CHAPTER FOUR

Christianity

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Early Christian Influences in Samoa

According to a legend, the war goddess, Nafanua, prophesied that a new religion would come to Samoa and end the rule of the old gods. The greatest effect of early contacts between Samoans and Papalagi seamen was on traditional beliefs and ideas. By the 1820s some of the beachcombers had begun to teach the Samoans about Christianity. Known as the ‘Sailors’ Lotu’, these early missionary attempts were not very successful and were not approved of by the ‘real’ missionaries - who had been trained in theology - who came to Samoa after 1828. An early Samoan Christian cult, the Sio Vili movement, was begun by a Samoan who had travelled to other Pacific islands and Australia on a whaling ship. Leadership of the Sio Vili movement was taken over by a woman who used the techniques of taulaitu to contact the new God ‘Seesah Elaisah’ (a mispronunciation of Jesus Christ) and prophesied that the new god would soon come to Samoa from the sea, bringing about the end of the world. There were similar cults in other parts of the Pacific among people trying to reconcile the contradictions between old and new religious teaching. The important point about the Sailors’ Lotu and Sio Vili movement

52
was that it showed that Samoan people were seeking new religious explanations. The establishment of Christianity (by Wesleyan missionaries) in Tonga was well known to the Samoans who had travelled there in the 1820s. News had also reached Samoa from seamen and Samoans who travelled on whaling ships, that the Tahitians had become Christians. (The London Missionary Society sent a group of missionaries there in 1795. The Mission failed initially, but was established successfully in 1813.) The Hawaiians and Rarotongans had become Christians. By the late 1820s, the Samoans who knew about these changes, must have expected that missionaries would soon visit Samoa.

Christianity has always been a 'missionary' religion. The first missionaries were the Apostles, especially St Paul, who took as his personal mission, the task of carrying the faith to the gentiles. By the time of Paul's death around 65 A.D., Christian churches were established in most countries around the Mediterranean. By 313 A.D. the Church had gained acceptance in the Roman Empire under Emperor Constantine, after centuries of persecution. Missionaries carried the Christian Gospels to the 'barbarian' tribes: the Huns, Vandals, Goths, Gauls, Angles, Picts, Jutes, Saxons, Slavs, Franks and other tribes of Northern and Eastern Europe, so that by 600 A.D. Christian churches were established throughout the 'known world' of Europe and the Middle East.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Catholic priests had accompanied Spanish and Portuguese navigators to Asia and the Indies, and had established Christianity in the New World of North and South America, as well as in the Mariana Islands of Micronesia.

In the late eighteenth century, the Evangelical Movement was to produce a new era of missionary work in Africa, Asia and the Pacific. The Evangelical Movement was a religious movement associated with the 'non-conformist' churches of England. These were Protestant churches who sought a simpler kind of religious expression than that of the Established Church of England. The Sunday School movement, popular preaching, and the spread of literacy among common people in England, all contributed to a greater knowledge among the English of newly discovered foreign lands. These factors also promoted the idea that the Gospels should be taken to those who lived in the foreign lands. The missionary movement in Britain in the early nineteenth century was supported by ordinary working men and women who contributed money to send missionaries abroad and support them while away. A similar movement in the north-eastern states of America developed at this time and sent missionaries to China and Hawaii. It is an unfortunate historical fact that the religious rivalries of Europe came to be transferred to the Pacific islands in the nineteenth century.
Disagreements over doctrines between Catholics and Protestants, and among Protestant sects, led to the establishment of competitive missions and missionary organizations. This sometimes reflected national rivalry in Europe - such as that of Protestant England and Catholic France. In other cases, the differences in teaching and outlook were quite small but came to be magnified in the Pacific Island churches established by the missionaries.

When the Tahitians and Rarotongans accepted Christianity, they burned their idols and pulled down their temples. Samoans did not generally construct temples or idols, so the rejection of the old gods was symbolized by a ceremony in which new converts 'ate their aitu'. Rev. John Williams described in his journal of 1832 how each person in Samoa was forbidden to eat certain species of birds, animals or fish because these represented their ancestral, village or district aitu. When a village decided to lotu (to become Christian) they had a large gathering in the presence of the missionary during which the creatures which were sacred to them, were cooked and eaten. This so desecrated the spirit in each creature that it could never again be worshipped. One idol, which Williams said was named Papo, was represented by an old piece of woven pandanus. The people who owned it were going to bury it at sea, but in the end it was given to Williams who eventually put in the LMS Museum in London.

Williams also records the careful thought which Samoans gave to the transfer of loyalty from old gods to Jehovah. Before a village became Christian the subject was debated by the Fono (village council). Some of the arguments were like that of Chief Fauea, who had accompanied Williams to Samoa from Tonga: that the Christian God was superior because of the valuable possessions of the English: cloth, steel knives, guns, ships, beads etc. Another argument cautioned Samoans against hasty acceptance until more was known about Christianity. The chief who presented this view asked what would happen if Samoans went to England and asked the English to accept their religion. Would the English agree quickly without wanting to learn more about it? Another chief said that writing was obviously a valuable tool, since the English could keep track of all the goods on their ships. But he pointed out that Samoans were also clever, since they kept that kind of information in their heads.

When a village decided to become Christian they built a church and a house for a teacher or pastor, and began to contribute to the church by supporting the pastor with food and services, and by contributing coconut oil to the senior representative of the mission in each district. The oil was collected in large barrels by the missionaries and shipped to England for sale, to earn money for the mission. In the
early days of the mission, masoa (arrowroot starch), was also given as a church contribution, and this too was exported for sale in England. This practice introduced the custom of making public the donations of money to the church; before people had money to give, the family heads would call out the amount of oil their family had made for the church. Families, villages, and districts competed for the honour of giving the most to the church.

Although it was common for groups of Samoans to become Christian, each group did not join the same church. In the early days of Christianity there were often three or four different religious groups in a village. Some might be following Sio Vili's teachings, or a "Sailors' Lotu", others might be following old gods, and yet others the new "Lotu Ta'iti", brought to Samoa by John Williams. Such diversity of belief had also existed in the past when different families worshipped different gods. This is why in many villages of Samoa, there are two, three or more different Christian denominations, to the present day.

`Lotu Ta'iti`; the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa

The longest established church in Western Samoa was given the name, the `Lotu Ta'iti`, the Tahitian Church, because it was founded by the London Missionary Society which first established in Tahiti and the Society Islands in 1798. The Society had been founded in England in 1795, by a group of Christians of various non-conformist Protestant denominations, to spread the gospel among the heathens. The Society did not aim to establish a specific denomination of the church, but rather to establish churches that were evangelical and non-denominational, with administrative organization suited to the local situation. While several ordained ministers were engaged in the work of the Society, their function was to train missionaries and work within their own denominations to obtain support for the aims of the Society.

The first missionaries sent to the Pacific by the London Missionary Society were not ordained ministers but mainly lay missionaries and skilled tradesmen. The most support for the Society came from the Congregational Church with whom, in later years, the Society became exclusively associated. The Congregational Church was different from some other non-conformist churches because it preferred decisions concerning church government to be made by the congregation rather by bishops or ministers.

The pioneer for the London Missionary Society in Samoa was Mr John Williams, an English iron-monger who had been inspired in 1816 to take instruction from the Society and go overseas as a missionary. Young Williams sailed for the island of Ra'iatea, near Tahiti,
in 1816 with his wife. In later years he moved to Rarotonga where he made plans to bring the gospel to Samoa. He could obtain no funds from the mission headquarters for this project, and so he built his own ship. It took fifteen weeks to build the 'Messenger of Peace' using Rarotongan timber and forging his own nails and bolts from bars of iron. Coconut husks, banana fibre and tapa cloth were used to seal the seams in the hull of the ship, and sails was made of matting with 'afa (sinnet) ropes. The finished ship was 60 feet long and 18 feet wide in the middle. When Williams set sail he took with him another European missionary, Charles Barff, and eight teachers from Tahiti and Rarotonga. Calling at Tonga on his way he collected some more passengers, a Samoan called Fauea (who later became Mulipola Fauea of Salua village on the island of Manono) and his family. Fauea directed Williams to Sapali'i, a place of residence of Malietoa. When Fauea heard, from canoes sailing off Falealupo, that the chief Tamafaiga had been assassinated at Fasito'outa, he told Williams that the main obstacle to preaching the Gospel in Samoa had been removed. Williams wrote in his journal:

From all that I can gather... it was believed that the spirit of the Devil rested in him (Tamafaiga) and that he had the power to inflict disease and death. He was consulted as an oracle or prophet on all important occasions and his decisions were always law. He possessed no power as a chief but all the chiefs paid a kind of homage and brought presents to him. His presence inspired a kind of awe so that all would creep away and hide themselves as he passed by... none could touch a portion of his food on pain of death. Property, pigs and all the women on the islands were at his command.

Williams was told that when Tamafaiga tried to take a chief's wife it was decided to kill him. He was chased into the sea by his assassins and his body cut into pieces. A beachcomber, John Wright, who lived on Apolima, gave Williams most of his information and acted as his interpreter. (The title Tamafaiga held was Lei'ataua. He was a relative of Malietoa. He was killed for taking a taupou, not a chief's wife, according to most Samoan traditions.)

When Williams anchored at Sapapali'i, a war was going on between the supporters of Malietoa Vainu'u in Savai'i and 'Aiga i leTai, and the chiefs of A'ana. Malietoa was related to Tamafaiga and was fighting to revenge the assassination of his kinsman. Malietoa came to visit Williams on the 'Messenger of Peace', and agreed to accept the eight teachers whom Williams had brought from Rarotonga.

Nafanua's Prophecy

According to Samoan legends the war called A'ea-i-sasae ma le
A'ea-i-sisifo 'Climbing east and Climbing west', involved confrontation between two sides from Savai'i. The goddess, Nafanua, fought for Western Savai'i. When she won, people from all over Samoa went to ask her for a share in governing Samoa. Representatives of Leulumoega, A'ana, went to see Nafanua. Her house at Ana Lega was named for the place Lega (the sister of Utu and Tava and Va'asilifiti) rested on her way to the part of Western Savai'i, now called Itu Salega, Nafanua welcomed the malaga from A'ana and said she would help them if they moved her house to Fili-ma-Puletu'u at Falealupo. They agreed, and the moving of the house is remembered in the names of some important titles of Leulumoega: Lepou after the post in Nafanua's house; Lefau, the roof arch; the titles Lauvao, Agilau and Le'ulii were also named for this occasion. When the house was completed, Nafanua invited the representatives of Leulumoega to a game called Magamagaloloa: 'see who can stay in the water longest', and Nafanua won. The chiefs waited for her to surface, and some complained that the competition was unfair because she was not a human being. When Nafanua surfaced she congratulated the chiefs, and said: Leulumoega, you will be the Head of the Malo. (The term literally means 'winning side' or 'ruling party' or 'conquerers'. It is translated here as 'government' but refers to the conquerers given power by Nafanua.) The chiefs who did not complain about her supernatural powers were told they would be known as La'au-na-Fausia (Carefully Fashioned Wood) and would be the strength of the new government. Nafanua told Leulumoega to watch for the day when she would arrive at Leulumoega to establish the new government.

One day she set sail for Leulumoega and arrived with her party at Mataiva, a fresh-water spring beside the sea. She called to a girl to bring her a drink of water, but the girl refused, saying that the water belonged only to Tuia'ana. Nafanua was offended and set off to sea again. On her way back to Savai'i, she passed Manono where she met a chief who was fishing. He took her and her companions to Falei and showed them hospitality. To reward him, Nafanua set the first post (seat of authority) of her government on Manono at FaleU and Utuaniani. From that occasion came the name of the high chief of Manono, Lei'ataua,'The Important Fish'. The title commemorates the fish caught by Lei'ataua and given to Nafanua for her meal. (Tamafaiga was of the Lei'ataua family and was said to be possessed by Nafanua, from whom he received his powers).

When Mslietoa Fitisemanu arrived at Falealupo to ask for his share of the government, Nafanua apologised that the 'head' of the government had been given to Leulumoega and only a 'tail' was left. Nafanua urged Mslietoa to accept it and to wait for a 'head' to come from the heavens. Mslietoa Fitisemanu accepted. He was succeeded by
Gatuitasina, who was succeeded by Malietoa Vain'u'upo, who accepted the arrival of John Williams as the fulfilment of Nafanua's prophecy. (Today Malietoa is the Head of State of Western Samoa, and this is also believed to fulfil Nafanua's prophecy).

In 1832, Williams returned to Samoa in the company of a chief from Rarotonga and a teacher whom he had brought for the people of Manono. He found that Malietoa had won the war against A'ana and had taken the four titles called the papa, which made him tafa'ifafa, the Four-in-One, the highest ranking chief in Samoa. (On this visit Williams also brought with him plants of the Cavendish variety of banana which he obtained from the Kew Gardens in England, but it probably originated in Asia. This is the fa'i papalagi, the main species of banana now grown in Samoa.)

On his way to Sapapali'i, he called at Manu'a and Leone where he was told that the people regarded themselves as Christians and were waiting for teachers to come to them. Williams met Aoamo of Leone who had been travelling to and fro from Sapapali'i to learn from the teachers there. He, in turn, taught the people what he had learnt. On Upolu, Williams found a similar situation, and met two European sailors who had been baptizing people. Stopping at Manono, Williams delivered the Rarotonga teacher and his wife to Matatau, as he had promised on his first voyage.

Fauea had been encouraging people to accept the Lotu, and Rev. Kenape T. Faleto'ese records that Fauea's wife, Puaseisei, was the first Christian Samoan.

Arriving at Sapapali'i, Williams was pleased to find that the eight teachers whom he had brought to Samoa from Rarotonga (though most of them were Society Islanders) on his previous visit, were well looked after. Williams was happy, too, that Malietoa had decided to become Christian. The eight teachers were subsequently sent on to work in the villages. Umia went to Palauli, Teava to Manono, Moia to Faleilatai, Boti to Mulifanua, Tereauone to Sale'imoa, Anea to Apia, Tuatone to Pago Pago, and Ratu to Leone.

In 1834, Charles Barff returned with Charles Buzacott, who had served in other LMS missions in the Pacific. They brought with them the first books printed in Samoan. These hymn books and catechisms, reading and spelling books had been printed at the LMS Mission at Huahine in the Society Islands. The following year George Pratt arrived, and he wrote the first Samoan Dictionary and Grammar. This work assisted new missionaries to learn Samoan, and also assisted Samoans learning to read and write their own language. Work began immediately on translating the Bible into Samoan and, in 1839, a printing press was established at Faleilatai; this was later moved to Leulumoega. Rev. Stair
was assisted in the printery by two Samoans who had travelled overseas and spoke English. A school and a theological college were established at Malua in 1842, and the first Samoan language newspaper was printed in 1839. In 1848, the New Testament was printed in Samoan, followed in 1855 by the Old Testament. These were printed in England.

In 1839, John Williams decided to travel to Vanuatu (the New Hebrides) to establish the Gospel there. He called a meeting at Fasito'otai where he was living with his wife and family, and asked for nine volunteers to accompany him. Thirty-four Samoan Christians offered themselves, and Williams chose twelve, as there had been twelve disciples; they were: Sao of Apolima, Lei'ataua of Manono, Fa'asavalu and Paolo of Faleilatai, Seupule and Mose of Sale'imoa, Mose of Fuaiupolu, Laolagi of Malie, and Salamea, Filipo, Mose and Ioane of 'Iva. These were the first of many Samoan missionaries to go to other Pacific Islands. In 1848, the first Samoan missionaries were sent to Niue, in 1861, to Kiribati and Tuvalu (the Gilbert and Ellice Islands), and in 1871 to Papua (Papua New Guinea).

Williams was killed on 20 November 1839, on the island of Erromanga in Vanuatu (the New Hebrides). His body was eaten, but his skull and some bones were recovered, brought back to Samoa and buried where the London Missionary Society Church (now the Congregational Church of Samoa) now stands in Apia. The murder of John Williams probably occurred because cruel Europeans had been on the island cutting sandalwood and capturing the people there for slave labour. The people of Erromanga, who killed Williams, were acting in revenge for the deeds of other white men.

In 1837, members of the Church in Samoa were counted at 2,590. 120 were members of the communion. By 1843, the London Missionary Society had English missionaries stationed at Sapapali'i, Palauli, Sala'iula, Matautu, and Falealupo in Savai'i; Pago Pago and Leone in Tutuila; Apia, Sagaga, Lepa, Leulumoega and Vaie'e on Upolu; and Apai on Manono.

Education was a major programme of the mission. The policy was to educate men as pastors to take care of the parishes in the villages, so that when every village had a Samoan pastor, the English missionaries could devote themselves to teaching in the church schools and colleges, and take care of the administration of the church.

The pastors and their wives ran schools for both children and adults in villages throughout the nineteenth century and, up until the 1950s, most Samoans were educated by village pastors. In the pastors’ schools, people were instructed to read and write in Samoan; they learned basic arithmetic, scripture and church music. The pastor taught the boys.
whatever practical skills he had learnt, while his wife taught the girls papalagi domestic arts.

The education given by the church to women in the nineteenth century was aimed at training them to become suitable wives for pastors. That education emphasized European women's work such as cooking, sewing and housekeeping. The major church schools were the Theological College at Malua, Leulumoega Fou School, which was originally at Nu'uausala, and was run for people intending to go to Malua and the Papauta Girls' School which was originally at Malua. There were a number of preparatory schools which were run mainly for men and women intending to serve the church.

The London Missionary Society, after which the church was called for a century, created the first independent church in the South Pacific with a fully indigenous ministry and administration. Today it is called the Christian Congregational Church of Samoa.

'Lotu Toga' The Methodist Church in Samoa

The ancient connections between Tonga and Samoa were the instrument of the establishment of the Wesleyan or Methodist church in Samoa. The Methodist Church was founded in England by John Wesley (1703-1791), and was one of the non-conformist churches of the British Evangelical movement. Wesley worked among the poor in England, Wales and America, and preached the Gospel, reviving interest in Christian teachings. The name 'Methodist' originally was used to tease followers of Wesley, who broke away from the Church of England to practise a simpler form of worship, and who believed in the importance of living quiet, regular lives. The name Methodist became honourable as the church grew in numbers and spread to other countries. The first Wesleyan mission in the Pacific was established in Tonga in the 1820s.

John Williams had informally agreed with Wesleyan missionaries in Tonga that Samoa would be left to the London Missionary Society, since the Wesleyans were establishing missions in Fiji. However, a number of Samoans had already been converted by the Wesleyan Church, before 1830. The chief Saiva'aia of the Tafua-Salelologa area of Savai'i had brought news of the Lotu Toga to Samoa in 1828. In 1828, Peter Turner, a Wesleyan missionary based in Tonga, had visited Samoa but had not established a mission. Many Samoans, particularly on Savai'i, who had Tongan relatives and connections, expected the Tongan Mission to establish in Samoa. By 1832, Malietoa Vainu'u'upo still had the eight teachers whom John Williams had brought to Samoa from Rarotonga at Sapapali'i. His political rivals, and those who had fought against him in
the war of A'ana feared that the Lotu was being used by Malietoa to extend his political influence. When John Williams returned to Samoa in 1832, Lilomaiava, one of the ali'i paia, sacred chiefs of Samoa, asked for one of the teachers from Raroronga. Williams told him that he should make arrangements with Malietoa, or else wait until more teachers could be brought to Samoa. Lilomaiava had been in Tonga and had family connections there, so he turned to Tonga for a teacher. In June, 1835, Peter Turner came from Vava'u, Tonga, on an American whaling ship bringing with him some Tongan teachers. Two of the teachers were left on Manono where the people had invited Turner to establish himself; Turner and the other Tongans established themselves at Satupa'itea. Tuina'ula of Satupaitea had gone to Tonga in 1831, to ask for a missionary, after Malietoa had refused to part with one of those from Rarotonga. He approached Tu'i Kanokupolu, Aleamotua Tupou, who promised to help. This request was discussed in the Tongan Wesleyan District meeting on 31 December 1831, and the petition was relayed to London. Despite the informal agreement between the LMS and Wesleyan missionaries, Wesleyan teachers decided that it was their duty to answer the request of the Samoans which had been relayed through the Tongan chief and Tuina'ula. The Wesleyan mission was also worried about the teachings of the Sailors' Lotu in Samoa, and wished to send teachers to counteract it.

Peter Turner found that there were two thousand Samoans in forty villages on Savai'i, three villages on Manono, and twentyfive villages on Upolu who wanted instruction from the Lotu Toga.

There was no real basis for antagonism between the two mission groups. Some Wesleyans supported the London Missionary Society which had no fixed policies about church organization, at that time. However, Williams felt strongly that in order to avoid churches be-coming political tools for rival Samoan factions, it was better to have a single mission spreading Christianity. By 1836, the London Missionary Society had nine European missionaries in Samoa. Williams, who was in London that year, stated that an agreement had been made between the Wesleyan and LMS Missions, giving the LMS a free hand in Samoa. There was no record of this agreement, except in Williams’ very successful book *Missionary Enterprise in the South Seas*, but because of the establishment in Samoa of the nine LMS missionaries from England, as well as the Rarotonga and Tahitian teachers, the Wesleyan Mission headquarters decided, in February 1838, to withdraw Turner. They informed the nearby LMS headquarters in London, of the decision. Turner was distressed, and because of his work, and his understanding
of the historical attachment his followers felt for the 'Lotu Toga', he wrote:

I feel tempted to complain of the conduct of Mr Williams, who has attempted to persuade our committee from sending any missionaries here but to take the Fiji islands and to leave these to them entirely. How can this be? How can we give up so many thousands whom the Lord his given us in these islands?

Turner's objections did not change the mind of the Wesleyan committee, and he left Samoa with great regret in May 1839, claiming that there were thirteen thousand Samoan Wesleyans in eighty congregations, of whom three thousands were full members of the church. A mass meeting was held on Manono, before Turner's departure.

The news that the Samoan Wesleyan Mission was to be disbanded was brought to Samoa by Tongans travelling in two ocean-going double sailing canoes. The Tongan party was led by Joel Tupou, the brother of King George Tupou Taufa'ahau I, who promised the Samoans to send Tongan missionaries to continue the Wesleyan Mission. As a result, the mission was continued without a European missionary, but with the guidance of Benjamin Latuselu, a Tongan chief and ordained Wesleyan pastor, who came to Samoa in about 1848.

The King of Tonga visited Samoa in 1842 and in 1847, and continually (but vainly) pleaded with the Wesleyan Church leaders to send English missionaries to Samoa. It was not until 1855 that the Wesleyan missionary committee in Sydney decided to investigate the situation. In 1856, the General Conference in Sydney confirmed the re-opening of the mission and, in 1857, Rev. Dyson was sent to Samoa as a missionary. He was followed by others from England, Australia and New Zealand. A theological college to train Samoan pastors was established at Piula on Upolu.

The famous missionary, George Brown, was stationed in Samoa in the 1860s, and took Samoan missionaries with him when he carried the Gospel to the islands of New Guinea in the 1870s. The Methodist college, George Brown High School, was named in his memory.

'Satu Po'ipopo the Roman Catholic Church in Samoa

The Catholic Church was established in Samoa by two French missionary priests of the Marist order. They were Father Foudaire (Lutovi'o) and Father Violette (Silipele); they came to Samoa on the ship *l'Etoile de la Mer* (Star of the Sea) from 'Uvea (Wallis island), and anchored at Falealupu on the 25 May 1845. As well as the two Catholic priests, the ship carried two Lay Brothers, two young Samoan men (loakimo and Kosetatino) and five others. The two Samoans went
ashore, and loakimo went straight to Lealatele, his home village, while Kosetatino explained their mission to the people in Falealupo.

At that time, the LMS and Wesleyan missionaries had visited all the villages in Samoa, although not everyone in Samoa had become a Christian. Many of these missionaries had warned people that the Roman Catholic Church might be brought to Samoa, and had told them that they should not accept it. There were two reasons for this. Firstly, at home in Europe, there was animosity between the Catholics and the Protestants which dated back to the 16th century, when the Protestant Churches first began to break away from the Catholic Church and the authority of the Pope. Since that time there were many differences in the basic teachings and practices of Catholics and Protestants. The missionaries of the London Missionary Society and the Wesleyan Church did not want Samoans to be taught of Christian doctrines which differed from theirs. Secondly, they feared that the Catholic missionaries represented French colonial interests, and that French settlers would soon follow them and take over Samoa. This was what was happening in Tahiti and the Protestant missionaries were most concerned to keep French Catholics out of Samoa.

Some of these ideas had reached Falealupo, and the people there would not accept the two priests or their companions, and so the \textit{I'Etoile de la Mer} sailed on to Safotulafai. At Safune, the two priests went ashore for the first time, but they were not welcomed. They tried again at Matautu, but the people would not even give them fresh water. After leaving Matautu, they were met by a canoe which escorted them to Sale'aula where they were welcomed by a chief, Tuala, to whose family loakimo belonged. Tuala Taetafe welcomed the missionaries, and the first Catholic mass was celebrated in Tuala's house. On 15 September 1848, Tuala and his whole family were baptised. Tuala was criticized for accepting the Lotu Pope, as the Roman Catholic Church came to be known, after its head the Pope. Tuala was given the nickname Tuala Talipope (Tuala Who Accepted The Pope). In those days many Protestants referred to Roman Catholics as 'Papists', and to their religion as 'Popery' or 'Papism'. Protestant did not accept the authority of the Pope and were prejudiced against Roman Catholic beliefs. Eventually, the name 'Talipope' became a proud name among the Catholics of Samoa, and in the history of their church.

From Sale'aula the priests went to Safotulafai and thence to Salelavalu, where Kosetatino was waiting for them. There they found many people who wanted to join the Catholic Church. (Salelavalu is now one of the biggest Catholic villages in Western Samoa.) They travelled on, and arrived in Apia on 29 September 1845, where they met Mr Williams, the American Consul and son of John Williams of the
London Missionary Society. He introduced them to Mr George Pritchard, who had been with the LMS in Tahiti and had become British Consul there. In 1844, he had been arrested by the French and deported from Tahiti for opposing their presence. He returned to England, only to discover that the British had decided not to oppose French ambitions in Tahiti. As a result Pritchard moved to Apia to establish a British consulate there, and he was not very happy to see Father Roudaire and Father Violette, but he had no authority to oppose their arrival, and was forced to greet them politely. In 1852, Pritchard made the London Missionary Society angry by selling land that he had acquired, at Mulivai, to the Marists. This was where the Cathedral was later built. The two priests held discussions with Faumuina and some other chiefs at Mulinu’u about establishing a Catholic mission among them. It was through Mata’afa Fagamanu that the Catholic Church became established on Upolu and Tutuila when they were blown off course and drifted to Uvea (Wallis island). The Tui Uvea, Lavelua, looked after them and helped them to return to Samoa. In 1842, Lavelua became a Catholic and, when the priests left Uvea to go to Samoa, he gave them a message to take to Mata’afa Fagamanu of Aleipata, asking him to help the two priests. Mata’afa was a Methodist and did not want to change churches; but he honoured his obligation to the Tui Uvea by giving the priests his protection and urging Faumuina and the others to do the same. Father Roudaire was settled at Mulinu’u, with Samoan help, and Father Violette returned to Savai’i. In 1846, Mata’afa decided to become a Catholic, and this attracted more people to the church. Samoans noticed certain differences between Catholic and Protestant teachings. The Catholic attitude towards tattooing was permissive, in comparison to the Wesleyan and LMS church, but much stricter with regard to divorce and remarriage.

In 1864, four more priests arrived to consolidate the Catholic Mission. In 1860, a mission was established in Tutuila and the Marist Brothers’ School, in Apia, was opened. Four years later, St Mary’s at Savalalo was opened, and by the 1880’s the Roman Catholic Church was well established in many parts of Samoa. During the first century of Catholic education in Samoa, emphasis was given mainly to educating part-Europeans. Education for Samoans, in the villages, was provided through the Catholic Catechists, for whom a training college had been established in 1875, first at Mount Vaea and later at Moamoa. In 1901, the first Catholic printing press was established.
'Lotu Mamona' The Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints

The Mormon Church is properly known as The Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints, and was established in Samoa by two missionaries from Hawaii. They were sent to Samoa by Walter M. Gibson, a Latter Day Saints missionary, who eventually lost his position in the church when he disobeyed church authorities. Gibson was something of an adventurer who had become Premier in the government of Hawaii in the 1880s. He had dreams of establishing a con-federation in which the kingdoms of Samoa and Hawaii would be ruled jointly. Gibson's rejection by the Latter Day Saints resulted from his refusal to return to Salt Lake City, Utah, the headquarters of the church, to defend the church from attack.

The Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints (LDS) was founded in the United States by Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, in the nineteenth century. During the second half of the nineteenth century, it experienced many problems, controversies, and upheavals, before it became fully established in Utah.

The work of the two missionaries from Hawaii, Elder Manoa and Elder Belio, was recognized by church authorities, despite their rejection of Gibson, but the church was not established officially in Samoa until 1888.

After the trouble in Utah settled down, a new president was appointed to the mission in Hawaii. (The Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints believes they have a special mission to convert the Polynesians, which derives from teachings in the Book of Mormon.) He knew nothing of the Hawaiian missionaries who had been sent to Samoa, since Gibson had not obtained official approval to open a mission there. Bello and Manoa settled in Tutuila with Samoan wives, and continued to try to spread the faith. Belio died and was buried near Alao. Manoa lived on Aunu'u, a small island off the coast of Tutuila. He was a good seaman and navigator, and one day when he was guiding a big sailing ship into Pago Pago harbour, he was invited by the crew to share some food with them. While on board, he saw a newspaper, and the word 'Mormon' caught his eye. This made him decide to get in touch with the church headquarters in Utah, and so he sought the assistance of the captain to write a letter to John Taylor, the President of the Church. When this letter was received in Utah, nine months later, it was passed on to the mission in Hawaii where it came to the attention of Elder Joseph Dean. In his letter Manoa had asked for American missionaries to be sent to Samoa, and Dean sought permission from the church to go to Samoa and help Manoa. In 1888, he was given
permission and he sailed to Samoa with his wife and young son.

He was greeted at Poloa on Aunu'u by the matai Tau'ili'i; it was there that he conducted the first official expand church service in Samoa. A few months later he was joined by Elder Kapule with his children, Elder Lee with his wife and child, Elder Beesley and Elder Wood. The missionaries were given accommodation at Vatia village by Lauti. These missionaries had a number of frightening experiences as a result of a war, and also because of a hurricane in February 1889. However, no harm came to them. In March 1889, Elders Dean, Beesley and Wood sailed from Vatia to establish a mission on Upolu. On their journey, their boat overturned, but they were saved by one of the many boats which were sailing between Tutuila and Upolu, taking food to Tamasese's forces, who were fighting a war against Mata'afa. When they arrived at Apia, the three missionaries stayed at a hotel and, while they were there, they witnessed the great hurricane which sank six warships in Apia harbour.

In August 1889, the Latter Day Saints missionaries bought about two and half acres of land at Fagali'i, where they established a small Mormon community, and in June, Elder Wood went to Savai'i hoping to establish a mission there. A Mormon family, Afualo and Emela, welcomed them at Fogatui. In July 1891, two Latter Day Saints missionaries went from Samoa to try and establish a mission in Tonga. In 1892, two more missionaries were sent to Tahiti. The first president of the mission, Elder Stevens, died and was buried at Fagali'i, in 1894.

By the mid 1890s the Latter Day Saints Mission had succeeded in attracting only about 400 supporters among Samoans. This was partly because the civil wars of 1880s and 1890s made it difficult for missionaries to travel about teaching their religion, and partly because of opposition to them by the other churches. The Latter Day Saints church is very different from other Christian churches because its teachings are based on both the Christian Bible and the Book of Mormon, which contains revelations received by Joseph Smith, who lived in the United States in the early nineteenth century. Other Christian churches do not accept the Book of Mormon.

The Latter Day Saints missionaries were rejected by the chiefs in many parts of Samoa, sometimes politely, and sometimes violently. They experienced many difficulties in spreading their religion because of opposition by the Catholic, Methodist and London Missionary Society churches. Many Samoans who joined the Latter Day Saints church were rejected by their families, and had to go and live with LDS missionaries. During the period of the New Zealand colonial administration, the growth of the church was hindered by restrictions which were placed upon the number of Latter Day Saints missionaries who
were allowed into Samoa. Plans for a big secondary school were made, after the Second World War, and it was built at Pesega in 1960. Since the Second World War, the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints has received an increasing amount of financial and administrative support from the United States, and membership has grown to over 11,000.

Other Christian Churches

The adherents of the churches of Western Samoa are estimated as follows, according to the census figures of 1976.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congregational Church</td>
<td>75,679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>33,180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist Church</td>
<td>23,864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latter Day Saints</td>
<td>11,886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh Day Adventist</td>
<td>2,840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>3,742</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Christianity and Cultural Change

The first missionaries to Samoa were of the lower middle classes of England, the backbone of the Evangelical movement there. They believed that hard work was the duty of a Christian. They thought Pacific Islanders lazy because the hours that people worked were so different to those of the English. For example, Samoans worked very hard at times of planting and harvesting, but there were also times when there was plenty of leisure. The missionaries wanted to make Samoans more industrious. One way of doing this was by introducing new goods to the people when necessitated their working for wages, or selling product, in order to obtain them. The idea which the missionaries had of the way Samoans should live, was based upon the ideals of the middle classes of England; where households consisted of the married couple and their children. The man was the breadwinner, and produced the food, working regular hours outside the home. The woman was the home-maker, and cooked and sewed clothes in the house for her family.

This ideal has never been completely accepted by Samoan people, since the extended family household, and working in groups, has always been a practical economic arrangement. Nevertheless, the village pastor (or catechist) and his wife were expected to present to the people this new example of how every family should live ideally.

Christianity brought many changes to Samoan culture. Some of
these changes were the result of the pioneer English missionaries feeling that English ways were superior to those of the Samoans. Other changes were the result of conflict between Samoan customs and the teachings of the Bible. For example, the Bible does not specify how people should dress or do their hair, but English missionaries persuaded Samoans to wear shirts and dresses, and change their hair-styles. Samoans traditionally wore clothing below the waist only; men wore their hair long and pinned in a knot on top of their heads. Women wore their hair short and brushed up, with breadfruit sap to make it stiff. Both sexes used lime to bleach their hair reddish-brown. Before marriage, girls wore long side-locks of hair, with the front shaved back from the forehead. A Christian in the early days of the church signified his belief by dressing in the English style; clothed above the waist in a shirt, dress or a tiputa (a cloak made from siapo or the silk removed from an umbrella), with short hair, if male, or long hair pinned up, if female.

Another change was the idea that it should be women who did the cooking. Before 1830, cooking was young men’s work. The missionaries disbanded the aualuma in Christian villages; and unmarried girls, instead of living with the aualuma, had to live with the pastor and his wife where they learned to cook in the papalagi way, using an indoor stove and pots and pans, as well as learning sewing and other papalagi women’s work.

Many changes occurred because Samoan customs and practices conflicted with the teaching of the Gospels. The changing of one custom often led to a series of changes. For example, the Gospels teach that men and women should have only one marriage partner, and should be faithful to one another. Chiefs wishing to become Christians were asked to choose one wife for the rest of their lives, and to permit their previous wives to remarry. Since the main season for chiefs contracting so many marriages was the Samoan political system (rather like King Henry VIII of England, who married six times, initially for a political alliance, later in an attempt to have male heirs), changing that custom also greatly changed the political system of Samoa. It was another eight years after 1830, before Samoans really accepted the new teachings on marriage, and when they finally did, the conferring of taupou titles became less important. This is because the institution of the taupou was closely associated with chiefly marriage, which linked families and villages all over Samoa through the multiple marriages of chiefs to high ranking ladies.

Christianity also changed ideas about the authority of chiefs. In pre-Christian Samoa, the highest chiefs could do almost anything they wished, so great was the mana they received from the gods. In principle they could even demand human flesh for their food, as legend says
Malietoa Faiga did, until his son stopped him, by having himself plaited in a coconut leaf and served to his father.

The conferring of certain high titles (Ali'i Pa'ia) made the chiefs who held them sacred, with god-like powers which prevented them from being restricted by normal codes of behaviour.

Christian Samoans still believed that chiefs had divinely-inspired authority. But that power came from the Christian God, and required the chief to follow God's laws and to set a Christian example for his family and village. The sacred power of the old chiefs was transferred to the pastor who was given the chiefly form of address 'Susuga'. (Catholic priests are addressed as 'Afioga'.) The pastor was termed 'o le feagaiga' because of his covenant with the village, and in recognition of the covenant between God and man.

One of the most emphatic teachings of the missionaries was that of peace. Although the sad facts of history show that Christian has fought and killed fellow Christian in Europe for the past two thousand years, the Evangelical missionaries emphasized peace as one of the greatest of Christ's messages.

Experiences gained in Tonga and Tahiti had taught the missionaries the dangers of involving the church too deeply in politics, so through-out the Samoan civil wars of the nineteenth century, most missionaries made a determined effort to avoid direct involvement of their church. They sought a peacemaking role when possible. This often placed chiefs in a terrible dilemma, because their traditional obligation was to go to war, and their Christian duty was to promote peace. This was one reason why pastors and catechists were asked not to take matai titles; they had to remain neutral in political and military conflicts.

Although there is evidence that Christianity 'revolutionized' Samoan culture during the mid-nineteenth century, these changes were absorbed and Samoanized.

The second generation of Christians accepted the Lotu and many of the new ways taught by the missionaries, as Samoan culture, often interpreting new things in old ways. For example, after 1830, the custom of exchanging 'oloa', men's products of food, tools and money, for 'toga', women's products of mats, tapa and 'ie toga, at weddings, was replaced by a mission custom. When young pastors or catechists married they were presented with a dowry of furniture by their wives' relatives. Both sides presented 'ie toga; soon this custom was practised in chiefly families, and eventually became widespread. Another example is the way that introduced things, such as tea and tea cups, and saucers and mugs, are used. When all ali'i or pastor is served tea he receives a china cup and saucer. A tufale ale receives his tea in a cup without a saucer, or in a mug. New goods came to be used in old ways.
to indicate distinctions of rank and status. In this way, over the past one hundred and fifty years of Christian Samoan history, Christian and papalagi customs and institutions have been made distinctively Samoan.

Christianity has now become an important part of Samoan culture, and the motto of Samoans is ‘Samoa is founded on God’.
Plate 7. British troops at Mulinu'u, 1899.
Plate 8. German troops in Samoa, 1899.