in local district politics but received limited influence and no access to appoint *matai* within the colonial government. The reverence toward talking chiefs continued through the changes, but the power that they once had evolved within the new system. The proper protocol of *Tumua* and *Pule* had persisted throughout the period of German colonial rule, but not in the same degree as before Western contact. The role of *Tumua* and *Pule* may

²⁷ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 92.

²⁸ Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 131.

have lost their quasi-official function, but they still possessed influence via *fa'a-sāmoa*. Major-General Richardson, the third administrator to Western Sāmoa, stated the following:

The influence of the *tumua* and *pule* is very elderly seen to-day in any *Fono*, in which all Upolu may be represented or all Savai'i or even all Sāmoa, as in the *Fono* of *Faipule*, or a meeting for any purpose at all. Altho' there may be 30 odd members, in the *Fono* of *Faipule*, the great majority will not take part in any speech-making or even deliberate until the *tumua* of the main divisions of old Sāmoa, of Upolu and Savai'i have first spoken. In fact, they may not even then dare to speak on a matter directing the country's policy. This is interpreted not to mean a lack of ability to express themselves or lack of knowledge, so much as inherent deference to the ancient *tumua* and *pule*.²⁹

Six years before the New Zealand occupation of Western Sāmoa, Lauaki had challenged Governor Solf and the German Administration, and that left a seed of dissent, mostly in *Pule* (Savai'i) and *Tuamāsaga* (District on Upolu). The struggles experienced during the German occupation between Solf and Lauaki manifested differently under the New Zealand leadership. Sāmoans collaborated more in business ventures, especially the '*afakasi*,³⁰ and followed the government politics very closely. Slowly, Sāmoans integrated into the European way of life and were exposed to the outside world, more than ever, through local newspapers, e.g., *Sāmoa Times*, and the educational system. In response to such changes in Sāmoan society Governor Schultz had shared with his government council in 1913 that "efforts must be made to slow this process as much as possible...[and] try to ensure that the unavoidable individualization proceeds without damaging results, and that the Sāmoan is not set on his own feet before he has learnt to stand alone."³¹

Sāmoans realized the influx of foreign workers, in addition to the Europeans and the '*afakasi*. The colonial regime viewed the '*afakasi* as "trouble-makers from whom the Sāmoans

²⁹ George Richardson, *On Tumua and Pule*, 1927 July 14, Box 13, Folder 5.2.4.3a, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

³⁰ '*Afakasi* literally means *afa* (half) of *tasi* (one). The term refers to children of one Sāmoan parent and the other of another race, i.e. *palagi*. During the early days of contact and colonial take over, '*afakasi* children resulted from the union between a European or American male and a Sāmoan woman.

³¹ Evelyn Wareham. 2002. *Race and Realpolitik: The Politics of Colonisation in German Sāmoa*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 45.

must be protected.”³² The racial diversity in Sāmoa became a problem for the colonial power. Both German and New Zealand administrations banned ‘*afakasi*’ from holding customary *matai* family titles to protect Sāmoan lands.³³

During the German plantation era, hundreds of laborers came to Sāmoa from Melanesia and Micronesia to work. Chinese labor also arrived in German Sāmoa to work in rubber and cacao plantations.³⁴ Both the German and New Zealand administrations attempted to separate the races from mixing with Sāmoans to protect racial integrity. “Although the colonial administrators legitimated their presence by emphasizing European racial superiority,” Wareham writes, “the preservation of the indigenous population was more important to them than the interests of German settlers, colonists, or commerce.”³⁵ Furthermore, racial prejudices came from both Europeans and Sāmoan leaders.³⁶ The anti-Asia phobia by both Sāmoans and New Zealanders resulted in seriously physically injured Chinese.³⁷ Logan issued the Proclamation No. 42 on February 1917, which stated the following:

1. It is forbidden –
 - (a) That any indentured Chinese enters the house of any Sāmoan.
 - (b) That any Sāmoan allows any Chinese to enter his house.
2. Any breach of this Proclamation shall be punishable by a fine not exceeding £5, or by imprisonment with labor not exceeding six weeks.³⁸

Months after the Logan proclamation, the prominent *matai*, Afamasaga Maua, issued an order in the *Savali* newspaper on 18 September 1917 for all Sāmoan women married to Chinese men to

³² Malama Meleisea. 1987. *Making of Modern Sāmoa: Traditional Authority and Colonial Administration in the History of Western Sāmoa*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, 129.

³³ *Ibid*, 156.

³⁴ Stewart Firth. 1977. "Governors Versus Settlers: The Dispute Over Chinese Labour in German Sāmoa." *The New Zealand Journal of History*, 11(2): 156.

³⁵ Wareham, *Race and Realpolitik*, 31.

³⁶ Malama Meleisea and Penelope Schoeffel. 1983. “Western Sāmoa: ‘A Slippery Fish’,” 81-112. In *Politics in Polynesia*. Suva: University of the South Pacific, 110.

³⁷ Herman J. Hiery. 1995. *The Neglected War: The German South Pacific and the Influence of World War I*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 167-168.

³⁸ Nancy Y. M. Tom. 1986. *The Chinese in Western Sāmoa, 1875-1985: The Dragan Came From Afar*. Apia: Western Sāmoa Historical and Cultural Trust, 95.

leave their husbands and return to their families.³⁹ Unfortunately, Sino-Sāmoan relationships during the early period could not enjoy the blessings of a wedding celebration or ceremony due to the laws passed.⁴⁰

Despite the government's efforts, the L.M.S. had evangelized to Chinese laborers via Sāmoan theological students from Malua, but government regulations limited the interactions in 1917.⁴¹ As the major denomination in Sāmoa, the L.M.S. expressed concern over the Chinese population. L.M.S. leaders negotiated specifically with the Canton Province in Hong Kong for a Chinese pastor to assist with social and religious work in Sāmoa.⁴² Although frowned upon during Soli's time, Germans married Sāmoan women despite efforts to genetically separate Sāmoans and Germans and "prevent social decay."⁴³

L.M.S. During the Transition

During the power transition, the L.M.S. church maintained dominance in the Sāmoan islands, but other denominations, namely Methodist, Roman Catholic, and Latter-Day Saints also gained followers.⁴⁴ Although a religious people, the fickleness of Sāmoans toward choosing religious denomination revealed itself. Rev. C. A. Müller condemned Sāmoans as a "religious people, however, they can change their religion as easily as we change a coat."⁴⁵ The institution of the church, specifically the L.M.S., evolved with the changes that occurred in the government

³⁹ Hiery, *The Neglected War*, 168.

⁴⁰ Tom, *The Chinese in Western Sāmoa*, 61-62.

⁴¹ *The Hundred and Twenty-Third L.M.S. Report*, 1918, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

⁴² Rev. Darvill to Rev. Barradale, 1926 May 6, Box 53, Folder 1, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S. S.O.A.S., London.

⁴³ Campbell, "Resistance and Colonial Government," 52.

⁴⁴ In 1915, the Western Sāmoa population reached approximately 50,000. Approximately 27,700 served the L.M.S. as members, and 1,400 claimed status as either white or half-caste. The rest of the population served mostly as Catholics and Methodist with a smaller amount as Mormons, Seventh-Day Adventists, and other religious denominations. See: Report on Population Statistics for Sāmoa, 1915, Box 57, Folder 1, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

⁴⁵ Rev. Müller Report, 1916, Box 8, Folder 51, South Seas. Reports, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

and *fa'a-sāmoa*, and eventually became a Sāmoan-centric institution with a new constitution and new Sāmoan leadership.

Perhaps the strongest division of the L.M.S. church at the time of New Zealand occupation arose within the Native Advisory Council (N.A.C.) of the L.M.S., called the Board of Elders or '*Au Toeaina*'.⁴⁶ The '*Au Toeaina*' served under European missionary leaders as a Church Congress with legislative powers; although viewed as inferior, Sāmoan *faiife'au* soon demanded more control of the church decision making and the use of finances. L.M.S. leadership gradually forged a closer cooperation with "Native leaders in the general administration and organization of the Church life and work."⁴⁷ The *L.M.S. Report* praised the new efforts that redirected and organized the native parishioners to influence both the Church and State. The Board of Elders proved influential beyond what the L.M.S. imagined. The 1909 *L.M.S. Report* stated that formation of the Board,

has been one of the most important steps taken in recent years as a means of training the Churches in administrative responsibility, and already much useful work has been done under its leadership. Yet it will be a generation or two before new ideas become rooted and new principles of action become established and influential in either Church or State.⁴⁸

The over-involvement of the Sāmoan *faiife'au* leadership on the Native Advisory Council soon became a problem for the L.M.S. during the 1920s. In 1922, the L.M.S. *faiife'au* took on the huge responsibility to shoulder the financial burdens of funding the entire ministry in Sāmoa, including the European missionaries. Two senior missionaries, Rev. Hills and Rev. Hough, retired and were replaced with younger and inexperienced European missionaries. The

⁴⁶ The late Rev. James Newell introduced the Native Advisory Council in 1907, and the L.M.S. realized that Sāmoans needed to share in the responsibilities of the general church. Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society*, 369.

⁴⁷ Rev. Newell to Rev. Thompson, 1907 June 3, Box 50, Folder 1, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London. See also: Rev. Sibree to Rev. Lenwood, 1917 April 12, Box 57, Folder 1, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

⁴⁸ *One Hundredth and Fourteenth Report of the London Missionary Society*, 1909, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

Chairman of the Sāmoan District Committee (S.D.C), Rev. Smart, expressed concern that the Board of Elders viewed the missionaries as too young to guide the elder *faiife'aus* in church affairs. Unfortunately, “a large section of the N.A.C. interpreted ‘Financial Control’ to mean Absolute Control of the affairs of the Church including the members of the white staff; and it was not long before it became evident that there was a strong tendency on their part to seize the reins of government.”⁴⁹

The Sāmoa L.M.S. missionaries feared a Sāmoan controlled church. However, the home office in London felt differently. Rev. Joseland expressed concern over full indigenous control of the money, church work, and the two important educational facilities at Malua Theological College and Leulumoeaga High School.⁵⁰ Rev. Smart threatened to leave Sāmoa if the Sāmoan Church received full authority. Smart wrote in a letter that if Sāmoans controlled the L.M.S. ministry, “the position would be intolerable.”⁵¹ Nevertheless, the Sāmoan L.M.S. received full responsibility of supporting the entire European and Sāmoan ministries. Sāmoans in the government and the church slowly made their way into leadership roles, not because of desiring absolute power, but *fa'a-sāmoa* and *fa'a-matai* systems were organized structures that became the lens to understand the outside institutions. Sāmoans were willing to adjust *fa'a-sāmoa* under the new institutions, but when necessary, they protested against forced institutional changes to cultural practices that they felt were necessary to their identity as Sāmoans. Unfortunately, despite the Sāmoan success within the L.M.S., European missionaries still deemed the clergymen unprepared to lead.

⁴⁹ Rev. Smart to Rev. Barradale, 1928 May 28, Box 64, South Seas. Incoming Correspondences, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

⁵⁰ Rev. Joseland to Rev. Hawkins, 1922 September 14, Box 61, Folder 2, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

⁵¹ Rev. Smart to Rev. Lenwood, 1920 December 31, Box 60, Folder 2, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

Influenza Epidemic of 1918

The First World War ended in 1918, and no bloodshed occurred in Sāmoa. However, the reality of death came in another form. Four days before the Armistice, on 7 November 1918, the S.S. *Talune* docked in Apia harbor from Auckland and carried passengers that suffered from the worldwide influenza epidemic.⁵² The ‘Spanish’ Flu swept the globe during the Great War’s end, across Africa, Europe, America to China and eventually reached Australia and New Zealand and killed millions of people worldwide.⁵³ The epidemic became a transformative period for Sāmoa that fueled a more unified dissent toward New Zealand. Sāmoans and Europeans expressed great shock, and a group of *matai* called for colonial transfer to either the U.S. or the British.⁵⁴

On 31 October 1918, the *Talune* had received a “clean bill of health” and then set sail from Auckland to Suva, Levuka, and Apia. Unfortunately, ships from Auckland infected Fiji, Western Sāmoa, Tonga and Nauru with the following death tolls: 5% of the Fiji population, 6% of the Tongan population, and 16% of Nauru’s population.⁵⁵ The effect of the epidemic on Sāmoan society and its hierarchical leadership resulted in immediate, drastic changes in *fa’asāmoa* and the government. Within the government, out of the thirty *Fono a Faipule* members, only six survived, nearly 45% of *matai* or titled members of an average *‘āiga* died.⁵⁶ The leadership of families devolved to young and inexperienced men, and as Hiery states, “At a stroke, a new generation moved into position of responsibility.”⁵⁷ Furthermore, the government witnessed a new breed of leaders forced to take control of the family, government, and church responsibilities. According to Meleisea, *matai* titles remained vacant because the process of

⁵² Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 93.

⁵³ Tom Quinn. 2008. *Flu: A Social History of Influenza*. London: New Holland Publishers, 134, 149.

⁵⁴ Sandra M. Tomkins. 1992. "The Influenza Epidemic of 1918-19 in Western Sāmoa." *The Journal of Pacific History*, 27(2): 192-193.

⁵⁵ Tomkins, "The Influenza Epidemic of 1918-19 in Western Sāmoa," 185.

⁵⁶ Hiery, *The Neglected War*, 174 and Tomkins, "The Influenza Epidemic of 1918-19 in Western Sāmoa," 181.

⁵⁷ Hiery, *The Neglected War*, 174.

talatalaga or family deliberation with different *suli* or heirs to titles took time, especially the resources needed for a grand ceremony.⁵⁸ The epidemiological induced event caused drastic changes in Sāmoan leadership within the families and churches.

The L.M.S. suffered a significant loss of pastors and elders during the influenza epidemic. According to Rev. Normal Goodall, “out of 220 pastors in active service, 103 died. Twenty-nine out of thirty members of the ‘*Au Toeaina* or Council of Elders - all experienced leaders of the Church - were amongst the casualties.”⁵⁹ Interestingly, the elite experienced a higher percentage of casualties than the general public. Sāmoa witnessed changes on all fronts of its civil society, and the new leadership received power and position without proper *tautua* (service).⁶⁰ On Savai’i, at the beginning of 1919, only 755 of 1,486 *matai* survived. According to Rev. Cane, “I have heard that in the sub-district of Savai’i all pastors are dead [so] I am going to go all around the island to fix up things as best I can.”⁶¹ The epidemic’s effects caused significant loss to the theological college at Malua. Rev. Hough recorded a total of seventeen students or future pastors, along with a couple of tutors, who lost their lives to the illness. One student “went mad and tried to drown himself,” Rev. Hough states in a report to the Foreign Secretary of the L.M.S.⁶² The following year Rev. Faletese, Secretary of the L.M.S. General Assembly, listed the actual numbers of deceased teachers and pastors of the L.M.S. totaling

⁵⁸ Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 121.

⁵⁹ Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society*, 361-362.

⁶⁰ The Sāmoa proverb states, *O le ala i le pule o le tautua* or “Ones rights to power is due to his service.” Sāmoan *matai* and elders continue to use the proverb when applicable to encourage Sāmoans that the role to leadership begins with service to *matai*, the family, village, and church.

⁶¹ Rev. Cane to Rev. Lenwood, 1918 December 18, Box 59, Folder 1, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

⁶² Rev. Hough to Rev. Lenwood, 1918 December 17, Box 58, Folder 2, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

747.⁶³ Unfortunately, mass graves up to 500 people each became normal in Sāmoa at the time.⁶⁴ Similarly, to the situation with government *Faipule* leaders and *fa'a-sāmoa* with the lack of leaders, the L.M.S. European leadership feared a rise of inexperienced Sāmoan pastors to lead the Church. The *L.M.S. Report* of 1919 stated, “But the problem which concerns us is whether we have faith in the young people, for it is the young and untried who will immediately be forced to take in hand the guidance of the Church.”⁶⁵ The three institutional pillars of Sāmoa, government, church, and *fa'a-sāmoa*, experienced an unfortunate setback and disappointment that left Sāmoans ambivalent about the future. In the biography of Sāmoa’s beloved ‘*afakasi*, Aggie Grey, the author writes, “A generation of chiefs, orators, and grandmothers rich in oral lore had been wiped out before they could transmit their treasures.”⁶⁶ Despite the traumatic shock of the event, the Sāmoan population proved resilient and proactive with more vocal resentment toward New Zealand.

Fortunately, American Sāmoa successfully escaped the influenza epidemic. U.S. Naval Commander, John M. Poyer, issued a strict maritime quarantine to the islands of American Sāmoa.⁶⁷ Leading *matai* of American Sāmoa received orders from Poyer to not accept any boats from Upolu and to undertake a careful medical examination of incoming ships. Habitual family interactions between the two islands ceased for some years until the epidemic came under control. A patrol system comprised of American Sāmoans together with the few American

⁶³ Faletese reports: 29 *Toeaina* (Board of Elders), 103 *Faife'au*, 80 Wives of *Faife'au*, 55 Assistant Pastors, 334 Deacons, 146 wives of deacons. See: Rev. Faletese to 'Au Matutua, 1919 June 13, Box 59, Folder 1, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *The Hundred and Twenty-Fourth Report of the London Missionary Society*, 1919, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

⁶⁶ Fay Alailima. 1988. *Aggie Grey: A Sāmoan Saga*. Honolulu: Mutual Publishing Company, 153.

⁶⁷ The S.S. *Sonoma* docked in Pago Pago harbor from San Francisco on November 3, 1919, with fourteen cases of flu, one death, and two with “pneumonic complications.” The *Sonoma* arrived four days before the *Talune* anchored at Apia, but Poyer placed all effected in “strict isolation” until released. See: Alfred Crosby. 1989. *America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 236.

soldiers on the island with the cooperation of the local leaders “was so unstinting that the governor recommended to President Wilson that three of them be presented with medals.”⁶⁸ At one point, Poyer offered medical assistance to Logan with multiple attempts to contact the New Zealand Administration. Unfortunately, Logan ordered “the radio station to break off all radio communications with American Sāmoa immediately.”⁶⁹ According to Crosby’s account, Logan expressed aggravation toward Poyer when a boat sent to American Sāmoa to retrieve mail was denied access until “after five days of absolute quarantine.”⁷⁰ Crosby claims, “Presumably it was this return of the mail boat that so aggravated Logan that he temporarily broke the radio link with Pago Pago.”⁷¹ Davidson supports the previous claims and writes, “The telegram had been shown to Logan; but he had taken no action and had said later that he had thought the offer of assistance was to the consul’s sick wife and not to the country.”⁷²

On January 1919, a group of surviving *Faipule* approached Logan unannounced and demanded an “official inquiry” into the epidemic. By arrogantly dismissing the *matai*, Logan only “embittered rather than silenced them.”⁷³ Davidson believes that “Logan’s administration was brought to an end by the epidemic.”⁷⁴ Not long after, Logan departed Sāmoa for home leave, and his superiors “felt that he was becoming mentally unbalanced” and was replaced by Colonel Robert Tate in January 1919.⁷⁵ During Tate’s warm welcome on January 28, the Sāmoans submitted a signed petition by 126 *matai* from districts throughout Western Sāmoa.⁷⁶ As the senior surviving *Faipule*, Toelupe presented the following petitions: (1) Immediate

⁶⁸ Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 238.

⁶⁹ Hiery, *The Neglected War*, 174.

⁷⁰ Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 237.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 95.

⁷³ Hiery, *The Neglected War*, 176.

⁷⁴ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 96.

⁷⁵ Tomkins, "The Influenza Epidemic of 1918-19 in Western Sāmoa," 192.

⁷⁶ Author Unknown, 1919, [No Title], *Sāmoa Times*, April 5.

removal of Logan due to the mishandling of the influenza epidemic; (2) conduct a census of the orphans and seek provisions for that population; and (3) a transfer of Sāmoa to either the U.S. or direct rule of Great Britain.⁷⁷ One month later, on February 15, the Native Advisors (Malietoa Tanumāfili I and Tuimaleali'ifano Si'u)⁷⁸ and the Sāmoan spokesmen withdrew the petition “on the grounds that it was insufficiently representative of Sāmoan opinion.”⁷⁹ Tate announced that he had considered the orphan issue before the submitted petition and the New Zealand Government “will see that any responsibilities are placed upon the proper shoulders.”⁸⁰ The *Fautua* Malietoa Tanumāfili I discredited the request of the Sāmoans and stated, “The natives may bring forward what they like but it is for us to decide on those matters.”⁸¹ Again, Malietoa expressed his support for a British-led government.

As a result of the horrific deaths in Sāmoa, the New Zealand Government established the Epidemic Commission⁸² and investigated the cause of Sāmoan deaths. The commission concluded that the New Zealand Government failed to notify Logan about the worldwide epidemic, and the overall handling of the situation in Sāmoa resulted in a “general administrative failure.”⁸³ Chiefs of Western Sāmoa strongly criticized the New Zealand Administration but praised the U.S. handling of the epidemic. New Zealand lost the respect of Sāmoans as well as the foreign traders in Apia. Logan responded from New Zealand and accused H. J. Moors, an

⁷⁷ See: Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 96; Hiery, “West Sāmoans between Germany and New Zealand,” 65; Hiery, *The Neglected War*, 177; Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 123; *Sāmoa Times*, April 5, 1919.

⁷⁸ Tupua Tamasese Lealofi I passed away in October 1915 and replaced by Tuimaleali'ifano as *Fautua*. Colonel Logan initially refused to interfere with the Sāmoan process of electing the successor as *Fautua*. Six months later, Logan selected Tuimaleali'ifano Si'u to join Malietoa Tanumāfili I as *Fautua*. See: Boyd, “The Military Administration of Western Sāmoa,” 153.

⁷⁹ Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 123.

⁸⁰ Author Unknown, 1919, [No Title], *Sāmoa Times*, April 5.

⁸¹ Hiery, “West Sāmoans between Germany and New Zealand,” 66.

⁸² The two *Fautua*'s Malietoa Tanumāfili I and Tuimaleali'ifano Si'u appointed High chief's Toleafoa, Tofaeono, Tuatagaloa and Leleua to “watch the interests of the Native population in Sāmoa.” The Commissioners interviewed people from villages, chiefs, L.M.S. staff, Government officials, local businessman and traveled throughout Upolu and Savai'i. See: Author Unknown, 1919, “Epidemic Commission, Talune's Crew Testify, A Plague-Infested Vessel, Rev. Paul Cane Recounts His Experiences,” *Sāmoa Times*, June 14.

⁸³ Tomkins, “The Influenza Epidemic of 1918-19 in Western Sāmoa,” 195.

American businessman in Apia, for agitating the Sāmoans.⁸⁴ At the local level, the L.M.S. heard the direct complaints from *matai* and people within the congregation. The Sāmoans “had no further confidence in the present form of Government,” and within weeks, the L.M.S. appointed new *faiife’au* to “reclaim the people to their old routine of life.”⁸⁵ The false notion that *pālāgi* or ‘*afakasi* “agitated” Sāmoans to act against New Zealand suggests that *matai* were unable to comprehend the issues before them and therefore incapable of presenting a case. Lauaki’s *Mau a Pule* and the protests by Sāmoan clergymen discredits that claim.

In 1966, three senior men from Sale’a’aumua village recorded a song based on the 1918 epidemic. As survivors of the horrific illness that claimed thousands of lives, Taua Fatu, Paipa So’o, and Matila Lagona expressed their preference for Solf and Schultz as opposed to the New Zealand Governor, Logan. The *pese* (song) defined the feelings of hundreds of Sāmoans toward Governor Robert Logan and the dissent from *matai* of the *Faipule*.⁸⁶

Fuaiupu 1
Lopati e, le Kovana e
Se ‘e tausia nei Sāmoa e
Fai mai ‘ua ‘e sola ‘i Niu Sila e
Ina ‘ua tupu ‘o le mala e
‘Ua o’o mai nei ia Sāmoa e.

Verse 1
 Governor Robert,
 You, who were looking after Sāmoa,
 They say you fled to New Zealand
 At the outset of the disaster,
 Which arrived here in Sāmoa.

Fuaiupu 2
Talu lava ‘oe Lopati
Tainane ‘o le ali’i fomai’i
Fai mai na ‘e alu e asi’
E leai se fa’ama’i?

Verse 2
 It was all because of you, Robert
 Who knows whether the doctor did,
 As you said, go and inspect
 And that there was no epidemic?

Fuaiupu 3
‘Ua le galo lava I a’u sa’afi
‘O le Malo lea ‘ua tuana’i
Ma le ali’i Kovana sa tatou masani
Pe lelei ‘o le tausiga a a lalou ali’i foma’i
Ma ali’i maufoti ali’i e o Siamani?

Verse 3
 In my longings, I have not forgotten
 The former government
 And the governor with whom we were familiar
 Was not the care shown by their doctors good,
 Not to mention that of the numerous German
 officials?

⁸⁴ Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 130.

⁸⁵ Rev. Hough to Rev. Hawkins, 1919 March 21, Box 59, Folder 1, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

⁸⁶ Richard M. Moyle. 1990. *Music of Oceania*. Institute of Musicology of the University of Basle, 7-8.

Fuaiupu 4

*Aue 'ua ou manatua ali'i e o la tausaga
Ina 'o pule 'o Solofa ma Sulusi i Sāmoa*

'A'ua 'ese nei tausaga i le Malo o Peletania

*'Ua leaga 'o le tausiga a le Malo o Niu Sila e
Fai mai 'ua mamao le va'a, e leai lava se
mala e.*

Tali

*Fa'anoanoa, fa'anoanoa
Lo'u alofa 'i Sāmoa e
'Ua maua i le mala
'Ua 'uma e le oti i ni 'āiga, 'a 'ua i Vaimea*

*E, fia fa'alogologo 'i le fono a faipule
Oi, 'i upu malie o lau lauga, Toelupe e
Fa'apea 'o le Kovana 'o le ali'i e fai mea sese?*

'A 'ia tausia tatou e le Malo o Meleke

Verse 4

Alas, I recall the men in their years [here]
When Solf and Schultz were in charge of
Sāmoa;
These [present] years are different with the
British Government;
The New Zealand Government's care is poor;
They said that the boat was far of, that there
would be no disaster at all.

Chorus

I grieve, I grieve,
[Such is] my love for Sāmoa;
Caught by disaster,
Whole families were wiped out, and are at
Vaimea⁸⁷
I wish I could have heard the meeting of chiefs
And the fine words of your speech, Toelupe⁸⁸
Saying that the governor was the one who had
done wrong
And that the American [Sāmoa] Government
should have taken care of us.

Sāmoans and Europeans speculated that the cause of influenza in Western Sāmoa was divinely oriented. The L.M.S. leadership attributed the saved lives in Tutuila, American Sāmoa to “divine approval” despite them being “spiritually backward.”⁸⁹ The L.M.S. believed that the people of Tutuila lacked spiritual guidance compared to the Western islands. Perhaps, the distance of Tutuila and Manu'a from the headquarters at Malua and the limited number of European missionaries made false assumptions about the spirituality of American Sāmoans. Of the entire list of returned exiles from Saipan under Solf, only I'iga Pisa survived.⁹⁰ Pisa achieved

⁸⁷ Vaimea became a burial place during the influenza epidemic. As Field writes, “So many were buried – seventy on 23 November at Vaimea alone – that some seriously ill people may have been mistakenly buried alive. In some villages whole households were found to be dead, so instead of burying the people the houses were closed up and set on fire.” See: Michael J. Field. 1991. *Mau: Sāmoa's Struggle for Freedom*. Auckland: Polynesian Press, 44.

⁸⁸ Toelupe of Malie survived the epidemic and a well-respected *tulafale*, spoke on behalf of the deputation to Colonel Tate. See: Mary Boyd. 1980. “Coping with Sāmoan Resistance after the 1918 Influenza Epidemic: Colonel Tate's Problems and Perplexities.” *The Journal of Pacific History*, 15(3): 159; Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 96; Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 122.

⁸⁹ *The Hundred and Twenty-Four Report of the London Missionary Society*, 1919, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

⁹⁰ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 97.

success under the New Zealand Administration as a translator and government official. The epidemic marked a new “reason for resentment of the administering authority” and “basis of colonial nationalism.”⁹¹ On a more positive note, at the end of the war, sons of Sāmoa returned as heroes after years served with the Allies of First World War and having served under the Crown. Twelve young Sāmoans received a warm welcome at a formal dinner held in their honor at the Apia Market Hall.⁹²

The final report issued by the Sāmoa Epidemic Commission concluded that a total of 7,542 persons died because of the influenza epidemic. The commission started the investigation immediately upon arrival in May 1919. A thorough investigation with interviews and site visits concluded: “that in seven days after its [*Tulane*] arrival, pneumonic influenza was epidemic in Upolu; that it spread with amazing rapidity throughout Upolu, and later throughout Savaii.”⁹³ The devastation from influenza pressured New Zealand and challenged their role in the islands, but within a short period, New Zealand officially became responsible for Western Sāmoa. The influenza killed thousands of Sāmoans, and New Zealand’s complicity in it started resentment toward the administration, but that was not the tipping point of the *Mau* movement. As a Mandate territory, Western Sāmoa received a close watch under the newly formed League of Nations. The League seldom visited the islands, but the government-in-charge submitted the necessary paperwork.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² Sergeant E. Westbrook, Frank Meredith, Arthur Yandall, Robert Stowers, Mologa Au Mu, Frank Roberts, Albert Swenkie, James Swanney, Oscar Meredith, Solf Parker, Crossfield Hunkin, and Joseph Bernard. See: Author Unknown, 1919, “Welcome Home to Sāmoa’s Soldier Sons,” *Sāmoa Times* April 19. The *Sāmoa Times* article did not state, but perhaps more Sāmoans served at other periods of World War I.

⁹³ Author Unknown, 1919, “Report of Sāmoan Epidemic Commission,” *Sāmoa Times*, September 13.

Mandate “C” and the L.M.S.

The League of Nations was formed at the end of the First World War in December of 1918. The League became an international governing institution designed as a “guardian of public peace.”⁹⁴ At the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany renounced all its territories to the Allied and Associated Powers, including Western Sāmoa. By Article 22 of the League of Nations Charter, the Mandate system allowed Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, and Japan occupation rights to former German territories. Both the Commonwealth of Australia and New Zealand aligned with Great Britain and exercised power on behalf of “His Britannic Majesty.” The August 1920 mandates distributed the German colonies. Great Britain and France divided the Cameroons and Togoland, whereas Great Britain and Belgium negotiated over East Africa. South West Africa went to the British Dominion of South Africa and Western Sāmoa to the British Dominion of New Zealand. The Commonwealth of Australia and New Zealand gained the German Pacific colonies south of the equator, and Japan occupied the former German northern Pacific Islands. The quite small phosphate island of Nauru became a joint territory of Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand.⁹⁵

As an influential governing body, the League of Nations symbolically exercised its rights and promoted the interests of the native population, theoretically providing proper administration and equality.⁹⁶ The mandate system in Article 22 listed seven principles:

- (1) Colonial territories taken from the enemy are not to be annexed by the victorious powers; (2) the colonial territories are to be put under the joint sovereignty of the allied and associated powers; (3) they are entrusted to the tutelage of certain individual advanced nations; (4) this tutelage is to be exercised by the mandatories under the supervision of the League; (5) the open door is to be maintained in colonial territories so far as the mandatory has any power over them as such; (6) natives shall be used in a military capacity only for local defense and police; (7) the people of the mandated territories are to have a voice in the choice of the mandatories.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Norman Bentwich. 1930. *The Mandates System*. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 2. and Sir Fredrick Pollock. 1922. *The League of Nations*. London: Stevens and Sons, Ltd., 165.

⁹⁵ Bentwich, *The Mandates System*, 10.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁹⁷ Campbell L. Upthegrove. 1954. *Empire by Mandate*. New York: Bookman Associates, 17.

The League used three categories or classes to divide the territories based on location, economic status, and cultural development. Palestine, Trans-Jordan, and Iraq, for example, comprised the “Class A” under Great Britain. The territories under “Class A” proved a potential toward self-government and a “high stage of development.”⁹⁸ The “Class B” status referred to former German colonies in Africa, which were considered less advanced countries under close supervision by the League. The German colonies in S.W. Africa and the Pacific Islands received a “Class C” mandate because of small population size and remoteness “from the centers of civilization,” and as a result, they were assigned and governed by the colonial government as “integral portions of their own empires.”⁹⁹ The “Class C” mandated the governing bodies’ authority to apply laws from the respective country to govern the former German colonies.¹⁰⁰ Unfortunately, with new hope of self-rule, the mandate C positioned Western Sāmoans as uncivilized people that never possessed “any semblance of self-government or organic laws.”¹⁰¹ The League of Nations perpetuated the notion that Sāmoans and other governed countries in the Class C category were “backward” societies; therefore, they had little or no potential of possibly becoming modern anytime soon. Therefore, foreign administrators adopted a paternal approach to governing.

Although Western Sāmoa was in effect a “protectorate” and not a “colony,” the mandate system allowed New Zealand to govern the islands as it did in its other colonies. The League’s Permanent Mandates Commission (P.M.C.) received annual reports from New Zealand on the status of the islands. The colonial countries established “forms of administration which did not

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ Upthegrove, *Empire by Mandate*, 19.

¹⁰⁰ Bentwich, *The Mandates System*, 89.

¹⁰¹ Western Sāmoa. 1931. *Sāmoan petition, 1931. To: The Secretary of Foreign Affairs for His Britannic Majesty's Government, The Secretary of State for the Government of the United States of America, The Reichs Chancellor of the Government of Germany. The petition of the accredit.* Auckland: National Printing Co.

infringe the terms of the mandate or Article 22.”¹⁰² Sir James Allen represented New Zealand at the League, and he “disliked the mandate system and tried to restrict the League’s role as much as possible.”¹⁰³ Western Sāmoa’s Mandate C status allowed New Zealand full power and legislation as long as it promoted “the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the territory.”¹⁰⁴ The mandate status theoretically safeguarded Sāmoan interests, guaranteed freedom of worship, and stopped the sale of liquor; New Zealand could not erect a military base in the islands, nor train Sāmoans as military personnel.”¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, the Sāmoan islands had no provision for future independence.

One important implemented change occurred with the role of the *Faipule*. Unlike Solf’s approach to a direct appointment of a *matai* to serve as *Faipule*, Logan allowed *Fono a Faipule* members to choose new members. Tate gave *Faipule* a semi-legislative role; as a result, *Faipule* increased their meeting’s frequency as a “proto-parliament.”¹⁰⁶ According to Meleisea, Solf’s administration initially set up the *Fono a Faipule* in 1905 after disbanding *Ta’imua* and *Faipule*. The *Fono a Faipule* had served an advisory role as a committee, but now, it “sought legal recognition in government, the power to make local laws, and to control local finance and representation in the New Zealand Parliament.”¹⁰⁷ The changes seemed drastic, but Sāmoan representation and power remained under the close supervision of the administrator.

German businesses and nationalists received a rude awakening in Sāmoa. New Zealand controlled and later renamed the former German D.P.H.G. to New Zealand Reparation Estates.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰² Albert Wendt. 1965. *Guardians and Wards; A study of the origins, causes and first two years of the Mau in Western Sāmoa*. Masters Thesis, Victoria University, 36.

¹⁰³ Gerald Chaudron. 2012. "New Zealand's International Initiation: Sir James Allen at the League of Nations 1920-1926." *Political Science*, 64(1): 71.

¹⁰⁴ League of Nations. 1921. *Mandate for German Sāmoa*. London: His Majesty's Stationary Office.

¹⁰⁵ Wendt, *Guardians and Wards*, 36.

¹⁰⁶ Campbell, "Resistance and Colonial Government," 50.

¹⁰⁷ Malama Meleisea. 1992. *Change and Adaptation in Western Sāmoa*. Christchurch: Macmillan Brown Centre, 42.

¹⁰⁸ Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 132.

Following the established takeover, New Zealand deported Germans employed by the D.P.H.G. Except for Germans married to Sāmoan women, approximately 400 Germans received documents for removal. A man-of-war arrived to assist in the deportation of the Germans to avoid any trouble.¹⁰⁹ The departure of Germans had started as early as in 1920 and according to the *Sāmoan Times*,

. . .very few of them desired to return to their Fatherland. Before their embarkation sad farewells and tears were free among the Sāmoan mothers – *fa'a Sāmoa* – who were seeing the last of their consorts. In this connection, it may be stated that the few Germans concerned could have married these women and applied for exemption from deportation. For several days previous, the deportees were busy taking good-byes of many residents.¹¹⁰

The L.M.S. struggled to maintain German missionaries in Western Sāmoa. A tutor at Malua Theological College and a minister of the Evangelical Reformed Church of Prussia, Rev. Ernst K. F. W. Heider, served in Western Sāmoa from 1905 to 1915. New Zealand ordered Heider's departure with repatriation papers to Germany. According to Rev. Sibree, Logan claimed that Heider met with German Governor Shultz the morning of the New Zealand occupation. Logan feared that Heider's presence in Western Sāmoa meant a danger to British rule and a peaceful Western Sāmoan government.¹¹¹ Another German teacher and missionary, Miss Schultze, left for furlough via America and was unable to return "since America has come into the war," but she continued her ministerial role and served German soldiers in Bozanti in Asia Minor.¹¹² A former missionary of the Berlin Mission, Rev. Carl A. Müller, had served the L.M.S. Sāmoa in Apia and Fa'asaleleaga from 1914 to 1920, but he left Sāmoa under "humiliating circumstances." Rev. Müller wrote the following to Rev. Lenwood in London:

¹⁰⁹ Hiery, "West Sāmoans between Germany and New Zealand," 67.

¹¹⁰ Author Unknown, 1920, "Repatriation of Germans: An Orderly Farewell - Sad Partings - Quarantine Embarrassment - 170 Germans Depart," *Sāmoa Times*, June 19.

¹¹¹ Rev. Sibree to Rev. Hawkins & Rev. Lenwood, 1917 June 17, Box 56, Folder 1, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

¹¹² *The Hundred and Twenty-Second Report of the London Missionary Society*, 1917, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

We had to leave Sāmoa under very humiliating circumstances, which certainly should not have been the case after peace had been signed. I asked our Committee to protest against this treatment; Mr. Hough saw the Governor, and we got some slight concessions, but we had to submit like the other people to a bodily examination. So we are sent away as prisoners of war in time of peace.¹¹³

The L.M.S. missionaries suspected Müller of negatively influencing the Sāmoans of Tuasivi, and that led to an uncomfortable atmosphere. Rev. Smart described the people of Tuasivi as “uncordial.”¹¹⁴ The archival material does not specify whether the negative atmosphere in Tuasivi was anti-British, anti-German, or a push for more church autonomy, but Rev. Smart expressed grave concern regarding the change in ministry in the district after Rev. Müller. Sāmoans waited for God’s will regarding the changes, which they later accepted, but with reservations.

The Sāmoa-L.M.S. accepted the mandate system and the acquisition of power by New Zealand power. As British Crown’s subjects, the change delighted the L.M.S. The L.M.S. supported and closely worked with the New Zealand leadership to achieve all government goals. The church-government’s special relationship elevated the status of government as part of the civilizing mission to assist Western Sāmoa. Tate’s successor, Brigadier General George Spafford Richardson, like other administrations before him, expressed great gratitude to the L.M.S. for cooperation during his term as the administrator, and the difficulties faced during Sāmoa’s political issues.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Rev. Müller to Rev. Lenwood, 1920 July 10, Box 60, Folder 1, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

¹¹⁴ Rev. Smart to Rev. Lenwood, 1920 December 31, Box 60, Folder 2, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

¹¹⁵ Colonel Richardson to Rev. Lenwood, 1925 April 2, Box 3, South Seas. Odds, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

Ta'isi O. F. Nelson and the Citizens' Committee

Ta'isi Olaf Frederick Nelson achieved much success in Sāmoa as a businessman. His blood relations with the prominent Sā Tupuā family elevated his status even more.¹¹⁶ Nelson's father, August Nelson of Sweden, set up a successful copra business together with a partner, F. Cornwall, with branches at Falelatai on Upolu and Gagaemalae on Savai'i.¹¹⁷ In Safune, August Nelson married a high ranked Sāmoan woman of the Sā Tupuā family line. Born on 24 February 1883, O. F. Nelson entered into two worlds—*fa'a-sāmoa* culture from his mother's side and business ventures on his father's side. The soon-to-be entrepreneur became an apprentice to his father at a young age, even though Nelson's father never thought of Ta'isi as having a future in business. However, as the *Sāmoan Times* reported, "after succeeding in the collection of the old debts due to the carelessness of the native trade on the south coast, which debts had been given up for lost, he began slowly to win his father's confidence."¹¹⁸ Known as the richest man in Sāmoa during the early 20th century, the famed 'afakasi inherited his father's business in 1909. The small store in Safune (on Savai'i) grew into a distributing center with multiple trading stations. By the year 1918, O. F. Nelson and Company Ltd. included "two main premises in Apia, two distributing branches in Savai'i, and twenty trading stations through the group, all doing good business under able management."¹¹⁹ The import and export trading in the islands made Ta'isi Nelson a fortune. At the same time, Ta'isi became influential in Sāmoan politics and among European residents.

As an active member of Sāmoa's political scene, people in Apia referred to Ta'isi Nelson as "Frederick the Great." Ta'isi would champion the cause of Sāmoan cultural recognition, and

¹¹⁶ Ta'isi O. F. Nelson is the grandfather of the current Head of State of Independent Sāmoa, H.H. Tui-Ātua Tupua Tamasese. Ta'isi Nelson married Rosabel Edith Moors, eldest daughter of American businessman, Harry Moors. See: Field, *Mau: Sāmoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 66.

¹¹⁷ Wendt, *Guardians and Wards*, 98.

¹¹⁸ *Sāmoa Times*, February 23, 1918.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

he would push for agency within the Sāmoan political arena. Not long before his political activism, Ta'isi lost his mother, only brother, brother's wife, and one of two sisters to the influenza epidemic that swept Sāmoa.¹²⁰ The supporters of the Sāmoan cause and *Fono a Faipule* pushed for reforms that demanded inclusion of Sāmoans in the governing process. Prominent *matai* and leading members of the local Sāmoan oligarchy formed a political and social organization in 1914 called the *Toeaina's Club* or Old Men's Club in "response to the uncertainty among Sāmoan leaders about the future of the nation following the occupation."¹²¹ The club encouraged Sāmoans to settle differences before interacting with the colonial power, and they emphasized prioritizing 'Āiga (extended family) before loyalty to New Zealand.¹²² The club worked purposefully "toward realizing a Sāmoan independence party" under the guise of social and commercial initiatives.¹²³

Before the official Mandate status, the New Zealand Parliament passed legislation that provided the Department of External Affairs with the principal function to review the Administration in Sāmoa. On 1 May 1920, Western Sāmoa officially became a civil administration under the Sāmoan Ordinance Order with power vested in the administrator and an appointed Legislative Council.¹²⁴ In 1920, members of the New Zealand Parliament visited Sāmoa and received an extensive list of requests. The *Fono a Faipule*, a group of local Europeans, and 'afakasi requested representation in the New Zealand Parliament, educational

¹²⁰ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 94.

¹²¹ Boyd, "The Military Administration of Western Sāmoa," 160.

¹²² Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 118.

¹²³ Hiery, "The Neglected War," 179.

¹²⁴ The Sāmoan Constitution Order passed by the New Zealand cabinet on 1 May 1920, but officially came under N.Z. by the League of Nations in December 1920. See: Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 100 and Field, *Mau: Sāmoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 54.

facilities, training of senior Sāmoan officials, representation of European residents in the Legislative Council, free press, labor, and the reversal of the Prohibition law.¹²⁵

After the complaints, the Sāmoa Act of 1921 was passed, “which re-enacted, with minor amendment, the contents of the [Sāmoan] Constitution Order.”¹²⁶ The Sāmoa Act limited the power of Sāmoans, including the *Fono a Faipule* and local Europeans; the government’s decision-making process remained in the power of the administrator and a Legislative Council that was made up of the administrative staff, the administrator, and nominated “unofficial” members, “none of whom would be full Sāmoans.”¹²⁷

In the summer of 1921, King George V received a petition from Ta’isi Nelson and members of the *Fono a Faipule*. Although the petition represented the *mau* of Ta’isi Nelson, this request was not the official beginning of the *Mau* movement against New Zealand. The petition highlighted a desire for self-government, requested the removal of the mandate system from Sāmoa, and noted the poor leadership of New Zealand.¹²⁸ The pro-British Malietoa Tanumāfili I (*Fautua* or advisor to the administrator) dismissed the petition and sent a letter to the King of Great Britain in support of the New Zealand Administration. Tanumāfili stated, “As you already know, that petition was written without my sanction. I had no pleasure in that petition because it was obvious that it was not desirable... We are one family, Britain is the parent, the colonies, and groups of islands are the children.”¹²⁹ The Malietoa and the British relationship remained strong

¹²⁵ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 100.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 101.

¹²⁷ Field, *Mau: Sāmoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 53.

¹²⁸ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 101; Field, *Mau: Sāmoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 57; Hiery, “West Sāmoans between Germany and New Zealand,” 70.

¹²⁹ Author Unknown, 1922, “The Sāmoa Mandate: High Chief Pleased,” *Sāmoa Times*, February 3.

throughout the political and religious changes. As an advisor, Malietoa received a pension of approximately £12 per month from government funds.¹³⁰

A member of New Zealand's Parliament, Sir Francis Bell, drafted the comprehensive Sāmoa Act of 1921. According to pro-Sāmoan leader Ta'isi Nelson, "the Act made no provision for any right of the people of Sāmoa to have a voice in the government of the country."¹³¹ Ta'isi Nelson and the *Fono a Faipule* expressed disappointment in the direct disregard of Sāmoan representation and leadership. The 31-member *Fono a Faipule* received no legal powers but only served an advisory role. The *Fono a Faipule* dispensed information to their villages and districts on government policies as made available.¹³²

Other *Faipule* joined Malietoa and opposed the petition, but the dissent toward New Zealand had grown. As an outspoken opponent of New Zealand's policies, Ta'isi Nelson maintained a cordial and professional relationship with the administration. With the new leadership, Ta'isi Nelson worked closely with Colonel Logan, Colonel Tate, and Major-General Richardson to provide "European and Sāmoan viewpoint[s] on local matters."¹³³ According to Nelson, "I was frequently consulted by all three of the administrators mentioned. I gave them what knowledge I possessed, and my opinion on questions when asked."¹³⁴ Ta'isi navigated himself between the two worlds of *fa'a-sāmoa* and European life. At the same time, the *'afakasi* received mixed support from the *Fono a Faipule*, Europeans, Sāmoans, and other *'afakasi*.

A year after the petition, on 11 September 1922, Colonel Tate issued the Sāmoan Offenders Ordinance to "control certain Sāmoan customs." The *fa'ate'a* or banishment in *fa'a-*

¹³⁰ Richardson's Memorandum for the Minister of External Affairs in Wellington, 1926 December 22, IT1 (1/23/8), N.Z. National Archives.

¹³¹ O. F. Nelson. 1928. *The Truth about Sāmoa*. Auckland, New Zealand, 9.

¹³² Field, *Mau*, 53.

¹³³ Nelson, *The Truth about Sāmoa*, 13.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

sāmoa referred to individuals or families forcibly removed from village or district grounds due to a severe offense. Similar to exile, the *fa'ate'a* occurred only at the will of the *matai* village council. The accused offered an *ifoga* (formal Sāmoan apology), but the final decision rested on the *matai* council. When the *matai* council banned individuals and families, normally the lineage of the accused ceased to exist within the village grounds forever. Meleisea writes, “Banishment was, short of being killed, the traditional ultimate punishment. It was reserved for offenses that made it impossible for the village to tolerate the presence of the offender.”¹³⁵ Governor Solf had banned the practice of *fa'ate'a*,¹³⁶ but Colonel Tate reawakened the practice that eventually left Sāmoans to question New Zealand leadership. The clause 3 of the ordinance state the following:

If the Administrator is satisfied that the presence of any Sāmoan in any village, district or place, is likely to be a source of danger to the peace, order or good government thereof, the Administrator may, by order signed by him, order such Sāmoan to leave any village, district or place in Sāmoa and to remain outside such limits for such time as the Administrator shall think fit, and by the same or any subsequent order, the Administrator may order such Sāmoan to reside in any place specified in such order.¹³⁷

The dictatorial stand by Colonel Tate and New Zealand allowed the removal of *matai* titles as they saw fit. In addition to the *fa'ate'a*, Clause 6 of the same ordinance prohibited the use of “any Sāmoan title or titles named in such order for such time as the Administrator may think necessary.”¹³⁸ According to Field, Colonel Tate received agreement from the *Fono a Faipule* regarding the changes, and “Tate’s real motive for the ordinance may have stemmed from his ill-concealed admiration for the way the Germans showed willingness to use force in

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 132.

¹³⁶ Governor Solf’s Proclamation in reference to banishment: “I hereby make known to you all that such a custom is a very bad one, and I have now decided that I cannot uphold such a bad custom. I do therefore declare that if anyone, whether he may be a chief or tulafale or a common person, whether he be a Government official or not, again take the law into his own hands and remove a person away from his own house and family he will be severely punished with imprisonment not less than six months.” German Proclamation, Solf, 16th September 1901. See: Newton A. Rowe. 1930. *Sāmoa Under the Sailing Gods*. London: Putnam, 167.

¹³⁷ Sāmoan Offenders Ordinance 1922: Clause 3. See: Nelson, *The Truth About Sāmoa*, 10-11.

¹³⁸ Sāmoan Offenders Ordinance 1922: Clause 6. See: *Ibid.*

Sāmoa.”¹³⁹ Traditionally, Ta’isi Nelson defended the practice of banishment by *matai* because it protected the harmony of the village against “objectionable inhabitants,” but the power rested upon the village *matai*, not foreign military force. The sacred *matai* titles spanned thousands of years, and the process of confirming and removing titles belonged to the families and villages. Sāmoan *matai* agreed with Ta’isi that “banishment and degradations without trial of sacred and high Chiefs by a military dictator” proved unbecoming of military power.¹⁴⁰

The supporters of the Sāmoan cause successfully influenced an amendment that led to the Western Sāmoa Amendment Act of 1923. Ta’isi Nelson wrote, “The Amending Act also sought to appease the Sāmoans’ demand for a voice in the government of the country by setting up a Native Council to be known as the *Fono a Faipules* and nominated by the Administrator to advise him on Native matters.”¹⁴¹ Rather than war, Sāmoans quickly learned the methods employed by the colonial powers to voice opinions. Sāmoans continued to voice dissent toward the lack of representation in the New Zealand-Sāmoan *Malō*.

The 1923 Western Sāmoa Amendment Act appeased the demand for a Sāmoan voice in the government legally by recognizing the *Fono a Faipule* and allowing the local Europeans to elect representatives to the Legislative Council.¹⁴² The role of the *Fono a Faipule* remained the same without any direct power, and at the time, Ta’isi Nelson became one of the three local Europeans elected to the Legislative Council.¹⁴³ According to a Minister of External Affairs report, Ta’isi became a naturalized “British subject” after the minister’s arrival to Sāmoa and therefore eligible to be a part of the Legislative Council.¹⁴⁴ Ta’isi Nelson’s biological father

¹³⁹ Field, *Mau: Sāmoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 59.

¹⁴⁰ Nelson, *The Truth About Sāmoa*, 10.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁴² Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 126; Nelson, *The Truth About Sāmoa*, 12.

¹⁴³ The three “unofficial” Legislative Council members elected in 1923 and 1926: George Westbrook, Ta’isi O. F. Nelson, and Arthur Williams. See: Nelson, *The Truth About Sāmoa*, 12.

¹⁴⁴ Colonel Richardson, 1926 December 6, Box 12, Folder 5.2.1.5.1a, University of Auckland Special Collection.

came from Sweden and Ta'isi "had no British blood in his veins'." ¹⁴⁵ The Legislative Council was composed of a total of eleven individuals, including six "official" public service members and three "unofficial" local Europeans. ¹⁴⁶ Before the Sāmoan Amendment Act was passed in the New Zealand Parliament, James Parr, Minister of Education, proposed more autonomy for Sāmoa. Unfortunately, Parr's request fell on deaf ears in the Parliament:

The point I wish to stress is that we are trying to experiment of giving Sāmoa a partial local government. I should think that this is the first time in the history of any colony where, within three years after being taken over, elective powers such as these are given to the people; but the Administration is satisfied that the experiment is worthwhile. ¹⁴⁷

Ta'isi Nelson's involvement in Sāmoan politics started as early as 1910. During the German Administration, Nelson and five other Europeans had sent a signed petition to the *Reichstag* and complained that Sāmoans lacked a "peaceful profitable advancement" under Germany. ¹⁴⁸ The New Zealand Administration feared that Nelson's motives for complaint selfishly meant a profitable gain for the European community in Apia. Ta'isi Nelson would become the face of the *Mau* movement together with Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III and push for a self-governed Western Sāmoa.

Major-General Sir George S. Richardson

In March 1923, Major-General Sir George S. Richardson replaced Colonel Tate as the New Zealand administrator. Both European residents and Sāmoans warmly received the new administrator, and Ta'isi Nelson "was on the best of terms with General Richardson." ¹⁴⁹ Under Richardson, the *Fono a Faipule* were authorized the power to pass limited regulations for

¹⁴⁵ Pedersen, "Sāmoa on the World Stage," 240.

¹⁴⁶ Legislative Council of 1924: General Richardson (President), O. F. Nelson, Westbrook and Arthur Williams as "elected members" and Colonel Hutchen (Secretary to the Administration), H.S. Griffin (Secretary for Native Affairs), F. G. Mathews (Collector of Customs), and McCarthy (Crown Solicitor) as "Official members." See Author Unknown, 1924, "Legislative Council of Western Sāmoa," *Sāmoa Times*, March 7.

¹⁴⁷ Rowe, *Sāmoa Under the Sailing Gods*, 166.

¹⁴⁸ Patricia O'Brien. 2014. "Ta'isi O. F. Nelson and Sir Maui Pomare Sāmoans and Maori Reunited." *The Journal of Pacific History* 49(1): 30.

¹⁴⁹ Field, *Mau: Sāmoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 62.

Sāmoans, and committees were formed to inform the administrator of urgent issues. Unfortunately, the *Fono a Faipule* still possessed no legislative authority in the New Zealand Government. Richardson enforced a chain of command and therefore used the *Fono a Faipule* to hear all matters for “his attention.”¹⁵⁰ Ta’isi Nelson believed Richardson arrived at a very critical stage in Sāmoa’s “partial local government,” as stated by Sir James Parr. To delegate responsibility, Richardson created new positions within the local government, i.e., *pulenu’u* or chairman of village councils, but he also forbade certain *fa’a-sāmoa* practices, i.e., *malaga* for the distribution of fine mats by traveling parties.¹⁵¹ Richardson aligned himself with Ta’isi’s philosophy about “personal and civic improvement” in Sāmoa through newly created positions. Although it was a step forward, Ta’isi disagreed with the way Richardson executed his policies of village orderliness.¹⁵²

The July 1923 resolution prohibited “malaga for the purpose of presenting fine mats or goods,” but it was later amended in 1924 and 1926 to allow them for “reasonable purposes.”¹⁵³ The changes forced Sāmoans to obey the New Zealand leadership and at the same time to resent Richardson and his administration. Davidson writes, “The euphoria of the honeymoon gave place to the disenchantment that leads to divorce. Responsibility for this deterioration in relationships was primarily Richardson’s.”¹⁵⁴

The “Fine Mat Ordinance” of 1923 prohibited the exchange of fine mats or *‘ie toga* during traditional *malaga* or village visits because the foreign administrators viewed the practice of *malaga* as “wasteful of time and resources.”¹⁵⁵ The practice of *malaga* was not merely to

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 106.

¹⁵² O’Brien, *Tautai: Sāmoa*, 83.

¹⁵³ New Zealand, Royal Commission on Western Sāmoa. 1927. *Report of Royal Commission Concerning the Administration of Western Sāmoa*. Wellington: Government Printer, xxxiii-xxxiv.

¹⁵⁴ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 108.

¹⁵⁵ Field, *Mau: Sāmoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 62.

exchange fine mats and material wealth; however, it was to build and rebuild family and community ties. The practice of *malaga* also reflected Christian fellowship between village churches.¹⁵⁶ In addition to the banned *malaga*, Sāmoans experienced more adverse cultural regulations during the New Zealand administration with the enforcement of the Offender's Ordinance of 1922 or the removal of chiefly titles and village banishment. According to Meleisea, between 1921 and 1926, fifty-three Sāmoan *matai* suffered banishment and were removed from their titles.¹⁵⁷ The charges ranged from theft and gambling to seditious conspiracy against the colonial government. The charges were also based on village chiefs and family members' complaints.

In early 1924, Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III, the former king's son and Tupua Tamasese Titimaea's grandson, received a complaint from a neighboring L.M.S. *faiife'au* about a hibiscus hedge that obstructed his view. The *faiife'au* complained to the Department of Native Affairs when Tamasese refused to trim the hibiscus hedge. As a result, Lealofi III received an order by the New Zealand Administration to remove the hedge or suffer consequences. Tamasese rejected the command and consequently received banishment orders under the Ordinance of 1922 to move to Leulumoega, twenty miles away. The high ranking *Ali'i* and "royal" son of Sāmoa disobeyed the orders and returned to his village of Vaimoso. Richardson deprived Tupua Tamasese of his kingly title and banished him to the Asau village on Savai'i.¹⁵⁸ Richardson defended his actions as "bold."¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ Sāmoan churches continue to practice *malaga* as Christian fellowship. As part of the *malaga*, traditional 'ava ceremonies and exchanges of fine mats are significant as part of *fa'a-sāmoa*.

¹⁵⁷ Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 133; New Zealand, *Report of Royal Commission*, 475-483.

¹⁵⁸ Tamasese received a letter to appear before the Secretary for Native Affairs on 10 March 1924 and the next day notified by letter to remove the fence. The specific order issued to Tamasese states, "On 19th March, 1924, Tamasese was ordered to go to Leulumoega and reside there permanently. This order was disobeyed, and the defendant was convicted by the Chief Judge. A fresh order dated 24th March, 1924, was served. In this defendant was ordered to leave the Island of Upolu and that he reside and remain at the Village of Asau; furthermore, that he

Sāmoan *matai* used New Zealand's 1922 Ordinance to their advantage and forcibly banished chiefs from villages and districts. According to the *Royal Commission Report of 1927*, an untitled man named Iosefa caused complaints from chiefs and orators of Alamagoto because he caused "division in the Church, and an offense against kava ceremony."¹⁶⁰ Iosefa received orders to leave the village of Matautu, Savai'i for twelve months. The village chiefs of Faleapuna used the Ordinance to have the government remove the great title "Molio'o" from an individual accused of gambling, embezzlement, and actions unbecoming of a *matai*.¹⁶¹ The foreign administration's changes in the practice of cultural protocols led some Sāmoans to use the new regulations to their own advantage.

Meleisea argues that Richardson thought of Sāmoans as "backward children." In addition to the cultural changes, Richardson attempted to remodel villages, implemented district councils, and formed village committees. Richardson drew up plans to "improve Sāmoan health, education and productivity."¹⁶² The newly established local government attempted to marginalize *fa'a-sāmoa* authority and used new positions of power to transform the administration "into bodies subservient to and dominated by the Administrator."¹⁶³ New Zealand imposed social and economic development policies, and as a result, the government and the Sāmoan officials "impinged upon the ordinary lives of the people far more extensively than ever before."¹⁶⁴ According to Richardson's speech to the *Fono a Faipule* in June 1924, despite their reservations about the reforms, a change was necessary for them to be "happier and

was to cease using the title of 'Tamasese,' and that he shall be called by his original name, 'Lealofi'" See: New Zealand, *Report of Royal Commission*, 478 and Rowe, *Sāmoa Under the Sailing Gods*, 168-169.

¹⁵⁹ Field, *Mau: Sāmoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 64.

¹⁶⁰ New Zealand, *Report of Royal Commission*, 476.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 479.

¹⁶² Susan Pedersen. 2012. "Sāmoa on the World Stage: Petitions and Peoples before the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 40(2): 243.

¹⁶³ Felix M. Keesing. 1934. *Modern Sāmoa: Its Government and Changing Life*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 170-171.

¹⁶⁴ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 113.

better.”¹⁶⁵ The expressed voice of Sāmoans toward the new policies varied. Although members of the *Fono a Faipule* represented districts and families, their viewpoints did not always coincide with the village *matai*. Slowly, Ta’isi Nelson called for a united Sāmoan front by village *matai*, and for the first time, an overwhelming amount of Sāmoans supported a growing political cause that later came to be called the *Mau*.

The Mau

By the year 1926, the imprisonment of Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III gave rise to a lot of resentment toward the Richardson Administration. Other contributing factors toward the growing bitterness against New Zealand were the limited *matai* authority over chiefly titles and the lack of control over certain *fa’a-sāmoa* practices. While away in Australia for medical reasons, Ta’isi Nelson received letters and information from Apia regarding the growing restlessness of the Sāmoans. In addition to the banishment laws, Sāmoans living in villages near Apia received orders to return to their villages if unemployed. Loitering in Apia resulted in arrests. As a result, two of Ta’isi Nelson’s employees received jail time. Richardson attempted to redesign Sāmoan villages, and in his ambitious efforts, he realigned village houses to fit his particular scheme of the new Sāmoan village. Sāmoans, concerned about the changes implemented by New Zealand, asked Ta’isi Nelson to travel to Wellington to meet with Prime Minister J. G. Coates and express the discontent of the Sāmoan people toward the New Zealand Administration.¹⁶⁶ Ta’isi Nelson automatically became the voice for his European colleagues of Apia and a “conduit for Sāmoan grievances as well.”¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ Author Unknown, 1924, “Fono of Faipules, June 1924: Opening Speech by His Excell’cy Major-General Richardson,” *Sāmoa Times*, June 13.

¹⁶⁶ Field, *Mau: Sāmoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 70; Nelson, *The Truth About Sāmoa*, 13.

¹⁶⁷ Pederson, “Sāmoa on the World Stage,” 244.

On 1 September 1926, Ta'isi Nelson met the Prime Minister of New Zealand, J. G. Coates, the Minister of External Affairs, William Nosworthy, and the Minister for the Cook Islands in Wellington, Maui Pomare. Ta'isi Nelson's status as a member of the Legislative Council made it possible to meet New Zealand officials. According to Field, Ta'isi Nelson expressed concern about the following issues, "interference by Richardson in *fa'a-sāmoa*, prohibition, administrative expenditure, the lack of proper representation despite high taxation, and copra marketing."¹⁶⁸ The Prime Minister ordered, Nosworthy, the Minister of External Affairs, to investigate the matter, hopefully by the October steamer. Yet New Zealand preferred not to listen to grievances, "instead attributing their [Sāmoan] protests entirely to European instigation."¹⁶⁹

Ta'isi turned to his friend Maui Pomare during the *Mau* movement. Maui encouraged Ta'isi to adopt a nonviolent path of resistance against New Zealand. Pomare's experience with colonialism helped Ta'isi diffuse "the asymmetrical advantage the British Empire and its forces had over Indigenous peoples it sought to subjugate."¹⁷⁰ At the time of the *Mau*, India had taken a nonviolent approach against the British Empire, but in New Zealand, Pomare likened the *Mau* of Sāmoa to the Parihaka nonviolent movement. Pomare and Ta'isi's relationship exemplified "Polynesian kinsmen" that was based on a special *vā* of the highest respect. During one particular parliament meeting in New Zealand, Pomare challenged the Prime Minister Coates and demanded more Sāmoan responsibility in their government.¹⁷¹

In addition to advice from Pomare, Ta'isi sought the assistance from representatives of the Labour Party of New Zealand, such as Harry Holland and Michael Savage, and politicians

¹⁶⁸ Field, *Mau: Sāmoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 72.

¹⁶⁹ Pedersen, "Sāmoa on the World Stage," 232.

¹⁷⁰ O'Brien, *Tautai*, 303.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 138.

from Australia like H. V. Evatt. Nelson's vision and activism transcended categorizations and borders to achieve Sāmoa's freedom from colonial rule. Patricia O'Brien writes, "As Ta'isi's life was connected to many people across many nations, this book is the culmination of an international exchange of ideas and information spanning seven countries."¹⁷²

The S.S. *Tofua* docked in Apia on 23 September 1926, and Ta'isi Nelson returned to a joyful reception. Judge E. W. Gurr¹⁷³ publicly thanked Ta'isi Nelson for his "tender sympathy for the people: your stoic confidence in their future, your optimism, rising above all doubts and fears – these are promises of success and moral qualities which distinguish you as a worthy figure in the history of these islands."¹⁷⁴ General Richardson welcomed the statesman and commended him for "promoting the welfare of Sāmoa and its people."¹⁷⁵ In a Richardson memo labeled "Secret," he arranged the "courtesy meeting" between Ta'isi Nelson and the Minister of External Affairs and "extended the hand of friendship."¹⁷⁶ However, the meeting misled Ta'isi Nelson to believe that the Prime Minister would initiate changes to the New Zealand laws in Sāmoa and honor the political petitions or complaints submitted. During the *Mau a Pule*, Lauaki was misled to believe that the colonial leaders supported the people's appeal.

After his return to Sāmoa, Ta'isi Nelson and the two elected members of the Legislative Council, George Westbrook and Arthur Williams, prepared for the Minister of External Affairs' visit. An announcement in the *Sāmoa Times* called for a special meeting regarding the visit, and

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, xxviii.

¹⁷³ Edwin W. Gurr, worked for the Land Claims Commission in Sāmoa and later as "Natives' Advocate" for the Malietoa Laupepa *Malō*. During the *Mau* movement, Gurr became the first editor of the *Sāmoa Guardian*. Gurr was later appointed by Commander Tilley of the U.S. as Secretary of Native Affairs, and later served on the bench of the American Sāmoa Supreme Court. Gurr helped secure a Deed of Cession from Tuimanu'a and Manu'a Chiefs in 1905. See: Field, *Mau: Sāmoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 84; J. A. C. Gray. 1960. *Amerika Sāmoa: A History of American Sāmoa and Its United States Naval Administration*. Annapolis: United States Naval Institute, 127.

¹⁷⁴ Author Unknown, 1926, "Reception of the Hon. O. F. Nelson," *Sāmoa Times*, October 8.

¹⁷⁵ Nelson, *The Truth About Sāmoa*, 14.

¹⁷⁶ Colonel Richardson memo, 1926 December 6, Box 12, Folder 5.2.1.5.1a, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

on 15 October 1926, approximately 250 Europeans and Sāmoans gathered in Apia. They agreed to elect a Citizens' Committee comprised of the three members of the Legislative Council, six Europeans representing merchants, traders, and planters, and the native interests represented by six Sāmoan *matai*.¹⁷⁷ The newly formed sub-committees tackled issues like the new medical tax, the appointment of *Faipules*, prohibition of alcohol, native affairs, finance, agriculture and imported labor.¹⁷⁸

Westbrook praised the meeting as the first time Europeans and Natives met to discuss matters with the general welfare and interest of Sāmoa.¹⁷⁹ Richardson claimed in his memo that Sāmoans in attendance “did not understand the matters, but they had been asked to go.”¹⁸⁰ According to Ta’isi Nelson, “There was not one dissenting voice from the hundreds who were present, among whom were representative planters, merchants, tradesman, government officials and many leading Sāmoan chiefs.”¹⁸¹ The Committee meeting opened opportunities for Sāmoans to criticize the New Zealand Government openly, and some decided not to obey their respective *Faipule*. Richardson reminded the Europeans to remove themselves from Sāmoan affairs. “Sāmoa for Sāmoans” or “Sāmoa mo Sāmoa” began as Richardson’s slogan against European interference in Sāmoan Affairs, but “Sāmoa mo Sāmoa” soon became the motto of the *Mau* movement for self-government.¹⁸² The *Mau* leaders changed the original meaning of Richardson’s quote away from an anti-‘*afakasi* and local European involvement in Sāmoan affairs to one that reflected Sāmoan patriotism.

¹⁷⁷ Nelson, *The Truth About Sāmoa*, 14.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*; Author Unknown, 1926, “Public Meeting at Apia,” *Sāmoa Times*, October 22.

¹⁷⁹ Rev. Westbrook Memo, 1926 October 21, South Seas. Odds, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

¹⁸⁰ Colonel Richardson memo, 1926 December 6, Box 12, Folder 5.2.1.5.1a, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹⁸¹ O. F. Nelson to Minister of External Affairs Public Address, 1927 June 11, IT1 (1/23/8), N.Z. National Archives.

¹⁸² Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 122.

The Citizens' Committee expressed great disappointment when they learned that Nosworthy postponed his meeting to Sāmoa until nine months later in May 1927 instead of the scheduled November 1926 meeting. The committee acted quickly and decided to send a delegation, including six *matai*,¹⁸³ in January 1927 to Wellington. As a voice of reason, the respected chief Faumuinā, a future advocate for the *Mau*, urged the attendees to consult Richardson as the *tamā* or father of Sāmoa before travels to New Zealand.¹⁸⁴ Governor Richardson issued a note to both the Europeans and the Sāmoans involved and warned that the “effect of bringing the Natives into the European political arena is unwise and likely to cause trouble.” Furthermore, Richardson reminded the Europeans to not engage Sāmoans in affairs “which do not concern Sāmoans.”¹⁸⁵ Eventually, the governor agreed to hear the grievances. However, complaints had to go through “properly constituted channels, such as the District Councils and Fono of Faipule.”¹⁸⁶ Unfortunately, this approach gave the governor complete authority and disseminated relevant information to achieve colonial goals.

The mood of discontent slowly started to spread through Sāmoa. The notion that the affairs of colonial Sāmoa did not concern Sāmoans created the need to address the New Zealand administrators vocally. Two influential *matai* of the Committee, Faumuinā and Matau, left for Savai'i in November 1926 and promoted the objectives of the Citizens' Committee. Richardson ordered that they return to their villages. As punishment, both *matai* stayed within their village precincts for three months. Richardson justified his “autocratic” actions as “acting strictly within the law and I am more than satisfied that I am acting in the best interests of the Natives.”¹⁸⁷ A

¹⁸³ Ainuu, Faumuinā, Tofaeono, Alipiaaa, Tuisila, and Lagolago. See: Memo, 1927 August 8, Box 11, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹⁸⁴ Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 141.

¹⁸⁵ Author Unknown, 1926, “Public Meeting at Apia: To the People of Sāmoa,” *Sāmoa Times*, November 19.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ Colonel Richardson Diary, 1926 November 26, Box 11, Folder 5.2.1.3h, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

month later, Ta'isi Nelson and the Europeans instructed a colleague named Mr. Perrin, that while away in Fiji, he should meet with the *Fiji Times* and have the editor write an article to attack Richardson as the “Autocrat of the Pacific.” Richardson responded, “I shall appreciate this compliment very much.”¹⁸⁸ The message of the Citizens’ Committee spread widely by word of mouth, village councils, and newspapers. Ta'isi Nelson used his wealth and connections to promote the issues of Sāmoa.

By Ta'isi Nelson's account, members of the committee received threats and intimidation from the New Zealand Administration. The police notified the committee members “that their application for passports to New Zealand would be refused.”¹⁸⁹ Ta'isi Nelson questioned whether the Sāmoan Bill of Rights applied to Sāmoa, a right enjoyed earlier.¹⁹⁰ Despite the threats, a vote of 150 to 6 agreed to “carry on” efforts to visit the minister in New Zealand, but nearly 98% of pure Europeans and some half-castes removed themselves as Richardson had requested. Richardson claimed that the expressed commitment of half-castes to the efforts of the committee became an agitation to “get rid of white officials and employ local half-castes in their place.”¹⁹¹ Meleisea believed Sāmoans sought the alliance with the local Europeans to help voice grievances using common political knowledge and language unfamiliar to the Sāmoan leaders.¹⁹² Although the build-up of the movement was Sāmoan, the collaboration with the Europeans helped to articulate the grievances in western terms and methods, e.g., petitions and newspapers. A month following the second Citizens’ Committee meeting, Richardson suspended Tuimaleali'ifano as *Fautua* due to his support of the committee and replaced him with Matā'afa

¹⁸⁸ Private meeting held on 23 December 1926: Ta'isi Nelson, A. Williams, Mr. and Mrs. Smyth, Mr. and Mrs. Menzies, Mr. Cobcroft, and Mr. Perrin. See: Colonel Richardson Diary, 1926 December 24, Box 11, Folder 5.2.1.3h, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹⁸⁹ Nelson, *The Truth About Sāmoa*, 16.

¹⁹⁰ Author Unknown, 1927, [No Title], *Sāmoa Times*, January 7.

¹⁹¹ Colonel Richardson memo, 1926 December 6, Box 12, Folder 5.2.1.5.1a, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

¹⁹² Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 141.

Salanoa.¹⁹³ The direct disregard of the paramount Sāmoan titles became another fuel for dissent against the New Zealand Administration. As a result, “Tuimaleali’ifano gained his traditional political support: the ‘Āiga Taulagi, ‘Āiga Taua’ana and the Sā Tunumafonō (and thus the politics and districts of Safata and Ā’ana).”¹⁹⁴ The actions are unclear, but within the context of *fa’a-sāmoa*, the families of the Tuimaleali’ifano would remain loyal and dedicated to him as the head of their extended families.

The *Fono a Faipule* speaker, Toelupe, criticized the role of the Europeans in native affairs and supported the efforts of the New Zealand Administration. Toelupe, in his speech before the *Fono a Faipule*, believed that the Sāmoans involved should not receive punishment for involvement in the efforts of the Citizens’ Committee, but he supported Richardson’s claim that the Europeans “tried to create discontent” and knew nothing about Sāmoa and its affairs.¹⁹⁵ Nelson responded to Toelupe’s speech with a letter to the *Sāmoa Times* and called the speech both insulting and un-Sāmoan.¹⁹⁶

Due to enforced travel restrictions by Richardson, the committee decided to send “British-born subject” E. W. Gurr¹⁹⁷ as a representative of the interests of the Citizens’ Committee. Although the Prime Minister extended a warm welcome to Gurr, he directed the issue back to the Minister of External Affairs, who refused to meet with Gurr until he made an official trip to Sāmoa to investigate further. Gurr returned to Sāmoa and presented his report to

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 142.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ Author Unknown, 1926, “At Fono of Faipule: December 1927,” *Sāmoa Times*, December 17.

¹⁹⁶ Author Unknown, 1926, “Toelupe’s Speech,” *Sāmoa Times*, December 24.

¹⁹⁷ E. W. Gurr lived over forty years in Sāmoa and held official positions under the Tripartite and with the American Administration. According to Nelson, Gurr’s many years of experience in Sāmoa and involvement brought him closer to Sāmoan politics than any other European or American who lived in Sāmoa. See: Nelson, *The Truth About Sāmoa*, 17. In 1925, Gurr, known to stir “up the Natives,” encouraged Sāmoans to claim former German lands. He encouraged *matai* of Vailele to claim the former German Vailele plantation and challenge the court’s decision. See: Colonel Richardson Diary, 1925 January 10, Box 10, Folder 5.2.1.3e, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

the Citizens' Committee, and not long after the journey, the Citizens' Committee chose to establish an opposition newspaper, *Sāmoan Guardian*, with Gurr as the editor. Nelson called the only newspaper in the territory, *Sāmoa Times*, a “servile organ of the Administration.”¹⁹⁸ The newspaper used both Sāmoan and English and promoted the efforts, goals, and objectives of what became the *Mau* movement. On 19 March 1927, the Sāmoan-dominated Citizens' Committee formed the objectives of the “The Sāmoa League”, later called the *Mau*.¹⁹⁹ Sāmoa's high literacy played a major role in the distribution of the ideas of the *Mau* to the Sāmoans in the villages. The L.M.S. helped in the process of literacy through village *faipe'au* classes and constant church related activities, such as bible study, Sunday school, and weekly church services. Richardson believed that the *Sāmoan Guardian* did “‘incalculable’ harm to ‘the Natives.’”²⁰⁰

The Minister of External Affairs arrived in Sāmoa on 2 June 1927 to investigate the complaints of the Citizens' Committee. Nosworthy received a letter from the *Fautua* and *Fono a Faipule* of Sāmoa, as representatives of the Native Council, who highlighted Richardson's love for Sāmoa. The letter from Sāmoa's official leaders voiced support for the Richardson Administration, and stated that the *Mau* hindered “the Sāmoan Government and subjects, which concern Sāmoans only.”²⁰¹ In support of the New Zealand Administration, one hundred and fifty adult male Europeans publicly renounced the rhetoric and tactics of the Citizens' Committee in a telegram dated June 30: “Europeans disagree with the prejudices and tactics of the Citizens’

¹⁹⁸ Nelson, *The Truth About Sāmoa*, 17.

¹⁹⁹ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 118-119; Field, *Mau: Sāmoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 84-85.

²⁰⁰ O'Brien, *Tautai*, 133.

²⁰¹ *Fautua* and *Faipule* to Nosworthy, 1927 June 1, IT1 (1/23/8), N.Z. National Archives, Wellington.

Committee. Strongly disapprove of their methods in causing disaffections among the natives. Every confidence in the impartial services and good judgment of the Administrator.”²⁰²

The *Mau* viewpoint was expressed in Ta’isi Nelson’s eight-page letter to Nosworthy, which explained the issues faced in Sāmoa under Richardson and called the Legislative Council a “farce.” According to Ta’isi Nelson, the submitted petitions came from the Sāmoans themselves and were approved by the Sāmoans. It was only the Sāmoans in the *Fono a Faipule* and *Fautua* who disagreed with Ta’isi Nelson and his supporters. In the letter, Ta’isi Nelson defined the term *Mau* and the new movement against the New Zealand Administration. He stated the following:

The word ‘Mau’ means an opinion and represents anything that is firm or solid. In this case, the *Mau* represents that very large majority of the people of these islands who are the firm opinion that drastic changes are necessary for the Administration and the method of Government in Sāmoa.²⁰³

Nosworthy met with the Citizens’ Committee members nine days after his arrival.²⁰⁴ Ta’isi Nelson tried to prove that the majority of Sāmoans supported the efforts of the *Mau*, with hundreds waiting outside the proceedings for the final word. After Nosworthy’s speech, Ta’isi claimed that Nosworthy had distorted the objectives of the Committee, ordered all activities against the government to cease, and threatened to deport the Committee’s European members if they continued to involve themselves in native affairs.²⁰⁵

²⁰² Telegram, Colonel Richardson to Minister of External Affairs telegram, 1927 June 30, IT1 37(1/23/8), N.Z. National Archives, Wellington.

²⁰³ Citizens’ Committee to Nosworthy, 1927 June 11, IT1 (1/23/8), N.Z. National Archives, Wellington.

²⁰⁴ The Deputation from the Citizens’ Committee: Nelson, Williams, Westbrook, Smyth, Gurr, Meredith, Baxter (legal adviser) from the Citizens’ Committee; *matai* support from Tofaeono, AINU’U, Nu’usila, Lagolago, Faamuina; Fautua – Malietoa and Tuimaleali’ifano and eight *Faipule*; N.Z. – Nosworthy (Minister of External Affairs), J. D. Gray, Esq. (Secretary, Minister of External Affairs), A. McCarthy, F. Lewis, Colonel Hutchen (Secretary, Sāmoan Administration), A. B. Ross. See: Citizens’ Committee to Nosworthy, 1927 June 11, IT1(1/23/8), N.Z. National Archives, Wellington.

²⁰⁵ Nelson, *The Truth About Sāmoa*, 18.

The Europeans involved, including Ta'isi Nelson, agreed to “disperse the people and keep the peace.”²⁰⁶ The European and *‘afakasi* supporters removed themselves from the movement and left the *Mau* to only the Sāmoans. Nelson wrote that that “left the Sāmoans to themselves, and we [Europeans] were no longer able to offer them any advice and guidance.”²⁰⁷ The message of the *Mau* rapidly spread throughout the islands anyway through family and village discussions and newspaper articles. When Nosworthy refused to recognize the committee members as “representatives of their people,” Ta'isi Nelson felt offended. As a result, he said, “the *Mau* spread with rapidity and intensity, until it embraced almost every Sāmoan except the Government’s *Faipules*, Native Officials and their families.”²⁰⁸

The *Mau* movement claimed to be indigenous-led, but not all Sāmoans supported the efforts of the organization. According to Meleisea, Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III and Tuimaleali’ifano Si’u supported the movement. However, Matā’afa Salanoa and Malietoa Tanumāfili remained loyal to the New Zealand *Malō*.²⁰⁹ Richardson relied on Malietoa’s and Matā’afa’s loyalty, but remained hesitant to “believe information from Native sources.”²¹⁰ The momentum of the *Mau* spread after nearly 50 Sāmoans received sentences under the Sāmoan Offenders Ordinance for involvement in the *Mau*, one month after the Nosworthy meeting.²¹¹ On a positive note, Sāmoans mended generational feuds, and the *Mau* brought Sāmoan families

²⁰⁶ The 18 June 1927 letter signed by: O. F. Nelson, Arthur Williams, G. E. L. Westbrook, S. K. Meredith, A. Smyth, and E. W. Gurr. See: Citizens’ Committee to Richardson, 1927 June 18, Box 13, Folder 5.2.2a, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

²⁰⁷ Nelson, *The Truth About Sāmoa*, 19.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁹ Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 142.

²¹⁰ Diary, George Richardson, 1927 August 9, Richardson Papers, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

²¹¹ Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 144; Nelson, *The Truth About Sāmoa*, 20.

together to challenge New Zealand's negative impact "on all that the Sāmoans have held sacred for centuries past."²¹²

Through an amendment to the Sāmoa Act of 1921, Richardson and the New Zealand Administration reduced any power and rights of the Sāmoans to express their concerns publicly. The amended Sāmoa Immigration Order (Clause 6) enabled the administrator "to order any person to leave Sāmoa, in any of the cases provided for in the clause."²¹³ The act was rushed through the New Zealand House and passed with a "commanding majority at one sitting."²¹⁴ The vote of 43 to 13 passed the amendment, and the *Sāmoa Times* stated that "New Zealand has no toleration for that committee's methods."²¹⁵ For violation of the new law, Europeans would "remain absent from Sāmoa for a period not exceeding five years."²¹⁶ On 15 June 1927, Richardson publicly outlawed the *Mau* and warned of punishment for any involvement.²¹⁷ All *Pulenu'u* chiefs received instructions and reminded their respective villages not to collect monies for the *Mau* and to report suspicious actions to the Secretary of Native Affairs.²¹⁸ Nosworthy warned Nelson and the Citizens' Committee's members to obey the laws as issued by the administrator or suffer deportation. Nosworthy wrote the following:

I am to warn Mr. Nelson, Mr. Williams, Mr. Westbrook, Mr. Smyth, Mr. Gurr, and Mr. Meredith that the New Zealand Government must, pursuant to the mandate for Western Sāmoa, exercise its

²¹² Nelson, *The Truth About Sāmoa*, 20.

²¹³ Nosworthy to O. F. Nelson, 1927 June 13, Box 11, Folder 5.2.1.3i, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

²¹⁴ Nelson, *The Truth About Sāmoa*, 20.

²¹⁵ Author Unknown, 1927, "Our Local Agitators," *Sāmoa Times*, July 29.

²¹⁶ Public Notice, Richardson Papers, 1927 August 5, Box 11, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

²¹⁷ The four main points of the proclamation: 1) The *Mau* is hereby ordered to disband: Chiefs and the people must go back to their villages and live in peace; 2) Any person attempting to re-create the *Mau* or any such league, or advising or suggesting and disobedience to the Government or Faipules will be punished; 3) All non-Sāmoan persons who try to continue the *Mau* or interfere in Native Affairs will be deported from Sāmoa without further warning; 4) Sāmoans are warned not to pay moneys toward any *Mau* movement. See: Proclamation, Richardson, 1927 June 15, Box 11, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

²¹⁸ Colonel Richardson to *Pulenuu*, date unknown, Box 11, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

power to deport any or all of you from this territory unless you and your associates abstain from your present course of action.²¹⁹

Despite the rules, Sāmoans began to boycott businesses, carried sticks in front of businesses, refused to pay taxes, and resisted the New Zealand Administration in other ways. The *Mau* had started civil disobedience under their Sāmoan leaders.

Critics of the *Mau* saw the movement as baseless and bad spirited. However, leaders prepared reports, petitions, speeches, letters, and telegrams to the New Zealand Government for transparency and representation. By 1929, the principal complaints of the *Mau* were as follows:

1. Provide a Financial Report in the Sāmoan vernacular.
2. Reduce the number of highly-paid officials from overseas and educate natives in the “arts of government” and provide appointments of Sāmoans to every branch of the civil service gradually rising to higher positions.
3. Representation of the native Sāmoans in the Legislative Council.
4. The *Fono of Faipule* should be elected by Sāmoans in accordance with their own customs “until such time as they can effectively adopt the European system of election.”
5. No interference in the social system and the time-honored customs of the Sāmoans except “where such may be repugnant to established laws or where the majority of the Sāmoans themselves (not the *Faipules*) have decided that such be contrary to their best interests in their present stage of advancement.”
6. Limit the power of the village and district officials appointed by the Governor as they interfere in the governance of the social life of the Sāmoans.
7. European laws are acceptable, but European forms of punishment should not replace the Sāmoan system.
8. Implement the Sāmoan system of trial by the High Court of Sāmoa.
9. Remove the power vested in the Administrator to banish or deport Sāmoans and Europeans without proper trial before the High Court.
10. Chiefly titles to be conferred, removed or assumed in accordance to the Sāmoan customs and any disputes would be settled by the High Court, not the Administrator.
11. All the privileges enjoyed by the European citizens to be extended to Sāmoans, with the fundamental laws of the British Constitution and right to appeal to a Supreme Court and to the Privy Council.
12. Sāmoans wishing to proceed to the New Zealand parliament or League of Nations should not have their passports withheld, but should have their “case properly put forward to the tribunal.”²²⁰

²¹⁹ Nosworthy to O. F. Nelson, 1927 June 13, Box 11, Folder 5.2.1.3i, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

²²⁰ Sulimoni, 1929, “What is Wrong?: Do the Sāmoans Know What They Want?,” *N.Z. Sāmoa Guardian*. May 9.

The Sāmoan protests resulted in a Royal Commission visit from New Zealand to investigate the situation in Sāmoa. The complaints against the administration comprised of two main categories:

(1) A complaint relating to the total prohibition of the manufacture, importation, and sale of intoxicating liquor; and complaints more specifically affecting the trading and business community” and (2) “Complaints and charges relating to the acts of the Administration relating to Native affairs and Natives, and to the part directly or indirectly taken by Sāmoans in the government of the Territory.”²²¹

The Commission interviewed 155 witnesses, ninety from the *Mau* and sixty-five from the administration.²²² Self-government became a theme for High Chief Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III, not with New Zealand but under the protection of the British Flag.²²³ During the Royal Commission interview with Tupua Tamasese on 30 September 1927, the following dialogue occurred:

Chairman: Did the *Mau* desire to have New Zealand removed from the government of the country?

Tamasese: Yes, it is the wish of the *Mau*, that Sāmoa should be controlled by Sāmoans.²²⁴

After a thorough New Zealand investigation, the commission vindicated Richardson and concluded that the European agitators influenced the *Mau*.²²⁵ Despite the ruling of the Royal Commission, the *Mau* continued to grow. At the end of the year, in December, Nelson, Gurr, and Smyth appeared before Richardson to answer charges of “actively hindering the Government of Sāmoa.”²²⁶ Richardson stated the following to Ta’isi Nelson on 14 December 1927,

²²¹ The Royal Commission arrived on 22 September 1927. Sir Charles Skerrett (Chief Justice of N.Z.), Judge Charles Skerrett (Chief Justice of N.Z.), Judge McCormack (N.Z. Native Land Court), V. R. Meredith (Crown Prosecutor at Auckland appeared on behalf of the Administration of W. Sāmoa), A. McCarthy (Crown Solicitor for W. Sāmoa), G. Klinkmueller (legal agent), F. D. Baxter and T. B. Slipper (appeared on behalf of the Citizens’ Committee and some Sāmoans). See: Author Unknown, 1927, “Royal Commission on Sāmoa,” *Sāmoa Times*, September 30.

²²² New Zealand, *Report of Royal Commission*, vi.

²²³ Richardson Diary, 1927 September 30, 11/5.2.1.3h, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

²²⁴ New Zealand, *Report of Royal Commission*, 93.

²²⁵ Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 144.

²²⁶ Richardson Diary, 1927 December 16, 11/5.2.1.3j, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

You are the recognized and active head of an organization called the ‘Mau’ or the League of Sāmoa, the purpose of which is to secure self-government for Sāmoa and in furtherance of such purpose, by unlawful means to frustrate and render ineffective, and which is frustrating and rendering ineffective, the functioning of the Administration of the Territory.²²⁷

Nelson, in a letter to Richardson, replied “I am not a member of the ‘Mau’ as it is now operating. I was elected Chairman of the original Citizens’ Committee, whose object was merely to place grievances before the Hon. Minister for External Affairs.”²²⁸ According to Ta’isi Nelson, he and the rest of the active European members of the Citizens’ Committee obeyed the directives not to associate with the natives as per the Hon. Minister’s order during the June 1927 visit. A week later, Nelson, Gurr, and Smyth received deportation orders under the 1927 Bill passed by the Parliament. European residents feared an uprising due to the deportation of the Citizens’ Committee’s members. Ta’isi Nelson promoted peace among the *Mau* members, and on the day of his departure, 13 January 1928, he encouraged the *Mau* members not to give in.²²⁹ The *Mau* presented its uniform on that same day, “purple turban, blue lavalava [sarong] with a single white stripe and white singlet.”²³⁰ Davidson writes that in the subsequent weeks after Ta’isi Nelson departed, the *Mau* undermined the government financially and started picketing, prevented the purchase of imported goods, and banned copra production “to reduce drastically the receipts from customs duties.”²³¹ In addition to the newly formed “Mau Police Force,” the *Mau* boycotted Apia stores, and members were ordered to stop payment of the poll-tax that was valued at £20,000. With the momentum of the *Mau* growing, the *Mau* leaders refused to meet with Richardson or any *Faipule* to seek an immediate solution.²³² The Sāmoans relied on Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III after Nelson’s departure to lead a peaceful movement. In Apia, armed

²²⁷ Nelson, *The Truth About Sāmoa*, 29.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*

²²⁹ Diary, Richardson, 1928 January 13, 13/5.2.2b, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

²³⁰ Field, *Mau: Sāmoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 109.

²³¹ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 130.

²³² Rowe, *Sāmoa Under the Sailing Gods*, 236.

Sāmoans and chiefs from Palauli encouraged pilfering of European property, but through it all, the *Mau* tried to maintain peace despite their frustrations with New Zealand.²³³ Although some *matai* ordered their *aumaga* to act with force, those instances did not represent the peaceful approach of the *Mau* majority.

Richardson called for assistance from two New Zealand warships, the *Diomedé* and *Dunedin*.²³⁴ Rowe states that the New Zealand Marines arrested four hundred *Mau* police and later sentenced *Mau* members to six months' "imprisonment for intimidation."²³⁵ After the arrests, *Mau* leaders met with Richardson sporadically and promoted the theme of self-government. Davidson states that the objective of the *Mau* modified over the years from reform to self-government. Fortunately for the *Mau*, they received support from the Leader of the Labour Opposition in the New Zealand Parliament, Henry E. Holland. Holland believed that "The *Mau* is the organization of the Sāmoans; it is the inevitable product of the conditions which we have imposed on Sāmoa, and it reflects the strivings of the people for the rights of self-government and for immunity from oppression."²³⁶ Despite the colonial laws, the rise of the civil society in Sāmoa reflected the push for self-government.

The formerly exiled *matai* to Saipan, Iiga, served as an interpreter and reported to Richardson on the situation in Savai'i. Iiga met with prominent *matai* of Fa'asaleleaga, Palauli, and Satupaitea on Savai'i, discussed the *Mau* situation, and reported of the division among the people.²³⁷ Despite the diverse views toward the *Mau*, its momentum gained strength after Ta'isi Nelson's departure. Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III forged a strong leadership position and

²³³ *Ibid.*, 130.

²³⁴ Rowe, *Sāmoa Under the Sailing Gods*, 236.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 237.

²³⁶ H. E. Holland. 1928. *The Revolt of the Sāmoans*. Wellington: New Zealand Worker Co., 16.

²³⁷ Report, Iiga Pisa, date unknown, 11/5.2.1.3k, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

organized a petition that was sent to the League of Nations with a strong support from the Sāmoans.²³⁸

In May of 1928, Colonel Stephen Shepherd Allen replaced Colonel Richardson as the administrator of Western Sāmoa. During the same month, the *Mau* appointed Ta'isi Nelson as the representative overseas who would present a petition from Tamasese at the League of Nations meeting in Geneva. The petition carried the names of 7,982 out of 9,325 taxpayers in Sāmoa.²³⁹ The League denied Ta'isi Nelson a hearing and instead accepted New Zealand's version. Meleisea states that "Many of the powerful voices on the Commission were from Imperial powers, and it was inevitable they would support New Zealand."²⁴⁰

L.M.S. and the *Mau*

The L.M.S. European leadership supported the new administration, and they strongly feared that their congregants who served as leaders in the church would become influenced by the political excitement. To make matters worse, the missionaries heard that the Sāmoan "Pastors have received instructions that they must obey the [Mau] Committee and disobey the Government."²⁴¹ This civil disobedience was not supported by the L.M.S. European missionaries. Following the Royal Commission's decision, the L.M.S. European missionaries met with the 'Au Toeaina or the Board of Sāmoan Elders of the Church. The L.M.S. staff encouraged the 'Au Toeaina to persuade the *Mau* leaders within their congregations to accept the decision of the Royal Commission. Yet according to Rev. Smart, "The Toeaina decided that it would not be wise to take such a step, and although I knew quite well that their decision was

²³⁸ Davidson, *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa*, 133.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁰ Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 136-137.

²⁴¹ Rev. Darvill to Rev. Barradale, 1927 July 25, Box 3, South Seas. Odds, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

actuated by fear of losing their jobs, we acquiesced, and nothing was done.”²⁴² The *Mau* had become popular, even within the L.M.S. Miss Downs of the Papauta girl’s school feared that a Sāmoan-influenced L.M.S. school system would be negatively affected by the political situation in Sāmoa. Downs wrote the following:

The Sāmoan pastors have been very much under the influence of the *Mau*, & although they are quite sure they cannot carry on without their missionaries, they would like to give us orders: can you imagine what the L.M.S. schools would be like run *fa’a-sāmoa*?²⁴³

Sāmoan pastors had clear connections with the *Mau* through active members of their own families. The influence by family chiefs may have caused certain *faiife’au* to choose the *Mau* instead of the L.M.S. policies to remain free from any involvement of Sāmoan politics. European missionaries feared that the direct relationship between the chief and family members would hinder the growth of ministry.

The *Mau* influenced all aspects of Sāmoan livelihood. Pastors who refused involvement in the *Mau* received threats for removal from their respective villages. *Mau* supporters refused to worship with non-*Mau* supporters and therefore requested their own *faiife’au*. Rev. Smart states, “In some cases we were faced with the impossible position of a division among the members of our own village congregations, where the supporters of the party in opposition to the Government, refusing to worship with the rest, demanded a pastor of their own.”²⁴⁴

During the L.M.S. General Assembly meeting in May of 1928, the different factions of politics, church, and *fa’a-sāmoa* emerged. The L.M.S. European leadership implemented a policy of “Hands off the Church” and passed the following resolution: “That we inform the N.A.C. [Native Advisory Council], that for the good of the Church, it is absolutely imperative

²⁴² Rev. Smart to Rev. Barradale, 1928 April 23, Box 65, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

²⁴³ Rev. Downs to Rev. Barradale, 1928 August 4, Box 64, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

²⁴⁴ Rev. Smart to Rev. Barradale, 1928 May 28, Box 64, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

that no outside body shall be allowed to interfere in Church matters.”²⁴⁵ The L.M.S. Sāmoan District Committee concluded that any congregation that refused to accept the ruling would receive no cooperation from the Church.²⁴⁶ The authoritative tone from the L.M.S. missionaries not only revealed their direct support for the New Zealand Government, but they failed to provide alternatives for Sāmoans interested in a “Sāmoa for Sāmoans.” Loyal L.M.S. districts submitted their promise not to have outside influence in church government. The village of Saleimoa sent the following memo dated 26 June 1928:

I lau susuga Misi Feata, (Failautusi)
To Misi Feather (Secretary)

Si o’u alofa!
Greetings in love!

Ua tonu I lenei “Tofiga” a Toeaina, Faifeau, Tiakono, i le Matagaluega a Malua:
The elders, pastors and deacons of the district of Malua accept:

(a) *Ole ā matuā lē talia lava I le Ekalesia le pule, po’o le āia o so’o se komiti i tua.*
The church will not be influenced by outside committees.

(b) *Ole Pule a le Ekalesia ua i totonu lava o le Ekalesia. Tatou te ‘au fa’atasi ai I le faiga o le Finagalo o le Ātua.*
The power of the church rests within the church. Let us work together to do the will of God.

Soifua! Tusia e To’oto’o T.U.
Goodbye! Signed, To’oto’o T.U.²⁴⁷

Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III sent a letter to the L.M.S. missionaries and Board of Elders on 25 May 1928 regarding the interference of Rev. Darvill and Rev. Faletese in the political tension between the *Mau* and the *Malō*. Tamasese requested the removal of Darvill from his position as an L.M.S. missionary. As a “royal” Sāmoan “father” of Sāmoa, he still received

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁶ Minutes, L.M.S. Sāmoan District Committee, 1928 May, Box 64, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

²⁴⁷ Saleimoa to L.M.S. Committee, 1928 June 26, P.M.B. 143, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa Hamilton Library, Honolulu.

respect from the Sāmoan clergymen as a *tama* 'āiga. The Board of Elders closely supported the efforts of the *Mau* and decided on the following resolutions: 1) It is the will of the *Fono* of *Toeaina* that Faletoeese retire from the Office of *Toeaina* (Board of Elders); 2) That the *Fono* discuss Mr. Darvill comments against the *Mau* in New Zealand, as reported in the newspaper called *The Star*.²⁴⁸ The Board of Elders directly disregarded the “Hands off the church” resolution and continued with their agenda to please the *Mau* leaders. The support from the Board of the *Mau* was unprecedented in Sāmoa given the influence of the L.M.S. The Board eventually apologized, but the L.M.S. missionaries viewed the apology as disingenuous.

False articles regarding the situation in Sāmoa concerned the L.M.S. *The Daily Press*, dated 7 September 1928, claimed that the Sāmoans demanded the L.M.S. withdraw white missionaries and substitute with Sāmoan pastors instead. The L.M.S. in London denied any such claim, but it sent a deputation to consult the European missionaries and the Sāmoan Church.²⁴⁹ Rev. Smart of the L.M.S. Sāmoa contacted the heads of the leading mission organizations in Sāmoa to address issues with the *Mau*. The following groups agreed to meet: the Methodist Mission, Mormon Mission, Seventh Day Adventists, and the Roman Catholic church. The L.M.S. European missionaries sided with the Government and refused any rhetoric of the *Mau*’s “hymn of hate,” and all church organizations adopted a united front. Smart claimed that the Roman Catholics sided with the *Mau* “chiefly because they see, in such an action, the possibility of breaking up the L.M.S. here.”²⁵⁰ The rival Christian denominations competed for membership even during Sāmoa’s struggle for self-government.

²⁴⁸ Rev. Smart to Rev. Barradale, 1928 May 28, Box 64, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

²⁴⁹ Statement on Sāmoa, 1928 September 17, Box 3, South Seas. Odds, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

²⁵⁰ Rev. Smart to Rev. Barradale, 1928 April 23, Box 65, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

Another meeting took place among Father Deihl of the Roman Catholic Church, Rev. Smart of the L.M.S., and Rev. Blake of the Methodist Church. The three leaders approached Richardson as a collective body of the mainstream denominations and advised Richardson regarding the *Mau*. The clergy advised Richardson that since he received vindication by the Royal Commission, “he was in the position to make concessions.”²⁵¹ After the meeting, each of the leaders suggested forms of mediation to their churches. Rev. Smart of the L.M.S. contacted the *Au Toeaina* to decide on how to approach the protests.

The *Mau* received word that Colonel Allen would replace Richardson. Before Richardson’s departure in 1928, *Mau* members stopped people from a formal farewell to the governor. At the girl’s school of Papauta, three chiefs approached the director, Miss Downs, and prohibited any gifts for the departing governor.²⁵² Despite the political situation, Richardson received letters of gratitude from the Sāmoans for his service and love for Sāmoa.

The impasse between Sāmoans and the L.M.S. missionaries predated the actual *Mau*, but the self-government movement became an avenue to force the issue of a more independent church. Forman writes that the Sāmoa District Committee held its final meeting in November 1928. For the first time, the Mission Council was formed that was “made up of all missionaries and a number of Sāmoans - at first a minority but within a few years a decided majority.”²⁵³ Drastic changes occurred in 1928 within the church, including the creation of a Sāmoan co-treasurer of the General Assembly, which was followed by new constitutional changes in 1933.²⁵⁴ According to the S.D.C. letter to the L.M.S. secretary, “The *Mau* is the ruling body at

²⁵¹ Joint Commission Deputation L.M.S., 1928 September 29, P.M.B. 96, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa Hamilton Library, Honolulu.

²⁵² *Ibid.*

²⁵³ Charles Forman. 1982. *The Island Churches of the South Pacific: Emergence in the Twentieth Century*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 130.

²⁵⁴ Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society*, 372.

the present time and the people are determined to accept its dictates in preference to ours... The idea of forming a Free Church which has been abroad for some time has grown of late.”²⁵⁵

The changes in the church constitution gave more power to the Board of Elders; and as a result, “many Mau supporters had their say.”²⁵⁶ The General Assembly or *Fono Tele* became the primary Council of the Church, made up of approximately 120 members, including seven L.M.S. missionaries. Seven L.M.S. missionaries and eleven *faife’au* made up the Mission Council of the General Assembly. The revised constitution made the Mission Council subordinate to the General Assembly, except when dealing with issues between the Government and the Church and secondly, between the Sāmoan Church and the L.M.S. Board in London. The Board of Elders served as an “advisory committee to the General Assembly.”²⁵⁷ Sāmoan clergymen achieved what the *Mau* wanted—more control through a Sāmoan-led leadership

In December 1928, the New Zealand Administration sentenced the *Mau* leader Tupua Tamasese to six months jail in New Zealand for non-payment of poll taxes in 1927. The young king called on Sāmoans to “keep the peace.”²⁵⁸ Tamasese’s departure to New Zealand remained a small event compared to Lauaki’s, but Allen hoped and believed that “if Tupua Tamasese saw the wealth and industry, he would come over to the Government’s side.”²⁵⁹

The L.M.S. leadership attempted in 1929 to meet with the Board of Elders and the District Committee to discuss the *Mau*.²⁶⁰ The person appointed by the L.M.S. to solve the *Mau* issue was Rev. Reginald Bartlett, a World War I veteran and principal of Malua Theological College. As Garrett states, “He [Bartlett] went to Sāmoa specifically on account of Hough’s

²⁵⁵ John Garrett. 1992. *Footsteps in the Sea: Christianity in Oceania to World War II*. Suva: Oceania Printers Ltd., 402 and Rev. Feather to Rev. Barradale, 1928 June 21, Box 64, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

²⁵⁶ Garrett, *Footsteps in the Sea*, 402.

²⁵⁷ Report, Goodall’s Secretarial Visit to the Pacific, 1940, Box 1, Home.DR, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

²⁵⁸ Author Unknown, 1928, “Tamasese’s Trials,” *Sāmoan Guardian*, December 6.

²⁵⁹ Field, *Mau: Sāmoa’s Struggle for Freedom*, 133.

²⁶⁰ Garrett, *Footsteps in the Sea*, 402.

opinion that the Mau situation in Sāmoa called for the presence of a companionable reconciler.”²⁶¹ Reginald Bartlett was born in the year 1878 in Bristol, England. In 1899, Bartlett entered Western College in Plymouth to train for the Congregational ministry in England and abroad.²⁶² After his studies in 1904, Bartlett wrote to the L.M.S. “offering himself for foreign service.”²⁶³ Orokolo, New Guinea became Bartlett’s first missionary site. It was among the Papuans where he received his name “Bati.” Pronouncing English names were difficult for the Papuans, but Bati was the nearest many could say. From 1914 to 1918, Bartlett offered his services to serve as a Chaplain to the forces during the First World War. Bartlett arrived in Sāmoa in 1929 as an assignment by the Board of Directors of the L.M.S. Bartlett’s main responsibility was to “superintend” Malua and the school institutions connected to the church. Furthermore, Bartlett’s appointment to Sāmoa was to help in the revision of the L.M.S.-Sāmoa constitution.²⁶⁴

Unlike Rev. Newell, Bartlett knew little about *fa’a-sāmoa* and spoke minimal Sāmoan. The Sāmoans named him Misi Bati or Pati for short. Bartlett claimed to take a neutral stand, and promoted peace taught by Jesus Christ. The missionary called upon to reconcile the *Mau* and *Malō* issue emphasized that the Church serve as Sāmoa’s “Greatest Friend” and brought the islands “out of great darkness, and suffering into a Wonderful Light and Peace.”²⁶⁵ The *Mau* weakened and destroyed the Church, according to Bartlett.²⁶⁶ During a meeting with the *Mau* to

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*

²⁶² Reginald Bartlett. 1960. *A man like Bati, the Rev. Reginald Bartlett, O. B. E.: the story of his missionary work in Papua and Sāmoa, as told in his letters home*. London, Independent Press, 17.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 88.

²⁶⁵ Rev. Bartlett to Mau Council, 1929 November 29, Box 3, South Seas. Odds, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

seek a peaceful decision, Bartlett wrote, “One speaker especially was very strong in his remarks, and asked why the Misi was meddling in ‘politics’!!!!”²⁶⁷

Bartlett continued his efforts to find peace in Sāmoa, but the *Mau* grew and became very organized. While in exile, Ta’isi Nelson started the *New Zealand Sāmoa Guardian* in May 1929. New Zealand officials assumed that the *Mau* was “slowly dying,” however, between June and December of 1929, massive demonstrations took place. The *Mau* challenged the claim of the New Zealand Administration that the *Mau* served merely Ta’isi Nelson. In reality, they continued to organize in his absence. In June, Tamasese returned to Sāmoa from exile, and the *Mau* continued to promote civil disobedience in the streets of Apia.

Just after Christmas in December of 1929, a large procession of Sāmoans marched through Apia to welcome Gurr and Smyth, the two exiled members of the Citizens’ Committee. When the New Zealand police attempted to arrest Mātautia Karauna, the *Mau* secretary, a fight broke out, and as a result, troops opened fire and a fatal bullet hit and killed Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III. The leaders of the *Mau*, fearful of the authorities, at first, refused to take Tamasese to a hospital. However, Roman Catholic Father Deihl convinced the *Mau* supporters otherwise.²⁶⁸ Before Tamasese died, his words became the anthem for *matai* and families of Sāmoa, “My blood has been spilt for Sāmoa. I am proud to give it. Do not dream of avenging it as it was spilt in maintaining peace. If I die, peace must be maintained at any price.”²⁶⁹ That day came to be known as “Black Saturday.” The *Sāmoan Guardian* printed that a total of nine people died on that fatal day.²⁷⁰ Tupua Tamasese had attended the Vaimoso village L.M.S.

²⁶⁷ Rev. Bartlett to O. F. Nelson, 1929 December 18, Box 3, South Seas. Odds, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

²⁶⁸ Field, *Mau: Sāmoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 156.

²⁶⁹ Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 137.

²⁷⁰ The following died at the “Black Saturday Massacre”: Tamasese (Vaimoso), Tapu (Auala, Savaii), Faumuinā (Safotu, Savaii), Ainoa (Tuana’i, Upolu), Vele L. (Lepea, Upolu), Migao (Vaimoso, Upolu), Tu’ia (Vaimoso, Upolu), Leota (Lealatele, Savaii), and W. Abraham (Sāmoan Constabulary). See: Author Unknown, 1930, “High

church as a deacon, and Rev. Bartlett recorded that thousands attended the funeral. Dylan Beatty has argued that the Christian principles held so strongly by Sāmoans meant that they would not avenge the death of Tupua Tamasese.²⁷¹

Governor Allen declared the *Mau* movement a seditious organization the next year in 1930 and called for cruisers that arrived in Sāmoa, while thousands retreated to the mountains. Bartlett wanted to be a messenger on behalf of the *Mau* to the Government and asked for the *Mau*'s trust in him as a friend. Bartlett felt positive that possible peace talks could take place between the *Mau* and the *Malō*. On 23 February 1930, Rev. Bartlett left Malua with a tutor named Iosefa and an interpreter named Ioane. Ioane served as a carrier and knew the locations of the *Mau* leaders. Bartlett and his small team traveled through the rugged mountains and “waded three rivers, very much in flood, and it was necessary to swim another.”²⁷² Harris highlights that during the rainy season, Bartlett “penetrated into the heart of the forests, swam heavily flooded rivers and found the rebel leaders.”²⁷³ However, Nelson’s *N.Z. Sāmoa Guardian* called Pati’s account a “fairy tale.”²⁷⁴ Nevertheless, High Chief Tuimaleali’ifano, a *Mau* leader, agreed to show the *Mau* committee Bartlett’s request to serve as liaison. The eighty-year-old paramount chief expressed his love for Misi Pati and thanked him for his assistance in the matter.²⁷⁵ After different meetings and speeches, the leaders of the *Mau* traveled on longboats to

Chief Tamasese Dead: Fired on by Police – Seven Others Dead and 19 Wounded – Mau Procession Broken Up – European Policeman Killed,” *Sāmoan Guardian*, January 4.

²⁷¹ Dylan Beatty. 2014. “Mamona and the Mau: Latter-day Saints amidst resistance in colonial Sāmoa.” *Pacific Studies*, 37(1): 52-53.

²⁷² Rev. Bartlett to Rev. Bitton, 1930 February 28, Box 3, South Seas. Odds, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

²⁷³ J. C. Harris. 1931. *Couriers of Christ: Pioneers of the London Missionary Society*. Broadway: Livingstone Press, 39.

²⁷⁴ P. A., 1931, “Here and There: Another Political Missionary,” *N.Z. Sāmoan Guardian*, August 6.

²⁷⁵ Rev. Bartlett to Rev. Bitton, 1930 January 10, Box 3, South Seas. Odds, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

begin peace talks. According to Bartlett, his trip through the Eastern side obtained 34 *Mau* leaders, and the Roman Catholics obtained 5 *Mau* leaders from the south side.²⁷⁶

The L.M.S. efforts proved *influential* in the process of peace. The L.M.S. counted on the loyalty of between two-thirds and three-fourths of Sāmoans as the “national church.”²⁷⁷ The *Mau* saw the influence of the L.M.S. in Sāmoa. The leaders of the movement called for reduced contributions to missionaries, dismissal of church leaders, and “prayer meetings to be held on behalf of the national cause.”²⁷⁸ Franco states the following:

Moamoa [Catholic Seminary in Sāmoa] was the only place where both sides could talk and the actions of Bishop Darnard, Father Diehl and particularly Father Meyer, in this period of crisis, gained for the Catholic Mission a generally favorable stance in Sāmoan eyes.²⁷⁹

Bishop Darnard used his Catholic connections to help mediate with the Matā’afa title, a staunch Catholic.²⁸⁰ The chairman of the Methodist Mission District, George Shinkfield, supported both Darnard and Bartlett’s attempt to end the *Mau*. Garrett points out that, “some of the highest chiefs in each church sympathized with the revolt.”²⁸¹ According to Beatty, the Latter-Day Saints refused to support the *Mau*, or as he calls it, the “Christian anticolonial *Mau*.” The Mormon Church actively opposed the movement, especially on L.D.S. property in Sauniatu.²⁸² Rev. Bartlett made it clear to the L.M.S. that “I am not *Mau*, Not Malo,” but he claimed that the Methodists and Catholics have taken sides. Without proof in his letter, Bartlett wrote, “All through this *Mau* business, the Methodists have shown a very distinct lean to the *Mau*. The Roman Catholics have taken the same position and in a still more pronounced way.”²⁸³

²⁷⁶ Rev. Bartlett to Rev. Bitton, 1930 February 28, Box 3, South Seas. Odds, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

²⁷⁷ Forman, *The Island Churches of the South Pacific*, 25.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁹ Robert W. Franco. 1976. *The History, Role and Function of the Contemporary Catholic Church in Western Sāmoa*, M.A. Thesis, California State University, Chico, 25.

²⁸⁰ Garrett, *Footsteps in the Sea*, 406.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*

²⁸² Beatty, “Mamona and the *Mau*,” 63.

²⁸³ Rev. Bartlett to Rev. Bitton, 1930 February 28, Box 3, South Seas. Odds, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

Bartlett recorded that on Saturday 1 March 1930, he hosted members of the *Mau* at his house at Malua to begin peace talks with the New Zealand Government. Concerned with the other religious groups, Bartlett requested a neutral place to meet. The meeting between the governor and *Mau* leaders took place at Tupua Tamasese's former residence in Vaimoso on 4 March 1930. The three points by the governor stated: 1) Renouncement of the *Mau*, 2) Release of Prisoners, and 3) Willingness to meet the Government in *Fono*.²⁸⁴ At the meeting with the governor, Tuimaleali'ifano expressed a message of a strong *Mau* movement. Tuimalealiifano stated the following:

Many Sāmoans, many thousands of Sāmoans have been buried in the earth. Therefore, listen to me clearly. You should have righteousness and truthfulness. Act as Christ taught us. Be truthful. Why are you telling lies? The Gospel of Truth has been with us for many years – a hundred years – you taught us and we got it from you. What was the cause of this? Because of you. Every past Administrator has cut off our heads. Do you understand that?²⁸⁵

Tuimaleali'ifano and influential *matai* of Sāmoa questioned the civility of European countries and the blatant disregard of life and harsh treatment of the Sāmoans. Tuimaleali'ifano encouraged *Mau* members to wear their uniforms and persevere in their cause. Rev. Bartlett sent the following memo labeled as “Glorious News: The Hon John G. Cobbe has just called to tell me the result of the final meeting of *Mau* and *Malō*. The *Mau* and Government have shaken hands, and it is peace.”²⁸⁶ The memo assumed the *Mau* died given the discussions. However, the *Mau* leadership continued the movement and refused to give in. Bartlett in 1930, wrote, “The Government sends home nice little reports, a sort of ‘All quiet on the Sāmoa Front’ kind of thing. But the *Mau* is not dead...But a missionary, even if he has not the language, is infinitely nearer the Native than any Government Officer.”²⁸⁷ Despite the efforts of the L.M.S. that

²⁸⁴ Rev. Bartlett to Rev. Bitton, 1930 February 28, Box 3, South Seas. Odds, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

²⁸⁵ C. W. Owen. 1930. *The Sāmoan Massacre: December 28th, 1929*. Hobart: Newman Printery, 7.

²⁸⁶ Memo, Rev. Bartlett, 1930 March 6, Box 3, South Seas. Odds, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

²⁸⁷ Rev. Bartlett to Rev. Bitton, 1930, Box 3, South Seas. Odds, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

brought the *Mau* out of the bush, they received blame for the position of the *Mau*.²⁸⁸ Regarding worship within the village, some *matai* refused to attend church with *Malō* supporters and attended service in their own houses.²⁸⁹

Despite the “peace” written about by Bartlett, the *Mau* continued its efforts toward self-government and relied on Ta’isi Nelson’s advice. The efforts of Bartlett backfired, and the Sāmoans called him a liar and “bad Misi” for trying to have the *Mau* give in. The *N.Z. Sāmoa Guardian* charged Rev. Bartlett with writing fiction and meddling in Sāmoan politics. The *Mau* questioned how he became praised as a facilitator between the *Mau* and the government. The *N.Z. Sāmoa Guardian* stated, “They [Mau] did not make their submission to the Government, they absolutely rejected Colonel Allen’s ultimatum, and countered with the Seventeen Points which were handed to Mr. Cobbe [Minister of Defence], and have never yet been replied to.”²⁹⁰ The *Mau* leaders continued to organize the group, and on March 10, days after Cobbe’s departure, Tuimaleali’ifano and other members received a jail sentence. Field describes a scene from a letter written by the younger brother of the late Tupua Tamasese and the new title holder Tupua Tamasese Mea’ole to Ta’isi Nelson. It said the following, “They said they would take us to gaol if we would not disperse. We replied, ‘Take us all.’ We then stood up near the main road.”²⁹¹ During such a turbulent period in Sāmoa, *faiʻe ʻau* “have made the mistake of being out and out Mau,” stated Bartlett, a position he found troubling.²⁹²

In solidarity with the Sāmoan nationalist movement, when the men fled to the bush, the Sāmoan women formed the Women’s *Mau* (see Appendix F). Alaisala (widow of Tupua

²⁸⁸ Rev. Bartlett to Rev. Chirgwin, 1930 March 24, Box 66, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁰ P. A., 1931, “Here and There: Another Political Missionary,” *N.Z. Sāmoan Guardian*, August 6.

²⁹¹ Field, *Mau: Sāmoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 190.

²⁹² Rev. Bartlett to Rev. Bitton, 1930 April 4, Box 3, South Seas. Odds, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

Tamasese), Losa Ta'isi (Ta'isi Nelson's wife), and the wives of Tuimaleali'ifano and Faumuinā (the newly appointed leader of the *Mau* after Tupua Tamasese's death) led the movement.²⁹³ The Women's *Mau* protested the death of Tamasese and against the "night searches and the damage to property and terror."²⁹⁴ The New Zealand military had searched homes for any *Mau* members. Rev. Bartlett recorded that up to 2,000 women paraded in Apia in support of the *Mau* movement, but he later criticized them for their involvement in Sāmoan politics.²⁹⁵ As an act of nationalistic defiance, Alaisala Tamasese, who spoke English fluently, refused to speak in English to the press but used an interpreter.²⁹⁶ Allen's leadership proved short-lived due to the Black Saturday scandal. Brigadier General Herbut Hart replaced Allen in 1931. The Women's *Mau* sent Allen the following farewell note:

You depart from our country, leaving us with sorrowful hearts on the one hand and rejoicing on the other. We grieve because it is not possible to erase from our minds, even unto our children, the many tragedies which have occurred in Sāmoa during your term of office. We rejoice because you are leaving our country. We shall remember your name when we think of our sufferings by day and night during the last two years.²⁹⁷

In 1930, the L.M.S. celebrated a century of ministry in the Sāmoan islands. Thousands celebrated the arrival of the Gospel to Sāmoa, and the *L.M.S. Chronicle* recorded that a *Mau* leader kissed the hand of Malietoa Tanumāfili I and said, 'The Mau is no more.'²⁹⁸ Perhaps, the *Mau* diminished in influence in some parts of Sāmoa, but not entirely. In 1933, Ta'isi Nelson returned home to a grand reception from exile. Unfortunately, Ta'isi Nelson's continued support of the *Mau* resulted in a second sentence of an eight-month imprisonment in New Zealand

²⁹³ Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 138.

²⁹⁴ Field, *Mau: Sāmoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 194.

²⁹⁵ Rev. Bartlett to Rev. Chirgwin, 1930 April 24, Box 66, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

²⁹⁶ O'Brien, *Tautai*, 198.

²⁹⁷ Field, *Mau: Sāmoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 200.

²⁹⁸ *The Chronicle London Missionary Society*, 1930 December, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

followed by his first ten-year exile under the Seditious Organization Ordinance.²⁹⁹ Although a troubled outcome, the new New Zealand leadership by the Labour Party under Michael Joseph Savage brought a positive result for Sāmoa. The Secretary of the Administration, Alfred Turnbull, became the acting administrator and replaced Hart in 1935. The Labour Party³⁰⁰ representatives worked closely with Sāmoa, and in 1936, Nelson received a pardon and was allowed to return to Sāmoa with his daughters. Furthermore, Turnbull revoked the categorization of the *Mau* as a seditious organization and legalized the *Mau*.³⁰¹ In June 1936, Savage sent a goodwill mission to Sāmoa and that trip “came with a tone of conciliation.” They declared that a new era had begun.³⁰² Malietoa, *Faipule*, and the *Mau* leaders greeted the delegation.³⁰³ Ta’isi successfully aligned himself with key New Zealand politicians who eventually made the *Mau* an important issue in New Zealand politics. The Labour Party’s leader, Harry Holland, championed Sāmoa’s cause.³⁰⁴

Ta’isi Nelson returned to a new Sāmoa. On 22 July 1936, the *Maui Pomare* arrived to a grand welcome with a brass band, a fleet of *fautasi* longboats, and an estimated 15,000 people. The goodwill mission representatives observed the grand return of Nelson. New Zealand recognized the *Mau* in the new administration, and the *Mau* became the *Malō* majority.³⁰⁵ During the Second World War, New Zealand continued to work with the Sāmoan government, and as Meleisea writes, “The Labour Party made a historical commitment toward self-government for Sāmoa, and with the war over, Sāmoans anticipated that New Zealand would be

²⁹⁹ Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 139.

³⁰⁰ In a 1918 publication, Holland defined the Labour movement in New Zealand as, “the right of every people to determine its own destiny-to choose the country under whose flag it will range itself, or to remain a separate nationality.” See: Harry Holland. 1918. *Sāmoa: A Story That Teems with Tragedy*. Wellington: The Maoriland Worker Printing and Publishing, 20.

³⁰¹ Field, *Mau: Sāmoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 213.

³⁰² O’Brien, *Tautai*, 284.

³⁰³ Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 139-140.

³⁰⁴ O’Brien, *Tautai*, 162-163.

³⁰⁵ Thirty-three of thirty-nine members were members of the *Mau*. See: Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 140.

ready to honour its commitment.”³⁰⁶ The Sāmoan Amendment Act of 1947 incorporated reforms that reflected a collaboration between New Zealand and Western Sāmoa:

- i. The New Zealand administrator was re-designed High Commissioner, and the term Government of Western Sāmoa replaced that of Administration of Western Sāmoa.
- ii. A council of State was established consisting of the High Commissioner and the Fautua who were Tupua Tamasese Mea’ole and Mālietoa Tanumāfili II.
- iii. The ‘Legislative Council’ was re-designed as the ‘Legislative Assembly.’ It had eleven Sāmoan members elected by the Faipule, five European members elected by Europeans and six official members representing heads of departments, the head of government, the Attorney General, the Treasury and the Council of State.
- iv. The Assembly had wide powers in law-making but was subject to veto by the High Commissioner.³⁰⁷

The L.M.S. adjusted to the political atmosphere of the time. Rev. Philips wrote,

There seems to be a strong wave of the *Mau* spirit passing through the Church. This was very evident at the last Annual Assembly. The *Mau*, or anti-government sect of the people, have found that their motto ‘Sāmoa for the Sāmoans’ does not carry much weight with the Government, so they have been directing their attention toward the Church.³⁰⁸

Reflections

By the 1920s, the *Mau* started a “new spirit of opposition” against New Zealand within the government and church.³⁰⁹ The Sāmoans managed to form a civil society movement in response to New Zealand’s policies against *fa’a-sāmoa* and the refusal to allow willing and able *matai* to serve in leadership positions. The influenza epidemic, the League of Nation mandate level C, the removal of chiefly titles at will, and the policies that seemed counter to the development of Sāmoan people motivated the *Mau*. However, archival letters from the European L.M.S. and New Zealand Administrators expressed a strong opposition to the *Mau* and their demands.

³⁰⁶ Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 144.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 149.

³⁰⁸ Rev. S. G. Phillips to Rev. G. E. Phillips, 1933 March 11, Box 70, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

³⁰⁹ Forman, *The Island Churches of the South Pacific*, 129.

The *Mau a Pule* movement was solely Sāmoan-led. The second *Mau* showed a wider support from Europeans and *'afakasi*. The *Mau* attracted supporters in New Zealand too. Rev. C. W. Chandler, an Anglican Chaplain at Mt. Eden Gaol in New Zealand, spoke against the New Zealand Administration. Months before Tamasese's death, Rev. Chandler boldly stated, "By persecuting a movement, we help it to grow, hence Tamasese is on the winning side, and he will possibly live to see the day when the Sāmoans, like the Maoris in New Zealand, will be given equal privileges with their white brethren."³¹⁰ The New Zealand Sāmoa Defence League, started by Hall Skelton, had over 1,200 attend their first meeting on 2 February 1929 in support of a compromise between New Zealand and the *Mau*.³¹¹

L.M.S. viewed Sāmoans as "religious," but yet "Sāmoa does not know the light of civilization."³¹² The L.M.S. made every effort to bring about peace and aligned with Christian denominations to achieve that goal. The Rev. Bartlett received little respect from the *Mau* members, but he suggested positive steps to bring the government and Sāmoan *Mau* leaders together. His failure to achieve "peace" would have meant the loss of L.M.S. members to the Catholic and Methodist churches. In *A Man Like Bati*, Rev. Bartlett made clear statements about "doing all we can to help the Government."³¹³ Bartlett claimed that the church would suffer if the unrest and disorder prevailed.³¹⁴ He felt that the only way for the church not to suffer would be a clear removal of *fa'a-sāmoa*. Although unrest and disorder existed, the chiefs could protect the sanctity of the institution of the L.M.S. Furthermore, Bartlett claimed that the *Mau* was "hitting Jesus Christ and hindering His work in Sāmoa." Hindering the work in Sāmoa meant

³¹⁰ Author unknown, 1929, "The White Man's Burden," *N.Z. Sāmoa Guardian*, May 9.

³¹¹ Author unknown, 1929, "N.Z. Sāmoa Defence League," *N.Z. Sāmoa Guardian*, May 9.

³¹² L.M.S. Sāmoa District Administrative Records, 1851-1973, PMB 1278, Reel 5, Folder 38, University of Hawai'i Hamilton Library.

³¹³ Bartlett, *A man like Bati*, 137.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 106.

the refusal to contribute financially to the church. The L.M.S. directors in London reported on the steady decrease in income from Sāmoa. Bati wrote the following:

In order to draw attention to their grievances, the malcontents initiated a form of passive resistance. They would not co-operate with the government, and refused to pay taxes, and banned the making of copra. They felt that this drying-up of revenue would hurt the authorities. It did; but it hurt the church still more, for now they could not bring their gifts to the annual district assemblies when the village churches brought their offerings to the missionaries. There was a steady falling off in their regular contributions.³¹⁵

Within the L.M.S., European missionaries refused to give up total control to Sāmoan clergymen, but they recognized the success of the ministry as a self-supported, indigenous religious people dedicated to mission work. The L.M.S. missionaries realized the strong connections between the Sāmoan chiefs and the clergymen, especially the Board of Elders. To remedy the issue within the church, the L.M.S. needed to reconcile not with *faiʻfeʻau* but rather with the *matai*.

Although Malietoa Tanumāfili I and Matāʻafa Salanoa refused to support the *Mau* efforts, they too desired a peaceful and stable Sāmoa. As “fathers” of Sāmoa, they prayed for a better government, regardless of the side they chose. The Sāmoans knew their potential to govern themselves and had hoped for assistance from New Zealand. However, New Zealand and the L.M.S. tried to suppress the efforts of the protesters. In a reprint of the Sāmoan Bill of Rights and Constitution of 1875, Edwin Gurr wrote, “These documents prove that so far from being a ‘backward’ people the Sāmoans possessed a democratic and civilized Constitution.”³¹⁶ The *Mau* changed public opinion in New Zealand during the 1935 elections. The legalization of the *Mau* opened the way to more self-government in Western Sāmoa.

Western Sāmoa and American Sāmoa share a common ancestry but the two island governments resisted the colonial powers differently. In American Sāmoa, the *Mau* protests

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 86.

³¹⁶ Edwin W. Gurr. 1931. *The Original Organic Law and Bill of Rights, 1873 and Constitution of Sāmoa, 1875*. Auckland: National Printing Co.

were a less dramatic affair, but similar to Western Sāmoa, *matai* had defended *fa'a-sāmoa* (see Appendix H). As a result, American Sāmoa had the Deed of Cessions ratified in 1929 and received a Bill of Rights. The multiple *Mau* movements had proven how Sāmoan *matai* defended their rights to live freely on their islands even in the presence of a colonial power. Sāmoan *matai* presented petitions and questioned the colonial rule of law as organized civil societies. David Chappell states, “The [U.S.] Navy could dominate Sāmoa but never achieve full hegemony because Sāmoans persistently defended their concept of ‘civilization,’ thereby challenging the basis of colonial paternalism.”³¹⁷ Germany and New Zealand had tried to fully control Western Sāmoa, but the Sāmoans persistently challenged and questioned that power as leaders with a responsibility to protect their families, *fa'a-sāmoa*, and their islands.

³¹⁷ David A. Chappell. 2000. “The Forgotten Mau: Anti-Navy Protest in American Sāmoa, 1920-1935.” *Pacific Historical Review*, 69(2): 257.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

Indigenous protest in colonial Sāmoa emerged as a direct response to both foreign authoritarian presence and inter-island conflicts based on power, prestige, and wealth.¹ Sāmoan protests against hegemonic institutions resulted from foreign challenges to *fa'a-sāmoa*, the lack of agency within the newly established colonial administration, the direct disregard of the “royal” chiefly titles, and the rights contested to control the “economic and political destiny” of Sāmoa.² *Mau* or “opinion” became the label of the two major protests of the 20th century, namely, the *Mau a Pule* that defied German governor, Dr. Solf, in 1908–1909, and later the *Mau* that challenged New Zealand’s authority in 1926–1935. Although not formally labeled as “*Mau* movements,” the indigenous protests of Sāmoan clergymen for internal reforms within the L.M.S. have been characterized as “opinions” within this dissertation, and therefore, as the *Mau* “movements” have been interpreted as *Mau* “protests” against the influential Sāmoa-L.M.S. church.

I have argued that the *Mau* movements, however, were not independent movements. They were inter-connected, and they served to represent the Sāmoan ability to successfully organize and provide a culturally-centered public forum to voice concerns. Although solidarity amongst Sāmoan leaders was not always visible, the *Mau* movements exemplified the chiefly system’s ability to organize effectively. Both *Mau* movements showed a quest for sovereignty

¹ Peter Hempenstall and Noel Rutherford. 1984. *Protest and Dissent in the Colonial Pacific*. Suva: University of the South Pacific, 2.

² Peter Hempenstall. 1977. “Native Resistance and German Control Policy in the Pacific: the Case of Sāmoa and Ponape.” In *Germany in the Pacific & Far East, 1870–1914*, edited by John Moses and Paul Kennedy. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2010.

and respect for *fa'a-sāmoa*. The dissatisfaction of Sāmoans toward oppressive foreign institutions resulted in a response of *fa'a-tamālii* or the highest of chiefly behaviors.³

The aim of this dissertation has focused on two main issues of investigation: Were Sāmoans capable of more agency and leadership in the colonial governments, as they had already achieved in the church of the London Missionary Society? Moreover, How did the European-led L.M.S. choose to respond to the *Mau* movements? I have argued that the hybridity between *fa'a-sāmoa* and the civilizing missions of the missionaries and the colonizers formed a civil society that organized non-violent protests to effect self-government reforms or independence. Specifically emphasizing on the second *Mau* movement, Macpherson supports the notion that the Sāmoan tactics displayed a combination of two cultures. Macpherson argues,

The *Mau's* tactics were a combination of Sāmoan techniques, [namely], widespread formal consultation and public commitment to consensus—and Western ones—national boycotts, civil disobedience, mass demonstrations, press campaigns, petitions, and deputations.⁴

Guha believed that autonomous subaltern roles in British India never existed; rather there was an “integrative knowledge.”⁵ Again, Said responded to Guha’s essay on “The Prose of Counterinsurgency” by stating that “no matter how one tried to extricate [the] subaltern from elite histories, they are different, but overlapping, and curiously interdependent territories.”⁶ Sāmoans embraced the syncretism of chiefly and Western models not simply to achieve their objectives within a changing society as advanced and modern people, but to reassert their

³ Milner defines *fa'a-tamālii* as “proper to, characteristic, of a chief, aristocratic.” See: G. B. Milner. 1993. *Sāmoan Dictionary*. Auckland: Polynesian Press, 239. The term is used to describe individuals who display chiefly or “royal” behavior.

⁴ Cluny Macpherson. 1997. “The Persistence of Chiefly Authority in Western Sāmoa.” In *Chiefs Today: Traditional Pacific Leadership and the Postcolonial State*, edited by Geoffrey M. White and Lamont Lindstrom. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

⁵ Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Spivak, eds. 1988. *Selected Subaltern Studies*. New York: Oxford University Press, viii.

⁶ *Ibid.*, viii.

position of “Sāmoa for Sāmoa.”⁷ The L.M.S. church played a major role in the civilizing mission of the Islands and contributed to Sāmoans’ introduction to colonialism.⁸ However, despite Sāmoan efforts and achievements toward modernization, the European-led L.M.S. positioned themselves to support the colonial regimes.

Chapter 1 has provided an overview of the historical contexts of the *Mau* movements, the role of *fa’a-sāmoa* within colonial politics and the L.M.S. church, the research questions guiding this dissertation, a literature review, and the role of the movements within wider Pacific resistance studies. Chapter 2 has suggested that change was inevitable in Sāmoa, but at the same time, chiefs strove to maintain cultural practices, especially the *fa’a-matai* system. The pre-colonial Sāmoan society engaged in civil wars, but remained socially and hierarchically organized under the *fa’a-matai* system. *Fa’a-sāmoa* remained resilient and the system was adapted in the foreign institutions. Furthermore, I set out to show the relevance of both cultures in Sāmoa, and Western and indigenous knowledge, and the formation of a hybrid society that learned to adapt to both “worlds.”

In Chapter 3, the concept of hybridity is further explored. The civilizing mission of the missionaries was widely accepted in Sāmoa and protected by the *fa’a-matai* system. The sacred relationship of *vā* (“sacred between-ness”) permeated all interactions, even when relationships were not friendly. The protests of the Sāmoan clergymen resulted in internal reforms and

⁷ *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa* or “Sāmoa for Sāmoa” became the slogan of the *Mau* movement against New Zealand. Although the phrase was not used in the L.M.S. protests or the *Mau a Pule*, it represented the attitude of many Sāmoans in their relationship to the European institutions.

⁸ This dissertation situates *aso o le mālamalama* (“enlightenment”) at the beginning of 1900, at the start of the German administration or the age of “peace” as opposed to war. Sāmoans refer to the Book of Genesis 1:3–4 as the transition from *aso o le pōuliuli* (“darkness at pre-contact”) to *aso o le mālamalama* (“enlightenment”) that came with the arrival of John Williams and the L.M.S. missionaries. Missionaries of the L.M.S. and the Sāmoan orators use that binary to differentiate between the two periods. The aforementioned section includes the following: *Ua fetalai mai le Atua, Ia mālamalama; ona mālamalama ai lea. Ua silasila atu le Atua i le mālamalama, ua lelei; ona tuu eseese ai lea e le Atua o le mālamalama ma le pōuliuli* (Sāmoan version, Kenese 1:3–4); “Then God said, ‘Let there be light,’ and there was light. God saw that the light was good; and God separated the light from the darkness” (English version, Genesis 1:3–4).

eventually an independent Sāmoan church. This chapter is intended to be a comprehensive overview of the L.M.S. in Sāmoa and the emergence of a syncretic relationship of the church and *fa'a-sāmoa*. The church and the *Mau* movements expressed Sāmoan desires for more agency, their capability to lead, and their potential for organizing *Mau* movements against the colonial regimes.

Chapter 4 is an examination of the first official *Mau* movement, the *Mau a Pule*. I argue that within the fourteen years of German occupation, the Sāmoans respected the rule of law and this period of *aso o le mālamalama* (“day of enlightenment”) that ushered in modernization. The influential Sāmoan orator, Lauaki Namulau’ulu Mamoe, eventually challenged the German government under Dr. Solf with the *Mau a Pule*. Although the majority of the chiefs involved came from *Pule* (Savai’i), Lauaki pushed for reforms that would reinstall *Tumua* and *Pule* and provide all Sāmoans a voice in the political process. Lauaki successfully organized a group of *matai* as a civil society in response to failed petitions to the German governor. The L.M.S. Rev. Newell’s negotiations resulted in the exile of Lauaki and the *matai* of the movement. The L.M.S. refused to assist the *Mau* movement, but the considerable archival material on Lauaki and the exiles in Saipan has shown the Sāmoan commitment to the civilizing mission. They not only erected an L.M.S. church in exile and religiously practiced their faith, but also viewed the people of Saipan as *fa’apaupau* (“pagan”), still living in *aso o le pōuliuli* (“day of darkness”).

Chapter 5 supports the argument for a more advanced Sāmoa under the administration of New Zealand. Petitions and non-violent protests showed the rise of a civil society under chiefly leadership. The L.M.S. continued to disregard the political movement, even when the Sāmoans displayed peace in their rhetoric and actions. By the 1920s, the organized civil society expanded beyond only native Sāmoans to include the local Europeans and the *‘afakasi*. The *Mau*

successfully rallied the Sāmoan *faiife'au*, the clergymen and the citizens of New Zealand through newspapers, speeches, petitions, and non-violent protests in Apia. The movement expanded beyond class and gender too.

From my analysis of indigenous Sāmoan protests within the L.M.S. and against the German and New Zealand administrations, three conclusions became apparent. First, the indigenous *Mau* movements were justified because of the Sāmoans' potential to govern themselves within the two principal European institutions, the L.M.S. church, and the colonial governments. Second, the European-led L.M.S. made it apparent that they had a “neutral” position during the *Mau* movements. Although officially the L.M.S. supported the colonial regimes, the Sāmoan pastors joined the pro-*Mau* majority against New Zealand. Third, Sāmoa's non-violent approach to protest, especially during the *Mau* against New Zealand, represented the formation of a civil society that supported efforts for independence within the major European institutions.

My first argument proved that the Sāmoans had the potential to govern themselves within the great European institutions in the era of colonialism. Within the L.M.S., Sāmoan *faiife'au* achieved financial compensation, and proved their ability to lead and collect donations to financially support both the European missionaries and the L.M.S. Sāmoan ministry. This unprecedented achievement received a high approval from the L.M.S. in London. Rev. A. Barradale stated,

Is not that one proof of their love for Jesus? For, generally speaking, people do not give their money for Christian work, unless they love Christ. But the Sāmoans do even more than pay their ministers and build their churches... They give more than 1000 every year for carrying on the missionary work in lands other than their own.⁹

⁹ Victor A. Barradale. 1907. *Pearls of the Pacific: Being Sketches of Missionary Life and Work in Sāmoa and Other Islands in the South Seas*. London: London Missionary Society, 152.

In 1875, despite reservations from the European missionaries, Sāmoan *faiife'au* demanded and won full ordination to perform weddings, funerals, and take part in the communion ceremony. *Faiife'au* received more leverage with the formation of the influential 'Au Toeaina ("Board of Elders") that affected multiple internal reforms. The 'Au Toeaina supported both the Sāmoan missionaries and the village pastors, and later the *Mau* against New Zealand.¹⁰ The L.M.S. missionaries referred to the *Mau* as "an outside influence," but to the 'Au Toeaina, they felt compelled by the spirit of *lotonu'u* or patriotism. Rev. Phillips of the L.M.S. wrote, "There seems to be a strong wave of the *Mau* spirit passing through the church."¹¹ Despite the *Mau* movements within the L.M.S., schools were erected throughout the Island to educate young Sāmoans, and the theological seminary at Malua became the premier learning institution for future clergymen. *Faiife'au* had proven their ability to manage the affairs of the L.M.S. despite reservations from the European missionaries in Sāmoa.

Lauaki Namulau'ulu, the leader of the *Mau a Pule*, together with Sāmoan chiefs of the *Malō*¹² started the *Oloa* business venture as a political action against the colonial government. Sāmoans knew that a prerequisite of political power meant acquiring economic power.¹³ Unfortunately, Governor Solf prohibited the copra-selling initiative. Lauaki's *Mau a Pule* was a response to the lack of urgency on the matters presented, and Governor Solf's direct disregard of what the *Mau a Pule* leader deemed significant. Lauaki knew of Sāmoans' potential to govern

¹⁰ Although the L.M.S. church supported the efforts of the colonial government during the New Zealand period, they issued the following public statement, "There shall be no control of our Church by external organisations." See: Rev. Smart to Rev. Barradale. 1928 May 28, 25, Box 64, Folder 3, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

¹¹ S. G. Phillips to G. E. Phillips. 11 March 1933, Box 70, South Seas. Incoming Correspondences, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S.

¹² *Malō* was the native administrative unit of the German government. The *Malō* comprised the *Ali'i Sili* ("Matā'afa"), the governing council of *Faipule* (chiefs from various villages throughout Sāmoa), and *Ta'imua* (the two royal representatives from the families of Sā Tupuā and Sā Malietoā). Governor Solf appointed the *Faipules* in consultation with the *Ali'i Sili* and the *Ta'imua*. See: Meleisea, Lagaga, 112–113. Although Matā'afa was known as the *Ali'i Sili*, Governor Solf remained the *Kaisalika* (*Kaiser* or the German Emperor).

¹³ Peter Hempenstall. 1975. "Resistance in the German Pacific Empire: Toward a Theory of Early Colonial Response." *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 84(1): 15.

themselves and pleaded with the Sāmoans to reawaken the powers of *Tumua* and *Pule* and to restore Sāmoan order. The destruction of the basic Sāmoan institutions would diminish the Sāmoan voice in their affairs.¹⁴ Lauaki's knowledge of a Western governing system was limited. However, his first initiative had to restore power to *fa'a-sāmoa*. Although tensions were high between Lauaki and Solf, the *Mau a Pule* properly presented petitions as instructed by the colonial government. Unfortunately, Lauaki and Sāmoans received a demeaning reply that positioned Sāmoans as "children" and Solf as their "father." *Fa'atamāli'i* or the practice of the Sāmoan chiefly attitudes, at first, guided Lauaki and the Sāmoans. Meleisea believes that "Sāmoan etiquette also demanded that politeness and hospitality be shown to visitors, even in times of conflict. Such hospitality did not necessarily indicate friendship."¹⁵ The *Mau a Pule* foreshadowed the resistance of Sāmoans against New Zealand almost twenty years later. Albert Wendt suggests that the leaders of the *Mau* under New Zealand "undoubtedly drew inspiration from Lauaki's example."¹⁶

The final case study to support my first argument is the *Mau* against New Zealand. Ta'isi Nelson and Tamasese publically displayed the ability of Sāmoans to organize and provide petitions to present before the Sāmoan New Zealand administration, the New Zealand Parliament, and the League of Nations. The *Mau* demanded amendments to the colonial policies, especially when *fa'a-sāmoa* was challenged. The leaders of the *Mau* pushed for reforms that would unite Sāmoa and challenge notions of "backwardness" and the supposed lack of ability to stand alone. Ta'isi Nelson reminded New Zealand and the League of Nations of Article 1 of the Final Act of the Tripartite Agreement of 1889:

¹⁴ Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 82–83.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 105.

¹⁶ Albert Wendt. 1965. *Guardians and Wards: A Study of the Origins, Causes, and First Two Years of The Mau in Western Sāmoa*. Masters Thesis, Victoria University, 30.

The three Powers recognize the independence of the Sāmoan Government, and the free right of the natives to elect their Chief or King, and choose their form of government according to their own laws and customs.¹⁷

The *Mau* leaders believed that the representation on a Legislative Council of Sāmoan members was necessary. As Ta'isi Nelson argued, Sāmoans comprised ninety-five percent of the total population and contributed to the bulk of the government's revenue. Therefore, representation only made sense.¹⁸ These multiple attempts to acquire power in Sāmoa became a collective effort of both Western and indigenous forms of leadership.

My second argument challenged the notion of a “neutral” position of the L.M.S. during the two *Mau* movements. Under the guise of “peace talks,” the L.M.S. maintained goals similar to those of the colonial government that believed in a civilizing mission and maintaining a central institutional power. This dissertation revealed that the institutions of the church supported colonial affairs. Rather than position themselves as an independent spiritual organization, the L.M.S. helped the foreign governments draft new regulations and codes of law.¹⁹ Colonial governments used missionaries to maintain peace to achieve colonial agendas.

Anna Johnston states,

Missionaries generally behaved as if the colonial status was imminent or even already in place—indeed, in many places, they introduced the signs and institutions of a colony regardless of the intentions of the Imperial Nation. In some ways, missionaries operated as the founding settlers of a potential Pacific colony. As such, they were deeply implicated in European imperialist intervention into Pacific cultures.²⁰

A successful civilizing mission meant education, capitalism, Christianity, clothing, technology, and Western laws. Despite the changes in education, capitalism, and religion in Sāmoa, the two *Mau* movements were seen by Europeans as fused from a “bad spirit” and

¹⁷ London Gazette. 1890. *Extract from the London Gazette of Friday, January 24, 1890: Final Act of Conference on Sāmoan Affairs* [June 14, 1889]. London: T. & J. W. Harrison, London Gazette Office.

¹⁸ O. F. Nelson. 1928. *Sāmoa at Geneva: Misleading The League of Nations*. Auckland: National Printing Co., Ltd.

¹⁹ J. W. Davidson. 1967. *Sāmoa mo Sāmoa: The Emergence of the Independent State of Western Sāmoa*. London: Oxford University Press, 39–43.

²⁰ Anna Johnston. 2003. *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800-1860*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 116.

extremely “hostile.”²¹ The archival materials suggest that to the L.M.S., to side with the *Mau* movements meant a return to *aso o le pōuliuli*. When two villages of western Savai’i “were against Lauaki and with the Government,” Rev. Newell stated, “This was all good news.”²² Rather than seek possible negotiations with the colonial regimes, the L.M.S. missionaries wanted the demise of the protest movements. The government officials knew that Christianity played a major role in the lives of Sāmoans, and therefore, the missionaries would be the best people to stop the protests. Of course, avoiding bloodshed trumped an act of war during the *Mau* movements, but perhaps providing representation and respect for cultural protocols would have avoided the movements. According to the *N.Z. Sāmoan Guardian*, the author points out the true nature of the missionary societies in Sāmoa:

The work of the missionary societies has been beyond all praise, but in not a few instances, missionaries have advised annexation by their respective Governments—British, American, German—instead of fostering the spirit of independence and self-government. As it is, at the present moment, the missionaries are the one safeguard of the existing native rights, that is, as far as their respective societies allow them to be.²³

The Christian missions and foreign powers justified the removal of certain practices and supported the notion that natives were “not yet civilized.”²⁴ Such Eurocentric institutions viewed *fa’a-sāmoa* as a hindrance to the modernization of the Sāmoan society, and therefore, European-led regimes attempted to remove chiefly titles and cultural practices to achieve their goals. Rev. V.A. Barradale wrote,

Again the “*fa’a-Sāmoa*,” the old customs (not necessarily evil in themselves, but degrading and injurious in their tendencies) are a great hindrance to real advance, and I

²¹ L.M.S. Sāmoa District Administrative Records. September 28, 29, and October 1, 1928, 1916–1928, P.M.B. 96, University of Hawai’i Hamilton Library.

²² Rev. Newell to Dora (daughter). 1909 April 2, Box 4, Folder 2, South Seas. Special Personal J. E. Newell Papers, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

²³ Author unknown. 1929. “The White Man’s Burden.” *N.Z. Sāmoa Guardian*, May 9.

²⁴ The foreign powers in Sāmoa prior to 1900 were Britain, the U.S., and Germany. John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff. 1999. *Civil Society and the Political Imagination in Africa: Critical Perspectives*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 45.

sometimes think very little genuine progress will be made until the communistic mode of life is got rid of, or very materially modified.²⁵

Both the colonial powers and the church agreed that the removal of *fa'a-sāmoa* would not hold the Islands back from real change. Therefore, the European pastoral attempts during the *Mau* movements reflected a desire for the civilizing mission to become successful. Both Rev. Newell and Rev. Bartlett were entrusted with the responsibility to facilitate peace talks between the *Mau* leaders and to resist any possibility of returning to *aso o le pōuliuli*. Rev. Bartlett reminded Sāmoans that the Church brought the Islands “out of darkness, and suffering into a wonderful Light and Peace.”²⁶ Rev. Perkins reported the following to the L.M.S. Foreign Secretary, “As far as possible, we must co-operate with the government of the day, in so far as its aim and work may seem to be for the good of the Sāmoan people.”²⁷

I claim that the Sāmoans made efforts toward a civilizing mission and desired more knowledge of European systems. As graduates of the Malua Theological College, the “pastorate constitutes an educated elite in Sāmoan society comparable in prestige and status to holding a high-ranking title.”²⁸ The *faiife'au* graduates supported the civilizing mission, and because of the limited European presence in the islands, the Sāmoan clergymen displayed their Western education in Sāmoa and the mission fields. Perhaps the biggest proof of the success of the L.M.S. was when Lauaki was in exile. The respect that Lauaki had for Rev. Newell resulted in a peaceful truce, and the *Mau a Pule* leaders and their families accepted exile to the German

²⁵ Rev. Barradale to Rev. Thompson. 1902 January 9, Box 47, Folder 2, South Seas. Incoming Correspondence, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London.

²⁶ Rev. Bartlett to Mau Council. 1929 November 29, Box 3, South Seas. Odds, C.W.M./L.M.S., S.O.A.S., London

²⁷ Rev. Perkins to Rev. A.M. Chirgwin (Foreign Secretary). Report 1929, Box 9, Folder 64, South Seas. Reports, C.W.M./L.M.S.

²⁸ Sharon W. Tiffany. 1978. “The Politics of Denominational Organization.” In *Mission, Church, and Sect in Oceania*, edited by James Boutillier, Daniel Hughes, and Sharon Tiffany. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 436.

colony of Saipan after meeting with Newell. While in Saipan, the exiles revealed the strength of their faith.

Unfortunately, the affection and love the Sāmoan people had for their culture was seen as a “weakness,” and not progress, in the view of the new foreign leadership. The indigenous protesters in pre-colonial and colonial Sāmoa challenged the notion of Sāmoan “backwardness.” Despite the *Mau* movements, the civilizing mission and the spread of the L.M.S. would not diminish, because *fa’a-sāmoa* protected those same institutions. The removal of *fa’a-sāmoa* would have eventually meant the collapse of all Christian institutions. Therefore, the strength of *fa’a-sāmoa* kept the church together, and also provided stability for a civil society to emerge.

The third argument of this dissertation examines the non-violent protests, especially during the *Mau* against New Zealand, because that represented Sāmoa’s ability to organize outside of the established government as a civil society. Under colonial rule, rather than waging war, Sāmoans organized themselves politically through rural and familial alliances, approached the colonial regimes through peace talks, petitioned concerns to the League of Nations, printed newspapers in Sāmoa and New Zealand, and expressed publically the aspiration for self-government. The declaration of the *Mau* called for the “promotion of the peace, order, good government, and the general welfare of the territory.”²⁹ Sāmoan *Mau* leaders strongly acknowledged that

[I]t is the inherited privilege of a person living under the British flag and especially the duty of a British subject, to assist the members of a subject race in advancement toward civilization, good morals, and a government of the people in accordance with the will of the people.³⁰

Under the *Mau*, petitions for independence were signed by ninety-five percent of Sāmoans during the height of the protests, but unfortunately, the League of Nations denied the

²⁹ Author Unknown. 1927. “O le Mau a Sāmoa: The Sāmoan League.” *Sāmoan Guardian*, May 26.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

leader of the *Mau* a hearing in Geneva and present a case. To suppress the movement, New Zealand administrators exiled leaders of the *Mau* to New Zealand, without a proper trial. However, without the presence of Ta'isi Nelson, and despite setbacks, Sāmoans had organized nonviolent protests within Apia to effect self-government reforms and independence. Ta'isi received support while in exile from the New Zealand Sāmoa Defence League and the clergymen under the leadership of Rev. A. J. Greenwood of Saint Alban's Anglican Church.³¹

The brutal death of the Sāmoan paramount chief, Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III, and nine others in Apia on “Black Saturday” represented the most severe offenses and should have led to war against New Zealand. However, a new Sāmoa emerged, centered on peace and advancement. The peaceful words of Tupua Tamasese³² are remembered even today by orators in times of turmoil and arguments within families, villages, districts, the government, and churches.

At the height of the conflict, when *Mau* members fled to the mountains to avoid arrest, Sāmoan women formed the Women's *Mau* to counter the power of New Zealand. The *Mau* sponsored newspaper, *New Zealand Sāmoa Guardian* placed the politics of Sāmoa on the world stage. One author titled an article, “The Mau of Ireland,” and compared the Irish fight for freedom during the 1916 uprising in Dublin to Sāmoa's *Mau*. The newspaper asserted, “The countries that Britain had control of are falling off like withered leaves, for they are getting their

³¹ Alfred Hall Skeleton, one of Auckland's leading lawyers, founded the Sāmoa Defence League. Skeleton also played a leading role in the support of Irish Republicanism. See: Michael Field. 1991. *Mau: Sāmoa's Struggle for Freedom*. Auckland: Polynesian Press, 133.

³² On 28 December 1929, the *Mau* marched through Apia in civil disobedience against the New Zealand Administration. The tension was naturally high between the Sāmoan marchers and the European policemen. Tupua Tamasese called out in both Sāmoan and English, “Filemu Sāmoa, peace Sāmoa.” A bullet struck Tupua Tamasese and before his death, he uttered the following words: “My blood has been split for Sāmoa. I am proud to give it. Do not dream of avenging it as it was spilt in maintaining peace. If I die, peace must be maintained at any price.” See: Michael J. Field. 1984. *Mau: Sāmoa's Struggle for Freedom*. Auckland: Polynesian Press, 154–155; Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 137.

independence because Britain can hold them no longer.”³³ Sāmoans expressed both resilience and passion for the cause of self-government.

Sāmoan Agency

My archival research approach has guided this dissertation, and I have attempted to highlight indigenous agency within the L.M.S. church and the two colonial administrations. I demonstrated in each chapter the strength of *fa’a-sāmoa* within the changing political environment, pre-20th century and after. Through their agency, Sāmoans made every effort to advance themselves, without neglecting the basic tenets of *fa’a-sāmoa* and the family structures that had sustained them for centuries. Sāmoans enjoyed the benefits of European culture and desired change, but on their terms. According to Hempenstall,

[T]he history of colonial penetration shows that, at different times and according to their reading of the situation and the resources at their disposal, Pacific Islanders, as did Africans, made conscious acts of selection and rejection of elements of European culture.³⁴

It was not uncommon for Sāmoan chiefs and clergymen to switch sides to benefit themselves, their families, and their villages. Hempenstall defines this as the “cost-benefit analysis.”³⁵ As an example, during the Sāmoan *Mau* movement of the 1920’s, one respected district under the leadership of the paramount chief, Matā’afa Salanoa, had “one part following the government, the other the *Mau*, so that the district would share in the spoils whoever was triumphant.”³⁶ Straddling two worlds as a means of gaining benefits proved problematic, and reflected the complexities of protest in Sāmoa, the Pacific, and around the world. Lauaki

³³ Translation of the Sāmoan Supplement of *The N.Z. Sāmoan Guardian*, 16 February 1933.

³⁴ Peter Hempenstall. 1975. “Resistance in the German Pacific Empire: Toward a Theory of Early Colonial Response.” *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 84(1): 16.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

³⁶ Hempenstall and Rutherford, *Protest and Dissent in the Colonial Pacific*, 40.

struggled to gain full support but “he could not count on any general movement aspiring to change the state of society, because the Sāmoans, at large, were enjoying ample prosperity.”³⁷

The Sāmoan *Mau* movements fit within the broader Pacific resistance studies as examples of anti-colonial protest by civil societies in the Pacific. Rather than play passive roles, Sāmoans learned to participate in the new systems, and later demanded more control within the institutions. Meleisea explains that high chiefly titles carried prestige before and after the advent of Christianity. He goes on to state, “[B]ut the holders of high titles and those who aspired to such honours, had to seek new ways to acquire prestige to Sāmoans,”³⁸ and used “whatever techniques they consider to be available to them and most likely to be effective in the particular context.”³⁹ Therefore, Sāmoans modified the techniques of resistance and protested to fit the different contexts within the government or the L.M.S. church.

According to outsiders, *fa’a-sāmoa* reduced the potential for Sāmoan advancement. In actuality, the Sāmoan response in *aso o le mālmalama* reflected a more “civilized” method that the foreigners refused to accept. J. W. Davidson likened the Sāmoan society to Meiji Japan as “capable of progressive adaptation, rather than susceptible to disintegration, in the face of changes resulting from contact with the Western world.”⁴⁰ In *The Truth About Sāmoa*, O. F. Nelson argues,

I have dwelt a little on this phase of Sāmoan evolution to show that a people of whom over 99 out of every 100 can read and write, and who can, unaided, collect and administer a revenue of some £10,000 per annum for educational and spiritual work, cannot be regarded by outsiders as a “backward” race, still dwelling in a gloom of pagan ignorance and savagery, and incapable of taking an active and intelligent interest in their own government and the financial affairs of their Territory.⁴¹

³⁷ Hempenstall, “Resistance in the German Pacific Empire,” 19.

³⁸ Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 14.

³⁹ Peter Hempenstall and Noel Rutherford. 1984. *Protest and Dissent in the Colonial Pacific*. Suva: University of the South Pacific, 1.

⁴⁰ J. W. Davidson. 1970. “Lauaki Namulau’ulu Mamoe: A Traditionalist in Sāmoan Politics.” In *Pacific Islands Portrait*, edited by J. W. Davison and Deryck Scarr. Canberra: Australia National University, 267.

⁴¹ Nelson, *The Truth About Sāmoa*, 4.

Sāmoa was not the only island in the Pacific using Christian and *papālagi* institutions to form a modern island government. In Tonga, King Tupou Taufa'ahau I became the leading ruler, with strong support from the Wesleyan missionaries. The stories from the missionaries about King George III of England made Taufa'ahau adopt "King George" as an addition to his name. As a Christian leader, King George Tupou Taufa'ahau adopted a legislative law based on Christian and Biblical morality. In 1839, the introduced code of law shunned adultery, fornication, and the sale of liquor, among other offences. The Tonga Constitution in 1875 preserved Tonga's independence from the great Powers, and secured Tonga's future. As King George's closest advisor, Rev. Shirley Baker helped draft a revised Code of Laws in 1862 and the Tonga Constitution in 1875.⁴² Baker consulted with lawyers and experts in Australia and New Zealand, and modeled the Constitution of Tonga on the Hawaiian Constitution. The Constitution secured the survival of the monarchy after King George's death, providing for a privy council and a court system.⁴³

The Hawaiian Kingdom saw the political advantages of Christianity. The abolition of the *kapu* system and Kaahumanu's campaign to promote literacy and Christianity soon transformed the Hawaiian islands. The Law Code of 1819 and the Constitution of 1824 consolidated Hawaiian rule, and regulated relations between Hawaiians and foreigners. Similarly to Sāmoa, the wide acceptance of Christianity and literacy helped move the Hawaiian people toward modernization. Samuel Kamakau wrote, "Not she [Kaahumanu] alone, but all chiefs assisted in

⁴² Sione Latukefu. 1973. "King George Tupou I of Tonga." In *Pacific Islands Portraits*, edited by James Davidson and Deryck Scarr. Canberra: Australia National University Press, 70–75.

⁴³ Howe, *Where the Waves Fall*, 193–194.

this move for a better government with the word of God as a foundation, for to this the Hawaiian nation was committed. The Hawaiian nation was, in all respects, a Christian nation.”⁴⁴

Kamanamaikalani Beamer closely examines the native agency in the face of Western imperialism. Beamer calls Hawaiian chiefs “astute leaders” who demonstrated agency during the influence of the West. He writes, “The *aliʻi* of the 18th and the 19th centuries were convinced that there is much to learn from the world and all of its cultures.”⁴⁵ Similarly, Lauaki Namulauʻulu, Taʻisi Nelson, and Tupua Tamasese held on to *faʻa-sāmoa*, but willfully modernized Sāmoa and its people with a constitution, education, literacy, Christianity, and an organized country. Meleisea believes that since contact with Europeans, Sāmoans have dictated their own “construction of reality.” In other words, Sāmoans reinterpreted foreign patters of behavior, ideologies, and actions in “their own world view.”⁴⁶

The *Mau* movements are an important area of inquiry in Pacific resistance studies; however, relatively little is known about the colonial Christian churches during this period. Specifically, further research into the colonial L.M.S. church is necessary because of its influence at the village and government levels. Perhaps an analysis of key participants during this period, both *faiʻeʻau* and the L.M.S. missionaries, and their contributions would be worthwhile. The Board of Elders played a major part in clerical leadership during the *Mau* by achieving church reforms; therefore, a closer investigation into the politics of the Board and the “cost-benefit analysis” to achieve their goals may be an important area for further investigation.

⁴⁴ Samuel Kamakau. 1992. *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaiʻi*. Revised edition. Honolulu: The Kamehameha Schools Press, 322.

⁴⁵ Kamanamaikalani Beamer. 2014. *No mākou ka mana: Liberating the Nation*. Honolulu: Kamehameha Publishing, 229.

⁴⁶ Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 229.

Independence

Sāmoan *matai* promoted progressive change in the Islands. Sāmoans had never lived in isolation before European contact; rather, they exposed themselves to the political systems of neighboring islands, e.g., Fiji and Tonga.⁴⁷ The exposure to other cultures influenced *fa'a-sāmoa* through exchanges which were centuries old. The contact with Christianity and the colonial powers proved no different. Sāmoan *matai* anticipated changes in the society and desired advancement, but they opposed radical transformations of *fa'a-sāmoa* unless implemented by Sāmoans. A Sāmoan saying states, *E Sui Faiga ae Tumau Fa'avae* or “practices may change, but the foundation remains.” Regarding *fa'a-sāmoa*, the foundation of culture remains, but changes are inevitable.⁴⁸

Sāmoa eventually became the first Pacific Island nation to achieve the objective of independence in 1962. Before independence, Sāmoan *matai* clarified the two terms “self-government” and “independence.” The two terms had confused Sāmoan leaders before the actual U.N. vote. “Self-Government” would make Sāmoa an autonomous country under New Zealand, similar to the Cook Islands.⁴⁹ “Independence” gave Sāmoa full rights and control of their government. When translated in Sāmoan, “self-government” is *ia fai e tatou (Sāmoa) lo tatou lava Mālo* or “let us have our own government,” which became the term used in United Nations’ reports. The Sāmoan parliament members used the term “*Malōtūtoatasi*” in speeches, but translated it as “independence.” Members of the U.N. Commission met with the two paramount chiefs of Sāmoa, Malietoa Tanumāfili II and Tupua Tamasese Mea’ole, at

⁴⁷ Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, 16.

⁴⁸ The theme at the 7th Measina Conference at the National University of Sāmoa, 15–17 November 2016 was *E Sui Faiga ae Tumau Fa'avae*. The majority of the participants were high ranked *matai* and clergymen from different villages. *Matai* recognized the changes in the language and *fa'a-sāmoa*, which were inevitable. The exposure to new technology, colloquial slang, and modern practices of *fa'a-sāmoa* worried the elderly *matai*. To them, advancement was not a problem; rather, they considered what aspects of *fa'a-sāmoa* were worth preserving.

⁴⁹ Cook Islands is “independent” under a “free association” status. See: Steven R. Fischer. 2013. *A History of the Pacific Islands*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 249.

Tamasese's residence in Malifā.⁵⁰ After the terms were defined, the Honorable To'omata said, "I am satisfied with the reply, and my response is Sāmoa's wish to achieve independence."⁵¹ The Constitution provided that Malietoa Tanumāfili II of Sā Malietoā and Tupua Tamasese Mea'ole of Sā Tupuā from the two leading families of Sāmoa would become joint Heads of State. The compromise of a dual leadership from the two leading families in Sāmoa started as early as the 1875 Sāmoan Constitution. Meleisea believes that "by accepting their constitution, the Sāmoans also uncritically accepted the co-existence of a written body of Western law and an unwritten and uncodified body of customary procedures."⁵²

Lauaki Namulau'ulu's and Ta'isi O. F. Nelson's demands for independence became reality decades after their efforts and achieved a sense of nationalism among all Sāmoans. The *Oloa* company had spread throughout Sāmoa under the motto of *lotonu'u* or patriotism.⁵³ Critics during the second *Mau* claimed that Ta'isi Nelson's selfish ambitions influenced Sāmoans. However, as the newspaper *Sāmoan Guardian* states, "If Nelson was the cause of the *Mau* in Western Sāmoa, how is it that the *Mau* continues stronger than ever, notwithstanding Nelson's enforced absence [exile] for over a year and a half?"⁵⁴

The L.M.S. eventually became self-governing from London in 1961 and changed their name from the "Sāmoa Church (L.M.S.)" to the "Congregational Christian Church of Sāmoa" or

⁵⁰ Members of the Parliament present: To'omata Tua of Samata, Tufuga Fatu of Asau, Tualaulelei Mauri of Palauli (East), Pilia'e Leilua of Leulumoega, and Fa'alavā'au Galu of Falelatai. See: Vaiao J. Ala'ilima. 2010. *O Tatou Tupuaga—Our Ancestors*. Unknown: Vaiao J. Ala'ilima, 306–307.

⁵¹ Ala'ilima, *O Tatou Tapuaga*, 308. See also: Davidson, *Sāmoa Mo Sāmoa*, 406. Question 1: *Do you agree with the Constitution adopted by the Constitutional Convention on 28 October 1960?* Votes: Yes (31,426), No (4,909), Informal (1,562). Question 2: *Do you agree that on 1 January 1962 Western Sāmoa should become an independent state on the basis of that Constitution?* Votes: Yes (29,862), No (5,108), Informal (2,907).

⁵² Meleisea, *Making of Modern Sāmoa*, xiii.

⁵³ Erich Schultz Report. 1905 February 18, *Lauati Rebellion Vol. I*. University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

⁵⁴ Claymore. 1929. "Nationalism," *Sāmoan Guardian*, July 4.

Ekalesia Fa'apopotoga Kerisiano i Sāmoa.⁵⁵ The new church constitution gave Sāmoans freedom in their finances and liturgy. Forman writes, “When the confrontation with the *Mau* movement led to the impasse between missionaries and the Sāmoans...it became clear to London that the missionaries’ power would have to be reduced.”⁵⁶

In conclusion, *tofā* or wisdom is a term attributed to chiefs and *faiife’au*. *Tofā saili* (search of wisdom), *tofā loloto* (deep wisdom), and *tofā fa’ale-Ātua* (wisdom from God) are blessings given to newly confirmed chiefs and clergymen. Families prayed for a *matai*, as the representative of the extended *‘āiga*, to have the wisdom to lead with a profound sense of *tofā*. Today, Sāmoans praise Lauaki Namulau’ulu, Ta’isi Nelson, Malietoa Tanumāfili, Tupua Tamasese, and Sāmoa’s forefathers for their *tofā saili* and *tofā loloto* for their protests that eventually led to Western Sāmoa’s independence. *Tofā fa’ale-Ātua* (“Wisdom of God”) is used to refer to the *‘Au Toeaina* and clergymen of the L.M.S. for their strong foundation in Christian missions, the constitution of an independent church, and the support received as a *mamalu* “sacred” vocation.

More recently, Sāmoan civil society through various Non-Government Organizations (N.G.O.s) has challenged the government on tax reforms, the 1990–1991 electoral reform, the recent time zone change, and economic issues. Sāmoan chiefs and *faiife’au* are asked to have a deep sense of *tofā* to make the right decisions for a better Sāmoa. The Congregational Christian Church of Sāmoa has been challenged to recognize the inevitable changes in Sāmoa at the cultural, technological, and economic levels. The *faiife’au* plays a major role in the Sāmoan society, and today, people are hoping for a stronger presence of the Church on the issues that

⁵⁵ American Sāmoa broke away in 1980 and formed the Congregational Christian Church of American Sāmoa or *Ekalesia Fa'apopotoga Kerisiano i Amerika Sāmoa*.

⁵⁶ Charles Forman. 1982. *The Island Churches of the South Pacific: Emergence in the Twentieth Century*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 129–130.

would help guide Sāmoa into the future. Religious systems were once viewed as mutually exclusive; Christianity became the major religion since the 1830s. Pre-contact religious practices and chants were banned by European missionaries and Sāmoan *faiʻeʻau*. Today, Christianity has been incorporated within the culture by using Sāmoan elements. Some clergymen use coconut juice instead of wine in communion, or Sāmoan instruments (*pake*) to accompany the church organ, *tapa* cloth is used for priestly clothing, and traditional decorations and carvings are used in churches.⁵⁷ Foreigners inspired the religious and government transformations, but the chiefs shaped⁵⁸ the changes based on *tofā saili*, *tofā mamao*, and *tofā faʻale-Ātua*. The following petition of the Women's *Mau* movement to the New Zealand Prime Minister, George Forbes, in 1930 summarizes the Sāmoan attitude toward Christianity, nationalism, social justice, modernization, and *faʻa-sāmoa*:

We are a peace-loving people and law-abiding people who gave up war-like ways over thirty years ago. We have been schooled in religion and in the arts of reading and writing for a period of just one hundred years. But, we love our country, our own people, our own civilization, and our own social and political systems better than any others less-known to us. We are passive people, but we are determined and resolute.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Ron Crocombe. 2001. *The South Pacific*. Suva: University of the South Pacific, 211.

⁵⁸ Meleisea, "The Postmodern Legacy of a Premodern," 59.

⁵⁹ N.Z. Memorial Museum. "Entangled Islands." July 1930 petition by the Women's *Mau* to New Zealand Prime Minister George Forbes.

Glossary of Words and Places

<i>a'oga Sāmoa</i>	Sāmoan school
<i>'alu'alu toto</i>	blood clot
<i>'Au Toeaina</i>	Sāmoan Board of Elders of the L.M.S.
<i>'ava</i>	kava root used for the <i>'ava</i> ceremony
<i>'ie toga</i>	fine mat
<i>'afakasi</i>	half-caste(s)
<i>aga'ifanua</i>	Sāmoan traditions within the villages
<i>aganu'u</i>	common cultural practice throughout Sāmoa
<i>'āiga</i>	family
<i>'āiga poto</i>	extended family
<i>'Āiga-i-le-Tai</i>	“Family in the Sea”: District of Apolima, Manono, and Mulifanua <i>Pule</i> and <i>'Āiga</i> refers to Savai'i and the “Family in the Sea”
<i>aitu</i>	spirit
<i>ali'i</i>	high chief
<i>Ali'i ma Faipule</i>	High Chiefs and Representatives
<i>Ali'i Sili</i>	Paramount Chief
<i>alofa</i>	love
<i>ao</i>	day
<i>Ao</i>	paramount titles of Sāmoa
<i>Ātua</i>	God
<i>aualuma</i>	untitled women in a village
<i>auauna ole Ātua</i>	servant of God

<i>aumaga</i>	untitled sons of chiefs in a village
<i>autalavou</i>	youth
<i>D.H.P.G.</i>	Germany company Deutsche Handels-und Plantagen-Gesellschaft
<i>E.F.K.S.</i>	Formerly known as the L.M.S. Sāmoa Church, today named the <i>Ekalesia Fa'apotopotoga Kerisiano i Sāmoa</i> or the Congregational Christian Church of Sāmoa (C.C.C.S.)
<i>fa'a-matai</i>	chiefly system
<i>fa'a-sāmoa</i>	Sāmoan customs and traditions
<i>fa'alupega</i>	honorifics
<i>fa'amāgalo</i>	forgiveness
<i>fa'apaupau</i>	pagan
<i>Fa'asaleleaga</i>	One of six districts on Savai'i
<i>fa'asilasilaga</i>	proclamation
<i>fa'ate'a</i>	banishment
<i>fa'aaloalo</i>	regard highly with respect
<i>fa'amasino</i>	judge
<i>fa'asalalauga</i>	proclamation
<i>faife'au</i>	pastor or clergyman
<i>Faipule</i>	House of Representatives (<i>Fono a Faipule</i>)
<i>faitasiga</i>	confederation
<i>fale talimalō</i>	meeting house of an orator (<i>tulāfale</i>)
<i>fale tele</i>	meeting house of a chief (<i>ali'i</i>)
<i>faletua</i>	wife of a chief or <i>faife'au</i>
<i>fa'atamālii</i>	aristocrat

<i>fautasi</i>	long whale boat
<i>fautua</i>	advisor
<i>fe'e</i>	octopus
<i>feagaiga</i>	covenant
<i>filemū</i>	calm
<i>fono</i>	meeting
<i>Fono Tele</i>	General Assembly Meeting
<i>fue</i>	a creeper vine
<i>ia teu le vā</i>	cherish the relationship
<i>'ie toga</i>	fine mat
<i>ifo</i>	bow
<i>ifoga</i>	Sāmoan act of forgiveness by sitting under a fine mat
<i>itū malō</i>	district
<i>Kaisalika</i>	Kaiser
<i>lafoga</i>	tax
<i>lagi</i>	heavens
<i>lalolagi</i>	land
<i>lāuga</i>	speech
<i>leoleo</i>	police
<i>lotonu'u</i>	patriotic
<i>lotu</i>	church
<i>Lotu Pope</i>	Catholic Church
<i>Lotu Taiti</i>	London Missionary Society Church

<i>Lotu Toga</i>	Wesleyan Church
<i>malae</i>	traditional village ground
<i>malaga</i>	traveling party
<i>mālamalama</i>	enlightenment
<i>malō</i>	victory
<i>Malō</i>	Government
<i>mamalu</i>	dignity and sacredness
<i>mana</i>	supernatural prestige
<i>manatu</i>	thought
<i>matai</i>	chief
<i>mau</i>	an opinion
<i>Mau</i>	Movement against the New Zealand Administration and led by Ta’isi O. F. Nelson and Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III
<i>Mau a Pule</i>	Movement against the German Administration and led by Lauaki Namulau’ulu
<i>mavaega</i>	final wish
<i>Mē</i>	L.M.S. meeting in May (<i>Mē</i>) to collect contributions
<i>migao</i>	reverence
<i>Misi</i>	short for <i>misionare</i> or missionary, i.e. Misi Niueli for Rev. Newell
<i>moa</i>	chicken
<i>Mulinu’u</i>	Sāmoa’s political seat of government
<i>nu’u</i>	village
<i>Oloa</i>	Sāmoan trading company in 1904
<i>onosa’i</i>	patience

<i>pa'ia</i>	sanctified
<i>pālagi</i>	foreigner or European
<i>pāpā</i>	titular titles
<i>papa ele</i>	earthy rocks
<i>papa tū</i>	great rocks
<i>pese</i>	song
<i>pō</i>	night
<i>pōuliuli</i>	darkness
<i>pule</i>	power/rule
<i>Pule</i>	Savai'i, as in <i>Tumua</i> and <i>Pule</i>
<i>pulefa'atoaga</i>	Director of Agriculture
<i>pulefou</i>	new authority
<i>Pulenu'u</i>	district chiefs
<i>puletua</i>	“authority in the back” (Malietoa Laupepa’s government)
<i>pūlotu</i>	the afterworld
<i>Realpolitik</i>	“politics of reality” or a pragmatic view of world politics
<i>sā</i>	sacred
<i>Safotulafai</i>	village of Lauaki Namulau’ulu Mamoe and the political “capital” of the Fa’asaleleaga district
<i>Sā Malietoa</i>	extended families of Malietoa
<i>Sā Tupuā</i>	extended families of Tupua
<i>sa'oao</i>	untitled women
<i>saofa'i</i>	ceremony to bestow chiefly titles
<i>saofaiga a matai</i>	gathering of chiefs

<i>suli</i>	heir
<i>ta'alolo</i>	presentation of foods and gifts
<i>Ta'imua</i>	House of Nobles
<i>Tafa'ifā</i>	Highest <i>Ali'i</i> in Western Sāmoa possessing the four highest titles: Tui-Ātua, Tui Ā'ana, Gatoa'itele, Tamasoali'i
<i>taitai itū</i>	police officers
<i>talatalaga</i>	family deliberation
<i>tamā</i>	father
<i>Tama a Āiga</i>	Paramount titles: Tui-Ātua, Tui Ā'ana, Malietoa, Tuimaleali'ifano. Also spelled as <i>tama 'āiga</i>
<i>tamaita'i</i>	unmarried women
<i>tamaiti</i>	young people, including children
<i>taofi</i>	belief
<i>tapu</i>	taboo
<i>tatau</i>	tattoo
<i>tau</i>	war
<i>taule'ale'a</i>	untitled men
<i>tausi</i>	wife of a talking chief
<i>tautua</i>	service
<i>tiakono</i>	deacon
<i>to'oto'o</i>	staff of an orator
<i>Tui</i>	lord
<i>tulāfale</i>	orator
<i>tulī</i>	plover bird

<i>Tumua</i>	Upolu Island, as in <i>Tumua</i> and <i>Pule</i>
<i>vā</i>	sacred space between
<i>vā fealoaloa 'i</i>	social space
<i>vā fealofani</i>	brotherly/sisterly love
<i>vā feiloa 'i</i>	proper protocols during gatherings
<i>vā tapua 'i</i>	worship space
<i>vaivai</i>	weak
<i>valo 'aga</i>	miracle
<i>Weltpolitik</i>	Germany's aggressive "world policy" style of diplomacy between 1890 and 1914

Appendix A
Map of the Sāmoan Islands

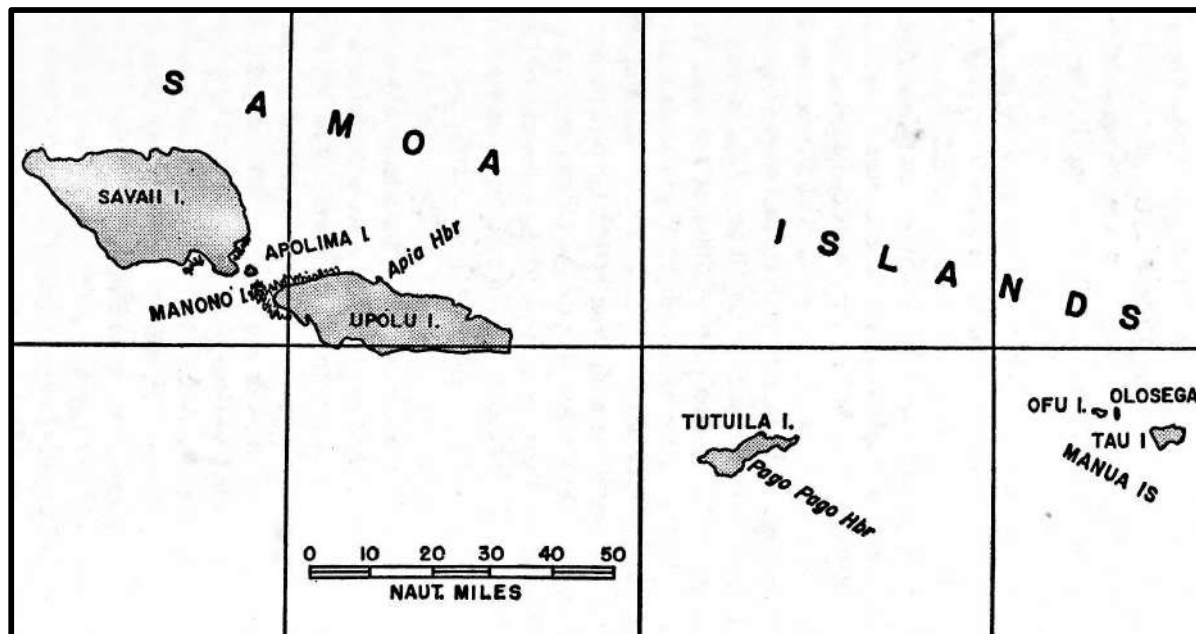


Figure 1. Map of the Sāmoan Islands. Western Sāmoa: Savai'i, Upolu, Manono, and Apolima. American Sāmoa: Tutuila and Manu'a Islands. Source: J. A. C. Gray. 1960. *Amerika Sāmoa: A History of American Sāmoa and Its United States Naval Administration*. Annapolis: United States Naval Institute.

Appendix B

Map of the Political Division of Western Sāmoa

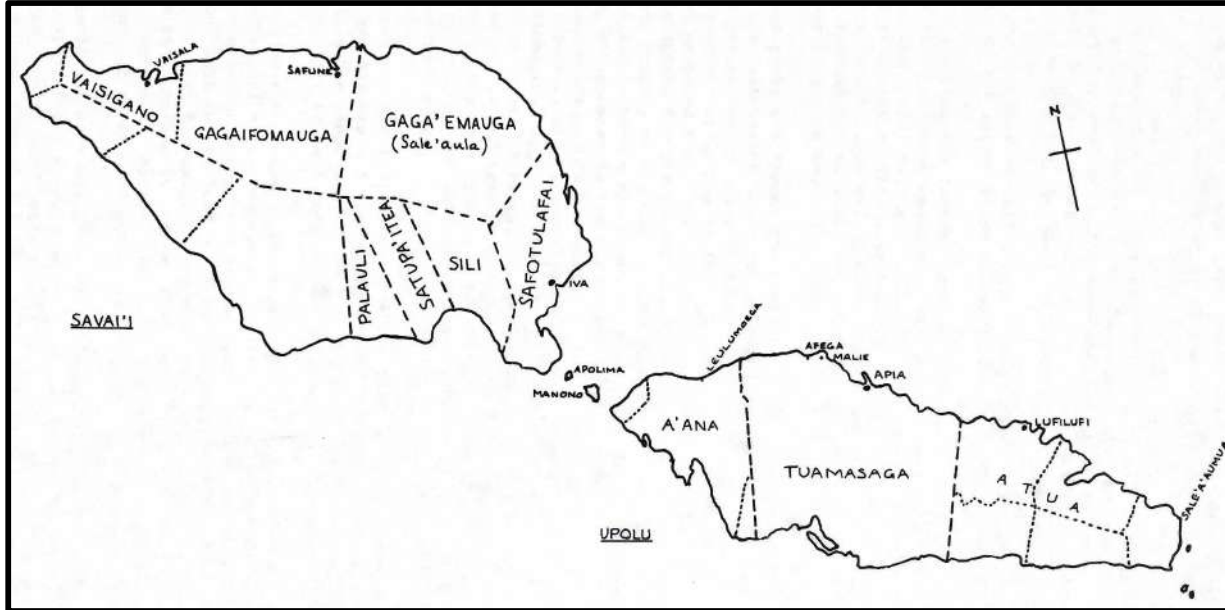


Figure 2. Map of the political division of Western Sāmoa. Savai'i (*Pule*) has six major districts. Of the six, Lauaki Namulau'ulu's village of Safotulafai is the most influential and in the Fa'asaleleaga district (this map has the district labeled as Sofotulafai). Upolu (*Tumua*) has three major districts: Ā'ana (capital: Leulumoea), Tuamāsaga in the middle (capital: Apega and Malie), and Ātua (capital: Lufilufi). Before 1900, the Ātua district occupied Tutuila Island. Source: K. R. Lambie. 1979. *History of Sāmoa*. Apia: Commercial Printers Ltd.

Appendix C
Succession of Power: Sā Tupuā and Sā Malietoā

Sā Tupuā

Tupua Tamasese Titimaea
Tupua Tamasese Lealofioā'ana I (son of T. T. Titimaea)
Tupua Tamasese Lealofioā'ana II (son of T. T. Lealofioā'ana I)
Tupua Tamasese Lealofioā'ana III (son of Lealofi I, *Mau* leader killed on “Black Saturday”)
Tupua Tamasese Mea'ole (son of Lealofi I, joint Head of State with Mal. Tanumāfili II in 1962)
Tupua Tamasese Lealofioā'ana IV (son of Lealofiā'ana III)
Tui-Ātua Tupua Tamasese 'Efi (son of T. T. Mea'ole, current holder of the Tui-Ātua title, and the former Head of State of Sāmoa)
Note: *Lealofi* is a short for *Lealofioā'ana*

Matā'afa Iosefo (*Ali'i Sili* appointed by German Governor W. Solf)
Matā'afa Faumuinā Fiamē Mulinu'u I (*Mau* leader after death of T.T. Lealofioā'ana III)
Matā'afa Faumuinā Fiamē Mulinu'u II (First Prime Minister of Sāmoa in 1962)

Sā Malietoā

Malietoa Fitisemanu (received Nafanua prophecy regarding a new “kingdom”)
Malietoa Vainu'upō “Tavita” (accepted L.M.S. in 1830)
Malietoa Taimalelagi Natuitasina (half-brother of Mal. Vainu'upō)
Malietoa Molī (son of Mal. Vainu'upō)
Malietoa Talavou (half-brother of Mal. Molī)
Malietoa Laupepa (son of Mal. Molī)
Malietoa Tanumāfili I (son of Mal. Laupepa)
Malietoa Tanumāfili II (son of Mal. Tanumāfili I and joint Head of State with Tupua Tamasese Mea'ole, 1962)
Note: Malietoa Tanumāfili died in 2007. A new Malietoa has still not been appointed.

Appendix D

Timeline of Events

1829-1832	War of Ā'ana
1830	Arrival of John Williams onboard the <i>Messenger of Peace</i> from Tahiti
1835	Rev. George Pratt's <i>Sāmoan Dictionary</i>
1841	Death of Malietoa Vainu'upō and distribution of <i>tafa'ifā</i> titles
1844	Malua Theological College started
1845	Roman Catholic Church arrives in Sāmoa
1850	Sāmoan <i>faife'au</i> boycott for financial compensation Sāmoan version of the New Testament completed
1855	Sāmoan version of the Old Testament completed
1857	Godeffroy and Sons established in Apia, Western Sāmoa Wesleyan Sāmoan Church officially allowed to practice in Sāmoa
1858	Mal. Taimalelagi died and succeeded by Mal. Molī (elder son of Mal. Vainu'upō)
1860	Mal. Molī dies. Mal. Talavou (Molī's brother) vs. Mal. Laupepa (Molī's son)
1869	War of Faitasiga
1869-1873	"Land Grab" Weber claimed thousands of hectares on Upolu
1871	Germany unites Central Polynesian Land and Commercial established to buy and sell land
1873	Peace talks between Sā Malietoa and Sā Tupuā Colonel A. B. Steinberger sent to Sāmoa as a "special agent" Established <i>Ta'imua</i> and <i>Faipule</i> Sāmoan Bill of Rights
1875	Sāmoan Constitution Mal. Laupepa's <i>Puletua</i> starts L.M.S. <i>Fono Tele</i> (General Assembly) begins, and <i>faife'au</i> ordained
1877	Mal. Laupepa's <i>Puletua</i> vs. <i>Ta'imua</i> and <i>Faipule</i> led by T. T. Titimaea <i>Ta'imua</i> and <i>Faipule</i> win and become the <i>Malō</i> (government)
1878 – 1879	Britain, United States, and Germany entered into treaty relations
1879	Mal. Talavou formed <i>Pulefou</i> as a new government Mal. Talavou declared king and Mal. Laupepa as vice-king
1880	Mal. Talavou dies and Mal. Laupepa declared king
1881	War between Sā Tupuā and Sā Malietoa Truce: alternate as king, Mal. Laupepa (king) and T. T. Titimaea (vice-king)
1885	German, Theodore Weber claims Mulinu'u and expels Mal. Laupepa

- 1887 T. T. Titimaea supported by Germans and attacked Mal. Laupepa
Mal. Laupepa exiled to Saipan
T. T. Titimaea declared himself *tafa'ifa*
- 1888 Matā'afa Iosefa (British/U.S. support) vs. T. T. Titimaea (German support)
- 1889 Warships sent to protect nationals and the "Great Hurricane" destroyed ships
Matā'afa Iosefo wins but not recognized as king
- 1889 Tripartite Agreement signed and created a joint protectorate over Sāmoa
Mal. Laupepa returned from exile and declared king, but abdicates to Matā'afa
- 1891 T. T. Titimaea dies and succeeded by son T. T. Lealofioā'ana I
- 1893 Mal. Laupepa established *Malō*. War between Mal. Laupepa and Matā'afa Iosefo
Matā'afa Iosefo and 10 supporters deported to the Marshall Islands
- 1898 Mal. Laupepa dies, Matā'afa returned from exile, and Mal. Tanumāfili I is king
Civil War: Matā'afa Iosefo vs. Mal. Tanumāfili I and Matā'afa wins
- 1899 Britain, United States, and Germany partition Western Sāmoa and Eastern Sāmoa
(Washington Convention)
- 1900 German Sāmoa under Dr. Wilhelm Solf as Governor
American Sāmoa under the U.S. Department of Navy
- 1904-1905 *Oloa* (economic resistance)
- 1906 'Au Toeaina (Board of Elders of the L.M.S.) begin
- 1908 *Mau a Pule* by Lauaki Namulau'ulu petitioned changes
- 1909 Lauaki and *Mau a Pule matai* exiled to Saipan
- 1912 Matā'afa Iosefo dies
- 1913 Abolished *Ali'i Sili* position and appointed two *Fautua*:
Tanumāfili I of Sā Malietoā and T. T. Lealofioā'ana I of Sā Tupuā
- 1914 World War I and New Zealand occupies German Sāmoa
N.Z. Administrator Robert Logan (1914-1919)
- 1918 Influenza Epidemic
- 1919 Western Sāmoa became an official protectorate of New Zealand
N.Z. Administrator Robert Tate (1919-1923)
- 1920 League of Nations named Sāmoa a Mandate "C"
- 1921 Sāmoa Act of 1921 passed (new government model for Western Sāmoa)
- 1922 Offender's Ordinance of 1922 (removal of chiefly titles)
- 1923 Western Sāmoa Amendment Act of 1923 (to grant more power to administrator)
N.Z. Administrator George Richardson (1923-1928)
Fine Mat Ordinance passed by Richardson

1924	Tupua Tamasese Lealofioā'ana III banished and deprived of title by Richardson
1926	Resentment towards New Zealand grows in Sāmoa due to new laws Ta'isi Nelson meets with Prime Minister Coates in New Zealand Citizens' Committee formed <i>Fono a Faipule</i> against the <i>Mau</i> (1926-1936)
1927	Citizens' Committee transitioned to "The Sāmoans League," later called the <i>Mau Sāmoan Guardian</i> newspaper started Royal Commission Report published
1928	N.Z. Administrator Stephen Allen (1928-1931) Ta'isi Nelson deported from Sāmoa for five years Ta'isi Nelson travels to Geneva to present Sāmoa's case before Commission T. T. Lealofioā'ana III arrested and sentenced 6 weeks' to Mt. Eden Gaol in N.Z.
1929	New Zealand Sāmoa Defence League formed in Auckland, New Zealand <i>N.Z. Sāmoan Guardian</i> newspaper started Tupua Tamasese Lealofioā'ana III returned to a grand welcome in June Tupua Tamasese Lealofioā'ana III is killed on "Black Saturday" in December
1930	<i>Mau</i> is declared a seditious organization Women's <i>Mau</i> started
1931	N.Z. Administrator Herbert Hart (1931-1935)
1933	Ta'isi Nelson returns to Sāmoa from exile
1934	Ta'isi Nelson exiled again for 10 years for assisting the <i>Mau</i>
1935	Labour Party wins election in New Zealand
1936	<i>Mau</i> is no longer a seditious organization Ta'isi Nelson's exile revoked
1938	"New Mau" – Ta'isi and <i>Fono a Faipule</i> made demands to New Zealand ¹
1944	Ta'isi Nelson dies
1947	Sāmoan Amendment
1948	Sāmoan flag was raised beside the New Zealand flag
1962	Western Sāmoa Independence Congregational Christian Church of Sāmoa named (former Sāmoa-L.M.S.)

¹ Patricia O'Brien. 2017. *Tautai: Sāmoa, World History, and the Life of Ta'isi O. F. Nelson*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Appendix E
Figures from the *Mau a Pule*



Figure 3. Andrew, Thomas, 1855-1939: Sāmoan talking chief Lauati. Making New Zealand: Negatives and prints from the Making New Zealand Centennial collection. Ref: PAColl-3060-008. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22393757



Figure 4. Andrew, Thomas, 1855-1939: Matā'afa Iosefo, his wife, and principal chiefs at Malie, Sāmoa. Smith, Stephenson Percy, 1840-1922: Maori and Polynesian photographs. Ref: PA1-o-469-53. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/23189720



Figure 5. Part of the Sāmoan party on board German cruiser *Jaguar*, Apia Harbor – for departure to the Caroline Islands as a result of the *Mau a Pule*, 1909. Source: *Lauati Rebellion Vol. 2*, University of Auckland Special Collection, Auckland.

Appendix F

Figures from the *Mau*



Figure 6. Ta'isi O. F. Nelson. Source: Percy Andrews, ed. 1931. *Sāmoa in the Shadows*. Auckland: N.Z. Sāmoa Guardian.



Figure 7. Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III at the *Mau* Headquarters in Vaimoso, Apia. Source: *N.Z. Sāmoa Guardian*, 14 November 1929.

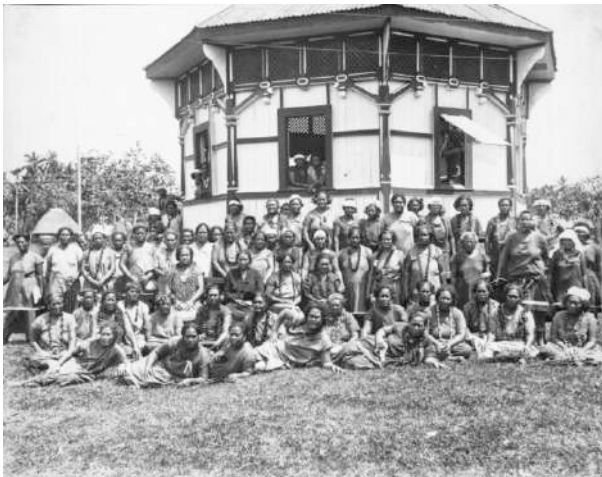


Figure 8. The Women's *Mau* leaders and committee. Gleeson, Francis Joseph 1908-1993: Album of photographs of the *Mau* uprising, Western Sāmoa, 1930. Ref: PA1-o-795-57. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/23167920



Figure 9. Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III lying in state with *Mau* members. *Mau* leader T.T. Lealofi died on "Black Saturday" December 1929. Source: Percy Andrews, ed. 1931. *Sāmoa in the Shadows*. Auckland: N.Z. Sāmoa Guardian.

Appendix G

Figures of Sāmoan *Faife'au* and L.M.S. European Missionaries

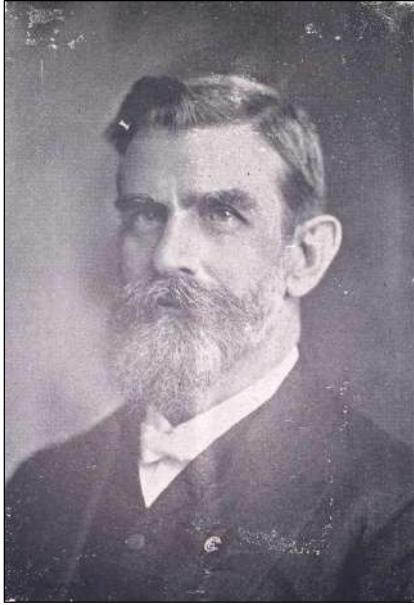


Figure 10. Rev. J. E. Newell or Misi Niueli. Source: *O le Sulu Sāmoa*, December 1910. (L.M.S. magazine *The Torch*).



Figure 11. Rev. Reginald Bartlett or Misi Bati. Source: Reginald Bartlett. 1960. *A Man Like Bati*. London, Independent Press.



Figure 12. A view of the annual May meeting of the Sāmoan Congregational Union in the Fale Iupeli (Jubilee Hall) at Malua Theological College; Apia, Sāmoa. Source: British Museum website. Museum Registration Number: Oc, B125.10.

Appendix H
Figures from the American Sāmoa *Mau*



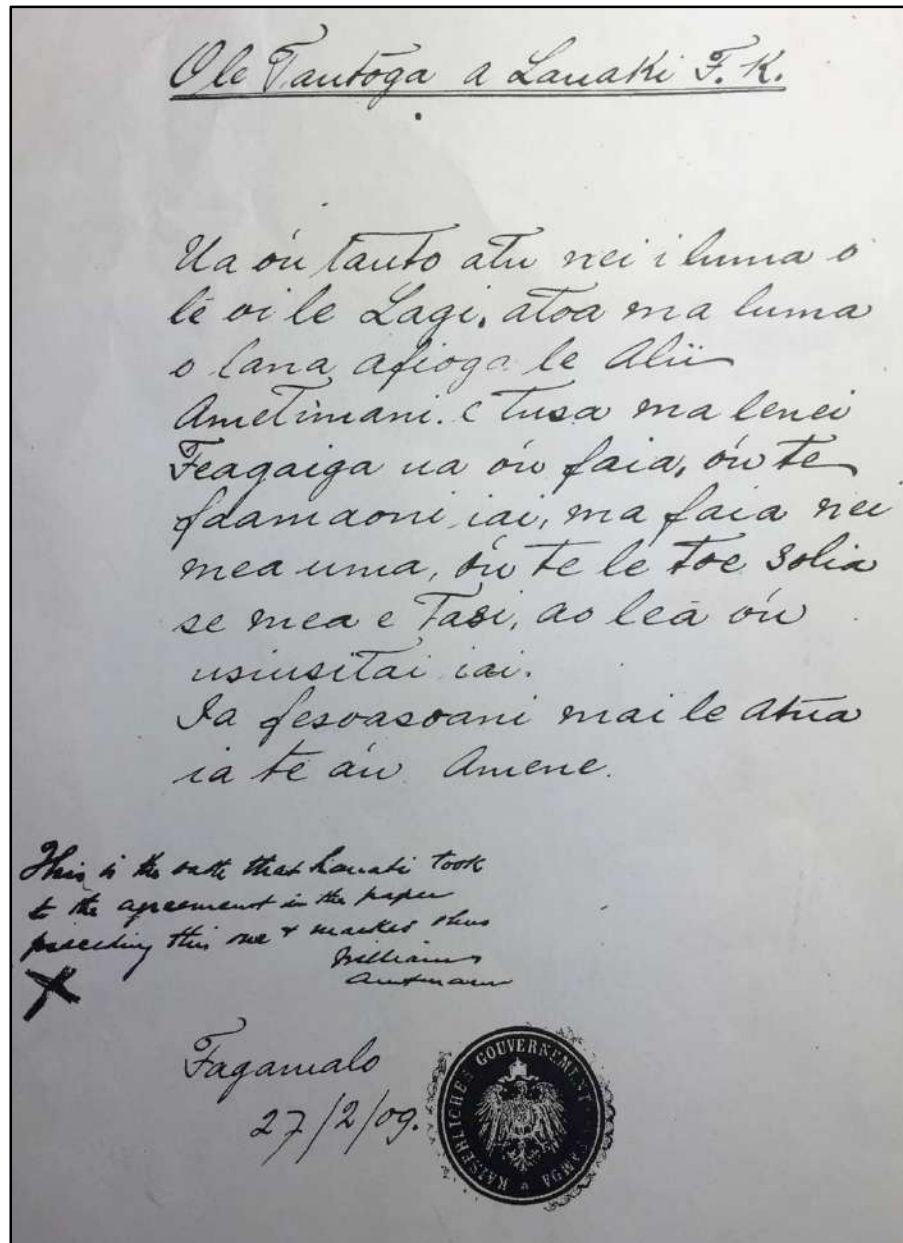
Figure 13. “A Session of the Mau” in Nu’uuli, Tutuila, c. 1930. Source: David A. Chappell. 2000. “The Forgotten Mau: Anti-Navy Protest in American Sāmoa, 1920-1935.” *Pacific Historical Review*, 69(2): 234.



Figure 14. “Siva Dance at Nu’uuli [with members of Mau in the background],” Nu’uuli, Tutuila, c. 1930. Source: David A. Chappell. 2000. “The Forgotten Mau: Anti-Navy Protest in American Sāmoa, 1920-1935.” *Pacific Historical Review*, 69(2): 247.

Appendix I

Lauaki Namulau'ulu Mamoe's Oath, 27 February 1909



The Oath of Lauaki F.K.

“I swear before heaven [reference to God] and before the Amtmann [Richard Williams, Sol’s government official on Savai’i] regarding this covenant that I have agreed to, and that I will abide by. I will not break any more laws, but I will obey them. So help me God. Amen.”

The English interpretation by the author.

Richard Williams, Amtmann, wrote the following above the German seal: “This is the oath that Lauaki took to the agreement in the paper preceding this one and marked here, signed Williams, Amtmann. Fagamalo village, Dated: 27/2/09.

Source: Lauaki’s Oath, 27 February 1909, Folder 75523, Bundesarchiv, Berlin-Lichterfelde. Note: The two letters after Lauaki’s name, F. K., are unknown.

Appendix J
Portion of the “Song of the *Mau* Rebellion”¹

<i>I a latou pelu ma fana ‘ua fa’aututau</i>	The search for the Mau was mounted, and they were surrounded by the army with their swords and loaded guns
“ <i>Sāmoa ‘ia tu’u le Mau</i> <i>‘A le tu’uina ‘ole’a fa’a’uma e le</i> <i>vaega’au.</i> ”	“Sāmoa, abandon the Mau, or else you will be finished off by the army.”
<i>‘Ina tula’i Tamasese</i> <i>“Matou fesili mama Amene</i> <i>Matou te le toe fo’i pe fefe</i> <i>‘O Sāmoa ‘uma e tatanu i lenei ‘ele’ele.</i> ”	[35] Then Tamasese stood up “In innocence we ask, Amen. We will not retreat or be afraid; All of Sāmoa will be buried in this ground.”
<i>E, Sāmoa ‘ia filemu, Sāmoa ‘ia fa’apena</i> <i>Sāmoa ‘ia filemu, ‘ia filemu</i> <i>Sāmoa ‘iafa’apena, ‘ia fa’apena</i> <i>Ma lau amio malosi, ma lau amio</i> <i>fa’aaloalo</i>	Oh, Sāmoa, be quiet be like that [40] Sāmoa, be quiet, be quiet Sāmoa, be like that, like that In your resolve and in your courtesy
<i>‘Ua musu lava A’ana, ‘ua le toe lava tau</i> <i>Ma tepa nei ‘i sasa’e ‘i le savali i o</i>	A’ana District is reluctant, and no longer able to fight looking eastwards at the distant messenger
<i>‘O le puapuaga</i>	[45] What a calamity
<i>Taisi ‘o lo’o ‘ua alu, ‘o lo’o ‘ua alu ‘i</i> <i>Europa</i>	Taisi has gone, he is en route to Europe

¹ Richard M. Moyle. 1990. *Music of Oceania*. Institute of Musicology of the University of Basle. 13.

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