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ERRATA

p56 para I, line 3 "taulaity" not "tauvaluatu".
p67 n.12 line 3 "policy in Samoa" not "policy to Samoa".
p88 para 2 line 7 "Tahitians" not "Tahitian's".
p204 n. 208 add after line 4 "and the indiflferentism often associated with individuals."
p215 n. 2 line 15 add after "changes": "in the relationship between Samoans ...".
p236 n. 70 add after line 2: "was true,".
p239 para 2 line 3 "ava i ai" not "ava ia ai".
p240 line 1 "tama'ita'i" not "tama'ita'i".
p246 n. 93, line 4, add: "p.58".
p251 line 2, "Aua e te..." not "Aua e te ...".
p290 para 1, line 6, "indispensable" not "indispensable".
p293 last line, "mortals" not "morals".
p340 para 1, line 4, "o loo taitaiina" not "o loo o ...".
p384 para 2, add "possible." at end of line 10.
p392 para 3, line 4, "prestige", not "prestige".
p397 last line, insert quotation marks after "delivered".
p404 para 1, line 11, "capable" not "capble".
p405 para 1, line 11, remove "opposition from their adherents" and add "ties between priests and catechists.".
p408 para 2, line 7, "chiefs'" not "chiefs".
p410 para 2, line 7, "rest" not "rest"
THE LOTU AND THE PA'ASĀNOA: CHURCH AND SOCIETY
IN SAMOA, 1830–1880

Ronald James Crawford

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy at the University
of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand.

The purpose of this thesis is to study the interaction between the forms of Christianity introduced into Samoa, and traditional Samoan social patterns and values, in the period up to 1880.

A long introduction lays the groundwork for the rest of the work, by setting out the conception of Samoan society that is the basis for the interpretation. The approach has been eclectic, and comprehensive, but, nevertheless, it concentrates on those areas which are more directly of use.

Chapters I and II give a chronological account of the development and growth of the denominations up to 1880. Chapter I serves, also, as a study of the preparation of Samoans for a relatively swift acceptance of Christianity during the 1830's. It provides the opportunity, too, to study, in embryo form, so to speak, some of the issues that are developed more fully in later chapters. Chapter II draws attention to the way in which denominationalism has its roots, in Samoa, in traditional social patterns but how, also, to an extent, it transcends those patterns.

Chapter III falls into three parts, but in general is designed to elucidate an understanding of the way in which, and the extent to which, the presence of Christianity was able to induce certain changes, desired by the missionaries, in Samoan
society. The major theme of the chapter is that it was because Christian doctrine and practice, as presented by the missionaries, was assimilated, largely unconsciously, by Samoans to their traditional religious thought and social values, that its presence was valued. This is developed first in a study of the practical and ideological value placed upon the activities of the missionaries, and their Samoan agents, and in a study of the ecclesiastical organizations set up, particularly by the Protestant missions. Second, a study is made of the Samoan understanding of Christian doctrine. Finally, the third part considers particular areas where the missionaries attempted to produce change. It was concluded that while the missionaries did have influence in some matters, in many cases, Samoans devised means to circumvent missionary requirements, where traditional concerns were too important to be ignored.

In Chapter IV, a study of other areas of change induced by Christianity is made. Of particular importance was the study of the way in which the position of the chiefs was affected by the presence of Christianity, and particularly by the missionaries and their Samoan agents, and in the case of the Protestant societies, by their authority over church members, whose allegiance was therefore, to some extent withdrawn from the chiefs. The final section of this chapter demonstrates that the extent to which the missionaries could be involved in politics was increasingly limited, because of the divided state
of Samoan political parties, and because adherents of the mission were distributed among all parties.

Chapter V acts as a conclusion, beginning with a summary of the position reached in previous chapters, and including a study of the attitude of the missions towards the use of traditional Samoan forms of oratory and music, and a description of the development of Samoan autonomy within the L.M.S. churches. A brief conclusion draws attention to some of the wider implications of the interpretation arrived at in this thesis.
PREFACE

It is inevitable that a work such as this, using, as it has, widely scattered sources, has depended on the co-operation of a large number of people. Reflection on this is a salutary reminder that the writing of history, for all the hours of solitary research and writing, is, at bottom, a corporate activity. The first debt to be recorded is to my supervisor, Dr Ian Breward, without whose quiet and patient encouragement this work would never have been completed. His command of the bibliography of a wide range of subjects has served as a model for the modest efforts that lie behind this thesis.

In this respect I have been greatly assisted, also, by the pioneering efforts done by R.P. Gilson. The bibliographies in his published works, and the extensive bibliography contained among his papers, held by the Department of Pacific History at the Australian National University, are impressive both for their thoroughness and completeness. I am indebted to the late Professor J.W. Davidson, who kindly granted me access to these papers. Anyone who reads this body of material will be impressed by the meticulous research that lies behind Gilson's work; only someone, however, who has struggled through the primary resources to arrive at a hard-won interpretation, and then has rediscovered it, expressed in a few succinct phrases, in Gilson's published work, can appreciate the thoroughness that lay behind that work, and to which Professor Davidson
points in his introduction to *Samoa, 1830-1900*. While Gilson's groundwork has been an indispensable aid to my own, however, I have tried to avoid covering the same ground, except in so far as I have found it necessary to correct his interpretation in its bearing upon the concerns of this thesis. Such corrections are few, and are, on the whole, of relatively minor importance.

It would be ungrateful, too, not to mention the initial impetus given to my work by Associate-professor G.S. Parsonson. His enthusiasm for writing the history of the indigenous peoples of the Pacific, rather than of the Europeans with whom they came into contact, was the mainspring of my motivation in undertaking this work. The debt remains, despite serious differences of interpretation.

It is necessary to record also, my intellectual debt to Professor G.B. Milner of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. Though he doubted that his thesis would have any relevance to my work, in fact, his perceptive comments on the concept of *feagaiga* has proved the key to a central part of my own interpretation. I would, of course, not wish to saddle him with the responsibility for the use I have made of his work.

The nature of the sources I have used, has placed me in the debt of the staff of a large number of libraries and other institutions. Mr Robert Langdon, of the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau in Canberra, very kindly assisted me in becoming
acquainted with the wide range of materials photocopied from a number of sources by the Bureau. He has subsequently advised on the obtaining of materials not yet copied. Among libraries, I have most depended on the help of the staff of the Hocken Library in Dunedin, and of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, and Mitchell Library, Sydney. Courteous assistance has been rendered, too, by staff of the National Archives, Wellington, the Western Pacific Archives, Suva, the State Archives of Hawai'i, the Auckland Public Library, the Bible House Library, London, the British Library, and the archivists of the Marist Fathers, in Rome, and of the Oeuvres Pontificales Missionnaires, in Lyon.

A research scholar, and especially one who engages in field work, cannot live on ideas and documentary resources alone. I have to thank the Knox College Council, Dunedin, for the resources made available to me during my term as Ross Fellow, and the Master, Dr J.S. Somerville, for his kindly encouragement. The staff and students of the Pacific Theological College, in Suva, offered me hospitality and conversation, and my first taste of Pacific cuisine.

In Samoan etiquette, the places of honour in ceremonial address belong to the first and last mentioned. In this respect my greatest debt is to those Samoans, both in Samoa and New Zealand, whose unfailing generosity, and tolerance of an ignorant manalagi, provided me with an experience, without
which this work would have lacked its most essential component. It is necessary to mention, in particular, the staff and students of Malua Theological College, and the Samoan students resident at Knox College. I am indebted, too, to the many Samoan families whom I visited while I was in Samoa. But above all I wish to thank the Rev. Samoa Leavai of Pu'apu'a and the Rev. Si'itia Asi of Afega and their families, with whom I lived for most of my stay in Samoa. Their hospitality is a delightful memory which I hope will be refreshed by future crossings of our paths.
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<td>HFO</td>
<td>Hawaiian foreign office records.</td>
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<td>NOM</td>
<td>Methodist Church of Australasia, Dept. of Overseas Missions. Records.</td>
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<td>Archivo Padri Maristi, Bishop Bataillon, letters. (Except where indicated, all letters are written by Bataillon).</td>
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<td>ONNE</td>
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<td>SDC</td>
<td>Samoan District Committee of the London Missionary Society, Correspondence.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SSJ</td>
<td>London Missionary Society, South Seas Journals.</td>
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<td>SSR</td>
<td>London Missionary Society, South Seas Reports.</td>
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<td>WMP</td>
<td>Wesleyan Missionary Papers held in Alexander Turnbull Library.</td>
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<td>WSL</td>
<td>Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Samoan Letters.</td>
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<td>USCD</td>
<td>United States Consular Despatches.</td>
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<td>USN Cmdr L</td>
<td>United States Navy, Commanders Letters to Secretary of Navy.</td>
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AA  American anthropologist.
APF  Annales de la propagation de la foi.
ASM  Annales de la Société de Marie.
JPH  Journal of Pacific History.
JPS  Journal of the Polynesian Society.
JSO  Journal de la Société des Océanistes.
NZJH  New Zealand Journal of History.
SR  Samoan Reporter.
**GLOSSARY**

Where a short explanation does not suffice, a page number gives a reference to a longer discussion in the text.

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<td>spirit, ghost, god</td>
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<td>aitu</td>
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<td>ali'i</td>
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<td>ali'i pa'ia</td>
<td>sacred chief</td>
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<td>aualuma</td>
<td>unmarried women's group, in village</td>
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<td>auMoera</td>
<td>courting party</td>
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<td>auaga</td>
<td>elopement</td>
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<tr>
<td>'auaga</td>
<td>young men's group in village</td>
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<td>fa'alunega</td>
<td>ceremonial address used at fono, and referring to a village.</td>
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<td>pastor</td>
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<td>fono</td>
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<td>ifoga</td>
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<td>Lotu</td>
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pule
Taia'īfa
tamu
taulage
taula'ītu
taula'ale'a
taupou
tautai	
tufuga
tuafale
vaivai

journey
misfortune
dignity
supernatural power
leader of 'sumūga
title-holder
meeting for missionary collections
village
European
village section
night dance
authority
p. 28
taboo, supernaturally sanctioned prohibition
offering
spirit medium
untitled man
ceremonial virgin, leader of aualuma
master fisherman
master carpenter
orator, talking chief

p. 55
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p. 48
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The IJotu and the Fa'asāmoa

"Lotu" admits of no brief translation into English. Apparently deriving from Tongan usage, its primary meaning is "system of worship". In Samoa the word was applied only to the Christian religion. Indeed, in the phrase "tama lotu", it was used to distinguish between those who had accepted Christianity nominally, and those who had not. It is probable that the word was not in use in Samoa before the coming of Christianity, or, at least, before word of the new religion had been received from Tonga.

Subsequently the word came, also, to have the connotation of "denomination". This was early developed in the distinction made between the "Lotu Toga" and the "Lotu Taiti", referring to the immediate provenance of Wesleyanism and of the London Missionary Society (L.M.S.), from Tonga and Tahiti, respectively. It was used too, to refer to a particular service of worship: "O le lotu o le taeao o le Aso Sā" (the title of an L.M.S. publication) means simply "Sunday morning service". In the title of this thesis, the word is used in its primary sense, though, naturally, the other meanings may be subsumed.

"Fa'asāmoa" means "the Samoan way of doing things". It has a strong, positive, evaluative connotation. Missionaries complained that to say that a practice was the fa'asāmoa was seen as a sufficient justification for its retention. While it thus points to an

1 cf. p. 68.
2 "Sons of the system of worship". cf. p. 91.
essentially conservative element within Samoan society, it should be seen as tied more to preservation of a Samoan identity, than to mere opposition to change. Indeed, despite considerable and frequently welcomed change, over the last 150 years, Samoan identity has maintained its integrity. This has been precisely because the concept of fa'aSāmoa has operated on foreign institutions and ideas to give them a peculiarly Samoan cast, and has turned foreign technology to peculiarly Samoan uses.

Thus the purpose of this thesis is to explore the way in which the institutions and ideas introduced by the Lotu both modified Samoan society and were modified by the fa'aSāmoa, in the period up to 1880. Certain developments in politics and church structure reached a term during the 1870's, making this an appropriate finishing point.

It must be stressed, therefore, that this thesis is in no sense a history of the European missions which were involved in Samoa. Such a history would involve a study not only of the practical development of their policy within Samoa and their internal history, but also of their European sources, both theological and social. Such matters have been dealt with only in so far as it seemed necessary for a rounded interpretation of events directly involving Samoans.

2. **Historical Difficulties**

The ethnohistorian, in attempting to interpret the past of a

society fundamentally different from his own, combines the approach both of the historian and of the anthropologist. The last twenty years has seen an upsurge of interest in this discipline, reflecting a post-colonial desire to understand the history of the indigenous peoples of colonial territories, in their "own terms", rather than as the field for the interplay of European ambitions. But this enterprise has not been without its critics.

Peter Munz, for instance, has argued that "history" is an activity which properly belongs to the Western intellectual tradition. Thus to use material from the past of other societies violates the integrity of the historical enterprise, on the one hand, and on the other, it is a form of cultural imperialism. Munz takes the view that the task of historical analysis is to uncover the "thoughts behind the facts" which constitute the primary sources. These sources, he says are "themselves highly charged with a certain view of the past", principally because they reflect, already, a criterion of selection. Therefore, the historian must be aware of this criterion and must write his history in such a way that it expresses, rather than ignores, the patterns of thought inherent in the formation of the sources. "... he can extend them and prolong them; he can extrapolate." But in the end he must "confine himself to saying things about people and societies which these people and these societies did say or could have said about themselves." But in the case of non-Western societies, he implies, this is impossible, because the thought which produced the primary sources was fundamentally non-historical.4

It will be clear that I do not agree with this critique, for reasons which I shall give shortly. Nevertheless it exposes several difficulties which have presented themselves in the writing of this work. Munz is talking about the use of indigenous sources, presumably originally oral. The present work, on the other hand, has depended very largely on sources written by Europeans in European forms - principally missionary letters and journals. Only occasionally have I used traditional Samoan forms, whether recorded by Samoans or by Europeans, or new or European forms, produced by Samoans, such as letters and traditional stories with a Christian interpretation. In one sense this renders Munz's criticism less acute. This material is more amenable to the categories of European history than purely indigenous material would be. On the other hand, because I am concerned to write about Samoan thoughts and actions, then the problem is rendered even more acute by the almost total lack of direct access to nineteenth century Samoan thinking, and, in particular, to the thought of relevant Samoan decision makers.

As will be seen, the processes of Samoan decision making are complex and highly institutionalized; yet scarcely anything is known directly of the debates that took place in fono; or of the intricate considerations reflecting manifold possibilities, which informed those debates. Munz speaks of the "reduction of historical facts to thoughts" as being based on "mere logic"; yet in the present case it must be admitted that the process may be better

5 ibid., p.15.
described as guesswork, inspired or not!

There are appropriate criteria for such guesswork, however. J.W. Davidson, in his reply to Peter Munz, argues that, with due caution,

A historian who knows an island society sufficiently well is able — at least in respect of that society — both to dismiss some of the explanations that might be deduced from the documents and to bring an informed imagination to bear upon the creative side of his task. He is able to say: 'Samoans ... could not possibly have thought like that; they might have thought like this.'

For this reason, an essential part of this introduction will be to set out in broad outline an understanding of Samoan society as it has manifested itself and been described during the last 150 years.

Moreover, Munz takes insufficient account of the dialectical or self-correcting aspect of writing history. Writing history is not a simple process of recovering the primary data of human thought, and then synthesizing it or extrapolating it into a broader narrative; rather attempts at synthesis and interpretation raise further questions, an answer to which must be sought by returning to the data; this process is never finally completed, and indeed, forms the basis for discussion among historians. It means that the provisional formulations based on some aspects of the data form a basis for the interpretation of other aspects, and so on. The historian is not then completely dependent on being able to recover individual items of the "thought which produced ... the facts." This consideration, too, has a practical implication for the writing of this thesis.

It must be recognised that many of its arguments raise questions for which the present state of the evidence allows no final answer. However, I do not believe the admission of the provisional nature of an interpretation to be a weakness, but rather I regard it as an essential step on the path to an assured interpretation.

A second practical difficulty concerns the "criterion of selection" operating, particularly in the missionary writings. Again Davidson puts it well. Speaking of the early written records made by Europeans in the Pacific he writes:

Those who produced them possessed an imperfect understanding of indigenous societies; they were often concerned with recording matters of primary interest only to themselves; and they wrote in languages ill-suited to the description of exotic cultures. 7

In the case of Samoa this was manifested by a general lack of awareness of the intricacies of Samoan social relations and the way in which they influenced behaviour. Certainly some, particularly those whose residence was of some length, had knowledge of the relationships between major titles; nevertheless they do not appear to have considered them worth mentioning in explaining specific events, such as, for instance, the conversion of a village from one lotu to another. This was even more the case with the minor titles. Moreover, with the passage of time, a missionary sub-culture grew stronger, and the missionaries as a whole became even more divorced, if anything, from Samoan social realities. Thus even after forty years of mission activity, the

7 ibid., p.117.
missionaries, corporately and individually, misunderstood the nature of the political organization of the districts and the possibilities for a central government. The limitations of missionary accounts have to be clearly appreciated.  

Nevertheless, the very fact that such observations may be made, and an estimate of individual missionary understanding may be arrived at, means that, to some extent, this limitation may be transcended. The historian is not condemned to the same limitations as his individual sources, but rather his work may have the integrity allowed by the whole body of his sources.

Davidson describes a third difficulty thus:

... as Muns rightly emphasizes, there is a more fundamental difficulty than that deriving from the deficiencies of documentary sources. The foreign historian, be he New Zealander, American or Frenchman, never escapes entirely from the boundaries of his own culture. He tends to place the past of other societies in a framework similar to that in which he has learnt to place his own. He goes on to point out that this is not the difficulty of historians of non-European societies alone; but that the mediaeval historian is faced with the same problem of interpretation, if to a lesser extent. He argues, as has been seen, that the historian is capable to some extent of transcending the bounds of his own culture, whether in terms of time or of space.

8 Though, conversely, it would be foolish to pass over valuable insights that some of the more perceptive and seasoned missionaries had to make on differences, for instance, between Samoan and European social psychology.

9 ibid.
The writing of any history is, even if in a very minor way only, part of a process of cultural change; it may be true, as Munz claims that the writing of the history of a non-European society is part of a process of interaction between two cultures, though I believe that its effect is likely to be more direct upon the culture of the historian, than of his subject. Nevertheless, I believe that Munz's objection that in writing the history of non-European societies "we are grossly arrogant and imprudent in that we are foisting upon these people an idea of their past which is assimilated to our own idea of our past", is frivolous. It completely ignores the process of interaction between cultures that has been going on, in the case of Samoa, for 150 years. No community can be entirely insulated from the rest of the world. Relationships based upon an attempt at informed and intelligent understanding seem preferable to those based upon ignorance and the blind operation of economic and social forces. The writing of ethnohistory may be seen as part of that attempt.

Hence it all the more behoves the historian to approach his task with humility, aware that he may have blind spots, and be guilty of serious interpretative errors. But it is the ongoing task of scholarship to correct such errors.

3. Samoa and Polynesia

The people of the Samoan group have, in the remembered past, formed a society with a consciously held and common identity,

10 Munz, op. cit., p.2.
distinct from those of other peoples of Polynesia. This identity has been marked by a common language and a nexus of constant social relations. Samoan ethnocentricity, too, has been thrown into startling relief, by a refusal by some to accept the biblical account of creation as applying to Samoa, despite an otherwise literalistic belief in the Bible; and by a disinclination to include Samoa in modern scientific accounts of Polynesian origins. Nevertheless, Samoan culture bears a close relationship to those of the other peoples of Polynesia—their languages may all be considered to be dialects of a common language; their social relations, technology, traditions and religious beliefs are similarly related.

At various times in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, these peoples all experienced contact with Europeans and especially with European missionaries and the religious system that they brought with them—Christianity. It is true that each society had its peculiarities, and that the initial contact with the missionaries was subject to the diverse accidents of history. Nevertheless, it is clear that the separate processes of contact present the historian with a valuable comparative tool.

Unfortunately, full use cannot be made of the tool within the limitations of this thesis. Primary sources are used with reference to Samoa alone. However, some attempt has been made by


using secondary sources to bring comparisons with other Polynesian societies to bear on the Samoan situation. Particular attention is paid to Tonga, with which Samoa has had the most significant relations over the centuries.

Unfortunately, too, attempts to set comparative techniques on firmer ground have foundered upon the difficulty of achieving an agreed analysis of island societies. A related dispute has arisen, in the case of Samoa, concerning aboriginal settlement patterns. It is necessary to take these into account before embarking on a more detailed description of Samoan society, so that it will be reasonably clear to what period the aspects of that description apply.

In the 1950's Marshall D. Sahlins attempted to explain the differences in types and degree of social stratification in Polynesian societies in terms of a "process of adaptation under varying technological and environmental conditions", by which "a single culture has filled in and adapted to a variety of ecological niches." Briefly, he argued, with respect to Samoa, that the presence of "truncated descent lines" may be related to "an ecology wherein resources zones are not widely separated, but are clustered such that all domestic groups can engage in the entire range of production activities." Melvin Ember, too, related geographical conditions to "kinship type", eventually developing, in the face of criticism, an elaborate theory of a change in that type, prior to


14 ibid., pp.291, 294.
European contact, under the stress of increasing population, and appealing to archaeological evidence for support. The disputed question of social structure will be returned to later: here closer attention will be paid to that of aboriginal settlement patterns.

4. **Aboriginal Settlement Patterns**

Sahlins argues that the homogeneous distribution of productive resources obviated the need for a ramified kinship structure, which would act as a redistributive network. This, of course, ignores the function of ceremonial exchange by which goods possessed by all groups were nevertheless exchanged, thus confirming family links throughout Samoa. It ignores, too, the evidence that exists that there were specialized production zones - for instance those related to the manufacture of adzes, fishing nets and to the possession of timber needed for canoe building and paddles.


16 cf. p. 52.

17 Adzes: J.M. Davidson refers to specialized adze production at the inland village of Vaigafa in Atua, op. cit., p. 57. cf. R. Green and J.M. Davidson, "Radiocarbon dates for Western Samoa." JFS 74:1, (1965) p. 67. Slatyer writes of a spot in eastern Tutuila, where, because of the available stone, the entire production of adzes for the island was carried out.

NS, Slatyer, Journal, 1841, Dec. 17. Fishing nets: Roudaire states that though the art of net-making was known to all it was in fact the preserve of small inland villages. ONE, Roudaire, beginning of 1847. G. Turner attributed this to the proximity of raw materials. G. Turner, *Nineteen years in Polynesia,* (London, 1861), p. 271. Timber: Dyson refers to trips made by chiefs from all over Samoa to north-west Savai'i to obtain ifilele, a tree used for canoes, bowls and paddles.

NS, Dyson, Journal, 1859, May 21. He mentions, also, a trade in foodstuffs between Manono and Upolu. Ibid., May 31; Journal, 1863, April 17. G. Brown mentions a number of trade articles. MP p. 305.
Sahlins wrote before archaeological and historical evidence demonstrated that in aboriginal times a much greater proportion of the population lived inland, than at the present time. He argued that population and food production were confined to a coastal strip. It appears however that taro can be grown much further inland than he allowed. It is thus not clear that the "domestic unit" of which he speaks could have had immediate access to all "zones of production".

Janet Davidson shows, too, that archaeology is not likely to be able to demonstrate the structure of Samoan settlements in pre-contact times and hence cannot provide the tests that Ember requires. She concludes:

The range of archaeological sites and the time depth of occupation suggest that further consideration should be given to questions of population growth and population pressure before the Samoan case is invoked in cross-cultural studies.

18 J.M. Davidson gives an admirable summary of this evidence, which has been confirmed by subsequent archaeological investigation, and which agrees with other missionary writings, in addition to those she uses. op. cit., cf. MS, Williams, Journal, 1832, Oct. 16; SSJ, Platt, 1835, Nov. 1; MS, Dyesen, Journal, 1861, May 16; ASH II p.393; Sage, 18 Oct. 1864; J.B. Stair, Old Samoa (London,1897), p.57; R. Green and J.M. Davidson, Archaeology in Western Samoa, 2 vols. (Auckland,1969, 1974), passim.

19 Brown states that taro was grown one to four miles inland. MP p.131. Coulter says that on Tutuila taro was grown up to 1,000 ft. J.W. Coulter, Land utilization in American Samoa, (Honolulu,1941), p.21. If height or steepness was the limiting factor, then, on Savai'i, taro could have been grown up to six miles inland. Sahlins posited a settlement depth of half a mile, Davidson one of over five miles in places.

20 J.M. Davidson, op. cit., p.78.
Her discussion thus raises another question important to the history of early European contact. There is evidence that the movement away from the inland villages occurred about the same time as European contact. Vaigafa appears to have been abandoned between 1750 and 1838, according to traditional material, radiocarbon dating and historical records. Missionary accounts point to the abandonment of many inland villages during the 1830's. Davidson suggests that the biggest change in Samoan attitudes towards Europeans occurred between 1791 and 1830, indicating the profound effect on the Samoan population of deserters and other sailors, before any substantial European records were kept.  

Several factors may have been operating in this population movement. The first is depopulation. Samoan traditions recorded by the missionaries speak of a severe epidemic occurring before the arrival of Williams and Barff in 1830; subsequently Samoa was relatively lightly affected by the inroads of disease. Davidson is uncertain whether warfare had a depopulating effect in this period, though Brown certainly thought that it had. It is not clear, either, that food resources ever imposed an absolute limit on population, and certainly not at the level of population recorded.


22 SR (14), Sept. 1852.

23 J.H. Davidson, op. cit., p.76; Brown, NP p.173.
in the 1840's. 24 Thus she seems prepared to accept Pirie's estimate that in this initial period the Samoan population declined from about 70,000 to about 45,000. 25

A second factor in the movement may have been a desire to be closer to European shipping, as seemed to be the case at Pagopago in the late 1830's. 26 War may have provided a mechanism, forcing, as was customary, the abandonment of an inland village or district, which was subsequently resettled on a coastal site which now seemed more attractive. Buzacott recorded a tradition of an inland village near Falefā being so abandoned. 27

Therefore, any account of contact with European missionaries, must consider the possibility of very extensive changes taking place in Samoan society immediately before that contact; an account of Samoan society in general must be aware of the changes taking place between that time, and the present.

5. Samoan Social Organization - the Debate

Derek Freeman and Lowell D. Holmes have disagreed sharply with the positions of Sahlins and Ember. In brief, debate has centred around the following three questions:


26 cf. p. 354, n. 70.

(a) To what extent do Samoan descent groups function above the village level? Ember has argued that they have only one localised segment. Freeman has shown that Samoan genealogical connections were traced, and acted upon, well beyond the level of the village. In particular, the great families of Sā Mata'afa, Sā Tupuā and Sā Malietoa, and numerous lesser ones such as Sā Tonumaipē'a had multi-local connections which have been important in determining the course of events.28

(b) What was the nature of political integration above the village level? Ember, concentrating his attention on historical evidence which has spoken of village independence, and confusing "integration" with "centralized authority", has asserted that such integration was merely transitory.29 Holmes and Freeman point to the districts and the titles associated with them, as permanent features of Samoan political thinking.30 And yet early missionary writers were convinced that important chiefs such as Malietoa Vai'inupo had little direct authority.31 Freeman explains the apparent contradiction by pointing to the way in which rivalry operates at all possible levels in Samoan society.32 Thus the success of

28 J.M. Davidson gives a full bibliography of the dispute, op. cit., p.78f.
31 e.g. SSJ, Williams, 1832; APP 44, (1872) p.368, Elloy, 12 Jan. 1872.
32 Freeman, "Some observations on kinship and political authority." p.565.
integration in producing a centralized political authority at one level might be severely limited by competition at a lower level. Villages and sub-districts often fought on the opposite side to the majority of their fellows. Effective authority, therefore, depended on a fair degree of unanimity amongst the constituent members of a fono, whether at a village or district level. This was not inconsistent, however, with the concept of a permanent and formal basis for district organization.

(c) Are Samoan villages, as Ember supposes, composed of unrelated truncated descent lines? Freeman has answered conclusively in the negative, using his own fieldwork. Social organization is complex and varies considerably from village to village. Frequently, however, many families within a village are related genealogically, though generally not all are related in the one genealogical hierarchy. On the other hand, some families in one village may be related by such a hierarchy to families in other villages. As will be seen, too, ties between families may be based not on genealogical, but on other traditional factors.

33 ibid., p.556.
34 Freeman, "Some Observations on kinship and political authority", p.557.
35 Notably in the tulafale - ali'i relationship. R.W. Williamson wishes to trace genealogical ties in these cases, too. The social and political systems of central Polynesia (Oosterhout, 1967 ed.), II, pp.18f, 36. What is important, however, is the way in which the ties were viewed by Samoans, and here non-genealogical factors are important.
It would appear then, as G.B. Milner puts it, that "the overwhelming weight of evidence is on the side of Freeman and Holmes." It must be remembered, however, that the argument of Ember and in particular Sahlins, was framed within the context of a comparison with other Polynesian societies. It would be a mistake to think, because their positions have been refuted, that their wish to make a distinction between Samoan social organization and that of the other societies is invalid. Certainly it appears that such a distinction cannot yet be expressed adequately in general terms. It will be useful then to look at particular ethnographical data to bring out the distinctions that may be made as an aid to historical explanation.

In what Sahlins terms the "classic" Polynesian polities, succession to positions of leadership was based on primogeniture; the different parts of a family were ranked genealogically; political organization was closely tied to this genealogical ranking. In Samoa primogeniture was not a major consideration in title succession; there were many traditional factors which cut across genealogical ranking; political organization from the village level upwards was complicated by the fact that any fono brought together heads of families which were not necessarily closely related.

Thus, for instance, in Samoa political authority is exercised in some aspects indirectly, through *fono*: in Tonga the *fono* was an institution to receive the instructions of a chief. 38

Nor was there in Samoa, strictly speaking, a class of commoners, as in Tahiti, Hawai'i or Tonga. Brown wrote:

The lowest class in Samoa was called tangata nuu. These were not necessarily an inferior, much less a servile class, but were the ordinary members of the respective families, having an acknowledged head as their representative. Very few indeed, however, of this class was ineligible for the position of head of the family if a vacancy occurred, and they were selected for this position. 39

This lack of emphasis on genealogical ranking has important consequences at all levels of social organization. It is now necessary to look in greater detail at aspects of that organization.

38 cf. Sione Lētūkefu, *Church and State in Tonga*, (Canberra, 1974), p. 10. Sahlins, *Social stratification in Polynesia*, p. 188; Williamson, op. cit., III p. 397. It must be admitted, however, that Samoan title-holders do have authority in some matters, and particularly within their own *i'ai*. T. Powell stated that some had the power to veto *fono* decisions. SSL, Powell, 14 July, 1853. cf. E. Schultz, "The most important principles of Samoan family law." JPS 20, (1911), p. 45. On the other hand, the power of chiefs in the other polities was not absolute. cf. W. Ellis, *Polynesian researches* (London, 1832 ed.), III p. 121.

39 Brown, *MP* p. 432; cf. Holmes, "Ta'u" pp. 317, 416. Powell writes "... more than half the adult male population are rulers. It is a fact, too, that these stand related as parents, brothers, guardians, etc. to all the remaining population." SSL, Powell, 14 July, 1853. For contrasting statements concerning Tahiti, Hawaii and Tonga see *Memoires de Marie Òtatoa*, (Paris, 1971), p. 85; W. Ellis, op. cit. IV p. 417; D. Malo, *Hawaiian antiquities*, (Honolulu, 1951), p. 187; M. Mead, *The social organization of Manu'a*, (Honolulu, 1930), p. 134; Williamson, op. cit., III p. 13. Stair suggests that Samoan social organization was once closer to that of Tahiti and Hawaii. This appears to be a conjecture, perhaps based on traditional stories. op. cit., p. 76.
The 'Aiga.

The word 'āiga has a wide range of reference. Members of a domestic household are said to be an 'āiga regardless of their relationship. On the other hand, all those belonging to one of the maximal descent groups, scattered throughout Samoa, and designated by the prefix Sā are said to be 'āiga to each other. Qualifying words narrow the reference:

'āiga potopoto. The members of this group are so by bilateral descent from a common ancestor. Corporately, they inherit land and other property, and own and control a title or titles. While the members are dispersed, the chiefly title is normally permanently located in a village, where its holder takes a place, with other such title-holders, in the village fono. The matai, as he is called, thus heads a local domestic household generally composed of a number of houses.

Membership of the 'āiga potopoto involves a consciously held relationship to this local household, so that the descendants of dispersed members may, over a number of generations, pass from effective membership. No hard and fast rule applies, however, and in practice, mutual convenience is an important consideration. 40

Milner reports that the term "'au 'āiga" refers to a single titleholder and his associated descent group; and "'āiga potopoto" to a group of titleholders and their descendants who trace their

descent from a single ancestor.\textsuperscript{41} Other terms are used variously by different authors to denote smaller or larger units within the 'āiga potopoto: fuaifale, itu'āiga, pui'āiga and faletama.\textsuperscript{42} Above the level of the 'āiga potopoto, Milner points to the maximal descent groups, for which there is no specific Samoan term, but which are designated by the prefix Sa followed by the senior title of each group. These groups are of various sizes, but the largest may embrace whole districts. The exact kinship link with the common ancestor may not be known.\textsuperscript{43}

Succession to the title is controlled by recognised members of the 'āiga potopoto who meet together for the purpose. The wishes of the past title-holder are considered.\textsuperscript{44} Any male member is eligible, though one related through a male to the deceased titleholder is preferred.\textsuperscript{45} Rarely, adopted and female members may succeed.\textsuperscript{46} Age, experience, ability and a history of service to the 'āiga are relevant qualifications.\textsuperscript{47} Within the 'āiga potopoto

\textsuperscript{41} Milner, op. cit., p.162.
\textsuperscript{43} Milner, op. cit., p.164.
\textsuperscript{44} Schultz, op. cit., p.52. Sharon Tiffany (née Weston) gives an excellent description of modern practice in "The Lands and Title Court in Western Samoa." JFS 83:1, (1974), p. 39f.
\textsuperscript{45} Because of this, according to Gilson, and because of a preference for residence in the village of the husband's father, descent group membership is normally transmitted indefinitely through males, but only for a few generations through females. Gilson, "Samoan descent groups." pp.373, 374.
\textsuperscript{46} Brown, MP p.288; Schultz, op. cit., p.53.
\textsuperscript{47} Gilson, "Samoan descent groups" p.373; Sharon Tiffany, loc. cit.
titles are ranked, and the senior titleholder will have a
preponderant influence in the choice of a lower ranking matai.
The validity of the choice is formally recognised by the reception
of the new titleholder into the village fono.

The senior titleholder is delegated the responsibility of
regulating and conducting the affairs of the group - the control of
'aiga lands, the assignment of tasks and the assessment of
contributions amongst 'aiga members, the settlement of internal
disputes, the formation of alliances, and participation in public
ceremonial. If he abuses his authority, however, he may be
removed from office by the 'aiga potopoto.

It can be seen that the position of female members of the
'aiga and their descendants, is asymmetrical with respect to the
male members and their descendants. They are less likely to
succeed to the title and to enjoy the use of property by local
residence. Against this are balanced certain other rights, however.
The senior female member, the ilamutu, in particular, receives first
choice of certain property acquired by the descent group in exchange,
and may require and receive food from her brother's household, for
the use of her own. She must give her approval on decisions
concerning the matai title. These rights were backed by a belief
in the particular efficacy of her curse. The link between their
children is termed tama tane - tama fafine.

48 Weston, op. cit., p.167. W. W. Tiffany, "Political
structure and change." (Ph.D. thesis, University of California,
1971), passim.
Sometimes a descent line tracing ancestry to a female member may stand in a "fea'aiga" relationship to descent lines tracing ancestry to a male. The tama tāne – tama fafine relationship applying between brother and sister, is then conceived of as being a permanent feature of the relationship between the two lines, though internally, there might be no difference in their principles of descent or title succession. This usually occurs in association with some structurally significant event, such as the splitting of a title between tama tāne and tama fafine members.49

Some of the implications of the structure of the 'aiga potopoto can now be drawn out. Disputes over the succession to the senior title will arise in two cases. First, when the 'aiga potopoto fails to achieve unanimity; second, when the right of some to take part in the deliberations is denied on the grounds that they are not properly members of the 'aiga potopoto. This second point, of course, results from the lack of a definite rule bounding membership.50

An individual may claim membership of a number of 'au 'aiga through his mother and father, though he will have primary membership in the one, in whose local household he is resident, and

49 cf. Gilson, "Samoan descent groups." p. 375; P. Epling and A. Eudey, "Some observations on the Samoan 'Aiga potopoto" JFS 72:4, (1963), pp. 378-383. They stress that a person may be tama fafine to the holder of a title, but tama tāne to the 'aiga which holds the title.

50 Sharon Tiffany, op. cit., p. 53.
his relationship with the others will be more or less attenuated. He is relatively free to choose which of his potential connections will be most significant in practice. He will be active in a number of these at any given stage of his life.\textsuperscript{51}

An 'au 'āiga as such will be related to other 'āiga of the 'āiga potopoto whether as tama fafine or not. It might also be related to other 'āiga through a fe'aiga between its title-holder and theirs, such as pertains between ali'i and tulafale. Again an 'āiga may be ma'apu to others. (Such a relationship is established when the male member of an important lineage marries a woman of another village, resides there, and a title is formally established there on his account). Moreover, an 'au 'āiga will enjoy the relationships pertaining through the 'āiga connections of its significant members and their affines.

Walter Tiffany traces the implications of this situation in the case of a hypothetical 'au 'āiga in American Samoa. He concludes:

\textit{... the fundamental feature of the 'au 'āiga in this regard is that it is capable of drawing large numbers of supporters from widely dispersed villages, and even in the 1970's individual 'au 'āiga continued to draw support for 'au 'āiga undertakings from scattered villages throughout the Samoan archipelago.}\textsuperscript{52}

\textsuperscript{51} ibid., p. 36; cf. Gilson, "Samoan descent groups." p. 373.

\textsuperscript{52} Walter Tiffany, op. cit., p.149. It is for this reason that Ember's claim that the status of a title in a village depended on the size of its residential core is quite incorrect. cf. Freeman, "Some observations on kinship and political authority." p.560.
This feature of social relations is of crucial importance in understanding such matters as war and marriage in Samoa. In particular it will be seen that disputes which could not be settled by conference very quickly involved people from widely scattered areas.53

7. The Nu'u

Janet Davidson provides a good working definition of a nu'u:

The nu'u can perhaps most usefully be viewed as a cluster of titles, which together are considered a localised political entity and recognised by a special ceremonial form of address or fa'alupega, together with the land over which the various title holders are recognised to have pule (authority). In most cases this would, in effect, embrace a geographical area, including a portion of the coast and extending far inland, with well known boundaries.54

Village sections which lack fa'alupega and fono are known as "pitonu'u"; smaller units as "fua i ala."55

As Gilson states, the nu'u is traditionally "the largest territorial unit persistently subject to centralized authority."56 The organ of that authority is the village fono, to which all title-holders belong, and which has authority over all residents,

54 J.M. Davidson, op. cit., p.55.
55 ibid., p.56. Davidson discusses the profusion of English terms used to refer to these and other territorial units.
in matters of interest to the village as a whole. These include persistent disputes threatening the peace of the village, the stirring up of trouble with other villages, the dishonouring of the village and its title-holders, the building of a village guest house, and the regulation of the village food supply.57

Within the fono the various titles are ranked according to a variety of historical factors, including the age of the title, the economic and military fortunes of the 'au 'āiga to which it belongs, and its genealogical connections. The structure of such ranking varies greatly from village to village—sometimes several chiefs are of similar rank, elsewhere a particular title enjoys a clear superiority. It varies little, however, over long periods of time, though it is well known that fa'alupega are altered to reflect the changing fortunes of its constituent titles.58

There are other village organizations apart from the fono. Traditionally the wives of titled men met together as the faletua mana'au, the unmarried women as the avaluama headed by the taupou or ceremonial virgin, and the untitled men as the 'aumēga headed by the manaia. The manaia and the taupou were formally appointed to their position and were closely related to important chiefs. According to Schultz it was the task of the manaia "to acquire the greatest

57 cf. Mead, op. cit., p.15f. The process of consultation and decision making will be discussed later. cf. p.45f.

possible number of wives, and thus supply the speakers, who act as
agents, with mats.\textsuperscript{59} The \textit{taupou}, together with the \textit{ausaluma}
was particularly responsible for the care of village guests.
Both the \textit{aumāca} and the \textit{ausaluma} had the responsibility of serving
the \textit{fono} and carrying out its directions.\textsuperscript{60}

8. \textbf{Land}

Pule (authority) over land is variously distributed among
the \textit{āiga potopoto}, its constituent \textit{aumāca} and the \textit{nu'u}. It
was exercised in practice by the respective titleholders. Waste
land belonged to the village, but once cleared it was generally
distributed amongst the families. Sometimes family land was
retained under the control of the \textit{āiga potopoto}; at other times
it was allotted to the \textit{aumāca}.

Disputes arose between \textit{āiga} with respect to boundaries, but
more frequently with respect to pule within \textit{āiga}. They thus often
had more a disciplinary than an economic character.\textsuperscript{61} In this
connection the house site and cultivable lands attached to a title
were of particular importance.\textsuperscript{62} The principle of inalienability

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{59} Schultz, op. cit., p.48.
\item \textsuperscript{60} Nowadays the two women's organizations have been replaced
by the ubiquitous women's committee.
\item \textsuperscript{61} cf. R.R. Nayacakalou, "Land tenure and social organisation
\item \textsuperscript{62} cf. M. Ember, "The non-unilinear descent groups of Samoa."
\end{itemize}
of land was expressed in the words: "E le soifua 'umi le tagata fe'atau samu." (The person who sells land does not live long.)

Nevertheless, land could be sold by those with the appropriate authority, although the conception of "sale" probably dates from the coming of Europeans.

9. **District Organization**

Some villages grouped themselves into larger units, also possessing a *fono* and *fa'aiupega* and generally, a common lineage affiliation. Examples are Safotulafai and Faleata. Where villages and sub-districts could orient themselves predominantly towards one maximal lineage and the same senior title, a permanent district organization might exist, marked by a leading village, where matters of importance to the whole district might be decided in *fono*.

But the relationship between the maximal lineages and district organization varied throughout Samoa. Manu'a was a complete lineage area – that of the Tui Manu'a; other districts were dominated by one lineage so that their senior titleholders had the appearance of being "district chiefs" – thus the Tuamasaga was oriented towards the titles Malietoa, Gatoaitele and Tamasoali'i, 'Aiga i le Tai and Lefa'asaleleaga towards the Malietoa title, A'ana towards the Tui A'ana title, and Atua towards that of Tui Atua.

63 Quoted by Fr Bellwald, ON, "Samoan laws."

64 cf. Brown, MP p.314; Schultz, op. cit., p.44. In the nineteenth century the sale of land to Europeans, by people without *rule*, and inspired by political malice, led eventually to the founding of the Lands and Titles Court.
A third group of districts had no clear-cut organization primarily because they were not oriented predominantly to any one maximal lineage, namely Tutuila, and the five districts comprising Itu-o-fafine and Itu-o-Tane on Savai'i. 65 But even in the most cohesive districts important branches of other maximal lineages were present. Gilson attributes this situation to the lack of a prescriptive rule for title succession and to competition for the Tafa'ifā, a position which combined the four titles mentioned above, apart from that of Malietoa, in the one person. This meant that Samoan politics were dominated by warfare and intrigue and a complex tangle of relationships between the maximal lineages, so that none could establish an inclusive unity (except that of Tui Manu'a which remained isolated from the rest of Samoa). 66 Hence no stable political organization could be based on the districts.

Nevertheless, in four of the districts there were clearly identified leading towns - Leulumoega in A'ana, Lufilufi in Atua, Afega and Malie, jointly, in Tuamasaga, and Safotulafai in Lefa'asaleleaga. Manono enjoyed authority in 'Aiga i le Tai.


66 Gilson, Samoa 1830-1900, p.58.
MAP I.  DISTRICTS OF WESTERN SAMOA

Adapted from R.P. Gilson, Samoa, 1830-1900 pp. 3, 5.
Satupa'itea and Palauli claimed leadership of the two divisions of Itu-o-Fafine, as did Sale'a'ula in Itu-o-Tane. Other villages had specialized functions with respect to district organization.

One of the most important functions of these villages was the appointment of successors to the great titles associated with the maximal lineages. These lineages each had their senior title or titles, which, theoretically, were bestowed according to a well recognised process of consultation and ceremony, involving the leading villages. Principal amongst these were the four papa, or titles comprising the Tafa'ifā. Because of complex genealogical relationships members of either of the two main lineages could aspire to these titles, (and on at least one occasion, a member of neither). Thus, although the Sa Tupua was more closely identified with the Tui A'ana and Tui Atua titles, and Sa Malietoa with the other two, and though each was more closely connected to the villages which bestowed the respective pairs of titles, they were in no sense their exclusive property.

Neither were these lineages unified in themselves: there were often several aspirants to the Malietoa title, backed by various groups; and the Sa Tupua fell naturally into component, if not mutually exclusive divisions – Sa Mata'afa, Sa Fenumuiva and Salevalasi, for instance; and Gilson speaks of the more inclusive lineages Sa Tui Atua and Sa Tui A'ana.

Other smaller lineages, which possessed titles known as ao, were Sa Tagaloa, Sa Tonumaipè'a and Sa Lilomai'sava, all principally

67 The leading villages of Savai'i were termed "Pule", those of Upolu, "Houma"."
based on Savai'i, and Sa Tui Manu'ā.

Hence it will be seen that Samoan politics was in a continuous state of flux at all levels, and particularly by virtue of the struggle for possession of the papa and hence of the Tafa'ifā. Gilson states that it was not until modern times that any holder of the Malietoa title was considered eligible for the Tafa'ifā. The two Sa Malietoa papa, which were tama fafine to the other two, were generally bestowed on whoever first held those two. 68 It is important to note that the papa were not passed on together, upon the death of a Tafa'ifā. Rather they were again dispersed, and could be obtained again only one by one. It should be remembered too, that neither papa nor ao were conferred by one 'āiga potopoto - thus they conferred no pule over land, nor rights to service from particular 'āiga - rather they represented a particular conjunction of political forces in a shifting pattern of alliances. 69

At the district level, these title-holders no doubt had considerable influence. Nevertheless, this was balanced by the corporate power of groups of orators (tulafale and tulafale ali'i) who were responsible for the conferring of the titles, and many of the consultative and ceremonial functions of the districts. 70 Balance was expressed too, in the word Tama'āiga (son of the families) referring to the relationship of a contender for one of

68 Gilson, Samoa 1830–1900, p. 59.
69 cf. Weston, op. cit., p. 179.
70 They were known corporately by such names as the Fale'iva (House of Nine).
the high titles, to his supporters.\textsuperscript{71}

It will now be useful to look at some of the value judgements which characteristically motivated Samoan social behaviour.

10. \textbf{The Family and the Individual}

T.H. Hood wrote in 1863 "... A Samoan cannot understand that, in civilized England, there are actually people who have no homes, no friends, and are obliged to beg their bread."\textsuperscript{72} A Samoan's conception of himself is closely tied to his identity as a member of a family - from it he receives security and the necessities of life; to it he offers his service. The motivation is alofa, or love. Thus Brown stresses that an action which would be considered a grievous injury if carried out against one's family, when carried out against others brings no reproach. Conversely, what would otherwise be an offence was disregarded if it was committed against one by a member of one's family.\textsuperscript{73} This distinction is clarified by Martin Dyson's report of a conversation he had with several young men concerning the commandment to love one's neighbour:

\textsuperscript{71} cf. Gilson, \textit{Samoan 1830-1900}, p.46; Brown, MP p.434, cf. p. 44.


\textsuperscript{73} Brown, MP, p.263f.
They said that they have always understood before that to love their neighbour as themselves meant always to give and do everything that the neighbour asked them and were surprised [sic] to find that that was in excess of the law and that such love only encouraged the idleness and wickedness of unreasonable [?] men. 74

To extend the obligation imposed by alofa beyond the usual range of acceding to the requests of one's family and others with whom one has a regular relationship, would pose an intolerable burden on a Samoan.

The identity of the interest of an individual with that of his family, is one of the major themes of Margaret Mead's work on Samoa. This identity means that, whether an individual is a matai or not, his main lines of possible action are already laid out. Innovation is encouraged only where it does not lead to permanent change; and the strongest censure that can be laid against a child or young adult is that of precocity, expressed in the word "tautalalaitiiti" (to speak more than one's age entitles one to). 75

A consequence seems to be a relative lack of strong emotional ties between individuals, and a stress on external behaviour rather than interior disposition as the criterion for evaluation. This has led to many unflattering, but misleading, judgements made by European observers concerning Samoan honesty. Captain Wilkes

74 MS, Dyson, Journal, 1862, March 17.

75 M. Mead, Coming of age in Samoa. (1943 ed.) pp.36, 80 f.
thought that:

The white missionaries ... are very likely to be deceived in some respects, in consequence of their general want of knowledge of the world. These difficulties are principally the hypocrisy and deceit of the natives.76

The querulous Marist priest, Padel, wrote, "... la principal occupation des Samoans depuis leur enfance était de s'appliquer à parler d'une manière toute contraire à leurs sentiments."77

George Brown considered the matter more objectively:

They express defiance and anger by holding the body and head erect, and by clenching the fist, but this is only done when much excited, for the Samoan, as a rule, tries to conceal his feelings. That he does not always succeed is evident, however, from the language, for they have words signifying guilty-looking, thief-looking, lascivious-looking, jealous-looking, etc.78

Brown stresses, elsewhere, however that deceit and treachery were not approved of, except in war, where it was "justified".79

77 ONE, Padel, 3 May, 1848.
78 Brown, MP p. 58.
79 ibid., p. 264. The saying "O le fa'a'ata'ata a lafoga" (The forced smile at the game of lafoga) points in a similar direction. E. Schultz, Proverbial expressions of the Samoans. (1965 ed.), p. 67. R. I. Levy has noted a similar phenomenon amongst Tahitians. He contrasts the "surface emotional display" with the "inner 'truth'" which posed a puzzle for evangelical missionaries. He points, too, to a distrust of strong emotions. Tahitians: mind and experience in the Society Islands. (Chicago and London, 1973), pp. 98, 278. Unfortunately, no comparable work has been done on Samoa, and the need pointed to by Stanner for a "'Deeper' anthropology" of Samoa still stands. Stanner, op. cit., p. 309.
Stair, less charitably, thought that:

Children were subject to a strange training ... At one time they were indulged in every wish, at another severely beaten for the most trivial offence, and then shortly after an oven of food was prepared as a peace offering to appease their offended dignity. In consequence of the manner in which families usually lived the children were accustomed to witness all kinds of evil, and encouraged to follow deception as a virtue, the only kind of evil attaching to a crime being that of detection. 80

Certainly the lack of a strong emotional tie between individuals had its prototype in childhood, where the child had significant relationships with a whole range of adults in his household, and not with his parents only. (Perhaps the most important adult was the matai, for in identifying with him, the child was identifying with the group as a whole.) Moreover, the pattern of "training" to which Stair points, is interpreted by Levy, in the Tahitian situation, as a means of discouraging the display of strong emotional attachment to particular things or people. 81 This masking of emotion is accompanied by an emphasis on the necessity for appropriate outward behaviour - appropriate, that is, to one's position in the group. It would be a mistake however, to subsume this phenomenon under the European categories of "deceit" and "hypocrisy".

80 Stair, op. cit., p.178. One of my informants, a graduate of Malua Theological College, had a similar view of his own childhood, and its consequence in encouraging an outward appearance of good behaviour.

81 Levy, op cit., pp.185f, 341f. This may explain missionary complaints about the lack of firm parental control in Samoan families. cf. SSI, Pratt, 31 Dec. 1859, Brown, MP p.43. cf. Turner, op. cit., p.180; SR(9), March 1849. It was precisely this practice of adoption, complained of by Turner, which is seen by Levy as emphasising the lack of strong emotional attachment between parent and child.
Levy goes on to draw out the consequences of this for Tahitian behaviour - feelings of shame and embarrassment have received "considerable cultural definition and elaboration", while that of guilt is "culturally played down to the point of conceptual invisibility."\(^{82}\) This may be related to Brown's judgement that in Samoa, "Theft and fraud were in most cases only considered as offences against the person injured", and that no permanent stigma was attached to a person punished for a crime.\(^{83}\) This seems to indicate that an act was taken at face value, and was not thought of as indicating an interior state which might constitute a continuing threat to the well-being of the group.

Thus, while Mead's characterization of relations between individuals as "casual" may be apt, it cannot be said to hold true for social relations as a whole. As G.B. Milner argues, Mead seriously underestimated the long term tensions that exist within families, and between descent groups "not infrequently culminating in violence", because she underestimated "the degree to which deep emotions are outwardly controlled."\(^{84}\) He goes on to point to the heavy personal cost of maintaining a balance between rival social forces.\(^{85}\) It is to this rivalry that attention will now be paid.

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82 Levy, op. cit., p. 342.
83 Brown, MP, p. 266.
84 Milner, op. cit., p. 175.
85 ibid., p. 177.
11. **Competition**

The individual is closely identified with the standing of the groups with which he is involved. Thus the obligation of service which might, from one point of view, be regarded as a fa'alavelave (a bother) may from another point of view be seen as an act of alofa. This relationship was expressed symbolically in the old custom of self-mutilation associated with bereavement. Talking about similar customs amongst the Hawaiians, Ellis stresses that in their mind there was a close connection between the pain of the self-inflicted wound, and their love for the deceased. It will be well to remember, therefore, that competition has its positive, as well as its negative, aspect for the individual.

At one level, rivalry between groups is expressed economically. The ability to provide food in great quantity for special occasions, the ability to build a fine house, were marks of prestige, for instance. Competition, too, is one aspect of ceremonial gift exchange. This was an occasion when groups could measure their economic strength against each other, as is shown by the practice of fololaga, or public announcement of contributions. The intensity of individual involvement is perhaps indicated by George Pratt's remark that a Samoan "...covets that he may be able to give."  

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87 SR. (New Series 1), Feb. 1873.
Particular value was attached to food, in this respect. Brown found that "The unpardonable sin in Samoa was to be mean and stingy, especially as regards the distribution or sharing of food." Certain portions of food, as with other items of material culture, were appropriate to persons of various ranks, and were thus important ways of recognising status, another aspect of rivalry in Samoa. Here competition moves from an economic to a related symbolic world, which revolves around the preservation of the *mamalu*, or dignity, of the person of rank.

Some of these symbols, particularly those involving the *ali'i na'ia* (sacred chiefs) were related to conceptions of the supernatural. This was so with the ceremony of *julu'u*, or the sprinkling of coconut water, to remove the sanctity communicated to a place or object by such a chief. But others, such as the kissing of the feet of an important chief, seem to have been purely means of recognising status. Particular forms of address such as "*susu mai*" and "*afio mei*" were reserved for chiefs, and, indeed, there was a whole vocabulary of special words to be used in addressing chiefs, instead of those in common usage. Moreover, the dignity of a gathering of chiefs was recognised in a number of ways. First by the recitation of the *fa'alupega* and the seating of


89 cf. *Buck*, op. cit., p. 121f., 140, with respect to food, p. 318 with respect to fine mats, p. 164 with respect to kava.

90 *Stair*, op. cit., p. 127.

91 cf. *MS*, *Williams & Barff*, *Journal*, 1830.
chiefs and ordered serving of kava strictly in accordance with rank; and second by the observation, by passers-by, of prohibitions such as those on the use of umbrellas, standing in canoes, and excessive noise. On the one hand these ways of recognising rank had the function of preserving the authority of chiefs, but they also marked the status of particular titleholders or groups of titleholders, against one another. Hence it was the constant preoccupation of the supporters of a titleholder to see that they were observed by other groups.

Stratagems were devised, too, to preserve people of rank from confrontations, where they might lose face. Thus Palauli chiefs would not tell George Brown directly that the reason they were withdrawing from the Wesleyan church was his sympathy for their rival, Satupa'itea, in the recent war. They told him, instead that they wished to have only one lotu in their village.92 Similarly, at Sataua, the people went to great lengths to avoid the implication, in fact true, that they were defying Brown with respect to the use of their chapel.93 Brown commented about this time: "Samoans give very ambiguous answers when they please which can be made to mean anything they wish."94 The Keesings point to the modern practice of appointing a man of lesser rank to the position of pule nu'u (village mayor), so that he might bear the brunt of difficult dealings with European administrations.95

93 ibid., Nov. 1861.
94 ibid., Nov. 22.
95 Keesing & Keesing, op. cit., pp. 46, 63.
This, in part, explains the Samoan sensitivity to insult, though in considerable measure, verbal and symbolic "insult" seem to have had a supernatural component. This was not always the case though. The war between Manono and A'ana broke out in 1848, ostensibly because a village of the latter kept a watch one night, when a travelling party from the former neglected to visit them. Both acts were construed as insulting, and expressing hostility. John Williams described a striking insult offered by a woman in time of war. The scalp of a man who had killed her father was brought to her. "This she burnt gradually upon a fire and beat it to powder. She then cooked food in it which she ate with great delight."97

Of particular importance was the safeguarding of gafa or genealogies. It has been seen that many matters concerning titles and land, hinged on genealogical considerations. Thus the gafa of important families were kept by particular tulafale secretly; moreover it was a great offence to recite publicly the gafa of another family. It was also the responsibility of these tulafale to preserve traditions related to the families in question.99

97 MS, Williams, Journal, 1832, Oct. 17.
98 HFO, Bush to Gibson, 26 April, 1887. Freeman, "Some observations on kinship and political authority," p. 555. USCD, Swanston, 1879, "Notes on lands in Samoa."
In many ways, the status of ali'i was dependent upon the skill and knowledge of their tulafale. It was their command of the language, knowledge of tradition, traditional sayings known as muāgagana, and protocol that could make or mar an ali'i's public standing, and that of his supporters. This knowledge, too, was therefore, carefully guarded.

Thus there were many ways in which the rivalry between groups could be expressed. Tensions could build up so that in the end, what to a European might seem a trivial incident, could suddenly spill over into open violence. Compared with other Polynesian societies, the proximity of intensely competitive households in a village increased the possibilities of such outbreaks. Similarly a simple neglect of protocol could trigger off war between villages or districts.

It is significant that it was by the ceremonial self-abasement (ifoga) of one of the disputing parties that such

100 This relationship is discussed more fully on p. 43.


102 Milner, op. cit., p.13, with respect to muāgagana; Moyle, op. cit., p.68, with respect to marriage songs; Schwehr, op. cit., p.127 with respect to songs collected by Krämer.

103 This might explain an apparent difference between Tahiti and Samoa. Levy states that open violence is rare in Tahiti as anger is dissipated by "wilful dramatization". op. cit., p.278. Many writers on the other hand have pointed to the occurrence of physical violence in Samoa. e.g. Schwehr, op. cit., pp.118, 119.
violence could be averted or brought to an end. This again points to the power that symbols and symbolic action had in expressing status.104

Thus also, warfare at the district level often ended in the establishing of a malo-vaivai relationship. This was a recognition of the supremacy of one party whereby it could enjoy an exploitative relationship over the other. It sometimes led to the bestowal of the papa of the vaivai on the candidate of the malo. Attempts by the vaivai to escape from the relationship were watched jealously, and could be the occasion for further war.

12. Feagaiga

In competition an individual relates by identity with members of his own group, and by opposition to members of other groups. Feagaiga refers to another important way of relating. According to Milner:

This type of relationship is ambivalent, in the sense that on the one hand it involves co-operation and complementarity (in external relations) and on the other hand rivalry and competition (in internal relations) ... The complementarity of the roles at one level, that is to say, subsumes an inherently disjunctive relationship at another level.105

How this works in the tame fefine - tama tane relationship has been described.106

104 Stair, op. cit., p. 96.
105 Milner, op cit., pp.188, 189.
106 cf. pp. 21, 22.
It is also an important feature of the relationship between *tulafale* and *ali'i*. Indeed, whatever the origins of the two types of title, they must now be understood specifically in terms of that relationship.\(^{107}\) As matai, each heads an *'au'āiga*. Both may be found at all levels in the ranking of titles. In some villages *tulafale* have a preponderant influence; though, more frequently, this falls to the lot of *ali'i*. The essential distinction lies in the function they fulfil towards each other.

Thus, as has been seen, the *tulafale* defends the dignity of the *ali'i* in the face of rivalry with other groups. He also prosecutes the interests of the *ali'i* in forming marriage alliances and educating his children. In return for these services, however, he could take for himself a certain share of property, in the exchange of which his *ali'i* was involved. Significantly, only a *tulafale* could receive a fine mat in public. It was believed that in many activities, the *tulafale* were ostensibly working for the benefit of their *ali'i* but in reality for their own gain.\(^{108}\)

Milner generalizes the notion of *feagaiga*:

... one party is the sponsor, the originator, the source of authority, whose anger (in internal relations), cannot be risked. The other party ... is the doer, the mediator, the advocate, the protector, whose prestige and reputation is to some extent expendable, who can bear the heat of the day, weather the storms, and, if necessary, take the blame.\(^{109}\)

\(^{107}\) For a discussion of origins see Schultz, "The most important principles of Samoan family law" p. 45, Schwehr, op. cit., passim.


\(^{109}\) Milner, op. cit., p. 188.
He argues that it operates in a wide ranging series of relationships:—

between aualuma and taunou, go-between (soa) and suitor (tama numoe), master carpenter (matai tufuga) and prospective householder (taufale), 'aumaga and the council of ali'i ma faipule, orator's wife (tausi) and chief's wife (faistua). It is also operative, he suggests, between the holders of the titles of maximal lineages and their associated districts, and between a village and its pastor (faife'aau), the polite name for whom is, suggestively, "feagaiga."\(^{110}\)

This relationship, he says, both assisted in the balancing of social forces and increased the possibilities and occasions for tension. Its ambivalence, he believes, is reflected in a "marked dialectical tendency of Samoan culture". This he saw, for instance, in a tendency of his informants to contradict any statement that they had not made themselves, and in the different forms and uses of the individual 'feagaiga which he studied.\(^{111}\)

\(^{110}\) ibid. The relationship between an important chief and his 'aiga, between faeulou and ali'i, and between tama tane and tama farine are considered as parallel and a matter of feagaiga by A. McKenzie, O tu ma amiota tava faasamo (Apia, 1944), p.47. cf. Mead, Social Organisation of Manu'a. p.26. Turner's account suggests a similar relationship between biological and adoptive parents of a child. Frequently it was a case of a woman adopting her brother's child. op. cit., p.179.

\(^{111}\) Milner, op. cit., pp.172, 183, 222. He also sees tattooing as an aspect of this dialectic. It compensates for the pain experienced by a woman during child-birth. ibid., p.266. This connection seems to be confirmed by the belief, reported by L.L. & R. Neish, that the eating of a certain fish by a boy or girl would cause tattooing and child-birth to be particularly painful. "Some modern Samoan beliefs concerning pregnancy, birth and infancy." JPS 83, (1974), p.464. Tattooing, thus, is appropriately seen as a mark of masculine maturity as child-birth is of feminine maturity.
Consultation and decision making, punishment and warfare.

In Samoan society there is a strong sense that certain decisions are appropriate to particular persons or groups of persons. Often a decision will be opposed not because it is considered to be wrong in itself, but because an unqualified person or group has made it. As has been seen this sometimes happens in title disputes.

On the other hand, other matters will be beneath the dignity of a particular person to handle. This probably explains some of the mistaken views held by European observers concerning the extent of chiefly authority. Thus for instance Padel was amazed that one of the most important chiefs in the island could not effect the removal of inquisitive children, while Padel and he were talking in the former's house. The reason, no doubt, was not a lack of authority, but an unwillingness to compromise his manamana by dealing with such a trivial matter.

Thus fono were held at various levels appropriate to the matter being discussed - within the family, in the village, in the district. Each fono above the family level was composed of representative matai of appropriate rank. Certain matters were within the competence of a matai to decide by himself; others had to be left for a fono decision. An individual would generally be careful not to discuss a matter publicly, unless he was competent to do so.


113 ONE, Padel, 26 Feb. 1850.
Within a *fono* the opinions of the various participants were weighted according to rank. There was an attempt to achieve a public show of unanimity, though this often meant that a minority group muted their point of view in deference to the weight of opinion. They might later express their opposition privately. It might mean also, that a decision was postponed. Ultimately, however, without public unanimity, a breaking point would be reached, which might lead to violence.\(^{114}\) An impasse in a title dispute could result in the splitting of the title.\(^{115}\)

When a decision of the village *fono* was not obeyed, or when the *fono* was forced to deal with actions that were creating difficulty for the village, it was competent to inflict punishment. This might take the form of a fine against the offending family, or in more serious cases might involve the destruction of houses, livestock and plantations, the seizure of personal property, or even banishment from the village. It could punish an offender personally, too. This generally involved various types of compulsory, self-inflicted injury. Stair knew one example only of the deliberate execution of a murderer.\(^{116}\)

Many offences were a matter for settlement between the families of the two parties, however. If one party was strong enough, it could inflict a punishment in the same way as a

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114 Keesing & Keesing, op. cit., p.115; Turner, op. cit., p.290.

115 Schultz, "The most important principles of Samoan family law", p.44.

116 Brown, NF, p.291; Stair, op. cit., p.91.
village fono. Serious matters such as adultery or murder could lead to violence, and the killing of a member of the offender's family as revenge. One way of avoiding this was a ceremonial submission made by the offending party, known as an ifoga. This was equivalent to that party placing itself under the power of the offended party, as if it were offering itself to be eaten, as pigs. Such a submission was almost invariably accepted. It was used to settle disputes between villages and between districts, also.

If the injured individual, or the offender, was of high rank, the village fono might take a hand in the matter, for large numbers of people were likely to be drawn into an unsettled dispute. However, it, too, had to proceed cautiously, for while in the short term, it might be able to carry out its punishment, if the offending party had powerful family connections which they were able to activate, the village, and even a whole district, could find itself involved in war. Stair notes that because of this a village sometimes found it expedient to make a token banishment only, in the case of an influential party.

According to Brown, wars were generally announced only by the preparations made for them, or by a surprise attack. If a full scale war was envisaged, in which the issues of high titles

117 ibid.
118 ibid., p.96.
119 ibid., p.95.
120 Brown, MF, p.165f.
and the malo were at stake, travelling parties might visit villages, particularly the district centres, throughout Samoa, to gain support. This manoeuvering could take some months, and the associated hospitality resulted in the consumption of large amounts of food which would later lead to shortages. The complexity of genealogical and district relationships meant that Samoan alliances were constantly shifting, even during the course of a single war. Close relatives often fought against each other, a notable example being Malietoa Vai'imupe and his "nephew" To'oa, during the 1830 war.121

Except in the case of a minor war, where the object might have been simple revenge to remove an insult, the aim of Samoan warfare was to force the other side to submit to being the vāivai. To this end, the lands and houses of a conquered district were ravaged and destroyed, thus preventing the district in question from taking any further part, for the time being, in economic competition. Much of the further progress of the dispute revolved around the question of when the conquered people could return to their lands. In the intervening period they lived with relatives elsewhere, generally in a neutral district. From this position they might seek aid, by force of arms, to be returned to their own lands.

In marked contrast to practice elsewhere in Polynesia, Samoan warfare did not, generally, involve large scale slaughter, nor the subjection of peoples to a servile state. Probably this was

121 SSJ, Williams, 1832, Nov. 2.
because of the close family relationships existing across the boundaries of the warring parties, and, in terms of Samoan values, because an adequate victory was obtained by the destruction of lands and houses, and the banishment of the people. During battle, however, it was the object of a warrior to obtain the head of an opponent, which he brought before the leaders of his party for approval. Relatives later gave these remains an appropriate burial. Cannibalism was unknown in Samoa in historical times.

Most major wars ended with the defeat, and the, at least temporary, submission of one party. Minor quarrels, however, between two villages, for instance, could be settled by the intervention of a neutral party, generally the leading village of the district, which might be concerned about district unity. Whether districts which remained neutral in a major war, played any part in mediation before the nineteenth century, is unclear. Brown, writing at a later period, says that "peace-making was always concluded by the intervention of some neutral party."

Marriage was an event of considerable genealogical significance to a person of rank. Not only did he establish

122 The large scale slaughter of the defeated A'ana people in 1830 appears to have been exceptional. Brown suggests that it may have been considered necessary to thus avenge the death of the god-like figure of Tama'aia. MP, p.177.

123 AWE, 44, 1872, p.36, Elloy, 12 Jan. 1872; Stair, op. cit., p.126.

connections that were important to himself, but he also laid the basis for the family connections, upon which his child might draw. The tulafale, who were responsible for the lengthy negotiations leading to marriage, benefited, too, by obtaining fine mats and other property. Indeed, they were said to be sometimes more eager for their ali'i to contract a marriage, than he himself. 125 Thus a chief of rank might have several wives, some of whom might be of low status, he having married them while yet a taule'ale'a. Others he will have married to match his improved status on receiving a title. 126

It was usual for several of such a chief's wives to live together with him. If, however, one returned home of her own accord, she could not remarry without his permission, unless she herself was of high rank. The wife of a chief of very high rank could not remarry even if it was he who had sent her away. Indeed, if such a chief raped a girl, she would be regarded in the same way. Anyone attempting to marry such a woman would be regarded as an adulterer and liable to violent retribution. 127 Adultery was considered as an affront to the dignity of the injured chief and his supporters. Conversely, unless a woman was of rank, the adultery of her husband was not considered serious. 128

125 Buck, op. cit., p. 318.
126 ON, Bellwald, "Samoan laws." Gilson, "Samoan descent groups." P. 373; Brown, MP, p. 47.
While the marriage of a person of rank was an event of importance to the villages of the people concerned, and to their wider family connections, other marriages received little attention. They might be marked simply by the couple living together, followed by a later exchange of property. In the case of an āvaga, or elopement, the girl spent the night with the boy, and her parents were faced with a fait accompli, which was usually eventually accepted with good grace. 129

Great stress was laid upon the virginity of a bride of rank at marriage, and it was subject to public proof during the ceremony. On the other hand, Brown comments: "Unchastity in either sex before marriage was not considered a serious offence against morality" and notes that rape was not a cause for great disturbance, except where the victim was a woman of rank, and otherwise only to the immediate family. 130 Milner thinks that the almost institutionalised form of rape represented in the figure of the moetotoio described by Mead, poses a paradoxical contrast to the stress on virginity, but there is no suggestion in Mead's account that it was approved. 131 Women of high rank were carefully guarded before marriage, but this may be related to the concept of adultery outlined above - the wife of a man of rank should not be touched by another man either before or after marriage. Prostitution was strongly disapproved, but was probably

130 ibid., p. 265.
131 Milner, op. cit., p. 173; Mead, *Coming of age in Samoa*, p. 79.
not a problem before the advent of Europeans.\textsuperscript{132}

15. **Funerals, Property Exchange and Malaga.**

As with marriage, funerals, particularly of chiefs, were an occasion for the reaffirmation of family and other ties. The dying man would be visited by other matai who would make speeches in praise of him. His family would gather on his death, bringing tōga which was redistributed, some to the village chiefs, but most among themselves. Groups from other villages would perform funeral rites peculiar to their village. Self-mutilation and the destruction of property were marks of respect to the dead, as was the placing of a ban on the use of the immediate neighbourhood. The perambulation of the corpse through a number of villages was practised in the case of certain chiefs of great rank, and mummification by two other families.\textsuperscript{133}

Thus it will be seen that a feature of all the most important events in Samoan life was the exchange of property. Besides the occasions mentioned, these included the bestowal of titles, the establishment of alliances, and the completion of buildings. It may be exemplified by the formal exchange of tōga and 'oloa at weddings. The former, brought by the family of the bride, consisted mostly of fine mats ('ie tōga) and cloth (siano); the latter, brought by the family of the groom, included food,

\textsuperscript{132} Brown, \textit{EP}, p. 44.

\textsuperscript{133} ibid., p. 402; Turner, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 229f.
canoes, and latterly European goods and money.

The competitive function of such an exchange has been mentioned. It is, however, also a significant means of reaffirming ties within a family. By one's contribution on such an occasion, one is staking one's claim to a continuing part in the life of the family. Other ties, such as that between an ali'i and a tulufale, and those formed by marriage, are similarly reinforced.

The pre-requisite for such exchanges were journeys by parties from one village to another. The enthusiasm of Samoans for such journeying or malaga, and the "extravagant" hospitality it involved, were frequently remarked upon by European observers who did not understand its purpose. They were, however, essential for the maintenance of the ties mentioned and to the facilitating of competitive comparisons. They were thus accompanied by a show of fine oratory, sparring matches and dancing, and, of course, feasting. The pōula, the lascivious night dance which scandalized the missionaries, was particularly associated with malaga. Apart from its symbolic and competitive elements, it appeared to have been an aid to inducing casual

134 It was said that the purpose of a marriage was sometimes fulfilled by such an exchange, and the bride then returned home. cf. ES, Dyson, Journal, 1860, March 16; 1861, May 6.

135 Weston describes how, at a church dedication, a household of a neighbouring village made six separate contributions "for the purpose of maintaining ceremonial commitments relating widely dispersed villages located throughout the archipelago." op. cit., p.130.
The Tongan teacher Panapasa informed Brown that it was amongst the dances whose function was to reconcile.  

16. Traditional Samoan Religion

The impression may have been gained that Samoan society could quite adequately be described without much reference to a religious dimension. That this is not the case can be demonstrated by reconsidering the ground covered. In practically every aspect, religious conceptions and practices form an important, and perhaps indispensable part.

In the first place, ideas of the supernatural were an important element of the authority of chiefs. This was particularly evident in the case of ali'ipal'ia, chiefs whose very touch was thought to transmit supernatural power to objects and places. Their genealogies were traced back to divine origins, and significant events in the history of their lineages were marked by commerce with the gods.  

The great families had their particular gods; but so did lesser lineages, and their branches, down to the level of the household. They were believed to manifest themselves in various

136 E.S. Craighill Handy points to the religious significance of such dances in their figuring the fecundity of the gods. Polynesian religion. (Honolulu, 1927), p. 210. The Keesings point to the competitive aspect. op. cit., p. 82.

137 MS, Brown, "Notes on Samoan customs by Panapasa". Mead stresses that dancing, in general, was an appropriate occasion for the display of excellence and the use of innovation. Coming of age in Samoa. p. 92f.

138 The beneficent influence of the goddess Nafanua, for instance, led to the gathering of the uapa into the hands of Salamasina.
natural phenomena – the rainbow, birds, fish and more rarely, in artificial objects. The god or aitu of a family, if edible, was not permitted to be eaten by that family. At all levels of activity these gods were honoured. At every kava ceremony a libation and short prayer was made before each person drank. Family prayer was offered over the evening fire. The gods were appealed to at child-birth, and for the success of the whole range of domestic activity.

Villages and districts had their particular gods, too. Sometimes a district would hold a festival, a month or more in length, in honour of a god. During this time prohibitions might be observed, for instance, upon the use of light. It is thought that most villages had a fale aitu or spirit house (known also as malumalu) or some other shrine, such as a sacred grove. Here the god might be worshipped with offerings of food, (taulaga) and other observances. There do not appear to have been any structures corresponding to the Tahitian marae and the Hawaiian heiau, however. The malae in Samoa was the hallowed area of land reserved for important meetings. Stone structures have been discovered though, which may have had a religious use, perhaps augury.

139 Dyson cites an example, showing typical concerns: "O le faamalama lenei ia to outou ssualii. Ia mamo a mai, ma sala, ma mala, a ia matou malolo." (Let this light come to you, O spirit. Take away sickness, and punishment and misfortune, and give us rest.) MS, Dyson, Journal, 1863 Feb. 12.

140 BR. (17), Jan. 1856; SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 22.

141 SSL, Powell, 3 Nov. 1845; J.M. Davidson, op. cit., pp. 64-68.

as suggested by early accounts. 143

Districts consulted the oracles of the gods in time of war, and augury was used to determine action. Powerful tulafale were assigned this task as the recognised priests (taualāitu) of the gods. Augury was performed by observations of natural phenomena, or by the holding of aitu fono, (a meeting with the aitu in a darkened house). 144 These men and their followers were known as the alatua. During a campaign they remained at home and engaged in tapua 'iga nofofo, a form of prayer which involved silent meditation upon the enterprise being undertaken.

It is not certain whether the priests mentioned were thought to be possessed by the spirit, though it is probable that they were not. It is perhaps these that various writers have referred to when they have spoken of priests who were so by office. 145 Their function as priests, indeed was closely tied to their position as tulafale. There were other types of priest, however, who worked under the influence of a possessing spirit. Williams gives a vivid account of the phenomenon of trembling that was associated

143 J.M. Davidson, op. cit., pp.64-69; cf. SSJ, Platt, 1836, Feb. 3; Malae were however, the sites of important religious festivals. Bellwald says that the malae was "personified and considered as a divinity." ON, Bellwald, "Samoan laws." Williamson suggests that some of the functions of the marae had, in Samoa, been taken over by the fale tele (great house). One such function was the provision of ranked seating for chiefs. op. cit. II, p.81.


145 MS, Williams, Journal, 1832. There is disagreement whether any taualāitu held their position by heredity; compare Turner, op. cit., p.241 and MS, Brown, "Notes by Panapasa on Samoan customs." The dispute may be conceptual rather than factual.
with the entrance of the spirit into the medium's body.\footnote{SSJ, Williams, 1832; cf. Brown, MP, p.224. Stair names and describes a variety of classes of taulāitu, op. cit. p.226f.}

The words spoken in such a condition, often in an altered voice, were understood to be those of the spirit. Some of these taulāitu, at least, appear to have been permanently associated with the mālumālu, to which people would resort for their aid.\footnote{Kramer, op. cit. I, p.40; SSJ, Buzacott, 1836, 1837.}

Nevertheless, they do not appear to have formed the separate social class that they did elsewhere in Polynesia.

Buzacott speaks as if those who were approached for help in cases of sickness that were believed to have been caused by spirit possession, also displayed the phenomenon of possession.\footnote{Ibid.}

Richard Moyle's account of the curing of such illnesses does not suggest that this was the case. Rather, the person engaged to cure the disease was thought to have an ability, by virtue of supernatural powers, and by esoteric knowledge, to communicate with the spirit, and drive it out. He describes how a victim might go from treatment to treatment until a successful cure was obtained. The illness was only then considered to have been successfully diagnosed.\footnote{Moyle, op. cit., p.422; cf. his "Samoan medical incantations." JFS, 83:2, (1974), p.155f.}

Such healers seem to be in a similar category to experts in other areas - the master fisherman (tautai) or the master carpenter...
(tufuga) for instance. They enjoyed an authority in their particular sphere of activity which they might not otherwise possess. This was related to the mana or supernatural power, which they were thought to control by virtue of their skilled knowledge, and associations with the gods.

The concept of mana was closely tied, too, to the sanctity surrounding the ali'i na'ia. It was a power that could be transmitted to objects and places, rendering them tapu. This meant that they were dangerous to ordinary men, and had to be freed by ceremonial sprinkling with coconut water before they could be used. In the case of the experts, just mentioned, mana was carefully controlled by the correct performance of their tasks. Thus an incantation had to be recited correctly, or certain prohibitions observed, in order to ensure success. Mana, however, was something above and beyond the correctness of the performance.

It is for a similar reason that verbal insult was considered a serious matter - more serious, in fact, than physical assault.

150 Stair gives a list of such experts, op. cit., p.42. Buck has an account of the society of tufuga, known as the Sa Tagaloa (family of Tagaloa, an important Polynesian deity). op. cit., p.89f.

151 Mead argues that the notion of tapu is played down among Samoans in comparison to other Polynesian peoples. It is dangerous to extrapolate from her experience of one small area of Samoa in the 1920's however, as her comments about the lack of use of medical incantations show. She makes an important distinction between "tapu", implying a prohibition with a supernatural sanction and "sa", which implies a prohibition, whatever its sanction. Social organization of Manu'a. p.117f.
It was thought to carry the power of a curse.\textsuperscript{152} Symbolic actions carried the same implication, and were thus used to place prohibitions on the use of food resources, or as protection against theft.\textsuperscript{153} Neither exuvial magic nor sorcery in general was, however, practised by Samoans.\textsuperscript{154} The same conception of the power of a curse, lay behind the taking of oaths, associated with some sacred object, to discover a criminal.\textsuperscript{155}

It is clear, too, that the notion of \textit{sala} or punishment, had a supernatural reference. Because the authority of the titled was backed by \textit{mana}, an offence against their rule was likely to bring punishment from the gods.\textsuperscript{156} Illness and misfortune, were generally interpreted as such a punishment. Thus Handy relates the cognate Polynesian word "\textit{hara}" to a "negative condition" resulting from a loss of \textit{mana}.\textsuperscript{157}

The concept of supernatural sanctions certainly lay behind that of \textit{feagaiga}. It was the peculiar power of the sister's curse

\textsuperscript{152} cf. Brown, MP, p.230, George Brown, p.34; SSL, Pratt, 31 Dec. 1859.

\textsuperscript{153} MS, Brown, Journal, 1867, July 30.

\textsuperscript{154} Brown, MP, p.245. Stair, however, speaks of "cursing" \textit{teu\textsuperscript{\textae}tiiu}, op. cit., p.225.

\textsuperscript{155} Brown, MP, pp.268, 269.

\textsuperscript{156} This is clearly indicated in a story by Brown, ibid., p.290.

\textsuperscript{157} Handy, op. cit., pp.233, 234.
that was thought to lie behind the rights that she and her
descendants enjoyed. Similarly, the rights of an ali‘i or a
master builder were backed by the relationship which they enjoyed
with the supernatural realm. Hence the house of an important
chief was a sanctuary for offenders, which could not be violated by
pursuers.\textsuperscript{158} A chief, too, could walk into a brawl and break it
up, with impunity to his person.\textsuperscript{159} His power to lay a tapui
(interdict upon the use of something) can also be related to his
\textit{mana}.\textsuperscript{160}

Stair once wrote of Samoans, "It is difficult to arrive
at anything like a clear and connected conception of their
mythology, as native statements are often vague and conflicting."\textsuperscript{161}
The difficulty might, of course, have been due to a European lack
of perception. However, Levy has remarked with respect to
Tahitians that they adopted an experimental attitude towards their
religious conceptions. The proof of spirit activity was seen in
the events that they believed to be a result of their agency -
ilness and cure; prosperity and death. The fate of the soul after
death, and the realms of the spirits, were, on the other hand,
matters for conjecture.\textsuperscript{162} A similar attitude probably prevailed

\textsuperscript{158} cf. W.E., Dyson, Journal, 1858, Oct. 15. Ellis discusses the
existence of Hawaiian cities of refuge, established by kings,
and inhabited by priests. op. cit., IV, p.167.


\textsuperscript{160} This, of course, is not to ignore the "secular" aspects of the
sanctions he could apply.

\textsuperscript{161} J.B. Stair, "Jottings on the mythology and spirit-lore of old

\textsuperscript{162} R.L. Levy, "Personal forms and meanings in Tahitian
"Kahunas and the Hawaiian religion," in Sibley S. Morill ed.,
The Kahunas: the Black and White Magicians of Hawaii.
(Boston, 1968), p.98.
in Samoa.

The soul or agaga was not spoken of except in so far as it was conceived of as having left the body. This it might do, in dreams or trances, during states of unconsciousness and at death, when it was free to travel about in the form of the body. Thus careful preparations were made to protect the soul from malign influences immediately after death. Relatives were concerned too, lest a dead person bear a grievance against them, and come back to trouble them. The soul of someone who was lost at sea was considered to be embodied in some insect or animal, which was given a burial as proxy. Remains, especially the skull, were carefully preserved, and were thought to bear the mana of the deceased person. Particularly powerful ancestors were regarded as atu whose aid could be sought.

There were various conceptions of the fate of souls. Generally they were thought to travel to the Western tip of Savai'i, where they entered the Fa'am, which, according to Stair, was itself the twin entrance, on the one hand to the abode of chiefs in Pulotu, and on the other to Sa'ale Fe'e, the resting place of the rest of

163 MS, Brown, "Samoan animism". Samoans spoke of the intelligence (etamai), the will (loto) and the seat of the emotions (mauli).

164 Brown, MP, p. 219; Stair, Old Samoa, p. 220; Holmes, "Ta'u", p. 335. Dreams had a supernatural significance. cf. SSL, Heath, 7 June, 1847.

165 Brown, MP, p. 402; Stair, Old Samoa, p. 183.
the people. While the āgā, the sky, was the dwelling place of the god Tagaloa, it does not appear to have been considered the destination of souls.

The god, Tagaloa, occupies a place different from other deities in the Samoan pantheon. The balance of the evidence is that he was not offered special worship, except, perhaps on Manu'a, but rather was connected with cosmological conceptions of creation. These ideas do not, however, appear to have played an important part in the day-to-day life of Samoans.

Stair's distinctions between different classes of gods seem artificial, though the evidence is conflicting. In many contexts "atua" and "aitu" seem to be interchangeable, while "sauali'i" is merely the polite term for them. "Tupua" refers more to the way a god manifests itself, than to a type of god.

In contrast to Tahiti, Hawaii or Rarotonga, Samoa lacked the elaborate structure and ritual of the marae or heiau. Aware of this, Rarotongans and Tahitians thought of them as the

166 Stair does not appear to be entirely sure about the distinction between the three places. ibid., pp.211, 215. cf. Turner, op. cit., p.237.

167 Handy appears to be confused on this point. op. cit., p.77. Traditions speak of heroes visiting the āgā during their life. Stair, Old Samoa, p.214.


"godless Samoans", while John Williams, well apprised of their gods, nonetheless reported misleadingly that they had neither temples nor rites nor ceremonies. Clearly, however, religious thought and practices permeated every aspect of Samoan life. It was this fact that rendered religious change in Samoa so complex.

The missionaries hoped to transform Samoan society. They little thought, however, that the Christianity they brought to effect that transformation, would itself be changed, subtly but surely, by Samoan conceptions and practices. In bringing the Lotu they were acting as midwife to the birth of a new form of Christianity. It is that birth which is the subject of the following chapters.

170 J. Williams, Missionary enterprises, (London, 1839), p.464; SSJ, Williams', 1832. This line of thought has been overemphasised by some writers who think of Samoans as being less "religious" than their neighbours. cf. Mead, Social organisation of Manu'a, p.84f; Stanner, op. cit., pp.309, 317.
CHAPTER I

THE LOTU: ORIGINS AND GROWTH TO 1836

1. 1800-1832

Many Polynesian traditions attest contacts between Samoa and other parts of the Pacific in pre-historic times.\(^1\) By far the most important of these were with Tonga. Intermarriage and trading contacts go back many generations. For a period, indeed, Samoa was under the military domination of Tonga.\(^2\) Archaeology, too, now points to a similar ancient pre-history for Samoa and Tonga.\(^3\)

It is necessary, therefore, to consider to what extent early Samoan knowledge of Europeans was mediated by direct contacts, and to what extent by contacts with other groups where knowledge of the new-comers was more advanced.

Janet Davidson summarizes accounts of European contacts up to 1840. At the time of Roggeveen’s visit in 1722, Samoans had some knowledge of Europeans:—a woman wore a string of blue beads, and there was an interest in obtaining iron. Later eighteenth

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2 Williamson considers this evidence and argues that the Tongan invasion was that of a Tangaroa worshipping people, who joined forces with a similar people in Samoa, which had lost their influence over the "pre-Tangaroan" population. Williamson, *Social and political systems.* I, pp. 63f., 104-111, 142.

3 Green and Davidson, *Archaeology in Western Samoa.* II, p. 278.
century visitors, though, found that Samoans were unaware of the value of iron, and rather, sought glass beads. It was the period between the visit of the Pandora in 1791 and the arrival of Williams and Barff in 1830 that saw the most marked change in attitude towards European material culture. Now interest ranged over a wide variety of items from fire-arms to clothing.

Davidson alludes to possible explanations of this difference—the presence of Europeans in Samoa by 1830— the possible effect of "tales of other Polynesians, particularly Tongans, arriving from islands already subjected to more intensive contact." The accounts she cites of such visits date from the period around 1830 and later. It is reasonable to assume from these accounts, that the sort of contacts mentioned, took place in the earlier period, too. It will, however, be useful to look at specific evidence for Tonga and Samoa in the period 1791 to 1829.

It is known that Moengângongo, a son of Finau 'Ulukâlala II, and a party of chiefs led by Tu'i Vava'u Vuma III, fled to Samoa in 1799, after an unsuccessful attempt to resist 'Ulukâlala's assault on Vava'u. By this time, Tongan appetite for European goods had been whetted by the presence both of resident beachcombers, and

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4 J.M. Davidson, op. cit., pp. 46-48. Though there is evidence for Europeans in Samoa before 1830 (cf. e.g. MS, Barff & Williams, Journal, 1830, passim; SSJ, Williams, 1832, passim.) it is probable that many more arrived in the immediately succeeding years. Davidson's interest is to point to the fact of a change in attitude, and hence to the possibility of other changes in Samoan society during this period.

5 Latukefu, op. cit., p. 17. Moengângongo had returned to Tonga by 1809, when he succeeded his father as Tu'i Vava'u. ibid., p. 21.
of the ill-fated party of London Missionary Society (L.M.S.) missionaries. In the succeeding years, with the capture of several European ships, this interest was even further heightened, particularly with respect to fire-arms, iron and clothing.

It is therefore significant that G.B. Milner argues, on linguistic grounds, that certain words such as 'otī (goat), 'apa (copper) and tama'a (tobacco), passed into the Samoan language from Tongan and Niutoputapua sources, rather than directly from English contact. The Samoan glottal stop (') corresponds to the Tongan velar stop (k). Direct borrowing from the English, hypothetically, would have led to the use of "k" or even "t" in these words, rather than the glottal stop.

A decade and a half later, Kotzebue met a chief of Manono, almost certainly Lei'ataua Toannape'a Tamafaiga, as he was, rare for a Samoan chief, untattooed. He carried a green parasol obtained from Tonga, and knew the English words "very good". Moreover, according to Kotzebue he was addressed as "Eige" which sounds suspiciously like the Tongan "Eiki", (chief).

6 ibid., p. 25f.
7 ibid., p. 19.
9 Otto von Kotzebue, A new voyage around the world. (London, 1830), I p. 278. cf. Krümer, op. cit. II p. 30. It was customary for Tongan chiefs of rank to remain untattooed, and the same fact is recorded for Tamafaiga. cf. MS, Williams and Barrf, Journal, 1830, Aug. 22. Krümer suggests that Tamafaiga was a Tongan, but this conflicts with traditional evidence. It is probable however that he depended on Tongan support. cf. pp. 79 n.; 147-c.
Another piece of evidence is less satisfactory. Martin Dyson recorded of Lotofaga, on the south coast of Upolu, that:

"This village is the native place of a Samoan lady called Iosua, who gave birth to the present monarch of the Friendly Islands."  

This statement appears to conflict however with Tongan accounts of the origins of Taufa'ahau's mother.  

Sometime in this period, though, Taufa'ahau did take as one of his wives, a daughter of Tuilaepa Matetau of Manono.  

There is every reason to believe then, that, in a period when knowledge of Europeans was well-developed, and Christianity had begun to take root in Tonga, there was constant communication between the two countries.

The meagre evidence that knowledge of the new religion first came from Tonga, must, therefore, be given great weight. Martin Dyson, writing in 1875, states that the first Christian contacts were established by Tongans travelling to, and residing in Samoa, after the conversion of Aleamotu'a in 1827.

10 MS, Dyson, Journal, 1859, April 23.


12 SSJ, Williams, 1832, Nov. 6. J. Garrett makes this relationship bear too much weight as an explanation for Taufa'ahau's policy to Samoa. JPH 9 (1974), pp. 65, 69, 72. P. Turner reports that the woman was a "concubine", and that when Taufa'ahau had become a Christian he had determined to send her home. WSL, Turner, 1 Oct., 1836. Later, it appears, she married a chief at Samata on Savai'i, and, despite an earlier profession of Christianity, was a heathen in 1836. cf. MS, Hardie, Journal, 1836, Aug. 2. Her family at Apai on Manono, were never influenced by their Tongan connections, to renounce their initial adherence to the L.M.S.
Samoans followed their example, but "the rest of the inhabitants were heathen until the year 1830." Peter Turner, the pioneer Wesleyan missionary, who was forced to defend his entry into Samoa at a meeting with L.M.S. missionaries in September 1836, collected evidence from Samoan informants. It was established that a Samoan, Mosese Nusitoga, had been to Tonga and begun the "Tonga Lotu" on his return, before 1830.

Linguistic considerations, again, suggest that it was from Tonga that news of Christianity first came. The word "Lotu" by which the new religion was immediately and universally known from 1830, apparently had no other reference in Samoa. In Tonga, however, according to Mariner, it meant: "Adoration, invocation, to invoke, to pray." Moreover, the Samoan missionaries recognised it to be of Tongan provenance, a judgement agreed with by Milner.

13 M. Dyson, My story of Samoan Methodism. (Melbourne, 1875) p. 10. He mistakenly calls Alezmotu'a the father of Taufa'ahau.

14 WSL, Turner, 1 Oct. 1836. It was also found that another Samoan, Benjamin Savai'ia, had been to Tonga and returned to start the "Tonga Lotu" at Tafua and Salelo'oga, but this was after the people had been taught by Tahitian teachers from Sapapali'i, and hence, after 1830. Dyson is therefore mistaken in suggesting that he had returned before 1830, though he himself was in contact with Turner in 1862. Samoan Methodism, pp. 12, 14. A.R. Tippett cites a letter of 25 June, 1829 from Tonga to the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (W.M.M.S.) London Committee, mentioning the presence of Samoans in Tonga, and hoping that through the conversion of Tonga, Samoa also might be evangelized. People movements in southern Polynesia. (Chicago, 1971), p. 255.

15 Williams and Barff's accounts, both published and unpublished, suggest that the word was used and understood immediately by Fa'uea and Mafietoa. The possibility of anachronism cannot be completely ruled out, of course. MS, Williams & Barff, 1830, Aug. 18, 23. Williams, Missionary enterprises, pp. 281, 288.


It might be argued that the word entered into Samoan usage during the visit of Williams and Barff in 1830, especially as their eloquent Samoan fellow-voyager, Fauea, had spent the previous eleven years in Tonga. This, on the balance, seems unlikely, however, in view of the evidence for contact just offered, and in view of the fact that the only instruments of L.M.S. instruction in the immediately succeeding period were Tahitian teachers.

It is almost certain that the word had found its place in the Samoan vocabulary by this time.

There were, however, some contemporary connections between Tahiti and Samoa. Siovili, a native of Eva in Atua, had travelled first to Tonga and then to Tahiti in the 1820's. He was accompanied by a chief, Teonaula, who, while there, requested teachers for his country. There were traditions that Siovili even reached Sydney. He returned to Samoa, according to a later...

18 Williams, Missionary enterprises. p. 262.

19 He was said to have been in Tahiti at the height of the Mamma cult, and stayed there long enough to learn some "broken Tahitian." cf. MS, Hardie, 1836, Nov. 2; 1837, April 20; SSJ: Williams, 1832, Oct. 19; Buzacott, 1836/7; SSL, Slatyer, 1 Mar. 1844. He travelled in the ship of Captain S. Henry, a son of one of the Tahitian missionaries. SSJ, Barff & Buzacott, 1834, June 1; cf. MS, Williams & Barff, 1830, Aug. 23. Later traditions obtained by Methodist and Catholic missionaries, stress, however, the Tongan connections of the Lotu Siovili. WSL, Wilson, Report 1837, Sept. 11; MS, Dyson, Journal, 1865, June 30; ONE: Violette, Dec. 1845; Roudaire, Beginning of 1847. No credence should be given to Violette and Roudaire's assertion that the name Siovili follows that of Dumont d'Urville, whom he is alleged to have met in Tonga. As the alternative "Jovili" shows, the name is a compound of "Sio" (Joe) and "Vili" (drill). cf. A. Buzacott, Mission life in the islands of the Pacific. (London, 1866), p. 127.

20 MS, Williams & Barff, Journal 1830, Aug. 23. Curiously there is no mention of this request in the Tahitian correspondence. Nor does Williams appear to lay much stress on it as a reason for his coming to Samoa. cf. SSJ, Barff, 1836, June 21.

21 WSL, Turner, 8 Oct. 1835; Dumont d'Urville, op. cit. IV p. 106; ONE: Padel, 15 April 1845. cf. the Siovillian hymns recorded by Williams. SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 19.
account, just a few months before Williams' and Barff's arrival in August 1830. He does not seem to have begun his career as a religious leader until after that date, however.

Furthermore, a party of Haivavaean Christians were shipwrecked on Manu'a in 1829, though they appear to have had little influence on the local population. Thomas Powell records a tradition that a half-caste man began teaching at Paleasau on Ta'ū about the time of Williams' arrival, though he gained only four converts who became "the laughing stock of the heathen party." Wilkes repeated a story about a shipwreck whose survivors were the first harbingers of Christianity in Samoa. This, however, sounds like a tale invented to explain the presence of the sailor sects in the mid 1830's. Everything suggests, rather, that these developed in response to a Samoan demand following Williams and Barff's visit, and a heightened interest in the Lotu, as will be seen.

If knowledge of the Lotu did, indeed, precede this visit, it must be stressed, on the other hand, that it apparently involved little in the way of formal Christian religious practice.

22 SSL, Slatyer, 1 Mar. 1844. Teoneula had returned by this time. cf. MS, Williams & Barff, Journal 1830, Aug. 23.
23 SSJ, Barff & Buzacott, 1834, June 1.
24 SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 19.
25 SSJ, Powell, 1870/71.
26 Wilkes, op. cit. II p. 128. Nightingale records a similar story, though he does not suggest that the event preceded the coming of Williams and Barff. *Oceanic sketches* (London, 1835), p. 75.
Peter Turner, who had most to gain if it were otherwise, admits that those who said they were of the "Lota Toga" before this date, did not commence "teaching" or begin to "conduct their lotu" until eight months after the Tahitians had done so. Dyson states:

"prayer to God instead of to their ancient 'aitu' and the observance of the Lord's day formed the sum of their new religion." Thus, while Samoa was by no means unprepared for their message, those who arrived in August, 1830 gave a strong impetus to religious change.

The immediate effect of their visit then, was not, as Williams imagined, the introduction of Christianity to Samoa, but the forging of a link between the agents of the L.M.S. and Malietoa Vai'inupo. Williams had been directed to this great chief, an aspirant for the Tafa'ifē, by his relative Fause, whom he had met in Tonga shortly before. On their arrival at

28 Dyson, Samoan Methodism. p. 12.
29 Williams believed that he had met the first party of Tongan Christians to travel to Samoa in Nov. 1832 at Niutoputapu. SSJ, Williams, 1832, Nov. 6.
30 In 1843 Fause held the title of Mulipola from the Manono village of Salua. SSL, Manono chiefs, 22 July, 1843. Some writers have greatly exaggerated the role he played in persuading the Samoans to accept Christianity. He was not a tulefē as Rowe asserts. N.A. Rowe, Samoa under the sailing gods. (London and New York, 1930), p. 42. Nor did he act as a mediator in discussions between Williams and Malietoa. Missionary enterprises, pp. 263, 306. That Malietoa did not need much persuasion is suggested by the rapidity with which he returned from the seat of war on hearing of Williams' arrival. The main benefit conferred by Fause on the missionaries was his leading them to Malietoa, and this was rather mixed, as will appear. cf. Gilson, Samoan 1830-1900. p. 97.
Malietoa's village, Sapapali'i, on Savai'i, they found that he and his allies of the island of Manono, were engaged in war against the district of A'ana on Upolu. Malietoa, on receiving news of their arrival, speedily returned home. It took little persuasion for him and his half-brother, Taimalelagi, who had already cordially received the new-comers, to agree to care for the eight Tahitian teachers, whom Williams proposed to leave with them. Malietoa also promised that once the war was ended, he would accept Christianity. The arrangement took on the character of a feagaiga with Malietoa's words: "In future I shall consider ourselves and you as ainga tasi, one family, and hope you will do the same." With this promising introduction then, Williams left his people, the Tahitian teachers, at Sapapali'i.

The demands of war, however, almost immediately took Malietoa's attention, and with a large party from Savai'i, he and Taimalelagi left again for Upolu. The teachers in the meantime were incapacitated with a heavy bout of influenza, which they had brought with them, and which had spread among the Samoans. They were fortunate that, though they were blamed for the disease, they

31 Williams, Missionary enterprises. p. 297; cf. MS, Williams & Barff, Journal, 1830, Aug. 23.

32 Williams does not appear to have considered dispersing his teachers among different villages. Though he was aware of the limitations of Malietoa's authority, he seems to have felt it was safer, especially in a time of war, to leave them at Sapapali'i. On the other hand, he may have already been impressed by what could be achieved by an alliance between particular chiefs, and missions, elsewhere in Polynesia, and had hopes that the same could be done in Samoa. ibid., Aug. 24. cf. Gilson, Samoa 1830-1900. p. 75.
were still treated kindly by the women and children remaining in Sapapali'i. In this first period, the religious activities of the teachers seem to have been confined to the practice of "family prayer". Before his departure for the war, however, Taimalelagi attended this prayer, professed his intention of becoming a Christian, and asked the teachers to pray for his safety during the war. When, two weeks later, after a dangerous engagement, he returned safely, he attributed his well-being to the care of Jehovah. From this time, many of the women and children began to attend worship.

After a period, one of Malietoa's sons returned from the war and "became lotu". What precisely this involved, however, was not specified by the teachers in their account. Shortly afterwards he and another son decided to co-operate in the building of a chapel, but they soon came into conflict with Taimalelagi as to where it should be placed. Although the dispute was resolved by a message from Malietoa, the teachers decided not to go ahead with their plans to build.

In March 1831, the teachers decided to take a present to Malietoa at A'ana. While there, they met a chief from Savai'i who expressed a wish to lotu. They agreed to visit him when he sent them a message from his village. This happened shortly after their return to Sapapali'i. The event was of considerable importance.

Before sending for the teachers the chief had consulted with his people and they were evidently well prepared. After the preliminary exchange of greetings, he asked the
teachers, three of whom had made the trip, if they had brought a fish spear. He told them it was needed to spear his aitu, an eel, so that it could be cooked and eaten. The teachers had not brought one. However, another of the chief's aitu was a fowl, and consequently several of these were baked and eaten. As a final step, the names of those who wished to become Christians were written in a book, and a prayer said. The teachers spent the Sabbath in the village.

On their return to Sapapali'i, they found the chiefs and people angry at their actions. They were apparently concerned that some of the teachers might go to live somewhere else. The teachers reassured them that they had no intention of doing so, but insisted on their right to teach whoever they wished. Consequently they returned to the village two weeks later to spend the Sabbath there. They found that many had been added to the number of converts, and that the pola (lascivious night dances) of which they had expressed their disapproval on their previous visit, had been given up.33

This chief, as Williams significantly put it, was: "The first chief who embraced the Gospel".34 The conversion may be dated roughly. The war, which began at the beginning of August 1830, ended "nearly nine months" later, that is during the last

33 SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 22.
34 Williams, Missionary enterprises, p. 373.
half of April 1831. The conversion took place about two weeks before the taking of the A'ana fort, which brought the war to an end.\(^{35}\) This would place it near the beginning of April.

This agrees with the results of Turner's investigations in 1836:

\[...\text{the Tahitian teachers only began to teach eight months before the person who acted as teacher of the Tonga lotu...} \]
\[\text{as soon as he heard they had begun to conduct the Tahitian lotu he also commenced to teach in the best manner he was able.}^{36}\]

As Turner's Samoan informants saw it, eight months after the Tahitians began to teach they went on "to conduct the Tahitian lotu". This latter phrase appears to refer to activity consequent upon a formal acceptance of the Lotu.\(^{37}\) The Tahitians began teaching at the end of August 1830. According to Turner's account, this would mean that the teaching of the "Tonga lotu" began about the end of April 1831. This would have allowed just enough time for news of the Tahitians' activity to travel to Falefā at the eastern end of Upolu, where the Tonga Lotu was alleged to have begun.\(^{38}\) It would thus appear that Williams' belief that this man was the first chiefly convert coincided with Samoan thought that the event represented the beginning of the conducting of the Lotu.

\(^{35}\) SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 22.

\(^{36}\) WSL, Turner, 1 Oct., 1836.

\(^{37}\) Such a formal act would be marked by the participation of a chief. This is what made the conversion in question a crucial dividing point from previous activity.

\(^{38}\) SSL, Heath, 1 Dec., 1836. Only on this interpretation can any sense be made of the phrase "as soon as".
Though the village is not named in the teacher's account, both it and the chief may be identified with some probability. When the teachers visited the village, which they estimated had a population of one thousand, they found the people wearing clothes which had been obtained from convicts who had pirated a vessel from Moreton Bay.\textsuperscript{39} In 1832, however, Williams visited Satupa'itea (an important village about twenty miles from Sapapali'i) and found that a Moreton Bay convict was living there.\textsuperscript{40} This identification is supported by a geographical consideration, too. When the returning teachers saw the fires on A'ana, they had just turned a point.\textsuperscript{41} This would almost certainly have been Cape Paepaepaepaep a, from the south side of which northern A'ana can no longer be seen. Probably the only large villages south of this point, and within a day's journey of Sapapali'i were Satupa'itea and Palauli.

Moreover, Peter Turner supplies the further information that the chief of Satupa'itea had asked Malietoa for a teacher to reside with him, had been refused, and consequently had gone to Tonga for help, while his people, originally taught by the Tahitians, had reverted to heathenism. According to Turner, he was in Tonga before Turner arrived there in March, 1831.\textsuperscript{42} This chronology,

\textsuperscript{39} SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 22.
\textsuperscript{40} ibid., Oct. 29.
\textsuperscript{41} ibid., Oct. 22.
\textsuperscript{42} WSL, Turner, 1 Oct., 1836.
of course, does not quite agree with the one established above. Nevertheless, according to the teacher's account this was the first occasion on which they had taught anyone outside Sapapali'i. Therefore no chief could have asked for a teacher from Malietoa, under the circumstances outlined by Turner and then travelled to Tonga before Turner arrived there. In view of the other evidence, then, it almost certainly seems that this chief of Satupa'itea, and the chief of the teachers' account are one and the same. Williams visited Lilomai'ava in Satupa'itea in 1832, and found that he had been to Tonga where he had embraced Christianity. He is the same chief referred to elsewhere by Turner as Tui and by Dyson as Tuinaula.

This event had far reaching consequences. It was the first occasion on which Malietoa's desire to keep the teachers firmly under his control was manifested. This desire throws into relief some of the hopes which led him to welcome the Lotu in 1830. To understand these, however, it is necessary to consider aspects of the political situation in Samoa from the turn of the century.

About the year 1800, the ageing Tafa'ifā, I'amafana, a

43 SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 29. The Lilomai'ava title was one of the three highest of the island of Savai'i.

44 cf. SSL, Heath, 1 Dec., 1836. Dyson states that Tuinaula of Satupa'itea went to Tonga in 1831, to obtain a missionary, because he wished "to be equal to Malietoa". He cites the W.M.F.S. Report for 1832-3, p. 46 as evidence. *Samoan Methodism*, p. 13. It follows that Turner is likely to have been mistaken in his belief that Tuinaula had been in Tonga before he himself arrived there.

45 cf. Gilson, *Samoan 1830-1900*, p. 88: "It will be understood, of course, that Malietoa in this context refers also to those around the chief who were manipulating his claims and connexions."
member of Sā Tupuā, but having strong connections with Sā Malietoa, appointed Malietoa Vai'īnupō to be his successor, thereby recognising both close family ties and Malietoa's service to himself. Such a māvaega, however, was more easily made, than carried out. Upon his death, Manono joined forces with Safotulafai and A'ana, and, under the leadership of the Manono chief Lei'ataua Lesa Lologa, defeated the old malo, composed of Safune, Safotu and a part of the Tuamasaga. It was said that Lologa had the aid of the goddess Nafanua, who had entered into him in return for a favour he had done for her messengers.46

Upon Lologa's death, he was succeeded by his son, Lei'ataua Tonumaipe'a Tamafaiga. It was said that he had two natures - that of an aitu and that of a man. One tradition has it that he was an adopted son, being of low birth, but recognised from childhood to be an aitu.47 As with his father, the supernatural agency, particularly of the goddess Nafanua, played a large part in his career.

Tamafaiga then defeated a party composed of the old malo, Safune and Safotu, and a part of the Fa'asaleleaga, led by Malietoa. With him he had Manono, A'ana and the other part of the Fa'asaleleaga. Malietoa was able to find safety on Manono, with which he had strong ties. Tamafaiga also waged a successful campaign in Atua, where Mata'aafa Filisounu'u had gained power.

47 SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 22. This conflicts with the evidence of other traditions.
Tamafaiga now had the ascendancy throughout Upolu and Savai'i. Whether he formally received the four nāpā of the Tefai'ia is not certain. His rule, however, appears to have been marked by cruelty, and by unusual demands, even upon his allies. The basis for his power was his military success, but this was related in Samoan thought, to the sources of his supernatural power. Williams conceived of "the Tamafaiga", as being a sort of hereditary religious office, but there is no other evidence for this, and he is apparently confusing the personal name with the office of taulāitu. Certainly, as other writers have stressed, he combined the normal authority associated with an ari'a pāia, which he was as Tonumaipe'a with that of the taulāitu of the goddess Nafanua. After his death, he was consulted as a war god of Manono.

Tamafaiga's excesses placed an insupportable burden on his alliance with A'ana, and this came to a head with his ambush and

48 Krümer, loc. cit.; Stair, Old Samoa, p. 77.
49 As the holder of the Tonumaipe'a title he had been able to exploit the differences between Sa Tupua and Sa Malietoa. Krümer, loc. cit. Gilson, Samoa 1830-1900, p. 71. Barff and Williams wrote of him: "The late Tamafaiga was supposed to have unlimited influence with the supposed spirits worshipped by the Samoans which raised him almost to the elevated ranks of a god and enabled him to rule over the leeward group with uncontrolled [sic] sway." MS, Journal, 1830, Aug. 24; cf. G. Turner, Nineteen years in Polynesia, p. 99; Stair, Old Samoa, p. 250; Brown, MP p. 176.
50 SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 22.
51 MS, Brown, "Notes by Panapasa on Samoan customs."; Panapasa, himself a Tongan, claimed that Tamafaiga had come from Tonga. It may be that there were important Tongan sources for Tamafaiga's power. cf. pp. 66, 147-8, MS, Dyson Journal, 1863, Feb. 12.
assassination, at Fasito'outa. Though he escaped to the sea, he was recognised, and his body carved into pieces, a particularly ignominious death, symbolizing revenge for each type of misdeed he had committed. Fortuitously, this happened about two weeks before Barff and Williams arrived at Sapapali'i, in 1830.

The death of Tamafaiga, and the break up of the malo, provided Malietoa with just the opportunity he needed to make good his claim to the Tafa'ifa. Through his ties with Manono, he was able to unite under himself, both his former allies from Savai'i, and that island and her Savai'i allies, and wage war against A'ana, ostensibly as punishment for the assassination. The decision was taken almost immediately at a fono on Manono.

Malietoa was aware however, that his holding the Tafa'ifa would be an innovation, and that only an aloali'i (a direct descendant of the Tafa'ifa, Galumalemana) could hope to hold it

52 SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 22.
53 There are discrepancies between the 1830 Journal and Williams book. This may have been because Barff had a greater hand in the writing of the former. (cf. SSL: Barff, 30 Sept., 1830; Williams, 21 Oct., 1830; Barff & Williams, 18 Nov., 1830). This is suggested, too, by the fact that it refers to Williams in the third person, but never refers to Barff. On the other hand, Williams' book often differs from his various journals. In this case, the different dates for Tamafaiga's death may be reconciled, placing it around 5 Aug. MS, Barff & Williams, Journal, 1830, Aug. 20; Missionary enterprises, p. 279f.
Stair unaccountably states that Tamafaiga was killed in 1829, "just before John Williams visited Samoa for the first time." Old Samoa, p. 78.
54 It was said that Malietoa, with an eye to gaining the Tui A'ena title, took a moderating role and asked the fono why they were proposing to avenge such a tyrant. Stair, Old Samoa, p. 253. Nevertheless, as Malietoa told Williams: "if he left the war unfinished and his enemies unsubdued, he should be degraded in the estimation of his countrymen as long as he lived." Williams, Missionary enterprises, p. 288.
permanently. Moreover, he had seen the position usurped by Tamafai, who had no genealogical claims to it at all, but rather depended on military good fortune and associated supernatural forces thought to be focussed in his person.

Thus it was said that Malietoa had enquired of the taulēitu of the goddess Nafaumua, who had greatly assisted Tamafai, where he might obtain a mālo namalu (prestigious rule). The reply has been passed down by tulafale to the present day: "Sau ia ua te'a ao o Malo, toe o i'u o Malo, a e ina faatali i le lagi se ao o lou malo." What events lay behind this prophecy are unknown — nevertheless it clearly expresses the belief that Malietoa hoped to exercise his rule on a new basis.

It is quite clear that he came to expect the lotu to be the instrument of this change. For him, too, the arrival of the Messenger of Peace at Sapapali'i in August, 1830, was fortuitous. He thus lost no time in forming an alliance with the agents of the L.M.S. and taking all their teachers under his care. As the

55 Stair, Old Samoa, p. 78; Krümer, op. cit., I pp. 29, 390.

56 "Come, the high titles of the mālo have passed away; there are only leavings — but wait for the high title of your mālo from heaven." cf. K.T. Pale'te'ese, Tala faasolopito o le Ekalesia Samoa (L.M.S.), (Malua, 1961), p. 10.

57 Similar traditions are recorded by Gill, cited by E. Prout, Memoirs of the life of the Rev. John Williams, (London, 1843), A.W. Murray, Forty years mission work in Polynesia and New Guinea. (London, 1876), p. 51; Stair, Old Samoa, p. 291. Though they do not refer explicitly to Malietoa, they may all express expectations of change foreseen by perceptive taulēitu.

58 There is no contemporary evidence for the later claim that he expected the missionaries to enter the war on his side. cf. SSL, Hardie, 9 Feb., 1842.
months went by it became clearer that it was his intention to control the source of the mana of the Lotu in Samoa, and by doing so, to create a new kind of malo.

The first sign of this was his opposition to the teachers having gone to Satupa'itea to assist at the conversion of Lilomai'ava, and his refusal to allow one of them to live there, so that in chagrin, Lilomai'ava left for Tonga, determined to make himself equal to Malietoa by obtaining a missionary. Shortly after this Malietoa decided, himself, to adopt the Lotu formally. The timing seems to have been determined by the end of the war. He commenced the building of the chapel which the teachers had postponed, and shortly before it was finished, took the teachers and the "most of the Christians" on a malaqa to another part of the island. Their presence, and observance of the Sabbath amidst revelry and sport, persuaded some amongst their hosts to become Christians. Perhaps this was the pattern that Malietoa hoped to set for the conversion of Samoa. Upon his return to Sapapali'i, Malietoa decided to go ahead with a formal acceptance of the Lotu. He proposed to try out the new god, while his children should adhere to the worship of their aitu. To this they objected, saying that the new system must be a good one, otherwise a people so wise as the English would not hold it, and take the trouble of bringing it to the Samoans. They wished to embrace it straight away. But, though they had avoided the chapel services, in fact they had already secretly eaten their aitu, a species of fish. Before doing this they had taken the precaution of administering to themselves a quantity of coconut oil "to prevent them from swelling or suffering any injury". Williams surmised that it might achieve this through its
purgative qualities.

Contrary to Tippett's description of events, Williams does not report that Malietoa ate his aitu, supposing he had one that was edible.\(^59\) The custom of such an act marking the formal acceptance of the Lotu was introduced by the first chiefly convert.\(^60\) This became the usual practice adopted by the teachers on such occasions. In Malietoa's case, it appears, however, that the test was to be marked simply by his attendance at worship on the Sabbath.\(^61\)

Shortly after this, people of neighbouring Safotulafai, an important member of the mālo, desecrated their war god, Papo. This caused a great stir, throughout the group, and soon people and chiefs from many different villages were coming to Sapapali'i to embrace the Lotu, or, in the case of more distant places, sending one of their number to learn the practices of the new religion. It is probably from this time, too, that both the sailor sects and Siovili began their activity. The threat that these posed for Malietoa's hopes will be discussed later.

These changes emanating from Sapapali'i were opposed by some. The chief Tagaloa of the village section Vai'afai in Iva sent word to the teachers at Sapapali'i that he wished to become a worshipper

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59 Tippett, op. cit., p. 164. Gilson makes the same error. Samoa 1830-1900, p. 73. There are discrepancies between Williams' journal account, and his book. I have followed the journal.

60 Gilson wrongly implies that this act was devised by the teachers. loc. cit.

61 SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 22. Similarly, because Seumanutafa Pogai of Apia had no "idols", Williams told him that adopting the lotu should consist of a public profession of his determination to do so, and Williams' writing his name in a book, as the teachers had for a while done for all their converts. ibid, Nov. 2.
of Jehovah, together with his family. After a period of daily visits, the teacher Boti went to live with him. This, however, was not a contravention of Malietoa's policy. Tagaloa was related to Tagaloa of Safune, one of Malietoa's strongest allies, and one of whose chiefs was married to a daughter of Malietoa.62

Indeed, when the chiefs of Lalomalava, a neighbouring section of Iva, protested at Tagaloa's actions, and took measures to force him to give up the worship of the new God, Malietoa actively intervened, encouraged the teachers to continue their activity, and forced the other chiefs to submit.63

Some of this opposition seems to have been motivated by a fear that the worship of the new god, would anger the traditional deities. The Lalomalava chiefs feared, for instance, that their aitu would come and kill them all as a punishment, if Boti was not sent away. In December 1831, when an earthquake struck Sapapali'i, one of the chiefs asked an Englishman, who was staying with the teachers, to put away his bible.64

62 Krämer, op. cit. I p. 89; SSJ, Platt, 1836, March 17.
63 SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 22. Vai'afai now has a separate fa'alupene'a, and it may be that the events just outlined were part of a process whereby it established its relative independence from Lalomalava, an independence which apparently suited Malietoa very well.
On Manono, however, it was motivated by a concern lest their power which had been so closely tied to the old religious order, should slip away. Tamafaiga's skull had been preserved, and through it his spirit was consulted. When Malietoa visited Manono in July, 1832, it was proposed by the keepers of the skull that he be associated with them in demanding tribute for Tamafaiga from various villages. This was a crucial test to see how Malietoa's adoption of the Lotu would affect the traditional basis of Manono's position in the mālo. Malietoa rejected their claims, on the grounds that "Jehovah of the skies was his God", and that there was no Tamafaiga. Some of the Manono chiefs then plotted to kill Malietoa, but he was warned by his kinsman Tuilaepa Matetau, and crossed the island to safety at the village of Apai. Upon his return to Sapapali'i, Malietoa was urged by many of his connections to wage war on Manono, and the latter evidently expected him to do so. On the advice of the teachers he refrained from an attack, saying that, now that he had become a Christian, he was determined to end his days in peace.

It is now clearer why Fauea, in 1830, had rejoiced upon hearing of Tamafaiga's death, exclaiming: "The devil is dead; our land will embrace the new religion". Having been in Tonga

65 SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 22.
66 ibid. Williams believed that these chiefs also had hopes in a daughter of Tamafaiga, resident at Satupa'itea.
67 MS, Barff & Williams, 1830, Aug. 20.
during a period of momentous change, he could see the incompatibility between the traditional religion backing the old political order, and a monotheistic Christianity which would refuse allegiance to that order. If Samoans of rank accepted Christianity, then they could not comply with a political leadership in so far as it was tied to the old supernatural order, represented by the figure of Tamafaiga. Such non-compliance, however, the latter could not allow. Now, after his death, and having led the forces of the māloā to success over A'ana, Malietoa could do what Faueā feared he would not be able to do earlier. 68 The tension between Malietoa and the Manono chiefs continued until Williams' return in October.

Opposition had arisen from another quarter, too, to Malietoa's teachers. In the neighbouring village of Safotulafai, many of whose people worshipped at Sapapali'i, a number were beginning to follow the prophet who had been to Tahiti: Siovili. Perhaps influenced by what he had seen of the Mamaia cult there, he denounced the teachings of the teachers as a "lotu nepelo" (false religion). And to press the point home, he insisted that the heart of the Lotu in Samoan eyes, the Sabbath, should be kept on the day before that observed at Sapapali'i. Moreover, he gave further authority to his denunciation by going inland, for periods, to converse with Jehovah. He also promised immortality to his followers, though he had received a set-back when eighty of them died. By October, 1832 he

68 Thus I do not agree with Gilson's judgement that: "It is more likely that the mission would have prospered regardless of Tamafaiga ..." Samoa 1830-1900, p. 72.
had followers in eight or nine villages.69

Then there were the many "sailor sects" that had sprung up. It was not that they were necessarily consciously opposed to the teachers at Sapapali'i. The group of two or three hundred, on Tutuila, for instance, who had been converted by the European Salima, were always favourably disposed to the London Society, and eventually joined them. On the other hand, on the western islands, it is likely that those chiefs who would not submit to receiving instruction at the pleasure of Malietoa, would turn to any European to teach them the new religion. Such was evidently the case with the "son" of Lei'ataua Tomumaipa'a on Manono. He was fortunate to have the services of Stevens, a ship surgeon, to conduct his Sabbath services, and built up quite a strong connection on the south coast of Upolu which remained hostile to the L.M.S.70 In any case, every such sect represented an element of the new religion which was beyond the direct control of Malietoa. Moreover, many of them indulged in what, from the point of view of the teachers and the missionaries, could only be regarded as aberrant practices – erratic observance of the sabbath, and baptism without understanding of its significance, for instance.

Besides Lilomai'ava, and a few who had already been to Tonga, others, too, turned to Tongan sources of the Lotu. The

69 SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 19.
70 ibid., Oct. 18, 19, 27. The practice of the Lotu on Manono should not be seen to contradict my argument concerning the incompatibility between Christianity and the traditional religion. Until the European missionaries or their trained agents had the direction of the Lotu, its exclusivist claims would not be apparent.
people of Tafua and Salelologa became tired of the importunities of the Tahitian teachers on their visits and took the opportunity provided by the return of one of their number from Tonga to break their connection. 71 Teoneula, the chief who had travelled to Tahiti with Siovili, and requested teachers from the L.M.S., found himself opposed to Malietoa during the 1830 war, and later sought safety in Tonga. He returned to set up the Lotu Fogo at his village of Satapuala on Upolu. 72

Moreover, the directions given by the Tahitian teachers were being questioned even by the people of Sapapali'i. The women flatly refused to cover their breasts or even to make the necessary cloth; on the contrary they encouraged the Tahitian women to strip off and adopt the "fa'asamoa", and promised them they would be all the more admired. When Williams arrived they sought his confirmation of the Tahitian's instructions, and he had to inform them that they had been trained by the missionaries in Tahiti for many years and knew what was required. Others openly ridiculed the teachers, and asserted that the overdue Williams would never return. It is little wonder that now the thoroughly anxious Malietoa visited them daily, to ask about that return. 73

71 WSL, Turner, 1 Oct., 1836.
72 SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 22. Dyson, Samoan Methodism, p. 13. This situation was well summed up by the L.M.S. missionary Platt, in 1835: "...When Old Malietoa had embraced Christianity and a few others with him [?] it made a noise, every chief being independent in his own district, and each jealous of his neighbour and wishing to be as great as he in every respect. Malietoa having teachers, and bye the bye he would keep them, for he would not let anyone else have them, in order to be the greatest himself. Which he is nominally. Every influential chief wished to have teachers too hence run-away sailors and Port Jackson convicts were made teachers being white men they must know." SSJ, Platt, 1835, Nov. 30.
73 SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 22.
Despite this opposition to the dictates of Malietoa and the Tahitians, it is clear that a religious revolution had swept across Samoa by October 1832. It is true that isolated Manu'a had not even heard of the events at Sapapali'i, and that perhaps only three or four hundred had embraced the Lotu on Tutuila. Throughout the western islands, however, some form or other of the Lotu was widely practised. It will be useful, here, to pause to consider what this change involved, and why it had come about.

It is evident that the Lotu was primarily conceived as the worship of Jehovah, the God of the papalagi (Europeans). Its practice, however understood, would give access to the mana which the papalagi manifested in their marvellous technological capabilities. These things the Samoans had heard of from Tonga, and had talked about; they had also seen something of it for themselves in the occasional visit of a ship, and even in the rather wretched deserters and convicts who lived among them, cut off from the resources of their own culture, but still possessing strange objects and the knowledge of their use.

The first in Samoa who considered themselves worshippers of Jehovah, thought of him largely as yet another alternative among the aitu they worshipped already. In view of later aberrant Sabbatarian practice among Samoans cut off from mission teaching, it is doubtful even whether they observed a weekly Sabbath. It

74 ibid., Oct. 17, 18.
75 Literally "those who burst through the sky."
was not until the Tahitian teachers began their work at Sapapali'i, that the radically different character of the _Lotu_ began to be apparent. Much of this difference focused on the regular Sabbath worship.

In the first place this involved prohibitions on certain activities—work and sport in particular. Samoans were used to worship involving prohibitions of this type, so it could readily be fitted into existing patterns. Thus the weekly _Aso Sā_ (day of prohibition) became a feature of the worship of those in touch with Sapapali'i. Other groups, however, conformed the timing of their worship to traditional practice—holding their "Sabbath" according to the phase of the moon, and for a month at a time.

On this day, too, the Tahitians engaged in certain positive acts of worship. They sang hymns in Tahitian, though this became an esoteric activity, for they were afraid that if the Samoans learnt them they would take them to the dance floor. Siovili composed his own hymns also, and they were said by the Samoans, likewise, to be difficult to understand. The Tahitians read from their Tahitian New Testaments, and attempted to translate some of it into Samoan. They prayed in Samoan. Some of the leaders of the sailor sects similarly read from English bibles, and said

76 cf. the prohibition on the use of light in the village of Lalomalava for a certain period. _SSJ_, Williams, 1832, Oct. 22.

prayers from scraps of the English prayer book.78 The Tahitians preached sermons, though the detail of their contents is not known. As they had been under instruction for up to ten years, however, they are likely to have contained orthodox evangelical phrases, with, perhaps, a stress on the necessity for certain standards of behaviour. One of the deserters told Williams of his Sabbath services: 

"... we tries to explain to them as well as we can but we don't know the religion language, but they says they know it good."79 The intellectual content of the Lotu was not of primary importance.

The worship of Jehovah and the benefits to be expected from it were, however, after all, different from that attached to the other aitu.80 As in Tonga, it meant a break with the old order. The chief who first ate his aitu showed the way that this could be most strongly demonstrated in Samoa. The risk that the mana of the new God could not overcome the vengeful anger of the old, was taken. From this time onwards, those who had embraced the new religion were clearly marked off from those who had not. They were tama lotu (sons of the Lotu); the others were fa'atevolo (the devil's people). This latter was not, however, a term of abuse, as Williams discovered, but merely a distinguishing name. Some tama lotu identified themselves by wearing strips of white cloth around their forehead or over their shoulder.81

78 Some Samoans continued to use their customary mode of silent prayer in 1832. Williams, Missionary enterprises. p. 491 cf. Faleto'ese, op. cit., p. 6.
79 SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 19. cf. p.p. 270; 277 n. 191
80 Williams used "aitu" as a translation for "God" in an 1832 hymn. ibid., Oct. 21.
81 ibid., Oct. 18, 19, 22. Missionary enterprises. pp. 385, 386. Williams misleadingly translates "tama lotu" as "sons of the Word".
Another mark of the new worship was the building of chapels dedicated to Jehovah. At Sapapali'i the chapel was built in Tahitian style, though not plastered; elsewhere it was a Samoan house of varying size. This, however, probably did not constitute any great change over the practice of building fale aitu. A more marked departure from the old, were those prohibitions instituted by the Tahitian teachers, not directly associated with worship. Principal amongst these was the ban on the poula. Chiefs who accepted the Lotu were expected to prevent such dancing amongst their people. The teachers met with some success, but with opposition elsewhere, even in Sapapali'i. This sort of prohibition was still imperfectly enforced many years later, long after all of Samoa had nominally become Christian. Nevertheless, it was the foretaste of those stricter measures which the missionaries were to apply as a condition for Church membership.

Another feature to be noted was the respect and service given to the teachers by those with whom they had entered into an arrangement to conduct the Lotu. At Sapapali'i these were principally Malietoa and Taimalelagi, with whom Williams had made an agreement in 1830 for the care of the teachers. The teachers also received gifts of food from the villages which they visited; and the leaders of the sailor sects were plied with both food and women, in return for their services. Siovili, too, was said to be motivated by a desire for such benefits in his activities.

82 cf. Green & Davidson, *Archaeology in Western Samoa.* II p. 231. The first plastered Chapel was built at Sapapali'i between 1832 and 1834. SSJ, Barff & Buzacott, 1834, June 8.

83 SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 19, 22.
This service, of course, corresponded to the gifts given to those whose skills were used, in the traditional order. It may, perhaps, have corresponded to the idea of "taulaia", too. 84

Thus, an integral part of accepting the Lotu was attachment to a cultic personality, who through his personal actions, and through his teaching, could mediate the mana of Jehovah. The Tahitian teachers obviously filled such a role: this, and the promise of European missionaries was the corner-stone of Malietoa's hopes. It was for this reason that chiefs from as far as Tutuila came to Sapapali'i to learn by rote chapters of the Tahitian primer and from the alphabet and prayers, to be recited at their Sabbath services, on their return. What was obtained from the teachers was conceived almost as a physical substance. A Leone chief told Williams:

...That is my canoe, in which I go down to the teachers, get some religion, which I bring carefully home, and give to the people; and when that is gone, I take my canoe again, and fetch some more. And now you are come, for whom we have been so long waiting, where's our teacher? Give me a man full of religion, that I may not expose my life to danger by going so long a distance to fetch it. 85

Thus many chiefs refused to adopt the Lotu unless they were first given a teacher. 86

It is clear, too, that those who had seen the Lotu in action at Tonga and Tahiti, were considered thereby, to possess the requisite knowledge to conduct it in Samoa, failing help from the Tahitian teachers. This was evidently part of Siovili's authority,

84 cf. p. 55.
85 Williams, Missionary enterprises, p. 357.
86 ibid., p. 358. Tuilaepa Matetau of Manono was one such chief. SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 27.
though he supplemented it with direct conversation with Jehovah, in the fashion of the taulāitu. Similarly the leaders of the sailor sects were qualified merely by the fact that they were Europeans and as such "they must know."87 Williams himself, was evidently considered to be pre-eminent in this respect. In 1836, Platt found a group on the south coast of Upolu, who were still waiting for Williams' return before they would accept the Lotu.88 Later, in Samoan thought, as well as in his own, Williams was the "great white chief" whose power had overthrown the old religion.89

An awareness of this dimension in the acceptance of the Lotu, and of the general framework of European contact and its effect on Samoan thought, has led to distorted accounts of the benefits expected from its practice. These have begun with the strong evidence that Samoans anticipated, initially at least, the same material success as Europeans. Fauā's presentation of the Lotu was quite unambiguously materialistic. He spoke of the islands that had "become lotu" in the Pacific, and stressed that since the coming of Christianity, wars had ceased and ships had visited them without fear, bringing them an abundance of property. "And you can

87 SSJ, Platt, 1835, Nov. 30.

88 ibid., 1836, Jan 20. Thus the L.M.S. missionaries feared rumours that Williams was dead. SSJ, Heath, 9 Dec., 1836; cf. Tippett, op. cit., p. 152. Later traditions that the Samoans regarded the first Europeans as "gods" need not be discounted, if it is remembered that Tamafaiga was referred to as the "aitu". cf. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1860, Jan. 2.

see... that their God is superior to ours - they are clothed from their head down to their very feet; and we are naked, they have got large ships - and we have got only these little canoes." Moreover a hymn composed by Siovili speaks of a man-of-war which would arrive at Samoa bringing his followers knives, musket balls, ramrods and blue beads; while another has the refrain "Necklaces! O Necklaces!" Seumanutafa Pogai of Apia, was induced by the prospect of ships visiting his harbour, to embrace the Lotu. It cannot be doubted that "These attitudes achieved, throughout Samoa, the widest prevalence." Nevertheless, an interpretation that concentrates too much on them runs the risk of over-looking other important elements in the Samoan expectations of the Lotu.

91 SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 19.
92 ibid., Nov. 1, 2.
93 J.D. Freeman, "The Joe Gimlet or Siovili Cult", in J.D. Freeman and W.R. Geddes, eds., Anthropology in the South Seas, p. 187. Gilson, too, asserts that, "the beads, the cloth, the ships and the knives... seem to have been regarded by Samoans as made by Jehovah...", Samoa 1800-1830, p. 73. The evidence for this is slim. Freeman cites an account by Thomas Nightingale of Barff and Buzacott's visit to Malietoa in 1834, in which the latter was much amazed by a watch, and thought that it must have been made by Jehovah as with all the other strange objects. Nightingale's story, may not, however, take account of the figurative use of language and the uncertainties of translation. Nightingale, op. cit., p. 88.
94 Gilson does say, however, more generally that the Samoans looked to Jehovah "for a greater measure of power and efficacy in the working out of their own traditional activities and relationships." Samoa 1800-1830, p. 77.
A related point of view is put by G.S. Parsonson. It is true that he pays little attention to Samoa in his work on the "literate revolution" in Polynesia. Nevertheless, he extrapolates his findings for other groups (particularly Tahiti) to include Samoa. Arguing that the benefits of European culture were seen to be mediated by the skills of reading and writing he writes:

As the news from Tahiti spread, the 'gods' were overthrown, often in a welter of tribal conflict in which old feuds were hastily settled before it was too late. In many islands for lack of missionaries, the new art spread without any direct European intervention... Elsewhere, as at Tonga and Samoa, semi-literate sailors might be pressed into service to teach the people the magic letters. The missionaries, it was feared, would never come. Finally, when they arrived they were surrounded by crowds of natives anxious to learn to read and write. 95

As an explanation of initial Samoan interest in the Lotu, however, it is hardly supported by the evidence. It is true that Williams wrote in his book concerning the effect of Fauea's account of the Lotu in Tonga:

When they were told by him, that those who had embraced this religion could communicate their thoughts to each other at a distance, and while residing even at a remote island, they flocked to the teachers' houses to learn this mysterious art. 96

The corresponding passage in the Journal, on the other hand, merely states that Fauea's account of events in Tonga "induced many of them to commence learning immediately." 97 Moreover, if this is a

96 Williams, Missionary enterprises, p. 306.
97 MS, Williams & Barff, 1830, Aug. 25.
reference to learning to read and write, little success was met with, for, two years later, Williams reported that none of the people could write or read, which the teachers attributed to sheer lack of concentration. In the meantime, the Samoan enthusiasm for the Lotu had gone on apace. Williams' account in his book was probably based on his experience elsewhere, and was certainly calculated to impress an audience who were convinced of the edifying function of literacy.

Nor is there evidence, as Parsonson suggests, either that the beginning of the sailor sects preceded the coming of Williams and Barff, or that their leaders attempted to teach Samoans to read and write. Some told Williams that they had not. Parsonson points, also, to the use of a book in the worship of the Siovili cult. But so far was this from having anything to do with reading and writing, that a number of years later, it was observed that Siovili himself "could not read but after the manner of reading alphabet cards or faapi, he used to jabber away before an open book." Similarly, in 1832 Williams found a chief at Leone,

98 SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 22.

99 The book and the Journals vary markedly at points, and seem to show that Williams often wrote without close reference to the latter. cf. pp. 80, 83, 84.

100 SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 19. Janet Davidson states that one sailor at least, had taught Samoans on Upolu to read and write, but I have not found positive evidence for it in the journals she cites. op. cit., p. 47, 48.

101 MS, Dyson, Journal, 1865, June 30. Moreover, the cult became deeply antagonistic to the art. cf. p. 158.
who had been to Sapapali'i, had learnt by rote chapters from the Tahitian primer and with hands outspread like an open book, recited them for his benefit. The adherents of the sailor sects listened with wrapt attention, as their leaders read from English books of varying descriptions. Others found English efficacious in curing their sicknesses. The heathens thought reading a wildly reckless activity, likely to anger the earthquake god Mafuie. George Platt's comment upon seeing a book on a desk in a Siovilian chapel at Apia is apt: "I suppose it is something like the Idol in the Idol's temple."

There was certainly an interest in books as cultic objects, but little appreciation, as yet, of what reading and writing involved, nor of how the art might be acquired. It was not until 1834 that visiting missionaries found that Teava, at Manono, had had some success in teaching both adults and children to read and write. This was three years after the first wave of formal acceptance of Christianity had occurred.

The Samoan understanding of the expected benefits of the Lotu, and the way in which they could gain those benefits, was altogether broader than these interpretations might suggest. In the first place,

103 SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 22; appended note.
105 One chief did tell Williams that he knew that writing was useful for the captains of ships, so that they could keep a proper tally in the transport of goods. But he went on to point out that Samoans were even more clever in this matter "for they retained such things in their heads without the use of writing." SSJ, Williams, 1832, appended note.
106 SSJ, Barff & Buzacott, 1834, May 31. The teaching of the skill was later to become an important means of weaning Samoans from the sailor sects. cf. pp. 118-121, 132.
there was the hope that war might cease. This was especially the concern of Malietoa, for now that he was nominally leader of the malo he could hope to consolidate his position by other means. As Gilson puts it: "... he proposed to consolidate Sa Malietoa under the London Missionary Society banner and to offer teachers, in consideration of new family connections and political alliances." Thus he told Williamson in 1832 that he had cast war away, that he was tired of it, and had trodden it under foot. It was believed, too, that the recognition of just one God had implications in the political realm. Williams, in 1832, heard a song composed in his honour, one line of which ran: "Poe o le malo, ma le Atua na tasi", which he translated: "For we are now all Malo, for we have all one God." He claimed too, that some chiefs had recently become Christians, because they feared that if a war broke out, their party could be greatly diminished, as those who had already become Christian would not fight against each other. There were others who agreed with Malietoa, simply because they were tired of war. His near relative, Lilomai'ava of Falelatai, who could speak a little English, explained the destruction attendant upon war by saying: "Samoas plenty fool." Certainly Williams, and no doubt the Tahitians, consistently presented the lotu as a religion of peace, and ever afterwards, in time of war, it suffered a decline.

107 Gilson, Samoa 1830-1900. p. 88.
108 SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 25, 26, appended note.
109 ibid., Oct. 24. Lilomai'ava, who held the title To'ona from Falelatai, and many years later, that of Tui A'ana, was always a staunch supporter of the L.M.S.
Some, too, were simply afraid, and turned to Jehovah for protection. In 1837 a chief of Puleia told the L.M.S. missionary, Charles Hardie, after having given up his old aitu: "the people of Samoa are a people of fearful hearts 'that they were very much afraid of God.'"\textsuperscript{110} Traditionally, disease and death was caused by the anger of aitu, so that it was necessary to treat them with respect. Hence they joined the Lotu to "prolong their lives." Taimalelagi had been impressed by the protection offered him by the teachers' prayers during the war. An English sailor told Williams that he visited his people when sick, and read them a chapter from the English bible, and said a prayer. He went on to add that when they got well, they generally "turned religion".\textsuperscript{111} Such prayer was probably a general feature of the sailor sects.\textsuperscript{112}

That this was an important part of what "salvation" was taken to mean, is suggested by the beliefs of the Siovili sect, which carried it a stage further. The prophet promised his followers immortality, and "pretended to a divine power of restoring the dead to life."\textsuperscript{113} The very hymns which some have used to stress the materialistic expectations of the sect, refer also to the coming of the vai ola (living water) to Siovili's

\textsuperscript{110} SSJ, Hardie, 1837, Sept. 14.
\textsuperscript{111} SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 19, 22, appended note.
\textsuperscript{112} cf. G. Turner, loc. cit. The relationship between medicine and the Lotu is discussed on p. 263 f.
\textsuperscript{113} SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 19; Barff & Buzacott, 1834, June 1. The latter belief was probably a response to the death of some of his followers. Latukefu, citing Thomas' Journal for 1829, reports a literal expectation of immortality, in Tonga. op. cit., p. 30.
native village, Eva, and advise his followers to "run in haste and be saved" at the coming of the fabled ship.\textsuperscript{114}

Williams claimed, too, in 1832, that "others now have an indistinct notion of the salvation of the soul after death." Indistinct it must have been, for Williams was translating "soul" as "\textit{atamai}" (intelligence).\textsuperscript{115} The doctrine of a reward or punishment after death for present behaviour is not likely to have been immediately amenable to Samoan thought, nor to have been stressed by Tahitian teachers.\textsuperscript{116}

What was amenable to Samoan thought, was the transposition of the Polynesian notion of "\textit{mana}", into the place of the Christian one of "salvation", whereby a supernatural power was thought to be made available by Jehovah for the effective carrying out of the whole range of human activities. It is a mistake then, to view the motivation for adopting the \textit{lotu} merely as the sum of a variety of desires for particular benefits - the possession of material goods, health and freedom from the inconvenience of war. The motivation to gain access to the \textit{mana} of a powerful god was sufficient in itself, without its having to be shaped into any

\textsuperscript{114} SSJ, loc. cit. Brown states that there was a tradition that when the spirits travelled to Pulotu after death, they bathed in the \textit{va\textunderscore i ola} whereby "all infirmity and weakness passed away from them and the old people became young again." \textit{MP}, p. 222.

\textsuperscript{115} SSJ, Williams, 1832; Oct. 25; appended note.

\textsuperscript{116} cf. p. 277. However, the concept of hell-fire was understood by heathens in 1836, though an eccentric old chief welcomed it in comparison to his present suffering. cf. SSJ, Buzacott, 1836, Aug. 3.
particular concrete ambition. It is clear, too, that it was thought that this access could be gained by cultic acts and prohibitions appropriate to the worship of Jehovah.

It is useful to view the change which had over-taken Samoa, in broader perspective. A fundamental assumption of the interpretation offered has been that it was induced by contact with Europeans, and particularly through the impression created by their technological capabilities combined with traditional religious ideas about the supernatural sources of material culture. It may be that this impression was re-inforced by the effects of a devastating epidemic, prior to the coming of the missionaries, and leading to considerable depopulation. Nevertheless, it would not be appropriate to speak of Samoan agnosticism with respect to the traditional religion. Nearly all the descriptions available of the formal adopting of the Lotu show that there was a residual belief in the power of the aitu. In this respect Tippett's description of the change as involving "a demonstration, physical or symbolic, but at least ocular - a power encounter" is rather more accurate than Gilson's stress on the ease with which Samoans adopted the Lotu.

Gilson states: "Without idols or sacred marae, the Samoans, unlike the Tahitians or Raiateans, could also avoid the traumatic test of destroying en masse the paraphernalia of their old religion." 119

118 Tippett, op. cit., pp. 88, 164.
119 Gilson, *Samoa 1830-1900*. p. 73.
He does not take seriously the extent to which Samoans posed such a test for themselves in the form of eating or otherwise desecrating their _aitu_. Nor is it certain that the lack of a powerful priesthood marks a significant difference in this respect from the rest of Polynesia. The disagreement between Malietoa and the Manono chiefs, had the signs of a religious reaction, tied to political factors. On the other hand, in Tonga, it is said, the chief opposition to the missionaries came from the chiefs and not the priests. Nor should the resistance of other heathen elements in Samoa, be underestimated. Substantial pockets remained until 1845 and one or two groups lingered on till the 1860's. Certainly, the _Lotu_ in Samoa met with a ready success almost from its introduction, in strong contrast to the fruitless years of labour spent by missionaries in Tahiti, New Zealand, and, to a lesser extent, Tonga. This might be readily explained, however, by the years of preparation for the _Lotu_, that Samoans had had through their Tongan contacts.

The contrast that may be made with some of the other Polynesian groups, lies in Samoa's fractured genealogical relationships, and political connections. Whereas in other areas the decision of a powerful chief could bring whole districts into the fold, in Samoa, the primary group that made such a decision was

120 cf. pp.83,92. G. Turner, Nineteen years, p. 104; MS, Hardie, Journal, 1836, April 22. In 1836, a chief at Fogăśavai'i took the trouble to farewell his _aitu_ with a little kava before joining the _Lotu_. SSJ, Platt, 1836, March 22.


122 cf. pp.162 f. It is difficult to estimate how far this resistance centred around people with priestly roles other than that possessed by any matai. At Safotu in 1836 the few remaining heathen were grouped around the chief who was formerly the priest. MS, Turner, Journal, 1836, Dec. 12.
Thus Malietoa could not command the allegiance even of all his fellow residents at Sapapali'i to his new religion. The decision was, of course, made with a view to wider family and political connections, but which of these connections was to be relevant was a matter of choice. Tagaloa of Iva chose to have regard for his connections with Malietoa, rather than with the rest of his village. Lilomai'ava of Falelatai, a near relative of Malietoa, but a member of the vaivai, joined him in ardent support for the L.M.S. Lilomai'ava of Satupa'itea, a fellow member of the mālo, but not closely related to Malietoa, found himself quite opposed to the latter's religious policy, and sought aid from Tonga. Thus, also, two branches of the Sā Lilomai'ava took different directions.

In Malietoa's ambitions there might be seen an incipient tendency towards that association, evident elsewhere in Polynesia, between political centralization and the new religion.

Nevertheless, the complicated network of Samoan social and political

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123 This again can be demonstrated from the early descriptions of conversions. There is evidence, too, that even within a family group an individual might choose to join with the rest of his family or not. cf. G. Turner, loc. cit. At Apia in 1832 a fono was held to decide about the new religion. Those who did not wish to, were given the opportunity to leave, being requested merely not to criticise the Lotu. In another village only the women led by a female chief had become Christians, while a chief at Apia had a young boy who was a Siovilian, though he himself was heathen. SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 24, Nov. 2.

124 Thus Tippett's analysis is in error when he implies that Malietoa's conversion had far reaching effects, compared with that of Pomare's in Tahiti. He also, in following Williams, misunderstood Tama'afaiga's religious role. op. cit., pp. 139, 140. cf. p. 79.

125 cf. p. 84.

relationships thwarted those ambitions, and led to the development of a denominational pattern of great complexity. It is this development that is the subject of the remainder of this and of the succeeding chapter.

2. 1832 – 1836

When Williams returned to Samoa in October 1832, the potential for the development of different denominations was already there. At a public meeting, the Tahitians, clearly with Malietoa's approval, launched a verbal offensive against dissidents around Sapapali'i. They asserted the basis of their authority: "Here is our minister from England, the dwelling place of knowledge; he and his brother Missionaries are the fountains from which its streams have flowed through these islands." They invited the people to ask Williams about the truth of their claims. Malietoa followed with a strong speech,

... the substance of which was, not to regard what insignificant individuals might say, but let every person from this time put away suspicious and evil feelings - that now surely they were convinced of the truth of what they had heard - Let all Savai [sic] - all Upolu embrace this great religion. That the Samoa people were very simple to listen to what a stinking pig should say to them about religion and regard a stinking pig's sabbath.127

Mere words, however, were not enough.

The main problem centred around the location of the teachers. Williams was well enough aware of Malietoa's wish to control them. He had, however, promised, in 1830, to send one to Malietoa's

127 SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 21. "Stinking pig", a term of high abuse in Samoa, was a reference to Siovili.
Manono kinsman, Tuilaepa Matetau. He reminded Malietoa of this.

This occasioned considerable debate as Malietoa wished the teachers for the various islands to be brought to him first and then those chiefs [sic] who wished to become Christians were to apply to him.

Malietoa argued that only thus could one system prevail.

Williams commented "we plainly saw the drift of the reasoning—it was to give him a kind of supremacy over the whole of the Islands."

In fact, though Matetau was a kinsman, his relations with Malietoa had become strained over the last three months. After some delicate diplomacy, Williams managed to patch up an agreement between the two, on the basis that "they were the two principal chiefs and would serve as a kind of headquarters."

Williams, indeed, appears to have taken this formula quite literally. He and Malietoa agreed that the teachers should itinerate, but Malietoa added that he would on occasion accompany them to add weight to their message.

While he did not let Malietoa dissuade him from visiting the village of Amoa, he made a major blunder in his dealings with Lilomai'ava of Satupa'itea. Though he was aware of his contacts with the Wesleyans in Tonga, he made no attempt to confirm the conciliatory moves Lilomai'ava was making towards him, evidently in the hope of getting a teacher. Rather, after a dilatory

128 ibid., Oct. 22.

129 Matetau had warned Malietoa of a plot against his life on the part of other Manono chiefs, but how difficulties arose between the two chiefs is unclear.
approach to the village, and an inspection of the "rough" chapel that had been constructed, he told the chief that he would have to copy the chapel that was to be built at Sapapali'i.

Indeed, having reaffirmed, formally, the 1830 agreement with Malietoa, and having reiterated the promise to send him European missionaries, he became so identified with him, that he was greeted by his name and honours on his arrival at Apia. It is true he was careful to advise the teachers to refrain from imposing harsh prohibitions on their converts as "being a people much given to amusements they would lament the loss of them and perhaps take a total dislike to a religion that prohibited that in which their whole life and comfort most consisted." Nevertheless, he failed to see that the one step that could most ensure a broad basis for the London Society would be to free the teachers from the control of Malietoa. He was aware of the limitations of Malietoa's power. Perhaps, knowing of events elsewhere in the Pacific, and particularly in Tonga, he hoped that Malietoa could rise above these limitations to fill a new role. Or perhaps he was simply afraid to lose the advantage he already had in his connection with Malietoa, believing that resident European missionaries would soon rectify the situation.

On his way from Samoa to Tonga, Williams met a party from Tonga at Niutoputapu on its way to Samoa. Led by the chief Ma’foa, its purpose was to return the daughter of Tuilaepa Mata’afa to her

home on Manono. Thus, this party of Tongan Christians arrived at Apai on Manono very shortly after Teava, the Rarotongan, had settled there, not only as Matetau's teacher, but as teacher for the whole island. Mafoa stayed sometime in the village with his party, which numbered over a hundred, judging by Williams' description of the canoe. Moreover, he appears to have been instrumental in commencing the Lotu elsewhere on Manono, and, according to Turner, these people worshipped in separate chapels, from Teava and his following, sang Tongan hymns, and repeated the Tongan catechism. Buzacott states, however, that Mafoa "attended the ministry of Teava."

It is not clear, then, that they regarded themselves as being of separate Lotu. The London missionaries later claimed that Teava and Tuilaepa Matetau thought of them as belonging to him, while Peter Turner said they "considered themselves of the Tonga lotu." It is unlikely, however, that denominational identity was, as yet,

131 ibid. Nov. 6. cf. p. 67. The name "Mafoa" poses a puzzle. Williams does not give the name but Turner, and following him, the London Missionaries do so. Heath later says that he was a Keppel's Island chief, but up to this point he had been referred to as a Tongan. Certainly, according to Turner, he had come from Tonga on this occasion. cf. Garrett, op. cit., p. 73 who reports a suggestion by Rev. Lopeti Taufa that "Mafoa" is a mistake for "Ma'atu". cf. WSL, Turner, 1 Oct. 1836, SSL, Heath, 1 Dec., 1836, 30 April, 1841. In the minutes of the L.M.S. district committee for Feb. 1837, the name is corrected from "Masfu" (?) to "Mafoa". SDC 7 Feb. E37.

132 SSJ, Buzacott, 1836, Sept. 6; WSL, loc. cit.; SDC, loc. cit.; SSL, Heath, 1 Dec., 1836. Williams' hope that the example of the Tongans and of Matetau's daughter would induce the Samoans to learn to read and write may well have been justified, for it was on Manono in 1834, that Barff and Buzacott found that success in learning these skills had first been achieved. SSJ, Barff & Buzacott, 1834, May 31.
sufficiently strong to make either claim meaningful. Even Lilomai'ava of Satupa'itea, whose connections with Tonga was formed explicitly as a rejection of Malietoa's claims was still prepared to establish a relationship through Williams, with the Tahitians. The London missionaries, indeed, asserted that he continued to attend the Tahitian services. Nevertheless, the tendency towards the formation of separate denominations was growing.

This is clear from other considerations. The people who had been attached to the ship's surgeon, Stevens, continued to maintain their identity as a group, despite his departure with Williams. It was not till 1836, that they gave up their connection, which seems to have centred around the chief, Mata'afa, tulafale of Leit'atua Tomuma'pe'a of Kanono.

And, in spite of the fact that the teachers had told Williams, as he departed, that practically all of the Siovilians

133 SSL, Heath, 1 Dec. 1836. Thus, Tippett's claim that the growth of Christianity in Samoa between 1833 and 1835 should be considered as part of the Tongan "people movement" is quite misleading. By 1833 the Lotu had established itself in the Samoan consciousness, and the stimulus it continued to receive came from numerous sources. The relevance of what was happening in Tonga and on Niuatoputapu to the Samoan situation can only be established by documentation of particular links. No such documentation for this period, however, exists. It was Peter Turner and his teachers who brought a fresh impetus in June, 1835. "People movements" work through people, not by some metahistorical process. cf. Tippett, op. cit., p. 118, 119.

had turned over to them, they were still active and posing a problem in 1834, when Barff and Buzacott visited the group. 135 It must have been about this time, too, that the Englishman Tagipō, based at Vailele in the northern Tuamasaga, was establishing his connection, which in 1836 spread through twenty-eight villages on Savai'i and Upolu. 136 Those attached to Salima on Tutuila, did not turn over to the London Society until the first resident missionaries arrived in 1835, though they always appear to have been favourably disposed. 137 Others were known by the peculiarities of their practice which marked them off from the Tahitians, and perhaps thereby rendered themselves more attractive to some. One such was the "Sunday bathing sect." 138

Those groups, then showed varying degrees of a separate identity from that of the teachers at Sapapali'i. Some, such as Lilomai'ava of Satupa'itea might have been induced at this stage, to join the "Lotu Taiti" if it had been weaned from Malietoa.

Some members of the "Lotu Toga", for instance those on Manono, while quite conscious of the Tongan sources of their Lotu, do not...

135 SSJ; Barff & Buzacott, 1834, June 9; Williams, 1832, Nov. 3.
136 MS, Turner, Journal, 1836, Feb. 13; SSJ, Platt, 1836, Jan. 7, 14, 25, Barff, 1836, July 4. It is significant that Tagaloa of Vailele had adopted the Lotu in 1832. SSJ, Williams, 1832, Nov. 2.
137 SSJ, Platt, 1836, April 14. Platt found some of his adherents on Savai'i who kept up the practice of responsive bowing in their services. ibid., 1835, Dec. 20. His Lotu had a strong enough identity to be remembered in 1865. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1865, June 30.
138 SSJ, Buzacott, 1837, note. This marks a tendency which later dogged the London missionaries, in their struggle with a Wesleyan remnant: the attaching of great importance to what, in European eyes, were minor differences of practice. cf. BR (1), March 1845. G. Turner recorded some of the peculiarities of sailor sect practice. Nineteen years. p. 104 f.
yet appear to have believed that this created a rift between themselves and the Tahitian teachers. Salima seems to have considered his task to be to teach his people until resident European missionaries arrived, while some remained heathen as they waited for this event.

When Barff and Buzacott visited the group in May and June 1834, they quickly became aware of this situation, and sought to counteract it. At Boti's residence at Lalomalava, and elsewhere, they were struck by the fact that "... every clan has its own little chapel and could not be induced to attend worship at another...". This was presumably the case even where they were similarly attached to the Tahitian teachers. They spent some time urging the Europeans they met not to "pretend" to teach the Samoans religion, but rather to turn their attention to teaching them to read and to write, and certainly not to baptize them. Then, citing the need to counteract these activities, and those of Siovili, they arranged with Malietoa to distribute some of the teachers on Upolu.

Malietoa's response is significant. Rather wistfully, he said that, except for the fact that it was wrong according to the teachers, he would have killed "all the deceivers who took advantage of the ignorance of the foolish Samoans" long ago.\textsuperscript{139} This may have been more than an idle thought. Early in 1836, Peter Turner

\textsuperscript{139} SSJ, Barff & Buzacott, 1834, May 31, June 1, 9. In view of a later enthusiasm amongst Samoans for learning to read, and the respect they already paid to books, it may have been of considerable advantage to the L.M.S. teachers to have received 9,000 Samoan elementary books, and a few hundred catechisms, presumably for distribution as they saw fit.
wrote that he had heard a report "that a great chief belonging to the London Missy Soc. - is seeking by all means to stir up a war in these islands. he wants all to be of his religion." 140

Turner's arrival, indeed, opened up a new stage in the development of denominations. He was landed from an American whaler at Manono, in June 1835, fresh from a revival-like success at Niuatoputapu. What exactly happened was afterwards controverted. It seemed to reflect considerable uncertainty on the part of all parties except, perhaps, Turner himself as to what his status was with respect to the Lotu Taiti. In the first place he was ushered into Teava's house, where he lived, by mistake, as he said, for five or six weeks. This earned him the disapproval of some of the Manono chiefs (perhaps including Mateteau), who still had not forgiven him fifteen months later. According to Turner, Teava wished him to take charge of the Lotu on Manono; he declined, however, and decided to leave Manono. He admitted to having taken only one of Teava's services.

The Manono chiefs then told him that no other chief would have him unless he first had the approval of Malietoa Vai'irupō. Turner therefore sent two of his Tongan teachers to that chief inviting him to come to Manono to advise him. Malietoa replied rather coyly that he was afraid to go to the island, and instead asked Turner to come to Sapapali'i if his Lotu was the same as Mr Williams. Turner quite reasonably took the view that in a

sense it was. In the meantime two of the Sapapali'ì teachers travelled across to Manono to find out what was happening. They discovered from Teava that Turner was already planning to place some of his Tongan teachers at Sapapali'ì, a plan which Turner himself, it was alleged, confirmed in the presence of Tuilaepa. Turner, as he put it, also asked Teava if a report that he had heard from an Englishman on Upolu, that Williams was dead, was true. Teava and the other teachers said that Turner had also stressed, in front of Matetau, that the death of Williams would leave them without protection.

Turner travelled to Sapapali'ì, but apparently refused an alleged request on the part of Malietoa that he come and stay with him. He said, according to his own story, that he did not wish to go where Mr Williams was expected, nor to tie himself to any one chief, though he added "the religion was all one." Turner soon afterwards moved to Satupa'itea.141

It is not possible to decide upon the exact truth of the various accounts. On the one hand, Turner appears to have "forgotten" inconvenient facts alleged by the Tahitian teachers and one cannot escape the feeling that he hoped to use the situation to the best possible advantage for his mission. On the other hand, Teava appears to have been confused, initially as to how to regard Turner, and some of his subsequent allegations may have rested on

141 SSJ, Buzacott, 1836, June 9 - including a copy of a letter from Turner dated June 21; ibid., Sept. 6; SSL, loc. cit. - including a copy of correspondence between Turner and the L.M.S. missionaries, June to December, 1836; SDC, loc. cit.; Dyson, Samoan Methodism, p. 16 ff.
a misunderstanding of Turner's intentions. Malietoa, also, seems to have been uncertain about how to respond to Turner's arrival. A European missionary not resident with him would pose a considerable threat to his prestige, but Turner evidently was not 'āīma tasi (one family) with Williams.

Throughout these events, indeed, Turner appears to have been convinced of the unwisdom of being too closely attached to any one chief. This was in spite of the fact that he was familiar with the Tongan situation, where the relationship between the Wesleyan mission and Tāufa'ahau had borne fruit. Gilson suggests that this may have been because the Tongan teachers were familiar with Samoan political organization.\footnote{142}

It was undoubtedly also because immediately after his landing on Manono he came into contact with chiefs at Salei'ataua and Salua who had, it appears, joined the Lotu under the auspices of Mafoa. One of these, Vaovasa, was the same chief who had hatched the plot to kill Malietoa in 1832.\footnote{143} It is likely that he, and other Salei'ataua chiefs had close ties with the Tonumaipē'a at Satupa'itea. But in this latter village, a chief with strong Tonumaipē'a links, Asiata, had already become a Christian. Moreover, by this time people in a number of villages in Savai'i connected with the Tonumaipē'a (Falelima, Neiafu, Uliamoa) and with the Lilomai'ava families (Palauli, Safotu, Sagone) had embraced the Lotu, apparently as a result of the work of Lilomai'ava Tuinaula. Thus Turner could have become aware very quickly of a possible area

\footnote{142} Gilson, Samoa 1830-1900. p. 84.
\footnote{143} Williams refers to him as Vavasa. cf. p. 85.
of mission activity, not only separate from Malietoa's direction, but also quite hostile to him. 144 It was probably for this reason that Turner decided to leave Manono (he would have been made aware, too, of Lilomai'ava's claim for a missionary, going back some years). It was probably Matetau who told him that he would have to seek the permission of his kinsman Malietoa, and possibly Turner toyed with the idea of trying to bring Malietoa into the fold by giving him Tongan teachers.

The immediate effect of Turner's arrival then, was to harden the tentative denominational boundary that had been formed between the Lotu Toga and the Lotu Taiti. This became evident on Manono, where the two now became quite conscious of their separateness. 145 Elsewhere Turner was free to build on the foundations already laid among the Lilomai'ava and Tonumaipe'a families, and others. The L.M.S. teachers, on the other hand, were still confined largely to affiliates of the Sa Malietoa. Moia had moved to Falelatai, the village of To'o (Lilomai'ava) a close relative of Malietoa. Raki was stationed at Mulifanua, a village closely associated with Taimalelagi's title, Boti with Malietoa's ally, Tagaloa, at Iva. Tereauore lived at Sale'imoa

144 SSJ, loc. cit., SSL, loc. cit., Dyson, loc. cit. The chief Lei'ataua Tonumaipe'a remained a heathen, however, until June 1836, when he joined the L.M.S. He had promised Teava that he would join the Lotu when either Buzacott or Barff returned. SSJ, Buzacott, 1836, Aug. 15. In October 1836, Pe'a's "brother" Tupe'i at Satupa'itea remained heathen, as did another member of his family at Tufu, and the Lilomai'ava at Palaui. Lilomai'ava of Sale'aula joined the L.M.S. while Lilomai'ava of Salofulatai was a follower of Siovili. HS, Herd, Journal, 1836, Oct. 18, Nov. 3, Dec. 9.

145 SSL, Buzacott, Oct. 20, 1835.
which had some Sa Malietoa connections, and was near Vai'inupō's Tuamasaga villages of Sagana. 146

Turner had brought four Tongan teachers with him. Three he left on Manono; a fourth and his "manservant" he sent to Savai'i. He himself settled at Satupa'itea for the rest of 1835, but itinerated. Undoubtedly these Tongans had closer cultural ties with the Samoans than did their Tahitian counterparts. They were also fresh from the revivals on Niutoputapu and, before that, Vava'u. Early Samoan Wesleyanism was to display many of the same phenomena. Turner's organization of his Lotu, too, set up a chain reaction which dovetailed well with this enthusiasm. As soon as a Samoan convert learnt to read, he was appointed a teacher. 147 Moreover, Turner, to the subsequent horror of the London Society missionaries, baptized without the lengthy examination of "character" that they themselves required. 148

In October 1835, Turner could write: "...we had not been here many weeks before a mighty outpouring of the Holy Spirit was bestowed upon the people and hundreds seemed much alarmed for their sins." 149 By now the London Society had landed two of their

146 SSJ, Platt, 1835 passim.
147 Dyson, Samoan Methodism, p. 19f. According to Dyson the number of such teachers swelled to 1,000 within two years.
148 SSL, loc. cit.; SSJ, Platt, 1835, Oct. 18; 1836, Jan. 28.
149 WSL, Turner, 8 Oct. 1835. Turner's later claim that he found 2,000 who were ready to call themselves of the Tonga lotu and that this number was doubled on his first trip around Savai'i, is proved an exaggeration by his contemporary report that he found 1,000, which had increased to 2,000 by September. cf. Dyson, Samoan Methodism, p. 14. MS, P. Turner to Rev. J. Orton, 11 September, 1835.
missionaries from Tahiti on Samoa. They were stunned to find Turner already there, and enjoying such success. They themselves had no experience of Samoa, and had to rely on the L.M.S. teachers' efforts, which, by comparison to Turner's, and with the possible exception of Teava on Manono, seemed moribund. Platt could only expostulate weakly: "... the teachers here stand amazed at his proceedings. So different from what they ever saw ever at Tonga. Some runaway sailors say he calls it a revival of the mind." 150

It is true that the two, George Platt and Samuel Wilson, did arrange for a further distribution of the teachers, and undertook, themselves, laborious tours around Savai'i and Upolu. But everywhere they went, it seemed they were coming face to face with Turner's teachers. 151 It is probable that these were being reinforced by further arrivals from Tonga, and from the ranks of Tongans already in Samoa. 152 By March 1836, Platt was referring

150 SSJ, Platt, 1835, Sept. 16.
151 ibid. passim. Umia was moved to Palauli at the end of 1835, which coincided nicely with Turner's departure from neighbouring Satupa'itea, for the north coast. Another teacher shifted to Amoa. I can find no evidence to support Gilson's suggestion that in this period the L.M.S. missionaries disadvantaged themselves by insisting that a village unite in a common religious affiliation before holding a service, or that this had been the policy of their teachers before them. All that can be said is that Malietoa sometimes fulminated against the Siovilians and sailor sects. Gilson, Samoa 1830-1900, p. 85. cf. p.111.
to them as a "host". Perhaps following Gospel traditions, they wore "girdles" carried "walking sticks" and travelled ceaselessly, an activity which would have added to the impression of their numbers. The Samoans, according to Platt, spoke highly of them. 153

The missionaries of both societies were beginning to experience what was to become an important factor in deciding the denominational allegiance of local congregations where these were not already committed to one of the two major denominations. This was the ability to supply an ever increasing demand for teachers, and for books. The structure of Turner's activity, of course, stimulated this demand. Part of the value of learning to read was that it gave one status as a teacher of others, as well as access to the inner secrets of the Lotu. 154 For this reason, and because his movement had a greater initial impetus, in any case, an awareness of this demand shows itself at an earlier stage in his journals, than in those of his London Society counterparts.

Thus, in October, 1835, he wrote: "... Our house is continually crowded with those who are wishful to learn to read..."155

153 SSJ, Platt, 1836, Jan. 28, March 13. Platt met six of them together on this occasion.
154 cf. Chapter III, passim.
155 WSL, Turner, Journal, 1835, Oct. 9. The missionaries had published at Tonga in March a four page booklet 0 le matua gagana, containing graded lessons in reading. It may have been brought to Samoa by Turner, though as he was on Niutoputapu from January, it is more likely to have been brought later, perhaps with the supplies in November. cf. p. 117 n. In January 1836 Turner was reduced to supplying requests for books with Tongan publications. A further supply of 2,000 arrived in May 1836. MS, Turner, Journal, 1836, Jan. 12, May 20, June 3. The L.M.S. missionaries were presumably still using the supply brought by Barff and Buzacott in 1834. cf. p. 111. Teave on Manono, however, was using Rarotongan books. SSJ, Platt, 1835, Sept. 16.
From this point the report of the demand was to be a continuous feature of his writings: The people were "anxious" for books; he had not half enough to supply those who embraced the Lotu: "If we had books the people would be better satisfied": "Some were almost ready to fight for books": "I fear we shall not be able to give books to all who desire it." In 1837, his Wesleyan colleague, Matthew Wilson, found that "... we have instances of persons coming 50- or 60 miles to procure books."157

On the other hand, reports of a desire for books, and to learn to read appear only in 1836, in Platt's journal. In February the chiefs were stimulated to begin learning in earnest only by the fact that their inferiors were being accorded the privilege of meeting in a class for baptismal candidates; and in April Platt took books to Fatausi in Safotulafai, "to induce them to learn." By June, however, though the numbers in the school at Sapapali'i were decreasing, the missionaries found that: "the people from other parts are daily coming for spelling books. A spirit of inquiry is going abroad..."158


The desire for teachers is well evidenced also. Immediately upon his arrival in Samoa, Turner had been swamped with requests for a resident Tongan teacher, which he could not satisfy. On the other hand, the two London Society missionaries felt themselves disadvantaged in this respect. At a village in the northern Fa'asaleleaga (probably Pu'apu'a) they found that the people who had originally become Christians through the agency of the teachers at Sapapali'i, had since received Turner "with open arms ... in hopes of having a constant teacher." Moreover, this process they believed, had been repeated in many other places. In this case they were able to persuade the people to return to the L.M.S., with a promise of regular visits from their teachers. Similarly, Platt explained the weakness of the L.M.S. on the north coast of Savai'i by the fact that the teachers had never been there. At Saluafata in August 1836, Turner was told by a chief that he would join the Lotu if he was sent either a teacher or a missionary; in October a chief at Sa'aga asked for a missionary before he would consider a change from his adherence to a sailor, while a year later, a chief at Gagaemalae on Savai'i, already a Wesleyan, threatened to

159 Dyson, *Samoan Methodism*, p. 19. The desire for teachers, of course, was implied in Malietoa's attempts to control the distribution of those of the London Society.

160 SSJ, Platt, 1835, Nov. 30.

161 ibid., 1836, March 17. In July, Buzacott found that L.M.S. adherents in Sataputu in Lealtele had become Wesleyan, and now had a Tongan teacher. ibid., Buzacott, 1836, July 11.
join the L.M.S. unless he was given a Tongan teacher. The whole movement is summed up in a minute of the Samoan District Committee of the L.M.S., in February 1837: "...in all parts there is the most urgent desire for teachers both as ministers and schoolmasters." 

It is thus evident that the mission society that could provide, at this stage, the greatest number of missionaries and teachers, and the most constant supply of books, would, in the long run outstrip its rival. In this respect the arrival of six missionaries of the London Society, in June 1836, was of crucial importance. It is significant that in the second half of 1836 there was a marked upsurge in the rate at which adherents of the sailor sects, of Siovili, and the heathen were converting to one of the two mission societies. More Tahitian teachers were made available, and the missionaries encouraged isolated settlements to send men to Sapapali'i, and the other mission stations for instruction, so that they might act as teachers. Turner could see the difficulties with which he was now faced. On hearing of the arrival of the missionaries he wrote: "I am afraid we shall lose some of our number - or we may be prevented from increasing in numbers." 

163 SDC, 6 Feb. 1837. 
164 SSJ, Buzacott, 1836, July 21. 
165 MS, Turner, Journal, 1836, June 18.
Moreover the London Society was able to make a definite break with Malietoa. A meeting was quickly held with the "principal chiefs" of Samoa, to make with them directly, a renewal of the promise to protect the missionaries and receive instruction, which had been made previously with Malietoa. The location of the new missionaries was decided without significant consultation with Malietoa. Though there were still large areas not within easy reach of the European missionaries it meant, finally, that, except where denominational lines had already hardened, any chief could feel free to join the London Society without thereby placing himself under the tutelage of Malietoa. And, on the other hand, Turner had found that he was not entirely at liberty to go where he pleased. At the beginning of 1836 he had moved his residence to Matautu on the north coast of Savai'i, a village of the vaivai. For some months he was subjected to a barrage of criticism from the chiefs of his

166 cf. e.g. SDC, June 11, 1836. These "principal chiefs" were Malietoa and three of his sons, his relative Lilomai'ava (To'oa) of Falelatai, Seumanutafa Pogai of Apia, Pomale, son of Nauga of Pagopago, a chief of Leone, and several "minor chiefs". The meeting was still thus, heavily weighted towards the Sa Malietoa. It is likely also, in view of his later attendance at meetings of the "principal chiefs" organised by the L.M.S. that the malo chief, Lei'ataua Tonumaipe'a of Manono was there.

167 ibid. June 9. Another significant measure was the decision of the first meeting of the Samoan District Committee of the L.M.S. to arrange for the printing of revised editions of the small spelling book and the catechism. SDC, 3 June, 1836. The missionaries were eventually stationed at Pagopago and Leone on Tutuila, Apia on Upolu, Manono, and at Sapapali'i and Safune on Savai'i. Teachers were stationed at Falelatai, Mulifanua, Sale'imoa and Apia, on Upolu, and at Pagopago and Leone.
former village, the pule centre and mālo village, Satupa'itea.

He eventually returned. 168

An understanding of the process of absorption of many of the sailor sects, remaining parties of heathen, and Siovilians, must be placed within the context of the current fragmented nature of religious allegiance. Barff's and Buzacott's observations on this point have already been noted. 169 On a trip along the north coast of Upolu between Sale'imoa and Apia, in October, 1835, Platt found "sometimes two or three little houses of prayer in a village belonging to as many different sects one for every two or three families as their fancies led them to embrace this or that opinion." 170 Later he observed, on a journey around the western tip of Upolu "... As we pulled along the coast of Upolu we counted in one district of chapels Seauvili one of Methodist two of Tagnipo one of Raki [the L.M.S. teacher stationed at Mulifanua] one ..." 171 Some of these chapels will have been associated with the larger divisions within a village, the pitonu'u. On the other hand it is clear, also, that in many cases they represented smaller units than these. Peter Turner, who was the only missionary to

169 cf. p. 111.
171 ibid., 1836, Jan. 7.
regularly record numbers of adherents in particular villages during 1836, named at least a score of villages, where, either at the time of his visit, or at an earlier stage, the number of Wesleyans was less than twenty.\textsuperscript{172} In many cases they were less than ten, scarcely the size, it may be presumed, of a single household. Early in 1836, Salani on the south coast of Upolu was divided among four different \textit{lotu}.\textsuperscript{173} In the village section, Auala, a part of Vaisala, though geographically isolated, Buzacott found the majority were heathen, but smaller groups belonged to the Wesleyans and the L.M.S.\textsuperscript{174} Thus part of the process of consolidation that went on during the second half of 1836 was a matter of persuading some of the smaller groups to join in common worship with already existing L.M.S. (or Wesleyan) elements.\textsuperscript{175} Sometimes, of course, this involved the uniting of sects previously associated with the important chiefs of a large village, as at Lotofaga and Lufilufi in Atua.\textsuperscript{176}

On the other hand, matters did not always work out so neatly. At Fusi, in Safata, the followers of Tagipo told Platt that they would unite with them, if their leader, resident on the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{172} MS, Turnor, Journal, 1836, passim.
\item \textsuperscript{173} SSJ, Platt, 1836, Jan. 18.
\item \textsuperscript{174} SSJ, Buzacott, 1836, July 30.
\item \textsuperscript{175} ibid., Aug. 26, 27, 28.
\item \textsuperscript{176} ibid., Aug. 29, Sept. 1.
\end{itemize}
other coast of Upolu agreed to do so. However, in the event, it appears that they became Wesleyans and maintained their distinction from the already existing L.M.S. group in the village. Peter Turner might well write: "I never was here before yet the Lord has planted us here."177

The complexity of the situation, and the unreliability of missionary estimates of it, was increased by the fact that many chiefs were evidently hesitant in committing themselves to one society or the other, apparently hoping thereby to strike the best possible bargain for themselves. Buzacott complained that

... A great number both of chiefs and people still remain heathen. One excuse they urged was the number of different lotus - that it was difficult for them to know which was right ... In many instances they seem to talk as though we were under obligation to them because they have become of our party instead of feeling thankful for our instruction.178

It had already become apparent that many would switch from one lotu to the other, and back again, for the sake of getting a teacher.179

This may have been one of the reasons for marked discrepancies between different accounts of village denominational allegiance.

177 SSJ, Platt, 1836, Jan. 11; MS, Turner, Journal, 1836, Oct. 9. This description of events is not absolutely certain. Buzacott reported that followers of Tagipo in Safata joined the L.M.S. in August 1836. SSJ, Buzacott, 1836, Aug. 26. However, it is quite clear that a group of 100 in Fusi chose to join the denomination which was not already present in the village.

178 ibid., July 14.

179 cf. p.120.
For instance, when Hardie visited the large village of Falealupo on the western tip of Savai'i, in July 1836, he found, with a few exceptions, that the village belonged to the L.M.S. On the other hand, Turner, in December reported that there were 180 Wesleyans, that the L.M.S. had a small number, and that there was still a heathen party. 180

This complexity, and the ambiguity going back to the very origins of the Lotu Toga in Samoa, set the scene for the bitter controversy that was fought between the Wesleyan missionaries and their adherents on the one hand, and the L.M.S. and theirs on the other. In 1835 Platt was convinced that:

"In fact all or most of the places where he [Turner] preaches that we have seen, are places where the people had renounced heathenism, if not its customs, thro' the instrumentality of the native teachers whom we employed." 181 Turner, on the other hand, would agree

180 MS, Hardie, Journal, 1836, July 31; MS, Turner, Journal, 1836, Dec. 7. Ignorance of the existence of different village sections may have been a cause of conflicting estimates. The following factors, then, make it impossible to estimate the extent of the support of the two denominations during 1836 and 1837: (a) Only Peter Turner gives figures of adherents in different villages. (b) The mere presence of a Lotu in a village could indicate a number of people ranging from two to a thousand, of that denomination. (c) In many cases denominational allegiance was still fluid. For this reason any attempt to map the pattern of denominations would be quite misleading. The figures produced by the missionaries of the number of villages penetrated by the Lotu, or the number of chiefs who had accepted the Lotu are also quite valueless, because what constituted a "village", a "district" or a "chief" is never specified. Only in a few exceptional cases were villages united denominationally. The large villages of Neiafu and Asau in western Savai'i were almost entirely Wesleyan, while the equally large village of Falealatai in A'ana adhered exclusively to the L.M.S. In addition several smaller villages in various places belonged entirely to the one Lotu.

181 SSJ, Platt, 1835, Nov. 30.
that only three chiefs had come over from the L.M.S. since his arrival, and of these one had returned. He believed that, even before he came, there had been a "Lotu Tom" with a strong identity of its own. Buzacott took the view, which represented well that of the L.M.S. missionaries, that: "If Mr. T. had not come they would never have been known by that name, but would on our arrival like all the other strange lotus been incorporated in one [sic]." The evidence, as has been seen, was not as clear cut as either side might have wished.

It was not that they were involved in open controversy, at least initially. On a number of occasions Turner met Platt and Wilson quite cordially. They did, however, record their private reservations in their journals. Moreover, their adherents were not always as reluctant to show their mutual antipathy. Certainly in some villages, when the L.M.S. missionaries visited, the Wesleyan party would join happily in their services, and express their friendship. Nevertheless, in other places

183 e.g. ibid., Sept. 26.
184 SSJ, Buzacott, 1836, Sept. 6.
185 SSJ, Platt, 1835, Nov. 5. 6; 1836, March 16. MS, Turner, Journal, 1836, April 5.
186 cf. e.g. SSJ, Platt, 1836, March 21; Buzacott, 1836, Aug. 2. MS, Hardie, Journal, 1836, July 28, 29.
there were strong undercurrents of hostility. Platt recorded at Salea'aumua in Aleipata in January 1836: "... the Methodists assembled with us and the other inhabitants. They have not done so at every place." Buzacott found that the Methodists at Papa in western Savai'i would not join with them in worship. Hardie, on the same tour, remarked at Foa'ilalo: "A few of the people have joined the Wesleyans & as usual, disturbed us much with their noisy worship." Later he was to complain of the Wesleyans in general: "... Here we are continually annoyed & vexed & our work hindered by one part of the people." Rumours of insulting remarks made by the missionaries against their counterparts and the people of the other Lotu, were rife. According to Platt, in January 1836: "... the natives inform us that he [Turner] tells them they are all wrong, their teachers are wrong, their books are wrong, everything is wrong, he only is right, and if they follow the others they will go to the fire." In June, the newly arrived L.M.S. missionaries wrote a letter accusing Turner of "... calling the efforts of our Native Teachers the red religion - the deceitful religion &c opposing so violently our native teachers & their labours ..."

187 SSJ, Platt, 1836, Jan. 20.
188 SSJ, Buzacott, 1836, July 30
190 SSJ, Platt, 1836, Jan. 28. Gilson tends to over-estimate the tolerance between the two groups at this time. Samoa: 1830-1900, p. 89.
191 SSJ, Buzacott, 1836, June 9, giving a copy of a letter of June 13. Hardie interprets "red" to mean bloody. loc. cit.
On the other hand, Turner had to endure rumours that Malietoa was getting up a war against the Wesleyans in order to force them to join his lotu; and, later, that he had even planned an ambush to kill him, and some Wesleyan chiefs. The Wesleyans of Fale'ula, neighbouring Malietoa's village of Sagana, were "persecuted". Moreover, the strictures of the L.M.S. missionaries against Turner's policy of baptizing without lengthy instruction are likely to have been communicated to the Samoan Wesleyans. In July, 1836, Hardie quizzed Wesleyans at Asau, forced them to admit that Mr Turner didn't ask them such questions or tell them such "truths", and found them "exceedingly ignorant".

The coming of the main body of the L.M.S. missionaries in June, 1836, had raised another element in the controversy, too. They believed there was an understanding that, while the Wesleyans concentrated their attention on Fiji, Samoa would be left to the L.M.S. It is likely that the impression that Turner might be forced to leave Samoa was quickly communicated to the Samoans. In response to their letter of protest, Turner informed the London missionaries, in June, that "such a thing [his leaving Samoa] will not be allowed by the chiefs and the people

194 cf. Appendix I., p. 430.
This suggests that the possibility was already being considered by the chiefs of the Lotu Toge. The impression is confirmed by Turner's comment in August, after news of Matthew Wilson's arrival at Tutuila had reached Upolu. He received word from Benjamin Lotu'ase in Falealili that the news had induced some people there to become Wesleyans and noted in his journal:

> I am convinced many were of opinion we should have to leave these islands to the L.M. Soc - They were therefore reluctant to unite themselves with us - when for aught they knew we should have to leave.\(^\text{196}\)

Though the controversy was kept simmering by the exchange of hostile letters over the next few months, it was brought to a crisis by the arrival of Wilson. Turner was using the bait of a resident missionary to induce Matā'afa, living at Salei'ataua on Manono, to become a Wesleyan, together with the considerable number of adherents strung along the south coast of Upolu who belonged, with him, to "Dr Stevens Lotu." Thomas Heath, the L.M.S. missionary on Manono, believed that Matā'afa had already joined his society, at the same time as Lei'ataua Tonumaipe'a, whose tulafale he was.\(^\text{197}\)

Informal discussions took place early in September among the missionaries of both societies, and it was agreed to hold a joint

\(^{195}\) SSJ, Buzacott, 1836, June 9, giving a copy of a letter from Turner, June 21.

\(^{196}\) MS, Turner, Journal, 1836, Aug. 17.

\(^{197}\) MS, Turner, Journal 1836, Sept. 2, citing a copy of a letter from Heath of the same date.
meeting at which the question of the origins of the *Lotu Toga* in Samoa, and of the propriety of Turner's activities, would be investigated. Because of the ambiguity of the evidence, already pointed to, both sides left the meeting convinced that they had been vindicated. Of more importance, here, is the consideration of the way in which the meeting exacerbated the differences between the adherents of the two societies.

At the earlier discussions Turner had asked for a postponement of the proposed meeting, so that he could gather evidence and bring witnesses. The London Society missionaries also took advantage of the delay to check their criticisms, particularly with the Tahitian teachers, with Tuilaepa Matetau and with Malietoa. The consequence was that the matter received widespread attention throughout the western islands. It is thus not surprising that though Turner had earlier asked that chiefs be excluded from the later meeting on the grounds that it would turn the matter into a political dispute, those of his society were strongly pressing him to allow them to attend. On the other hand, Turner had qualified his suggested limitation by asking that no chief who was not a teacher should be present. The London missionaries were unable to agree to this, first, because "... Mr. T. was well aware that we had no chief a teacher & only two Samoan teachers who were of no importance in the affair while he had scores of teachers among whom were some chiefs"; and second, because they believed that those should attend who knew the facts of the case. In the event, then, the chiefs attended.198

Despite the fact that "Mr S Wilson gave them a short address advising them to be on terms of friendship with each other," the result of the September meetings was a further hardening of the denominational divisions.\textsuperscript{199} It is significant that in November Siovilian chiefs at Sasina in northern Savai'i could make a detailed comparison between the \textit{Lotu Taiti} and the \textit{Lotu Toga}.\textsuperscript{200} Moreover, the public confrontation between the leading adherents of the two \textit{Lotu} had produced a situation from which they could not back down without losing face. In the next three years the Wesleyan identity was further strengthened so that it survived the departure of their European missionaries.\textsuperscript{201}

The other major consequence of missionary activity during the second half of 1836, was the virtual disappearance of the sailor sects, leaving only the more recalcitrant of the heathen and Siovilians, apart from the Wesleyans and the L.N.S.\textsuperscript{202} Their adherents could not resist the temptations of the superior resources of the missions, nor in general, could their leaders.

\textsuperscript{199} SSJ, Buzacott, 1836, Sept. 26.

\textsuperscript{200} MS, Hardie, Journal, 1836, Nov. 2.

\textsuperscript{201} cf. Chapt. II. It will be evident however that I do not agree with Gilson's judgement that it was the meeting itself, and the attendance of the chiefs, which he misleadingly blames entirely on the London Society, that communicated the hostility between the two missions to the Samoans. I have attempted to show that this had been developing over a long period of time, and the meeting served only to bring it to a head. Gilson, Samoa 1830-1900, p. 93.

\textsuperscript{202} The last contemporary references to sailor sects, appear to be those in SSL, Heath, 4 April, 1837; MS, Turner, Journal, 1837, Aug. 2; and these are isolated occurrences.
stand up to the European missionaries.\textsuperscript{203}

The followers of Tagipo, spread through twenty-eight villages, came over in droves in the second half of 1836. Competition for their adherence was keen between Turner and the L.M.S. In January, Platt visited the village of Vailele, Tagipo's base, but reached no agreement. Two weeks later, however, Tagipo, on a visit to Savai'i, met Turner at Matautu. It was agreed that when Turner visited Upolu he might preach to Tagipo's followers.\textsuperscript{204}

One of the leading chiefs of the connection, though, favoured the L.M.S. According to Barff, in July, Turner persuaded this chief's brother to attempt to "shut the door against us". Indeed "four of Mr Turner's Samoan teachers had united with him & forcibly taken the morning service but fled on our approach."\textsuperscript{205} The spoils of the sect were, in fact divided. Vailele itself became a stronghold of the L.M.S.\textsuperscript{206} Buzacott reported the conversion of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{203} In Oct. 1836 a chief told Turner that his people, after consultation among themselves, had decided to cease being followers of a sailor, and to become Wesleyans because Turner and Wilson were "true missionaries". MS, Turner, 1836, Oct. 9.
\item \textsuperscript{205} SSJ, Barff, 1836, July 2.
\item \textsuperscript{206} The Vailele chief, Mana, became an ardent proselytizer for the L.M.S. cf. SSJ, Buzacott, 1837, Feb. 22. ONB, Rouxaire, beginning of 1847. Dyson met Tagipo himself in Aleipata in 1865. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1865, June 30.
\end{itemize}
three Tagipo congregations on the south coast in August, while Turner had some success there in October. Hardie found a follower of Tagipo at Matautu on Savai'i who converted in November.

In April, too, Salima on Tutuila had announced his intention of handing over his people to the L.M.S. and leaving. Nevertheless, some of them showed a preference for Wesleyanism. A sailor, Williamson, near Falelatai, offered to help Buzacott turn his Lotu over to Lotu Taiti and he found their number "surprisingly large." Dr. Steven's Lotu did not survive long the conversion of the chief Mata'afa to Wesleyanism. The process was repeated on a smaller scale throughout the islands.

By the end of 1836 the lines of two of Samoa's three major denominations had been laid out. These represented a new principle of social organization which transcended the fragmented pattern into which Samoan religious affiliations had fallen before the intervention of European missionaries. It is the development and interaction of these lines till 1880, that will be discussed in the next chapter.

208 MS, Hardie, Journal, 1836, Nov. 3.
209 SSJ, Platt, 1836, April 14.
1. 1836–1845

Many aspects of the development of the churches in Samoa, after 1836, will be the subject of later chapters: the forms of church government and discipline, the teaching of doctrine and its corresponding Samoan understanding, church involvement in politics, and the extent of Samoan autonomy within the churches. In this chapter it is intended to concentrate on the growth of the three main denominations and their interactions.

In 1836 the A'ana people were returning to their lands, perhaps under the protection of the new ideology of peace which seemed to be offered by the Lotu. ¹ Almost the whole of them became Christian, according to Buzacott, most joining the L.M.S., though a few were Wesleyans. ² During 1837, too, the London Society made considerable gains among the heathen and Siovilian parties on Savai'i, where, previously their support had lagged well behind that for the Wesleyans. ³ In the next three years they were to establish themselves firmly on Manu'a and Tutuila, where their only opposition by 1839 was a tiny Wesleyan party, and a few


² SSJ, Buzacott, 1836, Sept. 29; SSL, Heath, 9 Dec. 1836; MS, Turner, Journal, 1836, Oct. 29. Heath alleged that the returning people were attacked by Wesleyans.

³ SSL, Heath, 6 Jan., 1838, excl. copy of SDC minutes 15 Dec., 1837.
villages of heathen. Tutuila saw in this year too an "awakening", which was to continue intermittently during the early 1840's.5

In contrast to this, the Lotu Togo experienced an ever dwindling success during 1837, mostly in Western Savai'i, and by 1838, Turner was lamenting: "I am much distressed at times that we have no more conversions." No doubt the greater manpower of the other society, and the rumours of the impending departure of the Wesleyan missionaries, discouraged prospective converts.

It is difficult to estimate the relative extent of the support of the two societies at the beginning of 1839. In July 1837, Turner claimed that Wesleyans numbered about 13,000 to 14,000. This, however, must have been a guess. He was hardly acquainted with the many that he claimed as Wesleyan teachers or preachers. Though these were supposed to be appointed when they had "finished their books", in October 1837, he reported: "I was much pained with some of our exhorters. I found some of them, who could not read in the books we have from St Matthew's Gospel."8

4 SSJ: Buzacott, 1837, Feb. 22; Powell, 1870-71. SSL: Williams, Nov. 12, 1839; Heath, 9 Oct., 1836; 30 March, 1840. Wilkes, op. cit. II, p. 65. The first permanent L.M.S. presence on Manu'a resulted from the conversion of 300, after a visit from the two teachers, Teava and Raki, in Nov. 1837. By 1839 almost the whole group of about 1,000 people were Christian. SSL, Heath, 6 Jan. 1838 encl. copy of SDC minutes 15 Dec., 1837. SSL, Heath, 30 March, 1840.

5 cf. p. 284f.


7 ibid., 1837, July 10.

This shows that the functioning of the *Lotu Toa* was so far outside the direct control of Turner, that it is most unlikely that he had an accurate knowledge of its size.

L.M.S. estimates, at this time, seem to have been wildly inaccurate, too. Numbers given for their adherents on Tutuila were higher than the island's actual population! By August 1837, they were claiming a Samoan total of well over twenty thousand. Wesleyan numbers were put at about 5,000. In 1839, on the other hand, Heath estimated the Wesleyan party at 10,000. This may have been closer to the truth, as he cited the figure in order to persuade the L.M.S. directors to send out more missionaries to cope with the expected jump in L.M.S. numbers, after the departure of the Wesleyan missionaries. It is, however, impossible to arrive at sure estimates of relative numerical support; indeed, figures given even for the total population were only guesses, often ill-founded.9

It is perhaps easier to judge the truth of Dyson's claim that in 1839 "nearly all the ruling chiefs were [sic] Methodists and many of the tulafales were preachers."10 Gilson seems to support this judgement in stating that Turner was more successful than the L.M.S. in "gathering support at the district meeting..."

9 SDC, April, August, 1837. SSL, Heath, 3 May, 1839. J.M. Davidson discusses the varying estimates for the population at this time. op. cit., p. 72 f. The ambiguity and irregularity of missionary estimates of their support has been discussed. cf. p. 126. Gilson's disposition to accept Turner's estimate appears to be insufficiently based. *Samoan, 1830-1900,* p. 65. The number of Methodist chapels is no indication of numbers of adherents, nor even of the number of villages having a Wesleyan presence. Satupaitea, for instance, had several Wesleyan chapels. MS. Turner Journal, 1838, Jan. 25. Gilson also fails to take into account the different references of the word "village".

10 Dyson, *Samoan Methodism,* p. 32.
The evidence of the journals, however, does not appear to sustain these opinions. The Wesleyans could point to Satupa'itea, but they had to share neighbouring Palauli with the L.M.S. There is nothing to suggest that the Wesleyan following at Safotulafai was stronger than the London Society's. The Wesleyans had strong support in the lesser centres of Asau and Safotu on Savai'i, but the London Society had influential support at Sale'aula. None of the leading villages on Upolu evinced much support for the Wesleyans. In A'ana, the area surrounding Leulumeoega was strongly allied to the L.M.S. While there were strong dissident elements at Malietoa's village of Sagana, they were heathen and Siovilian, and not Wesleyan. At Lufilufi in Atua, the Wesleyans, at least in 1836, were a small and persecuted minority. The L.M.S. had a school there in 1838. The only area where the Wesleyans had, and maintained, a clear superiority, was Satupa'itea, and the villages in western Savai'i associated with the Sā Tonuma'ape'a.

Neither can Dyson's judgement about the affiliations of the leading chiefs be accepted. The chiefs of the Sā Malietoa are obvious exceptions to begin with. While Malietoa himself was becoming increasingly lukewarm in his adherence to the London Society,

11 Gilson, Samoa 1830-1900. p. 87.

12 MS, Turner, Journals, 1836-9, passim. SSJ, Buzacott, 1836-7, passim. MS, Hardie, Journal, 1836-7, passim. SSL: Heath, 11 Aug., 1838; Mills, 15 Aug., 1838; Macdonald, 16 Feb., 1838. There were 400-500 Wesleyans in northern A'ana in 1851. cf. SSL, Turner, 26 April, 1851. In 1838, however, very few were located in villages near Leulumeoega.
he was certainly never a friend of the Wesleyans. His brother, Taimalelagi, worked closely with Charles Hardie in this period, to convert heathen chiefs; his son Moli was to become a bulwark of the church at Sagana; while his near relative, To'ea of Peleleatai, was soon baptized and kept Wesleyans from his large village, by force. 13 Lei'ataua Tonumaipe'a of Manono, often referred to as the leader of the mało, eventually became a church member, while Tuilaepa Matetau was a deacon. 14 On Savai'i, the Tonumaipe'a chiefs, and their associated villages, stayed firmly in the Wesleyan camp, but many of the Sā Lilomai'ava chiefs joined the London Society, as did those of the Sā Tagaloa. 15 The Sā Tupua chief, Mata'afa in Atua, was probably a Siovilian in 1836. Though he hinted that he might become a Wesleyan, there is no positive proof that he did so before 1839, and in any case he was never a strong supporter of that denomination. 16 Little is known of the religious affiliations of other Sā Tupua chiefs, though a chief named Tupua was an adherent, albeit troublesome, of the L.M.S. during the 1840's, while Mosēgoso had some contacts with the L.M.S.

13 MS, Hardie, Journal, 1836/7 passim. SSL: Hardie, 1 Sept., 1837; Heath, 1 April, 1837. MS, Day papers: Letter 60, Day, c 1845; item E. note concerning the formation of the church at Sagana in 1841. To'ea later became Tui A'ana Sualauvi.

14 SSL, Heath, 7 June, 1847. Prout, op. cit., p. 551.

15 SSJ, Platt, 1836, March 17. MS, Hardie, Journal, 1836/7 passim. MS, Turner, Journal, 1836, passim. The Salemuliana family, closely associated with the Tagaloa family, appears to have been oriented towards the L.M.S., particularly at Sala'ina and possibly at Amoa. Sā Moelooli, based in some of the same villages as the Sā Tonumaipe'a, was probably Wesleyan.

16 cf. p. 199.
missionaries during the 1850's. 17

Dyson is on stronger ground in his claim that many of the preachers were tulafale. Indeed, as the events of September 1836 showed, many Wesleyan teachers were chiefs, and moreover, the chiefs of that Lotu were disposed to take a stronger part in its affairs than their L.M.S. counterparts were able to, in theirs. 18 The truth is that, in the 1860's, Dyson had discovered that Masua, an important tulafale of Atua (and in the 1840's a Wesleyan teacher) and chiefs from other centres, including Manono and Safotulafai, had, during the 1840's made application to Tonga for help in the conduct of their Lotu. Dyson represents these as having been chosen by the "ruling tribes" and sent by the "highest powers of Samoa." There is no evidence, however, that they were any more than representatives of the Wesleyans in these centres. 19 This, no doubt, was the source of his exaggeration.

It is necessary to conclude, therefore, that from 1837 onwards, the London Society enjoyed a clear superiority in the range of its base among the important families, in its geographical distribution, and in numerical support, over its rival. The core

17 MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1844, June 26; Dec. 1. USN, Cmdr. L, Bailey, 1 Oct., 1855. Murray, Forty years mission work. pp. 304, 312. Dyson refers to Hoegagogo, the father of Tamasese, a later contender for high political honours, as Tupua, so he may have been the same chief as the one mentioned by Nisbet. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1865, July 5.
18 cf. p.131. The L.M.S. did, however, in the early period use chiefs to assist them in proselytizing. MS, Hardie, Journal, 1836/7, passim. SSJ, Buzacott, 1837, passim.
19 MS, Dyson, Journal, 1864, Feb. 23, 24. Samoan Methodism. p. 33, 35. As will be seen, other chiefs who did not belong to the Wesleyans also saw some advantage in the presence of the Tongan teachers. cf. p.146f, 178.
of the Wesleyan party, however, made up for its lack, by the
tenacity with which it clung to its identity.

These chiefs clearly had a good deal of their prestige tied up in their religious affiliation, and in their possession of a European mission. It is significant then that when the L.M.S. missionaries received news in April 1837 that the committee of the two parent societies had agreed Turner should leave Samoa, they did nothing to soften the blow. 20 On the contrary, they exacerbated the conflict by precipitate action. For instance, in September, MacDonald at Safune provoked a hostile response by sending a message to the Wesleyans there that they must hold a meeting and agree to join the L.M.S. One of the Wesleyan teachers "said some words to him which much displeased him." MacDonald replied by heaping verbal abuse on both the Samoan and Tongan teachers. 21 Elsewhere the L.M.S. missionaries were publicly criticizing Turner's translations as incorrect, thus ensuring that for the next twenty years they would be venerated by the Wesleyans. 22

In January 1838 wherever they went, they assiduously proclaimed the news that the earlier decision had been reconfirmed in London. They emphasised that when Turner and Wilson were forced to leave in a few months time, their people would have to join the L.M.S. The relationship between the adherents of the two societies was rapidly becoming parallel to that between vāivai.

20 cf. Appendix I p. 430. The Wesleyan part in prolonging the period of conflict is described.


22 ibid., Sept. 28. In May 1837, Turner had received 20,000 books, including translations of fifteen chapters of St Matthew, a hymn book, and the third edition of the primer. ibid., June 24. Hardie also publicly contradicted Turner's opinion that the Samoans should not eat dogs, and hinted that his mind had gone astray. He stressed also that he was uneducated and ignorant. ibid., Dec. 10.
and malo. Turner put his finger on this development when he wrote:

I do wish the missy of the L.M.S. would be somewhat more prudent if it were only for their own welfare in future. I am persuaded that they are making the minds of the natives quite bitter against them. bec. - they seem to triumph over us and want to make it appear that they are compelling us to move from these islands.

Indeed many Wesleyans were now saying that they would return to their former state, rather than join the L.M.S., and others that without the moderating influence of their missionaries, they would take to war. Some simply said they would continue the Lotu Toga. 23

This was the pattern of opposition that built up, during 1838, to the projected removal of Turner and Wilson. A first climax was reached in November after Turner received definite instructions from the London committee of the Wesleyan Society, to leave Samoa. 24 In response to his advice that they must join the L.M.S., some of the chiefs concocted a plan to keep Turner in Samoa by force, and to send their own appeal to Tonga and to England. A meeting of the Wesleyan chiefs was organised for 12 December on Manono. Some villages attempted to hinder their Tongan teachers from leaving, while others uttered threats of war. The Samoan officers of the Wesleyan party refused to allow Turner to give their names to the L.M.S. missionaries.

23 ibid.; 1838, Jan. 23, 27; Feb. 17.
Sixteen chiefs and three of the London Society missionaries attended the meeting. The theme of the chiefs' speeches was the unity of the Tongan and Samoan peoples, and their refusal to believe that the Tongans would abandon them. One chief tried to prevent Turner from influencing the meeting against their wishes and when MacDonald and Hardie rose to speak, he broke the meeting up, and left with most of the people. The plan to abduct Turner came to nothing, for he and the Satupa'itea people simply agreed that he would cross to their village. 25

Moreover, other members of the Lotu Tona seem to have taken seriously their earlier threat to return to their former state. Until his departure in May, Turner complained of a growing carelessness at worship, the laxness of the leaders in their "private duties", the holding of dances, and a disposition to show contempt for Turner's reproofs when they had "fallen into sin." 26

On 30 December, Turner crossed over to Satupa'itea with thirty Tongan teachers. In succeeding months he had mixed success in persuading the people there, to turn to the L.M.S. missionaries. In January MacDonald preached there, though many walked out. In March the teachers agreed to receive MacDonald when Turner left. The presence of the thirty Tongan teachers, too, was proving an embarrassment to food supplies at Satupa'itea, and many of the people were wishing to be rid of them. 27

25 MS, Turner, Journal, 1838, Dec. 3 - 6, 12.
26 ibid., 1838, Dec. 30; 1839, March 6, 10, May 4.
27 ibid., 1838, Dec. 30; 1839, Jan. 27, March 25, Dyson gives an apparently embroidered account of the service at which MacDonald preached at Satupa'itea. Samoan Methodism, p. 29.
Towards the end of March a party arrived from Tonga, led by a chief, Joeli, and carrying letters. The purpose of the visit was not immediately apparent to Turner. However, he soon reported that:

I have been somewhat at a stand what to do owing to a command or rather a wish of the Chief of Tonga in reference to these islands, he has given orders to the person who has the command of the canoes to ask the chiefs of our lotu whether or not they will unite with the other missionaries or whether they will continue to keep to our lotu, and shd the chiefs & people say that they will continue to cleave unto us, why then his men - our Tonga teachers shall remain and shall not remove.

The party had first landed at Gaga'emaalae on the south-west coast of Savai'i, but soon proceeded to Satupa'itea. There, people from numerous Wesleyan villages came to make their attitude quite clear. They stressed the ties of family between Tonga and Samoa, and asked how the missionaries and Taufa'ahau and Aleamotu'a could consider casting them adrift. They accused Turner of a lack of love for Samoa, because of his willingness to accept the directions of the Wesleyan Society's committee. Later the Tongan party went to Manono, where, no doubt, similar scenes took place. They were still in Samoa in May. In spite of this activity, however, Turner and Wilson left Samoa on 23 May, taking most of the Tongan teachers with

28 Dyson says that Joeli was Taufa'ahau's brother. ibid., p. 30. There is no mention of this in Turner's journal. There is no basis for Garrett's surmise that he was a Manono relation by marriage, of Taufa'ahau. op. cit., p. 69.

29 MS, Turner, Journal, 1839, April 1, 2. By the "Chief of Tonga", Turner apparently means Taufa'ahau, now ruler in Vava'u and Ha'apai, but not yet Tu'i Kanokupolu, a title held by Aleamotu'a. Taufa'ahau's continuing interest in Samoa would confirm this identification.

30 ibid., April, May, passim. Dyson, whose chronology is muddled, has conflated accounts of these addresses with those of the meeting of 12 Dec. on Manono. Samoan Methodism, p. 30. In this, he is apparently dependent on S.S. Farmer, Tonga and the Friendly Islands. (London, 1855), p. 281. Garrett follows Dyson's error. Moreover, he wrongly places the first meeting in November, 1838. Curiously, too, for it would strengthen his theme, Garrett fails to mention that in the Tongan visit, Taufa'ahau, through Joeli, was himself taking the initiative. op. cit., p. 69.
them. 31 The people of Satupa'itea had, nevertheless, finally determined not to turn over to the L.M.S. despite Turner's warning that they would go astray. As Turner put it: "They were very angry with us." 32

The Tongan intervention had, indeed, marked the beginning of a new stage in the history of Wesleyanism in Samoa, rather than the end of an old one. The Tongan teachers who had formerly been regarded as agents of the Wesleyan Society, were now to take on a new role as the King's men. This situation was already incipient in the fact that the original appeals from Satupa'itea for missionaries had been addressed through Tūufa'āhau, to the Wesleyan mission at Tonga. 33 Now, in 1839, he was offering the possibility that what had been undertaken at that time, might be continued under his aegis. 34

The precise nature of Tūufa'āhau's interest in Samoa is not clear. Garrett's attempts to explain it may have elements of truth, but they are largely based on fancy. 35 He places undue weight on


33 cf. pp. 76, 77. It is interesting that as early as February 1836, a false rumour reached Turner that Tūufa'āhau had arrived in Samoa. MS, Turner, Journal, 1836, Feb. 9, 13.

34 It is quite possible that this initiative was a response to news of events in Samoa in December, or of the final decision of the London Committee, or of both.

35 Garrett, op. cit., passim.
personal and dynastic links, without offering specific evidence that they influenced Taufa'ahau's policy. This applies both to the ties through his former relationship with the daughter of Tuilaepa Katetau of Manono, and those through the Tu'i Kanokupolu title, which, indeed, he did not hold till 1845. As to the former, Garrett fails to explain how, despite his Tongan links, Tuilaepa managed to maintain a firm adherence to the L.M.S., and what this implies for Taufa'ahau's policy towards Wesleyanism in Samoa. As to the latter, he fails to take account of the fact that later initiatives from Samoa to continue Wesleyanism came from Savai'i as well as Upolu; that, in any case, Upolu, as such, was not a political entity, and thus that those who made approaches to Taufa'ahau during the 1840's could in no real sense be thought of as "representing" Upolu. If the link through the Tu'i Kanokupolu title was invoked, and there is no evidence that it was, it would have been sheer rhetoric. Nor is there any concrete evidence that it influenced Taufa'ahau's thinking.

This is not to say that family ties were unimportant. The appeals made by Samoans in this period, speak of the unity of the two peoples, a unity effected by wide ranging marriage links. Tongan involvement in Samoa, indeed, was of a quite practical nature.

36 cf. p. 67 n. The same point may be made for the L.M.S. chief Lei'ataua Tonuma'ipe'a, who happily attended a meeting with Taufa'ahau on Manono in 1842. Farmer, op. cit., p. 284f, giving the text of a letter from Taufa'ahau to the W.M.M.S. in London. 6 Jan., 1843.

37 cf. p. 140.
For instance, there is evidence of trade interests. While it is likely that these involved particularly Manono, and those areas of south and west Savai'i which were afterwards firmly attached to the Wesleyans, only a tautological argument could establish this. The evidence for Tongan military support of Manono is somewhat stronger.

In 1848, after the renewed outbreak of war in Samoa, between the mālo led by Manono, on the one hand, and A'ama and her allies, on the other, Tāufa'āhau visited Samoa. His party was carried by eight canoes, and thus may have numbered upward of 800 men. He was immediately suspected of warlike intentions. Thomas Heath wrote: "tho' he advised peace, I fear he was prepared to assist in war - They assisted Manono in a former war." He was, in fact, obliged to publicly deny that his visit had anything to do with Tonga. He was immediately suspected of warlike intentions. Thomas Heath wrote: "tho' he advised peace, I fear he was prepared to assist in war - They assisted Manono in a former war." He was, in fact, obliged to publicly deny that his visit had anything to do

38 Williams found a party of Tongans at Sapapali'i in 1830, who had come to trade for fine mats. MS, Williams & Barff, Journal, 1830, Aug. 24.

39 Namely, that Wesleyanism was established in those places which had trade ties with Tonga, and that these were known to have trade ties because Wesleyanism was established there. Hence Garrett's talk of Tongan Methodist converts establishing their worship and belief "near the end of the old trade routes" is simply a shot in the dark. op. cit., p. 66.

40 Extraordinarily, Garrett fails to mention this visit at all, and implies that Tāufa'āhau was too involved elsewhere at the time, to pay any attention to Samoa!! ibid., pp. 74, 75.

41 SSL, Heath, 1 April, 1848. cf. MS, Niabet, Journal, 1847, Nov. 2. In the 1830's visits of Tongan canoes capable of carrying around a hundred people were recorded. cf. SSJ, Williams, 1832, Nov. 6; MS, Turner, Journal, 1839, April 2.
with the political situation. 42 That Manono was considered an ally of Tonga is also suggested by Dyson's report that it was on this account that Leasiolagi of Salani, on the south coast of Upolu, held an "endless grudge" against the island. 43 Indeed, Tongans helped in the building of fortifications at Taumafa in 1848, and later assisted Manono in building canoes in response to the Taumualua (double-stemmed boats after the fashion of European long boats) built by Eli Jennings for A'ana and Atua. 44 That this alliance was of long standing is indicated by Heath's statement, and by the evidence of links between Lei'ataua Tonumaipe'a Tamafaiga and Tonga. 45 Gilson puts it simply and well when he explains their presence: "An imperialistic people, the Tongans were always prone to meddle in the affairs of their neighbours." 46

Taufa'ahau's Samoan interests cut across denominational boundaries, and in his relationship to Samoan Wesleyanism itself, he showed every sign of caution and continually waited upon the lead given by the chiefs of that lotu. Thus his message in 1839 was that he would help them if they did not wish to join the

42 SSL, Pratt, 31 March, 1848. Gilson cites a report from Maxwell to the Sec. of the Adm., 18 March, 1848, to the effect that Taufa'ahau claimed to have worked for peace. (Adm. 1/5590), Samoa, 1830-1900. p. 122.

43 NS, Dyson, Journal, 1863, Feb. 15. This is probably the basis for the allegations of political meddling on the part of the ordained Tongan pastor, Benjamin Latuselu. cf. p. 176.

44 NS, Te'o Tuvale, Semoa Chronology. W.T. Pritchard, Polynesian Reminiscences. (London, 1866) p. 74. cf. SSL, Murray, 21 Jan., 1852; S. Ella, "The Samoan 'Taumua-Lua'," JPS 7, (1898) pp. 158, 247. The Tongans were said, also, to have hindered peace negotiations between Sata'ites and the Fa'asaleleaga in 1846. SSL, MacDonald, 20 Nov. 1846.

45 cf. p. 66.

46 Gilson, Samoa, 1830-1900. p. 96. A fuller understanding would involve an analysis of Tongan society which is beyond the scope of this thesis.
L.M.S., but the choice was theirs. During 1841, he instructed the Tongan teachers not to disturb Wesleyans who had joined the L.M.S. in the meantime, and relayed through them, the message that he would send more teachers only if he heard that the people, in general, had not joined the London Society. Unlike the L.M.S. missionaries, Taufa'ahau well understood that the Samoan chiefs would only react negatively to any attempts to force them into a particular religious affiliation. He thus wrote to the London Committee of the W.M.N.S., concerning the Samoans: "Their union and oneness consists in allowing each chief and his people to do that which he and his people think proper for their good." In 1852, he was still taking the same approach. A party from Tonga brought a message to the teachers that "if the Samoans wish to detain them they are to stay, if not they are to go."

The most that can be said then, was that support of the Lotu Toga was one way in which Taufa'ahau could maintain links with those Samoan chiefs who were disposed to maintain them with him. How, or when, or for what purpose he might capitalize on those links was probably an open question. It follows that, while it was important that Taufa'ahau was prepared to play the role that he did, the main source of the tenacity of Samoan Wesleyanism must be sought among Samoans themselves.


48 Farmer, op. cit., p. 285, giving the text of a letter of Taufa'ahau, 6 Jan., 1843, to the W.M.N.S. in London.

49 SSL, Murray, 21 Jan., 1852.

In their pleas to Joeli, some of them responded strongly to Tāufa'āhau's initiative. It is true that immediately after the two missionaries' departure, Wesleyan teachers at Manono and Apia turned over to the L.M.S. Others, however, were engaged in sending messages to Tonga asking for missionaries to be sent again. Wilkes reported late in 1839, that a remnant of the Wesleyans "adhere to the texts and forms taught them by Mr Turner and still retain a strong attachment to him." In Apia those who had turned, changed their minds by November, when they heard rumours that missionaries were, indeed, coming from Tonga. The belief persisted into 1840.51

Others, again, took a different tack, as they had previously threatened. Hardie lamented:

...those who had attached themselves to the Wesleyan Missionaries...since their departure from the islands have in great numbers thrown off all restraints, become openly wicked, treated with contempt everything sacred & done all they could to hinder their usefulness among the people.52

While no new missionaries were sent, the appeals addressed to Tāufa'āhau met with success, for the Tongan missionaries could at least turn a blind eye to his activities.53 After he had received letters and a deputation of three chiefs from all the

51 SSL: Heath, 21 Oct., 1839; 30 April, 1841; Mills, 4 Nov., 1839; Pratt, 1 April, 1840. Wilkes, op. cit., II p. 128.

52 SSL, Hardie, 3 Nov., 1839.

Wesleyan teachers and people of Upolu and Savai'i, a party of four teachers was despatched. Some time after their arrival in March 1841, a group composed of Wesleyans from most of the leading centres of Samoa, addressed a further appeal, through another delegation of chiefs sent to Tonga. In response to this appeal, Tāufa'āhau himself visited Samoa, bringing with him teachers, equipped with books and medicine.54

His six weeks visit was a gala occasion. A great gathering met on Manono, attended even by Leilataua Tonumaipe'a and other L.M.S. chiefs. "All was peace." It was resolved to persevere in the Lotu Toga in Samoa, Tāufa'āhau and the meeting pledging their support for each other. He claimed that many had converted from among the Siovilians, the heathen and even the London Society, to Wesleyanism.55

The return of the Tongan teachers certainly lifted the morale of the Wesleyan party in Tonga. In some places the Lotu Toga was revived where it had been discontinued. At others, where at least the Wesleyans had attended the preaching of an L.M.S. missionary, under the guidance of the teachers they now refused to do so. Those who had expressed an intention to convert now had second thoughts.56


55 Farmer, op. cit., p. 284 ff. giving the text of a letter from Tāufa'āhau to the W.M.M.S. in London, 6 Jan., 1843.

Indeed, the battle between the denominations was to be fought at a more prosaic level than the ephemeral visits of Tongan royalty. Could the Tongan teachers compete effectively with the resources of the L.M.S.? As early as 1839 Mills had expressed the belief that individual Wesleyans would convert to the L.M.S. as they began to find that they were falling behind in learning.\(^5\)

In 1839 the London Society had set up a printing press at Leulumoega. Within five years they were to open a regular theological training institution at Malua. In the meantime individual missionaries carried on the work of training Samoan teachers, and generally disseminating the skills of literacy and other aspects of an elementary education.

There can be no doubt that the L.M.S. missionaries intensified their verbal offensive against the jumblings in the conduct of services and the use of the scriptures amongst the Wesleyans. They roundly criticized the preaching of the Samoan and Tongan teachers, and accused them of failing to live up to the legalistic standards they laid down. The translations they used, provided by Peter Turner, were criticized as a mixture of Tongan, Samoan and "murdered English".\(^6\)

The adherents of the L.M.S., too, saw another missionary resource, the denial of which might bring their rivals to heel - medicine. However, though Turner accused the missionaries of

57 ibid., Mills, 4 Nov., 1839.

58 ibid., Hardie, 2 Sept., 1841; Pratt, 6 Sept., 1841.
withholding it from supporters of the *Lotu Tupa'i*, this was denied. On Tutuila the L.M.S. chiefs tried an even blunter approach. They proposed to offer the Wesleyan minority the choice of either converting or being ejected by force. It was only with difficulty that Slatyer managed to dissuade them from this action. Thus Taufa'ahau reported after his 1842 visit: "Our people here had to endure persecution from the Tahitian religion." He went on however: "their attachment to us is rather strengthened by it than otherwise..." There is much to indicate the truth of this claim, at least in the short term.

Slatyer found the Tutuila Wesleyans a class more difficult to be dealt with than even heathen - for if you tell the heathen they are in darkness they know & confess it - but these poor people equally dark with heathen resist the light forsooth because they falsely imagine they have got it in professing the name of Mr Turner.

If the L.M.S. missionaries prided themselves on their instruction, the Tongan teacher simply forbade their people to attend. If the missionaries had medicine, their opponents spread rumours that they intended to poison the Wesleyans who came for it, "and actually mentioned some cases of rather sudden death in support of their assertions." Those who came for small-pox injections were

59 ibid: MacDonald, 25 Nov., 1840; P. Turner to L.M.S. missionaries in Samoa, Vava'u, 1 Dec., 1842; Bullen, 23 Dec., 1842.

60 MS, Slatyer, Journal, 1841, June 1. Earlier, chiefs at Pagapago had tried "simple persuasion". ibid., 1840, June 4, 5.

61 Farmer, loc. cit.

threatened with expulsion from the Society. When an L.M.S. teacher visited Wesleyan families at Faleasui an uproar ensued. Elsewhere L.M.S. services were disturbed by Wesleyans who held their own in close proximity.

Nor were the Wesleyans strangers to the use of violence. Harbutt was visited by a party led by a Tongan teacher, and wielding clubs, whose purpose was to extract an admission that the teacher was "equal in all things to the missionaries from England." An L.M.S. teacher at Safotu, formerly one of Turner's men, was beaten. Pratt believed it was because he was considered a turncoat, though the ostensible reason was a family quarrel. A chief who contemplated converting, had his house and property destroyed, while in 1844, Hardie blamed the origins of the Savai'i war on the extreme party spirit of the Wesleyans, and their use of provocative language.

53 SSL: Hardie, 2 Sept., 1841; Harbutt, 12 Sept., 1843.
55 SSL, Harbutt, 14 Sept., 1843. Later one of his parties was beaten up by Wesleyans.
56 SSL, Pratt, 1 Dec., 1842.
57 SSL: MacDonald, 13 Sept., 1843; Hardie, 11 March, 1844. Wesleyan opposition does not appear to have been concentrated in any one place. However, it may be that where missionaries such as Harbutt, MacDonald, Hardie, and the irascible Pratt engaged in public insults, they provoked a reaction of particular rancour.
The London Society did enjoy the satisfaction of a few conversions from among their rivals, though, and not all Wesleyans were uniformly hostile. While Wesleyan morale had no doubt been helped by the arrival of more Tongan teachers at the end of 1842, with an encouraging letter from Peter Turner, two years later they were receiving instructions from the Wesleyan missionaries to withdraw. Then, they would agree to do so on the instructions of their king, alone. Thus, while the Lotu Toga held firm, there is absolutely nothing to suggest the truth of Dyson's claim that all Samoa was on the brink of turning to them, and would have done so if only the Tongan teachers had not made major blunders in the late 1840's. Because the L.M.S. missionaries enjoyed much greater resources in books, medicine and trained teachers, the Wesleyan party remained on the defensive, as it had been since 1836. It was only the tantalizing hint of help from Tonga, nourishing the hopes of better times, that enabled the Samoan Wesleyans to maintain the distinctions, to which, as a matter of prestige, they were inclined.

68 SSL; MacDonald, 25 Nov., 1842; Drummond, 10 June, 1843; Chisholm, 8 July, 1844. Chisholm effected the conversion of Wesleyans at Sala'ilua by threatening to leave the district.

69 SSL; Drummond, 10 June, 1843; MacDonald, 13 Sept., 1843. Murray later wrote: "The teachers had sometimes reported themselves as sent by the King and sometimes as sent by the missionaries. And as it turned out there was truth in both tales." SSL; Murray, 2 March, 1866. Heath had reported uncertainty amongst the Lotu Toga as early as 1841, as to whether missionaries would return, and he maintained that this had reflected badly on the Tongan teachers. SSL; Heath, 10 Sept., 1841. cf. Wood, op. cit., I p. 285 who describes the Tongan side of events leading to the 1845 instruction.

70 Dyson, Samoan Methodism. p. 36.
The London Society had other thorns in its flesh in this period, too. They had long given up Malietoa Vai'inupō as a source of Christian influence, being reduced to fulminating against him as "an old sensualist and a lying politician." In 1840 he had been suspected of attending "some feasts of the devil's party". He provoked a strong reaction, too, from the missionaries, who whipped up opposition among the church members, when he proposed to have a daughter married, according to the heathen fashion, to a teacher who was already married. He himself remained a polygamist until his death in May 1841.71 Nor did this event release the missionaries from their troubles. His successor as Malietoa, Taimalelagi, a church member since 1840, underwent a violent change of attitude toward the Society in 1843. His son, Tupapau, a seemingly exemplary member of the church at Sapapali'i had suddenly died, whereupon it was discovered that he had been living in "secret sin". His death was interpreted as God's punishment. Taimalelagi was so angry that he repeated the sin with the same woman, and left Sapapali'i in a rage. Hardie was relieved to find that the people did not follow him in his example of "awful hypocrisy".72 Day at Sagana, where he made his residence, found him a bad influence.73

72 SSL: Hardie, 26 Sept., 1843; cf. ibid., 3 April, 1840.
Moreover, on Tutuila and then at Saluafata, Slatyer
and Murray were provoking strong opposition in their attempts
to gather adherents from different villages into centralized
churches. According to George Turner's later account, too,
there was, in Safata, a slackening of interest after "the novelty
of the new religion had passed away." But the major problem
was posed by those Siovilians and heathens who held off from the
mission altogether.

The origins and something of the beliefs of the Siovilian
sect have already been described. Here it is intended to
consider its character as a denomination. Prior to the second
part of 1836, the sect seems to have been scattered throughout
Samoa, with little apparent concentration of strength. During
that year, as with all of the sailor sects and many of the
heathen, a considerable number of Siovilians were absorbed into
the ranks of the two missions. In the period up to 1845, the
sect remained strong around Matautu, on the north coast of
Savai'i, Saluafata near Eva, where the sect had its origin, in
Atua; and particularly in the villages of Faleata, in the

74 cf. p. 353f.
75 G. Turner, Nineteen years in Polynesia. p. 114.
76 cf. pp. 69 - 101 passim. J.D. Freeman's article on the sect
gives a good description of many of its aspects. However, he
lays undue stress on adventist and millenarian beliefs
which are attested on two or three occasions only, while he
scarcely mentions the belief in resuscitation and earthly
immortality, which in association with healing, was one of
the most persistent and widespread characteristics of the
sect's belief. Freeman, "The Joe Gimlet or Siovili Cult",
passim.
northern Tuamasaga. 77

The pattern of Siovilian opposition to the London Society, which goes back at least to 1832, had some marked similarities to that of the Wesleyans, and was undoubtedly a response to the same sort of criticism. Thus attendance at L.M.S. worship, use of European medicine, and reading were all forbidden to the sect's followers, sometimes on pain of death, whether by supernatural causes or not. 78 Considerable hostility was shown to the missionaries personally, at times. 79 In general, however, Siovilians either shunned controversy, or side-stepped it by claiming to be Christians already, so that, as with the Wesleyans, the missionaries found them more difficult to get at than the heathen. 80

On the other hand, and this is quite significant, in some respects Siovilian practices either imitated or adapted those of the missionaries, or used items of European material culture in a novel way. A sabbath of sorts was observed, hymns were sung in Samoan style, common prayer was held and sometimes an imitation of holy communion. Dyson even reported the use of animal blood as a

77 It is significant that Faleata was closely linked with the important chief Mata'afa in Atua, who was a Siovilian in 1836. cf. p. 199.
78 SSJ, Buzacott, 1836/7 notes. SSL: Harbutt, 20 Nov., 1840; Slatyer, 1 March, 1844.
79 SSJ, Platt, 1835, Dec. 3, 4. cf. SSL, Chisholm, 1 May, 1846: "One woman to convince me how little respect she paid to the feifea [minister] sat right down before me to discharge the function of nature, just as a dog would have done."
type of the blood of Jesus. Books were venerated, if not read, while guns were sometimes used in the sect's rites. 81

As was suggested in Chapter I, borrowing went deeper than this, for the Christian doctrine of salvation was taken literally and assimilated to traditional Samoan religious practices and modes of thought. 82 For the followers of Siovili, turning to Jehovah did not involve personal repentance, as the evangelical missionaries understood it. Thus there was no obligation to observe the standards of behaviour that the missionaries required of their adherents, and Siovilians made no attempt to do so. 83

Salvation was safe-guarded, perhaps, by the acts of worship, but principally and most dramatically, it was mediated through the taulāitu. This personage, often a woman, was variously thought to be possessed by Jesus, by Jehovah and by the Holy Spirit, and to be able to travel to heaven while in a trance. 84

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81 There was a variety of sabbath practice, its principal feature being that it differed from that of the missionaries. SSJ, Barff & Buzzacott, 1834, June 1; SSL: Heath, 29 Nov., 1838; Pratt, 14 Sept., 1843; Slatyer, 1 March, 1844; Schmidt, 1 May, 1849. ONR, Rouaire, Beginning of 1847. MS, Slatyer, Journal, 1844, Oct. 9. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1858, April 17; 1865, June 30. Dumont d'Urville, op. cit., IV p. 106; G. Turner, Nineteen years, p. 106.


83 WSL, P. Turner, 8 Oct., 1835. SSL: Heath, 29 Nov., 1838; Pratt, 16 Sept., 1843; Slatyer, 1 March, 1844. ONR, Padel, 15 April, 1847. Wilkes, op. cit., V p. 27.

given in such a state could rival that of the missionaries in authority. Moreover, the ability to heal thus communicated, obviated the need for missionary medicine. Most importantly, however, the taulāitu had the power, it was frequently believed, to bring the dead back to life or to ensure the earthly immortality of his or her followers. That the cult survived again and again, the failure of this promise, a fact that confounded the missionaries, can only be explained by the intensity of the veneration felt for successive taulāitu.

Because the movement was strongly oriented towards particular taulāitu it lacked the coherence either in time, or geographically, that the missions displayed in their organization. Hence there was a great variety of practice and many different nuances in the basic beliefs of the sect. Taulāitu did sometimes travel about, though, among widely scattered adherents. Thus, while the missionaries continually expected the sect to expire on the death of a particular medium or supporting chief, or the exposure

85 e.g. SSL, Pratt, 14 Sept., 1843. G. Turner, loc. cit.
87 cf. Freeman, "The Joe Gimlet or Siovili Cult", p. 192 f.
88 e.g. MS, Slatyer, 1844, Journal, Oct. passim. Siovili himself was found at different locales.
of what they saw as blatant trickery, they were as continually disappointed. 89 In its taulāitu there were many foci for the sects activity, which carried its existence on over the years.

The persistence of the Siovili sect was built on political factors, too. While Mata'afa himself may not have remained a Siovilian, the village of Faleata, with which he was so closely associated, did so until the late 1840's, when they turned to the newly arrived Marist fathers. Roudaire, indeed, found that the village had a reputation for adopting a line contrary to others, so that when they had heard the Protestant criticisms of the Catholics, not yet arrived, they had calmly announced that the French missionaries were their relations, and from them they would learn the truth. 90 Siovilians at Safune, and near Matautu in Savai'i also greeted the first Catholic missionaries warmly. 91

89 SSJ: Williams, 1832, Nov. 3; Buzacott, 1836/7, notes. MS, Turner, Journal, 1836, Oct. 7. SSL, Slatyer, 1 Nov., 1844. Siovili himself, described as an insignificant person, was forced into hiding for a time, because of his failure to resuscitate the son of an important chief. He was later said to have become a Methodist. WSL, Wilson, 11 Sept., 1837; Wilkes, loc. cit.; ONE, Fadel, 15 April, 1847. Other accounts of trickery are found in ONE: Violette, Dec. 1845; Roudaire, Beginning of 1847. MS, Dyson, 1865, June 30. G. Turner, loc. cit. European observers were inclined to believe that Siovilian practice had been influenced by their religious rivals: by Protestants if the observer was Catholic, and vice versa. cf. SSL, Heath, 29 Nov., 1838; ONE, Fadel, 15 April, 1847, Wilkes, loc. cit., Dumont d'Urville, IV p. 106.


91 SSL, Pratt, 13 Sept., 1845. ONE, Violette, Dec. 1845.
Indeed there is much to suggest that shortly after the arrival of the Catholic missionaries, the sect almost died out completely. The benefits which could be gained by association with a European mission, need not, now, entail submission to those who had so roundly abused them. In 1847, Padel estimated the sect's numbers at 5–6,000. In view of current Catholic exaggerations of the Samoan population, they were possibly only half this number, or about a tenth of the total population. 92

After the 1843 resurgence of the sect at Matautu, there is, indeed, little mention of its existence. There were some at Saluaflata in 1844, while in 1847 others at Safata converted to the L.M.S. Schmidt found a small number at Vaisala in north-west Savai'i in 1849. 93 Dyson knew of a group near Matautu in Savai'i, in 1858. By the sixties, however, Sioyilians were described as being only a small remnant composed mostly of old men and women. 94

The survival of heathen belief exhibited a similar pattern, though heathens were not always as intransigent in their opposition to the missionaries. Often, especially in the years up to 1839, they were simply waiting for an opportune time - the visit of a missionary, the death of an old reactionary chief, or the approval

92 ONE, Padel, 15 April, 1847. Roudaire estimated the population at 75,000 in 1845, but later at 60,000. Another estimate in 1846, was 80,000. ONE: Roudaire, End of 1845; Beginning of 1847; Verne (?), Sept. 1846.


94 G. Turner, Nineteen years, p. 108. Fritchard, op. cit., p. 207. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1858, April 17; 1865, June 30.
of their political connections. Frequently they were quite happy to admit that theirs was a dying religion, involved in "darkness"; and so the missionaries found them easier to talk to than the Wesleyans or Siovilians. Later, for instance, Pratt, at Matautu, considered the heathens to be quite civil, and fully appreciative of having a missionary in their district. They helped to build a new L.M.S. chapel there.

Elsewhere, however, opposition took a more determined turn. Manono chiefs had threatened war against Malietoa in 1832 because he would not join them in their heathen practices. Others at Iva had taken a similar line against the chief Tagaloa. In 1835 and 1836 there were several instances of imminent war between villages, on account of heathen insults offered to Christians and their teachers. On Manu'a a strong heathen party threatened war against the Tui Manu'a, who had recently converted, but in the end they were converted themselves. On Tutuila, the new holder of the Mauga title, opposed by the missionaries and their supporters, in his wish to collect property for his marriage to a new wife, made strong efforts to rally a heathen opposition during 1839 and 1840. This, too, came to nothing, Mauga himself being converted during a

95 cf. e.g. SSJ, Buzacott, 1837, Feb. 1. MS, Turner, Journal, 1836, Oct. 9.
96 SSL: Pratt, 1 April, 1840; 6 Sept., 1841.
97 cf. pp. 84, 85.
99 SSL, Heath, 30 March, 1839.
revivalistic outburst, and by October, only 300 heathen remained on the island.100

Opposition still continued on a smaller scale. The village of Tule refused, with violence, attempts to place a teacher there.101 Hardie on Savai'i complained of malicious rumours and threats to "bake him like a pig", while Harbutt, in Atua, found the heathens there deliberately disrupting his services by making a din outside.102

As with the Wesleyans and Siouilians much of this opposition was no doubt a reaction to missionary criticism. A party accompanying Buzacott had roused a protest when they desecrated a shrine, but replied by ridiculing those who complained. Later, a village on Tutuila went to the length of burying their sacred stones to prevent such sacrilege.103 By the mid 1840's however, the heathens in Samoa were a small remnant only.

Pratt reported in 1840 that Matautu was a stronghold of heathenism and Wesleyanism.104 There were a few heathen at Faleata when that village was visited by Catholic missionaries in 1845, but they were outnumbered by Siouilians.105 Drummond, at Falealupo, reported a sole remaining heathen in a village, who admitted the

100 SSJ, Murray, 1840, passim. Murray, Forty years mission work, pp. 107, 128, 138.
101 Lundie, op. cit., pp. 161, 174. The opposition centred around the "devil's priest."
102 SSL, Harbutt, 20 Nov., 1840; Hardie, 29 Jan., 1841.
104 SSL, Pratt, Nov. - Dec. 1840.
105 ONE: Roudaire, Beginning of 1847; Padel, 15 April, 1847.
truth of the Gospel, but could not bring himself to embrace the Lotu. Salelavalu was to linger on in heathenism until the 1860's, as did the chief Su'atele of Kulivai on the south coast of Upolu. A village in western Savai'i had converted only in 1852. In 1844 Mills estimated the number of heathen at 5,000 on Upolu, 500 on Savai'i and 200 on Tutuila. These apparently included the Siovilians, so it is probable that by this time, heathenism had largely spent its force in Samoa.

It had little to offer as an alternative to the religion of the papalagi. A few became Catholics in the late 1840's, and those who remained did so in the afterglow of a strong attachment to a particular shrine. Their existence was now of little consequence to the overwhelming majority who had turned to the Lotu, and they received little further notice from the missionaries.

2. 1845-1880

Long before the arrival of Fathers Roudaire and Violette in August 1845, the Samoans had been treated to a stream of information concerning French Roman Catholic activities elsewhere in the Pacific. The L.M.S. missionaries feared that events in Tonga, Hawaii and Tahiti, would repeat themselves in Samoa. They also suspected that...
the dissident elements, as they saw them, in Samoa - heathens, Siovilians and Methodists - might provide a ripe ground for "papist" proselytizing. One of the first items produced by the new press at Leulumoega in 1839 contained a vivid description of the decline of the Roman church, and was aimed at encouraging Samoans to join together in the one faith, clearly that propagated by the L.M.S. Wilkes thought it a "violent attack on the Catholics", and warned that it would do harm. It was no doubt accompanied by oral exhortations which increased in quantity and urgency, as tension mounted in Tahiti.

The propaganda was successful in producing a widespread reaction of fear among the Samoans, lest their land be taken from them, and they be forced to submit to a strange worship. On Tutuila, on Manono, and at Samatau on Upolu, during 1844, and at Safotulafai during 1845, fono were held to decide never to receive Catholicism, and to punish those lands and individuals who did.

109 Latukefu gives a useful discussion of the origins of Catholic missions in Oceania. op. cit., p. 133 ff. Heath expressed a fear, in 1839, that a priest might appear before the Wesleyans had been incorporated into the L.M.S. SSL, Heath, 21 Oct., 1839. In 1843, Slatyer thought the priests would quickly gain ground if they came to Samoa. SSL, 27 Sept., 1843. cf. ES, Slatyer, Journal, 1844, July 1; giving a copy of a letter sent to the directors of the L.M.S.

110 O le tala i Lotu ese ese. (Samoa, 1839); SSL, MacDonald, 4 Dec., 1833; Wilkes op. cit., p. 129.

111 George Pritchard, former L.M.S. missionary, and British Consul at Tahiti, was deported by the French in 1844. He settled in Samoa in 1845.

Some Samoans were so impressed by the "Papist" threat, that they were deeply angered when some sami'ali'i went on board a French vessel off Atua.\(^{113}\) Though Harbutt "declined to interfere", other of the L.M.S. missionaries were not entirely happy with such developments, for they feared that it could provoke just the sort of naval intervention that had taken place in Tahiti. Manono was warned "to do nothing rash - to beware of such forcible measures", while at Tutuila, under missionary influence, an elaborate plan was laid, in case of the approach of Catholic priests, whereby they would be allowed to live in peace, but ignored; while, if the French took the island, the populace would retire to areas away from the harbours.\(^{114}\) The missionaries and other Englishmen in Samoa, encouraged the Samoans to apply for British protection as an answer to the French threat.\(^{115}\)

Nevertheless, not all Samoans reacted to the L.M.S. propaganda positively. Some obviously felt that any one so reviled by the missionaries, might prove a valuable ally to themselves, who were similarly abused. Siovilians at Faleata were said to have written letters requesting French priests. Su'a, the heathen chief of Salelavalu, had told pestering Protestants that he would wait for the papists.\(^{116}\) That these stories were not

\(^{113}\) SSL: Harbutt, 17 June, 1844.
\(^{115}\) ibid., cf. p. 200, 380.
\(^{116}\) ONE, Roudaire, Beginning of 1847; cf. Monfat, op. cit. p. 178.
just later inventions is suggested by Slatyer's report in 1843 that

"one of my teachers told me during conversation the other day that the principal chief of his land (one of the most distant parts of my district) has already named himself 'Pope' ['papist'] & if he is reproved for any of his enormities, retorts, with an air of triumph, that he is a Catholic."  

Thus, though they faced the disadvantage of beginning work among a people already largely converted to some form of Christianity, and roused to fear of them, the Catholic priests found also small groups who were prepared to look to them as European allies, in their determination to maintain their dignity and never submit to joining the L.M.S. Among these people they made modest gains, preparing the way for growth at a later period.

In their first contact at Falealupo Violette and Roudaire soon learnt the extent of the hostility that had been directed against them. Arriving from Uvea which had been converted to Catholicism in the early 1840's, they brought a letter and a gift of kava to an Uvean married to the daughter of a Falealupo chief. Their reception was frosty, however, and they were obliged to pass on. At Safune, Roudaire was struck by the degree of fear manifested, though a Siovilian chief welcomed them. At Matautu they made contact with the Uvean population, and eventually had some success among the Siovilians. Their biggest gain on Savai'i, however, was at Lealatele. There the chief Tuala, an uneasy adherent of the L.M.S., was apparently motivated to become a Catholic

117 SSL, Slatyer, 27 Sept., 1843.
both by a desire to be the first chief in Samoa to receive the Lotu Pope (Catholicism) and to escape the onerous task of building stone houses for Pratt, the L.M.S. missionary in the district. A Wesleyan chief also converted with him, and by the end of the year they had a following of sixty. Violette returned to live there and a chapel was begun under his direction.\footnote{118}

The two priests had been directed by Bishop Bataillon to attempt an entry at Safotulafai, which he knew to be a leading centre, and which was the home of one of the Samoan catechists who accompanied them. This connection could ensure them only the barest rudiments of Samoan hospitality, and they were soon required to pass on. A tentative opening was made with the heathen chief, Su'a, at Salelavale.\footnote{119}

Having crossed to Apia, the Marists soon made contact with the village of Faleata with its large Siovilian and heathen

\footnote{118} ONE: Violette, Dec. 1845; Roudaire, End of 1845; Beginning of 1847. \(SR\). (2), Sept. 1845; SSL: Pratt, 13 Sept., 1845, 24 Jan., 1846. Pratt wrote of Tuala and his people: "These people have turned backwards and forwards as inclination or interest prompted to every religious party in Samoa, but for some time past had been attendants on our services; not one however abstained from the most polluting heathen practices." \(SR\). (3), March 1846. Tuala was once a Wesleyan. MS, P. Turner, Journal, 1836, April 30. He was also once a Siovilian. He was later known by Protestants as Tuala Talipope (Tuala who received the Papists); but, as Schwehr says, he probably relished the name. Schwehr, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 124. The presence of Uveans at Matautu is attested by Wilkes, \textit{op. cit.}, \textit{p.} 33, and Pratt mentions receiving a letter from a priest, at the hand of an Uvean.

\footnote{119} Bishop Bataillon, formerly a Marist priest, was consecrated and appointed Vicar Apostolic of Central Oceania in 1843. He made Uvea his base.
population. The first approaches on the part of the village were hesitant, as they were evidently under considerable pressure from neighbouring chiefs not to accept Catholicism. The chief Mata'afa, whose village was Amaile in Atua, but who had, by reason of his title, strong links with Faleata, was, at the time resident there. Because of links he already had with Uvea, and for other reasons, he was disposed to favour the priests, and Roudaire remained with him for six weeks. This gave the Faleata chiefs time to come round, while it gave Roudaire the opportunity to make contacts with other chiefs in the district, and to assuage fears as to Catholic intentions and practices. Important among these chiefs was Mana of Vailele. With his support, Roudaire was able to counter attempts initiated by George Pritchard, the former Tahitian missionary and now British Consul at Apia, and J.C. Williams, the

120 The disposition of some Faleata chiefs to favour Catholicism had been noted. The chief Ume of Vaimoso, a Faleata village, had gone on board the Adolphe in May 1844, and spoken to Capt. Morvan, a fact which had been reported to Batillon. Monfat, op. cit., p. 204. His family were later firm supporters of the Catholic mission. cf. Notes in Gilson papers taken from MS, Darrand, "Un premier siècle d'apostolat à Samoa." (Samoa, 1845). The initial hesitation of the Faleata chiefs may have been due in part to rumours that a French warship was off Savai'i. SSL: Mills, 11 Oct., 1845; Nisbet, 17 Oct., 1845. The history of the denominational affiliations of Mata'afa is discussed below. p. 198f.

121 Roudaire and Vachon reported that Mana was an L.M.S. teacher, that the opposition to his later building a missionary's house in Vailele was due to the instructions of the L.M.S. missionary to his adherents there, and that the chief took particular care to take leave of J.C. Williams, before converting. ONE, Roudaire, Beginning of 1847. APF 22 (1850), p. 108f. Vachon, 1 Aug., 1848. Buzacott reported in 1837, that a chief Mana of Upolu had assisted in his work on Tutuila. SSJ, Buzacott, 1837, Feb. 21. Monfat is therefore incorrect when he describes him as a Wesleyan. op. cit., p. 270. Gilson apparently follows him in this error, though perhaps there were some Wesleyans at Vailele. Samoa 1830-1900, p. 169. cf. Dyson, Samoan Methodism. p. 33.
son of the missionary, and American Consul, to persuade the
Samoans to apply for British protection. This would have
involved them in agreeing to unite under the so-called "Upolian
colours", containing elements of the British and American flags.
Roudaire was able to suggest that to accept this flag, and apply
for protection, would place Samoa in precisely the position with
respect to Britain, which the Samoans were being asked to protect
themselves against, with respect to France.

Further, as Gilson points out, the acceptance and custody of
a common flag would have required a degree of unity which the
Samoans did not possess, and moreover, probably would have passed
over the claims of Mata'afa and his party. It is significant then,
that at a meeting called by the consuls of the "principal chiefs"
o agreement was reached, and significant support for Roudaire
was expressed both by Mana and by heathen chiefs. Nevertheless,
it was not for another year that Mana, with much initial
opposition from his village, became a Catholic, while Mata'afa
waited even longer.

In the meantime, another fono was held at Safotulafai,
where it was proposed to punish Tuala for his having accepted
Catholicism. This was never carried into practice, however.
At Faleata, several influential chiefs, Faumuina, Papali'i and
Seiuli, formally professed Catholicism, on New Year's day, 1846.122
Later that year, more priests arrived, touching at Tutuila,

122 ONE, loc. cit.
where the population remained firm in its refusal to accept Catholicism. Nevertheless, it was believed that the Samoan confidence was being gained little by little, by the presence of the priests among them. 123

The arrival of this party at Apia, in the man-of-war l'Arche d'Alliance, roused further fears, fed by George Pritchard, that the Catholics intended to back their mission with military force. A further, but evidently inconclusive meeting was held by Apia chiefs, to consider the policy to be adopted towards the priests. 124

Shortly afterwards Bishop Bataillon arrived from Uvea, in the middle of an epidemic. The Catholic mission faced a crisis, for the son of one of the leading converts, Faumuina, had died, and people were saying that it was because he had accepted an evil religion. On the other hand, Protestant calumnies were mitigated


124 ONE, Verne, Sept., 1846. The L.M.S. missionaries criticized, too, the connection between the Marist mission and the Société Française de l'Océanie, SR (4), Sept. 1846. This was, however, in the event, of little benefit to the mission. cf. Gilson, Samoa, 1830-1900 pp. 172-175. Indeed, on the contrary, the priests became alarmed for their reputation among the Samoans, when one of their number, Padel, spent too much time fraternizing with the merchants. OCEE, April 1850. It was probably Padel of whom Buchanan wrote that a priest in the Apia district sometimes became intoxicated, and was only then zealous in proselytizing. SSL, Buchanan, 18 Oct., 1847. L.M.S. adherents held meetings elsewhere, too, to decide their policy with respect to relations with Catholics. At Matautu, for instance, it was decided to prevent a French ship from landing, as a retaliation for Tuala's "uppishness". SSL, Pratt, 17 Nov., 1846. A similar meeting was held at Palocolupo. SSL, Powell, 9 Oct., 1846.
by the behaviour of the Captain of the British frigate Juno
who showed himself kindly disposed to the Catholics. He dealt
favourably, for instance, with charges against Papali'i, that
he had insulted Fritchard's wife, and had his mare's tail cut
off. 125

In mid 1847, Catholic catechumens in Samoa numbered between
100 and 150. Two years later, and in the middle of the war, Padel,
at Mulimu'u in the northern Tuamasaga, claimed 400 - 500 in his
district alone. 126 Consolidation had taken place at Vailele,
Mulimu'u itself, and among Mata'afa's family. The first baptisms,
other than those in the expectation of death, had been performed.
By now, those who had feared that the Catholic missionaries might
be forced to leave Samoa, as the Wesleyans were, could see that
they intended to stay, and that contrary to allegations, they were
not using force of arms to back their proselytizing.

The L.M.S. missionaries, for their part, offered often
contradictory reasons for the alleged attractiveness or
repulsiveness of Catholicism to Samoans. Mostly these reflected

125 ONE, Roudaire, Beginning of 1847. The mare's tail had been
cut in retaliation for destruction of Samoan plantations by
the horse. Bataillon had little success in his initial trip
around Savai'i. SSL, Heath, 25 May, 1847. ONE, Padel,
15 April, 1847.

126 OCBE, 19 July, 1847; ONE: Padel, 15 April, 1847;
12 Nov., 1849.
their own inherited distrust of Catholic practices, and there is not much evidence that they were shared by their Samoan adherents. 127 During the war, indeed, they found themselves forced to temper their criticisms, for fear of provoking an undue reaction. 128

But there were larger issues which were to affect the growth of the two denominations. The L.M.S. missionaries were now faced with a rival European mission, backed by the resources of the Marist Society. The divisiveness inherent in all Samoan groups could find expression in a new way - and as the processes of conflict took their course, so could the Catholics hope to increase their numbers little by little. 129 On the other hand,

127 Thus Pratt at first stressed the way that "baubles" and "rites" rendered Catholicism attractive, but later listed items which he considered were "repugnant" to Samoans, but most of which had their parallel in traditional Samoan ceremonial. A possible exception was the practice of the priest drinking the communion cup alone. Roudaire, indeed, reported that a Samoan had been critical of this. SSL: Pratt, 3 Nov., 1848; 6 June, 1850. SR (4), Sept. 1846. Day Papers, Letter 107, Pratt to Day, 5 Sept., 1846. cf. ONE, Roudaire, Beginning of 1847.

128 SDC, 13, 14, 15 June, 1849. SSL, Stallworthy, 20 June, 1849. It was decided to suppress J.B. Stair's Footsteps of Folly, "because it was likely to inflame the natives and draw special attention." Gilson explains that the L.M.S. were anxious about the presence of the Marist, Padel, among the war party at Mulim'u, and feared to provoke a reaction against themselves led by Malietoa Taimalelagi, a renegade member of the L.M.S. Samoa 1830-1900. p. 227. The priests expected that the exaggeration of Protestant propaganda would work against them when it was proved wrong, especially as British naval officers, for instance, treated the priests with respect. APF 22 (1850), p. 111, Vachon, Aug. 1848. The limitations sometimes imposed on missionary invective by the sensibilities of their own adherents is discussed on p. 203.

129 Both groups of missionaries expected that the Catholics would benefit from the dispute between the L.M.S. and the Wesleyans. SSL, Pratt, 17 Nov., 1846. ONE, Padel, 15 April, 1847.
the Marists in Samoa deprived themselves for almost twenty years of the one thing which could have rendered them a powerful rival to the London Society—a program of promoting literacy and education, through the printing of books, and the training of teachers. ¹³⁰

But across these factors fell the shadow of a war which was to obscure the pattern of growth of Catholicism and of the London Society, until 1856. For the London Society, which had presented its faith from the beginning as a religion of peace, and which depended so much on the stability of village life, to carry forward its program of catechetics, education and training of character, Samoan warfare was an unmitigated disaster. Its effects on their success was accentuated by the policy, quickly developed, of excluding all who took part in war, from membership of the classes and of the church. This struck particularly at their support among the powerful chiefs. While the Catholics perhaps gained an advantage through their different policy, in this respect, they, too, found it difficult to make much headway while their catechumens were scattered abroad. ¹³¹ The consequence was that the L.M.S. missionaries rejoiced that the Catholic priests made such small progress, while the Marists were convinced that Samoan Protestantism was on its last legs. ¹³²

¹³⁰ cf. pp. 219f., 233f.
¹³² cf. e.g. SSL, Mills, 15 June, 1853. ONE: Padel, 2 June, 1849; Vachon, 28 July, 1849.
If the war rendered ineffectual the efforts of the L.M.S. and Marist missionaries, it saw the decimation of the Wesleyan party in Samoa. Dyson blamed the loss of support on to the political meddling of Benjamin Latuselu, the leader of the Tongan teachers. The precise nature of his interference is not clear, but evidence suggests that it was to do with Tongan support of Manono in the war, and the consequent alienation of Wesleyans among the A'ana and Atua people.

Certainly a steady trickle of conversions to the London Society began from 1848, despite the visit of Taufa'ahau, now Tu'i Kanokupolu, ostensibly to lend aid to the Samoan Wesleyans.133

133 MS, Dyson, Journal, 1864, Feb. 24. In his book Dyson suggests that the meddling took place before the outbreak of war, but this does not agree with the Journal entry, nor with the fact that the Wesleyan party held firm until 1848. Samoa Methodism p. 36 cf. SSL, Powell, Nov. 1846; Gilson, Samoa 1830-1900 p. 126. There is no direct evidence for hopes that Latuselu may have had in Malietoa Taimalelagi, though the connection of both with Manono might suggest it. Wood has taken a mere suggestion of Gilson's and erected it into a positive fact. Wood insists, too, that Taufa'ahau had no political ambitions in Samoa, and correctly shows that his 1847-48 visit was a consequence of a further appeal from Samoan chiefs for aid in restoring the Wesleyan church. On the other hand, the king certainly did not escape that suspicion while he was in Samoa. Wood, op. cit., I pp. 286-288, who cites Tongan District Meeting Minutes 1847. cf. Gilson, Samoa 1830-1900 p. 126. The military alliance between Tongan and Manono has been described on p. 147f. Garrett gives a useful biographical sketch of Latuselu. op. cit., p. 72. Latuselu, one of Peter Turner's teachers, stationed at Falealili, was among the first four to return in 1841. He accompanied a delegation of chiefs to Tonga in 1847, where he was ordained on the condition that he did not continue to minister in Samoa. He returned with Taufa'ahau, however, in the same year. cf. MS, Turner, Journal, 1836, Oct. 9, Dyson, Samoa Methodism p. 34, Wood, loc. cit.
Though Latuselu involved himself in a vigorous round of journeying, preaching and baptizing, as far afield as Tutuila and Manu'a, he could not plug the leak.\textsuperscript{134} Conversions took place at Saluaafata in Atua, at Siumu in the southern Tuamasaga, at Matautu, Salailua and Palelima on Savai'i. Moreover, the people of the island of Apolima who had always refused to hear an L.M.S. missionary, now listened to Murray. The people of A'ana, returning to their lands in 1851, told George Turner, that 400 to 500 Wesleyans among them would "have done with their Tonga teachers."\textsuperscript{135}

The most marked change, however, was produced by the arrival of a party from Tonga early in 1852, with instructions from Tāufa'āhau. While, according to Murray's account, they included his usual cautious qualifications that the Tongan teachers were to stay or go according to the wishes of the Samoans, it is evident that there was a strong expectation that they would leave. The king addressed a letter to the L.M.S. through Latuselu, asking them to assist in the removal of the Tongans in the mission ship, the John Williams. Peter Turner, himself, had written a letter requesting them to attempt to leave as quietly as possible. At first it seemed as if it was going to be impossible, particularly

\textsuperscript{134} SSL: Pratt, 8 June, 1850; 6 July, 1852; Murray, 21 Jan., 1852.

\textsuperscript{135} SSL: Drummond, 26 Feb., 1848; Pratt, 3 Nov., 1848; 29 Aug., 1851; G. Turner, 26 April, 1851. SSJ, Schmidt, Dec. 1849; MS, Misbet, Journal, 1851, Aug. 29. Murray, \textit{Forty years' mission work}. p. 205.
because of the objections of Wesleyans at Satupa'itea, Palauli and Nanono. By the end of the year, however, they had withdrawn, including Latuselu himself, though a few began work with the L.M.S. missionaries.

After this there was a flood of conversions - the remaining Wesleyans in Amoa, in the Apia district, and in northern Atua, the whole of Apolima, many on Nanono and around Matautu on Savai'i, and the important chief Asiata at Palauli. Wesleyans at Safotulafai considered converting, while in Palealili, where eight years previously a third of the population had been Wesleyan, by 1854, a few remained in the village of Salani only. By 1854-55 there were only three to four thousand Wesleyans left. The bulk of these were on Savai'i, no doubt in the west, and at Satupa'itea. On Upolu, Wesleyans remained only at Tiavea in the extreme east, Salani and Mulivai on the south coast, while in the whole of A'ana there were only fifty adherents. There

136 SSL, Murray, 21 Jan., 1852. MS, P. Turner, Journal, 1852, Jan.-Feb. nassim. According to Turner's account the L.M.S. refused the request to remove Tongan teachers, because of the objection of L.M.S. chiefs on Nanono, who threatened to return to heathenism. cf. SSL, Pratt, 6 July, 1852. This again indicates how support for the Tongan presence transcended denominational boundaries. cf. Wood, loc. cit. citing Tongan District Meeting Minutes 1847. Garrett, though his account relies almost wholly on Turner's Journal, wrongly states that he visited Samoa in 1852. He fails to mention the actual withdrawal of teachers, or the concurrent decline in Wesleyan support. op. cit., p. 74.

137 SSL: Milles, 12 Oct., 1852; 15 June, 1853; Nisbet, 1 Nov., 1852. One of the teachers who worked for a while with the missionary at Apia was Barnabas Ahogalu, who like Latuselu, had been one of Turner's teachers, and one of the first to return to Samoa in 1841. He was later ordained, and Native Assistant Missionary, under Dyson. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1858, Feb. 15. Dyson, Samoan Methodism. p. 54 f. Dyson mistakenly says that the missionary was Murray, when it must have been Mills.

were a few at a village on Manono.139

It is not clear how many of these conversions were to Catholicism. Certainly, Pratt found that in his district in 1854, most were to the L.M.S. Nevertheless, Dyson speaks in general terms of such conversions, and both he and Brown later spoke to ex-Wesleyans, especially in western Savai' i, who told them that they had become Catholics because "you threw us away."

Another told Dyson that he "thought it was not according to Misi Tana's [Mr Turner's] lotu to unite & be friendly with the London Society, but that it was better to turn to the lotu pope than do so."140

In any case, it is clear, no matter to which lotu they converted, that a considerable loss of support among the Samoans for the Lotu Toga, had led directly to the withdrawal of the Tongan teachers, which had then precipitated an even greater drop in numbers.

There were other reasons for the Wesleyan decline, apart from Latuselu's blunder. They were related to the ever growing separation from the European resources of the Lotu. Some of the

139 ibid., pp. 48, 51. cf. MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1853, April 9; Aug. 31. SSL: Schmidt, 25 Dec., 1854; Murray, 2 March, 1866. Murray put the number on Savai'i as low as 1,000 – 1,200, while Tongan teachers told Dyson that at the beginning of 1857, there were only 500. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1860, Jan. 14. Dyson's figures in his book, were based on L.M.S. estimates for 1855. Thus it would appear that Tippett, in using Dyson's 1858 figures, and those for 1854–1855, does not gauge the full loss of Wesleyan support.

cf. op. cit., p. 123.

earlier Wesleyan reactions to this deprivation have been noted. Nevertheless, it must have been difficult to maintain a bold face in view of the advantages enjoyed by their rivals. The decline, as they saw it, in the religious practices of the Lotu Toga are well attested, both by the L.M.S. missionaries over the years, and by Dyson, who made a thorough investigation after his arrival in Samoa in 1857. Certainly, many of their criticisms, centring around alleged superstition, ignorance of doctrine and the garbling of the scriptures, were probably beside the point as far as the Samoans were concerned. Certainly, also, Samoan Wesleyanism in this period, did have its own genius, in its often lively, revivalistic services, and in its use of Samoan dance forms to accompany the recitation of scripture. On the other hand, though the Wesleyans lauded their lotu as "easy", in that it required neither collections for missionary purposes, nor harsh restrictions on behaviour, this could be as much a matter for shame or derision, as a positive advantage.

141 cf. p. 152f.
142 SSL: Pratt, 31 March, 1848; 6 July, 1852; Schmidt, 30 June, 1854, MS, Dyson, Journal, 1858, passim. Dyson, Samoan Methodism, p. 62.
143 SSL, Pratt, 8 June, 1850. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1858, May 26.
Most importantly, however, they lacked the benefits provided by resident European missionaries. By this time, these were eagerly sought by villages as a fine ornament to the status of a village. But there were practical benefits, too. Medicine was one. But of even greater significance was the access to the secrets of the Lotu provided through the Samoan scriptures and other books, and the training of a large number of teachers. Among the Wesleyans, reading and writing had almost disappeared, they heard Tongan scriptures in their services, and were otherwise reduced to puzzling over the remaining tattered copies of Turner's inadequate translations. It was often with great eagerness then, that converts from the Lotu Toa turned to the task of learning to read and write.

It was inevitable then, that the return, first of Tongan teachers, and later of a Wesleyan missionary, Dyson, in 1857, saw the reconversion of many erstwhile members of the Lotu Toa. On his first trip round Samoa, Dyson found almost 2,500 who claimed to be Wesleyans, already a marked increase on the number

146 The Tongans evidently practised medicine of a sort, but with unfortunate consequences at times. MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1853, Nov. 4.
147 MS, Dyson, Journal, 1858 passim.
148 cf. MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1851, Aug. 29.
149 The events leading to the re-establishment of the mission are described in detail in Wood, op. cit. p. 290ff. He follows Dyson and the L.M.S. missionaries in arguing, with justification, that the decision was based on a very inadequate understanding of the Samoan situation.
found by the Tongan teachers. Despite considerable opposition, Dyson moved to re-establish Wesleyanism on a basis that conformed to the practices and standards of the L.M.S. He applied a similar system of discipline, with minor alterations; he instituted meetings to take missionary collections; he forbade the use of anything but the L.M.S. translations of the scriptures, used their hymns and gave their volumes of sermon outlines to his teachers; he proscribed the use of dance movements in Wesleyan schools, and the chanting of the Lord's prayer in common. He tried, unsuccessfully in the end, to forbid people from standing to sing, a Wesleyan practice introduced by Peter Turner, with some difficulty.

In all this he came up against those who believed that the Lotu Tonga was distinguished precisely by these differences, from the L.M.S., and who feared that the changes were but the initial moves in attempts to abolish Wesleyanism in Samoa. Nevertheless, he won his way on most points, and for a time at least, Wesleyans and the L.M.S. people joined in common services.

150 Upon the arrival of the Tongan teachers, Wesleyanism was established at Salei'ataua and Salua on Manono, at Faleasmalu, Pasito'oua, and Fusi in Safata, on Upolu. Dyson, Samoan Methodism, p. 51ff. SSL, Turner, 24 Sept., 1857. After Dyson's arrival, Samoans all over the group followed suit. cf. p. 179 n. 139.

151 MS, Dyson, Journal, 1858, passim. Samoan Methodism, pp. 60-68. Principal opposition came from Satupaitea and the chief Asiata at Palauli, who, ironically, had reconverted from the L.M.S. upon the arrival of the Tongan teachers. John Thomas, when he visited Samoa in 1858, criticized Dyson for some of the changes he had attempted.
when visited by a missionary, practiced intercommunion and helped each other in their missionary collections. The more dissident elements, for instance those at Salelologa, and Asiata at Palauli, were brought into line by the simple threat to exclude them from the Wesleyan Society.

In the next few years, Wesleyan numbers climbed quickly to around 5,000, at which level they stayed until the end of the century. While it was inevitable that many of these were once members of the London Society, and that a degree of conflict ensued on this account, Dyson made a policy of not deliberately proselytizing, and of consulting with the L.M.S. missionaries before accepting overtures from their members to become Wesleyans.

George Brown, who arrived in Samoa in 1860, was highly critical of this policy, especially as it had led some who wished to become Wesleyans, to become Catholics instead. He was also much less ready to conform Wesleyan practice to that of the L.M.S. and, after he became Chairman of the Samoan Missionary District, in 1864, he gradually reintroduced some distinctive Wesleyan

152 SSL, SDC minutes, 27 Sept., 1859. WMP, Dyson, Journal extracts, 24 May, 1859. Samoan Methodism, p. 70. MS, Dyson, Journals, 1858-65 passim. Such co-operation began to tail off after 1862, though Brown does mention L.M.S. contributions to Wesleyan missionary meetings as late as 1867. MS, Brown, Journal, 1867, Aug. 6, 7.

153 MS, Dyson, Journal, 1858, April 2.
Important, also, in this period, was the setting up of a Teacher Training Institution, first at Satupa'itea under the Tongan, Barnabas Ahogalu, later under Brown, and yet later at Piula near Lufilufi. From the 1860's the Wesleyans settled into an uneasy relationship with the L.M.S. Both had similar resources, and a not too dissimilar church structure, and standards of discipline. Though the L.M.S. believed that the Wesleyans, especially under Brown, applied easier standards, and were ready to take in those of their own adherents who had run foul of their own strictness, there is not much evidence that this motive for conversion favoured one society more than the

154 e.g. MS, Dyson, 1865, May 9. J.S. Austin, Missionary enterprise and home service. (Sydney, c 1921) p. 141. MON, 102, Brown, 24 June, 1872. Villages that had become Catholic under these circumstances were Samatau, Sanaafi, and also people at Palaepuna, Safotulafai and Tutuila. Events at Safotulafai are well documented. After the departure of the Tongan teachers in 1852, Wesleyans, led by the chief Pa'u, who had apparently been one of the delegation to Tonga in 1841, (if this was not a predecessor in the title), had considered joining the L.M.S. Later, upon the re-establishment of the Wesleyan mission, they had asked Dyson, in 1858, to preach to them on his first circuit of Savai'i. He refused on the grounds that they had no chapel, and by the following year they had become Catholic. NS, Misbet, Journal, 1853, April 15; 1858, April 19; 1859, Nov. 25; MS, Dyson, 1858, April 20. Samoan Methodism. p. 35. Satele of Leone had also made an appeal to Dyson, which he refused, and later the chief became a Catholic. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1863, Sept. 6; 1864, Nov. 30. Though the meeting of leaders and missionaries of the Wesleyan Society, later made a resolution not to turn away any who sincerely wished to join them, their policy was not reckless. cf. MS, Brown, Letterbook II, p. 128, 6 June, 1873. There is nothing to justify Wood's assertion that Dyson's early converts came mostly from "non-Christian" elements, if by this is understood those who refused the name of Christian. op. cit. I p. 293.
Other factors affected Wesleyan support temporarily, or in particular localities. Brown was stunned when the Wesleyans at Palauli converted to the London Society in 1867, because of his sympathy with Satupa'itea in the recent war between the neighbouring villages. The abortive settling of Rigg at Falealili and his quick retirement from the field, caused a drop in Wesleyan morale. Rumours in that year that Tāufa'āhau was planning to wage war against Samoa, to avenge the death of a Tongan in Falealili, and that Dyson was in communication with him on the matter, may have led to a temporary loss of support in that district. Austin, first at Gaga'emalae, and later, at Lufilufi, had a marked success in gathering support in a revival type of movement. Towards the end of the 1870's there was a general, though slight, decline in the support for the two Protestant missions, perhaps associated with suspicions concerning British interference in Samoan politics. The Wesleyan missionaries reported, too, that a prejudice had developed against their Tongan leaders.

155 Dyson was quite cautious in this respect. cf. e.g. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1860, July 5. For L.M.S. allegations cf. SSL; Murray, 2 March, 1866; SDC minutes, 17 Dec., 1873.
160 MOM., 17, Austin, 12 Dec., 1878.
In marked contrast to this pattern, the Marist mission enjoyed a steady growth in support in the period from the end of the war, until 1880. Little progress had been made before the end of the war. Two missionaries had to be withdrawn from Atua, because of the war; Mugniery, at Salelavalu on Savai'i, won only the support of a minor chief of that village; and Padel, at Mulimu'u, made little progress with the Nanono war party there. No beginnings were made with schools, the printing of books, or the training of Samoan catechists. Further, though there was a constant demand for missionaries from the beginning of the 1850's, Bataillon's attempt to meet these by a perambulatory mission, which involved the priests moving from station to station frequently, not only failed to satisfy the demand, but was also an important aspect of the controversy which developed between the missionaries and their bishop. This was to vitiate the efforts of the mission, until the appointment of Father Elloy as co-adjutor in 1863. Bataillon's residence at Wallis only accentuated the lack of direction in the mission at Samoa. 161

It is apparent that Bataillon was thinking in terms of working

161 OCBE, April 1850; 4, 31 July; 15 Oct., 1851; 11 July, 1853. The lack of missionaries was partly due to an 1849 Marist decision not to send more missionaries to Oceania. cf. G. Kent, Company of heaven. (Wellington, 1972) p. 133. There were five in Samoa in 1850. Other matters for controversy were Bataillon's building of a church at Apia, imposing a considerable burden on Catholic converts in the district. One passim. OCBE passim. Bataillon concentrated much of his attention on Uvea, which he hoped to make a headquarters for his Vicariate.
through the conversion of particular chiefs. While this was to bear its own success in gaining the support of several important chiefs, no mission could gain widespread backing in Samoa, without providing means of attracting people of all ranks. An important chief simply could not command the religious allegiance of all his supporters. 162

Though modest gains were made in northern Savai'i, relatively unaffected by the war, some of these were lost again, with the departure of Fathers Palazy and Vachon. 163 After Mata'afa's conversion, moderate success was had in southern Atua and the Tuamasaga, though the L.M.S. missionaries believed this was gained by unfair means, such as the offering of presents and free medicine. The priests sowed suspicion, too, in the minds of the Samoans as to the eventual fate of the L.M.S. missionary collections. On the whole, however, the Protestants were surprised at the Catholics' lack of success. 164

From 1857, however, a change set in. People at Matautu asked for a missionary despite the fact that Pratt was already


163 ONE; Palazy, 16 July, 1852, Elloy, 6 April, 1857. OCBE 16 July, 1853. ASK 1 p. 132, Elloy, 6 April, 1857. SSL, Pratt, 14 June, 1854; 30 April, 1856.

living there, while, at last, an opening was gained at Safotulafai, a church was opened at nearby Faga, and the principal chief of To'apeipai had been baptized. In western Savai'i a footing was gained at both Sataua and Falealupo. On Upolu, villages in the east were asking for missionaries, and, the priests believed, soldiers from the former war camp at Mulini'u had spread knowledge of Catholicism throughout the island. They were now beginning to realize fully the handicap they suffered in not having a trained band of catechists, and that the re-establishment of the Wesleyan mission would work to their disadvantage.

By 1860, the Marist mission had a sprinkling of adherents throughout the western islands. As one Samoan, a Protestant teacher, put it, they were like the water-melon, at first disliked by the Samoans, but afterwards a taste had been acquired for it. Nevertheless, Catholicism had still failed to gain an entry on Tutuila, Manu'a and Manono, where the early decision to ban the lotu pono had been strictly enforced. The 1860's, were, however, to see the breaching of these bastions.


166 ONE: Dubreul, 18 May, 1857; Elloy, 8 Aug., 1857. cf. e.g. SSL, Murray, 3 Oct., 1860.

167 OCBP, 12 April, 1859. ON 61/208 Apia, Servant, 14 Jan., 1859. ONE, Gavet, 28 Jan., 1860. A Protestant fear that an increased number of priests might fill the evident demand from missionaries is well evinced: SSL, Stallworthy, 13 July, 1859. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1859, April 15.
It was about 1860 that Catholicism was introduced into Manu'a through the dissident Lalolagi of Olosega, in defiance of the Manu'an chiefs. Only his immediate family joined him, and undue conflict was avoided partly by Powell's warning to the chiefs "to beware of any other opposition than that of calm remonstrance." Manu'a has nevertheless shown a marked resistance to Catholicism right up to the present day.

On Tutuila, as has been seen, a foothold was gained through Satele at Leone, who, denied a Wesleyan teacher, eventually turned to the Lotu Pope. This met with considerable opposition, especially when a priest visited in 1864. The mission raised the threat of supporting their entry with naval force, which was relayed to the chiefs at Leone through J.C. Williams, now British Consul. For a while, however, those who had accepted Catholicism were obliged to flee to Upolu. Subsequently a church was built, and, Father Schahl believed, he had been able to render Catholicism more popular in the late 1860's by his mediation between Mauga of Pagopago, a Protestant, and a "rebel" party.

168 SSJ, Powell, 1870-71.
The penetration of Catholicism into Manono was a long and difficult process. In 1860, two of the island's chiefs turned to the Loto Fea, but they lived elsewhere. Shortly afterwards, a chief and his wife, who had been disciplined by the L.F.S. of which they were members, had converted to Catholicism, together with the village of Sanafili in A'ana, where they were then resident. They expressed their determination to return to Manono, as Catholics, despite the law of that island against the denomination. About the same time, visiting Catholics from Atua conducted the first service on the island, much to the annoyance of Dyson, the resident Wesleyan missionary. He surmised that "... the rulers are bitter against one another, at least some of them are & would turn to popery for the sake of making their party more conspicuous by another lotu." Indeed this estimate seems to have been correct, for by 1862, regular Catholic services were held at Salei'ataua. These had been introduced under the aegis of Futi Tolafoa, one of the tulafale of Lei'ataua Lesa, (the son of Lei'ataua Tumainpe'a, a firm supporter of the London Society, but who, himself, became a member of the Wesleyan Society.) Futi had become involved in a dispute over the bestowal of the Lei'ataua Lesa title, and eventually, in 1862, was murdered by another claimant, Muliipu.

172 ibid., March 17.
whom he had once favoured. Some claimed he had been killed because he was a "papist". However, the setback was only temporary, for in the following year, twenty five people in Salei'atua turned over to the Catholics. These had evidently been influenced by parties from Falefā in Atua, and from Sā'umu. The chiefs now wished to drive the Catholics off the island, but Dyson counselled against it. While he was away on a trip however, at the beginning of 1864, they did just that. Thus, at the same time as the Marist mission was applying the threat of naval intervention at Leone, they were doing the same for Manono. The chiefs, and in particular Lei'ataua Lesā, made it quite clear, however, that they thought it was a matter where their own authority was at stake. They wished to adhere by the decision of Lei'ataua Tomumaie'a that only Protestantism should be allowed on the island itself, though they were quite prepared to allow Catholics at Mulifanua and Lalovi, villages on Upolu under their authority. The visit of a priest at the beginning of 1865 was of no avail.

It was not until 1871, after the illness of one of the Catholic chiefs, that their services were allowed on the island. Bishop Elloy waited upon the principal chiefs for three days, until one of them decided to become a Catholic. Since 1865 they

173 ibid., 1862, April 13, Sept. 28; 1863, March 22; 1864, March 13. MS, Ella, Correspondence, Dyson to Ella, 13 Oct., 1862; Brown to Ella, 15 Oct., 1862; Osea to Ella, 9 Oct., 1862.

174 MS, Dyson, Journal, 1863, Aug. 24; 1864, Feb. 24; March 13. BCS/1, Williams to Dubreul, 11 Jan., 11 April, 1865.
had not had a resident Wesleyan missionary and this may have eased the change. In 1876 they asked for a priest, and by 1879 there were 130 Catholics, and the denomination was about to begin in two more villages on the island. 175

From the mid-1860's, the Lotu Pope began to take a place on an equal footing with the other two missions in Samoa. At last awake to the need for a sound educational basis for their efforts at proselytizing, they established a school for catechists, and printed many thousands of copies of catechisms, and other religious literature. The Marists, too, enjoyed a clear superiority in the numbers of their European staff, a fact which aided conversions in some villages. 176

Bishop Elloy was able to make headway, too, in persuading the Samoans of the good intentions of his church. So much so, that during the 1870's he was hailed as the defender of Samoans against the heavy hand of a British naval intervention, which appeared to Samoans to have been supported by the L.M.S. missionaries. In the governments formed during this decade, Catholic chiefs had considerable influence. Moreover, in strong contrast to their beginnings in Samoa, the Marist mission was now recognised as a "legitimate" Lotu, even by Protestants. 177


176 cf. e.g. Turner, SSL, 27 Sept., 1864, who complained that the priests outnumbered L.M.S. missionaries three to one. In 1871, Vivian reported that there were eight L.M.S. missionaries, three Wesleyans; but six priests, a bishop, and sixteen lay brothers. By 1875 there were thirteen priests. APP 48 (1876) p. 221 ff. Elloy, 5 Sept., 1875.

A strong party had grown at Leulumoega and other villages of A'ana, where previously, initial attempts to introduce Catholicism, had been hounded by the L.M.S. chief, Tui A'ana Sualauvi, a rival claimant to Mata'afa Pagamanu, for the Tui Atua title. Pagamanu's nephew, Mata'afa Iosefo, a Protestant, converted to Catholicism on his succession to the title. Malietoa Talavou, (long antagonistic to the L.M.S., who favoured his rival, Laupepa), also showed an interest in Catholicism. Other holders of lesser titles became Catholics - Tupuola in Siumu, Fiafo'i in Palealili, and Su'atele in Safata. On Tutuila, the turbulent chief Mauga flirted with the Lotu Pone, while a majority in the important village of Leone were Catholics. Beginnings were made too, in the Malietoa villages of the northern Tuamasaga - Sagana, and the neighbouring villages of Saleimoa and Palaula. By the end of the 1870's, then, Catholicism had an entry in most of the villages of the archipelago, with the exception, perhaps, of Nanu'a. In some places it was
still persecuted, but in most it was equal in honour, if not in numbers, to the London Society, and equal in both to the Wesleyans. 185

If this account of the development of the growth of denominations in Samoa has appeared to neglect the London Society, this is because, from the late 1830's onwards, that mission had an overwhelming preponderance of support, widespread throughout Samoa. It considered itself as the legitimate heir of the religious allegiance of Samoans, and consequently saw itself with some justice, as the defender of a position already attained, against the incursions of the other two missions.

It would be wrong, however, to view its activities entirely as defensive. The early lead they gained by a vigorous program of establishing churches on the basis of education, strict discipline and the work of a trained body of teachers was never lost, nor did their efforts slacken. This led on naturally to the development of village churches with a considerable degree of autonomy, watched over by an ordained indigenous pastorate. By the 1870's, at the very time when the English missionaries had brought Samoan censure upon themselves by their political activities, this pastorate was in a position to realize the full possibilities of Protestant strength in Samoa. These developments will be the subject of later chapters.

185 Opposition to Catholicism was reported at Faleasi'u, Safune, and eastern Tutuila. APF 48, (1876) pp. 225, 227. Eliley, 5 Sept., 1875. ASX. V p. 87 Vidal, 21 Aug., 1877.
By this time, the three denominations had achieved a similar ratio of support among Samoans, to that they have enjoyed until the present day. Now they made gains from each other which tended to balance themselves out, and later, small losses to other sects according to the divisiveness of Samoan social organization. Aspects of these interactions will be discussed in the next section.

The pattern and interaction of the Samoan denominations

The denominations formed around the European missionaries during the late 1830's introduced a new principle into Samoan social organization for they were both larger than traditional religious associations, and brought together groups who were not

186 While L.M.S. estimates of the number of their adherents were not disputed, there were marked discrepancies between Catholic and Protestant figures for Catholic numbers. The priests, however, kept careful records, and their numbers were based on baptisms. Those who attended Protestant services were not regarded as Catholics. L.M.S. records seem to have been in disarray. Figures forwarded to London often lacked reports from particular stations. Moreover, they could only have had an accurate knowledge of the numbers of their church and class members. The numbers given for their adherents must have been an estimate. There were complaints too, from the missionaries, that it was difficult to obtain information from teachers in remote villages. cf. e.g. SSL, Pratt, 23 Aug., 1878. Catholic numbers seem to have increased steadily from 2,000 in 1863 to 3,000 in 1866, 3,500 - 4,000 in 1872, 4,200 in 1874, and by the end of the decade almost 5,000. Wesleyan numbers by this time were just under 5,000 too. Whitmees estimate of Catholic numbers as 2,852 in 1875, is ludicrous. It is significant that in 1879 an independent observer put Wesleyan and Catholic numbers at the same level. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1863, March 22. AEP: 39 (1867) p. 136. Elloy, 10 Feb., 1866; 44 (1872) p. 371, Elloy, 12 Jan., 1872; 48 (1876) p. 221 f. Elloy, 5 Sept., 1875, 51 (1879) p. 50, Elloy, June 1878. ONE, Vidal, 18 Feb., 1879, Violette, 1 Jan., 1879. Murray, Forty years mission work, p. 444, supplies Whitmees figures. USCD, Dawson, 19 April, 1879. By 1880 there were a small number of Mormons, who had been present on Tutuila at least since 1865. cf. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1865, June 30. cf. Appendix II, p. 434.
necessarily related in the traditional social order. Within the London Society, it is true, for many years this new order expressed its existence only in the meetings of the European missionaries. At the Samoan-wide, and even district level, the chiefs, as such, were carefully excluded from any formal decision making in matters concerning the church, though naturally their wishes could not be entirely ignored. It was not until a new type of Samoan leader, the teacher, and later the ordained pastor, were able to meet together in groups presenting greater or smaller bodies of L.M.S. adherents, and until they had gained for themselves a considerable influence in the making of policy, that the new principle inherent in the organization of the Samoa-wide mission could be truly said to have become a Samoan principle.

Matters were rather different among the Wesleyans. From the beginning of Peter Turner's work, the expansion of the Lotosa in Samoa had had a considerable autonomy from missionary decision making. Many chiefs were officers of the Society, and clearly took matters concerning the identity of Wesleyanism into their own hands, in a way which was denied to their L.M.S. counterparts, especially after 1836. These chiefs, some more determined than others, wedded themselves to a Tongan presence in Samoa, in order to maintain their denominational identity after the departure of the European missionaries in 1839. That the principle of a Samoan-wide denomination was at this stage still dependent upon such outside support is shown by the way in which, when that support was withdrawn in the early 1850's, the Wesleyan party almost entirely collapsed, leaving only a remnant based largely on a traditional social and political association orientated
toward the Savai'i village of Satupa'itea and the Sa Tu'omua'ipi'a. It was not until the return of European missionaries that the denomination was established as a Samoa-wide religious association, similar in structure to the L.M.S.

The Marist mission's organization was somewhat different again. As will be seen in a later chapter, greater deference was paid to the position of the chiefs. No structures were set up, whereby the authority of the chiefs could be challenged by new groupings of Samoans. On the other hand, policy making remained firmly in the hands of the European missionaries, though they no doubt were careful, in the interests of their work, to take account of the wishes of their Samoan adherents. It was largely through the attachment of chiefs and catechists to individual missionaries, and through them to the bishop, that the denomination achieved an all Samoa unity among the Samoans. It is evident that in this type of organization there was much greater scope for the influence of those who were powerful by virtue of their traditional social position.187

Within all three denominations, of course, there were elements in which traditional associations played an important part. The early grouping of the L.M.S. around the Sa Malietoa and the organization of the Lotu To'a around its rivals on Savai'i have already been remarked upon. They were not always, however, permanently united in their religious allegiance. For instance,

187 The influence of the chiefs on the Lotu, and the way in which the Lotu cut across their authority, is discussed in subsequent chapters.
some Sā Malietoa chiefs later developed a strong antagonism towards the L.M.S. It must be remembered, too, that any Samoan had a variety of possible social and political affiliations which he could choose to use; it was inevitable that the choice of some weakened other possible connections. Sometimes the choices corresponded with and were strengthened by religious affiliation and sometimes they were not. The early variety of religious allegiance among holders of Sā Lilomai'ava titles, for example, has been indicated. 188

More interesting is the case of Lei'ataua Tomumaipe'a of Manono, who, while remaining firmly attached to the London Society, also was involved in an alliance with Tongans, so that he continually supported the Wesleyan claim for Tongan teachers in Samoa. His son, Lei'ataua Lesē, asked for the re-establishment of the Wesleyan mission, though he himself did not join that Society until some time after Dyson's arrival on Manono. 189

A study of the denominational affiliations of Mata'afa Fagamanu, and of his nephew and successor, Iosefo, is instructive, too. Fagamanu, (a son of Mata'afa Filisoumu'u who had been killed in battle in 1829, while defending his power in Atua against Tamafaiga), was an aspirant for the title of Tui Atua, which he eventually received in 1857, but which, under duress, was bestowed

on Malietoa Vai'inupo in 1835. Vai'inupo's designated successor as Tui A'ana, To'oa of Palelatai, later known as Tui A'ana Su'alauvi, which title he received in 1848, was also an aspirant for the Tui Atua title. He was even more closely associated with the L.M.S. than had been Vai'inupo. Thus Mata'afa Fagamanu's early choice of a lotu, in opposition to that of the Sā Malietoa, at a time when it appeared to monopolize the L.M.S., was later confirmed by a continuing opposition to that family, even when it had become, to some extent, separated from the mission. During the 1830's therefore he was a Siovilian, though in 1836 he considered becoming a Wesleyan, and by 1845, when the Catholic priests arrived in Samoa, had apparently done so. He always maintained, however, a strong connection with the largely Siovilian village of Paleata which was responsible for the formal bestowal of the Mata'afa title.

The weakness of his connection with the Wesleyans and his predisposition to become a Catholic, was partly due to the prestige that accrued to an important chief, in an association with a European missionary. It was no doubt to test the determination

190 Krümer describes Fagamanu's nephew, Iosefo, as a grandson of Filisoumu'u. Krümer op. cit. I pp. 27, 390ff. SSJ, Platt, 1835, Oct. 28, 1836, Jan. 23. In 1846, Mata'afa was already described as bearing the highest title in Atua. SSL, Harbutt, 10 March, 1846.

191 Krümer, op. cit., I p. 27.

192 Ms. Turner, Journal, 1836, Oct. 3. In this Journal, Turner refers continually to Mata'afa, a tulafale of Lei'ataua Tonumaipa'a of Numono, who should not be confused with Mata'afa. ONE, Roudaire, Beginning of 1847.
of the Marists to stay in Samoa that Mata'afa waited so long before formally becoming a Catholic, though he clearly favoured the priests during that period. He remarked upon the opposition of the L.M.S. missionaries to all the other religious parties in Samoa, and probably had in mind that they had managed to effect the departure of the Wesleyans. As a consequence he was delighted when he heard that the mission had brought a piece of land at Mulivai in Apia, taking it as a sign that it had taken firm root in Samoa.

But there were other factors disposing Mata'afa to accept Catholicism. First there was his association with the village of Faleata, which had already expressed its determination to accept the Lotu Pone, and many of whose chiefs did so, long before Mata'afa himself. Second there was his opposition to the apparent association between his political opponents and the English missionaries and consuls, expressed in their attempts to effect the political union of Samoa at his expense, under British protection. The priests were members of a nation who might be expected to provide an effective counterbalance. Finally the priests brought with them a letter from Lavelua of Uvea, by whom, in the early 1830's, Mata'afa had been kindly received after a shipwreck, and equipped for a return to Samoa. The letter asked Mata'afa to take the priests under his protection.

193 ibid.
194 ONE, Violette c 1865.
195 cf. p. 170f.
196 cf. p. 171.
Members of his immediate family quickly became Catholics, though he himself waited until 1851, and was not baptized until 1857. A number of Salelavasi villages associated with him in southern Atua, principally Amaile and Lotofaga, had also converted to Catholicism. On the other hand, many other relatives maintained their allegiance to the Wesleyans, and some even to the L.M.S. From this time forward until his death in 1863, he was a firm supporter of the Catholic mission, while they, in their turn were advocates of his political claims. For many years one of the priests lived with him, affording him a relationship with a European missionary which was denied to his London Society counterparts. The missionaries gloried in his personal devotion to their religion, though some later thought that he was almost too zealous.

In 1857 he received the Tui Atua title, and it was feared by the Protestant missionaries, and hoped by the Catholics, that this would lead to further conversions around Lufilufi, the leading


198 ONE, Poupinel, 1 Nov., 1861; SSL, Gee, 15 Nov., 1861. Hood says he was involved in supporting the priests' suggestion in 1862, that the Samoans ask for French protection in the face of the threat of a Tongan invasion. This idea was rejected as a māilei (trap) even by the Catholic chief Mana of Vailele. T.Hood, op. cit., p. 108; NS, Ella Correspondence, Nisbet to Ella, 9 July, 1862. SSL, Gee, 31 March, 1862. cf. p. 105.

199 ONE, Poupinel, 1 Nov., 1861. ASM II, loc. cit.; III pp. 318-320, Vidal, 4 Oct., 1873. Mata'afa even urged the priests into a public debate with Wesleyan missionaries at Lufilufi, which, according to Brown, was against their policy. NS, Brown, Journal, 1861, July 11.
village of Atua. While Mata'afa gave land to the mission in that village, the number of conversions was slight. His position as Tui Atua had to transcend denominational boundaries, and he even spoke at Wesleyan missionary meetings, while his son contributed cash. Wesleyan and L.M.S. adherents were, as one would expect, involved in the distribution of property associated with the bestowal of the title. On the other hand, it may be that those who supported his claims to the Tui A'ana title, against Sualauvi, converted to Catholicism about this time, though some were also Wesleyans.

The importance of the association with the mission, to Mata'afa and his supporters, is demonstrated by the even stronger link forged by his successor as Mata'afa. Iosefo, once a Protestant and a polygamist, almost immediately upon his succession, became a Catholic. His devotion to the Marist mission is indicated by the name Faife'au (pastor) by which he was also known. The long association between the two goes well beyond the period covered by this thesis. Nevertheless, during the 1870's Bishop Elloy constantly put forward his claims to be the leading Sā Tupuā chief, and hence a candidate for office in the governments that were then being attempted. Mata'afa, for his part took an


201 MS, Dyson, 1859, March 9, 11.

active interest in the mission in all its aspects - defending it in its disputes with the British consul over land, personally assisting in the building of the great church at Palefā, and attending catechists' retreats. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that one of the conditions for his succession to the title, either dictated by his own insight, or imposed by those who bestowed it, was his conversion to Catholicism. Indeed, a similar process seems to have occurred in the succession to the Tupuola title in 1875.

There is other evidence too, for wider family and political connections influencing religious affiliation. Both Turner and Heath reported families attempting to influence their relatives in other villages to join a particular denomination. A political opposition between Palealili and Manono, rendered it difficult for Dyson to bring parties into the former district, where he found the chief Leasiolagi had, for some time, resolutely opposed Wesleyanism on this account. On the whole, however, information is lacking on this sort of influence, either because the missionaries were unaware of it, or because they did not bother to mention it.

A different type of political association, with a negative purpose, designed to exclude Catholicism from particular districts has already been discussed. This was most effective on Manono,

204 ONE, Soret, 15 Jan., 1876.
and Manu'a, where the political organization showed a considerable degree of unity, and on Tutuila, where the L.M.S. had early established a preponderance of influence. It was quite ineffectual in the case of Safotulafai, where a decision to exclude Catholicism from Savai'i, and punish those who welcomed the priests, was defied in the very year it was made, and where religious variety had long been the rule. The motivation for this sort of association seems to have been, initially at least, fear of French aggression.

Any account of Samoan religious associations, however, cannot lose sight of the fact that the fundamental unit which chose a denomination, was the local domestic household, headed by a title-holder. It is true that sometimes, within such a household, people belonging to different denominations were found.207 This variety probably, however, expressed the differing affiliations of the household's scattered connections, and, nevertheless, as Gilson points out, there was a strong tendency towards a title-holder imposing a unity in practice, at least, on those living with him.208 It has already been seen that the pattern of denominations that first emerged in Samoa, was based

207 cf. e.g. SSJ, Buzacott, 1836. Aug. 3.

208 Gilson, Samoa, 1830–1900. p. 16, 17. Thus when a member moved to another household he would tend to adopt its denominational practice. This would strengthen the contrast discussed below, between the fierce denominational rivalry often associated with individuals.
upon households, rather than villages or even pitomu'u. 209 Thus also, Hardie advised the W.M.M.S. in London, in 1837, that almost every village in Samoa, even those as small as 100 people, was denominationally divided. 210 Later, of course, on Tutuila, and Nanu'a between 1839 and 1860, there must have been a large number of villages which were united in their adherence to the L.M.S. There is no evidence, however, that the situation changed substantially in the western islands, from Hardie's time. For instance, Dyson found at Lotofaga in Safata, in 1864, that there were three Wesleyan families, a principal chief who was a Catholic, while the remainder of the village belonged to the L.M.S. 211 At Salelavalu, various groups were inclined respectively towards the Catholics, the L.M.S. and the Wesleyans, while they all remained subject in this matter to the whims of Su'a, who was a heathen, almost till his death in 1865. 212

The identification of the domestic unit as the basic unit of choice, however, should not obscure the fact that the views of larger associations could be influential. The largest have already been discussed. Very important, however, in the day to day interaction of the denominations, were the mu'u. As with so many other aspects of Samoan life, the village, corporately, could

211 MS, Dyson, Journal, 1864, Feb. 10.
confirm or oppose the denominational choice of individual families. This power goes a long way to explain apparently contradictory aspects of Samoan denominational interaction.

It was well recognised, for instance, that the beginning of a new denomination in a village, was often associated with a dispute among members of one of the village's original denominations. Dyson believed that the principal means by which Wesleyanism had grown in numbers was by chiefs taking offence at something and changing their lotu. "Hence," he added, "our new places are usually stigmatized as 'lotu ita' - religion or sect set up from anger." 213 Similarly Pratt claimed of the Catholics that "anger is the almost sole agent of conversion to them." 214 It is true that this was sometimes a matter of a dispute, occasioned, for instance by discipline, between the European missionaries and their adherents in a village. 215 By and large, however, it appears to have been between groups within the village itself. While the problem might be solved by the setting up of separate chapels of the same denomination, especially where the disputants came from different parts of a village, or from two neighbouring villages which had previously worshipped together, it was much more common

213 NS, Dyson, Journal, 1862, May 11.
214 SSL, Pratt, 31 Dec., 1866.
215 cf. e.g. NS, Dyson, Journal, 1860, Nov. 28; 1862, Jan. 27. A chief near Matautu threatened to become a Catholic when he heard that Pratt had called him "no chief". SSL, Pratt, 15 Dec., 1854.
for one party to attempt to introduce a new denomination. 216

Causes for dispute were manifold, were seldom specifically religious, and thus could not easily be separated from political disputes. It has already been seen how a title dispute on Manono was confused with the question of the introduction of Catholicism. 217 An important consequence of this type of confusion was that when the stronger party reacted to the challenge to its authority by expelling or otherwise punishing the dissidents, they frequently were able to counter missionary complaints, by saying that the matter was political rather than religious. 218 Of course, members of the older denomination may not have been numerically powerful enough to punish or expel those who had converted. 219 In these cases, the new denomination was established, though considerable hostility might persist for many years afterwards. 220


217 cf. p. 190. Other causes, for example, were a dispute about the pule of land on which the L.M.S. chapel was situated at Vaovai: MS, Dyson, Journal, 1862, May 11; and a refusal by members of one denomination to assist their chief in a new marriage: MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1850, Oct. 5.

218 cf. e.g. SSL: Chisholm, 30 March, 1845; Pratt, 22 Oct., 1866. MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1844, Aug. 23. Political motivations as a basis for denominational choice are discussed in general in SR. (1), March 1845; ONE, Elloy, 30 June, 1858.

219 e.g. at Falealupo. ONE, Elloy, 8 Aug., 1858.

220 Harrassment might then consist of a refusal to assist in building churches or missionary houses, or forcibly halting their building. It might include, too, the deposition of a chief. ONE: Roudrive, Beginning of 1847; Vidal, 10 Feb., 1876. AFT 48 (1876), pp. 225, 227. Elloy, 5 Sept., 1875.
Denominational sensitivity could be so delicate that the mere sounding of a drum or a bell as a call to lotu was a challenge to someone else's prestige, and a cause for violent action.\(^{221}\) At Lufilufi, a Wesleyan, aware of the rather noisy services conducted by the Tongans, expressed his anxiety to Dyson:

"Ua tasi le lotu i Tonga. E tatau ai le pisaniao i lea nua, a o Samoa ua i ai ituaiga eseese. E lelei iea agi malie mai le agasa ina nei inosia i tafou e le ituaiga."\(^{222}\) It is in this context that the early rantings of the L.M.S. missionaries against the other religious parties must be seen. The great sensitivity of Samoans to verbal insult meant that by doing so, as Peter Turner clearly saw, they were building up a reservoir of implacable hatred against themselves.\(^{223}\) Elloy found this sensitivity so marked, that, early in the Marist mission, it proved impossible to speak out against "heresy" because of the murmurings that it produced even amongst the Catholic party.\(^{224}\) An L.M.S. teacher found

\(^{221}\) cf. e.g. MS, Turner, Journal, 1836, April 30; Oct. 6. ONE 61/208 Apia, Servant, 14 Jan., 1859. The singing of denominational hymns could cause trouble, too. MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1871, Sept. 23, 30.

\(^{222}\) "There is only one lotu in Tonga. Noise is fitting in that country, but in Samoa there are different denominations. It is good therefore, if the spirit blows sweetly, lest the other denomination is angered." MS, Dyson, Journal, 1864, Dec. 5.

\(^{223}\) cf. p. 142.

\(^{224}\) ONE, Elloy, 6 April, 1857.
to his cost, that preaching against another lotu could be
dangerous, when he was beaten up by newly converted Catholics at
Safotulafai. 225

And yet, on the other hand, there were countless instances
where different denominations worked harmoniously together in a
village. Sometimes this was a matter of an agreement. Thus,
when Catholics finally found a peaceful entry on Manono, it was
because the principal chiefs of the island, after talking with
Elloy, had agreed that one of them should become a Catholic. 226
Normally, too, the adherents of different denominations might
support each other in their building projects - particularly
churches, and missionary houses. 227 They also attended, and
sometimes contributed to each other's missionary meetings. 228
Many of these activities took place at the level of a district or
sub-district, rather than within a village. At all levels,
however, the co-operation was probably an expression of rivalries
operating between groups, which cut across denominational
boundaries. Thus, for example, it may have been in the interests
of everyone belonging to one Manono village, to contribute more at

225 MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1859, Nov. 25. Opposition could have
even more drastic effects. The Catholic chief Su'atele had
the Protestant teacher's house and church burnt to the
ground when he attempted to persuade his adherents not to
build Su'atele's new house. ASM III, p. 307, Vidal,
15 June, 1873.

226 cf. p. 191.

227 SSL, Pratt, 6 Sept., 1841. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1861, Feb. 11.
ONE: Gavet, 16 Aug., 1866; Sage, 9 April, 1869; Soret,
17 July, 1873.

228 cf. p. 183.
a Wesleyan missionary meeting than people of another village, and so the L.M.S. adherents would assist.

Probably in such arrangements there was a notion of reciprocity operating. This could explain why a newly converted Catholic family in Satapuala were angered when the Wesleyans there refused to assist them in the support of their catechist. In retaliation they shot a pig belonging to the Wesleyan party. Significantly, the Wesleyans did not retaliate.229

The lack of significant political factors might explain why, in many cases, a new denomination got a start in a village, apparently without much opposition, through its introduction by one or two relatively insignificant people, who posed no threat to the established order. For many years, for instance, there was a Catholic woman at Lauli'i, but it was not until a number of others began to convert, that opposition was provoked from within the village.230 In cases where prestige was not at stake, the phrase deplored by Catholic missionaries might well apply: "O le lotu, o le lotu." (One denomination is as good as another).231 Certainly, also, Protestant missionaries, at times, complained that some of their "lazy" adherents attended the services of other

229 MS, Dyson, Journal, 1864, March 12.
230 ONE, Broyer, 16 Aug., 1878.
231 ONE, Garnier, 4 Feb., 1863; 14 Oct., 1872.
denominations simply because they were nearer.\textsuperscript{232} The Samoans did not choose their denominations according to what the missionaries considered to be "enlightened or conscientious" grounds, but rather on a more practical basis.\textsuperscript{233} When this basis, whether through lack of political factors, or for other reasons to be considered, did not apply, then it was simply true, that one lotu was as good as another. Hence the apparent paradox posed by the contrast between a vicious rivalry on the one hand and an indifferentism on the other, can be explained.\textsuperscript{234}

Though political factors, or opposition to missionary discipline, may have been most important in producing conversions from one denomination to another, there were others that helped tip the scales. As will be seen, a religious dimension was sometimes significant. If a family suffered particular misfortune, it might be attributed to their adherence to the wrong lotu, and produce a change.\textsuperscript{235} Thus it was significant also that fantastic stories sometimes circulated, for instance, that a bird at Sale'imoa flew about, calling the bishop a liar; or that an angel had descended to write the word \textit{penele} (liar) on the Catholic church at

\textsuperscript{232} e.g. SSL, Pratt, 17 Nov., 1846. cf. ONE, Rocketter, 18 Dec., 1861. He reported that by this date the Marist mission was making some headway in preventing such indifferentism among its adherents.

\textsuperscript{233} cf. e.g. SR. (16), Dec. 1854; WSL, Wallis, 20 Jan., 1870.

\textsuperscript{234} cf. p. 204, n. 208.

\textsuperscript{235} e.g. Wesleyans at Si'upapa in 1836, were under pressure to change their lotu because some of them had drowned. MS, Turner, Journal, 1836, Oct. 16. cf. p. 266f.
Sometimes it was said, too, that one lotu was "harder" than another. This meant either that it made greater material demands, for instance through missionary collections, or that the standards of behaviour demanded were stricter. It is probable, however, that, as supposed motivations for conversion, these factors weighed more heavily with the missionaries, than with the Samoans, for as has been indicated, and as will be discussed in a later chapter, the "difficulty" of a denomination could be valued both positively and negatively.

Of considerably greater importance, especially in the period up to 1860, when there were marked differences in the resources of the three denominations, was an ability to supply education, teachers and European missionaries. This has been an important aspect of the explanation of L.M.S. success up to the 1860's, and it will be necessary to consider it in greater depth later. The importance of the demand for missionaries, however, is well exemplified in the case of the village of Lufilufi in the early 1860's. As a leading village it no doubt considered itself entitled to a missionary, and after the departure of the L.M.S. missionary, Drummond, to Falealili, elements within it were prepared to convert, to one or the other of the remaining two denominations.


societies in order to achieve that goal. Finally, they procured not only a Wesleyan missionary, but also the theological training institution of that denomination at the nearby site named Piula (Beulah). 238

The missions, for their part, were always aware of the possibilities of winning or losing support by this means, and it was certainly in their interests to gain an entry in such villages, for, as leading villages, they were the centres of a network of widespread social and political connections. They could serve, then, as useful bases for extending a denomination's influence. Hence, while influence in the leading villages of the archipelago was important, it did not matter very much whether missionary districts corresponded to traditional political districts. 239

In any case, social and political rivalries operated at all levels, preventing thereby any unified territorial support, at least in the long run, for a particular denomination.

It will be seen, therefore, in conclusion, that if there is one generalization that can be made about Samoan denominationalism, it is that it reflects, in its complexity, the enormous variety of possibilities and patterns inherent in Samoan social organization.

238 cf. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1862, May 22; MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1863, Nov. 25. SSL, copy of SDC Minutes, 8 May, 1864. Austin, op. cit., p. 84. The Marist priest, Verne, for example, spent his time living week about at Aleipata and Lotofaga in the late 1860's, in order to keep both stations "à la fois". OME, Sage, 9 April, 1869.

239 cf. Gilson, Samoa, 1830-1900, p. 99.
CHAPTER III  THE EUROPEAN MISSIONS AND THE SAMOAN CHURCHES

As part of the purpose they had in coming to Samoa - the "salvation of souls to eternal life" - the staff of the three missions, to varying extents and in different ways, wished to alter aspects of Samoan customary behaviour. Change was to be both the mark and the assurance of that new relationship to God, which, in missionary thought, constituted "salvation". In Chapter I it was argued that the initial changes involved in the acceptance of the Lotu were embraced by Samoans as a means of gaining access to the mana of the new God. As their association with the missions developed, the Samoans' perception of this mana was focused on particular activities instituted by the missionaries. The understanding of these activities was, to an extent, assimilated to traditional Samoan social and religious conceptions. Moreover, the missions set up organizations which, in different ways, were to provide a new field for the play of traditional Samoan social values. The purpose of this chapter, then, is to investigate the way in which the activities and structures of the missions, acted as inducements to some of the social changes desired by the missionaries.

The chapter falls into three parts. First, a study will be made of the value placed by Samoans on mission activities and resources, and of the way in which the structures of their churches were used by Samoans. Second, the meshing of traditional Samoan religious thought and practice with the doctrine presented

1 pp. 89-102.
by the missionaries, will be discussed. Finally, an estimate will be made of the success that the missionaries had in inducing changes in specific areas.  

A. Mission resources, church structure, and inducement to cultural change.

One of the most striking features of missionary writings in this period was their constant reports of the value placed upon the presence of missionaries. There was, as has been seen, a widespread demand by villages for a resident missionary.  

Once having got such a missionary, too, they were prepared to go to considerable lengths to satisfy them, in order to keep them. Wesleyans at Sala'ilua, for instance, converted to the L.M.S. in order to keep Chisholm resident in their village.  

Nisbet reported that his threats to leave, forced Malietoa Taimalelegi, at Sapapali'i, to discipline a manaia who had been molesting girls resident in his family.  

2 The distinction between the first two sections, is, of course, somewhat artificial. It is intended to concentrate in the first on the practical effects of mission activity, while in the second the question of ideology will be foremost. In the third section, it is intended to discuss those changes which the missionaries attempted to bring about through specifically religious activities. Attempts at political and other social changes, and unintentional changes resulting from the mission presence, will, in general, be discussed in Chapter IV. It should be noted too, that in this Chapter, the explanatory factors are described, on the whole, as if they remained unchanged throughout the period 1836-1880. That there were important changes occurring must be borne in mind, however. Where appropriate, these are mentioned here, but a detailed discussion of significant changes between Samoans and the European missionaries, particularly of the L.M.S., is deferred to Chapter V.  


4 cf. p. 155 n.  

5 MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1851, Dec. 29.
The prestige of the missionaries was linked with the belief that they were in some way associated with the source of the truth of the lotu. In the beginning, it is true, this may have been connected with their possession of a powerful technology and a striking material culture. The Samoans would quickly have discovered, however, that in this matter, the missionaries were surpassed by traders, from whom, moreover, through barter, could be obtained things for themselves, which the missionaries could not, or were not willing to provide. It is true, too, that the missionary presence was valued by particular villages, simply because it was a rare commodity. That it was a commodity at all, however, implies some reason for a positive evaluation. In the first place this may be seen to have revolved around certain practical activities in which the missionaries were involved.

Important among these in the case of the L.M.S. was the translation or writings of books, their printing of them, and their organizing the training of teachers to disseminate the knowledge of their use throughout Samoa. The significance of the work of

6 cf. pp. 93, 105.

7 The missionaries were careful not to be involved in trading at all. Turner, Nineteen years, p. 163. Nevertheless, the Protestant missionries did keep large establishments, cases of middle class European culture, and a standard of living, which among Samoans, would have been impressive. This fact was much remarked upon by the Marists. They themselves did not have families whose future in a European society they might have to look to. They could, therefore, afford to adopt a style of life more in accordance with the Samoans.

8 In a similar way, even to-day, in Samoa, it is a matter of status for a family to have a resident papalagi.
translation was well recognised. Mrs Day wrote to her sons in the mid 1840's that the Samoans expected one of them to take over their father's position, while he was "to sit and write out the word of God as they say." The idea that the missionaries were closely connected with the source of the mana of the Lotu very quickly became associated with the Protestant stress on the Bible as "God's word."

As has been seen, books were valued possessions, even before their use in reading had been learnt. As this skill was acquired, the desire to possess books became even more frenzied. Throughout 1836 and 1837 they were an important means of inducing people to join one of the two mission bodies. Heath exclaimed, for instance, that "thousands are clamoring [sic] & begging for books every day", and accused Peter Turner of tempting members of a sailor sect to become Wesleyans by offering books.

Reactions to the setting up of the L.M.S. press at Leulumeuga in 1839, further stress the close connection between the mana of the Lotu and books:

... numbers flocked from all patrs [sic] to see the wonderful "'oni tusi" or printing press, and even to the present time [1845] many visit the printing office, which is often called "the spring from which the word of God flows throughout Samoa, in its length and breadth. It was even suggested by Samoans that the press should be put on board a vessel, so that the associated prestige would not be confined to one locality.

9 ES, Day papers, Letter 62, Mrs Day to her sons. c 1844.
10 SSL, Heath, April 1837. cf. pp. 118-121.
11 SE, (1), March 1845.
Demands for Bibles and portions of Bibles was so great that throughout the period they were snapped up as soon as they arrived, as if, as Murray put it, each was the first shipment. Every Protestant family had a Bible, and sometimes three or four. Scripture comments, designed for the teachers, were also bought by "intelligent" church members, so that the pronouncements of the Kazeteau were subject to the scrutiny of their flock, who weighed them against the missionary writings. It is therefore very significant that the L.M.S. missionaries reported, in 1870, that "...The Bible and hymn book excepted, we have not found a large demand for Samoan books..." This would seem to suggest that Samoan enthusiasm for learning, and for possession of books was due to an interest in penetrating the secrets of the Lotu.

12 SSJ, Murray, 1866, Dec. 28.
13 SSR, Turner, 25 Sept., 1866. ORZ, Roudaire, End of 1845. Significantly those who were not Protestants, especially enquired of Roudaire if his mission was capable of printing books, and when they would have a press.
14 Turner, Nineteen years. p. 136-137.
15 SR. (New series, 1) Feb. 1870. As early as 1841, the missionaries had found that their Samoan language magazine, the Sulu Samoa was not selling well, first because of the lack of arrowroot used as barter, but also because of the "indisposition of the people." SDG, Key 1841. Pratt reported in 1876 that the "Natives will not buy books." SSJ, Pratt, 29 Sept., 1876.
16 It is for this reason that I do not think that G.S. Parsonson's general thesis concerning the Pacific can be applied to Samoa: "The Pacific Islanders had long grasped the fact that the real difference between their culture and the European was that theirs was non-literate, the other literate. The key to the new world with all its evident power was the written word." Parsonson, op. cit., p. 49. In Samoa, in the period under consideration, reading was the key, first, to the Lotu. Moreover, there is no evidence that in Samoa, there was ever any slackening of interest in learning, right up to the present day, except in time of war. Thus his claim that a subsequent decline of interest in the "new culture" was the result of "gross disappointment" in the earlier expectations of the benefits that it would bring, cannot apply to Samoa. Certainly, as will be seen, the missionaries were disappointed in many of their converts, as Parsonson points out, but in Samoa this had nothing to do with their lack of enthusiasm for learning. ibid., pp. 54-56. As will be seen, learning was a means of climbing the ladders of success set up in the L.M.S. and Wesleyan Church structures.
It is in this context, then, that the tardiness of the Marist mission, in producing books, must be seen. Though Violette had spent a great deal of his time, in the late 1840's translating hymns, prayers and catechetical items, and producing a vocabulary for the use of the mission, and though a press had been set up on Uvea, all that had been published in Samoan by the beginning of the 1860's, was a few small pamphlets. It was not until the 1860's that a lavish catechism was printed.

The priests in Samoa were well aware of the difficulties under which this placed them. They told stories, for instance,

17 ONE, Violette, 15 Aug., 1860. cf. SSL, Mills, 15 June, 1853. He remarked that the Catholics made no attempt to instruct the people. "The only book they have put out is a catechism of a few pages, and of that I have only seen one copy." cf. P. O'Reilly, "Premiers travaux des presses de la mission Catholique à Wallis." JSC, 19 (1963) pp. 119-128. He has found only one reference in general terms to a work published in Samoan by the press on Uvea. At the same time extensive catechisms were being published in Uvean and many other works in Tongan, Futunan and a Latin grammar. It was evident that Marist attention was being turned to the idea of establishing a college on Upu Faisamoa, as a base for training throughout the Vicariate. All the same, Samoa seems to have been surprisingly neglected. The Catholics, of course, did not allow their adherents the use of the Protestant scriptures, which they took pains to criticize. cf. Les Missions Catholiques, (1875) p. 67.

(Extract from a letter of Gavet, op. cit., p. 72.

18 O le katekisimo. O folafouega a le afiona a le Atua i le upu Faisamoa. (Lyon, 1862).

19 ONE: Noudaire, End of 1845; Violette, 26 April, 1848; Poupinel 1 Nov., 1861. It may have been Poupinel's visit that finally led to the production of the catechism. He wrote: "On a forcé le peuple à cultiver le végétal, le blé, la pomme de terre et le chanvre. " Shortly after Poupinel's visit, Elloy was appointed co-adjutor to Bishop Bataillon, and he followed a quite different policy with respect to promoting education through the Marist mission in Samoa. During his visit, Bataillon made a decision to establish a catechists' school in Samoa. cf. ONE, Gavet, July, 1879.
about Protestant chiefs who expressed a secret wish to become Catholics, but refrained from doing so, because of the want of books. 20 Even after the publication of the 1862 catechism, Bishop Elley continued to speak of the lack. Catholic catechists, he said, needed to be equipped with the means of refuting the calumnies of their Protestant counterparts. Moreover, he added:

"à Samoa on veut des livres, ne serait-ce que pour pouvoir dire qu'on en a, et ne pas être accusé d'ignorance ou de croire une religion qu'on n'ose pas donner par écrit." 21

As has been argued, during the twenty years absence of European missionaries, the Wesleyan party suffered a grave disadvantage in this respect, too. It is significant, therefore, that one of the first steps that Martin Dyson took on the re-establishment of the mission was to insist on the full use, by Wesleyans, of the L.M.S. publications. 22 Gradually the Wesleyans undertook the printing of some of their own works, for instance, a hymn book. 23

20 OCBE, Rochettez, 18 Dec., 1861.
21 APF 39 (1867), p. 128f. Elloy, 10 Feb., 1866. cf. OCBE, 28 Aug., 1865. Up to 1890, the only works produced by the Catholics for Samoa, appear to have been L. Violette Dictionnaire Samoë-Français-Anglais (Paris, 1879); and Violette's translation of Schuster's old and new testament stories, together with 113 parables, and an atlas of Palestine. The far superior range and volume of L.M.S. publications may be gathered from a quick glance at the catalogues of the Samoan language collections at the Mitchell Library, Sydney, and the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

22 cf. pp. 182f.
The missionaries of all denominations were regarded, indeed, as the prime source in Samoa of all the secrets associated with European culture, which, probably, were not so easily divided, in the Samoan mind, into the categories of sacred and secular. On one occasion, for instance, the Wesleyan, Dyson, after retiring one night was:

roused again by two natives to know the meaning of a halo or corona around the moon... I wished for no repetition of such meteorological questions at midnight [he added] so required them to come at a more proper time.

The very next day, however, he was wakened from his mid-day nap "with an application for the places & dates of the Pauline epistles."24 There is evidence that, as is the case to-day, the Samoans were discreetly, but persistently interested in the educational attainments of the Europeans who lived among them. That there were differences could easily be seen in the contrast between the missionaries and the beachcombers or even the traders. The London Society missionaries early made Samoans conscious of the differences between themselves and Peter Turner. That this sort of awareness persisted, is shown by Dyson's report in 1862: "In conversation with Sailusi a very knowing chief of Salua I was told on fair authority that Mr Biri of Savai'i [an L.M.S. missionary] is giving it out to the natives that we, viz. Messrs Brown, Rigg & myself are uneducated men."25

25 ibid., 1862, July 4. cf. p. 141. It is in this context too, that mission attempts to establish a system of elementary education must be seen. cf. p. 325-7.
It will readily be seen, then, that the missionaries might be regarded as the source of the knowledge of the sort of behaviour that must be followed, if the benefits potentially available in the Lotu, were, in fact, to be possessed. This behaviour, of course, was laid down in the, largely missionary inspired, rules and regulations that were made conditions of membership of the churches and classes and which will be looked at later. The missionaries were also consulted, however, in matters that were not clear cut. As Stallworthy reported, before the L.M.S. made a clear cut ruling on the question of participation in war, there was strong pressure upon him to state what was right or wrong, rather than to leave it to the "conscience" of the individual.26 Dyson was similarly consulted in the case of man who did not know whether to assist in bringing back a banished murderer to Manono, who was dying, and which action would probably lead to war between the villages, or not.27 It is probable that, whereas the Samoans were looking for firm rules to follow, the missionaries intended much of this sort of advice to be, rather, a matter of informing the inquirer's "conscience".

But the missionaries offered other evidence of the mana, for which their presence was valued by the Samoans. This lay in their medical activities. Though the early missionaries were not well equipped either with medical knowledge or equipment,

26 SR. (8), Sept. 1849.
27 MS, Dyson, Journal, 1863, Nov. 1.
they spoke, universally, of its value in gaining the respect of the people. 28 A closer study will be made later of the role that healing played both in conversion from denomination to denomination, and in producing the sort of commitment to the Loto that the missionaries desired. Here it is important to note that it was one of the practical benefits in having a missionary living in a locality. Some missionaries indeed, gained a Samoa-wide reputation for their medical skill, and it was, no doubt, a matter of great pride to the people where they lived, to have others streaming there from all over Samoa. 29

The high value placed upon the presence of the missionaries, for which, indeed, the chiefs were prepared to restrict the activities of their people in some respects, was exemplified, too, in the services and protection offered to the missionaries. Principal among these were the supply of food and the building of houses. It is true that the Samoan enthusiasm in this respect, was not uniform through the period: perhaps the value of the missionaries was placed at a rather lower level as their numbers increased, and with the presence of other prestigious Europeans, such as the Consuls, who were

28 cf. e.g. MS, Hardie, Journal, 1837, Jan. 10. Wilkes mentions the slight medical equipment of missionaries. op. cit. II. p. 125. The L.M.S. later had a medical missionary, G.A. Turner, stationed at Apia.

29 cf. e.g. SSJ, Buzacott, 1836, Oct. 10, with respect to Mills at Apia. MOR, vol. 182, Brown, 16 April, 1862, with respect to his own medicine at Satupaitea. ONE, Vidal, 13 Jan., 1875, with respect to Dofe at Leulumoega.
prepared to, and did, pay for these items themselves.30

However, despite the fact, for instance, that Tuala of Lealatele had complained to the first Catholic missionaries, about the burden of building a stone house for Pratt at Matautu, the missionary was able to report in 1867, that the people of his district had very kindly burnt lime and furnished building materials for nothing, a thing which amazed the merchants.31

Initially, too, the L.M.S. missionaries and their families had been carried around on litters, at times, much to the scorn of the Marist missionaries, who were shocked at the derogation from chiefly status they felt was involved.32

Throughout the period, the missionaries were able to ignore some of the usual marks of respect offered to the Samoan chiefs, because of the protection offered to their persons and property. These included requirements such as not carrying umbrellas in front of fono, or their parties not making excessive noise. On

30 Bullen, for instance had difficulty in persuading chiefs at Leone to finish his house, though in the end he won the day. They were asking for payment. SSL, 12 June, 1847. He found also that he was now receiving fewer gifts of goods than formerly, and that his servants were less obedient. Schmidt and Powell, too, had to haggle for some time over the price of a small stone house on Savai'i. SSL, Powell, 23 Oct., 1848. cf. MS, Brown, Journal, 1861, Sept. 23. Brown had a similar experience.

31 SSJ, Pratt, 1866, Oct. 22. cf. ONE, Roudaire, Beginning of 1847.

32 Les Missions Catholiques, 1870 pp. 191, 215, (serial article by Violette on Samoa.) The Protestant missionaries, for their part, sniffed at the "humility" of the priests, and, indeed, at one of their own number, who adopted, too readily, a Samoan style of life. SSJ, Platt, 1837. SSL, Pratt, 16 Nov., 1837. cf. e.g. SSL, Pratt, 24 Jan., 1846. SR. (3), Mar. 1846. SSL, Harbutt, 9 Dec., 1834. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1861, June 3.
one occasion Dyson's boat was pursued by a party of warriors for such a breach, but when they saw that it was a missionary, they apologised and returned to shore. On other occasions he was able to offer protection to his boat's crew from Manono, at the village of their avowed enemies, Salani, as long as they stayed in his presence. They preferred to go without eating, rather than risk their lives. Similarly, in an important parallel to the right of refuge in the house of a high chief, Harbutt afforded protection from revenge, to the family of a murderer. The house of a missionary, he wrote, was considered "sacred".

Mission property was indeed, always granted immunity in time of war, so that villagers often sought refuge there, or, at the least, brought their valuables to save them from pillage.

33 MS, Dyson, Journal, 1860, June 26. This was only one of several such occasions. While Dyson provides most information on this aspect, and perhaps was more prone to the difficulty than the L.M.S. missionaries, through his having to undertake more extended journeys, it is most probable that in this matter he was merely copying the L.M.S. style. The Catholic missionaries had specific instructions to respect the rights of the chiefs, and in general, they appear to have done so. cf. pp. 373-4. On one occasion, however, children accompanying Belteau on a trip to Kuirai from Humu sang, and he was brought before the village authorities for breaking the Sabbath (one cannot imagine a Protestant missionary submitting to such an instruction!). The result was favourable to Belteau, and in any case he was not breaking an old and recognised custom, but merely a newly created "law". One,
Belteau, 14 Dec., 1873.

34 MS, Dyson, Journal, 1864, June 5.
35 SSL, Harbutt, 12 Sept., 1843.
36 cf. e.g.: AFF 22 (1850), p. 109. Vachon, Aug. 1848. SSL, Turner, 24 April, 1869. On the few occasions when missionary property was stolen, the village authorities took it upon themselves to punish the offenders. cf. e.g. SSL, Murray, 24 Aug., 1869. MS, Misset, Journal, 1843, Oct. 28, Nov. 1.
In 1844, Safotulafai had provoked opposition from all over Samoa when one of its war parties destroyed Macdonald's house at Palauli. During the 1870's, it was only those L.M.S. churches, who turned their buildings over to the mission, that avoided their destruction.

No doubt, this protection was partly due to the fact that as the nationals of European naval powers, the missionaries could call upon those naval forces to protect their own persons and property, at least. That they availed themselves of the services of their consuls, at times, is shown by consular records. Nevertheless, it is quite clear, that the basis of the sanctity of their persons went beyond this. This was dramatically shown in an incident recorded by Austin. A man who was threatening to attack people on mission property, could not be dissuaded by threat of consular action from doing so,


38 SSR, Nisbet, 13 Oct., 1874. Malua college was always safe from the depredations of war parties. SSR, Turner, 24 Sept., 1869.

39 Mostly these were requests for compensation for damage done by war parties, and probably not intended as attacks on missionary property. cf. e.g.: MS, J.C. Williams, Journal, 1868, Oct. 30. BCS, 4/1, Williams to Koepsau, 7 April, 1864; Williams to Ali'i and Faipule of Palauli, Sept. 6, 1867, 30 Oct., 1868; BCS, 5/1, Williams to Brown, 30 Oct., 1868. The attack on the L.M.S. chapel at Leulumoega is another case in point. cf. Gilson, Samoa, 1830-1900, p. 218.
but "Mr. Brown saw in a moment that nothing earthly would deter
him, and looking him straight in the face, he replied, 'The
Judgement'. Instantly the man turned and walked away without
another word."\(^{40}\) Modern evidence for supernatural sanctions
attached to the instructions of the missionaries, is given by
G.B. Milner: "In 1959 Father P. Dumais, who had then already spent
about 15 years in Samoan villages told me that the anger of a priest
or pastor is greatly feared, and that he had occasion to rely on
this fear as a kind of 'ultimate deterrent'."\(^{41}\)

As Milner suggests, and as will be argued later, with
respect to the Samoan pastors, this aspect of missionary
authority, gave their relationship with Samoans the character
of a feagaiga. It is thus of considerable importance that
the formal origin of the protection of the missionaries and
their property lay in the agreements made between the L.M.S.
and Malietoa Vai'imupo in 1830 and 1832, and with the chief's
of the L.M.S. party in 1836.\(^{42}\) Here it was agreed that in

\(^{40}\) Austin, op. cit. p. 137. There are one, or two recorded
instances of missionaries being threatened with physical
violence. On one occasion the son of a family noted for its
turbulent opposition to Europeans, threatened Firth with a
stick, after Brown had agreed with the man's own statement
that he was "mu" (burning) and went on to add that he would
do so in hell. The man was dragged off by other Samoans
present. The man had been drinking and, according to Brown,
was the only person who had "insulted" them there.
MS, Brown, Letterbook I, p. 99. Letter to J.C. Williams,
14 April, 1866. cf. p. 154.

\(^{41}\) G.B. Milner, "Problems of the structure of concepts in
Samoan" p. 199. n. 36. In Catholic thought, and this was
apparently fully shared by their Samoan adherents, the
missionary was valued as a mediator of divine grace. In a
song composed by A'ana Catholics, asking for a priest, the
missionary who gives food from heaven, was likened to the
mother who sustains the child. ONE, Vidal, 10 Aug., 1874.

\(^{42}\) cf. pp. 72, 107, 122.
return for the benefits of the Lotu, that is, the knowledge of
the salvation found in the Christian God, the Samoans would
protect and support the missionaries. It is significant that
this, in fact, subsequently has been referred to as a feagaiga.
When MacDonald's house was destroyed by a war party in 1844, though
the village at fault, Safotulafai, was not overly conciliatory,
the chiefs of Manono promised to bring the matter before "Samoan
generally." Safotulafai did make compensation and at a
meeting with the missionaries the original feagaiga was, in a
sense, reaffirmed. In making such an agreement, the
missionaries were, almost unwittingly it would seem, tapping the
resources inherent in the traditional Samoan conception of
feagaiga.

Thus the mana of God, the possession of which the
missionaries demonstrated in their esoteric knowledge and skills,
and in the dissemination of the same, and which was conceived to
be intimately related to the benefits bestowed by the Lotu,
worked in favour of the missionary attempts to effect changes in
Samoan society.

43 SSL, Day, 25 March, 1844.
44 Sulu Samoa, 2:5 (1844).
45 cf. p. 42 ff. It is important, too, that other denominations,
according to current traditions in Samoa, are thought to
have initiated a similar feagaiga relationship with their
Samoan adherents.
46 It will be understood, of course, as will be seen in the
case of the Samoan faife'ou, that missionary authority, as
such, would be restricted to matters conceived to be
related to or affecting the benefits mediated by the Lotu.
This mana was to some degree passed on through those most closely associated with the missionaries - the Samoan agents of the mission societies. The importance of this was explicitly recognised by the Karist missionaries, because, indeed, it accorded well with traditional Catholic conceptions of ecclesiastical authority. Bishop Elloy expressed the connection in strong terms:

C'est que ce peuple a un respect inné pour ce qu'il appelle tofia, la mission donnée. Quand un père va mourir, il souffle sur son fils en lui disant: - 'Reçois la succession de ma charge, avec toute la sagesse nécessaire pour la replier.' Et les Samoans pensent, avec raison, qu'il en est de l'ordre spirituel comme de l'ordre naturel, et qu'il faut qu'il y ait des pouvoirs transmis. Or celui-là seul qui possède ces pouvoirs, les cède à qui il lui plaît et comme il lui plaît, et celui qui les reçoit n'a rien à objecter. Qu'il fasse ce qu'on lui dit de faire, et qu'il se rende à l'endroit où on lui ordonne de se rendre. C'est au fond le grand argument de l'apostolique de l'Église. Nos catéchistes et même nos fidèles sans grande instruction, savent très-bien retourner cet argument contre les protestants, à qui ils reprochent de ne pas avoir le tofia, c'est-à-dire de mission reçue des apôtres et des successeurs de Pierre.47

It was perhaps fortunate for them, that the Karists were able to stress this model of the transmission of authority, for, during the first twenty years of their mission, they sadly neglected the creation of a trained body of catechists, with skills, seen by the majority of Samoans, as the marks of God's mana. It is in this field that the L.M.S. mission had such marked success.

Their first Samoan teachers were those appointed by their villages, or by themselves, to travel to Sapapali'i to learn the Lotu from the Tahitian teachers. From 1836 onwards, the L.M.S. missionaries attempted to form these on a regular basis. Initially for want of resources they simply sent men from remote villages to one of the missionary stations, to learn the fundamentals of the new religion. Gradually, however, they turned their attention more fully to the question of the regular training of teachers.

In 1839 Hardie began the formal instruction of teachers in "divinity" and later, in 1843, Murray began similar classes on Tutuila. The natural inclinations of the missionaries, combined with the experience of the L.M.S. elsewhere in the Pacific, led them to believe that further progress in Samoa would depend upon their being able to train efficiently a body of Samoan teachers. The momentous decision was taken in 1844 to buy unoccupied land at Malua, on the boundary between the northern Tuamasaga and A'ana, and there to establish a training institution.

48 cf. p. 93.

49 cf. e.g. MS, Hardie, Journal, 1836, July 30. Hardie also used the church members of the newly formed church at Sapapali'i as teachers in other villages. SSJ, Hardie, 1837, Sept. 29. Murray, on Tutuila, was using Samoans as teachers from 1837, too. Forty years mission work, pp. 64-91.

Throughout the period, the college was under the direction of, usually two, European missionaries. The missionaries in the field were responsible for the choice of students, though an entrance examination was held, too.\(^{51}\) Those chosen spent four years at Malua, covering a course that dealt not only with the study of the Bible, Christian doctrine and church history, and training for the work involved in their future pastorates, but also with the elements of a general education—geography, arithmetic, and astronomy, for instance. The supervision of the students' lives was total: they worked in the plantations which supported the institution, their wives received instruction also. Moreover, some of the students began their education at Malua in the high school, which quickly became a preparation for the higher education offered in the teachers' institution. It goes without saying, that throughout this period both their doctrine and their behaviour was carefully observed.

While, even in the 1870's there were teachers who had not trained at Malua, still working in the villages, the Institution received its accolade when it was laid down that none but its graduates could be ordained.\(^{52}\) After ten years, 121 men had been trained, while a decade later, in 1867, there were regularly eighty to ninety students in residence, with perhaps a dozen going

\(^{51}\) cf. p. 251. After their ordination the pastors took over the task of choosing candidates for Malua.

\(^{52}\) SSL, copy of SDC minutes, 27 Oct. to 2 Nov. 1874.
into the villages each year. 53 By 1870 over 500 teachers had been trained, 250 of whom were still in active service. 54 It is evident why the demand for teachers evinced by villages during the 1830's was soon satisfied, and attention became concentrated on trying to obtain a European missionary. 55

In the case of the Lotu Toga teachers employed in Peter Turner's Church, had received very little training at all. Indeed the fundamental requirement was that they had learned to read the elementary books. 56 In appears even that the Tongan teachers were not well equipped in this respect. 57 Thus their employment corresponded rather, to the early L.M.S. use of church members as teachers. This was, of course, at a stage of the history of the Lotu in Samoa, when the full advantages of an educated pastorate and what this implied, in the way of training, had not been realized by the Samoans. Moreover, as has been remarked, and as will be discussed later, the fundamental dynamic of Wesleyanism, in this early period, lay first in the revivalistic type of growth, and secondly, and especially after the departure of European missionaries, in the use of Samoan forms, in dance and probably music, in services and classes. There were,

53 SR. (16) Dec. 1854. SSR, Turner, 11 Oct., 1867. There was evidently a moderate drop-out rate through illness, family needs; and discipline. cf. Turner, Nineteen years, p. 125.
54 SSR. Turner, 11 Oct., 1867.
55 In 1880 Davies stated that it was necessary to provide a pastor for every village lest the "pupils or Wesleyans... eagerly rush in." SSR. Davies, 31 March, 1880.
57 SSL, Buzacott, 20 Oct., 1835.
evidently, no attempts to train teachers, formally; indeed, as has been seen, even the elementary education of children was neglected. 58

Upon Dyson's arrival in Samoa, he worked hard to establish Wesleyanism on a basis similar to that of the London Society. This included the establishment of training institutions to provide an educated pastorate. 59

The neglect of the Marist mission in training an educated body of catechists paralleled their neglect in producing an indigenous literature. This was in spite of the fact that they were well aware of the disadvantages under which they suffered, (though they abhorred some of its implications with respect to the position that the Protestant pastors occupied in the villages). 60

For the first twenty years of the mission, each priest merely chose his assistants (fesooscani) of widely varying abilities but most of whom, according to Sage, hardly knew how to read or write: "ils parlent et disent des riens ou disent des sottises

58 cf. p. 181.

59 cf. pp. 182-4. Training at Piula College was explicitly based on that at Malua. Austin, op. cit. pp. 166, 169, 179. Dyson's use of L.M.S. sermon outlines, refutes Tippett's assertion that the L.M.S. policy in Samoa contrasted in this respect with that of the Wesleyans, though he is correct in pointing to the emphasis of Wesleyans upon getting converts to speak of their own experiences. cf. Tippett, op. cit. p. 131. In 1879 there were fifteen catechists (leoleo) and fifty teachers (a'oa') working in villages. Lesser officers, who corresponded to L.M.S. deacons (tikars) and who were presumably not trained at Piula, numbered 230. The ratio of trained leaders to number of adherents was therefore rather higher than the corresponding ratio in the L.M.S. as one would expect with Wesleyan congregations being, presumably, smaller than those of the L.M.S. on average.

60 cf. pp. 236, 250.
[sic] et font du catechisme à la protestante."  

In their pleas for a training institution, the priests made comparisons with the success of Malua, and the expectations that this raised among Catholics, of their own missionaries. Nevertheless, it was not until 1861 that a decision was made by Bataillon to begin a similar institution, and not until 1864 that it began work with sixteen students under the care of Sage. In the mid 1870's, a new college was built at Mt. Vaea, and catechists in training may have numbered about thirty. In the mind of Bishop Elloy, at least, the fundamental emphasis of the training was to provide a basis for combatting Protestant criticisms of Catholicism. Considerable emphasis was laid,

61 ASM II, p. 384, Sage, 18 Oct., 1864. Elloy reports having obtained catechists from converts among the L.R.S. teachers. At least one of these had been disciplined by that society, and had spent some years free from the restraints of the mission, before becoming a Catholic. ONE: Elloy, 8 Aug., 1859; 20 Nov., 1862.

62 e.g. ONE: Roudaire, Beginning of 1847; Elloy, 8 Aug., 1859. Elloy and Violette also made the same comparison later, in asking for increased aid for the Samoan mission. ONE, Violette, 18 Sept., 1875. Les Missions Catholiques. (1874) p. 326: Elloy, 20 Oct., 1873; p. 336, Elloy 24 Jan., 1874. Of SSL, Murray, 30 Oct., 1860, which shows that the L.R.S. missionaries were well aware of the advantages they enjoyed in this respect.


64 APT 51 (1879) p. 65. Elloy, Report. The Bishop's figures for the number of students are confusing. He says there were about 100 at the time of writing, at Vaea. This almost certainly includes the wives and children of trainee catechists. He says that at the opening of the college there were only thirty. In 1875, Vidal had reported that there were only six or seven aspiring catechists, and that it was planned that there should be thirty or forty. In 1876, Estienne reported that there were twenty, without wives, and a few more married. There had been only nine, when the college had started. ONE: Vidal, 13 Jan., 1875; Estienne, 27 Sept., 1876.
too, by means of "retreats", on a training in Catholic spirituality, among feroasaani, and it is likely that this sort of formation began in their initial training. 65

The L.M.S. teachers, once having entered into their work in the villages, did not cease from their close association with the missionaries. At the beginning of the period, at least in some areas, they were based at the missionary station, and were sent out by him to various villages in his district. Later, as pastors, of village churches, they resided in the villages. Nevertheless, wherever practicable, they met with the missionary once a week, to discuss their work, particularly for the coming Sunday. This meeting was called a tofīca (giving rise to the name for Thursday: "Aso Tofīca", the day on which such meetings were usually held.) Often, especially at the beginning, the missionary laid down the subject for preaching, and later the Society published successive volumes of sermon outlines to serve as a guide. 66 The decisions of the teachers were always subject to the overall supervision of the missionary, though it must be admitted that in some districts, this must have been difficult to exercise in the more remote villages. 67

65 cf. ASM II, pp. 53-6. Vidal, 8 July, 1878, who describes a four day retreat held for catechists on Tutuila.

66 cf. e.g. O Lauga (Samoa, 1858). Missionary attempts to direct the work of the teachers were codified in G. Turner's O le gaiuga a le muusa a Jesu. (The work of the servant of Jesus), a work of pastoral theology first published in 1860.

67 cf. e.g. SSL, Stallworthy, 13 July, 1859. Later the pastors of each district were to hold quarterly meetings. The pastors of the sub-divisions of districts met monthly. Lovett, op. cit. I, p. 400, giving text of report of L.M.S. deputation to Samoa in 1888.
Within a village the faise'a'u were involved in a round of preaching, teaching children's schools, and most importantly, observing the conduct of church members and candidates, and admonishing the wayward. As will appear, their freedom to act lay in a delicate balance between traditional authority in the village, and their status as mediators of the mana of the Lotu, by virtue of their training and association with the missionaries. 68

That the pastors were valued for their learning is widely attested. One priest wrote in 1879 that a Samoan village considered that its glory and good fortune was to have a wise man who knew what to do on Sundays, could teach reading and writing, write for those who could not, give advice to the newly married and the sick. This man was the Protestant pastor. He went on to add that

Une des convictions les plus profondes de ces élèves de Malua c'est qu'ils sont en possession de la science tout entière soit humaine, soit divine, les arts, les science les plus profondes les plus variées voire même la physique. 69

Broyer recounts how, in a debate between Protestant pastors, and the Catholic catechist at Leuili'i, the former introduced questions about the sun, moon, stars, thunder, and the distance between the earth and the moon. 70 As the L.M.S. delegation of 1888 reported:

68 Aspects of the interplay of these forces will be discussed in Chapters IV and V.
69 ONE, Gavet, July 1879.
70 ONE, Broyer, 16 Aug., 1876. While the catechist's assertion that, in the context, these questions were irrelevant, nevertheless, from the L.M.S. missionaries' point of view, such knowledge was useful, for it was corrosive of traditional beliefs they regarded as superstitious.
"In knowledge Samoan pastors stand at a higher level than the body of the people, higher even than that occupied by the chiefs and leaders of the nation."  

It might be expected, from a knowledge of traditional Samoan conceptions of the relationship between skill and the supernatural, that, in the minds of the Samoans, the learning of the pastors was closely related to the supernatural sources of their authority. That these were important is suggested by a number of considerations. According to Broyer, a teacher involved in a dispute about Mary, claimed to be superior to her on the grounds that: "... moi, je vois le Père éternel, je suis rempli du St. Esprit." That this was not just an idiosyncratic exaggeration is indicated by the warning that George Turner found it necessary to deliver to the pastors:

71 Lovett, loc. cit.

72 cf. pp. 57-58.

73 ONE, Broyer, 16 Aug., 1876.
While the missionary stressed that it was the devout study of scripture which enabled the pastor to deliver God's will, it is quite evident that Samoans were already impressed by the view, widely held today, that the pastor is God's visible representative ("O le su'i va'ai o le Atua). It is this view of the pastor which lay behind the conception of his relationship with the village as being a feagaiga. As Milner argues, it is the supposed power of one party to bring supernatural sanctions to bear, that is the

74 "The preaching of the servant of Jesus is fine, but he is only a servant. He is not God. But if we read the word of God, then God will preach to us." Turner, O le valuera a le susumu a Jesu. (Second ed. Halua, 1912). p. 10. (The text of this edition is identical to that of 1860). As will be seen, the villages laid great stress on the importance of preaching. No doubt this was connected to the fact that it was believed to be the deliverance of the word of God. The phrase used by the missions to translate this: "O le afioera a le Atua" could also be understood simply as "The Lord God." This fact may have lain behind Turner's warning. The possession and knowledge of the scriptures was, indeed, in the end, to provide an important basis for the growing independence of the L.I.S. pastorate. Harbutt cites approvingly the case of an L.I.S. teacher who told a priest that "If the words of our missionaries be not in agreement with the holy book we will not receive them - so shall we do with you." SSL, Harbutt, 15 April, 1857. cf. e.g. SSL: Murray, 20 Aug., 1861; Powell, 26 Sept., 1873. Bown, George Bown. p. 53. O le galuera, pp. 9, 10. cf. F.M. Keesing, Modern Samoa, (London, 1934), p. 409: "... the Bible, together with the interpretation placed upon it, appear to have an all but magical finality."

75 Personal information. cf. Young, op. cit., p. 75; Keesing, Modern Samoa, p. 409; C.C. Marsack, Samoan Medicine, (London, 1961), p. 84. Gilson, Samoa, 1830-1900, p. 27.
source of respect and service due to him. 76 It was for this reason that the faife'au, the polite name for whom was feagaiga, was accorded the place of highest honour in the village, though he held no title. 77 As the L.M.S. teacher, Penisimani of Amoa, told Brown, in explaining the phrase "poi ma ʻava":

E leaga lava pea faale poipoi ma faale ʻava i alii ma tulafale ma tanaitai, a ma le faifeau, ia poi ma ʻava ia ai i le mea o nofo ai, eau le tagofia ana mea e le gaoi, ma tagata ulavale, pe soli lona fa'aua ma lona lotoa pop.se tasi lava ana mea, aia poi lava ma ʻava i ai. 78

That the fundamental reason for this respect was religious, and pertained to the well being of the village as a whole, is suggested by his explanation of the word "taloaiga": it referred, he said, to the dying out of a village because of the


77 The pastors were believed by Samoans to be "about the best off set of men amongst them." MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1853, Jan. 3. cf. SSL, Powell, 1 Sept., 1851. Of teachers who complained about their conditions of employment, he said: "it was evident to all... that they were better provided for and more honoured in the work than out of it."

78 "It is very bad if chiefs and orators and ladies are not venerated and respected, but especially the faife'au. Let him be respected and venerated in the place where he lives; don't let his property be touched by the thief, and wicked people, or his land and yard trampled upon, or anything else of his property, but respect and venerate him." MS, Brown, Papers, "Tales by Penisimani", Vol. I. p. 40.
death of its ali'i and tama'ata'i. He added:

...E faapea ona leaga o se nuu pea talocina i le
galuega a le Atua, pea leai ni tusi paia, na ni faifaa, na ni aseo e faia saa'iga o le malo o
le Atua e lelei ai le nuu.79

It was no doubt for a related reason that Samoans were extremely
concerned that regular services be held in their village, on the
Sunday, and that, especially, a sermon be delivered.80

It is not surprising, then, to find that, as with the
missionaries, the pastor's house was considered to be an
appropriate refuge for those in imminent danger of retribution
for their offences.81 A pastor too, as today, could walk into
a middle of a brawl, to break it up, without fear of personal
harm.82 In this respect then, the Samoan faife'au were heirs
both to the formal fe'amiga made between the European missionaries,
and their Samoan adherents, and to a parallel series of traditional
relationships between skilled persons and their

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79 "Thus a village is hurt if the work of God dies out, if
there are no Bibles, no faife'au nor teachers to conduct
the services of the kingdom of God, to make things good
for the village." Ibid., p. 47.

80 ASM, II, p. 384. Sage, 18 Oct., 1864. ONE, Garnier,
14 Oct., 1872.

81 cf. MS, Brown, Journal, 1867, July 30. He writes of the
violation of an L.M.S. teacher's house as a sanctuary,
as if it were a grave exception.

82 SSL, Pratt, 31 Dec., 1859. As with the missionaries,
the persons and property of the faife'au were safe from
attack in time of war, "By virtue of office." SSL,
Turner, 16 April, 1869. Attacks on members of their
family were countered by threats of their permanent
removal from a village. MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1853,
April 2.
"clients". It would thus be a mistake to imagine that this relationship gave the fa'afo'i a comprehensive power over the title-holders of the village. The relationship denoted by "fa'afo'i" was asymmetrical: it implied the granting of powers or authority in some matters, which compensated for others that were lost. In this respect the missionary requirement of avoidance of involvement in "secular pursuits" on their own part, and that of their teachers, and which was expressed in the barring of teachers from holding titles, and in their not being allowed to serve in their own villages, co-incided nicely with Samoan conceptions. Thus the

Richard Moyle has, in a personal communication, pointed to the "similarities of function and attitudes towards the non-Christian healer and the Christian fa'afo'i." I had, indeed, been struck by this similarity, and with the parallel positions of other skilled persons such as the tuitai and the tutuva. The characteristic feature of this, as Killen suggests, seems to be that defined by the concept of fa'e'amata. This, no doubt, is the truth behind Head's report that the fa'afo'i were regarded as the successors of the old taualiga. Head, Social organization of Ha'apai, p. 147. Gilson also points to the operation of a fa'e'amata between the fa'afo'i and his village, but does not explicitly relate this to the operation of supernatural sanctions tied to the position of the pastor as God's representative. Gilson, loc. cit.

Though the missionaries early used chiefs of their Lotu in their proselytizing, it was quickly established and made general after training at Helus had begun, that teachers should not also be engaged in "secular pursuits", which meant, among other things, that they could not hold titles, nor even reside in their own village. Turner, Nineteen years, p. 263. It is interesting that this last requirement was, at least by one village, and this a village that had shown a considerable degree of resistance to the Lotu, applied more strictly than by the missionaries themselves. Nisbet could not persuade the village of Salelava to accept the teacher, Su'a, because he was related to them. It may be that such a relationship was considered to be unpriopitious. Nisbet, Journal, 1857, Aug. 20. Thus, while titleholders did take positions under Peter Turner, and under the Catholic mission, in its early days, as catechists and teachers, it is probable that once
feifo'au had power in precisely those matters which were conceived to be concerned with the *mana* of the Lotu, that is, the *mana* of God. They had no part to play, however, in the ordinary decision making of the village *fono*.

Naturally these spheres of influence were not defined with absolute clarity, and, as will be seen in subsequent chapters, there was room for manoeuvre and development. Although the general features of the relationship just outlined applied to the Samoan agents of all three denominations, there were some differences in emphasis between the denominations and over a period of time. After 1853, for instance, the London Society pastors, were paid in property and cash by their villages: this presumably both made them more dependent in their specifically religious functions upon the belief in supernatural sanctions; and also provided them with an opportunity and a motive to exploit village rivalries for their own material benefit.85

Both Wesleyans and Marists began the regular training of teachers, that the same requirement of non-involvement in village *fono* politics would hold. Elloy speaks especially of the appointment of catechists to villages distant from their homes. *APP 51* (1879) p. 68. Report. He also states that the authority of the catechist over the chief's lay "dans l'ordre des choses de la religion." ibid., p. 70.

85 cf. p. 413f. Gilson, *Samoan, 1830–1900*, p. 130. It must be remembered, of course, that there were positive values associated with gifts made under the influence of such rivalry—both with respect to one's own family, and also with respect to the faifo'au.
As has been suggested, the Catholic catechists relied more directly on their relationship to the priests, and, hence, on the associated supernatural sanctions, than on the training they might have received. Indeed, they were regarded as the personal assistants of the priests, and through them, and through a commission, as the representatives of the Bishop in the village. 86 It is probable that they received neither property nor money as payment, but simply provision of a house and food. Like their missionaries, they would have been expected to live a relatively humble life style, which would have been re-inforced, in any case, by the smaller size of Catholic congregations. 87

The lack of training of Wesleyan teachers before the arrival of Dyson, would have placed them in a similar position. However, the chiefs of the Lotu Toga wielded a considerably greater influence in its affairs, than did their I.M.S. counterparts, and probably the relationship between leaders

86 APF, 51 (1879) pp. 69-70. Elloy Report. cf. p. 229. By the 1880's the title of fescanoeni (assistant) was restricted to those who had received formal appointment to the charge of a village or school. A particular mode of dress was reserved to them, too, in the carrying out of their functions. ON - 600. Activitas Pastorulis, Conferences Théologiques, 1886. By this time, perhaps, formal training was a more important component of their status.

87 No such payment is mentioned in accounts of the catechists' position in the villages. Nor did the priests ever mention or complain of the material success of their agents, as did their I.M.S. counterparts. Their counter criticism of the Protestant teachers indicates that they would have disapproved of such a development. The Catholic catechist, too, lacked the strong disciplinary function over a select group of church members and candidates, enjoyed by the Protestant faife'au.
and village varied according to the idiosyncrasies of each situation. After Dyson's arrival, and despite minor differences in structure, the pastorate of the two societies were placed on a similar basis. Dyson could thus make a statement about his leaders that might have been made by any L.M.S. missionary:

The lotu & education have won the esteem of most of these merry & light-hearted islanders. Hence a teacher is always respected & honored as a chief whatever may have been his former poverty & position among the people.

It may be seen, therefore, that, in the first place, many of the standards of behaviour enjoined by the missionaries, were adopted by the Samoans because they were seen to be part and parcel of the presence of the lotu, and its skilled personnel, among them. This particularly applied to some of the universally adopted changes, such as the observance of the Sabbath, and of dress that appropriately covered their bodies, according to missionary ideas of propriety. It also included attempts to ban the nu'ula. Many other changes, however, were effected for limited periods of time in particular individuals, and in a part, only, of the population, by the functioning of the systems of discipline set up by the Protestant societies. It is their structure and the way in which they brought into play traditional Samoan social values, that will now be discussed.

88 cf. pp. 131, 142 f. Many of Peter Turner's teachers, who, were, in effect, at a lower level than mere members of the L.M.S. churches, in terms of education and formed scarcely less than the same proportion of total adherents, were chiefs. It is probable that the notion of fea'aima did not operate as effectively under these circumstances.

89 WAP, Dyson, Journal extract, 10 May, 1859.
The different groups organized within the body of adherents of the L.M.S. in Samoa, had as their explicit object, the achievement and maintenance of certain standards of behaviour. In 1832, Williams, in discussing with the Tahitian teachers the changes they should require from the Samoans, said that any attempt to alter most of the unsatisfactory items, would have to wait for the formation of "meetings" when the "time to enforce in them the renunciation of those things which are inconsistent with a decided and sincere profession of religion" would have arrived.90

It was to the formation of these "meetings" or "classes" that the missionaries addressed themselves from 1836 on. While there were variations between districts and in time, in the precise structure, their general relationship, and purpose is clear. At the bottom of the rung were the classes for reading and writing. Success in these arts became a pre-requisite for entry into the church at a later stage.91 Next were the "inquirers'" classes. These had as their object, the dissemination of Christian doctrine, and even more importantly, a careful watch on the behaviour of the "inquirer" over a long period of time, to ensure that it was "consistent". Successful fulfilment of these requirements led on to baptism.

90 SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 22.

91 cf. SSL copy of minutes of meeting of Native Pastor's Delegates, 12 Nov., 1875, included in copy of minutes of SDC, 22 Jan., 1878.
Sometimes this led also directly to church membership, but at other times, the baptized went through a further stage as "candidates" before they became members. If it did lead to church membership, then the first class was generally known as a "candidates'" class.92

The essence of the church and membership in it, was put quite simply by George Turner: "O le ekalesia lava lea, o tagata foi ua vavae ese i tagata amio leaga, ma ua matau 'au fantasi ma Iesu."93 Turner went on to explain that only those who were saved should be received into the church, and that salvation consisted in being delivered from punishment, and entering into a right relationship with God, in itself a preparation for the church in heaven.94 Ideological aspects of this theory will be discussed later. What is important here is the practical implication. Church membership was membership of an elite who had successfully met the behavioural requirements of the missionaries.

92 The variations in gradation are not important to the discussion here. There were also prayer meetings and sometimes another which gloried in the name: "Society for the promotion of morals" but which was known more prosaically as the "Friday", after the day on which it was held. cf. e.g. SSL, Pratt, 10 Feb., 1841.

93 "The church are those people separated out from the badly behaved, and who are in fellowship with Jesus." G. Turner, O le galeuega a le gauama a Iesu.

94 ibid., p. 59.
Nor was church membership the peak of the pyramid. A select group among church members were deacons. Their particular task was to take care of the financial needs of the church and of the pastor within a village, to arrange its missionary contributions, and in general to lighten the pastor's load in any way they could. Above these were the Samoan pastors, \((\text{faife'au})\) who were especially chosen and trained for their positions by the missionaries. The missionaries themselves exercised an overall supervision, though they were careful always to work through the meetings of church members and of the pastorate, to achieve their purposes at the appropriate level. As a group, they met together in the

95 \(\text{O le taitai mo e ua i le ekalesia. (Samoa, 1845) p. 6.}\) Probably the deacons were those who were also permitted to pray in public and to preach. cf. e.g. SDC, 30 Aug., 1837. SSL, Heath, 16 April, 1838. Dyson made a comparison between Wesleyan "Local Preachers" and a similar L.K.S. office holder.

96 The Samoan agents of the L.K.S. were early called \(\text{a'ecato (teachers), by the missionaries. I have, however, tended to use the term \text{faife'au throughout this chapter.}\) Williams recorded the use of a cognate of this word on Nuatoputapu in 1832 (SSJ, Williams, 1832, Nov. 6), when the teacher of the Lotu there, referred to himself as the \text{faife'au}. The word may, thus have a Tongan origin, though it is not now used in this sense in that group. In Samoa it refers to ministers in general, whether European or Samoan; however, as the term \text{misi} was used for the missionaries, I here use it to refer to the Samoan pastors alone. The word, according to Pratt, is an adaptation of the use of the verb meaning "to go on a message". Pratt, Dictionary of the Samoan language. p. 127.
Samoan District Committee, to determine the general policy of the mission in Samoa. 97

It is not difficult to see the opportunities that this structure offered for a prestige-conscious people. According to George Stallworthy:

...It is with Samoans at least with many of them as with the natives of other South Seas Islands, they are anxious to get and retain some religious standing. The aim of some is humble not rising higher than the reading, or the bible class. When one step is gained many seem to rest content for months and years. After a time they bestir themselves to advance another grade. Their new standing pleases and satisfies them for a season ... At length they get into the church. That point gained not a few seem to look upon themselves with no small complacency ... any earnestness and diligence they evinced before is now laid aside ...

In many cases, it may be feared, the realization of the idea of a future existence is so feeble, that hope or fear in regard to it have scarcely a place in the mind. 98

97 This structure underwent development in the period being considered, so that the Samoan pastors, eventually ordained, gained a greater say in the making of policy. At the same time they became more dependent on the support of their adherents in the particular villages, upon which territorial units, the L.K.S. churches were, in the end, based. The effect of this development will be discussed in Chapter V. It will appear, however, that though Samoans could not aspire to be a European missionary, standing at the top of the pyramid which was their church structure, they certainly did desire to take over many of their functions and their status. The missionaries recognised their role as episcopal, and that the L.K.S. mission in Samoa contained elements both of Presbyterianism, seen in the corporate powers of the pastorate, and of Independency, seen in the degree of autonomy of the local churches, cf. e.g. Whitnall's article in SM, (New Series II) Feb. 1870. The reformation that this was the case did not alarm them, nor need it have done, for the "fundamental principle" of the L.K.S. stated that "the society's design is not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopal, or any other form of church order and government ... but the glorious Gospel of the blessed God to the heathen." R. Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society. (London, 1899) II, p.259.

It is interesting that the now independent successor of the L.K.S. in Samoa, the Kalasha Fa'aponoatona Fa'amalali no Samoa (E.P.K.S.) preserves the role of the missionary in that of the Faifieina Fa'amalali (Elder Pastor).

98 SSL, Stallworthy, 15 Aug., 1848.
The status acquired with each new level attained in the hierarchy, could be a justification, in itself, for the acceptance of restrictions at the dictate of the missionaries. 99 It is not surprising then, that Pratt found, when he abolished his Friday meeting because it was leading some to think they could achieve salvation through satisfactory conduct, and was, moreover, tending "to obliterate the line of demarcation which should ever separate the church from the world", that the meeting's members immediately enrolled in the class of candidates for baptism. 100 Their carefully acquired status as members of the meeting could not be allowed to go to waste.

The prestige associated with church membership was notorious among the missionaries, throughout the period. Murray warned in the early 1840's: "... it is honourable in a high degree to be in the church, so that the danger of persons wishing to get in from wrong motives is very great." 101 Watson, in 1868, thought "Many of them have not a proper idea of the solemnity of making a Christian profession. The notion is much too common that to be connected with the church is a respectable kind of thing." 102

99 What these restrictions were are discussed in detail later.
100 SSL, Pratt, 10 Feb., 1841.
101 SSR, Murray, 1840-1842.
102 SSR, Watson, 9 Feb., 1868. The prestige is perhaps indicated by Churchward's report that the wearing of hats was a particular mark of church membership among women and that "should a member retire from her position she will more often than otherwise discontinue wearing her hat." Churchward, op. cit., p. 398.
The evidence that the position of faife'au was valued for its prestige is less direct, but perhaps, in the end, even stronger. Naturally men who occupied such a position had to satisfy European missionaries over a considerable period of time, that their motives in seeking the work were creditable. Among the writings of the L.M.S. missionaries, then, one does not find straight-out criticism, though certainly, the desire for the position was noted. Nevertheless, it is possible to read between the lines of George Turner's work for Samoan pastors. They were warned not to be proud of a command of language, not to imagine that they were God, Himself, not to dress in finery, nor to crave the praises of men as experts engaged in works of wisdom. Perhaps this is only what one might expect of a missionary bred from stern Presbyterian stock. Nonetheless, it was a constant allegation on the part of the Marist priests that the L.M.S. teachers were "lords" in their villages and had an over-developed consciousness of their prestige. This is supported by other considerations.

103 SR. (17) Jan. 1856. SSR, Davies, 6 Nov., 1868. Davies was pleased at the desire evinced, though he knew that it was believed that "no greater honour can be conferred than to be sent to Malua for a course of training previous to entering upon the work of evangelist." The Wesleyan, Peter Turner, who had a slight knowledge of individual teachers only, complained of the problem of their motivation. MS, Turner, Journal, 1836, Feb. 9; 1837, Sept. 15.

104 G. Turner, O le galua, pp. 9, 10, 23, 52, 53.

105 ONE: (signature missing on photocopy), 14 May, 1857; Poupinel, 1 Nov., 1861; Sage, July 1879.
An L.M.S. woman once mocked her husband, dressing up to meet Dyson: "Aua a te faafia fa'i faifeau mamopo." Churchward writes strongly of the "ambition" of the L.M.S. pastors. The prestige of the position is revealed, too, in Marriott's observation of 1880:

A great number of men [come] to our class room on the two days of the year when we hold our entrance exam. Many of them fail and fail again. Yet ere long we see them again as eager as ever to get the marks which will entitle them to a pass in Malua ... In too many cases if a youth is bright in his studies and is a member of the Church - he is urged to think of Malua.108

It is important to look closely at the processes whereby these elites recruited their membership, and at their positions within Samoan society, both in order to understand more fully the nature of the prestige enjoyed, and to identify the means by which standards of behaviour were enforced.

106 "Don't try and show off like a pastor". MS, Dyson, Journal, Feb. 23. Churchward, as did the Marist missionaries, commented on the dress of the Samoan Protestant pastors, saying that if they could, they would entirely imitate that of the missionaries. op. cit., p. 267.

107 ibid., p. 81.

108 SSR, Marriott, Sept. 1880. This situation still applies today. Dyson writes in a similar vein. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1859, July 12. Another way in which the enthusiasm to be faife'au was manifested was in the many applications to accompany the missionaries, as teachers, to the islands of the Western Pacific, principally the New Hebrides. Despite the manifest danger, and the high mortality rate, these applications did not wane. Nor, necessarily, did the teachers enjoy the same prestige among the islanders to whom they went, as they would have in Samoa. Nevertheless, their position as missionaries, would have enhanced their status in Samoan eyes. Samoans tended to value the services of Polynesians from other groups, higher than those of their fellow Samoans. cf. SSJ, Heath, 21 Oct., 1839. Sulu Samoa 1:2,3 (1840).
It was the considered opinion of the missionaries that "...it is Puritanism in its nobler forms which is necessary to the intellectual and religious advance of this people."\(^{109}\)

This meant in practice that those who aspired to church membership, and those who had attained it, were under a constant scrutiny as to their behaviour (and their doctrine). As the missionaries, until 1875, largely retained the right to recommend admission to the Church, this involved prodigious feats of interviewing. In a three week tour of his district in 1859, for instance, Stallworthy conversed individually with 257 of a total of 448 candidates, of whom he approved 118 and left them in the hands of the teachers to be proposed to the churches for membership.\(^{110}\)

Nor was the decision based on these interviews a simple matter. J.B. Stair wrote:

...I find the conversation with, and selecting from Candidates a most difficult thing - Religion is so fashionable now in Samoa that we cannot do otherwise than take a long time to observe the conduct of those who desire to connect themselves with the people of God.\(^{111}\)

The emphasis on behaviour was paramount, and though, certainly, the candidate's own account of himself was important, the missionaries clearly had to rely on the reports of others, particularly the pastors. "Their daily deportment is closely observed by persons on whom I can rely...", explained Murray.\(^{112}\)

110 SSL, Stallworthy, 13 July, 1859.
111 SSL, Stair, 14 Nov., 1842.
112 SSJ, Murray, 1840, July 16.
Candidates, indeed, were encouraged to report on the conduct of their fellows, while, as the final decision was made at a meeting of the church members, no doubt their opinions and knowledge would have weight.113 All this was rendered doubly necessary, in the eyes of the missionaries, by their belief that: "... Samoans can easily simulate the greatest degree of sanctity of deportment."114 Nisbet, after dealing with a disciplinary matter soon after his arrival in Samoa, was horrified to learn that "the natives bind themselves by the most solemn oaths to secrecy in some of their sins."115

This secrecy was not the general pattern however. Probably this was because it was frequently impossible, in any case:

When church members prove unfaithful, it can hardly be concealed. Their conduct is pretty open to the world, and not only is the eye of the ungodly open and vigilant, his tongue also is ever ready to trumpet abroad any inconsistencies which he may discover in the professors of Christianity.116

113 O le taitai. p. 13.
114 SSL, Pratt, 10 June, 1851.
115 MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1843, June 2.
116 G. Turner, Nineteen years. p. 158 cf. Lovett, op. cit., I, p. 399, giving a text of a report of an L.M.S. deputation to Samoa in 1888. Moyle found, too, that: "Most Samoan adults were quite willing to give an estimation of the character of anyone else living in the same village." "Samoan Traditional Music", p. 19. A student at Kalua Theological College told me that one of the difficulties facing a pastor when he first went into a village, was to avoid the pressure put on him by one faction telling stories against another.
Moreover, as will be seen, there was a psychological pressure on wrong doers, in accordance with traditional religious beliefs, to confess their wrong-doing, in order to avoid misfortune. Thus Heath reported with satisfaction, "there is one feature of the Samoan character ... which is very commendable, a readiness to confess their faults & to submit to discipline."

To join the candidates' class or the church, then, was to place oneself under test, not only in the eyes of the missionary, but also in the eyes of one's fellow villagers. Continued success brought prestige, but failure, especially, perhaps, a failure which was initially denied or hidden, could bring shame, or at least a loss of status.

An immediate consequence of such a "fall" was that often the subject abandoned any attempt to fulfill the requirements in question. According to Bishop Elloy: "On ne s'occupe plus.

118 SSL, Heath, Report, 1837.
119 That it placed one under a test with supernatural dimensions to it, will be argued later. In 1875 it was laid down that twelve months candidature were necessary before membership. SSL, copy of SDC minutes, 22 Jan., 1875, encl. copy of minutes of a meeting of Native Pastor's Delegates 12 Nov., 1875. Sometimes, however, people were kept as candidates for up to ten years, and, according to Turner, in 1861, it was rare for any to be admitted before two or three years. Nineteen years, p. 136 f. The importance of the "prestige-shame value complex" for Protestant Christianity in Polynesia, is alluded to by Tippett. op. cit., p. 154.
Eventually, however, the threads were picked up again, so that, as Davies noted in 1871: "a large proportion of the candidates for church fellowship have been members in former years."\(^{121}\)

The verb used to refer to joining the church was "\(\text{ekph\(\alpha\)sia}\)" (also used for the church as a body, and deriving from the Greek); but in common parlance, significantly, the word "\(\text{\(\alpha\)pas}\)" (which means also "to make sacred" or "to prohibit") was used to refer to church members. The proportion of those thus "set apart", to ordinary adherents, was normally about a fifth, while candidates were a smaller group.\(^{122}\)

The church members enjoyed the privilege of partaking of holy communion and of meeting together monthly, with their pastors, and, at least till the mid-1870's, with the missionary, to consult with,

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120 Les missions catholiques. (1874) p. 322. Elloy, 20 Oct., 1873. Stallworthy, too, offered this as a reason for not expelling people from membership for participation in war alone. \(\text{SR. (8)}, \text{Sept. 1848. cf. e.g. SSL, Pratt, 10 June, 1851.}\)

121 SSR, Davies, 4 Nov., 1871. In 1888 it was reported that ten per cent of the membership came up for discipline annually. Lovett, loc. cit.

122 cf. e.g. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1858, Aug. 22, recording information given him by Ella for the A'ana district; \(\text{SR. (23)}, \text{May 1862. In time of war, this proportion dropped dramatically, for reasons that will become apparent. Gilson fails to take account of this in analysing the effect of reductions in missionary staff. cf. pp.417f ; Appendix II, p. 434.}\)
and agree with his decisions about admissions to church membership, and matters of discipline. \(^{123}\) Some of the prestige of church membership undoubtedly lay in this association with the missionaries.

It will thus be seen, that in their hierarchy of classes and church membership, leading on to the esteemed role of pastor, the L.M.S. had a powerful weapon by which to induce behavioural change among some of their adherents for some of the time, beyond what they attained among the wider body of adherents. Under Martin Dyson, and subsequently, the Wesleyans operated a similar system. \(^{124}\) The ratio of church members to the general body of adherents in the two societies, was not too dissimilar. \(^{125}\) Certainly, there was a finer grading within the hierarchy of leaders, and a slightly greater proportion of them to the total body of adherents. \(^{126}\) The combined numbers of church members and candidates

\(^{123}\) Formally, decisions were made by a show of hands, among church members, but, as the missionaries themselves recognised, they wielded such a preponderant moral suasion, that, in effect, it was their wishes that were carried into effect, in matters of discipline. cf. p. 420.


\(^{125}\) cf. Appendix II. The practice of infant baptism in both societies, meant that an early distinction in policy was almost obliterated by mid-century, though the L.M.S. baptized children of full members only. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1858, March 15, Aug. 22.

\(^{126}\) Wesleyan officers had the following titles, in descending order of importance: leoleo (overseers or catechists), a'ce'a'o (teachers), lauma (preachers), ta'ilai (leaders of classes). The first two classes corresponded to the L.M.S. teachers, while the latter to their deacons. The greater proportion of leaders to adherents can be explained largely in terms of the smaller size of Wesleyan congregations.
were slightly higher, generally, in the Wesleyan society than in the L.M.S.\footnote{127} Nevertheless, at any one time, there was a similar proportion of people attempting to meet the required standards of behaviour. The fact that in the L.M.S. only the full members were admitted to communion, of which Dyson disapproved, is unlikely to have meant much difference in practice, in this respect.\footnote{128}

In the Lotu Toga, under Peter Turner, the practice of early baptism had marked a major difference with the London society.\footnote{129} The system of close scrutiny of behaviour and doctrine practised as a pre-requisite for baptism, and subsequent membership of classes and the church, in its puritan inspiration, was, indeed, foreign to the original stress of Methodism on the free availability of grace, and hence, of ease of membership of the society itself.\footnote{130} In any case, Turner had not the means to oversee the rigorous imposition of standards.

\footnote{127 cf. Appendix II. There is point, therefore, to Tippett's analysis of the difference between the two societies, in this respect, though he chooses an atypical example, and exaggerates the difference. Tippett, op. cit., pp. 129, 133. cf. Murray, Forty years mission work, p. 42. Tippett's graphs of "L.M.S. communicant growth in Samoa by midcentury" are meaningless, because the figures in question are not related to the total number of adherents in each district, which themselves, are not defined. Nor is a date given. Tippett, op. cit., p. 117.}

\footnote{128 KS, Dyson, Journal, 1858, March 15; 1860, Feb. 25; 1861, April 12.}

\footnote{129 cf. p. 116; MS, Hardie, Journal, 1837, March 27.}

\footnote{130 A. Armstrong, The Church of England, the Methodists and Society, 1700-1850. (London, 1973), pp. 65, 81, 93.}
It was even with difficulty that he maintained among his teachers an ability to read, and his baptized adherents' ignorance of the elements of Christian doctrine was notorious among the L.M.S. missionaries. 131 It is true, though, that the position of teacher was keenly sought after, and, as has been suggested, this was a considerable inducement to learning to read. 132

The structure of the Wesleyan system under the Tongan teachers is not clear, for lack of information. That they did attempt some system of discipline is suggested by Pratt's report that a man had been demoted from the Wesleyan Society for failing to observe a fast on Good Friday. 133 That, however, this was largely unconnected with the dissemination of orthodox Christian doctrine, or with the skills so strongly associated with the European mission, is suggested both by Dyson's description of the church upon his arrival in 1857, and by the criticisms of the L.M.S. missionaries. 134

The structure of the organization set up by the Marist mission differed substantially from that of its Protestant counterparts. While, in the early years of the mission, converts underwent a long catechumenate leading up to baptism and membership of the church, with the baptism of children,

131 cf. p. 129.
132 cf. pp. 116,
133 SSL, Pratt, 6 July, 1852. cf. ibid., 31 March, 1848; 10 June, 1851.
and the steady training toward early confirmation, there was scarcely any formal distinction within the body of Catholic adherents, with respect to religious status, by the end of the period. There was no elite, membership of which could be gained by special effort. This, as will be seen in the next chapter, had important consequences for the position of chiefs belonging to the Lotu Pono.

Membership of the church was not conditional upon the achievement of certain standards of behaviour. Breaches of the code laid down by the missionaries, were dealt with through the discipline of the confessional. Here the missionary would have to rely on those sanctions already mentioned, attached to the authority of the mission, and those related sanctions, thought to have a supernatural origin. These will be discussed in the next section. It is true that a failure to show a proper contrition or to emend a disapproved pattern of behaviour would lead to exclusion from the sacraments, but this was far different in effect to the Protestant requirement of a renewed and lengthy period of trial. Indeed, the missionaries could impose a public penance only by permission of the bishop in each specific case.

135 In 1878, 4,581 of 4,963 Catholic adherents were baptized. ONE, Violette, 1 Jan., 1879. Great stress was laid upon baptism as a necessary condition for salvation, so that people in danger of death were baptized without further conditions. cf. ON - 600 Activitas Pastorals. Conferences Théologiques, 1886. ONE: Fr. Charles, 19 Dec., 1846; Vidal, 10 Aug., 1874; 19 Nov., 1877

136 A point recognised by the Marist missionaries. cf. APE 51 (1879) p. 49 f. Elloy, Report. ASM II p. 55, Vidal, 8 July, 1878.
Moreover, the standards required by the Catholic missionaries, were markedly less severe than the Protestant restrictions, as will be seen. Bishop Bataillon, too, instructed his priests not to lay undue stress upon the more difficult aspects of the Catholic faith, such as the indissolubility of marriage, during the period of the catechumenate. Rather, what was required was the learning of simple acts of piety such as prayers, the saying of the rosary, the sign of the cross, and the "necessary truths" of the faith.

Bataillon told his missionaries: "ne pas crier contre les danses et autres usages de ce genre; mais les laisser tomber d'eux mêmes autant que possible; faisant entendre qu'après le baptême on n'a plus de goût pour ces sortes de choses." Certainly, later, the missionaries did attempt the abolition of many of these customs, but the sanctions they used were those associated with their persons and the presence and use of the cult, rather than with expulsion from membership of an elite.

The discussion to this point has investigated the sanctions, both relating to the mana of the religion that they brought,

137 ONE, Palazy, May 1850, giving a copy of Bataillon's instructions. Unsatisfactory marriage arrangements did, however, later pose difficulties for admission to baptism of converts. CM-600 loc. cit.

138 ibid., cf. e.g. ONE, Elloy, 30 June, 1858.

139 ONE, Palazy, May 1850, copy of Bataillon's instructions.
and to the prestige of the ecclesiastical structures set up, that the missionaries, and their Samoan agents, could hope to use to effect desired changes. It will be useful to look at the Samoan understanding of the doctrine that the missionaries brought with them; and of some of the practical effects of that understanding.

B. Samoan understanding of Christian doctrine; Samoan religious practice.

To the European observer, one of the most striking aspects of Samoan religious life, has been the survival of traditional religious beliefs and practices up till the present day. 140 Most important amongst these has been a continuing belief in the activities of aitu. Such a belief in itself, is not of course, inconsistent with the practice of a religion whose scriptures speak of the activities of demons. In fact, as has been seen, in the epithet "fa'atevolo", the demons of scripture, and their prince, Satan, were early assimilated, in thought, to the Samoan aitu. 141 Indeed, after Dyson treated a woman, whose possessing demon he was asked to cast out, he commented: "After all it may be that such possessions would be removed by medicine yet I know not that any one can deny that heathens now may not be possessed as in our Lord's day." 142

140 cf. e.g. Rose, South Seas magic. (London, 1959), passim. Noel, "Samoan medical incantations." Personal information.

141 cf. p. 91.

142 MS, Dyson, Journal, 1860, April 27.
The Catholic missionaries, too, were inclined to go along with the Samoan belief in this respect, and on at least some occasions, allowed the use of holy water to drive away aitu. 143 It is important to note, however, that the use of traditional Samoan means of cure, which involved the use of incantations and ritual action was disapproved by all three missions. 144 If the Samoans were possessed by demons, and if they wished to remain on side with the missions, then they had to resort to the missionaries for help.

Sometimes, of course, the activities of the aitu were a matter of possession, in which the aitu manifested itself, as in the old taula'āitu, vocally. In one such case, a Protestant woman was possessed by her deceased father, who, assured the Catholic catechist that he was not Satan, but had come to help his daughter search for the truth, which was the Lotu Katoliko. (A term not generally used for the Catholic church, but which he claimed to have learnt from heaven.) In the event, the woman said she would become a Catholic, and in a fit of coughing, a traditional sign of an aitu's departure, the father left. 145

143 ONE: Garnier, 4 Feb.; 17 March, 1867. The sprinkling of holy water may have been assimilated to the traditional ceremony of lulu'u in Samoan thought, though, whereas the one was intended to render sacred, and thus unfit for the presence of demons, the other was intended to render profane, and thus fit for the use of ordinary mortals. cf. p. 58. Vidal used the sign of the cross to exorcise a woman possessed of an aitu, though he, himself, attributed her condition to a thwarted desire for baptism. ONE, Vidal, 10 Aug., 1874. The L.M.S. missionaries, however, took active measures to dispel belief in aitu. cf. e.g. Sulu Samoa 2:4 (1843).

144 cf. p. 300.

145 ONE, Garner, 4 Feb., 17 March, 1867.
More frequently, however, as in the case mentioned by Dyson, the activity of the aitu was manifested in physical illness.

Of course illness, after the coming of Christianity, was by no means always attributed to aitu. It could be seen, too, as due to the anger of the Christian God, displeased with the type of worship offered, or the lack of it. It is for this reason that the missionary practice of medicine was so important, for it enabled the Samoans to adopt an experimental approach to this question. If missionary medicine could effect a cure, then it was, perhaps, an indication that the sufferer should change his denomination to that of the missionary, or to seriously consider joining the candidates' class. George Pratt wrote:

Relief afforded to the body is one of the most powerful means in Samoa of gaining an attentive hearing to the claims of the Gospel, and though, as at home, many on recovery relapse into sin, even to the extent of becoming a proverb, yet such is not always the case. Nay the very rise of the saying "the mouth of the sick" in reference to their professions in the hour of danger & belied by their subsequent conduct is a proof that the aggravated nature of such a sin is recognised by them. 146

Similar observations by other missionaries were common. 147

Dyson, for instance, heard of "a couple who intend to turn to us from L.M.S. in consequence of the benefit one of them has got from a course of Graham's No 104 pill." 148 Buzacott reported the

146 SSL, Pratt, 8 June, 1850, cf. p. 100.
147 e.g. SSL, Pratt, 3 Nov., 1848. APP, 22 (1850) p. 112, Vachon, Aug. 1848.
148 MS, Dyson, Journal, 1862, May 19.
case of an L.M.S. woman who had fallen ill while away on a trip; she decided to try being a Wesleyan, but on converting found that she was getting worse. Upon her return to Apia she was "beset by the Seauvili [sic] party" who told her that her illness was due to her sins, "one of which was that she had been learning to read." 

This may suggest that specific actions (probably regarded as cultic), and religious associations were considered to be appropriate for the continuing well-being of each individual. Clarification of this may be offered by Beath's experience with the chief Lei'ataua Tomumaipē'a of Manono. As Pe'a had promised he would convert, Beath visited him soon after his arrival in 1836:

Mr. H found him much afflicted with asthma & inquired if he did not wish to take medicine ... when Mr. H went to see him & took the medicine to him, Mr. H's interpreter in speaking to him about the medicine happen [sic] to mention that if it were the will of Jehovah he might get better. At this he took fright & ordered them immediately to go to the other side of the house & reminded them that he had not yet lotu'd. After waiting about an hour during which time a lively discussion was kept up, he signified his intention of now professing xnty.

149 SSJ, Buzacott, 1836/7 notes. This experimental approach corresponds closely to Moyle's description of the seeking of a cure by traditional means: a sufferer will go from one practitioner to another, until a cure is effected, and only then is the nature of the affliction, and the afflicting ai'u, identified. He writes "... A Samoan phrase aptly describes this process "Saili i le tautau" - 'Investigation by guesswork.'" Moyle, "Samoan traditional music." p. 422.

150 It will be remembered that in the traditional religious system only the family who were devoted to a particular ai'u were obliged to observe the restrictions associated with him.

151 SSJ, Buzacott, 1836, Aug. 15.
In this case Pe'a evidently considered it a dangerous matter to be associated with Jehovah until he had formally entered into a relationship with him. It may have been for a similar reason that Kalistoa Taimalelagi, then in bad grace with the L.M.S., refused to take medicine from Nisbet, who commented: "the old gent. is so stupid - wont take medicine - So he keeps bad - May be profit by this lesson." It was said, too, that a Priest had told Samoans that a condition of the efficacy of his medicine was conversion to Catholicism. Whether he had or not, the report could have accorded with Samoan beliefs in the matter. Thus, when Hardie administered medicine to the wife of the Wesleyan chief at Pu'apu'a, the people of that Lotu were greatly angered, even though it had been effective.

Perhaps sometimes a cure under these circumstances was thought to involve an obligation to convert or to enter into a deeper relationship with God; and sometimes a conversion, or showing a more "serious" interest in religion, was seen as a pre-condition for cure. The nett result was the same. Whitmee reported, in 1866, after an epidemic which had killed, in one village, seventeen per cent of church members, that among the survivors the "numbers of inquirers after salvation has increased." Neither did the mission leave the operation

152 MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1851, Nov. 17.
153 SSL, Stallworthy, 13 July, 1859.
155 SSR, Whitmee. 25 Dec., 1866. In 1847 Powell found, on Savai'i, that an epidemic and the preaching of the wrath of God had led some to a renewed interest in the Gospel. SSL, Powell, 25 May, 1847.
of misfortune to chance: "Ia tetou faamaoni lava i le agasala o le tagata ma'i, ina nei maumau. Aua le talanga i se tasi mea. Ie mamao ni upu faatuvea. Auafoi nei 'alofia ana agasala. Ta'u atu foi le taui o le agasala." 156 Such were the instructions given to L.M.S. faife'au.

Sickness was not the only area in which fortune or misfortune was associated with conversion. A newly converted Catholic at Falealupu blessed his brother's boat, in which the man then enjoyed great success in fishing. This was taken as a proof of the truth of Catholicism. 157 Taimalelagi attributed his protection, in time of war to the effect of the prayers of the Tahitian teachers, while Roudaire was told, that if anyone had been hurt in an accident involving their ship on Savai'i, it would have been taken as a sign that the Lotu Pese was a bad religion. 158

It is in this context that the Samoan understanding of the missionary doctrine of sin must be understood. In traditional religious thought, misfortune was interpreted as the result of having committed some deed which had angered the aitu. After the coming of the missionaries, misfortune was similarly attributed to the breaking of the rules laid down by the missionaries, for the proper worship of Jehovah. Thus, for instance, the death of

156 "Let us be faithful to the soul of the sick person, lest it perish. Do not talk about something else. Put careless words aside. Don't pander to his sins. Tell of the payment for sin." Turner, O le galuera, p. 34.

157 ONE, Elloy, 8 Aug., 1859.

158 ONE, Roudaire, Beginning of 1847. cf. p. 73.
Malietoa Taimalelagi's son, Tupapau, a church member, "was generally regarded as a judgement from God" because of his "secret sin". Roudaire reported that the death of the son of one of their first converts, Faumuina, had roused speculation that it was because he had received the evil religion of the papists. London Society members, some of whom died in the same epidemic, wondered if this had been due to their participation in the current war, of which the missionaries had expressed disapproval.

Moreover, a consequence of the traditional belief had been that in time of illness or misfortune, or impending danger, a man might make confession of any misdeeds, which he thought may have caused actual or future misfortune. After the arrival of Christianity, there is no doubt that the practice of divination of offenders by making villagers swear on some sacred object - now either the Bible, or the missal, continued.

The offender would not dare to swear the oath for fear that he would suffer its consequences. Similarly, the people of Ta'ū on Manu'a, who were contemplating war in 1871, held a council "at which general confession was made of their misdoings, such as theft and adultery, and fines were levied accordingly."

159 SSL, Hardie, 26 Sept., 1843.
160 CHB, loc. cit.
161 SR. (6), Sept. 1847. SSL, MacDonald, 27 Dec., 1847.
163 SSJ, Powell, 1870/71.
That it was the practice of Samoans, often, to wait until the appearance of misfortune or danger, before confessing to their misdeeds, is suggested by the L.M.S. advice, to church members and candidates: "A mana se tasi uso e le tofotofotou ma le faasoooso, sua no te natia... E leaga pe'a natia ia mea 'oe faigina le tagata ma malaina." Traditionally, upon confession of a misdeed, some punishment, or sala, was imposed. The word, as has been seen, in Polynesian usage, had a broader connotation than this. It referred to a supernaturally imposed punishment for an offence against the gods. As has been seen, calamity (malain) was seen as such punishment. It is thus of considerable significance that the word regularly used by the missionaries to translate "sin" meant, literally, behaviour worthy of a sala: "agasaala".

It is important to recognise that the model of offence, at play, was not one based upon the "moral" condition of the offender, but on the breaking of laws of ritual, and other extrinsically imposed regulations. It is certain that the rules and regulations associated with the Christian missions were regarded in this light. First there were those rules, particularly the keeping of the Sabbath, which were considered

164 "When a brother is overcome by testing and temptation he should not hide it ... It is bad if he hides these things until some calamity befalls him." O le taitai, p. 13. This may be related to a series of traditional proverbial sayings (muēgaga), revolving around the theme of secret misdeeds being discovered sooner or later. cf. E. Schultz, Proverbial expressions of the Samoans, (Wellington, 1965) nos. 104, 159, 205, 516, 453.

165 cf. p. 59.
binding on all who were nominally adherents of the Lotu. 166

Thus these were, from an early date, imposed by the village authorities. Aspirants to church membership and candidates, however, took upon themselves a further set of prohibitions. That these were regarded as extrinsically imposed rules, conditional upon membership of classes, rather than as binding upon a "Christian conscience" is suggested by the phenomenon, already observed, that those who were removed from membership frequently, at least for a while, gave up any attempt to observe the rules in question. 167 As Bishop Elloy put it: "Il semblerait, d'après la pratique de ces sectes, que la loi de Dieu n'oblige que par convention." 168 That this applied in cases of discipline, is also suggested by Pratt's comment:

"It is hard to teach them that whatever the offence, the signs of repentance must regulate the after management of the case... The old law of death has still to be held up to a class. "In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt die" ecclesiastically. 169"

It is probable that a similar pattern of thought was operating, as that described by Levy for Tahitian Protestantism:

166 Catholic expectations with respect to the Sabbath, were not as demanding as Protestant, but they would still have to observe such regulations as were enforced by village fonds.


169 SSL, Pratt, 31 Dec., 1859.
The violation of a church form is punished not because this is a violation of some natural law but because an individual has made a sort of contractual commitment to the particular rule by becoming "psychologically involved", $t\text{i}'\text{a}t\text{u}r\text{i}$, in it. The law then becomes operational for him; it has mana and a subsequent violation of it involves punishment.170

This view of things, was, indeed, put explicitly by one of Dyson's informants: "E see ssa leu tala, O le feagaiga e sai taitoataisi ma le Atua. Ua mau la ma feagaiga."171 The whole "plan of salvation" was cast in the terminology of feagaiga by the Protestant missionaries. The word was used to translate "testament" or "covenant". To enter into such an arrangement, was to accept the obligation to observe certain standards of behaviour. A breach of these would lead to a punishment.

This might explain why the church member wife of a man who brought back spoils, in the form of rafters, from war, insisted that he throw them away, as the house they would help build would be lived in by people who had "taken hold of the word of God, and did not wish to partake of his sins."172

170 Levy, Tahitians, mind and experience in the Society Islands, p. 180. If this is the case, then Gilson's criticism of the view associating missionary prohibitions and taboo, on the grounds that the former were not universally observed, and so would soon be shown not to bring present punishment, would not be valid. cf. Gilson, Samoa, 1830-1902, p. 108.

171 "My story is short. The feagaiga that each person makes with God. The feagaiga between us two has been obtained." NS, Dyson, Journal, 1863, March 22.

172 SSL, Pratt, 23 Dec., 1853.
discrepancies between missionary expectations of the results of a Samoan reception of the "Gospel plan of salvation", and their observation of the real results, can be well understood, in this light.173

To a people well versed in the skills of memorizing orally given information, the catechetical method of question and answer would have posed no difficulty to the verbal repetition of missionary doctrine. Neither was this necessarily a matter, merely, of rote learning: "the answers given by some of the people during the catechetical exercises, show that they not only think over what they hear but also understand it," wrote Nisbet, in 1851.174 But that this understanding carried with it

173 In 1870, Whitsee outlined the four essential doctrines thus: 1. Human depravity and the consequent doom of mankind. 2. The remedy and means of escape provided by the death of Christ. 3. The influence of the Holy Spirit necessary to the change of heart. 4. The necessity of a holy life and consistent walk and conversation as an evidence of sincerity.

SR. (New Series, 1), Feb. 1870. The Catholic missionaries also stressed man's fall, and its consequences. cf. e.g. the Samoan hymn composed by Roudaire. OME, Roudaire, Beginning of 1847. As a remedy, however, they pointed much more to the sincere reception of the grace mediated through the church and its sacraments. cf. e.g. O le katekisingo, Pt. 4.

174 SR. (12), Jan. 1851. Of course, there were a lot of minor difficulties posed by strange terms and concepts in the scriptures, which the missionaries had to take some trouble to explain. cf. e.g. Sulu Samoa 1:6 (1842); 2:8 (1844). G. Turner, Nineteen years. p. 169. There is little evidence that Samoans experienced any greater difficulty than other Christians in understanding the doctrine of God, for instance, or of the Trinity. That these notions were, to a considerable extent assimilated to traditional ideas has, indeed, been the theme of the present section. Dyson found it necessary to prohibit the use of the dual pronoun in referring to God, which seems to suggest a tendency to view Jesus and God as two separate beings. Dyson, Samoan Methodism, p. 91. A. Cappell pays close attention to the translation of particular theological terms into
a considerable degree of assimilation to traditional religious thought, is not to be wondered at. This is shown in a number of ways.

Missionary suspicions about Samoan motivation for striving after church membership have already been discussed. There is evidence too, that there was some difficulty in accepting the Protestant doctrine of "justification by faith alone". Peter Turner was disturbed by the attitude of a chief who was not convinced that he was a "great sinner" - he had fornicated only once, had paid "not much attention to dances ... and lied only a little." Hardie, too, complained, that up to 1837, the Polynesian teachers had achieved only a formal attendance at services, and a change of "externals" among L.M.S. adherents. Pratt later found that the members of his society for the promotion of morals "look [ed] with satisfaction on their own conduct and ... lean[t] on that for salvation." He thought that matters were even worse among the Wesleyans, freed, as they were, from the direction of European missionaries: "These poor

oceanic languages. While this has its relevance, it seems to me to be considerably more important to investigate how the terms were actually used in a framework of concepts. A Capell, "la traduction des termes théologiques dans les langues de l'Oceanie."


175 cf. pp. 248-9, 252.


177 SSL, Hardie, 7 April, 1837.

178 SSL, Pratt, 10 Feb., 1841.
deluded men have drunk on the doctrine of perfection, and many
of them profess to have attained it..."179 Slatyer wrote in
1845 of an attitude evinced at missionary meetings:

Some are prone to & do actually cherish some indefinite
idea of their rendering themselves more acceptable to
God by their contributions on this occasion, an error
to which they are the more liable from the heathenish
ideas which still befoul their minds.180

When Pratt visited Tutuila in the 1870's, some time after
its former missionary had departed, he found "that the way of
salvation was not clearly taught. The candidates professed to
hope for salvation through their prayers and good conduct..."181
It is not surprising then, in view of this constant tendency for
Samoaans to slip up on the "correct" expression of the doctrine
of justification, when left to their own devices, that Turner
warned L.M.S. teachers to beware of preaching from the law only,
and added: "E le'ai se tasi na te maun le ola e fa'uavau one o
lona usiusitai i tulafo'ono."182

The way in which Samoaans viewed missionary laws is
illustrated in other ways, too. According to Davies, writing
in 1871:

In the case of any delinquency on the part of a church
member, public opinion seems high, and sometimes we
have to exclude a member who for a breach of conduct
not more reprehensible, would in England only have a
stern rebuke.183

179 ibid., 10 June, 1851.
180 MS, Slatyer, Journal, 1845, May 6. cf. Dyson, Samoan
Methodism, p. 80.
181 SSR, Pratt, 9 July, 1875.
182 "Nobody gains eternal life on account of his obedience to
laws." Turner, 0 le Salua'a, p. 16.
183 SSR, Davies, 14 Nov., 1871.
It is significant, also, that Lei'atua Lesa and another Manono chief told Dyson that they held Catholicism in contempt because "the priests ensure the salvation of their followers however wicked either before or after the ceremony if they are baptized by them." 184 In a similar vein, a "wicked man, said when urged to join the Lotu Pope because of the liberty allowed ... No he knew what he did was wrong but he would never be of a religion which encouraged wickedness." 185

Though Catholicism, lacking the classes and church membership orientated toward obedience to clearly laid down standards of behaviour, did not offer the same type of temptation to Samoans, to regard Christianity as a matter of obeying certain rules, nevertheless, in its stress on the duty of participating in the cult, and on the confession of particular sins, it undoubtedly produced a similar result. The priests may not have been aware of this, for they do not appear to have experienced the same continual nagging doubts about the interior disposition of their adherents. 186 Instead they were wont to show pleasure at the

184 MS, Dyson, Journal, 1858, Oct. 6.

185 SSL, Harbutt, 9 Dec., 1854. Thus the fear or the hope, expressed variously by both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, that the "esse" of the Lotu Pope would act as an inducement to conversion, was not necessarily justified. cf. MS, Day papers, Letter 107, Pratt to Day, 5 Sept., 1846. OEB, Foupinel, 1 Nov., 1861.

186 When a priest did complain about Samoan attitudes, it was because he felt they believed that in obeying the prohibitions on activity on the Sabbath, and in having a vague and general idea of God in their lives, they had fulfilled their duty. OEB, Sage, June 1855. It is true, however, that the herald priests were warned of the possibility of other motivations being at play in Samoan participation in the eucharist, than those of "faith and love." OS 606, Activitas Pastoralis, Conferences Théologiques, 1886.
devotion of their adherents, expressed, perhaps, in external acts of piety, but also in evidence of contrition. 187

Despite their difficulties, however, many L.M.S. missionaries were impressed by the distress shown by many of their people on account of their "sin". A.W. Murray was particularly struck by this during the course of the Tutuila revival, while even Thomas Powell, who was in many ways critical of the effect of that revival, expressed the opinion that "the work is the same in Samoa that it has been, and is, in every part of the world, and that the doctrine of the Cross is here, as elsewhere, the chief means of the sinner's salvation." 188 It would appear, however, that this view took insufficient account of the obstacle mentioned by Nisbet:

It is always difficult to speak definitely of the state of spiritual religion among the people, the development of native character presenting such different phases from what we are accustomed to look for in European character. 189

The somewhat different context in which a "conviction of sin" might operate in Samoa, has, indeed, already been outlined. The missionaries, themselves, have documented the tendency of

187 e.g. OBE: Fadel, 29 Aug., 1848; Poupinel, 1 Nov., 1861; Vidal, 10 Aug., 1874.

188 e.g. SSJ, Murray, 1840, extract from journal, entry for 27 Dec., 1839. SR. (16), Dec. 1854. By the doctrine of the cross, Powell meant the belief that Christ's death had effected man's salvation, and that the first step towards man's appropriation of that salvation lay in the conviction of one's own sinfulness.

189 SR. (12), Jan. 1851.
Samoans to turn more seriously toward the Loa when gripped by fear, induced by illness, death or other misfortune. In such a condition they were prepared to place themselves under the greater restrictions of the Loa, and to do so willingly, in order to gain access to a greater mana of which they felt in need, because of the maleia under which they were suffering.

A question of some importance, is the extent to which this fear, and consequently the change involved, was tied to a matter that was, ostensibly, at least, uppermost in the minds of the missionaries of the period: the fate of the "soul" in an after life. It is probable that the notion of a punishment from supernatural sources, given in the present life, for misdeeds, was extended to the idea of a punishment, a final punishment, even, in a future existence. Thus Brown writes.

... I do not remember any statement to the effect that the conduct of a man in this life affected his state after death. They certainly believe this now, but whether they did so prior to the introduction of Christianity I cannot definitely say. I am inclined, however, to believe that they did not believe that conduct in this life affected them in the future.190

Certainly, as Brown says, in accordance with the orthodox doctrine disseminated by the missions, Samoan Christians believed that there was a final punishment due to man on account of his "sins", and which he should seek to escape, by the means to which the missions pointed. One may make a distinction, however, between a belief held in the abstract only, and one

190 Brown MP, p. 261.
that materially affects behaviour. The question then, is the extent to which Samoan religious behaviour was motivated by a fear of punishment in a future life. 191

It is, indeed, very difficult to decide. Certainly, the missionaries very frequently expressed disappointment at Samoan lack of concern with such matters. 192 Conversely they reported with great delight, the "hopeful" deaths of those who, at the last, gave reason to believe that they had placed their hope in the Christian God for a future salvation. 193 Unfortunately, there are available no nineteenth century Samoan sermons by which it could be judged whether eternal punishment was a psychologically significant theme. It is known that Samoan chiefs were most averse to hearing talk of hell fire from the faife'au, though they were prepared to listen to the missionaries

191 Thus Levy says of Tahitian Protestants: "Rejecting authority, villagers tended to use an evidential basis for the intellectual support of their belief's whenever possible. Informants, asked about their belief in the efficacy of prayer and of God's ability to help or punish in this world, gave examples of successful prayers which were then argued as the basis for belief in this aspect of God's power. But doctrine about such matters as heaven, hell and the judgement of the soul is not referrable to such evidence. Such doctrine must be based on "authority", and thus is of debatable status." Levy, "Personal forms and meanings in Tahitian Protestantism." p. 128.

192 cf. e.g.: SSL, Nisbet, n.d. c March 1844: "Samoan feelings with reference to sin &c seem sadly blunted, so that after having learnt much of the great truths of our holy religion they still have much to feel. Their consciences need to be taught, awakened and quickened."; SSL, Stallworthy, 15 Aug., 1848.

193 cf. e.g.: Murray, Forty years mission work. p. 13; SR. (10), Nov. 1849.
on the same subject.\footnote{194}{SR. (11), July 1850.} The dramatic effect, on a chief, when Brown muttered the words "The Judgement", has already been noted.\footnote{195}{cf. p. 227.} These activities, however, may have been viewed in something of the same way as curses, or at least, in the case of talk of hell-fire, as an insult, being related to the theme of being cooked!

It is interesting then, to consider the brief spiritual biographies given by the office holders of the Wesleyan church, to Dyson in 1858. It should be remembered, of course, that Wesleyan experience, had, in the past, been significantly different from that of the London Society, and that, in any case, those who became leaders, may have had, on the average, a different experience from that of mere adherents. Some of these leaders, too, were Tongans.

Only one unambiguously said he had "turned" because: "I desired my soul to live". A number of others spoke of fear of the "misery" to come, of the "wages of sin" and of death. It is not certain, however, whether these had in mind punishment in the world to come, or a this-worldly misfortune. Significantly half of the forty answers mentioned fear of some sort - often precipitated by personal sickness, war, an epidemic, or the deaths
of members of their families.\textsuperscript{196} One cannot but suspect that it was the hope of escaping from such empirically experienced, and this-worldly, disasters, rather than the fear of an ultimate punishment, that was the primary conscious motivation for "turning".\textsuperscript{197}

Amongst Dyson's leaders, however, there was evinced another motivation for conversion, which pointed to a way in which, especially amongst Wesleyans, the Christian doctrine of salvation was assimilated more positively to traditional Samoan religious conceptions. These leaders spoke of the receipt of the "spirit", the warming of their heart, the receipt of "grace", the springing up of love, the "getting" of the work of God and of forgiveness.\textsuperscript{198} It seems clear that in some cases, at least, the coming of the Holy Spirit, was conceived on the same lines as spirit possession. It certainly had been with some Siovilians.\textsuperscript{199} But there is other evidence: Jeremy, an L.K.S. student at Malua, who had converted to Catholicism, told Elloy: "Il me semble à présent que mon corps est devenu comme un temple où Dieu habite."\textsuperscript{200} One teacher told

\textsuperscript{196} MS, Dyson, Journal, 1860, Jan. 12. cf. Turner, \textit{Nineteen years}, p. 142. f. Seven of twelve spiritual biographies he gives, mention fear of death or illness, as a precipitating factor in conversion.

\textsuperscript{197} cf. p. 277, n. 191.

\textsuperscript{198} MS, Dyson, loc. cit.

\textsuperscript{199} cf. p. 159.

\textsuperscript{200} ONE, Elloy. n.d. c 1859.
Dyson: "Ua ma'afana pea lou loto. Feisani ua faanea le Agaga P CIA in te au 'tatalo pea, tatalo pea.'" 201 Another said:

"E tele fanofoa i lenei olofupa. Ao fei mai le A.P. 'Aua e te tata' more e te malai ai." 202 Yet another said simply,

"O lo o leagana le Agaga P'ai i lou loto." 203

In other cases it was conceived more after the manner of mana. A modern Samoan writes of Dyson's first fa'atasio communion:

One afio ifo ai lea o le Agaga P'ai i loto o i latou, ua alalaga i latou ma tagi tele ma le fiofio i na va'o tia o latou loto sau una afio ifo le Mana o le Agaga P'ai i totou ia te i latou. 204

Thus also, in 1862, the Rarotongan teacher Ta'uga, stationed on Tutuila, wrote to Gill: "The power from above has not entered them." 205 Certainly, too, the Catholic concept of

201 "My heart is still warm. As if the Holy Spirit were saying 'keep praying, keep praying.'" MS, Dyson, Journal, 1863, March 22. The L.M.S. teacher, Timoteo, wrote to Ella: "Ae ui lava i lea va'ai sae pea le Atua ia latou talosaga." ("But in the end God still visits our prayer meetings.") MS, Ella correspondence, Timoteo to Ella, 27 Jan., 1863.

202 "There are many temptations in this life, but the Holy Spirit says to me 'Touch nothing by which you will suffer misfortune.'" MS, Dyson, loc. cit.

203 "I feel the Holy Spirit in my heart." ibid.

204 "Then the Holy Spirit came down into their hearts, they shouted out and cried very much with happiness when their hearts were touched because the Power [Mana] of the Holy Spirit came down among them." Tupu Folasa, Amataga ma le fa'asaga o le Ekalesia Motoni: Samoa." (Apia, 1970) p. 130. This was taken as a sign that the re-establishment of the Wesleyan mission had God's approval.

205 R.G. and K. Crocombe, The works of Ta'uga (Canberra, 1968) p. 130, giving a translation of a letter from Ta'uga of 1862, the original held by the Polynesian Society, Wellington.
grace, which was translated as *ka·lāsia*, after the Latin, could be easily assimilated to this model. Though it could refer simply to the presence of God, in the notion of "created grace" it seemed to take on the character of a transmissible entity, very similar to *mana*. The implications for the Samoan understanding of the Catholic doctrine of the transmission of ecclesiastical authority has been mentioned. It was undoubtedly also important for an understanding of the related area of sacramental doctrine. The way in which Peter Turner's converts spoke of "grace" judging by Dyson's translations of their 1858 accounts, would suggest that they tended to think of it in a similar way, namely as something which could be "got". The London Society, however, translated "grace" by "*aloʻafatuā*", literally "freely given love", and thus stressed the unmerited nature of the gift of salvation, while avoiding the suggestion

206 cf. p. 229.

207 This doctrine is expressed succinctly in the title of Part IV of the 1862 catechism: "*O sakalameta ma le tatalo tatou te mana ai le kalāsia; a atili ai le faatuatua malosi, ma le sausi i le Atua, ona mana ai lea le ola fa'afaeau." (Sacraments and prayer by which we obtain grace, by which strong faith is increased, and submission to God, and thus we obtain eternal life.)

208 By 1863, at least one of Dyson's people was using the L.M.S. translation of "*aloʻafatuā*" for "grace", no doubt in accordance with his standardization policy. However, there appears to be a significant difference in the frequency of the use of the word "grace" in the translation of the 1858 accounts, and in the body of material of similar length recorded by Dyson in 1863, of the accounts of their spiritual experiences, given by church members at a quarterly "love feast". This would suggest that Turner's converts did, indeed, use a different translation for "grace", which was subsequently banned by Dyson.

MS, Dyson, Journal, 1863, March 22.
that it was an entity which could be transmitted by the church.

With these correlations between the central missionary doctrine of salvation and Samoan conceptions, in mind, it may be helpful to look at the revivalistic phenomena, experienced first by Peter Turner's converts, later by L.M.S. adherents on Tutuila, and by Wesleyans throughout the period. As Tippett wishes to point out, events at Samoa in late 1835 should probably be seen as an extension of the revivals conducted under Turner's auspices at Vava'u in 1834, and at Niuatoputapu early in 1835.209 This would suggest that Turner and his Tongan teachers were primarily responsible for precipitating the phenomena in question, a view which ties in with Gunson's analysis of such events elsewhere in the Pacific, and on Tutuila.210 It would also tie in with the constant expectation and hope, evinced in Turner's journals for "a gracious visit from on high."211 Indeed, many of the events reported, superficially, at least accord well with accounts of similar phenomena among European Christians: weeping, sighs, groans during services, and especially during prayer; and the falling into states of temporary paralysis.212

209 cf. p. 109, n. 133.
210 Gunson, "Evangelical missionaries in the South Seas", p. 359.
That there may have been a significant difference in Samoan conceptions of what was occurring, however, is suggested by an account Turner gave of the effect on one woman: "One person was so wrought upon as to become insensible — & had to be carried home. She wanted to come to me — to tell me she had been in heaven."\textsuperscript{213} This, of course, represents a traditional belief about the abilities of a person to travel, while in a trance state, to a place of religious significance. This was also evidenced among Siouvilians, with whom Turner entered into a debate, as to whether any human could travel to heaven.\textsuperscript{214} This assimilation to the behaviour of the taula\textsuperscript{n}itu is strikingly illustrated, also, in later Wesleyan accounts:

\begin{quote}
I shall never forget two women \textit{[wrote Austin]} who came inside the communion rail and knelt down together in perfect quietness for a while, but presently they began to tremble, and the trembling increased till it became awful to look at ... It seemed as if their very joints were unloosed, and their cries for mercy were unceasing. Their distress lasted about half an hour, and then, almost simultaneously God spoke peace to their souls, and they were filled with a great joy.\textsuperscript{215}
\end{quote}

This bears a marked resemblance to Williams early account of the onset of possession states among taula\textsuperscript{n}itu.\textsuperscript{216}

\textsuperscript{213} \textit{ibid.}, 1836, July 25.

\textsuperscript{214} MS, Turner, Journal, 1836, Oct. 23. Similarly there is a tradition among lamu\'ans, that their Rarotongan teacher, Tai\textsuperscript{u}ga died, and travelled to heaven, and later returned to life. Crocombe and Crocombe, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 138f. It is also significant that some reported converting as the result of dreams. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1860, Jan. 12.


\textsuperscript{216} of. pp. 56–57.
It is important to remember, then, that such events occurred, usually after missionary invocations to the Holy Spirit, frequently at communion services, or at least during prayer, and often in the church, known politely as "o le atio'aga o le Atua" ("the dwelling place of God"). Sometimes, too, as on Tutuila, the phenomena took place in the bush, perhaps in places traditionally subject to the influence of atu. All this would suggest that revivalism would occur where missionaries raised the expectation of the coming of the Holy Spirit as an experienced reality, which would resonate strongly with traditional Samoan concepts of spirit possession. It is not surprising then, that Bullen reported in 1843, when a man who had become "convicted" of sin had entered in to a state bordering on mania, that the people thought he was pursued by a demon.

The Tutuila revival has been discussed at some length by Daws, and also by Gunson, Gilson and Tippett. It will not be necessary to describe in detail its course. It will be clear that I would wish to develop Gilson's suggestions about the way in which the phenomena evinced, related to traditional religious

217 SSJ, Murray, 1839, Nov. 3, 8. NS, Slatyer, Journal, 1840, July 7. Lundie, op. cit., p. 120.

218 SSJ, Murray, 1840, March 11. cf. SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 17, who writes of the Manu'ans: "...They at times go in the bush & pretend to hold converse with Tagnaloa."

219 SSL, Bullen, 14 Aug., 1843.

conceptions, along the lines just indicated. His emphasis on the role played by the influenza epidemic of April 1839, which killed thirty people, including the chief, Meuga, of Pagopago, and which probably involved further deaths in the succeeding months, from complications, is important in this context. 221

Gunson's stress on the role of the missionary preaching in precipitating the "awakening" is justifiable. Though there may be something in Tippett's suggestion that Wesleyan converts on Tutuila were a catalyst, there is no positive evidence for it; and indeed, as both Gunson and Daws point out, there is everything to suggest that the outbreak first occurred among Samoans living in Murray's immediate family. Daws suggestion that before the revival, Tutuilan Christianity had reached a more developed state than that in other parts of Samoa, cannot be sustained by a comparison with Manono and Sapapali'i, in particular. Both had an early lead in Church membership, number of baptized, and of those attending services, and in changes in dress. 222

221 cf. SSL, Murray, 10 June, 1839. Murray, Forty years mission work, pp. 107, 119.

222 cf. e.g. SDC 6 Aug., 1838; SSJ, Murray, 1840, June 30. Daws implies that a supposed lack of progress in the Western islands was due to the effect of war; this, however, did not have a serious effect until the late 1840's on mission activity. Strangely, he also cites Stallworthy's comment of 1854 to demonstrate a decline in religious vitality after the flush of the "awakening" was over. Stallworthy, however, worked in a district not affected by the revivals. Daws, op. cit., p. 136.
The effects of the Tutuila revival, too, can easily be exaggerated. While it is true that membership climbed to a higher percentage of the total congregations, than of the western districts, it is not clear that it was markedly different, for instance, from Manono or Sapapali'i. Indeed, descriptions of the "revival" are apt to take too much at face value, the impression relayed by Murray, Slatyer and Lundie, who believed they were witnessing a "simultaneous" movement of the Holy Spirit. Murray's own account shows that Dawes and Silson's reference to "contagion" is more accurate. In its initial outbreak, the revival affected very few, and afterwards it was the efforts of Murray and Slatyer that kept it going when it showed signs of flagging.

Unfortunately Church membership figures, placed in the context of accurate estimates of population and number of L.M.S. adherents, are rarely available. By the mid 1840's Pagorogo district with a total population of over 2,000, about 1,700 of whom were nominal L.M.S. adherents, had a church membership of 386. Leone, also affected by the revival, and with a similar population, had a membership of 186. In the Fa'asaleleaga there were 340 members. This district still had a sizeable Wesleyan population. It may have had a population of about 3,000. Of a similar size was Falealili, which had perhaps 1,700 nominal adherents of the L.M.S. and a church membership of 119. In southern Atua, there were 186. cf. SSJ (t-4), 1845-6. SSL, Hardie, 2 Sept., 1841, 11 March, 1844.

Tippett's claim that the Tutuian missionaries did not seem to know what to make of the revival is, in the balance, not supported by the evidence. In the initial outbreak, only eight people were involved. Later outbreaks were intermittent, and often stimulated by missionary preaching aimed at overcoming indifference. Murray prepared himself by reading a work on Scottish revivals. Tippett, op. cit., p. 128. cf. SSJ, Murray, 1840, Feb. 19, June 16. MS, Slatyer, Journal, 1840, Aug. - Oct. Lundie, op. cit., p. 106. Murray, Forty years mission work, p. 123.
Upolu, having close links with Tutuila, the revival soon subsided, when Harbutt decided that the manifestations were a sham, and warned against it. 225

On Tutuila, the revival had its most marked effect, not on the people immediately affected, but on the population in general, who were rendered much more amenable to the suggestions of the missionaries, particularly Murray, concerning political and other changes. 226 Why Murray was regarded as a man having access to great mana, is suggested by Gilson. 227 His strong and eloquent denunciation of sin struck a chord of fear in the hearts of a people who, undoubtedly, interpreted their current misfortune as a supernatural punishment. His preaching was particularly associated with the work of God, as is suggested by the fact that a prior decision was made by Tutuilans to withdraw support from his successor, whoever that might be. 228 Evidently they felt the burden of his instructions but did not feel able to defy him.

His successor, Powell, was to attest most bitterly, to

227 Gilson, Samoa, 1830-1900, p. 111.
228 cf. p. 379.
the temporary nature of the changes wrought by the revival. Later, Tutuila was to become a by-word among missionaries, for religious decadence.\textsuperscript{230} Indeed, as the state of the Wesleyan party after Turner's departure showed, there was no necessary connection between "revivalism", and the adoption of the standards of behaviour recommended by the missionaries. One old European told Dyson in 1865:

"... when Mr. Turner was here he had them crying night & day - night & day Mr D. They had scarcely time to eat for the lotu. Now not three months after Mr. Turner left they were all back to their old ways - dancing & all that sort of thing."\textsuperscript{231}

\textsuperscript{229} SSL, Powell: 1 Sept., 1851; 14 July, 1853. \textit{SR. (18)}, March 1849. Powell asserted that reaction had set in and was operating powerfully when he took over the station in 1849. He attributed this to the fact that many were affected by the revival without "having full and harmonious views of truth and duty." Even Murray was prepared to admit that matters were not so prosperous at Pago Pago in the late 1840's. \textit{Forty years mission work}, p. 266. Indeed, he had complained as early as 1845, that the work was uneven there. \textit{SR. (9)}, March 1845. cf. also SSL, Bullen, 23 Oct., 1845; 7 June, 1847.

\textsuperscript{230} cf. ES, Brown, Letterbook I, p. 166 c 1866. In response to Murray's criticism of Peter Turner's activities and their effects, he claimed that Tutuila was one of the most heathenish places in the South Pacific. cf. \textit{SSR}, Pratt, 9 July, 1875. These criticisms, and a consideration of statistics suggest that Tippett's claim that "this part of Samoa was relatively the strongest part of the church for some considerable time," is untrue. Tippett, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 129.

\textsuperscript{231} ES, Dyson, Journal, 1865, Oct. 21. Turner himself recognised that a sincere conversion, and revivalistic phenomena were not necessarily connected. ES, Turner, Journal, 1837, March 24. Hardie, who, of course, was disposed to be more critical, wrote of recent Wesleyan converts at Aopo: "who during their worship in their little chapel close by, cried aloud & made a hideous noise in pretence of mourning for their sins. It was the cry of ignorance and formality ... The poor people, however, are not so much to blame as those who teach them to do such things." ES, Hardie, Journal, 1836, Nov. 1. cf. Lētūkefu's comments on the parallel Tongan phenomenon. \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 71-72.
After Turner's departure, revivalist types of services were held among Wesleyans, for many years, but the complaints of the L.M.S. missionaries, would seem to suggest that no attempt was made to seriously enforce such standards as were set by the missionaries. Rather, attention was concentrated on matters such as the keeping of Christmas and Good Friday, including fasting, which were marks of distinction from the L.M.S. For Dyson this was "a mere superstitious regard ... much the same as the Roman Catholics." To this point, an attempt has been made to show how, in ways not clearly identified by the missionaries, the beliefs they sought to introduce, the structures they wished to see established, and the services which they offered, were readily assimilated by Samoans to traditional beliefs, to traditional patterns of social relations, and to traditional values. The changes that were effected by this means are considered in the next section.

232 cf. e.g. SSL, Pratt, 8 June, 1850, cf. p. 258. Dyson reported outbreaks of weeping for some years after his arrival in 1857, but they seem to have faded away after 1862. MS, Dyson, Journals, 1858-1865, passim. Whether the revivalistic type of activity could have been channelled by the regular meetings, held among Wesleyans to discuss their religious experiences, is a moot point. Certainly the Wesleyan missionaries, believed, on the whole, that their converts were a fairly "formal" lot, a fact which they attributed to their proximity to the L.M.S. The Wesleyan adoption of an L.M.S. type of church discipline might, however, also account for this. cf. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1858, Jan. 30; 1864, March 27. MS, Brown, Letterbook I, p. 79, Brown to Rabone, 22 Aug., 1868. EOM, District Committee Minutes, vol. 16, Matheson, Report, 1877.


234 The view that this is the case is in no way contradicted by the strong contrast which Samoans were wont to make between the time of darkness (pouliuli) and the time of light (malamala), between heathenism and Christianity. Indeed, the contrast is implied in the expectation of new benefits to be derived from acceptance of the Lotu, and of new codes of behaviour. cf. e.g. SSL, Schmidt, 26 Oct., 1849. ONB, Sage, June 1855.
C. The Lotu and Social Change (i)

An initial acceptance of the Lotu, as has been described in Chapter I., involved the immediate adoption of certain changes, such as the building of chapels, the holding of regular services, and the observance of the Christian Sabbath as a day of prohibition on certain activities. These elements have ever since been a constant feature of village life, and an indispensable part of attempts to gain for the village the benefits of the Lotu. As such their enforcement tended to be the general concern of title-holders, and was left neither to the whim of the individual, nor to the sanctions applied through church discipline.

In many respects, of course, sanctions were not needed, for the new observances were really just a continuation of the old, with the name of the Christian God substituted for those of the traditional deities. This was clearly the case in the libation offered during kava ceremonies, in the ceremonies of thanksgiving offered after the successful completion of some hazardous task, in the holding of evening prayer within the families, and in the numerous references to 'O le Atua scattered through Samoan public speeches.

The building of chapels, too, may be related to the old fale sātu. The name applied to the latter, (malumalu) became a polite word for the church, commonly known as the fale sā (house

235 cf. p. 90f.

set apart) or *fale lotu.*\textsuperscript{237} Another polite term - *afio'saga a le Atua* (dwelling place of God), while it perhaps reflected the translation of the biblical "house of God", could easily, also, refer to one of the traditional conceptions of the *fale aitu*.

The religious importance of the church building is suggested by the report that when a hurricane destroyed the chapel, houses and plantations of the people of Ta'ū, they held a council at which it was "unanimously resolved that the House of God should have their first attention, and that they would trust to him to cause their breadfruit and cocoanut trees to supply them with food."\textsuperscript{238}

Later, chapel building was to mesh in with the rivalry inherent in Samoan society. While it was not until the late nineteenth century that this became marked, it was nevertheless operative to some extent, in the period being discussed. The introduction of plastered chapels probably first provided a mark of status with respect to church buildings which a village would attempt to acquire.\textsuperscript{239} By 1849 Erskine could write that one of the causes of the 1848 war was Manono's jealousy of A'ana's superior buildings and chapels.\textsuperscript{240} During the 1860's, there were

\textsuperscript{237} MS, Dyson, Journal, 1862, Feb. 25.

\textsuperscript{238} SR. (18), Jan. 1857.

\textsuperscript{239} cf. p. 92.

\textsuperscript{240} J.B. Erskine, Journal of a cruise among the islands of the Western Pacific. (London, 1853), p. 64.
signs that the church building activity of the Marist mission, was stimulating a spirit of competition among Protestants. The large church built at Leulumeoega, for instance, was followed a few years later by an L.M.S. church of handsome proportions and appointments. Wesleyans at Salelologa boasted that theirs was the only church with pews, though they did not bother to use them, preferring to be seated, in traditional fashion, upon the floor. In the early 1880's, the L.M.S. missionary, Phillips, was to express his astonishment at the large church built at Leone by the Marists, an astonishment no doubt shared by his Samoan adherents.

The elaborate ceremonies associated with the opening of churches and other ecclesiastical buildings, also gave expression to traditional values. The interested parties, and their connections, received recognition in feasting and property exchange, in the same way that they might at the completion of a fale ale. The scale of this feasting is indicated by the vast numbers of pigs killed, on one occasion, as many as 1,700. This was a direct measure of the importance of such occasions in Samoan eyes. As early as August 1836, Peter Turner reported that

241 SSL, Whitmee: 26 July, 1865, 21 June, 1868. The Catholic church was built by French workers. In reply, the L.M.S. people spent $400 on foreign fittings for their new stone church.

242 Austin, op. cit., p. 220.


244 Erskine, op. cit., p. 59; Prout, op. cit., p. 528.
2,000 people attended the opening of a leader's house at Falefa. Later, at the opening of a Catholic church in the same village, people came from all over Samoa, including Government representatives. In this case part of the ceremonial was consciously based on the traditional practice designed to drive out malign influences, and this was followed by an ecclesiastical ceremony.

It is easy to see, that apart from their other functions, various ceremonies of the churches, which brought people together from scattered villages could fill a similar function. These include occasions when children's schools were examined, Catholic feast days, confirmation and the missionary meetings.

Communion services may have had a deeper relationship with traditional ceremonial, too. A church member who had opposed war was offered the gibe "that it was surprising that he who had of late been in the assemblies of the spirits should again mingle with morals." This suggests, perhaps, an assimilation


247 It is probable that the present "white" or "children's" Sunday derives from these examinations, and included elements of the Catholic confirmation ceremonies. cf. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1859, May nascim. ONE - 600, Activitas Pastoralis, Conferences Théologiques. The importance of Catholic ceremonial is mentioned or indicated in Churchward, op. cit., p. 202. ONE, Violette, 13 Sept.,1875; OBRE, Rochettes, 13 Dec.,1861; ASH II, p. 415, Elloy, 10 Feb., 1866.

248 SR. (6), Sept., 1847.
of communion services to situ fono. The religious significance of the kava ceremony, in this connection is important. In describing traditional types of worship (tarua'ī), Faleto'ese associates tarua'ī nofonofono with the kava ceremony. This involved the silent meditation upon a difficult undertaking, in order to assist in its successful completion. The profound silence and concentration occurring during the ceremony, may be linked to a similar phenomenon during communion services. As with the situ fono, in which the participants received communication from the situ, so also in the communion service, it was envisaged that the worshipper communicated especially with the Christian God. It was for this reason, no doubt, that revivalistic phenomena often occurred on such occasions.

In the use of the term taulaga, the contributions made at the missionary meetings (MS) were assimilated to the offerings traditionally made to situ. This had two aspects. First it meant that missionaries reported that some of their adherents believed that by making such contributions they could render themselves more acceptable to God. There was also a positive aspect to it, too. After the jubilee collection for the L.M.S. in 1845, the Samoan deacon, Abraham

249 cf. p. 56.
250 Faleto'ese, op. cit., pp. 6-7.
251 cf. p. 284.
252 cf. pp. 55, 93.
wrote of the joy of the people in collecting many things for God. As with church building, however, motivation associated with competition, intervened. It was early recognised, and resisted on that account, that titleholders used the fa'asamoa as another way of working out economic rivalry, success being measured by the size of the donation. In the end, however, the fa'asamoa won the day: in the early 1860's the L.M.S. missionaries agreed to allow the principle of competition full play, and consequently, the level of contributions increased dramatically. Sometimes the competition operated between, as well as within, whole church districts. Dyson, too, found that when he introduced fa'a's among Wesleyans, they made it a condition that the public announcement of contributions be practised. It is clear, also, that though Brown was critical of the explicit competition that operated, in this case, between some L.M.S. districts, his own meetings gave free play to the motivation of shame in inducing the making of contributions. In many of the speeches that he reports, the parallel between miserliness in the sharing of food, and withholding money from the church is emphasised. The nett result of this competition
was that, as Watson put it:

... these days are high days in the estimation of our people. In fact these annual missionary gatherings form some of the most prominent of national events. the people talk about them and prepare for them months before they take place.259

The keeping of the Sabbath, as has been suggested, was early seen to be of central importance in securing the benefits of the Lotu to a village. Murray spoke of those on Nanono who engaged in war from a desire for domination, which had blinded their minds to the perception of every right principle. Although this is the case they attend religious services. Many, no doubt, through a superstitious feeling that, if they neglect the house of God on the Sabbath day, some evil will happen to them when they fight.260

Turner reported, too, that during the 1848-1856 war, there had been no fighting on the Sabbath, though this evidently did not apply in later wars.261 The maintenance of the observation of the prohibitions associated with the Sabbath was early accepted as the responsibility of the chiefs.262

Among Protestants, Sabbath observance included abstinence

259 SSR, Watson, 9 Sept., 1868. No doubt, as happens today, much attention was also paid afterwards, to discussing the results of the meetings.

260 SR. (12), Jan. 1851.

261 Turner, Nineteen years, p. 305; SSL, King, 7 Aug., 1869.

262 cf. e.g. SSL, Mills, 17 May, 1841.
from any form of work. Missionary attitudes relaxed during the period, so that while Samoans, in some cases, were still cooking Sunday's meal on the Saturday, the missionaries were cooking on the Sabbath. They also relaxed their prohibitions on the carrying of objects. Which prohibitions were backed by the sanctions of traditional authorities, and which by ecclesiastical discipline alone, is unclear.

Acceptance of the Lotu involved, too, a change of dress. Initially this was simply a matter of distinction. Gradually, however, it became a rule laid down by the traditional leaders of the groups who had embraced the Lotu.

Though there are accounts of individuals who suddenly changed their dress from that of a warrior to that of a Christian, the group nature of the decision is indicated by Dyson's remarks concerning a Manono village in 1863:

... A sudden change has come over Satoi this month. The young men & the chiefs of the tribe have cut off the last open mark of heathenism - long hair & in decent clothing in the house of GOD today. [sic] A leading young man too who has gone to great lengths in wickedness has requested permission to meet in class.

Evidently this was a behavioural change, the sanctions for which


264 KS, Dyson, Journal, 1863, Dec. 27. cf. Austin, op. cit., p. 164. He describes a single warrior at Neiafu, who suddenly changed his dress to that of a teacher. It is evident that in time of war, reversion to "heathen" dress was the norm.
lay somewhere between those supporting the regular observance
of the Sabbath, and those which lay behind the rules relating to
church and class membership. Certainly, individuals who wished
to join the latter, would have to comply with missionary wishes;
but leaders also, as this story indicates, showed some inclination
to legislate for their people in the matter of dress, as the
village fone does today.

In a similar category was the holding of night dances.
Some of the first villages adopting the Lotu, also proscribed
the holding of pōula within their confines. Nevertheless,
this was only irregularly enforced; Malietoa Va'imupo, for
instance, was hesitant about requiring it of his own people.
The missionaries apparently had a considerable amount of success
in times of peace, in persuading the chiefs to prohibit it, but
in time of war its practice quickly became widespread.
Initially the Catholic missionaries were inclined to be tolerant
of the pōula, but, perhaps as they became more aware of its
nature, or more sure of their position, their attitude hardened.
By the end of the period they were boasting that in time of war

265 cf. pp. 74, 92. Williams early told the people at Sapapali'i
that "dancing naked was filthy". SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 22.

266 SSJ, Barff & Buzacott, 1834, June 9.

267 SDC, April 1837. SSJ, Schmidt, 1849, Dec. 3; 1850, Jan. 18.
MS, Ella, correspondence, Schmidt to Ella, 15 Aug., 1856.
MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1851, June 11; 1857, Jan. 22. MS,

268 ONE, Palazy, May 1850, enclosing copy of Bataillon's
instructions. cf. SR. (2), Sept. 1845.
their followers abstained from the dances, while the Protestants did not. 269 In the absence of missionaries, the chiefs of the Wesleyan party do not appear to have made any attempt to ban the pule.

These matters, then — the regular observance of the Sabbath; the holding of missionary meetings, the building of chapels, and to a lesser extent the adopting of new modes of dress and the banning of the pule were activities which were conceived as being part and parcel of the acceptance by a group, whether a village or a part of a village, of the Lotu. On the whole, they were considered to be matters that were under the direction of the traditional leaders of that group, and, no doubt, the primary motivation for their adoption was because they were thought to be necessary to the obtaining of the benefits of the Lotu for the group as a whole, irrespective of what degree of involvement individuals might show in the Lotu's activities.

The changes which are now to be discussed are those which the missionaries hoped to effect through the operation of ecclesiastical discipline upon individuals. Certainly, as will

be seen, the missionaries sometimes had broader changes in society in mind, in addition to the requirements of individual piety. Nevertheless, discipline was geared primarily to the latter.

1. **Traditional Religious Practices.**

The missionaries of all three societies were hostile to anything that they construed as a continuance of traditional religious practices. Traditional medicine, where it used incantations and ritual connected with consulting and exorcising a[itu] were strongly disapproved.\(^{270}\) As has been seen, some of the missionaries were prepared to go along with a belief in a[itu] on the lines of biblical demonology; the means to treat the illnesses thought to be caused by them, however, had to be Christian.\(^{271}\) It was not always possible, however, for the missionaries to separate out elements such as massage and herbal medicine from what they considered to be "witchcraft."\(^{272}\) Traditional medical practices still continue today, but exorcism is regarded as being inconsistent with church membership.

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271 cf. p. 262.

272 WNP, Dyson, Journal extract, 6 April, 1859.
In the matter of funeral customs there was a considerable difference in attitude between the Protestant and Catholic missions. The evisceration of those who had died of disease, and the burning of the diseased organs, to prevent further illness among the survivors, was forbidden to members, certainly among Wesleyans under Dyson, and probably in the London Society.\(^{273}\) Similarly the London Society forbade the moving of bones of people already buried, though later the matter was left to the discretion of the pastors.\(^{274}\) Dyson, however, could see no reason why the custom should be forbidden "providing there is no heathen custom practised in concert with it such as lagisafi etc."\(^{275}\) The priests were so far from disapproving it that on at least one occasion they supervised the moving of the remains of some of their chiefs, holding a service in the church to sanctify them.\(^{276}\)

Wesleyan, and, no doubt, L.M.S. church members, were also forbidden to participate in other ceremonies associated with the

\(^{273}\) MS, Dyson, Journal, 1862, Jan. 22.

\(^{274}\) MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1860, Nov. 5. cf. SSL, SDC minutes, 20 Nov., 1878, encl. copy of minutes of Native Pastor's Delegates meeting, 7 Nov., 1878.

\(^{275}\) MS, Dyson, Journal, 1862, Dec. 25. "Lagisafi" probably refers to certain customs normally observed at the burial of a chief.

\(^{276}\) GNE, Extract of a letter, Vidal, 10 Feb., 1876.
death of a chief, such as the ausoga. Dyson explained:

An ausoga is a party of mourners who on their approach to the house of the dead chief, fell trees, break down houses & play the most foolish antics as evidence of their sorrow & then proceed to make a funeral oration on their arrival at the house. The custom still exists but is now bereft of its mad freaks & more sober evidence of grief satisfies the survivors.277

The Catholic attitude in this respect is not clear. In 1886 the priests were instructed: "Il est aussi certaines marques de respect envers les chefs, que l'on regarderais à tort comme superstitieuses."278 These marks were not, however, specified.

Though all missionaries attempted to substitute Christian prayer for the wailing consequent upon the death of someone, there is no evidence either that this became a matter of discipline, or that wailing ceased.279

The attitude towards the placing of a tamu on land is also not clear. In 1878, the L.M.S. pastors decided "that it is wrong for any pastor to encourage old customs – such as the taboo of land – superstitious ceremonies for 'good luck' &c."280 Presumably abstention was a condition for church membership. Catholics were forbidden to take part in ceremonies for luck in fishing, and forms of laying a tamu, except where the leaf of a

277 MS, Dyson, Journal, 1862, Jan. 13. In this modified form, such customs have been practised to the present day.

278 ON-600 loc. cit.


280 SSL, SDC minutes, 22 Jan., 1878, excl. copy of minutes of meeting of Native Pastor's Delegates. 17 Jan., 1878.
coconut was tied around a tree as a simple mark of prohibition. 281

During the 1870's, at least, L.M.S. members, were forbidden

to take a "Samoan imprecatory oath"; and much earlier, George

Turner had refused to allow his people to use a Bible for that

purpose. 282 At least one Catholic missionary, however,
countenanced the assimilation of this traditional custom to
Christian usage. 283 Similarly, Dyson disciplined members who
dared to speak to God in anger, after they had suffered
misfortune, in the way they might have spoken to some situ who
had failed them. 284

2. Kava, alcohol and tobacco.

Though the Protestant missionaries were inclined to prohibit

the use of both kava and tobacco among church members, they were

not able to tackle the matter directly, by making abstinence a
condition of church or class membership. Rather, a local church,
under missionary inspiration might form an anti-tobacco or anti-
kava society, and members would be encouraged to join. 285

Consequently, if they did not abstain, they could be subject to
church discipline, on the grounds that they had broken their pledge.

281 ON- 600, loc. cit.
282 SSL, loc. cit., XXVII of minutes of meeting of Native Pastors'

Delegates, 6 Dec., 1876. cf. Turner, Nineteen years, p. 118.
284 MS, Dyson, Journals, 1859, April 21; 1863, June 25.
285 SSL, Powell, l Sept., 1851; SR. (16), Dec. 1854. Turner,

Nineteen years, p. 122. L.M.S. teachers until the 1870's,
and Wesleyan teachers under Dyson, at least, were forbidden
to smoke. MS, Ella Correspondence, Pratt to Ella, 28 Feb.,
1879. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1863, August 31; 1864, Nov. 24.
They were, however, quite unable to effect any significant change in Samoan inclinations in this matter. With respect to kava, Violette hardly exaggerated when he said: "Interdire l'ava [kava], c'était vouloir arracher sans nécessité ce qu'il y avait de plus enraciné dans les usages, les mœurs et même la constitution civile des Samoans."²⁸⁶ Dyson noted that, in his day, the L.M.S. missionaries were obliged to "wink" at it, though, he added that he, himself, could be easily persuaded to take stronger measures.²⁸⁷

Alcoholic liquor, according to missionary accounts, presented no problem, until the beginning of the 1870's. They believed that Samoans considered it beneath their dignity to become drunk, and they do not seem to have spent much time in persuading their adherents against it.²⁸⁸ When it did begin to be a problem during the political disturbances of the early 70's, both L.M.S. and Catholic missionaries sought political measures to counteract it.²⁸⁹ Almost certainly, abstinence would have been a requirement for church membership in the

²⁸⁷ MS, Dyson, Journal, 1858, May 16. Nowadays kava is widely used, even by E.F.K.S. pastors.
Protestant societies.


The missionaries brought with them a concept of marriage and sexual relations, which was in radical conflict with traditional Samoan practices. The missionaries regarded it as one of the most important areas of proposed change. They wished all sexual acts to take place between people who were married; marriage was monogamous, and, with a few exceptions, indissoluble. Traditional Samoan marriage, on the other hand, was not monogamous. Its object was sometimes considered to have been achieved, with the exchange of property, or the birth of children — after which a husband and wife might cease to live together. A person of high rank would frequently marry a number of times, to get a wife to match his increasing status. The conflict was exacerbated by the missionary view that the object of facilitating the exchange of property was not a worthy motive for marriage.

290 cf. p. 49f.

291 cf. e.g. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1861, May 6. The contrast is demonstrated by the introduction by the missionaries of the Tahitian word fa'a'ipolipo, meaning "to make somebody one's darling", and adopted in that group to mean Christian marriage. Milner, "Nuits et concerts étrangers dans la langue de Samo", p. 61. Levy, Tahitians, p. 190. Pratt and Bellwald state that the word was introduced from Karotonga. Pratt, Dictionary of the Samoan Language, p. 80. ON — Bellwald, "Samoan laws". Bellwald points to the contrast with fa'apouliuli (heathen) sexual unions.
Moreover, except in women of high rank, and particularly the tātou, chastity before marriage was not valued. The missionaries sometimes, too, found it difficult to distinguish between what they considered to be sheer promiscuity, and Samoan marriage between people of low status, which might be marked, initially, simply by the couple beginning to live together. 292

Promiscuity, including prostitution, was, of course, always a matter for ecclesiastical discipline. While, in some areas, prostitution may have been temporarily abolished by the influence and co-operation of chiefs, there is nothing to suggest that the missionaries made much impression either on traditional patterns, or on the patterns that developed after commerce with European shipping had begun. 293

292 MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1848, May 20. A young chief came to Nisbet in the middle of the night to be married to a woman who had eloped with him. He was placed in a dilemma when the missionary told him to wait till the morning. According to Samoan ideas the woman had to spend the night in his house to make the matter a fait accompli; if she did so before marriage, however, the chief would be subject to ecclesiastical discipline.

293 At Pago Pago in the 1840's, Murray boasted that there was "not a female who will have intercourse with wicked foreigners..." SSJ, Murray, 1840. George Turner, however, later complained of the lack of chastity among the people. SR. (10), Nov. 1849. The attitude may well have applied, as it does today, that young people ought to postpone church membership, until they had formed a settled relationship with a particular person. This meant that traditional patterns of behaviour could remain relatively unaltered by missionary discipline.
Though Williams, in 1832, was inclined to overlook polygamy for the time being, by 1837 the L.M.S. missionaries had passed a resolution that "no persons be allowed to pray or admitted as candidates for baptism who have more than one wife." There may have been some ambiguity in their position up to this time, for Peter Turner reported hearing that the L.M.S. had allowed polygamists to preach, and had baptized such persons. Though this ruling would have affected important titleholders more than their taule'ale'a relatives, there is evidence that many, in fact, early complied with the ruling, and put away all but one of their wives. On the other hand, there was also a strong stream of resistance. Vai'imupō, for instance, remained a polygamist to his death in 1841, while Wilkes noted that:

Most of the people look back to the days when polygamy existed with regret and cannot understand why they are restricted to one wife. They say "Why should God be so unreasonable as to require them to give up all their wives but one for his convenience?"

294 SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 22, 23. SDC, Aug. 1837.
296 e.g. To'ō of Falelatei; SSL, Heath, 1 Dec., 1837. Malietoa Noli: MS, Day Papers, item H. n.d. Mana of Vailele: SSJ, Buzacott, 1837, Feb. 21. Erskine found that there was no polygamy on Mau'a in 1849. op. cit., p. 38.
297 Wilkes, op. cit., II pp. 78-79, V p. 28.
Indeed, throughout the period, the missionaries continued to report a Samoan predilection for the practice. Consequently the subject was continually a matter for discipline.

This, however, was not always as clear cut as might have been expected. Which wives should a polygamist be expected to "put away"? The L.M.S. adopted the policy that it should be all but the first married. But what if she had already left the man and was living with someone else? Dyson decided in such a case, that a chief who wished to join the Wesleyan class, might keep his latest wife. Was there any just grounds for divorce? In traditional practice a chief might send a wife home, or they might agree to leave each other. None of the missionaries considered this a sufficient grounds for divorce. The L.M.S. missionaries were, however, prepared to accept adultery as a grounds, and as a wife who was sent home might be allowed to take another husband, this sometimes provided a means whereby chiefs could gain a new wife and remain on side with the missionaries. The Catholic priests stressed very

298 cf. e.g. ONE; Pedel, 24 Aug., 1851; Sage, June 1855. MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1850, Oct. 5. MS, Dyson, Journals, 1861, May 6; 1863, Sept. 7. Les Missions Catholiques, (1870), p. 156. APP, 47 (1875) p. 82. Vidal, 4 Oct., 1873.

299 MS, Dyson, Journal, 1859, May 18.

300 cf. e.g. MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1863, June 20. Tui A'ana asked for a divorce from his wife, who, it was reported, not only refused to return to him, but had also been "naughty". The L.M.S. missionaries, on occasion, did refuse requests from important chiefs for divorce. cf. ibid., 1862, May 30. SSL, Harbutt, 16 March, 1842. In some cases what the missionaries regarded as a reason for divorce, and as an appropriate way of giving expression to it, was not considered so by Samoans. In 1841 Slatyer arranged a
strongly the indissolubility of marriage, and this created points of tension with the Protestant missionaries, particularly after attempts at new forms of government in the 1870's produced legislation on the matter. 

... public divorce for the wife of an adulterous teacher. He commented: "The chiefs acted as persons utterly unaccustomed to such proceedings." MS, Slatyer, Journal, 1841, Oct. 7.

They believed this was an important obstacle to conversion. One: Padel, 24 Aug., 1851; Poupinel, 1 Nov., 1861; Jeremy n.d., c. Aug. 1862. cf. Churchward, op. cit., p. 297. They may have been able to ease their difficulties, however, by recognizing only marriages between baptized Catholics as indissoluble. ON-600, Activitas Pastoralis, Conferences Théologiques, 1886. Elloy, in a circular letter to his priests, expressed the belief that the legislation of 1873, implied that, to that point, only Catholic marriages were valid. ON 310, litterae circulares, Elloy, 14 Oct., 1873. The exact nature of this legislation is not clear, as only a summary exists. The Catholics believed, however, that it absolutely forbade the divorce of legally wed couples. It is probable that the law was simply badly drafted. The Protestant missionaries, for their part interpreted it to allow divorce in certain cases. They recognised each others' marriages as valid, and, also Catholic marriages, if they had been made according to the law. They did pass ecclesiastical laws forbidding pastors to marry those who had carelessly cast off their partners whom they had already wed according to the law. E. Gurr, tr. The Organic Law and Bill of Rights 1873, and Constitution of Samoa 1875. (reprinted from the N.Z. Samoa Guardian, 3 Sept., 1831) held in MS, Westbrook Papers. SSL: copy of SDC minutes, 20 Nov., 1875, excl. copy of minutes of meeting of native Pastors' Delegates, 7 Nov., 1878; copy of SDC minutes, 22 Jan., 1878, excl. copy of minutes of meeting of Native Pastors' Delegates, 12 Nov., 1875; copy of SDC minutes, 8 June, 1864. cf. church law based on 1876 constitution. Oi'ugafino va faa e Faalua Peritiaga va Faatasi Samoa. (Sydney, 1893) p.10. Les Missions Catholiques (1874) p. 336, Elloy, 24 Jan., 1874. AFF, 47 (1875) Vidal, 4 Oct., 1873. Dyson, Samoan Evangelization, p. 92. Vidal describes an occasion for conflict between a Catholic catechist, and a Protestant missionary, on this matter. ONE, Vidal, 22 July, 1876.
Missionaries of all denominations, too, pursued their marriage policies in another way. Unless a marriage met their prescriptions, church members and candidates were forbidden to take part in the customary exchange of property. This had involved Mauga of Pagopago in violent opposition to the Christian party, there, in 1839-40, when he proposed to marry another wife on his succession to the title. Malietoa Va'inaupō ran foul of the mission and even his own close relatives who were church members, when he proposed to marry his daughter to a man already married. Wesleyans were not permitted to make presents, unless a couple had been married by a native or European pastor. According to Dyson the L.M.S. in his day attached little or no importance here to the ceremony usually observed of marriages being solemnized by ministers or even native pastors & therefore rarely performs it if the native ceremony has been performed privately by themselves i.e. the natives in their own houses.

Nevertheless, there is evidence to suggest that unless a couple were formally married by a teacher or missionary, and especially in the case of an avasa, property could not be exchanged.

305 SSL, Nisbet, 11 Oct., 1861. MS, Ella correspondence, Osea to Ella, 16 July, 1863. Church members in the L.M.S. were permitted to marry non-members only when they were considered to be of good character, too. SSL, copy of SDC minutes, 22 Jan., 1878, encl. copy of minutes of meeting of Native Pastors' Delegates, 12 Nov., 1875.
Evidently undergoing a formal marriage ceremony was a condition of church membership among Wesleyans. The priests were prepared to allow Catholics to take part in property exchange in the case of an "avaga faapouliuli" (heathen avaga) provided polygamy was not involved, and especially where the union showed signs of durability. If, however, the couple was baptized relatives were strongly forbidden to take part: "C'est un concubinage dont ils doivent avoir horreur." 307

Adultery was, of course, also the subject of discipline. The Samoan notion, involving as it did, the concept of an offence against a husband and his family, or of a woman of rank, extended also, to include the notion that the wife also was an offended party, when her husband was involved in sexual relations with another woman.

4. **Property exchange.**

While the missionaries used sanctions against property exchange as a means to effect their policy on marriage, the Protestant missions, at any rate, looked askance, also, at the

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306 W. Dyson, Journal, 1859, May 18. The L.M.S. required that all candidates be registered as married, where such legal registration was practised. SSL, copy of SDC minutes, 8 June, 1856.

307 ON - 600, loc. cit.
custom in itself. They objected to it on two accounts: first because of the way it expressed the rivalries and tensions of Samoan social relations; and second, because it stimulated a spirit of greed, and bore some resemblance, in their mind, to lotteries. Moreover, they thought it hypocritical that Samoans should call gifts made in such circumstances "mea alofa" (things of love), when in fact they were given with "le loto faalialia" (desiring a reward and payment). Church members and candidates were, therefore advised to keep well away from such matters, whether at births, marriages or funerals. On Manu'a and Tutuila, the churches, at the instigation of Powell, carried resolutions to abandon the exchanging of presents at marriages. The Walue district of the L.M.S. also passed a similar resolution in the 1860's. Dyson early forbade the giving of property at funerals, and this was eventually extended to births and marriages as well. Violette speaks of a general Protestant prohibition on such exchange, especially when it involved fine mats.

308 SSL, Powell, 1 Sept., 1846. MS, Dyson, Journals, 1861, May 6; 1863, March 8.
310 SSL, loc. cit.
311 MS, Dyson, Journal, 1864, March 3.
Nevertheless, as he pointed out, the attitude completely ignored the social and cultural functions of such exchange, and in any case the prohibition, he said, "est restée à l'état de lettre morte." 313 Ironically, it was precisely the motivations which they deplored in these cases, which the Protestant missionaries were to allow to be exploited in their collections, and in the support of the teachers. Evidently they were able to persuade themselves, in these cases, that alofa was not incompatible with other motivations.

5. **Malaga, sports and amusements**

The Protestant missionaries were the predecessors of later Colonial administrations in taking a critical view of malaga. They looked upon them as being frivolous, and as disrupting what they saw as the normal pattern of village life, and thus the activities of the Lotu. They also looked upon them as providing occasion for immorality. 314

Peter Turner early made a law that his leaders could not go on such journeys, while Nisbet similarly prohibited church members in the Pa'asaleleaga from going on a trip, probably

313 Les Missions Catholiques, (1870), p. 216. The L.M.S. missionaries had early thought they were having success in abolishing such exchanges at funerals. SSL, Hardie, 9 Feb., 1842. SR. (14), Sept. 1852. They have been strongly in force till the present, however. The function they fill has been described. cf. p. 52f.

314 Stair, op. cit., p. 130.
because some were practising pōula.\textsuperscript{315} Violette speaks in general terms of a prohibition both against travelling and against the receipt of malaga. However, he added: "... l'habitude invertée chez les indigènes de recevoir les étrangers aidant, la defense a été levée."\textsuperscript{316} It is unlikely, however, that a rule prohibiting all such malaga was ever passed. In 1878, for instance, the pastors' delegates passed a rule that malaga were forbidden where they were accompanied by pōula and immorality.\textsuperscript{317}

A related area was that of sports and amusements. Violette states that from the beginning they had prohibited hunting of any kind, though they had not successfully eliminated the chiefly sport of pigeon netting. Club sparring matches (taufeta'ai) had gone out of fashion, as had the apparently unobjectionable soa, sung by the chiefs. Prohibitions against tāgati'a (a form of dart throwing game) and the fiti (another type of chant) were unsuccessful.\textsuperscript{318} That some of these matters were the subject of formal rules is suggested by Pratt's comment, after the pastors, in 1878, had decided to allow cards and games: "... the laity interpret this to apply to all Samoan games."\textsuperscript{319} Nevertheless, Turner's account implies that some of the items mentioned by

\textsuperscript{315} MS, Turner, Journal, 1838, Sept. 2., 13. MS, Misbet, Journal, 1856, Nov. 11.

\textsuperscript{316} Les Missions Catholiques, loc. cit. of. ONE, Poupine1, 1 Nov., 1861.

\textsuperscript{317} SSL, copy of SDC minutes, 20 Nov., 1878, encl. copy of minutes of meeting of Native Pastors' Delegates, 7 Nov.,1878.

\textsuperscript{318} Les Missions Catholiques (1870) p. 215.

\textsuperscript{319} MS, Ella. Correspondence, Pratt to Ella, 28 Feb., 1879.
Violette, such as tātī'a were not disapproved by the missionaries, while others, such as pigeon netting, were dying out, because of Samoan preferences. 320

In general the games were opposed because they might distract people from the activities of the Lotu.

6. Tattooing.

Tattooing, or being tattooed, was forbidden to all Protestant church members and candidates. "The waste of time, revelling, and immorality connected with the custom have led us to discontinue it; and it is, to a considerable extent, given up." wrote George Turner in 1849. 321 Despite this hope, however, the custom has enjoyed periods of resurgence right up to the present day, and particularly, in the nineteenth century, during periods of war. As Dyson put it: "A man is popularly considered a boy in his minority by the multitude until he is tattooed." 322 Malieetoa Laupepa, once a student at Malua, was obliged to undergo the operation before he could assume the leadership of his people in a time of political crisis. 323

321 SR. (10), Nov. 1849. cf. Nineteen years, p. 183; Murray, Forty years mission work, p. 224.
323 Churchward, op. cit., p. 63.
Some church members, no doubt, were never tattooed. Slatyer cites a case of the son of a Siovili chief who refused his father's wish that he be tattooed, and who joined the London Society's class of enquirers. Others, however, adopted a compromise solution - it was not until his death was approaching that the chief liquidated sent Pratt his tattooing instruments. Lundie recounts the story of a heathen chief, who, though he had decided to become a Christian, wished to defer "a profession of his new opinions till his son was tattooed, and thus admitted to manhood, according to heathen custom." No doubt many were thus tattooed before professing their aspiration to join the church, while many others might take the opportunity of exclusion from membership due to participation in war, to be tattooed. Though, for a while, tattooing was prohibited on Tutuila and Kauu' and there was still evinced a desire to have the operation, during the 1850's, and by the 1870's, people from Upolu were resorting to Leone, a centre of Catholicism on the island, to be tattooed. In 1862, Dyson reported: "... this custom is still practised in most parts of the group. On Manono it is done as privately as possible." In the 1870's the new Government laws had forbidden

325 SSL, Pratt, 18 June, 1847.
326 Lundie, op. cit., p. 232.
328 MS, Dyson, Journal, 1862, Jan. 17.
tattooing but this could not have been effective for very long, or in very many places. 329

The Catholic attitude towards tattooing was not as clear as that of the Protestants. In 1848 Padel wrote that the priests thought nothing of it. 330 As late as 1863 Garnier was writing that the priests had so far given evasive answers only on the question. 331 Vidal, writing in 1874, recounts a story of the remorse of a convert, recently tattooed, which suggests that the Catholics did consider it improper - though the regret may have been induced by Protestant practice in this case, or by some of the associated activities. 332 In the 1880's, it was decided that it was not necessary to forbid tattooing in itself, but only associated activities which were disapproved. Tattooers were allowed to partake of the sacraments, as it was judged that "... un tatoueur bon catholique peut empêcher beaucoup de mal." 333

7. Violence

Acts of physical violence were naturally made the subject of discipline, but this was also extended to cases of village and family disorder and strife. Dyson disciplined a chief who

330 ONB, Padel, 31 Aug., 1848.
331 ONB, Garnier, c. 1863.
332 ONB, Vidal, 10 Aug., 1874. The fact that there was nominally a government law in force against the practice may have influenced Vidal's attitude.
333 ON - 600, Activitas Pastoralis, Conferences Théologiques, 1886.
raised an axe to strike someone, while Nisbet expelled another who actually used such a weapon.\textsuperscript{334} Self-inflicted injuries, expressing remorse or regret, were also disciplined. The principal chief of Manono, Lei'ataua Lesa cut his forehead with stones when a fight broke out between some young men of Manono and a visiting party from the Tuamasaga, with whom he hoped to forge an alliance. As a consequence he was put down from membership.\textsuperscript{335} Another chief, a Wesleyan local preacher, was disciplined for his reaction to news of his daughter’s elopement. He had smashed his canoe to pieces, and he and his wife, on the Sabbath had: "yielded themselves up to the full influence of passion & wept & wailed for hours without intermission."\textsuperscript{336}

Heath reported the case of a man who agreed to suspension after he had admitted beating his wife.\textsuperscript{337} A man who "had a row with his son & used very bad language to him, of course pona ua \textsuperscript{[}\textit{running sore}\textsuperscript{]}], alelo \textsuperscript{[}\textit{an insulting reference to the tongue}\textsuperscript{]} pua elo \textsuperscript{[}\textit{stinking pig}\textsuperscript{]} & a list of others of the same class" and who had "forced his daughter away from her husband" was disciplined.\textsuperscript{338} "Loose family government" and acts of wifely disobedience were dealt with similarly. Dyson feared that "in one instance the

\textsuperscript{334} MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1861, Oct. 27. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1863, June 25.
\textsuperscript{335} ibid.
\textsuperscript{336} ibid., May 12.
\textsuperscript{337} SSL, Heath, 1 Dec., 1837.
\textsuperscript{338} MS, Dyson, Journal, 1863, April 29.
evil ... is incurable. The poor brother has to contend against the insubordination of mother as well as children."339 Participation in disputes between families was similarly forbidden to church members and teachers.340

It is not to be expected, however, that the operation of such discipline had much effect on reducing the incidence of physical and other forms of violence, or of strife arising from tensions within and between families.

8. Participation in war.

Until the outbreak of general war in 1848, the missionaries had not had the occasion to work out a common policy on the question of participation of church members and candidates in war. Certainly there had been a general expectation that war would cease as a result of the coming of the Loto, despite the occasional outbreak of minor skirmishes.341 A few had lost their membership on such occasions, but whether this was simply for participation or for some other associated act is not clear.342 In 1847 Lei'ataua Tonumaipe'a of Kenono was disciplined for his part in the events leading up to war with A'ana.343

340 MS, Dyson, Journals, 1862, Feb. 18; 1863, Jan. 26. MS,
Ella correspondence, Viliamu to Ella, 15 June, 1863.
342 SSL, Hardie, 11 March, 1844. SR. (A), Sept. 1846.
343 SR. (6), Sept. 1847.
By 1848 there was considerable uncertainty among the missionaries as to the policy to be followed. Nisbet on the south coast advised his members to separate themselves from the rest of their fellow villagers if the war spread to Safata, but sent messages to Ha'ula for further advice. 344 Stallworthy, in Falealili, decided that each member must make his own decision, that participation in a war for purposes of defence was not to be subject to discipline in itself but that other matters - "acts of barbarity to the living or the dead, any improper songs, any want of decent covering for the person" would be. He took the view, which, in the event, was fully justified, that the imposition of discipline would "expose those who should join the war to serious spiritual injury, for viewing themselves as fallen, they would be in danger of becoming careless in their general conduct, and reckless in regard to consequences." 345

The L.M.S. policy, was, however to develop in another direction. In 1849, Mills, in the Apia district spoke of church members who had joined the war, and said that their departure was a good thing - they had been only lukewarm in any case. 346 This implies that they were expelled merely for their

345 SR. (8), Sept. 1848.
346 SR. (9), March 1849.
participation. By 1850, Pratt was putting this point of view much more forcefully, and at the same time revealed a difference of opinion among the missionaries: "...Whatever nice distinctions others may attempt to draw - the natives themselves judge that all who engage in Samoan warfare are leaga (bad) and have no further claim to be called Christians."347 It was this point of view that gained the upper hand. By 1852, Turner at Kalua, was speaking of those who had been expelled for participating in the war.348 Though the missionaries were prepared to make an exception in the case of the threatened Tongan invasion in 1862, the general prohibition was reiterated at the outbreak of war again in 1869.349 It was not until the late 1870's, when the missionaries were prepared to accept that there was a legitimate government in Samoa, that the L.M.S., no doubt under pressure from their newly ordained pastors, resolved: "That we do not think it is desirable that church members should be soldiers. At the same time we do not oppose any order of the Government to call them out, but leave it for each to do as his conscience inclines him."350

347 SSL, Pratt, 8 June, 1850.
349 SSL, copy of SDC minutes: 15 May, 1862; 7 May, 1869.
350 ibid., 22 Jan., 1878, encl. copy of minutes of meeting of Native Pastors' Delegates, 12 Nov., 1875. Gilson states that this resolution was made "before Samoa had a central government which the missionaries considered worth defending" Gilson, Samoa, 1830-1900. p. 136. It has been observed, however, that from the mid 1870's, the missionaries were prepared to adjust their ecclesiastical rules to take account of the existence of nominal government legislation. Gilson's claim may, therefore, be doubted, or, at least, qualified.
While, without the presence of European missionaries the Wesleyans do not appear to have exercised any restraint upon activity in war, Dyson was prepared to follow the example of L.M.S. policy. He did, however, express doubts as to what policy to apply in the case of a "just" war, though he believed none had occurred in practice. George Brown expressed disapproval of this policy because of the great loss that it caused for the church, and because "large number of our members felt it to be their duty to join in the combat through feelings of loyalty to their respective districts". After he had left, the law was changed.

The Marist mission took no disciplinary action against those who took part in fighting. They encouraged Catholics to abstain from immoral practices (and according to their own accounts succeeded in preventing the recurrence of jōula among their adherents) and to carry out their religious exercises. They appear to have recognised fighting as an inevitable, if unfortunate, aspect of Samoan polity as it stood. Indeed, they were pleased to report the discomfort of the L.M.S. missionaries, when the Samoans pointed out to them, during the 1870's, how church members in England might take part in war.

351 MOM, Dyson to Egglestone, 24 Oct., 1862.
353 cf. e.g. Les Missions Catholiques, (1874) p. 322, Elloy, 20 Oct., 1873.
In conclusion, then, it has been seen that the missionaries controlled certain resources which aided them in inducing a broad acceptance of the *Lotu* among Samoans. Samoans unconsciously or consciously, assimilated the activities of the new religion to their traditional religious activities, and thus made their practice a continuous feature of their lives. The missionaries had only a limited success, however, in persuading the acceptance of restrictions which conflicted strongly with traditional Samoan patterns. While they were able to bring fear of divine sanctions, or hope of a divine reward to bear, and also to induce change through the operation of a desire for prestige, these were effectual only among some of their adherents for some of the time. Frequently, powerful traditional concerns, associated for instance with warfare, or with the making of marriage alliances, intervened to negate missionary efforts. Moreover, because a completely different pattern of social relationships and ideology was operating, from that of their own societies, the missionaries were frequently at a loss to be able to decide whether the fundamental change within individuals, that they desired, was in fact, taking place.

The missionaries, however, hoped also to change this pattern by persuading Samoans to adopt new modes of political organization, new items of material culture, and even different domestic relationships. It is this attempt that is discussed in the next chapter.
CHAPTER IV. THE LOTU, POLITICS AND SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CHANGE

A. The Lotu and social change (ii)

One of the features of a society that most strikes a people intent upon changing it, are the patterns of child rearing. The missionaries in Samoa were no exception. J.B. Stair's comments on the "strange" training which children received, have already been noted. Beginning with a criticism of the diet of infants, and their lack of protection from the sun; and progressing through exhortations to better discipline within families, the missionaries conducted a Canute-like campaign, in which their voices, and the magazine, the Sulu Samoa were their only weapons. Apparently unaware of the extent to which patterns of child rearing reflect the values and structures of the whole society, they little realized how ineffectual their efforts would be. Changes would, indeed, occur, but only imperceptibly, as a result of alterations in


2 cf. e.g. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1861, May 1. SSL, Pratt, 31 Dec., 1859. ONE, Didier, 27 July, 1878. Sulu Samoa, 2:5 (1844). The missionaries, in a concern which reveals a failure to see Samoan society, except through the lens of European values, deplored the practice of adoption, which they felt showed a lack of proper parental responsibility. ER. (9) March 1849. The Catholic missionaries had another motive, too, in that they were particularly concerned lest children they had baptized should be adopted by Protestant parents. GN-600, Activitas Pastoralis, Conferences Théologiques, 1886.
economic and social factors beyond the direct control of the missionaries.³

Perhaps they had more chance of success in inducing changes through the training they gave to their Samoan agents, and their wives, but even here, one suspects, Samoan patterns would re-assert themselves except where the direct supervision of a missionary was involved.⁴ Education itself was warmly embraced, for reasons already discussed, and in the introduction of literacy, instituted permanent changes in Samoan culture. Apart from the connection with the Lota, and with prestige, however, it would be easy to over-estimate the extent and importance of that change. The missionaries, coming from a society in the throes of the industrial revolution, and impressed with the value of education as a means of "raising the lower classes", might be excused for believing that literacy could effect a similarly dramatic change in the Pacific. Nevertheless, as G.S. Parsonson points out, the political and economic base was lacking.⁵

³ As, for instance, the economic changes, the adoption of a European education system, and the emigration of large numbers of Samoans to countries with a European culture who, nevertheless, maintain a close contact with their homeland, are proving corrosive of traditional Samoan patterns in the present day.

⁴ Turner, Nineteen years, p. 134; O levalu seme, p. 40, 41.

⁵ Parsonson, op. cit., p. 57. It is for this reason, of course, that missionary concern about Samoan "laziness" was quite superfluous. Samoan enthusiasm for education is discussed on pp. 216-222.
Even estimates as to the extent to which the arts of reading and writing had been acquired by the population, vary, probably according to what was taken to constitute such an ability. While, as early as 1842, Murray stated that the great majority were able to read the Bible in Samoan, and in 1877 the United States Consul wrote "...There are very few persons in Samoa who are not in part educated and who cannot read and write their own language", the L.M.S. missionaries, on the other hand, estimated, in 1854, that 6,271 in a population of 35,000, could read. Dyson reported in 1861 that, at Setupapitea, admittedly after only four years of regular Wesleyan instruction, "162 out of a Pop of 953 ... are prepared to read any books we can give them in their own tongue." A widespread ability to "read" passages from the scriptures may be attributed to the Samoan facility for memorizing. Thus, in 1844, Chisholm reported that his teachers taught their pupils to read whole words, and not letters, so that they could read well from their own books, but could not tell even the letters in others.

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6 SSJ, Murray, 1840-42. SE. (15), Jan. 1854. It should be remembered, however, that this comment was made at the end of a long war, which had seriously disrupted mission activities. USCD. Griffin to Fish, 17 Feb., 1877.
7 NS, Dyson, Journal, 1861, May 1.
8 SSL, Chisholm, 8 July, 1844. The low standard of village schools, and even those based at missionary stations, was attested by the visiting L.M.S. missionary, Vivian, in 1871-72. Again, it should be remembered that his visit was made in a time of war. The best schools, apart from those based at Apia, and directed towards the education of Europeans, were probably those associated with the respective mission seminaries, and designed to lead to education in these seminaries, or to provide educated wives for Samoan teachers. There was such a school at Malua from the beginning, though it was later superseded by one at Leulumoea, the forerunner of the present Leulumoea Fou High School. cf. also, ASN 11 p. 383, Sage, 18 Oct., 1864.
Of course, it is probable that the proportion of the truly literate increased during the period up to 1880. Nevertheless, the use to which the arts could be put, were limited. Apart from the means of advancement in the hierarchies set up by the missions, they provided only the opportunity to write letters, and to supplement memorized traditional lore, with recorded accounts.9

The missionaries, of course, did effect some change in the language, reflecting the fact that they were the most important mediators, not only of strange terms, concepts and knowledge of unknown animals and items of material culture from the scriptures, but also of contemporary European geography and culture in general.10

9 Judging by collections of letters, for instance among the Eila papers held in the Mitchell Library, the writing of letters by teachers was quite common. Sometimes the art was put to an ingenious use, for instance, in the engineering of a "call" from a village, by a Malua graduate, who, it was suspected, wrote a letter purporting to come from somebody else, recommending himself for the position. MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1874, July 4. The largest existing body of indigenous writing from the nineteenth century is that based on Samoan traditions provided for Brown, by the L.M.S. teacher Penisimani of Amoa. cf. p.403. In modern times literacy has provided access to a European style of education, sometimes completed overseas. This, in turn, has opened a limited number of employment opportunities, which, of course, did not exist in the nineteenth century.

10 cf. Milner, "Mots et concepts étrangers dans la langue de Samoa." This was reflected also in the widespread use of transliterated biblical personal names. Dyson, too, attributed the loss of knowledge of traditional counting techniques to the effect of the Lotu. Why this should be so is not immediately clear, unless the introduction of literacy obviated the need for the aids to memory, perhaps provided by the old terminology. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1862, Feb. 18.
They were even responsible for the initial introduction of such animals as the horse, though later, in this respect, they would be surpassed by traders and planters.11 In the introduction of the week, too, they brought a new cycle of activity to Samoan life, though it is doubtful whether this had widespread consequences in the nineteenth century, apart from the observances of the prohibitions associated with the Lotu.12

It is evident, too, particularly from a reading of Dyson's journals, that the teachers acted as agents of the introduction of certain items of European material culture into the villages. Following the tendency set in their style of dress, they introduced tables and chairs, and in accordance with missionary ideas of propriety, some even subdivided their houses into separate rooms. It was not, of course, that these changes became widespread, or even that the teachers themselves made much use of them. Rather they were markers of status, and also were brought into play in the entertainment of missionaries and

11 cf. e.g. SSJ, Buzacott, 1836, July 27.

12 How soon the names of the week came into use is not certain. Certainly those associated with the Aso Se would have been used almost immediately: Aso To'ona'i ("dinner day", i.e. day on which meals for the Aso Se were prepared) and Aso Gafua (day on which prohibitions were relaxed). The present names for the other days of the week were apparently not in common usage in 1841. cf. O le tusi i le a'oma a tana. (Samoa, 1841), p. 9. This would suggest that the differentiation of the days of the week was not of great importance, except for religious purposes.
other European visitors. They fill a similar function even today.\textsuperscript{13}

Indeed, the missionaries noticed that, in general, and particularly, it may be presumed, in their day to day life, the Samoans were disinclined to imitate foreign customs.\textsuperscript{14} Thus while one missionary noticed some slow progress in acceptance of the "outward marks of civilization", in comparison to other groups, he complained:

... the Samoans have a great prejudice against the adoption of foreign customs. They will consider it a sufficient justification of many a reprehensible practice to say it is faa-Samoa ... and the man who adopts foreign customs is sure to meet with ridicule wherever he may go.\textsuperscript{15}

Where significant changes did take place, then, it is evident that it was in accordance with traditional Samoan values, and the operation of traditional patterns of interaction. It has already been seen that this was the case with Me meetings and with the building of chapels. As Pitt has suggested, it is probable that the missionary collections played an important initial part in the stimulating of the oil and copra trades,

\textsuperscript{13} MS, Dyson, Journals, 1859, April 15; 1865, Oct. 21 cf. Turner, writing in SR. (10), Nov. 1849. Erskine, op. cit., p. 47.

\textsuperscript{14} cf. e.g. SSL, Sunderland, 27 June, 1854.

\textsuperscript{15} SR. (New Series, 1), Feb. 1870.
though, in this respect, they were soon overtaken by the influence of the traders. While, in some ways, the missionary collections may be viewed as a variation on the old theme of property accumulation for the purposes of redistribution, there was a significant difference, in that, rather than being redistributed among Samoans, the produce was lost to Samoan usage altogether, with only a non-material return in the form of the missionary present in compensation. It was Violette's view, writing in 1870, that the missionary collections were responsible for the introduction of "l'esprit mercantile" among Samoans. Certainly, by this time, the oil collected at the meetings was sold to local merchants by the L.M.S. (a process which left the missionaries open to unfounded charges that they kept the proceeds for themselves). In 1860, however, the L.M.S. contributions represented only a very small proportion of total exports from Samoa. Gilson is thus mistaken in suggesting that the introduction of a principle of competition into the missionary meetings had any marked effect on the Samoan production of copra and oil. The increase that was noted in the early 1860's may, rather, be due to the recovery of trees, after the widespread destruction that was practised during the 1848-56 war, a factor which Gilson appears to overlook, when he implies

18 Between 1855 and 1860, the total contribution remained about £600 p.a. At the same time, total Samoan exports were valued about £20,000-£25,000, of which oil comprised £15,000 p.a. SR. (17) Jan. 1856. Turner, Nineteen years, pp. 109, 278.
that Samoans might not be expected to produce more oil in time of peace. \(^{19}\) It is clear that the missionary meetings could impose a burden on Samoan communities in times of difficulty. Various accounts mention the abandonment of meetings during time of famine; at the death of an important chief, requiring as it did, marked economic activity in another direction; and during war, because "... Samoans have no heart in Missionary meetings at which no collections are given." \(^{20}\) This might suggest that production for these meetings still formed a considerable proportion of village economic activity, and that on the other hand, the bulk of the export production was, at least by the 1870's, in the hands of foreign planters.

Initially churches were simply traditional Samoan buildings, and even after they were plastered, they represented neither an increase in the size of traditional buildings, nor a significant change in construction techniques. Churchward wrote:

\(^{19}\) Gilson, Samoa, 1830-1900, p. 254. Even in 1876, total contributions to the L.M.S. were only about £1,700, which would still have been a small proportion of total oil and copra exports during the 1860's. By 1875, however, these had risen to £122,000. cf. Masterman, loc. cit. SSL, copy of SDC minutes, 6 Dec., 1876. L.M.S. contributions never reached the amazing levels given by Wesleyans in Tonga, but then, the missionaries did not employ the unscrupulous financial jugglery of a Shirley Baker. cf. N. Rutherford. Shirley Baker and the King of Tonga. (Melbourne, 1971) p. 22ff. & esp. p. 46.

\(^{20}\) SSR, Drummond, 29 Dec., 1880, NS, Ella Correspondence, Schmidt to Ella, 15 Aug., 1856; NS, Nisbet, Journal, 1859, May 10, 11.
All churches built under the auspices of this society [the L.M.S.] are constructed upon the native model, the only departure from which is in the walls, made usually of stone and lime-mortar, or a sort of concrete, instead of posts and blinds.21

Some were, though, a little larger than traditional Samoan houses.22

Certainly, the burning of lime to make plaster was a new technique, but, as the Samoans were, wisely, not inclined to use it in their ordinary dwelling houses, the building of churches involved little over-all change from traditional patterns. It was not until the arrival of the Marist missions, and, probably not until the 1860's, with the building of some of their larger churches, on a European model, that the initial stimulus was given, which set Samoans in the direction of building the enormous churches that dot the Samoan landscape today.23 On the other hand the building of missionary houses did introduce new techniques, though, except for the introduction of partitions into the Samoan-style houses of some of the teachers, they were not widely imitated by Samoans.

Certainly, the building of these houses could place a considerable economic burden on Samoans, and generally, it would appear this was spread over a wider range of people within a district, than

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21 Churchward, op. cit., p. 39f. In Samoan house construction, the wall posts do not form part of the essential supporting structure.

22 cf. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1858, May 26; 1864, Dec. 2. Wesleyan churches evidently followed Samoan styles, too. Pratt's church at Matautu measured 70 by 40 feet. He describes it as one of the largest in Samoa. SSL, Pratt, 6 Sept., 1841. Buck refers to a large fale teipe, measuring approximately 54 by 45 feet. Buck, op. cit., p. 24.

23 cf. p. 292. Pitt's observation that church building enabled the acquiring of new economic skills would not then, apply till after the period being discussed. Pitt, op. cit., p. 20.
would normally be associated with the construction of a
traditional building.\textsuperscript{24} This was, perhaps, a development of
traditional economic organization.

B. The \textit{Lotu} and war.\textsuperscript{25}

From the beginning, the L.M.S. missionaries, and their
Tahitian teachers presented Christianity as a religion of peace.\textsuperscript{26}
Indeed, from the period 1832 to 1847, there was a widespread,
and apparently well-founded, hope that its coming to Samoa would
mean the end of war. Halietoa, for reasons that have been
discussed, seemed to have believed that, backed by the new power
of the \textit{Lotu}, he would be able to achieve his political aims
without recourse to warfare, and indeed, he appears to have
refrained from being provoked by hostile actions towards him,
using the \textit{Lotu} as the ostensible excuse, where others expected
him to retaliate with violence.\textsuperscript{27} The \textit{Lotu} was also given as
the reason for the early return of the people of A'ana to their
lands.\textsuperscript{28} Those who disagreed with this policy, described by

\textsuperscript{24} cf. pp. 209. The enormous size of Protestant missionaries'
houses was remarked upon not only by the Marists, but also
by other writers. cf. e.g. J.F. Gordon-Cumming, \textit{A lady's

\textsuperscript{25} It is not the intention here to discuss in detail the causes
and courses of nineteenth century Samoan wars, a major theme
of Gilson's work, \textit{Samoan, 1830-1900}. Rather, an attempt will
be made to indicate, briefly, how far the presence of the
\textit{Lotu} had any effect on the practice of war.

\textsuperscript{26} cf. p. 99.

\textsuperscript{27} cf. e.g., p. 85.

\textsuperscript{28} SSL, Heath, 1 Dec., 1837. SSJ, Buzacott, 1536, Sept. 29.
the missionaries as being "The heathen, Wesleyan and wicked party", were thwarted in their attempts to renew their harassment, by the presence of the missionaries in A'ana, and particularly John Williams.29

Though, indeed, there was the occasional skirmish, and even the outbreak of a minor war between part of the Fa'asalealea and the Falelua, in 1843, the missionaries were prepared to believe that, in many cases, war had been prevented by the influence of the Lotu, in disputes, where, formerly, it would have been the result.30 It is not possible to appraise the truth of this belief, though in some cases it appears that the missionaries may have underestimated the extent to which the making of an ifoga, could have effected a reconciliation in former times.31

If, indeed, the Lotu had had an ameliorating effect in this period, then, as Gilson argues, it had only served to postpone the day when traditional Samoan concerns, particularly those associated with the issue of the mālo - vaivai relationship between Manono and A'ana, and beyond that, the question of the


31 The missionaries also emphasised the change wrought by the Lotu in the fierce characters of formerly renowned warriors. SSL, Heath, 1 Dec., 1837; NS, Day Papers, item H.
would resurface and render the rhetoric of peace associated with the *Lotu* ineffectual.\textsuperscript{32} Under these circumstances, the missionaries had to refine new techniques for influencing the situation.

The operation of ecclesiastical discipline against those who participated in war was clearly not an effective means of controlling war. On the contrary, it meant large scale defections from the church, and a tendency to abandon all the other restrictions which the missionaries had made part and parcel of membership.\textsuperscript{33} They turned, then, to direct negotiations, with the belligerent parties, associating with themselves, their remaining church members, teachers, other neutral parties, and, later, the consuls of the foreign powers.

The evidence would suggest that subsequently, in small scale disputes, where the causes for hostility were more immediate, missionary peace-making could be effective.\textsuperscript{34} This was especially the case where the missionary took part in a variation of the *ifoga*. This involved sitting, with his associates, in the path

\textsuperscript{32} Gilson, *Samoa, 1830-1900*, pp. 117-121.

\textsuperscript{33} cf. pp. 319-22.

\textsuperscript{34} e.g. that between Faia'i and Sala'ilua on the south coast of Savai'i. SSL, Powell, 9 Oct., 1846. Endemic warfare on Tutuila, too, seems to have been controlled, to some extent by missionary intervention: ibid., 12 July, 1854; 1 Jan., 1857; 1 July, 1859; 5 Oct., 1867. ONE, Schahl, 15 May, 1867. cf. Gilson, *Samoa, 1830-1900*, p. 50.
of the war party, and waiting while threatening gestures were made over their heads. So long as they stayed there, however, the war party would refrain from going further, because to do so would be equivalent to "trampling" on the missionary, and would open the party to the risk of suffering malaise. The action of the missionary could, then, provide a convenient excuse for a party anxious to retrieve its dignity, lost by some insult, to back down from actual violence, and still maintain its prestige.

In the major wars of the period, however, the issues were much more complex and deep-seated. Moreover, they gradually became more complicated by the intervention of the European powers. While, then, the initiatives of the missionaries may have been responsible for the strengthening of a neutral party, and while they certainly offered protection to those who wished to remain neutral, they do not appear to have enjoyed much success in effecting peace between the belligerent parties. In this respect the effusive thanks offered to God and the missionaries, when peace was finally achieved, should not obscure the fact that such peace was not generally agreed upon until it

35 Brown, MP, p. 174. cf. SSL: Hardie, 11 March, 1844; Sunderland, 23 July, 1847. SSJ, Powell, 1870-71. Such intervention was often only effective so long as the submitting party remained. The deference to the missionary was often symbolic only. Scott found that the war on Tutuila ceased for a day, in honour of his return home! SSL, Scott, 20 Oct., 1868.
was convenient for political and military reasons. All that can be said is that the missionary intervention acted as a catalyst when this point had been reached.

If the missionaries could not prevent war, however, they hoped to be able to mitigate its effects, and abolish some of the incidental "heathen" accompaniments. On the contrary, however, the operation of Protestant discipline, meant that those who indulged in war were only too willing, from the missionary point of view, to revert to the practice of the Πουλα, the wearing of scanty dress, and the indulging in traditional customs associated

36 Indeed, the missionaries, in their mediation, were often treated with studied contempt by a party who had no intention, for the time being, of ceasing hostilities. cf. e.g. SR. (10), Nov. 1849. MS, Ella, Diary, 28 March, 1849. OWF, Fadel, 2 June, 1849. Erskine, who depended heavily on missionary information, states that the creation of a strong neutral party was a new thing. op. cit., p. 64. This, however, is by no means certain. cf. p. 49. The 1844 war ended only with the sheer war-weariness of both parties, neither of whom were successful in establishing their claims. SR. (16), Dec. 1854; SSI, Ella, 16 Dec., 1854. Similarly, in 1870, Brown expressed the view that a missionary party designed to ask for peace, was a waste of time, and that it would be better to leave the parties to fight the matter out. MS, Brown, Letterbook I, p. 374. 16 Aug., 1870. In fact, the party, in which Brown took a leading part, did have success in stopping the war. However, it broke out again shortly afterwards.

37 At the end of the 1848-56 war, a Christian party interposed their canoes between the respective war fleets of Mamono and Atua, who were both evidently reluctant to commence fighting. SR. (18), Jan. 1857.
with war, such as the taking of heads, and the desecration of graves. Eventually, even the observance of the Sabbath was abandoned. The Catholic missionaries, on the other hand, reported that their "faithful" who took part in war, refrained from these customs, and continued to attend services. 38

C. The Lotu and the authority of the chiefs.

It was the opinion of the Marist missionary, Violette, that the Protestant missionaries entered upon their work in Samoa with entrenched republican views; that much of their church discipline was motivated by a desire to take away the privileges

38 cf. pp. 298-9. Powell observed: "The people seem to consider that war and their ancient heathen practices are inseparably connected." SSL, Powell, 1 July, 1859. The occasional missionary hope that things had changed for the better, were usually proved wrong by the passage of time. cf. e.g. SSL, Hardie, 15 Aug., 1848. The missionaries sometimes clutched at straws and misinterpreted the events they observed. Dyson, for instance, believed that a change for the better had occurred, when the once haughty Manono men, made an ifoma before the people of Matafagatole, to atone for an offence against their malaga. He failed to realize, however, the anxiety that Manono was experiencing in their attempts to conclude an alliance with parts of the northern Tuamasaga. MS, Dyson, Journals, 1863, July 17; 1864, Jan. 20. Major changes in the practice of war were probably to be associated more with the introduction of European technology, and particularly firearms, which were no respecters of rank. cf. SSL, Hardie, 15 Aug., 1848; SH, (12) Jan., 1851; Hood, op. cit., p. 82; Brown, MP, p. 173. One might say, too, that it was, in the end, the intervention and eventually the rule, of European powers, together with the provision of a different framework of Government, and other institutions for settling disputes, particularly the Lands and Titles Court, which brought open warfare in Samoa, to an end.
of the chiefs, but that, in the end they were quite unable to enforce these, and themselves were wont to speak in the language of respect to the chiefs. While, as will be seen, there were certainly some Protestant missionaries whose inclinations fitted them to this description, by and large, both L.M.S. and Wesleyan missions were much less doctrinaire in their approach to chiefly authority, than Violette would suggest. It is true, that their system of discipline did erode this authority in certain important respects, but this was a by-product of other missionary concerns, rather than a directly intended result.

The seeds both of the limitations on the derogation of the Lotu from the power of the chiefs, and of the removal of certain matters from that power, lay in the missionary doctrine of the division of sacred and secular authority. This was expressed at length for the benefit of the L.M.S. members and

39 Les Missions Catholiques. (1870), p. 215. cf. e.g. ONE, Poupinel, 1 Nov., 1861. It is likely that Violette's description is simply a contemporary Catholic caricature of the views of French Protestants.

40 Lovett puts this pragmatic approach simply and clearly. "... from the first, and throughout, Christianity was opposed to two of the most potent factors of the old heathen life. It always refused to give any sanction to the rank of chief simply as such. It often used the power of the chief when he was friendly to Christianity, but it refused to give him, simply as chief, any status in the church." op. cit. I p. 396. Gilson discusses the differing attitudes within the L.M.S. to the institution of chieftainship, and particularly that of Williams. Samoa, 1830-1900, p. 75.
candidates thus:

E a le faifeau, ma tiakono, ma le au uso e suesue i le finagalo o lo latou Alii ua tusia i le lau tusi paia, ma faatonu i mea uma latou te Faia. O lo latou Alii o loo o taitaina ai i latou; o lo latou malamalama ia. E leai lava se tasi latou te faasagasaga i ai ma usiusitai i ai ... Ai se ali'i e faamaualuga ma soli le pule a le Faia o le lagi, aua le usiusitai se tasi i ai.

The writer then went on to explain that the church was also called a government, but it was a government of matters concerning the soul. It was in no way to be joined or intermingled with earthly government, which belonged to the chiefs (ali'i) and matai. 41

What was so clearly expressed in theory, was, of course, much more difficult to apply in practice. If missionary accounts can be relied upon, it appears that in the early years of the mission there was a tendency on the part of some Samoans to defy the authority of the chiefs in some important respects. 42 Early in 1836, at Sapapali'i, Platt encouraged the teachers to begin a prayer meeting for those they judged might be suitable candidates for baptism. One of these, however, a man of low rank, presumed, then, to stand in the presence of the leading chiefs of the village, an act of high disrespect. As a consequence, the chiefs

41 "It is for the faifeau, the deacons and the brotherhood, to seek the will of their Lord, written in the Bible, to direct all that they do. Their Lord is leading them and giving them understanding. There is no-one else they should turn to and obey ... If a chief presumes to break the sacred rule of heaven, no-one should obey him." O le taitai. p. 4.

42 This is remarkable in that, as far as I am aware, it has not been repeated since, except in the opinions of some young European-educated Samoans, who in any case, would not dare give expression to their views in any fa'amāmona situation. It may be that it was precisely because the Protestant
who were not members of the meeting, sought to kill the man, and were prevented from doing so only because his friends interceded with a pig, and because the chiefs did not like to oppose, openly, the Tahitian teachers. At a Jubilee meeting in Saluafata, in August 1846, under the approving eye of Slatyer, one of his teachers exulted:

Now has the tyrannical power of our chiefs been destroyed — & now no longer does might respect right — true is that word of God "Every valley shall be filled & every mountain & hill shall be brought low" — truly those who were depressed are exalted & those who by their cruel haughty bearing made many fear are now humbled! — had not this been the case we should have been unhappy to day, it is a jubilee to us if we look at these things — the chief & the common man can sit together & hear the word of God.

Far from approving, Thomas Heath had found a similar view that had found expression on Manono, quite alarming; despite his warnings his church members and deacons were making laws intended to bind the "public", had tried a person for theft, and were "assuming a power that does not belong to them." Worse still, he added: "Opinions have got abroad that the chiefs are no longer entitled to certain privileges and to that assistance from their adherents to which they have been accustomed."

missionaries did not bother to follow the customary etiquette towards the chiefs, either because they were unaware of it, or were not inclined to do so, that some Samoans who were raised to a position in the church by these missionaries, felt that, under their protection they also could neglect these marks of respect. If this is the case, then the belief did not last for long.

43 SSJ, Platt, 1836, Feb. 7.
45 SSL, Heath, 26 Feb., 1842.
One of the fundamental difficulties, which may have
given some Samoans the impression evinced above, lay in the fact
that qualifications for membership of the classes and the
churches, were not, especially under the watchful eye of the
missionary, the qualifications which made a man a titleholder.
Jealousy of their dignity was shown by chiefs after the
formation of the very first class in Samoa. After Platt's
prayer meeting had begun, the chiefs were "offended." They
insisted that it was the chiefs only, who must first engage in
such a class. According to Platt:

The teachers acted with spirit, told the head chief
it was for themselves to arrange things. Political
things belong to them in which if the teachers
interfered they were wrong, but the conducting of
the worship of God belonged to them exclusively ...
it was their own neglect which had thrown them out
while others had been diligent and improved.46

Similarly, To'oua of Falealatai was concerned to see his secondary
chiefs being baptized ahead of him, and this was one of the main
factors which led him to abandon all his wives, but one, and be,
himself, baptized.47

This was evidently the solution adopted, also, by
Taimalelagi, (brother of the Malietoa), and others, at Sapapali'i.
He joined the church in 1840, while another "leading man" of the

46 SSJ, loc. cit.

47 SSL, Heath, 1 Dec., 1837. Chiefs at Foalalo were
offended, and "said some unpleasant things", when Peter
Turner showed a reluctance to baptize all who wished.
But even this represented a considerable change from the traditional pattern of village authority. Hardie reported that Taimalelagi had joined in the face of strong opposition from his "brother chiefs" and the reason is not hard to find. According to the missionary: "In Sapapali'i, the church members have obtained a decided influence over the people. Almost every matter of importance is more or less referred to their decision." The other chiefs no doubt saw Taimalelagi's membership as a means to deprive them of their traditional voice in decision making. Though events at Sapapali'i were not so clearly aimed against rank, as such, they clearly paralleled those on Nanono, described by Heath, and give some substance to Violette's claim that, at first, under missionary influence, the Samoans had renounced their deliberative assemblies.

But the inexorable operation of ecclesiastical discipline meant that church membership, not for long, could be a solution, for many chiefs, to the problem of their loss of prestige associated with the establishment of the new church organizations. Taimalelagi quickly fell a victim, and, chagrined that his rebellion

48 SSL, Hardie: 3 April, 1840; 9 Feb., 1842.
49 SSL, Hardie, 3 April, 1840.
50 Les Missions Catholiques. loc. cit.
against the mission did not win the support of other church members, he left Sapapali'i in a huff. Violette, himself, dates the return to the traditional polity, at the outbreak of war, and certainly, as will be seen, Protestant church discipline and chiefly authority, were placed in head on collision by this event. By 1845, when he found that L.M.S. adherents in a particular village were being forced to leave, Harbutt could surmise of the chiefs:

Probably the secret cause of their determined opposition is a conviction that with the growth of the Gospel the present power (often unrighteously exercised) possessed by them as chiefs and pretended teachers would be at an end.

Thus, though Wilkes was probably not in a very good position to judge the extent of the traditional authority of chiefs, even by 1839 there may have been something to his claim that "The chiefs have great power over the people, although the influence of the missionaries has tended greatly to diminish it."

It was a key-stone of L.M.S. policy that the chiefs, as such, had no position within the structures of the church. Certainly, of course, it would be hard to exclude the play of respect between people and chiefs who happened, also, to be church

51 cf. p. 156.
52 SSL, Harbutt, 6 May, 1845.
53 Wilkes, op. cit., II p. 78. Many years later, the perceptive Wesleyan missionary, George Brown, was to accuse the L.M.S. of breaking down chiefly distinctions, one of the causes, as he saw it, of the 1869-73 war. 53, Brown, Letterbook, II, p. 172, Brown to Rabone, 2 April, 1872.
members or deacons. But, especially where the missionary
played an active part, and also, as the fa'au gradually
marked out their proper area of authority, chiefs could find
themselves disciplined, ostensibly by those who, in other matters,
were subject to their authority. Nor, evidently, could such a
chief always adopt the solution mentioned by Harbutt, and ban
the practice of the denomination in his village; even a
Taimaleiagi could not carry his church members with him.

This was evidently the case, too, with the chief Mauga
of Pagopago. Church discipline was used as a weapon to
oppose his polygamous marriage to a woman of rank, after his
accession to his title. He was not a church member, but the
church members of his district were forbidden to contribute to
the exchange of property that took place. This represented a
considerable derogation from his traditional authority, and
Mauga reacted by trying to bring the remaining heathen party
into open collision with the Christians. In this, he was
unsuccessful, and in the end, he was forced to give up his wife.
As a consequence he "encountered the scorn and ridicule of his
heathen peers."54 Even Malietoa Vai'inupō fell foul of his
church members in a similar case.55

54 Lundie, p. 131. At one stage, Murray even persuaded a
chief to tell the village fono that before they disciplined
another man for adultery, they should deal with their own
chief. (Polygamy, of course, was not considered adultery
at all.) "... Its propriety was at once perceived, and the
poor fellows were in a sad dilemma - all wishing to do right;
but their reverence for their chief making them revolt from

55 cf. p.156.
There can be no doubt that the principle, soon established as a permanent feature of Samoan social organization, of mission interference in the institution of marriage, either directly through refusing polygamy to the church, or indirectly through withdrawing church members and candidates from their traditional duties to their chiefs, represented a permanent weakening of chiefly authority. And this is true, even despite the fact that in many respects, means were found to circumvent some of the missionary requirements.56

This is illustrated, for instance, in the case of the chief Mata'utia of Sale'aumua. Driven to a fury by Harbutt's refusal to give him a divorce, he threatened him with physical violence. As a consequence, he, and his people, were subsequently "humbled" by a delegation of chiefs from neighbouring Lalomanu, representing for the chief and his people, a considerable loss of prestige.57 While, certainly, this may have been a convenient excuse to give effect to a traditional rivalry, it centred around the question of the protection of the missionary, a protection rendered necessary by his insistence on thwarting the wishes of the chief.58 No doubt, on a lesser scale, and within a village, the authority of the fa'ife'au in appropriate matters, would be established by a similar means.

57 SSL, Harbutt, 16 March, 1842. Aleipata was "ruled" by two orator chiefs, based at Sale'aumua and at Lalomanu. It was perhaps these who were responsible for placing a check on Mata'utia, himself the highest ranking ali'i in his village.
58 And standing behind these wishes, was the desire both to have a new wife and to have church members taking part in the exchange of property at such a marriage.
Just as missionary discipline in matters of marriage was more likely to affect chiefs of rank, for it was they who traditionally made most use of the institution of polygamy, so also they were most affected by the L.M.S. policy which excluded all who participated in war from church membership. As war approached in 1847, Heath wrote, "... I was grieved to find a very strong feeling in favour of war cherished by a few chiefs, [on Kanono], and had to discharge the painful duty of strongly censuring some of the highest of them ..." Among these was Lei'ataua Tonumaipe'a, long a firm supporter of the L.M.S., but who had only recently been received into membership of the church. He now found himself excluded.

Dyson expressed well the pressures on chiefs to participate in time of war, when, in 1859, Manono was visited by Tui A'ana, Sualauvi, who was looking for military support against villages in his district who refused to recognize his title:

We held our usual prayer meeting this afternoon & nearly all the chief rulers were present. Two of them prayed but it is evident that their strength is tested to the utmost. If they refuse to aid others in war then other tribes will refuse to assist Manono should we get involved in political troubles at any time.

Nor did the effect on the chiefs end with their own exclusion from membership. Those of their people who chose


60 SR. (6), Sept. 1847.

to retain their membership (and, admittedly, they were generally a very small minority), thereby withdrew the support they normally owed to their rulers in time of war. The missionaries could provide a nucleus for such a dissident group, and give them protection against the retaliation which their non-co-operation would otherwise have earned. Nisbet speaks of a group of church members in Safata, in 1848, who proposed not to take part in the war. They clearly feared retaliation from the Safata war parties; that they relied on the missionary for protection is shown by their reaction when they heard that Nisbet was going on a visitation to the islands of the Western Pacific: "... The people now seem quite unhinged since they have heard of my appointment - Poor things - they are taking off terrified to the bush and the ulavale [badly disposed] part seemed very unsettled."62 By 1854, Drummond was reporting that some had joined the church to escape the penalty of not participating in war.63 Evidently, by this time, church membership was recognised as a legitimate excuse, and certainly, in later wars, both missionaries and Samoan fa'afe'au were regarded as appropriate protectors of non-combatants.64

62 MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1848, May, passim.
63 SSL, Drummond, 8 Dec., 1854.
64 cf. pp. 224-8, 240.
And so, also, in other, perhaps less important, matters, the missionaries and teachers could, and did, persuade their members to defy the traditional authority of the chiefs. The way in which this might operate is described by Dyson, talking of the actions of church members at Palauli:

... The rulers met with a steady resistance a few months ago from then in the observance of one of their heathenish customs. All our members were strictly prohibited from taking any part in the wickedness & they kept clean hands to the no small annoyance of those very men who have been the ring leaders of our people until lately.65

The tension that missionary policy placed on the relationship between the chief, and his people, is best illustrated, however, by the vicissitudes of Dyson's dealings with the leading chief, Lei'ataua Lesa, of Manono. The successor of the chief Lei'ataua Tonumaipe'a, a firm supporter of the L.M.S., but having strong ties with Tonga, Lei'ataua Lesa was, on Dyson's arrival in 1857, an adherent of the L.M.S. He was favourably disposed towards Dyson, and led a delegation of London Society people who brought presents of yams to him. In August, 1858, however, he decided to part with his wife, and his tulafale proposed to conduct an aufoega in search of a lady of Falefā. The chief sent a message to Dyson, asking that if the aufoega should succeed, would he marry them. The request was, of course, refused. The marriage took place

65 MS, Dyson, Journal, 1859, May 7.
towards the end of the year, and church members were forbidden to take any part in proceedings.

The following September, Dyson appears to have been somewhat startled when the "Principal chief of Manono" came to find out "how to be saved". No hint is given of what produced this move. A few days later the chief attended the morning and afternoon meetings. Dyson saw it as a mixed blessing: "...This is a new thing & the natives are in danger of making too much of it. I don't know whether they are not tempted to return thanks to the dignitary for his presence." Dyson, however, showed his own interest, by taking a flexible attitude to the question of the chief's recent re-marriage. After he conversed with Lei'ataua on the question of "popery", he commented:

The principal chief has now begun to meet in class. It will not be proper to require him to put away the woman whom he took to be his wife last year, since his former wives are living with other men, but he must keep the one he has.

On December 21, for the first time, the chief prayed in public. It was to him that Dyson turned, in June 1860, to organize the building of a new house for himself.

By April 1861, however, the first sign of renewed difficulties had arisen. The chief, evidently impatient of the long delay in admitting him into full membership, came to the table at the celebration of Communion, though he was not baptized. Dyson, "much grieved, ... felt obliged to refuse the elements to him", commenting: " - a fly in the ointment is less offensive than an act of presumption in the solemn service
of the Lord's supper."

This event probably did not help Lei'ataua's determination to follow the narrow paths laid down by missionary discipline. In December he proposed to join a party going to Savai'i to discuss the question of war. Dyson believed that he was motivated largely by family, rather than "public" interest, wished he could forbid the trip, but did not feel able to do so. He talked with the chief who assured him that his intention was to negotiate for peace between the two Savai'i parties. Dyson still believed, however, that this was only a cover. In the event, nothing untoward happened. Shortly after his return from Savai'i, Lei'ataua was off to Tonga, on a mission associated with Taufa'ahau's threatened invasion of Tonga. He probably returned about July, 1862, with the news that it had been called off. 66

These storms were safely weathered, only for the wreck of the chief's standing with the church, in June of the following year. Towards the end of May, a party of people from the northern Tuamasaga had arrived, with whom Lei'ataua was anxious to conclude an alliance. 67 Dyson reported:

66 cf. pp. 185; 201, n. 198.

67 This may be inferred from the subsequent Manono ifata made to Matafagatele on 12 July; and from the formal renewal of Salei'ataua's alliance with the Tuamasaga sub-district of Vaimauga. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1864, Jan. 20.
according to their custom [the visitors] wished to beat their talipalau [drum] in our malae to forbid any of their party from going abroad after a certain hour of the night. Permission was granted by Leiataua le sa but the authority of chiefs not always being acknowledged two young rascals chose to disregard it & fell upon the Apians & wrested their talipalau from them. Leiataua le sa seeing this entreated them not to do so wickedly & finding his entreaties of no use seized a stone & beat himself upon the head - a heathen custom carried to such an extent sometimes that the blood flows - signifying the intensest grief ...

As a consequence, Lei'ataua was expelled from the society.

Probably as a direct result of this expulsion, the chief, or his tulafale, now felt he was free to seek another wife.

Dyson received first hint of this in November 1863, though he did not credit it. A preacher had almost been stopped in his sermon, because he had accused the ruling chiefs of "plotting to have the present wife of Leiataua le sa divorced, since her property is expended". Nevertheless, within two months, the truth of the report was confirmed. Dyson believed his act of discipline was now proved to have been justified: "His recent conduct shews that his excision from among us was no mistake."

In the interval, a poignant scene had taken place.

Dyson visited the chief's sick son and commented:

He seemed civil enough but would answer no questions on religious subjects. His father who was sitting by said "we are all dissolute people." ... The father has seven children living by 5 different women all of whom are still living.

The chief had evidently resigned himself to not being able to fulfil the requirements set for full participation in the church. Such participation was, in the end, incompatible
with his position as a chief. In the meantime he had to accept that members of the Wesleyan society could support neither him, nor his family; in their marital adventures. 68

Missionary interference with the traditional authority of the chiefs, and afterwards, that of the pastors, was sometimes more direct than that described up to this point. This was because the affairs of the church involved activities which were traditionally directed by chiefs — the building of houses for religious purposes, the making of tauloga, and even the worship of their people. But these matters, the missionaries now insisted, must be withdrawn from the influence of the chiefs as such. George Turner, for one, recognised quite clearly that he was interfering with "established usages", and was, perhaps, fortunate in being able to report that it was "taken in good part", and was a useful means of "impacting instruction, and teaching right principles." 69 Others of his colleagues, perhaps more rash than himself, did not fare as well.

At Leone, over a number of years during the 1840's, Slatyer, and his successor at the station, Bullen, attempted to persuade the people of the surrounding district to come to Leone

68 ibid., 1858, March 12; Aug. 20; Dec. 15; 1859, Sept. 26, 30; Oct. 6; Dec. 21; 1860, June 4; 1861, April 21; Dec. 19, 25; 1862, Jan 15; Mar. 27; July 30; 1863, June 1, 2, 25; July 17; Nov. 15; Dec. 27; Dyson, Samoan Methodism, pp. 53-54. Despite his fall from grace, Lai'ataua still prohibited, for many years, the entry of Catholicism onto the island of Manono itself. cf. p.191. One of his sons also ran foul of the church on account of his polygamy. NS, Dyson, Journal, 1864, Sept. 7.

69 Turner, Nineteen years, pp. 116-117, 161. Turner refers to chiefs' attempts to compel attendance at service, assistance in the building of chapels, and to regulate the payment given to teachers.
each Sabbath for worship. Early in October 1841, Slatyer received urgent requests from the chiefs of these villages that they be allowed to hold services in their own places. In the end, they were so exasperated by Slatyer’s unco-operative attitude, that there was a face-to-face confrontation:

They proceeded then one after [another] to invective language. I wished them to withdraw, they took no notice of this but proceeded with their invective, telling me I had no compassion for them & I know not what. Fuimaono was quite enraged & even indirectly accused me of thieving because I had taken a number of useless slabs about which I had spoken to the chiefs in fono ... But his heart seemed set on mischief & he did not seem to care what he said ... this is the first time I have had insult or ill treatment from any of my people like this.

Slatyer refused to believe that the real reason was the difficulty of the road to Leone, as they claimed, but rather it was because he and Murray had refused Fuimaono baptism, despite his strenuous desire for it and the fact that he had been "annoyingly forward in wishing to shew his respect & affection." While, no doubt, this refusal had been an important element in precipitating the conflict, Slatyer would have done well to have recognised that in attempting to draw congregations from separate villages, he was running counter

70 Slatyer perhaps wished the people to follow the example of those in villages surrounding Pagopago, who did not stop at attending Sunday services in that village, but actually moved their residence there. Neither Slatyer, nor Murray, however, appear to have recognised the role that the attraction of European commerce played in this movement. By 1846, even Murray had had to abandon his "fa'atasi" (gathering) plan. MS, Day papers, Letter 107, Pratt to Day, 5 Sept., 1846.

72 ibid.
to one of the most engrained features of Samoan social organization. Slatyer, of all the L.M.S. missionaries, was closest to fitting the caricature put forward by Violette. He was inveterately hostile to the traditional authority of the chiefs, and believed that as the messenger of the Gospel, it was his duty to ride rough-shod over customs which supported it. 73

The matter was not satisfactorily resolved in the Leone district. The chiefs of the villages concerned forbade their people to go to Leone, but the teachers organized "all the enquirers and thoughtful persons" into an opposition to this direction. Though they feared persecution, they do not appear to have come to any harm. In the end one of the villages agreed to receive, again, one of the teachers whom they had turned away. 74 At this time, with no other denomination on Tutuila, to which to turn, the chiefs, indeed, were in a position of weakness, so long as a considerable proportion of their people believed that the benefits of the Lotu outweighed their duty of obedience.

The problem was by no means at an end. Later in 1842, Slatyer left Leone, and it is not known whether the people returned to a pattern of worship in their separate villages.

73 He once told a chief to sell his fine mats to buy nopo (ripe coconuts) to make oil for a missionary collection. Ignoring the vital role that such mats played in Samoan life, he remarked "... it would be contrary to Samoan custom to do such a thing - but old customs must if needful be broken up for the sake of the cause of Christ." MS, Slatyer, Journal, 1845, May 28.

74 ibid: 1841, Dec. passim; 1842, Jan. 4; March 8.
In 1844, however, the dispute resurfaced, under Slatyer's successor, Bullen. A party from one of the surrounding villages was insulted by a group of young men from Leone. As a consequence the chiefs of the village forbade attendance at worship in Leone, on pain of banishment. This time, even some of the church members and other "excellent people" supported the chiefs. Many, however, continued to attend services at Leone, and, though a beginning was made of "persecution" the resistance quickly collapsed after Bullen expelled a few church members.

The leading chief in the rebellion, ruefully admitted to the Rarotongan teacher, Teava:

Well, I have opposed the work of God on Tutuila from the beginning, & resisted the missionaries, but I now see it is useless: they are stronger than I am, and why? because they have God with them. Fighting against them I have been fighting against God - I am determined to act a different part for the future.75

One might say that this was an explicit recognition of the supernatural sanctions thought to lie behind missionary instructions, and which provided the basis for a feagaiga by which certain matters were withdrawn from the control of the chiefs, and placed under the authority of the pastors.76

Nevertheless, Slatyer was not, at the same time, able to repeat his success, in his new district of Saluafata. Here he

75 SSL, Bullen, 1 March, 1845.
76 cf. p. 227-8, 238-42.
was fighting against the prestige of the leading village of Atua, Lufilufi, while at Leone, he had the leading village on his side. Six months after his arrival in Saluafata, he met with a cold response to his initial suggestion that the people of Lufilufi worship in his village, which was adjacent to their own. After some argument, the chiefs did agree to hold a *fono* on the matter. The answer was negative, however. Slatyer wrote: "I might traverse the length & breadth of my district preaching at every village, they impertinently told me, as for them they should not stir from their own village to join with Saluafata." 

Even his teachers were not prepared to support him in moves to bring other villages into Saluafata. They saw that it was manifestly impossible, and would render them most unpopular.

During 1844, Slatyer was persistent in pressing his point; the chiefs appeared to yield, but again drew back. Finally matters came to a head when, in October, Slatyer asked for a "friendly conference on the subject."

They then divulged the secret of the whole difficulty. They are the aristocracy of Atua - their land the metropolis - with them is the preeminence. They wished to have the chapel on their own ground & not on that of Saluafata - they wished to build the chapel themselves they said in fact they were above asking the assistance of another place. - "Did the father wish to lean upon the child?"

77 MS, Slatyer, Journal, 1843, Oct. 26, 28; Nov. 7. cf. SSL, Slatyer, 1 March, 1844.
78 MS, Slatyer, Journal, 1843, Nov. 1.
79 ibid., 1844, April 20; Sept. 13, 27.
80 ibid., 1844, Oct. 6.
Though the chiefs politely listened to Slatyer's suggestion that a chapel be built on ground on the edge of the village belonging to one of the Lufilufi chiefs, nothing came of it. The mamalu of the leading village had withstood the corrosive effects of the Lotu. 81

In other matters, too, the missionaries attempted, at first, to regulate the manner in which they were conducted. This was the case in the building of chapels. The L.M.S. missionaries did not like the fact that the chiefs, as such, directed their people to take part in this activity. Some, indeed, such as George Turner, thought that they had managed to curb this tendency, but then, he had quickly retired to the relative oasis of Malua. 82 Another, George Stallworthy, though he criticized what he thought of as a system of unpaid labour used by the chiefs in building missionary houses and other buildings of the Lotu, realized there was no alternative. 83 Conflict between missionary and chief, could be quite direct in this matter: in 1843, Nisbet, newly arrived in Samoa, wrote:

... the chief of the village came in talking that the work on the chapel was kept back on my account - I was obliged to speak rather sharply to him - that he might remember his own place - and be preserved from dictating. 84

81 ibid., 1844, Oct. 6; 1845, Jan. 1.
82 Turner, Nineteen years, pp. 116–117.
83 SSL, Stallworthy, 16 April, 1850.
84 MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1843, Aug. 22.
However, by the end of the period, the activity had passed almost entirely into Samoan hands, "...Each village feels it incumbent on them to attend to the erection and care of their own chapel & usually does so without any special influence being brought to bear upon them from their missionary." 85

The same process may be observed, both in the taking of collections for missionary work, and in the payment of the teachers. Initially, in the former, the missionaries strenuously resisted what they saw as an element of compulsion attendant upon the competitiveness associated with the Me. Finally, however, they were prepared to allow full play to these elements. 86

Theoretically, in the L.M.S. churches, it was the task of the deacons to take care of the material needs of the Lotu. How far this theory could be effective in practice, would depend on the composition of the body of deacons, and whether, in particular, they included among their number, the leading chiefs of the village. Often, however, for reasons of church discipline, this was not the case, and yet the co-operation, or at least the lack of opposition, of these chiefs was essential for the successful completion of the work. That this was usually

85 SSR, Phillips, 9 Nov., 1880.
86 Turner, loc. cit.; SSL, Powell, 14 July, 1853.
forthcoming, might, no doubt, be attributed to the values, both a religious one, placed upon the presence of the Lotu in the village, and a social one, associated with the prestige of a fine building. This, however, does not mean that matters were left entirely to the chiefs – the pastors had a considerable influence, both in the decision to build, in the erection of buildings, and in the collection of the contributions. They would have been much more open to the play of traditional forces within the village, than the missionaries had been. Nevertheless, as Tiffany notes, their involvement in these matters, represents a significant alteration in the balance of authority in the villages.

Other areas in which the Protestant missionaries interfered, but which the chiefs were inclined to take under their own control, were the enforcement of attendance at services, and as was seen in Chapter II, the regulation of just which denominations should be present in a village.

87 cf. pp. 290-293.

88 "The minister's participation with traditional political components in directing the construction of village churches, for example, clearly qualifies the minister's office for inclusion in the political system of the village." W. Tiffany, op. cit., p. 371. By 1875, it had been arranged that the contributions for the L.M.S. in each village, were given monthly to the pastor, who would then announce the amounts at the missionary prayer meeting. SSL, copy of SDC minutes, 22 Jan., 1878, encl. copy of minutes of meeting of Native Pastors' Delegates, 12 Nov., 1875.

On a number of occasions they were prepared to use force to expel an unwanted party of religious antagonists, much to the disgust of the missionaries, who protested against it. The missionaries could not, however, do very much, except exercise ecclesiastical discipline over those who had taken part.90

The threat, used by Catholic chiefs, to use naval force to back their entry into Tutuila and Leone, falls into another category. Here the activities of the mission threatened to mesh with the interference of foreign governments in Samoan affairs.91

This represented, in practice, the supporting of one party of dissidents in the village concerned, who would not, if left to themselves, have been able to maintain their opposition to the dominant party without suffering punishment, probably in the form of banishment.

The authority of the missionaries and their Samoan agents, was particularly focused in their activity as preachers, and as admonishers, communicating, thereby, the "word of God".92

Slatyer once "took occasion sharply to rebuke the sins of injustice, falsehood &c" after some of his chiefs had been involved in what the missionary saw as these crimes, while they were building the chapel at Leone. Having preached from

90 This, of course, was another instance in which the operation of church discipline discriminated against the chiefs. It was of one such chief that Dyson remarked: "... he is one of high rank & like some others of his class has given us trouble enough - concluded to expel him from our church." MS, Dyson, 1862, Journal, May 12.

91 cf. p. 189.

92 cf. pp. 238, 240.
Isaiah 9: 14-15, speaking of the cutting off, by God, of Israel's unrighteous rulers, it was not surprising that Slatyer's "compassion to their souls" greatly angered the chiefs concerned. On another occasion a chief at Satapuala walked out while Nisbet was preaching, which Nisbet learnt was his habit when things pressed on his "conscience" too badly. In this case, Nisbet had been preaching against war. Chiefs might even accept talk of "hell-fire" from a missionary, though they would not accept the same from a mere teacher, carrying as it did, connotations of being roasted - "the very worst language that can be addressed to a Samoan."

Indeed, the Protestant missionaries laid particular stress on the importance of teachers speaking "faithfully" on matters concerning the faults of their people:

O le fefe i tagata o le tasi le mea e faaalavelaveina ai le galuega a le faifeau ... E faausiutai isi a'oa'i i tu a le nuu latou te nonofo ai. Ua le matua vavao isi mea leaga, ina ne'i itagia i latou e alii. Ua le ta'ua isi agasala i a latou lauga, ina ua fefe i tagata. Ua latou lauga faasalalau lava, ua le faatatauyina upu i e o nonofo mai, ina ne'i tiga i latou.

93 MS, Slatyer, Journal, 1841, July 3.
94 MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1843, Dec. 17. cf. e.g. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1863, April 17, 18.
95 SR. (11), July 1850, cf. SSJ, Heath, 1840, March 30.
96 "Fear of people is one thing that hinders the work of the faifeau ... Some teachers follow the customs of the village in which they live. They do not strictly censure various bad things, in case the chiefs are angry at them. They do not make known other sins in their sermons, because they are afraid of people. They preach generally, but do not direct words to those who sit there, in case they are hurt..." O le galuega, p. 51.
The extent to which teachers could follow such a path is not entirely clear. It has already been suggested that their authority would apply particularly in matters which were thought to concern, directly, the reception, by the village, of the benefits of the Lotu. Such matters could be quite wide ranging. A teacher, for instance, took it upon himself to warn the rulers of Manono, about their attempts to find yet another wife for their principal chief, Lei'atua Lesa. 

Others, on Tutuila, were active in organizing opposition, on behalf of Slatyer, to chiefly decisions to ban attendance at worship in Leone. During the 1870's, an L.M.S. pastor at Apia, preached on the political situation, and likened the premier, Steinberger, to "Alvah, the wicked Ruler of Israel." 

The nature of the teacher’s authority may be clarified by the criticism made by Father Gavet, in 1879. He claimed that they had become lords in their villages, to the detriment of the true hierarchy, and that armed with their religion and their

98 cf. p. 352.
100 Great Britain, Foreign Office, Volume of material on Samoa, (1876) held in University of Michigan Library. G.A. Turner (M.D.) (son of the missionary at Malua) to Capt. Stevens, 31 Dec., 1875. Comment on political issues by pastors is not unknown today, in Samoa. A religious broadcast criticizing the Government of the day, raised a storm several years ago.
power of veto, they interfered in all aspects of government. The significant word, here, is "veto". One of the features of the feagaiga operating between a brother and a sister, and their descendants, was that the latter had the power to veto the decision of the former, with respect to titles, and other family matters, though she did not have the power to make positive decisions. It would appear, then, that by virtue of the religious sanctions that he could bring to bear, the pastor could have a considerable influence in stopping certain activities and the carrying out of chiefly decisions. He would not, however, play much part in initiating those decisions.

101 ONE, Gavet, July 1879. An L.M.S. teacher who was hauled before a Catholic chief, in southern Upolu, to account for his criticism of Catholicism, made the religious basis of his authority clear: "It is unbecoming for me, a common man, to argue with you, a king, but allow me to say to you that this is the true religion which accords with the word of God. I also beg to say that I cannot abstain from speaking about the word of God and showing forth what, according to his word, is error." SSL, Powell, 26 Sept., 1873.

102 This distinction may be the reason for considerable divergences in the estimates, given by modern European observers, of the influence of the pastor in the villages: Keesing, for instance, writes "the spiritual authority of pastors and other leaders was used to wield secular power." Modern Samoa, p. 402. Holmes goes even further: "The ministry is the highest calling in all Samoa, and the village pastors are the most respected and influential of men. No religious leaders under the ancient Samoan religion ever equalled the paramount position of the village pastor ... Many of the decisions of the village council may be clearly traced to his wishes." "Ta'u" p. 336. W. Tiffany writes: "... the fact that all villagers belong to the church and hold their ministers in high respect means that a structural situation exists which permits a politically oriented minister to influence the regulations of public village affairs through their congregations." W. Tiffany, op. cit., p. 371. Milner, on the other hand, who is
There is some evidence, too, that this function exercised by the faife'au, in being able to admonish the people of their villages, was also shared, to a lesser extent, by church members. In 1861 Ta'uga, the Rarotongan teacher stationed on Manu'a, wrote approvingly to Gill, not only that the laws established on Manu'a were being administered impartially, irrespective of the subject's standing, but also that the church members similarly preached the word, and warned of the consequences of sin, to all.103

both a careful observer with an intimate knowledge of the language, and is fully aware, also, of the operation of the concept of feagaiga in the relationship between pastor and village, writes: "It must be stressed ... that the degree of moral influence which a pastor can exercise on the actions and decisions of the village council is severly limited, first by the fact that the L.M.S. ... is a congregational organization, and therefore that the pastor is chosen for his post on the initiative of the village. (i.e. for practical purposes by the titleholders) from a number of candidates which in the past not infrequently was in excess of the number of vacant posts at any one time. Secondly, that he depends almost entirely for the economic support of his household on contributions in money and kind voted by the titleholders. Thirdly, that there appears to be a preference for appointing a candidate who already has a kinship or residential link in the village. (e.g. a son or sister's son of a previous pastor)." "Problems of the structure of concepts in Samoa." p. 170. The means that the titleholders had at their disposal, to thwart the policy of the missionaries and teachers are discussed more fully in Chapter V. cf. p. 405f.

103 Crocombe & Crocombe, op. cit., pp. 129-130. Tr. of a letter from Ta'uga to Gill, 1862, held by the Polynesian Society, Wellington.
In view of this evidence, it is not easy to decide how ready church members and faife'au were to discipline chiefs who were their members. Certainly, in the London Society, Pratt believed that the teachers were poor judges of character in that they were "aided a great deal by a large development of veneration of chiefs." Nevertheless, here Pratt was talking about the question of admission into church membership in the first place. In the same letter Pratt had described what has been attested elsewhere, that, on the other hand, where it was a matter of applying discipline in the case of the breaking of a clearly defined rule, Samoan church members were inclined to be rigid. There is little reason to believe that this would not have extended to the discipline of chiefs. It is true, too, that when Dyson disciplined a chief in Falealili, the church members refused to express an opinion on the matter, but this was in a case where an accumulation of minor matters would have made it difficult for them to see it in quite the same light as Dyson. In general, however, reason has already been given to believe that church members supported the missionaries, in acts of discipline against chiefs. Nor could faife'au simply turn a blind eye toward

104 SSL, Pratt, 31 Dec., 1859.
105 ibid., cf. p. 273.
106 KS, Dyson, Journal, 1862, May 12. The chief had given expression to grief upon hearing of the elopement of his daughter by smashing his canoe. He had also, allegedly, invited the people to drive out two L.M.S. teachers, but Wesleyan members may have found it difficult to see this as an offence at all.
chiefly offences, when it would be inconvenient to discipline them. Such offences soon became common knowledge, and probably the corporate concern of the church members would demand that they be dealt with, even apart from the possibility that knowledge of them would eventually reach the missionary. 107

Similarly, there does not appear to be any substantial evidence for Gilson's claim that in the villages, away from missionary control "if a 'godless' tulufale wanted to preach, the teacher was constrained to let him." 108 This may have been based upon Dyson's report that:

...Ungodly chiefs had been appointed to pray at some of the prayer meetings with the design that this should lead them to repentance; but this practice was peremptorily forbidden, and was discontinued. 109

But public prayer was evidently not as carefully controlled as preaching; nor, according to Dyson's account, did the initiative come from the chiefs, but rather from the teachers themselves, and finally, Dyson was quite uncompromising in his statement that the practice ceased. In fact, in both societies, the prerogative of preaching was reserved to those who were explicitly appointed. It would have been an easy matter for a missionary to keep track of who was preaching in each of the

107 cf. pp. 252-4.

108 Gilson, Samoa, 1830-1900, p. 101.

109 Dyson, Samoan Methodism, p. 93.
villages under his care. In the London Society, after greater responsibility had passed into the hands of the pastors, the conditions under which a person might be permitted to preach, were carefully laid down: "Before any member of the church can be appointed to preach at religious services, he is first to be approved of and so appointed by a united vote of the missionary and pastors of the district where he resides."\textsuperscript{110} It is simply inconceivable that a person who was not a church member would, at any time in the history of the mission, have been given the opportunity of preaching.

It has been seen that the derogation by the Protestant missionaries, from the traditional authority of the chiefs, received a symbolic expression in their refusal to observe many of the marks of respect normally shown to the chiefs.\textsuperscript{111} It is not certain, however, how far they were responsible for the disappearance of those special ceremonies associated with the ali'i ma'ia. It may be, indeed, that the encumbering nature of ceremonies such as lulu'u (sprinkling to remove the sanctity associated with the chief's presence) led to their ready abandonment. Pratt reported, after Tagaloa of Safotu had been converted as a result of the death of his child:

\textsuperscript{110} SSL, copy of SDC minutes, 22 Jan., 1878, encl. copy of minutes of meeting of Native Pastors' Delegates, 12 Nov., 1875.

\textsuperscript{111} cf. p. 224-5.
His old friends ridicule the idea of his attending to religion - his new friends are rejoiced that he who was formerly the haughty Alii Paia ... in whose presence no inferior dared to eat, has now become remarkable for humility and love to all the people of God. 112

That the ceremonies were, by no means, incompatible with the practice of Christianity, however, is shown by their persistence, in the case of the Tui Nanu'a, whose people were all nominal adherents of the L.M.S. In the 1880's, Churchward reported that he was still not permitted to drink water, bathe in the sea, or walk, for fear that he should bring misfortune on his people, by doing so. 113 In general, indeed, it may be said that despite the views of some of the missionaries, and the new limitations placed upon the authority of the chiefs, by the presence of the Lotu, the coming of the Lotu has had little long term effect on the attitude and formal acts of respect, offered by Samoans to their chiefs. As Gilson has put it "the ideology has been transformed with little if any loss of effective substance, the Samoans declaring, as if it had always pertained, that their chiefly institutions were given and are upheld by their Christian God." 114

Up to this point, it has been assumed that the two Protestant societies had a similar place for the chiefs within

112 SSL, Pratt, 1 Dec., 1842. By 1870, the associated observances had largely disappeared. Les Missions Catholiques (1870), p. 168.
114 Gilson, Samoa, 1830-1900, p. 24.
their structure. In fact, however, though Martin Dyson worked hard to put the Wesleyan mission on the same basis as the L.M.S., there was always, in this period, some difference between the two. The early dominant role of the chiefs of the Wesleyan party both in maintaining its identity, and formulating its policy, has already been described.\textsuperscript{115} There is no evidence that the Tongan teachers, during the period of absence of European missionaries, much effected any change in this matter. Indeed, they considered themselves, at least in part, the servants of Tāufa'āhau. Clearly, they could have no ideological grounds for opposition to the influence of chiefs amongst Wesleyans in Samoa.

Upon his arrival Dyson found himself confronted by the opposition of Wesleyan chiefs (ironically, some of them only recently re-converted from the London Society) who feared that his liturgical changes were destroying the identity of Samoan Wesleyanism.\textsuperscript{116} Dyson was able, by threat of expulsion from the Wesleyan society, to insist that the chiefs, as such, had no right to direct matters concerned with worship. Some of the matters which he had fought for, however, he was forced, later, to give up, because the chairman of the missionary district, John Thomas of Tonga, agreed with the chiefs, that they were

\textsuperscript{115} cf. pp. 131, 142f.

\textsuperscript{116} cf. p. 182.
normative marks of Wesleyan practice. Beyond these liturgical questions, however, was the question of the consultation of chiefs who were not full members, but only adherents, in matters concerning the Lotu. Dyson had been inclined to follow London Society practice, and refuse to consult them at all. Again, Thomas over-ruled him. 117

Dyson adopted a compromise. In 1861 he wrote:

One thing against which I have had to stand more than once in these isles is the interference of chiefs with religious affairs. At Sagone they have made a law that if any one refuses to rise to sing at public worship a fine should be imposed upon him. I have found it expedient to carry the chiefs with me in the erection of churches, teachers' houses, appointment of teachers, holding of meetings &c but there their interference terminates. I have invariably opposed any of their petty legislations on the time or manner of public worship but the law here seems to be still in force for the whole congregation rose at once this morning on giving out the first verse of the hymn. 118

Similarly, Dyson had to oppose the enforcement of attendance at service, and the laying down of the level of the Ne contributions. 119 In these matters his attitude was similar to that of the London Society missionaries. The operation of his discipline, as has been seen in the case of Lei'ataua Lesā, was as corrosive of chiefly authority, and as incompatible with some of the essential concerns of chieftainship, as that of the L.M.S. Dyson himself recognised this, when he spoke of

117 NS, Dyson, Journal, Jan. 5.
118 ibid., 1861, May 12.
119 Dyson, Samoan Methodism, p. 81.
a Manono tūlāfale who had given up his position "as it exposed him to temptation." He added: "All tūlāfales are expected to be adepts in flattery & lying as they are the public speakers of their tribes." 120

That there were, nevertheless, continuing differences between the two societies is suggested by the perceptive Karist visitor to Samoa, Poupinel, who thought that the Wesleyans were much more dependent on their chiefs than their L.M.S. counterparts. 121 The L.M.S. missionaries, for their part, as late as 1873, complained to the Wesleyan Methodist conference of New South Wales and Queensland, that their missionaries in Samoa submitted to the "dictation" of chiefs. 122 All this was perhaps symbolized in Dyson's discovery that in the church at Tufu on Savai'i, there was an enclosure for the chief, made of bamboo, a thing he had, admittedly, seen nowhere

120 MS, Dyson, Journal, 1862, May 25. Two years earlier Dyson had remarked on the curious phenomenon that, on Manono, "None but chiefs of considerable standing have turned to the Lord." Among these was the principal chief, Lei'ataua Lesa, who was later to be disciplined. This information raises the question whether it was not tacitly understood by the people, that it was the chiefs who should primarily enjoy the privileges of membership, just as the leader of one sailor sect had admitted only chiefs and their wives to communion. ibid., March 20. cf. Turner, Nineteen years, p. 104 f.

121 ONE, Poupinel, 1 Nov., 1861.

122 SSL, SDC minutes, 17 Dec., 1873, encl. copy of letter to the conference.
else in Samoa. 123

A more marked difference, however, was that between the two Protestant societies on the one hand, and the Marist mission on the other, a difference which may be attributed largely to the completely different bases of their systems of discipline. This worked so that chiefs of the Lotu Pope were not faced with the situation where they were subject to the decisions of people of lesser rank as to whether they should enter, or remain in the church. They were not subject to the humiliation of public discipline, and removal from membership. Moreover, and most importantly, in the area of involvement in war, the priests did not expect such a rigorous standard of behaviour, and except in the matter of polygamy, imposed little that would make it more difficult for men with chiefly responsibilities to remain in good standing. In matters concerning the direction of the material resources of the Lotu – the building of churches, and teachers and missionary's houses, for instance, the priests dealt directly with the chiefs. 124

Moreover, the priests were carefully instructed to observe all the marks of respect towards the chiefs, never to infringe their rights, even when it would gain the confidence

123 MS, Dyson, Journal, 1865, Oct. 21. Interestingly, such an enclosure now exists in the E.F.K.S. church at Vailima, reserved for the use of the Head of State.

124 The Marist missionaries did not mention the question of polygamy as being a great problem among already baptized Catholics, though, certainly, they mentioned the practice with respect to the population as a whole, and thought that it posed a barrier to conversions. Converts such as Mata'afa Iosefo, however, were prepared to abandon their polygamy.
of the people, and not to make implacable enemies of those who were initially opposed to them, by rash controversy. They were to adopt a humble and tolerant attitude towards the people. Moreover they were to accept as much of the customs as was possible, and not try to change anything unnecessarily, nor even to criticize them. Finally, they were to make a careful study of every aspect of Samoan society. 125

As a consequence, the Marist mission enjoyed a much greater degree of support from chiefs of high rank, than the proportion of their adherents to the total population might suggest. This was both in terms of the numbers of such chiefs who were Catholics, and the degree to which they were involved in the affairs of the Lotu. 126 Many chiefs of rank in the Protestant societies, it will be remembered, were nominal adherents only, or were not able to hold on to their church membership for long. 127 There was no parallel distinction

125 ONE, Palazy, 1850, encl. copy of Bataillon's instructions. This was of course the ideal; some did not always carry it out. The testy Padel, for instance, conveys, in his letters, the impression of a constantly critical attitude towards Samoans. In general, however, the Marists appear to have been markedly more complimentary about their adherents, than were their Protestant counterparts. Bataillon's policy, too, carried with it the risk of a too great link between the priests, of which they sometimes complained in the early years of the mission. ONE: Violette, 26 April, 1848; Padel, 3 May, 1848; Vachon, 20 Nov., 1849.

126 ONE: Poupinel, 1 Nov., 1861; Violette, 18 Sept., 1875, AEF: 39 (1867) p. 136, Elloy, 10 Feb., 1866; 44 (1872) p. 370. Elloy, 12 Jan., 1872. This situation has been highlighted in the present day, by the appearance of a Government, for a short term, whose ministers were all Catholic chiefs, though Catholics comprise no more than a quarter of the population.

127 cf. e.g. pp. 342-353.
within the *Lotu Pope*, and important chiefs, almost inevitably, seem to have enjoyed a close relationship with the missionaries.

The successes that the Marists enjoyed in the early conversion of important chiefs such as Mata'afa Fagamanu, Tupola, Fiame and Su'atele, in Upolu, and Satele at Le'one, has already been noted. Even the Malietoa chief, Talavou, was sympathetic. In 1866, Elloy reported that two more chiefs had only been prevented from converting by the threat of deposition by their people. This would suggest that such chiefs saw that their interests lay in a direction different from that of their people. Others, and particularly the successors to the important titles of Mata'afa and Tupoula, probably found the influential chiefs responsible for their selection, pressing them in the direction of conversion.

In conclusion, it may be said that the introduction of a system of discipline backed by the Protestant missionaries, and carried out by their trained agents, in its determination to refuse recognition to traditional authority, as such, brought about a permanent change in the Samoan society. Chiefs who

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130 cf. p. 203. Unfortunately there is no way of determining the denominational allegiance of chiefs of different rank, during this period, with any rigour. It is probable, however, that the only chiefs of the first rank who were L.M.S. church members, during the 1860's and 1870's were Malietoa, Laupepa, and Tui A'ana Sualauvī, and whether they remained so, once they were involved in war, is doubtful.
found their responsibilities conflicting with the requirements of this discipline, could withdraw from close participation in the Lotu; but, in doing so, they had to leave behind them, a good part of their people, who in some matters traditionally under the authority of the chiefs, were now prepared to listen rather, to the voice of the faife'au. Others of high rank, who, no doubt partly for political reasons, escaped the situation by becoming Catholics, while they reduced the risk of an affront to their personal dignity, were, it would seem, unable, also, to take with them many of the people traditionally under their influence.

D. The Lotu, Politics, Government and Law

The missionaries brought with them concepts of "justice" and of the responsibility of the individual for his actions, which were in conflict with the communitarian conception of

131 Gilson also points to the way in which Protestant discipline discriminated against chiefs of rank. Gilson, Samoa, 1830-1900, pp. 106-107.

132 The interaction of European and Samoan influences in nineteenth century Samoan politics, is the major theme of Gilson's work, Samoa, 1830-1900. W.N. Gunson has also written on the political activities of the Protestant missionaries in the South Pacific. "Evangelical missionaries in the South Seas." p. 267 ff. I do not intend to repeat this work here. Rather, the intention is two-fold – to show how the missionaries found it difficult to apply in practice, their policy of non-interference in the practice of government, and that their involvement compromised their neutrality, and led them into difficulties with Samoans. I will assume, what Gilson and Gunson both show, that missionary attempts to establish codes of law, enshrining some of the central missionary concerns, were largely unsuccessful, and where a superficial success was achieved, were incapable of application.
responsibility and accountability for offences, current in Polynesian societies. From the beginning, then, they were concerned to see established, codes of law, which would be applied "impartially", irrespective of the standing of the offender. Later, too, the endemic warfare was to lead them to support the idea of the setting up of centralized governments which could settle disputes without continuous strife.

The missionaries, however, in this concern, suffered from the drawback that part of their ideological baggage was that there should be a clear distinction between the spheres of religion and government. This meant that in their attempts to effect political change they had to be able to maintain the stance of being "advisers" rather than active participants. Because, however, in some places, their position as leaders of the Lotu gave them considerable authority, it was difficult, in practice, to distinguish between "advice" and "instruction".

This was particularly marked, during the 1840's, on Tutuila, where the effects of a religious revival wrought under the powerful direction of A.W. Murray, and the lack of denominational opposition, rendered the people particularly susceptible to his authority. Murray's influence was shown in the opposition

133 cf. p. 287. Slatyer, also, found himself pleasantly surprised at the influence he had over chiefs at Leone, when he suggested to them they should punish an adulterous teacher. MS, Slatyer, Journal, 1841, March 15.
he was able to bring to bear against Nauga, even to the point where the chief's deposition was threatened.\textsuperscript{134} Some years later, he had to defend himself against criticisms made by Captain Wilkes as a result of observations made in 1839. He insisted, however, that he had never acted anything but the part of an adviser, and that this was well understood by the chiefs.\textsuperscript{135} He, his colleague Slatyer, and his successor, Powell, were all involved in attempts to establish codes of law, in the end unsuccessful.\textsuperscript{136} It is clear that, in practice, the effectiveness of the measures they enjoined depended on their direct intervention to have them carried out. For instance, Slatyer laid "information" before the fono, who, unfortunately could not see "of themselves the need of most vigorous measures" and needed "to have the proper way of proceeding set before them."\textsuperscript{137} In the end, however, the missionaries found that it was impossible to enforce the laws, particularly against the chiefs, who, in any case had become "impatient of the interference of the missionaries in these

\textsuperscript{134} cf. pp. 163, 164, 345.

\textsuperscript{135} SG. (9), March, 1849. cf. Wilkes, op. cit., II, p. 75. Murray was also subject to the criticism of other visitors, on account of his influence. cf. MS, Slatyer, Journal, 1840, Sept. 20.

\textsuperscript{136} The laws were concerned mostly with the punishment of adultery, theft and murder. Port Regulations had also been accepted, upon the advice of Murray, as early as 1837, when Capt. Bethune of the Conway visited the group. cf. e.g. MS, Slatyer, Journal, 1841, Nov. 17; SSL: Powell, 1 Sept., 1851; Murray, 21 Jan., 1852.

\textsuperscript{137} MS, Slatyer, Journal, 1841, Oct. 13.
Indeed, the former influence of Murray may have led, directly, to a reaction. According to Powell:

... When Mr Murray left them, there was a general understanding among the church members and chiefs that in the event of their having another missionary, "they would contend with him" meaning that they would refuse to be led by him, but would follow their own course. 139

This formed part, both of a general religious "declension", and of serious opposition to the missionaries, leading to changes in church structure. 140

But the missionaries also ran the risk of provoking suspicion against themselves, in their association with the naval forces, who from time to time, visited Samoa, in order to mete out justice on behalf of Europeans, who had suffered loss at the hands of Samoans. Though they took great pains to dissociate themselves from the policies of these forces, the L.M.S. missionaries, in particular, made their position more difficult, by acting as interpreters. Moreover, two of the consuls, in concert with whom British and American forces acted, were closely associated with the mission. J.C. Williams, son of John Williams, was first American, and later, British Consul.

138 SSL, Powell, 14 July, 1853. The difficulty of establishing a law requiring the death of a murderer is shown by the regularity with which a fresh law was made. SSL: Murray, 21 Jan., 1852; Powell, 1 Sept., 1851; 4 July, 1855. SSR, Powell, 13 July, 1872. This had been an early concern of the missionaries. Sulu Samoa, 2:2, 3 (1843). Stair and Heath on Nanono had attempted to obtain the individual punishment of a murderer, but had found it impossible. The matter was settled by the making of an iiga. SSL, Heath, 15 May, 6 Sept., 1841.

139 SSL, Powell, 14 July, 1853.

140 cf. pp. 287, 411f.
George Pritchard, a former missionary on Tahiti, was, for a time, British Consul in Samoa.

This association was a liability because of the way in which it interacted with Samoan politics. From the beginning such naval intervention operated by attempting to make a particular Samoan party responsible for the enforcement of "laws". This involved the recognition, often unwillingly accepted, of some sort of "government." Sometimes it was expected that the party concerned would undertake the capture of "criminals" belonging to villages over which they had no traditional authority. As a consequence, the party would refuse, for fear of provoking a war, and would themselves suffer punishment, for their lack of co-operation.

In this respect the L.M.S. early placed themselves under some disadvantage, for they consistently turned to, and directed naval forces to, the chiefs of the mālo, to fill this role. During the 1830's and 1840's, these were almost all L.M.S. chiefs, affiliated to the Sā Malietoa, and also the chief Le'ataua Tonumaipe'a of Manono. This was, no doubt, an important factor in the opposition to the Society of chiefs such as Mata'afa Fagamanu, who did not belong to the mālo. The opposition was particularly exacerbated by missionary backed plans, put forward by the two consuls, for the Samoans to accept British protection.141

Certainly, in 1839, the missionaries, apart from John Williams, had been careful to dissociate themselves from Wilke's attempts to capture the chief Tualau Tonumaipa'a Popotunu, who had murdered an American seaman. Williams, whose son had just been appointed consul, and who had the greatest prestige among the missionaries, showed a dangerous tendency, however, to look to the malō, to fill the role that Wilke's wished of them. He was perhaps still hoping to cash in on L.M.S. influence with those chiefs, by turning them into a permanent government, under mission aegis. While his death on Erromanga removed his influence, the L.M.S. missionaries, were, later, to remain associated with the attempts of approved members of the Sā Malietoa, in forming governments.

The mission did not fare so well in a similar case in the late 1850's, when the consuls and American naval forces attempted to force Malietoa Moli to effect the capture of a murderer of Sagone, on the south coast. Though the missionaries had by no means taken an active part in determining this policy, the associations already mentioned, and the fact that they acted as interpreters, had unfortunate consequences. According to Nisbet, who was at the thick of things at Sapapali'i:

142 Wilkes, op. cit., II, pp. 92-93. SSL, Heath, 7 Nov., 1839.
The people felt they had hard measure dealt to them, and its immediate effect was to sour their minds towards foreigners and missionaries too, and in some measure even towards the work of God among them ... It is not always easy to explain these matters even to the thinking part of the population.143

In the meantime, the Wesleyan teacher at Palauli was indignant because his chapel had been burnt in the punitive naval bombardment, while that of the L.M.S. had not.144

During the 1860's, impressed by the need for settled forms of government able to impose penalties upon individuals of whatever rank, the missionaries discreetly supported the consuls, particularly J.C. Williams, in their attempts to form district governments. They little realized that they were stirring up a hornet's nest against themselves.145 Murray, for instance, in his ardent support for the Vaimauga "government" after it had been abandoned by Williams, when it had come into conflict with the German trader, Unshelm, earned for himself, not only the opposition of foreign settlers, but also of a considerable number of Samoans in his district, who were clearly jealous of the privileges that the "government" had taken to itself.146

143 SSL, Nisbet, 8 Sept., 1859.
144 MOM, Dyson to Eggleston, 17 Jan., 1859.
145 BCS 5/1, Williams to Protestant missionaries, 11 Dec., 1865. SSR. Whitme, 25 Dec., 1866. Missionaries of the other two missions were also favourable to the idea of the establishment of governments. MS, Brown, Letterbook I, 2 Oct., 1865; 14 April, 1866. OBE, Poupinel, 1 Nov., 1861.
146 MS, Dyson, Journal, 1864, Feb. 27. SSL, Murray, 27 June, 1864.
But worse was to follow. After the death of Malietoa Molii in 1860, the succession had been disputed between his half-brother, Talavou, who had a "heathenish hatred" for the London Society, and Laupepa, who had studied at Malua. The mission was believed to have early thrown its weight behind Laupepa, but he could only gain a preponderance of support in Tuamasaga, and not among those on Savai'i and Manono, who had a voice, also, in the title's bestowal. The problem smouldered until 1868, when it re-emerged with the question of appointing a head of state for the new Government of the Tuamasaga. At the same time there emerged another tendency, which had been incipient in the attachment of chiefs opposed to the London Society, to the Marist mission. On February 25 Laupepa was anointed as 'king' of the Tuamasaga, with the tacit approval of the L.M.S. missionaries. On the same day, the priests, deeply suspicious of L.M.S. motives, arranged that Talavou be taken on board a visiting German warship and be offered a salute, as Malietoa. The Marist mission was concerned that the London Society was attempting to establish a situation similar to that pertaining in Tonga, and wanted guarantees

147 HFO, Bush to Gibson, 26 April, 1887. cf. Gillson, Samoa, 1830-1900, p. 261.
that Catholicism would not be discriminated against. 148

The anointing of the 'king', however, had overstepped the bounds of traditional Samoan politics. All the interested parties were not agreed on the proper candidate, and the only result could be war, which started in 1869. During this war, the parties divided into those who supported Laupepa, and those who represented the leading centres, jealous of their rights.

Some of the missionaries, Brown and Bishop Elloy, for instance, misinterpreted the situation as one where the district centres were fighting to preserve their rights over other villages in their districts, and thus mistook the degree of village unity.

Other, and among these were many of the London Society, interpreted it as a case of Laupepa fighting for his legitimate

148 MS, J.C. Williams, Journal, 1868, Feb. 25. CNE, Violette, 21 July, 1873; SSL, Turner, 24 April, 1869. Murray, Forty years mission work, p. 427. APP 44 (187?) p. 368, Elloy, 12 Jan. 1872. Les Missions Catholiques, (1874), p. 322, Elloy, 20 Oct. The explicit involvement of J.C. Williams and the L.M.S. missionaries, was a matter of suspicion and allegation, rather than a definitely established fact. Their subsequent sympathies for Laupepa was well evidenced, though there was some difference of opinion within the L.M.S. mission. MS, Brown, Letterbook I, p. 383 f. SSL, Murray, 15 March, 1870. Similarly, Elloy believed that it was because the Protestant missionaries favoured Laupepa that the Samoans believed that the Marists favoured his opponents, whereas, in fact, he claimed, they strained to remain neutral. ASM III, p. 124, Elloy, 14 March, 1872. There is evidence that they were, at least, however, involved in spreading suspicion about the Protestants and J.C. Williams. MS, Brown Letterbook, I, p. 344, 21 June, 1871. SSL, Powell, 20 Sept., 1873. The opposing parties were always denominationally divided, though Catholics formed a greater proportion of those supporting Talavou and Mata'afa than they did of the other.
rights as Malietoa, and King, again a misconception bound to perpetuate conflict. 149

Throughout the seventies, the two missions – the Catholics and the L.M.S. – were motivated by the fear that each was attempting to steal a march on the other in supporting particular candidates. Gradually, from the Catholic point of view this centred around the recognition of Mata'afa as the leading chief of the Sā Tūpua. At the end of 1874, a year and a half after a peace had been patched up, and a constitution and government laid down with the assistance of the visiting American commissioner, Steinberger, two kings had been elected, ostensibly representing respectively the Sā Malietoa and the Sā Tūpua. The Sā Tūpua nominee, however, was Tūpua Pulepule, much to the consternation of the Marist mission. Events quickly moved towards a renewed outbreak of war. 150

Upon his return to Samoa in April 1875, Steinberger acted quickly to defuse this situation. Armed with the


150 The laws passed in many instances reflected the influence of the missionaries of both denominations. In practice, however, they were largely a dead letter, for the means of enforcement were lacking. cf. Organic law and Bill of Rights 1873 and Constitution of Samoa 1875, tr. E. Gurr, held in ES, Westbrook Papers. cf. ESL, SDC minutes, 15 Jan., 1874. Les Missions Catholiques, loc. cit. APP 47 (1875) Vidal, 4 Oct., 1873.
appearance of wide powers he was able to propose and establish a new constitution, whereby representatives of the Malietoa and Tupua lines would rule alternately for four years. Laupepa would be the first holder, and so Mata'afa's rebellion was rendered redundant.

Initially, Steinberger was warmly supported in his new position as Premier, by all three missions, who hoped that it would lead to the establishment of a United States protectorate. By the end of the year, however, relations, particularly with the London Society had soured, and they were writing to the United States, with the help of Consul Foster, to discover his true status. In the meantime, they let it be known that they were withholding full recognition of him. Part of the opposition was due to Steinberger's support of the German Consul Poppe, who had refused to hand over land deeds belonging to the Central Polynesian Land and Commercial Company. Foster had intended to sell these, partly in order to repay a Bill of Exchange issued to the London Society by the Company's Samoan agent, but subsequently dishonoured by the Company.

151 USCD Foster to Hunter, 22 May, 1875. USN Cdr. L. Robeson to Miller, 6 May, 1875, encl. copy of letter of G. Turner to Stevens, 22 May, 1875.

152 USCD, Foster to Hunter, 3 Oct., 1875. SSL, SDC minutes, 22 Jan., 1876, encl. copy of minutes of meeting of Native Pastors' Delegates, 12 Nov., 1875. LS, Nisbet, Journal, 1875, Dec. 16. Great Britain Foreign Office, volume of material on Samoa, (1876), held in Michigan University Library. Copies of letters from L.M.S. missionaries to Fihl, 5 Oct., 1875; to Capt. Stevens, 1 Jan., 1876, to Ta'imu and Faipule, 4 Jan., 1876.

153 SSL, Turner, 8 June, 1872; Powell, 7 Nov., 1875.
They were also jealous, however, of his new found influence, based upon a familiarity unknown between the missionaries and their people, with the Samoans.

First came the adventurer Col Steinberger, and stole away the hearts of the people, at the same time he excited their prejudices against us. He condescended to lower himself to their level, took them home to his board and his bosom, and managed to convey the idea that we were proud, because we would not do the same. Perhaps he is right; but then I fancy you will require to send out a batch of Dr. Lendall's patent missionaries to submit to such a state of things.154

The consuls, backed by the L.M.S. missionaries, took the opportunity of the arrival of the H.M.S. Barracouta to have Steinberger thoroughly interrogated by Captain Stevens. This was in spite of the fact that the missionaries had already received warning signals that they were being blamed for raising a hubbub against the premier.155 Dr. Turner Jr., the medical missionary stationed at Apia, and the secretary of the mission, played a very active role in persuading Stevens that Laupepa was acting under pressure in his support of Steinberger.156

In the event Laupepa was "persuaded" to dismiss his premier.

154 SSL, Pratt, 29 Sept., 1876. It may be, too, that Steinberger had encouraged the L.M.S. teachers' demand for ordination. cf. p. 422 n. 90.


156 USN, Cndr. L. Miller to Robeson, 6 May, 1876; USCD, Griffin, 17 Feb., 1877; Great Britain, Foreign Office, volume of material on Samoa, held in Michigan University Library, copies of letter from Turner to Capt. Stevens, 31 Dec., 1875; 6 Jan., 1876. MS, Samoan Papers, 1876-7, Steinberger to Ta'imalu and Faipule, 8 June, 1876.
The Ta'īmua and Faipule government reacted angrily, and deposed the king. In response the missionaries attempted to persuade them to change their mind, while there were rumours that if they did not retract and apologize, then Stevens would bombard Mulinu'u, the seat of the government. They were not intimidated and Stevens attempted to solve the issue by using armed force to reinstate Laupepa. This led directly to hostilities at Mulinu'u in which both marines and Samoans were killed.

It was at this stage that Bishop Elloy was able to step in as a defender of the Ta'īmua and Faipule party and as their mediator with Steinberger. Thus at the very time when British missionaries were being accused of trying to bring Samoa under British rule, and had, for the first time, as they put it, lost their influence throughout Samoa, the Marists were enjoying a reputation as the defenders of the Samoan people. Later

157 MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1876, February 26, March 4, 17. OWE, Broyer, 20 March, 1876.

158 MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1876, March 25. There is no contemporary evidence to support the later claim by interested parties that the Marists had been involved in persuading the Ta'īmua and Faipule not to reinstate the king. Their first direct involvement seems to have followed the fatal clash. USN, loc. cit., SSL, Davies, 23 June, 1876.

159 This opposition had become overt in mid-January, and came even from L.M.S. teachers. MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1876, 22, 25 January, March 11. SSL, Davies, 23 June, 1876; Pratt, 29 September, 1876. It continued into 1877 and 1878. SSL, Pratt, 23 August, 1877: "All whites but the consuls, not excepting the missionaries, are declared in a meeting of the nation to be "trash."" Ibid., 23 August, 1878. According to Pratt, the missionaries were out of favour with those who were still "all for America and not for Britain." MS, Ella Correspondence, Pratt to Ella, 12 April, 1878. Others had found they were not forgiven. Ibid., Drummond to Ella, 23 December, 1878. Davies reported the same on his return to Samoa in 1880. SSL, Davies, 31 March, 1880.
in 1876, he was able to persuade some Savai'i "rebels" to
give up their opposition, into which they had been led by the
Protestant missionaries. 160  The Methodist, Austin, complained,
that, as a result of the disturbances, they had lost some of
their members to the priests. 161

Nevertheless, the increasing involvement of the powers in
the affairs of Samoa, the shifting nature of Samoan political
associations, the lack of any clear denominational lines among
the parties, and the lessons learnt from the Steinberger
episode, were to ensure that for the remainder of the period
and beyond, the missions were to play a much more discreet role
in Samoan politics.

In conclusion, then, it may be said that if the
presence of the Lotu represented an intrusion into traditional
Samoan social structure, so that the range of the power of
chiefs was modified, the changes that its leaders could effect
were severely limited, both by the powerful operation of
traditional Samoan concerns such as warfare and chiefly
marriage, and also by the fact that any overt political
intervention involved an identification with particular
parties, which would involve a loss of influence elsewhere.

160 ONE, Estienne, 7 Oct., 1876; Chouvier,
10 Oct., 1876.

161 EOM, District Committee Minutes, 15, Austin,
Savai'i Circuit Report, 1876.
Other ways in which the influence of the Lotus, or, at least, of the European missionaries, was limited, will be investigated in the next chapter.
CHAPTER V: THE LOTU AND THE PA'ASAVOA

It will be useful to recollect the positions reached, in previous chapters, in a description of the interaction between Christian beliefs and practices, as they were mediated by the missionaries, and traditional Samoan conceptions and values. In Chapters I and II, it was seen that the presence of three denominations of Christianity provided a new opportunity for the expression of the rivalries endemic at all levels of Samoan society. Both the ferocity of denominational competition, and yet, also, an indifference to the doctrinal issues which so harried the missionaries, may be explained largely in these terms.

It was also suggested that, from the beginning, the function of the new religion was assimilated to that of the old, namely as a means of gaining access to mana or supernatural power, which could render efficacious the whole range of cultural activities, and ward off ill-fortune and calamity. In Chapter III, a study was made of the ways which, in detail, missionary doctrine was assimilated to traditional Samoan religious conceptions. Particularly, the doctrine of sin and of an eternal punishment, was placed in the context of the Samoan concept of sala, or a punishment inflicted as a result of the committing of some unpropitious act. The standards of behaviour laid down by the missionaries were, it was argued, regarded as codes whereby those who had entered into particular
relationships with the deity, could avoid such unpropitious acts.

This notion, then, lay behind the conception of *fa'asāiga*, so important to an understanding of the relationship of the missionaries and their Samoan agents, to the people. It was partly because their approval or disapproval was thought to relate to the benign or malevolent influence of supernatural powers, that they achieved a considerable influence, in certain matters which were conceived to be related to the *mana* of the *Lotu*.

The Protestant missions, too, in setting up elitist systems of class and church membership, drew upon other traditional Samoan concerns, in their attempts to produce desired changes. The prestige associated with these groups was a powerful means of inducing some of their adherents, for some of the time, to adopt the required standards of behaviour. It was seen, though, on closer investigation, that these inducements did not have a traumatic effect on traditional patterns. In the matter of marriage, for instance, many chiefs, to whom the institution of polygamy would have been important, still managed to marry a number of wives in succession, without, necessarily even coming into direct conflict with the missionaries, though, more often they simply retired to the status of adherents, or never achieved church membership, in the first place. Young men were still tattooed, sexual union outside Christian marriage still took place - later, the people concerned could settle down into church membership.
War was too important a matter for most Samoans to avoid involvement, and consequently, it was the Protestant classes, and church membership, which suffered a decline when it broke out.

In Chapter IV it was seen that the presence and activities of the Lotu did involve a certain derogation from the traditional authority of the chiefs, in that it withdrew from allegiance, some of their people and in some cases, all, in matters which had traditionally been under their direction. On the other hand, and in accordance with the notion of reciprocity inherent in the Feagaiga relationship, this interference was strictly limited. Moreover, the missionaries could not ignore the limitations on their influence imposed by the practical possibilities offered by the culture in which they were working. Villagers could offer the threat of conversion, or of non-co-operation in their support of the Lotu, if missionary policy pressed too hard upon them.

On the other hand, the chiefs were, to some extent, caught in a cleft stick, in the matter of their material contributions. A Samoan anxiety to be seen to be generous in contributing to the work of God, in the end, forced a not altogether unwilling mission, to accept the principle of competition in their Le meetings. The teachers, too, demanded for themselves, and received, an opportunity to exploit the same motivation in raising the level of their own material support.
But missionary influence, in strong contrast to the situation in Tonga, for instance, was also limited by the divided state of Samoan politics, at the highest level. They found, to their cost, that to become overly identified with particular parties, even in the laudable attempt to assist in the establishment of stable government, cost them support among their adherents, who were inevitably distributed among all Samoan parties. This was also a mark, of course, of the extent to which the denominations, in their Samoa-wide character, had transcended the traditional divisions of Samoan political organization. It could, however, be maintained only at the price of missionary neutrality in political matters.

In this chapter, two additional matters will be discussed. The first is the extent to which traditional Samoan modes of oratory, and forms of music and dance, entered into the activities of the Lotu. The second is the movement, particularly in the L.M.S. churches, to the takeover of a formal policy making and executive role, by Samoans.

A. The Lotu and Samoan oratory, music and dance.

It has already been remarked that the frequent mention of deities in traditional Samoan oratory, readily absorbed the name of the Christian God into its pattern. Gradually, too, the use of biblical allusion in such oratory, and in talk about every-day occurrences, became widespread, parallelling the function of traditional stories in rendering more telling

1 cf. p. 290.
the expression of an argument, or opinion. 2

There was a strong tendency, too, for the influence to work in the other direction. As in all similar matters, this tendency posed both a danger, and an opportunity for the missionaries. On the one hand, it might be that Christian values and practices could find an attractive and powerful expression through traditional Samoan forms; on the other hand, some feared that such an expression would render their message open to misunderstanding and transmutation. Sometimes the use of Samoan forms was considered a thing neutral in itself; at others, varying from missionary to missionary, they were valued either positively or negatively.

Thus, while George Turner of Malua was fascinated by the wide ranging parallels, as he saw them, between "Polynesian manners, customs, and modes of thought" and the Biblical narratives, he thought that their main interest was to the "Scripture student and the ethnologist." 3 That he, and his colleagues were suspicious of the entry of direct allusions to Samoan stories into Samoan preaching, is indicated by his instructions in his work on pastoral theology.

2 Churchward, op. cit., p. 83.

3 Turner, Nineteen years, p. 310. These parallels cover forty-five pages of this book.
The tendency that was being warned against here, is, perhaps, elucidated by Moyle's description of traditional speech making:

The art of the Samoan orator involves the formal use of many words and expressions not found in everyday speech, and it is not unusual for words to be made up on the occasion of an important gathering, solely to create an impression of superior linguistic ability.5

Though Drummond had claimed, as early as 1845, that speeches of this type were already disapproved at missionary meetings, the fact that Turner made his warning in the 1860's shows the persistence of the problem.6 Indeed, meetings, at least if Brown's account of them are typical, were always the occasion for the telling of traditional stories emphasising the shame associated with miserliness.7 Dyson reported, too:

4 "Sermons prepared with a desire to show off, and to compete and be well-known are bad. If a Samoan lāgi of villages or chiefs is used, just as in a speech made on the malae, the thoughts of the people will turn first to these, but they will forget the point of the sermon." O le galuaga, p. 21. (the exact meaning of lāgi is not clear — one meaning is "song".)

5 Moyle, "Samoan traditional music." p. 92. Thus Turner also warned against the use of obscure foreign words in preaching. O le galuaga, p. 23.

6 SSIL, Drummond, 23 Aug., 1845.

7 cf. p. 295.
Some of our preachers had a very wild imagination, and often suffered parable to run mad. They would use, as similes and illustrations of religious truths, the strangest old legends, and tales which their traditions supplied, and often, "the pure milk of the word" turned sour in their bowls. To put an end to this we resolved [in 1862] that all similies and parables which had no foundation in a matter of fact, should be forbidden to all our agents in their public preaching. 8

That missionary instruction, in this respect, succeeded, is suggested by Milner's report that pastors do not, nowadays, use the traditional sayings known as maraesana with their elliptical references, often to traditional stories, but rather "adopted a large number of Biblical quotations which they use in the same way and which have been added to the traditional store." 9

It was not, indeed, that the missionaries were opposed to a distinctive Samoan style of preaching. Dyson, in 1862, had, himself, "left off the parable style" because of its abuse by the Samoan preachers, but the next year was forced to concede: "I think now that it was an error as the English style of preaching is too heavy, however earnestly delivered." 10

8 Dyson, Samoan Methodism, pp. 91-92. Even apart from the use of traditional material Dyson was bemused by the Samoan use of allegory: at a prayer meeting, one man said, after hearing a passage from 1 Cor. 3: "Who is Paul? Jesus Christ. Who is Apollo? the Holy Ghost. Who is GOD that giveth the increase? The Father." MS, Dyson, Journal, 1861, Dec. 15.


too, found that missionary sermons were too theological. 11 Perhaps the greatest missionary enthusiast for Samoan preaching, however, was George Pratt: "...As preachers many of them excel, and no wonder that their countrymen are getting to prefer them to a white preacher. I do myself. Often the white preacher gives a white sermon." 12

The L.M.S. missionaries showed little taste for Samoan music, and, indeed, as will be seen shortly, positively discouraged its use in the services and meetings of the Lotu. 13 The Catholic and Methodist missionaries often noted its use, for instance, in their trips with Samoan voyagers, but, while the L.M.S. missionaries must have heard it also, they made little comment on it. 14 Violette claimed that they had been responsible for suppressing some forms. 15

Dyson was, too, overtly hostile to the practice that had developed among Wesleyans, in the absence of missionaries, of

11 MS, Brown, Journal, 1867, Aug. 3. He reported, too, that Samoans did not like long sermons, but added: "who does?" ibid., 1865, May 14.
13 Their principal contribution to Samoan music was the European hymn. (Samoan words set to European tunes). Of this Richard Koyle has written: "...mixed choral singing is probably the least liked musical medium, and its use, even today is virtually confined to services of Christian worship..." "Samoan traditional music." p. 98.
14 Rare instances are evinced in SSL, Williams, 1832, Oct. 25, and MS, Day Papers, Letter 62, Mrs Day to her sons. c. 1844.
15 cf. p. 314.
children chanting the scriptures "in singing style" to the
accompaniment of clapping, and evolutions of the hands. Schmidt, the L.M.S. missionary, had reported, critically, on
this Wesleyan phenomenon in 1849, but added that it had been
carried out not only by children, but all day, "by the male -
and female sexes of all the adjoining villages." As with
the parallel tendencies in oratory, the process had been
incipient from the beginning of the Lotu. The Tahitian teachers
had feared that hymns would be taken to the dance floor, while
Platt heard spelling being chanted in lieu of other words at
dances. But these tendencies ran counter to the missionary
insistence on the separation of the sacred from the profane.

Even in the L.M.S. churches, however, there was a
constant tendency for the use of dances to reappear, out of sight
of missionary eyes. In 1874 Nisbet received a report from the

16 MS, Dyson, Journal, 1858, April 5, May 26. He
eventually forbade its use. ibid., 1860, April 19.
Brown, however, was sympathetic toward the use of
Samoan forms, as is shown by his relationship with
Penisimani of Amoa.

17 SSL, Schmidt, 26 Oct., 1849.

18 SSJ, Williams, 1832, Oct. 21; Platt, 1835, Oct. 1.

19 cf. p. 402.
teacher, Petaia, that

... some of the schools both East & West [have] established something very much akin to poula and siva in the reciting of various lessons at night - that women who had been in the habit of conducting poula would attend oiled & dressed up to give lessons in the gestures &c! ... Dr. Turner of Malua] had received a letter from Dr George [Turner] telling him how the thing had reached full blown proportions in Atua. That two teachers had brought their schools from Aleizata to have a regular match at it with Kuki's school at Lufilufi - all dressed up in regular style!!

One of the teachers only just avoided being expelled from the pastorate, as a consequence.

The Catholic missionaries on the other hand, were quite willing to allow the uses of Samoan dance in the meetings between their schools.21 Bishop Elloy, himself, was an enthusiast, both for Samoan oratory and for their music, and was apparently unconcerned when the latter had religious subjects as their themes. Indeed, his praise for the words set to an action song, composed by a converted Malua graduate were fulsome.22

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20 MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1874, Oct. 3. The following year, the use of hand clapping in children's classes was forbidden because of the "immoral signs" which they were likely to mix with it. SSL, copy of SDC minutes, 22 Jan., 1878, encl. copy of minutes of meeting of Native Pastors' Delegates. 12 Nov., 1875.

21 cf. e.g. ONE, Vidal, 6 Aug., 21 Sept., 1875. It is true, though, that Father Dole, intent on establishing a school at Leulumoega based on French models, deplored the appearance of "satanic dances" in the Protestant schools, presumably the phenomenon described by Nisbet. ONE, Dole's, Jan. 1875.

22 ONE, Elloy, c. 1859. Elloy did not discount, however, the attractions of European chant. cf. AET 44 (1872), p. 376, Jan. 1872.
The opportunities lost by the L.M.S. mission, because of their fundamental hostility to the use of Samoan forms in the church, is exemplified in the life and work of one of their teachers, Penisimani of Amoa. Penisimani had been converted in the late 1830's, and by the mid 1840's had become an L.M.S. teacher, spending some years in the village of Amoa, though in the mid 1850's he moved to a village a few miles from Brown's residence at Satupa'itea, perhaps Palauli. Described by one missionary as a "... colossal man in physique and equally so in heart and force of character", he was "universally respected for his good character and intelligence, and for the knowledge which he possessed of Samoan manners and custom and folk-lore." It is not surprising then, that in his researches into the Samoan language, George Pratt, almost alone among the L.M.S. missionaries disposed to place a really positive value on Samoan forms, turned to him for help. He wrote to a colleague:

... I have been examining Samoan poetical compositions, and much pleased was I in my researches. One thing however it led me to despise our hymns as utterly mean and not to be compared with Samoan productions as to poetry, rhyme etc. The idea struck me perhaps a poet could compose a viiga [hymn of praise] to God after the same fashion as their own viiga. I found out that a teacher at Amoa - Penisimani - of our lotu was a noted poet - to him I applied. He soon sent me five. I asked if they could be sung to Samoan tunes. Fai ea? Would it be done? The Samoans heard them, and their hearts are run away with by them - hundreds have learnt these magic strains & delight in singing them...25


24 King, loc. cit.; Brown, XP, p. 361.

25 MS, Day Papers, loc. cit.
Unfortunately neither Pratt’s nor the Samoan enthusiasm for them was shared by his colleagues. His neighbour on Savai’i, begged him to give up their use until a meeting of the mission could decide upon them, and letters were exchanged with the other missionaries: "- innovation, mixing sacred with profane etc - and upu faamatau foi – ia aoaina – ia tula nei le sunako!! [and threatening words, too - let him be taught - chase him from the synagogue]": so Pratt caricatured their reaction. In the meantime, undaunted, he went ahead, and asked Day to have them printed.²⁶

Upon the book’s arrival in Samoa, however, a meeting of the mission resolved to have them returned on the grounds that "it would be a most improper book to put into the hands of Samoans at the present time, associated as they are with the dances and other customs of heathenism."²⁷ Brown alleged, later, that they were motivated, also, by the fear that the "regular hymns and English tunes would be displaced by them."²⁸

²⁶ ibid.


²⁸ MS, Brown Papers, loc. cit. Brown says that the hymns were burnt but that there was a copy in the Mitchell Library, and another, partly damaged, in his possession. I have been unable to trace either of these. Nor have I been able to elicit any reply on the matter from the Lutterworth Press, successors to the printers, the Religious Tract Society. The British Library does not possess a copy. In the Mitchell Library there are four hymns bound with a volume of Fa’atūa’i, both attributed to Peni’i’i. According to Pratt there were thirty hymns at the time of his writing to Day, but the sample he sent may have been these four hymns.
Penisimani remained a much admired teacher of the L.M.S., and upon Brown's arrival in Samoa, spent a great deal of time helping him with the subtleties of the Samoan language. Brown arranged for the teacher to write down any traditional story, or the meaning of any difficult phrase, as it occurred to him, and later bring them to the missionary. This activity evidently extended over a number of years in the early 1860's, and resulted in a collection of 400 pages of Samoan material. Their importance may be gauged from the fact that they were later used by Pratt in his dictionary, for which he culled 500 new words, from them.29

To many of the proverbs and stories that he wrote out, Penisimani added a Christian fa'atatau (explanation or moral), perhaps after the fashion that was current among Wesleyan preachers at the same time.30 There also exists a separate collection of fa'ata'oto (proverbs) attributed to Penisimani, some of which are Samoan translations or adaptations of European proverbs, and others of which Pratt evidently used in an edition of fa'ata'oto in the Samoan language.31 Many give pictures of

29 MS, Brown Paper, loc. cit.

30 ibid., "Tales by Penisimani". The material was written independently of Brown's supervision, and he, himself, was not much interested in the fa'atatau (explanations), as is evidenced by the fact that he left them out in his translations. Brown published some of the stories, while Pratt used some of the proverbs. Brown, MF p. 361 f; MS, Brown, "Some nature myths from Samoa."

31 Penisimani, Fa'ata'oto. G. Pratt, O fa'ata'oto ma tala fa'atusa mai atunu'u ese ese ua fa'asamoanina. (Samoa, 1890).
the Christian scheme of salvation. In them man is often subjected to the trickery of the devil, or death, and is rescued by the cleverness of the saviour, after the fashion of a traditional hero such as Ti'iti'i'i. Indeed, in one, the identification is made explicit, while the old earthquake God, Mafuie, represents the devil. The writings of Penisimani thus confirm the impression that Christian belief could be readily assimilated to the traditional forms and values of Samoan culture. From the point of view of the missionaries, however, it was to remain a subterranean phenomenon which, while it was capable of suppression, could not be obliterated. Nor could the process, of which it was a part, be halted.

B. Samoan autonomy within the churches.

The question of the ordination of an indigenous priesthood was not one that assumed a crucial importance within the Marist mission in the period under discussion. While Bishop Bataillon had early looked upon the college founded at Lano on Uvea as an establishment for training priests for the whole of the vicariate, it was not successful in fulfilling his intention.32 Later Bishop Elloy was to talk, again, of the possibility, expressing the hope, in 1875, that within fifteen years, a small beginning might have been made.33 By 1936, however, only four Samoan priests had been ordained in total.34

34 Centenaire des missions Maristes en Océanie, loc. cit.
There are several reasons for this tardiness. First, as Bishop Elloy saw it, the most urgent need was in the training of catechists, and as these had to be married upon entry into their work, it follows that the whole direction of educational effort in Samoa was in an opposite direction to that of the creation of a celibate clergy. Moreover, it pressed much less heavily on traditional Samoan customs, and it worked harmoniously with the chiefs of the Lotu. Further, an educated body of catechists had scarcely found its feet before 1880, and its identity, as such, was, in any case, weakened by the strong individual opposition from their adherents. Thus, little pressure for a greater control of the affairs of the Lotu by Samoans, was experienced by the mission.

Moreover, the personal popularity of Bishop Elloy among Samoans in the period in question, by virtue of his enthusiasm for aspects of Samoan culture, and his clear sympathy for Samoan aspirations, meant that the institution of episcopacy, which in many ways did not accord with Samoan ideas of hierarchy, involving, as the latter did, participation in fono, did not work against the position of the mission. Indeed, his consultation with the leading chiefs of the Lotu such as Mata'afa, Su'atele and others, would have assisted in bringing the institution into conformity with Samoan patterns. 35

35 Elloy's prestige among Samoans is described in ONE; Fr Lucien, 1 Aug., 1857; Vidal, 22 Feb., 1879. USCD, Griffin to Fish, 17 Feb., 1877. AFR 49 (1877), Vidal, 2 July, 1876. Gordon-Cumming, op. cit., p. 76. Even the Wesleyan, Brown, spoke highly of him. US, Brown, Journal, 1861, July 11. Bataillon, on the other hand, in the course of his scarcely concealed dispute with his missionaries, also raised opposition among his catechists. ONE, Violette, c. 1865. His long absences
The Wesleyans, too, did not experience the same movement of opposition to the missionaries, leading to the ordination of an indigenous pastorate, as did the L.M.S. This may be explained by a number of factors. First, the structure of their leadership was more finely graded, and the missionaries did not have the same objections, as did the L.M.S. missionaries, to singling out the more gifted of their teachers for special treatment. Consequently, during the 1870's, the first of their Samoan teachers to be ordained, took his place with the few ordained Tongan ministers who had played a role in the Lotu Tonga in Samoa since the late 1840's. The number of ordained Samoan ministers, throughout the remainder of the century was never high, but it provided a target for Samoan aspirations. Moreover, in the faʻatasiga, or annual gathering of the officers of the Lotu, the Wesleyan party already had an institution which could formally over-ride the wishes of the missionary. A further point, as has been suggested, is that chiefs of the Lotu had a somewhat greater freedom of action, than did their L.M.S. counterparts.

from Samoa, too, would have removed a focal point for the chiefly adherents of the Lotu Tonga, though it is true that they still enjoyed the same relationship with individual missionaries. cf. Keesing, Modern Samoa, p. 408.

36 cf. p. 256.
38 Folase, op. cit., passim.
39 Thus, for instance, the Wesleyan annual meeting in 1864 over-ride Dyson's decision to prevent a preacher beginning work in the village of Pagalii, where they had no chapel. HS, Dyson, Journal, 1864, Dec. 7.
40 cf. p. 370.
The remainder of this section, therefore, will be concerned mostly with the growth within the L.M.S. churches, of an indigenous ordained pastorate.41

One point that emerged from Chapters III and IV was that the missionaries were not able to ignore the preferences expressed by their Samoan adherents, in such matters as the establishment of missionary collections on a competitive basis, and the principle of village-based congregations. While the missionaries reserved the formal decision to themselves, they were clearly forced to bow to Samoan wishes. Nevertheless, the situation was far from the formal involvement in decision making, that the Samoan pastors and with them, the church members, enjoyed in the L.M.S. churches, by the end of the period. It is clear, from a consideration of other cases, that the missionaries still had a considerable power to effect their policy against strong Samoan opposition.

In the early years, this clearly revolved around their control of the resources of the Lotu. This was shown in an early disagreement that Peter Turner had with the people of Palauli and Setupais. The chiefs had made a rule that no one should pay for books, on pain of being treated as "criminals". Turner answered the threat by pointing out that he needed the means of sustenance, and if they would not pay for

41 Some of the factors discussed also applied to the Wesleyans, and so a few examples cited are drawn from these sources.
books, then they should cultivate a piece of land for him. He then went on to give a veiled hint that if they would not agree with him on the point, then they could join the L.M.S., something which, he well knew, was the last thing they would decide to do. This amounted, then, to a threat to withdraw from them, the benefits of the Lotu. The chiefs of both villages saw his point and soon rescinded the law.42

Slatyer, after the distribution of the resources of the Lotu had become more developed with the use of formally appointed teachers, and the establishment of churches, was also able, in the absence of other denominations, to bring dissident chiefs into line, on Tutuila, through the influence he exercised over the teachers and church members. These represented a sufficiently influential proportion of the chiefs support, to be able to force them, by their non-adherence to their policy of not permitting attendance at services in Leone, to have that policy changed. That the motivating force was a desire to maintain access to the benefits of the Lotu through church membership and an association with the missionaries, is suggested by the fact that in a similar situation, Bullen was able to get the chiefs to back down by excluding some of their church member supporters from the church. The teachers, in this case, were still firmly identified with the missionaries - there was no suggestion that they would support

the chiefs, and, indeed, part of the opposition of the chiefs was precisely in refusing to accept the teachers in their villages. 43

It would appear, then, that a growing Samoan autonomy within the church would be associated with a relative weakening of ties between the teachers and the missionaries, and a strengthening of those between the teachers, and the village adherents and church members. Part of this process lay in a development of a "call" system, whereby it was the responsibility of the village church and available candidates to decide who should be their pastor. The formal introduction of this system had to await the creation of churches based on the villages, during the 1860's. Nevertheless, the tendencies for the village to express their wishes in the appointment of their pastors were evinced long before.

As early as 1837, Peter Turner had found that the village of Palelima refused to give up its Tongan teacher to another large town, Heiafu, and threatened to join the London Society. 44 In 1843, when Nisbet put down a teacher, Aneteria of Faleasi'u, for having quarrelled with his wife, he later received a

43 cf. pp. 353-6. Dyson, in the 1860's, was prepared to use the threat of expulsion of whole congregations of Wesleyans from connection with the Society, as a means of bringing them into line. This evidently occurred in cases where he was aware that they would not turn to the other societies. cf. e.g. MS, Dyson, 1858, Oct. 9, Dec. 3; 1861, May 8.

44 MS, Turner, Journal, 1837, Sept. 5.
deputation from the village asking for his reinstatement. When this was declined, "some began to talk rather large, saying it would be with them to receive a teacher or not." In 1851, Hardie expressed a related difficulty in general terms:

... We find it very difficult to place teachers among them without the risk of awakening their suspicions. Each of these little parties is so jealous - so on the alert to discover anything that would in any give any one of them an advantage over another [sic] - so concerned lest anything should be done for any one of them that would imply the inferiority of the rest that generally each is averse to being taught by the teachers of the others.46

Clearly the villages already had a considerable influence over the appointment of their teachers.

In 1863, Nisbet catalogued a whole series of difficulties he was experiencing in the placing of teachers, which must have been typical of the missionary's lot:

Here now is Samatau without a teacher - Namoe having left them owing to a young lad having made attempts upon his wife's chastity. They won't have one because of one thing and won't have another because he has no wife and one they were at last willing to have - his wife won't go. Then there [is] Hoga come from Apis half dead - and was from some time nearly whole dead. His people have sent after him saying they don't want him any longer for their teacher ... the Matautu & Olofa people would have Leau and no one else - and after holding out as long as I could I gave in telling them they would live to see their mistake.47

45 MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1843, May 12, 15.

46 SSL, Hardie, April 1851. cf. e.g. MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1853, Nov. 21; 1857, July 16, Aug. 20.

47 MS, Ella Correspondence, Nisbet to Ella, 24 Jan., 1863. Of course the missionary sometimes had to interfere to make a teacher more amenable to the wishes of the village, simply for the sake of "the work". cf. e.g. SSL, Pratt, 30 April, 1851.
Evidently, there was a surfeit of teachers, and the villages could afford to pick and choose. This meant, too, that the teachers were in a weak position if they wished to oppose the missionaries, unless they both had the support of the village church members and also could agree among themselves to work together for the same purpose.

The first organized movement among the teachers, in opposition to the missionaries, seems to have broken out on Tutuila in 1850.\textsuperscript{48} Trouble had been brewing for some time, and indeed, Powell was to discover later that there had been an agreement among the church members and chiefs of the Pagopago district that they would "contend" with A.W. Murray's successor, who Powell happened to be.\textsuperscript{49} The teachers, therefore, were in a strong position to express their dissatisfaction as a group. After a meeting with Powell, they stayed behind to express their grievances. They asked questions about having to pay for copies of the New Testament, were angered that they were not clothed at the expense of the London Society, and thought it unfair that the missionaries were paid but they were not. Moreover, they said, their anger was shared by L.M.S. teachers throughout the group. When Powell remonstrated with them, this only increased their rage: "Are missionaries everything then?" asked one: "Are we birds to fly hither and thither and die in the bush."\textsuperscript{50}

\textsuperscript{48} MS, Hsibat, Journal, 1850, Oct. 12.
\textsuperscript{49} cf. p. 379.
\textsuperscript{50} SSL, Powell, 1 Sept., 1851.
The teachers had a specific aim behind this rhetoric, exaggerated as it was. They suggested that the money collected in the Ne meetings, should be used to pay them. This reflected the suspicion, fed by the Catholic missionaries, and which was, apparently, to be raised whenever opposition to the L.M.S. missionaries came to surface, that they pocketed these contributions for themselves. Powell insisted that he was not in a position to allow such a thing, and reacted by dismissing the teachers involved from the work.

The chiefs of the various villages now took their part in the dispute. They refused to receive any other teachers until those who had been dismissed were reinstated. Moreover, in this matter they were supported by the church members. Powell wrote:

It is perhaps needful to state that in each principal village there were a good number of church members who had sufficient influence to induce their neighbours to agree to receive the teachers. Hence the opposition we met with was, in reality, though not ostensibly, from the church.

Powell, however, did not give in, and used the prestige associated with his own presence, to bring the church members back into his camp. He met them in each village, and finally

51 cf. p. 239.
52 cf. e.g. SSL: Pratt, 18 Aug., 1857; SSR, Murray, 8 Nov., 1867. As early as 1841 the missionaries had felt the need to explain that it was not fitting for the services of "the work of God" in Samoa, to be paid for by the British church. O le taitai, p. 17. The matter came to the fore again in 1876, when the missionaries were in disfavour among their adherents. SSL, Pratt, 29 Sept., 1876. According to Keasling, it was still a complaint raised in the 1930's, Modern Samoa, p. 404. cf. Gilson, Samoa, 1830-1900, p. 128.
53 SSL, Powell, 1 Sept., 1851.
held general meetings in August and October, 1850. In the meantime, he had borrowed teachers from Murray, now stationed at Leone. By the end of this activity only one village was holding out in its opposition.54

Powell had won the battle. However, the mission, as a whole, saw the writing on the wall. Nisbet found himself questioned by his teachers on the same matters, and having to justify the position of the mission.55 Later, even the students at Malua joined in the spirit of rebellion by refusing to thatch a school room, though eventually they were persuaded "to set about the work like good boys".56 In the end, the missionaries conceded the war. In 1852 they decided to ask their people to support the teachers entirely, except for the matter of providing books, and to take up a collection for them, separate from that for missionary purposes.57 This system, which required a little explanation in some places, was begun in 1853, and by the end of the decade was working so well that Dyson, the Wesleyan missionary, decided to copy it.58

54 ibid.
55 MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1851, Jan. 25.
56 ibid., 1852, Sept. 2.
57 SSL, copy of SDC minutes, 7 April, 1852. SR. (15), Jan. 1854.
58 ibid. MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1851, Jan. 3. MS, Dyson, Journal, 1861, May 4. By this date teachers in one district received an average of £10 p.a. each. Turner reported that the new system did not affect the level of the missionary contributions. SSL, Turner, Sept. 8, 1855.
One result of this decision, of course, was to place the teachers in greater dependence upon the villages. As the churches were broken up into village churches, and as the teachers' status as trained expositors of the "word of God" rose, a matter, in the end, independent of those who had trained them, the possibility that they could act apart from the missionaries increased. The missionaries would thus be particularly vulnerable to losing their grip on the reins, when, as happened in the mid 1870's, they fell into general disrepute among the people, because of their political involvement.

The impression should not be gained, on the other hand, that the L.M.S. were opposed to the development of an indigenous church, led by its own pastors. There was, however, a marked division of opinion as to when the appropriate steps in this direction should be taken. It was typical of George Pratt, showing as he did a marked sympathy for Samoan culture, that he played a leading part in prodding his reluctant colleagues in this direction.

As early as 1846, he had suggested that they should allow the teachers to conduct marriages. He was one of the first, too, to take advantage of the tentative resolution, made in 1854, to

59 The role of teachers as expositors of the Bible, and the independence this might give them from the missionaries, in theory, has already been discussed. cf. pp.238, 364, 424.

60 MS, Nisbet, Journal, 1846, May 25. Nisbet expressed his disagreement with the suggestion. It is not clear when the step was finally agreed upon, but it may have been in the late 1850's, in line with other moves.
a year after the separate collections for the teachers had begun, to investigate steps towards the "ordination of native teachers." Among the moves taken in the succeeding years was the appointment of teachers in remoter areas to conduct the sacraments in the absence of the missionaries. The most important step was the division of the missionary districts into smaller churches. Pratt led the way, dividing his district in half, immediately; into three in 1855; and by 1858 every large town had a separate church. While Nisbet, in the Fa'asaleleaga had reached a similar position in 1859, with the division of his district and the south coast of Sava'i into eight churches, Whitmee, on the other hand, in the populous and developed district of A'ana, had only four churches, in 1865.

Even Pratt, for all his enthusiasm, had his reservations about rapid change. In 1856 he had paid a visit to remote A'opo to appoint the teacher there to the responsibility of conducting communion services. He wrote, however, that

61 SSL, copy of SDC minutes, 7 Sept., 1854. The cautiously worded resolution disguises the marked difference of opinion later evinced, within the mission.

62 SSL: Pratt, 14 June, 1854; 1 Oct., 1855. SR: (17), Jan. 1856; (18), Jan. 1857. Pratt used the bogey of Tahiti to make the speedy ordination of a native pastorate seem more attractive.


64 SSL: Nisbet, 8 Sept., 1859; Whitmee, 26 July, 1865.
I was staggered and kept back by a trifling circumstance. After the service was over and I was about leaving the Chapel I saw him (the teacher) throwing down what bread was left over from the ordinance and they (the church members) still seated, scrambling for it as a lot of boys would for marbles. 65

At the same time, Pratt expressed the view, which he said was shared by the Samoans themselves, that though the mission could be reduced, it could not be withdrawn entirely as "they are not fit to be left - they must have a directing governing head." 66

In 1858, too, he had expressed his dependence on the teachers in decisions relating to the admission of members, stating that their testimony was used both with respect to "moral character" and "knowledge of the Gospel", and adding that "For the most part I have had no private conversations with each. [candidate]." 67 Nevertheless, the following year he was to express the matter in quite another way:

... As to the admissions of new members, that is still left wholly in the hands of the missionary; the discriminating of character seems wholly out of the reach of a native teacher, aided a good deal by a large development of the veneration of chiefs. This only the pick of the candidates that any missionary can pretend to examine individually ... the choice of these shows what are the teacher's views as to fitness for church fellowship & what his practice would be if left to himself. Out of 20 sent to me at Papa near Falealupo, some could not read, others had no books, young men too, I could only find eleven fit to recommend to the church. 68

65 SSL, Pratt, 30 April, 1856.
66 ibid.
67 SSL, Pratt, 7 Aug., 1858.
68 ibid., 31 Dec., 1859.
Thus, though, Pratt, earlier in the year, had spoken of appointing the first pastors, it is quite clear that their responsibilities were strictly limited. As late as 1864, he was still speaking only in terms of "training" his pastors to take over responsibility. Elsewhere, too, there was marked caution. Stallworthy writing in 1859, Turner in 1861 and Whitmee in 1865 all make it abundantly clear that they kept the power to admit members firmly in their own hand. It was only in 1868 that Pratt announced to the directors of the L.M.S. that he had appointed five of his teachers to have the responsibility of admitting members. As late as 1871, the visiting missionary, Vivian, was under the impression that "It is forbidden the Teachers to admit members to fellowship, and they go forth unordained." In 1875, Turner in the Malua district, wrote as if the teachers there had only just received the right to decide on admissions to the church.

This point is worth stressing, for Gilson has made a serious interpretative error in this respect. He writes:

69 ibid., 22 Aug., 1859.
70 ibid., 21 Sept., 1864.
71 SSL: Stallworthy, 13 July, 1859; Whitmee, 26 July, 1865. Turner, Nineteen years, p. 156.
72 SSL, Pratt, 19 Sept., 1868.
73 SSJ, Vivian, 1871-72.
74 SSR, Turner, 27 Sept., 1875. cf. SSL, Powell, 26 Sept., 1873.
During the period 1854-62 when missionaries were leaving, membership rose from 1,835 to 4,200 ... Heaviest gains were made in Savai'i and Southern Upolu ... but only in Tutuila was the mission actually losing ground ... After 1862 the mission rules were more rigorously enforced, partly because more missionaries were on hand and also because a growing number of chiefs were discovering that prestige and revenue were to be gained from the enactment of petty 'blue laws' ... the number of communicants declined - to 4,000 by 1870. 75

If, as has been shown, the missionaries, no matter what the size of their districts (and Pratt with one of the largest, and also having the greatest disposition to allow teachers responsibility must be taken as a conclusive example) did not allow the teachers to decide on the admission of the members, then the fluctuation in numbers pointed to by Gilson must have another explanation. Such an explanation is not difficult to find. In 1860, Samuel Ella, in A'eame, told Dyson that in the last war, which ended in 1856, there were not 20 persons left in Society throughout his district which means that out of 1000 souls in Manono & Apolima & about 3000 souls on the west end of Upolu there were not 20 adults who continued steadfast in their profession of xtianity. 76

The missionary policy of excluding all members who took to war was responsible. 77 Thus 1862 was a year of peace, while both 1854 and 1870 were years of war. On Tutuila in the period 1854-1862, there was endemic warfare. 78

75 Gilson, Samoa, 1830-1900, pp. 133-134.
76 ES, Dyson, Journal, 1860, Feb. 3.
77 cf. pp. 319-22.
78 The effect of the eventual ordination of teachers on membership figures is discussed on pp. 422-3.
During the late 1860's and the early 1870's, the ordination of teachers continued to be a matter of controversy among the missionaries. Whitmee, one of the more conservative took the view that it would be fifteen to twenty years before all the teachers were ready for ordination, and in the meantime, it would not be advisable to ordain only a select number, for it would destroy the village basis of the churches that had only recently been established. 79 Much of the debate centred around the question of reducing the number of missionaries, a question in which the directors themselves took an active interest, on account of the financial saving that would be involved. 80 Whitmee stressed the importance of maintaining the staff at a high level, to prevent conversions to the other denominations of villages seeking a resident missionary. 81 Powell, for his part, insisted that they had never exercised more than one vote in the decisions made by their churches. 82 This, however, was a rather disingenuous argument:

79 SSL, Whitmee, 21 March, 1886. SR. (new series I), Feb. 1870. Pratt had taken a similar view in 1867, arguing that the appointment of a few teachers to a special responsibility over others, would provoke jealousy, but had evidently changed his mind the following year. SSL, Pratt, 26 Nov., 1867; 19 Sept., 1868.

80 SSL, Powell, 26 Sept., 1873. Powell was particularly bitter about an article critical of the mission's policy, published in the English Independent. As early as 1856 the directors had expressed approval, in general terms, of Pratt's plans. SSL, Pratt, 30 April, 1856. Pratt himself pointed to the example of India, while Stallworthy, who shared his views spoke of the ordination of native pastors in the older missions of the Pacific — Hawai'i and Tahiti. SR. (17), Jan. 1856; SSL, Pratt, 21 Sept., 1864.

81 SSL, Whitmee, 4 May, 1871.

82 SSL, Powell, 26 Sept., 1873.
the real influence of the missionary in matters of discipline was described by Turner thus:

While presiding at our meetings, I endeavoured to make them all think, give their opinion, and lift their hands in a vote; but I could easily see that they looked to me as their superior, and that their main anxiety was to know what I thought, and vote accordingly.\(^3\)

That the missionary, by his personal presence, continued to have this preponderant influence, is shown by the almost identical observation made by a visiting L.M.S. delegation in 1886.\(^4\) The crucial question, then, was whether the churches would be allowed to carry out meetings for the purposes of admitting members and disciplining them, without the presence of the missionary, and under the supervision of the teachers. Pratt, however, had allowed just this to happen in his district, when, in 1868, he had appointed five teachers to take this responsibility. It was this decision that had enabled the directors to bring effective pressure to bear on the mission.\(^5\)

In 1874 the missionaries passed a coyly worded resolution, which, while it gave expression to Powell's views, opened the door a little wider to change. They resolved:

\(^3\) Turner, *Nineteen years*, p. 120.

\(^4\) Lovett, op. cit., I, p. 400, giving text of a report of the L.M.S. delegation to Samoa in 1888.

\(^5\) SSL, Powell, 26 Sept., 1873. This was probably accentuated by Pratt's prolonged absence from his district in 1874, while he visited Tutuila.
That we continue so to regulate our influence in the native churches as that in the admission of members or in cases of discipline, in the churches of our respective districts we simply exercise, as hitherto, the power of a single vote, and settle affairs by a majority of members.

They went on to leave it to the discretion of the missionary whether to appoint pastors to admit members in any one or more adjacent villages. Only Malua graduates were to be so appointed, or ordained, and it was not necessary to observe any special ceremony such as the imposition of hands. That the teachers as a body had been testing their corporate strength, is shown by Nisbet's description of their activities during the previous meeting of the District Committee. The teachers asked the missionaries to consider several questions, particularly that they should be allowed to smoke, and also the conditions of the teachers who had gone as missionaries to the north-west outstations of the mission. Nisbet felt that at the appointed meeting with the teachers, they were able to satisfy them on the second matter, but they had postponed an answer to the first till the following day. They had decided to recommend that the matter be discussed by each missionary with the pastors of his district, for decision at the following year's meeting of the mission. In the meantime, the teachers had

86 SSL, Copy of SDC minutes, 22 Oct. to 2 Nov., 1874.
87 Evidently it had become the custom for them to meet informally at the same time as the missionaries, though I have found no mention of it earlier. This may have been the first such occasion. Minutes of formal meetings of "Native Pastors' delegates", begin in 1875.
decided among themselves to allow it. Misbet went on:

Of course we had a scene — as we wanted to know why they referred a thing to us and yet had settled it for themselves and that made further talk useless. They seemed somewhat taken aback then also when the missionaries prepared to walk away and tried some kind of explanations and apologies and said they were still really waiting for us to confirm their decision. 88

Though the missionaries, apparently, safely weathered this crisis, they clearly met concerted opposition from the teachers in 1875. Pratt asserted in 1876 that the opposition of the teachers in the previous year had been bought off by the immediate decision to ordain all of them. 89 Evidently there had been a widespread dissatisfaction with the half-measures instituted in 1874. This dissatisfaction coalesced with a corresponding dissatisfaction with the hostile attitude that the missionaries had, in the last quarter of 1875, adopted to the premier, Steinberger. 90

The effects of the decision to ordain all the teachers by the laying on of hands, should not be exaggerated. In 1875, after some of his pastors, at least, had been given the power to admit members to the church, Turner believed that there was an increase in membership, due to a "greater laxity", but this was

88 MS, Misbet, Journal, 1874, Jan. 3.
89 SSL, Pratt, 29 Sept., 1876.
90 Gilson cites United States Congressional Papers to show that the L.M.S. teachers had, in 1873, believed that Steinberger supported their claims to ordination. Gilson, Semos, 1830-1900, p. 304. cf. p. 387
only one of the reasons that he offered—the restoration of some who had given up the war, and a "revival" being others.\textsuperscript{91} In September 1876, Pratt spoke of the "hasty admissions to the churches by some of our younger pastors" which were "beginning to yield large numbers of expulsions."\textsuperscript{92} Evidently, if admission to membership was based on an observation of candidates not as demanding as that employed by the missionaries, the application of discipline was every bit as severe as before.\textsuperscript{93} After an initial increase, therefore, it is unlikely that the level of church membership would, in the long run have differed very greatly from what it would have been, if admission and discipline had been left in the hands of the missionaries.\textsuperscript{94}

Of much more importance was the establishment of the annual Native Pastors' Delegates meetings, and of district meetings of pastors with considerable freedom of action apart from the missionaries. While the former was still, ostensibly, under the control of the missionaries, in their District Committee, it was to provide, in the 1880's, a platform for the aspirations

\textsuperscript{91} SSR. Turner, 27 Sept., 1875.

\textsuperscript{92} SSL, loc. cit.

\textsuperscript{93} The distinction between difficulty in gaining and retaining church membership is discussed on p. 366. It is explicitly made by Turner, in discussing the results of ordination. SSR. Turner, 26 Sept., 1879.

\textsuperscript{94} Membership figures are not very helpful, for it is impossible to separate out various influences. Pratt, for instance, reported a substantial drop in membership in his district in 1877 and 1878, perhaps associated with the political disturbances. SSL, Pratt: 12 Sept., 1877; 23 Aug., 1878. cf. Appendix II, p. 43.
of the Samoan pastors to a measure of independence of the missionaries which they could not allow, and had to fight hard to oppose.\(^95\) In the early years of its existence, it is true, it confined itself to relaxing a few of the minor laws, such as that concerning card playing and smoking, and even in these matters they probably had the sympathy of the younger missionaries.\(^96\) Nevertheless, there had already been evidenced a general spirit of independence. "...The pastors are evidently feeling their way to do without the white missionary; and a good job if they succeed," wrote Pratt in 1876.\(^97\) Powell was more bitter: "... as for gaining confidence in the management of their own affairs there has never been any need of gaining in that direction. The veriest novice would not shrink from undertaking the management of the largest church." According to Powell, the Samoans believed there was no race superior to themselves.\(^98\) In 1879 a Catholic priest claimed that the pastors were asking the white missionaries to leave, because they believed themselves to be wise enough to manage on their own, and because they possessed the whole word of God.\(^99\)

\(^95\) cf. e.g. SSL, Marriott \& c, 26 Feb., 1 March, 1886.

\(^96\) By 1888 both missionaries and pastors' delegates were being praised for their readiness to relax some of the more petty of the restrictive laws. Lovett, op. cit., I p. 399, giving text of report of the L.M.S. delegation to Samoa in 1888.

\(^97\) SSL, Pratt, 29 Sept., 1876.

\(^98\) SSL, Powell, 5 May, 1876.

\(^99\) ONE, Gavet, July 1879.
On the other hand, in the districts, many of the missionaries still kept a firm hand over affairs, by their personal presence.\(^\text{100}\) In 1879 it was laid down that a missionary's prohibition of any action would stand until the matter was laid before a general meeting; that any pastor who ignored such a prohibition would be suspended; and one such pastor was suspended under this prohibition.\(^\text{101}\) Where, as in Pratt's district, a freer hand was given, the pastors, as a group, sometimes found themselves heir to the difficulties of the missionary. Pratt wrote of the Savai'i pastors in 1879:

"They can't take care of themselves - most districts wrangle and won't meet together."\(^\text{102}\) He had earlier described an incident where they had disciplined one of their number, by removing him from office, only to find that they were opposed by the villagers, who complained of not having been consulted.\(^\text{103}\) In general,

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100 An intention expressed by Phillips, in 1880, when he said "... I feel fully persuaded that the day is far distant when Samoa will be able to take care of itself. The teachers at present need constant superintendence in order to be kept on the mark." SSR, Phillips, 10 May, 1880. cf. p. 420. Interestingly it was Phillips who provoked the most opposition during the mid 1880's.

101 SSL, Powell, 23 Dec., 1879, encl. copy of minutes of meeting of Native Pastors' Delegates, 31 July, 1879.

102 MS, Ella Correspondence, Pratt to Ella, 28 Feb., 1879.

103 SSL, Pratt, 23 Aug., 1878. Pratt had to intervene. The teacher was persuaded to leave the village, but, in retaliation he gave back the L.M.S. contributions to the villagers, a crafty move, for his offence had been to run a "retail shop - grog included." Gilson's description of what happened to village churches after the ordination of pastors, ignores a number of important facts.

1. The splitting up of the districts into village based churches, under the care of their own teachers, was already well advanced when ordination was generally
the pastors appear to have exercised a considerable influence. Churchward, writing in the early 1880's, talks of them "ruling the districts where they live with a veritable rod of iron, and in a manner worthy of the old Presbyterian ascetics." Churchward added that some of his informants wanted the missionaries to stay, precisely to act as a check on the power of the pastors.

Another factor, which was to add to the corporate influence of the pastors, no doubt, was the founding, about this period, of families of pastors. In 1867 Turner had found that thirty of the students at Malua were the children of students of former years. Petaia, a pastor who played a leading part in the events leading up to the ordination of teachers in 1875, died in 1882, leaving three sons pastors, one of whom had been appointed as the first Samoan tutor at Malua, and another, Faleto'ese was himself to be the founder of a long line of

granted.
2. The pastors, acting corporately, took over, to some extent, the role of the missionaries. They did not have to rely solely on their individual relationships with their villages.
3. The missionaries themselves did not immediately relax all of their control.
4. The pastors did have sanctions at their disposal which gave them a more than ceremonial power over their people, in matters concerning the discipline of the Lotu.
5. The missionaries, themselves, during the 1880's, favoured the relaxation of some laws. Gilson, Samoan, 1830-1900 pp. 136-137.

104 Churchward, op. cit., p. 81.
In conclusion, then, it may be seen that it was in the very denomination that attempted the most far reaching changes in Samoan society, and showed the least sympathy for traditional Samoan culture, that a fully developed movement toward Samoan control took place. This movement, associated with the entrenched position of the pastors in the villages, and an assimilation of the practices and doctrines of Christianity to traditional beliefs and values, was to prove a permanent, and a conservative influence in Samoan village life. But this conservatism was not a blind refusal to accept change; rather it was a determination to subdue new influences, ideas and technology, and place them firmly at the disposal of the maintenance of the integrity of Samoan social identity. It is this flexibility in the union between the Lotu and the fa'elasamoa, that has, in part, enabled Samoans to weather many drastic changes up to the present day.

C. Conclusion

A summary of the relationship of the various chapters of this thesis to each other, appears at the beginning of this final chapter. Here I wish, briefly, to make some comments

about the wider implications of this summary. It will be
evident that two over-simplified pictures of the contact
between European Christianity and non-European, non-Christian
societies, cannot be supported by a close examination of the
evidence, in the case of Samoa. Missionaries, on the one
hand, were not the agents of catastrophic change which devastated
the traditional social patterns; neither, on the other hand,
were they the enlightened artisans of a beneficent influence
which swept before it the "dross of superstition", and wrought
a "glorious" change, in the interests of the Gospel. The first,
a popularized and generalized version of criticisms by
anthropologists of a former generation, which no doubt had their
validity in particular situations, has a wider currency than
the second, which perhaps had its vogue in nineteenth-century
missionary publications. Both, however, over-estimate the
extent of missionary influences, and under-estimate the
resilience of the indigenous culture, in its ability to absorb
the beliefs, practices and values of the missionary, into its
traditional patterns.

For the theologian, this will be of interest in questions
relating to the identity and continuity of the Christian
churches as they cross the boundaries of different cultures, and,
as, indeed, they exist in cultures undergoing a continuous process
of change. For the student of contact between cultures, and
for those involved in such contact, however, it raises questions
about cultural identity, and the sorts of forces that a
culture can sustain without impairment of identity. It raises
questions, too, of great urgency in the modern world, about the
way in which different cultures may co-exist, side by side,
without, on the one hand, destroying each other, and, on the
other, living in rigid separation. An answer to all these
questions could lie precisely in the way in which patterns and
values may be "translated" from one culture, into another.
But here, I have revealed something of the concerns that led
to the writing of this thesis in the first place.
It is not within the scope of this thesis to go into the nature of the agreement, if any, made between the L.M.S. missionaries, John Williams and Charles Barff, and the Wesleyans, Nathaniel Turner and William Cross, at Tonga, in 1830. Of more relevance is the fact that, first in informal discussions, and later in a written agreement, the two parent societies agreed that Samoa should be worked by the L.M.S. alone while Fiji was left to the Wesleyans. Peter Turner's reaction to the news of it is also pertinent to the question of the strengthening of the Wesleyan party spirit in Samoa, in such a way that they refused to be absorbed by the L.M.S. after his and Wilson's departure in 1839.

A brief chronology is useful:

1830 July Conversation at Tonga.
1834 Third Quarter? Informal discussions between representatives of the two societies in London.
1835 June 18 P. Turner arrives in Samoa.
    Sept. 16 G. Platt and S. Wilson, L.M.S. missionaries, land at Manono.

1 A.H. Wood gives a very full account of the progress of the dispute between the two societies, making use of available Tongan Wesleyan sources. He errs in one or two minor points such as the placing of the arrival of Platt and Wilson in March 1836, and the confusion of Mata'afa, the tukāfale of Leitataua Tonumaipe'a of Manono, with Mata'afa, the holder of the ao title in Atua. In general he accepts rather uncritically Dyson and Turner's account of the latter's success. op. cit. I "Samoa" passim but especially chaps. III & IV. cf. Gilson, Samoa 1830-1900. p. 82; Williams, Missionary enterprises. p. 259; Tippet, op. cit., p. 116f. Garrett, op. cit., p. 67f.
1836 Feb. 24 Formal agreement reached between the two societies, in response to news of Turner's presence in Samoa. Letter sent via Tongan missionaries requesting Turner to leave.

June Arrival of main body of L.M.S. missionaries, with an "understanding", presumably based on the 1834 discussions, that an agreement had been made between the two societies.

Late August Arrival of M. Wilson, Wesleyan missionary.

1837 April 21 Turner receives a letter from the L.M.S. missionaries in Samoa, informing him of the Feb. 1836 agreement.

July 10 Turner receives a letter from W.M.M.S. requesting him to leave, and news that the Tongan missionaries had written back in protest.

Third Quarter? Agreement reconfirmed in informal discussions in London.

Dec. 6. In response to submissions from Turner and the Tongan missionaries, the agreement formally reconfirmed by W.M.M.S. and Turner "required" to leave Samoa.

1838 Jan. News of the 1837 informal confirmation reaches Samoa through the L.M.S. missionaries.

Nov. 28 Williams brings the Dec. 1837 "requirement" to Samoa, and with A.W. Murray places it before Turner.

1839 March 31 Arrival of party from Tonga, with correspondence.

May 23 Turner and Wilson leave Samoa.²

² MS, Turner, Journal, 1837, April 21, July 10; 1838, Jan. 3, 4, 23, Nov. 28; 1839, March 31, April 23. SSL: Hast, 13 June, 1836; Copy of resolutions of W.M.M.S. committee meeting, 6 Dec., 1837; typewritten copy, given by telephone of W.M.M.S. committee meeting, 24 Feb., 1836; Report of interview between W.M.M.S. representative Hoole, & Ellis and Tidman for the L.M.S., filed between 9 June and 30 August, 1837; C. Hardie and others, 6 Jan., 1838. A.W. Murray, Forty years mission work in Polynesia. (London, 1876), p. 98.
It is clear that before he arrived in Samoa, Turner knew of the Tongan conversations, but did not consider them binding on the Wesleyan mission. 3 This view was shared by the missionaries at Tonga, so that when news was first received by Turner of the 1836 agreement, they had already decided to appeal against it. Turner noted that it seemed "quite impossible" to comply with it. 4 Nevertheless, in November 1837 he hesitated about sending teachers to Tutuila on the grounds that "it is not certain we shall remain." 5

When, at the beginning of 1838, Turner heard that the agreement had been reconfirmed, though before the appeal had reached London, he had conversations with the L.M.S. missionaries which they found "satisfactory". 6 Nevertheless, he continued to speak about his withdrawal with the qualification "if" and told the teachers he was still waiting for something definite from the Committee. 7 His attitude hardened late in March upon the receipt of new stores, and a letter from John Thomas, Chairman of the Tongan district of the Wesleyan mission, enclosing one from N. Turner, which Peter Turner interpreted to mean that there had been no agreement in 1830. 8

3 MS, Turner to Orton, 11 Sept., 1835. SSJ, Busacott, 1836, June 9, giving a copy of a letter from Turner of June 21.
5 ibid., Nov. 11.
6 ibid., 1838, Jan. 3, 4; SSL, Hardie & others, 1838, Jan. 6.
7 MS, Turner, Journal, 1837, March 10, & passim.
8 ibid., March 26.
It was not until November 1, with receipt of an official letter from the W.M.M.S. committee that Turner reported: "I did what I could to persuade our people to unite with the other missionaries."\(^9\) Dyson claims that even then, Turner contemplated resigning as a Methodist missionary, and remaining in Samoa.\(^10\)

This story is probably based only on the course of action he was asked to take, as a last resort, by Samoan Wesleyans, in April 1839. He did have doubts, however, about what to tell the Tongan teachers who wished to stay behind, at this late date.\(^11\)

It is thus clear that Turner and the Tongan missionaries' reluctance to accept the initial formal agreement between the two societies, and his later unwillingness to accept the confirmation supplied by the L.M.S. missionaries, understandable as it was, helped to prolong the period during which, from the Samoan Wesleyans' point of view, the matter hung in the balance. This together with the factors mentioned in Chapters I and II was material to the intensification of the Samoan determination to maintain their identity as Wesleyans.\(^12\)

\(^9\) ibid., Nov. 28.

\(^10\) Dyson, Samoan Methodism, p. 32.

\(^11\) MS, Turner, Journal, 1839, April 2, 8.

\(^12\) In this respect, Garrett seems to underestimate Turner's responsibility. op. cit., p. 71. He also mentions an 1835 "written accord" of which I can find no trace; on the other hand he does not mention the 1834 discussions. ibid., p. 68. Gilson implies that it was not till April, 1839, that Turner received official orders; but from Turner's journal, and Murray's account, it appears that Williams brought an official letter from the W.M.M.S. with him in Nov., 1838, and that Turner immediately decided to leave at the next opportunity. MS, Turner, Journal, 1838, Nov. 28; Murray, loc. cit.
APPENDIX II

DENOMINATIONAL GROWTH AND GROWTH OF

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

It should be remembered that the following tables are based on conjectural figures only, for reasons that have already been given in the text. Figure I shows that the major loss of adherents by the Wesleyan Society after 1850, was to the L.M.S., and that, upon re-establishment of the mission in 1857, these were quickly re-converted. Though Whitmee, who first started compiling population figures in the early 1860's continued to report that the L.M.S. adherents numbered 27,000, it is evident that by the end of 1870's their number had begun to decline. In fact, this number must have been a rough estimate, despite the fact that some of the missionaries pretended to be able to number them down to the last person. The more realistic Pratt, for instance, rounded off numbers of adherents in his district on Savai'i, to the nearest thousand. Before 1860, the L.M.S. rarely attempted to estimate number of adherents.

Figures II and III show that in the period 1860-1880, the proportion of members and candidates to total number of adherents in the Wesleyan and L.M.S., were not too dissimilar, with the former having, for most of the time, a slightly larger proportion. In the London Society, immediately after the end of the 1848-56 war, candidates were almost equal in numbers to church members, but it is evident that by the 1870's, the
former were always only a third or a quarter of the latter, an indication of what the L.M.S.'s policy would be once fully established.¹

These graphs demonstrate, also, the effect of war on membership numbers. Figure II shows that the Wesleyan Society was badly affected by the 1867 war between its strongest village in Samoa, Satupa'itea, and neighbouring Palaul. Not only did this result in the exclusion of church members, but it also caused the defection of the Wesleyans at Palaul to the L.M.S. On the other hand, Figure III shows that the L.M.S. was much more affected by the 1869-73 war. Individual station figures and reports show that this was particularly the case in the Kalua, Apia and Falealili districts. The figures given for the period 1862-1869 are conjectural, being based on a round figure for members, of 4,000, given by Pratt in 1870, and reports, in 1870, of the exclusion of members in large numbers, on account of their participation in war.²

For this reason the upturn in membership numbers in 1875, should not be attributed only to the effect of the granting of the right to admit members to the Samoan feafe'apu, but also, first to the effect of those who had given up the war returning.

¹ SSL, passim; SSR, passim.
² SR, (New Series 1), Feb. 1870; SSR, passim.
to membership, and second, after 1875 to the effect of the decision that participation in war at the request of a "Government" was no longer to be a cause for ecclesiastical discipline. Figures for 1878 - 1880 were incomplete, but showed a decline in every station, over those for 1876.
Based on Fokas, op. cit., passim.

**FIGURE II** Wesleyan adherents, members and seekers, 1860 - 1880.
FIGURE III  L.M.S. adherents, members and candidates, 1860 - 1880.
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ATL  Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
ML  Mitchell Library, Sydney.
PMB  Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, Canberra. This abbreviation signifies that the work concerned has been microfilmed by the Bureau, and that it is such a copy that has been consulted.

The abbreviation mf. indicates, otherwise, that a microfilm copy of a document has been consulted.

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