MAMONA AND THE MAU: LATTER-DAY SAINTS AMIDST RESISTANCE IN COLONIAL SAMOA

Dylan Beatty

The historiography of Colonial Samoa is dominated by the anticolonial Mau resistance movement against New Zealand and American authority during the late 1920s. With the exception of historian Featuna'i Ben Liua'ana's significant research found in *Samoa Tula'i: Ecclesiastical and Political Face of Samoa's Independence, 1900–1962*, little has been said of the role Samoan members of Christian congregations and Western missionaries held in relation to the Mau resistance. This article examines exchanges and conflicts between Samoan members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) and LDS missionaries amidst the larger Mau resistance to New Zealand colonial authority.

THE SAMOAN LATTER-DAY SAINT resistance to missionary authority was not a rejection of LDS principles but a rejection of Western authority in general. Rather than discourage Christianity, resistance and hardship reinforced the Mau association with the faith. Furthermore, the nonviolent philosophy practiced by the Mau was a testament to Christian values.

Introduction

In September 1929, an exasperated missionary from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) in Upolu, Samoa, wrote in his diary, "A miserable Sunday as usual because recently, the devil (sic) and his angels have been in attendance, trying to break up the meeting."[1] These were challenging, even dangerous times for the *Mamona* (Samoan term for

Pacific Studies, Vol. 37, No. 1—April 2014

Latter-day Saint missionaries) in Samoa. As any Latter-day Saint missionary would, when called to serve a mission, Elder Howard B. Stone probably imagined overwhelming success spreading the gospel and building the LDS Church in Samoa.[2] The defiance, threats, and violence that he encountered undoubtedly shocked him, particularly coming from Samoan Latter-day Saints. In the village of Sauniatu in Upolu, Elder Stone wrote of arguments with Samoan Latter-day Saints that resulted in "threats for murder . . . but ended up with a *fiafia* [dance or party]."[3] In his relatively brief stay in Sauniatu, Elder Stone was threatened with a stoning, an iron rod, and a bush knife. In addition, LDS doctrine was attacked during church services, something that is unheard of, particularly when attacked by Latter-day Saints themselves. These instances of conflict and defiance of mission protocol must be understood as part of a larger movement of Samoan resistance to colonialism and Western dominance. This movement during the late 1920s became known as the Mau and threatened decades of rule by Western nations.

This article makes three overall arguments. The first is that points of conflict between LDS missionaries and Samoan Latter-day Saints during the late 1920s were attributable to the Mau Rebellion. Second, the Mau was influenced by Christian principles. Third, by the early twentieth century, the LDS Samoan Mission had become more self-conscious of its image in relation to the colonial regimes in Samoa. This last argument is supported by the politically sanitized public discourse produced by the LDS Samoan Mission in magazines at the time. This is in contrast to the politicized discourse produced by the Mission during the 1890s.

Within the historiography of the Pacific, the Mau is often depicted as a critical example of Samoan popular resistance to foreign colonial powers.[4] Throughout the 1890s, three separate Western nations—Germany, Great Britain, and the United States—sought to secure claims to the islands by manipulating Samoan politics. In 1900, Germany and the United States annexed their claims as German Samoa and American Samoa. During World War I, New Zealand seized a renamed Western Samoa from German control.[5] In 1926, a multifaceted group of Samoan, European, and ethnically mixed residents voiced their dissatisfaction with New Zealand rule in Western Samoa. The protest group became known as the Mau, was quickly embraced by much of the Samoan population, and sought to dramatically alter government in Samoa. Despite the overt efforts of the New Zealand Administration to repress the movement, around 80 percent of the Samoan population supported the Mau.[6] During the 1930s, the Mau slowly lost its widespread support with the election of the Labour Party in New Zealand and improved conditions in Samoa.[7] Western Samoa would not gain independence until 1962. Tutuila is still a part of the American Empire.

This project recognizes the epistemological difficulties of constructing historical narratives.[8] Of particular importance was the historical work of LDS scholars.[3] The Mormon History Association's Tanner Lectures provide a unique perspective of LDS history by inviting non-LDS scholars to present their work.[10] The discourse on colonialism and the Mau in Samoa has received much more coverage than the LDS Samoan Mission. This article considers continuing debates on the nature of colonialism and resistance in Samoa.[11] Primary sources constitute the foundation of the arguments in this article. The archival material includes Latter-day Saint missionary diaries, oral histories, maps, and notes.[12] The LDS-affiliated magazine *Improvement Era* was crucial, with a particular focus on articles between the dates 1898 and 1930.[13] Miscellaneous papers in relation to the LDS in Samoa, such as meeting details, speeches, and reports, were used.[14] A significant number of newspapers, magazines, and other sources were consulted as well.[15] British and American governmental documents dealing with the military takeover of the islands, Samoa in the context of World War I, and the Mau resistance, spanning the years 1898–1940, were also consulted.[16]

Colonialism and Resistance in Samoa

The increasing involvement of Western nations in Samoan affairs in the 1880s spurred civil war and justified annexation of the islands by the turn of the century. A Tripartite Convention mapped the territorial claims of Germany and the United States, essentially inventing German Samoa and American Samoa as political entities. German Samoa consisted of Upolu and Savai'i, while American Samoa included Tutuila. As part of Allied strategy during World War I, New Zealand successfully seized German claims, renaming the territory Western Samoa.

The Mau of the 1920s was not the first instance of Samoan resistance to Western authority. A few years after colonialism was formally implemented, renowned *tulafale* (orator) Lauaki Namulau'ulu Mamoe threatened the authority of Wilhelm Solf, Governor of German Samoa. To circumvent this and any other political threat, Solf eradicated the remnants of Samoan government by reestablishing the *Fono a Faipule*, an advisory group consisting of Samoans appointed by Solf.[17] Resistance to colonial authority was continued by commercial interests when merchants, including Olaf Nelson, petitioned the German Parliament to oppose perceived excessive taxation and government expenditures in 1910.[18]

In 1918, a global influenza epidemic swept through Western Samoa, killing upwards of 8,500, around 20 percent of the Samoan population.[19]

The inability of the New Zealand Administration to cope with the influenza epidemic gave tremendous impetus to Samoan resistance. By the early 1920s, Nelson was acknowledged as chairman of a Citizens' Committee. The committee represented *papalagi* (Whites, foreigners), merchant interests, and a Samoan contingent with grievances against the New Zealand Administration. With some justification, New Zealand officials and the ever-loyal *Faipules* depicted Nelson (himself an *afakasi*, or "half-caste") and his *papalagi* compatriots as manipulative merchants unsatisfied with the government practice of setting copra export prices, a practice meant to protect Samoan copra producers.[20]

By March 1927, the Samoan faction of the Citizens' Committee founded the Samoan League, better known as the Mau.[21] Article I of the Samoan League's constitution affirmed the Samoan reverence for Christianity: "We declare and believe that man's heritage from God is to help each other irrespective of station, race, colour, and creed, and that all men are equal in the sight of God."[22] This evocative declaration directly contradicted the hierarchical reality that Samoans experienced within colonial Samoa and almost tautologically challenged the morality of colonialism. Adjudicating Samoans as politically and socially inferior was inherently un-Christian.

The very nature of the Mau is still debated within the historiography of colonial Samoa and through the vehicle of cultural memory.[23] Secretary for Native Affairs for New Zealand C. C. A. McKay retrospectively posited that the years when the Mau were the most active "were Western Samoa's political emergent days."[24] Contemporary journalist Michael Field depicted the Mau as an anticolonial movement spurred by the egregious incompetence of the New Zealand Administration. I. C. Campbell of the University of Canterbury disagrees with this conception of the Mau. He wrote, "The *Mau* protest is widely regarded by people with the slightest knowledge of Samoan history to be a nationalist movement of justifiable protest."[25] Campbell pointed out that the civilian New Zealand officials were just as concerned with the welfare of Samoans as were the officials of the military American Administration.[26] He argued that Samoan resistance was more stalwart in Western Samoa for several reasons; the reasons included the dynamics of *vaivai* and *malo*[27] found in traditional Samoan political norms as well as the fact that Upolu in Western Samoa traditionally served as the core for Samoan politics while Tutuila in American Samoa was politically peripheral. Scholar Featuna'i Ben Liua'ana claimed the "Mau received its strength from the Church" and added that "Mau leaders were also pillars of the Samoan community and the Samoan [London Missionary Society] (LMS) Church."[28] Liua'ana's research adds breadth to the historiography of the Mau, carving out a religious interstice.

Perhaps it is best to look to the actual words of Mau leaders for an idea of the nature of the movement, or, at the very least, how the Mau perceived themselves within colonial Samoa. O. F. Nelson explained to a congregation of officials from New Zealand that the "word *Mau* means an opinion and also represents anything that is firm or solid."[29] In a general sense, Mau means to hold fast to an idea. Nelson went on to specify his perception of this idea by saying, "In this case the Mau represents that very large majority of the people of these islands who are of the firm opinion that drastic changes are necessary in the Administration and in the method of government in Samoa."[30] In this light, the Mau was a popular movement manifesting to dramatically alter government in Samoa. Notice here that Nelson merely argues that changes to the New Zealand Administration were necessary, not that the colonial power should completely relinquish control of the islands. Nelson may have felt it politically prudent to make such a relatively conservative statement. However, other Mau leaders held more momentous aspirations for the Mau.

Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III claimed, "It is the wish of the Mau that Samoa should be controlled by Samoans."[31] This revered *Matai's* (head of *aiga* or extended family) prognosis was that the intentions of the Mau were much more radical—a desire for self-government. In other words, the leaders themselves viewed the essence and objectives of the Mau slightly differently over spans of space and time, differences that indicated the democratic nature of the movement. What is important to remember in regard to this topic is the Mau was exceedingly popular among the Samoan population, its leaders purported to adhere to Christian principles, and the movement challenged every facet of Western authority, including Christian missions.

Within the historiography and cultural memory of the Mau, the event most often recalled occurred on December 28, 1929, and has come to be known as Black Saturday. During a Mau demonstration in Apia, police unsuccessfully tried arresting wanted Samoans. The Mau physically resisted, leading the police to fire into the crowd. A Lewis machine gun perched atop a nearby police station was fired, although it is unclear if it was fired into the contingent of Mau. A New Zealand police officer and several Samoans were killed, most notably Tupua Tamasese, who was gunned down while shouting for peace in the center of an intersection. As many as nine Mau were killed and around forty more wounded by the New Zealand police force.[32]

In pre-Christian years, such an event would warrant retaliation and battle. Black Saturday illustrated the extent to which the Mau movement embraced and adhered to Christian principles. Following the massacre,

many armed Mau gathered seeking the heads of the Administrator and the police. Astonishingly, Mau leaders Faumuina Faime Mulinu'u I and others successfully discouraged the men and further violence was averted. On his deathbed, Tamasese appealed through a message to his Mau brethren: "My blood has been spilt for Samoa. I am proud to give it. Do not dream of avenging it, as it was spilt in maintaining peace. If I die, peace must be maintained at any price."[33] This penchant for peace evidences the Christian dimension of the Mau. Liua'ana wrote, "The Mau not only touched the political disposition of the Samoan people, but also its religious vein."[34] In the wake of tragedy, Samoans turned to their faith. Prominent Auckland lawyer and Mau supporter Alfred Hall Skelton reported that during a meeting, the leading Mau prayed fervently for the police responsible for the massacre. They prayed, "Father, forgive them further, they know not what they do" and prayed for personal strength to "not stain their hands [Samoan hands] with the blood of murderous revenge."[35] Espousing Christianity was more than hollow rhetoric. Faith gave the Mau a sense of justified purpose and long-suffering in the face of perceived persecution.

Liua'ana pointed out the ascendency of the Mau led to a rift within the Samoan LMS Congregation. The Mau requested Samoan LMS pastors to pray "for God's blessings on the Mau" and encouraged congregants to abstain from paying taxes to the government. Eventually, some Samoan pastors clashed with Western LMS missionaries, leading to the empowerment of what Liua'ana termed the "Mau Church." This movement, loyal to Mau oriented politics, remained within the ecclesiastical sphere of LMS doctrine under the authority of Samoan LMS pastors who were themselves loyal to the Mau.[36] Rather than reject Western theology, the Mau leaders seemed to personally continue their faith in Christianity. Furthermore, the Mau utilized existing social structures, ecclesiastical congregations, and Christianized rhetoric to further their cause.

Mau leaders embraced Christianity and utilized its principles to accentuate the hypocrisy of colonialism in Samoa. It is safe to assume many Samoans perceived themselves to be more faithful as Christians than the *papalagi* who had introduced them to Jesus' principles. In the wake of Black Saturday, Tuimaleali'ifano, a highly respected *matai* and prominent Mau supporter, articulated a scathing condemnation of the Administration in front of an assembly that included New Zealand's minister of defense, John Cobbe. Tuimaleali'ifano exhorted the *papalagi* to act "as Christ taught us. Be truthful. Why are you telling lies? The gospel of truth has been with us for many years—a hundred years—you taught us and we got it from you."[37] The Mau resistance inevitably permeated the relationship between Samoans and Christian missionaries. This resistance also appeared in the

LDS village Sauniatu as Samoan Latter-day Saint defiance of missionary authority, albeit a less uniform and more sporadic resistance than the LMS Mission faced.

Mamona and the Mau

The history of Christian missionaries in Samoa dates back as far as eighteenth- and nineteenth-century contacts with teachers from Tonga and the arrival of LMS missionary John Williams in 1830. The origin of the LDS Samoan Mission was tied to the development of the Church in America. Much has been written about the persecution of the Church during the nineteenth century.[38] Prompted by rumors of a "Mormon Rebellion," federal troops marched toward Utah in 1857. With the history of persecution in mind, LDS Prophet Brigham Young recalled all missionaries abroad to defend the Church against potential violence.[39] This included those proselytizing in Hawai'i. Fortunately, violence was largely averted. Following this "Utah War," recently converted Walter Murray Gibson was sent to check on the status of LDS communities in Oahu. In unequivocal defiance of LDS directives, he proclaimed himself the "Prophet of the Sea," deceiving faithful Hawaiian Latter-day Saints and appropriating their lands.[40] The LDS narrative in Samoa began in 1862 when Gibson sent Hawaiian Latter-day Saints Kimo Pelio and Samuela Manoa to the islands to proselytize. Following the inevitable excommunication of Gibson, the Hawaiian LDS Mission was unaware that Elders Pelio and Manoa were still proselytizing in Samoa until Joseph H. Dean found a letter from Elder Manoa and arrived to officially begin the LDS Samoan Mission in 1888. By this time, the other missions had converted a substantial portion of the Samoan population to various forms of Christianity.

The LDS Samoan Mission was founded amidst civil war fueled by the involvement of Germany, Great Britain, and the United States in Samoan politics. It has been argued that Latter-day Saint missionaries supported imperialist agendas in Samoa in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This is only partially accurate.[41] Latter-day Saint missionaries in Samoa wrote magazine articles condemning the Western nations for causing warfare.[42] Elder William O. Lee wrote that "a more humane policy" was necessary to avoid further conflict and decimation of the Samoa population, hardly the words of an imperialist.[43] However, when Upolu was annexed by the United States, Latter-day Saint missionaries seemed to be swept up in the ensuing patriotic fervor.[44] By the time New Zealand took control of Western Samoa in 1914, political references within the public discourse of the LDS Samoan Mission disappeared.

This silence contrasted the private journals of Latter-day Saint missionaries, which contain references to the political landscape in Samoa.[45] In 1913, Latter-day Saint missionary Earl Stanley Paul wrote in his diary, "Every home or nearly every house we stoped [*sic*] in they would tell how kind the samoans [*sic*] were and how much love they had for one another and what hard hearted beasts the whites are."[46] Standing alone, this assertion of the collective sentiment of Samoans toward *papalagi* is telling, illustrating that elements of Samoan nationalism existed during this time. When contextualized within the Christian-oriented discussions between Samoans and Latter-day Saint missionaries, the statement becomes all the more poignant. One could even extrapolate the above passage to indicate a belief in Samoan superiority through a religious medium.

This journal entry is one of several examples of a distinction between the private journals of individual Latter-day Saint missionaries and the silences that dominated the public discourse of the LDS Samoan Mission during the early twentieth century[47]. This distinction publicly indicated a more accommodating stance toward the colonial regimes. There was rarely mention of social discontent among Samoans within the public discourse of the LDS Samoan Mission throughout the 1920s when Samoan resistance was robust. The fact that some missionaries wrote of political themes in personal journals yet opted to omit such topics from magazine and news articles indicates a conscious effort to control the image of the LDS Samoan Mission.

The politically benign discourse was the consequence of greater diplomacy between the LDS Samoan Mission and the colonial administrations, a relationship that may have led Samoan Latter-day Saints who were Mau sympathizers to view the Mission with suspicion.[48] These efforts paralleled an LDS Samoan Mission drive to gather Samoan Latter-day Saints into the special purpose villages of Mapusaga in American Samoa and Sauniatu in Western Samoa. This process led to localized tension between villagers and missionaries within a new hierarchical relationship.

An exchange between Governor George Richardson of the New Zealand Administration and President E. L. Butler of the LDS Samoan Mission illustrated the relationship building effort bearing fruit. President Butler recalled that Richardson asked,

> Why is it that your boys come out here, young men . . . and we never hear of a smirch upon one of their names, but our boys come from New Zealand in government capacity . . . and we have to send a certain percentage of them back, because their acts bring a stigma upon the government?[49]

This exchange indicated the extent to which Latter-day Saint missionaries in Samoa were respected for their strong principles, a fact that contributed to the prestige of the Mission. This effort to build relations with the administrations clearly required that the more radical rhetoric of the 1890s be omitted from the public discourse of the early twentieth century. These silences starkly contrasted the dramatic political, social, and military background of colonial Samoa during those years.

The drive to gather Samoan Latter-day Saints to special purpose villages altered the relationship between missionaries and villagers. When founded, the LDS Samoan Mission immediately faced difficulty caused by war in the islands. The Mission garnered greater success and increased conversion rates following the annexation of Samoa in 1900. By 1903, the missionaries began gathering Samoan Latter-day Saints into the villages of Mapusaga and Sauniatu.[50]

This process removed Samoans from the influence of rival Christian missionaries who particularly despised Latter-day Saints. Some ministers demanded that *matai* make an oath to God that members of their *aiga* would not join the Latter-day Saints.[51] Sauniatu and Mapusaga served as a home for Samoans exiled from their *aiga* for converting to the LDS Church.[52] The concomitant hierarchical dynamics complicated the social environment in the LDS villages. Similar to the American, German, and New Zealand colonial administrations, the LDS Samoan Mission attempted to reconcile *fa'asamoa* (Samoan way or custom) with Western notions of power relations and social hierarchy. One specific point of conflict experienced in Sauniatu involved the *fa'asamoa* concept of respecting the authority of elder members of the community. Despite this, Samoan Latter-day Saints in the LDS villages were expected to submit to the authority of missionaries, even if the missionaries were significantly younger than many of the Samoans. Several instances of conflict and insubordination occurred in Sauniatu and steadily increased with the rise of the Mau in the late 1920s.[53]

The efforts to control the image of the Mission and build relations with the colonial regimes, as well as the gathering of the Saints process, all acted to place the Latter-day Saint missionaries in conflict with the Mau. In the most abstract terms, the Mau was the manifestation of the contradiction between *fa'asamoa* and colonialism in Samoa. As mentioned above, the drive to gather Samoan Latter-day Saints was spurred by several factors, including a way to solve the problem of exiled converts. However, the gathering process often met stiff resistance from Samoan Latter-day Saints who were not exiled and did not wish to leave their villages. Consequently, the growth rate of LDS Church membership slowed.[54]

In 1908, President William A. Moody of the LDS Samoan Mission voiced his concern over the consequences of the gathering process, namely, the decline in LDS Church membership. The LDS Church leadership in Salt Lake City in the United States wrote to President Moody, "We too are of the opinion that too much stress was made to induce the breaking up of established homes . . . for the purpose of making new ones at the gathering places named."[55] It seems the LDS Church leadership in Salt Lake City had never meant for the gathering process to become an assault on *fa'asamoa*. It was their wish that LDS Church practices and doctrine should be more accommodating to local norms and customs. The letter continued, "We are inclined to the belief that the colonizing effort has been undertaken with too much sacrifice." The Church leaders in Salt Lake City viewed the gathering process, referred to as the "colonizing effort" in their letter, as a potential obstacle to the growth of the Church in Samoa. Christianity and LDS practices should be encouraged among Samoans, but not excessively and to the detriment of Samoan Latter-day Saint faith and, intrinsically, *fa'asamoa*.

Despite the concerns of President Moody and the urgings of LDS Church Leadership from Salt Lake City, the Latter-day Saint missionaries in Samoa seemed to increase their efforts to undermine *fa'asamoa* in the subsequent decades. Embracing LDS doctrine and moving to special purpose villages, largely beyond the influence of outside *aigas*, Samoans experienced a marked reorientation of values, ethics, and norms within the framework of Western culture. Elements of *fa'asamoa* that were conceived to be incongruent with Western culture were discouraged by Latter-day Saint missionaries. Clearly influenced by notions of environmental determinism, Elder John Quincy Adams wrote a decade before becoming the president of the LDS Samoan Mission (1920–1923) that labor was "an anecdote to tropical laziness." He further explained that "one irrefutable fact must be implanted in the mind of the native, that no true happiness exists in an idle village."[56] Beyond embracing spiritual beliefs, Samoans were expected to embrace Western understandings of labor. Under the direction of President Willard Lisbon Smith of the LDS Samoan Mission (1927–1934), Samoan Latter-day Saint children were "removed from the control of the *matai*" and housed in compounds under the direct control of Latter-day Saint missionaries.[57]

By the 1920s, the public discourse emanating from the LDS Samoan Mission was completely diluted of political commentary. There seems to be only one magazine article from the LDS Samoan Mission that referenced the Mau movement, and it did so briefly without even using the term "Mau." An article from 1928, "Work Progressing in the South Seas,"

published in *Improvement Era*, indicated that the Latter-day Saint missionaries viewed the Samoan resistance to colonialism as "unpleasant" but also as a blessing in disguise. The secretary of the LDS Samoan Mission, Elder Alfred Dewey, wrote that the growing conflict "has enabled us to present our message to all the chiefs of the island. We are very hopeful that the increased activities will continue to bring new converts to the Church as they are doing at the present time".[58] According to this official version, the growing Mau resistance brought in new converts.

This claim seems inaccurate. Between 1925 and 1931, LDS Church membership increased by 140 new converts from 3,695 to 3,835.[59] In comparison, between 1920 and 1925, membership increased by over 1,000 and another 1,000 between the 1931 and 1935. The Mau resistance clearly impacted the rate of conversion to the LDS Church during the late 1920s. Another indication of the negative impact the Mau had on the functions of the LDS Samoan Mission can be gleaned from the record of the celebration of Pioneer Day. This day was celebrated annually in Sauniatu, except for the years between 1928 and 1931, the years when the Mau were at the apex of resistance.[60] Perhaps there was a sudden increase in converts preceding the time when Elder Dewey sat down to write this article and he merely extrapolated this to portend still greater conversion rates. Or Elder Dewey simply may have been self-deceiving, portraying the Mau as a blessing in disguise for the Mission, a notion contradicted by the statistical and historical record.

Elder Dewey's reference to presenting the LDS message to "all the chiefs of the island" implies that there was some circumstance where many *matai* were gathered together in one central location, allowing Latter-day Saint missionaries to convey their message to them as an audience. It seems plausible that Elder Dewey's comments referenced points of communication between the Mau and the LDS Samoan Mission. After all, by 1928, the majority of *matai* supported the Mau, a condition unrivaled by any other organization in Samoa during this time.

The *private* journals of Latter-day Saint missionaries contradict the claim that the Mau positively impacted the LDS Samoan Mission. Within Sauniatu, tensions between Latter-day Saints and the Samoan Latter-day Saints increased steadily during the late 1920s. Several scholars and members of the LDS Church have researched the history of the LDS Samoan Mission, but the elements of Samoan resistance and the Mau are largely overlooked within these narratives. Dr. R. Carl Harris, president of the LDS Samoan Mission (1981–1984), wrote *Samoa Apia Mission History: 1888–1983*, and Dr. R. Lanier Britsch, previously a professor at Brigham Young University, wrote several works on the LDS in Oceania, including

Unto the Islands of the Sea: A History of the Latter-day Saints in the Pacific.[61] Harris focused on the spiritual dimension of the growth of the Church in Samoa and the structure of the LDS Samoan Mission. Britsch contextualized the LDS Samoan Mission within political Samoa but did not touch on Samoan resistance. In "Sauniatu, Western Samoa: A Special Purpose Village," Ken Baldridge seemed unaware of the existence of the Mau and was unable to contextualize the conflict, calling the situation "vexing."[62] He points out that President Smith's decision to evict the adults from Sauniatu may have been in response to the increasing tensions in the village. Conversely, he also posits that the opposite may have been true; the increased tensions were directly caused by President Smith's announcement to evict the adults.[63] Britsch stated that President Smith's removal of Samoan children "from the sometimes dictatorial control of the *matai*" was a necessary development that "allowed the children to spend a greater part of their time working on school matters."[64] The eviction of the adults undoubtedly exacerbated conflict within Sauniatu.

Baldridge localized this conflict to Sauniatu, failing to contextualize the tensions in the village within the larger Mau movement. However, his sources do not. Elder Howard B. Stone, missionary head of Sauniatu ,wrote on August 13, 1929, in his personal journal, "Flaming youth! . . . Our village 'mau' consiting [*sic*] of Filiaga, Aiulu and Pulusi left the village . . . Elder Bailey was hot on their trail but they beat him to Apia."[65] While the recent eviction of the adult population of Sauniatu assuredly increased the tensions in the village, the conflict within Saunitu must be contextualized within the larger social force of the Mau. In fact, it could be argued that President Smith's eviction of the Samoan Latter-day Saint adults from Sauniatu was an attempt to quell the Mau in the village. Britsch pointed out that President Smith chose to purchase land separated from the village of Tapueleele because "he did not want the village heads . . . to have too much control."[66] The fact President Smith felt compelled to circumvent the authority of local *matai* indicates the extent to which he perceived the Mau to be a threat to the authority of the LDS Samoan Mission.

It is not surprising that the rebellious Samoan Latter-day Saints, referred to above in Elder Stone's journal entry, chose Apia as their destination. By the middle of 1929, Mau parades occurred in Apia with great frequency. In June, 500 Mau in uniform marched to Apia to hear Faumuina speak. For several days, over one hundred uniformed Mau marched through Apia's streets. Field wrote, "The whites found it all rather unsettling."[67] The Apia region witnessed an enormous increase in Mau activity, making Apia a prime destination for rebellious Samoan Latter-day Saint youths.

At times, the tensions in Sauniatu erupted, resulting in threats of violence against Latter-day Saints missionaries. As mentioned above, Elder Stone wrote of quarrels that resulted in "threats for murder. . . . But ended up with a *fiafia* [party or dance]."[68] The threats for murder didn't always end in a *fiafia*. On September 18, 1929, Elder Stone wrote in his diary,

> I licked Leamoni for beating Siai. The Siliva's "mau" came over for a settlement. Meisa carried a rock that wighed [*sic*] about a ton. He wanted to drop it on my bean. Other boys had clubs and iron rods. I stodd [*sic*] there in the door way. . . . My arms folded. I talked them out of throwing rocks at me.[69]

This dramatic account sharply contradicted the assertion that the Mau was a blessing in disguise for the LDS Samoan Mission. Indeed, the trajectory the Mission took in the preceding decades relegated Latter-day Saint missionary young men to a position of danger. It should be noted that these young men typically served as missionaries in Samoa for two or three years. This lack of experience in regard to the rapidly shifting social reality in the islands served as a disadvantage to Latter-day Saint missionaries. Essentially, on arriving in Samoa, they were thrust into a political maelstrom of which they had little previous knowledge.

On May 21, 1929, the young Elder Stone wrote, "It seems as tho' everything is in an uproar."[70] Several months later, Elder Stone entered in his journal, "No Mutual was held because only a very few were in the village and we feared also a quarrel among our saints and the 'mau.'"[71] The Mau had become a significant player within the social arena of Sauniatu. One of the more serious threats to the authority of the Latter-day Saint missionaries in Sauniatu occurred sometime during the summer of 1929.[72]

During a testimony meeting, several Samoan Latter-day Saints articulated the virtues of tithing when one individual rose and attacked the practice. Baldridge pointed out that speaking out and attacking Church doctrine, particularly during a testimony meeting, is "virtually unheard of in a Mormon meeting."[73] Elder Stone publicly denounced his actions, and the individual was eventually told to leave the village by the Samoan Latter-day Saint community. Following the individual's refusal to leave, Elder Stone requested the support of the chief of police in Apia.[74] On August 2, the police arrived in Sauniatu to forcibly remove the rebellious individual, but by that time, he was supported by a group of Samoan Latter-day Saints. A disturbance broke out, and the arrest became impossible. One Latter-day Saint missionary wrote that "everyone turned traitors and wanted to *fasi le faife'au*," which means "attack the missionaries."[75] Several aspects of this

account indicate the extent to which resistance existed within the relationship between the Latter-day Saint missionaries and Samoan Latter-day Saints in Sauniatu.

First, the fact Elder Stone felt it prudent to summon the police reveals an acute fear of upheaval or resistance. Second, the Samoan Latter-day Saint response to the attempted arrest seems similar to a tactic of the Mau. Less than two months before this incident, several police attempted to arrest a wanted Mau member named Tagaloa in Apia. In response, forty Mau—some who were reportedly armed with batons—closed in and prevented the arrest.[76] This example is just one among several others recounted in Field's *Mau: Samoa's struggle against New Zealand oppression* of this tactic being used by Mau to prevent arrests. It seems this tactic was used in Sauniatu as well. Third, the alleged threats to "attack the missionaries" indicate the extent to which Latter-day Saint missionaries perceived the potential for violence. At this time, the usually peaceful Mau became more assertive, often resisting arrest with force. Elder Stone's account of armed Samoan Latter-day Saints threatening him with a gigantic rock corroborates this perceived threat of violence. Indeed, the Samoan individual who had been temporarily saved from arrest reportedly threatened Elder Stone with a bush knife.[77]

This incident also reveals the Latter-day Saint missionaries used banishment as a tactic to combat insubordination or open defiance. Banishment was also a tactic wielded by both the German and the New Zealand Administrations.[78] Before his assassination on Black Saturday, Tupua Tamasese was exiled from Samoa by the New Zealand Administration.[79] Furthermore, the New Zealand Administration frequently banished rebellious Samoans to villages that were not their own. There is evidence the LDS Samoan Mission also utilized banishment as a tool to combat dissent. The above example of the attempted arrest of a defiant Samoan Latter-day Saint is one example. Arguably, President Smith's decision to remove the adult Samoan Latter-day Saints from Sauniatu is another example. It is clear that there were tensions in the village when he implemented this collective banishment. In response to the incident, when a group of Samoan Latter-day Saint youths threatened Elder Stone with violence, one of the perpetrators was ordered by the Latter-day Saint missionaries to leave the village.[80] The conflict in Sauniatu became so acute that Elder Stone felt compelled to exile four Samoan Latter-day Saints for "many atrocious crimes . . . and causing trouble with the elders and saints."[81] By January 1930, the Latter-day Saint missionaries of Sauniatu sought to implement a curfew.[82] It is unclear if this was the policy of the New Zealand Administration, the LDS Samoan Mission, or specifically the LDS Church

in Sauniatu. The conflict, resistance, and reaction within Sauniautu must be contextualized under the larger umbrella of the Mau resistance.

It would be erroneous to claim that this intransigence was widely supported by Samoan Latter-day Saints. Latter-day Saints are often known for devoutness. As mentioned above, a colonial administrator in Western Samoa observed this characteristic.[83] It seems unlikely that defiance of LDS doctrine was popular among Samoan Latter-day Saints. Oral histories collected by Baldridge indicate that the Mau failed to make a lasting impression on some Samoan Latter-day Saints.[84] The interviewees could not recall conflict in Sauniatu. There could be many reasons for this. The interviewees were youths during the 1920s and potentially unaware of conflict. Also, the interviews were conducted several decades after these events, and memories undoubtedly faded with time. However, the oral histories reveal a strong sense of devoutness and faith among the Samoan Latter-day Saints. Church matters and doctrine were simply more important than other affairs. Consequently, memories of the Church supersede other memories.

The case of Seiuli Le-Tagaloatele Fitisemanu II provides an interesting illustration of the manifold identities, loyalties, and niches Samoan Latter-day Saints navigated within colonial Samoa. Fitisemanu was a member of the Samoan Constabulary and was possibly present on Black Saturday in Apia as a police officer.[85] As a member of the Constabulary, Fitisemanu would have served alongside such New Zealand officers as Richard Waterson.[86] Waterson was reportedly the officer who wielded the Lewis machinegun during the Black Saturday massacre.[87] However, if Fitisemanu was present that day, he was likely unarmed.

Fitisemanu's great grandfather was Malietoa Vainu'upo, the *Matai* who was vying for the revered title of *Tafa'ifa* when John Williams of the LMS arrived in 1830 and introduced Christianity to the Samoan Islands.[88] Around 1915, Fitisemanu's mother sent him to Sauniatu, but he left after a short time and moved to Mapusaga. A devout Latter-day Saint, Fitisemanu was very liberal in dedicating his time for the development of the LDS Church in Samoa. In 1929, Fitisemanu sought employment in the Native Affairs Office. Harry Griffin, LMS missionary as well as the secretary for Native affairs for the New Zealand Administration, laughed Fitisemanu out of his office after learning that he was a Latter-day Saint.[89]

A. L. Braisby, commissioner of the Police Constabulary during the Mau era, contacted Fitisemanu and hired him as part of the Samoan Constabulary on September 5, 1929.[90] Black Saturday occurred only four months later. However, it is highly unlikely that Fitisemanu played a role in the massacre. By June 1929, only *papalagi* police officers were allowed to carry firearms.[91]

Furthermore, Braisby and Governor Colonel Stephen Allan had begun to use only *papalagi* officers during important operations because of their distrust of Samoan officers.[92] With this in mind, if Fitisemanu was present on Black Saturday, he was most likely unarmed and present only to keep order.

Fitisemanu does not reveal many details about his duties as a police officer. He mentioned that the "Mau Organization" was causing "serious trouble" between themselves and the administration.[93] During this time, he won several badges of merit "for duty performed above" his "regular call." He referred to these actions as "very serious and difficult duties" but unfortunately failed to further elaborate.[94] His story adds breadth to the Latter-day Saint experience in Samoa and illustrates the divergent identities and loyalties toward Western authority (the colonial administration and a government salary) or traditional authority (the *matai* and social capital within the Samoan community).

Samoan Latter-day Saint resistance to missionary authority does not imply a rejection of Christianity. Far from shunning Christianity, many Mau leaders held a genuine belief in the faith and used Christian rhetoric to further their cause. It is possible that Samoans simultaneously supported the Mau and remained faithful Latter-day Saints. The silences within Baldridge's collection of oral histories, as well as Fitisemanu's explicit identification with the New Zealand Administration, reveal that the defiance and resistance exhibited by some Samoans toward the LDS Samoan Mission was not universal among Samoan Latter-day Saints. Rather, the Mau seemed to be unimportant to at least a few Samoan Latter-day Saints. The relationship between the larger Mau movement and the Samoan Latter-day Saints was complex, being contingent on multiple loyalties and identities. Furthermore, the location of the LDS Samoan Mission in proximity to the Mau and the New Zealand Administration was not anomalous. The LMS Mission was far more entrenched within the colonial apparatus in Samoa than the LDS Mission. Furthermore, many prominent Mau leaders were members of the Samoan LMS Church.[95] Consequently, the Mau posed a more direct and more organized threat to LMS authority than it did to the LDS Samoan Mission. What is clear, however, is the LDS Samoan Mission not only failed to support the largely Christian anticolonial Mau but actively opposed it in Sauniatu. Long gone were the voices of Latter-day Saint missionaries during the 1890s publicly speaking out against imperialism in Samoa. In the wake of these loud voices were silences. These silences voiced acquiescence to the colonial status quo and hushed the Mau demand for justice.

NOTES

1. Howard B. Stone, "Trouble," Ken Baldridge Faculty File VI, Box 3, Sauniatu Article, Brigham Young University Hawai'i Archive.

2. Latter-day Saint missionaries are generally called "elders." Samoans often referred to them as "mamona."

3. Kenneth W. Baldridge, "Sauniatu, Western Samoa: A special purpose village, 1904–1934," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 87, no. 3 (September 1978): 185.

4. See David A. Chappell, "The forgotten *Mau*: Anti-Navy protest in American Samoa, 1920–1935," *Pacific Historical Review* 69, no. 2 (2000): 217–60; I. C. Campbell, "New Zealand and the *Mau* in Samoa: Reassessing the causes of a colonial protest movement," *New Zealand Journal of History* 33, no. 1 (1999): 92–110, "Resistance and colonial government: A comparative study," *Journal of Pacific History* 40 (June 2005): 45–69, and "Chiefs, agitators and the Navy: The Mau in American Samoa, 1920–1929," *Journal of Pacific History* 44, no. 1 (June 2009): 41–60 ; Mark Wilson, review of *Black Saturday: New Zealand's tragic blunders in Samoa*, by Michael Field, *Journal of Pacific History* 42, no. 3 (December, 2007): 373–74; Michael J. Field, *Mau: Samoa's struggle against New Zealand oppression* (Wellington: Reed, 1984), and *Black Saturday: New Zealand's tragic blunders in Samoa* (Auckland: Reed, 2006); Featuna'i Ben Liua'ana, *Samoa Tula'i: Ecclesiastical and political face of Samoa's independence, 1900–1962* (Apia: Malua Printing Press, 2004); and Philip J. Parr, *The murder of Tamasese* (The Aspect Press, 1979); N. A. Rowe, *Samoa under the sailing gods* (London: Putnam, 1978), 319.

5. Field, *Mau*, 1–17.

6. Matt. K. Matsuda, *Pacific Worlds: A history of seas, peoples, and cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 268; Mau leader Nelson claimed that 90 percent of Samoans supported the movement. This number is found in Field, *Mau*, 88).

7. Field, *Mau*, 215–24.

8. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples* (London: Zed Books, 2002); Martha C. Howell and Walter Prevenier, *From reliable sources: An introduction to historical methods* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001).

9. For the LDS in Samoa, see Kenneth W. Baldridge "Sauniatu, Western Samoa: A special purpose village, 1904–1934," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 87, no. 3 (September 1978): 165–92; R. Lanier Britsch "The founding of the Samoan Mission," *Brigham Young University Studies* 18, no. 1 (1977): 12–26, and *Unto the islands of the sea: A history of the Latter-day Saints in the Pacific* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1986), 349–428; and R. Carl Harris et al. *Samoa Apia Mission history: 1888–1983* (Apia: Samoa Printing and Publishing, 1983), 1–258. For LDS missionary work in the Pacific, see the collection of essays in Grant Underwood, ed., *Voyages of faith: Explorations in Mormon Pacific history* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 2000), ix–413. See also the collection of essays found in Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp and Reid L. Neilson eds.,

Proclamation to the people: Nineteenth-century Mormonism and the Pacific Basin frontier (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2008), ix–330. Particularly interesting is Maffly-Kipp's insights on the uniqueness of the LDS experience in the Pacific found in Neilson and Maffly-Kipp, "Nineteenth-century Mormonism and the Pacific Basin frontier: An introduction," 3–20; Maffly-Kipp, "Eastward ho! American religion from the perspective of the Pacific Rim," 21–48; and Maffly-Kipp, "Looking west: Mormonism and the Pacific world," 123–41 from *Proclamation to the People*.

10. Dean L. May and Reid L. Neilson, eds., *The Mormon History Association's Tanner Lectures: The first twenty years* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006), ix–406.

11. See note 4. Chappell gives voice to the Mau in American Samoa. Campbell successfully redefines the Mau from the lens of Samoan convention (*fa'asamoa*), decontextualizing it from purely Western understandings. Although Eurocentric in approach, Field's work is perhaps unrivaled in its comprehensiveness.

12. The archival material found at Brigham Young University Hawai'i includes *Ken* Baldridge Faculty File VI, Box 3 Sauniatu Article, Brigham Young University Hawai'i University Archive, Brigham Young University–Hawai'i Campus: Behavior and Social Sciences Division, Laie, Hawai'i; Ernest Allgood Bailey, "Journal excerpt"; and Ernest Adelbert Gardner, "Excerpts from the Missionary journals of Ernest Adelbert Gardner."

13. *Articles relating to the Pacific Islands from the "Improvement Era," Vol. 1 1898–Vol. 72 1969*, Pacific Manuscripts Bureau 110.

14. *Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints miscellaneous papers re island missions, 1851–1960*, Pacific Manuscripts Bureau 718, 1960; *Items relating to the Pacific Islands from the Conference Reports of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints 1902–1959*, Pacific Manuscripts Bureau 115.

15. Many found in Bill Hart, ed., *LDS voices from the past: A collection of newspaper & magazine articles about Samoa, 1889–1917* (Downey, ID: Ati's Samoan Print Shop, 1996), 272.

16. British sources include papers from *Commons Sitting, European War. Correspondence; Written Answers (Commons)* and *New Zealand. Correspondence with the Government of New Zealand Relating to Chinese Labour in Samoa* between the years 1914 and 1940. American sources include papers from *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, with the Annual Message of the President* between the years 1898 and 1900.

17. Campbell, "Resistance and colonial government," 48.

18. "Mandated Territory of Western Samoa: (A Report of Visit by Hon. Nosworthy, Minister of External Affairs to), Together with Representations of Citizens' Committee and Replies Thereto, Notes of Interview with Citizens' Committee, and Addresses of Fono Faipules and Faipule Chiefs and Orators of Fagamalo, Savai'i," *Minister of External Affairs for General Information* (1927), pp. 44–46.

19. Field, *Mau*, 49.

20. "Mandated Territory of Western Samoa," 43; Field, *Mau*, 71.

21. Rowe, *Samoa under the sailing gods*, 319.

22. Field, *Mau*, 84–85.

23. See notes 4 and 11.

24. Field, *Mau*, 220.

25. Campbell, "New Zealand and the *Mau* in Samoa," 92.

26. See Campbell, "Resistance and colonial government," 45–69.

27. See Campbell, "New Zealand and the *Mau* in Samoa," 92–110.

28. Liua'ana, *Samoa Tula'i*, 298. Brackets added by author. Parentheses are Liua'ana's.

29. "Mandated Territory of Western Samoa," 26.

30. Ibid.

31. Field, *Mau*, 102.

32. "The terror in Western Samoa," *The Nation* 131, no. 3397; Philip J. Parr, *The murder of Tamasese*, 5, 23–24; Field, *Mau*, 147–59, and *Black Saturday*, 138–50. Parr and Field seem to disagree on a few details. First, Parr claims that eleven Mau were killed, while Field claims that nine were killed. Also, Parr depicts Tu'ia as using his body to shield Tamasese, while Field writes on page 155 of *Mau*, "Su'a tried to shelter the wounded chief with his own body and was hit as well." It is possible that during the confusion, both Mau supporters attempted to shield Tamasese's body. The number of wounds inflicted on Tu'ia are taken from Field, *Mau*, 156.

33. Field, *Mau*, 157.

34. Liua'ana, *Samoa Tula'i*, 190.

35. Field, *Mau*, 159.

36. Liua'ana, *Samoa Tula'i*, 197–214 and 296–303.

37. Field, *Mau*, 187.

38. To name a few, see Richard E. Bennett, "Winter quarters: Church headquarters, 1846–1848," *Ensign*, September, 1997, accessed February 16, 2012, http://www.lds.org/ensign/1997/09/winter-quarters-church-headquarters-18461848?lang=eng&query=winter+quarters; Reed Blake, "Martyrdom at Carthage," *Ensign*, June 1994, accessed February 15, 2012, https://www.lds.org/ensign/1994/06/martyrdom-at-carthage?lang=eng&query=nauvoo+legion; William G. Hartley, "Missouri's 1838 extermination order and the

Mormons' forced removal to Illinois," *Mormon Historical Studies* (1976), accessed February 15, 2012, http://www.mormonhistoricsitesfoundation.org/publications/studies_spring_01/MHS2.1Hartley.pdf; Sherrie Johnson, "Persecutions in Missouri," *Friend*, July 1993, accessed February 13, 2012, https://www.lds.org/friend/1993/07/persecutions-in-missouri?lang=eng; and Janet Thomas, "Nauvoo: On the banks of the Mississippi," *Church Magazines*, May 2005, accessed February 15, 2012, https://www.lds.org/new-era/2005/05/nauvoo-on-the-banks-of-the-mississippi?lang=eng&query=nauvoo+history.

39. Richard E. Turley Jr., "The Mountain Meadows Massacre," *Ensign*, September 2007, accessed February 16, 2012, https://www.lds.org/ensign/2007/09/the-mountain-meadows-massacre?lang=eng; "Chapter Twenty-Nine: The Utah War," *Church History In The Fullness Of Times Student Manuel*, (2003), accessed February 16, 2012. https://www.lds.org/manual/church-history-in-the-fulness-of-times-student-manual/chapter-twenty-nine-the-utah-war?lang=eng.

40. Harris, *Samoa Apia Mission history*, 1; Britsch, *Unto the islands of the sea*, 349; Andrew Jenson, "Walter Murray Gibson: A sketch of his life and adventures, in two chapters," *Improvement Era*, November 1900.

41. Walter Nugent, "The Mormons and America's empire," *Journal of Mormon History* 36, no. 2 (Spring 2010): 16–17. Nugent cites only one source to support this claim, an *Improvement Era* article written in 1899 by missionary Wm. O. Lee. However, this article seems to condemn the Western nations for the destruction in Samoa. See W. O. Lee, "Political Samoa," *Improvement Era*, April 1899.

42. Lee, "Political Samoa"; Edward J. Wood, "A Utah man on Samoa: Gives the 'news' an instructive statement of affairs on the islands," *Deseret Evening News*, April 12, 1899. Elder Wood claims that his depiction of current events in Samoa is objective. However, he clearly frames the article in such a way as to force the reader to reach one conclusion, that Mata'afa, the rebel Samoan *Matai* opposed by the United States, Germany, and Great Britain, should be king. Both Elder Lee and Elder Wood indicate that their views are generally representative of the LDS Samoan Mission.

43. Lee, "Political Samoa."

44. Frank Soderborg, "America's Samoan land," *Deseret Evening News*, February 17, 1900, and "To the editor," *Deseret Evening News*, April 17, 1900.

45. Bailey, "Journal excerpt"; Ernest Adelbert Gardner, "Excerpts from the Missionary journals of Ernest Adelbert Gardner"; Stone, "Trouble"; "Paul, Earl Stanley vol. 1, 1912–1915," *Mormon Missionary Diaries: BYU Harold B. Lee Library Digital Collections*, http://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/cdm/ref/collection/MMD/id/7950.

46. "Paul, Earl Stanley vol. 1, 1912–1915,"69.

47. See note 45. See also Baldridge, "Sauniatu, Western Samoa," 185–89.

48. For the relationship between the LDS Mission and the colonial regimes, see Elder John Q. Adams, "Former president of the Samoan Mission, semi-annual conference,"

Items Relating to the Pacific Islands from the Conference Reports of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints 1902–1959, October 1924, Pacific Manuscripts Bureau 115; E. L. Butler, "Solving the transport problem," *Improvement Era*, November 1924; E. L. Butler, "Sunday, April 3, 1927. Following is an address, delivered by Elder E.L. Butler, former president of the Samoan Mission, at the annual conference of the Church, in the Assembly Hall, Salt Lake City, Utah," *Letters, articles on the Pacific Is. from the "Manuscript Histories," Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City*, Pacific Manuscripts Bureau 114.

49. E. L. Butler, "Sunday, April 3, 1927."

50. Baldridge, "Sauniatu, Western Samoa," 168.

51. W. E. Tangreen, "Messages from the Missions," *Improvement Era*, October 1910.

52. Kenneth W. Baldridge, "Questionnaires," May 24–26, 1976, Ken Baldridge Faculty File VI, Box 3, Sauniatu Article, Brigham Young University Hawai'i Archive. Baldridge voiced skepticism of the importance of the LDS villages as a "refuge" for Samoan Latter-day Saints who were exiled from their traditional villages. The Latter-day Saints who responded to Baldridge's questionnaires seemed to emphasize the importance of the villages as "refuges."

53. Baldridge, "Sauniatu, Western Samoa," 179–80; "Paul, Earl Stanley vol. 1, 1912–1915," *Mormon Missionary Diaries: BYU Harold B. Lee Library Digital Collections*, 192–93, http://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/cdm/ref/collection/MMD/id/7950.

54. Britsch, *Unto the islands of the sea*, 388.

55. Ibid., 381–82.

56. Elder John Q. Adams, of the Samoan Mission, "Mapusaga, a factor in progressive Samoa," *Improvement Era*, January, 1911.

57. Britsch, *Unto the islands of the sea*, 395.

58. Alfred Dewey, "Work progressing in the South Seas," *Improvement Era*, 1928.

59. Britsch, *Unto the islands of the sea*, 388.

60. "Pioneer Day notes," Ken Baldridge Faculty File VI, Box 3, Sauniatu Article, Brigham Young University Hawai'i Archive. The origin of the paper is unclear and seems to be a very rough, handwritten manuscript recounting the celebration of Pioneer Day in Sauniatu.

61. Britsch, "The founding of the Samoan Mission," *Brigham Young University Studies*, 12–26, and *Unto the islands of the sea*, 349–428; Harris et al., *Samoa Apia Mission history*.

62. Baldridge, "Sauniatu, Western Samoa," 186.

63. Ibid., 185.

64. Britsch, *Unto the islands of the sea*, 395.

65. Stone, "Trouble."

66. Britsch, *Unto the islands of the sea*, 395.

67. Field, *Mau*, 139–40.

68. Baldridge, "Sauniatu, Western Samoa," 185.

69. Stone, "Trouble."

70. Baldridge, "Sauniatu, Western Samoa," 185–86.

71. Stone, "Trouble."

72. Baldridge, "Sauniatu, Western Samoa," 186.

73. Ibid.

74. Ibid. Presumably Arthur L. Braisby, although Baldridge does not specify the name.

75. Ibid. Baldridge translates this excerpt and mentions that a "Samoan linguist would wince" at how some of the Latter-day Saint missionaries translated the language in their journals.

76. Field, *Mau*, 140.

77. Baldridge, "Sauniatu, Western Samoa," 186.

78. See "Germany and the Mau: How shrewd Dr. Solf avoided Samoan rising in 1908," *The Pacific Islands Monthly*, February 20, 1934, and Field, *Mau*, 29–30, for how the Germans exiled the rebel *Matai*, Namulau'ulu Mamoe Lauaki.

79. Field, *Mau*, 129–33.

80. Stone, "Trouble."

81. Baldridge, "Sauniatu, Western Samoa," 187.

82. Bailey, "Journal excerpt."

83. Butler, "Sunday, April 3, 1927."

84. Teila and Mataniu Fonoimoana, "Interview," December 2, 1979, Ken Baldridge Faculty File VI, Box 3, Sauniatu Article, Brigham Young University Hawai'i Archive, 13–15; Fa'ane'e Tapusoa, "Interview," July 20, 1979, Ken Baldridge Faculty File VI, Box 3, Sauniatu Article, Brigham Young University Hawai'i Archive.

85. Seiuli Le-Tagaloatele Fitisemanu II and Viola C. Kelley, "Samoa: Land of legends," 1960, *Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints miscellaneous papers re Island*

Missions, 1851–1860 (sic), Pacific Manuscripts Bureau 718. The dates 1851–1860 seem to be incorrect. It should possibly read 1851–1960. Indeed, Fitisemanu's work is dated at 1960. It seems that an error was made during cataloging.

86. Field, *Mau*, 138.

87. Parr, *The murder of Tamasese*, 25–26; Field, *Mau*, 153–54.

88. See Andrew E. Robson, "Malietoa, Williams and Samoa's embrace of Christianity," *Journal of Pacific History* 44, no. 1 (2009).

89. Fitisemanu and Kelley, "Samoa," 30–31, and Field, *Mau*, 53. Fitisemanu refers to the department as the "Samoan Affairs Office," while Field refers to it as the "Native Affairs Office."

90. Fitisemanu and Kelley, "Samoa," 32.

91. Field, *Mau*, 141.

92. Ibid., 129.

93. Fitisemanu and Kelley, "Samoa," 32.

94. Ibid.

95. Liua'ana, *Samoa Tula'i*, 197–98.

REFERENCES

All notes from the *Improvement Era* are found in *Articles Relating to the Pacific Islands from the "Improvement Era" Vol. 1 1898–Vol. 72 1969*, Pacific Manuscripts Bureau 110.

All notes from the *Millennial Star* and the *Deseret Evening News* are found in Bill Hart, ed., 1996, *LDS Voices from the Past: A Collection of Newspaper & Magazine Articles about Samoa, 1889–1917* (Downey, ID: Ati's Samoan Print Shop).

Adams, J. Q.
1911 "Mapusaga, a factor in progressive Samoa." *Improvement Era.*
1920 "The Sauniatu of now-a-days." *Improvement Era.*
1924 Former president of the Samoan Mission, Semi-Annual Conference. *Items Relating to the Pacific Islands from the Conference Reports of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints 1902–1959.* Pacific Manuscripts Bureau 115.

Anonymous.
"Pioneer Day Notes." Ken Baldridge Faculty File VI, Box 3, Sauniatu Article. Brigham Young University Hawai'i Archive
"The Terror in Western Samoa." *The Nation* 131, 3397.
1899 "Samoan Missionary's Experience." *Millennial Star.*

1927 "Mandated Territory of Western Samoa." Minister of External Affairs for General Information. New Zealand.
1934 "Germany and the Mau: How shrewd Dr. Solf avoided Samoan rising in 1908." *The Pacific Islands Monthly*.

Bailey, E. A.
1929 Journal Excerpt. Ken Baldridge Faculty File VI, Box 3, Sauniatu Article. Brigham Young University Hawai'i Archive.

Baldridge, K. W.
1976 Questionnaires. Ken Baldridge Faculty File VI, Box 3, Sauniatu Article. Brigham Young University Hawai'i Archive.
1978 "Sauniatu, Western Samoa: A special purpose village,1904–1934." *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 87, no. 3: 165–92.

Bennett, Richard E.
1997 "Winter quarters: Church headquarters, 1846–1848." *Ensign*. September. http://www.lds.org/ensign/1997/09/winter-quarters-church-headquarters-18461848?lang=eng&query=winter+quarters (accessed February 16, 2012).

Blake, Reed.
1994 "Martyrdom at Carthage." *Ensign*. June. https://www.lds.org/ensign/1994/06/martyrdom-at-carthage?lang=eng&query=nauvoo+legion (accessed February 15, 2012).

Britsch, R.L.
1977 "The founding of the Samoan Mission." *Brigham Young University Studies* 18, no. 1: 12–26.
1986 *Unto the islands of the sea: A history of the Latter-day Saints in the Pacific*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book.

Butler, E. L.
1924 "Solving the transport problem." *Improvement Era*.
1927 "Sunday, April 3, 1927. Following is an address, delivered by Elder E.L. Butler." *Letters, articles on the Pacific Is. from the "Manuscript Histories", Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City*. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau 114.

Campbell, I. C.
1999 "New Zealand and the *Mau* in Samoa: Reassessing the causes of a colonial protest movement." *New Zealand Journal of History* 33, no. 1: 92–110.
2005 "Resistance and colonial government: A comparative study." *Journal of Pacific History* 40: 45–69.
2009 "Chiefs, agitators and the Navy: The Mau in American Samoa, 1920–1929." *Journal of Pacific History* 44, no. 1: 41–60.

Chappell, D. A.
2000 "The forgotten *Mau*: Anti-Navy protest in American Samoa, 1920–1935." *Pacific Historical Review* 69, no. 2: 217–60.

Church Educational System
2003 "Chapter Twenty-Nine: The Utah War."*Church history in the fullness of times student manual.* https://www.lds.org/manual/church-history-in-the-fulness-of-times-student-manual/chapter-twenty-nine-the-utah-war?lang=eng (accessed February 16, 2012).

Dewey, A.
1928 "Work progressing in the South Seas." *Improvement Era.*

Featuna'I, B. L.
2006 *Samoa Tula'i: Ecclesiastical and political face of Samoa's Independence, 1900–1962.* Apia: Malua Printing Press.

Field, M.
1994 *Mau: Samoa's struggle against New Zealand oppression.* Wellington: Reed.
2006 *Black Saturday: New Zealand's tragic blunders in Samoa.* Auckland: Reed.

Fitisemanu, S. II, and V. Kelley.
1960 Samoa: Land of legends. *Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Miscellaneous Papers re Island Missions, 1851–1860.* Pacific Manuscripts Bureau 718.

Fonoimoana, T., and M. Fonoimoana
1979 Interview. Ken Baldridge Faculty File VI, Box 3, Sauniatu Article. Brigham Young University Archive.

Harris, R. C., G. M. Adair, L. A. Randall, G. S. Clements, A. B. Livingston, M. Harris, et al.
1983 *Samoa Apia Mission History: 1888–1983.* Apia: Samoa Printing and Publishing.

Hart, Bill, ed.
1996 *LDS voices from the past: A collection of newspaper & magazine articles about Samoa, 1889–1917.* Downey, ID: Ati's Samoan Print Shop.

Hartley, William G.
1976 "Missouri's 1838 extermination order and the Mormons' forced removal to Illinois." *Mormon Historical Studies.* http://www.mormonhistoricsitesfoundation.org/publications/studies_spring_01/MHS2.1Hartley.pdf (accessed February 15, 2012).

Howell, Martha C., and Walter Prevenier.
2001 *From reliable sources: An introduction to historical methods.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Johnson, Sherrie.
1993 "Persecutions in Missouri." *Friend.* July. https://www.lds.org/friend/1993/07/persecutions-in-missouri?lang=eng (accessed February 13, 2012).

Lee, W. O.
1899 "Political Samoa." *Improvement Era.*

Maffly-Kipp, Laurie F., and Reid L. Neilson, eds.
2008 *Proclamation to the people: Nineteenth-century Mormonism and the Pacific Basin frontier.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Matsuda, M. K.
2012 *Pacific worlds: A history of seas, peoples, and cultures.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

May, Dean L., and Reid L. Neilson, eds.
2006 *The Mormon History Association's Tanner Lectures: The first twenty years.* Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Nugent, Walter
2010 "The Mormons and America's empire." *Journal of Mormon History* 36, no. 2: 1–27.

Parr, P. J.
1979 *The murder of Tamasese.* Titahi Bay, New Zealand: The Aspect Press.

Paul, E. S.
1912–1915 Diary. *Mormon Missionary Diaries: BYU Harold B. Lee Library Digital Collections.* 1. http://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/cdm/ref/collection/MMD/id/7950.

Penrose C. W., ed.
1899 "Affairs in Samoa."*Deseret Evening News.*

Robson, Andrew E.
2009 "Malietoa, Williams and Samoa's embrace of Christianity." *Journal of Pacific History;* 44, no. 1: 21–39.

Rowe, N. A.
1978 *Samoa under the sailing gods.* London: Putnam.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai.
2002 *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples.* London: Zed Books.

Soderborg, F.
1900 "America's Samoan land." *Deseret Evening News.*
1900 "To the editor." *Deseret Evening News.*

Stone, H. B. "Trouble."
1929 Ken Baldridge Faculty File VI, Box 3 Sauniatu Article. Brigham Young University Hawai'i Archive.

Tangreen, W. E.
1910 "Messages from the Missions." *Improvement Era*.

Tapusoa, F.
1979 "Interview." Ken Baldridge Faculty File VI, Box 3, Sauniatu Article. Brigham Young University Hawai'i Archive.

Thomas, Janet
2005 "Nauvoo: On the banks of the Mississippi." *Church Magazines*. May. https://www.lds.org/new-era/2005/05/nauvoo-on-the-banks-of-the-mississippi?lang=eng&query=nauvoo+history (accessed February 15, 2012).

Turley, Richard E., Jr.
2007 "The Mountain Meadows Massacre." *Ensign*. September. https://www.lds.org/ensign/2007/09/the-mountain-meadows-massacre?lang=eng (accessed February 16, 2012).

Underwood, Grant, ed.
2000 *Voyages of faith: Explorations in Mormon Pacific history*. Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press.

Wilson, M.
2007 "Review of *Black Saturday: New Zealand's tragic blunders in Samoa*, by Michael Field." *Journal of Pacific History* 42, no. 3: 373–74.

Wood, E. J.
1899 "A Utah man on Samoa: Gives the 'news' an instructive statement of affairs on the islands." *Deseret Evening News*.