USE OF THESES

This copy is supplied for purposes of private study and research only. Passages from the thesis may not be copied or closely paraphrased without the written consent of the author.
THE ROLE OF LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY

SAMOAN MISSIONARIES

IN THE EVANGELISATION OF THE

SOUTH WEST PACIFIC: 1839-1930

by

UILI FELETERIKA NOKISE

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in The Australian National University, Canberra

1983
ABSTRACT

BETWEEN 1839 and 1930, 416 Samoans left their homeland as agents of the London Missionary Society to convert into Christians the indigenous people of the following places: Rotuma, New Hebrides, Loyalty Islands, New Caledonia, Niue, Tokelau, Ellice Islands (Tuvalu), southern Gilberts (Kiribati), Phoenix Island, Fiji (Suva and Levuka), Saipan and Papua New Guinea.

This thesis draws on sources in Samoan and other Pacific languages not previously translated, to describe the process of conversion, analyse the type of Christianity propagated and discuss wider issues of culture contact.

Samoans adapted their culture to comprehend and interpret Christianity. Thus, despite local variations, there was a consistency in the message of the missionaries; they sought both to 'Samoanise' as well as Christianise. The reaction of the indigenous people to this seeming spiritual imperialism and the subsequent tensions it provoked are also examined.

The social environment of both the Samoan missionaries and the people they sought to convert are documented; the cultural background of the missionaries is described and factors identified which influenced their outlook and expectations. Their motivation is examined, and their selection, education and theological training is described. An attempt is also made to determine factors which influenced where the missionaries were placed.

Also examined are the methods of conversion, namely preaching, teaching and pastoral care. The type of theology transmitted, language used and the content and style of sermons are discussed. Reference is also made to the missionaries' understanding of concepts such as conversion and salvation and how this was communicated.

The development of churches is described and analysed against the background of local factors. The role of missionaries as agents of social change is examined and changes they introduced are specified.

Problems encountered by the missionaries are enumerated; and the tensions these precipitated are discussed. The relationship
between Samoans and other Polynesian missionaries is described, as is the inter-action with European missionaries, traders and government officials. The influence of these groups on the Samoans' work is considered in appropriate chapters.

To demonstrate the profound impact and enduring influence of the Samoan missionaries, the efforts of the Ellice Islands Church leaders to disassociate themselves from the Samoan Church are recounted.
CONTENTS

PREFACE vii

ABBREVIATIONS xv

GLOSSARY xviii

A NOTE ON SAMOAN ORTHOGRAPHY xxii

MAPS xxiii

1. The South West Pacific xxiv

2. New Hebrides, Loyalty Islands and New Caledonia xxv

3. The Gilbert and Ellice Islands xxvi

4. Papua New Guinea LMS and Rhenish Mission

PROLOGUE 1

CHAPTER ONE Fa'a-samoa: the cultural identity of the Samoan missionary 15

CHAPTER TWO Learning, achieving and attaining a new identity 38

CHAPTER THREE Fa'akerisiano: the gospel of fa'a-samoa 69

CHAPTER FOUR Church growth and enhanced status 100

CHAPTER FIVE The samoanisation of indigenous cultures 136

CHAPTER SIX Obstacles, hardships and rivalries 170

CHAPTER SEVEN Relations with European missionaries 211

CHAPTER EIGHT Relations with traders and government officials 262

EPILOGUE 284

APPENDICES

A Chronology 300

B List of Samoan missionaries 1839-1930 305

C Constitution of the Samoan Church 1928 329

D Selected extracts from the Sulu Samoa (I - XXXVII) 341
APPENDICES

E  Native Laws of Vaitupu (Ellice Islands) 1893  394

F  Alefaio's report to Newell regarding the student walkout in Rongorongo, Beru, 28 July 1908  397

BIBLIOGRAPHY  400
MISSIONARIES, whatever their nationality, have acted as powerful agents of culture change throughout the world. Their Christian teachings, together with what remains of the indigenous societies' traditional ways, constitute the ideological basis that determines the current attitudes and outlook of the converted population. Pacific Islanders had an initial taste of this psychological wave in the latter years of the eighteenth century. But its full impact was to be felt during the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries. The extent to which Christianity penetrated the cultural expression of traditional patterns of thinking and behaviour and the subsequent response of indigenous people to it, varied from group to group and from island to island. It is the purpose of this study to show something of the way one particular people responded to this imported religion and the form this response took, and how it affected both their lives as well as the lives and cultures of others who came under their influence.

The evangelisation of the Southwest Pacific would have been difficult without the contribution of the London Missionary Society Samoan missionaries. Although there were exceptions and failures amongst them as a group, these missionaries and their wives left their mark on the cultures of the indigenous people. Their influence transformed and redirected local life styles to the extent that their converts still relied extensively on what was basically an imported Church until the late 1970s.

Samoan missionaries introduced sweeping changes that revised marriage rules and ceremonies, dress and courtship codes, the ancestral religion and local politics amongst other things. The demotion of traditional ancestors through secularisation and the conversion of the village chiefs or 'Big Men', gave the Samoans an opportunity to unite the various ancestral groups of each community for concerted action through the Church. Conversion of the chiefs ensured their domination by the Samoan missionaries; and this alignment in particular was used by the Samoans to permeate the more secular domain of village council politics. The dominant and chiefly role created by the Samoan missionaries persists as acceptable and expected behaviour in the Church hierarchy.
today, despite the recent independence of indigenous Churches from the London Missionary Society and the substitution of indigenous pastors for many of their Samoan counterparts.

The transformation of indigenous cultures was a deliberate process. Using Samoan cultural premises as the basis of Christian knowledge, the Samoan missionaries indoctrinated the indigenous people with their own understanding of Christianity. Samoan ideas, beliefs and attitudes as well as mode of behaviour were regarded as vital and relevant to the evangelisation process. These became the guiding principles in their approach and were presented as the cardinal variables of the Christian faith. Thus, the indigenous Churches which emerged were, on the whole, imitations of the Samoan Church both in structure and theological orientation.

The Samoanisation of indigenous cultures precipitated numerous problems in the Samoans' relationship with the indigenous people, other Polynesian missionaries, European missionaries and traders, government officials and representatives of other religious groups. The different backgrounds, standards, convictions and expectations of these various groups at times directly clashed with the rigid expectations of the Samoan culture. Moreover, their style and method in the transmission of Christian knowledge produced tension and misunderstandings. But the Samoan missionaries were merely imitating procedures which they themselves learned from their European mentors. For example, the early European missionaries who brought Christianity to Samoa in the nineteenth century placed great emphasis on the stamping out of idolatry and other heathen practices of the Samoan people, as well as introducing civilising ways such as wearing European style clothing, education and industrial skills. The Samoans understood these things as signs of a good Christian. In time, they assimilated the content of Western culture they had learned to be their 'own'. Thus, they left Samoa convinced that they were sent out to convert the heathen into good and proper Christians, or more particularly into good Samoan Christians.

Unfortunately, many of the ideas and methods they had learned and believed to be essential tools for mission work were no longer acceptable to the more modern and liberal European missionaries working in the southern Gilberts, Ellice Islands and New Guinea during the late
nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Thus, many of them were
criticised for either being incompetent or for believing that they were
superior to the indigenous people and their fellow Polynesian missionaries.
Their tendency to lord it over the indigenous population was repugnant
to the Europeans who regarded them all as 'natives'. But the Samoan
missionaries' attitude was the result of the expectations embedded in
their status as spiritual mediums in Samoa and the high rank they
occupy in Samoan society.

Samoans were either the 'ruled' or the 'rulers'. The former
were not content and feared an increasingly authoritarian society in
which they had little direct say in decision making and no privileges;
the latter feared rebellion against the hereditary system. Along
came the European missionaries with their 'Old Testament theology'
which had a communal structure perfectly fitting the Samoan societal
framework and Christianity was assimilated as part of the Samoan way
of life. In the process, however, one deduces that the Christian message
had an unprecedented support from the rich and the poor as both saw
facets which would help their cause. On the one hand, the 'ruled' felt
that 'All men are equal in the eyes of God', and on the other hand, the
'rulers' felt that as 'Caesars', all would be rendered to them. In
the mission field, the Samoan missionaries saw themselves in terms of
rulers, and their work to a large extent reflected their determination
to safeguard their status. The spiritual authority of Christ they were
supposed to exalt in their work often faded into the background as they
became involved and obsessed with games of statistical 'one upmanship'
where success was measured by the numbers and dimensions of their
churches and congregations. They expected indigenous people to give
them status comparable to the social standing they held in their home
church and society and this caused friction between themselves and the
various District Committees under whose authority they worked as well
as the indigenous people who were not always willing to be dominated
by the Samoans.

Not all were suited for mission work. But the majority,
in spite of their faults and shortcomings, were good men and women
who tried to fulfil their commission to the best of their ability.
The extent to which they succeeded or failed to do what they were sent
out to accomplish, and the ways they handled the problems which arose out of their work are assessed in this study. The thesis is an attempt to record change, to examine the ways Samoan missionaries sought to change the social systems of the South West Pacific.

THERE are certain deficiencies in the historical material relating to the work of Samoan missionaries which should be noted. The extensive body of literature available in the form of missionary writings, general works recording the impressions of travellers, voyagers and observers, as well as government reports, provides important insights. But these on the whole are reflections of Europeans who either applauded the contribution of Samoan missionaries as a positive step towards global Westernisation, or condemned their role as a form of Samoan imperialism and an obstacle to progress. The historian cannot afford to discount these appraisals in his efforts to place the work of the Samoan missionaries in proper historical perspective. But he is also faced with the task of presenting the views of the Samoan missionaries themselves in this process. This is not easy. Discerning what caused the reaction of Samoan missionaries towards the people and culture they came in contact with is difficult in view of the biased accounts of their European instructors and observers. Moreover, the historian is faced with the non-existence of any written accounts by Samoan missionaries in the English language.

The problem has been overcome to some extent by the availability of a large collection of untapped vernacular sources which I have translated. Samoan missionaries wrote numerous letters and reports on their work which were printed in the Samoan Church magazine, *Sulu Samoa*. To what extent these were edited before publication is a matter of conjecture, although it is generally held that such written materials were printed in their original content. Not all the correspondence was printed in the *Sulu Samoa*. Many letters have survived in official Church files. Attempts to collect all editions of the *Sulu Samoa* proved problematic. Neither the Samoan Church nor the IMS office in London kept a record of the magazine. A few surviving copies for the period covered in this study were found. Consequently, I had to make an official appeal through the broadcasting service of Western Samoa in an effort to compile a chronological and systematic account of the movements and views expressed by the Samoan missionaries. The appeal was successful
to a point. Copies of the Sulu Samoa received dated back to the 1880s. Mrs Ruta Sinclair, tutor at UPNG, presented her collection to me as a gift. The valuable information contained in these papers, plus information from interviews with the survivors of missionaries' families and the people and Church leaders of the places where Samoan missionaries worked, have enabled me to present the contribution of Samoan missionaries with some claim to original sources. I was also permitted to read some private letters and diaries, but in the majority of families, the descendants of the missionaries were reluctant to disclose any information for fear their parents' image (which was held with pride and regarded as saintly) would be tarnished under the test of public scrutiny.

The writings of the Samoan missionaries are important in that they provide us with a clearer insight into their characters. As a result, I have let them speak for themselves wherever possible. Although I have translated all their available writings and have used these extensively rather than the European materials, it has been necessary to present only a representative sample of such materials (see Appendix D). I am also aware of the peculiar difficulties in balancing oral and written materials and evaluating the experience of Samoan missionaries from both sources. The thesis does not claim to be a Samoan view of the evangelisation process, but the reader is reminded throughout the analysis that Samoan missionaries reacted to events and people with a certain understanding of history, and more specifically time, which is not limited by a chronological framework. For the Samoans, oral tradition plays an important part in the interpretation of historical events. Their attitudes and responses to events stem mainly from a combination of oral and chronologically recorded happenings.

The Samoan word for history is tala-fa'asolopito, literally 'a continuous story in parts'. Prior to the infiltration of Western thought patterns and the introduction of writing and reading skills in the 1830s, the Samoans interpreted historical events through a well-defined network of genealogical relationships. This enabled them to formulate a particular conception of time based on a personal scale. In other words, time was personified to the extent that when Samoans discussed events in their tala-fa'asolopito such as the Tongan invasion and the subsequent conquest of their country, titles rather than dates
are used as 'time' indicators. Thus one hears such explanations as 'It occurred during the reign of Tui Tonga X and Tui Atua Y and Tui A'ana Z'. Comprehending 'time' in this manner is still inherent in the mentality of Samoans today. The starting point of any historical analysis begins with themselves and the titles they hold. The history of a family title for instance begins with the present holder and is traced backward to previous holders. In a sense, therefore, Samoans understand 'time' in an anti-clockwise pattern.

Part of the explanation for the way Samoan missionaries behaved in their role as missionaries lies in their understanding of time, of the past. The historian therefore needs to have some understanding of how the ideas and concepts expressed by Samoans in their writings were originally understood. The historian must go beyond the written records to the oral traditions to try and discover the meaning of words and imagery used by Samoan missionaries. The ability after all to show how people are motivated is a very important part of the historians' skill. People need to be seen in their social setting, and yet, the historian has to be able to show how people are in turn able to influence their setting.

This study covers the period from 1839 when the first group of Samoan missionaries left Samoa, until 1930 when the Samoan Church became autonomous; and when moves were instigated by indigenous Church leaders (who were trained under these missionaries) for autonomy for their own emerging Churches.

THIS thesis owes much to the generous assistance of so many people. Two however deserve special mention for their influence and inspiration. I am most indebted to the Reverend Dr Ian Breward, Professor of Church History, Ormond College, Melbourne University, who first suggested the work of Polynesian missionaries as a topic for study. I am especially indebted to my supervisor, Dr Niel Gunson, Department of Pacific and Southeast Asian History of The Australian National University, who, throughout my stay at the University, encouraged and guided my research. For his patience and insights and his critical comments, as well as for his hospitality and kindness, I owe him a great deal.

I have also benefitted from the comments and criticisms of members of the staff of the Department of Pacific and Southeast Asian
History on various aspects of my work. In particular, I would like to thank Professor G. Daws, Dr B. Macdonald, Dr H. Nelson and Dr D.A. Scarr, who read drafts of various chapters. I would also like to express my gratitude to Professor D.I. Freeman (Department of Anthropology, ANU); Dr D. Wetherell (Deakin University); and Dr K. Howe (Massey University, NZ) for their interest in my work.

To the trustees and staffs of the following institutions, I express my sincere thanks for making material available for my work:
The National Library of Australia (Canberra); Menzies and Chifley Libraries (ANU, Canberra); Mitchell Library (Sydney); Uniting Church Records (Sydney); The Australian Board of Missions (Sydney); New Guinea Collection (UPNG Library, Port Moresby); Turnbull Library (Wellington, NZ); Hocken Library (Dunedin, NZ); Central Archives (Suva, Fiji); Western Pacific High Commission (Suva, Fiji); Pacific Theological College (Suva, Fiji); Congregational Church of Samoa Office, Tamaligi, Apia, Western Samoa; Malua Theological College (Samoa); Nelson Memorial Library (Apia, Western Samoa); National Library and Archives of the Cook Islands (Avarua, Rarotonga); Takamao Theological College (Rarotonga); Niuean Church Records (Alofi); Tuvaluan Church Records (Funafuti); Tangitebu Theological College (Tarawa, Kiribati); Kiribati Church Office (Bonriki, Tarawa); Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies (London) and the Scottish Institute of Missionary Studies (University of Aberdeen, Scotland).

I wish to express particular thanks to those who provided not only information, but also hospitality: the Rev. Pope Talagi (Niue); the Rev. Baitake (Principal, Tangitebu Theological College); the Rev. Alovaka Maui (General Secretary of the Tuvalu Church, Funafuti); the Rev. Panapa (Chairman of the Tuvalu Church, Funafuti); the Rev. Laumua Kofe (Funafuti); Ioane Alesfaio O'Brien (Wellington, NZ); Iafeta Iafeta (Porirua, NZ); the Rev. Liu Tepou (Auckland, NZ); the Rev. Afele Paea (Niue); Mr and Mrs Ina Temata (Titikaveka, Rarotonga); the Rev. Isaia Uili (Nikao, Rarotonga); the Rev. Teariki (Chairman of the Cook Islands Christian Church, Avarua, Rarotonga); Mrs Marjorie Crocumbe (Rarotonga); Dr A. Havea (Principal, Pacific Theological College, Suva); the Rev. I. Tanielu (Porirua, NZ); Lady Tooa Salamasina Maletoa (Principal, Papauta Girls High School, Western Samoa); the Rev. M. Si'u (Principal, Malua Theological College); the Rev. O. Fauolo
(Secretary, Congregational Christian Church of Samoa); the Rev. Enosa (Lotofaga, Western Samoa); Mr and Mrs Peter Sinclair (Waigani, Papua New Guinea); Dr and Mrs S. Latukefu (Waigani, Papua New Guinea); and, above all, the many descendants of missionaries with whom I have had either personal contact or correspondence.

I wish to thank The Australian National University for the scholarship awarded and members of the Department of Pacific and Southeast Asian History for providing a congenial home and the opportunity to undertake fieldwork in the following places: American Samoa, Western Samoa, Niue, Tuvalu, Kiribati, Fiji, Cook Islands, New Zealand, England and Sydney. I also wish to thank the trustees of the J.W. Davidson Memorial Award; as its recipient in 1980 I was enabled to do fieldwork in Papua New Guinea. I wish to thank my fellow students for their support and insights: the Rev. Dr Geoff Cummins, Dr Andrew Thornley, Dr Diane Langmore, Hank Driessen, Shelley Sayes, John Waiko, Kilifoti Eteuati, Penny Lavaka and Soeyatno Kartodirdjo.

Special thanks are due to the Department's secretaries for typing some of the drafts and for helping in photocopying these for readers: Robyn Walker, Pat Gilbert, Helen Hookey, Peg Christopher, Julie Gordon and Elizabeth Kindon. I am especially indebted to Anvida Lamberts for her meticulous typing of the final draft, and to Keith Mitchell who drew the maps. Special thanks also to Jennifer Terrell for advisory guidance on the final draft.

With deep gratitude and affection, I wish to express my indebtedness to my parents, Pepe and Lili'a, and to my sister Luisa, for their gracious interest, invaluable help and constant prayers for this work. Malo le tapua'i. Fa'afetai le tatalo.

My greatest debt is to my wife, Julia, who not only helped in her capacity as Librarian of the New Guinea Collection, but also for her encouragement and understanding as well as her practical assistance in reading earlier drafts and the final copy. Moreover, for her patience in putting up with 416 other Samoans in our family life.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AMMR</td>
<td>Australasian Methodist Missionary Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANU</td>
<td>The Australian National University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AP</td>
<td>Abel Papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appt.</td>
<td>appointed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AR</td>
<td>Annual Reports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMP</td>
<td>Bishop Museum Publication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNG</td>
<td>British New Guinea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAO</td>
<td>Central Administration Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIDC</td>
<td>Cook Islands District Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CO</td>
<td>Colonial Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dep.</td>
<td>departed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.o.</td>
<td>daughter of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dst</td>
<td>District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ell.Is.</td>
<td>Ellice Islands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ent.</td>
<td>entered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.Sec.</td>
<td>General Secretary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ger. NG</td>
<td>German New Guinea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GIDC</td>
<td>Gilbert Islands District Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grad.</td>
<td>graduated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.Comm.</td>
<td>High Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IL</td>
<td>Incoming Letters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JMM</td>
<td>Juvenile Missionary Magazine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JPH</td>
<td>Journal of Pacific History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JPS</td>
<td>Journal of the Polynesian Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JRAI</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JRN</td>
<td>Journal of Religious History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JW</td>
<td>John Williams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LMS</td>
<td>London Missionary Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loy.Is.</td>
<td>Loyalty Islands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ML</td>
<td>Mitchell Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS</td>
<td>Manuscript</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>no date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Cal.</td>
<td>New Caledonia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NG</td>
<td>New Guinea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.Heb.</td>
<td>New Hebrides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>Newell Papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWO</td>
<td>North West Outstations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OL</td>
<td>Outgoing Letters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ord.</td>
<td>ordained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDC</td>
<td>Papua District Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pers.comm.</td>
<td>Personal communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIM</td>
<td>Pacific Islands Monthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PJ</td>
<td>Papua Journals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>Papuan Letters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNG</td>
<td>Papua New Guinea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>Papua Personal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR</td>
<td>Papuan Reports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pub.</td>
<td>Publication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RANS</td>
<td>Royal Australian Navy Stations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reappt.</td>
<td>reappointed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Res. Comm.</td>
<td>Resident Commissioner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDC</td>
<td>Samoan District Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sec.</td>
<td>Secretary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seq.</td>
<td>sequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMS</td>
<td>Sanoan Mission Seminary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.o.</td>
<td>son of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOS</td>
<td>Secretary of State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>Sulu Samoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSC</td>
<td>South Seas Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSJ</td>
<td>South Seas Journals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSL</td>
<td>South Seas Letters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSO</td>
<td>South Seas Odds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sthn Gil.</td>
<td>southern Gilberts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPNG</td>
<td>University of Papua New Guinea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WPHC</td>
<td>Western Pacific High Commission</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. SAMOAN WORDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Samoan</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aiga</td>
<td>family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aiga fa'apitoa</td>
<td>nuclear family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aiga potopoto</td>
<td>extended family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aitu</td>
<td>ghost, spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aualuma</td>
<td>group of untitled women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'aumaga</td>
<td>group of untitled men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agaga</td>
<td>soul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ali'i</td>
<td>high ranking chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alofa</td>
<td>love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alofa mutimutivale</td>
<td>boundless love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amio tatau</td>
<td>proper or correct behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atamai</td>
<td>intelligence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atunu'u</td>
<td>country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ie toga</td>
<td>fine mat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ifoga</td>
<td>ceremonial apology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itu</td>
<td>parts, sides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itumalo</td>
<td>a political district</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uma</td>
<td>enough, finish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umu</td>
<td>earth oven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usiusita'i</td>
<td>obedience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa'aaloalo</td>
<td>respect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa'aopoopo</td>
<td>enhance, add</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa'a-samoa</td>
<td>the Samoan way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa'avae</td>
<td>foundation, basis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa'akerisiano</td>
<td>the Christian way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocabulary</td>
<td>Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa'alupega</td>
<td>honorific praise of ranking order of chiefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faiaoga</td>
<td>teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faife'au</td>
<td>pastor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fale</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fale'ula</td>
<td>crimson house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fale fono</td>
<td>meeting house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feagaiga</td>
<td>covenant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finagalo</td>
<td>a will</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fono</td>
<td>meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fono a matai</td>
<td>council of chiefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fono paia</td>
<td>sacred meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fono Tele</td>
<td>General Assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lavalava</td>
<td>length of cloth wrapped around the waist and reaching to the ankles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le usiusita'i</td>
<td>disobedience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loto</td>
<td>affections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naota</td>
<td>house site of chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mala'e-o-totoa</td>
<td>ground of tranquility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malie</td>
<td>how agreeable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mana</td>
<td>power, efficacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manaia</td>
<td>leading young man, head of the 'aumaga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manatunatu</td>
<td>power of thinking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matai</td>
<td>chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matagaluega</td>
<td>Church district</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musu</td>
<td>withdraw within one's self, retreat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu'u</td>
<td>village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paia</td>
<td>sacred, holy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palagi</td>
<td>European</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pito</td>
<td>part of, sides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puipui</td>
<td>safeguard, protect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pule</td>
<td>rule, authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saofaiga</td>
<td>ceremony conferring chiefly title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sisila</td>
<td>keen eyed, stare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sua</td>
<td>traditional amount of food given to a chief, consisting of a pig, a coconut to drink and a fine mat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taula-aitu</td>
<td>spiritual medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tautua</td>
<td>to serve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talafa'asolopito</td>
<td>history: literally, a continuous story in parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tagata tautua</td>
<td>a serving person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taro</td>
<td>a root crop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tama fafine</td>
<td>female line of descendants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tama tane</td>
<td>male line of descendants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapu</td>
<td>forbidden, prohibited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toa</td>
<td>warrior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuiga</td>
<td>ceremonial head dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tufuga (tohunga)</td>
<td>an expert in specific activities, eg house or boat building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tulafale</td>
<td>orator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tulafale ali'i</td>
<td>high ranking orator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tulaga</td>
<td>rank, position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tupu</td>
<td>king</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tupua</td>
<td>idol, ancestral ghosts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va</td>
<td>space; between</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va-o-itumalo</td>
<td>inter district</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va-o-nu'u</td>
<td>between villages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keresiano fa'a-samoa</td>
<td>Samoan type of Christianity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. GILBERTSE WORDS</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>babai</td>
<td>root crop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uea</td>
<td>chiefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toka</td>
<td>nobles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inaomata</td>
<td>freemen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaunga</td>
<td>slaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kainga</td>
<td>hamlet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwenga</td>
<td>households</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maneaba</td>
<td>meeting house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boti</td>
<td>defined sitting place in the maneaba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>3. COOK ISLANDS WORDS</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>orometua</td>
<td>pastor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meitaki</td>
<td>well, good</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>4. ELLICE ISLANDS WORDS</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pulaka</td>
<td>vegetable crop similar to the taro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa'atele</td>
<td>form of dancing, night entertainment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaupuli</td>
<td>village councillors</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A NOTE ON SAMOAN ORTHOGRAPHY

The Samoan alphabet has fourteen letters:

a e i o u f g l m n p s t v

The letters h, k, and r are used in writing some words of foreign origin. These are usually direct transliterations of foreign words. For example, Russia becomes Rusia; Britain becomes Peretania; missionary becomes misionare; colony becomes kolone, to mention a few. The letter g represents the nasal sound in English words such as belong, longing, singer etc, (written in English as ng).

An inverted comma or apostrophe marks the glottal stop, representing a break or catch in the voice.

A macron (⁻) marks long vowels. Samoan practice with regard to the use of both of these symbols varies. A person conversant with the language would often omit these, especially if the words and the context in which they are used do not create any ambiguity or uncertainty as to pronunciation. For the sake of those unfamiliar with the Samoan language, I have used both symbols wherever linguistic propriety requires them.

It should be noted that both the glossary and the names of Samoan missionaries are listed (Appendix B) according to the Samoan Alphabet. Vowel sounds are similar in pronunciation to Latin vowels.
New Hebrides mission stations
(L.M.S., afterwards Presbyterian)
1 Port Resolution
   (L.M.S. 1842, Presbyterian 1858)
2 Kwamera (1858)
3 Dillon Bay (1857)
4 Anelgauh (1848)
5 Anuie (1852)
6 Erakor (1864)

Loyalty Islands mission stations (L.M.S.)
7 Netche (1854)
8 Ro (1854)
9 Mā (1859)
10 Chepenehe (1859)
11 Faiaoue (1864)
PROLOGUE

The evangelisation of the Islanders of the South Pacific, was the work of European missionaries of both the Protestant and Catholic faiths, who initiated this process during the latter years of the eighteenth century. Their role and work has been well documented, but the available accounts of the process are incomplete. They are primarily about Europeans, written by Europeans for Europeans. This one-sidedness is reflected in the way Pacific historians tend to neglect the crucial and pioneering role played by Polynesian missionaries in this process. The reactions (i.e. views, attitudes and opinions)

---

1 See Map 1. This study is limited to the inhabitants of those countries in the Southwest Pacific where the London Missionary Society (hereinafter LMS) laboured. Geographically, the boundaries of the LMS sphere of operation extended from the Marquesas Islands in the east to New Guinea in the west; and from the southern Gilbert Islands in the north to the New Caledonian group in the south.

2 The first Protestant mission (LMS) began in the South Pacific on 5 March 1797 at Tahiti. For details, see Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society 1899:I, 134-36.

3 Two Spanish Catholic friars first landed in Tahiti in 1774, but they made no converts and abandoned their mission in 1775. In 1820, the Catholic Picpus Fathers entered Hawaii, and in 1830 attempted to start a new mission in Tahiti.

4 See Gunson, Messengers of Grace 1978. His bibliography provides an extensive and thorough list of the available sources and works on the role of European missionaries.

5 The role of Polynesian missionaries has long been tacitly acknowledged. At least two missionaries wrote on the subject: Gill, Gems from the Coral Islands 1856:I; and Gunn, Heralds of Dawn 1924. But so far no major study has been attempted. Gunson, in Messengers of Grace, provided the first comprehensive list of Polynesian missionaries, but little space was devoted to them and there is a need to redress the balance. The only exception is Crocombe and Crocombe, The Works of Ta'unga 1968, which is based on vernacular sources. Latukefu, 'The impact of South Sea Island missionaries on Melanesia' in J.A. Boutiler et al., Mission, Church and Sect in Oceania 1978:91-108; and Wetherell, 'Pioneers and patriarchs: Samoans in a non-conformist mission district in Papua, 1890-1917', The Journal of Pacific History (hereinafter JPH), XV (1980):130-54, are useful, but tend to rely heavily on European missionary writings for detail.
of Polynesian missionaries are, on the whole, not given in their original and proper context. And where they are, historians will find them heavily edited by the European missionaries of the period.  

The London Missionary Society (LMS), aware of its limited staff in the Pacific, and the importance of expanding its sphere of influence and activity in the region, saw in the converted indigenous people of Polynesia a possible means for the realisation of such hopes and expectations. The appointment of Papeiha (a native of Raiatea) from the Society Islands in 1821 to pioneer mission work in Aitutaki, one of the islands in the Cook Islands group, marked the beginning of a continuing policy of employing Polynesian missionaries. Natives of newly evangelised islands were in turn recruited to take the gospel to neighbouring heathen islands as illustrated in the placement of Cook Islands and Tahitian missionaries in Samoa in 1830. The Samoans themselves were recruited after only nine years of Christian influence, as the LMS pushed its efforts westward to the virgin fields of the New Hebrides and the Loyalty Islands.

The expansionist policy of the LMS would have been difficult to achieve without Polynesian missionaries. In most places, the Polynesian missionaries were the pioneer foreign settlers. The Samoan missionaries played a crucial role in this process of evangelisation, partly because they were the largest missionary force of the LMS from

6 This practice appears to have been dictated by the tendency of Polynesian missionaries to give their reports either verbally on the spot whenever the European missionaries visited them, or to write them down in their own language to send to their home churches.  

7 Another incentive for the LMS was the increasing demand from the indigenous people for teachers. There was also the problem of the islanders being influenced by the teaching of non-missionary Europeans, such as castaway sailors and traders.  

8 Williams, A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands 1837:10-15.  

9 Williams, 1837:85-93.  

10 Samoan District Committee (hereinafter SDC) Minutes, Manono 4 December 1838.
any island group (416 of them for the period 1839 to 1930)\textsuperscript{11} and partly because they worked in more places than any other missionary force:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Arrival</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1839</td>
<td>Rotuma</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1839</td>
<td>New Hebrides</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>Loyalty Islands</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>Phoenix Island</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>New Caledonia</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Niue</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Tokelau</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>Ellice Islands</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>Gilbert Islands</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>Fiji</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>New Guinea</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Salpa</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Samoan missionaries were also active for longer than any other group of Polynesian missionaries.\textsuperscript{13}

To understand the nature of the contact situation, it is essential to know something of the world in which the Samoan missionaries were nurtured as well as those places where they went; for the culture changes which occurred amongst the indigenous people as well as the Samoan missionaries, can only be understood in the light of this background.

The Samoan archipelago lies in the central Pacific near the western fringe of Polynesia, within an area bounded by latitudes 13° and 15° south and longitudes 168° and 173° west. Extending along the east-west axis of the archipelago over a distance of about 225 miles are nine main islands inhabited by people of one language and one culture.\textsuperscript{14} The Samoans share many cultural features and physical characteristics with

\textsuperscript{11} See Appendix A.

\textsuperscript{12} See Appendix B. See also Maps 2, 3 and 4.

\textsuperscript{13} The last Samoan missionary to serve in Papua New Guinea (Faiava Sa'aga, his wife So'o and their four children) did not return home until the end of 1977.

other Polynesians whose linguistic area extends from the Hawaiian Islands north of the Equator to New Zealand in the south; and from the archipelagoes of Samoa and Tonga in the west to Easter Island in the east. Physically, they are a brown skinned people with straight or wavy hair, generally tall and solidly built. For those Samoans who went out as missionaries, such physical attributes were less noticeable in areas of the Polynesian world where they worked: places such as Rotuma, Niue, the Ellice Islands and Tokelau. But when they ventured into the islands of the Melanesian and Micronesian worlds, their colour and general physical appearance probably struck a note of awe amongst the slightly built and smaller statured people of these regions. At the same time, the Samoan missionaries were confronted with physical and cultural differences which at least in the initial period of contact severely tested their faith and personal values.

The Samoan missionaries were brought up in a land of recent volcanic origin, thus they were familiar with steep and rugged mountains, gently sloping arable land, generally fertile soil and the abundance of surface streams. In parts of Melanesia, however, they were to confront unfamiliar geographical features such as mountains of considerable altitude and long, winding, deep-flowing rivers. This was especially true of New Guinea where some of the highest mountains have snow on them. Moreover, they were to encounter a variety of vegetation, climate and soil formation not generally found in their homeland. In southern New Guinea and New Caledonia, for example, the climate is so dry that only savanna type vegetation grows. In some coastal areas, permanent swamps of mangroves flourished. These types of vegetation were largely foreign to the Samoan missionaries. For outside the areas which have

15 Outside this roughly shaped triangular area are other islands whose language and culture are Polynesian: Tikopia, Ontong Java, Anuta, Duff, Ronnell, Belona, Sikaiana, Ndai, Taku, Kilimalu, Nassau and Tanga in Melanesia; the Ellice Islands (Tuvalu) on the borders of Micronesia; and Nukuoro and Kapingamarangi within Micronesia.

16 See ch.1 for a detailed discussion of the cultural background of the Samoan missionaries.
been cleared for cultivation, most of the land surface of the Samoan islands is covered by dense rainforest. Stands of massive hardwoods, with thick undergrowth of vines and creepers extend to the tops of the peaks, and where inland clearings have been abandoned, the forest usually takes quick possession again.

In terms of domesticated animals, the Samoan environment was rather restrictive. Pigs, fowls, and dogs, seen in large numbers by early European voyagers, were presumably brought to the islands by the first migrants or later visitors from the south east. In the bush, rats, pigeons and flying foxes abound. By contrast, the Samoan missionaries discovered that in many parts of Melanesia, a large variety of birds and animals existed which were totally foreign to those supported by the Samoan environment. For many of them, New Guinea provided their first contact with poisonous snakes, crocodiles and kangaroos.

More disturbing to the Samoan missionaries were the atoll environments of the Ellice Islands, the Tokelau group, the southern Gilberts and the islands of Torres Strait, when they encountered them for the first time. These low-lying islands of coral origin are often no more than ten feet above sea level. Scarcity of water and top soil prevents adequate growth of vegetation; and most food crops are cultivated with difficulty. Moreover, the Samoan missionaries had to adapt to harsh facts of atoll environment: the near universal scarcity of land; and the extreme weather conditions (depending on location) either in the form of droughts or typhoons. From a place where the climate was characterised by heavy rainfall, high relative humidity, and a maximum temperature averaging over the year about 85°F at sea level, the Samoan missionaries found the scarcity of rainfall in an atoll environment difficult to cope with. In time, this led to illness and a continuing longing for their homeland. Those who worked in the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Niue and the New Guinea highlands had to adjust to the cooler temperatures which also affected their health and to some degree their enthusiasm for work.

Although Samoan missionaries encountered cultures different from their own, not all of them experienced the same degree of difficulty in adapting to these. Those who worked in the neighbouring Polynesian
islands of Rotuma, Tokelau, Niue and the Ellice Islands, were aided by the presence of familiar cultural features. Thus, they found that the above societies were based on rank, personified in a ruling aristocracy consisting of chiefs who governed the political, economic and social spheres of life. Furthermore, the status of chiefs defined their relative worth, honour and prestige. At the same time, status demonstrated the scale of personal and group values as well as privileges and obligations. This understanding of status bore close resemblance to the way Samoans comprehended such a concept. For example, the most important component of status in Samoa was mana, a feature commonly shared throughout Polynesia.\(^{17}\) Mana is related to the idea of power and efficacy as an immanent principle in people, spirits and objects which explains and legitimises power. The importance of mana lies in the belief that it is the criterion whereby chiefs are distinguished from the common people:

> It sets limits, and it gives religious significance to the genealogical structure of status, endowing power and authority with special social responsibility, and so counterbalancing purely self assertive interests.\(^{18}\)

Nurtured in a society which emphasised the importance of rank and status, the Samoan missionaries welcomed the existence of these features in the neighbouring Polynesian societies where they worked. This certainly assisted them in so far as there was a familiar cultural framework upon which their religious teachings could be based.\(^{19}\) Equally comforting was their discovering that, amongst fellow Polynesians, a similar understanding concerning the sanctity of chiefs was upheld as safeguarded by the principle of tapu.\(^{20}\) This principle, which combines the idea of the sacred and of prohibition, is related to mana in that

---

17 The concept has stimulated considerable debate in respect of what it represents. For a discussion of this, see Firth, 'The analysis of mana: an empirical approach' in Harding and Wallace, Cultures of the Pacific 1970:318-34.

18 Goldman, 1970:12.

19 See below, 166-67.

20 The nature and use of tapu in traditional Polynesian societies was complex and not entirely clear. This is aptly discussed by Firth in Harding and Wallace, 1970:316-34.
magical, religious, or political principle which legitimises and enforces the tapu is based on mana. 21

Admittedly, differences existed in the scope of power and authority chiefs possessed as well as in the procedures that governed their election and the maintaining of such systems throughout Polynesia. But the fact that chiefly systems were a common feature of Polynesian societies meant that the Samoan missionaries who laboured in Polynesian areas were afforded a convenient cultural framework to facilitate and endorse the religious and social changes they were sent out to initiate. An example of such a society was that of the Ellice Islands; its cultural resemblance to that of Samoa was exploited to the full by the Samoan missionaries. 22

The Samoan missionaries found that the Ellice Islands society was hierarchical but not rigidly stratified. Its family system resembled the structure of the Samoan aiga potopoto (extended family) 23 in that it was made up of a number of household units and headed by a chief. Within any one village in the Ellice Islands, there were usually four to eight of these leading families who held the power of leadership and authority over the whole village. In some islands of the group (there are eight altogether), this power was held by a single descent line, whereas in others, it was rotated amongst the leading families. This feature of Ellice Islands society was familiar to the Samoan missionaries who were themselves nurtured in a village structure where

21 Mana can also be acquired through personal achievement and proven capability. An example of the former is the honorary designation of tohunga (tufuga) given to a person in recognition of his expertise in specific activities such as religious or administrative matters. Of the latter, the honorary designation of toa is bestowed upon warriors or those who have distinguished themselves in battle. Mana, tohunga and toa are recognised throughout Polynesia as the three cardinal variables of the principle of status, for they represent the psychological and cultural aspects of the system. But what holds the system together is the principle of seniority which permits the orderly ranking of genealogies.

22 The similarity of the Ellice Islands language to that of the Samoan language is discussed below, 87, 160-61.

23 See below, 25, fns 22, 26.
authority was concentrated in the hands of two or three leading ali'\i\ (tutelar chiefs),\(^{24}\) who represented the major families within any village and through which all other households in the village are related genealogically. Moreover, the Samoan missionaries found that effective power often lay in a village council composed of family chiefs, which in structure resembled the fono a matai (council of chiefs) in Samoa. Cultural parallels such as these provided the Samoan missionaries with some insights concerning the ways Ellice Islands society operates and how such social dynamics could be altered to meet their distinctly Samoan expectations.

The relative cultural homogeneity of the Polynesian world was a definite advantage to those Samoan missionaries who worked in Polynesian areas not only because it gave them a certain degree of cultural familiarity but also because this was reinforced by the intimacy of languages. Linguistic evidence has suggested that Polynesian languages form a subgroup within the Austronesian language family. Furthermore, they are categorised as either western or eastern, the former being centred in Samoa and Tonga; and the latter in the Marquesas and the Society Islands.\(^{25}\)

The fortunate situation experienced by the ninety missionaries who went to Polynesian islands contrasted sharply with the situation of the 256 who went to parts of Melanesia and the seventy who worked in parts of Micronesia, where the acuteness of cultural differences severely tested their ability to adapt as well as their Christian convictions. For instance, the Samoan missionaries would have found the small size of political units in Melanesian society quite alien to the large political units of the nu'u (village)\(^{26}\) and itumalo (district)\(^{27}\)

\(^{24}\) See below, 27-29.


\(^{26}\) See below, 25-26.

\(^{27}\) See below, 24.
of Samoan society. Moreover, as Hogbin and Wedgewood have pointed out, Melanesian political units rarely coincide with the cultural-linguistic unit which is usually several times as large. The political unit consists of a grouping of residential units whose members are normally on friendly terms with one another. The nature of the residence pattern ranges from dispersed homesteads to nucleated and elaborately laid out villages. Unlike Samoan society (and Polynesian society generally), there is a lack of correlation between any type of lineage system and the stability of the local group.  

The Samoan missionaries also encountered difficulties in dealing with those who exercised power and authority in such social units. Coming from a society marked by a rigid chiefly system, the Samoan missionaries discovered that no such system existed in the areas of Melanesia they worked in except New Caledonia. They found that the political units were typically headed by a man or several men of the type known as 'Big Man'. The position, they learned, was largely achieved, although seniority, especially within a large kin group, counts for a great deal. The most essential qualities required of a Big Man seem to be ambition and energy, the ability to manipulate others and to organise large scale activities, success in the accumulation of wealth (pigs, valuables, garden produce), generosity in dispensing it, proved prowess in warfare, and the possession of magical knowledge. Many of these qualities were alien to the Samoan missionaries who were brought up with the knowledge that chiefs were first and foremost determined by genealogical connections and that they were to be accorded all the respect and honour befitting their rank and status. Furthermore, the Samoan missionaries were accustomed to the belief that unwavering service to the aiga potopoto was an essential pre-requisite of a candidate's

---

28 Hogbin and Wedgewood, 'Local grouping in Melanesia', Oceania, XXIII (1953):241-76.

29 See below, 26-29.

eligibility for chieftainship. The Samoan missionaries would also have found the practice of polygamy amongst the Big Men an obstacle to their Christian teachings.

Not all facets of Melanesian society were alien to Samoan missionaries. Certain features of traditional religious practices reminded them of their own recently discarded pagan religion. For instance, the Samoan missionaries learned that it was impossible to draw a clear distinction between magic and religion; that spirit beings were usually part of the ordinary physical world and not transcendental; and roughly the same sort of spirit beings are conceptualised by many different people. They also found that Melanesians tended to rely on impersonal magical spells to achieve their ends rather than dealing with gods and spirits by means of prayer and sacrifice. This, they discovered, stemmed from the importance of sorcery as well as the absence of any specialised priesthood. But while it is true that Melanesia generally lacked full time specialists of any sort, it did have part time priests, often the heads of kin groups who had made sacrifices to ancestral ghosts. Perhaps the striking difference between Melanesian pagan religion and that of the Samoans was the comparative lack of concern in the former with cosmogony, a feature which made it difficult for them to comprehend the complexities of the new religious order the Samoan missionaries attempted to introduce.
Samoan missionaries' activities in Micronesia\(^{33}\) were restricted to the southern islands of the Gilbert group; and, to a lesser extent, Saipan from 1900. This latter outpost grew out of the need to meet the spiritual welfare of Samoan exiles deported there by the German Administration for their part in the unrest which swept Samoa during the early years of the twentieth century.

The Gilbert Islands form the eastern and southern-most extension of Micronesia.\(^{34}\) Although Gilbertese culture retained closer links with the rest of Micronesia to the north, traces of Polynesian influences are found which perhaps aided the work of the Samoan missionaries. Gilbertese myths tell of migrations from the Gilberts to Samoa and, after many generations, a subsequent return along the ancestral migration trail. According to genealogical evidence, this influx of Samoans, which is regarded as a major event in Gilbertese history, took place in the fourteenth century.\(^{35}\)

---

33 The four archipelagoes of the Marianas, Caroline, Marshall and Gilbert Islands which constitute the region known as Micronesia, lie north of Melanesia. Geologically, these islands resemble the two major types of islands found in Polynesia. The Marianas are volcanic, the Carolines include both volcanic and coral islands, while the Marshalls and the Gilberts are exclusively coral formations. The range of physical types found in Micronesia varies considerably, making it difficult to generalise about Micronesians as a distinct type of people. Recent development however in human genetics have shed some light on possible reasons for the highly variable genetic patterns found among them. Perhaps the explanation for the assumed homogeneity of Micronesia as a cultural group lies in the linguistic evidence. All the languages of Micronesia belong to the Austronesian language family. For details, see Simons and others, 'Blood group genetic variations in natives in the Caroline Islands and other parts of Micronesia', Oceania, XXXVI (1965):132-70; Dyen, 'A lexico-statistical classification of the Austronesian languages', International Journal of American Linguistics 1965.


Despite the limitations of an atoll environment and the precarious existence of the indigenous population, the Samoan missionaries were nevertheless able to adapt, owing to the presence of certain food crops which were part of their basic diet. For example, a root crop known as *baba* (which is similar in appearance to the *taro*) was grown by the Gilbertese. It was also grown in the Ellice Islands where it was known as *pulaka*. Coconut palms dominate the vegetation, and the coconut was the most important food item. In the Gilberts, not only the fruit was used, but also the sap, which could be tapped from the end of a spathe after the young nuts had been severed from it. The 'sweet toddy' so obtained was a basic part of the Gilbertese diet and had a sufficiently high nutritional value for it to be used as a breast milk substitute for infants. In the early nineteenth century, the breadfruit, so common in Samoa (and other parts of the Pacific), was found in significant quantities. When food became scarce on land, the Gilbertese (and Ellice Islanders) became even more dependent on the sea; and, in order to exploit this resource and to facilitate inter-island voyaging, they developed a high level of canoe building and navigation skills.

The first group of Samoan missionaries who arrived at Beru in 1870 found a social and political system largely influenced by the limits inherent in the environment; as well as the blending of the principles and practices introduced by the original settlers and subsequent arrivals. Politically, the main implication of the Samoan influx in the fourteenth century was the introduction of hierarchical principles which were characterised by individualism to the extent that both men and women inherited and owned land. The basic social groupings of chiefs (*usa*), nobles (*toka*), freemen (*inaomata*), and slaves (*kaunga*) were preserved until the seventeenth century in the southern islands, when modifications in various degrees were made by marauding armies led


by Kaitu of Beru and Uakeia of Nikunau. These two attempted (and succeeded) to implant a socio-political system based on the principle of gerontocracy, the rule of island districts by councils of old men.\(^{38}\) This political framework resembled the *fono a matai* in the Samoan village. This can be seen in the seating arrangements of the respective councils. In the Gilbert Islands, the basic residential unit was the *kainga* - a hamlet, sometimes walled for privacy, within which a number of related extended families lived in separate *mwenga* or households. Each *kainga* was associated with a district *maneaba* (meeting house). The *maneaba* was the social and political centre of its district and also served as a temporary residence for visitors who had no close kin in the district. Within the *maneaba*, each *kainga* had a defined sitting place called a *boti* or *inaki*. The oldest male of the *kainga* was usually its head and also its leading spokesman. In Samoa, the *matai* of each *aiga* (depending on the importance of the title one has) also had definite sitting posts inside the *faLE fono* (meeting house) of the village. It is conceivable that the Samoan missionaries exploited the *maneaba* social and political structure in their efforts to penetrate the mental world of the Gilbertese.

In the sphere of religion, the Samoan missionaries found that although there was no defined priesthood in the southern Gilberts, it was customary for one family from within the *kainga* to lead worship and to interpret the natural signs - changes in winds and clouds for example - which were seen as conveying messages from the gods. This had some parallels with the role of the *taula-aiTU* in Samoan society.\(^{39}\) Moreover, Gilbert Islands society upheld religious observances similar to the pagan religion of the Samoans. For example, the various gods and spirits of human ancestors who were revered were believed to have considerable influence over the lives of their followers; and also - for good or evil - over others, providing the appropriate incantations and ritual preparations of leaves, hair and similar objects were carried out. Each *kainga* also had a totemic object which its members worshipped and

---


\(^{39}\) See below, 32.
did not hunt or eat.  

The Samoan missionaries, in dealing with the cultural differences they encountered, appear to have resorted to attitudes and expectations of their own culture. In so doing, they initiated a process of cultural displacement which was to have far wider implications than the religious changes they were sent out to achieve. In areas where they found cultural features similar to their own, the process of cultural displacement was readily introduced and maintained.

The immense diversity of the regions of the Pacific initially challenged the enthusiasm and faith of the Samoan missionaries. To be confronted with the harsh realities of different countries for the first time was difficult enough; but the fact that they also took with them attitudes and expectations shaped by their respective cultural and social backgrounds made the process of adaptation even more difficult. Thus, it is essential to understand some of the beliefs which underlie the mental and social worlds of these missionaries. For apart from their adopted Christian convictions, they also took with them their inherent cultural understanding. And here lies the irony of their role. The Christian gospel gave them a religious role; their cultural background provided them with a nationalistic one. It is the interplay of these two dimensions which largely dictated the nature and trend of the social and religious changes they aspired to initiate. It would be misleading, however, to hold that these two dimensions were solely responsible for the formation of the missionaries' mentality. Equally important, though perhaps less apparent, were the missionaries' personal perceptions of themselves as individuals in relation to the way they performed their role. Such perceptions had their roots in the values and dynamics characteristic of Samoan society before and after European settlement.

TRADITIONAL patterns of thought and behaviour shaped the attitudes of Samoan missionaries towards their work and the indigenous people of the different societies they were sent out to convert. Unlike some Polynesians, such as the Cook Islanders, the Samoans were reluctant to adapt to the demands and expectations of other cultures; their social cohesion led them to believe that their culture was superior. This tremendous sense of cultural pride distinguished the Samoan missionaries from other Polynesian missionaries whose cultures lacked the homogeneity and complexity of the Samoan world. It also created for the Samoan missionaries numerous difficulties in adjusting to different environments.

Before the introduction of Christianity in 1830, the Samoan identity was moulded and shaped by a set of principles jealously guarded and vigorously observed, known collectively as the fa'a-samoana. European analysts have understood this concept as meaning 'the Samoan way'. For instance, Goodall has described it as 'an unwritten body of tradition but, chiefly, it refers to something still more subtle and undefinable, an attitude, a characteristic mode of reaction to certain demands and challenges, the persistence of ancient loyalties, standards, and beliefs which remain incompatible with any other "way"'. But Samoans have always understood fa'a-samoana as the all-embracing principle which determines their identity as Samoans. This can be seen firstly in the meaning of the prefix fa'a, which has the dual function of emphasis and direction; and, secondly, in those things which together make up this identity. Thus, fa'a-samoana, to Samoans, means the things belonging only to the Samoans which makes them Samoans.

The Samoans firmly believed that all their social and religious behaviour, duties and responsibilities were determined and sanctioned by the fa'a-samoana. And although new influences penetrated this framework
with the introduction of Christianity and the subsequent flow of Western ideas and material wealth, Samoans continue to rely on the fa'a-samoa as the overall guiding principle of their existence. It is important to keep the basis of Samoan identity in mind when analysing the role of Samoan missionaries in the evangelisation of the Southwest Pacific. Their interpretation and understanding of the Christian message was first and foremost determined by this feature of their culture which defined for them their position in society. The fa'a-samoa gave them their identity; Christianity gave them their mission.

Awareness of the fa'a-samoa is first realised, learned and understood in the context of the aiga (family). Anthropologists, and a few historians, have thrown some light on the structural form and the dynamics of inter-personal relationships that operate in the aiga. But their evaluations generally fail to reflect the Samoan understanding of such an entity, or acknowledge its importance as the primary arena wherein Samoans acquire the initial understanding of the values which


3 Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa 1967:19; Gilson, Samoa 1830 to 1900 1970:23.
constitute the fa'a-samoan. Missionaries, colonial authorities, and anthropologists have concentrated on the extended nature of the aiga owing, it would seem, to the fact that aiga system of Samoa is the 'pillar of Samoan political organisation'. Consequently, the political connotations of the aiga became the focal point of their analysis, which in reality was an assessment of the role and position of its head, the matai (chief), as against the roles of those under him. Their argument was that, in understanding the position of the matai, the positions of those under his jurisdiction are defined and understood. Yet Samoans have never regarded or accepted their relationship with their matai as the primary situation wherein they learned and acquired the values and expectations of fa'a-samoan. On the contrary, they view such a situation as the ultimate context in which they have to display their knowledge of fa'a-samoan.

The principal situation in which all Samoans are trained and nurtured in the social ethics of the fa'a-samoan is the intimate relationship

---


5 Churchward, My Consulate in Samoa 1887; Kramer, Die Samoa-Inseln 1902; Pritchard, Polynesian Reminiscences, or Life in the South Pacific Islands 1866; Schultze, 'The most important principles of Samoan family law, and the laws of inheritance', JPS, XX (1911): 43-53; Wilkes, Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the years 1838...1842 1845.


7 Kramer, 1941:58. See also Mead, 1971; Freeman, 1978; Epling and Ardirth, 1963.
between the immediate parents (whether they be matai or not) and their children.\(^8\) Within this basic unit, which they call the aiga fa'apitoa, Samoans encounter for the very first time the essential ingredients of fa'a-samoa which will have both a profound and lasting effect on the development of their lives in terms of the way they think, speak and behave towards their parents and to each other (for instance in the case of brother and sister relationships which are based on mutual respect at all times); as well as to those outside the confines of the aiga fa'apita. The underlying expectation of this process of cultural initiation is to instil in a Samoan the realisation of his (or her) role as the transmitter of the fa'a-samoa for future generations. Samoans thus acknowledge the existence and prominence of a nuclear structure within their aiga system,\(^9\) since it is the classroom where their initial education of the requirements and implications of the fa'a-samoa takes place.

Uppermost in the minds of the parents in their efforts to instruct their children in the fa'a-samoa is the desire to infuse in them appropriate perceptions and reactions to different kinds of social relationships and situations, rather than a commitment to a single standard and consistency of behaviour. This stems from the belief of Samoans that their actions and attitudes are governed by a socio-centric and context-dependent framework, which contrasts sharply with the Western idea of ego-centric orientation, a turning inward process. In other words, Samoan parental care concerning child rearing is not limited to the usual tasks of providing food, shelter, and medical benefits; but is also concerned with teaching the child to understand that his actions are related to, and dictated by, the context of the situation he is in. For in his awareness that his behaviour is governed by one or more social contexts, he in turn becomes aware of his identity as a Samoan. Thus, the social context of the fa'a-samoa within which he behaves, defines for a Samoan his identity as a person as well as his place in relation to the other members of the aiga fa'apitoa; and subsequently to those outside this social unit at other levels of Samoan society.

---

\(^8\) This family unit - the equivalent of a 'nuclear family' is not acknowledged by western scholars but it exists and is acknowledged by Samoans.

\(^9\) Anthropologists (see above, fn.2) have defined the aiga as an extended type of family, and groups of these as clans.
In essence, the parents teach their children to understand and value that what a person does in a particular situation tells him and others who he is. This correlation between action and self-identity has been misunderstood by Margaret Mead\(^\text{10}\) who analysed the Samoan dichotomy between individual and social influences on behaviour by using the concept of personality integration in her view of cultural configuration. She seems to have adopted certain European cultural constructs as general analytical concepts. Terms such as 'personality' with its focus on internal integration, and 'individual', both essential parts of the Western theory of the 'self',\(^\text{11}\) are inappropriate tools for clarifying a Samoan understanding of the person.

There is a Samoan saying which aptly illustrates the difference between Samoan and Western theories regarding the 'person'. Teu le va, literally, 'order the space or relationship', provides a vivid contrast to the Western idea of 'know thyself'. It also suggests the socio-centric orientation in the Samoan idea of proper behaviour. The va (space/between) is as crucial to the Samoan theory of action as is the 'self' in its Western counterpart. Furthermore, the proverb suggests the important difference between the Samoan and the Western conceptions of structure. The Western stress is on essence, on things in themselves; whereas the Samoan (and Polynesian) stress is on relation, on things in their context. The Samoans are well aware of these differences between the two sets of assumptions concerning social order. For instance, the difference between a palagi (European) and a Samoan lies in the fact that a Samoan looks after his culture by taking special care of the social relationships, while a palagi looks after himself. This means that Samoan behaviour is externally caused whereas that of the palagi is motivated from within.

\(^{10}\) Mead in Howard (ed.), 1971:165-80.

The cultural differences can be put in another way. Samoans look after relationships first and foremost. For example, in an employer versus employee situation where a palagi is the boss, the palagi orders the workers about directly. He has no concern with the social relationships involved. But Samoans must at all times be careful of what they say or do. They must take care of the social relationships as required by the fa'a-samo'a. If they feel something is wrong they often feel hesitant in saying so, for the fa'a-samo'a requires them to be cautious in case they hurt or offend those involved in the social relationship. This emphasis on correct understanding of social relationships and their requirements is not a mere concern to be tactful, but a wider concern for social order and structure.

In view of the Samoan theory of action and order, the concept 'person' is understood by Samoans as meaning a 'multi-dimensional being', an aggregation of many parts, pito, or sides, itu. He is therefore not a coherent bounded unit set off against the social relationships in which he engages, but a person of many parts realised in the dynamics of the social relationship in which he is involved. His itu or pito are not necessarily roles in the Western sense, since role makes sense only in contradistinction to a more fundamental concept of 'self' which is absent in the Samoan understanding of a 'person'.

For a Samoan, to know a person is to know the many sides a person is likely to show in different circumstances; and also to know something about those circumstances. Perhaps the most important influences which constitute for Samoans potential parts of their identities are those of kinship and territorial affiliations. A person's itu or pito directly connected to these sources, are called upon in distinct social settings. For instance, a Samoan attending a funeral or wedding may well have two or more different kinds of connection with the celebration in terms of kinship or territorial affiliations.


13 Ole Tusi Fa'alupega a Samoa (first edition Malua 1915); Gilson, 1970:51-64.
In entering a meeting house in which visitors to the celebration are welcomed, he may well be asked by the family orator\textsuperscript{14} presiding over the proceedings, 'Po'o le a lou 'auaia mai i lenei aiga? - What is your path/connection to this family?' The visitor then selects one of the most advantageous paths or sides of himself, and informs the presiding orator of it and its history; and if this is acceptable to the host, it immediately becomes the criteria upon which he will be recognised and addressed during the rest of the celebrations. But this acknowledged status of the guest does not constitute anything like a fixed identity and in no way is it a precedent for future meetings.

Awareness of one's pito or itu is acquired first and foremost in the aiga fa'apitoa. Constant visits by relatives provide the opportunity for every Samoan to know and become familiar with his kinfolk, both on his father's side and on his mother's. Furthermore, this type of situation provides him with the opportunity to observe how certain behavioural patterns required by the fa'a-samoa in such a context operate, as displayed by his parents and the visitor to each other. For instance, the extent of formality in the exchanged greetings would tell him whether the visitor is a close or distant relative. If the greetings are formal\textsuperscript{15} it usually means a distant relative or a total stranger; whereas an informal\textsuperscript{16} one designates a close relative or a friend. The importance of this type of situation then in the development of individual mentality, lies in the reinforcement of Samoan values which the parents have already taught him, but which are now being

\textsuperscript{14} Only a matai can be an orator. He is known as the tulafale.

\textsuperscript{15} Evidence of this is by the usage of honorific language, reserved mainly for matai. If an orator, tulafale, one will hear the words 'Maliu malia lau Tofa' (Welcome to you Sir Orator). If a chief of titular rank, ali'i, the greeting will be 'Afio malia lau Afioga ile Sa'o' (Enter and welcome your Honour, the Rightful One). These phrases would then be followed by a recitation of the visitor's rank as contained in the fa'alupega of the village of the visitor. In turn, the visitor acknowledges the formality by answering in equally honorific language as well as reciting the host's fa'alupega.

\textsuperscript{16} An informal greeting lacks the giving of the visitor's fa'alupega by the host, and vice versa.
displayed before his eyes, perhaps for the very first time. Thus, awareness of how one ought to respond in terms of words and behaviour in any given situation, forms the basis of what Samoans consider to be correct and proper behaviour - amio tatau. A Samoan is required by the fa'a-samoan to know what to do, what words to say and how to say these in any situation. And, in view of the importance Samoans attach to social context and interpersonal relationships as criteria in determining identity, amio tatau is regarded as the cardinal component of Samoan mentality.

The inculcation of amio tatau is thus the primary concern of the aiga fa'apitoa. This is principally done by instructing the young about their faults. The instrument of instruction is usually physical punishment, a feature of Samoan culture noted by J.B. Stair when he wrote of children being 'severely beaten for the most trivial offences'. But Stair failed to realise that it was not the nature of the offences which elicited the punishment, rather the failure of children to adhere to the two principles which determine amio tatau; namely, usiusita'i - obedience, and fa'aalaloalo - respect. For instance, the beating given to an offending child is usually heavy, so that he cries aloud in pain and indignation. He is, however, made to sit cross-legged while the individual inflicting the punishment stands over him shouting 'uma!' uma! - enough! enough! The child is then compelled under threat of future punishment, to sit stock-still with crossed legs and bowed head and to stifle all crying and other emotion. In other words, children are forced on pain of physical punishment to accept without objection the dictates of those in authority; and they are expected to remain obedient to those in authority over them whatever their age.

The use of punishment has produced an ambivalence of emotions intrinsic to the Samoan way of life and to Samoan character. Through the infliction of punishment, a Samoan child is conditioned to be subservient to authority. As for his real feelings, these are usually kept within himself, until such time when quarrels within the family

17 Stair, 1897:173.
or other levels of society occur, when they will surface. Some of the European missionaries during the nineteenth century noted this seeming contradiction amongst the Samoans. George Brown, for instance, reflects:

I have always maintained that the Samoans are the most polite people in the world, in their language and their manners and their customs...but it is equally correct to say that they are a people quick to resent an insult or an injury and quite ready to fight with their neighbours for what we would think most trivial causes.

Likewise, Charles Hardie noted that 'although Samoans generally appeared civil and mild, they were as beasts and tigers when excited by anger.'

Samoans accept this apparent dichotomy in their character. The suppression of one's negative feelings such as anger, hate or hurt precipitated by punishment is not regarded as an evil. On the contrary, suppression is understood as a necessity in view of the importance Samoans attached to social contexts and the way they understand themselves. The multi-dimensional understanding a Samoan has of his identity means his negative feelings are only one side of his total self. To allow this side of himself to be expressed must involve a thorough consideration of all other sides of himself. The issue confronting a Samoan during his deliberations is not so much what he is to do with his negative feelings as to the extent to which these, if openly expressed, would affect those above and around him. Invariably, how the heart feels would give way to how the mind thinks, to ensure that

---

18 These levels are nu'u(village); va-o'nu'u (inter-village), itumalo (district) and va-o-itumalo (inter-district).
harmony within the aiga, nu'u (village) and even itumalo (district) is maintained. Furthermore, suppression is tolerated because such an act is evidence of one's willingness to conform to the two principles of usiusita'i (obedience) and fa'aaloalo (respect) which constitute amio tatau as demanded by the fa'a-samoan.

This pattern of expected behaviour, reveals an interesting element of Samoan logic. Suppression of one's negative feelings is accepted as necessary because it is an act of usiusita'i; and the display of usiusita'i is understood as a sign of fa'aaloalo. In other words, amio tatau is learned through the use of negative means which Samoans believe justify the end sought. Positive attitudes are thus infused in to the minds of Samoans by the learning of their opposites. For instance, a person's knowledge of what usiusita'i means is acquired through his awareness and experience of le usiusita'i (disobedience). The emphasis of Samoan learning therefore is on what a person must not do. In effect, this is the aim of the socialisation process in Samoa. It is the elimination of improper behaviour which is contrary to the expectations of the fa'a-samoan.

The explanation for the above situation does not however lie in the method of instruction; namely, punishment which produces suppression; but rather in the dynamics of tulaga (rank), which governs the practical display of the fa'a-samoan. Punishment is merely the means used to ensure that tulaga is observed and maintained. It is thus inflicted in an attempt to ensure that those who misbehave will mend their ways and become respectfully obedient to authority. Furthermore, it is a reminder of the importance of tulaga in the fa'a-samoan. Those in

21 When a Samoan decides to follow his heart, he has two alternatives: on the one hand, he may express it publicly, either verbally or in actions, at the risk of being severely reprimanded by the fono of the matai (the council of chiefs) as illustrated by Freeman, 1978 (see fn.3); on the other hand, he may withdraw within himself. This state of mind is expressed in a widespread phenomenon found amongst Polynesians which is called musu in Samoa. People affected by musu become totally withdrawn. They have a 'deadpan' look and will say nothing except an occasional monosyllable. Musu is almost always due to one of four causes: pure fright in the presence of authorities or strangers; a sense of shame; a sense of guilt; and a feeling of injustice.
authority will often sum up their speech of reprimand with the phrase 'ioa lou tulaga', literally, 'know your place'.

A Samoan is required by the fa'a-samo to be at all times conscious of his tulaga. Although he is initiated to this awareness in his aiga fa'apitoa, its importance only becomes apparent when he participates in social activities outside the confinement of his aiga fa'apitoa. In other words, the values entrenched in the concept tulaga become clearer to a Samoan when he finds himself in social contexts much wider than that of his aiga fa'apitoa. The values of the tulaga system of Samoa are summed up in the Samoan proverb 'O Samoa ole atunutu ua una ona tofi meaning literally 'Samoa is a country already apportioned'. In practical terms, this refers to the hierarchical structure of Samoan society. The way in which this structure affects the development of a Samoan person can be seen in the setting in which tulaga operates.

Samoans live in distinct local communities. These settlements, or nu'u, described by Aaron Buzacott as the 'singular government of the island, every settlement having its own chief', were dispersed along the coast, each with its definite boundaries such as rivers, rocky promontories or man made walls of stone. Archaeological evidence reveals two features of nu'u organisation. First, while a typical village would have houses clustered around an open central meeting place, or facing the sea, or with one or more houses higher and larger than the rest, there was no regular pattern. On the other hand,

---

22 For instance the aiga potopoto, the wider extended family structure, Epling and Ardirth, 1963. It is also known as the aiga lautele.

23 Stair, 1897:65-70.


26 Gilson, 1970:10.

27 Green and Davidson (eds), Archaeology in Western Samoa 1969:62-72.
when early observations \(^{28}\) and oral traditions \(^{29}\) are also considered, it could be argued that the higher house platforms and substantial mounds indicate societal levels and grades of tulaga.\(^{30}\)

All Samoan **nu'u** are composed of a number of **aiga**, the members of each living together in a cluster of houses under the direct **pule** (authority) of their **matai** (chief), who manages its affairs and represents it in the **fono**, the governing council of village **matai**. The selection of a **matai** (when the office becomes vacant through death) calls for a special meeting of all the adult members of the **aiga** (including those who have married out into other **nu'u**) at which a consensus is sought. While it is recognised that **tama tane** or agnates have prior rights of succession over **tama fafine**, or males whose relationship to the previous **matai** is through a female, considerable attention is also given to the personal qualities of candidates, especially to how these qualities have been displayed in **tautua** (service) to the **aiga**. Seniority is also important. This coming together of all members of the **aiga**, constitutes the **aiga potopoto**,\(^{31}\) the wider extended family structure. In the majority of cases, a consensus will be found. If not, owing to rival claimants, each supported by a family faction, the **aiga** is split into separate segments in which case the **aiga** title is shared.\(^{32}\)

28 Green and Davidson (eds), 1969:44-78.

29 Freeman, 1944:145-62. Oral tradition is an essential source provided its limitations are appreciated and local attitudes to the use of such information are taken into account. For example, the confidentiality of Samoan genealogies has some bearing on their reliability. An example from Tonga is provided by Latukefu, 'The collection of oral tradition in Tonga', Source materials related to Research in the Pacific Area, Aust-UNESCO Seminar Papers, AGPS Canberra 1973, 'Oral traditions: an appraisal of their value in historical research in Tonga', JPH, III (1968): 135-43. For further details on oral tradition see, Vansina, Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology 1965; Lowie, 'Oral tradition and history', Journal of American Folklore, XXX (1917):161-67.

30 Green and Davidson, 1974:229.

31 Epling and Ardirth, 1963.

32 Land and Titles Court established 1903.
A matai may be either an ali'i or a tulafale. The tulaga of an ali'i is that of an exalted kind, as reflected in the word paia (sacred) used by Samoans to describe him. In ancient Samoa, ali'i were held to be related to the gods. For instance, they always partook of their meals separately, since whatever they touched was supposed to partake of their sacredness, so that all food left by them at the close of a meal was taken to the bush and thrown away, as it was believed that if a person not belonging to this sacred class ate of it, his stomach would immediately swell from disease and death speedily ensue.33

Furthermore, an ali'i possessed the right to be addressed in honorific language;34 the right to a house site - maota;35 the right to a kava cup title;36 and the right to wear a tuiga or head dress.37

A tulafale, on the other hand, is the official spokesman of the ali'i, thus his tulaga as orator. His primary responsibility is to puipui (safeguard) and fa'aopoopo (enhance) the paia of the ali'i. Furthermore he is responsible for the sharing out of food and property during festive occasions within the nu'u.

Having made its choice, the aiga submits the name of the elected candidate to the village fono for ratification. If accepted, a special ceremony known as saofa'iga will be held at the guest house of the aiga concerned wherein all of the matai of the fono will assemble.

33 Stair, 1897:121-22.
34 Always 'Lau Afioga' - Your Honour.
35 These have special names. For example, the maota of the ali'i of Leusoali'i village (Afioga a Fulu) in Upolu is called malae sa'ili (the meeting place sought for).
36 For example, the cup title of the high ranking chief (Afioga a Anapu) of the village of Sa'anapu (Upolu) is 'Sa'o Malie ma Vaito'elau 'au mai anava vave ola' (The honour conferred by Malie and Vaito'elau fetch the war club that quickly into action ).
37 For a description of various types, see Stair, 1897:17.
38 The word literally means 'stand in a house'. It designates the role of an announcer.
The ceremony begins with a recitation of the village's fa'alupega, the traditional order of precedence of the fono, followed by speeches. The title is then conferred in a special kava ceremony in which the new matai receives the first cup. Other matai then receive their 'ava in set order. At the conclusion of this, a lavish feast, provided by the aiga of the new matai is held.

It is apparent from the above account that the fono is a vital institution in the transmission of the fa'a-samoa, since it is the only body which gives official recognition to the tulaga of any new matai by allowing such a matai to be one of its participant members. Through this, every aiga of the nu'u is represented.

The relationship between a matai and the untitled person below him is basically that of master and servant. Respectful obedience

---

39 The term fa'alupega comes from the word lupe which refers to the pigeons on which, in ancient times, Samoan chiefs used to dote. It therefore carries the connotation of 'offering praise'. Fa'alupega extend over the whole range of the rank structure of Samoa and operate at all levels of segmentation. Within the nu'u, the fa'alupega is regarded as the fa'avae, the foundation of the nu'u. It is recited on all occasions when chiefs interact. For example, when a matai enters a fono, all activity is suspended until he takes up his appointed place. As soon as he is seated, all of the other matai present intone his fa'alupega. The newcomer then responds by reciting, in order of precedence, the fa'alupega of the other matai present at the fono. In essence, a fa'alupega enshrines the order of tulaga of a nu'u.

40 For Samoans, a kava ceremony provides a number of ways in which formal recognition is given to one's tulaga. The principal of these is the order of distribution. Thus the first cup to be announced is of prime importance as is the last cup. The remaining cups progressively decrease in importance. A formal kava ceremony is a sacred occasion. Today, libations are poured to Jehovah. In ancient times, they were offered to Tagaloa, the god believed to have created the world (see Turner, 1884:7-3).

41 An honour normally reserved for the principal ali'i of the nu'u.

42 There is a much quoted scriptural sanction for this demand, I Peter 2:v.18. The Samoan translation of the word 'masters' is matai, so that the passage reads in English, 'Servants, accept the authority of your matai, with all due submission, not only when they are kind and considerate, but even when they are perverse'.
is required from the latter at all times. A matai has pule over all the members of the aiga potopoto of which he is the head. But he in turn, unless he is of paramount rank in his nu'u, comes under the pule of other matai in the fono; and all matai are under God.

The untitled males usually belong to the 'aumaga, whose primary function is to carry out the orders of the fono. When the fono is in session, the 'aumaga sits outside at the back of the fale fono (meeting house) to await instructions from the fono. In essence the 'aumaga provides the ideal training ground for future matai of the nu'u. There is therefore considerable pressure to obey and conform. They must serve the wishes of the fono faithfully in addition to rendering service and obedience to their respective matai.

In Samoan society then, a fundamentally important value is that those in subordinate positions should respectfully listen to, and unquestioningly obey the instructions of those in authority over them. The upholding of this value has, as previously discussed, produced an ambivalence within a Samoan person. Thus, when in public, he is polite, courteous, dignified and respectful, emotions expected and demanded by the fa'a-samoa. In the confinement of his aiga fa'apitao, however, he is likely to talk about his real feelings which are perhaps too dangerous to express publicly, or at best kept to himself. In spite of this seeming contradiction of emotions and attitudes, Samoans have continued to believe in the importance and relevance of such values for their lives. The roots of such belief lie partly in the dynamics of the tulaga system with its demand for amio tatau; and partly in the traditional religious beliefs which safeguard and enhance the tulaga of the matai.

The importance of religious beliefs as a motivational factor in Samoan behaviour was considered to be very great owing to their role as a source of political power and law, operating through the sanctity

43 It is very rare for an untitled person to question or, at worst, hit a matai. But it can happen. See Freeman, 1978.

44 'aumaga and aualuma are the respective status groups for untitled men and women. For a detailed description of these two groups, see Gilson, 1970:22-23.
of chiefs and sanctions of supernatural origin. An examination of how such beliefs, as expressed in oral tradition, affected the mentality of Samoans is provided in George Turner's two books, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia* (1861) and *Samoa: A Hundred Years Ago and Long Before* (1884); as well as J.B. Stair's *Old Samoa* (1897). In their analysis, they both acknowledge the existence of a Samoan belief as to who created their world and themselves. They further note that 'Samoans believed in a soul or disembodied spirit which they call the anganga.' The fate of someone's soul after death appears to have depended on his tulaga while alive. Thus, if one was a matai, one's soul went to an imaginary island of paradise west of Savai'i, while those of the commoners went to an underworld. The principle of the interdependence of the soul, ghost, and the physical body of the person, is one of the basic and fundamental concepts on which Samoan religion was built, for it was the basis of the beliefs concerning the causes of death and of innumerable forms of healing and killing rites. This can be seen in the deliberate way a Samoan at birth was placed under the patronage of some spirit or aitu for the rest of his life:

> These gods were supposed to appear in some invisible incarnation, and the particular thing in which his god was in the habit of appearing was to the Samoan an object of veneration. It was in fact his idol, and he was careful never to injure it or treat it with contempt.

One for instance saw his god in the eel, another in

---

45 There are other works, such as: Brown, *Some nature myths from Samoa 1910* (A1696-1725) ML, Sydney; Churchill, *Samoa o le Vavau* 1902; Handy, *Polynesian Religion* 1978:15-159.

46 Turner, 1884:3-9.


48 Ibid, 16.

49 The largest and most westerly island of the Samoan Group.


51 'The help of several of these gods was probably invoked in succession on the occasion, and the one who happened to be addressed just as the child was born was fixed on as the child's god for life' (Turner, 1884:17).
the shark, another in the turtle.... A man could eat freely of what was regarded as the incarnation of the god of another man, but the incarnation of his own particular god, he would consider it death to injure or eat.52

Samoan religious consciousness was not however restricted to this level of personal aitu. The aiga also had an aitu, sometimes more than one.53 Exactly what form these had and what determined the choice is not clear.54 But it is known that the father55 of an aiga had religious duties. According to Turner:

The father of the family was the 'high priest', and usually offered a short prayer at the evening meal, that they might all be kept from fines, sickness, war and death. Occasionally too, he would direct that they have a family feast in honour of their household gods; and on these occasions a cup of their intoxicating kava draught was poured out as a drink offering. They did this in their family house where they were all assembled, supposing that their gods had a spiritual presence there, as well as in the material objects.56

The aitu of the aiga was believed to communicate 'through the father or some other member of the family, telling them what to do in order to remove a present evil, or avert a threatened one.'57

The nu'u also had their own aitu, 'and everyone born in that village was regarded as the property of that god.'58 Each nu'u had a...

52 Ibid, 17-18.
54 Probably the matai made the choice. Family aitu were, moreover, hereditary.
55 There is disagreement amongst writers as to whether the 'father' is necessarily the matai. Turner assumed that this was not always the case (1884:17). On the other hand, Handy contended that the father of the family was its head, priest and prophet (1978:136). It would appear that the religious duties attached to the word 'father' as used by both Turner and Handy meant that such a person could only be a matai, since religious duties were understood to be the sole right of a matai. The confusion appears to stem from the amplified meaning of the word 'family' they both use.
56 Turner, 1884:18.
57 Turner, 1881:239.
58 Turner, 1884:18.
house especially consecrated for worship to its aitu. Where there was none, the fale fono was used. Religious duties at this level were the sole prerogative of the matai, either as a group, or one appointed by them. This latter person was known as the taula-aitu in the belief that he possessed divine inspiration:

He fixed the days for the annual feasts in honour of the deity, received the offerings, and thanked the people for them. He decided also whether or not the people might go to war.

His primary role was believed to be that of declaring the will of the aitu. Turner, who made the point, did not, however, specify the audience for which the message from the aitu was intended. Presumably, he assumed it was for the people of the nu'u. This interpretation however seems misleading. The taula-aitu was essentially an office created by the matai to enhance the sacredness of their tulaga. He was, therefore, under the rule and direction of the matai, and accountable only to them. In reality, his duties were for the benefit of the matai. For example, the offerings the taula-aitu received from the people for the aitu were, in effect, for the matai:

The offerings were principally cooked food... The first cup was in honour of the gods. It was either poured out on the ground, or waved towards the heavens. The chiefs drank a portion out of the same cup according to rank; and after that the food brought as an offering was divided and eaten before the gods.

Such rights and privileges gave the matai direct involvement with the rituals associated with the aitu, which guaranteed their separateness as a distinct class from the rest of the people.

This supposed direct link with the aitu was also evident in their judicial powers. For instance, when a crime such as theft was committed, and the matai wanted to find the offender, a number of suspects were rounded up and brought before them. Meanwhile, one of

60 Stair, 1897:70; Handy, 1978:159.
63 Ibid, 19.
the objects kept in their temples was fetched by the taula-aitu. These objects, in the form of a conch shell or coconut shell cup or stones, were 'for the eye to rest upon with superstitious veneration.'\textsuperscript{64} Each suspect was made to swear an oath while laying his hands on the chosen object. \textsuperscript{65} 'Before this ordeal, the truth was rarely concealed. They firmly believed that it would be death to touch the cup and tell a lie.'\textsuperscript{66} The matai himself was spared this ordeal. It would appear that the elevation in status of a person from being a tagata tautua, a serving person, to a matai, drastically altered his relationship with the aitu. He became closer to the aitu and far removed from the common people. And the fear which had characterised his attitude towards the aitu seems to have receded once he became a member of the exclusive class of matai.

From the way in which religion was understood and observed, it is clear that beliefs associated with the aitu were primarily for the purpose of safeguarding and enhancing the sacredness of the matai. As for the rest of the people, the benefit of the system was probably in the notion of having an aitu to believe in, rather than in any change the system made in their position. It could hardly be beneficial for them when it was also held that discrimination of tulaga continued after death. Nevertheless, owing to the structure of Samoan society and the demands of the fa'a-samo, the people (excluding matai) probably perceived the religious system as merely another important avenue to display amio tatau for their matai. Reverence for the aitu was in reality an observation of regulations which the matai undoubtedly formulated to instil fear in the people and elicit amio tatau from them. The common people were inculcated with the belief that in giving tautua to the matai through an exhibition of amio tatau, they were serving the aitu. And even if such belief was interpreted the other way, namely that in serving the aitu they were serving the matai, the conclusion

\textsuperscript{64} Idem.

\textsuperscript{65} The oath according to Turner (1884:19) went something like 'With my hand on this cup, may the god look upon me, and send swift destruction, if I took the thing which has been stolen'.

\textsuperscript{66} Ibid, 19.
as to who benefited remains the same. Evidence of this can be seen in
the perceptions surrounding the office of taula-aitu. To the common
people the taula-aitu was the official spokesman of the aitu, yet to
the matai, he was their spokesman since they created his office. The
question begged by this view is, 'who created the aitu and what was
its identity?' Perhaps it is not too far from the truth to contend
that the variety of aitu the Samoans believed in were merely objects
of religious veneration deliberately formulated by the matai to
satisfy the supernatural curiosity of the people and explain to them
the origin of their tulaga.

The demands and expectations of the fa'a-samoa, expressed
through the dynamics of the tulaga system and safeguarded by religious
beliefs and rituals, are factors which conspired to produce certain
behaviour and emotions in a Samoan person. In a wide range of situations,
Samoan behaviour is marked by strong passions. William Harbutt, for
example, having witnessed instances of hysterical possession during a
religious service at Lepa in 1841 wrote of Samoan character: 'excess
of feeling whether grief or joy has possession of their minds.' 67
The early missionaries were greatly astonished with this display of
emotion amongst the Samoans. G.A. Lundie described how men and women
who became possessed during a service by A.W. Murray in Tutuila in 1840
were carried out in dozens, so convulsed 'as to drive five or six men
about like trees in wind', or dropped down as dead after 'struggling
with their bursting emotions until nature could bear no more.' 68
And Murray in his journal gives an account of how during a service
attended by over a thousand Samoans at Leone on 6 June 1840, 'the tide
of feeling rose higher and higher, and became more and more deep and
powerful till bursting through all restraint it vented itself in loud
weeping and violent bodily convulsions, or laid its subjects on the
floor in helpless prostration.' 69

67 W. Harbutt, Lepa, Upolu 23 January 1841, LMS South Sea Letters
(hereinafter SSL).


69 Murray, Journal 6 June 1840.
Samoans are intensely emotional people. For instance, in making a ceremonial apology (ifoga), it is not uncommon for a tulafale to weep publicly. When Thomas Powell and his family returned to Tutuila in 1869 after furlough in England, men sat 'weeping and unable to utter a single word.' Comparable emotion is also displayed at times of parting. Again, profound elation at the attainment of some significant victory is commonly accompanied by tears even amongst senior chiefs.

Weeping is also associated with states of anger and shame. For example, throughout Samoa each year, children are required to recite memorised verses from the Bible in front of the village congregation on the second Sunday of October. A case is known where the daughter of the faife'au forgot her verses, and her mother, angered and shamed, collapsed in tears which subsequently induced sympathetic weeping from the rest of the women present. The death of a close relation provides another situation for displaying extreme emotion. Turner, for example, writing of his observations of Samoan behaviour, referred to the 'indescribable lamentation and wailing' with 'doleful cries' audible from 200 yards away that marked death; these vocalisations being accompanied by other 'most frantic expression[s] of grief' such as ' rending of garments, tearing the hair, thumping the face and eyes' and 'burning the body with small piercing firebands'.

Although in twentieth century Samoa the more extreme of these displays no longer occur, a death is still marked by heart-rending expressions of grief.

Emotions such as hatred and revenge are never forgotten. As Brown notes, one of the most widely quoted of Samoan proverbs affirms that while stone decays, words do not (E pala le ma'a, 'ae le pala le tala). So, in Samoa, as Turner reports, accounts of a disreputable incident involving any member of a community are 'brought up to the shame of the members of his family for generations afterwards.'

---

70 For details, see Gilson, 1970:49, 116.
71 Powell, Paopago 23 October 1869, SSL.
72 Turner, 1861:227.
73 Brown, Pioneer Missionary and Explorer: An Autobiography 1908:34.
74 Turner, 1861:343.
Owing to the highly authoritarian nature of their society, Samoans are frequently subjected to emotional and mental stress, and this experience in some individuals can result in certain psychopathological states, such as suicide and other violent acts. The inner fibre of their character is very much the produce of the way in which discipline is imposed on them when they are children. As Robert Louis Stevenson noted, if a child is sufficiently frightened 'he takes refuge in duplicity' and it is into this response that Samoans are commonly forced as, from childhood onwards, they have to cope with the anxiety-provoking demands of the fa'a-samoa. This authoritarian system is best dealt with, a child finds, by overtly complying with parental and chiefly dictates, while concealing from those in superordinate positions its true feelings and intents. As a result, Samoans, whatever may be their real feelings about a social situation, soon become adept at assuming as the occasion demands an outward demeanour pleasing to those in authority, until, as adults, in the case of males in particular, they have acquired the ability to hide their true feelings behind an impregnable mask of controlled aloofness. For example, when in a fono, a matai is being criticised by others, however severely, it is usual for him to respond, even when deeply angered, by intoning at regular intervals the words Malie! Malie! (How agreeable! How agreeable!) so maintaining his social mask. The Samoans then, as Wilkes noted in 1841, are 'adepts in giving a false impression relative to their feelings and designs and particularly when they think their personal interest may be promoted by their dissimulation'.

A typical Samoan then, is very much an other-directed individual, ever anxious to avoid displeasing those in authority while seeking his private satisfactions behind an affable mask of conformity to the dictates of the fa'a-samoa. Beneath this assumed mask, however, are feelings of deep resentment and anger against those in authority. This tension occasionally finds expression in outbursts of uncontrollable

75 Stevenson, A Footnote to History 1892:48.
76 Wilkes, 1845, (V):23.
anger. Turner, for example, has described how a man or woman in a passion of anger would not only pull off an upper garment and 'tear it to shreds' but would rush up and down 'like a demon', before sitting down to weep over 'the folly, wreck, and ruin of the whole affairs'.
CHAPTER TWO

LEARNING, ACHIEVING AND ATTAINING A NEW IDENTITY

The idea of employing Samoans for missionary work outside Samoa was first acknowledged by the Samoan District Committee of the LMS during its meeting in Apia on 4 December 1838, when it passed the following resolution:

That we endeavour to select not less than ten native teachers to accompany Mr Williams on his projected voyage to convey the Gospel to the Westward.2

The resolution reflected on the one hand a recognition on the part of the European missionaries who constituted the Committee, of the hopes of the directors in London for the continuation of their policy of recruiting indigenous people for missionary work outside their homelands;3 and on the other hand, a certain degree of confidence amongst members of the Committee that church developments (which they had initiated and supervised in Samoa) merited such an extension.

In effect, the resolution was a testimony to the way they perceived and evaluated themselves and their work, rather than any display of confidence in the ability of Samoans to act in such a capacity.4 This seems evident in their restricted view of the role Samoans were to play

1 The majority of Europeans referred to the Samoans who worked for the LMS throughout the Pacific between 1839 and 1930 as 'teachers'. Very few saw them as missionaries. But, if 'missionary' is 'a person sent to preach his religion, especially among people who are ignorant of it' (The Advanced Learners' Dictionary of Current English 1963) then these Samoans were more missionaries than mere classroom instructors.

2 SDC Minutes, 4 December 1838. The Westward Islands was a general name used by the LMS for the New Hebrides, New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands.

3 'The LMS very early employed teachers, and in 1820 native missionaries were sent to other groups' (Gunson, 1978:319). A list of the LMS teachers between 1820-60 is given by Gunson, 1978:357-63.

4 It seems that the European missionaries acknowledged the suitability of a candidate for mission work only after they had selected him and heard his testimony. An example of this is found in Murray, 1885:150.
in the expansion of Christianity. They were to be teachers, not missionaries. Unfortunately, the Committee left no record of how they defined the office 'teacher' for the Samoans they recruited and what they believed was involved in fulfilling such a role. Perhaps they anticipated that the presence of teachers from the Cook Islands and Tahiti would help the Samoans to understand what the position required. It is likely also that the Committee took it for granted that the Samoans would understand the simple distinction that a 'missionary' was superior in status and rank to a 'teacher'.

Christianity had only been introduced eight years before the resolution was passed; and the District Committee as a governing body only came into existence in 1836. Within this short period of time, it is very unlikely that the Samoans would have gained more than a superficial understanding of theological complexities, especially as official training of Samoans for mission work outside Samoa only started a year after the resolution was passed, in the island of Manono under

5 In saying this, I acknowledge the existence of the teaching role in the office of 'missionary', but not the existence of a missionary role in the office of 'teacher'.

6 John Williams gave instructions to some of the first teachers from the Society Islands who left for work in the Cook Islands. See his letter 6 July 1823, SSL. Written instructions for Samoan missionaries were provided for the first time in 1845 (SDC Minutes, 17 June 1845). For later instructions, see SDC Minutes, 23 August 1896.

7 The following teachers from the Society and Cook Islands laboured in Samoa: Society Island Teachers - Arue of Raiatea (Sapapali'i, Savai'i 1830), Boti of Huahine (Savai'i 1830), Moa of Huahine (Savai'i 1830-34; Falelatai, Upolu 1834-42), Taatuori of Raiatea (Savai'i 1830-36), Taihaere of Borabora (Sapapali'i, Savai'i 1830); Solosolo, Upolu 1840); Cook Island Teachers - Matatia of Ngatangiia, Rarotonga (Savai'i 1839-41; Malua, Upolu 1842-45), Nehemia of Avarua, Rarotonga (Manu'a 1839), Pao'o of Aitutaki (Mulifanua, Upolu 1837), Rakie of Aitutaki (Savai'i 1830-34; Upolu 1834-36; Tuvalu 1836-40), Teava of Rarotonga (Manono 1832-36; Falealili, Upolu 1836-38; Leone, Tuvalu 1838-52), Tuava of Aitutaki (Samo 1830), Uea of Mangaia (Manu'a 1835; Solosolo, Upolu 1836-40).

8 The missionaries were the only ones who were ordained and were thus the only ones who administered the sacrament of Communion.
the supervision of Charles Hardie.⁹ Thus, the move to employ Samoans could be interpreted as a deliberate effort by the missionaries to consolidate the Samoan mission as well as contributing to the expansionist policy of the LMS throughout the Pacific.

By the end of 1839, the first Samoans for missionary work were accepted:

Our hearts were highly gratified and cheered by the result of a consultation with our native teachers. Mr Williams wishes to take some of them with him to the Westward; having explained to them, nearly thirty of them at once offered and several others have since followed their example.¹⁰

There is no record of what exactly was explained to the volunteers. Nevertheless, the fact that they responded to Williams' request probably meant that they received the same instructions as those he gave to the pioneers sent out from the Society Islands to the Cook Islands in 1825:

All their lesser evil customs you will endeavour to cast down, going in a State of Nudity or nearly so, cutting and scratching themselves in seasons of grief - tattooing their bodies. Eating raw fish, their lewd dances etc., but the greater evils will require your first attacks and then the smaller.¹¹

Of the thirty who offered to accompany Williams, ten were selected: Ioane, Mose, Tataio of Savai'i; Sau of Sa'ananapu; Paulo and Fa'asavalu of Falelatai; Lei'ataua of Falefe'e; Lalolagi and Salamea of Sagana; and Mose of Saleimoa.¹² They left with Williams on 5 November 1839 from Apia in the Camden for the Westward Islands. Only five, however, were left to start new mission stations, or in the words of George Turner 'to prepare the way for European missionaries'.¹³

---

⁹ SDC Minutes, 7 May 1839.
¹⁰ SDC Minutes, Saleimoa, Upolu 31 October 1839.
¹¹ Williams, 6 July 1823, SSL.
¹² SDC Minutes, Saleimoa, Upolu 31 October 1839.
¹³ Turner, 1861:2. The death of John Williams on 20 November 1839 meant the return of the Camden to Sydney to report the incident. Teachers intended for other islands were thus brought back to Samoa. For an account of Williams' death, see Murray, 1885:84-88.
Sau and Lei'ataua were placed on the island of Rotuma on 12 November 1839; and Salamea, Mose (Saleimoa) and Lalolagi on the island of Tanna on 18 November 1839. These men were the pioneers of what was to be an unbroken line of Samoans who offered their lives for missionary work on behalf of the LMS.

There is virtually no written record concerning the early lives of the majority of Samoan missionaries prior to their training and selection so, there is no direct evidence regarding their background and social position. But because the traditional nature of Samoan society has remained relatively unchanged since the time of evangelisation, it is possible, with a knowledge of the structure of Samoan society, to understand the social position of the missionaries and the implications of this in terms of status at home and their expectations when they went overseas.

First, no Samoan missionary may or could undertake any venture within or outside the aiga fa'apitoa or the aiga potopoto without the approval of matai. The demands of the tulaga system impose considerable pressure on an individual to conform. The permission of matai is, however, granted only after the leading matai has consulted other matai and a consensus is obtained as to the desirability of the proposed action. The matai will usually respond favourably if the planned course of action will enhance the status and prestige of the aiga potopoto. Thus, any Samoan who wishes to train for the ministry must first have the permission of his matai. Once this is granted, his elevation in status is immediate; and he is treated with respect by members of both his aiga potopoto and his nu'u, although it may be some time before he leaves the nu'u to commence his training. Everyone talks to him politely; and he is given priority after the matai when food is served.

In according him such social importance, he is being reminded of the expectations of both his aiga potopoto and his nu'u for him to succeed and so bring honour to them all. A lavish farewell feast in his honour is usually held whereby the matai of both his aiga potopoto and his nu'u will again remind him of their expectations. Metaphors drawn from the legends and myths of his nu'u and of Samoa as a whole, as well as from Biblical stories, colour the farewell speeches of the matai.
For instance, 'O 'oe o le toa a lo tatou nu'u ua filifilia e tau i le malae na o toa e tau ai, tau lelei' - You are a warrior from your village chosen to fight in the arena where only warriors fight, fight well! Of purely Biblical nature is the metaphor, 'O 'oe o le lupe a lo taou nu'u o le fa'alele atu aua se manua o le tatou nu'u a taeao. Po'i mai ma se lau la'au - You are the dove of your village sent out with the hopes of our village for a better tomorrow, return with a leaf. But the best known metaphor Samoans use to remind the candidate of his new status is, 'O 'oe o le taulaga ola a lo tatou aiga ma lo tatou nu'u mo le galuega a le Atua - You are the living sacrifice of your family and your village for the work of God. Thus, by the time a Samoan enters the mission school to be trained for the ministry, he is already an important person in the eyes and minds of both his aiga potopoto and his nu'u. And quite apart from his own personal feelings about his studies, his awareness of the expectations of his aiga potopoto and of his nu'u provides him with a powerful incentive to succeed.

There were, however, a few who had important status before they decided to ask their matai for permission to be trained for the ministry. Paulo, the first Samoan missionary to Niue, was an important tulafale (orator) of the village of Faleasi'u (Upolu). He left with the Revs George Turner and Henry Nisbet in the John Williams, August 1848. However, in accordance with one of the requirements for entering Malua Seminary - namely that no student was to hold a matai title - he was forced to relinquish his rank as a matai. Paulo would have been familiar with all the ceremonial and religious importance associated with the status

---

14 From the story of 'Aitoegie'. See Schultze, Proverbial Expressions of the Samoans 1965:64.

15 From the story of Noah and the Flood, Genesis ch.VIII:10-11.

16 He left with the Revs George Turner and Henry Nisbet in the John Williams, August 1848.

of his former rank. As a *tulafale*, he was already a recognised leader in his *nu'u* with the privileges of participating in the process of decision making of the *fono*, as well as accepting the responsibilities expected of him as a *matai* by his *aiga potopoto* and his *nu'u*. What in effect he relinquished was merely the title and the privileges associated with it: he would have retained the psychological characteristics the position had implanted on his personality. In other words, a Samoan who becomes a *matai* accepts an already established role with all its expected behavioural patterns. When he gives up his title he also gives up the role and the status involved. This switching of role is tolerated by Samoans owing to their belief that it is the title which makes the person and not the other way round.

Paulo was not the only *matai* amongst the first Samoans to enter the ministry; but his case is the only one documented. 18 Some were sons of high ranking *matai*. Pomale, who with Fauvara and Pita, was among the first Samoan missionaries from Tutuila, was the son of Mauga, the high ranking *alii* of Pagopago. 19 In terms of traditional status, he was eligible to be the *manaia* of his *nu'u* because his father possessed the right to bestow on him this office, which entitled him to be the leading young man and the head of the *'aumaga*. 20 There is no evidence that he was actually appointed to be *manaia* of his *nu'u*, but, in any case, the rank of his father would have given him considerable status (and would have influenced his behaviour and expectations).

The explanation for the background of privilege possessed by the first group of Samoan missionaries seems to lie in the way the LMS church developed in Samoa during the initial years. John Williams, in his efforts to evangelise the Pacific, made it his aim to seek out the protection, patronage and power of chiefs, partly to protect his


19 Sulu Samoa (hereinafter SS) July 1907:75.

20 Pomale's chances of being a *manaia* depended, however, on how many other sons his father had, and the order of birth if there were others. For a detailed description of the *'aumaga*, see Gilson, 1970:22-23.
teachers, and partly to stimulate mass conversion in the shortest possible time. Thus, it was his standard practice to place the initial resources of the mission at the disposal of the most powerful chief he could win over. This in essence was how he introduced Christianity to Samoa. 21 He, with the help of a Samoan chief, Fauea, who had been living in Tonga and Fiji, 22 sought out the help of the high ranking chief, Malietoa Vainu'uupo, who was at the time engaged in war on the island of Upolu. When he learned of Malietoa's whereabouts, Williams and his party decided to wait. When Malietoa finally arrived at his village, Sapapali'i (Savai'i), having defeated his enemies, he found Williams, his missionary colleague Charles Barff, Fauea and eight Christian teachers waiting for him. After initial speeches of welcome and exchanges of gifts, 23 business was conducted and concluded with Malietoa agreeing to receive and protect the teachers. This initial meeting between Williams and Malietoa was beneficial to both parties. Williams succeeded in introducing Christianity, and Malietoa exploited the situation to enhance his own prestige. For instance, when Williams visited Samoa two years later, he found that:

Malietoa had created a virtual fence around the eight teachers, regarding them as his alone, and so resisting requests to distribute them, or let them travel freely throughout the island. 24

In effect, this meant that the only Samoans who were allowed to be instructed by the teachers were Malietoa, his sons, and possibly other matai of his aiga potopoto. It was not until the late 1830s with the establishment of district stations, made possible by the arrival of the first contingent of English missionaries in 1836, that the majority of Samoans had an opportunity to learn and become familiar with the new religion. Yet by 1839, the Samoan District Committee was already calling

---

21 Williams, Journal 1830.

22 For arguments regarding Fauea's true identity, see Gilson, 1970: 69, fn.18.

23 Williams reluctantly parted with a musket, and later with a blunderbuss, which Malietoa insisted on having for the sake of prestige. Williams, Journal 1830.

24 Williams, Journal 1832.
for volunteers to take the gospel to the islands to the Westward.

It is not difficult in the light of the situation between 1830 and 1838 to see that the most likely people to respond to such a proposal were those who already had some form of religious instruction, the matai and their sons. Such a common background did not make them a distinct social class. To analyse Samoans in terms of upper, middle, or lower classes is not only misleading in view of the hereditary ranking of Samoan society and the equal opportunities for all to achieve higher ranking, but it is also totally contrary to the way Samoans view each other.

There is a phrase which Samoans use to acknowledge the importance of every one else. E mamalu lava le tagata ia i lona nu'u - A person is dignified in his own village. What this meant for those who came forward as candidates for the ministry, was that they were held in the highest respect by their aiga and by their nu'u, as well as by those outside their nu'u. Whatever status they may have had in the past was replaced by a new one befitting their future role as religious teachers. All of them - whether they were matai, sons of matai, or merely members of the aiga potopoto - had to go through the same process of acquiring permission from the matai of their aiga before embarking on their training.

From about 1850 onward, a new element emerged in the social composition of the missionaries. Sons of earlier Samoan teachers who were ministering in villages throughout Samoa began to follow in the footsteps of their fathers. Permission to go for training was not in their cases dependent on the matai but on their own fathers whose rank as faiacca - teachers - gave them the right to say yes or no. For instance, Kirisome, the first Samoan missionary to the Ellice Group (Nui 1865) 'was accepted in Malua on 21 October 1852, but did not start his theological training until 1862. His father was a teacher in the village of Salani...'. 25 And Tema, who followed him five years later (Punafuti 1870) was not only Kirisome's cousin, but was also:

the brother of Ioane of Nanumaga, and of two of our best pastors in Samoa. All four are sons of an excellent old

25 SS July 1907:75.
Samoan pastor.... It is gratifying to be able to point to such a family, especially as we have the joy of seeing the children of the third generation following the footsteps of their parents and grandparents. One of Tema's sons this very month of December 1885 offered his service in the North-West Outstations having passed a successful course at Malua.26

These examples clearly reveal how the office of pastor came to be treated as a family tradition.27 It was not unusual to find brothers in the ministry at the same time. Sometimes there was a direct request to the District Committee from a pastor to have his brother appointed to a place near him. For example:

Poloie now wishes his brother on Niutao to be appointed to Nanumaga, and if Sosene (now at Nanumaga) should be still acceptable to the people, he should be assistant to Poloie on that island.28

Missionaries from such a background brought with them not just the expectations of their aiga potopoto and the nu'u where their parents were ministering, but also those of their parents' respective nu'u. In making the office of pastor a family tradition, the pastor (fa'afē'au) and members of his aiga potopoto deliberately took advantage of the benefits embedded in the position. That it was an important position to keep in the family may have been one of the primary reasons why the tradition survived. But such a practice was in accordance with the way Samoans understand rank and status. Both are jealously guarded. Once attained, they are rarely relinquished.

The missionaries undoubtedly brought with them to their training a variety of skills, which life in the nu'u required them

26 J.E. Newell, Journal 1885:43. Also in LMS South Sea Journals (hereinafter SSJ) no.182.

27 Tema's son was Isaia who served in Nukulaelae (1893). Isaia's son went to Leulumoe, (preparatory school for Malua) but did not enter Malua. However, Isaia's grandson went to Leulumoe, then to New Zealand in 1951 where he studied for the ministry at the Congregational Theological College in Auckland. When he graduated in 1956, he became the first Samoan minister in Wellington. His name is Pepe Nokise, whose son (the writer of this thesis) went to Knox Theological Hall, Dunedin (1973) from where he graduated in 1976, and was ordained in 1977 as a minister of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand.

28 SDC Minutes, Papauta 20-23 December 1909.
to have. For instance, Paulo, who was an orator, was probably a very able speaker, skilful in the use and manipulation of words. Those who were sons of high ranking ali'i like Pomale, or fa'ae'au like Terna and Kirisome, would also be well versed in the art of public speaking, since it was their duty to announce gifts brought by visitors for their families. This usually involved a formal speech. As for those who did not belong to these three groups, they learned this skill in their aiga fa'apitoa or in the context of church activities.

Being men, they would also have had certain artisan skills relating to agriculture, fishing, handicrafts - activities they would have performed at one time or another in their mu'u. Some were probably accomplished in Samoan traditional music, and no doubt others excelled in sports. With the establishment of mission districts, schools were opened. And invariably some pastors would have entered training with an elementary knowledge of reading and writing. This was certainly the case after the Malua Seminary was opened in 1844.

In 1839, before Malua was officially open, training of Samoans with a view to preparing them for the work of teachers and evangelists, either at home or abroad, was commenced under the tutorship of the missionaries William Day and Charles Hardie. The Samoan District Committee acknowledged this pressing need when it passed the following resolutions at the end of 1838:

Knowing the eagerness of the natives for instruction, and of the importance of education we highly approve of the suggestion of the Directors for the establishment of a high school under the superintendence of Mr Day. ... That with a view to impart some more extensive and methodical knowledge of scripture truths to native teachers, separate instruction be established under the superintendence of Mr Hardie. 29

These classes were held on the small island of Manono, and according to Hardie's report, he began with a class of thirty-six native teachers. 30 They were taught mainly divinity. Day, on the other hand, had:

29 SDC Minutes, Apia 4 December 1838.
30 SDC Minutes, Manono 7 May 1839.
Sixteen native teachers under his care...during which time he has conducted them through a brief system of Divinity, the heads of which they have copied, and also through several branches of information - namely, Arithmetic, chronology, geography, history, and native history.\footnote{SDC Minutes, Manono 10 May 1841.}

Learning, moreover, was not restricted to the classroom:

An attempt has also been made to inculcate industrious habits by requiring them to work two to three hours every morning for the benefit of the Institution.\footnote{Idem.}

These initial classes became the basis of the Malua Seminary. Its inception was contemplated by the District Committee when it passed a resolution:

That Mills, Stair and Day be a committee in conjunction with Messrs Hardie and Turner to arrange all matters in connection with the Samoan Missionary Seminary in order to a speedy commencement.\footnote{SDC Minutes, Apia 26 July 1844.}

The Seminary became a reality when the above committee purchased a piece of ground, of about 30 acres at Malua, N.W. side of Upolu, district of Saleimoa...'.\footnote{The Samoan Reporter, March 1845:2.}

The Committee paid the matai to whom the land belonged in cloth, hatchets and other goods to the value of £12.6.7. Once the land was cleared, and temporary dwellings erected, instruction commenced on 25 September 1844. Twenty-five students, ranging from the age of twelve to twenty-four, were accepted. They were, according to the first report of the Seminary, 'from the immediate neighbourhood, as could be supported by their respective families'.\footnote{Idem.}

According to Hardie and Turner, the joint tutors of the new institution, 'all had learned to read, and a few could write and cipher'.\footnote{Idem. By 1842, the number of European missionaries in Samoa was twelve. The number of native teachers was 233 - figures given in SDC Minutes, 17 May 1842. This considerable force was no doubt the reason why some of the new students were able to read and write.}
What characterised Malua during its early years was the diverse form of its curriculum and the discipline it enforced on the lives of the students:

The order of the day...has been as follows: at dawn ringing the bell for all to rise - have their devotional exercises - put their houses in order, and then go to the plantation to work, a few remaining behind to prepare the breakfast. At 8 a.m., the bell is again rung for all to leave work, bathe, have breakfast, and be ready for the class at nine. The first class is for reading and scriptural instruction, using the Bible as a text book. At twelve, another class for writing and arithmetic; and at three, another for geography, astronomy etc.... During the intervals of classes, they are occupied in fishing, working about their houses, preparing for classes etc....

This timetable life style was quite foreign to Samoan thinking as the traditional Samoan attitude to time was dictated by what had to be done, rather than by complying with a compartmentally structured day with time allocated to different purposes. The students however appear to have managed the dramatic adjustment well enough to prompt their tutors to report that their conduct had 'given us great satisfaction'.

Before the Seminary was opened, the Samoan District Committee had decided on the type of students to be accepted, 'the most promising youths of their district between the ages of 8 - 15'. These youngsters were to be supervised over a long period, and groomed for the ministry. To accommodate them, a separate preparatory school was set up on the nearby grounds which came to be known as Leulumoega. Graduates of this school entered Malua after six years of training. Although the Malua system featured the training of young men from boyhood this did not mean that single men were preferred. On the contrary, married men were regarded as more suitable according to Turner:

If we have the choice of the two, we reject the single man, and admit the married couple, for the same reason


39 SDC Minutes, Manono 28-29 November 1842.
that the wife needs education as well as her husband; and when instructed, is a great blessing to her sex in the village where he may be called to labour. 40

Until 1890, the training of wives of students was an important facet of life in the Seminary. 41 Marital status was not an important requirement for admission; neither was age. More important was former status as well as future role. Thus, no student was allowed to hold a matai title because the LMS, from the start, refused 'to give any sanction to the rank of chief simply as such'. 42 This did not deter those who held chiefly titles from entering Malua. They simply relinquished such titles. As Turner testified:

Another source of encouragement in our work is that we have in the institution a good number of former chiefs and chiefs sons. 43

The second requirement was that they:

were made to serve outside their home villages, the object being of course, to try and remove them as far as possible from commitments that might conflict with their mission duties. 44

The Committee did not specify what these commitments were, but their lack of understanding of the dynamics that govern inter-relationships between Samoans was revealed by the way the Samoans were able to exploit the situation to suit their own ends. 45 Both requirements were put into effect from 1845 onward.

40 Turner, 1861:124.
41 Second Annual Report of the Samoan Mission Seminary October 1846. In 1890, Miss Schultze arrived in Samoa. She was joined by Miss Moore six months later, when they established the first school for girls in Samoa at Malua. In 1892, when the first building at Papauta was erected, the girls at Malua became the nucleus of the new school. For details of Papauta, see Small, Papauta: The Inland Rock 1892-1967.
42 Lovett, 1899:396.
45 See below, 58-60.
Training at Malua provided the students with the opportunity not only to learn a wide range of subjects, from purely Biblical studies to others such as geography, natural philosophy and astronomy, but also to study methods of teaching. To a large extent, their course consisted of copying all the notes given by their tutors and learning some of their subjects by heart. For instance, in 1869, they copied down 2322 pages of notes on the Book of Psalms. This was the way the European missionaries had been taught themselves.

Perhaps the most important effect Malua had on the future of a student was that for the first time his chances of being selected for missionary work depended on his academic record. No longer was he dependent on the report of the European missionary or teacher of his district for recommendation. Now he had to let his works speak for him. Before 1844, his selection rested heavily on the opinion of the missionaries as to whether he was a pious and zealous person. In some cases this was a favourable arrangement, for some who eventually went abroad had been living with the missionaries before they were selected. An example of those who benefited from this system was Sipi, one of the four Samoan teachers left on the island of Efate in 1845:

He was a native of Pangopango, Tutuila, and one of the earliest fruits of my missionary work.... Soon after entering upon our work in our earliest sphere of labour Sipi became an inmate in our family. He was a quiet, steady, thoughtful lad from the first. He applied himself diligently to learn to read and write, and during one of my earliest attempts at preaching in the Samoan language, the truth took hold of his heart....

There is no recorded evidence of any Samoan missionary being asked before he was selected why he wished to go abroad. The usual practice was that an opportunity was given to them to give a testimony of their belief during a farewell service. The earliest recorded testimony by a Samoan missionary is that of Tuiata who, with three others, had been

47 The other three were Mose, Ta'avili and Setefano.
48 Murray, 1885:148.
selected to accompany the assistant missionary Matthew Hunkin, in an attempt to land on Niue. He felt exceedingly sad at leaving this land where he had been accustomed to meet with his brethren and friends and to worship God, and where the spirit of God was now so abundantly paired out, to go to a dry land, wherein is no water to get his soul starved. Yet his desire to go predominated. He did not wish to live and die quietly in his own land when many more lie in utter darkness, no, he wished to go and tell them of the true light....

Tuiata's testimony was probably characteristic of those who did not attend Malua, stressing as the main reasons for going abroad their love of God, love for the heathens, and a certain amount of self interest. These elements were also important no doubt in the minds of those who graduated from Malua. But two additional factors emerged after 1845 which greatly influenced the minds of those who were finally selected.

First, the Seminary had exposed them to much of the outside world, even though such knowledge was acquired in the classroom. Interest in the countries outside Samoa was probably stimulated by subjects such as geography and world history. Second, the increasing flow of reports from those who were serving abroad at the time, or had returned home, had a powerful appeal. For example, Pastor Samuelu, who accompanied the visitation of the Samoan District Committee, headed by E.V. Cooper, to the northwest stations and New Guinea in 1899, had this to say about Suva:

> We were amazed with the things we saw! Big developments carried out in a systematic manner in an enlightened colony, such as housing, roads, drinking fountains strategically placed along the city routes. We visited the Governor's garden and saw many beautiful plants, then visited the barracks of the Fijian police set up in the fashion of Western countries. We also visited a mental hospital where there were Indians, Fijians and European patients. Another new sight was a timber mill. We were absolutely amazed at the technical knowledge behind the making of such a machine to ease the hardships involved in such work....

---

49 SDC Minutes, Apia 30 March 1840.
50 Lundie, 1846:134.
51 Tokelau, Ellice Islands and southern Gilberts.
52 Samuelu, SS March 1900:30.
And Ierome Ilaoa, the first Samoan missionary to go to German New Guinea, wrote of his experience in Sydney while on his way to join the Rhenish Mission:

Mr Shultz took us to the Zoo. What a beautiful experience... We saw four legged animals of all kinds, including the king of the beasts - the lion. We also saw all kinds of birds, including its king - the eagle. We saw crocodiles and many varieties of fish. I myself had a ride on a camel... It is an unbelievable sight, words fail to describe it all. 53

Such reports created considerable interest and possibly envy amongst those at home, owing to the absence of such things in Samoa. The idea of travelling to see the world was perhaps an important incentive to some. Education in Malua had given them a certain curiosity about the outside world.

These possible sources of motivation in choosing the missionary vocation in preference perhaps to a pastoral charge at home were reinforced by the concern of the Samoan District Committee itself to fulfill and honour its obligations regarding the mission stations it had established in the northwest as well as those of the New Guinea Mission where its help was much in demand. This concern of the Committee was communicated to the likely candidates in a variety of ways. There were direct appeals for recruits, phrased in a way which depicted the missionary vocation as the most honourable in the sight of God. For example:

We have already appealed to anyone who wishes to make himself useful for Jesus in the New Year. Many of us are praying to Jesus asking him 'Lord, what is it you want me to do?' Many have made promises that they will offer their lives for the work of Jesus. Well the trumpet is now sounding. Who has courage? Who believes in Jesus' love and is willing to take this love to New Guinea? The calling of God is loud and clear. Has Samoa believed in this calling? Come to New Guinea and help us pray that the Holy Spirit may guide those who are suitable for this work. 54

__________

53 Ierome, SS February 1912:23.
54 SS January 1892:24.
The plea was directed to all Samoan teachers who were already working in villages, as well as students still studying in Malua. The implication of the appeal seems to be that a Samoan who chooses the vocation of a missionary is a far better Samoan than one who chooses to stay at home. The persuasive overtones of the plea made it quite clear that it was not enough for a Samoan to love Jesus and remain in Samoa. But what probably swayed the minds of the many Samoans who responded to the call was its appeal to their sense of rank and status. The plea, as they probably understood it, was important in that they would be doing God's work by helping those in the northwest or in New Guinea. But in agreeing to undertake such a commission, there was immediately elevation to the rank of the selected few who had been especially inspired and blessed by the Holy Spirit of God for such work. Whether an individual was actually inspired is a matter of conjecture. In most instances they are likely to have applied Samoan principles to their deliberation of such a call. For instance, the concept of alofa or love is understood by Samoans purely in terms of rewards. That is, they do not hold a romantic or altruistic view of love. On the contrary, they exhibit and give love only if there is a possibility of a reward, then or in the near future. They are able to do this because they have limited the boundaries wherein love operates. For instance, when a Samoan gives something to another, he gives it with a dual expectation that that person not only does the same to him later, but reciprocates with a bigger amount. Thus when there is a death in a Samoan family, relatives and friends take 'ie toga (fine mats), the most treasured of all Samoan possessions, to the unfortunate family. This is a sign of love and affection - mere words do not count at all, one must go and take something. The bereaved family is obliged in turn to show its gratitude by giving food to eat and take home, and possibly 'ie toga as well, depending on how much a person has brought. In most cases there are distinct rules to follow. For instance, if a person brings one 'ie toga he is given a sua, an amount of food consisting of a cask of beef, a coconut to drink, and a small amount of money. If he brings two 'ie toga a sua is given as well as an 'ie toga. If three or more 'ie toga are brought, a sua is given and one 'ie toga of very good quality.
In the theological context of the sample plea given above, Samoans would see the issue as one of showing love to God in Samoan terms. To show love to God, a Samoan chooses to become a missionary. And in becoming a missionary, God raises his rank and status. This explanation is all the more probable in view of the fact that by 1875 the standing of Samoan missionaries both within the nu'u and in the church was very high.  

Another important source of motivation in electing to become a missionary was the continuous flow of pleas from the European missionaries and Samoan missionaries abroad, which were more in the form of a challenge than an appeal. W.R. Coward for instance, in requesting missionaries for his mission station in the southern Gilberts and the Ellice Islands, made it clear that he wanted only the best:

> It is essential that those selected to go out and work in the North West Outstations must be pastors who have both intelligence and wisdom, true people of Jesus. Their sole wish being to work with all their heart for the people, they have one hope, and they are willing to destroy Satan's Kingdom and Rule, and establish in its place Jesus' one and true kingdom, so that he may rule once and for all in the hearts and souls of all people....  

On the other hand, John Marriott, who visited New Guinea on behalf of the Samoan Mission in 1893, was of the opinion that only those who were young, whose hearts were full of love for Jesus and the souls of people to be saved, were suitable for the work there:

> A student may not come top in the first or second class or even qualify for those two categories, but if he truly loves Jesus and the souls of the people, he is of great value for New Guinea.  

He also acknowledged the importance of artisan skills, such as carpentry, and the ability to speak English which would enable them to teach in the schools. But the quality of the person remained for Marriott the crucial requirement; and in this lay the challenge for the Samoans:

---

55 See below, 58-60.
56 Coward, SS February 1893:42.
57 Marriott, SS October 1893:106.
58 Idem.
He must not look at the task in New Guinea as the same here. He should be cautious not to imitate the methods used by Samoan pastors here. He must heed Paul's advice: 'I was like a Jew in Jewish lands so that I may win some Jews'. Therefore, anyone wishing to go to New Guinea must be prepared to be like a New Guinean in order to win some New Guineans for Jesus. 59

In some letters, there was a sincere effort to win recruits by revealing the extreme need of the people. Chalmers for instance informed the Samoans:

Over one hundred people from this village (Mauata) came to ask me for a pastor for them. I have told them I will try and get one from Samoa. 60

Hunt echoed the same sentiment:

Even if all pastors of Samoa and all the students of Malua come, they will not be enough to fill all the villages here... Oh Samoa, wake up! A person of New Guinea is standing on the beach calling out to you 'Come now to New Guinea and help us!' What is Samoa's reply to this cry? ... 61

That the Samoans understood some of these sentiments as a challenge is borne out by their own letters once they found themselves outside Samoa. Ierome Ilaoa, for instance, saw the need for more Samoans in military terms. He wrote:

It is not my intention to make up this plea for new soldiers from Samoa, but it is because it is the will of God who owns this sacred work. Come now and use your talents for the Lord... True there are many difficulties in this country, but all these things our Lord knows already. Furthermore, who is reluctant on the road of difficulties. 62

The European and Samoan missionaries were not the only ones who wrote letters of appeal. The church of Nikunau (southern Gilberts) took the unprecedented step of writing a letter direct to those who had no pastoral charge in Samoa:

---

59 Idem.

60 Chalmers, Saguane 27 April 1898, SS December 1898:109.


Come and help us. We have been informed by the editor of the Sulu that there are many pastors and student pastors who have completed their training in Malua who have not yet received any call. Our plea is directed to these people. There are many villages in the Gilberts who have no pastors. The work here is great, but we are few.... Let us remind you of Jesus' words 'Do not be afraid, I will always be with you'. True, this is not Samoa, but rise up and accept the call, the door is open for you.... Members of the Samoan church, do not forget your vineyard, or strangers will take it away from you.63

The Samoans who heeded such pleas were, after 1846, either pastors already working in the villages or final year students at Malua. The two categories had representatives in the group which left each year. But there was a distinct feature held in common by those who were selected between 1846 and 1890. The majority of them had been village pastors. Whether it was because they had pastoral experience or were mature is not clear, but both could have been important considerations. It is also possible that the demanding nature of the work for which they were needed swayed the Selection committee to choose them in favour of those just graduating from Malua.64 When these pastors left for mission work, they took with them a wide range of expectations born out of their pastoral experience. To understand their attitudes and expectations, it is necessary to examine the relationship between a pastor and his village congregation in Samoa.

Because such men and their wives worked away from the villages of birth, and because of their increasing number (more than 150 by 1850),65 the Samoan mission was not able to pay them any regular salary. Consequently, they were forced to rely 'for the most part for the supply of their wants upon their personal management and industry and the kindness of those whom they sought to instruct'.66 Without the benefits

63 Letter from Nikunau Church, SS September 1902:114.

64 Members of the Committee were appointed during a meeting of the SDC, Apia 12-13 February 1845: Tutuila Stations, A.W. Murray, T. Bullen, W. Harbutt, T. Powell; Upolu and Savai'i, C. Hardie, T. Slatyer, A. Macdonald, W. Mills and G. Turner.


66 Hardie, April 1851, SSL.
of the rank of matai, as well as having to depend to a large extent on the kindness of the villages where they were stationed, the Samoan pastors may appear to have been at the mercy of the village matai who agreed to have them as their pastors. But such was not the case. The Samoans accorded their pastors a standing comparable to that of matai.67 The explanation for this lies in the importance Samoans attached to oracles and mediumship.68 As it has been correctly stated 'the authority of the faife'au over his congregation as of the matai over his household became central to the Samoan conception of religion'.69 This elevation of the pastoral office was due to 'the patriarchal instincts of the people [which] make them more than willing to be legislated for by others'.70 On the other hand, no one can deny that the content of their theological training gave the pastors a superior general education which undoubtedly enhanced their status. Quite apart from the fact that they were familiar with the crucial role rank plays in Samoan society, the pastors also knew of the importance their people once attached to the priestly office71 in the observation of their old religious beliefs which their new office resembled. More important still were the cultural expectations which governed their relationship with the people, and which at the same time acted as a constant reminder to them (as well as the people themselves) of how important they were (and remain today) in the ranking structure of status in a nu'u. This is evident in the meaning of the term feagaiga72 which Samoans use to describe the nature of the religious contract or agreement made between

68 See above, 31-33.
69 Davidson, 1967:37.
70 Lovett, 1899:401.
71 See above, 29-31 for religious beliefs, and below, 71-75.
72 The term also describes other social relationships, notably between brother and sister, and is an important feature of the relationship between a tulafale and an ali'i.
a pastor and the people of the village on the day he is inducted to the charge of that village. The notion of feagaiga has been generalised as follows:

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, whether the storms, and if necessary, take the blame. 73

In the context of the relationship between a faife'au and a nu'u, the feagaiga signifies that the two parties 'stand opposite and apart from each other but serve one another in reciprocal or complementary ways.' 74

This formal recognition of the status of a faife'au by a nu'u (more specifically by the matai of the nu'u) resulted in the development of certain cultural expectations in reference to the status of the two. In general terms, this involves a mutual respect for each other's status and power. A faife'au has no formal place in the fono a matai (village council of chiefs) unless the fono requests his presence.

The fact also that his appointment is dependent on the decision of the fono places him in the vulnerable position of being under the pule of the matai. Thus, he is subject to dismissal by the fono. In return for this seemingly inferior status in political power, he is acknowledged by the fono as God's representative in the spiritual life of the nu'u. And in this capacity, his status outranks that of any matai.

Evidence of this can be ascertained from the various terms Samoans use to describe a faife'au. A tulafale (orator), for instance, when speaking in a non church function where a faife'au is present, usually refers to him as either Le ao o fa'alupega 75 - head of the village's honorific phrases of address - or 'Le Susuqa ile fa'afeagaiga - 'Your honour, the covenanted One. Amongst members of his congregation, he is generally addressed by the term Tama fa'aleagaga (spiritual father)

73 Milner, Samoan Dictionary 1966:84.


75 See above, 28 fn.39, for fa'alupega.
and his wife as Tina fa'aleagaga (spiritual mother). Together they are addressed by the villagers as their Matua fa'aleagaga (spiritual parents). But the term most widely used by Samoans to pay reverence to them is faife'au literally meaning 'to do a task'. The underlying meaning of the term from which its importance derives, lies in the phrase 'O le faife'au a le Atua - one who does the work of God'. When Samoans therefore use the term faife'au, they are acknowledging the role of the person holding the position, as well as God whose work the faife'au is supposed to do. This understanding of the office as designated by God places a faife'au in an eminent position of rank in the nu'u which Samoans readily accept owing to the familiar parallels this has with the office of family or village priest in their old religion. Here perhaps lies the explanation for the willingness of the matai to accept them as of equal rank if not higher in terms of status and importance.

Traditionally, the matai themselves believe that their office was also designated by a higher spiritual being, the identity of which it would appear was not really important. In other words, it did not matter to them whether it was Tagaloa or Jehovah who bestowed their office. What seemed important was the existence of a higher spiritual being to justify and legitimise their eminence in Samoan society. In reality, the matai never completely abandoned their old religious beliefs, as is evident in their practice of pouring a small amount of kava on the ground in honour of the gods before drinking it, and they never really accepted the full implication of Christian beliefs. What in effect happened was an attempt to fuse the two sets of beliefs, to Samoanise Christianity. The faife'au themselves played a leading role in this process by right of their status in the nu'u, and by their willingness to accept the limitations governing their own status. The fact that their position complemented that of the matai meant that both were in a position to manipulate each other. Evidence of this can be seen in the way the faife'au came to expect and receive all their

76 See Fraser, 'The Samoan story of Creation' in JPS, I (1892); 'Folk songs and myths from Samoa', JPS, VI (1897).
material needs from their congregations. Their houses were built by
the congregations and were often the best and biggest in the villages.
Their daily food requirements also came from the ovens of the
congregation. Any household chores were done mainly by the young
men and women of the village who were sent by their parents to look
after the needs of the faife'au and his family, while learning Western
oriented methods of house-keeping, cooking and hygiene that the
faife'au and his wife learnt at Malua, as well as learning Christian
ways.

As matua fa'aleaga of the nu'u, the faife'au and his wife
had a free hand in disciplining all the village children. And as
corporal punishment was an accepted form of discipline, both children
and their parents accepted it if the faife'au or his wife applied it
to the children. At the same time, the congregation expected the
faife'au to educate their children; and being the matua fa'aleaga,
they expected to be able to receive help from the faife'au whenever
anyone of them needed it. Furthermore, before government health
services were established in the villages, the faife'au and his
wife performed the functions of medical officers - lancing boils, dressing
sores and even dispensing simple Western medicines. Any member of
the village visiting the faife'au house was always welcomed and fed.
The faife'au also acted as the village clerk, keeping records of births,
deaths and marriages. All these responsibilities and tasks the faife'au
accepts as part of his duty to his congregation, as well as his usual
jobs such as conducting church services, visiting the sick at home
or in the hospital, baptising children, conducting marriage and funeral
services, and visiting each household usually on Saturday mornings.
The complementary relationship between the faife'au and his congregation
is further recognised, when, with prayers, the faife'au opens and closes
village ceremonies, as well as receiving the first share of food and
exchange goods.

When the use of money became more widespread in Samoa, and the
people had extra means of obtaining cash, the faife'au received some
money from his congregation as part of the village contribution towards
his welfare. The things which an aiga gave for the welfare of the
faife'au were considered to reflect their love of God. But given the
pride each aiga has in its position in the ranking order of the nu'u,
these donations were in reality understood as reflecting their wealth and prestige. For instance, monetary contributions for the faife'au were collected once a month. The amount each aiga gave was read out in Church. Considering the importance of social contexts as situations whereby Samoans understand their identity as Samoans, the reading out of each aiga donation in the presence of the faife'au and members of the congregation was a serious affair. It placed immense pressure on each aiga to give generously as befitting its rank.

Not only did the faife'au have in the nu'u status comparable to the matai, they also achieved a high standing within the Church. The revolt of teachers in Tutuila in 1850\textsuperscript{77} was the first notable attempt by Samoan faife'au to question a decision of the District Committee. In so doing, they directly questioned not only the authority of the District Committee to make decisions, but also the way in which the Samoan Church was controlled. The decision by the mission that teachers' wives and assistants should pay for their New Testaments like everyone else, sparked off the revolt. But there was much more to it than a mere difference of opinion. The underlying issue seems to have been that of status. Before 1850, the teachers were little more than messenger boys of the mission. Their duties were confined to preaching and teaching. Unordained, they could not preside over the sacraments of the church. Their role resembled that of a tutor under the supervision of a missionary. The fact that the mission did not surrender to their demands,\textsuperscript{78} was important for the sake of the mission's solidarity. But to view this as a victory for the mission would be to underrate the effects the incident had on the mission itself. Initially, the teachers may seem to have lost a battle, but they certainly did not lose the war. In the long run, they gained far more than they had sought. The issues they raised sparked off a chain of events which culminated in their gaining ordained status in 1875.\textsuperscript{79}

\textsuperscript{77} Gilson, 1970:128-29.
\textsuperscript{78} Ibid, 129.
\textsuperscript{79} Ibid, 130-33; Gunson, 1978:322.
The question of ordination for teachers was first raised during the late 1860s, when the LMS directors, impressed by glowing statistics as well as guided by Congregational principles, began to advise the early formation of independent Samoan churches. Some of the more conservative missionaries, such as George Pratt who had been in Samoa for years, were not in favour of such a move. But some of the recent arrivals leaned more towards moderate reform: possibly because they had been raised and trained in a more liberal environment than the elder missionaries and were less confident of their own insight into the divine plan for Polynesia. But even these missionaries were envisaging only a gradual diminution of their powers, and proposed that only a select few be ordained. The faife'au on the other hand envisaged more drastic changes. They demanded that all faife'au be ordained. Fear of a possible boycott or break away movement finally persuaded the missionaries to agree.

This newly gained status of the faife'au proved to be the turning point in the history of the Samoan Church. Ordination enabled the faife'au to perform all the ritual functions of their office. They were also, for the first time, eligible to become members of the supreme governing body of the mission — namely, the Mission Committee. But the most profound effect it precipitated was in the realm of the pastor's relationship to his congregation. The fact that ordination gave the faife'au the right to perform the sacramental duties of the church while still dependent on the congregation's generosity for his welfare meant that Samoans were in a position to perform all functions of the church at the village level. The faife'au's position was now localised:

the Feagaiga between pastors and congregations became a closer, stronger and more stable relationship than that between the pastors and the European stewards of the mission. 

---

80 Ibid, 1934.

81 Idem.

82 Powell, 7 November 1875, SSL.

83 Gilson, 1970:137.
The Samoan faife'au thus established for themselves a position unmatched by that of their counterparts in other Pacific islands. The missionary Hunt rightly observed:

They had almost equal positions with the European missionaries. They were consulted on all points pertaining to their work and were allowed full power in their own churches.84

Those who were recruited directly from Malua Seminary had little experience other than their theological training when they left for mission work. In this respect, they were greatly influenced by the Calvinistic theological perceptions and interpretations of their tutors. The first recruits, for instance,95 were undoubtedly taught 'a historical view of Human Redemption'86 which was the basis of a three month course taught by Day before Malua was opened.87 The course centred on a scriptural analysis of the life of Christ. The fervour of the tutors to instil a thorough grounding in theology in their students can be seen in the curriculum in which the teachers class was examined in 1847:88

The students were examined in Scripture exposition, in portions selected from the Gospel of Matthew and the Epistle to the Hebrews.... Scripture History selected from the facts from the giving of the law on Sinai to the reign of Saul inclusive; also in various doctrines selected from the course of lectures on Systematic Theology; and in Pastoral Theology on the work of the Christian ministry. In this examination, considerable prominence was given to the doctrines of Protestantism as opposed to Popery, arithmetic, geography, astronomy and some branches of Natural

84 A.E. Hunt to Foreign Secretary, 9 April 1895, LMS Papuan Letters (hereinafter PL).

85 There were eight of them - 'seven were taken by the "John Williams" to the island to the Westward and one to Savage Island'. Second annual report of the Samoan Mission Seminary October 1846. Their names are recorded in the SDC Minutes, Saluafata 15 August 1846.

86 SDC Minutes, Manono 28-29 November 1842. See also Harbutt. (Sec. of SDC), 29 November 1842, SSL.

87 Day, Hardie and Turner became the principal tutors of Malua when it opened.

88 There were two courses of four years each. The first was a course in general education; the second was for those who were accepted as teachers. See Eighth annual report of the Samoan Mission Seminary September 1852.
Philosophy, namely the elements of Pneumatics, Optics, and Acoustics were also included in the course. No dramatic changes in the curriculum occurred until 1888, when universal history and physiology were added. The former was recommended by Albert Spicer, a lay member of the LMS Deputation. He suggested that the students ought to know something of the events of European history from the rise of the Greek nation to modern times with special reference to the making of the nations of Europe. This was not a new idea. Both Nisbet and Turner had contemplated such a course, and Nisbet in fact had started to write a history of the world for Malua. The introduction of physiology was stimulated by Marriott's suggestion that this was desirable for the Samoans, who needed an understanding of how the body works so they could take more care of themselves against diseases and illness.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the subjects had barely changed, but a certain degree of specialisation in each had evolved. For instance, theology, under the tutorship of Newell, was divided into two categories: dogmatic and Biblical. The first emphasised the personal aspects of Christ's life; the second involved a study of the canon, authenticity and trustworthiness of the Gospel's history, and the special value and characteristics of the Gospel of John.

The tutor's notes, which the earlier students had to copy word by word, became the basis for text books used by later students. For example, Dr Turner's Homiletics: Directions for Native Pastors and Nisbet's Lectures on Popery were first used in Malua in 1885.

---

89 Heath, Buchanan, Sunderland, 30 September 1847, SSL.
90 44th Annual report of the Samoan Mission Seminary 1888.
91 Nisbet died 9 May 1846. He was replaced by John Marriott.
92 Appointed 1887 by the SDC to replace Powell who died in England in 1886.
93 63rd Annual report of the Samoan Mission Seminary 1907.
94 Both books were published by the Religious Tract Society, London 1882.
Marriott, in reviewing Turner's book, concluded:

It goes over all the work that a Samoan pastor has to do, and gives him wise directions as to how best to do it, and as to his conduct in the work. 95

The routine of study was extensive, as well as demanding. Apart from work in the classroom, the students were also required to prepare each week a short plan or sketch of a sermon on a prescribed text, which was read and criticised in class. To supplement their own work, they also had to copy outlines of a sermon prepared by one of their tutors, 96 as well as taking down all the tutor's sermon preached in the chapel each Sunday. 97 The clearest evidence of the disciplined life they were taught was the way they spent Sunday.

   6 a.m. prayer meeting
   8.30 a.m. public worship
   10.45 a.m. Sunday School
   1.45 p.m. Adult Bible Class
   3.30 p.m. Public worship
   After each of the public worship there is a catechetical meeting in family groups on the subject of the sermon.
   7-8 p.m. Bible reading and Prayers. 98

The training at Malua was aimed at educating Samoans to be schoolmasters as well as preachers. Some subjects were regarded as essential for training efficient schoolmasters:

   So much importance is attached to this role [teaching] that the Committee has instituted a special examination for the students who have finished their course. They are examined in fewer subjects and these are considered of paramount importance the students are expected to know the whole of the Text Book on each subject and they are these: Scriptural History, Geography, Arithmetic, Popery and Homiletics. We in Malua are constantly urging upon the students the great importance of being well founded in the subjects they have to teach in the villages. 99

95 41st Annual report of the Samoan Mission Seminary 10 November 1885.
96 22nd Annual report of the Samoan Mission Seminary 27 September 1866.
97 26th Annual report of the Samoan Mission Seminary 1870.
98 37th Annual report of the Samoan Mission Seminary 1881.
99 40th Annual report of the Samoan Mission Seminary 10 November 1884.
Theological training and pastoral experience in the villages were the primary prerequisites for Samoan missionaries. But the final approval for their selection at times depended on the quality of their wives as in the case of Lauti who returned to Funafuti to be married. If Miss Joliffe reports favourably on the marriage, then he be allowed to come to Samoa by first opportunity, in order to proceed to Sydney in time to catch the 'John Williams' in February for New Guinea.\(^{101}\) Also, it was necessary to pass a medical fitness test. The committee reserved its final approval until a certificate was presented. Thus, 'Fareni of the Fa'asaleleaga district was accepted for work in New Guinea "providing he and his wife can satisfy the doctor as to their physical fitness"'.\(^{102}\) The certificate merely affirmed that the missionary and his wife were 'both healthy and strong, and fit to stand the climate of New Guinea'.\(^{103}\) Occasionally some failed the medical test and were prevented from going.

Eperu of the Falealili district whom we had accepted for service in Papua has been reported by the Medical Officer in Apia, as suffering from yaws in the throat. And that it would be impossible to cure him until he has undergone a year's treatment.\(^{104}\) When one failed, another was appointed to take his place:

We record the departure of Ilaoa F.S. wife and children... to take the place of Poloie F.S. who had failed to pass the test of micro-filaria.\(^{105}\)

The Samoans who went out as missionaries were to a large extent dedicated men with strong Christian convictions. Their training and their standing in Samoan society shaped the attitudes and expectations they took with them to the mission field.

---

100 The importance of the wife in the ministry is well summed up by Turner, 1861:126. See also, 12th Annual Report of the Samoan Mission Seminary September 1856 for details of the training wives had in Malua.
101 SDC Minutes, Malua 15-23 May 1918.
102 SDC Minutes, 29 August 1904.
103 SDC Minutes, Apia September 1904.
104 SDC Minutes, Malua 2-11 May 1917.
105 SDC Minutes, Malua 20 September 1918.
Initially perceived by their European mentors as 'teachers' to impose theological conservatism on indigenous people of the South West Pacific, the Samoans gradually transform such perception to include their own definition of a 'missionary'. Modelling themselves on the function and position of their colleagues at home, there was a strong impetus to imitate not only the appearance and presence of their European mentors but an emphasis on status in faasamoa terms. They knew and believed in the importance their people were according to their position as missionaries. They relished being labelled as 'pioneers, 'men of courage', 'doves of the Gospel', 'soldiers of Christ'. Perhaps the challenge to their former glory as warriors which has been greatly subdued by Christian teachings, found a new avenue in the call to be part of an increasing army of men required to enter lands and go to places where no one had ever gone before. The novelty of this whole enterprise was perhaps too tempting to remain just an ordinary pastor at home!
As though wearing a pair of glasses with one lens designating the fa'akerisiano (the Christian way) and the other lens the fa'a-samoa (the Samoan way), the Samoan missionaries departed for mission work with a somewhat blurred conception of Christianity, which in essence was a combination of European theological views and Samoan parallels from their pre-Christian religious beliefs. Their understanding of God, the church and its doctrines, as well as their attitudes towards those whom they hoped to convert, was to a large extent determined by this fusion of metaphysical ideas from two distinct cultural backgrounds.

That they were acquainted with the tenets of Christian theology is evident from their being recommended for mission work or for training by their district missionary. But this was by no means an indication that they had acquired a sound understanding of what they had been taught. George Turner, for instance, recalls the inability of the students of Malua to comprehend the complexities of the introduced religion, an inability revealed in some of their questions:

'If we feel sleepy at prayer, should we open our eyes?'

'How tall was Zaccheus, how many feet do you suppose?'

Being selected, therefore, for theological training was no more than an acknowledgement by the European missionaries of a student's potential as an agent of LMS policies. And even when training was completed, the European missionaries continued to hold reservations regarding their students' understanding of Christian doctrines:

1 They became familiar with these in their church districts and later in Malua Seminary. Furthermore, they observed and participated in the practical expression of such perceptions in their own nu'u.

They are still far from the mark of Christian experience and intelligence which it is desirable to reach, but which cannot be reasonably expected either in this or in the next generation.3

This lack of confidence was not merely the result of the way Samoans performed in the classroom situation. Evidence of the misinterpretation of Biblical stories in village preaching reaffirmed the attitudes of the European missionaries:

It is common to find that the strangest errors have been made and propagated as Scripture truth. I discovered one day that some of the teachers had been preaching up and down the district, giving poor Nebuchadnezzar a tail, snout, and hoof, and declaring that he had been actually changed into a 'real' four-footed beast.4

In general, the European missionaries had difficulty in determining how thoroughly or how accurately the theological doctrines they taught were understood, yet they expected the Samoans to understand and grasp the essence of Christian beliefs. Knowledge, they presumed, would lead to understanding. But this anticipated correlation rarely occurred during the first twenty years of Christianity in Samoa and misunderstandings were frequent. For instance, the Samoans were taught that no work was to be done during the Sabbath. To work would be a sin. But it was not clear to them what the concept of 'work' involved. And thus, some of them, thinking it was not a sin to carry out a task (in this instance, fishing) as long as their missionary benefitted from it, found themselves promptly rebuffed for holding such an attitude:

No, I cannot receive them, you did wrong in neglecting the service, and were I to receive the fish, it would be like sharing with you in the fruits of sin.5

Admittedly, the Samoans may have gone fishing for their own benefit, and their willingness to share some of the catch with their missionary was perhaps an attempt to justify their own behaviour. But, whatever reasons they may have had in disobeying the missionary's instructions, this particular misunderstanding illustrates the tendency Samoans had

3 Ibid, 137.
4 Ibid, 121.
5 Ibid, 115.
to misinterpret Christian doctrines. On the other hand, the Samoans might have had a better understanding of Christianity than the missionaries realised.

The notion of reciprocity was fundamental to the way Samoans understood their old religious beliefs. It was in essence the guiding principle of the inter-relationship between themselves and their gods. An act performed to honour the gods for some success, or to bless a proposed undertaking, was done in the belief that the gods would in turn look favourably on the worshipper. This reciprocity had a fundamental and lasting effect on the way Samoans perceived and interpreted Christian theology. It influenced not only their expression of Christian doctrines, but also their view of the church. And this came about because there were already existing parallels between certain features of Christianity and their old religion.

When Williams encountered the Samoans in the early 1830s, he was immediately impressed by their unusual system of religion which, as he noted in his journal of 1832, differed greatly from that of every other island group then known in the South Seas. What initially struck Williams was that, in marked contrast to the islands of eastern Polynesia, there were few idols in Samoa:

no altars stained with human blood, no maraes strewed with the skulls and bones of its numerous victims, and no elaborate temple devoted to special rites.  

This absence of eastern Polynesian religious elements prompted the early teachers from Rarotonga and Tahiti to claim that the Samoans were godless people. But Williams acknowledged the existence of many gods to whom the Samoans offered 'mouth worship' and with whom they appeared only too willing to converse 'on all occasions'.  
Buzacott confirmed Williams' testimony when he noted in 1836 that each chief and almost every man had his god or aitu, the representations of which he

6 Williams, Journal 1832.

7 Idem.
considered sacred and treated with the utmost respect. Turner affirmed a total of 120 of these gods. He reported that 'a flaming fire' was the regular evening offering to the gods at which time the members of a family bowed their heads while the matai 'prayed for prosperity from the gods great and small'. Again, whenever a kava ceremony was held, the first cup was offered to some god, most commonly to Tagaloa, by being 'held up and waved with a circular motion towards the heavens' and then 'solemnly poured on the ground'.

What made the Samoan system of religion so different to Williams was the direct communications which Samoans appear to have had with all their gods. In his 1832 Journal, he states that the first sign of an individual coming under the influence of a god was the 'violent muscular agitation' with which he was 'suddenly seized'. This generally commenced in 'one of his breasts' which became greatly agitated while the rest of his body remained quiet. After a while, the rest of his body would yield to the agitating influence of the indwelling god until the person was shaken 'most dreadfully' and became 'frantic'. The god then spoke through the lips of his chosen vessel. If there were, says Williams, 'any subject' that happened to be 'under consideration' it would be decided by the god's utterances. At last, the inspired medium, 'worn out from fatigue', would become calm and, having slept, would awake as if unconscious of anything having happened to him.

The pagan religion of Samoa was based on the institution of spirit mediumship, the realm of the taula-āitu, a person who was held to be especially prone to possession by āitu. The āitu and, on

8 Buzacott, Journal 1836.
9 Turner, 1884:23-77.
10 Ibid, 156.
11 Pritchard, Polynesian Reminiscences 1866:108.
12 Ibid, 122.
13 Williams, Journal 1832.
14 See above, 32-34.
occasions, ancestral ghosts or tupua, were supposed by pagan Samoans to enter into and reside temporarily in the body of their official mediums. The transformed voice with which the taula-aitu spoke was understood to be the actual voice of the aitu possessing him. 15

It was the practice for each family to have its own taula-aitu. Through him or her, the members of a family were in accord with the precepts of their religion, able to maintain contact with their family aitu and with their tupua. 16 According to Pritchard, there was also in each nu'u a particular taula-aitu whose office was hereditary, with 'a nephew, perhaps more frequently than a son, assuming the holy and coveted functions'. 17 It was the privilege of this taula-aitu to appoint feast days in honour of the god of the nu'u and, on occasion, to be possessed by him. Again, in time of impending conflict, the war god of a nu'u would be consulted by the taula-aitu. Because of the central importance that was given in ancient Samoa to direct communication with aitu and tupua, taula-aitu were 'very important personages, who often exercised great influence'. 18

The fusion of the theological and the social in ancient Samoa can also be seen in their theologically sophisticated myth of Creation which so impressed the ethnologist, Dr John Fraser, that he compared Tagaloa to Brahma in the Hindu pantheon. 19 Tagaloa, like Brahma, was similarly 'a supreme spirit manifested as the active creator of the

15 Brown, 1910:224.
17 Pritchard, 1866:110.
18 Brown, 1910:228. The most notable instance of this in Samoan history was Tamafaiga, who after he became the taula-aitu of Manono, went on to secure the four titles of the tafaifa to become the tupu (king) of Samoa. Owing to his seemingly occult powers, he was worshipped as an aitu before being assassinated for his tyrannical tendencies by the people of A'ana in 1830. For details, see Ella, 1895:602.
19 Fraser, 1892:164 seq.
The myth begins 'Tagaloa is the god who dwells in the boundless void. He created all things. He alone at first existed.' It then goes on to describe how Tagaloa created both mankind and the other gods. Having created the first two human beings, Fatu and 'Ele'ele, male and female, from the primeval matter that took shape beneath his feet, Tagaloa then endowed these two with agaga (souls), loto (affections), finagalo (wills) and manatunatu (the power of thinking) which mingled together, giving them intelligence or atamai. This recognition of finagalo, or the capacity for alternative action, and of manatunatu, or the capacity to assess experience critically, as crucial components of human intelligence, indicates the considerable sophistication of theological speculation in pre-Christian Samoa.

The above tasks accomplished, Tagaloa returned to the Lagi-tua-iva (Ninth Heaven) above the heavens of all the other gods he had brought into being where, in Fraser's words, he 'reigned supreme as Tagaloa-a-lagi [Tagaloa the sky] and Tagaloa Lefuli [Tagaloa the unchangeable]' revealing himself only when he wished to do something.

The lesser gods which Tagaloa created were believed to assemble in the Ninth Heaven on the Grounds of Tranquility or malae-o-toto'a where they held their fono paia (sacred council) in the fale'ula or the crimson house of Tagaloa-a-lagi. At these fono, perfect peace and order prevailed, and when kava was ceremonially served, it was Tagaloa-a-lagi who received the first cup. Here was a projection of the ideas of the fa'a-samoa. Legend has it that when a second fale'ula was established by Tagaloa in Manu'a as the sacred fale fono (meeting house) of its paramount chief, its practices duplicated those believed to have originated in the skies. Tagaloa then was believed by the Samoans not only to be the creator of all things, but also the originator of the chiefly system basic to their society. In their daily lives, the Samoans held that 'if there was no prayer to Tagaloa

---


21 Fraser, 1892:166 seq.
there would be no blessing." And so prayers with appropriate offerings were made on all occasions of any importance. For example: 'before going to fish, before planting some fresh section of bush land' and also in times of sickness and in times of war.

Tagaloa, although a supreme God, was believed to take a vital interest in the doings of the Samoan people. Turner records a myth where Tagaloa is sīsīla (keen eyed); his all-seeing eyes follow a guilty man wherever he goes. For example, Pava, having desecrated the kava of the gods, fled to the earth below, but could still see the terrible eyes of the indignant Tagaloa 'looking down on him'. And when Sina had the audacity to elope with Tagamilagi, a suitor from Tonga, Tagaloa with lightning and darkness turned the lovers into stones. Tagaloa then was an all-seeing all powerful creator god, remote yet ever present, peace-loving yet always ready to punish those who disobeyed. In essence, he bore a distinct resemblance to the supreme and ever-demanding god of the ancient Hebrews.

With the rapid conversion of Samoa from their pagan religion to Christianity, many of the old religious beliefs and practices survived in only slightly modified form. Just as Tagaloa had all searching eyes, so the Samoans were told by their European missionaries, Jehovah was able to see in the dark. And just as Tagaloa was believed to be 'swift to know, and to requite the evil...done among men' so, the Samoans were instructed in their catechisms, did Jehovah become greatly angered at the sinful actions of mankind which he will always punish.

22 Turner, 1884:53.  
23 Idem.  
24 Turner, 1884:43.  
25 Idem.  
26 Gilson, 1970:72-74.  
27 Fraser, 1892:166.  
28 Turner, 1861:293.
As in pagan times, matai, together with their aiga, continued to pray directly to the supreme God, while the faife'au of nu'u came to be viewed, like the taula-aitu of their old religion, as their major intermediary with Jehovah. Furthermore, whereas in pagan times a person under suspicion of stealing would touch a sacred stone and say:

In the presence of our chiefs now assembled, I lay my hand upon the stone. If I stole...may I speedily die. 29

this same imprecation, after conversion, came to be sworn on a Bible, in the belief that death would result if such an oath was falsely sworn.

The pagan religion of the Samoans had been thick with prohibitions and, as Captain Wilkes observed in 1839, wherever Christianity had 'taken root' the 'ten commandments' rapidly became law, with any infringement of them being severely punished by immediate withdrawal of the privileges of attending worship. 30 The observance of Sunday also became very strict 'it being impossible to get a native to do anything whatsoever on that day, but perform his religious duties'. These duties, which also included morning and evening prayers on every day of the year, were attended to 'with a devotion rarely to be seen among civilized men'. 31

Reciprocity, facilitated by the traditional fusion of social life with theological beliefs, became the basis of Samoan perceptions of Christianity. For most Samoans 32 before and after the introduction of Christianity there was no escape from the considerable demands of

---

29 Stair, 1896:44.

30 Wilkes, 1845:75.

31 Ibid, 79.

32 Half caste Samoans who live in and around Apia tend to have a different lifestyle from the Samoans who live in a nu'u. For a detailed description of Apia and its inhabitants, see Ralston, Grass Huts and Warehouses 1977:44-100.
their society, it being one of the fundamental principles that anyone disobeying the instructions of those in authority should be duly punished. The idea of inflicting punishment to maintain social order is one of the basic characteristics of the Samoan ethos. Thus, while Samoans frequently talk of the boundless love - alofa mutimutivale - of Jehovah, he is also viewed as a God who may become full of anger against sinful people, and who will strike down with sickness or death those who have broken his commandments. In other words, Jehovah, the God of the Old Testament, has been accepted by Samoans as a punishing God. And the punishment he metes out, while it is greatly feared, is also looked on as being God's will and a just way of dealing with those who disobey him. The values of the fa'a-samoa, though essentially unchanged since pagan times, are thus replaced by a belief in an all-seeing and an all-powerful God who, while relentlessly punishing those who disobey his commandments, is also a God of love.

Quite apart from the political and economic motives associated with the presence of European missionaries in Samoa, the basic issue confronting the Samoans in relation to Christianity was the extent to which the new religion enhanced and supported their fa'a-samoa. They did not simply choose between two sets of religious beliefs. In accepting Christianity, the Samoans were acknowledging the correlation they perceived between the two systems, not making an admission that their former religion was irrelevant. Thus, their expression and interpretation of Christian doctrines reveals a delicate coalition of what they perceived to be the fa'akorisiano and their fa'a-samoa. For just as their ranking system with its emphasis on status was sanctioned by Tagaloa-a-lagi, so now it was reinforced by Jehovah. In other words, actors changed, but the roles in the ensuing drama of religious life remained virtually the same. And perhaps the initial misunderstanding of Christian doctrines that were detected by European missionaries were due to this tendency to view Christian principles in distinctly Samoan terms.

33 This idea has been fully discussed above, 28-29.
34 Williams, Journal 1830; Gilson, 1970:69-81, 88-94.
It would be misleading however to contend that this tendency of the Samoans was solely responsible for the formation of their Christian perceptions. Equally important was the way in which European missionaries presented Christian doctrines to them. To a large extent, there were apparent inconsistencies and contradictions in this process. For example, the Samoans, who believed in oracles and mediumship, were taught that prayer was a form of personal communication with God and that much of God's word had been revealed through his prophets. But they were supposed to understand that God's word was complete, and hence prophets were no longer important. Furthermore, they were told that God was omnipotent, omnipresent, all knowing, independent and single minded, but at the same time was a Trinity (although there was little emphasis on this). Even more confusing was the notion of God's Grace, which contradicts the emphasis Samoans placed on reciprocity in their pagan religion. And to confound it all, there was the existence of Satan. Confronted with such complexities, the early Samoan converts appear to have selected merely those aspects of Christianity which made sense to their intellect and eliminated those which did not. But in so doing, they were blamed for having no ability to think, and labelled as childish and confused in their ideas of Christianity. Nevertheless, the Samoans adjusted their lives to the elements of Christianity they chose to accept, and strove to understand these in terms of their fa'a-samoa.

The most appealing aspect of Christianity to the Samoans was its insistence on correct behaviour, a principle which immediately took root in their hearts and minds, as it was also highly valued in their fa'a-samoa. For example, the importance fa'a-samoa attached to formal procedures, with the emphasis on adherence to established rules of conduct, enabled them to accept similar procedures in Christianity.

35 Hardie, 1 September 1837, SSL.
36 Hardie, 9 February 1842, SSL. See also, Pratt, 31 December 1859, SSL.
37 See section on amio tatau, above, 22.
such as the routine of worship and strict Sabbath observance. In effect correct behaviour became for the Samoans the central concern of their understanding of Christianity. The complexities of Christian doctrines such as the atonement, the incarnation, justification by faith and regeneration through the Holy Spirit to mention a few, and the sophisticated ways these were expounded in the preaching of the missionaries, appears to have been reduced by the Samoans to the single issue of what one must do in order to be saved. In essence, correct behaviour became for them the only way to salvation. Despite the emphasis of mission teaching to the contrary, they simply applied the reverse of their socialisation method of discipline by learning only what one must do, in order to know what one must not do.

Thus, understanding the profound meaning of Christian doctrines, or the rules and regulations which determined and governed correct Christian behaviour, was to the Samoans not as important as merely displaying conformity to these.

38 In the long run, this had a damaging effect in that it made them very stubborn about giving up any form that no longer served any useful purpose.

39 Changes in contemporary theological belief, which were themselves influenced by the missionary movement, led to a decline in the importance of the 'perishing heathen' motive as the nineteenth century progressed. The theory of everlasting punishment of the wicked was challenged by F.D. Maurice (Theological Essays 1853) and Dr Samuel Cox (Salvation Mundii 1877) who stressed the doctrine of universalism or the larger hope. Debate on this dominated theological dialogue during the 1870s and 1880s. An alternative theory was supplied by the Congregational theologian Edward White who advocated the doctrine of 'conditional immortality'. This in essence meant, God created mankind mortal but with a capacity for immortality which is achieved through Christ. In his Life in Christ (1875) he claimed that the doctrine of everlasting punishment of the heathen was doubted by missionaries. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, concern for the after life of the heathen was largely replaced by a concern to ameliorate the conditions of his life in the world. He became a 'suffering' rather than a 'perishing' heathen.

40 For a detailed discussion on this see Gilson, 1970:102-09.

41 Perhaps this may explain why there have always been inconsistencies and a general laxity in the way Samoans professed Christianity.
In perceiving Christianity as a religion primarily concerned with proper behaviour, against the background of the importance of proper behaviour in their fa'a-samo'a, the Samoans found it possible to assimilate Christian meanings into their way of life. Together with the parallels which their pagan religion provided, they exploited the positive features of Christianity to enhance and supplement the merits of their fa'a-samo'a. Those directly responsible for this process of amalgamation were the faife'au and those training to be faife'au. Exposed to the rudiments of Christian theology and to European methods of instruction, the faife'au invariably saw themselves as sole interpreters and transmitters of the values they perceived to be fundamental in the teachings of the missionaries. Such perceptions, coupled with the awareness of their former status prior to conversion, influenced and determined the content of their Christianity, as well as the way they propagated it for their hearers. Despite the absence of any written account of the conversion experience of those faife'au who later became missionaries, a glimpse of the profound effect this experience is likely to have had on their attitude and understanding of Christianity can be gained from the testimony recorded by Turner of students who attended Malua during the late 1840s and early 1850s. In view of the consistent number of Samoan missionaries recruited from Malua during this period, it is conceivable that some of the students whose testimony is recorded did eventually become missionaries.

The testimonies recorded by Turner reflect a certain pattern in the students' experience of conversion. There seems to have been present an intense state of introversion, stimulated by an inescapable consciousness of death. The presence and fear of death was an important part of their awakening experience. As one of them testified:

I pray earnestly to God to save us, and determined that if my life was saved, ever after to devote it to God.44

---

42 Turner 1867:143-54.

43 Existing annual reports of the Malua Seminary reveal that in 1846, 8 were sent out as missionaries; in 1852 - 11; in 1856 - 16; and in 1857 - 10. See Annual Reports of the Malua Seminary: 1846 (2nd); 1852 (8th); 1856 (12th); and 1857 (13th).

44 Turner, 1867:144-45.
Awareness of death was accompanied by an equally strong sense of guilt. All highlighted their worldly sins prior to conversion, vices such as disregard of the Sabbath, lying, stealing and swearing being the main ones. In accounting for such weaknesses, a strong contrast between the world of their youth and that of their present situation was made. There was always the feeling that the present would be cut off as dramatically as the past had been.

This conversion experience played an important part in missionary motivation and character formation. It gave the faife'au an additional means to facilitate their interpretation of the Christian faith. In other words the conversion experience influenced not only their perceptions of Christianity, but also their attitudes concerning those who had not had such an experience. Furthermore, it reinforced their belief that the elements of fa'a-samoa and those of the fa'a-kerisiano were compatible. Something of this is evident from the feelings expressed in the testimonies. The transformation which occurred was understood, according to the testimonies, purely in terms of reciprocity. Repentance was seen as a necessary pre-requisite for receiving salvation from God. In other words, an action by an individual was seen solely in the context of a corresponding act by God. Nothing was mentioned of God's freely given love or God's ability to do such a thing. The faife'au saw forgiveness from God as the direct consequence of his own willingness to change. It was the belief that God had something to offer which seems to have initially stimulated repentance. Closely related to this was the belief that such an act (repentance) was a good and proper thing to do. Conversion was thus a process of changing behaviour. Presumably this was supposed to reflect a change of heart. But as the recorded testimonies of those who were concerned with soul searching reveal, this was not necessarily the case. To repent was not enough. One had also to display repentance, for in doing so, one was acting in a correct and proper manner before God. Once this was done, God would reward the person accordingly.

But God was not the only bestower of rewards sought by Samoans through such acts as repentance. In view of the importance they attached to the social context of actions, the Samoans were equally aware of the rewards correct Christian behaviour would elicit from both the European missionaries and their fellow countrymen. Someone who
repented and became a Christian was respected and admired; and church
membership was regarded as prestigious because of the opportunity it
offered a person to learn the new skills of reading and writing:

books and the knowledge of their content were among
the mission's most powerful attractions, giving those
who acquired them the sense of being better than those
who did not.45

Conversion thus had both supernatural and social significance. In
effect, it further illustrated the natural tendency of the Samoans to
fuse the social and the supernatural. Understood in these terms,
conversion, together with the parallels afforded by their pagan religion
as well as the demands of their fa'a-samo, caused the faife'au to
formulate a distinctly Samoan brand of Christianity. When some of
them offered themselves for mission work, they had no choice but to
take with them this Samoan version which was partly fa'akerisiano and
partly fa'a-samo.

In the mission field, the Samoan missionaries communicated their brand
of Christianity in two principal areas: preaching and teaching. From
the start, their effectiveness was impeded by their inability to speak
local dialects. This disadvantage was, understandably, most acutely
felt by those missionaries who pioneered mission work in new places
partly because the local language generally had no written form, and
partly because of the extreme differences in the phonetic structure
between their own language and those of the areas in Melanesia and
Micronesia where they went. The missionary William Gill, in acknowledging
the existence of this problem amongst the first group of Samoan
missionaries sent to Anatom (New Hebrides) in 1841, used the wording
of the Lord's prayer to highlight the phonetic differences of the two
languages and the encounter by Samoan missionaries of new letters such
as 'h' and 'd':

Samoan: Lo matou Tama e o i le Lagi, ia Paia lou suafa.
Aneiteum: Ak Etmana an nohatag. Etmu itaup nidam.46

45 Gilson, 1970:97.
46 Gill, Gems from the Coral Islands 1856:138-39.
And Filemoni, who was one of the first Samoan missionaries sent to New Guinea, also testified to this difficulty:

very few words have similarities with the Samoan language. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Samoan</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>unu</td>
<td>ulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanika</td>
<td>taliga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nima</td>
<td>lima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ae</td>
<td>vae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tonuka</td>
<td>tolu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The task of mastering local dialects proved a time-consuming process. Gill, for instance, discovered that none of the Samoan missionaries who first went to Anatom were 'able to speak the western Polynesian language in less than twelve months, and even a longer time is necessary before they know it efficiently to teach and preach'. They were not, however, deterred from their willingness to fulfil their assigned commission. But under such conditions one could hardly expect them to be effective in their role as agents of religious change. On the other hand, their predicament did precipitate a number of positive developments which were to have a profound influence not only in the way they interpreted Christianity, but also in their perceptions of themselves, both of which affected the lives of the local people.

To begin with, the Samoan missionaries had no other alternative but to use their own language to convey the Christian message. Although teaching in Samoan gave them the ideal opportunity to promote their own views of Christianity, they did not all treat such a skill with respect. Most guilty of this were the later missionaries. It was not however any lack of concern to use the proper form of the Samoan language, but a deliberate attempt to make Samoan sound like the local language that caused the later Samoans to use incorrect or colloquial Samoan.

The situation nevertheless prompted one of the first Samoan missionaries to New Guinea, Timoteo (Senior), to write a protest letter from Kabadi in April 1894 in which he officially informed the European missionaries

---

47 See Appendix B.
49 Gill, 1856:138.
50 Timoteo (Senior), SS April 1894:64-65.
and all the members of the Samoan mission of such 'irresponsibility' amongst the recent arrivals in their preaching. He gives an example of their colloquial and therefore, for preaching purposes, inappropriate form of Samoan speech:

Aua gei oukou magaku ua ou sau e kakaiga te kulafago ...(Makaio 5. f.17)

The correct form, insisted Timoteo, should be:

Aua nei outou manatu ua ou sau e tatalaina te tulafono ...(Makaio 5. f.17)

The obvious difference in the two versions lies in the use of a g for n and k for t in the colloquial form. The absence of 'n' or 't' in the Kabadi language indicates that the later Samoan missionaries who used the 'incorrect' Samoan form were merely trying to be innovative. Whether Timoteo was aware of this is not clear. His argument nevertheless was as follows:

If a new tree emerges, and begins to grow crookedly, then the best thing to do is to find a straight tree to tie the crooked young tree to, so that it may grow upright. The upright tree is the Samoan pastor, the new tree is the child, the people of New Guinea. Anyone who cannot master his true language has no hope of achieving success in a foreign language. If the Samoan language is not spoken correctly, how can the Samoan pastor hope to speak the languages of New Guinea correctly? If a Samoan speaks any of the two versions of the Samoan language, he can be corrected when he makes a mistake by other Samoans listening to him. But if he speaks broken New Guinean using the rough sounds of the incorrect form of the Samoan language, he will not be understood by anyone while simultaneously running the risk of using wrong words.

The persistence of later Samoan missionaries in using the colloquial form revealed the unwillingness of many to master the local language. Such an attitude may have been influenced by the presence of earlier Samoan missionaries in the field who already possessed the ability to converse, preach and teach in the local language, thus reducing tensions usually associated with being confronted with a totally alien language. Later Samoan missionaries came to rely increasingly

51 Timoteo (Senior), SS April 1894:82.
52 Idem.
on the linguistic ability of their earlier countrymen to see them through: and although efforts were made by those already in the mission field to teach the new arrivals the local languages of the areas they would be working in, these were often in vain as the new arrivals neglected to continue learning the language once out on their own. For the majority, knowledge of the local language was restricted to what was learned before taking up an appointment. For instance, those who followed the first group of Samoan missionaries to New Guinea in 1883 usually stayed with them or with the resident European missionary for a period to get acclimatised and learn the language before they were permitted to take up their appointed posts in various settlements. An example of this pattern can be seen in the experience of Ierome Ilaoa, one of the two Samoan missionaries first employed by the Rhenish Mission in German New Guinea in 1912:

We will continue to stay with Mr Hanke for two to three months to get used to the climate...and customs of the people. After this, I will go with my wife to stay with Mr Blum in Ragetta, to learn the language for two to three months. When we learn this, we will be appointed to two new islands of Siar and Ruo...Kurene and his wife will stay with Mr Hanke to learn the language as this is a different one too.

In some parts of New Guinea, this process of learning involved two stages:

The most useful language here is...the Motu dialect, which is fast becoming the official dialect. We learn this first before we learn that of the people we are working with in our villages.

This pattern continued during the first twenty years of Samoan missionary work in New Guinea. After 1904, however, a notable change began to emerge. One of the earlier missionary's sons, Timoteo Mose (Junior), was appointed to continue the work of his father in the same district. Influenced no doubt by his father's linguistic ability (see below),

53 See Warneck, Outline of a History of Protestant Missions 1906: 69-70.

54 Ierome Ilaoa, Borgu, Astrolabe Bay 5 February 1912, SS May 1912: 69-70.

55 Konelio, Kalaigolo 21 December 1903, SS April 1904:40.
he took up his appointment already fluent in the Kabadi language:

When Timoteo Mose (Junior) first arrived, Mr Dauncey brought him to Hisiu where I was working, so that I may take him to Kabadi to conduct a service for the commencement of his work. During the service...Timoteo preached in Samoan while I interpreted it in the Motu dialect. When he finished, he sat down for a few minutes, then stood up again and began preaching to us in the correct dialect of the Kabadi people, much to our amazement. He sounded just like a native of Kabadi, and the people sat so still enjoying his sermon in their own language.\textsuperscript{56}

It is conceivable that there were others like Timoteo (Junior) in view of the way the vocation of pastor had become a family tradition by this period.\textsuperscript{57}

Some of the Samoan missionaries had assistance in their efforts to learn the local vernacular. For example, when Samoan missionaries were first introduced to Efate (Sandwich Island) in 1845, the missionaries Turner and Murray,\textsuperscript{58} assigned to the task of settling them, found that there was a Samoan named Sualo living amongst the indigenous people. He:

had acquired great influence...he had as one of his wives the daughter of the chief of the district where he lived, and he had made himself famous and formidable by the part he had taken in native wars.\textsuperscript{59}

Sualo's ability to inform Turner and Murray of the geography of Efate and neighbouring islands\textsuperscript{60} as well as his own life history\textsuperscript{61} confirms that he spoke Samoan. But even more startling is the account by the

\textsuperscript{56} Fa'asi'u, SS March 1910:46.

\textsuperscript{57} See above, fns 31 and 32.

\textsuperscript{58} The deputation found itself with the problem of having to place the four Samoan teachers - Mose, Sipi, Taavaili and Setefano - who could not be left at Erromango owing to 'unpromising appearances'. The captain of a small vessel then engaged in the sandalwood trade, who anchored beside the John Williams, saved Murray and Turner the embarrassment of having to take the four Samoan missionaries back to Samoa by informing them of a Samoan (Sualo) living with other castaways from Samoa and Tonga in Efate.

\textsuperscript{59} Murray, 1885:146-47; Turner, 1861:386-95.

\textsuperscript{60} Turner, 1861:393.

\textsuperscript{61} Ibid, 392.
two Samoan missionaries of their first meeting with Sualo and fellow wanderers as recorded by Turner:

Some of the long lost Samoans and Tongan women recognised the Samoan faces of our teachers, rushed out of the houses in amazement, and burst into a fit of crying, as if wailing over the dead.... They [the teachers] explained to them the good news of salvation and happiness in heaven, through Christ the Son of God; told them what changes the word of God had brought about in Samoa...and now, said our teachers, 'decide at once who among you will now cast off heathenism, and begin the service of the true God?' Twelve of them, including 'Swallow' and the Chief of the village, at once decided to embrace the new religion....

That the two missionaries were able to achieve so much in such a short space of time can only be attributed to the use of the Samoan language and the knowledge of what had taken place in Samoa since 1830.

Equally important was the assistance given by those who were not Samoans but could speak the language. A case in mind was that of Paulo, the first Samoan missionary to Niue (Savage Island). He arrived there in October 1849, three years after Peniamina, a native of Niue who had been 'in the church on Savaii and engaged as a teacher for upwards of five years', landed to introduce Christianity. In view of the time he spent in Samoa, and the fact that he was educated in Malua it seems likely that Peniamina was very fluent in the Samoan language. Thus, when Paulo arrived, he not only found someone who was able to speak his language, but one who could also speak that of the local people. Peniamina was therefore in a position to teach the Niuean language to Paulo and to interpret Paulo’s words for the Niueans.

---

62 Two Samoan missionaries, Sipi and Setefano, plus a New Zealander (who claimed to have lived with Sualo, and was given leave by the captain of the sandalwood trading vessel) were sent out by Murray and Turner to search for Sualo once they landed on Efate on 1 May 1845.

63 Turner, 1861:391.

64 SDC Minutes, Saluafata 16 August 1846.

65 Turner, 1861:465-70.
The availability of assistance from such people was an exception to the rule. For the majority of Samoan missionaries, learning the local language was entirely dependent on their own efforts. But, the extent of the problem of language which the missionaries faced depended on their location. As previously stated, those who worked in Melanesia and Micronesia encountered difficulties owing to phonetic and structural differences of the languages. In sharp contrast, those who laboured in the neighbouring Polynesian islands of Tokelau, the Ellice Islands and Niue, faced fewer difficulties due to the similarity of their speech to the Samoan language. The closeness between the Tokelauan and Ellice Islands language and that of the Samoans is evidenced by the use made of the Samoan Bible and Hymnary for worship.

Although time consuming, acquiring local language skills clearly benefited the work of the Samoan missionaries. As a result, their preaching and teaching as well as their pastoral work became more effective. Furthermore, it facilitated mutual dialogue between them and the people, and also gave birth to a new dimension in their role as missionaries, namely that of translators.

The best evidence of translation work undertaken by Samoan missionaries is the efforts of those who went to Papua New Guinea. Most notable are the works of Timoteo (Senior) in the Kabadi dialect, and of Isaia in the Mabuiag dialect. Timoteo, acknowledged by the missionary Archibald E. Hunt as the foremost expert in the Kabadi dialect, used his knowledge to carry out scriptural translation from

66 Kennedy, Te Ngangana a te Tuvalu: Handbook on the language of the Ellice Islands 1945:5, 42, 61; see also, Turner, 1861:468.

67 Prior to this, the emphasis would appear to have been on changing the peoples' behaviour through a process of imitation. This is discussed more fully in ch.5, see below, 148-61.

68 There was little need for this in the Ellice Islands, southern Gilberts, the Tokelau Islands and to some extent in Niue, simply because the Samoan Bible was used as the only text book for religious instruction.

69 Fa'asai'u, SS March 1910:46.
the Samoan Bible. Furthermore, he composed hymns for public worship.

Isaia's efforts were equally impressive:

After some years, Mr Chalmers advised me to translate the four gospels into the Mabuiag dialect. I completed this task and after they had been checked by Mr Chalmers, they were printed, and we received 500 copies. (I have given a copy of this book to Mr Hills together with a hymn book I composed for our Church Assembly in Samoa to examine.) More demanding work has followed, namely, translation of the Old Testament. I began this task three years ago, and am still doing it. The following books are completed: Genesis, Exodus, Joshua, I and II Samuel, Psalms, Isaiah, Daniel and Jonah. All these works are at present in the hands of Mr Chalmers for review and publication.

The only recorded evidence of translation work undertaken by a Samoan missionary outside Papua New Guinea was that of Paulo who translated the Gospel of Mark from the Samoan language to the Niuean.

Both the indigenous people and the Samoan missionaries benefited from this translation process. The former were provided with the opportunity to read parts of the Bible for the first time in their own dialect. The latter, in their role as translators, consolidated their efforts to change and manipulate the people's way of thinking and life by translating words and concepts that were meaningful only in the context of the fa'a-samoa. For example, the word ali'i is used in the Bible to designate both the lordship of God and the lordly status of men. In the Samoan context, it is used to acknowledge the status of high ranking chiefs. Concepts such as feaamaiga and

70 See Appendix D, XVII.
71 Isaia, Mabuiag 1 July 1906, SS July 1906:82-83.
72 Turner, 1861:521. The revision of Paulo's manuscript was not done by a European missionary as was the practice in New Guinea, but by a special committee consisting of all Samoan missionaries then serving in Niue.
73 In the Old Testament, the term is most commonly used in the Book of Psalms. In the New Testament, examples are found in Matthew 7:21, Luke 2:15.
74 See Proverbs 8:16; Ephesians 6:1-9.
75 See discussion on ali'i, above, 27-29.
76 See above, 58-59.
are further evidence of such juxtaposition. In other words, translation provided the Samoan missionaries with another valuable tool to continue the imposition of their socio-theological ideas on the indigenous people.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, a new language problem arose which severely plagued the work of Samoan missionaries in New Guinea; and probably discouraged those who wished to go there from Samoa. In 1898 the Papua District Committee informed the Samoan District Committee that English was required by the colonial government to be taught in all schools. In essence, it meant that future missionaries from Samoa had to have a knowledge of the English language, and those who were already in New Guinea had to learn English if they wished to continue teaching in schools. There was a strong feeling of resentment amongst the Samoan missionaries regarding this new requirement; and they expressed this in no uncertain terms in a combined letter signed by one of their senior members to the Samoan District Committee:

We strongly feel that the prerequisite regarding one's ability to speak English in order to be qualified for work here should be dropped. What we need are men who are sincere and faithful in their calling from God to do his work.

Such a reaction was probably due to the frustration of having to learn another language. But it is conceivable that what really affected them was their probable interpretation of the regulation as an insult to their pride as Samoans, as well as their status as feifa'au. Perhaps they held that instruction given in a language other than their own or that of the local people was meaningless, and therefore irrelevant. As Filemoni's letter clearly revealed, there was a strong belief amongst them that the persons most suitable and needed for work in New Guinea were 'men sincere and faithful in their calling from god to do this work'.

77 See above, 29-35.
78 SDC Minutes, Malua 9-13 May 1898.
79 Filemoni, Milne Bay 8 March 1898, SS July 1898:104.
80 Idem.
Disappointment over their lack of English continued to frustrate their work. For instance, ten years after the issue was first raised, Ma'anaima reports:

> Our hearts grieved for the one thing we neglect to learn – English.... How unfortunate that we lack this useful skill. The government continued to ask us pastors to teach English in our schools, but we are not able....

This was understandable in view of the fact that for the majority of them familiarity with the local dialect had only recently been achieved. Furthermore memories of its painstaking nature and the effect this process had on their lives were still fresh. To be required to learn another language was perhaps too much for them. But what made it more difficult was the existence of languages using an English vocabulary. Ma'anaima reported that apart from the proper form of English, there was also a 'Begging Biscuit' type of English, both useless for learning in schools. This latter type he explains as follows:

> We tend to switch their d to our t; their w to our v and their r to our l. As a result, there are problems in understanding between them and us. For instance, their word doudou, meaning box we tend to say as toutou which means crying. Thus, when we say 'give us the toutou' we are in effect saying something unintelligible....

Experience taught the Samoan missionaries that only time could help them achieve a sufficient knowledge of English. But language, though a problem which took time to be solved, did not prevent them from fulfilling their role as preachers, ineffective as they were until proficiency in the local dialect was achieved. With no alternative but to preach in their own language, the Samoan missionaries deliberately indoctrinated the local people with their brand of Christianity to the extent that, by the time they were able to preach in the local vernacular, the indigenous peoples' understanding of the Christian message in Samoan terms was firmly established.

---

81 Ma'anaima, SS November 1909:171-72.
82 Idem.
From the start, their sermons, both in content and form, had one principal theme: 'Proper Christian Behaviour'. For them, this was the core of the Christian message. Theological analysis was reduced to a simple formula of dos and don'ts. And in this framework of polarising theological issues, God and his attributes as well as the doctrines of the Church such as salvation and regeneration by the Holy Spirit were viewed primarily in terms of rewards and punishment.

For instance, God was presented as a God of wrath, who only loved those who obeyed his commandments. Obedience involved repentance and fear, and was supposed to be evident in their showing proper behaviour as expected by God, or more specifically as expected by the missionaries. An example of the way in which some Samoan missionaries instilled the fear of God into the local people was the preaching of Finau, the Samoan missionary on Murray Island. A.C. Haddon, the English anthropologist, reported that Finau 'often preached loudly against native dancing and consigned those who attempted a little of it to hell, where, he informed them, they would be burnt'.

Sometimes, the Samoan missionaries deliberately used the name of God to justify and add logic to their demands for new behaviour. A sermon with such an intention usually followed a definite pattern. The first half was devoted to a thorough condemnation of man's sinful nature and his evil ways. This was directed specifically at the local people. It was then followed by an analysis of the consequences of such sins in relation to what God intended to do. The purpose of this first half was to instil fear and shame in the listeners. Once this point was reached, the preacher then launched into an exposition of what they (the people) must do to avert God's anger and be saved. An example of this pattern is provided by Finau's sermon on the end of the world, as reported by John Bruce, the European teacher and magistrate on Murray Island, to Haddon:

Finau told them about the comet, and that a very wise man had written in the newspaper that the world was shortly to come to an end... He then read from the Gospel of Mark Chapter 13, from which he proved that this was the time all these things were to happen, because this wise man said so in the newspaper. He kept on until he had all the people in a proper state of fear. Then he directly referred to me that I knew it was all true and would happen. I said no. He took no notice, but told them that in three weeks time, on the 5th of November if God did not hear their prayers they would all be destroyed. After praying he invited anyone to stand up.

---

84 Haddon, Head Hunters, Black, Brown and White 1901:35.
and pray and speak on the subject of the comet. Many spoke on the destructive powers of the comet and finished up by saying 'Oh it is true!! That wise man said so in the newspaper.' After they had all had their say... Finau then told them that from that day until the 5th of November, there were to be more special prayers, asking God to rebuke the comet and make it go another road away from the earth. They would all know in three weeks time whether God had heard their prayers. If he did not destroy the world then, that would be a sign that he had heard them and was pleased with them.... The 5th of November came around and nothing extraordinary happened. So Finau appointed the 6th to be a day of thanksgiving to God because he had heard and answered their prayers... 85

Finau's sermon reveals a common feature of Samoan missionaries' preaching, namely, a total exclusion of themselves from the perils and sins of mankind they perceived in the indigenous people. It was an attitude often disguised by the use of God's name or by the belief that they were the model of proper behaviour expected by God. For instance, Tanielu who gave a sermon on things essential for the prosperity of the Work in the Ellice and Tokelau Islands mentioned eight conditions, of which only two (prayer and love) had any reference to God. 86 The rest had to do with the authority of the Samoan fa'ate'au and the importance for the people to know and respect this.

Many of the sermons were preached solely for the purpose of informing the indigenous people of what they must NOT do, rather than what they should do. These sermons applied the Samoan form of socialisation by learning correct behaviour through knowledge and awareness of incorrect behaviour. For instance, Utulaelae 87 exhorted the Ellice Islanders to abolish their fa'atele 88 because it was responsible for the breaking of government and church regulations; it had affected the willingness of the children to be educated, and had encouraged adultery and fornication. Either the people's way of life was blamed,
or the people themselves, for any signs of backsliding in mission work. Rarely did the missionaries accept any responsibility for the people's lack of understanding. Thus one finds Faraimo blaming parents for interfering with his efforts to educate their children. The parents, he claimed, either stopped the children from attending school, or failed to instruct them when they were young. Given the privilege and freedom a Samoan fa'aitual enjoye[d] in disciplining and educating children in Samoa, Faraimo appears to have expected the same response from the Ellice Islanders. Sometimes they used parables to inform their hearers of how they perceived their work:

A person who wishes to find pearls, first seeks divers, as well as an assistant who will operate the air pump for the sake of those who do the diving. When he finds them, he will put on them their diving gear fitted with an oxygen mask. When a shell is found, it is split open and the pearl inside is given to him who owns the whole operation.

The owner of the work is Jesus. Those diving for shells are us working here in New Guinea. Those working the oxygen pump are the older pastors in Samoa. The pipe is the prayer you are all making for us, the oxygen coming through is the strength we receive through your prayers. The shells are those we have found for Jesus, and the pearls are the souls of those who have been saved.

The sermons of the Samoan missionaries often revealed their fine display of Biblical erudition. And given the fact that all of them were members of an aiga and the importance of such social units in the structure of Samoan society, they probably possessed and would certainly be aware of some of the traditional excellence of the Samoan tulafale.

The second means Samoan missionaries used to convey Christianity was teaching, although training for this role was not officially recognised by their home church until 1884, when the tutors of Malua decided to institute a special examination for students who had finished

---

89 SS October 1912:150-51.
90 See above, 61.
91 Naite, Samarai 6 March 1899, SS September 1899:183.
92 For tulafale, see above, 27.
their course for the sole purpose of training them to be schoolmasters. They were nevertheless expected from the beginning to run schools once they were in the mission field. Before 1884, they relied entirely on what experience they gained while attending European missionary classes, Malua Seminary, and pastoral charges of nu'iu, to see them through their expected role as teachers.

It was known that the rule of faith was to be found in the Bible, so it was essential that prospective converts should be able to read it themselves. It was also thought that the ability to read and write would help in civilising the indigenous people. Schools were therefore started as soon as the missionaries were established in villages. William Gill describes the initial stages of the learning process the Samoan missionaries instituted in Anatom in 1841:

At first he gets a few persons to meet him in the house, or under the shade of a tree, or on the sea beach; and there with limited means commences writing single letters of the alphabet, speaking their respective sounds in the ears of his astonished pupils; and teaching them to join letter to letter so as to form the words in their language.94

This was the practice throughout the period of contact in all the places they went to. Writing and reading were the basic skills taught. The basic textbook used was the Samoan Bible until such time when mastery of the local language permitted translation of certain books of the Bible into the local vernacular. But even when these became available, the Samoan Bible continued to be used. For instance, during a missionary voyage to Niue in 1859, Turner reports:

We supplied them with copies of the commentary on the Gospel of Mathew in the Samoan language and left 4000 copies of a revised hymnary and scripture lesson book in the Savage Island dialect.95

The Samoan faife'au was thus again in a position to directly influence the mentality of the people with Samoan ideas and meanings. This is

93 40th Annual report of the Samoan Mission Seminary 10 November 1884.
94 Gill, 1856:144.
95 Turner, 1861:521.
aptly illustrated by the Samoa bias of Kirisome's tuition was reported by Newell during a visit to the Ellice Islands in 1885: 'how strongly Samoan ideas have taken possession of the minds of Kirisome's people'. Similarly, when missionary Marriott visited Funafuti in 1897 he noted that the people 'seemed familiar with the best Samoan tunes'.

Apart from reading and writing, other subjects were taught. Ma'anaima, for instance, taught scripture, geography and singing in his school at Kwato and Tema in Funafuti taught spelling and arithmetic in addition to the above subjects. Aware of the importance of education as a vital part of their work, the Samoan missionaries took an obvious pride in their teaching. Tema for instance once asked a naval captain:

*to hold an examination of his pupils in arithmetic and dictation, which I did, and most of the writing was very good indeed, as was the spelling. They then sang the multiplication tables up to 19 times 19. This missionary evidently takes great pains, and has considerable influence over his people.*

The choir of the London Missionary Society Church services on Samarai was formed by twelve of Ma'anaima's fifty-four pupils.

The wife of the faife'au played an important role in the education programme at the village level. She taught the girls such skills as sewing and weaving. Often, the running of the village school was left to her while her husband was away conducting services in villages without a faife'au.

---


97 Marriott. Journal 1897:12, SSJ no.135.

98 Kwato District Annual Report 1898, LMS PDC Papuan Reports (hereinafter PR).

99 Report of Commander Eustace Rooke, HMS 'Miranda', of proceedings when visiting the islands of the Union Group, the Phoenix Group, Sophia and Rotuma Islands, the Ellice Group, the Gilbert Group, April to July 1896. Western Pacific High Commission (hereinafter WPHC) Inwards Correspondence, General, 67/84:11-13.

100 Idem.

101 Kwato District Annual Report 1898. PR.
At the mission head stations, slightly more advanced education was given under the supervision of the European missionary, although Samoan missionaries (or other Polynesians) were recruited as assistants. But their influence in this setting was limited owing to their being under the control of the European missionary. Education was not restricted to children, or limited by the classroom situation. Equally important was adult education which generally was conducted on less formal lines. Incidents of various types in the everyday life of the people often provided the faife'au with the most valuable opportunity to teach individuals or groups of people about Christianity. For instance, natural calamities such as earthquakes, floods or famines, were used by the faife'au to inform the people about the mightiness of God. An example of this is given by Ne'enia:

On 4 March a great earthquake was felt in our district. Houses fell, and people swayed to and fro while walking. Tremblings began on Wednesday evening and continued until Sunday morning. The local people claimed that their mountain god - Oalodena - was moving, and that was why the land moved. They came and told me that they will no more do any work, but they will just rest and paint their faces with red clay to prevent illness, as Oalodena was also the god of disease. This they did, but it led to famine. And so I tried to explain to them the reasons why the earth moved. 'You must understand the nature of God's mighty works. The earth moved because the heat in it was trying to get out. You must know that there is only one God and he made everything.'

Sometimes confrontation between the faife'au and sorcerers afforded the faife'au the opportunity to refute the peoples' beliefs and inform them about God's authority. When they showed signs of uncertainty in their efforts to grasp the meaning of what they had learned, the faife'au was quick to point out their foolishness and their lack of faith. Even mere curiosity by the people was used as an avenue for a theological discussion. For instance, Beika reported that:

Two of the students in Kalaigolo had a conversation during which one of them said to the other: 'what do you think? Are the eyes of God as big as this house

102 Ne'enia, Kobuana, Kabadi April 1895, SS July 1895:94.
103 See Appendix D, XVIII.
104 See Appendix D, I, XXIX, XXX.
or are they like that mountain?' The other student replied: 'why do you think the eyes of God are big anyway?' The first student said 'because we often hear our pastor saying that God knows everything on earth and in heaven, including everyone and their ways. We can see what is happening in all the four corners of the world. Now, how can he do that?'

They came to see me and I explained to them the nature of God's sovereignty.105

Apart from formal schools at the village level and those at the central mission stations, as well as informal religious instruction for adults, there were also industrial schools which came into existence towards the end of the century. The purpose of these schools was to teach the indigenous people who were considered to be slow, lazy and never thorough, the dignity of labour.106 Useful trades such as boat building, engine maintenance, lace-making, sewing, cabinet making and smith work were taught in these schools.107

The teaching techniques of the Samoan missionaries worried some of their European counterparts. For instance, Lawes complained that the Samoan faife'au:

Shouts and storms, scolds and whacks the desk with his stick until the poor little mortals are half frightened out of their wits. One cannot wonder that they dont care to come to school, the wonder is that they learn any thing at all.108

The explanation for such an attitude by the Samoan faife'au lies in the nature of his own socialisation process where discipline and respect for those in authority was expected at all times.

105 Beika, SS September 1910:132.


107 LMS, Report of the Deputation to the South Seas and Papua 1915-1916, 47.

The Samoan missionaries used preaching and teaching as principal means to engineer a religious and a cultural conversion. Indeed, they saw their fa'a-samoa as an integral part of the Christian faith. And consequently the churches which grew out of their efforts reflected more the expectations of their fa'a-samoa than the ethics of Christianity.
CHAPTER FOUR

CHURCH GROWTH AND ENHANCED STATUS

SENT out to break down traditional religious systems and replace them with Christianity, the Samoan missionaries were expected by the European missionaries to establish churches and construct church buildings. In accomplishing these tasks, they were to adopt procedures they had been taught in Samoa.

The hopes and aspirations of the European missionaries were only one source of the pressure on the Samoans to succeed in their appointed task. Equally important were the expectations created by the fa'a-samoa which meant that failure in their mission would bring disgrace and shame to the aiga, nu'u and atunu'u. These two sets of expectations were reflected in the process of church formation, both during the initial period of contact and in the ensuing years. Initially, the Samoan missionaries concentrated their efforts on winning converts and establishing their positions as spiritual leaders of each community. Once the churches were established the influence of the fa'a-samoa became more evident and began to infiltrate and dominate the church proceedings as each missionary sought to consolidate the position in the community to which he aspired. The fa'a-samoa provided the missionaries with the means to maintain rank and status. Its influence was especially evident where a missionary succeeded in staying in the same place for a long time, or where the mission station was in the hands of successive Samoan missionaries over a long period.

The formation of churches was not always easy. In some places, the missionaries encountered few stumbling blocks and, consequently, the task was quickly achieved. But in other places daunting hurdles had to be overcome and the work was difficult and time consuming. This pattern of success and failure was evident in all the

---

1 See Wetherell, 'Pioneers and patriarchs: Samoans in a non conformist mission district in Papua, 1890-1917', JPH, XV (1980): 130-54; Munro, 'Kirisome and Tama: Samoan pastors in the Ellice Islands' 1978:75-79.
countries where they worked. Experience of initial success went hand-in-hand with years of fruitless labour, and was unrelated to the date the mission stations were established. That success and failure should be so inconsistent was partly the result of the IMS methods for the placement of Samoan missionaries; and partly a consequence of the way the Samoans perceived the indigenous people during the time of initial contact.

Accompanied by their European counterparts on their maiden voyage, Samoan missionaries were placed on a given island or in a particular place only after careful deliberation. An affirmative decision was usually the result of a verbal declaration secured from the local chief or leading man to support and protect the work and lives of the Island missionaries. When assurance of this sort was not forthcoming, no missionary was left and the whole party departed to try again some time in the future. In view of these conditions, it could be argued that every Samoan missionary who was appointed to stay and pioneer mission work received a favourable reception. In other words, no one was left if his safety was in danger. Admittedly, negotiations for the acceptance of some required delicate diplomacy. Yet, such cases were relatively few. And when the decision to leave a Samoan missionary was made, it was always with the understanding that his work and life would be supported and protected by the local chief and his people.

---

2 Rotuma 1839; Tanna (New Hebrides) 1839; Loyalty Islands 1841; Niue (Savage Island) 1846; Tokelau 1861; Ellice Islands (Tuvalu) 1865; southern Gilberts 1870; Papua New Guinea 1883.

3 John Williams was the first to use native agents to pioneer the way for better educated workers in 1821. See Ellis, John Williams, the Martyr Missionary of Polynesia 1889; Williams, A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands 1837:52; Murray 1885:33-89.

4 Charles W. Abel who accompanied Ma'anaima to the village of Bou (Milne Bay), where he was to be stationed, recorded the unwillingness of the people to receive Ma'anaima. 'At Bou, we had great difficulties in beginning our work. They people did not want a teacher, and they frankly told us!' See C.W. Abel, Abel papers (hereinafter AP) 170 (no date). For a similar case in Nanumea, see Murray 1870:408-09.
Thus Lei'ataua and Sau, the first of the Samoan missionaries to be stationed in any foreign country, were placed on Rotuma by John Williams on 12 November 1839 under the protection of two chiefs, Tokainaua and Fusipaoa. The same procedure was followed two years later on 9 April 1841, when Tataio and Taniela were placed on Mare, in the Loyalty Islands, under the protection of Jeiune, the chief of the district of Gwahma. This pattern of seeking out the patronage of chiefs before leaving a Samoan missionary continued throughout the 1840s as more Samoan missionaries were appointed to pioneer mission work in the remaining islands of the southern New Hebrides; the mainland of New Caledonia (1841-45); the Loyalty Islands and Niue or Savage Island (1846).

At times, as in the landing of Samoan missionaries on Efate in 1845, the presence of a Samoan (Sualo) among the indigenous people meant valuable help was forthcoming. Sualo's influence may have been related to his position, for he had married into the chiefly family of the district where he was living.

When opportunities for new mission fields occurred in the 1860s and 1880s in the Ellice Islands (Tuvalu) and New Guinea, the same pattern was evident. In the case of the Ellice Islands, the favourable reception given to Samoan missionaries when they landed in 1865 was largely

---


7 Ibid, 299-300; LMS SSJ no.130. Box 9:16.

8 Errromango and Aniwa 1840; Anatom and Futuna 1841; Efate 1845. Murray, 1863:184.

9 Mare 1841; Lifu 1845; Tika 1852; Uea 1857.

10 Murray 1885:146-47; Turner, 1861:386-95; see also The Samoan Reporter 1845:2.

11 Murray, 1885:146-47.
the result of missionary work undertaken by Elekana, a native of
Manihiki in the Northern Cook Islands, who drifted to Nukulaelae in 1861.12
After consulting the local chief who offered protection and support,
Elekana proceeded to instruct the people about God. Owing largely to
his efforts, many abandoned their old religion to become faithful
adherents of Christianity.13 After four months, he left for Samoa14
with the aim of returning with a teacher and stopped briefly at Funafuti
where he reportedly informed the people of Christianity.

Elekana's wish was granted in 1865 when the SDC decided to
send a deputation to the Ellice Islands under the leadership of A.W.
Murray. Two Samoan missionaries, Ioane and Matatia, were in the
party, as well as Elekana. On arrival at Nukulaelae, Murray found that
many of the people had renounced heathen worship and were worshipping
'the true God'. Furthermore the people earnestly desired to have a
teacher to instruct them in the Christian faith. Moved by their repeated
requests, Murray finally agreed and Ioane was left. He was warmly
welcomed. The party next headed for Funafuti, where similar evidence
of Christianity was found.15 On arrival Murray went straight to the
chief's house where Kaitu, the chief, greeted him by saying, 'we are all
in the dark here and are just waiting for someone to teach us'.16
Murray left Matatia with them. The party continued to Nukufetau and

12 'Elekana's story', Juvenile Missionary Magazine (hereinafter
JMM) (1872):101-05, 123-27, 147-50, 175-77, 196-98; Murray,
1876:375-80; Lovett, 1899:422f. P.G. Bird, 9 February 1863,
SSL 26/4/A.

13 Murray, 1876:380.

14 On arrival in Samoa, Elekana told the European missionaries of
the need that existed in the Ellice Islands for missionary teachers.
He entered Malua Seminary in 1861, and in 1865 was appointed to
work in Nukufetau, Ellice Islands.

15 Murray, 1876:385-86.

16 It is odd that Kaitu could have said these words before he was
told of the purpose of the visit. Nevertheless, it shows that he
had probably been warned that sooner or later someone would come
with 'the light' to his island. Elekana was probably responsible,
for when he stopped at Funafuti on his way to Samoa he may have
told Kaitu of his reason for going to Samoa.
found the same situation. With only Elekana remaining in the party and not wishing to disappoint the people, Murray decided to leave him with them.

Two more islands in the group, Vaitupu and Nui, were visited before returning to Samoa and it was again discovered that the way had already been prepared by traders and other lay bearers of Christianity. But with no more missionaries at his disposal, Murray could only offer promises. The favourable reception of the first Samoan missionaries by the Ellice Islanders and the promising outlook for mission work there moved Murray to conclude:

How different to what is generally found on first visits to heathen lands. What usually requires years of toil and suffering, and not seldom, the sacrifice of valuable lives to accomplish, are found already done. No weary night of toil had gone before, and yet the day had dawned... We will not however anticipate, but close our notice to the first missionary visit to these regions with ascribing the praise of all to whom it belong.

The same situation as in the Ellice Islands was found in New Guinea. When the Samoan missionaries arrived in 1883, the New Guinea mission had been in existence for twelve years, and had a workforce of European and other Pacific Island missionaries. The fact that the Samoans were the last group to arrive on the scene does not mean that they were less pioneering than their predecessors. On the contrary, they were responsible for commencing many new stations, and the expansion of LMS activities in New Guinea would have been difficult without them. Nevertheless, it is conceivable that the favourable reception which

17 Murray, 1876:387.
18 Ibid, 388-91.
19 Peni and his wife were landed on Vaitupu and Kirisome and his wife on Nui. Both were brought by the Dayspring in 1865, five months after Murray's visit.
20 Murray, 1876:393.
21 Lovett, 1899:431.
22 Loyalty Islands teachers arrived in 1871; Rarotongan teachers in 1872, and Niuean teachers in 1875.
some of them received was directly related to the work of those who went before them. For instance, Tipa, on arriving with his wife to take up their appointment in Manuata in 1899 wrote:

The people received us warmly. They have built us a house. Quite a few church members, eighty four in fact. There is great interest in church activities. They are well dressed. The school is well attended, but reading ability is non-existent. There was a Lifuan pastor before me. Since our arrival, my house is always full of people day and night in the want of knowledge.23

And when the people of Murray Island, in Torres Strait, received their first Samoan missionary, Finau, in 1912, they wrote a letter to A.E. Hunt, who had worked there and was at the time in Samoa, saying:

Sir, you must thank the Samoan Church for its love towards us. Our souls are filled with joy and happiness for receiving now a Samoan pastor. We will take good care of him and his wife and listen to his advice.24

The first Samoan missionaries to work for the Rhenish mission in German New Guinea in 1912, Ierome and Kurene, also benefited from the efforts of the European missionaries, their predecessors. When Pastor Hanke introduced Ierome to the people of Bongu, they gave him gifts of food. 'They brought us coconuts, corn, arrowroot and cucumbers'.25

Samoans who followed their fellow countrymen into the field also reaped the fruit of the work of their predecessors. An example of this is given by Ma'anaima concerning the arrival of Areti in Milne Bay in 1883:

Areti has been appointed to a village located between Toma and myself. When the people learned that a pastor was coming for them, they began to build a house for him. They then went to Toma's village where Areti was staying taking food for him. And when one of my church members visited them, they told him that I should

---

24 'A letter of thanks from the people of Murray Island', SS, April 1893:57.
25 Ierome, SS February 1912:23-24. For full details, see Appendix D, XXXVII.
come with some church members of my church to teach them about God in case their new pastor arrives and finds them still ignorant.  

Such enthusiasm was also experienced outside New Guinea. Marriott reported how well received Tu'uaga and his wife were by the people of Vaitupu.  

The favourable reception of Samoan missionaries was short-lived however in some places. With the departure of their European mentors, the Samoans had to face the realities of mission life without the guidance and support they were used to. Left on their own, they were at the mercy of the local chief on whose promise of protection and support the success of their efforts depended. In places therefore where the chiefs upheld their promises, the path of church formation was relatively smooth and manageable. But in places where the chiefs repudiated their promises, the road could even lead to death.

In the New Hebrides, for example, the promising start by Apolo and Samuela in Futuna lasted only a couple of years before 'the whole party [was] murdered by the misguided people whose salvation they sought'. And when Murray visited Erromango in April 1841, he learnt from Lasalo and Taniela that 'the chiefs who had been engaged to protect them and provide for them had been unfaithful to their engagement'. A similar situation was experienced by Timoteo in Nanumanga. When he landed in 1875 he was well received. But as soon as the mission ship disappeared the horizon, the heathen appropriated the principal part of his property for their own use. That such behaviour was sanctioned by their tupu or king is evident from his strong opposition to Timoteo's mission. As William

---

27 Marriott, Report of Visitation to NWO 1899, SS March 1899: 166-68.
28 Murray, 1863:12; 1885:139-41.
Wyatt Gill reported when visiting Nanumanga in 1876:

Not an adherent has been gained by Timoteo; their much feared king Atupa having forbidden his subjects to become Christians under pain of being miserably suffocated in the weed of the deep lagoon.  

Such initial negative reactions were usually precipitated by a variety of factors. To begin with, there was a strong sense of fear and suspicion that the Samoan missionaries were the cause of disease and illness. Again, there was the desire to possess the personal belongings of the missionaries. Sometimes, ensuing internecine struggles for tribal leadership resulted in the missionaries having to abandon their stations. And on occasions, there were objections to the missionary teachings once these were revealed. For instance:

When the Nanomangans found that Christianity frowned upon their obscene night dances...they resolved to get rid of Timoteo and his unpleasant doctrines.

It could be argued that in places where chiefly support was withdrawn, the chiefs and their people were merely displaying the natural suspicion any community has of strangers. On the other hand, their reaction revealed a certain concern for their tradition and way of life which the presence of the Samoan missionaries and their teachings threatened. Such fears and suspicions were not without foundation and derived from their traditional perceptions of the threat of foreigners. For instance, the natives of Efate who killed Sipi (the first Samoan missionary placed there in 1845) in 1847, explained their action to Turner and Nisbet 'by saying that it was according to their custom to put to death persons who became delirious; and that the teacher had been so occasionally during his illness'. As for diseases, it was a common notion in Western Polynesia that disease and death were caused by men. The people of Futuna had this in mind when they

---

31 Ibid, 19.
33 Ibid, 1885:151.
34 Eg, Lifu. See Murray, 1863:329; also LMS SSJ no.143 (1849).
35 Gill, 1885:20.
36 Murray, 1863:151.
37 Ibid, 1863:12.
massacred the Samoan missionaries in 1843. In some places, it was not the person but his property which caused alarm. For instance, when Peniamina landed at Niue in 1846, the Niueans objected to his bringing foreign goods to their land:

The Samoan canoe given him, together with his chest and property, they wanted to send back to the vessel as soon as they were landed, saying that the foreign wood would cause disease among them.

The effect of this initial opposition to the work of the Samoan missionaries was disastrous. Some lost their lives, while others had to abandon their stations and seek refuge at nearby islands.

The resolve of those who escaped the wrath of the indigenous people may have been hardened by the experience, but the confrontation, though brief, thwarted any chance of establishing a church in the immediate future. In the longer term, as the turbulent history of mission stations in the New Hebrides and Loyalty Islands reveals, the knowledge gained of the indigenous people and their way of life was put to good use when mission work recommenced in the area.

The New Hebrides and Loyalty Islands also had their share of chiefs who willingly upheld their promise to support and protect the Samoan missionaries. In Lifu for instance, Bula, the chief of the Mu district, welcomed two Samoan missionaries in 1842, and eager to live up to his reputation of hospitality in order to attract as many ships as possible to his half of Lifu, took them into his household and endorsed their teaching. Almost immediately thirty or forty people attended their services.

__________

38 Idem.

39 Peniamina was a native of Niue who had been in Samoa and was trained there. See Murray, 1863:361-62; Turner.

40 Murray, 1863:362.

41 The history of the Samoan missionaries in the New Hebrides and the Loyalty Islands illustrates this point.

42 Murray, 1863:329.
was reopened in April 1845, the Samoan missionaries were saved from certain death by the interposition of a powerful chief named Viavia who was the staunch friend of the mission through all the vicissitudes of its early history.

Support from the chiefs was thus important and necessary. Quite apart from allowing the missionaries to pursue their work without molestation, it also enabled them to establish churches rather more easily. Admittedly, the influence of earlier efforts by European and other Pacific Island missionaries, as was the case in New Guinea, as well as those by traders and lay bearers of Christianity, as was the case in the Ellice Islands, had positive effects. Yet their achievements would not have been possible without the cooperation and protection of local chiefs. In places therefore where the chiefs upheld their promises the path to church formation was basically hazard free.

It is difficult to gain any insight into the process of church formation from the reports of the European missionaries who visited the various stations occupied by Samoan missionaries between 1840 and 1890. This is partly due to the fact providing nature of their reports which give only glimpses of church growth; and partly to the absence of any written accounts by Samoan missionaries themselves of how the process of church formation began. In other words, the European missionaries' reports during this period contained information about what had taken place rather than how it was achieved. In spite of this absence of concrete evidence, some insights into the way the churches were formed can be gleaned from the perception and attitudes of the Samoan missionaries regarding their work.

The writings of Samoan missionaries who went to New Guinea after 1890 illustrate some of these perceptions. And from the imagery they used, it could be argued that Samoan missionaries possessed a clear understanding of how their work was carried out. Two kinds of imagery dominated the thinking of Samoan missionaries in New Guinea:

---

43 For details as to why the Tanna mission was abandoned, see Murray, 1863:139-49; 1885:131-32.

44 Murray, 1863:148; 1885:133.
military and agricultural. In June 1892, for example, Filemoni wrote:

We are now preparing to start work in Merebe, the bay which separates us from the Wesleyan mission. We are hoping to go there this week. And we are preparing ourselves like soldiers ready to attack a fort.45

And Konelio, in 1911, echoed the same sentiments:

The battle is fought on many sides here, but our soldiers are few. Nevertheless, we still hold on to the English saying from the Boer Wars, 'The death of one will be replaced by a hundred others'.46

That the Samoans saw their task in military terms is further evident in the pleas they made for new recruits. Ierome illustrates this in a letter published in 1913:

Our arrival here is very much like the mission of Joshua and Caleb to the land of Canaan to find out what it was like. Oh, no wonder our Lord has provided this opening for our church. There are so many seeds scattered all over the place, and the gold (the souls of those lost in darkness) is still hidden by the earth. The seeds need to be reaped and the gold needs to be dug. But why has it not been done? This is the reason, for the labourers are few. Oh soldiers of Christ in Samoa, rise up, this is our time. Don't be afraid to die in foreign lands, for that is the gist of the battle. Think of our dear country Samoa....47

That they also viewed themselves in these military terms is clear from Ierome's letter; more vividly portrayed by Mataio's patriotic letter:

We were very ashamed when the John Williams arrived last year with only one Samoan on board. Samoa is a brave country, so how come it is becoming a coward in the spiritual battle we are fighting here? Where are our spirited warriors?48

The military imagery was intimately related to that of agriculture. The field in which the spiritual fighting took place was depicted as a plantation and the souls of the people were portrayed as crops ready to be reaped. Thus Mataio wrote, 'The crop is abundant but few labourers';49 and Ma'anaima, 'The plant is showing signs of strength

45 Filemoni, SS January 1892:14.
46 Konelio, SS May 1911:74-75.
47 Ierome, SS February 1913:21-23.
48 Mataio, Saroa 13 March 1898, SS August 1898:105.
49 Idem.
and bearing fruit'.

These images in which the Samoan missionaries perceived themselves as warriors and as planters of the Christian message were understood basically in the context of their fa'a-samoa. It must be remembered that by the time such sentiments were expressed, the Samoan fa'asau had already attained a position unparalleled in the history of the IMS missions in the Pacific. Furthermore, the imagery used occupied an important place in the Samoan (and Polynesian) understanding of status. In view of these considerations, it is conceivable that the Samoan missionaries were fully aware of the importance of their position in the process of formation. Believing that their mission was ordained and blessed by God and proud of their cultural heritage as Samoans they saw success in the establishment of churches as nothing less than bringing honour and glory to both God and their country. Such a role moreover was befitting to their rank and status, and consequently, honour for God and Samoa meant also honour for themselves. Timoteo, one of the first Samoan missionaries to New Guinea (1883), sums up this latent understanding of their position:

No doubt unfortunate news of how difficult life is here has reached your ears in Samoa. And perhaps those who initially thought of coming here are discouraged as a result. Well, there are and always will be those whom Jesus has and will call to carry out his will here in New Guinea. Rumours you may have heard will not affect such people, for only a storm will determine how good a captain is.

This positive and essentially Samoan understanding of their role was probably the determining factor in their approach to the question of formation. The churches which they eventually established appear to have been created mainly to meet their needs rather than those of the local people. This is not to deny the benefits their efforts produced for the indigenous people, yet the way in which the Samoan missionaries

50 Ma'anima, SS October 1896:261-63.
51 See above, 62-63.
52 See above, 41-43.
53 Timoteo, SS May 1892:72-73.
understood their role and work supports the contention that, for the majority of them, more was at stake than the mere conversion and education of the heathen. After all, the eyes of God and of their aiga, nu'u and atumu'u were on them.

For the Samoan missionaries, the mark of success was progress; and progress was measured by the existence of a church community, its size, and a church building. Conscious of this, as well as the knowledge that their European overseers would be visiting them some time in the future, and giving a report of their work to their home church, the Samoan missionaries were determined to succeed at all cost.

One of the most prominent features of the process of church formation was the importance that Samoan missionaries attached to the involvement of chiefs and leading men. Initially the missionaries confined their efforts to those directly under the authority of such people, and the type of church which emerged in these chiefly communities resembled that of a parish. But this was only true of the places where only one chief was paramount, as was the case in the Tokelau and Ellice Islands. Here, all converts came together irrespective of whether they were nominal or true converts. In both the Ellice Islands and Tokelau, something very like a theocracy developed where the leading people tended to be church officers. Thus the parish type church became the instrument of chiefly rule, since the chiefs often made the rules. In the New Hebrides, Loyalty Islands, New Caledonia, New Guinea, and to some extent Niue and Rotuma, the Samoan missionaries found themselves having to contend with more than one leading chief and were therefore forced to promote their cause under the protection of any one chief who was willing to support them. In these places, they rarely gained the approval of all. Under such circumstances, a smaller type of gathered church was formed, which in time developed into a parish type as chiefs who initially opposed their work became converted. Evidence of this is found as early as the 1840s with the experience of those who served in the Loyalty Islands. But it was also encountered by those who toiled in New Guinea during the 1880s and 1890s. Ma'anaima provides a vivid example of how

54 Turner, 1861:399; Murray, 1863:329.
a small gathered church came into existence:

On 4 February 1892, I began my work in Bou. I was met by a leading man of the other side of Bou, named Pehala. He was pleased to receive me. But the other side of the village did not wish to have me as their pastor, only Pehala and his family. None of those in the part of the village who opposed me attended my services; and were emphatic in their refusal. They said that they will all die because of the new God I was preaching. Only Pehala and his family and relatives gathered for services. I gave them some shirts out of pity for their feeling cold, but they took my action as a sign that they were church members. I actually witnessed some of them trying their best to obey everything I taught and they were very keen in attending services. So I decided to get them familiarised with my teaching in small group prayer meetings during which I gave them opportunities to pray and some did. I have decided to have our new church built in the middle of the village, concentrating my pastoral efforts on the side of the village still reluctant to attend our services.55

Proper gathered type churches developed when a new station was established to serve the spiritual needs of a particular area. In form, the gathered type church tends to be democratic because the members make the rules. But in reality, the control and power of decision making invariably lay in the hands of the Samoan missionaries. The members from all sides of the area would gather at the mission station for worship, then return to their villages at the conclusion of church activities. Ma'anaima again gives an example of this type of church:

On 10 June 1904 we arrived to live here to start a new mission station for the many people who live in this wilderness. The new settlement is called Duabo, seven miles from Milne Bay and about 20 miles from Tahuni Bay to the west. It is a beautiful new settlement located on top of a mountain range.... The people in this area were scattered owing to their fear of Europeans who mistreated them when they came in search of gold. We are trying to bring them back to live in their old villages. Many have heeded our call and have shown considerable interest in our work.56

55 Ma'anaima, SS October 1896: 261-63.
56 Ma'anaima, SS January 1905: 16.
Although in most places the Samoan missionaries took the initiative, there were instances where a mediator, usually another Samoan missionary who had been working in the area for some time, was used to help in the formation of churches. An example of this was the way the church in Kobuana (New Guinea) was established with the help of Timoteo. Equally important were the pioneering efforts of European missionaries who, having located a particular area for future mission work, returned to the head station and appointed Samoan missionaries to follow up the visit, or go and live in the area. Sometimes the European missionary would take along his Samoan missionary during these exploratory visits, and once the location for the mission station was decided, the Samoan missionary was left to form a church to cater for the spiritual needs of the district. It was from this sort of situation that gathered type churches evolved. An essential characteristic of such churches was their voluntary nature, with the nucleus of the members living within the locality of the mission station. Kurene, one of the first Samoan missionaries appointed to German New Guinea (1912), reports on his work in this type of church structure:

People from the inland villages continue to come to be instructed about Jesus, over 300 of them. But our communicant roll remains at just over 100, most of them from here on Bongu.

Apart from their primary purpose of providing for the spiritual welfare of the people, gathered churches were also used as centres from which further efforts were made towards the formation of additional churches within the same district. As more missionaries arrived, the pattern of church structure changed from a gathered to a parish type with each village having its own missionary.

For those who arrived later to work alongside their countrymen, or to continue the work of those who had returned to Samoa, the process of church formation involved a continuation of the procedures then in

---

57 See Appendix D, XVIII.
58 See Appendix D, XXXIII.
59 See Appendix D, XXXIII, XXXVI.
60 Kurene, SS March 1916:32.
operation, and sometimes the formulation of new procedures to improve the existing situation. For instance, Iotamo, appointed to Erupe, Torres Strait, in 1893, found the state of the church there very discouraging:

When we arrived here, I sensed that the work appears to have been left to chance. No deacons, and few communicant members. The children were extremely ignorant. The very first thing I did was to appoint two deacons.61

Perhaps the best example of how later Samoan missionaries continued the work of an already existing church were the efforts of those in the Angas Inland Mission, Kalaugolo, Papua, a station established by Percy Schlencker and Uele in 1898. Apineru, in a detailed letter written twelve years later, traced the brief history of the station. In 1901, Beika was appointed, followed in 1902 by Apineru himself and Konelo and Paulo in 1903. Three years later, six Niuean pastors arrived, but two of them died shortly afterwards resulting in the withdrawal of the other four. Left by themselves, the Samoan missionaries began to act as a group in coordinating and pooling together their resources for the improvement of the mission. School buildings for each settlement were built, together with a combined district school for the promising pupils from each of the village schools. The social activities of one church such as marriages and baptisms became occasions for combined church gatherings; and the success of their efforts was acknowledged by the selection of seven of their students for the church seminary in Vatorata in 1910.62

As previously stated, the Samoan missionaries were aware of the importance of success. The formation of churches and the improvement of existing ones was the first step towards the achievement of this goal. Once the churches were established, the infiltration of the system by Samoan values began: for the very existence of a church community gave formal recognition of each missionary's position as the faife'au of the village. But there was another consequence, less apparent, yet

61 Iotamo, Erupe (Torres Strait) SS March 1894:45-46. For full details see Appendix D, V.

62 See Appendix D, XXXVI.
equally important. A church, gathered or parish type, afforded the setting in which the values of the fa'a-samoa associated with rank and status could be cultivated and enhanced. This can be seen in the vigorous way the Samoans consolidated their position at the expense of anything that was of traditional value to the people. Ancestral shrines were torn down and the remains of ancestors in shrines and houses were buried along with other ritual items such as spears, clubs and magical potions. Ma'anaima, for instance, picked up a sorcerer's haitabu or magic stone and heaved it into Milne Bay. And Tautala, who was with her husband in the Torres Strait Islands between 1905 and 1914 told the story of how her husband destroyed the stone rain-god of the island. Samuelu had heard that the people believed that rain and thunder were brought on when their king, Ma'amusu, tapped the rain god. He told the people this was a false belief and he set out to bring the stone to his house. The people told him he would be killed, and were therefore amazed and frightened when Samuelu carried the stone god to his house. He placed the stone outside his front door where it was used as a step before entering the house. When the king, Ma'amusu, was invited into Samuelu's house, he stepped on his god stone while entering and when Samuelu asked Ma'amusu how it was he stepped on his god, Ma'amusu said he just kept it because his foolish people believed in it, but he knew it was not a god because he had found the true God. Samuelu later had the young men break up the stone with axes and used it in a village umu (earth oven) they had to celebrate Christmas.

It could be argued that in their enthusiasm to destroy idols, the Samoan missionaries were merely following the evangelistic methods and ideas which were instilled into them in Malua. But in view of their understanding of Christianity in Samoan terms, their behaviour was probably motivated by the expectations of the fa'a-samoa which encouraged men of rank and status to be authoritarian in the display of their emotions.

The extent to which Samoan missionaries succeeded in consolidating their position can be seen in church growth. In all the reports of

63 Abel, Diary 11 February 1906, AP.
European missionaries who visited the Samoan missionaries at their stations as well as the private letters and reports of Samoan missionaries, glowing accounts of remarkable achievements are recorded. Where the occasional failure is acknowledged, the Samoan missionary was held as being only partly responsible. This is not to deny that what the reports and letters conveyed was true, but it is probable that the apparent success European missionaries saw and reported was the result of special preparations to impress them. Notice of a proposed visit by their European colleagues, for instance, was usually conveyed to the Samoan missionaries well in advance. And the very purpose of such visits — namely, to observe their work, conduct examinations for the children in school as well as those recommended for communicant membership, conduct baptisms, collect offerings, and preside over any hearings concerning misbehaviour within the church — would have made it very difficult for any of the Samoan missionaries to treat such visits lightly. After all, it was their only opportunity to display the fruits of their labours. Furthermore, they knew that their European supervisors would report to the home churches on their visit and that these reports were usually published in the Sulu Samoa. Thus, it was essential that a good impression be made, for it was not so much their reputation that was at stake, but the reputation and good name of their aiga, nu'u and atunu'u.

The European missionaries were certainly impressed with the evidence of church growth. When Murray and Sunderland visited the mission stations in the New Hebrides, Loyalty Islands and Niue in 1852, they found that in Anatom and Efate many of the people attended services, while in Lifu, Toka and Niue, all had embraced Christianity, observed the Sabbath, attended schools, and many were able to read and write fluently. Equally impressive was the situation Murray found in the Ellice Islands only eighteen months after placing Samoan missionaries there.

65 An example of the fact producing nature of European missionaries' visits was the summation of the reports of George Turner submitted to the SDC for his visits to the NWO in 1874 and 1878. See Table I.

66 Report by Lalogo of his work in Arorae, 1895. See Appendix D, XI.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLACE</th>
<th>POPULATION</th>
<th>TEACHER</th>
<th>CHURCH MEMBERS</th>
<th>CANDIDATES</th>
<th>CONTRIBUTION TO LMS BOOK SALES VIABLE OF PRESENTS GIVEN TEACHERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paksofo</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>Timoteo</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.25 25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atafu</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>78 hats 22 mats 78 taro (1873) 2 paddles, 4 hats, 2 mats, 1200 nuts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nukulaelae</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>Ioane</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- 10.00 1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punafuti</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>Tema</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>39.35 7335 nuts 17.25 9.65 57.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaitupu</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>Ioane II</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>89.70 61.00 6.75 140.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nukufetau</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>Sapolu</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>62.50 56.90 4.75 51.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niutao</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>Tapu + Sione</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16.50 41.75 .50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arorae</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>Naisalika</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bikunau</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>Naisili, Esia, Isaia</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oaootoa</td>
<td>1,400</td>
<td>Karamelu, Simona</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanumea</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>TuilouÔ</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nui</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>Kirisome</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>82.70 133.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamana</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>Samuelu, Elishaia</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>10,760</td>
<td>687</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>$296.00</td>
<td>$186.90 $22.90 $406.26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At Nukulaelae, many were able to read the Samoan Bible with fluency. At Funafuti, over fifty persons out of a population of little more than 100 had learned to read. A Sunday school had been started and a neat little chapel had been built with seats, venetian windows and doors. At Nui, the people with few exceptions were clothed and the Sabbath was being observed 'in the most exemplary manner'. The remarkable changes in these islands led Murray to write:

The progress that had been made was amazing. It was difficult to realise the fact that only eighteen months had passed since the introduction of the Gospel to these islands.

When the SDC sent S.J. Whitnee four years later (1870) to observe church progress in the Ellice Islands he was equally impressed with the increasing number of church members. But what impressed Whitnee most was the willingness of the people in Funafuti to continue the work of their missionary, Matatia, who had returned to Samoa in 1868:

I was agreeably surprised to find the general state of the island far in advance of anything I had expected to see. Before the teacher left he had taught the greater part of the people to read and, after his departure, four of the most intelligent of the community had been chosen by the rest to conduct the ordinary services and classes. All had gone on very well to the present time. With the Bible in their hands and the teaching of the Holy Spirit, many have been brought, I believe to the saving knowledge of the Truth, and the whole population has advanced to a state which puts to shame many a village in highly favoured England.

The remarkable progress of church growth was not restricted to the mission stations of the Westward Islands or those in Tokelau, Niue and the Ellice Islands. It was also a marked feature of new stations such as those established in the southern Gilberts in the 1870s and New Guinea in the 1880s. For instance, when Marriott visited Arorae (southern

68 Murray, 1876:396.
69 Ibid, 399.
70 Ibid, 400.
71 Ibid, 414.
72 New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Loyalty Islands.
Gilberts) in 1895 he echoed the surprise experienced by his predecessors: 73

We were very amazed at the beautiful churches and pastor's houses here. Every one well dressed and sang enthusiastically. They appear very intelligent and wise. 74

The favourable impressions of visiting European missionaries were also shared by their Samoan assistants whom the SDC appointed to accompany them on these visits. 75 But more importantly they were reiterated by the Samoan missionaries themselves in their own writings. Liuvao in Nikunau (southern Gilberts), for instance, wrote:

The work here is going well unlike the old days when people were uncertain and lukewarm in their response. There are now signs of enthusiasm amongst the people for the development of the work. They are keen on worship, attentive to preaching and have begun practising morning and evening devotion. Sundays are strictly observed. 76

These sentiments were shared by those working in New Guinea. Reflecting on his work in Bou, Ma'anaima wrote:

The time of enlightenment is progressing slowly. Unlike the first days Sundays are now respected. People now attend services. Congregations vary between 100 and 300, 77 ... Some children have been sent to be taught. Our daily devotions attract at times over 100. Our communicant roll is 10. 78

Ma'anaima's report is an accurate reflection of the progress similarly achieved by his fellow countrymen working in the same district 79 and those nearby. 80 Reports of those who laboured in the distant mission

---

73 E.g., Samuel J. Whitmee, 'A missionary cruise in the South Pacific', 1870.
75 E.g., Moli, SS April 1893:60-61; Petaia, SS January 1899:16-18; Mosile, SS October 1903:198-200; Saaga, SS March 1903:52-54. Not all of the fa'ifau who accompanied European missionaries wrote reports. For a sample report, see Appendix D, XXVII.
76 Liuvao, Nikunau 22 July 1893, SS March 1894:40-41.
77 Ma'anaima, SS May 1895:34.
78 Ma'anaima, SS October 1896:261-62.
79 See Appendix D, XXI.
80 See Appendix D, XXI.
District of the Fly River also reveal a similar pattern:

It is true that there are many heathen practices still influencing their minds. But there are also signs of gradual improvement. For instance, they [the Dumaians] are very keen in observing the Sabbath. During the early days of our work, there was a tendency among some to work secretly on Sundays, but not so much now. There is great enthusiasm for worship and marriage in church has become an accepted ceremony. They have also built a new church which cost them £121/4/3. They have also given us many things for our welfare without insisting on any payments.81

The reports of visiting European missionaries, Samoan pastors who accompanied them and the Samoan missionaries themselves, clearly reveal a consistent pattern of vigorous church growth. But there was more to it than mere impressions. The reports preserved statistics of the number of those involved in church activities. For example, Marriott presented a statistical overview of church development in the North West Outstations 82 during his visit there in 1898:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total church members in the WNO</th>
<th>11,156</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Communicant members</td>
<td>2,832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attendents in confirmation classes</td>
<td>885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children in schools</td>
<td>3,542</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Activities such as the Christian Endeavour services often received special notice owing to the belief that this distinct church group provided the essential base for continuing church growth. When Newell visited the Tokelau and Ellice Islands in 1905, he reported the existence of Christian Endeavour groups in every island:

In some villages, the number exceeds 100. Fakaofo has in the past been plagued with numerous requests to supervise its communicant members owing to misbehaviour. But ever since the commencement of its Christian Endeavour services there have been no such cases.84

Three years later, when he again visited the same island, Newell presented

---

82 Tokelau, Ellice Islands and southern Gilberts.
83 Marriott, Report of Visitation to the WNO 1898. SS February 1899: 32-34.
Numerical evidence of the strength of this type of church group in each island:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Island</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pakofo</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atafu</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nukufetau</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funafuti</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanumanga</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanumea</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nui</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niutao</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaitupu</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motofoua (School)</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nukulaelae</td>
<td>8685</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The role of the European missionaries was not limited to observing the progress of the Samoan missionaries' work and recording the activities of church life. One of the most important functions of their visits was to collect contributions for the work of the LMS from each of the stations. All Samoan missionaries were expected to raise contributions. These took various forms depending, it would appear, on the economic wealth of the particular place. Where contact between the local people and European traders was frequent, monetary contributions were given, supplemented by commercial crops or handicrafts. For example, the people of Funafuti gave both cash ($39.35) and 7,335 coconuts when Turner visited them in 1874, while the people of Atafu (Tokelau), whose island was rarely visited by any trading ship, gave as their offering only handicrafts:

- Contribution for 1873: 38 hats, 10 mats
- Contribution for 1874: 40 hats, 12 mats, 70 small tanoa (bowls), 1 Tokelau bucket, 1 bundle of 'afa (sinnet strings), 1 string of sponges.

As more trading ships frequented the shores of the Tokelau, Ellice and southern Gilbert Islands, money became readily available and consequently the form of church contributions changed. Thus when W.H. Soward visited these groups in 1893 he noted that every station's offering was in monetary currency:

---

86 Idem.
87 G. Turner, Journal of Voyage through the Tokelau, Ellice and Gilbert Islands in the John Williams, 1874:13, SSJ.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Island</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Island</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atafu</td>
<td>$117.75 cents</td>
<td>Arorae</td>
<td>203.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaitupu</td>
<td>67.00</td>
<td>Tamana</td>
<td>153.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nui</td>
<td>100.50</td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>636.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanumea</td>
<td>104.50</td>
<td>Nikunau</td>
<td>209.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Trading with visiting ships was dependent however on the availability of commercial crops, especially coconuts, which was in all places dictated by the weather. When a period of drought occurred, food became scarce, and so the coconuts reserved for trading purposes were eaten. Consequently, there was nothing, except perhaps handicrafts, to trade with whatever vessels were in the area. Under such circumstances, the people would again resort to handicrafts to supplement whatever amount of money they had raised. Newell found this situation when he visited Arorae in 1894:

The village suffers from the lack of rain, and offering has declined. But they are not discouraged. They have instead made handicrafts to be brought to Apia for sale to supplement the money they have. Thus their offering is 42 hats, 83 mats plus $22.89.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, offerings from the North West Outstations were no longer a mixture of monetary currency and handicrafts. With the frequent visits of some company ships such as the Munihala and the Upolu for coconuts, and the development of the phosphate industry at Ocean Island providing employment, more money was available, and church contributions were given in no other form but cash.

There were three major sources of church revenue: offerings collected during worship; payment for church literature such as bibles and hymnbooks sold to the people; and money collected during the May meetings. This latter activity, though a part of church life in all the stations the Samoan missionaries occupied, was especially dominant in the development of churches in New Guinea. The Samoan missionaries used it as the major avenue to elicit money from the people in New Guinea.

90 Burns Philp trading vessel.
91 Burns Philp trading vessel.
May meetings were held annually. In essence the 'May' was a gathering at the head station of a district of members from all the branch stations for the purpose of fellowship, worship, and social activities. One of the main functions of these assemblies was to hear reports from each station regarding membership, activities and problems, and for the presentation of financial contributions. The meeting also provided the opportunity for the leaders of the church district to meet and discuss proposals for the development of their work. A vivid picture of a May meeting in New Guinea is given by Peau:

Our May meeting was held on 13 October 1897. The first of such meetings was held in 1895 and we raised £45. The second was held in 1896 and we raised £22. Our present meeting raised £31.8.4. There are three settlements involved in such meetings plus the school. The meeting began with the sounding of a bell which summons everyone to assemble and form lines. Mr Lawes and his wife led the procession to the place where the service will take place. Members of each settlement then follow, singing their own songs while handing over their offering. Vatorata school comes last. Each settlement has a flag with an emblem. The school flag has the words 'bancho Kuboubou' (to live peacefully). The settlement in which Mataio is pastor has on its flag the words 'Strive for Understanding'. After this procession, the service begins in which each settlement's offering is read out. Sports follow and a social atmosphere prevails until the day ends.

The size of the church district determined the number of villages participating in May meetings; and the amount collected usually reflected this facet of the work. For instance, in the May meeting of the Milne Bay District held in 1902, 'thirteen villages attended and £71 was collected'.

This May meeting was important in the life of the Samoan Church where it was based on the matacialeuga or district framework. This was similar to the district structure of the church in New Guinea; and to all

---

92 May meetings, frequently held in other months, were all based on the annual meetings held in England in May for all religious and philanthropic bodies.

93 Peau, Vatorata, SS March 1898:63.

94 Ma'anaima, SS September 1902:37.
appearances the Samoan missionaries simply transferred the forms and procedures of church life with which they were familiar in Samoa to their new environment. Ma'anaima himself testifies: 'Our recent May meeting has become very much like those in Samoa'. Perhaps it was not so much the structure as the spirit of competitiveness inherent in the activities of such gatherings that Ma'anaima had in mind in comparing the May meeting of his district (Milne Bay) with those in Samoa. His claim seems all the more valid in view of the practice of reading out each village's offering. This particular aspect of the meeting would have appealed very much to the ever status conscious Samoan missionaries. Whatever cordial relationships may have existed among them, each was nevertheless fully aware of his own importance as a faife'au.

In Samoan terms, this importance was reflected in the efforts of those under his authority and leadership. Thus, each Samoan missionary would have regarded the size of his station's offering for May meetings as of the utmost importance. He probably encouraged his people to give generously for these meetings because he knew his reputation as a good and diligent missionary would be reflected by the size of their contribution as compared to the other stations. Thus, the Samoan missionaries, in preparing for May meetings, would have deliberately introduced a spirit of competitiveness amongst members of their own stations. May meetings were much more than occasions to generate enthusiasm for the church and to collect contributions from each station. They were also occasions to display the status of each Samoan missionary.

The competitive spirit of Samoan missionaries derived from the lively consciousness of rank and the intense competitiveness which pervaded the life of Samoans and which in turn penetrated their

95 Idem.

96 Williams noted the extreme jealousy of respect for rank that existed among the Samoans. See his Journal 1832. In 1835, George Platt observed that every chief was jealous of his neighbour, wishing to be as great as he was in every respect. G. Platt, Journal 1835, SSJ.

97 For the highly competitive chiefly sport of pigeon netting, see Pritchard, 1866:162; Schultz, 1965:135. Turner, 1861:210 seq., Stair, 1897:132. Others have described other competitive activities of the pagan Samoans.
religious institutions. When John Williams made his second voyage to Samoa in 1832, he found that the paramount chief of Western Samoa, Malietoa Vainu'u, wanted all of Williams' eastern Polynesian teachers to be brought to him first; and soon after this, a serious quarrel broke out between the factions of the sons of Malietoa Vainu'u, about where the first Christian chapel in Samoa should be built, each party wanting it on their own ground. Directly comparable difficulties arose with the arrival of the first resident missionaries. For example, when the new missionary Alexander Chisholm took up residence at Sala'ilua on the south coast of Savai'i in June 1843, the people of Fogatuli, a village further to the west, were so discontented, having wanted an English missionary for themselves, that they refused to let their teachers go to Chisholm for instruction, their reaction being rooted in the jealousy which one area manifests against the other.

This intense rivalry between both villages and districts was exploited by the European and Samoan missionaries to raise funds for the work of the LMS, both in Samoa and other parts of the Pacific. The whole of Samoa was divided into religious districts (matagaluega) which were encouraged to compete with each other in fund-raising with the results being publicly announced each year. This was a new version of the competitive disbursement of food and property which had been a major social institution in pagan times and the Samoans took to it with alacrity. For example, George Pratt records that when in 1868 he visited a matagaluega extending from Safata to Aleipata on the south coast of Upolu, a challenge was issued to all the other matagaluega in Samoa to beat them in making contributions to the church. Pratt reminded the Falealili matagaluega that his district, on the north coast of Savai'i, had once beaten them in a traditional 'game of chance' and taking up the challenge from Upolu, the people of Pratt's district surmounted every difficulty to raise 'hard on £700 for the LMS and win the contest'.

98 Williams, Journal 1832.
99 Idem; A. Macdonald, Falauli, Savai'i 13 September 1843, SSL.
100 Pratt, Matautu, Savai'i 10 September 1868, SSL.
This competitive raising of funds for the church soon became a major preoccupation of the Samoans. The initial competitiveness is between aiga within a nu'u, then between nu'u of a matagaruega; and finally between all matagaruega of Samoa. Considerable shame accompanies defeat by a rival aiga, nu'u or matagaruega; and those who come out on top are immensely proud of their competitive success. The Samoans with their social conventions based upon dominance and rank are a highly competitive people and it is not surprising that the early missionaries remarked on the extreme jealousy and ungovernable pride that are still conspicuously present.

The comparative spirit of the Samoan missionaries was a powerful incentive which aided church growth; and fund raising activities were probably motivated by their awareness of position in relation to their fellow countrymen alongside or nearby. Yet this competitive spirit, though permeating all their church activities, was not the only stimulus for church growth. Sometimes, incidents occurred which enhanced their position as spiritual leaders of the people while simultaneously fostering church growth. For instance, Fa'asi'u's experience of how he was spared by a crocodile while on a pastoral visit resulted in the conversion of the non-believers in his village.101 Equally important were the positive effects of pastoral visits to nearby areas.102 In other words, the Samoan missionaries saw the expansion of their work outside the vicinity of their immediate stations as an essential part of church development. There seems to have been a deep-seated belief amongst them that quantity was more important than quality. Wider boundaries of their sphere of operation reflected their resourcefulness and initiative. Thus probing for new openings became a crucial part of their mission outlook. And the vigour in which they carried out this task suggests that quite apart from their desire to find new members for the church there was also a deliberate effort to consolidate their position in a particular area.103

101 See Appendix D, XIX.
102 See Appendix D, XXX, XVI.
103 See Appendix D, XXV, XXVI.
Church growth would have been difficult without the support of the local people, the Samoan church, and the European missionaries who worked with and alongside them in the field. The chiefs and their people rendered more than verbal declarations in their support for the work of the Samoan missionaries. In the New Hebrides and the Loyalty Islands, the chiefs offered pieces of land on which the missionaries could build their houses; and at times, they took the lead in upholding the teachings of the missionaries. For instance Bula, a chief in Lifu, was, according to Turner, a ferocious cannibal, but with the influence of Christianity, gave up his habit and forbade any of his household to indulge in such a practice. As Turner reports:

Formerly he has had sixteen cooked bodies laid before him at a meal; now he will not touch human flesh and threatens death to any of his family who ever again tastes of it.\(^\text{105}\)

And Gill reported that the residence of the *tupu* or king in Niutao, Ellice Island, had been converted into a church.\(^\text{106}\) In New Guinea, Mataio acknowledged the valuable help he received from the chief of his village:

> In my own village, its chief has greatly assisted my work by forbidding heathen dances and other practices. He sets the example by being a devout Christian and he also helps in our school work. His name is Tamukare and his wife is Bakui. They are great helpers.\(^\text{107}\)

Support from the chiefs was probably an acknowledgment of the changes which the Samoan missionaries had initiated in their societies through teaching and material wealth. On the other hand, it could have been the result of Samoan missionaries' recognition of the importance of chiefly power and influence as their own background had taught them.

The support of chiefs usually meant support from those under their authority. This was given in a number of ways, ranging from

104 Turner, 1861:433.
105 Ibid, 399.
106 Gill, 1885:12.
107 Mataio, Saroa 12 March 1898, SS September 1898:105.
providing food, attending services and schools, the building of missionary houses and churches. When Turner visited Rotuma in 1845, he found the Samoan missionaries well and kindly treated. A more vivid example of the people's support and concern for their missionary was found on Mare by Turner during the same voyage:

Tataio had been well himself, and to our astonishment, had been kindly treated. Eight months ago, his fellow teacher Taniela of Tutuila died of consumption....

The natives wept and wailed, as if it had been one of themselves. Their next fear was, lest anything should happen to Tataio. They were more careful than ever to supply him with food. Would not allow him to work, forbid him to go off to ships. 'If', they said, 'you die or get killed, the missionary ship will come and think we have killed both you and Taniela'.

In 1852, Turner found a similar reaction amongst the Niueans for their Samoan missionary, Paulo:

The Christian party which numbers perhaps between 200 and 300 had stood nobly by them and had given a very encouraging measure of attention to their instructions. They have assisted them in procuring the necessities of life and in erecting a dwelling house. They have also built a chapel.

It is difficult to know the extent to which the people were influenced by the pride of Samoan missionaries to provide houses befitting their rank and status. Judging from the size of the houses the people built for them, it could be argued that the majority of Samoan missionaries had preconceived ideas and grand designs of the type of houses they ought to have. For instance, Turner was so impressed with Samuela's house in Niue that he likened it to a palace:

Samuela's house is one of the best teachers' houses I have ever seen, quite a palace - 80' x 30', divided into seven apartments, well plastered, finished with doors and venetians, and furnished with tables, chairs, sofas and bedsteads.

109 Turner, 1861:358.
110 Ibid, 402.
111 The Samoan Reporter, September 1852 (no.XIV):2.
112 Turner, 1861:518.
Marriott was equally impressed with Mata'ese's house in Killerton Island, New Guinea. 'His house built by the people is a beautiful one 50' x 10', five bedrooms and tin roofed'. The finished buildings must have stood in sharp contrast to the ordinary dwellings of the local people. They were evidently designed by the missionaries to further exhibit to the people their superior rank and status. It is possible that the people took the initiative in suggesting a house of such a size, but like everything that was associated with church life, it would have required the consent of the Samoan missionary, tacit or otherwise. It could further be conjectured that Samoan missionaries were merely imitating practices followed by European missionaries, but this would imply that the Samoan missionaries were unconscious of their own importance and their rank and status in Samoan society.

The missionary's house was to the Samoan missionary a status symbol. This is not to deny that its size had practical value or that the people had pride in it. On the contrary, it was used as the main school building, and in some places it was also the main venue for church meetings. That it served such useful functions gave the people pride in the maintenance of their missionary's house. Hunt gives an illuminating account of how the women of Matapaila, New Guinea, saved their missionary's house and chapel when a fire swept through their village:

Li'i's house almost caught fire. When the women saw that the pastor's house was going to catch fire, they left the saving of their own houses and ran to put out the fire that was threatening their pastor's house. The church building and Li'i's house were saved, owing to the kind act of the women. No able man was in the village at the time, all were working in the plantations.

The Samoan missionaries themselves acknowledged the people's support. Peniata, who worked in Bou, wrote:

The courage of my church members is amazing. They refuse to be put off their faith by the sneering and

113 Marriott, Report of Visitation to New Guinea, 1899, SS March 1899:166-68.

the non-believers. They really support my work and were the ones who built my house.115

And Alefaio in Killerton Island remarked on the initiative of the young people in his work:

I make the plans for each year according to the way our work is going. This year has been one of the best, the young people have shown keenness in church worship, in fact they take the lead in our work.116

Yet these were not the only ways local people supported the work of Samoan missionaries. Some of them, who had visited countries where Christianity was already flourishing, gave accounts confirming the truth of the missionaries' teachings.117

Support from the Samoan church was mainly in the form of advice and encouragement imparted to the Samoan missionaries by visiting European missionaries and Samoan faifae'au from their home church.118 At times though, monetary donations were sent. For instance, the Palealili ratagaluaega sent a gift of eight guineas to the students of Vatorata for the building of their chapel.119 And plants, such as breadfruit, mangoes, bananas and others, were also received from Malua and some villages to beautify the campuses of Rongorongo School in Beru and Vatorata School in New Guinea.120 Timber for buildings was also sent.121 In 1901, the SDC presented two boats to the PDC to assist the work of the Samoan missionaries there.122 Other mission stations under the auspices of the SDC also gave support. For instance,

---

115 Peniata, Ecu (Milne Bay), SS September 1909:135.
116 Alefaio, Killerton Island (Milne Bay), SS September 1909:136.
118 The SDC often acted on behalf of the Samoan missionaries in matters which involved government regulations or another District Committee's policies. This form of support is discussed below, 225-39.
119 Lawes, Vatorata, SS May 1899:177-78.
121 Lawes, Vatorata, SS May 1899:177-78.
122 SDC Minutes, Papatua, 2-5 December 1901.
the churches of the Ellice Islands contributed to a combined effort with Malua, Palealili and Tutuila matagaluega to send a supply of food for the churches in the southern Gilberts in 1910. The content of the shipment is evident from the way it was distributed:

The bananas I have kept at Ronorono for all our students and pupils, each Samoan pastor gets 5 bags of rice and 10 tins of biscuits. Each Gilbert Island teacher gets 1 bag of rice and 2 tins of biscuits. Coconuts from the Ellice Group are kept in the Institution. Support from the home church was thus another powerful incentive to succeed. In some ways, the goods were a reminder to the Samoan missionaries of the expectations of their aiga, nu'u and atunu'u. And while such support certainly assisted their work, it also had a mollifying effect on their temperaments which at times were severely tested by the people's attitudes and behaviour.

Hindrances to church growth varied from place to place. In Anatom, for instance, the older people ordered the Samoan missionaries to stop their day school because they disliked their children becoming wiser than themselves. While in New Guinea, the enthusiasm of children for learning was dempened by the lack of food at the missionary's house as well as by the unavailability of any printed literature in their own language. Food shortage was such a serious problem in some parts of New Guinea that church activities came to a standstill. For example, when Hunt visited Morape in 1896, he was unable to conduct any examination as the people had moved far out in search of food:

This is a common problem in this area and it is usual for some villagers to leave their village and all go out in search of food up to a period of 2-3 months. Schools or any other church activities for them are not possible during these times. If it was not for this, no doubt there would now be great improvements.

123 Goward to Hills (secretary of SDC), Beru 7 December 1910, SSL.
124 Turner, 1861:365.
125 Ma'anaima, SS October 1896:261-62.
In some places, the work was hindered by the ambivalence of the people concerning the teachings of the missionaries. Sio, a Samoan faife'au who accompanied Newell during a visit to the Ellice Islands in 1904, found this situation in Nanumea:

There is a sad trend here. The people want to return to their old ways.... The result of this has been that the pastor has not been looked after and there is a general decline in the growth of his work.127

In other places almost total rejection, for a time anyway, impeded growth. Hunt, when visiting Vanuabaga, Kabadi, in 1896, felt very sympathetic for Timoteo and his wife owing to the persistent opposition of the people to their work:

The chiefs are the leading criminals. They hardly respect the Sabbath. Very few people attend church service. I held an examination for the children, but very few could read.128

To contend however that the indigenous people were entirely responsible for the poor performance of the children is misleading. It is quite possible that some of the missionaries were not at their best when it came to teaching. Perhaps they concentrated on other parts of their work such as preaching and translation. It is also possible that what the Samoans reported as stumbling blocks and difficulties were no more than the people's misinterpretation of their teaching. For example, Newell, in summing up his impression of the work in the NWO after his visit there in 1904, said:

The pastors in some places were not looked after. The people gave the pastors according to the amount of work each did. Furthermore, the people have misinterpreted the meaning of 'free will giving'. They have taken this to mean 'if you don't want to give, don't'; but the meaning they ought to know is 'you give what you can, big or small'.129

It is evident that Newell reported what the Samoan missionaries chose to tell him; and perhaps all of it was true. But given the lapse of

127 Sio, Report of Visitation to NWO 1904, SS September 1904:105-06.
128 Hunt, Report...1896, SS October 1896:262.
time between the occurrence of an incident and the time they reported it to their European mentors, it is possible that some of the perceived hindrances were no more than excuses for their failures. Sio recognised this:

Some pastors appear unfaithful in the fulfilment of their call, as evident in the poor standard achieved by children during the exams we conducted.130

Samoan missionaries, familiar with the demands the fa'a-samoа made on those under authority to obey and show respect, expected the same from the indigenous people of the places where they worked. When these attitudes were not forthcoming, they readily laid the blame on the people. It is perhaps noteworthy that in all the letters written by Samoan missionaries, there is not one mention of any failures on their part. Success was their motto. And although they acknowledged the considerable part the people played in achieving this, they clearly viewed themselves as responsible for any such positive response from the indigenous population. This is clearly evident in the type of church buildings they encouraged the people to construct.

In terms of size, there was certainly an emphasis on large buildings. The first church built on Lifu in 1851, for instance, measured:

100 feet in length and 40 feet wide. The walls are almost 9-10' high and 3 feet thick. It has a good pulpit and reading desk, doors and venetian windows, and it is being furnished with seats.131

Five years later another church was built in the same island of similar size (114' x 38') with a reputed seating capacity for 1,000 people.132 And when Turner visited Niue in 1859, he noted that the people of the village where Samuela was working 'were about to build a larger church than their present one which then measured 90 feet by 20 feet and held 500 people'.133 Churches of such size were also built in the Ellice group.

130 Sio, Report...1904, 55 September 1904:105-06.
131 The Samoan Reporter (1852):2.
133 Turner, 1861:513.
For example, the church in Vaitupu which Newell dedicated in 1909 measured 120 feet by 60 feet, its interior ceiling was 14 feet and the outside roof was 16 feet high. By comparison the churches in New Guinea appeared small, their average size being 60 feet by 30 feet. Nevertheless, they were probably the biggest buildings in the villages.

The design of most churches probably resembled those in Samoa. The influence of Samoan architectural style cannot be denied in view of the fact that some of the Samoan missionaries actually did the building as was the case with the first church in Manuata (Fly River District) which Fania built in 1905, while all of them whether or not they took part in the construction, always supervised the work. In some cases the missionaries employed other Samoans, living in the area or recruited from Samoa, to build the church. For instance, Isaia's church in Murray Island, Torres Strait, which was dedicated in 1901, was built by Pita Fusi, a Samoan living there.

The materials used were local timber, Samoan timber brought by the John Williams, glass for windows, limestone, nails, and sinnet made from coconut fibre. The acquisition of some of these materials cost the people an enormous sum of money. Led by their missionary, fund raising sometimes lasted for years. Isaia reports that his people worked and saved for four years to raise £257 for their new church. In Badu, the people did likewise to raise £372/16/- for their church. Even more staggering was the cost of the Vaitupu Church, £1292/13/-.

In some places, fund raising was spared to some extent by good fortune. For example, the people of Mabuiag found a treasure of silver from an

134 Utulaelae, SS September 1909:131.
135 See Appendix D, XXIII.
136 'First Church in the Fly River District', SS August 1906:89.
137 'Dedication of Church in Murray Island', SS March 1902:44.
138 Idem.
139 SS November 1900:21.
140 Utulaelae, SS September 1909:131.
old Spanish wreck while they were diving for shells. The silver was sold for £700. Of this, they gave £115 to Finau to help build their new church. It is to the credit of the people and their missionary that when the churches were dedicated there were no debts.

It is easy to overlook the tremendous efforts of the people in the rather biased accounts of church dedications offered by the Samoan missionaries. A glimpse of the harsh physical labour involved in the construction of these churches can be seen in the use of hatchets by the Niueans to cut timber for their church; or the efforts of the Lifuans in bringing timber for their church building in canoes from the island of Mare thirty miles away.

The importance of the church building for the people was as a place of worship. For them it was the 'House of God'. But for the Samoan missionaries, it probably signified something temporal as well. Bearing in mind their obsession with rank and status, the mere existence of a church building was for them a visible testimony of their power and authority. It was moreover a sign of personal achievement; a lasting monument of their place in the history of the people, a constant reminder to them of their presence and influence. True, they came from a land where church buildings were spectacular in structure and design, but church buildings in Samoa were often governed by village pride and prestige, an aspect of the competitiveness between villages. Familiar with the benefits gained from manipulating village pride, it is conceivable that the Samoan missionaries used this technique in encouraging the people to build the kind of churches they believed befitted their rank and status.

The dedication of new churches was an occasion to exhibit this latent consciousness of the Samoan missionaries. Without devaluing the importance which such occasions had on the people's spiritual life, perhaps their real significance was the opportunity they gave the Samoan missionaries to display their love of ceremonies in which their position was acknowledged and enhanced.

141 Finau, SS February 1898:36-37.
142 The Samoan Reporter (1852):2.
143 Idem.
144 See Appendix D, XXIII.
CHAPTER FIVE

THE SAMOANISATION OF INDIGENOUS CULTURES

No society could be Christianised without being upset to a considerable extent, for the process of evangelisation involved more than a displacement of traditional religious ideas by those of Christianity. Considering the important place religion had as a focal point for all other social activities, the changes precipitated by the introduction of Christianity undermined the unity of traditional society as a whole. In this context, Samoan missionaries were necessarily revolutionaries on a grand scale. As they were often the first foreign settlers in many of the places they went to, they invariably initiated (late arrivals assisted and enforced) the process of disintegration of traditional society. However, as already shown, the Christian dogma which the Samoan missionaries gave the indigenous people was their own understanding of Christianity or kerisiano fa'a-samoa which was deeply rooted in the demands of the fa'a-samoa. In view of this, it could be argued that many of the changes engineered by the Samoan missionaries cannot be explained exclusively on the basis of substitution for the aboriginal religions, but must rather be interpreted as part of the cumulative impact of the kerisiano fa'a-samoa on indigenous cultures as a whole.

In all the places where they worked, the Samoan missionaries were afforded with a familiar setting conducive to their efforts to introduce the kerisiano fa'a-samoa. The majority of their hearers lived in villages; and the few who did not, lived in village type settlements which were established to meet the spiritual needs of a newly formed church district. The village setting enabled the Samoans to display modes of behaviour normally associated with village life in their own country, such as the way in which they kept their houses clean, washed themselves and their clothes regularly, cooked

1 See above, 69-99
food, gardened, fished, built canoes and houses as well as making artifacts for everyday use, all of which greatly influenced the people. Furthermore, the village setting provided the Samoan missionaries with the close community contact necessary to observe the peoples' culture in operation as well as the forum in which they could participate and influence local politics.

The knowledge and understanding they gained from their initial observation helped them to decide which features of the indigenous cultures they would stamp out as well as the kind of social changes they considered necessary to replace them. Proposed changes were often justified in the belief that the old ways were contrary to the teachings of Christ. But in reality, customs were changed because they were often in opposition to the expectations of karisiano fa'a-samoa. No effort was made to convey the Christian message through any of the existing cultural norms. And even the use of local language, in itself a later development, was corrupted by the influence of Samoan ideas since printed literature in the local vernacular was usually translated from the Samoan Bible. In some places, such as the Ellice Islands and Tokelau, the Samoan language replaced the vernacular as the official language in church and schools. The Christian ideas which the Samoan missionaries transmitted to the indigenous people were therefore presented in cultural norms alien to the local people.

Of all the characteristics of indigenous cultures, none alarmed the missionaries more than those associated with traditional religion, especially rites connected with ancestor worship and cannibalism. In their written accounts of the peoples' way of life, Samoan missionaries highlighted the importance they attached to abolishing traditional religion which they regarded as the major stumbling block to progress and success. The elaborate details of such descriptions and the biased overtones of their accounts indicate a real disgust for the people's

---

behaviour and style of living.

A glimpse of how the first Samoan missionaries in the New Hebrides, Loyalty Islands and New Caledonia dealt with the issue of traditional religion may be gained from the reports and journals of visiting European missionaries of the period. These accounts stressed the scope of the problem and the immensity of the task facing the Samoan missionaries, but they are limited to the impressions of visiting Europeans. Admittedly, the features of traditional religion described by the Europeans were encountered by the Samoans. But to therefore contend that the Samoans understood these features in the same way is misleading. The European reports emphasised the role of Samoan missionaries as agents of religious and social change, revealing the ability of many Samoans to comprehend various facets of indigenous cultures. Many Samoans wrote extensive accounts of the pre-Christian religions of the indigenous people. Unfortunately, editions of the *Sulu Samoa* from 1839 to 1880 do not appear to have survived, thus making it difficult to see how the early Samoans viewed pagan religion during this period. Nevertheless, some glimpses of their attitudes may be gained from the writings of those for the period 1880 to 1930.

Guided perhaps by European methods and ideas learned at Malua, as well as by the knowledge of the important role their own pagan religion had played in everyday social activities, the Samoan missionaries had few misgivings concerning the considerable challenge their mission presented to the indigenous people. To the Samoans, the abolition of traditional religion was not merely a confrontation between themselves and the representatives of the old religious orders, or a debate between two sets of religious beliefs, but rather a total nullification of everything associated with traditional religion. There would be no compromises.


4 Turner, 1884:18; Stair, 1897:70; Handy, 1978:159-63.
In the absence of any written accounts by Samoan missionaries for the period 1839 to 1880, it is not at all clear whether or not the actions they took in dealing with traditional religion and other facets of indigenous culture were motivated primarily by Christian principles or by attitudes embedded in the fa'a-samoa, or both. The writings of the Rarotongan missionary, Ta'unga, illustrate to some extent how a Polynesian missionary reacted to practices such as cannibalism, warfare and the religious beliefs associated with these. Yet, it is clear from the tone and content of Ta'unga's reports that his reactions were primarily determined by his Christian convictions. Abhorring the existence of pagan practices, Ta'unga informed his European mentors in his homeland of the sinful state of the indigenous population in New Caledonia. No Samoan missionary wrote as extensively as Ta'unga on indigenous cultures. Nevertheless, some attempted to describe their situation.

From the available accounts, the Samoans appeared to have adopted a paternalistic approach in dealing with pagan religion and indigenous cultures as a whole. Their attitudes were uncompromising to the point of being patronising. It is conceivable that such attitudes were the result of the way they themselves were taught about Christianity as well as of the demands of the fa'a-samoa for one to uphold his rank and status in a given situation. Valuable knowledge of the way Samoan missionaries reacted to pagan religion can be gained from the reports of European missionaries of the period. Yet these reports merely testified to what had been done, such as the destruction of god images, ancestral shrines, the confiscation of religious and warfare objects such as spears, clubs and sorcerers' potions; or the abandonment of customary practices such as infanticide, abortion and polygamy. They did not state whether the Samoans were following instructions and failed to indicate at what point of the process the Samoans used any of their own initiative if indeed they were permitted to do so. The fact that some Samoan missionaries in the southern Gilberts and the Ellice Islands used materials from the discarded pagan buildings to improve their own

dwellings merely reflects a certain degree of ambivalence in the attitude of their European advisers with regard to such matters, since the European missionaries applauded the destruction of ancestral shrines, but were not so severe as to prohibit the utilisation of materials from pagan buildings to improve the homes of their agents. 6

For the majority of Samoan missionaries, especially the pioneers, there existed the fervent belief that the only way to establish God's kingdom was to destroy the god images worshipped by the indigenous people. 7 Those who worked in New Guinea wrote extensive accounts of the physical forms these god images took, ranging from carved wooden figures, - animals 8 and human beings 10 - to stones, 11

6 In the majority of places where Samoan missionaries worked, European missionaries only took up residence long after the mission had commenced. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Date Samoan Missionary Landed</th>
<th>Date European Missionary Landed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mare</td>
<td>1841</td>
<td>1854 (S.M. Creagh and J. Jones)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uvea</td>
<td>1856</td>
<td>1864 (S. Ella, Mrs Ella)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anatom</td>
<td>1841</td>
<td>1848 (Mr &amp; Mrs Powell; Mr &amp; Mrs Geddie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellice Islands</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>1913 (Mr Bond James)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Gilberts</td>
<td>1870</td>
<td>1900 (Mr &amp; Mrs Goward)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7 Although there are no available accounts by Samoan missionaries before 1890 to verify the above generalisation, the fact that they acted in the same way as those after 1890 regarding this issue suggests that the attitudes expressed by the latter group in their writings was also shared by their predecessors.

8 A description of one of these is given by Isaia. For details, see Appendix D, XXXII.

9 Timoteo, SS August 1909:121-22. For details, see Appendix D, XXXIV.

10 Mata'ese, SS April 1896:178-79. For details, see Appendix D, XIII.

11 Timoteo, SS October 1904:86-87; Apineru, Kalaigolo 10 June 1905, SS December 1905:135; Apineru, SS May 1906:56-57. For details of these, see Appendix D, XXVIII, XXIX, XXXI.
as well as the influence these had on the lives of the local people.

Timoteo, for instance, acknowledged the considerable effect stone
worship had amongst the people at Kabadi:

The effect of this stone (Nebu) on the minds of the 
people is truly amazing. Everyone fears it. No 
one sleeps by himself in the night, or goes to the 
bush alone. Every death appears to be explained 
by the existence of such a stone, no matter what 
cause it.12

Likewise, Apineru reported a conversation he had with a man who alleged 
that the stones he was carrying in his string bag were his god because 
they had mana.13 As the man explained:

If I take it to the bush and tie it to my net, it 
will call to a pig to come immediately, so that I may 
see its power.14

In another letter, Timoteo reported how a whole village was gripped 
by fear when a snake, which was chasing a small pig to the centre of 
the village, was believed by some to be the embodiment of their sacred 
god Garove. 'When this was heard, fear gripped everyone as the 
possibility of death entered their minds.' 15

Quite apart from the nature of such beliefs, the Samoan 
missionaries also had to combat the representatives of the old religious 
order whose duty (very much akin to that of the Samoan missionaries 
themselves) was to propagate and promote the validity and utility of the 
existing system. The confrontation at this level centred around the 
issues of power and status; and the two parties concentrated their 
efforts on discrediting the credentials of the other. Both parties 
knew that the future of their respective religious systems depended 
on the final outcome of their confrontation. The intensity of the 
encounter reflected the determination of both groups to succeed.

12 Timoteo, SS October 1904:86-87. For details, see Appendix D, 
XXVIII.

13 Apineru, Kalaigolo 10 June 1905, SS December 1905:135. For 
details, see Appendix D, XXIX.

14 Idem.

15 Timoteo, SS August 1909:121-22. For details, see Appendix D, 
XXXIV.
As guardians of traditions, pagan priests and sorcerers resented the presence of Samoan missionaries and their new teachings, which directly undermined the prestigious position they occupied in society and the associated social benefits. Ironically, the very position Samoan missionaries were attempting to discredit was the position to which they themselves aspired. That is, they wanted to have the influence and status previously held by the representatives of the traditional religious system, except now on their terms. Thus, the social benefits of the position became one of the most important elements in the ensuing confrontation.

For the Samoan missionaries, there was simply no room for pagan priests as such in the proposed new religious order. To become members of the new order, they had to relinquish not only their former position and status, but also publicly denounce all traditional religious ideas and practices. Moreover, these pre-requisites required the final approval of the Samoan missionaries who left no doubt as to their intention of filling the spiritual office vacated by the priests. In view of these considerations, both parties were uncompromising.

The resentment of the pagan priests was understandable. The encroachment of Samoan missionaries on their sphere of power and influence threatened their livelihood as well as the source of their alleged mana. For example, when one of Isaia's assistants took the carved piece of wood that the people of Keneo worshipped as their god from the house where it was kept, the sorcerer, having failed in his efforts to procure some sort of fatal medicine to harm Isaia, went to him and begged for the return of his god. His reasons were a combination of personal concern for his status and the subsequent loss of social support:

You have removed my god and given it to Isaia. The people know that my god is no longer with me, and as a result, they have stopped giving me the things they usually give. They have stopped giving me food and my dignity is slowly declining. My personal ghost came and haunted me last night trying to kill me. I know I will be killed unless my god is returned to me.  

16 Isaia, 55 November 1906:187-88. For details, see Appendix D, XXXII.
The obsession of pagan priests and sorcerers with the maintenance of their status revolved around their ability to exploit any unusual circumstances, offering interpretations which suited their own ends while simultaneously appearing to fulfil a sacred duty expected of their position by the gods. For instance, in the above mentioned case when the people of Keneo were fear-stricken by the appearance of a snake which the priests of their god Oarove insisted was Oarove himself visiting them, one of the priests instructed them as follows:

Oarove will not leave us until we tie up a small pig to offer as a sacrifice for him. So tie up a pig, while I go and call Oarove to come down, then when he comes, I will take him and his pig to the west.

Sometimes, the priests would make blatant demands for payment. The extent of what they could so and the success of their efforts depended on how much the people were willing to give them. For instance, Timoteo reports that:

During 1907, one of the Oarove people became ill with fever and a headache. He belonged to a very wealthy family both in material wealth and food. A priest of the Oarove cult who specialises in prayers visited him and informed the man and his family that there was no way he can be well again unless they pay him well since it was a serious illness. The family began to assemble the payment. Much food and other goods were put aside for the priest. Meanwhile, the priest prayed. After this, he left with all his acquired goods.

The willingness of the people to obey the demands of priests and sorcerers reflected the considerable influence they had over the people. The Samoan missionaries often found themselves having to combat the readiness of the people to defend the sorcerers' philosophy of life. Apineru, for instance, explains why this type of attitude was an obstacle to his work:

17 Timoteo, SS August 1909:121-22. For details, see Appendix D, XXXIV.
18 Idem.
19 Idem.
If someone becomes ill, for instance a boil on his leg or on his back, they never regard this as a sickness. Instead they explain it as 'Vada has hurt him'. The relatives immediately go out in search of a sorcerer to come and bring some medicine for him and examine all parts of his body, to see which part of the tip of Vada's spear is in. The sorcerer arrives, having already prepared a tip of a spear which he has hidden in some part of his body; and begins chewing some herbs which will be spread over the patient's body. All of a sudden, the tip of the spear he has hidden will fall out from the back or the leg of the patient, much to the amazement of the onlookers. The people stand in total awe admiring the power and skill of the sorcerer. In seeing this, the sorcerer then says to the sick man, 'You will not die, you are alive as a result of my mana and the mana of my medicine'. He then returns to his home while the sick man begins to look for goods to pay him.20

The religious beliefs inculcated by sorcerers and priests and their followers permeated all facets of the community. In view of this, the Samoan missionaries became determined to suppress all forms of traditional worship. The initial step in this process of religious transformation was the eradication of any physical object which the sorcerers and priests identified as sacred. The Samoans believed that the total elimination of such things would reveal the ineffectiveness of sorcerers and priests and precipitate a questioning of the validity of their beliefs by the people. Consequently, wooden or stone figures were either broken up or confiscated.21 Animals which were held to embody the gods were killed.22 Even the remains of ancestors and the houses where these were kept were either destroyed or buried.23

20 Apineru, SS September 1910:139-40. For details, see Appendix D, XXXV.
21 Isaia, SS November 1906:187-88. For details, see Appendix D, XXXII. Apineru, SS May 1906:56-57. For details, see Appendix D, XXXI.
22 Timoteo, SS August 1909:121-22. For details, see Appendix D, XXXIV.
23 Timoteo, SS April 1894:64-65. Timoteo, SS November 1894:178. For details, see Appendix D, VI, VII.
The Samoan missionaries usually took the initiative in this process. Wyat Gill, for instance, reported how Ioane used an axe to destroy the two pillars sacred to the shooting star god of the Nanumeans in the Ellice Islands.\(^{24}\) Similarly, Timoteo wrote of how he, Naite and Isaia killed the snake the Keneo people of Milne Bay believed was the embodiment of their god Carove and of giving permission for the members of their churches to cook and eat it afterwards.\(^{25}\) Sometimes the Samoan missionaries would confiscate objects of religious significance only to offer them later as souvenirs to visiting government officials or European missionaries. Isaia, for instance, gave the wooden god of the Keneo to a visiting government official.\(^{26}\) And Samuelu, who worked in the Torres Strait Islands, not only removed the stone god of the island, but later ordered it to be smashed; its pieces were then used for an oven.\(^{27}\)

By defying the supposed power of these sacred objects, and exposing the powerlessness of the gods as well as the deception of sorcerers' teachings, the Samoan missionaries generated uncertainty and confusion amongst the people as to the relevancy of religious beliefs. In effect, this was what they were hoping to achieve, namely, to create a situation whereby the people would begin to question the validity of their old religious beliefs while at the same time entertaining the possibility of Christian ideas as their replacement. Thus, the eradication of traditional religious beliefs and the promotion of kerisiano fa'a-samoa in their place went hand in hand.

The method by which this was achieved was relatively simple. Ideals of the fa'a-samoa such as the power and status of the faife'au were upheld by the missionaries as crucial Christian principles to refute the relevancy of the old religious beliefs. Thus it was a


\(^{25}\) Timoteo, SS August 1909:121-22. For details, see Appendix D, XXXIV.

\(^{26}\) Isaia, SS November 1906:187-88. For details, see Appendix D, XXXII.

\(^{27}\) Pers. comm., Tautala Samuelu, Apia 5 June 1979.
common practice amongst the Samoan missionaries to behave in ways that were contrary to the principles which governed the sacredness of the old religious beliefs. An example of this was the way Paulo defied the belief of the Kuale people that no one was to work when a pig was killed in the nearby village of Dokura. The Kuale people believed that if anyone broke this rule he would go blind. Paulo reported how he overcame this belief:

One day, news reached us that Dokura were killing their pigs. I and a number of my Kuale boys were sitting in our home waiting for the time of our school. When our school concluded for the afternoon, I said to my boys 'Could you help me plant yams and taros in my garden?' They all agreed. We therefore set out to work. When the people heard about it, they came and tried to stop the boys reminding them of what would happen to their eyes. The boys however took no notice, telling them that their belief was a lie, and continued to work.28

The above incident illustrates one of the most common ways Samoan missionaries used to combat traditional religious beliefs. Whenever the opportunity to challenge existing beliefs arose, they often acted swiftly and forcibly. In some places, pieces of ground within village compounds, believed to be the sacred domain of the gods and reserved only for their representatives, were desecrated when the Samoans deliberately walked on them.29 Every facet of life which appeared to have some religious significance or was responsible for the legitimisation of superstitious beliefs was verbally condemned and frowned upon. For instance, marriage ceremonies and burial customs were forbidden.30 Such practices were made to conform to Christian norms. For example, Filemoni reports how he instructed the people of Killerton Island to bury a dead man in a horizontal position instead of the traditional vertical position:

28 Paulo, SS November 1908:164. See also Timoteo, SS April 1894: 64-65. For details of Timoteo's letter, see Appendix D, VI.
29 Tito, SS February 1912:22.
30 Timoteo, SS March 1895:33. Ma'anaima, SS May 1892:108. Filemoni, SS December 1892:270-71. For details, see Appendix D, II, III, VIII.
Those who went to dig the grave, dug a round grave instead of the measurements I gave them. I went along to inspect and found it was round. So I told them off and gave them instructions to quickly dig another one. They agreed out of fear and dug unwillingly complaining that my method was bad because it created too much work.31

Foodstuffs usually reserved for a particular group, were permitted to be consumed by the rest of the people.32 In their efforts to undermine traditional beliefs, the Samoan missionaries displayed a lack of discrimination as to what was religious and what was not. For instance, daily chores such as cooking, gardening, hygiene, or the care of domestic animals also came under criticism. Even the style of housing and the way village compounds were constructed received the same treatment. In concerning themselves with these features of indigenous societies, Samoan missionaries directly influenced the mental world of the people by introducing features of their own culture as alternatives. This can be seen in the comparisons they made between the ways such chores were performed by the local people and by the Samoans. For example, Ma'anaima repeatedly compared the social practices of the Kabadi people with those in Samoa. Referring to domestic animals, he wrote 'They have no fences to keep their domestic pigs as in Samoa'. As to the method of growing food crops, he had this to say:

The earth is not properly prepared, and the piece of land where taro stems or yams will be planted is not cleared. When the taro plant has given leaves, the women go out and break off all the leaves except the new shoots. Even the yams are not cut up then taken to be planted as in Samoa; rather they are left lying around in the house until they eventually grow, then they are taken out to be planted.33

31 Filemoni, SS December 1892:270-71. For details, see Appendix D, III.
32 Apelu, SS March 1898:43.
33 Ma'anaima, SS October 1896:261. For details, see Appendix D, IX.
It is conceivable that the Samoans were merely identifying differences between their own culture and those of the people they lived with. Yet, the comparisons they made reveal otherwise. Value judgements as to the ineffectiveness of indigenous methods in contrast to Samoan methods characterised their attitudes. This suggests that the Samoan missionaries were not only concerned with the form and pattern of such social activities, but also with associated behavioural patterns.

Social behaviour, especially inter-personal relationships between parents and children, were also observed and compared with Samoan patterns. Fa'asi'u gives an example of this in his dealings with the people of Morabe:

The children do not love their parents when the parents reach old age. They do not look after them unlike the type of bond that exists between parents and children in Samoa. The parents, though old and weak, still have to crawl around in search of food. When the children reach marriageable age, they leave their parents and search for food only for themselves and their wives, without ever thinking of the parents and the times they cared for them while they were young. It is incredible how bad this custom is here.34

Social positions were also compared with those of Samoa. Filemoni reported that in Killerton Island the chiefs were not honoured except on special occasions.35 The role of women in society was also examined, with the view that the wife of the Samoan missionary was to be the model on which women's behaviour and dress was to be based.36 That the Samoan missionaries adopted elements of the fa'a-samoa to assess and determine the relative worth of indigenous cultures is evident from an analysis of their writings. The descriptive nature of their accounts of various features of indigenous society, as well as the topography and natural history of these places, had a dual purpose: to reflect their knowledge and understanding of indigenous

---

34 Fa'asi'u, Moarabi, 25 August 1893, SS December 1893:244.
35 Filemoni, SS July 1896:183.
36 Timoteo, SS April 1894:64-65. Ma'anaima, SS October 1896:261. For details, see Appendix D, VI, IX.
cultures, and to inform people in Samoa of the harshness and difficulties they perceived in the physical environment they were working in and the general backwardness of the people they were supposed to convert.37

Perceptions gained by Samoan missionaries of indigenous cultures not only varied amongst themselves, but also from place to place. Moreover, it would appear, judging from the recorded accounts in the Sulu Samoa that only a few gained any extensive knowledge of indigenous cultures. But this contention would only be valid if there was not any emphasis on oral communication in the faasamoa. It is conceivable that Samoan missionaries when pressed by relatives and friends on returning to Samoa, conversed freely about the places where they worked and the way of life of the people in such places.

That they understood some facet of indigenous cultures was probably the result of having lived in the same place over a number of years, rather than any direct academic interest on its anthropological features. It is conceivable that similarity in the cultural expression of social norms such as power, wealth, authority and rewards may have accelerated the process of acquiring knowledge of the indigenous culture. On the other hand it could be argued that the knowledge of indigenous cultures Samoan missionaries claim to have were no more than impressions based on observations. Whatever means used to acquire this knowledge is a matter for conjecture. But what is certain was the influence such knowledge had in the choice of cultural features Samoan missionaries were prepared to tolerate in their present form or at the very least, after some modifications. In effect therefore, the process of cultural transformation was a deliberate effort by Samoan missionaries to launch not just a programme of social and religious changes but also a psychological revolution to ensure that a new convert was a samoanised christian. An example of this was the way Samoan missionaries re-interpreted ancestor worship in the Ellice Islands. They discovered that Ellice Islanders believed in more than one ancestor which their warrior genealogies supported.38 This the Samoans would not

37 Filemoni, SS January 1893:6. For details, see Appendix D, IV.
38 Gill, 1885:21.
accept. In the first place, it contradicted what their European mentors had taught them in Malua, namely, that God was the Father of mankind. Personally, it contradicted their own traditional religious belief that Tagaloa created everything. To overcome the problem, Samoan missionaries propogate that Old Testament view of God as the most powerful and fearful God of mankind. All ancestors of the Ellice Islands were under his rule and authority. This meant that not only were the ancestors linked in kinship but all the people of the Ellice Island. In effect, the Samoan missionaries did not replace the object of ancestor worship, but merely posited a higher one in the hierarchy of ancestors.39

This understanding reflects the Samoaness of the process. For in effect Samoans merely substitute the name Ieova (Jehovah) for the position occupied by Tagaloa. To ensure that their ideas would be respected, the Samoan missionaries informed the Ellice Islanders that their only way of finding God their first ancestor, was through them and the Church. In this way the Samoan missionaries presented themselves as spiritual mediators and being such guaranteed for themselves rank and status in the life of the local people.40(a)

The Samoans' attitude meant that rank order in traditional society came to be predicated more on the degree of assimilation and


40(a) Brady and Isaac 1975:122-3.
relative position achieved in the Church hierarchy than on traditional birth order amongst Polynesian communities, or as was the case in Melanesian societies, special skills. Priority of membership of the village councils was allocated according to converted chiefs, elders and Big Men. This ensured their domination by the Samoan missionaries and thereby ensured their influence in all important council decisions. An official of the Niuean Church acknowledged this change:

Niue used to have chiefs, one in each village. But when the Samoan pastors arrived, they set out to replace them with themselves by asserting the power of decision making in the Church and by making the Church the centre of all village activities. 40

In many Papuan societies, part of the power of the men over the women and children was through their knowledge of secret traditions often associated with grotesque masks which appeared as 'spirits' to frighten the women and children. Many of these secrets were exposed by the Samoans, so undermining the almost absolute power of men over women and children.

The formation of churches and the subsequent appointment of converted chiefs and Big Men to be office bearers legitimised the position of the Samoan missionaries in the community. In the safety of the Church framework, their proposed social and religious reforms aimed at changing the peoples' attitudes and behaviour were formulated and executed. Church regulations were introduced to govern the behaviour of the people both within and outside the Church. Fines for not attending Church services and meetings, adultery, illicit connection, stealing, drunkenness and fighting were imposed by the Samoan missionaries on local people. 41

For example, in the island of Onotoa (southern Gilberts), ten coconuts were required from each person who failed to attend Church services on Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays. Those who committed adultery had to pay fifty dollars as well as relinquishing

---


41 Naval Report. HMS Royalist (Davies). Papers respecting the Declaration of a British Protectorate over the Gilbert Islands and General Reports of the Gilbert, Ellice and Marshall Islands, 1892:46. (Royal Australian Navy Station. Hereinafter RANS 17.)
all their lands. For drunkenness, the offender had to give 1,000 coconuts; and for illicit connection, fifty dollars. 42

Sunday observance was further safeguarded by regulations which restricted what one could do. For instance, the harvesting of raw materials from the bush was forbidden as was cooking or bathing in an effort to divert energies to the Church and show respect for the new order. 43 Related to these requirements were those concerning personal appearance and clothing. Men were expected to be clean shaven, while the women were to cover their breasts whenever they ventured outside their houses. Shirts and dresses were to be worn at all times. 44 The clothes of the Samoan missionaries distinguished them from the rest of the people and were probably amongst the first signs which influenced the local population. A pair of trousers, or a white lavalava (a length of cloth wrapped around the waist and reaching to the ankles), a white shirt, black tie and a white waistcoat became their standard form of dress. These were imitations of the Western style of clothing, with the lavalava sometimes acting as a substitute for a pair of trousers.

The Samoan missionaries' fondness for wearing Western clothing irritated the European missionaries and was ridiculed by Europeans generally. To the Europeans, the Samoan missionaries and their wives were trying to gain prestige by dressing so elaborately to emphasise their separateness from the indigenous people. A government official, William MacGregor, describes the wives of the Samoan missionaries in New Guinea as 'great swells, big, ugly; and in hats with great ostrich feathers'. 45 And Mrs W.E.H. David described the appearance of the wife of the Samoan missionary in Funafuti as follows:

42 Idem.

43 David, Funafuti or Three Months on a Coral Island: an Unscientific Account of a Scientific Expedition 1899:197.


The native pastors' wife set the example of covering by wearing a muslin Samoan gown down to her bare ankles; and managed to balance on a fuzzy knob of black hair a very perky looking sailor hat, decorated with the ghastly wreck of a common artificial flower.... The hideous Samoan gown is gaining favour in Funafuti; this is a long straight garment, like a badly cut nightgown, high up to the neck with long sleeves, the skirt reaching from the yoke to the heels. Not only is this ugly, but it is also comparatively expensive, as it takes seven yards of materials to make, and has the further disadvantage of being dirty and dangerous, especially if worn in the cook house where the floor constitutes both table and fireplace, the Samoan gown dips into the dirt and the food, and is more liable to catch fire than is the leaf petticoat.46

The observations of European visitors were no doubt accurate, as were their assumptions. But the early missionaries who brought Christianity to Samoa emphasised the importance of proper clothing and the Samoans had accepted this as being part of being civilised and good Christians. The Samoan missionaries were therefore setting what to them was a good Christian and civilised example to the people they were attempting to convert to the new faith. Yet, it is also possible that the fa'a-samoa expectation of respecting superiors was a contributing factor in this attitude to clothes. That is, the Samoan missionaries put on their best clothes as a way of showing reverence to God as well as reflecting their status as representatives of God.

The Samoan missionaries also influenced the diet of the indigenous population. In New Guinea, for example, they introduced new ways of cooking, such as the use of coconut cream to make food more palatable; and the umu or earth oven to bake pigs, fish and garden crops.47 Evidence of Samoan missionaries being disgusted with what the indigenous people held as delicacies is given by Ma'anaima:

One of the women of our household said to me, 'Father, please give me some tobacco to take on my journey to the other side of our Bay so that I may buy for us in exchange some delicacies to eat with our taro'. 'Alright' I said, 'here are ten rolls of tobacco, try

46 David, 1899:223.
and get us some food, especially some good fish'. Teuniolole left us shortly afterwards. After one week, she returned. I was called to come and inspect what she had brought. The goods were laid out before me: smoked fish, bats, rats and lizards. I bowed my head in disgust. What a waste of tobacco for such horrible foodstuffs. They gave me my share, but I did not eat any, while they all ate theirs and said, 'What a foolish missionary who does not want good food'.

Partly in response to this as well as the scarcity of food in some places such as the Ellice Islands, Tokelau and the southern Gilberts, the Samoan missionaries introduced new varieties of edible plants. Murray reports on a particular type of banana Samoan missionaries took with them:

The banana, especially the variety MUSA CAVENDISHII (Chinese banana) was introduced by Williams in 1838 from England. Cultivated under the watchful eye of Mr Hills, it began to grow extensively in all the islands south of the Equator. It is low and embeds itself more deeply in the soil than the native banana, and so it escapes and lives through the ravages of storms which destroy these.... Our teachers have taken the plant wherever they have gone.

During the early days before there were restrictions on taking agricultural products from one country to another, these men and women nursed seedlings of their favourite food plants which were not growing in the places they were appointed to during the long voyage in the John Williams. At times, the European resident missionary would request specifically the importation of edible plants from Samoa. For instance, Goward in the southern Gilberts wrote to the secretary of the SDC in 1910:

I should be grateful if you could send us by the 'J.W.' a few breadfruit plants, taro plants, banana plants, a few mango plants, mummy apples, oranges, lemon or lime plants and a few seeds of flowering shrubs. This seems a big order, but you know the barrenness of this land and so I hope you will have compassion and help us.

---

48 Ma'anaima, SS July 1902:94.
49 Murray, 1875:270-71.
The cultivation of these crops was taught by the Samoan missionaries to the indigenous people, and in New Guinea, some of these crops became known as 'breadfruit Samoa' and 'banana Samoa'.

The Samoan missionaries also introduced certain behaviour or manners governing the distribution of food. In Niue, for example, it is acknowledged that the present day custom of taking food to the pastor was a Samoan invention. Some Samoan missionaries were particularly severe on this. Lupo, for instance, who served in Avatele (1850-60), often reminded the people 'No food, look out'. The Samoan missionaries in Niue also insisted on the parents eating first as was the custom in Samoa. They also introduced small eating mats, woven from the leaves of the coconut tree. These practices were all part of the Samoan missionaries' desire to instil amongst the local people a sense of correct (Samoan) behaviour towards them and the Church. Such expectations, of purely cultural nature, were rooted in the fa'a-samoa.

Samoan missionaries played a major part in bringing the indigenous people into the cash economy. Having accepted European goods as part of being Christian and 'civilised', the Samoan missionaries were eager to get the indigenous people involved in cash making ventures so they too could be civilised. They therefore encouraged the local people to be more industrious and to work hard in their gardens, growing as well as food crops more coconut trees to make copra to sell for cash. Some of this cash they encouraged the people to donate for the mission collection, some was used to purchase materials for the building of churches and missionaries' houses. The Samoan missionary was usually the accountant and treasurer of the Church, as well as its official trading agent. For example, when Turner visited

51 David, 1899:186.
52 Wetherell, 1980:139.
Funafuti in 1874, he reported that a 'Mr Thompson (Captain Hayes' agent on the island) has also 7335 nuts which he is to pay to Tema for in cash when Hayes next visits the island'. In this capacity, the Samoan missionaries had considerable influence over the people. They did not introduce trading however. On the contrary, they were probably guided by existing trading patterns. By introducing new incentives, they merely encouraged the trading habits of the people. Mataio, for example, commented on the existing trading habits of the people in the Church district of Saroa:

The coastal village people would bring their fish and other sea food delicacies to the inland villages to trade for agricultural crops such as bananas and breadfruit. At other times, the women of inland villages would take their produce to be sold in coastal settlements.

It is conceivable that the people of Saroa continued to trade the same products, but with the introduction of a new form of currency, namely money, the exchange of food products became less as people sought cash in order to meet their financial obligations to the Church. Moreover, cash would enable them to purchase other Western type goods such as clothes, reading and writing materials; and foodstuffs like flour, sugar and tea.

By enlightening the people as to the commercial principles which governed financial transactions, the Samoan missionaries were resented by resident European traders who saw in them a threat to their own capitalistic enterprises. Captain Maxwell, for instance, when visiting the Gilbert and Ellice Islands in 1881, acknowledged the great influence and power Samoan missionaries had over the local people. According to Maxwell, it was the scope of this power and influence which irritated the traders:

The traders here, as all over the islands, are apt to complain of the missionaries for interfering too much in the concerns, private and public of the natives, but I am inclined to think that this is principally because of the natives, under the instruction of the

56 Mataio, Saroa 13 March 1898. SS July 1898:97.
missionaries became aware of the real value of their produce and insist upon a proper price being paid for it.57

The trading undertakings of the Samoan missionaries at times created tension between them and the European missionaries; but the Samoans were convinced that they were acting in the best interest of the Church and its members.

The belief of the Samoans that they were the new guardians of the people subsequently meant all facets of the peoples' lifestyle came under their scrutiny; and changes were inevitable as they sought to have the people conform to their expectations. Thus, traditional games were banned as heathenish. In their place, the Samoan missionaries introduced a variety of sports, the main ones being football and Samoan style cricket. Introduced in Samoa in 1885, cricket had been quickly Samoanised:

within a short time, instead of keeping to the ordinary rules of cricket, matches were arranged with 200 a side, and the play was continued during the whole day for a month at a time, to the utter neglect of home, plantations, and worship.59

This Samoan version of cricket appealed more to the indigenous people because the number of players on each side was unrestricted, which meant whole villages could play if they wished. The game itself proved to be an occasion for festivity. For instance, the fielding side can be kept alert by doing comical exercises led by a village clown to the beat of a drum or tin. The batting side, meanwhile, spurs on good batting by singing and dancing as they wait their turn to bat.

The Samoan missionaries arranged friendly matches between villages which were once enemies; and although these sometimes ended in conflicts, they were in the main concluded with feasting and dancing. The teams were governed by church regulations. For example, in Tokelau and Niue and in parts of Papua and the Ellice Islands, only communicant

58 This issue is discussed below, 254-57.
59 Albert Spicer in The Leisure Hour 1888:563.
members were allowed to participate. There was also a time restriction, and games were often arranged to coincide with church meetings such as the May meetings of each church district. Such regulations were necessary because cricket matches did get out of hand in Samoa. 60 Sporting activities, the Samoan missionaries believed, provided a reliable substitute for traditional wars and raids. Moreover they helped sustain the competitive spirit of the people and their interest in church life.

Songs and dances, partly because of their sexual connotations and partly because of their association with traditional religious beliefs, were also suppressed by the Samoan missionaries. New songs and tunes were taught all in the Samoan language. Themes of these emphasised the greatness of the Samoan Church and its work in the Pacific, or the importance of fa'a-samo values. For instance, the Samoan missionaries taught short anthems to commemorate the dedication of a church building which were primarily a tribute to the leadership of the Samoan missionary concerned. For example, during the dedication of Finau's house in Torres Strait, Iotamo reported that all the hymns were in the Samoan language and were beautifully sung. 61 The few native songs that the Samoan missionaries permitted to remain were given a Biblical text and a distinct church tune. The best example of this was the way the fa'atele in the Ellice Islands became a dance relating Biblical stories rather than depicting legends and myths. The music accompanying the dance was also altered to conform to the Biblical theme of the dance. Changes in the arts were partly due to the willingness of the Samoan missionaries to reconstruct various aspects of their own culture to alleviate loneliness and depression; and partly to instructions from the SDC to stamp out anything that was considered heathen. For example, the Samoan missionaries in the southern Gilberts were reminded of their responsibility by the SDC in a resolution passed in 1919:

60 Idem.

61 Iotamo, SS October 1895:201.
That the Secretary be instructed to inform Iupeli F.S. of the Gilbert Islands District Committee that we cannot pass any church law concerning the weekly entertainment held in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands. This regulation aims at being in the interest of the health of the community, and we think the time has arrived when our pastors and churches ought to be strong enough to cleanse these meetings of anything objectionable.... If our pastors and church members have to be present at these meetings, we think they can do a fine piece of Christian work by insisting that the entertainment shall be clean.\textsuperscript{62}

The Samoan missionaries were very particular about personal cleanliness. In New Guinea, they found the conditions somewhat similar to those of Samoa: high rainfall and easy access to streams or the sea. Thus, bathing and swimming, favourite pastimes in Samoa, were probably encouraged. In atoll environments, however, they found it difficult to maintain such standards of cleanliness as rainfall was less frequent and rivers wholly absent. Nevertheless, they kept the floors of their houses swept and the grounds outside their homes rubbish free and tidy. By carrying out these activities daily, they not only encouraged the people to do the same, but also helped in improving personal hygiene amongst the people as well as the sanitation and appearances of the villages. New medicines were also introduced. Each Samoan missionary was issued with very basic medical supplies (anti-malaria tablets, iodine, cotton wool, bandages) for their own use, and for anybody else in the villages who might come to them for medical care.\textsuperscript{63} At the same time, the Samoan missionaries also acknowledged the usefulness of indigenous healing methods. Surgical instruments, herbs and oils were permitted to be used in healing the sick only after the Samoans had given approval. At times such a decision on the part of the Samoan missionary was made easy by the fact that indigenous medicines were the only ones available.

Because the raw materials in many of the places they went

\textsuperscript{62} Hills to Goward, Malua 12 July 1818. SDC (OL).

\textsuperscript{63} Some were uncertain as to whether or not the people should be charged for these. E.g., Ioane of Vaitupu. See Turner, 1874:22.
to, such as pandanus, coconut leaves, coconut fibre and wood, were familiar to the Samoan missionaries, they were able to introduce other ways of utilising these raw materials. In this respect, they contributed to the tide of technological changes which swept the communities following their arrival. In New Guinea, for example, the weaving of mats for bedding and seating was taught by missionaries' wives. New styles of baskets and hats for personal use and adornment were introduced.64

The emphasis on clothing resulted in the introduction of sewing, a skill required of all missionaries' wives. As Mrs Goward testifies:

Many were new to this, and many showed eagerness and enthusiasm. It appears that the pastors' wives are doing their best to familiarise the girls in this department.65

The artisan skills of the men, such as carpentry and boat building were passed on to the people.66 In the building of Church premises and small boats for transportation, the Samoan missionaries were often in the forefront exhibiting all the knowledge they had acquired from Malua and from observing the craftsmen of their respective villages. The houses had many of the features of Samoan dwellings. Visiting Europeans acknowledged the carpentry skills of the Samoan missionaries. Captain Bridge, for instance, noted the work of Samuelu during his visit to Arorae in 1883:

Mr Samuelu had also made a saw pit, and had set up a large carpenter's shop in which, being himself an excellent workman, he was teaching the natives carpentry.67

Although the education provided by the Samoan missionaries was limited, the effect on the people of what they taught was considerable. The Samoans exposed the indigenous people to new ideas regarding the

64 Australasian Methodist Missionary Review (hereinafter AMMR), 8 January 1889:26.
65 Mrs Goward, Beru (on board John Williams), SS March 1895:36.
66 Mata'ese, who worked in Killerton Island, was an excellent boat builder. See Ma'anaima, SS March 1899:186.
world in general and about a new spiritual being. The religious content of the curriculum was aimed at instilling new behaviour patterns and attitudes. Thus, education was organised on more formal lines; and the indigenous people were expected to learn and master the skills of reading and writing. Furthermore, the behavioural patterns learned in the classroom were expected by the Samoan missionaries to permeate their everyday behaviour. The discipline Samoan missionaries taught to the children in schools, for instance, became the guiding principle for parent and child relationships. Samoan socialisation patterns with their emphasis on proper behaviour and respect for those in authority characterised their approach. For example, when Mrs Goward accompanied her husband on a visit to the Ellice Islands in 1895, she noticed differences in the behaviour of children of the various villages and concluded:

We knew how intelligent one village is from another by the way their children behaved. Some misbehaved and lacked discipline. In such places, the pastors' house was often surrounded by many children who talked and were noisy. This meant that darkness still dominated that village way of thinking. If a village showed improvement it was evident in their well behaved children. Not surprisingly therefore, the worship and way of life of such a village is well ordered. The children do not play or converse during the service.

The change in behaviour and attitudes and subsequently outlook sought by the Samoan missionaries amongst the indigenous people, using teaching, preaching and pastoral care appears to have occurred towards the end of the nineteenth century in most of the places they were working. This is not surprising, for by and large they had been in such places for well over thirty years. The most notable example is the Ellice Islands. As Mrs David reported in 1899:

I am inclined to think that the almost absolute honesty displayed during the last quarter of a century is due to the influence and teachings of the LMS. The natives

68 See above, 95.

69 See above, 97-99.

70 Mrs Goward, A brief story about the children of the NWO, SS March 1895:37.
seem to have fully grasped the moral code and the main doctrine of Christianity as taught them by these puritan pastors, and what is more, they live up to their light.\textsuperscript{71}

It is conceivable that the indigenous people had very little choice but to conform to the demands of the Samoan missionaries in view of the heavy penalties imposed on those who acted otherwise.\textsuperscript{72} Moreover, by stressing the importance of authority invested in their position as fa'\textit{fe}a'au, the Samoan missionaries skilfully manipulated the demands of their \textit{fa'a-samo'a} as essential ingredients of the Christian faith they were offering to the people.

Perhaps the most powerful influence of Samoan culture imposed by the Samoan missionaries on the people was in the area of language.\textsuperscript{73} That religious and secular instructions were initially given in the Samoan language meant that Samoan words infiltrated the local language, debasing to some extent the purity of the spoken language. This was especially the case in the coastal areas of Papua and in Niue, where it was common to adopt the names of the Samoan missionaries or their wives as names for the children of those who had become communicant members,\textsuperscript{74} possibly a tribute to the work of the missionary concerned. In Niue, it was believed to be a fitting way to thank the missionary. In some places, the Samoan language completely dominated the spoken vernacular of the people, as in the case of Tokelau and the Ellice Islands. Mrs David gives a description of the situation in Funafuti:

almost every man, woman and child in this island can read and write in the Samoan language.... The Bible, hymn books and school books in the Samoan language were supplied to the mission school.\textsuperscript{75}

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{71} David, 1899:185.
\bibitem{72} Naval Report HMS Royalist 1892:46 (RANS 17).
\bibitem{73} See above, \textit{9a-85}.
\bibitem{75} David, 1899:111-12.
\end{thebibliography}
What this meant for the Ellice Islanders was the adoption of a foreign language to be the official language. As the LMS Deputation of 1915-16 confirms:

Owing to the influence of the Samoan teachers, Samoan has by this time become the common tongue for all official and religious purposes.76

The effect of this linguistic transformation on the culture of modern Tuvalu was far more profound than either the Samoan missionaries or the Ellice Islanders probably anticipated. Style of oratory in terms of the order in which a speech was presented in a church or government function was modelled on the way a Samoan orator would give his speech. Thus, Ellice Islanders were taught to pay tribute first to the status of the official guests by acknowledging their position in the community and their social importance in the daily affairs of the island. This was to be said using Samoan metaphors, many of the alien to the Ellice Islands. Admittedly, the two languages are to a certain extent mutually intelligible. But as D.C. Kennedy points out, 'the result of this...has been the development of a hybrid patois quite incapable of transmitting the ancestral traditions and folk-lore.'77

The usage of the Samoan language was further reinforced by the practice of naming newly built schools or churches after some important feature of the Samoan Church. For example, the school in Arorae was not only modelled after Malua, but was named Maluafou ('the new Malua').78 And one of the churches in Torres Strait was named Sulu Samoa after the official magazine of the Samoan Church.79 Some of the missionaries chose Samoan names for their children born in the places where they worked to commemorate their being there. Ierome, for instance, reported how Kurene and his wife Soso'o named their son (born shortly after their arrival in German New Guinea in 1913)

---

77 Kennedy, Field Notes on the Culture of Vaitupu 1931:2.
79 SS February 1902:38. For details, see Appendix D, XXIII (3).
Muamua Ioane (First John). The reasons Kurene gave for such a name, explains Ioane, were:

Muamua: (a) He was the first Samoan child to be born and baptised in German New Guinea.
(b) These were the days in which the first Samoan missionaries came to work in this part of New Guinea.

Ioane: The name was given to him by a German pastor who told him that the name was appropriate since he and I were the first Samoans to come to smooth the path for later Samoan missionaries in German New Guinea. 80

There seems to be no evidence that the Samoan style of round-ended housing (fale) was adopted or imitated by the indigenous people, although certain architectural features such as the use of coconut leaves for blinds and the covering of the floor with small stones or pebbles became popular in the Ellice Islands and the southern Gilberts. The Samoan missionaries aspired to live in European type housing, so it is conceivable that they did not encourage the Samoan style of dwelling. 81 But in the layout of the village compounds, they invariably opted for the Malua model. When Newell for instance visited Niutao in 1895, he reported a change in the structure of the village compound:

The village has been renewed, a new road runs through the middle with houses built on both sides of it. It is modelled after the Malua campus, with the chiefs' house, the pastors' house, and the Church in the middle at one end of the road. 82

A similar change was noted by Captain Bridge in Arorae in 1883. In his report, he praised the effort of Samuelu:

This Samoan gentleman has done more for the people in his religious charge than any other missionary of any sect whom I have yet met in the Pacific. He has induced them to unite the villages by a fine broad straight road, strewed with coral gravel and edged throughout its length with a coral kerb stone. On each side of the way he had planted a row of jack

80 Jerome, Bongu, German New Guinea, SS January 1913:22.
81 See above, 128-130
82 Newell, Report of Visitation to the NWO, SS October 1895:204.
fruit trees which were being carefully nursed and which will in time form a fine avenue as well as a useful addition to the very restricted food supply of the island.83

One of the most sought after commodities by the indigenous people was tobacco. The Samoans were noted for their love of tobacco. They were in fact encouraged to take a certain amount of it when they left Samoa for mission work. Its value, however, often surpassed its effect to the point of being an essential tool in eliciting support for the work of the mission. Both the Samoan missionaries and their European advisers recognised this; and subsequently, there were often specific demands for its importation.85 Part of the reason for this was its trading value. Finau informed the SDC in 1892 that intending missionaries for New Guinea should bring 'tapa cloth, saws, bottles of oil, some steel tools, tobacco and European cloth'. These things he reminded the SDC 'were useful, for no one does any work free'.86

Eleven years before Finau wrote, W.G. Lawes echoed the same sentiments. He was the strongest advocate for the continuation of the tobacco supply which the directors of the LMS in London were threatening to stop.87 In a well thought out letter, he reminded the directors of the practical value of tobacco in the work of the LMS in New Guinea:

It is really the currency here, houses and churches are built with it; boats are pulled by it; gardens and fences made with it. It is our wood and water, our fruit, vegetable and fish, it is the sign of peace and friendship, the key which opens the door for better things, and as I so often stated in England, the shortest way to a New Guinean's heart is through his tobacco pipe.... It is better, we think to get the supply of tobacco as we have done, and let the teachers have all they want. It is impossible for them to do without it.88

84 Turner, 1861:122-23.
85 G.S. Rewse to Hills, Delena 8 December 1913, PDC (OL).
86 Finau, Erupe 30 July 1892, SS October 1892:197.
87 See below, 271-272
Not all Samoan missionaries were in favour of tobacco. For example, Filemoni, convinced by the improvement of his wife's health as a result of her giving up smoking, wrote to the SDC in 1896: 'Anyone contemplating coming to New Guinea, should not bring tobacco, it is of no use here.' But it is possible, given the diversity of cultures in New Guinea, that the practice experienced by Finau in Torres Strait was not found in Killerton Island where Filemoni worked.

The conversion of chiefs and Big Men ensured their domination by the Samoan missionaries, and this alignment in particular was used by the Samoans to influence the more secular domain of village council politics. By undermining traditional chiefly authority, they greatly strengthened the position of the Church as an institution and of themselves as entrepreneurs. In turn, this affected the flow of resources. Much of the material flow from household production units that was once directed to the chiefs was redirected to the Samoan missionaries to be reciprocated only in spiritual promises. The Samoans either consumed what they were given as food or kept for themselves some of the cash. The church offering was divided primarily in two parts: for the work of the LMS as a whole, and for the welfare of the Samoan missionaries.

The apex position occupied by Samoan missionaries in the political life of the indigenous people was not confined to any one place. In effect, this was perhaps inevitable in view of the way Samoan missionaries understood their role and position as that of spiritual guardians to advise and direct the political life of the people to conform to the ethics of the Church. As in Samoa, where the Church directly influenced the decision of the council of chiefs through the formal agreement of fea'aiaga between chiefs and the fa'afe'au, so the Samoan missionaries succeeded in establishing a similar situation conducive to their efforts to dictate the political life of the people. The most notable example of this form of spiritual

89 Filemoni, SS July 1897:119.

90 See above, 58-59.
imperialism was found in the Ellice Islands in the 1880s. R.G. Le Hunte noted during a visit there that:

In all the Ellice Islands, there is a so called 'king' and a governing body of kaupuli (who have all the power, the chief being practically a non-entity), but the real king and sovereign is the teacher; nothing can be done without his permission. 91

The Church laws were enforced by the assistance of the chiefs. When Newell for instance visited Nukulaelae in 1894, he discovered that members of the kaupuli had been appointed by Isaia to the position of Church police officers, going around after the bell for worship had rung to drive people into the church. Only those who had some very good reason for not attending, such as illness or baby sitting, were excused and left unmolested. 92

At times, the Samoan missionaries acted as mediators, either settling local land disputes or effecting reconciliation between warring factions of a community. In time this judicial role was taken over by the Colonial administrations, but even after the establishment of Colonial authority, the shortage of manpower and the knowledge already attained by the Samoan missionaries of the local people forced the Colonial Administrations to continue to use the Samoans in such a capacity. The valuable work of the Samoans was recognised by Colonial officials. As one officer in New Guinea wrote:

They are the channels of communication between European ideas and native superstition, and their usefulness from a political point of view is very considerable. To their devotedness and zeal is due the fact that Europeans are able to go with tolerable security into places which otherwise must have remained sealed to any but armed forces. 93

91 Le Hunte, Six Letters from the Western Pacific n.d.:16.


The Samoan missionaries themselves acknowledged the impact their work had on the people's behaviour and attitude. For example, Ma'anaima reports:

One day, a large party of travellers sailed by our Bay. When they actually reached the sea front of Bou, disagreement broke out amongst them. Some wanted to sail on, others wanted to land. Those who wished to continue claimed that history had proven that many travellers who called at Bou had been killed and eaten. While they were debating, some men of Bou went out in a canoe and reassured them that all would be well. That nowadays Bou has a missionary who has shown them how wrong they were in the old days, and as a result, Bou people have given up their warlike habits, so come and land. They came with joy.94

There were times however when Samoan missionaries lost their influence over the people; perhaps owing to a neglect of their duties, or more likely to the rigid disciplinary standards they enforced which exhausted the patience of the local people. George Turner found this situation in Nukunau when he visited there in 1874:

It seems they have entirely lost their influence over the people. Almost none go to service; drinking toddy and consequently quarrelling and fighting are quite common...heathen dances are of frequent occurrence...I fear the fault of their failures lie entirely with themselves.95

The cultural impact of Samoan missionaries was in some places aided by favourable circumstances. The Ellice Islands for instance provided an opening that seemed to have been pre-destined for their arrival. Samoa for example figures prominently in a legend of the Vaitupuans as their place of origin.96 The implications of such an alleged historical association would suggest that Samoan missionaries who worked in Vaitupu encountered facets of Vaitupuan culture not too dissimilar from their own, such as language,97 cooking style, in particular their stone oven.

---

94 Ma'anaima, SS September 1892:262-63; Apelu, SS March 1899:184; Toma, SS November 1899:284; Filemoni, Higebai Milne Bay July 1900, SS December 1900:37. For details of Ma'anaima, Apelu and Toma's letters, see Appendix D, 1, XX (1 & 2).

95 Turner, 1874:33-34.

96 Kennedy, 1931:2

97 Kennedy, 1931:128
In New Guinea, especially along the Papuan coast, the food and living conditions were similar to those in a Samoan village. Furthermore, the Samoan missionaries found that a number of customs concerning food exchange were similar to those in Samoa, such as the importance of ceremony, feasting and dancing.

Cultural impact was a reciprocal process. The Samoan missionaries were themselves affected by indigenous cultures as evident from the ability of many to converse in the local vernacular. In time, the local accent probably impeded the tone of their Samoan speech. Their children born in the places where they worked certainly speak Samoan with a noticeable accent.98 Although Samoan missionaries did not acknowledge or display any sign of conformity, it is conceivable that the majority of them would have participated at some stage in local dancing and singing. Their ideas and attitudes were probably coloured to a certain extent by such customs of the people as they considered proper. Some of them married local women,99 thus creating a blood bond which involved an acknowledgement of two entirely different worlds. The fa'a-samoa, concealed in the fa'akerisiano, was imposed in parts on all the places where the Samoan missionaries went, but only in Tuvalu, Tokelau and Niue did such a recipe come near to being accepted in its complete form, owing to the close affinity in language and culture between these Polynesian islands and Samoan.

98 Riteta Tamatoa, born in Beru 1929, speaks Samoan with a distinctly trilling 'r' for Samoan words with an 'l'. She spent the first fifteen years of her life in the southern Gilberts and speaks Gilbertese fluently.

99 E.g., Fau'olo who married a Bari woman in Papua New Guinea; Finau who married a Thursday Island woman in 1897.
CHAPTER SIX

OBSTACLES, HARDSHIPS AND RIVALRIES

The Samoan missionaries arrived at their destination with memories of their homeland still fresh in their minds. Given the differences between Samoa and the places to which they went, they were probably apprehensive at their first sight of their new environment. For those who worked on the atolls of the Ellice Islands, Tokelau, southern Gilberts and Torres Strait, the vivid contrast in the landscape of these low-lying coral islands with the rolling hills of Samoa was inescapable. Likewise, the larger and mountainous islands of the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, the Loyalty Islands and mainland New Guinea possibly produced a sense of awe and wonder. It is conceivable that their initial visual contact with such unfamiliar geographical features confirmed the anxiety they felt, while at the same time reinforcing nostalgic emotions concerning their homeland. With the departure of their European colleagues, awareness of isolation intensified. Faith in God and their mission gave them some comfort; but it would appear most likely that the fresh memories of their aiga, nu'u and atunu'u were the key elements in their efforts to cope with the loneliness produced by the strangeness of their new environments during this settling-in period.

None of the Samoan missionaries admitted in their writing of ever suffering from homesickness. Perhaps they were discouraged from doing so by the belief amongst Samoans that a person's negative feelings should be suppressed for the sake of the aiga, nu'u and atunu'u. Nevertheless, a few of them wrote of the effects of being isolated, though safeguarding themselves by highlighting their role rather than the situation. Ma'anaima, for instance, after only a year in Milne Bay, reported:

---

1 See above, 4-14.

2 No evidence of this is found in the reports of European missionaries either.

3 See above, 29, 35-37.
The work is getting very difficult. The mind works overtime in the search for new ways to win the people for Jesus. It is also not easy living alone in the midst of different and wild people.4

Ma'anaima's frustration was shared by Uele who arrived in New Guinea nine years later (1901): 'Behold, I am the only one working in this wilderness. What is to be done?'5 The sentiments of both men were not due to any lack of companionship as both were married,6 rather they reveal the need for fellow countrymen to converse with and perhaps share experiences with on the professional level.

The earlier Samoan missionaries to the Westward Islands were spared this ordeal in spite of some of them being unmarried,7 in that they lived and worked in close proximity to each other.8 But those who pioneered mission work in the Ellice Islands, the southern Gilberts and mainland New Guinea were separated from each other by distances of up to 100 miles. The frustration caused by this is illustrated by Peni in the Ellice Islands:

The islands are too far apart; thus, when something difficult arises concerning the work, the pastor has only his wife to discuss it with.9

The missionaries' sense of isolation was reinforced by the unfamiliarity of the environment, the people, and their way of life.

4 Ma'anaima, SS November 1893:17.
5 Uele, Kapakapa, SS May 1901:55.
6 See List of Samoan Missionaries, Appendix B.
7 Sipi, one of the first missionaries in Efate, was unmarried (Murray 1885:148-50). Apela, one of the first two missionaries on Futuna, was unmarried while his companion Samuela left his family in Samoa (ibid, 138).
8 One of the interesting features of the pattern adopted in the placement of Samoan missionaries in the Westward Islands was the emphasis on leaving a pair or more of them in one place, e.g., Apela and Samuela in Futuna (Murray 1885:138); Mose, Sipi, Taavili and Setefano in Efate (ibid, 147); Taniela and Tataio in Mare (ibid, 160); Lalologo, Salamea and Mose in Tanna (Murray, 1863:138). Stations within these places were usually manned by two Samoan missionaries at one time.
9 Peni, Sermon delivered during General Assembly (Fono Tele) of the Samoan Church, Malua 2 May 1916, SS June 1916:63.
Yet, at the same time, it encouraged them to retain memories of Samoa so that they were continually comparing the two environments. Thus, while they carried out their assigned task of preaching the gospel, there was also an underlying yearning for the familiarity of the Samoan lifestyle. In time, however, they overcame this problem by simply adopting the behavioural patterns and expectations of fa'a-samoa as the basis for conformity to the Christian way of life they had introduced; and in doing so, reversed the roles in the adaptation process. Now it was the indigenous people who had to adapt, for the Samoan missionaries had reshaped the cultural environment to resemble that of their homeland, thus partially alleviating the problem of isolation.

Of the environmental problems the Samoan missionaries encountered, the most serious were those relating to health. Various forms of disease were responsible for the high rate of illness and death, especially amongst the early missionaries who went to the Westward Islands and mainland New Guinea. In Tanna, for example, two of the first five Samoan missionaries placed there between 1839 and 1840 died of disease while the other three were ill when Murray visited them in April 1841. In the neighbouring island of Efate, six of the nine missionaries who laboured there between 1845 and 1849 died of disease, one of them being murdered while suffering from illness. The plight of the Samoan missionaries in Efate is vividly portrayed in the report of Hardie and Murray who visited them in September 1849:

The teachers and their families, in addition to other hardships many and great, had all suffered from disease. Three of themselves with three of the children had died and the survivors were in such a bad state of health as to render it necessary to remove them from the island.


11 Four pioneer missionaries were landed in 1845; five more the following year. When Turner and Nisbet visited Efate in 1848, they found two of them had died, leaving seven. Three more died by the time Hardie and Murray visited them the following year. (Murray, 1863:236-42; 1885:147-48).

12 Murray, 1863:239.

The diseases Samoan missionaries suffered from in the Westward Islands were identified by Turner as consumption (tuberculosis),\textsuperscript{14} ague and fever (malaria)\textsuperscript{15} and a form of heart and kidney disease generally known as dropsy.\textsuperscript{16} The cooler climate of the Westward Islands with their average temperature of 25-30°C probably made the Samoan missionaries, who were accustomed to an average temperature of 30-35°C, more vulnerable to such diseases, which were also believed to be associated with dampness.\textsuperscript{17} On the other hand, the high altitude of some of the settlements may have had some bearing on the susceptibility of the Samoans who were used to a coastal environment. That a change of diet was an additional factor may not be as crucial since the Samoan missionaries were reported to have grown crops such as yams and taro which were the basic substance of their diet.\textsuperscript{18} The Westward Islands in fact had many of the vegetable crops and much of the livestock that Samoans were used to. Yams were abundant in Tanna and Anatom, and pigs were found in all the islands.

There is however another possible explanation. Most, if not all, of the first Samoan missionaries to the Westward Islands probably held matai titles which they had to relinquish before being accepted for missionary training.\textsuperscript{19} One of the most important qualifications for a matai title was service (tautua) to the previous matai over a long period of time.\textsuperscript{20} In view of this, it is conceivable that the Samoans who went to the Westward Islands were of middle age, and were therefore more likely to be affected by diseases, such as tuberculosis, which have been shown to be common amongst this age group.\textsuperscript{21}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{14} Turner, 1861:365.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Ibid, 445, 498.
\item \textsuperscript{16} Ibid, 365, 445.
\item \textsuperscript{17} Steel, \textit{The New Hebrides and Christian Missions} 1880:159.
\item \textsuperscript{18} Murray, 1863:138-40; Turner, 1861:433.
\item \textsuperscript{19} See above, 50.
\item \textsuperscript{20} See above, 26, 29.
\item \textsuperscript{21} Black, \textit{Medical Dictionary} 1968 (8th edition):221.
\end{itemize}
Although diseases were responsible for the deterioration of their health, very few missionaries in the Westward Islands died from these. Nevertheless, disease was an important factor in the high death rate during the first years of work there. The indigenous people blamed the Samoan missionaries for the epidemics which killed some of their own people. Thus the missionaries at Erromango were murdered because the people believed they brought dysentery; and the missionaries on Tanna were killed in 1846 and their premises burnt for the same reason. An epidemic on Futuna in 1845 resulted in the murder of Samuela, Apela, Samuela's wife and daughter. And two Samoan missionaries on the Isle of Pines were likewise killed for causing sickness.

Another common threat to the lives of Samoan missionaries in the Westward Islands was inter-tribal wars over leadership, which often placed their lives in danger; and led to the abandonment of mission stations in Lifu and Aniwa.

But it was New Guinea which more than any other mission field claimed the greatest number of lives of the Samoan missionaries. Between 1884 and 1930, approximately seventy-five died from disease, half of them in the first fifteen years. Abel, for instance, lost three of his

---

23 Turner, 1861:438. See also SDC Minutes 12-13 November 1846.
24 Turner, 1861:364. See also SDC Minutes 17 July 1845.
26 LMS, SSJ No.143, 1945. See also SDC Minutes, Apia 3-5 December 1848.
27 Turner, 1861:443, 459.
28 This figure includes the wives and children.
29 These figures are estimated from the available obituary reports. But, as not all who died during this period had obituary notices, it is possible that the number of deaths as a result of disease was higher. The memorial window at Vatorata near Kapakapa reminds Papuan students that between 1871 and 1899 over 120 Polynesian missionaries died in their country. Estimates of the number of deaths between 1871-83 vary between 90 and 103. See Cooktown Courier, 25 September 1888; Australian Medical Gazette, May 1887.
Samoa. missionaries within a few weeks of their arrival at Milne Bay; and eight altogether between 1891 and 1900. The rapid rate of illness and death became a dominant theme of the European missionaries' reports during these initial years. In 1892, for example, H.M. Dauncey reported:

Enari, the senior of the party was dead, and so was Ma'anaima's wife. All the others were very sick.... We removed them to Port Moresby and we're sincerely thankful that no other names were added to the death toll.31

Two years later, F.M. Walker reported:

Toma lost his wife at the close of the year...one of the new men Teleni died on 27 December, and a week later, Mata'esse who was at Killerton Island lost a three month old daughter...the wife of Aruci who was suffering from fever gave birth to a child who lived for a few hours. This made four deaths in as many weeks. All the Samoans had gathered together on Killerton Island. Nearly all of them had more or less been sick with fever with Ma'anaima and Peni having been very bad indeed. All however were somewhat better, though a great sadness rested upon them all.32

The severe sense of loss experienced by those who survived can be seen in their own accounts. Ma'anaima, for example, reported:

The very day we set out to decorate Teleni's grave, a message came from Toma for the boat to be sent over so that they may come to Killerton Island as his wife Sila'ulu was again ill. The boat was sent, but we later learned that she died while we were weeding Teleni's grave. As we prepared her grave, Mata'esse's daughter (born October 1893) also died. Only difficult things are happening to us around here, causing us much confusion as we do not seem to feel the presence of God's love in all this.33

And Toma, who lost his wife Sila'ulu on 5 January 1894 wrote:

30 Abel, Savage Life in New Guinea 190:167.
31 H.M. Dauncey to R.W. Thompson, January 1892, PL. See also Marriott, Report of Visit to New Guinea, SS October 1893:45-47.
32 F.M. Walker to R.W. Thompson, January 1894, LMS PDC (OL).
33 Ma'anaima, Bou 9 January 1894, SS May 1894:83.
I am writing this letter with pain in my soul and a very weak body, due to the one who lived together and helped me along, whose work down here has finished... leaving only me and a young daughter.34

Considering their limited number during the initial years of the mission,35 the illness or death of one was greatly felt by the whole group; and in their first letters home, all of them stressed the effect such suffering had on their morale.36

Malaria killed the greatest number of Samoan missionaries in New Guinea. Samoans were used to being bitten by mosquitoes which were also plentiful in Samoa, but they were unaware that a special type of mosquito, Anopheles, not found in Samoa, was responsible for the New Guinea fever (fiva Niu Kini) which they suffered from so badly. Some of them wrote home about the abundance of mosquitoes in New Guinea; others devoted their accounts to the symptoms of the disease. Ma'anaima, for instance, wrote:

A new arrival will first feel itchy all over the body, after which the fever comes, accompanied by its many side effects such as aching joints, sore back, expansion of the stomach muscles, sudden chill and a dramatic rise of the body's temperature.

A later account by Filemoni provided more detail:

Once a person gets the chill, that person's chin will rattle continuously. And despite many blankets, the person will never feel warm. When the chill goes, it is followed by an incredible rise in body temperature as though one is in an oven. But the blankets must be kept on until he begins to sweat; for only after sweating can he get any relief. Other side effects include headaches and (the) aching (of) joints. A person working alone will always find it difficult to cope when the fever comes.39

34 Toma, 14 January 1894, SS May 1894:83. See also Mata'ese, 16 January 1894, SS April 1894:7.

35 Between 1884 and 1930, 175 Samoan missionaries and their wives went to New Guinea. But only twenty-five of them went for the period 1884-1900.


37 Ma'anaima, SS January 1892:5; Toma, SS August 1896:11.

38 Ma'anaima, SS August 1892:59.

39 Filemoni, SS July 1896:238.
Reports such as those of Ma'anaima and Filemoni gave Samoans at home their first impressions of malaria; and new recruits understandably showed anxiety on arrival. Ma'anaima illustrates their apprehension:

They, the new pastors, were like men who find themselves on the battlefield of war for the first time, always wondering which part of the body a bullet might hit next. Everyone was conscious of the fever and wondered which part of the body would be first attacked. For instance, anyone with a headache will immediately go to bed and put blankets over him.\(^{40}\)

The reports also had a discouraging effect on intending missionaries. Those already working in New Guinea suspected that the decline of recruits from Samoa between 1895 and 1915 was due to the threat of malaria. Thus when Peni went home on furlough in 1916, he reminded members of the Samoan Church that 'malaria has become the stumbling block for those wishing to offer their service for the work of God in New Guinea.'\(^{41}\)

The death rate declined with the discovery, at the beginning of the century, of the exact role of Anopheles in spreading malaria, and Samoan missionaries took care against being bitten by mosquitoes. As Neru reported:

There is only one protection here, the mosquito net. There are more hours spent inside the mosquito net than outside it because of the difficulties with the mosquitoes.\(^{42}\)

Furthermore, with the introduction of anti-malaria drugs such as the prophylactic, quinine, even fewer died. Ma'anaima, writing home in 1906, tried to reassure his countrymen that the threat was not as great as it had been:

I share the belief currently held by many, that it will not be long before malaria is under control here.... These days few have been affected or die from fever.\(^{43}\)

\(^{40}\) Ma'anaima, Sou & September 1893, SS February 1894:18.

\(^{41}\) Peni, Sermon delivered during the General Assembly (Fono Tele) of the Samoan Church, Malua 2 May 1916, SS June 1916:63.

\(^{42}\) Neru, SS May 1914:70.

\(^{43}\) Ma'anaima, Kwato 18 October 1906, SS January 1907:18.
Perhaps more lives would have been saved if they had been familiar with the idea of taking regular doses of preventive medicine. But many of them did not understand why they had to take medicine before they were sick, so they waited until they were sick and then took overdoses of drugs which were often too late to be effective and which proved fatal in some cases. Nevertheless, as the idea of preventive medicine became more widely understood, the number of deaths dropped sharply.

Malaria was not the only disease responsible for the deaths of Samoan missionaries in New Guinea. Areli was said to have died of sunstroke in 1896 and Timoteo died of asthma in 1900, while Fa'asi'u, who died in hospital at Port Moresby in 1917, was believed to have suffered from 'haemorage resulting from cancer of the phylorus which had destroyed his blood vessels'. The children also died of diseases other than malaria. Iopu's son, for instance, died of whooping cough in 1909.

Not all diseases which attacked the health of Samoan missionaries were fatal. Nevertheless, they brought about a premature end to the work of some. Tofili was returned to Samoa in 1910 because he had a 'haemoglobin deficiency' or anaemia; and Urima was asked to leave in 1918 because of 'rheumatism which had made him a hopeless cripple'. This latter disease severely affected the health of Samoan missionaries in the Delena and Moru districts. E.P. Jones, the European missionary in charge of these church districts, believed rheumatism was a late

44 Pita's wife, Moe, died of an overdose of anti-malaria tablets in 1943 while he was away on patrol, and could not prevent her from taking it. See also Latukefu, 1978:91-108.
45 Filemoni, SS March 1896:42.
46 Hunt, SS January 1900:14.
47 E.P. Jones to Sibree, Delena 28 December 1917. PL. See also Report of the Delena District 1918, PR.
48 Jones to Newell, Moru 14 July 1909, PL.
49 J.B. Clarke to J.W. Hills, 31 March 1910, PL.
50 Jones to Kinnersley, Port Moresby 25 March 1918, PL.
development amongst the Samoan missionaries in his district probably caused by a change of habit and diet. As he wrote to the Samoan Church in 1917:

    We all suffer from rheumatism more or less in this part of Papua and the disease seems to be a new thing for the Samoans. I don't remember any cases among the South Sea men during my first ten years here and I have noted that in that time the character of our stores have changed, we have now a greater amount of sugar than ever before. During my first five years I have never kept sugar, now it has become with biscuits and kerosene the heaviest part of my order. I am very suspicious that the change of diet, especially in the matter of sugar is the cause. 51

The only known case of a Samoan missionary suffering from mental illness in New Guinea was that of Fasi who worked in the Daru district. He was sent home in 1920. 52

In the Ellice Islands, Tokelau and the southern Gilberts, the Samoan missionaries suffered mainly from ringworm, 53 hepatitis, 54 bronchitis, 55 and filariasis, commonly known by its symptom as elephantiasis. 56 There was some belief early in the twentieth century that this swelling of the limbs and extremities had been introduced by Samoan missionaries, 57 but as early as 1842 the United States Exploring Expedition had reported a case of elephantiasis in Nukufetau. 58 Nevertheless, it is conceivable that the spread of filariasis was aided by the Samoan missionaries as the disease was frequently found in their homeland.

51 Jones to Sibree, 28 December 1917. PL. See also Report of the Moru District 1918, PR.
52 Report of the Daru District: Western Division, 1920, PR.
54 Newell, Report...1894:56.
57 E.C. Eliot to SDC 1 July 1915.
58 Wilkes, 1845:V, 43.
Climatic and topographical factors also affected the health of Samoan missionaries. Those who worked in the Ellice Islands, the southern Gilberts and the Papuan coast repeatedly referred to the heat of these places in their letters as affecting their school activities and their health. 59 Ma'anaima, for instance, reported from Milne Bay:

Sickness is widespread in this part of the country owing to the unbearable heatwave that has plagued us for some time now. Rivers have dried up and we have great difficulty in finding drinking water. 60

Droughts inevitably led to famine; for the Samoan missionaries who worked in the above places, it was a constant worry. Iakopo reported from Nikunau in 1893:

The only problem is shortage of food, for it is now fourteen months of continuing sunshine...we feel very sorry for our children when they cry out for food. 61

And Goward in Beru likewise testified:

The drought is severe and long continued, hence a scarcity of food is already troubling some villages, and I fear if heavy rain does not fall during this and the coming months, a famine will result. 62

Famine was a new experience for the Samoan missionaries who came from a country where food was plentiful in both quantity and variety. Their poverty in subsistence foods contrasted sharply with that of their homeland, a point Mrs Goward felt necessary to emphasise in 1893: 'they are not as fortunate in the variety of food as you are in Samoa'. 63 In some places, the only available food during a period of drought was coconut and fish. 64

59 Mosile, Report...1908, SS October 1908:194-95; see also, Peni, Sermon..., SS June 1916:63.
60 Ma'anaima, SS July 1903:81.
61 Iakopo, Nikunau 26 September 1893, SS February 1894:34. See also, E.V. Cooper, Report of Visitation to the NWO 1900, SS May 1900: 42-43.
62 Goward to Hills, 7 December 1910. GIDC, OL.
63 Mrs Goward, Personal account of visit to the NWO 1893, SS March 1893:22.
64 Mosile, Report...1908, SS October 1908:194-95.
Scarcity of food was not always caused by the severity of the climate. Parts of the Westward Islands and New Guinea were so rugged as to restrict the number of food crops cultivated. When Nisbet visited Eranam in 1841, Apelu informed him that 'the land is stone, not easily worked, little water and this makes food somewhat scarce'. And Konelio writing home about Kalaigolo, his place of work in New Guinea, in 1903, said that famines often occurred 'due to the geological structure of the place, mountainous and rocky, very little lowland'.

Experience of new climatic conditions appears to have been serious enough for those in New Guinea to warrant a preliminary period of acclimatisation lasting between one and three months. As Uele explained a month after arriving at Fife Bay in 1899, 'we are beginning to get used to the climate'. The importance of getting acclimatised in New Guinea was a constant theme of missionary preparation. In 1916, Peni warned members of the home congregation that 'care must be taken by a person going to New Guinea, especially in regard to its climate'.

Health was a major concern, and invariably the Samoan missionaries took precautions as instructed by their European mentors and countrymen.

The Samoan missionaries perceived the unfamiliarity of indigenous cultures as a major obstacle from the start. Yet they compounded this difficulty with their attitude reducing the value of the traditional way of life. Believing in the superiority of their fa'a-samoa and the Christian message which they brought to the local people, the Samoan missionaries regarded indigenous cultures as uncivilised; and in most places, they treated them with contempt.

---

65 Nisbet, Journal 1836-76:75.

66 Konelio, Kalaigolo 21 December 1903, SS April 1904:44; see also Vaitupu, SS May 1892:96.

67 The time was also used to learn the local language and gain some familiarity with the culture of the people. New arrivals usually stayed with their countrymen or with the resident European missionary.

68 Uele, Fife Bay 6 February 1899, SS July 1899:2-3.

69 Peni, Sermon..., SS June 1916:63.
The vigour with which they attempted to change the basis of indigenous societies reflects their paternalistic attitude and their attempts to have the people conform to their own style of life.\textsuperscript{70} Because of such attitudes, their failure to adapt was largely their own doing. There were, however, features of indigenous cultures such as language and noncompliant behaviour which initially challenged their zeal for mission work.

The problem with indigenous languages was more acute in the Westward Islands, the southern Gilberts and New Guinea where the vernaculars bore little resemblance to the Samoan language.\textsuperscript{71} The differences between the syntax and phonetic structure of Melanesian and Micronesian languages from those of Polynesian was only one side of the problem. What frustrated the Samoan missionaries most was the diversity of languages within a single region, especially in the Westward Islands\textsuperscript{72} and New Guinea.\textsuperscript{73} Konelio for instance reported that diversity of language was a major problem facing his work at Kalaigolo. 'For instance, although Paulo works in the nearby village, his people speak a different language altogether',\textsuperscript{74} and Peni explained to the Fono Tale (General Assembly) of the Samoan Church in 1908 that:

\begin{quote}
in the district where I am working there are three main languages: Luasi, Duabo, Taivala. The people who live in the mountainous islands of Kwato speak the following languages: Lokea, Salipa, Suau. Near Milne Bay are four other languages: Falepa, Meiwala, Waema and Taiwala.\textsuperscript{75}
\end{quote}

This diversity of languages prevented the Samoan missionaries from

\textsuperscript{70} See above, 136-69.
\textsuperscript{71} See above, 82-83.
\textsuperscript{72} Turner, 1861:15-17.
\textsuperscript{73} Marriott, Report..., SS October 1893:45-47.
\textsuperscript{74} Konelio, Kalaigolo 21 December 1903, SS April 1904:44; see also Uele, Fife Bay 6 February 1899, SS July 1899:2-3; Tipa, Mauata 9 August 1899, SS November 1899:261.
\textsuperscript{75} Peni, Sermon presented during the Fono Tale, Malua May 1908, SS August 1908:118-19.
exercising religious influence over any large area. The alternative was to learn all the languages of a district, but in view of the difficulties they had in even mastering one, such an alternative was unrealistic. When they eventually gained the ability to speak one of the local languages their usefulness was restricted to the area where the language was intelligible.

One of the problems which the Samoan missionaries repeatedly wrote home about was the reluctance of the indigenous people to give up their old religious beliefs and practices in nominally Christian villages. Naite for instance reported from Samarai in 1899:

They still hold on to their heathen ways, even though they may come to Church. When I tell them off, they go to the bush and do their rituals there.77

Ten years later a similar report was received from Isaia in Kabadi:

The work is difficult owing to the unwillingness of the people to throw away their idols.78

The readiness of some Samoan missionaries to blame the indigenous people for the slow growth of Christianity in some areas also reflects their frustration at having their instructions misunderstood or ignored by those who had accepted the Christian faith. As Naite testified in 1916:

My body and mind are under stress in realising that the Holy Sacrament of Communion is not totally understood by those who perform it.80

Furthermore, the Samoan missionaries were not used to having their instructions ignored or their expectations unfulfilled. They came from a cultural environment where the position of a faife'au was respected

76 See above, 81-83.

77 Naite, Samarai 6 March 1899, SS November 1899:183.

78 Isaia, Ukaukana (Kabadi), SS July 1909:11-14; Alesana, Vatorata (Papua), SS September 1909:132.

79 See above, 131-32.

80 Naite, Sermon delivered during the Fono Tele, Malya 2 May 1916, SS June 1916:45-46.
and feared by the people.  
Thus, the reluctance of local people in some parts of New Guinea, the Westward Islands and the Ellice Islands to meet such expectations undermined the authority Samoan missionaries believed was embedded in their position. Criticisms of the people's attitudes were therefore often accompanied by a deliberate condemnation of their behaviour and societal structure. Peni blamed the 'unpredictable behaviour' of the Isuleilei people on their lack of a village council or chiefs.  
The absence of authority meant:

They beg for most things, not willing to work for them. They use this against us, yet if we give, we end up with nothing. If we don't, they threaten to leave the Church.  

The notion that indigenous cultures presented problems influenced new recruits for New Guinea to the extent that some of them wrote letters to Samoa on the subject before they even gained experience of mission work. Thus Naite, who arrived at Kwato in 1899, spent his first week in Abel's house during which time he sent the following report:

It is a very difficult work for many reasons:

(a) people rarely smile at you, no matter how well you know them, even if they are church members. Thus one can never tell whether or not they like you.

(b) When they come to church services, they rarely pay attention to what is going on and many sleep during the sermon. No matter how good the sermon is, it makes no difference to them.

(c) They are very reluctant to accept advice on how to improve their lives. If you tell one off for something he has done wrong, he will go and let everyone know that the pastor does not like him and to make it worse, advise the people to stop going to church, that the pastor is not a good man.

(d) They also tell many lies. They do this in the most sincere way one can imagine which often leaves the pastor feeling foolish.

Visiting European missionaries of the SDC confirmed the views of the

81 See above, 57-62.
82 Peni, Sermon..., SS August 1909:118-19.
83 Idem.
84 Naite, Samarai 6 March 1899, SS November 1899:183.
Samoan missionaries, yet it is apparent from the European missionaries’ reports that they were comparing the situation in New Guinea with that in Samoa. A sense of pride in the achievements of their District Committee in Samoa probably influenced their assessment of the New Guinean situation. When Marriott visited New Guinea in 1893, he concluded that the slow progress of Christian influence in New Guinea was due to the inferior structure of society, claiming that the absence of chiefs was responsible for the limited number of converts. But Marriott probably underestimated the influence of the Big Men in New Guinea society: although they did not have the same social and political significance which the matai of Samoa had, they nevertheless had some influence over a number of people which, as the case of Pehala in Bou illustrated, did aid the growth of Christianity in that area.

Relations between the Samoan missionaries and the indigenous people were on the whole close and warm, the result of living and working together over a number of years. But with the exception of Funafuti, Nukulaelae, WAITu and Nukufetau in the Ellice Islands, the initial years of mission work in most places were marked by misunderstandings which caused friction. The absence of mutual trust was a contributing factor. The local people were suspicious of the motives underlying the behaviour and attitudes of the Samoan missionaries. Some chiefs desired to have the property, and in some places the wives of the missionaries. On the other hand, the uncompromising attitudes of

---

85 Marriott, Report..., SS October 1893:45-47.
86 See above, 113.
87 For example, there was usually considerable wailing when a Samoan missionary died. See fa'asi'u, Kabadi, SS March 1893:34; Ma'anaima, Kwato, Milne Bay, SS May 1904:58; Mata'ese, Killerton Island, 16 January 1894, SS May 1894:32. In the Ellice Islands, Tokelau and southern Gilbert Islands, the people were often reluctant to part with their missionaries. See Turner, Journal 1874, 1875; Newell, Report of Visitation to the NWO, 1894, 1895, 1898, Marriott, Report...1893; Goward, Report 1893.
88 See above, 101-04.
89 Murray, 1885:148.
the Samoan missionaries in demanding conformity to church standards and regulations generated considerable tension between themselves and the indigenous people, and invited criticism from European missionaries and government officials. Whenever disagreements occurred, the Samoan missionaries insisted that they were not responsible. They had a self-righteous belief in their own policies and totally blamed the indigenous people for disputes or for anything that went wrong with their work. For example, Tipa informed the SDC in 1894 that some members of his church in Nukulaelae had devised numerous scheme to disrupt his work, but he does not state what these were. And Tanielu, while in Samoa on furlough from Atafu (Tokelau), informed the Fono Tele in 1916:

One of the major difficulties facing our work is the tendency of some people to discredit the pastor and denounce him to the government official.

Some Samoan missionaries reported that they were not being fed, an expectation they took with them in view of the way Samoan villagers looked after the daily needs of their fa'amāle'āu. Others complained of the limited variety of food that was available. Such claims were probably true, but they also revealed the different ways in which the indigenous people expressed their resentment at being treated as inferior. Some Samoan missionaries resorted to physical force when their demands were not met. In one case,

---

90 See above, 107-09.
91 The relationship between the Samoan missionaries and European missionaries as well as government officials is discussed in the following chapter.
94 Tipa, 1894: Mosile, 1908; Peni 1908; Iakopo, 1893.
95 See above, 57-59.
96 Peni, 1908.
97 See below, 221-24.
described long afterwards, dissident villagers were pulled out of their gardens, slapped and kicked in order to be bent to the Polynesian will. 98 Another Papuan recalled how defiance was checked by force:

If a village man disagrees, Samoan man...goes straight to his house and hit him, pull him out of his house and bang him. Sometimes he only talk, sometimes he hit him.... All the people were afraid of him and whatever words he say, the people do it quickly.99

The use of physical force was criticised by European missionaries and resented by the indigenous people. Albert Kiki, for instance, resented being beaten by the Samoan missionary when he failed to persuade his parents to attend Sunday evening services. 101 And thousands of weapons were discovered being prepared by the Kumukumu people to carry out their threat on Fetui's station at Aird Hill in 1914. 102

Tension between the Samoan missionaries and the indigenous people often necessitated the intervention of European missionaries and, at times, government officials. 103 Acting in the capacity of both mediator and judge, they sometimes upheld claims by Samoan missionaries of being ill-treated. For example, the claim by Vai that he did not beat an Aunuan youth which precipitated a quarrel between himself and the Aunuan chief was found by Nisbet to be true. 104 And Newell confirmed Tavita's report that 'some of the Atafu people were trying to split the Church by writing of false letters accusing me of being immoral'. 105 But there were also times when the European missionaries

99 Ibid, 89.
100 See below, 221-24.
102 H.C. Cardew to H.T. Butcher, Kikori, 11 May 1914, PL.
103 See below, 276-77.
104 Nisbet, Journal 1836-76:75.
105 Newell, Report...1894. The question of immorality is dealt with below, 221-23.
and government officials discovered that the claims of the Samoan missionaries were false, that in fact the indigenous people had become victims of the Samoan missionaries' aggressive and domineering attitudes. 106

The reluctance of Samoan missionaries to accept and treat indigenous people as equals was also evident in their relations with missionaries from the Cook Islands and Niue who worked alongside them in parts of the Westward Islands and New Guinea. Some of the early European missionaries wrote of the Samoans' superior attitude towards their fellow teachers. In 1915 for instance, R. Lister Turner reported that 'the relationship between the teachers of different nationalities was not altogether satisfactory, and I do not think that we ought to expect that it will be'. 107 And Dauncey, after years of missionary experience in New Guinea, wrote:

Relations between the Samoans and the Cook Islanders never have been satisfactory and never will be after the resurrection. 108

Most of the European missionaries held the Samoans responsible. They claimed that the Samoans looked down on their fellow Polynesian teachers. Ta'unga, 109 the Rarotongan teacher who worked with Samoan missionaries in New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands in the late 1840s, held the same view expressed by the European missionaries. He claimed that the Samoan missionaries in New Caledonia were bad tempered men and consequently the indigenous people were reluctant to listen to them. On the other hand the people seemed willing to accept him as their friend - because (he does not say this but it is clearly implied) he was not like the Samoans. Yet the friendliness of the people towards him made the Samoan missionaries jealous. 110 And when he

106 See below, 223-24.


108 Idem.

109 For details of his early life and writings, see Crocombe, 1968.

110 Ibid, 40.
befriended the son of the chief in Mare and instructed him about Christianity, 'the two Samoans ill-treated me and slandered me'.

According to Ta'unga, the Samoans resented his growing popularity amongst the people owing to his good works. Their attitude, he believed, was:

His teaching has spread, yet we were here before him. Now the people follow him. The best thing for us to do is to go and get that man ourselves. We'll teach him instead. Let him not be taught by Ta'unga.112

If what Ta'unga said was true, then the view that 'The Rarotongan teachers regarded themselves as senior to the Samoans in the mission field having played a vital role in the evangelisation of Samoa',113 was equally felt by the Samoan missionaries since the two (Noa and Taniela) who objected to Ta'unga's work in Mare were already there when Ta'unga arrived in 1845. It is conceivable therefore that the tensions between the two Samoan missionaries and Ta'unga was precipitated by the belief of the two Samoan missionaries that they were more senior than Ta'unga since they pioneered the work in Mare. The belief derives from the Samoan proverb, E fesili muli mai ia mua mai, literally meaning 'He who comes last asks the person who went before him', which underlies the Samoan understanding of what seniority means.

A similar situation to that experienced in Mare was found in New Guinea in 1908. Fa'asi'u, who pioneered mission work in Hisiu in 1895, went home on furlough in 1907. Dauncey, the European missionary in charge of the Delena district where Hisiu was located, appointed Farei, a Rarotongan teacher, to take charge of Hisiu. Fa'asi'u was notified of the change while still in Samoa. Furthermore, he was told that he would be placed at a new station on his return, to which he agreed. But on arrival, he insisted that Farei be removed. As Dauncey wrote to the secretary of the SDC:

111 Ibid, 78.
112 Idem.
113 Crocombe's interpretation, ibid, 40.
Despite what you told him in Samoa, he took it for granted that I should remove Farei from Hisiu...and let him go back there. He would hear of nothing else, and after more talk than I cared for it ended in his saying he would return to Samoa. Your letter to me was all a mistake.114

Fa'asi'u later changed his mind, but Dauncey was so anxious about the problems between the Samoan and Rarotongan missionaries that he requested Newell to check any letters from Fa'asi'u to the Sulu Samoa for publication:

[to] see that there is nothing that will cause trouble between Samoans and Rarotongans. I have a lively and sad recollection of the troubles caused by an article of Timoteo some years ago in which he cast aspersions upon the Rarotongans as a whole. You and I know Fa'asi'u and his weak points, and so do the Samoans here, but the people in Rarotonga do not, and I shall be very glad if you will help me to avoid trouble by keeping an eye on what may be published from him.115

Wherever a Rarotongan missionary preceded a Samoan missionary, he was always respected by the Samoans owing to the Samoan understanding of seniority. For example, the Samoans who worked with Ruatoka in the Port Moresby area wrote glowing accounts of the love and help shown to them by Ruatoka.117 When Ruatoka died on 12 September 1903, Fa'avae wrote to Samoa, 'our father has died, how our hearts grieved'.118

Misunderstandings between the Samoan and Cook Islands missionaries were caused by a variety of factors. First, there was the cultural homogeneity of the Samoans which gave them tremendous pride, uniting and strengthening their solidarity as a group. The Cook Islanders on the other hand lacked this cultural homogeneity.

114 Dauncey to Newell, Delena 24 February 1908, PL.
115 Iden. Timoteo's article cannot be located.
118 Fa'avae, Port Moresby, SS January 1904:4.
More important to them was their individual island identity, fostered by topographical diversity as well as traditional beliefs regarding the origin and history of each island. Variation in dialects within the group further reinforced their sense of separateness. Again, the differences in educational background encouraged the Samoan attitude of superiority. Although Takamo'a seminary in Rarotonga was established five years before Malua, it lacked the extensive and specialised curriculum of Malua. By the 1850s Malua attracted potential teachers from the Melanesian islands to the westward as well as from Niue. In the 1870s candidates were recruited for the ministry from Tokelau and the Ellice Islands, reflecting its growing

119 Until the 1840s, the name Cook Islands denoted the islands of what is now the southern group. The inclusion of the northern group as part of Cook Islands was an idea first formulated by Sir George Grey as part of his ambition to have an island empire centred on New Zealand. See Grattan, *The South West Pacific to 1900* 1963: 508. The unifying factor was the Rarotongan mission centre with its training institution Takamo'a founded in 1837. See Morell, *Britain in the Pacific Islands* 1960:48; Crocombe, 1968:9 (note 18).

120 The northern group are atolls, the southern group have both atolls and volcanic islands. For an example of the former type of environment, see Beckett 'Social Change in Pukapuka' in Howard, 1971:280-300. For an example of volcanic environment see Crocombe, *Land Tenure in the Cook Islands* 1964.


122 The Pukapukan's reply to the Rarotongan question 'Pe'ea koe?' (How are you?) is 'Lele'i' which is the Samoan word for 'good', whereas the Rarotongan reply is 'meitaki'. The closeness of the Pukapukan dialect to the Samoan language is probably due to the fact that Pukapuka is only 390 miles northeast of the Samoan group (cf. Rarotonga which is 1324 km away).

123 Pitman and Buzacott 25 May 1839, SSL. See also Gunson, 1978:324ff.

124 See above, 49, 64-66.
reputation as the most advanced theological seminary in the Pacific. By 1900, Malua had become the envy of other LMS stations, so much so that Takamoan restructured its curriculum and admission regulations basing them on procedures then currently practised in Malua. For instance, in 1909, the secretary of the Cook Islands District Committee, Percy N. Hall, wrote to Newell (secretary of SDC):

Your educational institution has always been maintained at a much higher standard than ours, and that is the chief reason why the people are able to support as they do, the 'Sulu' and the work of the literature department. In both respects, we are woefully backward...

Last September, for the first time we instituted a system of examination of the students. We also intend to be much more strict about admission, and I hope that all these things will bear fruit.125

Considering that the majority of the recruits for missionary work were generally the best students (academically) of the final year class in Malua, it is conceivable that they left for mission work with inflated opinions of their academic achievement. It seems also that they were reminded of the importance of enhancing the reputation of the seminary which had given them so much. Thus, for those who became missionaries, pride in Malua was intimately associated with pride in their country. When they encountered missionaries from other parts of the Pacific who were not educated in Malua, they consequently regarded them as intellectually inferior.

A further contributing factor to the misunderstanding was the way the position of a pastor was understood in the respective societies. In the Cook Islands, the orometua (pastor) was always under the direct authority of the Church Assembly. His appointment (and dismissal) to a pastoral charge as well as his salary was the responsibility of the Assembly. Thus, decisions regarding any new development in his station were either made by the Assembly or at least needed its approval. At all times, therefore, the orometua had to follow the guidelines laid down by the Assembly. This made him accountable to the Assembly rather than to his congregation.126 In sharp contrast...

125 Percy H. Hall (sec. of Cook Islands District Committee) to Newell (sec. of SDC) 3 June 1909. SSL.

126 For details of Church development in the Cook Islands, see Gilson, The Cook Islands: 1820-1950 1980:20-56.
was the situation of the faife'au in Samoan society. The right of appointment (and dismissal) rested with the matai of the nu'u. The feagaiga between matai and faife'au required them to honour their alleged commitments: the matai to provide the daily needs and material welfare of the faife'au, and the faife'au to take care of the spiritual needs of the nu'u. Yet the arrangement heavily favoured the matai, for with the power of appointment and dismissal they succeeded in making the faife'au accountable to them and not to the Assembly (Fono Tele). On the other hand, the faife'au was compensated for this lack of power by gaining a status of approximate importance to that of the matai in the village structure. Although he could not be an official member of the fono a matai, his advice was sometimes sought on matters relating to the spiritual welfare of the nu'u. Because of his tulaga in the nu'u, the faife'au was treated with the utmost respect. The Samoan missionaries were obviously familiar with all the cultural benefits of the position of faife'au. Their tulaga in Samoan society led them to believe that they were fit only to lead, to make decisions, to be obeyed. These expectations made them aggressive towards their fellow Polynesian missionaries. Yet such expectations were encouraged by the parish type of church community that had its basis on nu'u loyalty and pride which made the faife'au ever conscious of his self-importance. In view of this, the Samoan missionaries experienced difficulties when they found themselves working alongside missionaries from the Cook Islands who were used to a system where supervision was important. The Samoan faife'au on the other hand was used to a system where he was to a large extent his own master in church matters. He was expected to use his initiative in formulating church projects and activities. The Cook Islands orometua consulted his church superiors; the Samoan faife'au consulted the matai of the nu'u. The former did so because he was inferior in rank; the latter because he was equal in rank. In view of the attitude held

127 See above, 57-62.
128 See above, 59-60.
129 See above, 60-62.
by Samoan missionaries that they were intellectually and culturally superior to the Cook Islands missionaries there was little room for cooperation. This attitude of the Samoans is aptly illustrated in a letter by Konelio from the Angas Inland Mission in 1911:

Mr Pearse was very impressed with our theological background and general training, especially with our knowledge of preventive medicine and decimal algebra. He told me he was not very pleased with the Rarotongan teachers due to their half-hearted attitude to their work. He said that they only held schools when they knew he was due to visit them, but all go back to sleep once he left. 'But you Samoan pastors' he said, 'I have heard of how well you are trained in Samoa. You work without relying on being visited. You use initiative and treat the work as your own. My fellow European missionaries who have Samoan teachers have an easy job because one can rely on them to carry out the work without having to be on the spot to supervise.'

Relations between the Samoans and the Niueans appear to have been close and warm. The presence of Samoan missionaries in Niue from 1848 to 1870 may account for the mutual understanding between them in the mission field. The influence of Samoan missionaries in Niue in terms of language and church development meant that all Niueans who went out as missionaries had some knowledge of the Samoan language and gained some familiarity with the style of work and expectations of the Samoan faite'au. Furthermore, all of them would have been recommended for theological training by the Samoan missionaries in charge of their respective villages. Although initial training was carried out under the supervision of the Samoan missionary and later under George Lawes at Alofi from 1861, before 1875 all of them were sent to Malua for further training. Thus, by the time they were sent out to be missionaries in Tokelau and New Guinea in the 1860s and 1870s, the Niueans were...

130 Konelio, Saroakei, Angas Inland Mission, 3 September 1911, SS February 1912:41.

131 Before 1861, when 3,000 copies of the Gospel of St Mark were printed in the Niuean language by the Samoan mission press, the Samoan language was used for all church matters.

thoroughly familiar with the various facets of Samoan culture, such as the importance Samoans attached to the position of fa'ife'au, the role of the fa'ife'au in the nu'u, and the status of fa'ife'au within the Church hierarchy. It was this familiarity of the Niueans with Samoan culture which made the Samoan missionaries more tolerant of them.

Amongst themselves, the Samoan missionaries generally respected each other. Nevertheless, there were times when disagreement occurred which threatened not only the progress of their work, but also their solidarity as a group. Thus, tension amongst the Samoan missionaries was a feature of the work in the Ellice Islands. Except for a quarrel between a Samoan missionary and his wife in Tanna in 1845 (which forced Nisbet to hold an enquiry into the claim that Mose was mentally unfit for the work since he was in the habit of beating his wife), there are no recorded instances of any major disagreement among the Samoan missionaries in the Westward Islands, Niue, Tokelau, the southern Gilberts and New Guinea like those which occurred in the Ellice Islands.

When Turner visited Vaitupu in 1874, he found that Ioane, the Samoan missionary in charge of Nukulaelae, was residing at the place of the Vaitupu missionary (also named Ioane). When questioned by Turner as to why he was in Vaitupu, Ioane of Nukulaelae blamed Sapolu and Kirisome, the Samoan missionaries at Nukufetau and Nui. He informed Turner that he had been instructed by Sapolu and Kirisome to go to Funafuti for a gathering of all Samoan missionaries in the Ellice Islands; and was therefore waiting for a ship in Vaitupu to take both himself and Ioane of Vaitupu to the proposed meeting at Funafuti. Ioane of Nukulaelae moreover blamed Sapolu for stopping the people of Nukufetau from contributing to the LMS in 1873. Instead, 'Sapolu instructed the people to confine their gifts entirely to his support... and when some brought nuts as contributions to the LMS he rejected them.' Ioane then informed Turner that he had re-admitted to the church five members whom Sapolu, Kirisome and Tema had expelled for

133 Nisbet, Journal 1836-76:63.
playing draughts. Having reprimanded Ioane for acting without first consulting the SDC, Turner left for Nukufetau where Sapolu denied that he and Kirisome had 'formally proposed a united meeting of the teachers'. Then, to combat the charges Ioane made against him, Sapolu in turn brought some grave charges against Ioane of Nukulaelae. These were (1) that he acted foolishly in many things - such as the following: he made a rule that when they went out bonito-fishing if any one caught a fish but let it escape again, he was to have his face rubbed with charcoal by the women of the village when they returned. He himself had frequently undergone the process. (2) When he visited Funafuti, some time ago, when there was no teacher there he very seldom slept in his own house at night but used to sleep in other houses. When Turner reached Nui, 'Kirisome confirmed all that Sapolu stated with reference to Ioane of Nukulaelae - that is as to the reports, but of course he does not know as to their truth'.

Accusations of the kind Turner encountered created considerable tension amongst the Samoan missionaries in the Ellice Islands. But what aggravated the tension was the tendency of the accuser to publicly make known the accusations relating to the conduct of a fellow missionary. This sparked off numerous versions of the allegations; and as Turner discovered, it was often very difficult to unravel the truth from such a tangle of rumours. For some, however, the strain of knowing that their integrity was being questioned and judged by public opinion was just too much to take. An example of this was the case of Fa'atonu, who in 1915 left Vaitupu for Samoa owing to a dramatic deterioration in his health. According to H. Bond James (the resident European missionary for the Ellice Islands) it all began when Tofi, Fa'atonu's wife, was criticised by the wives of other Samoan missionaries for the way she distributed food during a church meeting of the group held at Vaitupu in May 1915:

135 Turner 1874:22.
137 Ibid.
138 Ibid, 57.
Their opinions were freely expressed and suggestions were made that the couple should be removed or the island would have a bad name. Gossip and rumour were hard at work.139

One of the Samoan missionaries, Monise, perpetuated the rumours by informing his colleagues that a meeting had been held by the people of Vaitupu at which it was decided that Fa'atonu and his wife were to leave and he was to take their place. When Bond James visited Vaitupu in August of the same year, he not only learned of the tension that had existed among the Samoan missionaries since May, but also found out that no such meeting by the Vaitupuans was ever held. 'Fa'atonu struggled on without telling me a word of all this so that I knew nothing of it until a few days ago'.140 When examined by Bond James, Fa'atonu revealed that Monise had admitted spreading the rumour concerning the supposed meeting and that he had asked Panapa not to proceed against him as he first learned of it from Paulo. Fa'atonu further informed Bond James that as far as he was concerned, the matter was closed until he received a letter from an old friend in Niutao, which the SS Germania brought on 16 August, in which his friend told him that the matter had been discussed throughout the Ellice Islands.141 According to Bond James, 'Fa'atonu's pride has been so deeply wounded that he finds it impossible to struggle against it'. His health began to deteriorate: 'he was weak, had no appetite and felt unable to meet the requirements of his work and did not sleep well'. His request to go back to Samoa on medical grounds was granted, and he left Vaitupu in the John Williams at the end of 1916.

The rivalry amongst Samoan missionaries in the Ellice Islands demonstrates their ability to manipulate public opinion as a means of consolidating their position, and as the case of Fa'atonu illustrates, sometimes at the expense of a fellow missionary. To a large extent they were able to do this because the structure of the church communities

139 H. Bond James to Hills (sec. of SDC), Vaitupu 30 August 1915. See also, Vaitupu 23 August 1915. SDC Incoming Letters (hereinafter IL).

140 Ibid, Vaitupu 30 August 1915.

141 Idem.
they established bore close resemblance to those found in Samoa. Given the tremendous pride the indigenous people had in their respective islands, it was often not too difficult for a Samoan missionary to treat each island as the equivalent of a nu'u. In fact in many of their letters to Samoa, they referred to the island where they worked as a nu'u and not a motu (island). It is conceivable that the Samoan missionaries exploited this understanding in their quest for power and social recognition. The tension which occurred also reflects Samoan consciousness of rank in society. The unfortunate effect of clashes between people of equal rank was that it polarised opinion and precipitated rumours which blurred the truth. Fa'atonu was not the only victim of the incident in Vaitupu; the Vaitupuans also suffered because they themselves became the subject of ridicule and sacrasm by Ellice Islanders in other islands of the group. For the Vaitupuans, the issue was not so much whether the rumours about their missionary were true; rather, that there should have been rumours at all. To save face, therefore, they informed Bond James that they did not want Fa'atonu back. Their decision was communicated by Bond James to the SDC in a letter dated 1 March 1916: 'The people do not want him back, and they have asked me to request the Committee to keep him in Samoa'.

TOWARDS the end of the nineteenth century Samoan missionaries in the southern Gilberts, the Ellice Islands, Tokelau and parts of New Guinea encountered a new problem, namely the encroachment of other religious denominations on their sphere of work.

The landing of a Catholic priest at Nikunau on 6 October 1888 alarmed the Samoan missionaries on the island and alerted them to the possibility of the Catholic Church establishing mission stations in the islands of the southern Gilberts where they were working. In a combined letter sent to the SDC on 9 February 1889, the Samoan missionaries in Nikunau described the arrival of the Catholic party and the subsequent events which caused them concern:

---


A French warship brought the priest here on 6 October 1888. On landing, a message was sent to us demanding that a meeting of all Nikunau people should be held on Monday (8th). A meeting was held. We, Samoan pastors told the captain that France had no power of control over us or our work especially as the people of Nikunau were not interested in the Catholic faith. The captain then wanted to know whether the priest stays or not; and we told him that such a decision was up to him. Before the captain could reply, the priest accused us of meddling with civil laws. We defended ourselves by telling him that we only did so because the people were heathen. The captain then said that people should be free to choose which faith they wish to adhere to and that we should not penalise anybody who wishes to become a Catholic. He further said if we do, something dreadful will happen to us when he calls again.144

The fears of the Samoan missionaries in Nikunau heightened when Father Bontemps landed at Beru; and shortly afterwards, at Onotoa in 1892.145 The presence of Catholic priests was viewed as a direct threat to their work and their position as spiritual leaders of the indigenous people. Part of this attitude derived from the influence of their training at Malua where the study of 'Popery' was compulsory from 1862.146 The lectures on 'Popery', prepared by Henry Nisbet, involved a thorough examination of 'the subjects in controversy between that system and Protestantism'.147 By 1884, 'Popery' had become one of the five subjects (the others were scripture, history, geography, arithmetic and homiletics) in which members of the final year class were expected to know the whole of the relevant textbook.148 The aim of the course was to condition the Samoans to impede the spread of Catholicism. The arrival of French Marists in Samoa in 1845 sparked

---

144 Samoan pastors in Nikunau to SDC 9 February 1889, SDC IL.
145 Sabatier, 1977:244-45.
146 See 16th Annual Report of SMS 1862.
147 See 22nd Annual Report of SMS 1866.
off waves of anti-Catholic propaganda by the European LMS missionaries, and the subjection of Samoans in the LMS camp to such teaching convinced them of the falsity of Catholicism. Considering that Samoan missionaries did not enter the Ellice Islands, Tokelau and the southern Gilberts until the late 1860s, it seems clear that those who went took with them strong convictions that the Catholic faith was deceptive.

It was not so much the teaching of the Catholic priests which caused anxiety amongst the Samoan missionaries, since their training had prepared them for possible theological debate, but rather the ritual objects and material wealth used by Catholic priests to demonstrate their religious views; and thereby lure away those already members of the LMS. As Apelu reported in 1893 from Onotoa:

the spread here of Popish practices will mislead the people. Its representative walks around and displays beautiful icons to attract the attention of the people. This is the method he uses in order to get followers and establish his church here.\[150\]

Tema wrote from Beru two years later:

The major problem facing us is the popish church. It is amazing how many tricks their priests have to get people to attend their services.... They persuaded the people with goods such as clothing, money, tobacco and biscuits. They gave so much of these things to the people, and not surprisingly, some were won over owing to their greed for material possessions. If a person attends their services, his name and land is taken down. They have also told the village 'Look at those Samoan pastors, they have come out of their want of things you have such as land and material wealth, and so they have put you under bondage. For it is untrue that a pastor should be fed by a village, on the contrary a pastor should provide his own food. Look at us, we bring our own food, we have never asked you for any foodstuffs or any other thing unlike those Samoan pastors'. They have also told the people that it is unnecessary to give offerings or donations to either the church or the pastors.\[151\]

\[149\] See Gilson, 1970:124-25.

\[150\] Apelu, SS November 1893:167.

\[151\] Tema, SS October 1895:147. For details, see Appendix D, X.
The claims by Apelu and Tena were confirmed by Newell when he visited both islands in 1895. In an extensive report to the SDC on his return, Newell acknowledged the obstructive effect the Catholics' presence had on the work in Onotoa and Beru:

There is a white priest in Beru. His house is like a store, full of tin biscuits, varieties of other goods and tobacco. Anyone who wants some money or goods from the shop, goes and sees the priest, and his name and land is taken down and from then onward, that person is regarded as an adherent of the Catholic Church. The Catholic priests have moved around in both Beru and Onotoa persuading people to join their Church. In the process, they have discredited the work of Samoan pastors by claiming that the latter are only working because they want goods. They have told the people that Catholic priests want their hearts not their goods. Consequently the people have failed to look after the welfare of the Samoan pastors. And because there is so much famine, the people find the priests' words very appealing. Marriott, visiting Beru and Nikunau three years later, noticed an additional factor in the efforts of Catholic priests to persuade LMS adherents to their faith:

The priest in Beru uses many tricks to lure our people to his church. An instance of this is his use of Western medicine. Anyone who has caught an illness, may receive medicine from him free only if that person agrees to be a member of his church. One of his helpers, a European by the name of Bartlett, has told the people that it was up to them whether or not to look after the Samoan pastors. Consequently, many have withheld assistance from the pastors. He has also told older children to leave the pastor's school and go and help their own families. The work has suffered greatly.

By the beginning of 1899, more Catholic priests arrived to expand the work already begun by the few in the region. The party, led by a Bishop, included nine priests and two nuns. Two islands visited: Nikunau and Funafuti (Tuvalu). Initial confrontation between

153 Marriott, Report..., SS May 1898:78.
154 Uele, SS September 1899:202.
the visiting party and the Samoan missionaries, revealed the tension created by the situation as well as the extent of the influence Samoan missionaries had over the indigenous people. For instance, when the party landed on Nikunau on 16 February 1899, Uele reported that:

Although they were told on board when they anchored they were not welcome, they nevertheless loaded a small boat with their possessions and came ashore. When they came over the reef the chiefs and the people went out and tried to bar their way, but they insisted on coming ashore. An argument broke out, but they said 'You must not turn us away, it is not your land but the Lord's'. While disagreement continued, the crew of the ship busied themselves with unloading their goods. As they were landed the people put them back in the boat. The people almost won the argument but for the interference of a European who lives here. He told the people to stop re-loading the goods on the boat for the ship was closed to anyone. He then welcomed the bishop and his group to stay in his house. On the second day, the people again met and decided to confiscate the party's goods. The bishop was aware of the determination of the people to uphold their decision that only one denomination was to be allowed in Nikunau, then decided to use a trick; namely, to distribute goods for everyone - money, clothes and tobacco. This was done to soften the people's hearts. 155

Three days later the party departed for Funafuti, having left behind one priest. Peni, the Samoan missionary in Funafuti, reported on what occurred when the Catholic party landed:

They came with material to build a house. How highly they thought of themselves. No one in this island requested a house. The king of Funafuti told them to take their house and depart from the island for they were not welcome. The bishop, who headed the party, pleaded with the king for a piece of land for the erection of their house and they will pay him with goods, but the king was determined and said 'No!'. So the house was taken back to the ship, but the bishop insisted that two of his priests remain. The king told the bishop that they would not be welcome to stay in anyone's house, but the bishop said, 'they will sleep on the beach'. The king still refused. Nevertheless they stayed, in the boating shed.

155 Idem.
When this was swamped by a wave they found a house to live in for one pound a month. The king informed them that they could stay for 3 months, afterwards they must leave. To this they agreed. But when the three months was over, they refused. They were evacuated from the house, but they told the king they would sleep on the road. They have continued to lie and cheat so that someone will show mercy and give them some piece of land. But up till now, no one has. And as a result, they have become a pest to our work here.156

In response to the Catholic threat, the Samoan missionaries initially resorted to a refutation of the Catholic faith, citing scriptural texts to support their arguments.157 For example, the claim by Catholic priests that it was not necessary to give offerings to the Church and the pastors was rebutted by Samoan missionaries who taught that 'both of these things are commanded by God. People must give offerings to God and they must also give His servants due pay for their work'.158

The reluctance of the Catholic priests to withdraw and their subsequent settlement amongst the people, led to a direct confrontation with the Samoan missionaries on certain established rules of conduct. According to Terna, the priests in Onotoa, abolished civil laws such as: everyone must go to church, no one is allowed to fish, and no one is allowed to elope. These laws were well respected prior to the arrival of these priests, but not so now.159

Such laws were usually formulated by the Samoan missionaries together with the chiefs of each island who were, in most cases, deacons of the church. A final approval however was needed from the British High Commissioner (stationed at Butaritari) before these could be put into effect. Annoyed with the priests' attitudes, the Samoan missionaries and the chiefs sought the help of the British Commissioner to reverse

156 Feni, SS November 1899:304. See also Newell, Report..., SS November 1899:306-07.
157 See Appendix D, X.
158 Terna, SS October 1895:147. For details see Appendix D, X.
159 Idem.
and dispel Catholic beliefs. Terna wrote:

The British governor arrived in June 1895. The chiefs pleaded for help and we also presented a testimonial letter. As a result, the priest was given specific instructions not to interfere with village laws, but concentrate only on his work. He was reminded that the chiefs governed the village, not the priest.160

The involvement of government officials in the confrontation between the Samoan IMS missionaries and the Catholic representatives was not always to the advantage of the Samoans, as Terna's report illustrates. Considering their antagonistic attitude towards the Catholics, the Samoan missionaries hoped for nothing less than the expulsion of the priests. But as it sometimes turned out, the priests were merely reprimanded for meddling in civil affairs. Ironically, the Samoan missionaries were guilty of the same offence.161

The method adopted by the Catholic priests to attract people to their version of Christianity was at times challenged by Samoan missionaries in the form of an open debate. An example of such debates was one held in Beru on 29 May 1895. According to Terna:

It was brought about by a letter which we wrote to the pastors in Nikunau, informing them that the popish priest was in the habit of delivering various goods to members of our own church and the practice of names and lands being taken down. He also threatened to confiscate land from the rightful owner. When some members of the popish church in Nikunau learned of our letter they wrote to us denying our claims. But some who were angry and ashamed came over to Beru to find out the truth, claiming that we made up all the accusations. They came with their minds made up that we should be fined if the story was untrue. On arrival, they asked members of their church who in turn told them that we were liars; and suggested to the priests to fine us 1000 coconuts. We thought this was unjust and subsequently appealed to the chiefs for an examination of the charges. They agreed. When everyone had assembled, we were summoned. The members of the Catholic church brought their white priest to scare us and defeat us. The debate began. I was chosen by my colleagues to represent our case. First, I told everything the priests had and were trying to do; the presentation

161 See below, 247-48

162 Terna, SS October 1895:147. For details, see Appendix D, X.
of various goods to church members and the roll book kept for names and lands. All of a sudden the priest clapped his hands and said to me 'untrue, untrue'. I then asked him 'Did you not give the people clothes, money, food and tobacco?' He answered 'no'. I then asked members of our church 'Did the priest give you any of the things he denied?' They replied 'It is true, he gave us all those things'. The priest's head hung in shame. I again asked the priest 'Is it not true that you have taken down the names of the people and their lands.' The priest said 'no'. But when I asked the people, they all said it was true.162

Personal criticisms of the Samoan missionaries by priests were usually over-ruled by the Commissioner. For instance, when the Commissioner visited Beru on 25 June 1899, he instructed the people to care for the Samoan missionaries. This attitude of the Commissioner, according to Tema:

was precipitated by a comment from one of the priests. He had said to the people 'Why have you held on to those Samoan pastors, send them home because they think they are kings; you have slaved to feed and clothe them. Do not give them any more food, tell them to go home. You must unite under the White pastor who is recognised and well known in his home church. But these Samoan pastors came here and were not even recognised and well known in their home church'. We, as well as members of our own church were very hurt; and thus, when the Commissioner visited us we asked him 'Sir, what is to happen to us, for someone thinks we are not important, that we were not appointed and that food must not be given to us'. The Commissioner in turn asked 'Who said that?' The people pointed to the priest and the Commissioner said to him 'You have seen this flag, it is for the protection of Samoan pastors by the authority of Queen Victoria'. To the people he said, 'The same flag protects you also. Now you must look after them well in all things and give them a good salary for you have been blessed very much as a result of their work. You must love them as they love you, so much that they had to give up their homes and country to come here and help you'.163

Although the character of the Samoan missionaries received a battering from the personal accusations of the priests it was the code of laws formulated by the Samoan missionaries which became the centre

162 Tema, SS October 1895:147. For details, see Appendix D, X.

163 Idem.
of the Catholics' criticisms. Claims that members of the Catholic community were persecuted and imprisoned by the Samoan missionaries, that the pastors told the people not to respond to the Catholic priests' greetings, and the harshness of fines imposed by the Samoan missionaries for any laxity in Sunday observance, formed the basis of the Catholic attack. The priests recorded all instances where a member of the community who appeared to support their cause was fined by the Samoan missionaries and reported these to their superiors. For example, Father Sabatier reported that a native of Beru 'had to pay a fine of 10,000 nuts because he had dried some copra on Sunday', and when 'Toma said that the Samoan pastor was not white, he got a month in prison for having uttered this truth'. In view of the fact that civil regulations had the support of the chiefs and the colonial government, it is conceivable that the priests and their flock were being victimised. On the other hand the priests may have used such incidents to criticise the work of the Samoan missionaries, and the flexibility of their approach to civil matters probably appealed to those who found the dogmatic system imposed by the Samoan missionaries too strenuous.

By 1900, the Catholic presence in the southern Gilberts was generally accepted, although in the Ellice Islands the people were just beginning to have their first experience of the pressure produced by Catholic encroachment which was to last for the next ten years. At the same time, another religious group threatened the work of Samoan missionaries in another island of the region. In 1902, Panapa, the Samoan missionary in Fakaofo (Tokelau), reported the arrival of the missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints:

One of our own people who was in Samoa for some years has come back with this new religion, saying he was a member of it while in Samoa. Some of the people are thinking about it, but have not joined.... The councillors of Fakaofo have expressed their wish that they do not want any Mormon preacher ever to visit their land again.

164 Sabatier, 1977:244-46.
165 Ibid, 246.
166 E.g., Nui. See Kirisome, SS January 1900:12.
167 Panapa, SS September 1902:176.
The Samoans' contact with Mormons was necessarily limited to Polynesia and parts of Micronesia since the Mormons then believed that blacks (including Melanesians) were not equal with other peoples in the sight of God. Furthermore, the confrontation only became intense after 1930.

The threat in Fakaofo was dispensed with quickly, owing to the determination of the local councillors. But in New Guinea, the threat of a Catholic incursion (which occurred during the same period) was anticipated. Ierupa'ala, who was in charge of one of the settlements near Delena (Morabi) reported how he came back from their district meeting in Delena only to be told by his wife I'a: 'there is a popish party already on its way inland'. As Ierupa'ala recalls:

"My heart grieved with sadness in fear of the popish church taking over this village of Korona, for it is strategically located being the first of the villages of the many that are located inland. It is therefore like an entrance. I did a lot of soul searching as to what must be done. I was not sure whether to tell my superintendent. For the whole night, I lay awake praying and asking God for guidance. Slowly I began to see the answer which I believe was from God: 'it is important for you to act quickly on your own and go after them'. When morning came, I quickly prepared what I needed for my trip taking with me the Book of St Mark personally signed by Mr Dauncey. Two men and two youths accompanied me in my journey in a small boat. The journey on the river was for a distance of ten miles. We left around six and arrived at the place where we had to leave the boat and started walking to Korona. We arrived shortly after mid-day. My heart rejoiced when the people happily greeted and received us. I knew immediately from this that the popish party had...

---


170 Ierupa'ala, SS March 1906:30.
not arrived.... They asked me if they could have a pastor. I told them I would get them one but in the meantime they must not accept any popish people if they came. I gave the book of St Mark to one of the leaders having written in it these words: 'I am Mr Dauncey of Delena who first came here'. We then left arriving back at Morabi towards evening of 13 May. 171

The Catholics in New Guinea had a very low opinion of the Samoan missionaries. For instance, Father Julien wrote, 'they differ little in morals or training from the savages amongst whom they live'. 172 In another letter, he informed members of the Catholic community in Australia in 1896: 'The protestants are agitating against us. They have an increasing number of teachers so weeds will strangle the good seed. Happily these teachers are not to be feared. They are simply kanakas instructed by the devil'. 173 The Samoan missionaries were probably aware of such views which may have provided additional reasons for their determination to stop the Catholic advance. In time, the presence of Catholic priests was accepted, but the propaganda war continued.

As a group, the Samoan missionaries were spared a calamity such as the massacre of Rarotongan missionaries at Kalo in 1881. 174 But an incident occurred in the early months of 1900 which greatly saddened the Samoans in New Guinea. Toma, his children Eta and Ropati, Siutu, Peau and his wife Paia all died in the mission ship John Williams on their way from New Guinea to Samoa. According to the written reports, the party reached Sydney safely, but during the time the ship was in Sydney, bubonic plague was creating universal fear. The ship left

171 Idem. Pastor Naite was appointed to Konona on 27 June 1905. See also, Uele, SS July 1906:87.
175 See Appendix D, XXII.
Sydney on 19 April for Rarotonga to return the Rarotongan missionaries, but the captain did not know that owing to the plague, new regulations had been formulated earlier in the year in Rarotonga whereby no ship from Sydney was permitted to call at Rarotonga; if going to Samoa it must anchor for ten days before any contact could be made with people on shore; if going to Tonga, thirty days were required. During the trip, illness spread amongst the Samoan passengers. Before they reached Rarotonga, Eta and Ropati had died, while Toma and Siutu were critically ill. But the regulations prevented any help being forthcoming and the ship headed back to New Zealand. The New Zealand government directed that the ship be taken to an offshore island and anchor there for a period of twenty-one days, during which time Toma and Siutu died. After twenty-one days, the ship was allowed to be examined medically. The ship was finally permitted to depart for Rarotonga on 11 June having received medical clearance. On arrival there on 28 June, everyone was allowed on shore except the Samoan pastors. Tipasa, one of the pastors, reflects the despondent mood of the Samoans on board: 'What a blow, suffering being met by more suffering'. The John Williams made a round trip of the southern Cook Islands but at no time were the Samoans allowed on shore. It was not until the ship returned to Rarotonga on 6 July that they were allowed on shore 'after the ariki Makea had pleaded with the British pastors to show mercy and allow the Samoan passengers ashore'. After a short time there, the ship departed for Samoa arriving on 6 August 1900, but with another casualty - Peau who died during the voyage from Rarotonga to Niue.

The tragedy caused great sadness amongst the Samoan missionaries in New Guinea. The immediate effect on them was to heighten awareness

176 Newell, SS September 1900:13.
177 Tipasa, SS November 1900:5. For details, see Appendix D, XXII.
178 Idem.
179 Idem.
of their limited number. A memorial service was held on 16 June in Petersham, Sydney, the place where the Samoan party had earlier taken part in church fellowship, 'giving accounts of their work in New Guinea which caused considerable joy amongst our people in Sydney'.

The problems Samoan missionaries encountered were not only many, but varied in scope and intensity according to the place where they worked. Their experience seems to have involved two distinct phases. During the period of initial contact up to the time churches were formed, the basic problem was one of adaptation, of coming to terms with the new environment and new forms of cultural behaviour. But with the establishment of churches and colonial administrations, the problems revolved around the issue of consolidation, of maintaining their position with local communities, which subsequently generated tension in their relationships with the local people, European missionaries, traders and government officials. Part of this tension was expressed through the confrontation with representatives of other religious groups which revealed the determination of the Samoan missionaries to keep out such groups. Thus, in the Ellice Islands, they achieved something unique in the Protestant Pacific until comparatively recently, a one-mission, one-church society. In most other places, Catholics and other Protestants as well as various sects made their presence felt.

180 Ma'anaima, 13 October 1900, SS March 1901:40.
181 See Appendix D, XXII.
182 Newell, An account..., SS September 1900:13. For details, see Appendix D, XXII.
CHAPTER SEVEN

RELATIONS WITH EUROPEAN MISSIONARIES

The Samoan missionaries had dealings with three types of Europeans in the course of their work: missionaries, traders and government officials. Representatives of these three groups did not all become involved with the Samoans at the same time. The European missionaries, as supervisors of the work Samoans were expected to do, were involved from 1839 onward in the Westward Islands. Traders and government officials on the other hand entered the scene later, the former group depending on the economic prospects of the area concerned, and the latter on the establishment of colonial governments.

Between 1839 and 1883, relations between the Samoan missionaries and European missionaries were relatively smooth, owing partly to the Samoans being under the authority of a single governing body, the Samoan District Committee (which before 1875 was the sole controlling body of the Samoan Church) and partly to the way the Samoan Church had developed. The Samoan District Committee was made up of all the European missionaries in Samoa, each of whom was in charge of a church district. In such a capacity, the European missionary supervised and controlled the development of the church at the district level. When the District Committee convened annually, each missionary was required to submit a progress report of his district's work. Any decision affecting the overall work of the church was the sole prerogative of the District Committee. Thus, policies such as those relating to overseas missions were formulated and sanctioned only by this body. The final approval of a candidate for missionary work rested with the District Committee. Before a candidate reached this far, he was required to satisfy the European missionary in charge of his district as to the suitability of his character and intelligence as well as the extent of his involvement in church activities. If satisfied, the European missionary recommended the candidate to a selection committee of the Samoan District Committee who then decided whether or not the candidate was fit for theological training at Malua. At the completion of his theological studies, he was again put forward to the District
Committee who decided whether he should become a missionary. Even those who volunteered from pastoral charges in villages were subject to the same process of selection.

In the course of this long process, some sense of mutual trust usually developed between the candidates and the European missionaries which was maintained after the candidates left Samoa. The familiarity of the European missionaries with various facets of Samoan culture as reflected in their ability to converse, preach and teach in the Samoan language, supplemented their knowledge of the candidates. In many ways, the European missionaries had a sound understanding of Samoan character as their writings reveal. This understanding aided the growth of trust. For the Samoans, trust is associated with the concept of *tulaga* (rank), thus it is an emotion required rather than motivated by the *fa'a-samoa*. Considering the importance of *tulaga* and the necessity for Samoans to display *amio tatau* (correct behaviour) to those in authority - the Samoan missionaries accepted the limitations of their relationship with European missionaries, which in practical terms was based on the roles each party was required to play. The European missionaries were the leaders, the advisers, the decision makers, the power holders, the supervisors. The Samoan missionaries were the followers, the doers, the listeners, the inferiors. These roles determined the nature of the relationship.

Before 1883, European missionaries of the District Committee took turns to visit the Samoan missionaries in their places of work. This was an annual event. The main purpose was to inspect and report on progress. This involved holding examinations for school children as well as candidates for communicant membership, baptising new members, and advising the Samoan missionary of how best his work could be improved. At times they were called upon to preside over hearings concerning disputes amongst the members of the church or alleged misconduct on

---

1 See above, 30.
the part of the Samoan missionaries. These however were of minor importance and a stern warning was usually considered an appropriate punishment. If the offence was considered serious, such as the breaking of church or civil regulations, fines were imposed. A Samoan missionary found in the wrong was severely reprimanded and reminded of the power of the District Committee to remove him from office. But during the initial years of mission work in the Westward Islands, Tokelau, the Ellice Islands and southern Gilberts, only a few experienced such disgrace. The leniency of the Europeans may have arisen out of their awareness that such a decision had grave social implications amongst the ever status-conscious Samoans.

Visits by European missionaries were appreciated by the Samoan missionaries who viewed the presence of a European from their home church as a great honour. The visits not only convinced them of the love and care of the home church, but also enhanced their reputation amongst the indigenous people as men of God and friends of the white man. Furthermore it reaffirmed their standing as knowledgeable men. All these expectations were related to the importance they perceived in their position. The visits also provided them with opportunities to impress their European guides with the quality and scope of their work. Thus, serious preparations were usually made. Village campuses were cleaned up, school activities intensified, church buildings repaired and church hymns thoroughly practised. Extra care was taken over clothes and personal appearance, and a sense of solemnity and formality permeated the atmosphere throughout the time the European missionary stayed. Such visits reinforced mutual trust and respect between the two groups. The favourable accounts by European missionaries who led these visitations reflect a certain degree of approval and satisfaction on their part with the efforts of the Samoan missionaries.

---

2 E.g., the cases of Ma'ata (Fakaofo) and Fatali'i (Atafu). For details, see Turner, Journal 1874:307. Detailed examples of later cases which had serious implications in relations with Europeans are given below.

3 See Appendix E.
In 1883, a new element was introduced to the relationship which, apart from broadening the framework of decision making, also precipitated considerable tension in the ensuing years. The appointment of Samoan missionaries to work in New Guinea meant that for the first time in the history of the Samoan mission, its overseas agents came under the jurisdiction of another District Committee, namely the Papua District Committee, whose members had little or no knowledge of the cultural background of the new recruits. To compound this limitation, none possessed the ability to speak the Samoan language which hindered effective communication between the two groups. In effect, the relationship between the Samoan missionaries and the European members of the Papua District Committee highlighted the gulf that existed between the two cultures. The differences in backgrounds, outlook and values of the Europeans and the Samoans made them view and interpret each other's actions differently. This situation also existed in Samoa, but the willingness of both parties to learn from each other over a long period of time helped to alleviate tensions associated with cultural differences. The pattern of relationship which emerged in New Guinea was one whereby Samoan missionaries respected and trusted the European missionary in charge of the district they were working in, rather than the group of European missionaries which constituted the District Committee.

Another effect of this development was the direct involvement of the two District Committees with each other's affairs. Issues relating to the performance and work of the Samoan missionaries became increasingly the concern of the two Committees, forcing the Samoan missionaries into the role of onlookers. Decisions in the form of resolutions passed by one Committee elicited corresponding resolutions from the other. This heightened tension amongst the European missionaries, and at times relations between the two Committees reached such a low ebb that resolutions became a convenient form of attack on the policies and sometimes, personnel, of the other Committee. Both Committees appear to have used such tactics to preserve their integrity and autonomy. Nevertheless, there is evidence that the confrontation between the Samoan district Committee and the Papuan District Committee reflected differences in policy and styles. 4

Similar confrontations took place in the southern Gilberts in 1900
after the formation of the Gilbert Islands District Committee by
W.E. Goward; and in the Ellice Islands when Henry Bond James was
appointed resident missionary in 1913.

The European missionaries who visited the Westward
Islands in the 1840s and 1850s paid tribute to the efforts of the
Samoan missionaries there. For instance, Thomas Heath, during his
visit to the area in 1840, reported that the state of mission work
on Tanna (where three Samoans were left in November 1839) was as
promising as could be expected.5 William Gill and Henry Nisbet,
on visiting Efate in 1845, found 'many people...profess to have
abandoned heathenism and embraced Christianity. Religious
services are regularly held at annual places on the sabbath, at
which an encouraging number attend'.6 The same year, George
Turner and A.W. Murray found 'some thirty or forty people were
accustomed to attend the services on Sabbath' in Lifu.7 Similar
reports of initial success which impressed the visiting European
missionaries were found in the Ellice Islands after 1865.8 When
the Samoan missionaries were accepted by the New Guinea mission in
1883, the European missionaries of this mission were equally
satisfied with the initial progress made by the Samoans. For
example, F.W. Walker in a report of his visit to the East District
Outstation in 1893, described Filemoni and Ma‘anaima who worked in
Mita and Bou respectively9 as "exceptionally good men".10 This

5 Murray, 1863:139.
6 Ibid, 237.
7 Ibid, 329.
8 See above, 103–04.
9 P.D.C. Minutes 21 Feb. 1892:44.
10 F.W. Walker, Report on East District Outstation March
21,1893:8. PR An edited version of Walkers report was
cited also in Ruta Sinclair's
view seems to have been shared by Abel, the resident missionary of the Milne Bay district who confided in Walker that "a very gratifying beginning the Samoans made in Milne Bay". Abel was impressed with the ability of both men in not only converting the people, but also to instill and maintain order and discipline.

Walker's report needs to be viewed however in the context that both Filemoni and Ma'anaima (as no doubt other Samoans on the missionfield) were probably aware of the importance both the fa'asamo'a and European missionaries attached in creating a favourable impression at the outset of any undertaking. From the point of view of the fa'asamo'a, their reputation and that of Samoa, nu'uy and aiga depended on how well they performed. Being men of rank, they were expected to succeed whatever the costs. Receiving praise for their efforts was thus a powerful reward to attain since this enhanced their perceptions of rank and status. But there was another less apparent reason. Filemoni had been in Papua New Guinea since 1884. Ma'anaima on the other hand arrived in 1892. When both were appointed to Milne Bay in 1892, Filemoni probably passed on to Ma'anaima some advice based on his previous experience as to the expectations of their new European mentors. Reflecting on their first days in Milne Bay, Filemoni says:

"It was important for us to impress our missionaries. Our work is going well now because the people respect our authority. They attend school and worship and bring gifts for us."

---

11 Ibid. 9
12 C.W. Abel to S.D.C. 4 April 1893. S.D.C. IL.
13 P.D.C. Minutes 21 Feb. 1892:40
Some of the Samoan missionaries succeeded in maintaining this initial favourable impression throughout their term of service. In every mission station where they worked, there were usually one or two whose work and character stood out as exceptional, and the European missionary in charge readily acknowledged such people. For example, Mataio, who worked in Vatorata, was considered by Dr R.L. Turner as the best man I have here in this district, and I have the highest regard for him as a Samoan. If he goes to a coastal village, that means he leaves my district and I don't know what I shall do without him.  

In the mission station at Millport Harbour, Vincent Saville had this to say about Ne'emaia and his wife:

We loved Ne'emaia and his dear wife more than any teacher we have had. His work was among a people untried who refused to help put up his house which eventually I got the other teachers and himself to erect, but such was the kindliness of his manner towards the natives and the courteous and gentle manner in dealing with them (a trait by no means unusually found in the South Sea man when dealing with the Papuans), that to-day after the funeral they came and begged that they might put some smooth stones on the top of his grave because they loved their teacher. This speaks volumes, more than I can tell you. We have waited for years for a man I might feel suitable for Lauroro and my waiting was justified and the right man placed there.

From the District of Delena comes the report of Dauncey concerning Li'i and his wife who were retiring after 'long and honourable service'.

Both were well on in years when they came to Papua and they feel they can no longer carry on their work in the way they would like. They have earned their rest and take with them our good wishes. I can write that though

---

15 R.L. Turner to Newell, Vatorata 26 March 1907, PL.
16 V. Saville to Newell, Millport Harbour 20 October 1907, PL.
I recognise that the time has come for me to retire. I am sorry I lose a man I could always depend upon.17

In the same district was Fa'asiu whom E.P. Jones regarded as 'one of our strong men, a man of character and judgement, and a steadying influence with his brethren'.18 Another of the 'strong men' acknowledged by Jones was Ieremia:

He is willing and anxious to excel in the work he does, his school has always been well forward and he has been industrious in furthering the interest of the society in making the small coconut plot yield as much return as possible. The result is that we have been able to make his station pay for itself.19

In the Kwato district, Ma'anaima was perhaps the most influential missionary. When he died on 23 July 1910, Abel had this to report:

For twenty years Ma'anaima and I have worked together in New Guinea and I feel his loss very keenly. I have not only had to part with an influential teacher, a man known and trusted by the people, but I have lost a friend. I don't know whether I miss him most here in Kwato or in the outstations. His long service and his exceptional ability made it possible for me to use him in very important important work with the natives, and I always felt sure that he was able to get at the mind of the people. He was a splendid linguist and spoke easily in both the dialects of my district Tavara and Davi. The translation of the four gospels in the Tavara dialect was very largely Ma'anaima's work. We have lost a great and good man.20

In the Angas Inland Mission district, the leading Samoan was Fetui. When he and his wife left in 1918 for furlough in Samoa Percy Schlencker, the missionary in charge, sent the following testimony of their work to the Samoan District Committee:

He is a grand man, and both he and his wife had stuck to their work magnificently. He is the sort of man who does not wait to be asked to assist in any work,

17 Dauncey to Newell, Delena March 1908, PL.

18 E.P. Jones to Sibree, Delena 28 December 1917, PL. Also Jones to Hills, Moru 12 April 1917, PL.

19 Jones to Clarke, Moru 13 December 1917, PL.

20 Abel to Secretary of SDC, Kwato 25 August 1910, PL.
but he anticipates one's needs, and lends a willing and strong hand to whatever turns up to be done. Of late years, through much loneliness and danger they have continued bravely at their station, willing for Christ's sake to endure separation from their brethren, in the midst of hostile people. I don't think I am wrong in saying that their station is the loneliest, and until recently, the most dangerous of all stations in Papua, and they have carried their load of work and responsibility with true Christian courage. They deserve three cheers.

Dauncey in the Delena District found a similar man in Sione:

I can only write that I have never had a Samoan co-worker whom I have respected more. He has had a difficult situation in many ways. The saw mill is next door but I have never had complaint against him, nor have I had occasion to complain of his conduct. He has suffered more than most men but never grumbled and he is the best organiser I have had. He is worthy of all the honour and welcome the Church cares to give him.

Men of the quality found in New Guinea were also found in other mission fields. For example, the most well known of all Samoan missionaries in the southern Gilberts was Iupeli and his wife Sera:

They both are a joy to us, for they are most true and faithful in their service to Christ Jesus, whom they truly love...their influence is good and widespread and they are well liked and their work appreciated.

Less well known, yet equally respected for his efforts, was Elia of whom Goward said: 'Many thanks to the good work done by him...

He has been an asset in the Gilbert Group.'

Wives of the Samoan missionaries also came in for commendation. Baxter Riley, for instance, regarded Feso's wife as 'a very fine woman. She has a soul, brains and common sense. She was the life of the work at Ipisia'. In the theological institution at Vatorata, Dr Lister Turner

---

21 H.P. Schlencker to Sibree, Orokolo 12 March 1918, PL.
21 Dauncey to Hough, Delena 17 March 1919, PL.
23 Goward to Hills, Beru 2 July 1911, GIDC, OL.
24 Goward, Report of visit to the NNO 1897, SS December 1897: 22.
25 Baxter Riley to Hills, Daru 1 July 1917, PL. See also, Riley to Hills, Daru 30 June 1917, PL.
held a high opinion of Alesana's wife - Vaoita:

[She] has done very good work amongst student wives. She had had a difficult task in training the women, and as she had some very raw material to deal with I do not think she could have been expected to do more than she has done. She has been faithful in her work in the school and in the sewing classes and has always been at the head of the women in any outside manual work that fall them to do. I have no hesitation in saying that only a woman of Vaoita's ability and willingness can be of much service at Vatorata.26

One of the most able wives was Vaiea, who remained in New Guinea after the death of her husband Maene in Milne Bay. Abel, who insisted on her staying behind to continue the work she and her husband began at Lilihoa, was full of praise for Vaiea when she left in 1910 on furlough:

She has most ably held her station together alone for the past three years. She is a most excellent woman, has done a wonderful work at Lilihoa, and I want you to receive her back to Samoa with this knowledge of her faithful service.... You understand that out of consideration for her exceptional character and ability I advised the District Committee to allow her to remain here in charge of her station.... Her work here ranks with that of Ma'anaima, Mataese, Filemoni and Peni. I think I have said enough to you to indicate that I desire the church in Samoa to welcome home a missionary full of honours.27

Another exceptional wife was Tuli who worked with her husband in Delena. Owing to the death of her husband in 1917, she and her children left for Samoa in December. Jones, in informing the Samoan District Committee, said: 'She has been a real fine missionary unassuming and unobtrusive but efficient to an exceptional degree'.28

Generous praise of the Samoan missionaries' personal qualities existed side by side however with comments of despair at their limitations. For example, Alan Pearse at Kerepuna (NG) called them 'bad tempered men, who oppress the natives'.29 Abel, who gave a glowing
description of Ma'anaima, considered the majority of Samoans at Kwato childish, disobedient and 'in disgrace'. Abel left no doubt as to his dislike of the Samoans who worked at Kwato after 1910. The passage of time had obliterated his earlier favourable opinions of them. It would also appear that European missionaries in general (apart from members of the SDC) were selective in their assessment of individual Samoans, and admiration of their achievements was thus an exception to the rule. In every church district, it was the Samoan who failed who was remembered the longest. For example, Abel informed the secretary of the SDC of how delighted he was in losing Peniata:

It is difficult to speak of Peniata. No teacher has ever left me for whose leaving I have been so truly thankful as his. I would on no account keep him myself and I would therefore not recommend him to a colleague. Apart from a serious suspicion of moral delinquency on his part, his intimacy with men of questionable character and his willingness to let one of these marry a mission girl, are instances of laxity which I fear has done us considerable harm.

The same Europeans who praised the initial efforts of Samoan missionaries later criticised them for their limitations. Turner, for instance, summed up Nakala's efforts in the Vatorata district as follows:

Frankly, I found Nakala's work so unsatisfactory that had I known it time that there was a possibility of his coming back, I would have written you about him.... The South Sea teachers seem to forget that they ought to be an example to their Papuan brethren.

In some districts, both the man and his wife came under condemnation for lacking qualities expected by the European missionary. An example of such a couple of Solomona and his wife who were sent back to Samoa in 1910 from the Kwato district:

Our two friends seem to be quite impossible for work in Papua. They seem to suffer from ungovernable tempers and somehow or other a terrible dislike for Papuans. Miss Parkin tells me that the lady especially

---

30 Abel to Parkin, Kwato 11 January 1895, PL.
31 Abel to Secretary of SDC, Kwato 4 April 1917, PL. See also, Abel to Lenwood, Duabo 23 September 1916, PL.
32 Turner to Newell, Vatorata 26 March 1907, PL.
seemed quite unable to handle the presence about her of our natives and used to quarrel and fight all day with them. They are sent back as incompetent and incapable for their work here.33

Although it was never directly stated, it would appear that a strong element of racism was responsible for the antagonistic attitudes European missionaries held concerning the behaviour of some Samoan missionaries towards the local people. But the racism was well disguised. Accusations that the Samoans were dominating, arrogant and "somewhat overbearing...especially with the natives" 34 probably justify the claim that 'the Samoans tended to regard themselves as superior to the indigenous people'35. But the context which prompted these accusations suggests more than just a concern for the local people on the part of European missionaries. They themselves had much to lose.

As far as the European missionaries were concerned, they constituted a distinct class, the so called rulers, decision makers and supervisors of the warrior world. Samoan missionaries and the local people all belonged to the only other class - 'natives'. But the ability of some Samoan missionaries to acquire, accumulate and display European material wealth worried European missionaries as Saville for instance, reported to the secretary of the S.D.C. that,

During the years Isaia spent in Torres Strait he was living in the style that no South Sea teacher living on his salary alone would have possibly enjoyed. I have myself seen a costly silk dress upon his wife and costly jewellery as well, and his child was dressed in a suit that only the well of father could afford to buy.36

33 Saville to Hills, s.s.'John Williams' 9 April 1910, PL.

34 Hunt to Foreign Secretary, 2 May 1895, PDC, GL also cited in Sinclair, 1982, 'Samoans in Papua', 22-3

35 Sinclair, 1982 'Samoans in Papua', 22-3.

36 Saville to Newell, Millport Harbour 2 April 1908, PL.
The seemingly expensive nature of Isaia's wealth posed a threat to the existing power structure. In all appearances, Samoan missionaries like Isaia could not be classified in the same category as the indigenous people, but there were according to European missionaries only two strata in the social stratification of church members. The only logical place then for men like Isaia was to be in some sort of 'middle class'. Unthinkable this may have been to European missionaries, such a possibility gave hope to the indigenous people. Samoans had not only promised them improvement in their spiritual lives, but also in their material world.

Ruta Sinclair contends that

"It seems strange that the Europeans were appalled by the Samoans' feeling of superiority over the Papuans when they were so sure of their own superiority over both Samoans and Papuans."³⁷

but if the element of racism is taken into account, then it could be argued that the reaction of European missionaries was only to be expected, especially in view of the fact that some Samoan missionaries had racist opinions. For example Iotamo in a letter to Samoa 1896 labelled the Torres Islanders as "sinners, as black as the colour of their skin"³⁸; and Alesana had this to say about the Kapakapans "it is a difficult task for these black people to know and understand that the colour of their skin is a condemnation from God. My work is to take them out of this darkness into the light of Christ"³⁹

That Samoans held such views seems a logical consequence of their belief that they were men of rank and status. The culture demands and expectations of their fa'asamoa entitled them to feel superior, to assert and display such superiority. Rules governing their manner of operating, appearance and behaviour were clearly defined. The fa'asamoa had equipped them to think, act, look and speak as befitting their

---

³⁷ Sinclair, 'Samoans in Papua' in *Polynesian Missions in Melanesia*, University South Pacific, 1982 p.23.
³⁸ Iotamo, SS 1896, April 228.
³⁹ Alesana, SS 1906, October 119.
rank. The Samoan proverb **TAOFI LOU MAKALU** (Hold on to your dignity) was probably a powerful reminder to them of how important they were as persons. It would appear however that the European missionaries were not prepared to accept the way Samoan missionaries perceived themselves.

Samoan missionaries displayed behaviour and attitudes expected of them by their *fa'asamoa* and not because they felt a need to be like Europeans or prove their superiority over the indigenous people as Sinclair suggests.

---

**40** Sinclair Ibid p.23.
Lack of leadership qualities prompted some European missionaries to reject certain Samoan missionaries. In the Gilbert Islands, W.A. Levett had this to say about Esau and Tomasi:

These two men are not quite the type we require for our work here. They are not leaders, and they have had great difficulty with the language. In general attainments, they fall behind our best younger Gilbertese teachers. They were not the type of men we asked for, and they have from the time of their arrival been quite a problem to us, as they do not prove fully equal to the positions for which we want Samoan pastors...they are not able to maintain that position of leadership which is looked for from our Samoan missionary colleague.41

Immorality cost a number of Samoan missionaries their jobs. In some cases, expulsion was proposed by the indigenous people who were convinced of the Samoan missionary’s guilt. Failing to live up to the people’s expectations in his role as a pastor, together with the shame his actions provoked in exposing the people to ridicule from those of neighbouring islands or settlements, were powerful motivations to remove him. In the majority of cases known, details of the incidents confirm the people’s verdict; and the visiting European missionary, who usually presides over such a hearing, had little choice but to succumb to the people’s wish for the missionary’s expulsion. An instance of such a case was that of Ieremia in Niutao (Ellice Islands) which Newell resolved during his visit in 1894. According to Newell, Ieremia went to Erotia who was sleeping in his house on the night of 21 January 1894. The girl reported to an older woman who in turn informed Ieremia’s wife (Toga). Toga was so distressed that she complained to the native judge and another Samoan pastor, Talamoni, both of whom thought the charge was not proven.

41 W.A. Levett to Secretary of SDC, Beru 8 February 1928, GIDC, OL.
Ieremia on questioning denied the incident emphatically. Toga, however, was not prepared to forgive him. Unfortunately, her state of mind affected her. She died giving birth to a child soon afterwards.

But the other charge to which Ieremia pleads guilty, is quite enough to have utterly destroyed his influence in Niutao as well as greatly hinder the work in other islands to which the news has spread. The day after Toga's death, either from grief, remorse or other causes, Ieremia was ill, and had to have three girls, three old women and two young men to 'massage' him. At night, the men withdrew, leaving him alone with the women - the girl Erotia sleeping next to him. He says he called for his wife, they told him Erotia was she. He confessed to have pillowed her on his arm. The women who knew about it waited a few weeks expecting a marriage, then they accused him to the government official. He then wrote to the girl proposing marriage; he also referred to his wish in a sermon, but the people were unwilling, they wished him to leave at once. He denied having done anything wrong, seeming to have very little strength of character in him, and wished to stay. We decided at once to remove him...the people unanimously voted for Ieremia's removal.42

In some cases, the Samoan missionary accused of immorality merely accepted the decision of the European missionary regarding his expulsion from office, but would refuse to go back to Samoa. For example, Fau'olo, who worked in Pari (Port Moresby district), was expelled from office in 1903 when it was discovered that he was the father of a child by a Hanuabadan woman. Despite efforts by the Samoan missionaries in the district to have him deported, he refused to go. The secretary of the Papuan District Committee informed his counterpart of the Samoan District Committee that 'there is little chance of getting Fau'olo to return to Samoa. We did all we could at the time, and the Samoans in my district went so far as to petition the Governor to deport him and threatened to resign in a body if it was not done. The reply we got was that the government had no power to deport him.43 Fau'olo's case illustrates the determination of the

42 Newell, Report...1894: 77-79 (my translation).
43 PDC Minutes 13 April 1906. Fau'olo finally left in 1914 to seek reinstatement. See Dauncey to Captain Steele, Delena 26 March 1914, PL; Dauncey to Captain Steele, Delena 6 December 1913, PL.
Samoan missionaries in a district to act collectively to safeguard their integrity. Misconduct by one of their members was always regarded as a disgrace to the group, especially in view of their belief that they were the best of all the other Pacific Island missionaries working in the same place.

Fau'olo's case alarmed the Papuan District Committee of the possible recurrence of such incidents. To safeguard itself, the Committee passed the following resolution.

Any teacher proved guilty of immoral conduct or trying to persuade others to procure liquor for him, or of trading, or other conduct seriously inconsistent with his Christian profession, be at once suspended from office as pastor and be returned to his island or village by the first means offering. Yet, it had little effect. An increasing number of Samoan missionaries fell by the wayside, victims of one or another of the forbidden vices. Between 1906 and 1930 seventeen were sent back. In at least one case, it was the wife who committed adultery. In another isolated case, the offence was a firearms charge. Ioka, the missionary involved, 'was dismissed by the PDC last March but was not sent away as he had to await his trial before the Central Court on a serious charge of carrying firearms with intent to cause fear and intimidate the subjects of His Majesty the King as well as his own wife'. Ioka was fined three pounds. But the extent of his alleged crime reveals certain features of the Samoan character which irritated the European missionaries, such as bad temper and the tendency to resort to violence. According to Baxter Riley,

\[44\] PDC Minutes 2 April 1906.

\[45\] For details, see Dauncey to Harries, Port Moresby 4 November 1914, PL; Secretary of PDC to Pratt (Sydney), 3 November 1914, PDC, PL; Dauncey to Hills, Port Moresby 4 November 1914, PL.

\[46\] Saville sent back Petaia and wife in 1908. For details, see PDC Minutes 15-19 March 1909.

\[47\] Riley to Hills, Daru 1 December 1910, PL.
it appears he struck his wife over some paltry matter and she ran away into the bush and remained away nearly a whole day till 12 p.m. She went home to get some clothing, opened the door and in doing so roused Ioka. He called her but she did not answer. She got her garments and ran away into the village and called for help. Ioka followed her with his gun in his hand into a native house where two natives relieved him of his gun and helped to make peace between them. They returned home together after the scene in the native house. The PDC did not think he is a fit and proper person to be in the service of the LMS in Papua, hence he is being returned.... Ioka has not been very successful as a teacher and his failure has been due to the fact that he has shot native pigs after being warned by me that he could not do so unless his own ground was fenced, and when these natives whose pigs he has shot have applied to him for compensation he has used language which to say the least was threatening. He thus alienated the people in the village and his work fell away and practically amounted to nothing.  

Some Samoan missionaries were given a second chance, owing partly to the lack of evidence and partly to the unblemished record of their previous work. Among those who received this privilege was Iosa of the Boku District. Charged with indecent behaviour, the PDC concluded that although his conduct was indefensible, there was no evidence of evil intent. Consequently, the Committee withheld his ordination certification and placed Iosa under probation for two years, in the care of missionary Moir Smith of the Orokolo district.

This punishment however failed to produce repentence in Iosa, and he was duly dismissed and returned in 1929. Others repented and even admitted their lapses. During his visit to the North West Oustations in 1894, Newell brought back a letter by Tipa (who was in Nukulaelae) to the SDC admitting his fall and declaring his immediate repentence. According to Newell,

He has spoken to a girl of his school sometime in September 1893 while sleeping in his house, but at

---

48 Idem.
49 PDC Minutes March 1928.
50 PDC Minutes April 1929.
once had taken back his words and begged her to think no more about it for he was very wrong. He had written off to Samoa confessing all to the Committee and awaited their decision. Meanwhile he abstained from the duties of his office until at a recent church meeting his people asked him to resume these until the 'J.W.' arrived. This he had done, but with apparent contrition and humility. He met us and asked what he was to do. I found a strong feeling was expressed in favour of Tipa, and they stated their desire that he might remain with them. In fact, they could not part with him. 51

Where the fate of a Samoan missionary was decided by the members of the SDC, there was no problem in the procedures used or the acceptance by the accused of the final decision. When however members of other district committees or government officials became involved in the deliberations, complications often occurred as each party strove to justify its position and maintain its integrity. An example of a case where members of the SDC and government officials clashed was that of Utulaelae who worked in Vaitupu (Ellice Islands) between 1903 and 1913.

In 1909, a girl spread a tale that Utulaelae tried to kiss her. Utulaelae, infuriated with the resulting rumours, charged her before the court with slander. The girl confessed she lied, and was imprisoned. Although the incident was investigated and Utulaelae's innocence was upheld, it nevertheless smeared his character. The incident was forgotten until 1913. The girl involved had been released from prison, married, but lost both her children at birth. Some of the people in Vaitupu suggested to her that she had done something wrong, otherwise God would not have punished her in this way. In answer to such suggestions, she revived the old slander of 1909 against Utulaelae. When sent for by the native magistrate, Utulaelae answered that the matter had been settled and that they had no right to bring it up again. 54 What followed sparked off a controversy as

52 Hills to E.C. Eliot, Esq, Resident Commissioner, Gilbert and Ellice Islands Protectorate, Malua 13 May 1914, SDC, OL.
to whose authority the Samoan missionaries were under in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands. The native policeman who went to arrest Utulaelae failed. In explaining Utulaelae's refusal to the native magistrate, the policeman claimed that Utulaelae had told him that he was a German subject and therefore the Court had no jurisdiction over him, a claim Utulaelae and fellow Samoan missionaries in Vaitupu emphatically denied. News of the incident soon reached Samoa and the SDC quickly despatched a letter to the Resident Commissioner of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Protectorate claiming 'that Utulaelae had as much right to be believed as the native policeman and that he ought to be given the benefit of the doubt'. Fortunately for the SDC, one of its members (Alan Hough) was visiting Vaitupu at the time, and he was able to counsel Utulaelae, and act as a mediator between Utulaelae and the native magistrate.

Hough pointed out to Utulaelae that it was wrong to refuse to go to the Court when called upon, whatever may have been the business, and that he ought always to support the native magistrate in every way. On the other hand, the magistrate was wrong in re-opening the case, as no new evidence was forthcoming. Rather than have Utulaelae lay a complaint against the magistrate, Hough arranged a meeting between the parties concerned where apologies were offered and accepted.

Utulaelae's case revealed the determination of the SDC to act swiftly in support of its agents, especially when it believed that the fault did not lie with the Samoan missionary. The SDC reminded the Resident Commissioner that,

it is we English missionaries alone who take up the matter on behalf of our work, and also on account of the good name that Britain bears throughout the world for fairness in dealing with Native races. This is as dear to us in Samoa, as if we were living under one flag. Our criticisms therefore should be read in the light of this. We would respectfully submit the opinion that deportation is a punishment out of all proportion to the offences of contempt of Court...there was no contempt of Court in this case, as the matter was not within the

53 Idem.
jurisdiction of any magistrate, as if Utulaelae did not care to take up the charge against the woman.... As members of a British missionary society of 117 years standing in the Pacific, we are naturally sensitive to the delinquencies of our men and equally so to any indignity shown to the humblest of its agents.  

Utulaelae was removed; and on his way to Samoa stayed for a while in Funafuti where a further confrontation between himself and the government official took place. According to the official's report to the Commissioner (who resided on Ocean Island at the time), Utulaelae refused 'to take part in the Island Public Work in return for the free food which he was receiving'. The Commissioner, in an effort to clarify the situation, reassured the SDC that the summons issued on Utulaelae by the district officer, Smith-Rewse, 'was a mistake... Utulaelae was still a pastor of your mission, and as such should have been exempted by courtesy, though not by native law.' The incident highlighted the position of the government official in relation to the Samoan missionaries in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands. Although the Commissioner admitted that Smith-Rewse's error was one of judgement, the incident required a decision from him. Conscious of the expectations of the indigenous population as to the validity of native laws and the extent to which these were binding on the Samoan missionaries, the Commissioner reluctantly approved of Utulaelae's removal. As he put it, 'I considered that Utulaelae should not await the return of the SS John Williams.' He explained his decision to the SDC as follows:

not only in Vaitupu, but in the neighbouring Ellice Islands the result of my decision was eagerly awaited and had no punishment been awarded, it would most certainly have been believed by the whole population of the Ellice that the Commissioner had held that native Samoan missionaries were not subject to the native law.

---

54 Idem.
55 Elliot to Hills, Ocean Island 3 July 1914. WPHC, General 256/1914.
56 Idem.
57 Idem.
You use the term 'deportation', but I think it would be more correct to say that on my advice Utulaelae agreed to return to Samoa as the alternative to being sentenced by the Native Court for refusal to appear when called upon. 58

Satisfied with the Commissioner's explanation, the SDC sent the following message:

We are grateful to you for further interest shown in the case of Pastor Utulaelae of Vaitupu and wish to express our satisfaction at the means taken by you to rectify what we all felt to be a hardship imposed upon the man. 59

When another District Committee became involved in the decision concerning the fate of a misbehaving Samoan missionary, the issue often became a test of the scope of one District Committee's authority and the extent to which this interfered with that of another. The usual procedure was for the District Committee under whose authority the Samoan missionaries were placed to pass sentence on the accused candidate. But having made its decision, the District Committee usually informed the SDC of this, requesting at the same time ratification of its decision. But in the majority of such cases, the SDC was reluctant to give its consent partly because, at the time the request was made, it rarely had all the facts of the case, and partly because the SDC had little trust in the ability of other District Committees to pass sentence on their sponsored missionaries. There was always the suspicion that other District Committees over-reacted in their judgement.

An example of a case where the above perceptions were displayed was that of La'ilai, dismissed by the Gilbert Islands District Committee (GIDC) in 1920 for spying on the women's bathing pool and for handling one of the Samoan missionaries' wives in an indecent manner. 60 The SDC did not contradict the verdict passed by

58 Idem.
59 Hills to Eliot, Malua 29 September 1914, SDC, OL. See also H. Bond James to Hills, Vaitupu 8 December 1914, SSL.
60 Secretary of SDC to Secretary of GIDC, Malua 15 June 1920, SDC, OL.
the GIDC but it strongly objected to the way the case was investigated by the GIDC: 'We feel that Lailai has not had an opportunity of answering the charges made against him'. The SDC suspended its own judgement until the arrival of La'ila'i and Iupeli (the senior Samoan missionary in the Gilbert Islands at the time) in the hope of interviewing both men and ascertaining the truth of what had happened. The proposed meeting took place on 2 August 1920 at Malua with the executive of the 'Au Toe'aina (Elders Council), and the results were forwarded to the GIDC:

The points we found unsettled were as follows, and these are the very points which give Lailai a good excuse before his brethren for being considered somewhat of a martyr:

1. On the charge of having touched Sunema, Lailai says that he explained to Rusia and his wife that what he did was accidental and that he thought that he had touched her head. Sunema says it was her back. This charge which was one of having handled Sunema in an indecent way was never investigated, though it had already been settled by the parties concerned.

2. One of the boys of the school at Beru who spread the tale of what Lailai did in the boat house has since died. This is a strong point in favour of the pastor. The other two students who reported having seen Lailai on several occasions in the boat house were not brought in before your Committee and faced with Lailai. In Rusia's case, while Lailai does not deny being in the boat house when Rusia came upon him, says that he offered to go with Rusia and I suppose the rest of the Committee to show he was on the other side of the house from the bathing pool.

3. Iupeli said that after having decided to send Lailai away, he was called in and instead of [Arnold] telling him the result of their deliberations he and missionary Simmons shook Lailai by the hand and went out. Naturally Lailai thinks that the result was not the unanimous decision of the Committee but was the result of the enmity of certain Samoan and Gilbertese pastors.

---

61 Idem.
62 See Appendix C: Constitution of the Samoan Church.
63 Secretary of SDC to G.H. Eastman (Secretary of GIDC), Malua 23 August 1920, SDC, OL.
La'ila'i's case caused a split between the European members of the SDC and the executive of the Elder's Council. The former group decided to suspend La'ila'i for a year, whereas the latter body wanted immediate reinstatement of La'ila'i to his former position. The incident clearly revealed the tendency of some Samoan missionaries to use the District Committee's powers for their own ends. La'ila'i had earlier accused Rusia of misconduct, and perhaps Rusia was paying back La'ila'i for the earlier incident. The case also revealed the tendency for Samoan members of the SDC to let emotions dictate their judgement rather than the facts or evidence presented to them. The European members of the SDC on the other hand were concerned with the principles involved - that misbehaviour, however petty, necessitated some form of punishment. Thus, the SDC upheld the verdict of the GIDC that La'ila'i was guilty, but instead of expelling him from the Church as the GIDC demanded, he was merely suspended for one year.

The inter-relationship between the SDC and the other District Committees was to be severely tested in at least one case where all three District Committees - the PDC, the GIDC and SDC - became involved. In 1907, a strike broke out amongst the students of the Rongorongo school in Beru. W.E. Goward, the missionary in charge of the Gilbert Islands LMS mission and principal of the school, laid the blame full and square on two Samoan missionaries of his staff, Mane and Alefaio. He dismissed both men and demanded that the SDC expel them both from the Church. Mane left for New Guinea where the PDC allowed him to work as a missionary in the Delena District, and Alefaio returned to Samoa to explain the cause of the walkout. The decision by both men to seek protection and refuge with the PDC and the SDC irritated Goward who viewed such actions as a breach of his authority and jurisdiction. But what infuriated him most was to learn of the willingness of the PDC to accept Mane and the readiness

64 PDC Minutes, Delena 30 March 1909.
65 Idem.
of the SDC to hear Alefaio's side of the incident. Moreover, the SDC emphatically refused to expel the two men. During the next eighteen months, letters of condemnation were exchanged between the three District Committees as each tried to justify its stand on the matter. Not surprisingly, tensions amongst them reached an unprecedented level as verbal attacks became more and more directed at individual members of each District Committee.

Goward first attacked the SDC for holding a sympathetic attitude towards Mane and Alefaio:

I am sorry that your Committee has taken the position concerning Mane and Alefaio... but the proofs of their complicity in the rebellion and of their aiding the men in all they did, and of their absolute deceiving of me, and of leaving us all to our fate when the men were most out of hand and became threatening are quite convincing. Mane can give no defence, nor can Alefaio, they are both equally bad, and faithless to the trust reposed in them.... That your Committee should desire to side with the culprits instead of accepting the unanimous decision of myself and all the Samoan pastors in this Group is a deplorable attitude to assume. I have a letter from all the Samoan pastors in this Group who were at the Arorae conference in which they reaffirm their previous position and each one signs the letter.

Nowhere in his letter did Goward reveal the proofs of Mane and Alefaio's guilt. From the tone of the letter, it would appear that Goward already knew that the SDC was acquainted with Mane and Alefaio's version of the incident. His attack on the SDC therefore reflected a number of issues which helped prolong the confrontation. To begin with, Goward was annoyed by the reluctance of the SDC to uphold his decision concerning the two men. He reminded the SDC that it had 'no jurisdiction over the men labouring in this or the Papuan mission'. He interpreted the SDC refusal as an attack on his integrity both as a missionary and as a leader of the Gilbert Islands' mission, thus

66 Newell to Goward, Malua 31 October 1908, SDC, OL.

67 Goward to Newell, Beru 7 August 1908, GIDC, OL.

68 Idem.
undermining the authority and autonomy of the GIDC. Secondly, the fact that the SDC waited to hear first what Alefaio and Mane had to say before deciding on a reply, was considered by Goward a betrayal of trust that ought to exist amongst fellow European missionaries of the LMS irrespective of their District Committee. It is clear from the content of Goward's letter that all he wanted from the SDC was a confirmation of his judgement, that his word was ample evidence and proof of the guilt of the two men.

But the SDC refused to be drawn into a verbal confrontation with Goward without some knowledge of what may have caused the strike. And since Goward himself failed to give any explanation of the proofs he claimed to have, the SDC probably felt it had no choice but to hear what Mane and Alefaio had to say. Furthermore, it was the usual procedure of the SDC to hear both sides of any claim regarding the misconduct of its sponsored missionaries before any decision was made. It is conceivable that the SDC was also alarmed that Goward's antagonistic attitude reflected a true picture of the way the Gilbert Islands' mission was run, that in reality the GIDC was Goward himself. The anxiety of the SDC was first aroused by an earlier letter from Goward in which he revealed his true feelings concerning the Samoan missionaries under his charge. Not only did he have little trust in the Samoans, but he also attempted to implicate other European missionaries of the LMS by asserting that they generally shared his opinion:

We do not know the hearts of our men, of that I am convinced. That they are taught to know all that the Lord requires of them is one thing, but whether they will be ready to live up to it, and to be out and out Christian ministers, with all that entails, is quite another matter. Patience with them, trust in them, the heartiest co-operation with them, kindness towards them and even love for them and spiritual ministry to them does not help and is of no benefit to a man whose heart is filled with his own schemes and designs, which are wholly contrary to the spirit of Christ. 69

69 Goward to Newell, Beru 9 April 1908, GIDC, OL.
Aware of Goward's position and views concerning Samoan missionaries, the SDC probably found it difficult to accept his condemnation of Mane and Alefaio at first hand. To safeguard its own integrity in the eyes of its missionaries abroad, the SDC saw no harm in waiting for a letter of explanation from either Mane or Alefaio on their part in the affair, before it could reply to Goward's accusations.

The SDC received a lengthy letter from Alefaio70 at the end of July 1908, two months after it received Goward's second letter. According to Alefaio, the strike was the result of general dissatisfaction amongst students and staff members with the programme Goward was pursuing in the life of the school. Moreover, the strike was the culmination of a series of incidents over a period of fourteen months in which Goward consistently broke promises, and behaved in a manner benefitting only himself and close friends but which was damaging to the spirit and life of the school. One of the strongest complaints the students had against Goward was:

the daily heavy manual labour, owing to Mr Goward's ambitious plans to achieve a name for himself. He tends to show off the campus to officers from visiting ships as well as traders from overseas. These people he invites, and as a result school work has suffered. We have discussed the situation many times; and concluded that our strength and time has been misused. We are being used to build new houses, destroy old ones and build replacements according to the wish of our master. But when we think of the reason why we are here, which is to attain knowledge through education, we have achieved nothing. None of us has improved through lack of any new knowledge.71

Alefaio and Mane, like all the Samoan missionaries in the Gilbert Islands, were products of Malua. All were familiar with manual work being part of the Malua curriculum. But this was restricted to one hour each morning except Sunday; and one hour after school in the afternoons. In the Rongorongo school, however, the emphasis they claimed was on manual work, not learning in the classroom. Alefaio reported that in 1906 alone,

70 See Appendix F.

71 Alefaio to Newell, Funafuti 28 July 1908, SDC, IL (my translation).
no more than forty sessions of school work were held. We had no examinations, in spite of their being announced. Mr Goward gave no reason for this. Consequently, a lot of criticism occurred amongst the pupils. Many began to leave. They sent word of explanation 'We are tired of Mr Goward's cruelty towards us'. Some wrote 'Mr Goward is a Pharisee not a pastor'.

Another area of complaint was the number of years a pupil was supposed to spend in school before he could become a pastor. When asked by the students for clarification of the issue, Goward had replied: 'First, he must stay in the school for five years, then he is appointed to a village for two years, after which he comes back for another year at school. Only after eight years could he then become a pastor'. The students refused to accept Goward's explanation 'We are now aware that there is really no limit to our school days. Our years spent in school are a waste of time, for we do not learn anything since there are hardly any classes; so the system is a trick to keep us for manual work'. Criticism by the students and some members of the staff had been communicated in a letter to Goward delivered by Alefaio and Nusi in July 1907. Requests for a day off from manual work had been turned down, and all the criticisms ignored. Goward's attitude had reinforced the opinions of the students and made them determined to rebel. Tension was high, claimed Alefaio, and the work continued. But what turned the tide against Goward was his insensitivity to public opinion which resulted in the people and some of the married students as well as Gilbertese teachers supporting the students. Two separate incidents were responsible for this change. Alefaio testified that:

72 Idem.
73 Idem.
74 Idem.
75 See Appendix F.
76 Alefaio to Newell, Funafuti 28 July 1908, SDC, IL (my translation).
Two Sundays before Communion Sunday in March 1907, Mr Goward instructed me to call a meeting of the Church to weave mats for the thatching of houses. This work was to be done in the morning prior to the afternoon service to be held at 2.30 p.m. All of us and the people were present. When the time for the afternoon service approached, I asked Mr Goward for further instructions to which he replied 'Wait till they have completed all the weaving, cancel the service'. The people themselves enquired about the service as it was after 3 p.m. When I told them there was to be no service, they began to mock Mr Goward. I went and asked Mr Goward about the proposed church meeting. He replied 'If the weaving is finished, tell the people to go home, there will be no church meeting'. When I told the people this, they were very angry and said 'It is true, he is a lying pastor'. Very few attended services afterwards.

The support of the married students had been the result of Goward threatening to send all their wives to Samoa if the mats they were weaving for his house and that of Iupeli were not finished quickly. Alefaio said that in spite of his efforts (he was sent by Goward to pacify the women) to reassure the women that Goward did not mean what he said, they were adamant that Goward has sacked them. The husbands sided with their wives: 'Not much point for us staying if Goward has told our wives that the John Williams will take them away'. Having read Alefaio's letter, the SDC felt it was now in a position to reply to Goward's second letter.

The SDC refused to accept Goward's decision regarding the expulsion of Mane and Alefaio. 'We were and are still unable to agree that the two men Mane and Alefaio should be put out of the Church, a position which permanently degrades them as our present ruling obtains. We do not consider Mane ineligible for another appointment elsewhere than the Gilbert Islands mission, but we do consider that both Mane and Alefaio have forfeited your confidence'.

77 Idem.
78 Idem.
79 Newell to Goward, Malua 31 October 1908, SDC, OL.
Goward that 'the likely cause...appears to be the refusal of the Board to take over the northern Gilberts after the foreign Secretary had held out hopes upon which you seem warranted in basing your promises to the students at the Institution at Beru.' 30 The central issue, as the SDC understood the matter, was the question of Mane and Alefaio's future status after they left the Gilbert Island mission. Thus, it reminded Goward that it was one thing to ask for expulsion, it was another thing to justify such a move. In view of his failing to provide convincing evidence of Mane and Alefaio's guilt the SDC would not agree with such a decision. To ensure that Goward knew that the SDC alone had the right and power to determine the future of Samoan missionaries who had left other mission stations, Newell informed Goward that both Mane and Alefaio had been notified by the SDC that 'whilst not removing them from their standing as pastors, we are compelled to record the fact in our Advisory Council minutes that they have been condemned both by you and their Samoan colleagues for their attitudes and actions in connection with the trouble in the school in Beru'. 31

Goward, clearly annoyed with the SDC attitude, turned his attention to the PDC, who by the latter half of 1907 had employed Mane. In doing so, Goward launched an all out attack to discredit the SDC and perhaps clear himself of any blame. In the ensuing debate between the three District Committees, Mane was merely a pawn in the power game of church politics. The PDC found itself in a difficult position. By accepting Mane, it was made to appear that it shared the position of the SDC on the matter and in doing so, invited criticism from the GIDC. The PDC's dilemma was that it had to listen to both the SDC and the GIDC whether it wanted to or not. Fortunately for the PDC the approaches adopted by the SDC and the GIDC were quite different; thus, it was saved from the embarrassing position of deciding which of the other two was in the right. Its decision to

30 Idem.
31 Idem.
employ Mane was in accordance moreover with the usual procedure of accepting a Samoan missionary sent with the blessings of the SDC.

The SDC made every attempt to explain to the PDC its position regarding Mane and Alefaio. Newell assured the PDC that the SDC remained firm in its stand 'that no one should be condemned unheard', and that the SDC do not 'agree that the punishment should go to the extent of expulsion from the Church, a thing we do not on our own authority in Samoa ever do'. The SDC (Newell reminded Ben Butcher, the secretary of the PDC) had never denied that Alefaio and Mane sympathised with the students in their complaints, but we should like the PDC to know that the evidence against these men was not laid before us, and that the Pastors in the Gilbert Islands believed them to be guilty and wrote a letter confirming Mr Goward's action with reference to Mane and Alefaio which is all they affirm they did, does not go far as much as it would if they had allowed these two men to defend themselves.

The PDC, conscious of the delicate nature of the matter, requested the SDC to reveal if any disciplinary action had been taken concerning Mane. In the same letter however the PDC informed the SDC that it had received an official letter from Goward in which he claimed that it is now proved beyond any possibility of doubt that both Alefaio and Mane were both instigators and ring leaders in the rebellion...many of the men have repented and have confessed to the Samoan teachers how Alefaio and Mane were head and front of the appalling retrogression in the behaviour of our students.

Considering the rigid disciplinary methods used by Samoan missionaries, it is possible that some pressure was put on the students to confess to what did not necessarily happen in order to justify the willingness

82 Newell to Butcher, Malua 1 June 1907, SDC, OL.
83 Idem.
84 Idem.
85 Turner to Newell, Vatorata 13 June 1908, PDC, OL.
86 Idem.
of the remaining Samoan missionaries to sign their letter of condemnation. On the other hand, Goward may have applied pressure on the Samoan missionaries to ensure that his own position was justified. The PDC could not understand why Goward had written to them on the subject, since Mane came with the blessings of the SDC and not the GIDC.\footnote{1}

Fully aware that it was not their 'province to discuss the merits of the case', the PDC insisted that any further investigation of the matter was the privilege of the SDC, and it would respect whatever findings the SDC came up with.

The SDC acknowledged the efforts by the PDC to calm the situation and assured the PDC that Mane was not totally free from blame - but that Goward had failed to provide any convincing evidence of Mane's guilt to warrant expulsion from the Church. Thus, the SDC had decided 'to rebuke Mane and with-hold his ordination Certificate for at least two years'.\footnote{2} It also reminded the PDC that 'the censure by Mr Goward and supported by some Samoan pastors...does not in any way prevent the PDC from employing Mane as a teacher in any way they please'.\footnote{3} The PDC accepted the decision of the SDC, but to safeguard itself from any recurrence of such cases in the future, it reminded the SDC that 'it would have been preferable if Mane had returned to you in Samoa to be sent after ordination in Samoa, or to undergo his probation [\footnote{4}] there as you would think fit; and we ask that this course be followed in future'.\footnote{5}

\footnote{1}{Idem.}
\footnote{2}{Idem.}
\footnote{3}{Newell to W.N. Lawrence, Malua 3 November 1908, SDC, OL.}
\footnote{4}{Idem.}
\footnote{5}{In 1909, the PDC passed a resolution in which Samoan missionaries serving in New Guinea who had not been ordained were required to serve two years before recommendation for ordination could be made. 'That the missionary in charge of ordained Samoan pastors in Papua who have not received their ordination certicate, report to the SDC at the expiration of two years probation as to the character and fitness of those pastors for the work of the ministry'. (PDC Minutes, Port Moresby February 1909.)}
\footnote{6}{PDC Minutes, Moru 30 March 1909.}
The case of Mane and Alefaio illustrates how one District Committee (GIDC) attempted to force its decision on another District Committee (SDC); and when it failed, sought the assistance of a further District Committee (PDC) to uphold its decision. But both the SDC and the PDC were equally determined to avoid any misunderstanding by concentrating their efforts on clarifying the situation and by maintaining proper procedures to safeguard their own integrity as well as promoting harmony amongst the three governing bodies. Such a combined effort between the SDC and the PDC was however an exception. From 1890, the relationship between the two bodies was characterised by frequent misunderstandings over a number of issues relating to the welfare of the Samoan missionaries.

Irritated by the predilection of some Samoan missionaries for clerical work, European-style clothing, use of physical force to achieve discipline and general dislike for the indigenous people, some European missionaries of the PDC seriously contemplated sending back the Samoan contingent in 1893. The situation was compounded by the absence of any Samoan speaking European missionary in the PDC. Although English was taught as a subject at Malua and Papauta, not all Samoans were proficient in written English and only a few could speak it fluently. Thus, the bond of familiarity which existed between Chalmers and the Rarotongans, or between Lawes and the Niueans, scarcely existed in the case of the Samoans. With no older European missionary with whom they could communicate freely concerning their grievances, the Samoan missionaries were made to feel the effect of their inferior status; and consequently, tension between the two groups increased. News of this situation caused such concern in the SDC that it immediately despatched one of its members, John Marriott, to investigate. He visited the Samoans to hear their grievances as well as holding meetings with the European missionaries. Marriott informed the PDC of the SDC resolution regarding the issue:

That with a view to increasing the interest of the Samoan Church in the New Guinea mission, we hereby recommend to the New Guinea Committee the following proposals for their consideration:

---

93 The Reverend James Chalmers was a missionary in Rarotonga 1867-77; the Reverend W.G. Lawes was missionary in Niue 1861-74.
1. That one of the New Guinea districts be set apart to be entirely worked by Samoan teachers, such district remaining as now under the full control of the New Guinea Committee, but that the responsibility of keeping it supplied with the teachers rest on the Samoan Committee.

2. That to obviate the difficulty of intercourse now experienced by Samoan teachers in New Guinea and the missionaries of their districts, either
   (a) Samoan missionary should be appointed to such district, or
   (b) one of the New Guinea missionaries should visit Samoa for a year with a view to acquiring some knowledge of the language.  

The PDC refused to accept the SDC proposal for a separate district, but agreed to the suggestion of a Samoan-speaking European missionary from Samoa to help avoid misunderstandings. Consequently, A.E. Hunt, who had worked in New Guinea (1887-90) before going to Samoa (1891), returned in 1894 to work with the Samoans in and around the Port Moresby district. It was arranged that the Samoans who were under Dauncey in the Kabadi district be placed under Hunt, and the ones in Torres Strait be gradually moved under Hunt when replacements for them were found. However, it was decided that those at the 'East End' were to remain under the care of Charles Abel. This decision seemed unwise because the relationship between Abel and the Samoans deteriorated so badly that, by 1906, Abel 'had conceived a horror of employing them'.

Although the solution was accepted by both District Committees, tension remained owing to a claim by the SDC that some members of the PDC had deliberately attempted to influence the minds of certain members of the SDC by writing letters...on matters which concern our Committee as a whole, and on which it is expected, that we shall, as a Committee, take action. We strongly depurate this course as pursued by Dr Lawes in reference to the strained relation between our Samoan native teachers and individual missionaries in New Guinea. 

94 SDC Minutes, Malua 28 May 1893.
95 SDC Minutes, Malua 7-12 May 1894. See also, Finau to SDC, 30 July 1892, SS October 1892:74.
96 Hunt to Foreign Secretary, 9 April 1895, PL.
97 PDC Minutes, March 1913.
98 SDC Minutes, Malua 30 July-3 August 1895.
The SDC further reminded the PDC that none of its own members had resorted to such behaviour.\textsuperscript{99}

The concern of the SDC for the welfare of its Samoan missionaries in New Guinea severely tested the patience of the PDC. The rapid death rate and illness amongst the Samoans during the first twenty years of their being accepted by the New Guinea mission aroused suspicion amongst members of the SDC that their native missionaries were not given adequate medical care. The PDC assured the SDC that every care and attention was shown to those who suffered from illness; 'and that where possible, serious cases will be placed in the hands of a qualified medical man'.\textsuperscript{100}

The PDC in turn blamed the SDC for not showing sufficient care in passing unfit men for New Guinea. 'We are not returning Esekielu... [he] has only been in New Guinea for a few months, and is suffering from a disease which should have disqualified him from service before he left Samoa'.\textsuperscript{101} Lack of trust generated suspicion, which helped keep tension between the two Committees alive.

Part of the problem lay with the pride of the SDC in the qualities of its agents. The glowing reputation of Malua as the seat of theological learning in the Pacific Islands had a profound effect on the minds of the European missionaries of the SDC. The Committee firmly believed that those who graduated from Malua and went out as missionaries were exceptional men in both character and intelligence, deserving to be located only in the most advanced stations of the mission field. But such an attitude placed immense pressure on the District Committee receiving the missionaries to meet the implied expectations of the SDC. For example, Jones, writing on behalf of the PDC in 1909, explained to the secretary of the SDC the difficulty facing the PDC in placing the new arrivals.

\textsuperscript{99} Idem.

\textsuperscript{100} PDC Minutes, Port Moresby July 1903.

\textsuperscript{101} Idem.
It was good of you to endeavour to give us some idea as to the characteristics of the men, but unfortunately, we do not know what special feature at Kwato, or at Moru say in your mind demand special men. Anybody will do for Kwato, of course Abel may retort anybody will do for the west...hence we take no note of the men who come...all are pooled and drawn for.... I trust you do not suggest to the men that they are suitable for this, that or the other station else they may be disappointed with the result of their lot.\textsuperscript{102}

In view of such expectations, it is not difficult to understand why the SDC took a defensive position every time news of misconduct by one of its agents reached Samoa. The failure of a Samoan missionary tarnished the image and reputation the SDC believed itself to have. It is noteworthy that the SDC never once accepted the failure of any Samoan missionary as being caused solely by negligence. On the contrary, the Committee always suspected that the foreign District Committee involved was also responsible. In some cases, the SDC went so far as to suggest that the PDC was too eager in its decision to send back Samoan missionaries who failed to meet expectations when the PDC should take time to reflect on the effect of its decision on the future of the candidate concerned after returning to Samoa.\textsuperscript{103} Suggestions of this nature reflect the different concerns of the two District Committees. The PDC saw its role as safeguarding the work of God in New Guinea, thus any misbehaviour was regarded as a threat to the accomplishment of this task. The SDC on the other hand saw its role as that of patron, supporting and caring for the welfare of its overseas agents. The SDC believed that the PDC should be grateful for the help it was receiving from Samoa. But the PDC saw this as a form of emotional blackmail and was therefore determined not to be intimidated by such pressure. In response, it challenged the SDC by pointing out that not all Samoan missionaries were as good as they were made out to be. For instance, in 1917 Baxter Riley, the European missionary in charge of the Fly River District, wrote to the SDC as follows:

\textsuperscript{102} Jones to Hills, Moru 29 December 1909, PDC, OL.

\textsuperscript{103} SDC Minutes, Apia 29 December 1916. See also Turner to Sibree, Vatorata 20 April 1917, PL.
I must have teachers better than the children under their charge. At present, with the exception of Niu, there are scholars in all our schools who can teach the Samoans, and this is not a desirable thing. It is no use sending me men like Feso, Koria, Tipaia, Faraane and Uelese all good men in their way but not fit for the tribes in the Western division. I must have men with backbone common sense and a knowledge of English which they can impart to others.\textsuperscript{104}

An equally strong letter was sent by E.P. Jones, missionary in charge of the Delena District, the same year.

You must take great care in who you send to Papua in the future, as the performance of those returning leaves much to be desired.... I fear you are like the Theological Colleges at home, if they train a man, though he is not really good, still try and dump him somewhere. Your men, if they don't shape up to mission work in all its phases, will have to go, we can't afford to waste any more time.\textsuperscript{105}

The SDC, annoyed with the PDC's seeming self-righteousness, issued a communique that strongly criticised the PDC's failure to consider the effect of recent events in Samoa on the church, as well as the PDC's reluctance to create any favourable incentives to attract the best of Malua graduates. In brief, the SDC blamed the PDC for expecting too much from the Samoan missionaries when it was not prepared to grant some of their requests. These assertions were clearly expressed in a letter from the secretary of the SDC in September 1917:

I don't think you should blame our District Committee because our men don't come up to the standard you all require. I have two letters now before me from two of your District Committee giving the sort of man they require. I am quite sure they won't find such specimens this side of heaven. Take just two of the many requirements: 'very good knowledge of English, good carpenters'. Surely your men forgot that Samoa has been under German rule for 15 long years, and with the exception of the Tutuila men, they have all had to learn German and not English...we train a limited number of carpenters, but many of them never enter the ministry. As in England, so even more in Samoa, good men have strong inducements put before them to stay here.... And I must say it has been the fault of your

\textsuperscript{104} Riley to Hills, Moru 12 April 1917, PL.

\textsuperscript{105} Jones to Hills, Moru 12 April 1917, PL.
District Committee that you have lost the confidence of our Samoan Church to some extent, and so do not get the best men offered. What inducements have they had? Take salary for example. We white missionaries gather better pay than the average home minister, and we get help for our children and a prospect of pension, also furlough stipend. Until this year, Samoan missionaries have been in the very reverse position on each of those points.\textsuperscript{106}

The above sentiments were echoed in a separate letter to Bryce Jones, one of the most vocal critics of the PDC on the performance of Samoan missionaries.

You should remember that a man spending sixteen or more years in Papua does not come back as was popularly supposed to a life of ease and able to live on his relatives. He comes back to find that he has no plantations and no position for himself or his children and often he comes back broken in health or unfit for heavy tasks.... And above all, when all is said and done, you may call many of them 'weak mentally and spiritually', 'lazy', 'no good', and yet you must credit them all with this, that they went to Papua knowing that disease and death do come to them more frequently and suddenly.... And yet, in spite of this knowledge, a large per cent do not come back, and those who do, come back broken in health, yet they still offer because the call that comes to them and their desire to serve their master is strong.\textsuperscript{107}

It would appear that the SDC was critical of the PDC's lack of sensitivity in not appreciating what the Samoan missionaries had to give up in order to help the expansion of Christianity in New Guinea.

The SDC can be equally blamed for the very criticism it levelled at the PDC regarding the failure of the latter to consider the existing situation in Samoa. For example, the SDC criticised the PDC for not raising the salaries of the Samoan missionaries and increasing the allowances of their children. The SDC failed to acknowledge the efforts previously made by the PDC to increase the wages of South Seas missionaries after 1878.\textsuperscript{108} Admittedly, the Samoans did not enter the New Guinea mission until 1883, but the PDC did press for

\textsuperscript{106} Secretary of SDC to Holmes, Leulumoeaga 5 September 1917, SDC, OL.
\textsuperscript{107} Secretary of SDC to Jones, Leulumoeaga 5 September 1917, SDC, OL.
\textsuperscript{108} South Seas Committee (hereinafter SSC) Minutes, 20 May 1878.
another increase from the Board of Directors in London in 1888. Perhaps what the SDC objected to was the unequal state of salaries between the European missionaries and the Samoan missionaries. In 1873, the Board fixed the salary of European missionaries in New Guinea at '£130 pa plus £20 allowances for first three years'. In sharp contrast was the '£15 for a South Sea missionary per annum plus £3 allowance for first three years'. In 1878, the salary for South Seas missionaries was raised to twenty pounds. This was the salary scale under which the first group of Samoan missionaries to New Guinea worked. Considering that a Samoan faife'au at the time was getting over £50 in Samoa, the SDC objections did have some foundation. Nevertheless, the SDC failed to consider that the PDC was restricted by the lack of funds which made it appear unsympathetic. The tendency of both District Committees to underestimate the efforts of the other to improve the conditions under which Samoan missionaries worked led to suspicion and tension.

Of all the requests made by Samoan missionaries to the PDC, those relating to finance were the most frequent and the most difficult to resolve. Part of the difficulty lay in the involvement of a superior body, the Board of Directors, in the final decision. In 1888, for instance, the PDC requested that the salary of Samoan missionaries be increased from twenty pounds per annum to twenty-five. The Directors rejected the proposal on the grounds that they had little money to spend, the increase was not justifiable and it was undesirable to encourage the Samoans to develop enlarged ideas of expenditure. The Directors also reminded the PDC that they could not agree to the proposed increase since they had no information on the cost of living in New Guinea. Perhaps the members of the PDC deliberately withheld

109 Thompson to Pearse, London 23 November 1888, PDC, IL.
110 SSC Minutes, 27 November 1873.
111 Idem.
112 SSC Minutes, 20 May 1878.
113 Thompson to Pearse, London 23 November 1888, PDC, IL.
this information to protect themselves as the differences in salaries suggest that a considerable gulf did exist between themselves and the Samoan missionaries. It is conceivable that the European missionaries had a much lower estimate of the cost of living for the Samoans than that which they believed was appropriate for themselves. When the PDC finally informed the Board ten years later of the salary situation regarding Samoan missionaries, it conceded that they were receiving much more than twenty pounds if all the concessions and discounts were taken into account. Abel, who wrote to the Board on behalf of the PDC, explained the situation.

My teacher at Kwato for instance receives £20 worth of goods at year at invoice price, plus 10%.... The Society pays freight, duty, forwarding and clearing charges and also lets him have 6 lbs of trade tobacco at 1/6 per lb whereas it costs 2/- per lb to land.\textsuperscript{114}

The PDC suggested to the Board that rather than continuing the above policy, it was prepared to grant each Samoan missionary the total amount of all concessions he was receiving as his basic stipend to be paid in quarterly instalments. The PDC believed this would erase the erroneous belief amongst Samoan missionaries that they were getting very little more than twenty pounds. The proposal was also aimed at curbing the trading habits of some Samoans who took advantage of the discount prices available to them in mission stores. Abel gives an example of such a practice:

Mr Schlencker recently told me of a case in his district which I fear is of common occurrence than we may suppose. He finds one of his teachers making quite a decent little income by receiving goods at Mission prices and reselling them at local rates. A tin of kerosene is booked to him at 6/- . He sells half the tin for that price and keeps the other half for his own use.\textsuperscript{115}

The Board again refused the PDC's proposal owing to the lack of funds; and the twenty pounds salary continued until 1906 when the

\textsuperscript{114} Abel to Thompson, Kwato 29 November 1897, PDC, OL.

\textsuperscript{115} Idem.
Board, influenced by news of discrepancies in living conditions amongst the various church districts in New Guinea, passed a resolution whereby a European missionary in any of the less economically viable church districts was permitted to supplement the teacher's salary with an additional three pounds.\(^\text{116}\) An example of such a district was the Central district of Papua which included Vatorata. According to Turner, 'the salary of the South Sea teachers in the Central District of Papua are insufficient almost to keep them here'.\(^\text{117}\) What compounded the situation in such areas, however, was the practice of Samoan missionaries to send part of their salary to their children who were attending schools in Samoa. For instance, Matalo, one of the Samoans working in Vatorata in 1907, informed Turner of his wish to have four pounds from his salary sent to Samoa for his son. Turner refused 'for the simple reason that in a dry district like this, he simply could not live on the balance of his salary'.\(^\text{118}\)

The Samoan missionaries, in districts which the PDC regarded as well off,\(^\text{119}\) objected to the three pounds supplement for their colleagues in poorer districts,\(^\text{120}\) and during the next five years, they made repeated requests to the PDC to standardise their salary at twenty-three pounds. The PDC flatly refused. The issue was taken up by the SDC (perhaps on request from the Samoan missionaries) but to no avail.\(^\text{121}\) The PDC forwarded a resolution to the SDC in 1912 to clarify the situation:

\(^{116}\) Turner to Newell, Vatorata 26 March 1907, PDC, OL.

\(^{117}\) Idem.

\(^{118}\) Idem.

\(^{119}\) Kwato, Delena, Kabadi.

\(^{120}\) Fly River, Central District of Papua, Suau, Port Moresby, Kapakapa, Angas Inland Mission.

\(^{121}\) Samoan missionaries were in the habit of sending letters to the editor of the Sulu Samoa in which they gave accounts of their work as well as the difficulties encountered. It is conceivable that some may have mentioned the salary question as one of the difficulties. On the other hand, it is possible they could have written direct to the SDC though no evidence for such letters exists.
With reference for an increase of salary we find nothing to support the contention that our Teachers in Papua have been suffering from want. In one or two districts where food is scarce, we feel that some exception should be made, and an increase of salary granted. But generally speaking, there is an ample food supply, and the teacher has a salary at present quite adequate to meet all his needs.

We would point out that several of our Samoan Teachers, and some of those living in one of the poorest districts, have banking accounts, and are able to deposit sums of from £2 to £7 p.a. We also find that there is a growing tendency on the part of our teachers to adopt European dress and eat European food and we feel that it is largely due to this that many of them have found their allowances insufficient. 122

To safeguard itself from the SDC's anticipated reaction, the PDC sent a copy of the above resolution to the Board in London, and was rewarded by the Board's decision to uphold the resolution. As an alternative, though, the Board urged the PDC 'to consider the advisability of employing fewer teachers and paying those employed a higher salary'. 123 In communicating the Board's decision to the SDC, the PDC added a suggestion of their own to counter any negative response from the SDC. 'We would suggest to the Samoan DC that the difficulty might be met...if the Samoan Church would annually send a sum of money to be divided amongst the Samoan Teachers in Papua'. 124 The gamble by the PDC paid off.

In 1914, the PDC began to reduce the number of Samoan missionaries employed in New Guinea. Those returning were not replaced; and only occasionally it requested the SDC for specialist missionaries such as teachers with knowledge of English or those with artisan skills, such as carpenters. Consequently, there was an immediate rise in the salaries of Samoan missionaries currently working in New Guinea. All head station missionaries received a rise of five pounds. All missionaries in the poorer districts of Port Moresby, Kapakapa and Angas Inland

122 PDC Minutes, Port Moresby 12 July 1912.
123 Dauncey to Hills, Delena 17 October 1913, PDC, OL.
124 Dauncey to Hills, Delena 6 April 1914, PDC, OL.
Districts received five pounds, and those working in the Moru and Delena areas received three pounds. By 1927, Samoan missionaries with exceptional ability received fifty pounds per annum. One of the fortunate few was Peni of the Isuleilei district. He had by this time spent twenty-seven years in New Guinea, and because of his ability in English, was granted an increase of fifteen pounds. 125 Perhaps spurred by this generous rise in the salary of one of their countrymen, the Samoan missionaries launched another concerted effort for another increase in 1930 which the PDC refused on the grounds that their present salary of twenty-seven pounds and thirty pounds (according to the district they were in) 'was enough for their needs and some of them have Bank balances'. 126 Again the PDC adopted the measure used in 1914 of suggesting to the SDC that if it might like 'to supplement, through us, those teachers' salaries, in order that they may purchase some of the extras that they may have been accustomed to in Samoa'. 127 The SDC again refused.

The salary question was not a contentious issue as far as the Samoan missionaries in the Ellice and Gilbert Islands were concerned. From the start, they received eight pounds per annum. But owing to the determination of the Samoan missionaries in these places to develop their work similar to the pattern of village life in Samoa, they often received goods and foodstuffs free from the villagers which greatly compensated any deficiency they may have felt concerning their earnings. For example, when George Turner visited the Tokelau and Ellice Islands in 1874, he reported that Mafala, the missionary in Fakaofo (Tokelau) had received goods from the people valued at twenty-five dollars. 128 In Funafuti (Ellice, he found that Tema had received gifts valued at fifty seven-dollars, 129 and Ioane, the missionary of Vaitupu, had

---

125 PDC Minutes, Port Moresby 27 June 1927.
126 PDC Minutes, Port Moresby 16 February 1930.
127 Idem.
129 Ibid, 18.
received gifts valued at £40. These gifts were an important additional source of income and were probably responsible for the absence of agitation by the Samoan missionaries regarding increase in salaries. The stability in the fixed amount given to the Samoans in those places between 1865 and 1912 was a direct consequence of such benefits.

In 1913, changes in salary scale were introduced in the Gilbert Islands. Samoan missionaries employed at the Rongorongo school received £22.10.; whereas those working in villages received twenty pounds. The 150 per cent increase seems relevant in view of the forty-three years that elapsed without any change. Long delays for increase in salaries were to become a feature of the GIDC approach to this issue. It was not until 1928 that the Samoan missionaries next received a rise of five pounds giving them an annual income of twenty-five pounds. Those holding teaching positions in schools received twenty-eight pounds. These latter changes were the result of considerable negotiation between the GIDC and the SDC, which in some parts resembled the procedures operative in the SDC and PDC handling of the same issue.

In 1920, the SDC asked the GIDC to increase the salaries of the Samoan missionaries there 'to the rates now in force in Papua'. In reply, the GIDC (like the PDC) assured the SDC of its willingness if it could receive some financial assistance from them. The SDC found itself unable to meet the GIDC request and consequently backed down, but not before it warned the GIDC that its attitude could have damaging

\[130\] Ibid, 23.

\[131\] Goward to Hills, Beru 10 July 1913, GIDC, OL.

\[132\] Levett to Secretary of SDC, Beru 8 February 1928, GIDC, OL.

\[133\] Secretary of SDC to Secretary of GIDC, Malua 29 April 1928, SDC, OL.

\[134\] Secretary of SDC to Secretary of GIDC, Malua 15 June 1920, SDC, OL. See also PDC Minutes, March 1920, Resolution XXIV.
effects in recruiting Samoan missionaries to serve in the Gilbert Islands. In 1922, the Samoan missionaries in the Gilbert Islands Mission decided to take their cause directly to the Samoan Pastors Advisory Council. The SDC, concerned about a possible schism within the Samoan Church, speedily sent a letter to the GIDC for clarification of the exact amount each Samoan missionary was paid and whether they were receiving anything from the villages where they worked. In addition, the SDC wanted to know the reason for the abolition of the system whereby each village church supported the missionary, giving him what they could afford. In effect, the SDC wanted the GIDC to justify why they thought their present system was more appropriate to meet the needs of the Samoan missionaries. When told by the GIDC that Samoan missionaries were receiving twenty pounds, the SDC took the matter to the Board in London, emphasising the inadequacy of the amount, the resulting reluctance of men to offer themselves for service in the Gilbert Islands, and the heavy debt accumulated by those who worked there. To reinforce its claim for an immediate increase, the SDC reminded both the GIDC and the Board of Directors of the unequal salaries received by Samoans working in New Guinea and those in the Gilberts:

Also in the matter of furlough allowance. Up to the present no furlough allowance has been made to these men, and as a d.c. we feel that no distinction should be made between them and the men who go to Papua.... That they receive no children's allowances as do their brethren in Papua, and when their children are sent out for education to Samoa they are unable to give them any assistance as more than the salary is required to maintain them in their field of service. A returned missionary has informed us that but for the assistance given him by friends and relatives at home he could not possibly have remained free of such incubus of debt as he could not possibly hope to clear while still in the

135 Idem.

136 Secretary of SDC to Secretary of GIDC, Malua 19 June 1922, SDC, OL.

137 Secretary of SDC to Secretary of GIDC, Malua 29 October 1925, SDC, OL.
mission field.... There have been occasions when a man and his family have had to content themselves on 2/6 a week.... We are giving you the native side which we believe is a true representation of the facts of the case, and in our recommendation of a minimum of £40 we do not consider that we are suggesting more than what is really necessary.138

The Board, influenced more by the report of the GIDC than the above version of the situation sanctioned only a five pounds increase - in 1928.139 The GIDC informed the Board that the salary question in the Gilbert Islands Mission was far more complicated than the simplistic overview held by the SDC:

The real facts are that the churches on these islands, acting partly on selfish grounds and partly perhaps under suggestion from the pastors, desired to give to their pastors such sums as they might choose in any year. This means in effect that in a year of prosperity, they might in a spasm of generosity give to a pastor who was at the moment in their good books, anything up to £60, £80 or perhaps in extreme cases even £100.... But these churches also ask to be relieved of any responsibility to pay any salaries at all in bad years, so that in practice, it would certainly work out that in exceptional years, perhaps one in seven, they would pay the pastor say £60, but the next year they would wish to pay him only £10 or perhaps £5 and then in a succession of lean years nothing at all.140

The five pound increase was an effort to meet the needs of Samoan missionaries during the 'bad years'.

Salaries for the Samoan missionaries who worked in Tokelau, Niue and the Ellice Islands were controlled by the SDC and, consequently, none of the tension experienced by those in the Gilbert Islands or New Guinea was found. On the whole, Samoan missionaries in the three Polynesian areas were fortunate in the consistent way their salary was raised. For instance, in 1865 it was eight pounds. By 1880 it was fifteen pounds. In 1915 it was twenty-eight pounds, and by 1930

138 Idem.
139 Levett to Secretary of SDC, Beru 8 February 1928, GIDC, OL.
140 Idem.
each was receiving forty pounds per annum. Moreover, such amounts were supplemented by a continuous supply of foodstuffs and goods - mats, cloth, etc., from their families and villages in Samoa, as well as from the local people.

The question of allowances for the children of Samoan missionaries also proved contentious and at times caused friction between the various District Committees and the SDC. Child allowances for Samoan missionaries under the GIDC only commenced in 1928.141 In New Guinea, the PDC initially discouraged the Samoan missionaries from bringing their children to Papua. The Samoans, naturally anxious about their children, asked the PDC to grant some allowance for their children who were attending schools in Samoa. The PDC made every effort to convince the Board of the necessity to grant the request in 1906, but the Board refused, claiming it was the responsibility of the PDC and not the Board.142 Lack of funds, however, resulted in the issue being left unsolved until 1912 when the PDC introduced allowances.143 Before then, the usual practice was for a Samoan missionary to donate part of his salary for the welfare of his children in Samoa. The money would be given to the European missionary in charge, who in turn forwarded it to the treasurer of the SDC.144 What convinced the PDC was their belief that to give no allowances would lose them the best Samoan missionaries. Some who had returned to Samoa refused to go back to New Guinea owing to dissatisfaction with the situation.145 The new allowances exceeded the expectations of the Samoan missionaries. Not only were their children in Samoa covered, but also those living with them in New Guinea. For children in New Guinea, each was to receive one pound till the age of six when the

141 Secretary of SDC to Secretary of GIDC, Malua 14 October 1928, SDC, OL.
142 Secretary of PDC to Thompson, Vatorata 28 March 1906, PDC, OL.
143 PDC Minutes, Delena 25 August 1912.
144 Turner to Newell, Vatorata 26 March 1907, PL.
145 Dauncey to Thompson, Delena 28 March 1906, PDC, OL.
allowance would cease. Those in Samoa were to receive one pound till the age of ten; then two pounds till the age of sixteen when it would cease.

THERE were a number of other issues which at times strained the relationship between the SDC and other District Committees concerning the welfare of the Samoan missionaries. For instance, there was a complaint by the SDC to the PDC in 1912 concerning accommodation for the Samoan missionaries in ships, both between the Islands and Papua, and within Papua.\footnote{SDC Minutes, Malua 5 May 1912.} During the early years when livestock was carried on board the John Williams to be killed for food during the voyage, the Samoans complained that they were expected to share the deck with the livestock without proper enclosure for the animals. The PDC members were 'unanimous in [their] support of that complaint' and requested the Ships Committee to deal with the matter.\footnote{PDC Minutes, Delena 25 August 1912.} In 1929, the Samoan missionaries, through their spokesman Koris (Daru), requested cabin accommodation from the PDC in the Papuan Chief; and were told that this would be arranged 'if cabins were not used by Europeans first'.\footnote{PDC Minutes, Port Moresby 17 September 1929.}

The question of furloughs sometimes caused tension. Those working in New Guinea were required to serve ten years before furlough.\footnote{SSC Minutes, 26 September 1892.} In 1904, however, the SDC decided this was too long a period for its agents to be away and subsequently reduced the term to eight, much to the annoyance of the PDC who regarded such a decision as their prerogative.\footnote{PDC Minutes, Port Moresby 16-18 March 1904.}

Some Samoan missionaries undertook projects without the authority of the European missionary in charge, which resulted in

\begin{footnotes}
\item SDC Minutes, Malua 5 May 1912.
\item PDC Minutes, Delena 25 August 1912.
\item PDC Minutes, Port Moresby 17 September 1929.
\item SSC Minutes, 26 September 1892.
\item PDC Minutes, Port Moresby 16-18 March 1904.
\end{footnotes}
disputes between the two parties and which in turn necessitated the involvement of the SDC. For example, in 1901 Isaia, the Samoan missionary in Mabuiag (Torres Strait), built a house for the LMS mission. When he returned to Samoa in 1906 for furlough, he approached the SDC to act on his behalf in his claim for compensation from the PDC for money he used in the project. When the SDC took up Isaia's request with the PDC, the latter rejected Isaia's claim on the grounds that he was given no authority by the PDC to undertake such a project, and there was no evidence that he used any of his own money. The response by the PDC was contrary to what Isaia had told the SDC - that Chalmers sanctioned the project just before his death in 1901. In explaining the basis of its regulation regarding Isaia's claim, the PDC reminded the SDC that Chalmers was not in charge of Torres Strait for nearly two years before his death. And even if Chalmers had given such instructions, he certainly would not have left Isaia with a free hand to order what he pleased. Furthermore, when Dauncey visited Mabuiag in June 1901, the house had not been commenced nor was any mention of the matter made to him. Concerning Isaia's money, the PDC informed the SDC that the balance of his account did not verify the claim.

During the year 1901, he drew only £14/2/6 out of his salary of £20; and up to the end of July 1902 when the house was finished, he had only drawn £15/18/5. These figures are from the ledger and clearly prove that he could not have used his own money seeing that he had to maintain a wife and a large family.

A similar case was that of Neemia on Saibai. He ordered materials for a mission house from a trader worth £80 and erected the building. But Neemia failed to collect the money. The PDC was

---

151 Riley to Newell, Daru 20 April 1908, ODC, OL.
152 Idem.
153 Idem.
threatened with a law suit by the trader but, after some negotiations, the threat was dropped when the PDC agreed to pay the £47 that was still outstanding.\footnote{154}

These two cases illustrate how some Samoan missionaries attempted to use the name of the LMS to fulfil their own aspirations. Although the buildings were for the LMS they clearly viewed such projects as monuments to their work in the area.\footnote{155} To cast off suspicion of this motive, however, they appealed to their home committee to support their claims for reimbursement, deliberately misinforming the home committee of the facts. The SDC acted in good faith, only to discover to its embarrassment that the PDC had not approved any of the completed projects. Moreover, the SDC had to acknowledge the irresponsible behaviour of its agents which the PDC had no choice but to reveal. For example, Isaia's character was explained to the SDC as follows:

The manner in which Isaia begged money in Torres Strait was nothing short of a scandal. He often dragged the name of the LMS in the mud by telling the natives that he was Lazarus and they were the rich man, that he had a paltry £20 a year and would hardly get enough to eat, while they had plenty and to spare.\footnote{156}

The cause of friction between the Samoan missionaries and the European missionaries of the LMS outside Samoa was to a large extent related to the different status held by a Samoan \textit{faife'au} at home and in the mission field. As has been mentioned above,\footnote{157} the Samoan \textit{faife'au} had by 1875 achieved ordination status which in the ensuing years not only made them eligible to membership of the \textit{Fono Tele} (General Assembly), but also gave them considerable freedom to initiate and control church work at the village and district level. Thus, when they arrived at their new place of work after 1875, 'they

\footnote{154}{Idem.}

\footnote{155}{See above, 133-34.}

\footnote{156}{Riley to Newell, Daru 20 April 1908, PDC, OL.}

\footnote{157}{See above, 62-63.}
very naturally expected to act and to be treated as in their own country'. The Samoans soon discovered however that their status was lower than it was at home. To the Europeans, they 'were only the eyes and hands and ear and mouth of the European missionary'.

Ma'anaima sums up the frustration of the Samoan missionaries in the Milne Bay area in discovering the above perception when he wrote to the SDC in 1904, 'the European missionaries have failed to understand us and our way of thinking'. This initial reaction was obliterated by the passage of time. Moreover it was not characteristic of Samoan missionaries' opinions in other districts of New Guinea. Fa'asi'u, for instance, voiced the appreciation of Samoan missionaries in the Port Moresby district for the valuable help they had received from A.E. Hunt, and Mataio likewise for the assistance Samoan missionaries received from Percy Schlencker in the Kapakapa District.

---

158 Hunt to Foreign Secretary, 9 April 1895, PL.
159 Thompson to Holmes, London 16 January 1899, FDC, IL.
160 Ma'anaima, SS March 1904:27.
161 Fa'asi'u, SS April 1897:320.
162 Mataio, SS March 1902:33.
FOR the Samoan missionaries, the church as an institution had a much wider significance than the spiritual needs it was designed to meet. The church was also viewed as the embodiment of all the material wealth invested in the world of the European missionaries. Initial contact between the two groups produced a lasting effect on the minds of the Samoans concerning the superiority of material goods associated with Western civilisation. But the admiration soon gave way as the desire to acquire and own some of the foreign goods intensified. Most eagerly sought were European clothes for personal display, iron tools for agricultural purposes, iron pots for cooking and firearms for warfare. The interest of the Samoans was stimulated by the deliberate way European missionaries used material goods to attract people to their cause. The Samoans readily accepted the opportunity and joining the church was viewed as an invitation to learn of and gain from the hidden treasures of the European world. The prospect of economic prosperity was a powerful motive for becoming a church member.

The influx of European goods supplemented rather than replaced traditional items used by Samoans in trading undertakings. Nevertheless, the intensity of interest in acquiring European goods had at least affected the value scale of traditional items. The introduction of monetary currency reduced the effectiveness of shells and necklaces. Fine mats and tapa cloths on the other hand retained their value owing to their importance in ceremonial occasions such as the instalment of a new matai, marriages and funerals. For Samoans therefore, European goods meant not only a readjustment of the value scale in terms of priority, but also a familiarisation process with a distinct mentality associated with new commercial undertakings.
It would appear that Samoan missionaries regarded the acquiring of European goods as not only desirable, but also morally acceptable. Such luxuries were already part of their European mentors' social and professional milieu. It was only right that they should also reap the benefit of serving the European god. But there was a more potent incentive. The fa'asamoa demanded that a person's rank be also reflected in worldly possessions. A matai, for instance (be he an ali'i or tulafale) was expected to seek and accumulate wealth befitting his status in the community. Ranking persons were (still are) obliged to honour this cultural demand irrespective of the difficulties involved.

As men of high rank and status, the faife'au had no choice. The feagaiga, agreed to between themselves and a nu'u during their instalment, guaranteed their willingness to abide and promote values of the fa'asamoa. By virtue of their position as spiritual leaders of a nu'u, they were rewarded with the best of the material wealth available. Familiarity with the economic gains of their position in Samoan society was thus an important ingredient of Samoan missionaries' expectation on the mission field. That they were culturally conditioned to cultivate this part of their social standing also reveal a dimension of how they understood their integrity as Samoans.

Given the pressure fa'asamoa imposed on a ranking person, Samoan missionaries were not in a position to be simply content with being God's representatives on earth. The positive correlation that existed between rank and wealth in Samoan society were in turn reinforced by a dualistic understanding of Christianity as a religion which offered spiritual and secular rewards simultaneously. Dabbling therefore in commercial enterprises was regarded as an essential part of their role in educating indigenous people to adopt a new and better way of life. Moreover, economic stability and the enhancement of their status as men of social distinction was guaranteed to some extent.

In this process, Samoan missionaries were assisted by two things: first, they found on arrival at some places (notably the Westward Islands [1840s] and the Ellice Islands [1860s])
established trading patterns between visiting and resident
European traders and the indigenous people; and secondly, the LMS
had encouraged the setting up of small stores, partly to ensure
that supplies of such goods as sugar, tea, salt, tobacco, clothing
materials, tools and teaching equipment were readily available for
their agents; and partly to act as mission trading centres to
handle commercial transactions between the local people and the
missionaries.

It was an astute move by mission headquarters. The
mission offered spiritual rewards reinforced by material goods
which indigenous people had to purchase with the goods or revenue
they had assimilated. In this way, the missionaries not only
exercised some control over the trading habits of the people, but
also threaten the balance of the business world which European
traders regarded as their sphere of operation. Both resident and
visiting European traders resented this encroachment. They viewed
the meddling of mission representatives in trading as unethical
and contrary to their high calling. Moreover, traders disliked
the methods used by missionaries to challenge their position in
the commercial world. Mission stores offered discount prices ¹
which undermined the existing system of payments. Missionaries
were equally adamant that indigenous people were to be saved not
just from sin but from the carriers of sin as well, namely,
traders.

Samoa missionaries were probably warned by their
mentors of problems posed by European traders. Clashes occurred
to no one’s surprise. The intensity of the ensuing confrontation
is evident from the way the struggle developed into personal
feuds. Examples of these were reported by visiting European
missionaries and captains of visiting HMS ships on the Ellice
Islands during the 1860s.

Before 1860, European trading in the group was
virtually non-existent. Lack of accurate cartographical
information, despite the islands being sighted as far back as the
late sixteenth and early seventeenth century by Meridana and
Quiros was perhaps a contributing factor. It was not until the
latter part of the 18th century that such a need was met. The

¹ Abel to Thompson, Kwato 29 November 1897, PDC, OL.
establishment of the Port Jackson settlement in 1788 provided the impetus for increased shipping activity in the Pacific and heightened the prospect of new trading stations being started as the network of communication improved. A direct consequence of this was the discovery of the 'offshore' whaling grounds of the central Pacific in 1818. As the volume of shipping increased in the area, the islands of the Ellice group were sighted and their appropriate position determined and placed on the map. Traders soon followed, searching for copra in exchange for tobacco, calico and cotton materials.

That some of them decided to settle was perhaps to be expected in view of the pattern established elsewhere. These traders - travellers and residential - provided the Ellice Islands with their first real encounter of Europeans and their culture.

Both traders and Samoan missionaries endeavoured to serve the needs of the same people. This perhaps, more than anything else, was responsible for generating tensions. The indigenous people found themselves caught in the middle of a conflict that on the whole revolved around the question of loyalty. It was not merely support of their respective enterprises that the two expatriate groups wanted from the locals, rather, some sort of guarantee that such support will continue.

Traders probably perceived the arrival of Samoan missionaries as an intrusion, posing a threat to the hold they already had over the indigenous people. On the other hand, Samoan missionaries resented the presence of traders; and in view of the nature of their mission, probably perceived traders as candidates also to be saved from the evil of the world. That both groups regarded each other as obstacles to the accomplishment of their respective purposes guaranteed to some extent that the struggle for control would become a bitter and personalised affair.

The first confrontation of any real importance occurred at Nui in 1866 between Kirisome whom Murray left there the previous year, and a Robert Waters, identified by Murray as 'Bob'. Background information concerning Waters is scarce except

2 Murray, 1876:390-92
that he was an 'oil' representative of some 'overseas firm'. That
the clash with Kirisome occurred five years later, suggests
perhaps that Waters was fairly well established. Murray's
description seems to bear this:

'He had two wives and was guilty of other glowing inconsisten
tut but he had the rather rare honesty to tell the people that hi
conduct was wrong and to admonish them to do as he said and n
he did. A system of fines for misdemeanours real or supposed
Bob decided was imposed. The fines were paid in coconut oil
they were his perquisite, and of course the oil was quite in
line, and it is likely that he took care to make the fines pr
heavy; and there is no doubt that he managed to serve himsel
the people in other ways beside the fines'.3

Despite the biased overtones of Murray's account which
deliberately negate the value of Water's activities in at least
preparing the people for LMS protestant teaching, there seems to
be no doubt that Waters had made quite an impact. Two wives would
have been gifts bought in exchange for European goods.
Nevertheless, marriage gave Waters the opening to become more than
a mere observer of Nuian society.

That he was able to formulate a 'system of fines'
suggests that he not only had the support of the chiefs, but also
a dominant influence in the economic affairs of Nui. The chiefs
would have gained in status and material wealth; and Waters'
credibility would have been strengthened by the religious
dimension of his enterprises. It appears that he had become an
important person in Nuian society at the time of Kirisome's
arrival.

Kirisome would have been briefed by Murray of Bob's
glowing reputation and warned of the man's considerable influence
over the people. Moreover, the detrimental effects his presence
posed to the success of LMS undertakings in the area. Implanted
perhaps in Kirisome's mind was the urgency of the situation and
the necessity to bring the Nuian people back to the proper course
for spiritual salvation. Given the considerable pressure
fa'asamoa places on men of status to succeed and uphold authority,
Kirisome was in no position to approach the matter in any other
way than to accept the challenge presented by Waters' influence.
A head on confrontation was imminent.

3 Idem
On arrival, Kirisome discovered that Waters was away. He took advantage of the latter's absence to promote the IMS version of Christianity. Being an excellent student and a fine speaker were gifts he exploited no doubt in his attempt to convince the Niuan that Waters' teachings were false. That he succeeded to some extent is evident from the difficulties confronting Waters on his return as he attempted to regain his former position. 'Bob was veiled... and with his three wives sunk back to the congenial darkness of the Kingsmill group.' Munro convincingly stipulates that the desire of the Niuan people for a qualified missionary was a crucial element. But physical and cultural factors were also crucial elements in Kirisome's success. He was reputed to be a powerfully built man. According to members of his family, 'he was over six feet tall and quite big'. Claims that he was able to carry two baskets of 30 taros in each from his family plantation two and a half miles inland to the village without a rest, illustrates the strength of the man. Physical strength is an attribute admired by Samoans. There is a general belief that size reflects one's dignity. Conscious of these factors as well as the fact that he was better trained than Waters, Kirisome had every reason to assert his authority.

The Kirisome episode is an example of a Samoan missionary deliberately undermining the authority of a resident trader as well as offering himself as the most viable substitute. An example of a missionary attempting to consolidate and maintain his authority against resident and visiting traders, is the case of Tema as described by Munro.

Tema's background probably explained his seeming obsession with power and authority. His roots are directly linked to one of the great clans of Samoa - the family of Sa Malietoa (the Sacred family of Malietoa). His father held the most

---

1 Idem
2 Munro, D. 1978:82
4 Idem
5 Munro, D. 1978:75-94
6 Pers. comment. Tema Koria - Pata Falelatai - great grandson.
important tulafale title of Namulau'ulu of the Malietoa family branch in the district of Safotulafai in the island of Savaii. According to members of his family, his grandfather gave the welcoming speech to the first visit of John William in 1830. These historical factors would have greatly influenced Tena's perceptions of his own importance and explained the seeming arrogant way by which he confronted the traders. Given that authority and status were at stake in the ensuing confrontation, it would have been unthinkable for Tena to back down.

Tena's clash with W.B. Thompson revealed the man's obsession with his own importance, and not necessarily the issue at stake, which was the right of Mr Thompson to his wife's land. For example, when Mr Thompson's request was refused, he threatened the people with possible retaliation by a British warship when it arrived. In response, Tena assured the people that as long as he was the missionary no such thing would happen, he was a Samoan missionary sent by the British gods.

10 Royal Navy's Australian Station XIII; Complaint of Messrs Thompson and Ohlsen about the people of Funafuti, 14 October 1878, Central Office 225/1.
Not all European traders had quarrels with the Samoan missionaries. Amongst the earliest European residents in the Ellice Islands was a man called Jack O'Brien who resided on Funafuti. The date of O'Brien's arrival there is uncertain although Mrs Edgeworth David (who resided on Funafuti in 1897) reported that O'Brien had informed her that he had been trading in Funafuti for forty years, which would place his date of arrival sometime after 1857. According to the old men of Funafuti, O'Brien was a sailor who had jumped ship while anchored at Funafuti. As a beachcomber, O'Brien was perhaps not characteristic; he was more of a help to the work of the Samoan missionaries than a nuisance. Mrs David describes O'Brien as:

not the sort of man that we expected the trader to be. He was neither a low down ruffian nor a romantic adorable scamp...he was just a normal decent fellow. The natives respected him and he respects their laws and customs, and is on the whole a likeable peaceable man.13

According to the old men of Funafuti, O'Brien was believed to have taught the people about God before Christianity came. He destroyed

11 David, 1899:130.
the places of heathen worship and even made attempts to check the influence of 'devil doctors'.

Besides teaching Christianity, O'Brien taught the people to read and write. He also gave instruction in trades such as carpentry. He was adopted by the chiefs as an adviser and was respected and liked because of his contributions. He married a local woman, Salai, and produced a large family, and his descendants are numerous to this day. O'Brien was a staunch supporter of the Samoan missionaries and the LMS. Having a local woman as wife probably encouraged him to accept the restraints of indigenous culture and enabled him to accept and tolerate the influence of Samoan missionaries.

Responsible traders such as O'Brien assisted the Samoan missionaries who worked in the Ellice Islands and the southern Gilberts to combat the threat of labour recruiters. The Samoan missionaries pioneered mission work in the two groups at a time when the Peruvian raiders were ravaging the area in search of labour. For example, in 1863, 161 Gilbertese were shipped for the Peruvian phosphate mines. In the same year an estimated 200 to 250 were taken at Nukulaelae out of a population of a little over 300: 180 were induced to board ship at Funafuti and a further three at Nukufetau. By 1870, labour vessels had visited all of the southern islands of the Gilbert group and took an estimated 1,000 from Nikunau between 1868 and 1872. The people of the southern Gilbert and Ellice Islands suffered recruiting and recruiters primarily because they had no means of defending themselves, and their low coral islands made it impossible for them to evade recruiters. The willingness of the Samoan missionaries and responsible

15 David, 1899:197.

16 Pers. comm., Alefaio Ioane O'Brien, 18 November 1979, Wellington, NZ.


19 Murray, 1876:381-86; C. Bridge, Report...'Espiegle' 1883:1.

traders to oppose the recruiters had a considerable psychological impact on the people.\textsuperscript{21} The success of the early Samoan missionaries, therefore, must be seen in part as a reaction against the labour trade.

Relations between Samoan missionaries and traders in New Guinea were relatively smooth largely because the PDC forbade trading, bartering and selling of any kind in order to prevent secularisation of their missionaries' position.\textsuperscript{22} Moreover, church stores were established for each district under the supervision of the resident European missionary and in places where no European missionary resided, under the charge of the leading Samoan missionary. The Samoans were required to purchase all the goods they needed from these stores. The system thus barred them from conducting any business transaction with a trader. Any official communication with traders had to go through the secretary of the PDC.

The availability of church stores benefitted the Samoan missionaries, who had the privilege of purchasing goods at nominal prices set by the PDC. For example, six pounds of tobacco were sold to a Samoan at 1/6d. per pound; yet it cost the PDC 2/- per pound in import duty.\textsuperscript{23} As trade increased in scope towards the end of the nineteenth century, the goods which for years were received by the Samoan missionaries from the church stores became common articles of trade with traders and storekeepers. One side effect of this trend was the increasing knowledge of the indigenous people of the use of money. A more serious effect were the clashes between the storekeepers and those who managed the church stores over the nominal prices the PDC had established. The PDC, unwilling to have its policy dictated to them by traders, nevertheless recognised the legitimacy of the latter's complaints. For example, the traders objected to the PDC charging a Samoan missionary three pence for a handkerchief when they could not sell it for less than six pence.\textsuperscript{24} The Samoan missionaries were partly

\textsuperscript{21} Powell, idem.
\textsuperscript{22} PDC Minutes, 1892 (12); 1894 (03); 1903 (14); 1907 (41).
\textsuperscript{23} Abel to Thompson, Kwato 29 November 1897, PL.
\textsuperscript{24} Idem.
to blame for the confrontation. They not only undervalued the goods supplied to them, but also deliberately perpetuated the belief that they were the only ones to gain from the mission stores. The effect of this on the minds of the indigenous people was drastic. Many agitated to be paid the amount offered by trading stores and not what the Samoan missionaries had to pay in mission stores. An example of the way Samoan missionaries misunderstood the situation is given by Abel during a visit around his district (Kwato) in 1897:

About three months ago, I was anchored off a native village in my district and had arranged with the natives to cut me some timber for building purposes... I arranged to give them in payment either a singlet or a belt or a 6" knife or 5 sticks of tobacco. Any of these items would be equivalent to 6d at mission store prices. They went off to work satisfied with the bargains. During the evening, one of my Samoan teachers arrived on board and after some discussion with the natives, came to me to say the people were dissatisfied with the prices I had offered in the morning. I got my timber at the contract price but not I fear until I had felt inclined to drop some of it on top of my indiscreet and misinformed teacher. It is exceedingly difficult to explain to natives what the teachers do not realise themselves that the value of a singlet to them is not 6d but the price they would pay for it if they were to purchase it from a Samarai store.25

It is conceivable that the Samoan missionaries exploited this type of situation to discredit the European missionaries owing to the latter's unwillingness to raise their salaries.

The concern of Samoan missionaries to have their wages increased dominated the proceedings of the PDC from 1900 onwards. The twenty pounds paid annually to the Samoans was considered by them (and their home committee) to be insufficient. And although attempts were made to raise this amount, the lack of finance put an end to such hopes. In view of this situation, some Samoan missionaries began to defy the PDC ban on trading in order to find additional income to supplement their rather meagre wages. Thus, when Percy Schlencker visited the various stations of the Angas Inland Mission

25 Idem.
in 1901, he discovered that Apineru was selling to members of his station half the contents of a tin of kerosene at a price of six shillings when he had bought the whole tin from the mission store for only six shillings. In Delena, Dauncey discovered that Mataio was doing the same. In Vatorata, Alesana was reprimanded for selling half the tobacco he bought for the price he had paid for the whole amount. These were the only cases known, yet it is conceivable that many of the Samoans were involved in such practices owing to the common position they were in concerning low wages.

The behaviour of the few Samoans above alarmed the PDC to the extent that it formulated a number of regulations to curb and control the Samoan appetite for profit. Moreover, the regulations were aimed at safeguarding the integrity of the LMS from what was quickly becoming an embarrassing situation. The regulations clearly revealed the wisdom of the PDC in emphasising control and not total prohibition of such behaviour. The fact that the Samoans became involved in trading despite being specifically instructed not to, was a clear indication that rigid resolutions were not the answer.

The new regulations allowed the Samoans to sell certain things only with the approval of the European missionary. Thus, garden produce from their own lands was permitted to be sold, but not fruit from the trees on mission lands. Natural increase of domestic animals might be sold, but the European missionary was to be notified when such business was about to take place and the amount received was to be recorded in the station ledger. To safeguard any Samoan wishing to exploit this regulation, the PDC set a limit of £5 in two years from such a source; any money over this amount was to be paid to the mission. Artifacts were permitted to be sold; and any amount received for the hiring out of their canoes and boats was to be kept for the maintenance of the craft. The PDC also allowed the Samoans to keep

26 Schlencker to Abel, Kalaigolo 15 August 1901, PL.
27 Dauncey to Hills, Delena 23 April 1903, PDC, OL.
28 Dauncey to Hills, Delena 5 July 1906, PDC, OL.
any money or goods they received as payment when acting as interpreters. Against these benefits were the following restrictions:

(a) A teacher found selling again for cash goods he has purchased from mission or other stores, shall be regarded as committing a serious offence, and be warned. If such conduct be repeated, he shall be reported to the District Committee and be liable to dismissal from the mission.

(b) Any teacher who receives payment from the marriage of mission girls shall be suspended and reported to the District Committee.

The regulations clearly show the concern of the PDC with the position of the Samoans in having to cope with low wages. As the secretary of the PDC explained to the SDC in a letter written on 12 April 1912:

'By these rules, we desire to be of some help to the teachers and to show our sympathy with them in their lot in Papua, which we know is not always an easy one.'

The different patterns in the relations between Samoan missionaries and traders as revealed in the conduct of those who laboured in the Ellice Islands and southern Gilberts, and those in New Guinea, was the direct result of the different approach adopted by the respective District Committees under whose authority they belonged. The opportunity to confront traders directly afforded to those who worked in the Ellice Islands, Tokelau and the southern Gilberts, was tolerated by the SDC because, despite occasional tension, the relationship was one of interdependence. Both the traders and the Samoan missionaries needed each other. The former were in a position to supply the raw materials needed for projects such as church and school buildings, as well as supplying a variety of cloth, and the latter because the traders were a guaranteed source of finance and custom to which the people could sell their produce, and the money they received was largely donated to the work of the Church. For those who were in New Guinea, however, the relationship was less direct. The establishment of church stores by the PDC was designed

---

29 Secretary of PDC to Secretary of SDC, Vatorata 12 August 1916, PDC, OL.

30 Idem.

31 R.L. Turner to Secretary SDC, 12 April 1916, PL.
primarily to prevent Samoan missionaries (and Polynesian missionaries in general) from using the mission as a platform to launch any private commercial enterprise. Admittedly, there was also a strong desire by the PDC to have some control in the way trade was developing in New Guinea, but this hope evaporated with the influx of foreign companies during the 1880s. Nevertheless, the PDC was determined to see that the money its church members and adherents spent did not go directly to the traders but to the mission through its stores. Thus, it showed no toleration of Samoans who attempted to conduct business outside the regulations it had laid down. Apineru, Mataio and Alesana were suspended for one month each. Any exchange with traders was to be done by European missionaries of each district or by the secretary on behalf of the PDC. Commercial principles were brought to the fore more readily with the arrival of missionaries, but it was not until the advent of colonial administrations, labour migration to the phosphate islands (in the Ellice and Gilbert Islands), the development of large mission plantations (especially in New Guinea) and local copra cooperatives that the indigenous people became involved in intensive capitalism and the world market economy.

The relations between Samoan missionaries and representatives of colonial administrations differed according to the area, the type of colonial personnel involved and, to a certain extent, the existing pattern of traditional authority and the way this was maintained. Thus, any generalisation as to the overall impact of colonial administrations on the work of the Samoans as a group would be misleading. On the other hand, useful generalisations can be made concerning the relations between the Samoans and government officials in any of the particular areas where both worked.

To some extent, the policies and personalities of colonial administrators were not conducive to creating harmonious relationships with the Samoan missionaries. On the other hand, the stubbornness and arrogance of the latter group also fueled potential conflict.

32 SDC Minutes 12 September 1901, 9 April 1903, 11 August 1906.
An example of this is well illustrated by Macdonald's analysis of the tension between the second resident Commissioner of the Gilbert and Ellice groups, William Telfer Campbell and the Samoan missionaries during the latter stages of the 19th century. The sensitive issue of Church-State relation became somewhat personalised by the respective protagonists in their efforts to undermine each other's authority.

Cultural expectations of the indigenous people often provided the cause for confrontation. For instance, permission granted by the Commissioner for 'native' dancing during special celebrations was scorned by missionaries on the grounds of immorality. It could be argued that both camps were concerned with the welfare of the indigenous people. What complicated matters however were differences in ethical interpretations of what was proper and acceptable. Colonial Administrators saw no harm in encouraging cultural awareness. But the Samoan missionaries considered anything from the people's past as a revert to heathen practices. In defiance of the Administration, Samoan missionaries discouraged the indigenous people from paying government taxes. Instead, they were to give their money to the work of the L.M.S. mission. In response, the Commissioner ordered the removal of one of them.

Samoan missionaries seemed to consider themselves outside the boundaries of political decisions made by the Administration. But if this was the case, it is difficult to understand why the Samoan missionaries decided to challenge such decisions. The explanation appears to be that there was much more at stake than who got the indigenous people's money. Both the L.M.S. mission and the Colonial Administration were striving for self-sufficiency. Moreover, the question of political authority versus spiritual authority was unavoidable. In the end, the Samoan missionaries had to bow to the legal authority of the State.


34 Murray 1866 SSJ., Marriott 1895 SSJ., Goward to Thompson 9 January 1911. SSL.
The dismayed European missionaries had no option but to comply with this directive, and received a further set-back when their subsequent complaints to the High Commissioner were ignored.

Relations between the Samoans and the British government officials in New Guinea were relatively smooth. Part of this was the result of the favourable attitude held by the colonial administration of the valuable contribution mission work had on efforts by the British Government to civilise the indigenous people, and partly because the PDC was willing to restrict opportunities whereby Samoans and European government officials might confront one another. Clashes with government officials were more frequent where the official was indigenous.

The ability of the Samoan missionaries to converse in the language of a particular place made them valuable interpreters. Their knowledge of the physical geography of a region, attained through many hours of tramping to visit the remote parts of a mission district, made them valuable guides for government patrols. The administration recognised the service of the Samoan missionaries in bridging the gap between indigenous thought patterns and those of the Europeans. Not only were the Samoans regarded as messengers of Christianity, but also of Western civilisation. The Samoans were to give elementary instruction as to the merits of the European world. Their knowledge of European skills, such as reading and writing, of European religion and ideas, of European manners, European clothes and European trade, were essential parts of the Christian message they were expected to communicate. One government official commented on the influence of the Samoans:

they have succeeded, not merely in opening up communication with the natives along nearly the entire littoral of the Protected Territory...but what is more important, they have inspired those natives with confidence.

---

35 Campbell to High Commissioner, 10 January 1900, WPHC Inwards Correspondence, General 99/185.

36 High Commissioner to E.V. Cooper, 10 February 1900.

37 See above, 86-88.

As a group, the Samoan missionaries in New Guinea regarded the Colonial Administration as their friend. Government regulations were respected and in the majority of cases the relationship had an air of mutual respect and cordiality. Some Samoan missionaries clearly acknowledged the pioneering role of government patrols in ensuring that there was no danger in the proposed place of mission work. Konelio, for instance, reported from Kalaigolo in 1904:

> Our work is made easy by the existence of government regulations. The government has in many instances gone before us to ensure that the places where we carry out our work are safe. The government is like a planter who first goes and clears the land before he plants crops. People have told me that before the government came, they used to wage war on each other constantly, and that present peaceful existence is the direct result of the government's regulations.39

Likewise, Iotarno testified to the great help he and the rest of the Samoan missionaries in Torres Strait had received from government officials in the area, especially in finance for the building of churches, and qualified teachers for schools. 'I am now obliged to teach only on Sunday. Secular education is now the responsibility of government appointed teachers.'40 When the indigenous people attempted to revive their pagan beliefs, the government official often assisted the Samoan missionary by tracking down those responsible for any such revival; as Timoteo reported, 'those who got caught were put in prison'.41

The admirable intentions of government officials were not always beneficial to the work of the Samoan missionaries. For example, when Konelio and Percy Schlencker conducted a visit throughout the Angas Inland Mission District in 1906, they discovered that village policemen were adamant in their refusal to do any church work, giving as their reason the fact that they were government appointed officials. As one of them told Konelio:

---

40 Iotarno, SS, January 1903:4.
41 Timoteo, Kabadi, SS, October 1904.
I want to much to devote my lift to Jesus and His work, and to work hard for the eternal life you preach. But the thing which is holding me back and I am afraid of, is the governor who gave me his shirt and told me to do his work. Possession of a government uniform was a definite mark of authority. Those who were given uniforms took pride in this official recognition, and the responsibility that went with it. It was also a sign that one was a member of the new order. The paradoxical situation of indigenous policemen is reflected in Konelio's analysis of the beliefs associated with the refusal of a policeman to serve the Church:

Those to whom the governor gave government uniforms to mark their appointments as policemen in their villages, are the ones who are afraid to accept the work of Jesus because of their belief that such work will harm their role as policemen and place them in conflict with the governor's purpose. They have come to believe that the governor is the same as Jesus - for they looked upon the role of both as saviours.

The Samoan missionaries' exercise of direct authority, emanating from their tendency to regard worldly and spiritual power as inseparable, brought them into conflict with government officers - native and European. The establishment of civil government in 1886 precipitated the appointment of magistrates for each district. These magistrates however tended to seek the advice of European missionaries only because they shared the same culture and spoke the same language. Such a practice had adverse effects on the utility of Samoan missionaries in the maintenance of law and order, as well as limiting their authority. Where in 1886 the missionaries had been praised for creating peaceful conditions, in 1896 they were criticised for taking a politically active role. For instance, F.P. Winter, chief judicial officer of the Possession (1888-1902), remarked that Polynesians did not 'quite understand the distinction between actions that are contrary to law

---

42 Konelio, SS, February 1906:17.
43 Idem.
44 See above, 71-80.
45 British New Guinea, Annual Reports 1898-99, XIII.
and actions that are contrary to the views of their mission. 46

On Murray Island in Torres Strait the Samoan teacher Finau levied fines and, for a time, appointed his own magistrates. John Douglas, Queensland Government Resident on Thursday Island (1885-1904), commented tersely that Finau 'like all the Samoan teachers was fond of power, and had quite exceeded the bounds of his legitimate authority.' 47

Authority and jurisdiction rights became the subject of many misunderstandings between the Samoan missionaries and government officials. Accusations concerning the interference by one group with the activities of the other characterised the relationship from 1886, and bred mistrust and suspicion of each other's motives. The usual procedure was for a member of one group to complain to his superiors of the behaviour by a member of the opposing group which was contrary to the code of ethics governing the work and purpose of the group concerned. Thus, a Samoan missionary usually took his grievances to the European missionary in charge of the district, who in turn informed the PDC, who decided whether or not the complaint was serious enough to warrant any further action. If so, the PDC approached the Colonial Office (generally by letter) for a suitable date for discussions to clarify the situation. Sometimes, the PDC informed the Administration of the grievances and requested an urgent investigation of these. For example, in 1900, Fa'asi'u, the Samoan missionary in Hisi'u, brought a number of charges against the village constable, which included threats regarding the lives of members of the missionary's household, forbidding the natives to go to church, school, or in any way assist the teacher, and threatening to punish any youth who attended school. The PDC, convinced of the truth behind Fa'asi'u's claim, duly wrote to J.A. Blayney, government official in charge of Hisi'u district, asking him to investigate the charges and to see that justice was done. 48 An investigation was conducted by Blayney and the village constable was suspended for his behaviour and attitude.

46 Idem.


48 Secretary of PDC to J.A. Blayney, Port Moresby 20 April 1900.
Although clashes with indigenous government officials were common and were usually resolved in favour of the Samoan missionaries, such was not the case in clashes involving European government officials. Less frequent, these confrontations often resulted in the Samoan missionaries acting together as a pressure group in defending both their identity as Samoans and their integrity as missionaries. Solutions were never to the advantage of any particular group, rather they were often compromises of opinions and attitudes to ensure that harmony was maintained. An example of a clash whereby Samoan missionaries acted as a group was the case involving Mata'ese (who died in 1899) and the civil magistrate at Kwato in 1900. The Samoan missionaries, infuriated with the action of the magistrate who lodged a charge against Mata'ese for misconduct ten months after the latter died, wrote a combined letter both to the PDC and the SDC accusing the magistrate of deliberate victimisation. According to the Samoans, the magistrate and government officials were extremely annoyed at the mission's practice of conducting schools in Kwato for all the youth of the district. What the government officials desired however was not the abandonment of such a school, but the removal of the Samoan missionaries from the position of control. The magistrate tolerated the school as long as it was under the direct control of a European missionary. But Abel, who had this responsibility, left for furlough in England in 1900 and the PDC was slow in appointment a replacement, leaving the school in the hands of Ma'anaima and the Samoan missionaries. Such a state of affairs was unacceptable to Moreton, the civil magistrate, who listened to the advice of those who shared his own language and culture. The PDC, realising the plight of the Samoans in Kwato, speedily appointed Percy Schlencker and Frank Walker to defend the Samoans and to ensure that relations with government representatives in the Kwato area remained calm. A strong letter of protest was sent to the Honourable G. Ruthven Le Hunte concerning Moreton's behaviour.

---

49 Samoan missionaries to PDC, Kwato 6 March 1900, PDC, IL; see also, Samoan missionaries to SDC, Kwato 6 March 1900. SDC, IL.
as magistrate from Frank Walker, on behalf of the PDC. 50

The incident at Kwato reveals certain beliefs of the Samoan missionaries concerning the British colonial rule and their disappointment when their expectations were somewhat ruined by the personal attitude and action of the magistrate at Kwato. As they explained to the PDC:

When we were in Samoa, we heard of the British government and how it helped the work of God, and how its laws were in accord with Holy Writ, and the British government has always been the government in the minds of the church in Samoa. So that we were glad when we came to New Guinea because it was governed by Great Britain. But now we find that it is not as we expected, and our hearts are greatly troubled. 51

Fortunately, there were few occasions when misunderstandings occurred. On the whole, there was mutual respect for each other's work. It is conceivable that the incident at Kwato reflects the pro-European attitude Abel had deliberately cultivated, thus the reaction of the civil magistrate and government officials at Kwato was in line with the mentality of European expatriates residing in the area at the time.

In German New Guinea, relations between the Samoans and the German officials were relatively smooth. Part of this was due to the ability of the first Samoans recruited by the Rhenish Mission in 1912 to speak the German language. The fact also that the western part of Samoa was under German rule at the time meant that the Samoans who went to German New Guinea were familiar with some features of German culture. Ierome recalls how the German missionaries were impressed with his ability to converse in the German language, and how and Kurene thrilled them by their knowledge of the German national anthem. 52

Colonial administrations, especially that in the Ellice and Gilbert Islands, tended to underestimate the extent to which the Samoan missionaries were entrenched in local politics, thereby creating difficulties. In many of the areas under its political jurisdiction,

50 Walker to G. Ruthven Le Hunte, Kwato 26 January 1910, PDC, OL.
51 Samoan missionaries to PDC, Kwato 6 March 1900, PDC, IL.
52 Ierome, SS, February 1913:42.
the Administration was not as well established as were the missions, and attempts to govern the whole colony by remote control from where the Administration headquarters were established (as was the case of the Ellice Islands from Tarawa), proved to be ineffective when the policies suggested were disapproved by the local Samoan missionaries. For instance, one of the first sources of conflict between the missionaries and the new governments concerned native dancing. Both the PDC and the Samoan missionaries in the Ellice and Gilbert Islands had outlawed dancing in general. The reaction of the Administration was mild but firm:

I must protest that in my opinion you condemn dancing with undue severity when you state it to be incompatible with Christianity...to include all dancing as heathenism seems to me too sweeping a condemnation. 53

The Administration and the indigenous people appear to have won in the long run, if the frequency of dancing today is any indication. It is significant, however, that most of the contemporary indigenous dances have some biblical content.

The ensuing tension that existed between Colonial administrators and the Samoan missionaries in the Ellice and Gilbert Islands derived from a lack of sensitivity and respect for each other’s positions. There seems to have been a reluctance on both parties to acknowledge that their respective concern for the welfare of the indigenous people had important implications affecting the other parties sphere of operation. Perhaps the Colonial Administration underestimated the political influence Samoan missionaries already possessed owing to the patriarchal form of authority they had perpetrated through the spiritual dimension of the indigenous people. On the other hand, the Samoan missionaries had become religious and idealist in their insistence on upholding a morality which suited only their political standing but excluded that of the State.

Ironically, both parties appeared reluctant to accept the contradiction in which they were involved. The christian religion and western civilisation, different sides of the same coin, could not be accepted as one by either the Samoan missionaries or colonial administrators.

53 F.R. Barton to W.G. Lawes, 15 November 1904, PDC, IL.
TWO important events contributed to making 1930 a special year in the history of the LMS Church in Samoa: the commemorating of 100 years since the arrival of Christianity, and the emergence of the Colonial Samoan LMS Church as the first autonomous Church in the South West Pacific. It was therefore a time for reflection and speculation. Both events helped to revive the sagged morale of the Samoans after their unsuccessful attempts for political independence, by generating a new sense of national pride and confidence in their ability to control and dictate their own affairs, even if these were only in the realm of ecclesiastical matters and restricted to adherents of the LMS.

News of church autonomy was greeted with elation by Samoan missionaries then serving in the mission field. The new constitution, ratified in 1928 and fully implemented by 1930, not only safeguarded their rank and status as faife'au, but also guaranteed their elevation in the hierarchy of the Church. The Fono Tele of 1930, moreover, passed the following resolution which gave special recognition to their work:

That the Samoan Church recognised and expressed its indebtedness to the brave and honourable work done by its missionaries in enlightening the islands of the Pacific about God and His Church.

The resolution sparked off numerous exaggerated versions of the achievements of Samoan missionaries to the extent that, as a group, they came to be regarded by their countrymen as folk heroes. Not surprisingly, therefore, the Fono Tele made their work the focus of the centenary celebrations. The part played by European missionaries in the history of the Samoan Church was also acknowledged; but the resolution clearly revealed the proud view Samoans had of the work of their countrymen.

1 See Davidson 1967:86-87, 118-46.
2 See Appendix C.
3 SDC Minutes, Malua 2-9 May 1930.
The attitude of the Pono Tele in 1930 was probably influenced by glowing statistics. Within a period of ninety-one years, 416 Samoan missionaries had left for overseas mission work, an average of four to five each year. Furthermore, the Pono Tele had been fed throughout these years with accounts by Samoan missionaries of their successes, rarely their failures. The overall picture thus held by those in Samoa was not only unbalanced, but one of exaggerated achievements which evidence does not support. The Pono Tele failed to admit that Samoan missionaries were indebted to their European mentors as well as to the indigenous people who supported and looked after them. Perhaps the absence of any written account of the work done by Samoan missionaries by the Samoan LMS Church revealed a certain willingness to perpetuate the myth it helped to propagate concerning the greatness of its agents.

In fairness, however, the majority of Samoan missionaries laid the groundwork before the coming of white resident missionaries. In all the places they worked, they lived close to the people and subsequently paved the way for the arrival of European missionaries by acting as guides and interpreters. The ability of European missionaries to acquire the local language and construct a written form for these often depended on the Samoan missionaries. The importance of their work, however, was often undermined by labels such as 'assistants' and 'teachers'. Fortunately, this situation existed only up to 1875 when they were granted the right to be ordained; thus gaining status and rank comparable (at least in theory) with those of their European counterparts.

An important part of the work of Samoan missionaries was the training of indigenous Church leaders in centralised schools such as Rongorongo (Beru, southern Gilberts); Vatorata (New Guinea); Alofi (Niue) and Motufoua (Vaitupu, Ellice Islands). The role these leaders played in forging an identity for their respective Churches reflects to a large extent the latent reaction of their people to the changes imposed on them by the Samoan missionaries.

News of Church autonomy for the Samoans alarmed some indigenous Church leaders who were afraid that the Samoans would now exercise complete control over their Churches. The fear of being forever under
the jurisdiction of Samoan missionaries prompted them to publicly
denounce the policy of the Samoan Church as irrelevant and domineering,
and the work of the Samoan missionaries as damaging. At the same time,
they openly advocated independence for their own Churches. By challenging
the status quo as established by the Samoan missionaries, they directly
questioned the validity and merit of having Samoan missionaries as
their spiritual mentors, as well as the authority of the Samoan Church.
In view of this reaction, the contribution Samoan missionaries made to
the lives of the indigenous people needs to be evaluated in the light
of the way indigenous Churches developed after 1930 and the extent to
which these churches continued to reflect the fa'akerisiano.

Of all the indigenous Churches Samoan missionaries assisted in their
formation and development, none exhibited features more aligned with
the structure of the Samoan Church and society than that of the
emerging Church of the Ellice Islands. The task therefore of eliminating
Samoan influence was difficult and problematic. Familiarity with the
Samoan style of Church life over a period of sixty-five years had
lulled the people to a state of passive religious conformity. The
few who initiated the move for the repatriation of Samoan missionaries
in 1930 soon realised that years of association with the Samoan Church
had created strong ties of loyalty and friendship amongst the majority
of the people and the Samoan expatriates. This historical affinity
was to prove the major stumbling block in the leaders' quest to
achieve their goal.

The proposed alternative in the form of an independent
Ellice Islands Church lacked at the time both credibility and feasibility.
In the first place, the liturgy, educational programmes and religious
instruction, as well as the general administration of the Church in
the Ellice Islands were written down and conducted wholly in the Samoan
language. Accepting the proposal would therefore involve the abandonment
of the Samoan language, a move for which the Church was unprepared and
which was likely to have crippled it at the time. And secondly, there
was uncertainty amongst the majority of Ellice Islands pastors
as to the advisability of such a change. Many of them felt committed
to the Samoan Church. They valued the knowledge gained from theological
training at Malua and were therefore apprehensive that an independent
Church would mean a re-examination of their theological perceptions to accommodate Ellice Islands concepts, a process many of them were too old and inflexible to undertake. It is also conceivable that the social trappings of the pastors' role and position as understood and exemplified by Samoan missionaries appealed to their own understanding of the office. The few who advocated autonomy were convinced however that it was only a matter of time before their fellow pastors and the rest of the people acceded to the merits of their vision.

The instigators of the movement were men of exceptional leadership qualities, determined to succeed. Their relationship with Samoan missionaries prior to Malua had given them some understanding of the Samoan character, an understanding later to be reinforced by their experience of working alongside Samoan missionaries in the mission fields of New Guinea, the southern Gilberts, Tokelau and in their homeland. Furthermore, their time at Malua had exposed them to the dynamics of the fa'a-samoa and how these supported and enhanced the position and role of the Samoan faife'au. These experiences were largely responsible for the stand they took against the Samoan missionaries. Uniting them as a group, however, was a strong sense of patriotism, of believing that there was worth and value in themselves as Ellice Islanders and in their cultural heritage.

The campaign for the removal of Samoan missionaries was initiated by Lusia, a native of Vaitupu, who served as a schoolteacher at Rongorongo from 1920 to 1938, and as a pastor in Ocean Island from 1939 to 1945. His experiences in these places probably reinforced his earlier convictions that the influence of Samoan missionaries was detrimental to the preservation of indigenous peoples' identity and culture. He had seen in his own homeland how his people had succumbed to this influence, but in discovering that others also shared the same situation, he felt justified perhaps to openly challenge the might of the Samoan establishment.

To elicit support, Lusia began in 1924 to distribute letters to fellow Ellice Islands pastors serving throughout the South West Pacific, urging them to discard the use of the Samoan language in worship and in schools in favour of the vernacular. He reminded the pastors that 'only when those responsible for spreading
Samoan influence disappeared from the scene could there be a chance of arousing in the people a sense of their cultural identity'. Lusia exhorted the pastors to unite with him in his efforts to stamp out the influence of Samoan missionaries. Since he was also fluent in the Gilbertese language he may also have sought the support of the Gilbert Islands pastors, reminding them of existing parallels between their respective situations.

Initial reaction amongst the Ellice Islands pastors and people to Lusia's campaign was on the whole non-committal. His plea, clearly aimed at discrediting the work of the Samoan missionaries, nevertheless created uncertainty amongst many of the pastors. They knew that they were all products of the Samoan Church system and, at one time or another, had contributed in perpetuating it. Furthermore, Lusia was working outside the Ellice Islands which meant that the pastors working in the country would have to bear the responsibility of confronting the Samoan missionaries and the Samoan Church with the demands for an independent Church. Understandably, therefore, the majority of the pastors were reluctant to give open support in fear of losing their office and status in the Church, although it was generally felt that many of them shared Lusia's discontentment.

The campaign seemed destined to fail were it not for the active support of two prominent pastors: Lauti (Funafuti) and Kaua (Vaitupu). Both had served as missionaries, the former in New Guinea (1918-20; 1922-26) and the latter as a school teacher in the southern Gilberts (Abaiang, 1930-39). On their return to their respective homeislands, they began to use the Ellice Islands language in worship and religious instruction. Risking disciplinary action by the Samoan Church as well as being frowned upon by fellow Ellice Islands pastors, the two stressed the importance of worshipping God in their native language and began to translate existing Church literature from the Samoan language. Although these translations were never printed for wider circulation, they aroused considerable interest amongst members

4 Lusia to Ellice Islands pastors, Rongorongo 15 August 1924. Ell.Is. Church, IL.
of their congregations. News of this unprecedented act soon spread throughout the Ellice Islands stimulating informal debate as to the merits of the exercise.

By 1945, the campaign had gained the support of some civil servants who were also prominent in Church affairs. The influence of secular education from government schools in Samoa, Fiji and the southern Gilberts, together with their daily involvement in the political administration of their colony made them sympathetic to the efforts to check the influence of Samoan missionaries and the call for their eventual deportation. Their educational background and governmental experiences not only provided them with a wider understanding of the political implications of the issues embedded in the leaders' campaign, but also gave them respectability both in the Church and the community.

To encourage the support of such men, the leaders stressed that the struggle for Church autonomy was also a struggle to gain political freedom, to possess the right to decide their own affairs. They emphasised the need of the movement for educated men to interpret and explain the political and social implications of the struggle. Civil servants were attracted by such claims. They saw in the campaign a chance not only to further their social standing but also an opportunity to promote their own dream of an independent political state for the Ellice Islands.

The most prominent civil servant supporter was Latasi, who in his capacity as adviser on native affairs, used his governmental trips around the islands to persuade Ellice Island pastors to join the movement. It is held that he, more than any other civil servant, sought to have the pastors united; and he encouraged them to confront the Samoan Church with the issue during the annual General Assembly of the Ellice Islands Church. Latasi viewed such a gathering as the ideal forum to raise the subject since all Samoan missionaries,

7 Latasi to Lusia and others, Funafuti 16 July 1945. Ell.Is. Church, OD.
Ellice Islands pastors and elected deacons from each island of the group would be present.

The leaders heeded Latasi's advice and decided to bring up the matter during the 1947 Assembly only to discover that, on the day they were hoping to air the issue under the scheduled agenda item 'General Business', nine of the seventeen Ellice Islands pastors present had second thoughts regarding the appropriateness of the proposed action. Last minute deliberations amongst the pastors resulted in differences of opinion which effectively ruined any chance of the issue being heard. Samoan missionaries were said to have been responsible for the division amongst the Ellice Islands pastors by openly declaring that ill feeling between the two groups would occur if the issue was voiced in the Assembly. Moreover, they warned the Ellice Islands pastors that both the Samoan Church and the Board of Directors in London would not tolerate their proposals to the extent that the Ellice Islands Church would be disowned by the two governing bodies if the leaders persisted in their demand for change. There was some truth in the first claim. The Samoan missionaries were aware of the intention of the Ellice Islands pastors to use the 1947 Assembly as the platform to launch their official condemnation of the Samoan Church and request for Church autonomy. The Samoans, therefore, came to the meeting determined to foil the proposed move by splitting the solidarity of the pastors. As a group, the Samoans were resolute that they should safeguard their integrity and displayed an uncompromising attitude in their efforts to counter what they perceived as a deliberate attempt by the Ellice Islands pastors to undermine their work, status and position in the Church hierarchy. Their latter claim, however, was a form of emotional blackmail aimed at creating panic and instilling fear and hopefully delaying what perhaps they considered was an inevitable trend in Church development.

The leaders were deeply affected by the division amongst the pastors which not only hindered any further progress in their request for Church autonomy, but also tarnished their claim as suitable successors to leadership of the Church in its new framework. The 1947 debacle had exposed not just their unwillingness to offer a balanced thesis on the desirability of Church autonomy for the Ellice Islanders,
but also their tendency to underestimate the reaction of the Samoan missionaries. Up to the 1947 Assembly, the leaders at no time acknowledged any positive contribution Samoan missionaries had made. The emphasis of their arguments was on the negative effects of the Samoan missionaries' work. Furthermore, the leaders indulged in character assassination which clouded the logic of their arguments. Rationalism it would seem gave way to emotionalism.

The Samoan missionaries exploited this confusion. Their claim that tension would erupt if the issue was aired reflected their concern at the biased way their work had been evaluated. They therefore appealed to Ellice Islands pastors not yet fully committed to the cause to refrain, reminding them of the many years they had worked together in the Church. It was a powerful argument made more convincing by their willingness to admit their own short-comings. By not denying the wrongs they had done while at the same time emphasising the unjust way their work had been assessed, the Samoan missionaries succeeded in convincing the more conservative pastors and the majority of the people that an autonomous Church for the Ellice Islands should not be established out of antagonism towards the Samoans, but out of love for God and his Church. It was a carefully constructed statement, intended partly to disrupt the unity of the pastors and partly to ensure that the integrity of their work was preserved, even if it was only in part. That it succeeded exposed the ineptitude of the leaders to consider on the one hand what role Samoan missionaries would play in the transitional period, and on the other hand the adverse effects Church autonomy would have at the time on the few qualified administrative personnel the Church had to operate its bureaucracy.

The leaders were wiser after the events of 1947. They accepted the futility of concentrating their campaign on discrediting the work of Samoan missionaries. Consequently, confrontation with the Samoan Church was postponed for the next five years. During this period, efforts were made to repair their damaged reputation and consolidate their position. In 1948, a more concerted attempt to enumerate the reasons for Church autonomy and explain these with clarity was launched. Emphasis was not placed on the merits of Church autonomy. The leaders exhibited astuteness by citing the need of the Samoan people themselves
to control their Church as the basis for the desire of the Ellice Islands people to attain the same status. They raised the question: 'If the Samoans desired and gained Church autonomy, why should the Ellice Islanders not be granted the same privilege?' In claiming Church autonomy as a right for the Ellice Islanders, the leaders struck a convincing note in the heart of all church members. The optimism generated by such an assertion prevailed during the next four years culminating in 1952 when all the Ellice Islands pastors took a united stand and raised the issue for the first time in the Church Assembly.

As expected, it was firmly opposed by the Samoan missionaries. The ensuing discussions produced so much tension that the chairman, Stuart Craig (who led the delegation from Samoa), was forced to suspend any final decision. To calm the sensitive situation, he moved a motion (which the Assembly passed) proposing that Samoan missionaries should complete the term of their appointment then return to Samoa and their positions be filled by Ellice Islands pastors. The motion, though effectively guaranteeing the phasing out of Samoan missionaries, failed to place any restriction on the policy of the Samoan Church of sending Samoan missionaries to the Ellice Islands. Consequently, the Ellice Islands pastors were once more outmanoeuvered, this time by a resolution which in practical terms merely served notice of the repatriation of Samoan missionaries in the future but with no exact date in mind.

The Ellice Islands pastors accepted this piecemeal type of solution convinced perhaps that something was better than nothing. For the majority of them, the result was probably satisfactory in view of the anticipated opposition from the Samoan missionaries. Official recognition of their case had at last been given and this was a positive step towards the attainment of their aspired goal. The result confirmed their optimism and stimulated a persistent desire to solve the practical problems associated with Church autonomy. Uppermost in their minds was the concern that the Ellice Islands Church lacked qualified administrators. It was therefore necessary to send its promising students to government and theological schools other than

8 Ellice Islands Church Assembly Minutes, Funafuti 14 August 1952.
those in Samoa.

Until the emergence of such men, the Ellice Islands pastors concentrated their efforts on acquiring a resident European missionary from the Board in London. His presence in the Ellice Islands would automatically end the inferior position the Ellice Islands Church occupied of being a district in relation to the Samoan Church. This realisation was not new. Glimpses of the aspired freedom had been briefly experienced during the one year term of its first resident missionary, Henry Bond James, in 1913. The premature termination of his appointment, owing to the infrequency of inter-island transport and financial difficulties besetting the LMS during the years of the First World War resulted in the Ellice Islands Church becoming once more an appendage of the Samoan Church in 1914. Requests for another resident missionary had been renewed after the war, but the LMS was unmoved claiming that the situation had not improved sufficiently to warrant another appointment. By 1950, however, the colonial government had improved inter-island transport to the extent that inter-island communication was no longer a problem. Furthermore, $10,000 had been collected by the Ellice Islands Church as an endowment from which a resident missionary could be financed. These developments encouraged the pastors to present their request again in 1953. During the Assembly of 1954, they were informed by the delegation from the Samoan Church that the Board had approved in principle their request, but as no one was available, an immediate appointment was not possible.

It was to be another four years before a candidate was found. The Reverend B. Ranford, who accepted the office in 1957, was appointed president of the Ellice Islands Church shortly after his arrival in 1958, a move which effectively severed the close ties between the Ellice Islands Church and the Samoan Church. The change was confirmed when the Assembly of 1959 approved a letter of gratitude to be forwarded to the Fono Tele acknowledging the contribution and support of the Samoan Church to the development of the Ellice Islands Church. Ranford became thus the direct link between the Ellice Islands Church and the Board of Directors in London.

The new status of the Ellice Islands Church did not necessarily lead to an immediate expulsion of Samoan missionaries. The four who
at the time were working in the group were allowed to remain till their terms of appointment expired. This lenient attitude of the pastors was perhaps due to the mellowing effect time has had on their views. On the other hand, the presence of Samoan missionaries was no longer perceived as a threat and a stumbling block, since matters that were once channelled to London through the Samoan Church were now communicated through their resident European missionary. Free at last from the yoke of the Samoan Church and having a resident missionary of their own, the pastors felt that it was only a matter of time before all traces of Samoan influence would be erased from the Ellice Islands. But Ranford's policy soon left them under no illusion as to the immensity of the task.

From the outset Ranford was concerned with the total absence of any written or printed material in the Ellice Islands language, and regarded therefore the need for some as his first priority. To undertake this task, a committee, consisting of himself, Fiapati (a government interpreter) and Seve (the pastor of Funafuti) was set up in 1959. During the next three years, the committee succeeded in compiling a number of booklets such as 'Order for the service of Holy Communion', 'Order for a Burial Service', 'Order for the service of receiving new Church members', a Church magazine, Le Lama (The Torch), and a short hymnary which were all printed and circulated by the end of 1962. The printed materials generated considerable interest and demands for copies exceeded the expectation of the committee. For instance, the 1,500 copies of Le Lama were sold out within a few days of their arrival from Samoa; and the hymnary (500 of them) catered for the needs of only two islands. Encouraged by this instant success, the committee next turned its attention to the task of translating the Bible.

The awesomeness of the project necessitated the enlargement of the committee's membership and several more pastors were recruited. The work began in 1963 with the Gospel of St Mark. But progress was slow. The pastors found it difficult to devote all their time to the work when they were at the same time expected to attend to their

---

9 Ellice Islands Church Records, 12 December 1962.
parish responsibilities. Moreover, none of them had received any proper training for the work. Thus, after fifteen years, only the New Testament was completed. But even this would have taken longer if it were not for the emergence in the late 1960s of two able qualified church leaders who helped complete the project and steered the Church towards full independence in 1969.

The Rev. Iosia Taomia and the Reverend Morikao Kaua were the first Ellice Islands pastors to graduate from a theological school other than Malua. Both attended the Congregational Theological College, Auckland, New Zealand, and graduated from there in 1963 and 1968 respectively. On their return, both became vital members of the translation committee. But the Ellice Islands Church also recognised the administrative skills both men possessed. In an unprecedented move, the 1964 Assembly appointed Taomia as its full time secretary. The Church valued Taomia's expertise and academic standing and regarded these as assets for the development of the Church. Consequently, Taomia became the official representative and spokesman of the Ellice Islands Church in regional Church organisations, such as the Pacific Council of Churches, to which the Ellice Islands Church was affiliated in 1966. This regional body recognised his administrative talents and appointed him secretary of the Editorial Board of the Pacific Christian Education Curriculum in 1966. The colonial administration respected Taomia's leadership qualities and appointed him member of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Advisory Council in 1968.

Kaua's contribution was in the area of finance. He showed initiative by attending night schools in New Zealand to improve his knowledge of accountancy. On his return, the Ellice Islands Church rewarded his efforts by appointing him as its first full time treasurer. Although he was not often in the limelight as was Taomia, he was reputed to have been an efficient and outstanding treasurer. The healthy state of the Church's finance in the 1960s and 1970s was believed to have largely been the result of his work. 10

The training both men received in New Zealand stood them in good grounds amongst the educated expatriates in government circles. Their exposure to the sophisticated Western world helped them to interpret and explain to their people the complexities of theological notions and how these affected the way Ellice Islanders understood the Church and society. At the height of constitutional discussions for the Church during the 1967 and 1968 Assemblies, both offered constructive insights concerning the new framework and exhorted the Assemblies to accept the legacy of the work done by Samoan missionaries. As one of them put it: 'The role of the Ellice Islands Church depends on how it sees the future, not the past'.

The Assembly of 1968 appreciated this challenge and its decision to adopt the new constitution, which made it an autonomous Church in 1969, was a reflection of the confidence it had in its emerging leaders. This confidence was shown in its decision to elect Iosia Taomia as its first indigenous chairman.

Church autonomy was in reality a constitutional rather than a cultural victory. The psychological transformation the pastors envisaged to accompany the attainment of this new status did not eventuate. They discovered that much of their own (and of people generally) thought and behavioural patterns were deeply entrenched in the teachings of Samoan missionaries; and the absence of Samoan missionaries merely paved the way for them to exhibit how thoroughly they had been Samoanised. Hopes of Church autonomy rekindling cultural awareness and identity were thwarted by the knowledge that they as a group were the most effective carriers of the Samoan influence they were determined to eliminate. Their paradoxical position thus ensured the survival of Samoan influence.

During the 1970s, the legacy of the work by Samoan missionaries was revived by the pastors as they sought to safeguard the Church from

---


12 Ellice Islands Church Minutes, Funafuti 18 August 1969.
the threat of social and political changes which were sweeping the
country at the time. Development in education and increasing contact
with the outside world exposed Ellice Islanders to new ideas and
choices. Church members who had experienced some facets of these
developments began to question the ability of the pastors to cope with
the demands of a changing world. For the Church represented an out
of date way of life, exemplified in the conservative outlook of the
pastors. They challenged the pastors to re-examine their theological
perceptions and make these more relevant to the needs of the people.
Many were dissatisfied with the 'hell-fire' theological approach of
the pastors and condemned their emphasis on the outward display of
morality.

The pastors responded by emphasising the spiritual role of
the Church and the sacredness of their position. But the interpretation
they offered on these points revealed not only their reluctance to
relinquish what they had learned from the Samoan missionaries, but
also their inability to cope with the implications of modern changes.
Thus, they frowned upon the call for interpretation and regarded this
as a threat to their position and status. The irony in the controversy
was the display by Ellice Islands pastors of the same uncompromising
attitude they abhorred in the Samoan missionaries when this latter
group used it in their defence during the confrontation of 1947.

The pastors maintained that the teachings of the Church and
their authority were beyond reproach; and regarded those who attempted
to undermine these as enemies of the Church, indoctrinated by the
secular influences of social and political changes. Elements of Church
life inherited from Samoan missionaries such as the structure of the
liturgy, tune and style of presentation of hymns, morning and evening
family devotions, compulsory attendance at all Church activities and
respect at all times for the pastor and his decisions were upheld as
essential ingredients of religious observance and Christian piety.
The use of the Samoan language continued, partly out of expediency
since the Ellice Islands had no written Old Testament, and partly
because the pastors now regarded the Samoan language as a symbol of
their separateness from the people, thus reinforcing their sense of
superiority. In effect, the pastors had very little choice but to
revive elements of the fa'akerisiano to combat the challenge of secularism for these were the things they knew best. In so doing, they helped secure the continuation and survival of Samoan influence in the Ellice Islands.

THE dilemma of the pastors in the Ellice Islands was also experienced by the indigenous leaders of the Gilbert Islands Church, the Niuean Church and to a lesser extent the Papua New Guinea Church. They too were trapped by the conventions of the Samoan Church. To their dismay, they discovered that a considerable part of their character and personal integrity was shaped and determined by the ethics of the fa'akerisiano. Moves therefore to erase Samoan influence, though sincere, seem absurd considering the profound effect this has had on their Christian upbringing. The call for Church autonomy was a convenient means to conceal from the people their unwillingness to surrender what they have inherited from the Samoan missionaries. Consequently, the changes which occurred after 1930 were basically structural changes. New constitutions safeguarded their independent status and guided the practical operation of their Church bureaucracies. But the dynamics which governed and determined their theological interpretation and outlook remained predominantly Samoan. The indigenous Church leaders merely took over the authoritarian position vacated by Samoan missionaries and exploited it to their own advantage.

Samoan missionaries were agents of not only the London Missionary Society, but also of Samoan culture. Although evangelisation of the south west Pacific was their primary goal, in practical terms, this often meant a display of loyalty to the dynamics of their fa'a-samoa. Their acceptance of the call to 'save souls' often meant an opportunity to display and promote a brand of Samoan spiritual imperialism. The process of salvation was explained and justified in Samoan terms to produce a fa'akerisiano which they believed was relevant for all non-Samoans. The context of fa'a-samoa both in its principles and expectations, especially in relation to status and privileges eventually dictate the role and behaviour of Samoan missionaries. This is not to devalue the sincerity of those who took up such a vocation, but it was a sincerity which was understood primarily in
Samoan terms. From the evidence discussed it is clear that Samoan missionaries regarded the places where they worked and the people of those places as extensions of their homeland church, of their culture, of their arrogance. Christianity it would appear, provided the ideal framework to promote social, cultural and political changes all in the name of religion. Their emergence as a powerful force in the re-shaping of lives and destinies threaten not only the indigenous peoples of the places they worked, but also of their European mentors who employed them.

The fa'akerisiano was a frightening cultural interpretation of Christianity because of its emphasis on rank and status and the absence of proper monitoring and accountability. In essence, the Samoan missionaries armed themselves with the fa'a-samoa on the one hand and the fa'akerisiano on the other, a Samoan replica of what European missionaries brought and taught to them, Christianity and western civilization. In the end therefore perhaps there was not any real choice but to be a good missionary on Samoan terms. Perhaps over a period of time they became convinced that this was the only authentic choice. In the end, they became mere agents of the Samoan Church and the Samoan culture, imposing their particular brand of spiritual colonialism all in the name God and progress.
APPENDIX A

A CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF IMPORTANT EVENTS RELATING TO THE WORK OF SAMOAN MISSIONARIES

18 July 1830  First LMS European missionaries arrived in Samoa: John Williams and Charles Barff. Also in the party were eight Polynesian 'teachers' from the Society Islands and Rarotonga as well as a Samoan chief named Vausea

June 1835  First Methodist European missionary, Peter Turner, arrived in Samoa (Manono)

September 1835  First LMS European resident missionaries arrived in Samoa from the Society Islands: George Platt and Samuel Wilson

June 1836  First group of LMS missionaries from England arrived in Samoa

September 1836  Formation of eight Church districts in Samoa

October 1836  Formation of the Samoan District Committee

1837  First LMS Church established in Samoa

1838  Training for Samoan 'teachers' commenced at Manono

1839  Printing press established

First edition of the Sulu Samoa printed

Methodist Mission disbanded, result of agreement reached with the LMS in London

1839-41  Tutuila revival

12 November 1839  First Samoan missionaries placed on the island of Rotuma: Sa'u and Lei'ataua

18 November 1839  First Samoan missionaries to the New Hebrides placed on the island of Tanna: Lalolagi, Mose and Salamea

May 1840  First Samoan missionaries placed on the islands of Aniwa and Erromango (New Hebrides)

29 March 1841  First Samoan missionaries placed on the island of Futuna: Apela and Samuel

First Samoan missionaries placed on the island of Anatom

9 April 1841  First Samoan missionaries placed on the Loyalty Islands (Mare): Tataio and Taniela
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>Samoan missionaries in Aniwa and Erromango removed; lives threatened, station closed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First Samoan missionary placed on Phoenix Islands: Taniela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First Samoan missionaries placed on New Caledonia: Taniela, Pagisa, Lasoalo and Noa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1843</td>
<td>Tanna station closed. Outbreak of dysentery. Samoan missionaries taken back to Samoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>Samoan missionaries on Futuna killed: blamed for disease. Station abandoned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1844</td>
<td>Samoan missionary seminary at Malua opened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>Roman Catholic mission established in Samoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1845</td>
<td>Tanna station reopened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1845</td>
<td>Aniwa station reopened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1845</td>
<td>Erromomango station reopened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>First Samoan missionaries placed on Sandwich Island (Efate): Mose, Sipi, Ta'avili and Setefano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rotuma station abandoned to the Wesleyans; Samoan missionaries taken back to Samoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tanna station closed again. Six of the Samoan missionaries fled to Anatom: remaining one killed. Blamed for the outbreak of disease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1846</td>
<td>Samoan missionaries on Anatom removed, lives threatened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>Peniamina (a Niuean living in Samoa) placed on Niue to introduce Christianity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1847</td>
<td>Tanna station reopened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1849</td>
<td>First Samoan missionary placed on Niue: Paulo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1850</td>
<td>New Testament in the Samoan language completed and published</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>The Tutuila revolt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>Tanna station abandoned, outbreak of smallpox epidemic. Three Samoan missionaries died</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1852</td>
<td>First students from the New Hebrides accepted in Malua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>Futuna station closed: epidemic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>Futuna station reopened</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1854

Samoan villages to pay allowances for their pastors

1856
May

First students from Niue accepted at Malua

1857

Methodist Mission reopened in Samoa

1860

Samoan Mission introduced a system whereby contributions by villages and individuals (exceeding tenpence) were read out during May meetings

First edition of the Samoan Bible completed

Faiva, a Fakaofoan living in Samoa, introduced Christianity to the Tokelau Islands

Pratt ordained his six Samoan teachers in Savai'i as a trial run

1861

First Samoan missionary placed in the Tokelau Islands: Ameperosa

First Niuean missionary placed in the Tokelau Islands: Maka

Elekana (a native of Manihiki, northern Cook Islands) introduced Christianity to the Ellice Islands (Nukulaelae and Funafuti)

First European resident missionary for Niue: W.G. Lawes

1864

First European resident missionary for the Loyalty Islands: S. Ella

1865

First Samoan missionaries placed in the Ellice Islands: Ioane, Matatia and Peni

1866

First Samoan missionary to Nui (Ellice Islands): Kirisome

1870

First Samoan missionaries to Niutao (Ellice Islands): Tapu and Sione

First Samoan missionaries placed in the southern Gilbert Islands: Kirisome (Tamana), Sumeo (Onotoa) and Elisaia (Beru).

1871

LMS Mission commenced in New Guinea

First Samoan missionary placed on Arorae (southern Gilberts)

1872

First students from the Ellice Islands and Tokelau accepted at Malua

First Samoan missionary to Nanumea (Ellice Islands): Tuiloua
25 November 1873  First group of Cook Islands missionaries placed in New Guinea: Ruatoka, Rau, Piri, Adamu, Anederea and Heneri

May 1875  The Samoan Church **Fono Tele** established
  Samoan pastors gained ordination status

1876  First Samoan missionary placed in Fiji: Mose
  First group of Niuean missionaries placed in New Guinea

1878  First students from the Gilbert Islands accepted at Malua

1883  First Samoan missionaries placed in New Guinea: Sumeo and Timoteo

6 October 1888  Catholic priests landed in southern Gilberts, Nikunau

1890  Papauta Girls High School opened in Samoa

1892  Britain declared protectorates over the Gilbert and Ellice Islands

1893  Laymen accepted as members of the **Fono Tele**

1894  The SDC appointed A.E. Hunt to work in New Guinea and act as mediator between the Samoan missionaries and the PDC

1898  PDC informed the SDC that the English language was required by the Colonial government to be taught in all church schools

1899  Catholic priests landed in the Ellice Islands, Funafuti

1900  First Samoan missionary to Saipen

1900  First European resident missionary for the southern Gilberts: W.E. Coward

1902  Missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints landed in the Tokelau Islands, Fakaofo

1904  SDC reduced term of appointment for Samoan missionaries in New Guinea from ten to eight years before furlough

1906  Elder's Council ('Au Toaina) of the **Fono Tele** established

1912  First Samoan missionaries sent to German New Guinea: Kurene and Teromo Ilaoa
  PDC introduces allowances for the children of Samoan missionaries
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>First European resident missionary for the Ellice Islands: Bond James</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>PDC began to reduce the number of Samoan missionaries employed in New Guinea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>GIDC began to reduce the number of Samoan missionaries employed in the southern Gilberts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Moves for Church autonomy by Samoan LMS leaders began</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>GIDC introduces allowances for the children of Samoan missionaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>New constitution of the Samoan Church ratified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>Samoan Church gained full independence from the IMS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B

LIST OF SAMOAN MISSIONARIES 1839-1930

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Appointments and Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Aita'oto</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Auauna</td>
<td>appt. N.G. (Moru) 1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Afaaso</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Afato</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Alamanu'a</td>
<td>appt. N.Heb. 1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Alefaio (Foaluga)</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Alefaio (Nanumea)</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1901; ord. 16 October 1905; appt. N.G. (Kwato) 1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Alefaio</td>
<td>appt. sthn Gil. (Beru) 1900 as schoolmaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Alesana A.</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Alesana E.</td>
<td>appt. Ell.Is. 1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Alesana</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1898; grad. 1902; appt. N.G. 1902 (Vatorata). Wife Vai'ese died Port Moresby, December 1902. Remarried 1903 to Voaita, d.o. Iosefa (Pastor of Laulii'i village, Upolu). Returned to N.G. (Fife Bay) 1904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Ameperosa</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1855; grad. 1859; appt. Tokelau 1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Amosa</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1844; grad. 1849; appt. Anatom (Epece) 1849; dep. 1857; appt. Niue 1857 (Hakupu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Aneone</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Anipale</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1899; grad. 1902; appt. pastor of Samanea (Apia Dst) 1903; appt. N.G. 1904; d. 1905 (malaria), wife Siata returned to Samoa 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Apaisa</td>
<td>appt. Anatom 1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Apela (Leone, Tutuila)</td>
<td>appt. Futuna 29 March 1841; d. 1843 (violence). Unmarried</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Apelu</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1865; grad. 1869; appt. sthn Gil. 1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Apelu (A'ana Dst)</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1898; grad. 1902; appt. N.W.O. 1902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Apelu</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1894; grad. 1898; ord. 1898 (Malua); appt. N.G. (Kwato) 1899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Apelu</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1899; grad. 1892; appt. sthn Gil. (Onotoa) 1893; dep. Onotoa 1899 for Samoa (health reasons); returned to Onotoa 1900; d. 1902 (illness)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Apeteniko</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1882; grad. 1886; appt. Ell.Is. (Nanumanga) 1886; dep. Nanumanga for Samoa 1886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Apineru (Falealili Dst)</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1901; grad. 1904; ord. 16 October 1905 (Malua); appt. N.G. (Vatorata) 1906; Daru, 1909; d. 1911. Wife Tasesa returned to Samoa 1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Apisai</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1914; grad. 1918; appt. N.G. (Moru) 1918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Apolo (Tutuila)</td>
<td>appt. Tanna 1841; Anatom 1842-45; dep. for Samoa 1846; returned to Annatom 1854; d. 1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Apolo</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1850; grad. 1853; appt. Lifu 1854; dep. Lifu 1860; appt. Uvea 1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Areli</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1899; grad. 1892; ord. 11 June 1893 (Apu); appt. N.G. (Kwato) 1853; d. 1896 (Kwato) brain haemorrhage. Wife Vaega</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Asafo</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Asera</td>
<td>Kwato (N.G.); sent home 1909 (illness - consumption)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Aso</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1890; grad. 1895; appt. N.G. 1894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Asotasi</td>
<td>appt. Ell.Is. (Nanumanga) 1901; appt. N.G. (Kwato) 1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Atamu (Adamu)</td>
<td>b. Manono; appt. Tanna 1840; Aniwa 1840-45; Tanna 1845; returned to Samoa 1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Avia</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1903; grad. 1906; appt. N.G. (Duabo-Samarrai) 1907; left for furlough (Samoa) 1917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Aketi</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Efaraimo</td>
<td>appt. sthn Gil. (Onotoa) 1889; left for Samoa 1899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Efaraimo (Itu-o-tane Dst)</td>
<td>appt. sthn Gil. (Tamana) 1902 to replace Tasesa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Ekeroma V.</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Eleasaro</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1892; grad. 1895; appt. N.G. (Milne Bay) 1896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Elia</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1850; grad. 1853; appt. N. Heb. (Erromango) 1854-57; Anatom 1857-58; appt. Niue 1859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Elia</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1883; grad. 1886; appt. sthn Gil. (Nikunau) 1887; left for Samoa 1897 (furlough)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Elia</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Eliapo</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Elisaia</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1870; grad. 1873; appt. sthn Gil. (Tamana) 1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Elisara (Moe)</td>
<td>served in the villages of Toapaipai, Lealatele and Sasina before being appointed to the Ellice Is (Nukufetau) 1903 to replace Laupepa. Returned to Samoa 1910 (illness); d. 1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Elise</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Emosi (Itu-o-tane Dst)</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1875; grad. 1878; appt. Ell.Is. (Nanumea) 1879; left for furlough (Samoa) 1888; returned to Nanumea 1889; left for Samoa 1895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Enari</td>
<td>appt. N.G. d. 1891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Enari</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Enosa (Fa'asaleleaga Dst)</td>
<td>appt. sthn Gil. (Arorae) 1902; reappt. Onotoa 1909. Wife Mele, d.o. Simona (Samoaan missionary at Onotoa 1874)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Enere</td>
<td>s.o. Kirisome (Samoaan missionary at Nui 1865); ent. Malua 1870; grad. 1873; appt. sthn Gil. (Tamana) 1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Eneri</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1885; grad. 1888; appt. N.G. (Morobe) 1889; left for Samoa (furlough) 1896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Esekielu I. (Manu'a Dst)</td>
<td>Lay preacher under Ta'unga. Ent. Malua 1862; appt. Ell.Is. (Nukulaelae) 1870; left for Samoa (furlough) 1880; returned to Nukulaelae 1881; resigned 1888 (ill-ness); d. 4 March 1901 (Manu'a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name (District)</td>
<td>Appointment Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Esekielu (A'ana Dst)</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Esia</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1870; appt. sthn Gil. (Beru) 1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Etuale</td>
<td>appt. Tokelau 1861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Iafeta</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1890; grad. 1895; appt. Ell. Is. (Nanumanga) 1895; removed 1899, due to wife's indiscretion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Iakopo</td>
<td>appt. Rotuma 1840; reappt. Mare 1845; returned to Samoa 1846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Iakopo</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1890; grad. 1893; appt. sthn Gil. (Nikunau) 1893; returned to Samoa 1901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Iakopo</td>
<td>appt. N.G. (Delena) 1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Iati</td>
<td>appt. Ell.Is.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Ie'u</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1899; grad. 1902; ord. 11 October 1903 Malua; appt. N.G. (Darnley Is.) 1904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Ieremia</td>
<td>appt. N.G. (Iokea) 1906. Wife Tautu d. August 1908, remarried Pesua'ega (Iopu's widow) 1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Ieremia A. (Itu-o-tane Dst)</td>
<td>appt. sthn Gil. (Beru) 1902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Ieremia</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1876; grad. 1879; appt. Ell.Is. (Vaitupu) 1880; retired 1895; reappt. Nanumea 1899; retired to Samoa 1901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Ieremia</td>
<td>appt. Ell.Is. (Niutao) 1890; left for Samoa 1892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Ierupa'ala</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1892; grad. 1895; appt. N.G. (Morab) 1896; left for Samoa (furlough) 1906; returned to N.G. (Delena) 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Ierupa'ala</td>
<td>appt. sthn Gil. (Beru) 1897; removed from Beru by Marriott 1898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Iese</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1905; grad. 1908; appt. N.G. (Delena) 1909; returned to Samoa 1910, wife Siatigi died while giving birth to twins, both died; returned to N.G. with new wife 1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Ioane</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1868; grad. 1872; appt. Ell. Is. (Vaitupu) 1873); removed for trading 1878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Ioane</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1901</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
71 Ioane

72 Ioane

73 Ioane

74 Ioka

75 Iona (Palefa)

76 Ionatana

77 Iopu

78 Iopu

79 Iosa

80 Iosefa

81 Iosefa (A'ana Dst)

82 Iosefa

83 Iosefatu (also known as Lilo)

84 Iosia

85 Iosia

86 Iosia (Nukufetau)

87 Iosia
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Iosua</td>
<td>appt. sthn Gil. (Nikunau) 1901 to replace Iakopo; wife, Sivale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>Iosua</td>
<td>appt. N.G. (Delena) 1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>Iotamo</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1888; grad. 1891; appt. N.G. (Erupe, Torres St) 1892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>Iupell</td>
<td>appt. sthn Gil. (Beru) 1896; wife, Sera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>Juliano</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1896; grad. 1899; appt. sthn Gil. (Beru) 1900; reappt. Onotoa 1902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Iuta</td>
<td>appt. sthn Gil. (Beru) 1897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Isa'aka</td>
<td>appt. New Cal. 1854; left for Samoa 1857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>Isaia</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1870; grad. 1873; appt. sthn Gil. (Beru) 1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Isaia</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1888; grad. 1891; appt. N.G. (Mabuiag) 1892; wife Seruia; d. 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Isaia</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1885; grad. 1888; appt. Ell. Is. (Nukulaelae) 1899; removed 1893 (incompetent); reappt. sthn Gil. (Beru) 1894; resigned and returned to Samoa 1897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>Isaia (Fagaloa, Apia Dst)</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1890; grad. 1894; ord. 24 April 1895, Malua; appt. Ell. Is. (Nukulaelae) 1895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>Isaia T. (Fa'asaleleaga Dst)</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1899; grad. 1902; ord. 11 October 1903; appt. N.G. (Delena) 1904; left for Samoa 1910 (furlough)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Isaia I.</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1905; grad. 1908; appt. N.G. (Darnley Is.) 1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Isaia</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1925; grad. 1928; appt. N.G. (Moru) 1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>Isara</td>
<td>appt. Tokelau 1861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>Opetaia</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1905; grad. 1900; appt. N.G. (Sumai, Fly River Dst) 1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>Ualesi (Falealili Dst)</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1901; grad. 1904; ord. 16 October 1905; appt. N.G. (Daru) 1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>Uati</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>Uele</td>
<td>ent. Malua 2 January 1891; grad. 1895; appt. Ell.Is. (Vaitupu) 1895 to replace Ieremia; reappt. sthn Gil. (Nikunau) 1898 to replace Elia; returned to Samoa 1902; d. 25 December 1903 Utuali'i village (Upolu). Wife, Marie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name and Location</td>
<td>Service Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Uele (Nukufetau)</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1895; grad. 1898; ord. 11 November 1898, Nukufetau; appt. N.G. (Fife Bay) 1899; transferred to Torres St (Darnley Is.) 1909; retired from mission 1915. Wife, Katalina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>Uele (Fa'asaleleaga Dst)</td>
<td>appt. Ell.Is. (Nui) 1903; returned to Samoa 1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>Uelese (A'ana Dst)</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1898; grad. 1901; appt. N.G. (Angas Is.) 1902; transferred to Torres St 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>Uele</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1895; returned to Samoa 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>Uinipareti</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1895; grad. 1898; appt. N.G. (Suau) 1899; d. 11 March 1901 (illness)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>Urima</td>
<td>appt. N.G. (Moru, Iokea Dst) 1909; returned to Samoa 1918, cripple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>Utulaelae</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1896; grad. 1899; appt. Quiros Is. 1900; reappt. Ell.Is. (Funafuti) 1902; transferred to Vaitupu 1903; returned to Samoa 1914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>Fa'agu</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>Fa'aaliga (Fa'asaleleaga Dst)</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1897; grad. 1901; married Case (Salea'aumua) 1898; appt. N.G. (Delena) 1902; d. 25 December 1907 Koboana (Delena)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>Fa'ese (Tutuila Dst)</td>
<td>appt. N.Heb. (Tanna) 1841; transferred Aniwa 1842; unmarried</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>Falema'a</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>Favelu (Fivelu)</td>
<td>appt. N.Heb. 1846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>Fa'asisila</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1914; grad. 1918; appt. N.G. 1918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>Fa'asi'u</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1890; grad. 1893; appt. N.G. (Morabi) 1893; transferred to Hisiu (Kabadi) 1894; d. 19 December 1917 Port Moresby hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>Fa'atasi K. (Malua Dst)</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1898; grad. 1901; appt. N.G. (Suau, Fife Bay) 1902; d. 31 May 1904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>Fa'atau</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>Fa'atoma</td>
<td>appt. sthn Gil. (Cnctoa) 1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>Fa'atonu</td>
<td>appt. Ell.Is. (Vaitupu) 1916</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
125 Fa'avae (Apia Dst) ent. Malua 1895; grad. 1898; ord. 24 October 1899, Malua; appt. N.G. (Port Moresby) 1899; transferred to Torres St (Darnley Is) 1909; left for Samoa (furlough) 1910. Wife, Salu

126 Fai'ai appt. N.G. 1916

127 Fau appt. N.G. 1907

128 Faoliu ent. Malua 1888; grad. 1891; appt. N.G. 1892

129 Fania ent. Malua 1895; grad. 1899; appt. N.G. (Saibai) 1900; wife Imele d. 9 June 1901; reappt. Maula (Fly River Dst) 1905

130 Faraimo appt. Ell.Is. 1920

131 Faraimo ent. Malua 1890; grad. 1893; appt. sthn Gil. (Onotoa) 1893; reappt. Arorae 1909

132 Fareni (Fa'asaleleaga Dst) ent. Malua 1899; grad. 1903; appt. N.G. (Delena) 1904

133 Fareti (Itu-o-tane Dst) ent. Malua 1895; grad. 1899; ord. 24 October 1899, Malua; appt. N.G. (Fly River Dst) 1899; transferred to Fife Bay 1900

134 Fasi ent. Malua 1907; grad. 1910; appt. N.G. (Fly River Dst) 1911

135 Fau'olo ent. Malua 1893; grad. 1806; appt. N.G. (Port Moresby, Bari village) 1897; dismissed 1903 (immorality); stayed on in Bari and returned to Samoa in 1914 to seek reinstatement

136 Fauvasa (Tutuila Dst) appt. N.Heb. 1840

137 Fale appt. N.G. 1897

138 Fale'ese (Tutuila) appt. N.Heb. (Tanna) 1841; transferred Aniwa 1842

139 Feata appt. N.G. 1895

140 Feliki (Apia Dst) ent. Malua 1901; grad. 1905; ord. 16 October 1905; appt. N.G. (Kwato) 1906; wife Felila d. 20 March 1906, Kwato (malaria); returned to Samoa 1906; reappt. N.G. (Daru) 1909

141 Feso ent. Malua 1912; grad. 1916; appt. N.G. (Daru) 1917; wife, Malo d. 26 March 1917, Ipisia (blackwater fever); returned to Samoa end of 1917
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>142</td>
<td>Fetui</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1902; grad. 1906; appt. N.G. (Daru) 1907; left for Samoa (furlough) 1918. Wife, Sepa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>Feu'u</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144</td>
<td>Piasau</td>
<td>appt. Ger.N.G. 1915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>Fiava'ai</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>Filemoni</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1884; transferred to Mita (Milne Bay) 1893; returned to Samoa 1900; d. November 1901, Saluafata (Upolu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>Fili</td>
<td>appt. N.Heb. 1845; d. June 1851, Mare (Loy.Is.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td>Fili</td>
<td>appt. New Cal. 1846; left for Samoa 1852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>Fila</td>
<td>appt. N.Heb. 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>Filipo</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1850; grad. 1853; appt. Futuna 1854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>Finau</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1887; grad. 1890; appt. N.G. (Murray Is., Torres St) 1892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>Fuafiva</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>Fua'au (Tutuila Dst)</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1900; grad. 1903; ord. 1904; appt. N.G. (Tokea) 1904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154</td>
<td>Fuata'i</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>Fuatau'ese</td>
<td>appt. N.Heb. Anatom 1841; returned to Samoa 1842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>Folau</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1861; grad. 1865; appt. Tokelau 1865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157</td>
<td>La'ilai'i</td>
<td>appt. sthn Gil. (Beru) 1912; dismissed 1920 (misbehaviour)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>Laofie</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1866; grad. 1870; appt. sthn Gil. (Nikunau) 1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>Lafi</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>Lagi</td>
<td>appt. Ger.N.G. (Borgu) 1915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>Lalolagi</td>
<td>appt. N.Heb. (Tanna) 1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>Laupepa</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1891; grad. 1895; appt. Ell.Is. (Nukufetau) 1895; left for Samoa 1903</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
163 Lasalo
appt. N.Heb. (Erromango) 1840; transferred to New Cal. 1841; murdered November 1842, Isle of Pines

164 Leupena (Tutuila Dst) ent. Malua 1893; grad. 1896; ord. Leone (Tutuila) 1897; appt. N.G. (Fife Bay, Tusellelei Dst) 1898; d. 15 May 1901

165 Levi (Tutuila Dst) ent. Malua 1893; grad. 1896; ord. Leone (Tutuila) 1897; appt. N.G. (Fly River Dst) 1898; left for Samoa (furlough) 1909; returned to N.G. (Darnley Is., Torres St) 1910

166 Lemuelu
ent. Malua 1898; grad. 1902; ord. 1902; appt. N.G. 1902

167 Lemuelu
ent. Malua 1869; grad. 1873; appt. sthn Gil. (Nikunau) 1874

168 Li'i
ent. Malua 1884; grad. 1888; appt. N.G. (Matapaila-Kabadi Dst) 1888; left for Samoa (furlough) 1900; returned to N.G. (Vatorata) 1901; retired 1908 (old age)

169 Liuvao
appt. sthn Gil. (Nikunau) 1894

170 Lilo
appt. sthn Gil. (Nikunau) 1878

171 Lilogo
ent. Malua 1890; grad. 1894; appt. sthn Gil. (Arorae) 1895

172 Livigisisitone
appt. N.G. 1890

173 Lolani
ent. Malua 1880; grad. 1883; ord. 1884; appt. Ell.Is. (Nukufetau) 1885; d. 1894 in Nukufetau, wife died two weeks later

174 Logologo
appt. N.G. 1910

175 Lei'ataua (Falefe'e Manono) appt. Rotuma 1839

176 Lealamanu'a
appt. Efate 1845

177 Lefau
appt. N.Heb. (Aniwa) 1848

178 Loma
ent. Malua 1895; grad. 1898; appt. Ell.Is. (Niutao) 1899; removed to sthn Gil. (Onotoa) 1900 due to wife's indiscretion; resigned 1911

179 Lonetona
appt. Tokelau 1884

180 Lu'ilu'i
appt. sthn Gil. (Tamana) 1880

181 Luteru
ent. Malua 1886; grad. 1889; appt. Ell.Is. (Nanumanga) 1889; d. 1894 (illness)
182 Luteru (A'ana Dst) b. Nofoali'i; ent. Malua 1890; grad. 1894; ord. 24 April 1895, Malua; appt. Ell.Is. (Niu Tao) 1895; d. 12 November 1902

183 Luteru T. ent. Malua 1892; grad. 1896; appt. N.G. (Ukaukana, Kabadi Dst) 1896; d. 14 November 1898 (Malaria)

184 Luteru (A'ana Dst) ent. Malua 1895; grad. 1898; ord. 24 October 1899, Malua; appt. N.G. (Port Moresby) 1899; wife, Fa'ato'a

185 Limoni (Rimoni) appt. sthn Gil. (Beru) 1911

186 Lima (Rima) appt. sthn Gil. 1901

187 Lusia (Rusia) appt. sthn Gil. (Beru) 1920; wife, Sunema

188 Ma'anaima ent. Malua 1887; grad. 1891; appt. N.G. (Bou, Milne Bay) 1892; wife, Eme d. 10 March 1904; transferred Iokea 1904; reappt. Duabo 1905; remarried Safua (d.o. Lupo, deacon of the Samoan church, Suva, Fiji) 21 October 1905; d. 23 July 1910

189 Maeli ent. Malua 1892; grad. 1806; appt. sthn Gil. (Onotoa) 1896; transferred Arorae 1909; reappt. Ocean Is. 1912

190 Maene (Falealili Dst) ent. Malua 1891; grad. 1896; ord. 23 October 1897, Malua; appt. N.G. (Ahioma, East Bay) 1898; wife, Vaiea; left for Samoa (furlough) 1907; d. 20 November 1907 on board the John Williams on way to Samoa. Vaiea worked on her own at Kwato, and returned to Samoa 1910 (illness)

191 Maina (Apia Dst) ent. Malua 1894; grad. 1898; appt. N.G. (Fly River Dst) 1898; left for Samoa (furlough) 1910

192 Mailei appt. N.Heb. 1854

193 Mafala b. Samauga, Faga'aoali'i; ent. Malua 1867; grad. 1870; appt. Tokelau (Fakaofo) 1871; suspended and returned to Samoa 1874 (adultery)

194 Melesi appt. N.G. 1892

195 Maluolefale appt. N.G. 1890

196 Mane appt. sthn Gilberts 1901; reappt. N.G. (Delena) 1907

197 Manu appt. Ell.Is. (Namumea) 1901; left for Samoa 1902 (quarreled with the people)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>198</td>
<td>Manulele</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>199</td>
<td>Mareko</td>
<td>appt. N.Heb. (Tanna) 1845; d. February 1850 (fever)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>Mata'ese</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1889; grad. 1893; ord. 11 June 1893; appt. N.G. (Killerton Is.) 1893; d. 1 May 1899, Killerton Is.; wife Filitusa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>Mataio</td>
<td>appt. Loy.Is. (Mare) 9 April 1841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>202</td>
<td>Mataio</td>
<td>appt. Phoenix Is. 1878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203</td>
<td>Mataio</td>
<td>appt. Ell.Is. (Vaitupu) 1916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>204</td>
<td>Mataio (Nui)</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1883; illness, studies suspended, returned to Nui; returned to complete course at Malua 1891; grad. 1893; appt. Amatuli (Tutuila) 1894; reappt. N.G. (Vatorata) 1897; transferred Bari (Port Moresby Dst) 1902; d. 6 March 1908, Port Moresby. Wife, Susana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>205</td>
<td>Matafanua</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1893; grad. 1896; appt. sthn Gil. (Nikunau) 1897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>Meauta</td>
<td>appt. Tokelau 1878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207</td>
<td>Mika</td>
<td>appt. N.Heb. 1845; reappt. Loy.Is. (Mare) 1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208</td>
<td>Mika</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209</td>
<td>Mika P.</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1902; grad. 1906; appt. N.G. 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210</td>
<td>Mikaio</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1876; grad. 1879; appt. Ell. Is. (Nukufetau) 1880; returned to Samoa 1884, little influence over the people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211</td>
<td>Moe T.</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1890; grad. 1893; appt. N.G. 1894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212</td>
<td>Moeloa</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213</td>
<td>Mose</td>
<td>b. Saleimoa; appt. N.Heb. (Tanna) 1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214</td>
<td>Mose (Fa'asaleleaga Dst)</td>
<td>appt. Efate 1845; transferred Toka 1859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>215</td>
<td>Mose (Apia Dst)</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1899; grad. 1902; appt. N.G. (Kalaigolo) 1902; returned to Samoa 1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>216</td>
<td>Mose</td>
<td>b. Malie (Upolu); ent. Malua 1898; grad. 1901; appt. Fiji (Levuka) 1901; d. 23 January 1904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Event Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>217</td>
<td>Mose</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1849; grad. 1852; appt. Niue 1852; taken back to Samoa 1854 (misbehaviour)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218</td>
<td>Mulifanua</td>
<td>appt. sthn Gil. (Onotoa) 1894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219</td>
<td>Munamuna</td>
<td>appt. N.Heb. 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220</td>
<td>Misifoa</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1921; grad. 1924; appt. N.G. (Urake) 1925; left for Samoa (furlough) 1934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221</td>
<td>Matatia</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1861; grad. 1865; appt. Ell.Is. (Funafuti) 1865; returned to Samoa 1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222</td>
<td>Matati'a</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1924; grad. 1927; appt. N.G. (Boku) 1924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223</td>
<td>Naisili</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1870; grad. 1873; appt. sthn Gil. (Beru) 1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224</td>
<td>Naite (Itu-o-tane Dst)</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1893; grad. 1896; ord. 23 October 1897, Malua; appt. N.G. (Kwato) 1898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225</td>
<td>Naiti</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1902; grad. 1905; appt. N.G. (Delena) 1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td>Naitupua</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1908; grad. 1911; appt. N.G. (Kapakapa) 1911; wife, Siavauli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227</td>
<td>Nakala (Nui)</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1894; grad. 1897; ord. 12 November 1898, Nui; appt. N.G. (Kapakapa) 1899; transferred Saroa, 1900; returned to Nui, 30 June 1909 (illness); d. 8 July 1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228</td>
<td>Ne'emia</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1889; grad. 1892; appt. N.G. (Torres St) 1892; transferred to Kabadi (Kobuana) 1894; reappt. Torres St 1898; transferred Boera 1900; d. 28 June 1900 (sudden illness)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229</td>
<td>Ne'emia</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1900; grad. 1903; appt. sthn Gil. (Onotoa) 1903; left for Samoa (furlough) 1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230</td>
<td>Ne'emaia</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231</td>
<td>Ne'emaia</td>
<td>appt. N.G. (Millport Harbour) 1906; wife, Solonaima d. 20 October 1907 (blackwater fever); returned to Samoa, December 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>232</td>
<td>Noru</td>
<td>appt. N.G. (Iokea) 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233</td>
<td>Nito</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1874; grad. 1877; appt. Vailoa village (Faletata) 1878; appt. Ell. Is.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
234 Niu (Niutao) 1884; returned to Samoa 1889 (illness); reappt. Luatuanu'u village (Upolu) 1889; d. 25 May 1898

235 Noa (Manono) appt. N. Heb. 1840; returned to Samoa 1845

236 Nusi ent. Malua 1899; grad. 1902; appt. sthn Gil. (Onotoa) 1902; resigned 1912 (blindness)

237 Nusipepa appt. N.G. 1907

238 Pa'apa'a ent. Malua 1914; grad. 1918; appt. N.G. 1918

239 Pao appt. N.G. 1913

240 Pao'o appt. Loy.Is. (Mare) 1841; transferred Lifu 1842; transferred back to Mare 1849; left for Samoa 1858

241 Paula ent. Malua 1849; grad. 1852; appt. Niue (Alofi) 1852; transferred to Tamahatava 1857; taken back to Samoa by G. Turner 1849, 'aged and inefficient'

242 Paulo (Faleasi'u, Malua Dst) ent. Malua 1844; grad. 1847; appt. Niue (Tamahamutalau) 1848; d. 1859

243 Paulo ent. Malua 1867; grad. 1870; appt. Ell.Is. (Vaitupu) 1870; returned to Samoa 1872

244 Paulo (Vaitupu) ent. Malua 1898; grad. 1901; appt. N.G. (Vatorata) 1902; left for Vaitupu (furlough) 1910; returned to N.G. (Kalaigolo) 1911

245 Paulo appt. Ell.Is. 1875

246 Pagisa (Pogisa) appt. N.Heb. (Tanna) 1840; reappt. New Cal. 1841

247 Panapa (Vaitupu) ent. Malua 1885; grad. 1888; appt. Tokelau (Fakaofo) 1889; left for Vaitupu (furlough) 1900; returned to Fakaofo 1901

248 Pania appt. Niue 1857

249 Peau (Nui) ent. Malua 1891; appt. assistant to Lawes (principal of Vatorata Theological School) N.G. 1893; expelled 1900 (immoral conduct); d. on board the John Williams 1 May 1900 (pneumonia); wife, Paia
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name (District)</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>250</td>
<td>Peika (Beika)</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>251</td>
<td>Peleasara</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1846; grad. 1849; appt. N.Heb. (Tanna) 1850; d. 1853 (smallpox)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>252</td>
<td>Peleseala</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1845; grad. 1848; appt. N. Heb. (Anatom) 1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>253</td>
<td>Peleti (Malua Dst)</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1896; grad. 1899; ord. 24 October 1899, Malua; appt. N.G. November 1899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>254</td>
<td>Peneueta</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>255</td>
<td>Peni V.</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1889; grad. 1892; ord. 11 June 1893, Apia; appt. N.G. November 1893; left for Samoa (furlough) 1908; returned to N.G. (Kwato) 1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>256</td>
<td>Peleti</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1898; grad. 1901; appt. sthn Gil. (Onotoa) 1902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>257</td>
<td>Peni</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1893; grad. 1896; appt. sthn Gil. (Nikunau) 1897; reappt. Ell.Is. (Punafuti) 1898; transferred back to sthn Gil. (Arorae) 1909. Wife, Sivaie'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>258</td>
<td>Peni</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1861; grad. 1864; appt. Ell. Is. (Vaitupu) 1865; returned 1870 (chest infection)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>259</td>
<td>Peni</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>260</td>
<td>Peniata (Manumanga)</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1894; grad. 1897; appt. N.G. (Bcu, Milne Bay) 1899; returned to Samoa 1917 (accused of trading practices)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>261</td>
<td>Penitala</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>262</td>
<td>Petaia F.</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1905; grad. 1908; appt. N.G. 1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>263</td>
<td>Petaia M.</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>264</td>
<td>Peteru (Falealili Dst)</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1893; grad. 1896; ord. 23 October 1897, Malua; appt. N.G. (Delena) 1898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>265</td>
<td>Petelo</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>266</td>
<td>Petelu</td>
<td>appt. N.Heb. (Tanna) 1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>267</td>
<td>Pita (Tutuila Dst)</td>
<td>appt. N.Heb. (Anatom) 1842; transferred to Tanna 1850; returned to Samoa 1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>268</td>
<td>Pita U.</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1914</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
269 Pitoi (Vaitupu)  ent. Malua 1893; grad. 1896; ord. 16 November 1898, Vaitupu; appt. N.G. (Kapakapa) 1898; d. 4 June 1906 (malaria)

270 Poloaiga (Apia Dst)  ent. Malua 1895; grad. 1898; ord. 24 October 1899, Malua; appt. N.G. (Vatorata) 1899; left for Samoa (furlough) 1908; returned to N.G. (Darnley Is.) 1909

271 Pomale (Pomare)  b. Pagopago, Tutuila; s.o. Mauga, high chief of Pagopago; appt. N.Heb. (Tanna) 1840

272 Pose  appt. N.G. 1920

273 Poto  appt. N. Heb. (Anatom) 1845

274 Pouniu  appt. N.G. 1902

275 Poutu  ent. Malua 1900; grad. 1903; appt. N.G. 1904

276 Puna  appt. N.G. 1918

277 Puni  ent. Malua 1918; grad. 1921; appt. N.G. 1922

278 Sao  ent. Malua 1917; grad. 1920; appt. N.G. 1921

279 Sa'u  appt. Rotuma 1839; removed to Samoa 1845 (mission abandoned, left to the Wesleyans)

280 Saua (Malua Dst)  ent. Malua 1886; grad. 1890; appt. Si'ufaga village (Falealili Dst, Upolu) 1891; ord. 24 October 1899, Malua; appt. Ell.Is. (Nui); returned to Samoa 1901 (illness, stomach ulcer); d. 12 May 1903

281 Sakaio  ent. Malua 1845; grad. 1848; appt. N.Heb. (Tanna) 1849; transferred to Anatom 1850; reappt. Niue 1857

282 Sakaria  appt. Loy.Is. (Mare) 1841; transferred to Lifu 1842; expelled from mission 1842 ('turned out bad, lived like a heathen')

283 Sailuse  appt. N.Heb. 1848

284 Saifoloi  appt. N.G. 1908

285 Salamea  appt. N.Heb. (Tanna) 1839; removed 1841

286 Sale (Malua Dst)  ent. Malua 1895; grad. 1898; ord. 24 October 1899, Malua; appt. sthn Gil. (Tamana) 1899
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Event/Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>287</td>
<td>Samasama</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>288</td>
<td>Samu</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>289</td>
<td>Samuela</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1853; grad. 1856; appt. Niue 1857; left for Samoa 1859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>290</td>
<td>Samuela (Upolu)</td>
<td>appt. Fufuna 29 March 1841; killed 1843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>291</td>
<td>Samuelu S. (Tutuila Dst)</td>
<td>b. Manu'a; ent. Malua 1896; grad. 1899; ord. 24 October 1899, Malua; appt. N.G. (Killerton Is.) 1899; transferred to Waraleia 1901; wife, Maria d. 1917; returned to Samoa 1918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>292</td>
<td>Samuelu T. (Falealili Dst)</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1901; ord. 16 October 1905, Malua; appt. N.G. (Darnley Is.) 1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>293</td>
<td>Samuelu</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1865; grad. 1868; appt. Leone (Tutuila) 1869; reappt. sthn Gil. (Tamana) 1872; transferred to Arorae 1882; returned to Samoa 1886 (lived in Si'ufaga till the end of 1886); returned to Arorae 1887; transferred to Beru 1896; left for Samoa (furlough) 1898; returned to Beru 1899; left for Samoa 1902; d. 1 March 1903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>294</td>
<td>Sanerivi</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1905; grad. 1908; appt. sthn Gil. (Beru) 1909; transferred to Onotoa 1911; left for Samoa end of 1911 (illness); wife, Leleiga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>295</td>
<td>Sapolu</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1867; grad. 1870; appt. Ell.Is. (Nukufetau) 1870; left for Samoa (furlough) 1880; returned to Nukufetau 1884 in trading vessel Ariel without LMS blessing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>296</td>
<td>Sapolu</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1912; grad 1915; appt. N.G. 1916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>297</td>
<td>Saroa</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>298</td>
<td>Saria</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1855; grad. 1859; appt. New Cal. 1859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>299</td>
<td>Sekone</td>
<td>appt. Ell.Is. 1918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300</td>
<td>Seilala</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>301</td>
<td>Sepania</td>
<td>appt. Efate 1845; returned to Samoa 1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>302</td>
<td>Sepania</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1896; grad. 1889; appt. N.G. 1890</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
303 Sepetaia  ent. Malua 1854; grad. 1857; appt. New Cal. 1857; left for Samoa 1860
304 Setefano  appt. Efate 1845; returned to Samoa 1853
305 Setu  ent. Malua 1917; grad. 1920; appt. N.G. 1920
306 Siaosi  ent. Malua 1909; grad. 1912; appt. sthn Gil. (Arorae) 1912
307 Siaosi  ent. Malua 1911; grad. 1914; appt. N.G. 1915
308 Siania (Fa'asaleleaga Dst) ent. Malua 1902; grad. 1905; ord. 15 October 1905, Maoua; appt. N.G. (Iokea) 1906
309 Simi  appt. N.Heb. 1846
310 Sione  appt. Ell.Is. 1889
311 Sione M.  ent. Malua 1911; grad. 1914; appt. N.G. 1915
312 Sione T.  ent. Malua 1908; grad. 1911; appt. N.G. (Delena) 1911
313 Sione V.  ent. Malua 1915; grad. 1918; appt. N.G. 1918
314 Siose  appt. sthn Gil. (Beru) 1903
315 Siueva  appt. Ell.Is. 1919
316 Siutu (Iru-o-tane Dst) b. Vaimauli; ent. Malua 1894; grad. 1897; ord. 23 October 1897; appt. N.G. (Port Moresby) 1898; returned to Samoa 1900 (illness); d. 6 June 1900 on board the John Williams, Auckland
317 Simeona  ent. Malua 1845; grad. 1848; appt. N.Heb. (Anatom) 1848; d. 1860 (measles)
318 Simona  appt. N.Heb. (Efate) 1846
319 Simona  ent. Malua 1850; grad. 1853; appt. N.Heb. (Anatom) 1853; left for Samoa 1858
320 Simona  ent. Malua 1871; grad. 1874; appt. sthn Gil. (Onotoa) 1874
321 Simona (Pafealili Dst) ent. Malua 1879; grad. 1882; appt. Matautu village (Upolu) 1882; transferred to Vaovai village July 1891; reappt. Ell.Is. (Funafuti) 1895; returned to Samoa 1897 (illness of child); d. 20 May 1898
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date and Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>322</td>
<td>Simona</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1907; grad. 1910; appt. N.G. (Vatorata) 1910; returned to Samoa 1918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>323</td>
<td>Sipi (Tutuila Dst)</td>
<td>b. Pagopago; appt. N.Heb. (Efate) 1845; killed by people of Fila village 1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>324</td>
<td>Sipa</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1919; grad. 1922; appt. N.G. 1922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>325</td>
<td>Sofara (Fa'asaleleaga Dst)</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1899; grad. 1902; appt. Ell.Is. (Nukulaelae) 1902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>326</td>
<td>Soli</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1908; grad. 1911; appt. N.G. 1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>327</td>
<td>Solia</td>
<td>appt. Loy.Is. (Mare) 1846; reappt. N.Heb. (Efate) 1851; returned to Samoa 1859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>328</td>
<td>Solo (Apolima)</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1902; grad. 1905; ord. 16 October 1905; appt. N.G. (Darnley Is.) 1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>329</td>
<td>Soloi</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>330</td>
<td>Solomona L. (Fa'asaleleaga Dst)</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1901; grad. 1904; ord. 16 October 1905, Malua; appt. N.G. (Higebai) 1906; returned to Samoa 1910 (unsuitable and quarrelsome)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>331</td>
<td>Sovara</td>
<td>appt. sthn Gil. (Beru) 1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>332</td>
<td>Suasua</td>
<td>appt. Ell.Is. 1917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>333</td>
<td>Sumoo</td>
<td>appt. sthn Gil. 1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>334</td>
<td>Sumeo</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1880; grad. 1883; appt. N.G. 1883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>335</td>
<td>Sumeo</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1919; grad. 1922; appt. N.G. 1922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>336</td>
<td>Taniela (Daniela)</td>
<td>b. Mulifanua (Upolu); appt. N.Heb. 1840; killed November 1842 ('Star Massacre', Isle of Pines)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>337</td>
<td>Taniela</td>
<td>appt. N.Heb. (Erronango) 1840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>338</td>
<td>Taniela Tutila Dst</td>
<td>appt. Loy.Is. (Mare) 9 April 1841; d. August 1844 (consumption)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>339</td>
<td>Taniela</td>
<td>appt. Phoenix 1841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>340</td>
<td>Taniela (Palealili Dst)</td>
<td>appt. New Cal. 1841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>341</td>
<td>Taniela</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1851; grad. 1854; appt. Loy.Is. (Lifu) 1854; returned to Samoa 1859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Appt. Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>342</td>
<td>Ta'avili</td>
<td>appt. N. Heb. (Efate) 1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>343</td>
<td>Ta'alili</td>
<td>appt. N.Heb. (Tango) 1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>344</td>
<td>Taeleipu</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>345</td>
<td>Taesali I. (A'ana Dst)</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1894; grad. 1897; ord. 23 October 1897, Malua; appt. N.G. (Delena) 1898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>346</td>
<td>Taili</td>
<td>appt. N.Heb. (Efate, Mele) 1845; d. 1847 (ague)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>347</td>
<td>Tailo</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1886; grad. 1889; appt. N.G. 1889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>348</td>
<td>Ta'ita'i</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1894; grad. 1897; appt. sthn Gil. (Nikunau) 1897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>349</td>
<td>Taufa</td>
<td>appt. Loy.Is. (Mare) 1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>350</td>
<td>Tagipo</td>
<td>appt. N.Heb. (Tanna) 1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>351</td>
<td>Tauoa</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1909; grad. 1912; appt. N.G. 1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>352</td>
<td>Talamoni</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1890; grad. 1893; appt. Ell.Is. (Niutao) 1893; reappt. sthn Gil. (Onotoa, Tanaega village) 1896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>353</td>
<td>Tamatoa</td>
<td>appt. sthn Gil. 1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>354</td>
<td>Tanielu</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1901; grad. 1904; appt. Niue (Hakupu) 1904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>355</td>
<td>Tapu</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1867; grad. 1870; appt. Ell.Is (Niutao) 1870; returned to Samoa 1878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>356</td>
<td>Tasesa</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1892; grad. 1895; appt. sthn Gil. (Tamana) 1896; d. 20 September 1900; wife, Mafa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>357</td>
<td>Tavita</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1894; grad. 1897; appt. sthn Gil. (Beru) 1897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>358</td>
<td>Tavita</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1892; grad. 1895; appt. Tokelau (Atafu) 1895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>359</td>
<td>Tavita</td>
<td>appt. N.Heb. (Anatom) 1841; wife, Asenati; both killed 1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>360</td>
<td>Tavita</td>
<td>appt. Ell.Is. 1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>361</td>
<td>Tataio (Fa'asaleleaga Dst)</td>
<td>b. Sapapali'i; appt. Loy.Is. (Mare) 1841; returned to Samoa 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>362</td>
<td>Teleni</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1890; grad. 1893; ord. 11 June 1893, Apia; appt. N.G. 1893; d. 27 December 1893</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>363</td>
<td>Terna</td>
<td>s.o. Pastor Toga; ent. Malua 1867; grad. 1870; appt. Ell.Is. (Funafuti) 1870; retired 1889 (wife's health); returned to Samoa and resided in Saipipi village (Savai'i); d. 30 October 1893</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>364</td>
<td>Terna</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1891; grad. 1895; appt. sthn Gil. (Beru) 1895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>365</td>
<td>Terna K.</td>
<td>appt. N.G. (Daru) 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>366</td>
<td>Temetui (Itu-o-tane Dst)</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1888; grad. 1901; appt. NWO 1901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>367</td>
<td>Tina</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1908; grad. 1911; appt. N.G. (Kapakapa) 1911; wife, Fale; resigned 1917 (wife's health)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>368</td>
<td>Timoteo</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1868; grad. 1871; appt. Ell.Is. (Nanumanga) 1871; returned to Samoa 1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>369</td>
<td>Timoteo (senior)</td>
<td>ent. Malua 12 December 1873; grad. January 1877; won first prize of final year class; appt. Toapaipai village June 1877; reappt. N.G. (Kabadi, Vanuabaga) 1883; left for Samoa (furlough) 1896; returned to N.G. 1897; wife, Si'u; d. 27 October 1899 (Kabadi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>370</td>
<td>Timoteo M.</td>
<td>s.o. Timoteo (senior); ent. Malua 1896; grad. 1899; appt. N.G. (Kabadi) 1900; left for Samoa (furlough) 1908; returned to N.G. (Delena) 1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>371</td>
<td>Timoteo</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1870; grad. 1873; appt. Tokelau (Fakaofo) 1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>372</td>
<td>Timoti</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1885; grad. 1888; appt. N.G. 1889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>373</td>
<td>Timu</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1877; grad. 1890; appt. N.G. 1891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>374</td>
<td>Tina'i</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1869; grad. 1872; appt. Falose'ela village (Upolu) 1873; reappt. Tokelau (Atafu) 1874; d. 7 June 1904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>375</td>
<td>Tipa (Fa'asaleleaga Dst)</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1887; grad. 1891; appt. Ell.Is. (Nukulaelae) 1891; returned to Samoa 1895 (personal problems); reappt.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
376 Tipane

N.G. (Mauata, Fly River) 1898; returned to Samoa 1900 (wife's health); wife, Epenesa d. 13 August 1900

377 Tito

appt. sthn Gil. (Arorae) 1884; returned to Samoa 1906; d. 26 February 1908

378 To'ele

ent. Malua 1907; grad. 1910; appt. N.G. 1911

379 To'ese

ent. Malua 1899; grad. 1902; appt. N.G. 1902; left for Samoa (furlough) 1910; returned to N.G. 1911; left for Samoa 1918

380 Toevai

ent. Malua 1891; grad. 1894; appt. sthn Gil. (Beru) 1894; transferred to Onotoa 1897; left for Samoa 1902

381 Tofili

ent. Malua 1896; grad. 1899; ord. 24 October 1899, Malua; appt. N.G. (Fife Bay) 1899; returned to Samoa 1910 (sickness)

382 Toloa

appt. N.G. 1918

383 Toma (Malua Dst)

b. Afega (Upolu); ent. Malua 1886; grad. 1890; appt. N.G. (Waraleia) 1891; left for Samoa (furlough) 1900; d. on board the John Williams 20 May 1900; wife, Aleni

384 Toma

ent. Malua 1853; grad. 1856; appt. Loy.Is. (Lifu) 1857; returned to Samoa 1860

385 Toso (Tutuila Dst)

ent. Malua 1902; grad. 1905; ord. 16 October 1905; appt. N.G. (Iokea) 1906

386 Tovia (Pa'asaleleaga Dst)

ent. Malua 1899; grad. 1903; ord. 11 October 1903, Malua; appt. N.G. (Daru, Fly River) 1904

387 Tuata

appt. N.G. (Milne Bay) 1909

388 Tufulele

ent. Malua 1904; grad. 1907; appt. N.G. (Torres St) 1908

389 Tui

ent. Malua 1853; grad. 1856; appt. Loy.Is. (Lifu) 1857

390 Tuiloua

ent. Malua 1869; grad. 1872; appt. Ell.Is. (Nanumea) 1873; returned to Samoa 1878

391 Tuitoa

ent. Malua 1868; grad. 1871; appt. Ell. Is. (Nui) 1871; returned to Samoa 1872
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>392</td>
<td>Tuitama (Malua Dst)</td>
<td>b. Paleasi'u; appt. N.Heb. 1840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>393</td>
<td>Tupou</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1845; grad. 1848; appt. N.Heb. 1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>394</td>
<td>Tu'uainafua</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1897; grad. 1899; appt. N.G. 1901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>395</td>
<td>Tu'uaga</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1894; grad. 1897; ord. 23 October 1897; appt. Ell.Is. (Vaitupu) 1898; returned to Samoa 1902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>396</td>
<td>Vaega</td>
<td>appt. Ell.Is. (Funafuti) 1890; returned to Samoa 1894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>397</td>
<td>Vaitupu (Apia Dst)</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1889; grad. 1892; appt. N.G. (Suau) 1892; left for Samoa (furlough) 1900; returned to N.G. 1901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>398</td>
<td>Vasa (Tutuila Dst)</td>
<td>b. Pagopago; admitted as church member 1840; appt. N.Heb. (Aniwa) 1845; transferred to Tanna 1845; murdered 1845 (Tanna)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>399</td>
<td>Kaisala</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1894; grad. 1897; appt. sthn Gil. (Nikunau) 1897; ord. 1899 Lugata (Nikunau)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400</td>
<td>Kaisara</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1909; grad. 1912; appt. N.G. (Delena) 1913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>401</td>
<td>Kalepa</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1848; grad. 1851; appt. Niue 1852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>402</td>
<td>Kaui</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1845; grad. 1848; appt. N.Heb. (Tanna) 1849; d. January 1850 (fever)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>403</td>
<td>Keilani</td>
<td>appt. N.G. 1916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>404</td>
<td>Keti</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1905; grad. 1908; appt. N.G. 1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>405</td>
<td>Karamelu</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1871; grad. 1874; appt. sthn Gil. (Ouotoa) 1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>406</td>
<td>Kato</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1898; grad. 1901; appt.NWO 1891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>407</td>
<td>Kirisome (Palealili Dst)</td>
<td>b. Sataio; accepted infant class at Malua 21 October 1842; theological training commenced 1862; grad. 1865; married Salota 17 January 1865; appt. Ell.Is. (Nui) 20 October 1865; returned to Samoa 1899; d. 22 February 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>408</td>
<td>Kirisome</td>
<td>ent. Malua 1871; grad. 1874; appt. Quiros Is. 1874; returned to Samoa 1875</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
409  Kiso  appt. sthn Gil. (Beru) 1911
410  Konelio (Manu'a Dist)  ent. Malua 1899; grad. 1902; appt. N.G. (Vatorata) 1902; transferred to Kapakapa 1911
411  Koria  ent. Malua 1857; grad. 1860; appt. Tokelau 1861
412  Kirisome (brother of Ierupa'ala)  ent. Malua 1895; grad. 1898; appt. sthn Gil. (Tamana) 1898; transferred to Beru 1899
413  Kitiona  ent. Malua 1896; grad. 1899; appt. sthn Gil. (Nikunau) 1899; ord. 22 November 1902, Nikunau
414  Kuki  appt. N.G. (Delena) 1917; wife, Iaina
415  Kurene  ent. Malua 1908; grad. 1911; appt. Ger. N.G. (Borgu) 1912; served until 1917
416  Ierome Ilaoa  ent. Malua 1908; grad. 1911; appt. Ger. N.G. (Borgu) 1912; served until 1933
APPENDIX C

CONSTITUTION OF THE SAMOAN CHURCH

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE SAMOAN CHURCH

All Pastors and Deacons are called to the Annual Gatherings of the Church to share in the blessing and joy of united Communion with our Lord, and in the consecration of those who have dedicated themselves to the services of our Master and His Church; to join in any other religious services of the Assembly; to listen to the sermons and papers and take part in any discussions thereon; to listen to the discussions in the Business Meeting of the Assembly.

THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE SAMOAN CHURCH

This shall be known in the following articles and rules as THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

1. The General Assembly is the Supreme Council of the Church.

   The General Legislation for the Church and for all Councils and Committees of the Church is the work of the General Assembly.

   The Councils and Committees are:-

   The Mission Council.

   The Finance Committee.

   The Ministerial Committee, and later, when handed over by the Mission Council, The Home Missionary Committee, and the Foreign Missionary Committee.

   The Mission Council shall have entire and sole control over the internal arrangements of the institutions, but the Mission Council must receive the sanction of the General Assembly for any change in general policy and for exceptional expenditure.

   All these Councils and Committees shall report yearly to the General Assembly.

   The 'Au Toeaina shall act as the Executive Council of the General Assembly. Its work shall be threefold:

   (1) To watch that the decisions of the General Assembly are carried out. But they shall have no power to alter or to add to these decisions.

   (2) To prepare the agenda for the General Assembly, that is, they shall receive from the Districts, Councils and Committees all matters which they wish to place before the Assembly. All these matters they shall place upon the agenda. They shall have no power to prevent any matter proceeding to the
General Assembly, and they shall have no power to alter or add to any proposal. But they may express their opinion upon any proposal and forward it with the proposal to the General Assembly.

(3) The Executive Council shall not have power to make any rule for the Church or for the Councils and Committees, but it may make proposals for such rules to the General Assembly.

2. MEMBERSHIP

(1) All European Missionaries (ex-officio).

(2) All Samoan members of the Executive Council ('Au Toeaina - ex-officio).

(3) Four pastors and four deacons from the following districts: Apia, Falealili, Fasaleleaga, Itu-o-Tane, Tutuila; three pastors and three deacons from Aana; two pastors and two deacons from Malua; one pastor and one deacon from the Tokelau Islands.

(Pastors who have retired may be appointed as delegates.)

3. Only members shall take part in the discussions and vote in the Assembly.

4. Delegates shall be appointed annually by the District Meeting.

5. The Annual General Assembly shall be held in Malua in the month of May.

6. Only business on the Agenda as prepared by the Executive Council according to the rules thereon shall be placed before the General Assembly.

7. Only money actually expended on passages by members to and from shall be refunded.

8. All delegates shall arrive in Malua for the commencement of the general meetings and bring the necessary food.

9. WOMEN'S MEETING

Each District may appoint three delegates, and passages shall be paid according to Rule 7. If the districts appoint additional delegates for this meeting, the matter of their passages shall be decided by their districts, i.e., whether the delegate or the district shall pay.

10. ELECTIONS

(1) Chairman.
(2) **Vice-Chairman**

The Vice-Chairman shall be appointed at each General Assembly. When the year of office of the Chairman is finished, the Vice-Chairman will succeed to the office of Chairman. The office to alternate between a European and a Samoan. For the present year 1928, it will be necessary to appoint a Chairman and a Vice-Chairman, the former to hold office until the end of the General Assembly in May, 1929, when the latter will succeed him in the office. At the May Assembly in 1929, a new Vice-Chairman shall be appointed. The same will be done in each succeeding year.

(3) **A Secretary** shall be appointed for three years beginning with 1928.

(4) **A Samoan Treasurer** (to act with the European Treasurer) shall be appointed for three years, beginning January, 1929.

(5) **Members of the Mission Council; one pastor (not an elder) and one deacon for three years.**

(6) **Members of the Ministerial Committee; one Toeaina from each district, appointed by the District and approved by the Assembly.**

(7) **When the work of the Home Mission Committee and the Foreign Mission Committee is transferred to the General Assembly, the General Assembly shall elect the members thereof.**

11. **All elections shall be by ballot.**

12. **Method of communication between the General Assembly and the Board.**

13. **Transfers of missionaries.**

**MISSION COUNCIL**

**MEMBERSHIP.** -

**A. All Missionaries.**

Anyone, European or Samoan, appointed by the Council to carry on temporarily the work of any missionary, shall be a member as long as he is responsible for that work.

**B. Five Samoans.**

(1) One pastor (not an elder) and one layman from the General Assembly, elected by the General Assembly.

(2) One Toeaina elected by the Executive Council.
(3) Two, elected by the Missionaries' Committee.

Each Samoan will serve (ultimately) for three years. Retiring to be so arranged as to preserve continuity.

A. - WORK

For the present, the work of the S.D.C. as under:-

1. MAIN WORK.—Education.

   Schools: (a) Primary.
   (b) 2nd Grade.
   (c) Faamasani.
   (d) Higher.
   (e) Theological College.

2. Press (L.M.S.)

B. SUB-COMMITTEES to report to Council.

These sub-committees to be formed to attend to separate subjects under the directions of the Mission Council when the Council deems it wise to form them and this matter shall come up at the first meeting of the Council.

Until any sub-committee is formed, the subject of that sub-committee shall be the subject of the whole Council.


   Members-Missionary with power of attorney, ex-officio.

   2 Missionaries, 2 Samoans.

2. Finance.—(for work under Mission Council).

   Members-The two treasurers, 1 Missionary, 2 Samoans.


   Members-1 Missionary, 2 Samoans.


   Members-The two treasurers, 1 Missionary, 2 Samoans.

Financial transactions of this committee to be separated from London finances and transferred to Samoan finances.

Members-3 Missionaries, 2 Samoans.

This committee shall appoint the editor of "The Sulu."

C. MATTERS WITH THE GOVERNMENT.

All dealings between the Government and the Church shall be carried on by the Mission Council and reported to the next General Assembly.

NOTE.

(a) This council shall have entire and sole direction of the internal work of the institutions. A report of such work shall be presented yearly to the Church.

(b) Propositions involving change of policy or exceptional expenditure shall be presented for sanction to the General Assembly.

ELECTIONS.

1. Chairman.-Any member of the Council.

2. Secretary.-A Missionary who will conduct correspondence with London.

3. Treasurer, a missionary of the L.M.S.

N.B. As soon as possible sub-committees (3) and (4) shall be transferred to the Church (General Assembly) then the General Assembly with its committees will control all Church activities, namely:-

All Foreign and Home Ministerial and Pastoral work.

MINUTES.

The minutes of this Council shall be forwarded to the Directors for approval.
CONSTITUTION OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
('AU TOEAINA) OF THE SAMOAN CHURCH

General introduction as in "O le Faavae" p.16. para.30.

A.-MEMBERSHIP.

1. All Missionaries.

2. Samoan Pastor Toeaina according to the following rules.

(a)-The appointment in future shall be for five years but any Toeaina is eligible for re-election.

(b)-The Samoan Pastor Toeaina shall consist of one from each Pulega.

(c)-No fresh appointment shall be made until in any pulega there is no representative, then only one shall be appointed.

(d)-Those Toeaina who are life members under the old rules, remain life members.

(e)-Those Toeaina who have completed five years shall continue as Toeaina.

(f)-Those who have not served five years, shall complete their term of five years and shall retire, but shall be eligible for re-election according to this rule. (Ref.2a).

(g)-There shall not again be life members.

3. Nomination shall be by Pulega. This shall be endorsed by District Tofiga. The actual appointment to be made by General Assembly. Appointment shall be for five years but any Toeaina is eligible for re-election.

4. One Deacon Toeaina for each district shall be chosen by the District Tofiga and appointed by the General Assembly.

5. If a Toeaina ceases to have charge of a village, and leaves his Pulega, he also ceases to be a Toeaina; but if he remains in the Pulega, he retains his position during the remaining years of his appointment.

This does not apply to any Toeaina who has been discharged for any reason from the Work. Such a case shall be reported to the General Assembly which shall instruct the District Concerned to appoint a substitute, such an appointment shall be for five years.

6. If a Toeaina cannot go to a meeting, he must not appoint a substitute, but leave his place vacant.
B.-WORK.

The 'Au Toeaina is the Executive Council of the General Assembly of the Samoan Church (L.M.S.) and its work shall be as follows:

1.  **IN RELATION TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.**

   (a) - They shall meet annually in May.

   (b) - To watch that the rules and decisions of the General Assembly are carried out.

   (c) - To prepare the agenda for General Assembly.

   (d) - It has no power to pass any regulation for the Church, but may send propositions for the same to the General Assembly.

   (e) - All minutes of the Executive meetings shall be read to the General Assembly.

   (f) - The secretary of General Assembly shall also be secretary of the Executive Council (Elected by the General Assembly).

   (g) - Any matter arising between our church and other missions may be dealt with by the Executive Council unless it is a matter affecting the general policy of the Church, when it should be dealt with by the General Assembly.

2.  **IN RELATION TO THE MISSION COUNCIL.**

   (a) - The Executive has no authority over the internal working of any institution.

   (b) - The Executive may make propositions with regard to the general policy of work under the Mission Council, in which case the proposition shall first be sent to the Mission Council that it may go with its opinion to the General Assembly.

   (c) - The Executive shall receive subjects for the agenda from the Mission Council and shall send them forward without alteration to the General Assembly; but they may express their opinions thereon.

3.  **IN RELATION TO THE DISTRICTS.**

   (a) - The Toeaina shall be chairman of pulega meetings.

   (b) - The Toeaina shall have no power singly or unitedly to issue any instruction to the District. All subjects affecting the District must be decided by District Tofiga (which shall meet twice a year), and the secretary of the District Tofiga shall communicate such decisions to the District.
(c) - In the absence of a Missionary from any meeting of the District Tofiga, a Pastor Toeaina shall be appointed by that meeting as Chairman.

(d) - Subjects from Districts for the agenda of the General Assembly shall reach the secretary at least two weeks before the meeting of the Executive.

(e) - The Executive cannot refuse to send any subjects from a District to the General Assembly but they may send their opinion with it.

(f) - A District may refer any difficulty for advice to the Executive and in such cases the decision of the Executive shall be final.

4. IN RELATION TO THE MINISTERIAL COMMITTEE.

The Executive shall receive subjects from the Ministerial Committee and forward them to the General Assembly, with their comments if necessary.

5. IN RELATION TO THE FINANCE COMMITTEE.

The Executive shall receive subjects from the Finance Committee and forward them to the General Assembly with their comments if necessary.

FINANCIAL REGULATIONS

1. A Samoan treasurer shall be appointed to act with the European treasurer with regard to Church funds.

2. All Samoan money shall be administered by the two treasurers who shall jointly sign all cheques.

There will therefore be two Accounts:

(1) Samoan Account

(2) London Account. This shall be in charge of the European Treasurer as agent of the Directors.

3. A Samoan Church Account shall be opened in the bank with the balance due to the Samoan Church at the beginning of 1929 and that all money received shall in future be paid into the bank.

4. Grants to Missionaries will be paid direct to them from London according to the regulations of the Society.

These will be:

(1) Salaries and personal allowances.
(2) House maintenance.

(3) Travelling.

(4) Passages. Furloughs.

5. The bill of this expenditure shall be presented by London yearly and it shall be paid by the Samoan Church into the London account.

6. No Missionary shall apply for or receive from the Samoan Church or from District funds any grant in addition to those above as sanctioned by the Society.

7. There shall be no loans from Church funds, either to individuals, churches or institutions.

8. No money shall be lent or paid from District Funds unless sanctioned by the District Tofiga (Pastors and Deacons.).

9. The money of the District shall be put in the Post Office or the Bank by the Missionary and the two representatives on the Finance Committee, and the book shall be kept by the missionary in charge, or by the treasurers in Apia.

10. The salaries of all working for the Church shall be paid at the end of the month for that month.

11. The treasurers shall not act as an agency, or aid in purchases on behalf of individuals or churches.

12. Every institution shall possess a safe.

13. The Financial year commences on April 1st and ends on March 31.

14. BUDGET AS AUTHORITY FOR EXPENDITURE.

(a)-No money shall be paid by the Treasurers except in pursuance of the Budget passed by the Finance Committee, approved by the General Assembly and signed by the chairman and secretary of the General Assembly.

(b)-The sum provided in the budget for the current financial year for each head and sub-head of expenditure, shall not be exceeded.

15. ANNUAL ESTIMATES OF EXPENDITURE.

Missionaries in charge of Institutions shall submit to the Finance Committee, through the Central Treasurers, by May 1st their proposed estimates of revenue and expenditure for that year.

16. EXPENDITURE BY SPECIAL ORDER.

(a)-When it appears that money should be expended in excess of the amount provided by the budget, or where it appears that
an expenditure should be made of money not provided for in the budget, a report in writing must be submitted to the Secretary of the Finance Committee.

(b)-Should such expenditure or excess expenditure be authorized by the Emergency Committee, a special order will be signed by the Chairman and Secretary of the Finance Committee and one copy shall be sent to the Secretary of the General Assembly, and one copy to the Treasurers, authorising them to pay the amount.

17. AUDITING.

(a)-It shall be the duty of the Finance Committee to appoint two Europeans and one Samoan to inspect and audit all account books, receipts, and other vouchers of the Central Funds, Institutions and Local Accounts.

(b)-At the close of the financial year, any unexpended balances in the hands of institutions and local funds shall be refunded to Central Funds.

(c)-The accounts of the Press, signed by the auditors, shall be sent separately to London through this Committee.

(d)-The Treasurers shall be present with the Auditors.

18. FORWARDING MONEY TO THE CENTRAL TREASURERS.

All money received by any missionary, pastor, or deacon for the General Funds of the Samoan Church shall be forwarded without delay to the Central Treasurers.

19. UNAUTHORISED EXPENDITURE

No person shall commit the Samoan Church to any expenditure whatever not already authorized by the budget or by special order, (Rule 16).

20. OFFICERS.

The Finance Committee shall appoint a Chairman and Secretary annually at the close of the meeting for the ensuing year, and their names shall be submitted to the General Assembly for approval.

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE TREASURERS.


2.-All transactions on behalf of the Samoan Church with the Sydney
Agency and in respect to Papua, the Gilberts, etc., shall be cleared by direct drafts both ways and not by a system of debit and credit.

3.-Tutuila being the only out-station where transactions are other than directly by cash with Apia, a ledger account is opened for Tutuila which shows the position from quarter to quarter.

4.-TRUST ACCOUNTS.-All monies held in trust on behalf of churches, etc., are banked separately in the Post Office Savings Bank and the accounts are kept separately.

5.-TREASURERS' REPORT SHALL INCLUDE:

Balance Sheet. (Assets and Liabilities.)
Receipts and Disbursements.
Land, Buildings, and Equipment Fund.
Statement of Institution Funds.
Statement of Account with London.

MINISTERIAL COMMITTEE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

1. MEMBERSHIP:-

(1) All missionaries in charge of Districts.
(2) Chairman and Vice-chairman of the General Assembly.
(3) Secretary of the General Assembly.
(4) One Samoan Toaaina from each district, elected by the district and approved by the General Assembly, (elected by ballot).

2. This Committee shall meet in December annually.

3. WORK.

(1) To send names of students for ordination in May to the the Executive Council for forwarding to the General Assembly.
(2) To send proposed reinstatements of pastors to the Executive Council for forwarding to General Assembly.
(3) To arrange the General programme of the meetings of the General Assembly of the following May.
Alterations in this Constitution may be proposed to the General Assembly by the Executive or by the General Assembly itself, but they shall not be decided until the General Assembly of the following year.

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY WHILE THE DEPUTATION WAS PRESENT, NOVEMBER, 1928.

"That this scheme of government be accepted and sent to the Directors for their opinion and if they agree these shall be put into operation and no change shall be made for five years without the consent of the Directors."
APPENDIX D

SELECTED EXTRACTS FROM THE 'SULU SAMOA'

I. Ma'anaima to Sec. SDC September 1892 Milne Bay
II. Ma'anaima to Sec. SDC 1892: Marriage
III. Filemoni to Sec. SDC 1892 Milne Bay: Customs of Kabadi
IV. Filemoni to Sec. SDC October 1892: A brief account of Kabadi
V. Iotamo to Sec. SDC Erupe (Torres Strait) 1893
VI. Timoteo to Sec. SDC 1894: Familiar ways of Kabadi
VII. Timoteo to Sec. SDC 1894: Worship of human spirits.
VIII. Timoteo to Sec. SDC 1895: Customs of Kabadi
IX. Ma'anaima to Sec. SDC 1896: Behavioural patterns of the Kabadi people
X. Tema to Sec. SDC June 1895: A brief account from Beru
XI. Lilogo's report of his work in Arorae, 10 November 1895
XII. Mata'ese to Sec. SDC 1895. Milne Bay: Idol Known as Abcaina
XIII. Mata'ese to Sec. SDC 1896. Milne Bay
XIV. Mata'ese to Sec. SDC 1896. Milne Bay: A newly married couple
XV. Timoteo to Sec. SDC 1896: Edible animals and birds of New Guinea
XVI. Timoteo to Sec. SDC 1897
XVII. Translation work by Timoteo - A Hymn
XVIII. Ne'emia to Sec. SDC 1898: How the work began in Kobuana
XIX. Fa'asi'u to Sec. SDC 21 March 1898, Hisiu
XX. Apelu to Sec. SDC 1899 Kwato
XXI. Evidence of Church growth
XXII. Accounts relating to the disaster on board the John Williams 1900
XXIII. Dedication of new Churches
XXIV. Naite to Sec. SDC 1902 Milne Bay: Worship of the Dead

XXV Ieremia to Sec. SDC 1904 Nanumea

XXVI. Ierome to Sec. SDC German New Guinea

XXVII. Examples of reports by Samoan faise'au who accompanied European missionaries on official visitations to mission stations outside Samoa

XXVIII. Timoteo to Sec. SDC 1904. Kabadi

XXIX. Apineru to Sec. of SDC 10 June 1905. Kalaigolo: The stone with alleged mana

XXX. Paulo to Sec. SDC 1905. Kalaigolo: Journey from Kalaigolo to Poku, 25 March 1905

XXXI. Apineru to Sec. SDC 1906: The stones with alleged mana

XXXII. Isaia to Sec. SDC 1906: The idol known as Aiebana

XXXIII. Tauta to Sec. SDC 1909: Duabo - the new church district in New Guinea

XXXIV. Timoteo to Sec. SDC 1909: An account of the idol Oarove

XXXV. Apineru to Sec. SDC 1910: The people's belief in Vada

XXXVI. Apineru to Sec. SDC 1910: An account of the Angas Inland Mission, Kalaigolo

XXXVII. Ierome - Journal of his journal to German New Guinea. December 1911-January 1912
Many people in this country claim that their gods are in the land and that their powers can actually kill people.

One day as I prepared to leave for a visit to Kuato (the island where a school has been established under two European missionaries) I gave instructions for all of our people to continue holding services during the time I would be away. When I returned, I found that they followed my instructions and did all I asked them to do. But, they told me an incident which occurred while I was away: one evening as they were praying outside my house, they heard some noises coming from inside my house like someone was walking around inside surveying my possessions. The thing actually put its head out of the front door and looked towards where they were holding their service, then went back inside. After their prayers they looked for the intruder but could not find him, and so they gathered together and pondered as to the identity of the intruder. Some of them believed that it must have been God from heaven; others claimed it was a spirit [ghost] of the land.

Having told me this they wanted to know what I thought of it all. I told them it was only a dog, who usually comes to my house at night when it is dark to look for food. They must therefore stop thinking such dark thoughts. There is no other god except God in Heaven who in fact does not reveal Himself in such a backdoor style so as to create confusion in people's minds. To this they could not say anything.

[In the same letter, Ma'anaima reported another incident which again offered him the opportunity to give religious instruction.]

Another day, my male companion [Pehala] felt slightly ill. For many mornings, he wandered off to another part of the village and only came home when it was dark. One morning I asked his wife 'where is Pehala?' She replied 'He has gone to search for the spirit who came the other night and made him ill.' 'What is his illness?' I asked, 'A headache' she replied. 'And where is this spirit?' I again asked, 'He is just searching over that part of the village first, if he is not there, then he will come again and search in this part', she replied.

When Pehala came back that evening, I asked him where he had been. He replied 'I just went for a short stroll to the other side'. 'For something useful Pehala?' I asked, 'no - just strolling' he replied. So I told him straight in his face: 'Pehala, stop your foolishness! Is it true that you went to search for the spirit which you believe caused your headache?' He replied 'Who said so?' 'Your wife explained it all to me' I said. He stared at her and said 'It is true'.

I told him in many words how wrong he was. On the very same day, I felt ill myself. I said to Pehala 'I am not feeling too
well as you can see. Do you think the New Guinea spirits have caused my illness? Pehala, you must understand me well. Our physical bodies are bad and sinful, hurt by work and prone to many sicknesses and diseases. Sometimes our bodies become very tired to the point of dying. When we do die, our bodies turn back to dust which is the very substance from which we were first made. However, our souls, if we remain faithful to Jesus, never rot till the end of time.

II. MA'ANAIMA TO SEC. SDC
(May 1892:108)

When a man and a woman are with the same mind and heart that they wish to be united in marriage, then the man will prepare and gather his material wealth: dogsteeth, bracelets made out of sea shells, and many fashionable dresses. Before all these things are assembled, they unite and live together in the family of the woman until the man has completed all his preparations and delivered them to the woman's family, after which they may go to the man's family. She will work and cook for the man and the man does nothing.

III. FILEMONI TO SEC. SDC MILNE BAY 1892
(December 1892:270-71)

1. Some news of customs in this part. If a person is sick, he or she goes to a spiritual person to enquire as to why he or she is sick and the proper remedies for cure.

2. Burial: the people are buried sitting up, with the legs drawn up against the stomach, then these are tied together by ropes. The body then is wrapped up in materials like mats until a completely rounded parcel is made.

3. Graves: dug in a round shape, according to the size of the dead person. It is not deep, measured to be slightly higher on the ground level than the tip of the dead person's head. The members of the immediate family dig the grave, no one else is allowed.

4. The person is positioned in the grave so that his eyes face the west. The chin in fact is raised up by a supporting piece of wood. The people here believe that there is a land in the west where all the people's spirits gather.

5. The children and wife of the man who died are covered with earth and are no longer permitted to eat taro, fish or coconuts until mourning time is over.

6. Period of mourning may last between a few months to a year. When it is over, the grave is opened up and the skull is removed. Between 10 to 30 pigs will then be killed for the feast, which will be followed by much dancing. A long
stick will be inserted in through the skull and it is placed in a central place where the people will dance around it. This is also the day when those whose bodies have been covered with earth will be cleansed and once more allowed to partake of the foodstuffs tabooed.

7. Mourners: The custom here is very different. Even after one or two years since the death of a person, relatives from near and far continue to come to mourn on the grave. Not being able to cry is a sign of not loving. The real brothers or sisters of the deceased give out many valuable presents to pay the mourners.

8. Reluctance to change their old ways: A person died in the village where Toma is working. He died happy because he had become a very good friend of Toma. He helped Toma in his effort to stop heathen practices, but he caught the fever and died. The day he died, we were all there. The people wanted to bury him in the old manner, but we did not agree. Those who went to dig his grave, dug a round one instead of the measurement we gave them. I went along to inspect and found what they had done. So I told them off and gave them instructions to quickly dig another one according to the measurements. They agreed out of fear and dug unwillingly, complaining that the European method is bad because it creates too much work.

After the burial, we left for our homes: but we later discovered that the people had dug up the body and re-buried him according to customary practices.

IV. FILEMONI TO SEC. SDC OCTOBER 1892
(January 1893:6)

1. This is a big country and densely populated. Almost every village on the coast is well peopled, but many more live in the forests and on mountain ridges. The vast majority are heathens. Some are well built like us; some are black, others brown.

2. Some parts of the country are very fertile, others very arid. There are some villages where the topography is characterised by fiords. In some villages, there is a fair distance from the coast to the hills.

3. Vegetation: The trees which grow in Samoa also grow here, but there are many more trees here that are not found in Samoa. Crops such as taro, yams, breadfruit and bananas are in abundance as well as others not found in Samoa. In fact, there are more varieties of foodstuffs here than in Samoa.

4. Birds: Dogs and pigs are also found. Numerous beautiful birds in the forest. Also kangaroos.
5. Snakes: - many varieties - some very poisonous.

6. Differences amongst villages; all behave differently. Some eat people, others don't. Houses are in the main well constructed - especially in villages where cannibalism is not practised. In villages where we are living and work in now, the people desire to eat people more than pigs and other good food. Such villages are always inland - their people rarely venture out to open space or near the sea shore. They do not live together, rather the houses are spaced out and separated by bushlands. The reason for this is that neighbouring villages will often attack them before dawn or at dawn in order to acquire some people for their meals.

7. Canoes: Each village has its own style and model. Where we are working now, there are two distinct types: canoes used for fishing, and those used for travel and war. The canoes of those living on the surrounding small islands are well built, bigger in size with sails and masts. They are also much faster. These canoes are used mainly for raiding villages situated on the mainland. The canoes of our village are smaller - no outriggers at all, and paddles have to be used. Fishing canoes are not well made. Many of these are just timber logs tied together to carry the fishermen around. Hooks and nets are used for fishing.

8. Preparation of food: This is done by the women. This country prepares its food well. The skins of taros, yams, and other crops are thoroughly scraped and washed before cooking them in pots. They dislike raw fish or anything raw or half cooked.

9. How people are cooked: If the party who set out to steal people bring in many, they are not all cooked at once, but are tied up like pigs and rationed according to the daily requirement. When one of the captives is to be cooked, the whole village assembles. A song is sung, accompanied by drums, people dancing around the victim while flutes are played. The victim's body is first burnt with dry coconut leaves, then divided into many parts and cooked in numerous pots. When all are cooked, distribution begins. Their pigs are cooked in the same manner.

V. IOTAMO TO SEC. SDP ERUPE (TORRES STRAIT) 1893
(March 1894:44-45)

Erupe is the island we are living on now. We arrived here on 29 March 1893. The people were happy to receive us. Erupe is a big and mountainous island, unlike the small island of Male [Murray Is.] where Finau lives. Erupe is blessed with abundant food, all edible crops as found in Samoa grow here. Breadfruit here are just like those in Samoa unlike those grown in the New Guinea mainland where only the seeds are eaten and the rest thrown away. Fish is plentiful.

This is the island where many people from other parts of the Pacific have come to work in the pearl diving industry. Some have
married local women and raised their children here. Some are known as Sausi people. They are the most generous of all the people towards us in terms of clothes and other food. The Sausi people and their children numbered 96. The Erupe people and their children 85. There are also many Europeans who live with their labour force.

The people of Erupe are not very keen on the church, unlike the people of Male [Murray Is.], Saipai [Saibai] and Mapuioka [Mabuiaq]. The pastor of Mabuiaq was here, but Mr Chalmers [Rev. James Chalmers] has removed him to the small island of Masik.

When we arrived here, I sensed that the work appears to have been left to chance. No deacons. Communicant members - 15. The boys of the village very ignorant unlike the youths of Male, Saipai and Mapuioka. So please pray for our work here.

The very first thing I did was to appoint two new deacons. One of them was a native of Lifu who seems to have authority over the Sausi people, and the other a European, who has authority over the Erupe people.

When the British Governor came for a visit to this island, I told him of the children's reluctance to attend school. The children of this island are very undisciplined unlike the children of Samoa. The whole population gathered and the Governor told them that they must bring their children to be taught by me. To guarantee this, they were made to swear oaths. The Governor further explained the penalty for any boy who misses school. He will spend one day carrying stones for the wharf. The parents accepted the regulation. These days, all the boys and girls attend school. When anyone fails to attend, I apply the Governor's regulation.

Our island has no steel bell, yet Male, Saipai and Mapuioka all have good steel bells. And so we began collecting some money for this purpose. The device I used was to introduce a retiring offering after our morning service on Sundays. Two deacons stand at the two doors of our church, and everyone leaving the church has to put something in the bowls. On Sundays, our services are full of pearl divers, and these are the people who made the collection possible in such a short time. The money Erupe gave was not much, but it is their own. We are still waiting for Mr Chalmers to arrive so we can give him our money for a bell.

I would like now to give a description of pearl-diving here. This is a very new practice and a new industry. It certainly was not done in the old days. It was discovered in January 1893. A Niuean youth named Samu, son of Afugia, lay preacher of the Niuean settlement in Apia, discovered the pearl shell. When those who dive for pearls heard that they were found in Erupe, they all migrated here, and Erupe's population increased dramatically.

Actual diving is carried out in deep waters. Many lives have been lost, twenty so far. Yet in spite of this, the industry has never been abandoned.
Fellow workers, many have died in diving for pearls here in New Guinea and Torres Strait for the work of Jesus. But the remainder are not discouraged, the work continues. You young pastors of our country, be determined to come for this year’s work. A diver for pearls has one reason for continuing to keep on going in pursuit of his work, he is not afraid to die - namely, money. But the work of Jesus here in New Guinea and Torres Strait, is now continued by pastors from Rarotonga, Niue and Samoa, in the hope that many precious shells, many souls may be saved.

VI. TIMOTEO TO SEC. SDC 1894
(April 1894; 64-65)

I am in the belief that the origin of this country is totally different from that of Samoa and other countries. This is evident in the differences of skin colour, hair fibre, the diversity of physical appearance, as well as the diversity of languages and their customary ways.

Houses of the dead: The practice of burying their dead inside their houses is an old practice. When a woman or man dies, then their house will be opened, the side posts and outer posts are released so that both ends of the house reach the ground; the dead person is buried in one closed side, and the other side is also closed off with a very small door in the middle for the Opu to enter and go out from.

Opu is the name given to women whose husbands have died. Koae is the name given to husbands whose wives have died. The Opu will live by herself inside this enclosed house for a period of two to three years sleeping on top of her husband's grave. Her head will be clean shaven and the hair will be buried under a pile of ashes. She will dress elegantly however. No more will she speak in her usual loud voice but in a soft voice - loud enough only to be heard by someone standing in front of her. Her family will feed her all during this time. All dead bodies of this tribe are buried inside the family houses. If one house is full, another one will be erected next to the existing house. The same ritual applies to the husband too.

When a person of a family dies, all the relatives will gather and go through an intensive ritual of mourning, some time later, he or she will be buried. The crowd will continue to sleep together on the floor until after ten days, a feast will be held together after which all will disperse.

But if it is a Koae or Opu, then another big feast will be held after a month to celebrate his or her emergence from the house and she or she is allowed to wander only to his or her own plantation, and (also is) not allowed to meet or encounter anyone. If anyone sees him or her on the path, the Koae or Opu must avoid the people. Both are not allowed to come home from the plantation using the village path.
If there are two or three Opu in the same family, they are allowed to meet together in one of the houses where their husbands are buried. The same applies to Koae. But at no time must a Koae or Opu be together until the time of mourning has elapsed when they will all be free. After two or three years, a great feast will be prepared in which the whole tribe, near and far, will come together. Many varieties of food will be presented as well as many cooked pigs. There will be dancing from dusk till the rising of the sun the next day. This is also the day when all houses of the dead will be destroyed and thrown to the forest. The area where they once stood is thoroughly swept with brooms. The Koae and Opu will be washed and their decorative hats and bracelets are thrown away. They will once again speak in their usual voice and may return to their own families.

Although they live in their families now with new freedom, there is one rule they must at all times obey. They must not marry again until they have paid a certain price to the family of the husband or wife that is dead. If the price is accepted, he will again marry. If not, he cannot. If the Koae and Opu try to force the issue, then both will be penalised. The family of the husband who died will plunder and destroy the houses, the land and the plantations of the families of both the Koae and Opu.

VII. TIMOTEO TO SEC. SDC 1894
(November 1894:178)

There is no one god, or sets of idols worshipped by the people of Kabadi like the other places. The village of Karo was one of the first villages where a Rarotongan pastor, wife and children were killed. In the campus was a huge tree which was said to be sacred, as it was the dwelling place of their god. The Rarotongan pastor knew that the tree occupied the best place in the village - fitting for the location of his proposed church building. And so he informed the village of his desire, to which they replied: 'That is the house of our god, if we put it down, we will all die!'
The pastor replied: 'You must all know that there is one true God and He lives in the heavens. Because of his authority we are alive, it is also His authority that will make us die. If you are willing and put down this tree and erect on its place a church building for him, you will know that you won't die. At the same time, you will know how powerless and a liar your gods are which you are so proud of.' The people again replied: 'It is up to you, but we are too scared and afraid to die'. The pastor began to put down the tree by himself; day after day he worked at this until it fell. Meanwhile, the people stood and watched, convinced he would die. Afterwards, they felt obliged to build the church, using timber from the tree.

They don't have idols, but worship the spirits of their ancestors, to whom they offer prayers for a good yield in their plantations, for bigger yams, good bunches of bananas and that their fishing expeditions result in abundance of fish, as well as the power to cure illness.

They have a distinct class of sorcerers, called upon when anyone in the family is sick. No medicine, a mere rub and some chanting
accompanying the action in form of a prayer, which is not intelligible for it is not said in the Kabadi dialect or any other, rather they are just noises. The doctor will hold the patient's head with his two hands, caress them twice, then shake them, and the treatment is over. When a witch doctor dies, he is buried facing downward, the belief is, he should continue to pray for his family's material welfare and long life. There is one who rules the kangaroo; one who rules the wild pigs; and one who rules the rain. The name of the latter is Sovara. In 1889, there was very little rain, and the people began to ask Sovara for rain, but none came. When the people realised that Sovara had tried and tried but no rain came, they turned around and claimed that the rain must have gone away angry because of the noise of European guns.

VIII. TIMOTEO TO SEC. SDC KABADI, 1895
(March 1895: 33)

The aniuma - meaning, eating of food with their skins, is done only by the oleole (young unmarried men). Towards the last quarter of the year members of the oleole gather together in one house, there live together and eat together for one whole month. No one eats anything cooked in pots or oven, rather their food is cooked with skins over a fire. This is prepared by their mothers and brought to them. No one drinks any water, just coconut juice. No one eats any pork, birds or fish. They don't do any work, just wander around all day. They sleep together and live together preparing their costumes for the celebrations when the aniuma is over. Four days before the end of the aniuma, they will carry out certain preparations:

Day I: Long walking sticks are cut from surrounding trees and decorated with beautiful feathers at one end.

Day II: Shave and wash their faces. Their fathers will do this work for them. Shaving is not done by razor, rather the hair is pulled out by hand. Although a boy may scream out of pain, his father will continue the job until all hairs have been pulled out.

Day III: Have a bath. After breakfast, the whole body must be thoroughly washed. In the afternoon, they put on all their beautiful costumes and headgear. Meanwhile all the virgins have put on their costumes too. When evening comes, the boys will emerge in their fine costumes each with a walking stick. A loud cry is heard throughout the village: 'the young men are coming'. Then all the young girls come and take the boys' hands and stroll casually all over the village. Dances will follow soon after.

Day IV: Competition. No one eats in the morning in fear of putting on too much weight before the races. The race is held on the sand, a distance of three miles.
The winner will be praised by his generation and his own peers. This is also the day they will be allowed to eat everything again.

IX. MA'ANAIMA TO SEC. SDC 1896
(October 1896:261)

Plantations: on flat land or rolling hills. They have no fences to keep their domestic pigs in like in Samoa - thus, many of the pigs are wild. They erect fences however for their plantations when the grass has been cleared. The crops are grown once the fence has been put up. Methods of growing taro and yams differ from Samoa. The earth is not properly prepared and the piece of land where taro stems or yams will be planted is not cleared.

When the taro plant has five leaves, the women go out and break off all leaves except the new shoot. Even the yams are not cut up before being taken out to be planted as is done in Samoa, rather the yams are left lying around in the house until they eventually grow, then are taken out to be planted.

Women leading workers of families: Many people gather to clean the land where a family's plantation will be planted. The women of the family will prepare the food for the workers. One day, the husband builds a fence, and the couple who own the plantation will then start the planting after which the husband leaves the responsibility of caring to the wife. The husband usually carries his load on his back. A woman carries hers on her head. The weight of a New Guinean woman's load is very heavy; not possible for any Samoan woman to lift up and carry.

Cooking: Use sticks to hold food over a fire. Tradition says that they used to cook their food out in the sun. Fire was brought by a witch named Hinakeli. Members of her family used to go early each morning to hunt for wild pigs, while she stayed to prepare food. Through her magical powers, she managed to acquire fire, but she never showed it any one of her household. Members of her family however began to suspect something. They said to each other, 'Why is it that our mother's food is soft and smells nice, but our food is hard?' One morning they tricked her, everyone set out as usual to hunt, except the youngest who hid in one of the nets used for the hunting of wild pigs which were hanging inside the house. The woman lit her fire to cook her food, while the boy watched. When she left to get some seawater, the boy rushed out from his hiding place took the fire and threw it on dry grass around the house. The fire spread. The woman ran back and put the fire out, but she failed to notice that a snake had crawled under a tree with its tail burning. The story goes that this in turn burned part of the gree and the fire was passed from tree to tree. So now, people can make fire out of most tree branches. This was how everyone got fire.

Preparation of Food: The skin of taros is scraped using shells and placed in pots. They are then covered with leaves, water is
poured in and the pot placed on top of a fire. For the men, coconut milk is added before heating. But for the women, it is poured only after it is cooked. They use only one or two coconuts, or just one half, using a shell to scrape the meat which will then be squeezed by the hands, adding some seawater to make it salty and tasty. The husband never eats together with his wife and daughters, but eats with his sons. The daughters' food is set in a bowl, but the wife's food is placed in the empty halves of a coconut, with some leaves from the cooking pot, with some juice. They sometimes give some food (in these coconut cups) to some related families, but such a practice is expected to be repaid in the near future. They dislike any raw things like fish, or food half cooked. They are very careful of what they eat. When they have a lot of fish or pigs, they dry them, then store them until the day when they will be used for food. The children are forbidden to eat certain foods, such as turtles, but these practices seem to be disappearing as they see how our children eat everything. The young boys living with pastors have begun this practice, in spite of their parents' disapproval.

X. TEMA TO SEC. SDC JUNE 1895
(October 1895:147)

After the visit of Mr Newell and Miss Moore, we initiated a new method of dividing the working year into four parts. This idea was very much appreciated by the young people, and it is done right up to the present. Generally, the work is going well. There are still many who attend services and children are still keen on attending schools.

The major problem facing us is the Popish church. It is amazing how many tricks their priests have to get people to attend their services. Two priests visited us again in March. They persuaded the people with goods such as clothing, money, tobacco and biscuits. They gave so much of these things to the people, and not surprisingly, some were won over to their teachings for material possessions. If a person attends their service, his name and land is taken down. They have also told the village 'Look at those Samoan pastors, they have come out of their want of things, such as lands and other material goods, from you. And so they have put you under bondage. For it's untrue that a pastor should be fed by a village, on the contrary, a pastor should provide his own food. Look at us, we bring out own food, we have never asked you for any foodstuffs or any other things unlike those Samoan pastors.' They have also told the people that it is not necessary to give offerings or donations to either the church or the pastors.

We have tried to explain the nature of Popish claims by explaining the nature of church offerings and donations. Both of these things are commanded by God. People must give offerings to Him. 'You must also give my servants their due pay for their work'. We gave them biblical texts to support and substantiate our arguments. False pastors who are not God's servants will hide such things from the people, and thus act dishonestly before God. And they do this because they are in fact against Jesus Christ and his teachings. But true servants and pastors of God are willing to reveal the
totality of His word and Will so that the people may understand the nature of the pastors' appointment, which is not to mislead the people, but to tell them about Jesus and no more.

The above words were well received and they aided many to realise the truth.

The Popish priests also abolished civil laws. These were the laws:

(a) everyone must go to Church  
(b) no one is allowed to fish during worship time  
(c) no one is allowed to elope

These laws were well respected prior to the arrival of the priests, but not so after they landed. This annoyed the chiefs, for they formulated the laws to control the behaviour of the people.

The British governor arrived in June 1895. The chiefs pleaded with him for help and we missionaries also presented a testimonial letter of Popish activities. As a result, the priests were given specific instructions by the governor not to interfere with village laws, but concentrate only on their work. The chiefs were to control civil affairs. The governor said many harsh things to the priest and the laws were again respected.

A priest also tried to bring rain by conducting services along the village path. After three days of continuous service, there was still no rain and he became very angry with his followers. He explained the lack of rain was due to the unwillingness of everyone in his church to join in the service.

On 29 May 1895, we had a meeting with the Popish church leaders. It was brought about by a letter which we wrote and sent to the pastors in Nikunau, informing them that the Popish priest was in the habit of delivering various goods to members of our church; and that he threatened to confiscate lands from their rightful owners.

When some members of the Popish church in Nikunau learned of the above, they left the Popish church and came back to us. But those who remained were angry and came over to Beru to find out the truth claiming that we made up the above accusations. And so they came with their minds made up that we should be fined if the story is untrue. On arrival, they asked members of their church who told them that we were liars and that we should be fined 1,000 coconuts. We thought this was unjust and subsequently appealed to the chiefs for an examination of the charges. They agreed to this. When everyone assembled, we were summoned. The popish followers brought their white priest to intimidate us. I was chosen by my colleagues to represent our case. First, I told the chiefs everything the priest had done - the presentation by the priest of various goods to his church, the roll book kept for names and lands and the efforts to acquire people's lands forcibly. Suddenly the priest clapped his hands and said to me 'untrue! untrue!'. I then asked him, 'Did you not give to
the people clothes, money, food and tobacco?' He answered 'no!' I then asked members of our congregation 'Did the priest give you any of the things he denied?' They replied 'It is true, he gave us all those things! The priest did not look up or at me. So I asked him again 'Is it not true that you have taken down the names of the people and their lands?' He said 'no!' But when Tema asked the people, they replied 'yes'. I next turned to his accusers from Nikunau and said 'Is it not true that you came here to find out if what you heard about the behaviour of the priest was true? Well, you have now heard, everything is true! Why then should we be fined?' They all replied 'You are right, it is all true!'

On 25 June, the Commissioner from Butaritari arrived and restored order. He also gave instructions that children must attend schools - the chiefs were to see that this was followed by the parents. He further gave instructions about caring for us Samoan pastors. This was precipitated by a comment from one of the priests to the people, 'Why have you held on to these Samoan pastors, send them home because they think they are kings, you have slaved to feed and clothe them. Don't give them any more food, tell them to go home, you must unite under the white pastor who is recognised and well known in their church. But those Samoan pastors came here and were not even recognised and well known in their home church.' Members of our church were very hurt, and as a result, asked the Commissioner, 'Sir, what is to happen to the Samoan pastors, for some people think that they are not important, that they were not appointed and also that food should be taken for them?' The Commissioner asked in turn 'Who said that?' The people pointed to the priest and the Commissioner said to him 'You have seen this flag, it is for the protection of Samoan pastors by the authority of Queen Victoria!' To the people he said 'The same flag protects you. Now you must look after the Samoan pastors well in our things, and give them a good salary for you have been blessed very much as a result of their work. You must love them, as they love you so much that they had to give up their homes and country to come here and help you.'

XI. LILOGO's REPORT OF HIS WORK IN AROBAE, 10 NOVEMBER 1895
(February 1896:32-33)

(1) No one was excommunicated.

(2) Schools: It is amazing the enthusiasm the children of this country have for learning, so many want to learn and actually attend classes. Our main problem is lack of teachers — would the many bright people in Samoa think of our need.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade 6</th>
<th>46 pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grade 5</td>
<td>54 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 4</td>
<td>94 &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

194 This figure does not include Grade 3 to infant class

(3) Famine: Still with us. But our loving God has been gracious in that we have received some small amount of rain, thus aiding the growth of our crops - coconuts, pandanus and puraka.
The heat in this country is incredible. No wonder they regard Samoa as a cold place.

(4) Gifts: Our people gave some mats for the John Williams visit last September to show their appreciation of the new missionary ship.

(5) Population: approximately 430 including children and women. Two old men died, plus two young girls and a boy.

(6) Location of school: The school is located at the centre of the village - a total of five houses - one for school purposes and four as living quarters for the boys. The girls live with their families. The headmaster also lives off campus. The school is guarded by security officers who are also the prefects of the school.

This report is for the two villages of Lolesi and Famaloa on the island of Arorae. On the eastern side is Lolesi where pastor Pipane is in charge. On the western side is Famaloa where I am in charge. Between the two villages is the school campus. Both Lolesi and Famaloa have village councillors as well as one magistrate each. The secretary for both magistrates lives in Lolesi. Arorae is under British rule. A code of laws formulated by the British Governor is observed here.

New communicant members in Famaloa - 7 men (married) 15 females (married)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ekalesia membership:</th>
<th>Lolesi - Men</th>
<th>67)</th>
<th>141</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>74)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Famaloa - Men</td>
<td>57)</td>
<td></td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>86)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>141</td>
<td></td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Membership Class:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lolesi - Men</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>30)</th>
<th>61</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>31)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Famaloa - Men</td>
<td>6)</td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>25)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>92</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Births  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Famaloa</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lolesi</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gifts for the Missionary Ship: The people greatly appreciate the newly launched Messenger of Peace, although they were sad that they were not able to contribute much in terms of financial assistance to its cost because of their poor economic state. As a result, they felt that they will give the best thing they have to show their appreciation. Thus 18 fine mats were given.

Some points about clothing: They are not used to keeping
their houses or themselves clean. However, through the instructions given by native pastors, there has been some change, both in living conditions and (their) health. Now clothes are the acceptable mode of public dress. They are not keen to wear good clothes though. When they see someone wearing new or nice clothes, they will tease that person with statements such as 'He is trying to be a European' or 'He wants to look like the pastor!'

It is usual for them to sleep in the clothes they worked in during the day.

XII. MATA'ESSE TO SEC. SDC MILNE BAY, 1895
(April 1896:226)

Apoaina is the great god worshipped by this side of New Guinea, even to the many islands to the east. The story of the origin of Apoaina goes like this: he is a person of the forest. 'A pregnant woman went to the forest to gather flowers, and a flower fell on her head which killed her, but her baby was nevertheless born and lived. The child found a root of a certain tree and sucked at it. When he grew up he saw a skull lying beside him and he said to himself 'What is this?' 'Why did I come to the forest?' Then he thought 'Perhaps this skull was my mother'. He turned his attention to chasing the creatures of the forest and succeeded in catching many. He broke off their heads and tried to fit them to the size of the skull, but none fitted, so he continued to sit around. One day, he heard noises of children playing in the nearby river. He attacked and killed one of them, cutting off the boy's head. The head fitted the skull and he said to himself: 'This is indeed my mother.' 'The village where the children came from must be the village who killed my mother.' So when he heard children's voices another day, he once more attacked and killed one of the children. And he did this many times.

The leader of the village decided that everyone would hide around the river, but the children would go in the water. Perhaps Apoaina would come out and then they would catch him. And this was what they did. Apoaina was caught. He tried to escape back to the forest, but the people said to him 'Don't run away, let us stay here, this is our village.' Apoaina stayed.

One day, he went along with the men on a fishing expedition. When the boats arrived at the designated spot, the nets were thrown overboard and everyone dived over including Apoaina. When they came up for breath, no one had caught any fish except Apoaina. Everyone was amazed, for they knew he was a man of the forest.

On another day, the people of the village said to him, let us go to the forest to hunt for wild pigs. They took the net to trap pigs. They spread the net, then went about chasing the pig towards the net. But Apoaina caught every pig before it reached the trapping net. Everyone was amazed.
A war was fought in which Apoaina participated. He killed many men; and some he caught alive. The people began to fear him, so they thought out a scheme to kill him. The plan was this: They would go out to the ocean and have a diving competition as to who could go further down, and while Apoaina dived, they would row back to land. The boat was prepared and they headed out to sea. The competition was held, and when it was Apoaina's turn, the men said, 'We will wait for you.' When he dived, they said 'Let us go back and leave Apoaina to die'. Then one of the girls on the boat cried (she was in fact Apoaina's sister) 'You go back with your canoe, I will stay to die with Apoaina', and so the boat headed back, but Atamo stayed afloat on a small raft called Teauto. Shortly afterwards, Apoaina came up and found Atamo floating. 'Where is our boat?' he asked. 'You have been disowned' said Atamo, 'they have gone and left you, saying if you die, you die. I decided to stay and wait for you, I thought we will die together'. Apoaina replied, 'All-right, give me my medicine bottle.' Atamo gave him what he asked. He poured its contents onto the palms of both hands and slapped his cheeks with it, then he threw his hands to the sky and smoke like fog filled the atmosphere. He then said to his sister, 'Come, you remain here on earth. I will go and live in the heavens. I won't forsake you. I will assist you while you live here.' Then he was lifted up by the clouds and taken to the sky.

Those who deserted him and his sister could not find land, for the fog had blinded their eyes. They sailed round and round.

The above is the story of the god feared by people in this part of New Guinea. They claim that it was Apoaina who actually started warfare. It is also why his name was never mentioned, for it was sacred. The structure of their society seems to have orientated around such a belief. Thus every village had a head man whose duty was to offer prayer to Apoaina. He was called hitohitoala.

XIII. MATA'ESE TO SEC. SDC JULY 1896 MILNE BAY
(October 1896:178-79)

On 28 October I went to a feast held in Tatua. About 1000 people were there. The days prior to the feast were rainy, much to the disappointment of the feast organisers. They began to criticise a man named Tapulili, whom they believed was in charge of rain. Their anger led them to ask the policeman of the area to tie up Tapulili to prevent him from praying for rain. The policeman obeyed their wish and Tapulili was tied up.

On the day of the feast, the sun came out and the sky was beautifully clear. Consequently, the people were happy and in turn decided to offer Tapulili a large pig for stopping the rain.

When all was ready, the master of ceremony asked me to say grace. I was very pleased that my position was acknowledged, and so I stood up and delivered a speech first, in which I asked Tapulili
to come forward and pray for rain, but he was not able to comply with my request out of fear. And so I turned to the congregation and said 'Do not continue in your foolishness. No man, not even Tapulili can ever have authority over God's works. Do not waste your pigs on this lying person who cannot control the rain. Only God has authority over everything, including our bodies and soul. Tapulili then sneaked out of the feast, for the people were beginning to say amongst themselves 'The pastor is right, we have been believing foolish things.'

XIV. MATA'ERE TO SEC. SDC 1896
(July 1896:235-36)

Two ways the decision to marry is finalised:

(1) If the two people agree between themselves, then the young man will go to his parents and inform them of the girl he has chosen. The girl does the same thing. If they agree, then he will come and take the girl to his family - any families of his father, but not of his mother nor his sister. When they arrive in his family, the family will cook food and take it to the girl's family. The same practice is done by the young girl's family; food (of the exact amount received) is cooked and presented to the man's family. When this exchange is completed, the man's family begins to prepare for a Lauati (wedding). They prepare things such as gathering of firewood, often takes about 2-3 days, after which they take all of them to the girl's family, as well as numerous valuable goods together with foodstuffs such as pigs and dogs. After the wood has been gathered, the bride groom will then go and chop them to small pieces, no one is to help him except a brother. When this is completed, then the girl's family prepares itself to pay back the things from the boy's family - wood and every other thing - the girl's brothers will cut the wood for her - only they are allowed to perform this task.

When this is over, the man will then have to go and work in one of the girl's family plantations. He will work non-stop, without food till sunset, the girl also will do the same task, weeding the taro plants, under the same conditions. The logic behind this is the belief that if he or she rests to eat or drink, he or she will always be labelled a lazy wife or husband by everyone.

Another thing, the real parents of the husband and the wife, will eat no pigs or fish from the day they marry to the day their first child is born. This custom is known as waiteatei.

(2) If the parents of a girl desired a certain young man to be the husband of their daughter, the process goes as follows: When the young man sleeps in his family, and the girl's parents approve of him, then the parents and family of the girl will go and close the doors of the house he is
sleeping in; and place an axe near his neck. This is
called 'Ikututomukeni'. If the young man agrees, then he
will go and work in one of the plantations of the girl's
family. When his family hears of this act, they will go out
and help him. Meanwhile the girl remains in her family
until the day they marry, then she will go and work in her
husband's family. If the young man refuses, there is
absolutely no possibility of any marriage.

If the first born is a boy, there is a loud shout by all
members of the husband's family and they will rush with
spears and throw them at the house or hit it with them.
Their belief is, so that the boy will grow up to be a
strong warrior. The opposite is done if it's a girl.

The mother is carefully looked after. Certain foods are
forbidden, certainly no pork or fish. She will eat only the
fruit of fig trees until she has fully recovered. She will
then take her baby with her in a small basket to work in a
plantation. But she will also take some ashes and throw
them along the path (in a disorderly fashion) she takes to
the plantation. When the people see it, they will know that
she was a new mother.

XV. TIMOTEI TO SEC. SDC 1897
(April 1897:306)

This country is very fortunate in that it has many types of
edible birds and animals:

A. Types of snakes eaten:

1. Mutiria White spots on its belly, darkish brown spots
   on the back. Not poisonous.

2. Oma Back is black, nearly six feet in length -
   not poisonous.

3. Avara Its body is brownish red. About 7 to 8 feet
   in length. Can swallow small pigs and
   kangaroos - not really dangerous.

4. Bluvu Black dots all over its skin. Over 9 feet in
   length - and about 16 inches in circumference.
   It can swallow fully grown kangaroos, pigs
   and dogs and sometimes human beings.

B. Animals eaten by the people:

1. Kangaroo Found in large number. Its meat is eaten
   by both New Guineans and Europeans.

2. Loona Resembles the kangaroo, lives in high bush
   country.
3. Puane
Brownish red in colour. Does not roam on the ground - but on the branches of trees. Its diet is basically fruit of trees. People really like its meat.

4. Moaka
Like the rat except bigger. Lives in all kinds of bushland. Eats grass and trees - relished by many for its sweet taste.

XVI. TIMOTEO TO SEC. SDC KABADI 1897
(August 1897:85-86)

This is an account of my trip to the mountain ranges of New Guinea. The people who live in this area have not been able to receive the Good News owing to the distance and almost inaccessibility of any road to their settlement - since they live on the tops of high mountain ranges.

Six of us went on the trip. I took with me a knife tied to my waist to counter attacks by snakes, pain killer medicine to soothe any wound if bitten and some salt water, blankets and woollen clothes.

The road was extremely difficult. One had to bend down many times. It was a very winding route. There were many species of wild plants causing irritation and scratching of the skin, as well as insects of all kinds biting our bodies freely. We saw many snakes, some very big. We travelled up and down many deep gorges.

When darkness came, we prepared to rest. Although our eyes were shut, our bodies and senses were always on the alert. But God reigns, and we saw morning again. We continued on until we finally reached the foothills of the highest ridge where we could see the settlement we were heading towards. So we decided to rest. It was around 1 p.m. near a creek. After a little while, we began to climb. When we finally reached the settlement, we saw hundreds of people, all naked. Many looked very old. What a shame to live in darkness. I said to them in Kabadian 'Kae maania', meaning 'pity on you'. I did not enter any house but pressed on to the other side where the houses were on much higher ground. All came with pieces of pork smiling continuously. One man came forward and said 'It's Luteru, good'. He finished whatever he was saying by asking me 'You do not have an axe or a chain for my neck or a knife for me?' The words of St Peter echoed in my ears 'Gold and silver have I none, but what I have that I will give - the name of Jesus Christ'. I told them that that was the only reason for my visit. The old man said no more and left.

When evening (time) arrived, I could not believe the backwardness of the people. Where does not sleep or eat, for they live with their pigs in the same house. Rubbish piled up everywhere and the small was unbearable. Nevertheless one had to be patient in the process of taking the Gospel to them for the first time.
During the night, people gathered in great numbers. So I asked the interpreter of our party to inform them that in the morning a service could be held for that was the reason why we came. When he told them this, there was great murmuring and whispering among the people. I asked our interpreter what was all that about and he replied 'They do not know what a service is'. So I said to him 'Tell them it is a service to the only God in Heaven'.

The following day, I went to their dancing arena to find a spot where I could stand, for the place was filthy beyond description. The leader of the village called out and all came and squatted on the ground like monkeys. Our service began with a hymn:

Divara momokani
Teova o Sabaota
Ia namonamo diagau
Ita Divara ia.

After the hymn, a prayer, then I read Isaiah 9:1-2, afterwards I said to them 'I have not come to you like the European traders who come to find out your land, boundaries and minerals and from whom you have received some material wealth. I am a poor Samoan and have nothing. Nevertheless, it is because of God's commandment that I have come. He is the reason for our meeting today, our good health, the fountain of spiritual growth. He rules over all things in heaven and on earth. He is the cause of the life of all the things you have for food'. After this speech, our interpreter translated to them what I had just said to which all replied: 'Namo namo, kuku, kuku' - very well, we have heard'. I then asked if they would receive some of my brothers sometime in the future. My interpreter put it to them and all nodded. I continued 'We have not come to hunt kangaroos, but to bring you the story of Jesus the Saviour.' All said 'Alright' - 'Namo, namo'. We sang another hymn:

A: danu lohiabada
O: sibomu diari namo
O: ai harihari

Haleluia ia Iesu
Ia ida danumate

We then concluded our service with prayer. Food was then brought and we had a feast.

I did not spend too much time talking afterwards, rather I spent the rest of my time helping them clean up their village and their houses. Three men of the village assisted us on our way back.

XVII. TRANSLATION WORK BY TIMOTELO
(September 1895:110-11)

The hymn below is one I wrote and is now widely used throughout
New Guinea by the pastors and their people. It is written in the Motu dialect, and I have translated it into the Samoan language. I hope all you students in Malua take special notice of its content.

**MOTUAN**

1. Gau kara memero edeseni?
   Divara ena uma baebiru
   Ta ta mai ena gau kara gabu
   Baine goada laia mai hegarahi

Chorus  Edeseni ai? Daika baema?
Daboro dinaimai bue moale
Ikahamai diaka baita bitu?
Divara umena tanobadai

2. Tano gaubadabada e sega
   Gau kara memero e naridia
   Biaguna e tomanu, Aoma
   Hadohado negana bina

   Edeseni ai...

3. Memero aoma, mate, mauri
   Divara ena a kara lavaga
   Hari isiaina ba lacheni
   Biru mai goada balaheni

   Edeseni ai...

4. Daboro hegana baine lasi
   Lahedo memero bae dabu
   Biaguna hesiai memero
   Iboudiai bae moale habou

   Edeseni ai....

**SAMOAN**

1. Oi fea le 'Aufaigaluega taule'ale'a
   Se'iqalulue ile fa'ato'aga a le Atia
   Taito'atasai ma lona tofi e galue ai
   Ta e faamalolosi ma la tautiga.

Chorus  Oi fea o iai? Poo ai e o mai?
O ona aso ole seleselega e fiafia ai
O ai e fesoasoani mai tatoute galulue ai?
Ole faataoga a le Atua lenei lalolagi.

2. Ole tele ole fanua, ole vao ma'a lava
   Ua fa'atali nei le 'Aufaigaluega taulele'a
   Ua fetalai mai le Matai, O mai ia
   O ona po nei lava e lulu ai

   Oi fea o iai...
I have attempted to translate Timoteo's hymn into English below.

1. Where are the young pastors
   To work in the plantation of God
   Each one has a duty to perform
   Be courageous and suffer gladly.

   Chorus
   Where are they, who will come?
   This season of harvesting is full of joy
   Who will assist us in our work?
   The plantation of God is our world.

2. The field is full of wild trees
   Young pastors we need you to clear these
   Our High Chief calls you to come
   For these are days of sowing the seed.

   Where are they...

3. Young men come on to die or live
   God's work needs to be quickly done
   So rise up and serve Him
   Work hard for His name

   Where are they...

4. When the days of reaping arrive
   Lazy young men reap nothing
   But those who served our Master
   Only they will share in the joy

   Where are they....

Young pastors of Samoa, think of the above hymn. The tune is not important, but the theme and the hope that is in all of us here as we wait for more labourers to come out and share God's work. Where are you? When the John Williams arrived, there were nine Rarotongans and one Samoan...where are you?
The village of Kobuana on the outskirts of the forest which separated it from Kabadi proved reluctant to receive us at first. Prior to our going there, we stayed at Li'i's village. While we were with Li'i, he advised me not to go to my new village as he had heard that they were opposed to our coming. He said that if we go, war and hostilities will break out. However, I was not impressed with his advice. He then suggested that we leave our belongings behind and he and some others would come with us, but again I refused. And so we left with all our belongings. We arrived there and found very few of the people, the majority of them working in their garden plots. About 3 p.m. some of the people came back and we decided to say a prayer. Timoteo said this in their own language.

There was a European present, he lives amongst the people. Timoteo then gave a brief address exhorting them to receive Jesus Christ and His gospel and give up their old ways. The European there added to what Timoteo said by also telling the people that it was a wise thing for them to accept the teachings of Christ for Britain worships the same God. Furthermore he told them that it was important that they should build a house for us. They agreed. Our meeting closed with a prayer, then Timoteo and others who accompanied us returned to their own settlement. Shortly afterwards, the people came to where we were and I asked them 'Do you want me to stay with you in your village?' They replied: 'The reason why we seem reluctant to have Samoans is because they are very cruel, beating us, smashing our pots, beating our children, thus creating fights'. I assured them that there will be no cruelty or fights.

On our first Sunday, the beating of a tin was used to summon them to worship. They responded well. After the service, there was a short interval before the tin was played again to summon the young people who wished to come for school. Many came and the only left when it was time for me to go to sleep.

This encouraging start is indeed the result of the power of prayer by you all in our Church in Samoa. Personally, I feel that only with the presence of God can darkness be overcome in this place and I have experienced the graciousness of God in the way my work has developed since then.

Mr Dauncey visited us this month. It was an unexpected visitation as he was soon to leave for Britain. I accompanied him in his boat to Moarapi to visit Ieru and his wife prior to our meeting in Kabadi where Luteru works. When we came back, Mr Dauncey continued his journey up river while I returned to the coast to my village to conduct Sunday services after which I had to go back upriver for our meeting on Monday morning.
Owing to the long distance we had to travel and the hazards of the route, I left on Sunday evening with two of our boys. We arrived at the banks of the river at sunset. This river is one of the most dangerous owing to the fact that it is the breeding ground of crocodiles. Many have died from these wild beasts. Also, no one could sleep here during the night because of mosquitos. I suggested therefore to my companions that we should cross it before dark but before doing so we should say a prayer first. They both agreed, and after our prayer we plunged into the water and began to wade to the other side. Shortly afterwards, I saw a huge crocodile swimming towards us. It was an incredibly big crocodile, about 12 to 15 feet long. I exhorted the boys to swim faster, but they were both tired, so I swam behind them pushing them on until they reached safety. Just then the crocodile reached me. He opened his mouth and I knew at that instant that my work had ended. But a great miracle happened. He closed his mouth and moved away. I was not scared for I had accepted my fate as there was nothing I could do. And yet, I was like Daniel raised out of the lions' den. God being responsible for the passivity of the animal. I was so overwhelmed with the love of God and His power that saved me from certain death in the mouth of this man-eating animal.

When we reached the place where our meeting took place, I shared with those waiting our experience. Their hearts were filled with joy and happiness. We all praised the love of God. It was indeed an amazing act of God's grace, for it was not in the nature of a crocodile to turn from its prey. The only thing the crocodile took from me was my Bible which was fastened to my waist.

When the story of how I was saved by God from certain death reached my village, there was much wailing out of love for me. When we got back, they rushed out and hugged me and said 'It is the true God we serve, for He has stopped the crocodile'. This incident served our work well, for it made non-believers in our village believe.

XX. PROGRESS REPORTS

(1) Apelu to Sec. SDC Kwato 1899 (March 1899:184)

The era of prosperity is dawning in this part. These are the evidence:

(a) People now beginning to understand brotherly love. Their usual practice is to pay for anything they receive, to sell anything they give away. But now, they are beginning to give away things without asking for payment, and they have done this for us, at times when we are not well. They are looking after us now with much love.

(b) They have let their children come for education in our house.
They are like fish caught in the net at last.

(2) Toma to Sec. SDC 29 March 1899, Waralaea (November 1899:284)

There is great enthusiasm amongst our people for the work of the Church, unlike the apathy which marked the initial period of our work. Now the influence of Christian love is beginning to affect their attitudes and responses. Many parents now insist that their children be taught in the mission schools. And the children themselves are beginning to attend classes with a new zeal and seriousness pertaining to the subjects being taught.

There is now hardly any fighting - owing to the respect given to British rule. Thus they are more peaceful than you in Samoa. There are now increasing inter-village visitations. Many have showed us love and help. Many have become communicant members.

XXI. EVIDENCE OF CHURCH GROWTH

(1) Mataio to Sec. SDC 31 March 1898 Saroa (August 1899:105)

The village where I am working has achieved some understanding of the Gospel, evident in their loving attitudes towards each other and to us. Evidence of the latter is their willingness to give us some of their food without payment. Many have attended worship and school and as a result many can read.

(2) Fa'asi'u to Sec. SDC 21 March 1898 Hisiu (August 1898:105)

It seems that the work here has increased in scope, thus in responsibility. This is the 5th year of my work in this village; and there are signs of much labour bearing fruit. Last year, our church members were counted. This year, we have 27 boys and girls who can read the Bible well.

(3) Peniata to Sec. SDC 21 March 1899 Milne Bay (September 1899:110)

I am working in this Bay. Initially, the work was very difficult but nowadays, the people are keen to learn about Jesus. This can be seen in the numbers of our church members - 159. We have nearly 20 members in our confirmation classes.

(4) Fa'asi'u to Sec. SEC December 1902 (March 1903:38)

Mr Dauncey visited us last year and baptised 14 members of our congregation including my younger son. He further expressed his wish that five deacons should be appointed to assist me in the general supervision of the work. I suggested that 5 was too many; and that 3 was a more suitable number. He agreed and subsequently I appointed our village 'big man' together with two young men to assist me.
(a) Children of Matapaila village. Lii told me the children will go to their heathen homes and say prayers there and conduct evening devotions. They will sing songs learned in school, read a few lines from their books of St Mark then say their prayers. Some prayers they have memorised, others they said on the spur of the moment. Here is a sample of the type of prayers some said:

O God, who art in heaven, you know we are only children. Our souls are dark, but you have light which can take away this darkness. Have mercy on us and give our souls light. Do this also for our parents, since they live in total darkness. Make them understand the great love of Jesus which has kept us alive. Forgive all our sins, for we indeed pray in the name of Jesus - Amen.

(b) Luteru's school (Ukaukana). The best school in the whole district. Reading, writing and arithmetic knowledge very advanced. They have also memorised a lot of texts from the Bible.

XXII. ACCOUNTS OF DISASTER ON BOARD THE 'JOHN WILLIAMS' 1900

(a) Memorial Service, 18 June Petersham, Sydney (September 1900:14-15)

A fellowship was held in Sydney to express to our churches in Samoa and the North West Outstations the sadness of our whole church concerning the deaths of pastors and their children who had been working in New Guinea. Many ministers and leaders of all denominations were present. Mr Goward and Mr Brown (Wesleyan) were also present. Both preached. The service was conducted along the following lines:

1. Hymn
2. Scriptural readings, followed by a prayer by Rev. N.J. Cocks, M.A.
3. Mr Pratt - read letter from Captain of the mission ship
4. Sermon by Rev. F. Binns
5. Prayer of thanksgiving for the efforts of the Samoan Church
6. Hymn: 'How blessed are the feet of those who preach the Good News'
7. Sermon - Mr Goward
8. Sermon - Mr Brown
9. Sermon - Mr A.J. Griffith
10. Hymn: 'Those who wear shining clothes, who are they?'
11. Prayer
The pulpit was decorated with white and black cloth as a sign of mourning for the Samoans who died. The essence of Mr Goward's address was a tribute to the work of the Samoan Church. 'That this gathering are all of the one mind to express their appreciation of the love and work of the Church in Samoa for the work of God in foreign lands. We wish to share with the pastors and the church of Samoa and those in the North-west Outstations the sadness they feel over the death of three brethren who worked in New Guinea for Christ. They were called by their Lord while on their way to their homelands on the mission ship for a period of rest and to meet their families.'

'I wish to thank this gathering on behalf of the Samoan Church and the churches of the North-west Outstations for holding this service in memory of those who died. We are sharing the great love of Jesus with all our hearts out of our willingness to spread the Good News to foreign lands as evident in the lives of those who worked in these places from Samoa and the North west Outstations. Those who have been saved from their heathenism have become vehicles to convey the salvation they have received to other lands who still live in darkness. And this is why you have gathered here to pay tribute to these brethren who have died in our mission ship. They, as you well remember, were here with you not long ago. You all heard their testimonies and sermons right inside this building. Thus we are gathered here to share with our brothers and sisters in Samoa and the North west the sorrow they are all feeling right now.

A short testimony about those who died:

1. Toma. From the village of Afega, Upolu (Malua district). He was accepted in Malua, December 1885. Appointed for work in 1891 in Milne Bay, New Guinea. He worked there faithfully for nine years. The European missionaries had high hopes that Toma would return to New Guinea. The sermons he preached in Sydney were very good. He strongly advised the Church to be determined in its work for New Guinea, and prayed earnestly that this whole land may be won for Jesus. He died on 20 May 1900.

2. Peau and his wife Paia. They are natives of Nui in the Ellice Islands. This island received the light as a result of Pastor Kiriame's work, an old faithful man in this part of our work. Peau and Paia were his children in the spirit as well as others who are now serving in their country or in New Guinea. Peau and Paia came to Malua in 1891 then went first to Leulomoega. Peau assisted Mr Hills during the time when the first school house was erected there. As a result, he required a knowledge of the English language. They began their work in New Guinea in 1893. In 1894, they moved to Mr Lawes' district to work with him in the commencement of the school in Vatorata. Peau died 30 April in the mission ship.
(3) Siutu. From the village of Vaimauli in the Itu-o-tane district. Was accepted in Malua in 1894. He worked only for a year and a half and therefore didn't do much owing to his illness. Died in the mission ship 6 June.

(4) Toma's children: Ropati and Eta. Eta twelve years old, Ropati ten months. Both have been accepted in the fold of the Good Shepherd and are reunited in this blessed land.

(5) Timoteo. Died last year, but we should remember him, for his wife was on board the ship.

(b) Letter from Sydney Churches (September 1900:15)

To all the pastors, deacons and members of churches in Samoa, Tokelau, Ellice and Gilbert Islands,

We express our love to you all. All the pastors of different churches here in Sydney have received news of the sad tragedy concerning the deaths of our brothers and Toma's children on the mission ship, and thus, we have been instructed to send you this letter.

First, we express our love and sympathy to Aleni, for the children who died first, then for her husband Toma. It is good to remember Jesus' saying 'Let the children come unto me, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven'. We share the pain felt by all the families and relatives of the pastors who have died. Do not forget the great work they did faithfully. This will remain as evidence of the praise they deserved. And so they are now before the Good Shepherd whom they serve. Let this thought therefore be a comfort to us all. Pastors and churches in Sydney know so well the history of how the people of Jesus in Samoa have been determined in the task of taking the light to heathen lands, and so we remember those who died in fulfilling this work. We called you pastors of Samoa our brothers in the work of Jesus. And so we pray that you will remain faithful and steadfast in this work you have been called for.

Our letter ends with a word of hope. When this short life ends, and the sun goes down, we will be united with those who have gone before us in the presence of our Lord forever. We remember you before Him who alone is able to keep you from falling as well as preventing you from blemish.

(c) Tipa's account of the ill-fated Journey (November 1900:4-5)

We left Sydney on Thursday April 19. We headed for N.Z. Immediately difficulties were upon us. It is a pity that happiness and sadness go hand in hand. Both Toma's children, Eta and Ropati became ill, as was also Peau and Siutu. The Samoan passengers suffered from the cold.

We sighted N.Z. on 25 April. The ship did not stop, instead
we headed straight for Rarotonga. Two days after passing N.Z. Ropati died. At 8 p.m. the same day, Eta died. Their bodies were buried at sea on 28 April. Shortly after this, Pau's condition worsened. We tried our best with what medicine was available, but to no avail. He died on Monday 1 May.

On arrival in Rarotonga, we were told by the medical officer that our ship was not permitted to call at Rarotonga while the bubonic plague was on. After a few hours, we headed back to N.Z. arriving there on 19 May, but again we were not allowed to berth. The medical officer who came on board knew that there were two of our group seriously ill and that two had already died. As a result, the N.Z. government refused to let us disembark. The best they could do for us was allowing our ship to anchor at one of the small offshore islands for a period of 21 days. We went there on 20 May. Toma died 22 May. A doctor came to examine his body. We stayed on board the ship. Meanwhile the church in Auckland continued to press the government to allow the John Williams medical clearance so that its work could continue. On 26 May the doctor came back and told us we could go ashore so that the ship could be medically examined. On shore three houses have been built for sick people. After 10 days here, Siutu died. He was buried here on 6 June. Toma was also buried here. We received medical clearance the same day and were permitted to enter the harbour to load coal and water.

On 11 June, the Captain arrived with a letter from the Congregational Church of N.Z. expressing their love and sympathy for us. How we longed to go ashore and meet them.

When we left N.Z. a storm hit us - it lasted 8 days. We arrived in Rarotonga on 28 June. They did not allow any Samoan pastors ashore. We visited other islands of the southern Cooks but were also not allowed on shore.

On 4 August we arrived in Niue, and in Samoa on the 6 August. May God's Name be ever praised.

XXIII. DEDICATION OF NEW CHURCHES

(1) Badu, New Guinea (November 1900:12)

Held 2 August 1900. Governor and other government officials were present as well as Ruatoka (Rarotongan pastor), Samoan pastors and New Guinean theological students. The Rev. Mr M. Tomkins, the newly arrived British missionary, conducted the service. He is now in charge of all mission stations in Torres Strait. He and the Governor gave addresses which expressed their delight that each mission station in Torres Strait now has its own church buildings. Moresi gave an account of the difficulties of the work. Ruatoka gave a sermon in Samoan, translated by a Samoan pastor in the New Guinea dialect. Nenemia also preached in Samoan. (He is stationed in Saibai.) Student pastor Taram who lives in Poigu and student
pastor Bili of Mabuiag who is in Masiki also gave sermons. Everyone was happy as there was no debt. The total cost of the building was £372.16.0. We collected £22.14.6. during the dedication service. The new church is 48' x 24' and is 12' high.

(2) Erupe 14 September 1900 (January 1901:8)

The dedication of the new tin roofed church of Erupe has just ended. It is a beautiful building, 48' x 18'. Offerings were received from the Governor (£7), Mr Chalmers (£5), and from the Erupe and Sausi people (£111). Total £123. The above money will be used for the completion of some minor decorations to the building.

We are extremely happy that this heavy work has now been completed without any mishaps. So praise and thanks be to our God. Furthermore there was no debt. The dedication was originally scheduled for 13 September, but strong winds (a common feature of the weather in this Strait) prevented it and so the ceremony was held the following day. Consequently, only Mr Chalmers and the Governor were able to arrive on time. The Samoan pastors of the district were not able to come for their boats are small, unable to withstand the strength of the winds.

By evening of the day of dedication, the Samoan and Rarotongan pastors began to arrive, but the service was already over. Finau, Moresi, Maina, Levi, Tipa, Maba, Maga, Itake, and Lui. We were slightly annoyed with Mr Chalmers for the lack of any official welcome. So we held a service for them and we raised £8. The steamer left shortly afterwards and Mr Chalmers instructed us to repeat the ceremony for the sake of the late coming pastors. So we held it on 17 September and money was again collected, amounting to £55.15.10 plus the £8 we collected during the welcoming service. Totamo gave a brief analysis of the work. The Samoan pastors expressed their gratitude for the completion of the work debt free. Many songs and hymns were sung to praise God for His help which has made it possible for the work to be completed. Plenty of food and everyone was happy. Pray that the enthusiasm of churches here in Torres Strait continues.

(3) Mare - Torres Strait

Held 7 November 1901. Many were present including Samoan pastors in our district as well as Europeans who reside here. Mr Percy presided over the service. The church is located in Finau's village. The people worked and saved for 4 years. It is a beautiful house. It is named 'OLE SULU SAMOA' [The Samoan Torch]. Total cost £257. Measurement: 72' x 24', built by a Samoan named Pita Fusi.
(4) First church in Fly River (August 1906:85)

Erected in the village of Mauata. The foundation stone was laid on 16 August and the building was completed on 21 September. Measurements 50' x 25', 14 feet high. Total cost £200. Dedicated 19 October. £16 was raised during the service. It is a wooden building. Built by Pastor Fania in 1905.

(5) Second church in Fly River (July 1907:68)

Located in Turituri. Work began 31 July and completed 12 December 1906. 51' x 25' and 12' high. Cost £282.1.9. Opened and dedicated 1906. £20.7.6 was raised.

(6) Finau to Sec. SDC 1897 (January 1898:14)

(a) New Church - Mabuiag

Took place 16 October 1897. Many villagers attend. There were many boats with sails, schooners and the government steamer owned by the Governor. In all, 30 boats specially designed for pearl diving and 70 sailing boats. An incredible number of people and consequently many were not able to get inside the new church.

The church is 60 feet long and 30 feet wide. The whole building was built with European timber. It has a tin roof and its walls are made from timber, all windows made of glass. Very good chairs. There are 24 chairs in the front and wooden forms for the whole congregation.

One of the most beautiful lights was a gift from the Governor. There were many Europeans present. Mr Chalmers preached in English and the following Samoan pastors preached in various dialects:

- Isaia (Mabuiag dialect)
- Nenia (Saibai dialect)
- Iotamo (Erube dialect)
- Finau (Murray Island dialect)

Chiefs of every island were also present. All sermons praised the gracious love of Jesus Christ which has made it possible for all these different people to live in peace. Mr Chalmers and his wife as well as all the Europeans present were delighted and marvelled at the wonderful effort by Isaia and the deacons of the Mabuiag church for the work they had done.

Raising of funds began in November 1897. Parents were to give 10 shillings and children 5 shillings. After the first week only £3.9.6 was raised. Isaia then preached saying 'This is the foundation of our building fund. Let us begin working earnestly from tomorrow.'
The people gave £115 to the pastor for the new church testifying: 'This money has been given to us from Jehovah for His new Church, for it has been hidden for years, but has now been revealed after we heard your sermon last Sunday'. The rest of the money was used to buy flour to offset the famine which was felt to have much greater need in Murray Island. The money needed to complete the work was £261. During the dedication, the crowd raised £50.

(b) Dedication of the church in Saibai

Pastor Ne'emia advertised the wish of the island for the residents of Torres Strait and New Guinea to attend the celebrations. And so, the following island communities came: Murray, Erube, Ubara, Masiki, Samut, Iamuailani, Badu, Wababer, Nakia, Mua, Bastu, Mabuiag, and there was also a good number from the mainland of New Guinea. The church is 60' by 30'. It is built on raised posts in the style of churches in New Guinea. It is built with local timber; one called UAGAI (whose fruits are very sweet) and the other main timber is called TOGO.

The amazing thing about this church is its architectural beauty, built by a local tradesman with no previous training in carpentry. Pastor Ne'emia however directed the building process. One of the amazing things was the primitiveness of the tools used.

The service began at 10 a.m. on 7 July. A bell was sounded to summon all the people to a spot outside the new church where a song was sung while Mr Chalmers led the procession holding the keys of the new church. When he reached the door, he opened it and people entered. The new church was so full of people many had to remain outside.

After the opening hymn, a prayer was said by Mr Chalmers. All pastors present gave addresses. Pastor Ne'emia gave a brief narrative of the work, translated into the Mabuiag dialect by Isaia and into Badu by Moresi. The chiefs and deacons of each island gave five minute addresses. Three chiefs of areas where no pastors are located were also present. They came out of curiosity. Mr Chalmers told me to say something in Samoan for the sake of the Samoans who lived and worked in the region in the diving industry. Their names are: Simi Samoa, Siaosi, Kauia, Sale, Pusi, Tipoti, Kirisi, Fusi, Iese and Lui.

The money collected during the celebrations: Mare 35/-
Erube 73/-; Suau 68/-; Mau Badu 33/-; Kabuiag 106/-; New Guinea mainland 22/-; Samoans 97/-. After the service, a tremendous feast was held. Great amounts of yams, kumara, taro, sugar cane, bananas, coconuts and 46 huge pigs. Pastor Ne'emia composed a Samoan anthem which tells the story of the building.

The dedication meeting in Saibai revealed many positive signs of how the Gospel has changed the lives of the people:

a. it reflects the greatness of Jesus' kingdom which has facilitated peace amongst the warlike tribes.

b. Great happiness amongst the people and considerable willingness to support God's work. I am certain that many left convinced of the positive effect of Jesus' kingdom in their lives, like those who experienced the first Pentecost.

c. The harmonious way people interacted that day was indeed like the precious oil poured upon the beard of Aaron which gave much pleasure to the Samoan pastors, Niuean pastors and Lifuan pastors present, as well as the chiefs of these islands and those from the mainland of New Guinea.

Stage I: When someone dies, certain heathen practices take place. The dead person is seated as though he was still alive. Feathers of beautiful native birds are brought, as well as other decorative things and adorn the whole body, giving the appearance of a living person.

A coconut is husked then its meat scraped and the meat is squeezed letting the milk flow over the whole body. The drained meat is then packed in a leaf and hung above the body until the day some fish are caught to be cooked for the feast.

Stage II: The Digging of the grave. A different group of people are assigned for this task as well as for the decoration of the body. They are known by the title kaliauna. Once the spot where the grave is to be dug is finalised, a fence is erected around it and only the kaliauna are allowed to enter it and stay there with the corpse once the grave has been dug. The body is placed in the grave in a sitting posture and earth is thrown in it while the corpse is in this position. After the burial, another ritual, the lausubi, is performed. This is the washing of the kaliauna's bodies. Three or four taros (unscraped) are brought and placed in a pot together with some dried banana leaves and then boiled. When the taros are cooked, the kaliauna will then come and wash their hands with the banana leaves, afterwards the leaves and the taros are put into a basket which is then placed on a pole that has been erected out in the lagoon.
Meanwhile, the kaliauna will bring taro stems and plant in the lagoon when the tide recedes. This process is carried out for three days, after which they will continue with their everyday chores as before. The belief behind this is that, unless this process is performed, no taros or bananas to be grown in the future by any member of the kaliauna will ever grow, since their hands had actually touched the dead body. In a way then, the process is recleansing of the kaliauna.

Stage III: The Dispensing of the coconut crust. The coconut meat already squeezed of its milk that has been hanging over the grave in a bundle, will be taken down after 3-4 weeks. It is a great occasion and the people become very involved in the associated ritual. Almost every member of the community takes part. All take their fishing nets and go out to the lagoon where the bundle containing the dried coconut meat is opened and spread on the water. They will then begin fishing. If no fish are caught, they regard this as a bad omen, that the death of the deceased was a sign of bad things to come. If however they catch many fish, they view this as a good sign. The fish they catch will all be cooked for the feast called koa, the first feast after a person dies.

Stage IV: The continuous painting of the dead person's relatives' bodies. I regard this practice as the worst of all the practices associated with their ceremonies regarding the dead. Relatives begin to paint their bodies with ashes the very day a person dies. Many days pass while the people continue in such an unwashed state. Sometimes - two to three years. Washing will take place only after a certain feast which signals the end of mourning.

If a husband dies, his wife and children will be forbidden to eat taro, bananas, fish or pork for 2-3 years. Only fruit and vegetable leaves are permitted. Meanwhile the woman's body will be tied with cords made from the bark of a certain tree. Her grass skirt is not trimmed, but dragged behind and around her. Her house will be well fenced and marked from the rest of the community. Furthermore, her house has no window; and she will live in darkness. She is not permitted to speak or meet anybody. Both sexes are slaves to this practice. Many are not able to live long or to the time when the fasting will be allowed to discontinue.

The children meanwhile are not permitted to visit the place where their father is buried. They are also not allowed to eat many foodstuffs.

Stage V: The plundering of the dead person's plantation. A large quantity of wood will be cut and piled on a spot on the dead person's garden. Then his relatives will pull out all taro, bananas, yams or any crop the deceased planted and place them on the wood where they will rot. No one will eat any of the crops. Coconuts will be cut down.
My Dear brethren, especially those of you who just sit home in your comfortable surroundings, God has given you a talent. Rise up and sell that talent so that you may earn more talents.

XXV. IEREMIA TO SEC. SDC NANUMEA 1904 (August 1904:75-76)

It has been 29 years since the arrival of the Good News to this island. Many have received the light and understanding as a result. However, there are still some who continue to hold on to the old ways. These few are spreading a belief that all members of their families should die under the old ways and not under the influence of Christianity. I and some of my deacons paid them a visit, pointing out to them the absurdity of their belief; but they said: 'Many of those who agreed to worship your God have died, but many of us who disagreed are still alive. Perhaps it is better to remain the way we are, maybe we will live even longer'. These people exhibit the type of foolishness we encountered during the initial years of our work here.

When we first arrived, many of the people were simply not interested in the Church and its work. I dealt with this problem by formulating a system of daily visitation by the faithful members of our church to the unfaithful group. A faithful woman will visit an unfaithful one, and a faithful man will visit an unfaithful one also. This system of delegating and sharing our pastoral work has proved very successful. This, together with earnest praying, has resulted in a great new change in the people's way of life.

XXVI. IEROME TO SEC. SDC 1912 GERMAN NEW GUINEA (January 1913: 6-8)

The service to baptise our new communicant members on Bongu was held on 27 October 1912. Six German pastors, myself, Kurene and his wife, plus Mrs Hanke were present. Eleven villages combined in this service:

- Coastal villages: Bongu, Bogadim, Melamu, Male, Tagetta
- Inland villages: Koliku, Sekwanam, Jonglmana, Gagaibi, Sungum, and Buramana

Before the day of the service, the candidates were sworn into the faith. They were examined on some stories from the Old Testament as well as from the Gospel, and also on the subject of Jesus' ascension to heaven. Everyone gave good answers to the questions put to them. Each one stood and recited by heart the ten commandments as well as the Lord's prayer plus the Creed. Everyone of them was correct in all these things. I was also very happy to see Kurene attempting to preach in the Bongu dialect.
XXVII. EXAMPLES OF REPORTS BY SAMOAN 'FA'IFAE'AU' WHO ACCOMPANIED EUROPEAN MISSIONARIES ON VISITATIONS TO MISSION STATIONS OUTSIDE SAMOA

(1) Sio (September 1904:105-06)

Great interest in education. Some places showed an amazing preoccupation with their schools. Deacons as well as communicant members very involved in the role of teachers in Sunday School classes. In such places, the people gave Mr Newell money for the purchase of timber and maps for their schools. They also requested textbooks of all kinds. Furthermore, they have shown reluctance to part with their pastors once they realized how useful they are for the education of their children.

In many of the places, the people go out of their way to care for their pastors, and subsequently, there is a healthy attitude towards mission work generally.

In many of the villages, we collected between £20 and £26 for the Bibles which were sold between July 1903 and July 1904. We also noted a general increase of communicant members and membership of the Christian endeavour services. The pastors appear to work hard and sincerely in fulfilling their pastoral duties.

(2) Mosile (October 1908:149-50)

Church Services: We observed with gratitude the sincere willingness of the people to attend services from morning till evening. Every service was well attended. We also noted how well dressed the people were for worship; all the women wore hats. Furthermore they were very attentive during sermon time. All eyes focused on the pastor, no one sleeps or looks like falling asleep.

One of the most well known qualities of these people is their shyness. Nevertheless, this is soon lost once a person is appointed to give a sermon. In this exercise, they display remarkable knowledge of the Bible.

Their intense enthusiasm for the growth of God's work is further evident in their efforts to build new churches or improve old ones, as well as giving generously for the work of the Society. Vaitupu is a very good example. It is involved with the building of a new church, yet has not neglected its obligation concerning offerings and donation as well as caring for their pastor.

XXVIII. TIMOTEO TO SEC. SDC KABADI 1904 (October 1904:86-87)

The Nebu: The word symbolises a stone or a piece of stone cut out by a person and tied to a piece of wood, thus giving it a handle. In some, various designs are painted or carved on it.
The object is always kept in a secret place, and is used for sorcery practices. The person prays to it, mentioning the name of his ancestors and their various deeds. They believe that the stone has mana; if anyone other than the owner touch it, he or she will die. Nebu is therefore the name given to this stone of mana.

In every village is a family who controls this nebū, and their legitimate position in the village social structure derives from the fact that the position is inherited only by members of the same family. Such people are known as Akaie (Kabadi district), Vada (Motuan) and Pouliuli (Maivan). The effect of this stone on the minds of the people is truly amazing. Everyone fears it. No one sleeps by himself in the night or goes to the bush alone. Every death appears to be explained by the existence of such a stone, no matter what cause. Even those coming to church still believe in the power of the nebū. They come to listen to the gospel but do not believe. The belief in the nebū is very strong in all parts of the coast where Motuan is spoken, but especially in Maiva.

The government at the moment is tracking down those responsible for such a belief. Those who get caught are put in prison. Consequently, they now perform such practices in secret.

On 4 October 1902, one of them was caught and was brought to Delena to be judged by the British legal officer. The judge reminded him that he has the power to put him to death if he does not show his nebū. The man immediately took fright and told the officer where they were hidden: 'on the foot of a mountain range inland'. Soldiers accompanied him to bring back his nebū. He brought the parcel and gave it to the officer who opened it. As the officer unwrapped it, the people (numbering between 700 and 800) began to move away in fear of being killed, for it was believed that to see the stones meant instant death. The three stones were wrapped in dry leaves.

One of the amazing effects in the unwrapping of the stones was, those who ran away included New Guinea theological students, student pastors who were in charge of mission settlements, and Rarotongan missionaries who have been misled by such a stupid belief. The only ones who remained were the officer, government soldiers, and one Samoan pastor, Isaia. The officer called out to the frightened people: 'You foolish and lying people, today you will know how stupid and foolish you all are. You believe that these stones have the power to kill, that their power over life never fails. Well, have I held these three stones, look and see, am I dead?' After he said this, he threw the three stones into the fire. The dry leaves were quickly consumed by the fire, but the officer took out the three stones, cooled them, then wrapped them in his handkerchief and put them inside the pocket of his waistcoat.
The incident highlighted the sincerity of the people's belief in such stones, the inadequacy of the New Guinea student pastors' knowledge, and the foolishness of the Rarotongan pastors. It also revealed the faithfulness and courage of the sole Samoan pastor who was present.

XXIX. APINERU TO SEC. SDC 10 JUNE 1905 KALAIKOLO (December 1905:135)

In this part of New Guinea, people carry smooth stones in a small bag known as kiapa - made of strings. Men, as well as women, all have one of these bags.

According to traditional belief, when a man goes hunting or fishing, he always takes his bag with the stones in it, and ties it to his net. His beliefs regarding the success of his venture are all wrapped up in these stones. He believes the mana of these stones will grant him success. If however he is unsuccessful, it is explained as owing to the stones being angry.

On 9 June, an old man of this village where we are working came to me to ask for some tobacco. I gave him some, and while we smoked I noticed a small bag under his arm and I was curious to find out its content. So I asked him, 'My friend, what do you have in your bag?' He replied: 'Don't talk about sacred things'.

I: What is sacred about them?

Man: That cannot be talked about in public.

I: My brother, is it your god in your bag?

Man: Yes, it is my god.

I: Please, may I see your god? (He began to open the bag and gave it to me so that I might touch it. It was a big stone.) Where did you get such a stone?

Man: I bought it from a man in Maliiu (a village inland near where Paulo works).

I: What price did you pay for it?

Man: Two axes and a pig's tooth.

I: What a waste of your goods, for this stone is like any of the stones lying around here.

Man: No, this stone is different; it has mana. If I take it to the bush and tie it to my net, it will call to a pig to come immediately so that I may see its power. It can only do this away from the village. One day a wild pig attacked me, the marks are still visible on my body, you can see for yourself.

I: Oh, you were attacked, but where was your stone god?
Man: He was still in the net.

I: Oh, he stayed in the net and didn't stand up to help you in your misery?

Man: But he has no legs or arms, that is why he remained in the net.

I: Forget about the legs or arms, but his mana, where was that to help you?

He could no longer answer me. And because many had gathered to listen to our conversation, he felt ashamed. So I advised him concerning the uselessness of his stone god and the beliefs he held regarding it. Only God who lives in heaven has mana. Inspite of my words however, he showed no sign of repentence. He stood up and walked away very angry.

XXX. PAULO TO SEC. SDC KALAIKOLE 1905 (June 1905:62-63)

I continued to marvel at the heights of these mountains and the awesomeness of God's wisdom in creating such places. We reached the next settlement where Maico's people (the New Guinea student pastor at Iavanakatama) who had accompanied us turned back and the people of this new settlement took over. The difficulty we encountered has been the lack of communication, for the people did not understand the Motu dialect.

Nine of us set out. One of the tracks we walked on was about two feet wide with a drop on each side. We arrived at a river about mid-day and decided to have a rest. I took this opportunity to ask our leading scout who made the heavens and who was the true God who made rivers such as the one before us. His answer amazed me 'I am the TILAVA KOLIKOLI (the true God) and I made both the heavens and the rivers'. I pitied his foolishness. I decided then to give them a brief talk on God as the Creator. They asked me if what I said was true, to which I assured them it was. The mountains, rivers, and all people were made by God. Then they asked if it was possible for God to look after and take care of us during our trip. 'Yes' I said, 'God will protect us, all the way to Poku'.

We set out again. The road was very difficult, up and down. After a while, we arrived at a village called Kupakolo. I saw a wooden idol erected at the entrance and enquired who was the leader and where was he. They replied 'He is standing next to you'. I asked again about the meaning of the great posts they replied 'Our god'. 'Can your God speak to you?' I asked, 'Oh yes' said a man named Mauna Kaulinua. 'Well' I said, 'you talk to him'. But he became shy. And thus, I took the chance to preach to them from the text in Psalm 135:15-16. ['The gods of the nations are made of silver and gold; they are formed by human hands. They have mouths but cannot speak, and eyes, but cannot see'.]
After I preached, they told me that what I said was true, and they would like a pastor to live with them so that they could learn more of Jesus' Gospel. I assured them that they will have a pastor when we next visit them.

XXXI. APINERU TO SEC. SDC 1906 (May 1906:56-57)

There are a variety of stones used for a variety of things:

(a) **Rock of clay:** From the mountains, like those found in sands. These stones are reddish colour in some parts and black in others.

(b) **River stones:** very smooth and very black.

(c) **Dead person's bones:** of old warriors, these are looked after, polished, and kept in a small bag (kiapa). There was once a feared warrior in these parts named Taumavegavegani who ate children. Two brothers eventually killed him and the people gathered around to get their share of the body. His skull in fact is still kept by the people. Whenever I ask a person of this part what he has in his kiapa, the reply is always, the bones of Taumavegavegani.

Those who are not able to find such bones use the other two types of stones. They are used for:

(a) **Plantation:** Before the land is cleared, the sharp edge of the axe is rubbed with the stone, in order for the axe to have additional strength so that the work may progress easily.

(b) **Hunting:** It is tied to the net.

(c) **To feed hunting dogs:** a bit is scraped from the surface of the stone and given to the dogs to eat.

XXXII. ISAIA TO SEC. SDC 1906 (November 1906:187-88)

Aiabana was the idol which used to instil fear and terror in the minds of the Kabadi people. It is a tree, beautifully carved. It is kept in a huge house which is fenced on all sides. No one is permitted to enter this house except the sorcerer and members of his family. The sorcerer in fact was the wealthiest man since the people gave him numerous gifts on behalf of the idol.

In reality, the people were under the control and influence of the sorcerer because of their fear of the assumed power of the idol over life.

One day, the son of our New Guinea student pastor who was working with me in Keneo went to look at the house where the idol was kept. His curiosity got the better of him and he entered it, only to be met by the angry sorcerer. The latter scolded and shouted at him.
'Die, die now, you are going to die, for you have entered the forbidden sacred part of the house, die'. The son ran out crying and on reaching home, he told his father why he was in such a hysterical state.

The student pastor immediately went to the house where the idol was kept, picking up the idol and brought it to me. The sorcerer, to say the least, was infuriated, and began to do all sorts of witchcraft (magic) to kill the student pastor, but failed. When he realised that his idol had no power and that the people were beginning to question his authority, not to mention the awareness that he could lose the only source of the material wealth he had accumulated. So he went to the student pastor and begged that his idol be returned, saying to him: 'You have removed my god and given it to Isaia. The people know that my god is no longer with me and thus have stopped giving me the things they usually give. They have stopped giving me food, and my dignity is slowly declining. As a result, my personal spirit came and hounded me last night, trying to kill me. I know I will be killed unless my god is returned to me'. The student pastor in reply said: 'Were you at church last Sunday? I was speaking about the wise man named Elima who hated and despised God. He in fact became wealthy out of the lies which came from his lips. In the end, he became the centre of peoples' jokes. Do you really think that what you believe is the truth? You must not mislead the people. I know we are of the same race from the same country, but I also know that our idols have no power whatsoever. I am now a member of Jesus' kingdom and I know how misleading and false our idols are. You will not have your idol again, I have given it to the Samoan pastor.'

On 2 December, a government official visited us and I gave the idol to him as a souvenir.

XXXIII. TAUTA TO SEC. SDC 1909 DUABO (March 1909:38-39)

This is the new church district for villages situated at the end of the Bay east of Milne Bay. I and my wife, our European pastor and some New Guinea student pastors are the only ones here. It is a very big district, extremely populated as it is located between Milne Bay and Fife Bay.

During September, Mr Clark [Rev. J.B. Clark] and some of our students paid an exploratory visit here first. They returned at the end of the month. They told us of the long and difficult road. But this did not deter us.

We left for this new place on 13 October 1908. I, my wife, four boys and two girls. We set out trusting in the Lord's guidance and protection for the difficulties and hazards we were bound to meet on the way, especially the wildness of the people. The boys who went with Mr Clark told us of the extremely wild nature of the people but they did not attack their party because of their rifles. Well, we have no rifles to protect us. But I comforted my companions by reminding them that we have the best protection in our Lord the Good Shepherd who will protect us on our trip.
We departed at 8 a.m. and walked briskly to the village of Ipouri where we were met by a man named Sako who took us to his house. His village received us warmly. We left one of our student pastors here to be their teacher. But they said they prefer a Samoan. Many came and gave those who were preparing our meals foodstuffs for us.

We left the following morning having assured them that we will meet again on our return. On the way, we met many on the roadside begging for tobacco. But we did not have much to give. My heart pities them, for tobacco is the only thing they want. When evening came, we slept in a village called Aboro. When the people heard that a pastor had arrived and would be sleeping in their village, many went and brought food thinking that I was going to be their own pastor. They all came and brought coconuts, shaking my hand, then went and sat down some distance away. When it was dark, they all went to their houses, none asked for compensation for what they had given.

Two old people however came and asked us if we were going to stay with them. One of the boys answered 'He is our father'. They felt sad. I asked them if they wanted a pastor to which one of them replied 'Our village had just talked of our need and desire for a pastor, we thought it would be you'. I assured them that very soon they will have their own pastor. I asked them to call the people back for an evening service. They all came and we held our service. But their continuous murmurings disturbed our prayers. The service ended. We then spent the whole night talking. They wanted to know if their new pastor would be a Samoan. I explained to them the truth of Jesus' Gospel. They were very pleased. When morning came, they all came back with food for us for our journey. How delighted my soul was to know that they love us as though they have already known Jesus.

When we left, we began to climb the mountain range which separates us from the Isuleilei District, arriving at some of their villages about 2 p.m. We arrived at Isuleilei proper at 4 p.m. 15 October. We met Tofili and Avia and their families in joy.

XXXIV. TIMOTEO TO SEC. SDC 1909 (August 1909:121-22)

Oarove is the name of the god of this part of New Guinea (Kabadi). There are six tribes worshipping this idol. It is not a recently known idol. Those who first came here knew of its existence. Belief in this idol was unanimous until the Gospel was brought here. Since then, the influence of the Church has resulted in a rapid decline of belief in it and the behaviour related to its rituals.

Between 1907 and 1909, there was an attempt to revive belief in it, but it failed, thus reflecting the influence of Christianity over the people.

Oarove means 'sacred god’. Oa - god, and rove - sacred. No one really knows where this god lives. The six tribes continuously debate this: the three eastern tribes of Kabadi, Dura and Nara...
believe that the god lives in the west amongst the other three tribes of Maiva, Mekeo and Vanuamia. The latter three tribes claim the reverse.

It is believed that the god has no body, thus no one can see what it looks like. However there are times when it will reveal itself in the form of an animal such as a pig, snake, fish, bird, crocodile or kangaroo. They believe that it is able to turn itself into anything it pleases. People who call themselves Oarove people are the very ones who emphatically hold such beliefs.

It is said that the clouds, sun, moon and stars, winds and everything in this world were made by Oarove.

His authority over people has two sides: anger and fear, expressed in disease or famine. The people believe that Oarove always warns them when he is about to reveal his anger - by sending earthquakes. The disciples of Oarove have spread such lies to gain material wealth. They go around warning the people of such unforeseen calamities over which they have no control.

The disciples are deceitful people, playing on the fear of the people. They are indeed skilful in lies and spreading such things. They debate furiously the truth of their beliefs. Some of them specialise in conducting a form of prayer meeting for the purpose of healing. Others specialise in prayers concerning the weather, for rain or sunshine, or for a delay in the setting of the sun in order that a journey on the sea may reach its destination before dark. Some specialise in prayers to appease Oarove when the god comes to a village in the form of an animal [see above] so that it may leave. Offerings are presented - foodstuffs or livestock, which the disciples will take for their own use. There are approximately twenty disciples in each village. They work feverishly in their respective duties to fulfil the things they promise. I have given below two instances whereby the prophets of Oarove display their false beliefs.

During 1907, one of the Oarove people became ill with fever and a headache. He belonged to a very wealthy family, both in material goods and food. A priest of the Oarove cult who specialises in prayers visited him and informed the man and his family that 'There is no way he can be well again unless I am well paid, for it is a serious illness'. And so the family began to assemble his payment. Much food and material wealth were put aside. Meanwhile the priest prayed. After this he left with all his acquired goods. Two days later, the sick man died, and the family went and brought back all the things they gave him. He was left in shame, but only after he defended himself 'It is because you have not given me enough'.

During 1908, a common water minotir [snake] chased a small pig into Keneo village while the people were gathering around their meeting place. The snake took fright and climbed a coconut tree. The village people were divided as to the fate of the snake. Some wanted to kill it, others refused claiming it was Oarove. When this was heard, fear gripped everyone as the possibility of
death entered their minds. One of the Oarove priests however came forward and told the people that 'Oarove will not leave us until we have tied a small pig to offer as a sacrifice to him. So tie up a pig while I go and call Oarove to come down, then when he does, I will take him and his pig to the west'. The villagers quickly did as they were told. But the snake remained on the tree one whole week. When we heard of the incident and the proposed sacrifice to Carove, Naite, Isaia and myself decided to visit Keneo. When we arrived at the foot of the tree, we fired two shots at the snake but only wounded it. It jumped into the water and swam to the other side. The people laughed at us, saying: 'You see Naite and Isaia if it was not a god, it would have been killed by now; Oarove now lives for ever since even guns cannot kill it'. Naite and Isaia went over to the other side of the river where they found it and finished the job.

Inspite of this, however, the people hold on to the belief that we will all die soon. Amazingly, the people were reluctant to eat the snake even though it was known to be a delicacy in these parts. One of the boys of my village (Vanuabaka) who helped Isaia and Naite in killing the snake, took it and brought it to our village where our people called out 'Show us Oarove so that we may eat it'. And this they did.

The boys who went with us as well as ourselves are still alive and well.

XXXV. APINERU TO SEC. SED 1910 (September 1910:139-40)

Samoans are familiar with spirits and ghosts as are the people of New Guinea also. But the intensity of the people's belief in this here has been the major stumbling block in their accepting and believing in the one and only God.

No doubt you have read an earlier account of this phenomenon by Pastor Timoteo of Kabadi. I wish to add to that a few things I have seen here in our part. The beliefs associated with 'Vada' are very hard to pin-point, basically because there are so many of them and most of them are said to be secret. Thus, there is a mysterious element about it from the outset.

The Governor as well as the missionaries have tried so hard to abolish this false belief, but have been unsuccessful. Here is an example of why it is an obstacle to our mission work. If someone becomes ill for instance; a boil on his leg or on his back, they never regard this as a sickness. Instead, they explain it as 'Vada has hurt him'. The relatives immediately go out in search of a witch doctor, to come and bring some medicine for him as well as examine all parts of the body to see which one the tip of Vada's spear is in. The witch doctor (a skilful liar if ever was one) arrives, having already prepared a tip of a spear which he has hidden in some part of his body and begins chewing some herbs which will be spread over the patient's body. All of a sudden, the tip of the spear he has hidden will fall out from the back or the leg of the patient, much to the amazement of the people watching.
The people stand in total awe admiring the power and skill of the witch doctor. In seeing this, the witch doctor says to the sick man 'You won't die, you are alive by my mana, and the mana of my medicine.' He then returns to his home while the sick man begins to look for goods to pay him.

If a pastor tries to dissuade him and tell him that, 'You have indeed disease', he will never listen. Even when we tell him that the witch doctor is a liar, he will never listen. He, together with the people who were present will insist it was the real thing.

The people in this part of New Guinea believe that every illness or disease is caused by vada. Furthermore, if a person is bitten by a snake in the bush, and dies as a result, they insist it was the vada who caused it all. Their explanation for such a belief goes something like this: The days before he was bitten, he was already harmed by the vada but he did not know this, for the vada has injected in him his tranquilizer which affected his awareness of the vada's presence, and he dies. However, he will be brought into life again by vada's life medicine. But although he lives, and he looks strong, his internal organs have all gone rotten and smelly. When the stink reaches his feet, a snake will bite him, being attracted to him by the smell of his leg. Then he dies for good. A pastor usually tries to inject the necessary antidote to save him, but his reactions discourage any kind actions for him. He will usually shout verbal filth at the pastor's face. It is so hard to bear such unnecessary indignations from such people. And sometimes, it is best to leave them to die.

XXXVI. APINERU TO SEC. SDC 1910 ANGAS INLAND MISSION (December 1910:54-55)

This church district was established in 1898 with the money of one rich man, Mr Angas [John Howard Angas]. He gave the society £2,000 for the purpose of establishing a new church district in New Guinea. And so the birth of our district, which officially is known as the Angas Inland Mission. Although the above amount has long been spent, its usefulness remains. This district was begun by Mr Schlencker and Pastor Uele. And it is true that its beginning was very difficult, due to the wildness and ignorance of the people. Furthermore the rough topography of the country made both travelling and communications difficult. Diseases and malaria were (and still remain to a certain extent) a real threat, not to mention tribal warfare. And it is a reflection of the enormous courage of the above two men who began the work in this part.

They were followed by Pastor Beika in 1901, then myself and Konelio in 1902, followed by Paulo in 1903. In 1906, six Niuean pastors arrived. How our hearts rejoiced at the steady increase of our labour force, which enabled us to advance against the heathen army. Owing however to fading health, Uele had to retire. His departure affected our morale, no longer did I feel the spirit of the work for our leader had left. To make it worse, two of the Niuean pastors died. Oh, what a great pity, two warriors from the Niuean army have fallen. Their deaths discouraged the Niuean division of our army and they withdrew. We tried to encourage them to work
with us, but to no avail, they have lost the enthusiasm for the work. Perhaps they did not like the fact that we Samoans and Ellice pastors outnumbered them.

Their departure has subjected us to ridicule from the enemy, and our ears are hurt by the continual sarcasm 'Diara vada mate' (The light has died). However, we are still striving hard for Jesus, that you can all believe.

There are now only three of us here: Konelio, Paulo, and myself. Although we are only a handful, we are determined in our work for Jesus. Recently, we all gathered here in Kalaigolo to pray together for our work. The experience gave us an encouraging insight into the development of our work. We decided that each one would work hard to develop and co-ordinate his own school without having to rely totally on the help received from the Society, but treat the members of the school as members of his own family, nurturing, caring and feeding them until they became changed people. This is exactly what we have done. Each one has set up his own school, has built houses for boys and girls who live with each of us. This is an amazing development, for in the past, they rarely ventured out of their parents' homes for fear of being attacked. However, this new development has become a joyful experience for us all, and things appear easily managed as a result. Although we still experience many trying moments in our efforts to teach them, to know they are willing to learn encourages us. This is evident in their willingness to leave their parents and come and stay with us. Thus, they are spending more time with Christ than with their families. Christian ways permeate the environment in which they live. Owing to these encouraging signs, we have decided to open a school for our districts to train students from each of the three schools for the work of Christ. We felt strongly about this and have decided to wait until the return of our leader, then we will build the much needed school.

During the waiting period for the arrival of our leader, we conducted marriage ceremonies for the suitable students to be trained so that all will be ready by the time our leader returns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marriages</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Presiding Officer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Samoa and Maduga</td>
<td>20 August 1910</td>
<td>Mr Beharell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abeteniko and Borana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saroa and Kemokori</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gealonga and Mumuni</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banaga and Konegati</td>
<td>2 September 1910</td>
<td>Pastor Alesana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baboua and Vilimamana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humeu and Kouma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konebinari and Konevavine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the month of July we waited for the visitation of Mr Beharell. He was the European missionary residing in Huta in the district of Kerepunu. He has been given the responsibility of looking after the AIM as well as the district of Vatorata. We waited for him, but news reached us that he had been detained owing to various unexpected problems concerning his health. For a time, we were
not sure as to what we ought to do. Finally we decided to hold a meeting of our district at Konelio's station, Saroakei, the purpose being to carry out marriage ceremonies for the spiritual children of Konelio. We assembled on 19 August, but Mr Beharell arrived on the same day too. We were overwhelmed with the meaningfulness of our meeting and the arrival of our leader. He was very pleased to find us all together in one place which will help him in his work. He immediately decided that 20 August would also be the day of the first May meeting of the AIM.

August 20: Konelio and his school prepared a shelter thatched with coconut leaves for the happy occasions of this day, for it was not possible for our large spiritual family to all fit inside the church. The bell for the May meeting and the weddings was sounded. The procession began from the edge of the river (Vanikera) to the Society's land where the temporary shelter had been erected and where Mr Beharell sat alone with the people of Sarokei behind him. All awaited for the procession of different schools and their spiritual fathers. Each school was distinguished from the other by a flag which had its name on it and their village. They marched around the Society's land. Each school had a uniform. Each sang a song. English, Samoan, AIM, Motuan or Hula. They marched out one at a time, until the temporary shelter was filled and the space on the land too.

The weddings were held first. When they were completed, the May meeting was held. Mr Beharell, as well as we pastors gave addresses. Our donations for the Society amounted only to £6.7.0. But we had very short notice of our leader's intention for our May meeting.

August 21: This was Sunday. We all assembled at 9 a.m. We began with Baptisms, 18 were baptised, followed by the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. In the evening, singing and discussions occupied our time between 7 and 12 p.m.

August 22: We met again with Beharell. Our decision concerning the re-establishment of our district school was postponed until our own leader returns. But for the time being, our able students should be sent on to Vatorata to be trained for pastoral work. When everything was concluded, he returned to Hula.

In the beginning of September, Alesana (who had been in Vatorata for seven years) arrived from Vatorata to seek recruits from our district for the school there. We were overwhelmed with the willingness of our students to go, but we were granted only seven vacancies. And so our students who had just been married were sent there.
1911
Dec. 14, 7 a.m. We said farewell to the old pastors at Mulinu'u. Our hearts were greatly touched by the parting words of Sita, Esene and Petaia.

Dec. 15, 5 p.m. We said farewell to the Executive members, Mr Morley and Mr Heider. They took us to the S.S. Tofua. We left Apia 12 a.m.

Dec. 16, 6 a.m. Arrived at Mulifanua. Left 2 p.m. By 4.30 we lost sight of Samoa, our country of birth.

Dec. 17, 7 a.m. Arrived at Niuafou, left mail here. We held all our services in the second class saloon. There were Samoan, Tongan and Fijian passengers on board. I preached in the morning, and Kurene in the evening.

Dec. 18, 9 a.m. Arrived at Levuka. Left 11 a.m. We met Kuresa here, and we left together for Suva, arriving there 5 p.m.

Dec. 19. Stayed at Kuresa's house. Our journey so far has been going well. We are all in good health. We were not greatly surprised by the care of the crew for us and the general well being of the trip so far, for all these things have been prepared by our Lord through the power of your prayers. We are leaving Fiji tonight for Sydney. This hope lies with Jesus who is travelling with us and is with you who remain. Thanks to Kuresa and the brethren in Suva who visited us.

Dec. 19. How true are the testimonies of those who came before us concerning the beauty of the harbour in Suva and its buildings; as well as the hospitality of the Samoans who live there. We boarded the steamer at 5 p.m. Left Suva for Lautoka, where sugar is refined.

Dec. 20, 7 a.m. Arrived in Lautoka. Went ashore to look at the sugar refinery. We were amazed at the technical knowledge of those who constructed the buildings for this industry.

10 a.m. Left Lautoka and headed for Memi Bay to take a cargo of bananas for Sydney.

1 p.m. Arrived in Memi Bay. However no bananas can be loaded owing to strong winds, so the ten boats had to go back to land with their loads - very sad.

3 p.m. Left Memi Bay for the long journey to Sydney. The wind increased in velocity, and huge waves tossed our ship to and fro. Heavy rainfall accompanied all this. The ship's engine was switched off, and we just float. The Captain informed us that if the weather does not improve, we will have to return to Fiji.
Dec. 21. No change in the weather.

Dec. 22. Slight improvement, wind decreased, no rain.

Dec. 23. Thank God this difficulty is over. A fine day. At 10 a.m. our bodies felt a very cold wind, and we had to put on our European clothes. The stewards also placed blankets on our beds.

Dec. 24. Our wives very sea-sick, otherwise everything is well.

Dec. 25. Sunday. We held our services. A calm day.

Dec. 26. We arrived in Sydney and put down our anchor at 4 p.m. Thanks be to God that we have arrived safely. Although the women had been very sick, they have fully recovered. We did not meet Mr Pratt [Thomas Pratt].

Dec. 27, 10 a.m. We met Mr Pratt and Mr Schultz. We were then taken to stay on board the 'J.W.' We felt no reluctance about this for we learned that on board was Peni and his wife from New Guinea, and we believed that our meeting would be very useful. And so it was.

3 p.m. The wife of Mr Rivet came to invite us to see their home. We went on a government ferry. Their hospitality was expressed by giving us afternoon tea. Mr Rivet was not present, away on official church business.

5 p.m. We were taken back to the 'J.W.'

Dec. 28-30. Remained on the 'J.W.'

Dec. 31, Sunday here. At 5 p.m. Mr Rivet came to take us to his service. His congregation wanted to hear a Samoan hymn. We went on the dais and sang Hymn 180 in our hymnary 'All things are good in Jesus...'. Mr Rivet then spoke, saying: 'Samoan is a very small country, but has become so well known owing to her efforts for other countries. Thus, we have with us some pastors who have returned from New Guinea while others have just arrived to go there to help in the work in German New Guinea.'

1912

Jan. 1. The bells of this city rang loudly last night at midnight to signal the arrival of the New Year.

12.30 p.m. Mr Schultz took us to the zoo. What a beautiful experience. We thank Mr Schultz. We saw four-legged animals of all kinds including the king of the beasts - the lion. As well, we saw all kinds of birds including its king - the eagle. We also saw crocodiles and many types of fish. I had a ride on a camel. The many different animals and birds are from the many countries of the world. It is an unbelievable sight, words fail to describe it all.
Jan. 2. Peni and his wife, Shultz and Lakena leave tonight on the S.S. Tofua for Samoa. We pray they have a good trip. It now seems that we might be leaving for New Guinea 13th January.

Jan. 13, 9 a.m. We left the 'J.W. and travel on the German steamer Coblenz which will take us to New Guinea. It is a big ship - very beautiful. Mr Pratt left today for Melbourne, and as a result, the first Officer of the 'J.W.' took us and introduced us to the Captain of the Coblenz.

2 p.m. Left Sydney and heading for Brisbane, capital of Queensland.

Jan. 15, 12 a.m. Arrived in Brisbane. Left 6 p.m. and heading for Rabaul, capital of New Britain.

Between 16 and 21 January, strong winds and high seas hit us. And although this is a big ship, at times the waves went right over it.

Jan. 22. We arrived at Rabaul and anchored at the wharf at 10 a.m. A beautiful harbour and town situated on a Bay. We saw the German flag ship Condor which was in Samoa earlier this year anchored here. Our Samoan brethren from the Methodist Church are working here.

An incident occurred here which saddened us. The Captain informed us that we have to stay here, as our passports and tickets are valid only from Sydney to here. I told him that we were supposed to go to Kaiser Wilhelm Haven. We pleaded with him to take us there where the pastors of the Rhain [Rhenish] Mission in Friedrich Wilhelm Haven will pay our travelling costs. To this he agreed. I have mentioned this as a warning to those intending to come here to take special care.

Students of Malua, be diligent in the learning of languages, for this is the only means to aid your mind in experiences such as the above. Without it, then your intelligence would not be useful, for you will be taken to places where you may not wish to go.

A Samoan woman named Emi, daughter of Pa of the village of Faleapuna, remained in Rabaul. She joined us in Sydney. She married a European who is dead. She is very wealthy. She gave us 22 marks. May she be blessed. I went ashore with Kurene and we visited the village of Matapi where a Samoan Methodist pastor named Farani was working. He is from the village of Asau, and his wife is from Lufilufi. The distance between Matapi and Rabaul is equivalent to that between Fasitoouta and Malua. On the way, we met a native of Matapi who can speak a few English words, and he took us there. They were surprised when we greeted them in Samoan. We then had a talk while his children prepared food for us cooked in the Samoan style of oven cooking [umu] - taro, yams, chicken etc. We were delighted with the news of his work. He told us
that everyone goes to church and many villages want pastors but very few are available. He has been here for the last sixteen years, and had recently been in Samoa on furlough. He gave us sound advice which warmed our hearts. Although we wanted to stay longer, we had no time. Our ship was due to leave that evening. We farewelled each other with much sadness. May God bless this true servant of His and his family and their work.

Jan. 24, 7 a.m. We left Rabaul and headed for the harbour of Kaiser Wilhelm Haven in German New Guinea where we will stay. Sea was calm.

Jan. 26. Arrived in Kaiser Wilhelm Haven. Mr Hanke, Mr Helmich and Mr Blum met us on board. We went ashore and rested in Mr Helmich's house. We held a service there and read Psalm 103. During the evening we were taken back on board another steamer Manila (like the Tofua) which will take us to Bogadjiem.

Jan. 27, 6 a.m. Left for Bogadjiem arriving there 8 a.m. Two German pastors met us on board, Mr Diehl and Mr Eiffert. We were taken ashore to Mr Eiffert's house where we had a good meal together with their wives. While we were eating, the school paraded in front of us with German flags. It was the Kaiser's Day, singing German songs. We all joined in the German national anthem.

3 p.m. We left for Borgu. Mr Hanke's school pupils came on board and took all our things up to Mr Hanke's house which was situated on a hill a little distance from the sea. We were given one of the mission houses to stay in for the time being.

Thanks be to our Lord who has travelled with us all along, and is remaining with you also. All the things which have happened reveal the constancy and faithfulness of our Lord's care and protection to our forefathers, to us and for future generations.

We will continue to stay with Mr Hanke for 2-3 months, to get used to the climate and for him to observe our health. Furthermore, Mr Hanke will instruct us as to health matters and the customs of the people. After this, I will go with my wife to stay with Mr Blum in Ragetta, to learn the language for 2-3 months. When we learn this, we will be appointed to 2 new islands, Siar and Ruo, one hour's rowing from the main town. Kurene and his wife will stay with Mr Hanke to learn the language, for this is a different one too. It is not certain whether he will be posted to a new village or remain with Mr Hanke in Borgu.

The following are the names of the German pastors of the Rhenish mission and the places they are working:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Helmich</th>
<th>Raggeta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blum</td>
<td>Ragetta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George</td>
<td>Ragetta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mr Hanke has told us that many other villages have no pastors, and are now awaiting the arrival of the 'force' from Samoa.

Jan. 28, Gifts from the people of Gorgu and the school. It was led by the leader - Mul. They don't have chiefs, and Mul's position was created by the government. To signify his appointment, he was given a hat and a walking stick. They brought us coconuts, corn, arrowroot, cucumbers. I said a few words translated by Mr Hanke.
APPENDIX E

NATIVE LAWS OF VAITUPU (ELLICE ISLANDS) 1893
(WIPH PAPERS 6 NOV. 1893)

I. Adultery
$5 to Faipule [village councillor] also $3 to the wife of the man, and to the husband of the woman if married, and 50¢ to the man or woman who catches the parties in the act.

II. Stealing
$5 to Faipule - the same as above. The thief catcher receiving 50¢

III. Falsehood
$5 to Faipule - also to witness who convicts the party

IV. Fighting
$5 to Faipule - if two men or two women fight and draw blood, $3 to the man who arrests

V. Murder
$5 to Faipule - if any child fights his or her father or mother and draws blood - also $3 to the party who arrests

VI. Trespassing
$5

VII. Stealing coconuts, $5 to Faipule and $3 to the party who detects them

VIII. Taros or buraka
Using bad language to mission teacher of king - $2 to Paipule

IX. If banns of marriage are posted in public place, any one wilfully destroying the same shall be fined $2

X. If a man and women are detected meeting in an out of the way place with intent to commit adultery, they shall be fined $5

XI. If a man or woman (unmarried) commit fornication in the mission house, they shall be fined $2

XII. If two men have a dispute about a taro patch, the one that is proved to be in the wrong shall be fined $2

XIII. If an orphan has been deprived of his land, and the present holders of the said land do not return it to him when
ordered to do so, they shall be fined $5 to Faipule, also $5 to the real owner of the land

XV. If anyone kills a pig or a fowl belonging to another, the offender shall pay a fine to the Faipule of $1 and also returns a pig for a pig and a fowl for a fowl

XVI. If two or more persons will persist in holding a conversation outside of the church when service is being carried on, they shall be fined 10 old coconuts.

XVII. If any children, male or female hear the horn sound at sundown and instead of returning to their homes still walk about the village, they shall be fined six coconuts also if they absent themselves from family worship they shall be fined 6 coconuts.

XVIII. If any children are found trying to snare birds with a stick, a line and stone attached they shall be fined 4 coconuts

XIX. If any bathe in the waterhole belonging to the native teacher, thereby endangering the body of the missionary to disease the offender shall be fined 10 coconuts

XX. If any children bathe in the sea and pour drinking water over their bodies they shall be fined 10 coconuts

XXI. If a man is accused of committing adultery and pleads not guilty and proves that he is not guilty he is discharged - but if he pleads guilty he is fined $5

XXII. If anyone is found cutting the leaves of Burak plants or coconut branches of tree any other than his own he or she shall be fined. $1

XXIII. If any man goes to a place sacred to government he shall be fined $3

XXIV. If anyone commits a crime and is convicted and he has an accomplice the latter shall be fined $5

XXV. If a young man and a young woman are detected talking privately - they shall be fined $1

XXVI. If a man neglects to clear away rubbish about his house he shall be fined six coconuts

XXVII If any attempt to leave the island in a canoe they shall be fined $1. Also, if any canoe arrives from another island the Faipule shall confiscate the canoe

XXVIII. That all dead shall be buried in prepared graveyards set aside for that purpose only (4 in number) anyone attempting to bury outside of these graveyards shall be fined $1
XXIX. If a child is born and the parents neglect to report same to the Faipule they shall be fined 25 cents

XXX. If any go to the store and contract debt, they shall be fined $1
ALEFAIO'S REPORT TO NEWELL REGARDING THE WALKOUT
OF STUDENTS IN RONORONO, BERU, 28 JULY 1908, FUNAFUTI

1. If we continue to observe Goward's programme of 'service',
the hopes of the Gilberts' young men will be shattered.
We have held many discussions regarding this, and all agreed
that if Goward's behaviour and plans continue then what is the
purpose of their school in the future?

2. There is a lot of criticism amongst the people. If this
continues, it is probable many will leave the campus.

3. Another reason for criticism is the daily heavy manual labour
owing to Goward's ambitious plans to achieve a name for
himself. He tends to show off the campus to officers from
ships as well as traders from overseas. These people he has
invited. As a result, school work has suffered. We have
discussed this situation on many occasions. We concluded
that our strength has been misused. We are being used to build
new houses, destroy old ones and build replacements according
to the wishes of our master. But when we think of the purpose
of why we came here, which is to attain knowledge through
education, we have achieved nothing. None of us has improved
through lack of new knowledge.

4. From January 1906, we have counted that not over 40
sessions
of school work (two sessions a day) have been held. We have
had no examinations, in spite of them being announced. No
reason was given. Consequently, much criticism has occurred
amongst the pupils. Time is spent on manual work from Monday
to Friday, and thus, many have left. They have sent word
of expalantion: 'We are tired of Mr Goward's cruelty towards
us!' There is even word that 'Mr Goward is a Pharisee, not
a Pastor'.

5. July 1907. Further debate on the $1 school fee paid after
5 years. The people claimed that Mr Goward had previously
told them that the $1 was only payable for the first 4 years.
The problem now is, many of the 4 year students have walked
out. To this Mr Goward replied: 'I have been asking the
elders for a solution, but no reply. I will ask again
concerning the 6 and 7 year in school'.

6. The pupils further asked Mr Goward as to the number of years
a person has to spend in school before he can become a pastor.
Mr Goward replied: 'First, he must stay in the school, then
be appointed to a village, then come back to school, all the
time paying the $1 school fee. After this he will be appointed
to a village again. Only after he serves the Church for 8 years
could he then become a pastor. To this the school answered:'
"We are now aware that there is really no limit to our school days. Our years spent in school are a waste of time, for we do not learn anything - there are no classes, so the system is a trick to keep us for manual work! The school's criticism was laid down in a letter addressed to Goward. Here were the main points:

(a) We are certain you are a Pharisee, not a pastor. The things you have done to us are many.

(b) The burning of the school's plantation. Took place on a day when the students were engaged in heavy manual work. Mr Goward visited the work and for some reasons beyond our understanding, he immediately told off some students who had just returned from dumping rubbish near the beach. The students were quite upset at Mr Goward's lack of sensitivity, and in protest, turned around and burned the plantation they worked so hard to plant.

(c) Mr Goward struck the head of one student and fined him £5.

(d) Mr Goward announced that prizes will be awarded to those who deserve them after the July 1907 exam. These will be brought from Samoa by the 'J.W.'. But after the exam, no Kiribati student received any prizes. The only prize being given to a Samoan woman, the sister of the wife of Jupeli. The students now believe that Mr Goward only gives prizes to his special friends.

(e) Incident at a church meeting: Two Sundays before Communion Sunday, Mr Goward instructed me to call a meeting of the Church to weave mats for the thatching of houses. This work would be done on the morning prior to the afternoon service which was to be held at 2.30 p.m. All of us and the people were present. When the time of the afternoon service approached, I asked Mr Goward for further instructions to which he replied: 'Wait till they have completed all the weaving, cancel the service'. The people in turn enquired as to the service as it was after 3 p.m. They began to mock Mr Goward. I again asked Mr Goward, but he said 'If the weaving has finished, tell the people to go home, there will be no church meeting'. This I relayed to the people who felt angry and said 'It is true, he is a lying pastor'. The effects of Mr Goward's behaviour on the people were apparent during the following Sunday services; very few turned up.

(f) Request for Friday to be a day off so students could go fishing for food was turned down. The students regarded such a refusal as 'cruelty' in view of Mr Goward's tendency to disregard the hardship student families were experiencing at times. For instance, he would request a mat or basket to be woven by a student's wife although her child may be sick.
Yet, despite these tensions, work continued, until Mr Goward and the students' wives had a disagreement. This was over the weaving of mats for Pastor Jupeli's house and his own.

Mr Goward asked me to go and speak to the wives. This I did. I spoke to Sipaia to ascertain the cause and she said 'Mr Goward has told the women that if they do not finish the mats quickly, all of them will be taken back (to Samoa) when the 'J.W.' arrives'. I tried to console and reassure them that perhaps the missionary did not really mean what he said. But all were emphatic that Mr Goward had sacked them. The husbands took up this new incident to justify perhaps their leaving the school. 'Not much point for us to stay if the missionary has told our wives that the 'J.W.' will take them.' Later, Sipaia informed me that some of the students had packed their belongings. I in turn informed Mr Goward later that evening and he merely replied 'It is up to them, if they want to leave - go'.

A. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

1. PRIVATE PAPERS AND LETTERS

ABEL, C.W., 1906. Diary (commencing 11 Feb.), A.P. New Guinea Collection, UPNG

BARFF, C., 1836. Visit to Samoa in the Dunnotar Castle, SSJ no.112

BINGHAM, H. (Jnr), 1856-79. Correspondence. Letters to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Harvard College Library

BIRD, P.G., 1863. Letter, 9 Feb., SSL 26/4/A

BOGUE, D., Lectures transcribed by J. Lowndes, 9 vols, New College, London

BROWN, G., 1890-1909. Letterbooks. ML, A1686/5-7

_____ , 1890 and 1897. Journals. ML, A1686/17

_____ , Correspondence and papers, ML, A1686/18-24

_____ , 1897. Notebooks. ML, A1686/32

_____ , 1910. Some nature myths from Samoa. ML, A1686-A1725

BURNS PHILP & CO., Contracts (Miscellaneous) File, Burns Philp & Co., Archives


_____ , Correspondence, NLA, Box 4


BUZACOTT, A. and C. BARFF, 1834. Journal of voyage to the Outstations (Hervey Islands and Samoa) in the Uliatea. SSJ, no.104

CHALMERS, J., Autobiography: notes for Lizzie and other papers. Papua Personal (PP), LMS

_____ , 1901. Journal, Jan.-April, PJ, LMS

_____ , 1879-80. Trip in the Papuan Gulf, PJ, LMS

_____ , 1890. Report of Fly River trip, PJ, LMS

_____ , 1891. Motumotu Report, PJ, LMS
DAVIS, T., 1880. Journal, SSJ, no.176

DAY, W., Domestic correspondence, papers, etc., original and transcription by Phillip K. Cowie, Launceston Public Library, Tasmania

DAUNCEY, H.M., 1891-93. Letterbook and financial papers. ML, 1356/15

_____ 1897-1904. Letters received. ML, 1356/16

ELLA, S., 1836-98. Correspondence and papers. 15 vols, ML, A202-A216


_____ 1849-75. Letterbook. ML, A200


ELLISS, M. 1836-98. Correspondence and papers. 15 vols, ML, A202-A216


_____ 1849-75. Letterbook. ML, A200


ELLICE ISLANDS' CHURCH, 1920-50. Incoming Letters, Church Office, Funafuti, Files VI-XXII

_____ 1925-55. Outgoing Letters, Church Office, Funafuti, Files IX-XXVIII

_____ 1960-70. General Assembly Minutes, Church Office, Funafuti. Also kept at the Samoa Congregational Church Office, Tamaligi, Apia, Files XXXII-XXXIX

GEOFF, J., 1848-57. Diary. (PMB 161)

GILL, G. and G. STALLWORTHY, 1858. Journal of voyage of Deputation in the John Williams to the New Hebrides, Loyalty Islands, Niue and Fakaofo, Tokelau Group, SSJ, no.150

GILL, W.W., 1872. Diary of a tour of the Gilbert, Ellice, Union and Loyalty Islands. ML, B1444

_____ Papers. SSP, Box 1, LMS

HADDOON, A.C., Papers. Cambridge University Library (PMB)

HARBUJT, W., Papers. SSP, Box 1, LMS


HARDIE, C., 1835-37. Diary. South Sea missions, etc., ML, A368

_____ 1837. Journal around Savai'i, SSJ, no.116
HARDIE, C, 1854. The eleventh missionary voyage to the New Hebrides and New Caledonia groups and Savage Island, SSJ, no.148

HEATH, T., 1840. Voyage to Rotumah, New Hebrides and New Hebrides in the Camden, SSJ, no.129

HOLMES, J.H., 1893-1900. Diaries and Papers, LMS

____, 1900-16. Papers, ML, 1356/18

HUNT, A.E., 1893-1902. Letterbook. ML, 1356/17

INGLIS, J. and J. GEDDIE. Account of New Hebrides Mission, SSL, Box 25, VIII A

KWATO MISSION, Papers (one file), NLA, MS 3410

LAWES, W.G., 1877. Journal (dated 23 July), SSJ, no.169

____, Journals (3 vols), ML, A387-A389

____, Letters, ML, A390-A391

LENWOOD, V., Deputation notebook. SSO, Box 8, LMS

LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY, 1915, Answers to Deputation Questions, SSO, Boxes 10-11

____, 1795-. Board Minutes.

____, 1885-1920. Cook Islands District Committee Minutes. Takamoa Theological College, Rarotonga

____, 1915-16. Deputation to the South Seas and Papua. SSO, Boxes 8-10

____, 1857-77. Loyalty Island Mission Minute Book. SSO, Box 12

____, 1845-74. Minutes of the Hervey Islands Mission. SSO, Box 12, LMS

____, 1857-. Niue Island Church book. SSO, Box 5, LMS

____, 1796-. South Seas Journals, LMS

____, 1796-. South Seas Letters, 28 Boxes, LMS

____, 1796-1860. South Seas Letters, LMS

____, South Seas Odds, 16 Boxes, LMS

____, South Seas Personal, 4 Boxes, LMS

____, 1835-1914. Western (later Southern) Outgoing letters, LMS
LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY - AUSTRALIAN AUXILLARY, 1871-1904.
  List of teachers and missionaries. ML, 1356/2
  ____ , 1896-1933. Miscellaneous materials. ML, 1356/5.
  ____ , Papers of various missionaries. ML, 1356/9-20
LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY - GILBERT ISLANDS DISTRICT COMMITTEE,
  1890-, Minutes, LMS
  ____ , 1904-25. Incoming letters. Dept Pac. & SEA History, ANU
  ____ , 1900-28. Outgoing letters. Dept Pac. & SEA History, ANU
LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY - PAPUA DISTRICT COMMITTEE, 1899-1915.
  Correspondence with Government. New Guinea Collection (NGC), UPNG
  ____ , Early correspondence, NGC, UPNG
  ____ , 1913-18. Miscellaneous copies of correspondence, NGC, UPNG
  ____ , 1890-1919. Minutes. ML, 1356/6. Also in NGC, UPNG
  ____ , 1924-36. Papuan correspondence. ML, 1356/7
  ____ , Papua Letters
  ____ , Papua File
  ____ , Papua Reports
  ____ , Papua Personal. Boxes 1 and 2, LMS
  ____ , Papua Odds. Boxes 1 and 2, LMS
LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY - SAMOA DISTRICT COMMITTEE, 1836-51;
  1870-1930. Minutes. Books 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, and 7. Dept Pac.
  & SEA History, ANU
  ____ , 1836-1928. Outgoing Letters. Dept Pac. & SEA History, ANU
  ____ , 1838-1930. Incoming Letters. Dept Pac. & SEA History, ANU
  ____ , 1846-1928. Annual Reports of the Samoan Mission Seminary
  (Malua). Dept Pac. & SEA History, ANU
MACFARLANE, S., 1859-69. Journal. ML, A833

MARRIOTT, J., 1883. Journal. SSJ, no.180

___, 1887. Journal. SSJ, no.185

___, 1898. Journal. SSJ, no.192

MURRAY, A.W., 1839-42. Journal Extracts. SSJ, nos 122, 124, 128

___, 1841. Voyage from Tutuila to Sydney in the Camden visiting the Loyalty Islands, New Hebrides and New Caledonia. SSJ, no.130

___, 1863. Journal. SSJ, no.153

___, 1866. Journal. SSJ, no.157

MURRAY, A.W. and C. HARDIE, 1849. Journal of voyage. SSL, Box 23, 111D

MURRAY, A.W. and J.P. SUNDERLAND, 1852. Voyage of Deputation from Apia to New Hebrides in the John Williams. SSJ, no.146

MURRAY, A.W. and G. TURNER, 1845. Journal of Deputation to New Hebrides and New Caledonia. SSJ, no.140

NEWELL, J.E., 1885. Journal. SSJ, no.182

___, 1885. Diary (dated 3 Nov.). Newell Papers. SSO

___, 1886. Journal (dated 6 Jan.). SSL, 39/32A

___, Papers. Box 5, IMS

NEWELL, J.E. Mrs, 1874. Journal of visit to the Ellice Islands (original kept in Mission House, Apia Protestant Church, Western Samoa)

NISBET, H., 1836-76. Journal and other papers. SSJ, nos118-21

PHILLIPS, S.C., 1881. Journal, SSJ, no.178

PLATT, G., 1836, 1837. Voyages to the Hervey and Samoa groups. SSJ, nos 110, 114

___, 1850. Journal. SSJ, no.145

POWELL, T., 1851. Journal. SSL, Box 24

___, 1871. Journal. SSJ, no.160

___, 1879. Journal. SSJ, no.175

PRATT, G., 1872. Journal. SSJ, no.163
SOUTH SEA MISSIONS, 1800-. Letters from LMS missionaries. ML, A381

STAIR, J.B., 1895. Early Samoan voyages and settlements. ML, A229

SUNDERLAND, J.P. and A.W. MURRAY, 1853-54. Journal of voyage from Apia to New Hebrides and New Caledonia. SSJ, no.147


TURNER, G., 1837-40. Diary. SSP, box 1, LMS

_____ , 1842-43. Journal. New Hebrides with account of flight to Upolu, Samoa. SSJ, no.134

_____ , 1859. Report of the Westward voyage. SSJ, no.134

_____ , 1861. Journal. SSJ, no.153

_____ , 1874. Journal. SSJ, no.176

_____ , 1876. Journal. SSJ, no.180

_____ , 1878. Journal. SSJ, no.184

TURNER, G. and H. NISBET, 1848. Voyage from Upolu to New Hebrides, New Caledonia and Savage Island. SSJ, no.145

WESLEYAN METHODIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY, 1818-36. In-letters: Australia and the South Seas. Photostat copies. ML, A2827-A2829; A2852-A2859

WILLIAMS, J., 1832. Journal (incomplete). SSJ, no.99a

_____ , 1832-35. Narrative of a voyage performed in the missionary schooner Olive Branch. SSJ, no.125

_____ , 1839. Journal. SSJ, no.125

_____ . Papers, SSP, box 2, LMS

WILLIAMS, J. and C. BARFF, 1830. Journal of a voyage undertaken chiefly for the purpose of introducing Christianity among the Feegees and Samoas. ML, A403
2. SAMOAN VERNACULAR SOURCES (translations held by the author)


ALEFAIO, 28 July 1908. Report to Newell regarding the walkout of students in Rongorongo, Beru (original, Dept Pac. & SEA Hist., ANU)

ALESANA, 1904. Samoan delegation from New Guinea, SS June:70

_____, 1905. Vaota's illness, Vatorata New Guinea, SS Nov:135


ANONYMOUS (from SS)

1893. Notice for intending applicants for missionary work in New Guinea. Feb:36

1893. Letter of thanks from the people of Murray Island to the Samoan Church. Apr:57


1894. How the gospel arrived in the Tokelau Islands. Jan:12

1895. A plea from the NWO for more pastors. Mar:40

1895. Appointments for the NWO. June:87

1895. News from the NWO. July:253


1898. Death of Pastor Iosefatu. Sept:60

1898. Death of Pastor Simona. Sept:106

1898. Death of Pastor Nito. Sept:106

1898. Samoan pastors appointed for New Guinea. Dec:3-4

1898. Ordination for Apelu for work in New Guinea. Dec:33


1899. Samoan pastors for work in New Guinea. Nov:201

1900. Dedication of the Church in Badu. Nov:42
1901. Death of Samoan Pastors. Mar:30-31
1902. Death of Pastor Filemoni. Jan:4
1902. Appointments for New Guinea and the NWO Apr:44
1904. Death of Pastor Tina'i. Aug:86
1905. Ma'anaima's wedding in Fiji. Nov:141
1906. Dedication of the first Church in the Fly River District. Aug:89
1907. Dedication of the second Church in the Fly River District. July:82
1907. Death of Pastor Kirisome. July:75
1908. Death of Pastor Tipane. Oct:151
1909. Death of Iopu at Iokea, New Guinea. Sept:133
1911. Death of Pastor Mose Elisara. Aug:127
1916. Views of Samoan missionaries expressed during the Fono Tele at Malua, 2 Mar.1916. June:63-64

APINERU, 1910. An account of the Angas Inland Mission in Kalaigolo, Papua, SS Sept:139-40
BEIKA, 1910. The God with huge eyes, SS Sept:132
CHALMERS, J., 1892. The work in New Guinea, SS Jan:3-5
COOPER, E.V., 1896. Report of a visitation to the NWO and New Guinea, SS July:244-46
FA'AILIGA, 1902. Report from Port Moresby, SS May:68
_____ , 1906. Dedication of a new Church in Morabe, SS Mar:71-72
FA'ASI'IU, 1895. Some news from New Guinea, SS Mar:34
PA'ASI'U, 1897. The arrival of Mr Hunt to our district, SS Apr:320

____, 1898. A report from Hisiu, SS Mar:104-05

____, 1900. Dedication of a new Church in Vatorata, SS Sept:5

____, 1903. A letter from New Guinea, SS Mar:22

____, 1910. Death of Pastor Timoteo, Kabadi, SS Mar:46

PA'AVAE, 1900. Death of Pastor Ne'emia, SS Nov:43

____, 1906. News from Torres Strait, Darnley Island, SS Nov:130

____, 1908. News from Darnley Island, SS Apr:52

FARENI, 1913. The opening of the new Church in Hisiu, SS Dec:12

FAU'OLO, 1907. Dedication of the new Church in Bari, SS July:167

FILEMONI, 1892. Letter from New Guinea, SS Jan:3


____, 1897. Report from Milne Bay, SS Aug:363

____, 1898. News from Milne Bay, SS Mar:44-45

____, 1908. The trip from New Guinea, SS July:104

FINAU, 1898. Dedication of a new Church in Mabuiag, SS Feb:36-37

____, 1898b. Dedication of a new Church in Saibai, SS Mar:65-66

GOWARD, W., 1894. A brief account of a visit to the NWO, SS Feb:43-44; 36-37

____, 1897. Report of a visitation to the NWO, SS Dec:301-03

HILLS, J.W., 1901. An account of a visitation to the NWO, SS Mar:62-64

____, 1902. Report of a visitation to the NWO, SS Mar:46-47


____, 1897. A Brief account of the work by Samoan missionaries in Eastern New Guinea, SS Jan:12-14

____, 1900. Some news from New Guinea, SS Jan:8-9

IEREMIA, 1904. Report from Nanumea, SS Aug:95

IEROME, I., 1912. Journey to German New Guinea, SS Feb. 20-24
IEROME, I., 1912. Journal within German New Guinea, SS May:69-70

, 1913. A report from German New Guinea, SS Jan:6-8; Feb:21-23


IMO, 1903. Death of Pastor Saua, SS Sept:104

IOTAMO, 1894. A report from Torres Strait, SS Mar:45-46

, 1895. A report from Torres Strait, SS Oct:183-84

, 1896. A report from Torres Strait, SS Apr:228

ISAIA, 1901. Dedication of a new Church in Erupe, SS Jan:5

, 1902. Dedication of a new Church in Mare, Torres Strait, SS Mar:52

, 1904a. May meetings in Torres Strait, SS Feb:32-33

, 1904b. Death of Pastor Uele, SS Feb:23

, 1904c. Death of Pastor Mose, SS Feb:23

, 1906. The trip to New Guinea, SS July:82-83


IUPELI, 1903. Visitation to the NWO, SS July:89

, 1904. Rongorongo School in Beru, SS Mar:64

KIRISOME, 1899. Letter to European missionaries of the Samoan Mission on behalf of the Samoan pastors in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Nui, 11 August (original, Dept Pac. & SEA Hist, ANU)

KONELIO, 1904. Letter from Kalaigolo (21 Dec. 1903), SS Apr:40-44

, 1911. A trip around New Guinea, SS May:74-75

, 1912. Commemoration stone for Pastor Mataio, SS May:24

, 1912b. A speech by a heathen, SS July:162

KURENE, 1916. The work in Bongu, German New Guinea, SS Mar:31-33

, 1916b. The work in Bongu, SS Apr:44-45

, 1913. The work in Bongu and nearby villages, SS May:116

KURENE and IEROME, 1913. A Plea from German New Guinea, SS May:117
LAUPEPA, 1895. Letter from Nukufetau, 9 Nov., SS Feb:30

LAWES, W.G., 1899. A word of thanks from Vatorata, SS 1899:177

LEVI, 1899. A letter from Saibai, 19 Aug, SS 1899:200

LILOGO, n.d. A Report of the work in Arorae (original, Dept Pac. & SEA Hist., ANU)

LIUVAO, 1894. Islands in the west, SS Mar:40-41

LUTERU, 1897. Report of a visit to the mountain ridges of New Guinea, SS Aug:366-69

MA'ANAIMA, 1892a. Letter from New Guinea, SS Jan:4

____, 1892b. Letter from New Guinea, SS May:35

____, 1892c. Confrontation with a New Guinean over power of spirits, SS Sept:62-63

____, 1892d. Process of conversion where I work, SS Nov:82-83

____, 1894. Letter from Bou, Milne Bay (8 Sept. 1893), SS Feb:25-26

____, 1895. Letter from New Guinea, SS May:34


____, 1899. Death of Mata'ese of Killerton Island, SS Aug:65

____, 1902. The work in Milne Bay, SS Sept:36

____, 1902b. May Meetings in Milne Bay, SS Sept:37

____, 1904. Gold in New Guinea, SS Feb:16

____, 1904b. The work in Kwato, SS Mar:27-28

____, 1905. News from Duabo, SS Jan:16

____, 1906. Samoan Pastors in New Guinea, SS Apr:45

____, 1906b. Death of Feliki, SS June:63

____, 1907. Report of the work from Kwato, SS Jan:11-12

____, 1908. Type of English language spoken in New Guinea, SS Nov:171-72

____, 1909. A visit throughout our District, SS Sept:135-36

MANASE, 1901. Report of a visitation to the Ellice and Tokelau Islands, SS July:84-85
MARRIOTT, J., 1893. The trip to New Guinea, SS Oct:45-47; Nov:104-06

____, 1896. Report of a visitation to the NWO, SS Apr:52-53
____, 1898. Report of a visitation to the NWO, SS Feb:32-34
____, 1899. Report of a visitation to the NWO and New Guinea (4 Nov. - 22 Dec. 1898), SS Apr:166-68

MATA'ESE, 1896. How the work began in Barabara and Tatue, SS Apr:178-79

MATAIO, 1898. Report from Saroa, SS Aug:105

____, 1899. Another report from the Saroa District, SS Mar:184-85
____, 1900. Obituaries of Timoteo and Paia, SS Mar:70-71
____, 1902. Report from Kapakapa, SS Mar:33.35

MOLI, 1893. Report of a visitation to the NWO, SS Apr:60-61


MOSE, 1906. Visitation throughout our district, SS Feb:17

____, 1908. Death of Pastor Mataio, Bari, New Guinea, SS May:76

NAITE, 1906. A parable concerning the work in New Guinea, SS July:83

NE'EMIA, 1895. News from Kabadi and Kobuana, SS July:108

____, 1898. How the work began in Kobuana, SS Apr:57-58


____, 1900. Report of a visitation to the NWO and New Guinea (4 Nov. 1899), SS Mar:30-30; May:12-14

____, 1904. Report of a visit to the NWO, SS Sept:110-13

____, 1905. Report of a visitation to the Tokelau and Ellice Islands (June-Aug), SS Sept:175-76

____, 1907. First Samoan missionaries overseas, SS July:1-2

NEWELL, J.E. and J.W. HILLS, 1900. The call to Samoan pastors for the work of God in the NWO, SS Nov:285

OPETAIA, 1909. The work in Sunai, Fly River, SS July:109
PANAPA, 1899. Missionary Cooper’s visit to the Tokelau Islands, SS Dec:299

____, 1902. A report from Fakaofo, SS Sept:104

PAULO, 1905. Journey to Poku, SS June:162

____, 1911. The school in Vatorata, SS Nov:187

PEAU, 1895. Letter from New Guinea (13 Dec. 1894), SS Feb:48

____, 1895b. News from Kapakapa, SS July:97

____, 1898. News from the school in Vatorata, SS Mar:63

____, 1898b. A short narrative of the work in Vatorata, SS Aug:48

PENI, 1908. Sermon delivered during the Fono Tele at Malua, May 1908, SS Aug:118-19

____, 1916. Report from the Isuleilei district, SS Jan:3-4

PENIATA, 1899. Progress report from Milne Bay, SS Mar:184

____, 1905. Report from Bou, SS Dec:135

____, 1908. Death of Pastor Maene, SS Feb:18

____, 1910. Death of Pastor Ma'anaima, SS Oct:159, 175

PETAI'A, 1899. Report of a visit to the NWO, SS Jan:16-18

____, 1903. Death of Pastor Samuelu, SS May:70

____, 1903b. Death of Vai'ese, New Guinea, SS May:88

POLOIE, n.d. Forty years since the arrival of the Gospel in Niutao. Church office, Apia

SA'AGA, 1912. General Assembly of the Ellice Islands Church District, Vaitupu, 25-27 June 1912, SS Oct:151-52

SAMUELU, I., 1904. The importance of earnest praying, SS Jan:30

SIO, 1904. Report of a visitation to the NWO 1904, SS Sept:105-06

STONE, 1909. The opening of the Church in Port Moresby, SS Sept:164

TAESALI, 1900. Death of Pastor Peteru, SS Nov:54

TEMA, 1900. Death of Epenesa, wife of Tipa, SS Nov:45

TIMOTEO (Snr), 1892. News from Kabadi, New Guinea, SS Aug:96

____, 1892b. Letter from New Guinea, SS May:72-73

____, 1898. Hymn for Worship, SS Sept:110-11

____, 1894. Death of my wife in Kabadi, SS, Feb:82

____, 1894b. Type of Samoan used in Papua, SS Apr:64-65

TIMOTEO (Jnr), 1907. Death of Pastor Fa'aaliga, Koboana, SS Apr:37

TIPA, 1894. Letter from Nukulaelae (20 Nov. 1894), SS Feb.1895:38


TUAFILI, 1904. Death of Pastor Fa'atasi, Fife Bay, SS Sept:100

TUATA, 1909. Duabo, the new Church district in New Guinea, SS Mar:67-69

____, 1911. The abandoning of Duabo and why, SS Nov:18


____, 1901. Letter from Kapakapa, SS May:55

____, 1905. Mission work in Kalaigolo, SS Nov:130-31

UELE, 1902. A call from Nikunau, SS Sept:114

UTULAE, 1909. Opening of the Church in Vaitupu, SS Sept:131

VAITUPU, 1902. Letter from New Guinea, SS May:33

B. OFFICIAL SOURCES

For convenience of reference, some series published by the Colonial Office and the Western Pacific High Commission but prepared in, and relating to, the Colony are included in this section as are reports submitted to the Colony Government by specialists from overseas.

1. BRITISH GOVERNMENT COLONIAL OFFICE

Confidential Print

Australian No.206. 1912. 'Correspondence relating to Ocean Island'

1888-1906. N.G. (Papua) Session Papers. CO 436/1-3
2. BRITISH GOVERNMENT FOREIGN OFFICE

Confidential Print

1892 'Papers respecting the Declaration of a British Protectorate over the Gilbert Islands by Captain Davis, of Her Majesty's ship Royalist; and General Reports upon the Gilbert, Ellice, and Marshall Islands', FO 6269

1892 'Further correspondence respecting the Pacific Islands'. FO 6328

3. BRITISH NEW GUINEA AND PAPUA

1885-1920 Annual Reports, CAO

1880-1902 Despatches from Sec. of State to Administrator. CAO/G.3

BNG Miscellaneous Papers. CAO/G8-G11

1885-86 Correspondence. CAO/G14

1895-1907 Correspondence and Papers of Administrator. CAO/G127/76-77

Govt Sec. Letterbook. CAO/G36

Station Journals and Patrol Reports. CAO/G91

Outward letterbook, miscellaneous. CAO/G50-51

4. WESTERN PACIFIC HIGH COMMISSION (Western Pacific Archives, Suva, Fiji)

Inward correspondence. General encls 77/7, 78/8, 78/30, 84, 83/172, 87/172, 98/185, 392/1896 and 185/1899

Despatches to Sec. of State no.28

5. COLONIAL LEGISLATION

(Items included in this section have been considered as 'published' if they were produced in multiple copies, widely distributed and/or offered for sale. It should also be noted that reports and papers submitted to the Advisory Council and the House of Representatives were not published as a separate series.

There are two main series relating to the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony.)

1893-1915 Queen's and King's Regulations - made by the High Commissioner under the Orders in Council and published in the Fiji Gazette until 1914.
1916-63 Ordinances - made by the High Commissioner and published in the Western Pacific High Commission Gazette

1894 Native Laws of the Ellice Islands
1894 Native Laws of the Gilbert Islands
1930 Regulations for the Good Order and Cleanliness of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands

6. NAVAL REPORTS

(These may be sighted in the records of the Royal Navy Australia Station in the National Archives of New Zealand, or on microfilm at the National Library of Australia.)

1881 HMS Emerald (Maxwell): Report on the Gilbert, Ellice, and other Islands. RANS 15

1883 HMS Espiegle (Bridge): Report of proceedings on Cruise to Ellice, Gilbert (or Kingsmill), Marshall, Caroline and Pelew Islands. RANS 16

1883 HMS Espiegle: Report on certain Groups of Islands visited. RANS 16

1884 HMS Dart (Moore): Reports of proceedings in the Fiji, Ellice, Gilbert, Marshall, New Britain, etc, Groups. RANS 17

1886 HMS Miranda (Rooke): Reports of proceedings when visiting the Islands of the Union Group, the Phoenix Group, Sophia and Rotuman Islands, the Ellice Group and the Gilbert Group. RANS 17

1892 HMS Royalist (Davis): Papers respecting the Declaration of a British Protectorate over the Gilbert Islands and General Reports on the Gilbert, Ellice and Marshall Islands. RANS 17

1892 HMS Curacoa (Gibson): Papers respecting the Declaration of a British Protectorate over the Ellice Islands and General Reports on the Ellice Group. FO 6328

C. PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

WESTERN SAMOA

Tautala Samuelu Apia 5 June 1979
Enosa Lotofaga 16 May 1979
Masalosalo Si'u Solosolo 13 May 1979
Fetalaiga Kirisome Mulinu'u 24 April 1979
Tooa Salamasina Malietoa Papauta 1 May 1979
Oka Fauolo  Malua  7 June 1979
Toapo Elisara  Saluafata  8 June 1979
Vaa'imamoa  Moata'a  11 May 1979
Tema Koria  Pata, Falelatai  12 May 1979
Fa'amatala  Fatausi, Savai'i  10 May 1979
Fuata'i  Vaiala  8 May 1979
Nomeneta  Alamagoto  4 June 1979

TUVALU
Alovaka Maui  Funafuti  16 September 1979
Panapa Panapa  Funafuti  16 September 1979
Laumua Kofe  Funafuti  18 September 1979
Tapu  Flita'i

NIUE
Pope Talagi  Hamakautonga  8 July 1979
Afele Paea  Alofi  7 July 1979

RAROTONGA
Teariki  Takama, Avarua  12 October 1979
Isia Uili  Nikao  14 October 1979
Marjorie Crocombe  Nikao  14 October 1979

FIJI
Ioritana Tanielu  Pacific Theo. Coll.  Suva  8 August 1979
Dr Havea  Pacific Theo. Coll.  Suva  9 August 1979
Rev. Tapu  Suva  10-12 August 1979

PAPUA NEW GUINEA
Ruta Sinclair  Waigani  21-25 September 1980
Isia, I.S.  Waigani  25 September 1980
Mataio, U.  Bari  24 September 1980

NEW ZEALAND
Liu Tepou  Auckland  18 November 1979
Ioane O'Brien  Wellington  22 November 1979
Iafeta Iafeta  Porirua  23 November 1979
Riteta Tamatoa  Wellington  24 November 1979
Faraimo F.S.  Wellington  25 November 1979
Peata Hanipale  Dunedin  28 November 1979
Senetenari Iupeli  Rotorua  6 January 1980
Arielu Kirisome  Wellington  20 November 1979

KIRIBATI
Baitake Nabetari  Tangitebu Theo. Coll.  20 September 1979
D. OTHER PUBLISHED SOURCES

1. PERIODICALS AND NEWSPAPERS

[1839-]1885-The Sulu Samoa, monthly, Malua
1845-62 The Samoan Reporter, half yearly, Leulumoega

2. CHURCH AND MISSION PUBLICATIONS

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
1890 Eightieth Annual Report. Boston
1901 Ninety first Annual Report. Boston

London Missionary Society
1873, 1903, 1910 Constitution, by-laws and general regulations. London
1928 The Constitution of the Samoan Church

3. BOOKS AND ARTICLES


ANON., 1915. O le Tusi Fa'alupega a Samoa. Apia


BRADY, I., 1972. ‘Kinship Reciprocity in the Ellice Islands’, *JPS*, LXXXI, no.3:54-66


BROMILLOW, W.E., 1891. ‘Aboriginal vocabulary of Dobu’, *BNG, AR*: 106-10

__, 1893. ‘Notes on the tabu at Dobu’, *BNG, AR*:78


CHURCHILL, W., 1902. Samoa o le Vavau. Auckland

CHURCHWARD, W.B., 1887. My Consulate in Samoa. London

COX, S., 1887. Salvation Mundi. London


CROCOMBE, R.G., 1964. Land Tenure in the Cook Islands. Melbourne


DAVIDSON, J.W., 1967. Samoa mo Samoa: The emergence of the independent state of Western Samoa. Melbourne


DOUGLAS, N., 1974. 'The sons of Lehi and the seed of Cain: Racial myths in Mormon scripture and their relevance to the Pacific Islands', JRH, 1, June:90-104


EASON, W.J.E., 1951. A Short History of Rotuma. Suva


ELLIS, J.J., 1889. John Williams, the Martyr Missionary of Polynesia. London

EMBER, M., 1962. 'Political authority and the structure of kinship in aboriginal Samoa', American Anthropologist, LXIV:964-71

EPLING, P.J. and E.E. ARDITH, 1963. 'Some observations on the aiga potопoto', JPS, LXXII:378-83


Fort, G.S., 1886-1906. 'Report on British New Guinea from data and notes by the late Sir Peter Scratchley', BNG AR, 18

Fraser, J., 1892. 'The Samoan story of Creation', JPS, 1

____, 1897. 'Folk songs and myths from Samoa', JPS, VI

Freeman, J.D., 1947. 'The tradition of Sanalala', JPS, LVI:295-317


Gill, W., 1856. Gems from the Coral Islands: or, incidents of contrast between Savage and Christian life of the South Sea Islanders, vol.1. Western Polynesia; vol.2. Eastern Polynesia. London

Gill, W.W., 1876. Myths and Songs from the South Pacific. London

____, 1876b. Life in the Southern Isles; or, Scenes and Incidents in the South Pacific and New Guinea. London

____, 1880. Historical Sketches of Savage Life in Polynesia with illustrative clan songs. Wellington

____, 1884. Jottings from the Pacific. London

____, 1894. From Darkness to Light in Polynesia. London

Gilson, R.P., 1970. Samoa 1830 to 1900. The politics of a multicultural community. Melbourne


, 1970. 'Movement of the Malayo-Polynesians: the linguistic evidence', *Current Anthropology*, V: 361-68


, 1921. 'From birth to death in the Gilbert Islands', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, LI: 25-64


GROVES, M.C., 1957. 'Sacred past and profane present in Papua', *Quadrant*, 1(3): 39-46


GUNSON, W.N., 1965. 'Missionary interest in British expansion in the South Pacific in the nineteenth century', *JRH*, III, no. 4: 296-313

, 1966. 'On the incidence of alcoholism and intemperance in early Pacific missions', *JPH*, 1: 43-62

____, 1974. 'Victorian Christianity in the South Seas: a survey', JRH, VIII:183-97


HADDON, A.C., 1901. Head Hunters, Black, Brown and White. London


HAU'OFA, E., 1971. 'Mekeo chieftainship', JPS, LXXX:152-69

HILLIARD, D.L., 1969. 'The South Sea Evangelical mission in the Solomon Islands: The foundation years', JPH, IV:41-64


____, 1946. 'Sex and marriage in Busama, North Eastern New Guinea', Oceania, XVII:19-46

____, 1947. 'Native Christianity in a New Guinea village', Oceania, XVIII:1:10-27


HOGBIN, H.I. and C. WEDGEWOOD, 1953. 'Local grouping in Melanesia', Oceania, XXIII:241-76


____, 1926. Way back in Papua. London


HOWE, R., 1967. 'Social composition of the Wesleyan Church in Victoria during the nineteenth century', JRH, IV (3):206-17

HURLEY, F., 1924. Pearls and Savages. London


JULIEN (Father), 1896. 'Letter to the Editor, 21 May', Annales of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart, 560-62

KANIKU, J.W., 1975. 'James Chalmers at Sua'au Island', Oral History, III (9):71-76


---, 1937. 'The taupou system of Samoa', Oceania, VIII:1-14


KOSKINEN, A.A., 1953. Missionary influence as a political factor in the Pacific Islands. Helsinki


, 1978. 'The impact of South Sea Islands missionaries on Melanesia' in Boutilier and others, Mission, Church and Sect in Oceania. Michigan:91-108

LAWES, W.G., 1886. 'The condition of New Guinea', BNG AR:24-26


, 1925. Modern Problems in the South Seas. London


LUNDIE, C.A., 1846. Missionary life in Samoa, as exhibited in the journals of the late George Archibald Lundie, during the Revival in Tutuila in 1840-1841... Edinburgh


McARThUR, N., 1967. Island populations of the Pacific. Canberra


, 1888. Among the cannibals of New Guinea: being the story of the New Guinea mission of the LMS. London


MATTHEWS, B., 1917. Dr Ralph Wardlaw Thompson. London


MAURICE, F.D., 1853. Theological essays. London


MURRAY, A.W., 1863. Missions in Western Polynesia, being Historical Sketches of these missions, from their commencement in 1839 to the present time. London

------, 1876. Forty Years' Mission Work in Polynesia and New Guinea, from 1835 to 1875. London


NORTHCOTT, C., 1937. My friends, the cannibals. London


OLIVER, D., 1951. The Pacific Islands. Cambridge


ORAM, N.D., 1968. 'Culture change, economic development and migration among the Hula', Oceania, XXXVIII (4):244-75

------, 1971. 'The London Missionary Society pastorate and the emergence of an educated elite in Papua', JPH, VI:115-32


PITT-RIVERS, G., 1927. The Clash of cultures and the Contact of Races. London

, 1927b. 'The effect on Native Races of Contact with European Civilisation', Man, 2


POWELL, T., 1887. 'A Samoan tradition of the Creation and the Deluge', Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute, XX:145-75

POWELL, T., and G. PRATT, 1890-92. 'Some folk-songs and myths from Samoa', Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales, XXIV-XXVI.

PRATT, G., 1890. 'The genealogy of the kings and princes of Samoa', Report, Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, II:655-63

PRITCHARD, W.T., 1866. Polynesian Reminiscences, or Life in the South Pacific Islands. London


RAY, H., 1912. 'Polynesian languages of the Micronesian border', JPS, XXI (4):160-74


ROSS, C.S., 1903. Tamate. Melbourne

ROUSE, R., 1917. 'A study of missionary vocation', International Review of Missions, VI:244-57


SAHLINS, M.D., 1963. 'Poor man, rich man, big man, chief: political types in Melanesia and Polynesia', Comparative Studies in Society and History, V:285-303


SCHULTZ, E., 1911. ‘The most important principles of Samoan family law and the laws of inheritance’, JPS, XX:43-53

____, 1965. Proverbial Expressions of the Samoans. Wellington (translated into English by Brother Herman)

SIMMONS, R.T., and OTHERS, 1965. ‘Blood group genetic variations in natives in the Caroline Islands and other parts of Micronesia’, Oceania, XXXVI:132-70


SMITH, P.S., 1898. ‘Hawaiki: the whenua of the Maori, being an introduction to Rarotongan history’, JPS, VII:137-77; 185-223


____, 1897. Old Samoa: or, Flotsam and Jetsam from the Pacific Ocean. London


STEVENSON, R.L., 1892. A Footnote to History. Leipzig


TIFFANY, S.W., 1978. 'The politics of denominational organisation in Samoa' in Boutillier and others, *Church, State and Sect in Oceania*: 451-68. Michigan


, 1884. *Samoa: A Hundred Years Ago and Long Before, together with notes on the Cults and Customs of Twenty Three other Islands in the Pacific*. London


WETHERELL, D., 1973. 'Monument to a missionary: C.W. Abel and the Keveri of Papua', *JPH*, VIII:30-48

WETHERELL, D., 1980. 'Pioneers and patriarchs: Samoans in a non-conformist mission district in Papua, 1890-1917', JPH, XV (3):130-54

WHITE, E., 1875. Life in Christ. London

WILKES, C., 1845. Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the years 1838...1842. 5 vols. Philadelphia

WILLIAMS, F.E., 1923. The Vailala Madness and the destruction of Native ceremonies in the Gulf Division. Port Moresby

, 1945. 'Mission influence among the Keveri of south-east Papua', Oceania, XV:99-141

WILLIAMS, J., 1837. A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands. London


, 1937. Religion and Social Organization in Central Polynesia. Cambridge


E. UNPUBLISHED THESES

ADAMS, R.W., 1977. Culture contact history of Tanna to 1865. Ph.D, La Trobe University


BEDFORD, R.D., 1967. Resettlement: Solution to economic and social problems in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands. MA, Auckland


GOODLOE, R.W., 1956. Missionaries as transmitters of Western civilisation in 19th century Africa. Ph.D, St Andrews

LANGI, J., 1971. The History of the Church in its Rotuma setting. BD, Pacific Theological College, Suva


STANFIELD, D.E., 1952. The relation between missionary methods and the indigenous Church in Papua. MA, Melbourne