SACRED GEOPOLITICS: LATTER-DAY SAINTS IN GERMAN SAMOA DURING NEW ZEALAND'S INVASION

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This article traces the connections in German Samoa between missionaries from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (LDS), Samoan Latter-Day Saints, and the colonial regimes in Samoa, 1900–1920. Latter-Day Saint missionaries largely omitted remarkable geopolitical events, such as New Zealand's invasion and a devastating influenza epidemic, from news reports written for audiences in the United States.

The underlying cause for this silence was reterritorializations in Utah and Samoa. By the 1890s, the church in general began adapting to American norms in recognition of the federal government's sovereignty in Utah. By the turn of the century, Samoa was annexed by Germany and America. The LDS Samoan Mission became adept at navigating the local political geographies, illustrated by greater discursive discipline. Furthermore, the mission decreased its usage of Lamanite to describe Pacific Islanders. This article expands scholarship of Mormon history, Colonial Samoa history, and the geopolitics of religion.

Introduction

> *With respect to the old-time customs and habits which are difficult to eradicate, we may depend upon time and gradual weaning to produce an entirely different idealized race of people.*
>
> —President of the Latter-Day Saint Samoan Mission (Adams 1911: 233–34).

Pacific Studies, Vol. 42, Nos. 1/2—Apr./Aug. 2019

New Zealand infantrymen nervously eyed the Samoan coast from their transport ships, searching for signs of life. World War I erupted and New Zealand was poised to seize German Samoa. Many New Zealand troops were eager to fight, and New Zealand officials were eager for an empire (Condliffe 1930). The troops understood they would have combat if the Germans refused to surrender. The Germans responded ambiguously. They would not accept the terms of surrender but would offer no resistance. The troops landed on Samoan shores without shots fired, the first time New Zealand occupied foreign soil (Field 1984, 2006; McGibbon 2014).

By 1914, friction between imperialist nations in Europe exploded, spurring global conflict. The German administration in Samoa had built a wireless radio station on Upolu, giving the island group strategic value. With the outbreak of open warfare, British diplomats requested imperialistically ambitious New Zealanders to seize German Samoa. The New Zealand government was happy to oblige and plans for invasion were drafted (Ministry for Culture and Heritage 2014; McGibbon 2014).

Over 1,300 armed men landed on the shores of Upolu. This moment was a tremendous rupture in Samoa's colonial history. The seizure of the islands of Upolu and Savaiʻi introduced a new-era of Samoan history, ending Germany's short colonial rule and the beginning of New Zealand's ill-fated rule of Western Samoa. Scholars have written much about Colonial Samoa, especially about the anti-colonial Mau movement of the 1920s (Parr 1979; Field 1984, 2006; Campbell 1999, 2005, 2009). Several scholars have written extensive histories of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (LDS) missionary efforts in Samoa (Britsch 1977, 1986; Baldridge 1978; Harris and Adair 1983; Harris 1988). Possibly only two scholars explicitly contextualize the religious sphere within the geopolitical dynamics of Colonial Samoa, tracing the connections between Christian missionaries, Samoan congregants, the anti-colonial Mau movement, and the colonial administrations (Liuaʻana 2004; Beatty 2014). This article critically assesses the connection between the LDS Samoan Mission and the German regime, including New Zealand's seizure of Savaiʻi and Upolu in Samoa.

I make three arguments. First, the LDS Samoan Mission as an institution became adept at navigating shifts in local political geographies during the early-twentieth century. This is illustrated by discursive discipline in Latter-Day Saint media coverage of Samoa, which was largely denude of geopolitical commentary, despite momentous geopolitical events during those years. Second, unlike the LDS Samoan Mission during the 1890s, the Latter-Day Saint media coverage during the early twentieth century was both explicitly and implicitly supportive of colonialism in Samoa. Third, the LDS Samoan Mission during the early twentieth century broke with a common tradition among Latter-Day Saints during the nineteenth century of employing a "religious geography" contingent on understanding Pacific Islanders as Lamanites, a group of people found in

the Book of Mormon. This religious geography resulted in unique interactions between Latter-Day Saint missionaries and Pacific Islanders (Maffly-Kipp 2008, 135). This may be one factor contributing to the LDS Samoan Mission's condemnations of imperialism in Samoa during the 1890s (Lee 1899b; Wood 1899). During the early twentieth century, however, Latter-Day Saints in Samoa typically employed identity categories common to colonial discourse and geographic determinism to conceptualize Samoan Latter-Day Saints. This includes notions of "tropical laziness" and hints of social engineering a "different idealized race of people" in Samoa (Adams 1911: 232–34).

These shifts within the Samoan LDS Mission were spurred by reterritorializations operating on multiple scales, predominantly occurring at two sites: the Great Basin region—home of Zion—in the American west, and the Samoan Islands themselves. The history of the LDS Church is marred by persecution, hardship, assassination, and even state-sanctioned extermination (Johnson 1993; Blake 1994; Garr 2009). Largely to escape persecution as well as establish the Kingdom of God as a physical entity on Earth, the Saints fled to Utah Territory and created a distinct cultural and political enclave on the periphery of Washington's influence and sovereignty (Hansen 1992: 221–46; Meinig 1996: 33–51; Mason 2011: 349–75; Yorgason and Chen 2008: 478–500).

By the 1890s, the LDS Church in general began tempering much of the fiery rhetoric characterizing previous prophets (Barlow 1999, 148) and restricted practices deemed abhorrent to the sensibilities of most Americans, such as polygamy. Although polygamy is typically considered the catalyst for Americans' disdain for the church, it seems more plausible this disdain was fueled by fears Zion undermined US sovereignty and the expansion of the American empire (Hansen 1966: 63–84; Meinig 1996: 34–35). By the turn of the century, the church relinquished the practice of "selective pacifism" (Quinn 1974, 365), applied the concept of "theodemocracy" exclusively to ecclesiastical government (Mason 2011: 361–62), witnessed the demise of a "Mormon nationalism" (Hansen 1966, 81), and conceded the American nation-state as the "appropriate geopolitical actor" (Yorgason and Chen 2008, 481). The church was enveloped by the expansion of the US federal government and began encouraging greater assimilation within American society.

Also, by the turn of the century, imperial ambitions and political turmoil spurred reterritorializations in Samoa, as Upolu and Savaii became German Samoa and Tutuila became American Samoa. This history will be described in greater detail later in this article. For now, it is important to emphasize it became prudent for Latter-Day Saint missionaries to adapt to the shifting geopolitical terrain, develop ties with colonial administrations, and restrict public discourse critical of those administrations. Unfortunately, the Samoa Mission Manuscript History and Historical Reports collection becomes strikingly sporadic after

1900, leaving us to extrapolate the precise logic prompting these shifts on a local scale.

The decreasing usage of Lamanite as an identity category by Latter-Day Saint missionaries in Samoa in the early twentieth century should be understood as part of a larger discussion about genealogy and the Book of Mormon by church members and officials. Historically, Latter-Day Saints often considered certain communities to be descendants of Lamanites. John-Charles Duffy describes two different perspectives on Lamanites:

> Borrowing terms used to describe different models for Book of Mormon geography, I speak of "hemispheric" and "limited" Lamanite identification. Hemispheric Lamanite identification is the teaching that native peoples throughout North and South America—often the Pacific Islands as well—are direct blood-descendants of ancient Book of Mormon peoples. Limited Lamanite identification is the more recent contention that the descendants of Lehi—the father of the Book of Mormon peoples—consisted of a small colony . . . who were eventually absorbed into existing populations (Duffy 2008, 121).

Duffy writes that 1890–1946, hemispheric Lamanite identification was still used to explain Church growth in Latin American and Oceania, though Church leaders began adding more nuance to this concept to reconcile tensions with "scientific discourse about the origins of the peoples whom Mormons called Lamanites" (Duffy 2008: 131–32). However, Duffy argues that despite the momentous shifts in the Church during the 1890s, the usage of hemispheric Lamanite persisted well into the twentieth century (Duffy 2008, 131). Samoa is somewhat of an outlier, with Latter-Day Saint missionaries there decreasing their usage of the term Lamanite in public discourse during the early twentieth century.

The remainder of this article consists of four sections. The next section theorizes colonial religious geopolitics. The second section examines the interconnections between the German Samoan colonial regime, the LDS Samoan Mission and Samoan Latter-Day Saints. The third assesses how the LDS Samoan Mission portrayed tragic events following New Zealand's invasion. The fourth section is the conclusion, which outlines this article's implications for Mormon history, Colonial Samoa history and the geopolitics of religion, suggesting future directions for research.

Theorizing Colonial Geopolitics of Religion

The story of the LDS Church provides a lens to examine broader dimensions of the geopolitics of religion and Western imperialism. The precocious ambition

of the LDS Church to expand internationally resulted in Latter-Day Saint missionaries proselytizing on imperial frontlines globally. Before analyzing the Latter-Day Saint experience in German Samoa, it is necessary to situate this article within relevant literature on the geography of empire and geopolitics of religion.

Racialization of Colonial Subjects

Many scholars have theorized imperialism, some using the United States' first imperial forays as a case study. Although this article focuses on the colonial regimes of Germany and New Zealand, it should be remembered the US annexed Tutuila as American Samoa in 1900, eliciting mixed feelings among Latter-Day Saint missionaries in Samoa (Beatty 2014). Furthermore, the concepts drawn from analyzing US imperialism are applicable to this topic.

Several scholars emphasize the conceptual incoherence of empire, accentuating nodes of power and areas of anomaly rather than homogenized territorial spaces (Ogborn 2000: 43–69; Kaplan 2009, 14; Benton 2010, 2; Kramer 2011, 1,350). Others focus on the creation of identity categories involving race, place, and climate (Livingstone 1994: 132–54). Notions of a climate "moral economy" and white acclimatization to tropical places furnished colonial geopolitics where racial identity was a consequence of global location. This discursive creation of racial identity categories employed scientific language (Livingstone 1994, 154). Rothenberg's (1994: 155–72) analysis of *National Geographic* illustrates how popular media discursively othered non-Western communities experiencing colonialism. Relatedly, Tuason's (1999, 9, 45) study of *National Geographic's* 1898–1908 demonstrates the magazine depicted the brutal US invasion of the Philippines as a messianic mission of civilization. The LDS Samoan Mission's public discourse during the early twentieth century exemplifies these processes. Latter-Day Saint missionaries employed scientific language to create racial identity categories in popular Mormon media, sometimes representing the LDS Samoan Mission as a mission of civilization.

Geopolitics of Religion

Scholars are increasingly interested in the connection between religion and geopolitics (Yorgason and Robertson 2006, 272; Dittmer 2007, 737). The early years of the LDS Church are a prime example of this connection (Yorgason and Chen 2008: 480–81). Yorgason (2010, 52, 68) contends that, although evangelicals emphasize the role of the United States in their eschatology, Mormonism takes this idea further with a belief a New Jerusalem will rise in America. Latter-Day Saints sought to create a unique geographic space within the US, a

process referred to as a gathering to Zion (Meinig 1965: 191–220; 1998: 104–08; Yorgason and Robertson 2006, 260). Geographer Meinig describes the resulting conflict with other people, writing "the fundamental issue was geopolitical: the control of territory and the character of society therein" (1996, 40). This gathering effort operated at multiple scales, including locally in Samoa (Baldridge 1978, 168; Britsch 1986, 375, 380).

Evangelization projects often include employing pseudo-science to construct identities of target communities (Han 2010, 192). Similarly, LDS Church discourse often included pseudo-scientific debates on the origins of Pacific Islanders. This produced a sacred genealogy, inserting Pacific Islanders into the category "Lamanite" and the Book of Mormon (Maffly-Kipp 2008: 123–41). During the nineteenth century, several Latter-Day Saint missionaries in Samoa contended Polynesians were descendants of Lamanites (Lee 1899a, 337; 1900, 185). An article written by Mission President John Q. Adams to *Improvement Era* illustrates the category of Lamanite was still used during the early twentieth century in certain contexts, such as tragedy (Adams 1911, 237). However, by this time, it seems Samoans were not strictly considered Lamanite, possibly minimizing Latter-Day Saint sympathy for victims of colonialism. Missionaries' lack of sympathy for victims of German and New Zealand colonialism sharply contrasts some Latter-Day Saint missionaries in the 1890s who condemned Western imperialism in Samoa.

Disciplining Discourse

The media and public representations of geopolitical events play a vital role in constructing imaginings of colonial spaces. These events are encoded with meanings through structured communication (Hall 2008) intended for consumption in the metropole. Jackson argues elites use ideology and language to reify power (1989, 53), a dynamic especially present in colonies. Foucault's notion that discourse is controlled, selected, organized and distributed is well known (Foucault 1972, 216).

During the 1890s, some Latter-Day Saints condemned British, German, and US imperial aggression in Samoa (Lee 1899b; Wood 1899). This moral outrage toward imperialists is especially poignant considering Zion and the LDS Church became victims of US expansionism in the American West during and following the Utah War. It also illustrates the embryonic nature of the LDS Samoan Mission during the 1890s. By the early twentieth century, the mission was adept at controlling discourse and relaying structured communications of events in Samoa to audiences in the United States. Gee writes that discourses are ways of displaying membership in a particular group (Gee 1990, 142). By disciplining discourse and distilling critiques of colonialism, the LDS Samoan

Mission displayed membership (Gee 1990, 142) in the colonial elite of Samoa and reflected a larger transformation to reconcile with American society following a troubled past (Hansen 1966: 63–84; Quinn 1974: 365–66; Alexander 1986; Barlow 1999: 140–53; Yorgason and Robertson 2006: 256–79; Yorgason and Chen 2008: 478–500; Mason 2011: 49–375).

Latter-Day Saints in German Samoa and American Samoa

The LDS Church is based on Mormonism, an American religion, and was founded by the Prophet Joseph Smith in upstate New York in 1830. A geographic lens is critical for understanding the history of the church. Philip Barlow writes, "Mormonism's essence is religious, but geography has always conditioned the religion. . . . Those hoping to comprehend religion . . . ignore geography at their peril" (1999, 140). Several practices among Latter-Day Saints drew the ire of Americans (Meinig 1996, 51). Although polygamy is often thought to be the catalyst for this ire, the core issues were the political dominance of the church and attempts to construct the literal Kingdom of God on Earth (Hansen 1966: 63–84). Their drives to gather resulted in bustling Mormon communities in Missouri and Illinois, further alarming their neighbors. This resulted in state-sanctioned persecution, including the assassination of Joseph Smith, prompting them to flee to Utah Territory under the guidance of Prophet Brigham Young (Hartley 1976; Johnson 1993; Thomas 2005). Both prophets exhibited immense talent for organization and mobilizing large numbers of people, perhaps best exemplified by Brigham Young's leadership during the migration westward. When the Saints arrived in the Great Basin, they began building Zion. Brigham Young and the Latter-Day Saints soon eyed outward expansion. With the relative stability offered by distance from their persecutors, their organizational prowess and proselytizing ambitions flourished (Bartlow 1999: 145–46). However, Zion succumbed to US sovereignty when federal troops marched west to crush a "Mormon rebellion" in 1857 and federal pressure to end polygamy increased in subsequent decades (MacKinnon 2003: 186–248; 2007: 43–81; 2008: 226–60; 2012: 1–21; Fleek 2006: 81–106; Turley 2007).

Hawaiian Latter-Day Saint missionaries Kimo Pelio and Samuela Manoa unofficially founded the LDS Samoan Mission in 1863 (Harris and Adair 1983, 2; Britsch 1986, 350). For decades, the LDS Church was unaware these devout missionaries labored in Samoa. This was largely because of the chaos caused by the Utah War as well as the misadventures of the infamous, yet fascinating Walter Murray Gibson (Jenson 1900a: 5–13; 1900b: 86–95; Adler 1986). The LDS Samoan Mission was formally founded in 1888, by which time Elder Pelio was already dead (Harris and Adair 1983: 2–3; Harris 1988: 8–9).

The 1890s was a tumultuous decade in Samoa, as three separate imperialist states—England, Germany, and the United States—all manipulated the internal politics of the island group. This manipulation resulted in civil war, allowing proxy warfare between the Western aggressors. In 1899–1900, the United States annexed Tutuila as American Samoa, whereas Germany annexed Upolu and Savaiʻi as German Samoa. Latter-Day Saint missionaries unexpectedly found themselves amidst this maelstrom, witnessing the carnage of war and receiving threats of death (Lee 1899b; Millennial Star 1899; Britsch 1986, 356). A prominent Latter-Day Saint publicly denounced the Westerners and implied his colleagues felt similarly through publications in *Improvement Era*, a periodical affiliated with the LDS Church (Lee 1899b; Beatty 2014). By the early twentieth century, this voice of dissent dissipated, replaced by tacit acceptance of colonialism in both American and German Samoa.

One would think the sight of warships appearing on the horizon, 1,300 armed men landing on the shores of Upolu, the arrest of the German administrator, and the raising of a foreign flag in Samoa would have made a profound impression on observers. The fact that Latter-Day Saint news articles and personal journal entries largely omit New Zealand's invasion is astonishing.

This ear shattering silence signposts an acute break with the earlier years of the LDS Samoan Mission. By 1914, the LDS Samoan Mission had become a firmly established institution within the social fabric of the Samoan Islands. Although German Administrator Wilhelm Solf was not friendly with Latter-Day Saints, the LDS Samoan Mission was tacitly accepted. The German order banning English-language schools greatly hindered the efforts of the Samoan Mission, and apparently the Latter-Day Saints felt "singled out" and "persecuted" (Britsch 1986: 371–72). Despite this, the order that classes be taught in the German language was applicable to all the Christian missions in Western Samoa, not only the LDS Samoan Mission. Simultaneously, the mission began to associate more closely with the colonial regimes. This is reflective of both the larger shift in the LDS church thought following the 1890s as well as a strategy of self-preservation in German Samoa.

The number of LDS Samoan Mission authored publications in *Improvement Era* and other periodicals sharply decreased during these years. Furthermore, the content of this correspondence was politically benign, ignoring geopolitical events of tremendous importance to Samoa, such as New Zealand's invasion. The Latter-Day Saints seemed preoccupied with the expansion of the LDS Samoan Mission. One new feature of the development of the LDS Samoan Mission was gathering Samoan Latter-Day Saints into special purpose LDS villages. The politicized accounts of current events disappeared from the Latter-Day Saint discourse under the German regime.

The nature of the German regime, 1900–14, is debated by scholars. Field (1984) spares scant space for the German regime in his research, focusing instead on the inept and possibly criminal failures of the subsequent New Zealand regime. He argues Germany was more capable than New Zealand in ruling Samoa because of Germany's colonial experience. Field concedes, "Solf had a heavily paternalistic attitude towards the Samoans, even if he did have a greater understanding of their culture than other Germans" (Field 1984, 29). Campbell challenges this relatively benevolent view of Germany, arguing Solf's only contribution to welfare in German Samoa was to bring peace, disarm the population, and to establish the Land and Titles Court to eliminate causes for conflict (Campbell 2005, 52). Solf's philosophy and style of rule is indicated by his summation of notions on the "Right relationship between officials and Samoans:"

> The Samoan mores, customs, and legal usages need to be further studied. What's good needs to be retained and eventually integrated with our customs and practices. The bad, barbaric and dumb has [*sic*] to be excised (Solf 2010, 103).

Solf's administration sought to eliminate Samoan political power and to stabilize German Samoa after years of violence and chaos. His success was largely contingent on his political knack for pushing his agenda in gradual, almost imperceptible ways, yet with profound consequences for Samoans. However, there was one significant threat to his rule, Mau a le Pule (the opposition movement in Savaiʻi) (Field 1984, 30).

Lauaki Namulauʻulu Mamoe issued a challenge to Solf with the simple statement: "We are *Tumua* and *Pule*, we are the rulers of Samoa" (Field 1984, 29). In response Solf created the Fono a Faipule, an advisory group holding no real power (Field 1984, 30). Lauaki organized his own fono, the Mau a le Pule, based in Savaiʻi, directly challenging the German regime. The imperialists used gunboat diplomacy to reify Western power. The arrival of the warships *Leipzig, Arizona*, and *Jaguar* intimidated the Mau but did not crush it (Germany and the Mau). Solf ordered Lauaki and some of his key supporters to surrender within eight days. The Mau refused and fled to the jungle. It seems Christian missionaries convinced the majority of Lauaki's supporters to surrender (Germany and the Mau). With his forces diminished, Lauaki and his closest supporters surrendered. Solf exiled them to Saipan, where Lauaki later died (Field 1984, 30). Samoa's first Mau was defeated through a collusion of warship diplomacy, Solf's administrative skills and the authority enjoyed by a group of unknown Christian missionaries. A more robust Mau emerged to challenge New Zealand and American rule in the 1920s. It is unclear which missionaries urged Lauaki

to surrender. Their actions reveal the Western Christian missionaries generally sided with the imperialists. Consequently, the Latter-Day Saint missionaries of the late nineteenth century were unique. Although no records suggest they supported the Mau of the early twentieth century, their outspoken condemnation of imperialism in Samoa during the late nineteenth century was anomalous. I contend two predominant factors prompted some Latter-Day Saints to sympathize with Samoans during the 1890s. First, they conceptualized Samoans largely as Lamanites, people of the Book of Mormon. Second, they were simply moral individuals disturbed by the injustices of imperialism.

Other than the Lauaki led rebellion, the period following the annexation of Samoa was relatively stable. No longer precariously fighting for survival amidst chaos, the LDS Samoan Mission embarked on a process of expansion and gathering the Samoan Latter-Day Saints. Latter-Day Saint missionaries began turning their attention to regions neglected during the violent 1890s. They established several LDS branches on Savaiʻi, building a meeting house in Tuasivi. However, in 1910, the German Administration confiscated the land and dynamited most of the structures built there (Harris and Adair 1983, 25). One would think this bombing of LDS Mission buildings by the colonial regime would have warranted some sort of reaction within the LDS news correspondence, but I was unable to find any. With the political chaos of the nineteenth century a distant memory, the LDS Church was organized in Samoa on a much larger scale. Between 1900 and 1920, twenty-three new branches were established in the Samoan Islands.

This work transcended merely proselytizing among Samoans but involved much labor, literally building villages, mission homes, chapels, meeting houses, schools, and plantations. The plantations were destined to play a controversial role in the LDS Samoan Mission, whereas the schools were to play a crucial role augmenting the membership of the LDS Church. In April 1902, Mission President Joseph H. Merrill received news from Salt Lake City. Several German Latter-Day Saints were enroute to teach German to Samoan Latter-Day Saints (Britsch 1986: 373–74). After several years however, the German speaking Latter-Day Saint missionaries failed to meet Solf's standards, and the schools were disbanded. Consequently, the English-speaking Latter-Day Saints were expected to learn Samoan to teach in their schools.

Around the turn of the century, the Latter-Day Saint missionaries began gathering the Samoan Latter-Day Saints in villages set aside for the sole occupation of members of the church. As early as the close of the nineteenth century, Samoan Latter-Day Saints began gathering in Faleniu, Upolu (Britsch 1986, 375). By 1903, it was decided there should be two gathering locations, one in German Samoa and one in American Samoa. Mapusaga, Tutuila was designated the gathering spot in American Samoa, whereas

Sauniatu, Upolu was designated in German Samoa. Sauniatu was purchased from the German firm Deutschen Handels und Plantagen-Gesellschaft (Baldridge 1978, 168).

The dynamics of hierarchy complicated the social environment on the LDS special purpose villages. Like the American, German, and New Zealand colonial regimes, the LDS Samoan Mission, on a micro-level scale, attempted to reconcile *fa'aSamoa* (Samoan way) with Western notions of power relations. One specific conflict experienced in Sauniatu involved the fa'aSamoa concept of respect for elders. Despite this, Samoan Latter-Day Saints in the special purpose villages were expected to submit to the authority of American missionaries, although the missionaries were significantly younger than many of the Samoan Latter-Day Saints (Baldridge 1978: 178–79). Several instances of conflict and insubordination occurred in Sauniatu. In 1917, under New Zealand rule, a "minor challenge to mission authority" was confronted by Mission President Ernest Wright (Baldridge 1978, 179). A minor disagreement in 1920 turned into a fight. A Latter-Day Saint missionary records, "Our first fight up here but we won out. . . ." Baldridge points out, "In spite of the implications of the word 'fight', the confrontation was probably vocal only, not physical" (Baldridge 1978, 180). At times, a conflict in Sauniatu became so acute that the Latter-Day Saint missionaries felt it necessary to call for the aid of the colonial police. Although Latter-Day Saints experienced danger in Colonial Samoa, it was not common during the twentieth century. Consequently, mission complicity with the colonial regimes was largely shaped by two factors. First, it was part of a political strategy to navigate a tumultuous, foreign geopolitical landscape. Second, it reflected larger shifts in the church following the 1890s to submit to US sovereignty and operate within the formal nation-state system.

Only a year after the village was founded, a group of Samoan Latter-Day Saints became angry with Felix Baird. After clearing land one day, they accused the missionaries of "making slaves out of them" (Baldridge 1978, 179). Approximately eleven years later, in the same village of Sauniatu, the same allegation was made against Earl Stanley Paul. Some village men wanted to play a game of cricket against a group of men from another village. Paul recounts:

> I told them they couldn't go on Wednesday but if they wanted they could have them come up here, or they could go down there on Saturday. Some of the men said they were slaves and they talked kind of sorrey [sic] to us. After talking to them . . . we got them to feeling better (Paul 1912–15: 192–93).

American missionaries and Samoans were suddenly thrust into new hierarchical relationships manufactured by the gathering process. This set the stage

for greater violence and conflict between missionaries and Samoan Saints in the 1920s (Stone 1929; Baldridge 1978: 185–86; Beatty 2014).

Historian R. Carl Harris concedes the plantations within the Samoan Mission may seem controversial but argues they were not created for accruing capital. The income generated through plantations was used for the cost of the mission schools and other social functions. The profit was insufficient to offset the expenditures in Samoa, which were covered by tithes from Latter-Day Saints globally (Harris and Adair 1983, 41). According to one Samoan Latter-Day Saint account, the plantation in Sauniatu seemed collectively owned. All the Latter-Day Saints worked the land, and all had access to the fruits of their labor (Fonoimoana and Fonoimoana 1979).

Despite this, there were instances when tension stemming from the newly implemented hierarchical relationship between the Latter-Day Saints from America and Samoan Latter-Day Saints erupted into open conflict. By 1910, there was an ideological shift in the way Latter-Day Saints from the United States conceived their role as missionaries. As the LDS Samoan Mission became an established institution, the objectives transcended merely proselytizing among Samoans to augment the number of church members to actively altering the social and economic landscape through the special purpose villages. This concept of gathering Latter-Day Saints into centralized locations had been practiced in the United States since the mid-nineteenth century. Under the direction of President Brigham Young, Latter-Day Saints founded special purpose villages throughout Utah. Many of these villages were collectively operated and the products of labor equally distributed. The Great Basin region was considered Zion, the epicenter of this gathering. Gathering Latter-Day Saints in Samoa was merely an extension of this process.

The Latter-Day Saint missionaries in Samoa may have considered other factors when contemplating the gathering drive. Christian missions in Samoa were exceedingly competitive. Furthermore, it seems the other denominations in the islands seemed to especially despise the efforts of Latter-Day Saints. Rumors circulated in Samoa that Solf suddenly decided the LDS Samoan Mission should be driven from his domain (Tangreen 1910: 1133–34). Latter-Day Saint missionaries were convinced the rumor was invented by missionaries from competing denominations to intimidate Samoans wishing to convert to the LDS Church. According to one article published in 1910, some ministers from other denominations went so far as demanding Samoans make an oath to God that members of their *aiga* (extended family) would not join the Latter-Day Saints (Tangreen 1910, 1134). If a Samoan broke this oath, they were exiled from the community, a practice beginning in the nineteenth century (Dimond and Barrus 1894; Burnham 1895). One Latter-Day Saint missionary claimed Samoans were fearful to convert, writing:

> . . . only through the law of the town have they put off being initiated into the fold of the True Shephard. We find this to be the case in a great many villages, for many would like to join us but are afraid if they should do so their houses would be burned, the property confiscated and themselves driven from the town. The highest chiefs of every town can do about as they please . . . (Burnham 1895).

A Samoan contemplating joining the Latter-Day Saints was oftentimes forced to decide between the aiga and the church, tradition, and personal faith. The process of gathering Samoan Latter-Day Saints on special purpose villages removed them from the influence of rival missionaries and from Western culture, which was perceived as laden with vices deleterious to Samoan morality. More important, these villages served as a new life, a new community, and a new set of norms for those Samoan Latter-Day Saints shunned by the aiga. However, gathering Samoan Latter-Day Saints led some Samoan members of the church to renounce their membership, sometimes in groups (Britsch 1986, 380). Britsch describes this challenge:

> But the growth of Sauniatu and Mapusaga brought serious problems to the mission. There was a falling away among those members who did not want to gather at the Mormon colonies. . . . From mid-1905 on, for the next year or so, it was not unusual to see entries in the mission record to the effect that 12, 38, 110, or some other number of people had asked their names removed from the record of the Church. A number of members preferred to renounce all allegiance with the Church rather than leave their ancestral homes and lands (Britsch 1986, 380).

Despite these challenges, the continued growth of the LDS Samoan Mission afforded by greater political stability in the islands prompted the gathering process, which periodically created tensions between Samoan Saints and Latter-Day Saint missionaries. Simultaneously, Latter-Day Saint missionaries began to see it their duty to encourage Samoan Latter-Day Saints to not only embrace the LDS Church but also Westernized culture. At least this was the message conveyed by President John Q. Adams through public discourse. Samoan Latter-Day Saints were encouraged through hard labor.

Although the colonial regimes desperately sought to fill the vacuous labor shortage in Samoa attributable to Samoan abhorrence to working for wages, the Christian missions were the benefactors of a seemingly tireless Samoan labor force. A report from 1919 reveals Samoans produced 50 percent of the total copra production on private land in the Samoan Islands (Dalton 1919, 21).

German plantations, namely the Deutsche Handels Und Plantagen Gessellschaft (DHPG), accounted for most of the remaining 50-percent of the total copra production. To promote productivity, the German regime exempted the plantation owners from taxes (Dalton 1919, 5). The DHPG firm owned around 56,000 acres of land in Upolu, 9,000 of which were used for copra production, the rest consisting of wild bush terrain. The three main plantations on Upolu owned by DHPG were Mulifanua, Vaitele, and Vaiele. Around 16,500 acres of Upolu land were owned by Britons, Americans and other *papalagi* (foreigners) bringing the total acreage of land in Upolu owned by papalagi to around 72,500 acres. The German regime implemented strict criteria for purchasing land from Samoans. This included guaranteeing a Samoan selling land still owned enough after the sale to produce crops for the family. Also, an individual Samoan was prohibited from selling any land that other Samoans may hold claim to (Dalton 1919, 34). Considering the collective nature of land ownership among the aiga, meeting these criteria proved exceptionally difficult.

To combat the labor shortage in German Samoa, the regime imported Chinese workers. The first Chinese arrived from Shantou in 1903 (Field 1984, 27). By World War I, 2,184 Chinese and 870 Solomon Islanders worked the plantations in Samoa (Dalton 1919, 21; Field 1984, 28). The treatment of Chinese laborers in German Samoa was notoriously poor. There were numerous reports of inadequate medical treatment, meager food, forced labor, wage cutting, and floggings (Field 1984: 27–28). As mentioned above, the Christian missions enjoyed a seemingly tireless and generous Samoan population. New Zealand Trade Commissioner R. W. Dalton reported in 1919:

> The extent to which the Samoans can be induced to give money (and incidentally, to work to get money to give) for religious purposes is remarkable. This is particularly true proved by their attitude toward the missionaries and their keenness in raising money for the erection of churches and other religious purposes (Dalton 1919, 31).

Three factors explain the tension between Samoan willingness to labor for Christian missionaries and disdain for laboring on plantations. First, most Samoans were stalwart Christians. Second, colonial laws on land-alienation mitigated the growth of a landless-class of Samoans forced to sell their labor. Third, fa'aSamoa fostered a pride in culture at odds with selling labor to foreigners. Furthermore, fa'aSamoa provided an economic safety net for Samoans.

Anecdotes of Samoan dedication to Mormonism and Samoan resistance to Latter-Day Saint authority demonstrate the complex relationship between the LDS Samoan Mission, Samoan Latter-Day Saints, and the colonial regimes. Furthermore, it exemplifies the complications of reconciling Western hierarchy

with fa'aSamoa. It is impossible to generalize the subjectivities of all parties involved. Sometimes Samoan Saints rebelled against missionary authority; other times, their loyalty to the church was unquestionable. However, one historical element seems certain; Samoan Latter-Day Saint resistance often correlated with the prominence of the anti-colonial Mau (Beatty 2014). A disturbing account of a special purpose village in American Samoa reveals both the intense dedication Samoan Latter-Day Saints exhibited towards the LDS Samoa Mission as well as a shift in the role of the Latter-Day Saint missionaries.

In 1911, President Adams of the LDS Samoan Mission, wrote an article for the *Improvement Era*, detailing the founding of special purpose village Mapusaga. The article implies a new role for the LDS Mission within Colonial Samoa. Adams writes the "practical, forceful system of training natives, have done much to raise the standard of intelligence of this island race to the requisite level of comprehending the meaning of life . . ." (Adams 1911, 231). This passage alone is laden with myriad concepts and terminology, which are divergent from the discourse articulated by Latter-Day Saint missionaries in Samoa during the late nineteenth century. The term "forceful" conjures the image of a dominant Latter-Day Saint missionary acting upon a subordinate Samoan Latter-Day Saint. The usage of the term "natives" instead of Lamanites or Samoan "Saints," which had often been used in previous decades is striking. The term native is rooted in the lexicon of colonialism in the Pacific and Samoan context. Adams does use the term Lamanite once toward the end of his article. The notion that Samoan Latter-Day Saints had failed to grasp the "meaning of life" before interaction with the LDS Church is a drastic example of ethnocentric justifications for colonialism in the Pacific.

According to Adams, the LDS Samoan Mission's achievement of inculcating the true meaning of life among the Samoan Latter-Day Saints was contingent on their "combined school and colonization system . . ." (Adams 1911, 231). The Protestant Ethic was the remedy for the "tropical laziness" which Westerners claimed proliferated Samoa. Indeed, Adams continues, "one irrefutable fact must be implanted in the mind of the native, that no true happiness exists in an idle village." Adams realized it took gradual time to "eradicate" customs and habits to "produce an entirely different idealized race of people." According to President Adams's logic, the LDS Samoan Mission not only existed to spread religion but also to engineer the perfect, idealized society of Samoans. Schools were seen as a crucial tool in this endeavor. Adams writes:

> One sees the small, uncouth [Samoan] tot begin an uphill career in the school, his instinct telling him that Samoan ideals are in advance of all others, while his teacher and surrounding conditions *forcefully* proclaim the contrary. By degrees, as months mould themselves into years

> . . . the once rough diamond takes on a polish of sort that most encourages the teacher, and in the semi-annual pilgrimage our school takes to Pago Pago, with a well prepared conference program to present before the *crew of the man of war* stationed there, the children are supremely happy in the light of the new life (Adams 1911, 237, italics added).

In Adams' mind, manufacturing the perfect Samoan "tot" began "forcefully" with the culturally sophisticated teacher, who inculcates civilization within the child's psyche. These children, social engineering marvels, were paraded before the American imperial forces in Pago Pago, a performance seemingly orchestrated to gain acceptance of the LDS Samoan Mission from the colonial rulers. Again, it was believed by Adams that a crucial element to manufacturing an idealized race was hard labor.

Describing the layout of Mapusaga, Adams writes the missionary house "looms up pretentiously from its elevated side" above the houses where Samoan Latter-Day Saints resided. He adds the LDS church building and schoolhouse also hold a commanding spot of ground. He writes an observer witnessing these large buildings

> . . . is struck with astonishment to learn that the material for both of these large buildings . . . was all carried up a narrow, stony, bushy trail, a distance of three miles, on the backs of school boys and girls. . . . Tons of sand and lime-rock, boards, timbers, roofing iron, kegs of nails, barrels of cement, each weighing three hundred and sixty pounds . . . all find a secure resting place upon the calloused shoulders of *these children*, and all without complaint. . . . *Is it any wonder that the . . . [missionaries] learn to love them* (Adams 1911: 236–237, italics added).

Was it as horrendous as Adams boasts? There is reason to believe these "children" were teenagers or adults (Fonoimoana and Fonoimoana 1979, 8). For instance, a photo captioned "One of our Bright Young Boys" depicts an adult Samoan (Adams 1911, 235). Referring to adults as children correlates with a larger colonial discourse drenched in paternalism, ethnocentrism, and militarism. However, his earlier passage about a Samoan "tot" indicates children were present in the school and may have labored under these horrific conditions.

New Zealand's Invasion of Samoa

In August 1914, following the outbreak of World War I, Great Britain wired the New Zealand government requesting their armed forces seize German Samoa (Secretary of State 1914). The Germans previously built a radio wireless station

on Upolu, which connected to a transoceanic telegraph network in the Pacific (Deutsche Kolonialzeitung 2010). Great Britain viewed this antenna as strategically important to seize. The New Zealand government responded, agreeing to the plan and requested naval support during the operation attributable to the possibility of German warships patrolling the area. Englishman Colonel Robert Logan was chosen to lead the force (Field 1984, 3). The invading force of 1,383 included infantry, engineers, two fifteen-pounders, two six-pounders, medical personnel, and assorted army service corps details (Governor of New Zealand 1914, 14). The troops voyaged to Samoa on two transport ships, *Moeraki* and *Monowai,* under the protection of the warships *Australia, Melbourne, Psyche*, and *Philomel* (Ibid., 14). The convoy stopped in Suva along the way. The Fijian governor supplied them with geographical information pertaining to Samoa. Also, upon the advice of a Reverend Father Fox, the convoy took on board eleven Samoans "of some standing" to facilitate the acceptance of New Zealand rule among the Samoans of Upolu and Savaiʻi (Logan 1914, 5).

Upon arrival at dawn in Apia Harbor 30 August, a New Zealand officer, under a flag of truce, delivered an ultimatum for surrender (Logan 1914; Field 2014). The New Zealand naval officers in the harbor heard the wireless station tuning up. Rear-Admiral Patey messaged the wireless operators to desist or they would be blown away by the gigantic guns of the warships. At 8:30 AM the next morning, the British flag was hoisted over Apia, and Solf was arrested. Upolu and Savaiʻi fell under New Zealand rule, and Western Samoa was invented.

New Zealand's seizure of Samoa was barely mentioned within Latter-Day Saint media. The few references to New Zealand rule were retrospective, brief, and ambivalent. By the early twentieth century, political topics were excluded from the public discourse of Samoan Latter-Day Saint missionaries. The mission record is astonishingly sparse during the early twentieth century, the years following the colonial takeover. This is especially surprising since church historian Andrew Jenson visited Samoa in 1895 during his global journey to collect mission histories and instruct Latter-Day Saint missionaries on record keeping procedures (Neilson and Moffat 2012: 141–61). Baldridge writes the missionaries in Samoa "were given the responsibility of keeping a daily journal of events" (1978, 165). However, even private diaries largely omit political topics. One example is the diary of missionary Earl S. Paul, who arrived in Samoa December 30, 1912. A native of Rexburg, Idaho, Paul was consistent with journal entries (Paul 1912–15). However, there is a gap in his journal entries between March 23 and December 23, 1914, the summer of the New Zealand invasion of Western Samoa. It is perplexing that suddenly an entire section of the journal is missing, especially during the dates of the New Zealand invasion. This omission probably had much to do with his increased responsibilities in Sauniatu. It is also possible this section of the journal was damaged during Paul's extensive

journeys on foot through Upolu. If the section was not damaged or removed, this clearly illustrates Paul lacked concern for geopolitical events. This silence is all the more astonishing vis-à-vis Baldridge's belief New Zealand troops marched through Sauniatu at some point following the invasion (Fonoimoana and Fonoimoana 1979, 11). One would think this event would be noteworthy enough to jot down in a diary. Frankly, I am perplexed by the omissions in Elder Paul's journal and the larger LDS Samoan Mission historical record.

Tragedy in Western Samoa

Colonel Logan faced grave challenges as soon as he landed in Upolu. Mason Mitchell, the US Consul to Apia, informed Logan there was a severe shortage of food in the islands (Logan 1914, 6). This shortage was probably attributable to the war, which altered the priorities of the German Empire as it geared for conflict. The indentured Chinese had been on short rations since the outbreak of war. European residents feared a Chinese uprising if rations were not increased, but only ten days of food remained for the Chinese. The explosive situation erupted in rebellion on September 1, two days after the New Zealand invasion. One hundred twenty Chinese rose against a German plantation owner, surrounding him in his house, only seven miles from Apia. New Zealand troops and "native police" suppressed the rebellion, and Logan decided Germans could retain their guns to defend their lives and property. Logan wrote he "found it necessary to allow the German planters to their arms for self-protection, considering it that we would run some risk in this direction rather than that a European family should be placed at the mercy of the Chinese . . . who, in my opinion, are a menace to the European population unless very carefully handled" (Logan 1914, 7). Unsurprisingly, Logan was willing to keep the German population armed rather than disrupt the social, economic and racial hierarchy in Western Samoa, despite a raging world war between England and Germany.

The labor question in Western Samoa was far from solved by this point. To the utter dismay of the papalagi, the Samoans could not be convinced to labor long hours for foreign capitalists. Consequently, the indentured Chinese were necessary for the profits of the plantation owners. However, many people in Western Samoa were uncomfortable with their presence in the islands. Samoan chiefs approached Logan and voiced their concern over the racial mixing of Samoans and Chinese, suggesting the indentured laborers be repatriated (Logan 1914, 7). The Chinese question weighed heavily on Logan. Field writes Logan "became almost obsessive about the Chinese" (Field 1984, 30). This obsession culminated in him promulgating Proclamation No. 42, which prohibited any Chinese laborer from entering any Samoan home (Field 1984, 31).

This concern over the interaction between the Samoans and the Chinese indentured laborers was not unique to New Zealand's rule of the islands. While travelling near Sauniatu during German rule, Paul and his two companions ran into indentured Chinese. Paul writes:

> We run acrossed [*sic*] two chinamen [*sic*] they were on the opposite side of a creek than we were. They are not allowed in the village. So I told them to pelase [*sic*] go in Samoan. They didn't understand so I had to repeat two ore [*sic*] three times. One of them though [*sic*] we wanted him to carry us across the stream and he come a running we all the time telling him to go. . . . We finely [*sic*] made him understand. They are very polite little fellows but we have quite a time keeping them one (Paul 1912–15: 56–57)

It is unclear from Paul's entry why the Chinese were barred from the village and whether it was attributable to policy of the German regime or the LDS Samoan Mission. However, it is indicative of the segregationist environment of Colonial Samoa.

In 1918, with the end of a world war of unprecedented destruction and suffering in sight, influenza swept the Earth, with an estimated 15 million lives lost to the sickness globally (Field 1984, 34). This efficient killer claimed more lives than all of World War I. The devastation caused by the epidemic in Western Samoa is known as one of the most controversial events of New Zealand's rule of the islands. Influenza reached Western Samoa aboard the *Talune,* which arrived in Apia on November 7, 1918 (Field 1984, 37). Influenza was introduced to the vessel days earlier in Auckland. New Zealand officials in Western Samoa were aware an epidemic was sweeping the globe, but unaware it already reached New Zealand and could have possibly been on the *Talune*. In a cruel twist of fate, the letter informing the officials in Western Samoa that influenza was raging in Auckland was unopened and onboard the *Talune,* the very vessel carrying the deadly cargo. *Talune's* Captain John Mawson informed the port health inspector, Captain Frank Atkinson, all the passengers were healthy. The passengers disembarked before the letter was read by Logan.

Influenza ravaged the Samoan community, killing upward of 8,500 people, 22 percent of the population (Field 1984, 49). One stunning story about the epidemic involves a chief who succumbed to the sickness while visiting Apia. His village sent a longboat to retrieve the body, but none of the rowers returned home, all seventeen dying in Apia (Field 1984, 40). The New Zealand regime was completely unable to cope with the calamitous situation. Logan seemed on the verge of some sort of breakdown. He ordered no food be sent to London Missionary Society (LMS) School Papauta, although influenza was raging

throughout the all-girl population there. The LMS missionary in charge of the school, Elizabeth Moore, sent for some meat from Apia to make stew for the 150 gravely ill students. Logan was outraged by the request for food and visited Papauta to berate Moore. Field quotes Moore's account of the exchange as follows:

> . . . he began . . . by saying in a voice which became louder and more angry, 'Miss Moore . . . I wish to inform you that no meat will be given you. . . . Send them food! I would rather see them burning in Hell! There is a dead horse at your gate-let them eat that! Great fat, lazy, loafing creatures…Send them down to the public burial ground to dig graves! A disgrace to Christianity! I should like to see them all in Hell,' etc. etc. . . .
>
> I told him I was trying at that moment to find any who were strong enough to bury their own dead, but he kept on, 'If you do not send me twenty-five of these girls to help dig graves, I will come back this afternoon and burn down the school' (Field 1984: 42–43).

New Zealand troops carried out the brunt of the mass burials, which was such a gruesome activity many could only stomach it while drinking whiskey. A Christian missionary protested the vast consumption of whiskey among the grave diggers. In response, Logan ordered the missionary to help with the burials. Later, he was seen swigging the bottle with the troops (Field 1984, 44). By this time, Paul had finished his first mission in Samoa (he was to again serve as a missionary in Samoa decades later) and gone to Europe to fight in the war. Ironically, while the influenza epidemic decimated the Samoan population, he fell ill with the sickness in Clermont-Ferrand, France as a soldier (Paul 1912–15, 106).

One of the most outrageous elements of the story of the epidemic in Western Samoa was Logan's refusal to allow doctors from American Samoa to help the sick. It is difficult to understand why he would make such a deadly decision, other than evidence he seems to have been truly unhinged from the stress. American Samoa was one of the few places on Earth that did not experience the epidemic. Logan's refusal of outside aid was criminal.

The Latter-Day Saint missionary media was silent about the epidemic with possibly only one known exception, an article written in 1920 by none other than Adams. He waits until the very last paragraph of the article to mention the epidemic and begins by writing, "One more paragraph and we our done" as if it were an afterthought. Despite this, Adams's account of the epidemic in Sauniatu

is moving and poignant. He writes from the perspective of himself returning to Sauniatu after a decade:

> We note the absence of many a familiar face of a dozen years back, and are welcomed by but a handful of the original band of pioneers. . . . Crossing the river and gaining the graveyard, we are confronted abruptly by the reason written in tombs that dot the earth in little mounds of pebbles. . . . As the writer stood silently viewing the city of the departed, our most faithful Saint and veteran of the village since its inception, came to his side and pointed out the last resting place of this and that brother and sister or child who went down in the influenza epidemic a year ago, like grain before the sickle, some of them being buried in their own dooryards and others in whatever place they dropped dead. Heart rendering incidents were recounted in simple, touching style, and after a mental review of the horror and helplessness of it all, one is lost in wonder that even this remnant survived that we find. Strangely like old Chingagook of Cooper's tale, appeared our old Lamanite chieftain, Opapo, as he stood in that quaint native cemetery that day and swept his trembling arm from point to point—one of the links that connects the past of Sauniatu with its present (Adams 1920, 65).

Adams's account is heavily sympathetic with the Samoan Latter-Day Saints. Adams used the term "native" when referring to the Samoan Latter-Day Saints, a term solidified in the lexicon of colonialism, in his previous article from nine years earlier. It is noteworthy nine years later he refers to Opapo as a "Saint," implying recognition of a shared identity between the Latter-Day Saint missionaries and the Samoan Latter-Day Saints. Despite this, his account is starkly apolitical, omitting any perceived condemnations of the New Zealand regime. Although sympathetic with the pain and misery the Samoan community experienced, this passage tacitly affirms the allegiance of the LDS Samoan Mission to the contemporaneous status quo by ignoring the fact that colonialism contributed to the Samoans' pain and misery.

Conclusion

Between the years of 1900 and 1920, the LDS Samoan Mission became firmly established within Colonial Samoa. President Adams envisioned the mission's role to include replacing fa'aSamoa with Western norms and ideas. He saw Latter-Day Saint missionaries as colonizers, a role that spurred them to attack fa'aSamoa and to build Samoan Latter-Day Saint villages. Western missionaries

were at the apex of the hierarchical social relations within these villages. Gone from the consciousness of these Latter-Day Saint missionaries was the notion of a collective identity of oppression and alienation their predecessors from the 1890s shared. Instead of publicly defending an oppressed community, the Latter-Day Saint missionaries in Samoa during the early twentieth century took a more accommodating stance toward the colonial regimes ruling the islands. Indeed, President Adams's notions of the role of the LDS Samoan Mission were largely congruent with the objectives of the colonial regimes in Samoa.

The shifts in the Samoan Mission were caused by reterritorializations in Samoa and Zion. In the 1890s, the church tempered its fiery rhetoric and restricted practices such as polygamy in an acknowledgement of US sovereignty of the Great Basin. Furthermore, reterritorializations in Samoa around the turn of the century prompted Latter-Day Saints to control public discourse and adapt to the new geopolitical terrain in the islands.

This article expands Mormon history, Colonial Samoan history, and the geopolitics of religion. It provides depth to Latter-Day Saint missionary histories by critically assessing their engagement with colonial projects in Samoa. It further expands scholarship on the religious dimension of Colonial Samoa history, which has largely been neglected. It provides nuance to theories on the geopolitics of religion, demonstrating that missionaries sometimes operated beyond simple colonial binaries. At times, Latter-Day Saint missionaries in Samoa cited religious geographies and Lamanite genealogy to conceptualize race and identity, problematizing shorthand binaries of colonizer/colonized, civilized/backward, Christian/pagan. Despite this, the LDS Samoan Mission seemed increasingly more inclined to support colonial projects in Samoa, resulting in notions of social engineering an idealized race of people.

Research on the dynamics between the LDS Samoan Mission and the anti-colonial Mau movement exists (Beatty 2014) but could be expanded. Furthermore, future research on the LDS Samoan Mission following the Mau movement of the 1920s as well as following Samoan independence in 1962 would broaden understandings of the religious dimension of Colonial Samoa history. Research into the Latter-Day Saint missionary experience in the larger Asia–Pacific region would expand Mormon history and theoretical understandings of the geopolitics of religion.

NOTES

1. For more on this debate, see Roper 2003; Murphy 2002; Southerton 2004; Sorenson Roper 2003; and Whiting 2003.

2. *Pule* were orators of Sava'i and *Tumua* orators from Upolu.

3. Field defines the *Fono* as "the meeting of councilors, or rulers."

4. For one example, see Arrington 1954.

5. For narratives especially critical of the later arriving New Zealand colonial regime, see Field 1984, 2006. For different perspectives, see Campbell 1999, 2005, 2009. For the American colonial regime, see Chappell 2000.

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