Economic Policy

The German annexation of Samoa was motivated by the interests of the plantation company D.H.P.G. (Deutsche Handels and Plantagen Gesellschaft) formerly Godeffroy and Sohn. The new Governor of the Colony, Wilhelm Solf (formerly executive officer of the Apia Municipality in 1899), therefore gave the interests of the company high majority in his administration. He soon became unpopular with the other settlers, including those who were German citizens, as he gave no encouragement to smaller planters. Solf believed that planting was not profitable on a small scale. The Europeans who tried to make their fortunes planting on a small scale would, he believed, inevitably become poor and, eventually, ‘go native’. This would lower the prestige of Europeans in Samoa. Solf also believed that small-scale planters were a bad influence on Samoans: being likely to get involved in Samoan politics and cause trouble, in order to get more land from the Samoans. The D.H.P.G. was a very large operation. It was based in Germany and had branches in German New Guinea also. The plantations were run by employees of the Company who could be dismissed and sent home if they caused trouble for the colonial administration. Because of the large scale on which the Company operated, the administration could maintain a balance between its operational needs and the welfare of the Samoans.
The company brought its labour from overseas, the importation of indentured labour began in the late 1800s. The right to import labour had been a source of disagreement between the Germans and other settlers, and successive Samoan governments. Many missionaries, settlers and Samoan leaders opposed the idea. The European settlers were prejudiced against Chinese settlers, and persuaded the Malietoa Laupepa Government to forbid Chinese settlers to come to Samoa. This prejudice was common in the nineteenth century in the Australian and Californian gold fields where Chinese immigrant miners were a threat, because they worked hard and competed with Europeans. The belief among Europeans that white people were superior was very strong in the nineteenth century. Whites felt that Chinese should be allowed only into countries under European control, and as contract labour only. Some Europeans thought that Chinese might threaten European supremacy by staying on after their contracts expired, and competing with Europeans in business.

In Fiji, the sugar industry was developed by Indians who were brought from India on contract. After their indentures were over, Indians were allowed to remain in Fiji. Over the years they came to outnumber native Fijians. Although this was not known in Samoa in the early 1900s, some local authorities thought that foreign labour might have harmful effects on Samoan culture. But it was to prevent Samoans from being forced to work as labourers that Governor Soft decided to allow the continued importation of labourers for the D.H.P.G. plantations.

In 1884, Germany had annexed north-eastern New Guinea and the Western Solomons, giving German firms a privileged position from which to recruit Melanesian labour from those areas. From 1882, people in these areas were recruited extensively for the Samoan plantations.

Recruits for D.H.P.G. were taken to the Duke of York Islands, where the company had a trading post and, from there travelled on a company ship, the Samoa, to work on plantations in German Samoa. The Melanesian recruits signed on in order to obtain foreign goods; after three years work they were paid in goods such as knives, axes, cloth and lamps. Before 1900, guns and liquor were given as payment, along with other goods.

In the late 1800s and early 1900s over 7,000 Melanesian workers were brought to Samoa. D.H.P.G. also began to import Chinese labour in the early years of this century. These labourers were available to other planters as well as D.H.P.G., but only the big company was allowed to employ Melanesians.

During the period 1900 to 1914, Melanesian labourers were recruit-
ed mostly from Bougainville, in the North Solomons, from the Bismarck Archipelago of Papua New Guinea, and from Malaita in the Solomon islands.

The three main D.H.P.G. plantations were on the north coast of Upolu: at Mulifanua, Vaitele and Vailele. The company operated a store and central administration offices at Sogi in Apia. The Mulifanua estate was over 5,000 acres, divided into seven management units ranging from 50 to 800 acres. In 1906, the labour force was 300 Melanesians and 16 Chinese. At Vailele there were 130 Melanesians, and at Vaitele there were 130 Melanesians as well as 30 Chinese.

The Melanesians were under privileged compared to the Chinese, who began to come as indentured labour from 1903 onwards. After 1908, there was a Chinese consul to make sure that the Chinese were fairly treated and paid regularly. Before 1905, the Chinese were paid ten shillings a month and afterwards, twelve shillings a month, plus rations. Their quarters and working conditions were regularly inspected and a ward was set aside for them at the Apia hospital. In 1912, the legal status of the Chinese was changed from Native to European, meaning that they were given the legal privileges of Europeans. In contrast, Melanesians received no cash wages, were restricted entirely to D.H.P.G. employment, had no legal status as 'native' or as 'Europeans', and had no representatives or authorities to keep an eye on their living and working conditions. The only medical facility for them was a clinic at the D.H.P.G. headquarters in Apia. The German and other European overseers on the plantations were allowed to punish the Melanesians by beating them with whips and in other cruel ways.

Both the Chinese and Melanesians were forbidden to mix with Samoans. This was because of racial prejudices among Samoan leaders and Europeans. Because the Chinese had the freedom to work for any employer they chose, and to travel around without restriction, they were more easily able to ignore these rules and to get Samoan wives. The Melanesians were more secluded on the D.H.P.G. plantations and had less opportunity to mix with Samoans. It was not until the New Zealand administration began, after 1914, that Melanesians were able to marry Samoans, and even then it was disapproved of officially. Nevertheless, intermarriage between Samoans and Melanesians, and Samoans and Chinese was quite common. By 1914, there were 877 Melanesian and 2,200 Chinese labourers in German Samoa.

Land acquisition was also controlled by giving preferential treatment to D.H.P.G. The company had control of the largest amount of alienated land, including some of the best agricultural land. When further land was required, or if dealings with the Samoans on land matters were necessary, the Colonial Administration was able to
conduct negotiations. Solf wanted to balance the economic interests of the Colony by making Samoans plant coconuts; this, he believed, would make the Samoans more prosperous and enable them to pay taxes to the Colonial Administration, to offset administrative costs. It would also serve D.H.P.G. interests, because they could buy and export Samoan grown copra. Consequently, Samoan landholders were required to plant a minimum number of coconuts each year, and were fined if they did not. Copra was the major source of income for the colony. From 1900 - 1902, the average annual export of copra was just under 6,000 tons. From 1910 - 1912, it increased to 10,000 tons. Rising copra prices assisted the profitability of the crop: from 1900 - 1902 the average annual value was £63,500. This rose to £173,400 from 1910-1912. Cocoa planting began about 1900 and by 1910 -1912 it had become the second most valuable crop, yielding about 600 tons and earning over £35,000. Rubber planting was commenced, and other tropical crops were under experimental development.

The dissatisfaction with Solf’s economic policy among the smaller planters continued throughout his administration. His most outspoken opponent was Richard Deeken, a German who dreamed of transforming Samoa into a paradise of small plantations for German settlers. Deeken wrote a book which became very popular in Germany. It was full of romantic misrepresentations about Samoa; in particular, the supposed advantages for the small-scale settler. Deekens’ trouble-making led to Solf’s having to return to Germany to explain his administration’s policy. Solf’s view was upheld by the Colonial Office, and a few years later Solf was promoted to the post of Colonial Secretary for the German Empire. This suggested that Solf’s economic policy of encouraging large capitalist enterprises and discouraging papalagi settlement, was a model of German colonial policy.

The German Administration

When Solf made his first speech to the Samoans after German annexation in 1900, he told them that he would govern them in accordance with Samoan custom. Samoans were soon to learn that Samoan custom was allowed only in Solf’s administration when it fitted in with the Governor’s plans.

His first move was to settle the question of kingship. There was to be no Tupu Samoa only an Ali‘i Sill or paramount chief. This office was given to Mata‘afa Iosefa, who seemed to have the support of the majority of Samoans and was the eldest of the tama-a‘aiga. Solf soon made it clear that there was to be no recognition of other claims by the tams-a‘aiga or Tumua and Pule. Solf intended that the Tafa‘ifa should
be abolished once and for all. There were to be no more opportunities for Tumua and Pule to bestow the papa and make their own kings. Instead, Solf offered recognition to the tama-a-'aiga the paramount titles of the Sa Tupua and Sa Malietoa which, in contemporary history, have been Tupua Tamasese (although the name of Tamasese is well known, it has historically been associated with the Tupua title), Mata'afa, Tuimaleali'ifano and Malietoa.

Another early action of the German Administration was to disarm Samoans. By the end of 1901, 1,500 rifles had been collected. The Governor had an administrative staff and an advisory committee made up of three senior members of the administration and five members appointed from the local European community (Messrs Reidel, Peermuller, Carruthers, Dean and Fabricius).

The Native Administration was handed by the Ali'i Sili, Mata'afa. The role that Solf had allocated to the Ali'i Sili was that of an intermediary "through whom the wishes and orders of the governor are made known to the Samoans". Associated with the Ali'i Sili was a governing council, the Faipule. Amongst the Faipule were the tama-a-'aiga, and, at Mata'afa's request, they were accorded the title Ta'imua. The first Ta'imua were Tupua Tamasese and Fa'alata who was representing the Malietoa family in the absence of Malietoa Tanumafili I, who was in Fiji. The Faipule were chosen by the governor in consultation with the Ali'i Sili and Ta'imua. The Faipule represented all the districts of Samoa and most had been members of government in the 1890s. The Native Administration was called the Maid and had its headquarters, and the residences of the members, at Mulinu'u. A Samoan clerical staff was appointed to assist the work of the Maid and they included Meisake, Te'o Tuvale, and Tolo Laupu'e. Another senior position was that of Samoan Chief Judge; the first appointee after 1900 was Leota Su'atele Filipo.

A subsidiary district administration was appointed. Solf chose an influential chief from each district to be the ta'ita'i itu - leaders of districts. Village representatives were also appointed, called pulenu'u, village authority. They were elected by, and from among the village council of matai but confirmation of their positions required the agreement of the Malo and the governor. The responsibilities of pulenu'u included the enforcement of all local-level regulations, the maintenance of local records, and acting as spokesman for the administration in the villages.

An important instrument of Solf's policy was the Lands and Titles Commission, but this was not established until 1903. In 1889, a Lands Commission was established by the three Powers to investigate land claims by foreigners. Only eight percent, or approximately 135,000
acres of the original claims were confirmed. This represented less than 20 percent of the total area of Samoan land, but about 35 percent of land suitable for agricultural use. Along the north coast of Upolu from Apia to the western tip of the island, 60 percent of land which could be cultivated had been sold. The decisions of the 1889 Commission were upheld by the German Administration.

There is evidence that Samoans accepted German rule initially with relief and co-operation. The civil wars of the late nineteenth century had been tragic and disruptive, and Samoans looked forward to a period of peace and security. Solf enjoyed the respect of the Samoans who, in the early days of his Administration, referred to him as a 'father'. It is clear that Samoans did not understand that German annexation effectively stripped them of any real power, and it seems likely that they thought the Germans had established a protectorate, such as Britain had established over Tonga, which permitted internal self-government.

The first indication that Solf intended to interfere with Samoan custom was in 1901. Mata'afa and his 'aiga had prepared a momoli or o'o, a ceremony to confirm a new status or position, in this case Mata'afa's appointment as Ali'i Sili. The ceremony took the form of distributing fine mats which had been collected by Mata'afa's extended family, to all the important chiefs and orator groups of Samoa. When Solf heard of Mata'afa's plans he realized that this was an occasion on which many important expressions of traditional authority could be made, and one which might revive divisions among Samoans or create the impression that Mata'afa was the tupu, king. Accordingly, Solf instructed Mata'afa to hold the ceremony at Mulinu'u the seat of the government, instead of at Amaile, the seat of the Mata'afa title. No food was to be distributed and every district was to be given equal recognition in the number and quality of 'ie toga presented. Furthermore, Solf ordered that the parties from each district leave Mulinu'u as soon as they had received their gifts, without staying to see what other parties were being given. The momoli went ahead according to Solf's orders, and Mata'afa made a speech declaring that his position as Ali'i Sili came from the German Emperor. This was a new thing indeed for Samoan leaders: in the past, only Samoans could create a paramount chief. Furthermore, it was unheard of for a momoli by a high chief to be held in such a manner, omitting the traditional recognition of TUmua and Pule.

By the second year of his administration, Solf had come into conflict with many members of the Native Administration and, from the decisions he made, he indicated clearly that he alone had final authority in any matter that he chose to be involved in.
In February 1903, the German Administration established the Lands and Titles Commission to adjudicate Samoan lands and titles disputes. There were no Samoans appointed to the Commission which was made up of the Imperial Judge Dr E.E. Schultz, and two local European surveyors, Messrs N.H. MacDonald and A. Haidlen. This new authority assumed responsibility for matters which had previously been the exclusive concern of Samoan villages, districts and family heads. However, a panel of Samoan advisers was appointed to the Commission; they were known as the Ali'i Komisi. Fourteen chiefs were appointed, one from each administrative district. By 1904, there was open antagonism towards Solf's administration from Samoans within, and outside, the Malo.

By 1905, Solf had lost patience with the Maid and he took actions which made it clear that Germany was to exercise all authority in the government of Samoa. Denouncing Tumua and Pule, Solf made it obvious that he intended to give them no voice in government. He made changes to the Fono a Faipule and ordered the members to stay in their villages instead of in the houses at Mulinu'u. From that time on, Solf called upon the Faipule to come to Mulinu'u only when he wanted to discuss something with them. The Ta'imua remained at Mulinu'u where Solf could observe their activities. In 1912 when Mata'afa died, Solf's successor, Schultz, abolished the position of Ali'i Sili, in accordance with long-term German policy to gradually remove all the traditional political institutions which gave the Samoans a basis for united action. Solf's plan was to proceed slowly in the destruction of the Samoan political system in order to avoid confrontation with its leaders.

The office of Ali'i Sili was replaced by a new position Fautua or adviser. This was held jointly by Malietoa Tanumafili I and Tupua Tamasese Lealofi I. When they were appointed in 1913, they were required to swear an oath of allegiance to the German Emperor. To complete the process by which Germany asserted supremacy, the Samoan national fa'alupega (national ceremonial address) which had previously honoured Tumua and Pule, the districts, and the paramount families of Samoa, was changed.

### Old Fa'alupega

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Samoan</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Tulouna a Tumua ma Pule</td>
<td>1. Respect to Tumua and</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Tulouna a Itu'au ma Alataua</td>
<td>2. Respect to Itu'au and Alataua</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Tulouna a 'Alga i le Tai</td>
<td>3. Respect to 'Alga i le Tai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. ma le Va'a o Fonoti</td>
<td>4. and the crew of Fonoti</td>
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5. Tulouna Tama ma o latou aiga po’o aiga ma a latou tama. 5. Respect to the sons and families to the families and their sons.

New Fa'alupega
Samoan

1. Tulouna a Lana Maiesitete le Kaisa, o le tupu mamalu o lo tatou Malo Kaisalika aaoa
2. Tulouna a Lana Afioga le Kovana Kaisalika o le sui o le Kaisa i Samoa nei.
3. Sūsū mai Malietoa. Afio mai Tupua, ua fa’amanatuina ai ‘aga e lua; i to oulu tofiga Kaisalika o le Fautua.
4. Tulouna a le vasega o Faipule Kaisalika o e lagolago malosi i le Malo.
5. Afio mai le nofo a vasega o tofiga Kaisalika o e ua fita i le tautua i le Malo.

1. Respect to his Majesty the Kaiser, the most dignified King of our Imperial Government.
2. Respect to his honour the Imperial Governor, the Kaiser’s representative in Samoa.
3. Welcome to Malietoa and Tupua, who represent the two families in your positions as advisers to the Imperial government.
4. Respect to the Faipule Kaisalika who are strong supporters of the government.
5. Welcome to the various officials who have served the Imperial government faithfully.

The ‘Oloa Company

Another source of discontent among Samoans was the drop in copra prices during the early 1900s which declined from nine cents a pound to five cents a pound. It was during this time that conflict between Solf and the independent planters was developing, and Solf’s opponent Richard Deeken and his associates began to spread rumours that the German Government was to blame for the decreasing prices.

At this point in Samoan history the part-Europeans, Samoan Europeans became a significant interest group. A distinct social class, or sub-group of people of ‘mixed race’, can only arise when two populations, with marked differences in culture and physical appearance, meet on an unequal footing. A legally and socially defined ‘half-caste’ group is therefore often the creation of a colonial situation. The separation of such a group from the two ethnic communities which created it, reflects the racial prejudices of eighteenth and nineteenth century Europeans. Part-Europeans, or ‘Afakasi’, were the descendents of European settlers and their Samoan wives. Their emergence as a distinct social group in the early nineteenth century was the result of
the Europeans’ racist conviction, that persons of mixed blood were inferior to persons of ‘pure’ European descent. Nevertheless, since the part-Europeans included sons and daughters of Samoa’s wealthiest and most influential foreign settlers, they were legally classified as Europeans. This classification created an artificial barrier between children of mixed marriages and their maternal relatives, through legal distinctions between the rights of natives and the rights of Europeans.

By law, legitimately born offspring of foreigners (and this included Chinese) and Samoans succeeded to the legal status of their fathers. This legislation did not mean that the children of mixed marriages necessarily inherited their father’s foreign nationality; in a great many cases they did not. What it meant was that they were classified as resident aliens. Part-Samoans whose parents had not been married were classified as ‘natives’. This was also the case if the European ancestry was on the mother’s side. However, in 1903, the German Administration recognized that this placed many local-born people in social difficulties, since, as ‘natives’, they could not buy liquor, enter a hotel, or inherit their father’s property. Therefore, an ordinance was passed, permitting illegitimate part-Samoans, on application to the High Court, to be registered as resident aliens. Each case was considered on the grounds of whether the applicant lived as a European and possessed a certain percentage of foreign ancestry. Between 1903 and 1914, 391 persons applied for, and received, a change in legal status from ‘native’ to European, making them eligible for all foreign privileges, and exempt from all laws directed at Samoans. Since these rights were passed on to children, the law added a substantial number of families to the ‘local-born’ community which, in 1903, numbered 599 and in 1910 the census recorded 1,033 part-Samoans registered as resident-aliens.

Division between Samoans and part-Samoans was probably an intentional creation of the German Administration, and the participation of English and German-speaking part-Europeans in Samoan politics was discouraged by the German authorities. This became obvious when a part-European named Pullack promoted the idea of establishing a national trading company, to be owned by Samoan shareholders, which would buy copra from Samoan growers and export it. Pullack proposed that the capital to establish the company be raised in the same way that funds had been raised to pay compensation to consuls and naval officers in the nineteenth century; by each village contributing a set amount to a central fund. The idea appealed strongly to many members of the Maid, since it seemed to suggest a means by which the Samoan Government could finance itself and even assert independence of German authority.

When Solf heard of the proposed ‘Oloa Kamupani’, as it came to be
known, he opposed it and ordered the Malo to give up the idea. Solf saw the proposal as a threat to the German Administration and to the economic supremacy of European commercial interests in Samoa. He also believed that Samoans lacked the education and commercial knowledge to make the company a success. Samoan leaders decided to ignore Solf's prohibition, and representatives of Tumua and Pule spread the news, and gathered support for the company in villages throughout Samoa. While Solf was overseas, Schultz, the imperial judge and Acting Governor, tried to break up the movement by imprisoning Malae'ulu and Namulau'ulu Pulai at Vaimea. These two representatives of Pule had been actively promoting the company, and Schultz arrested them for 'disturbing the peace'. Schultz also went on a malaga around Samoa, and tried to discredit the idea of the company and the actions of its promoters.

In January 1905, a group of members of the Malo, including Tupua Tamasese, broke into the Vaimea jail and released the two orators of Pule, after the German Administration had denied Mata'afa's request that they be set free. But the sense of unity between the Malo and the promoters of the company did not last, and factions for, and against, the company developed. This led eventually to the idea being abandoned. This episode illustrated the difficulty which Samoans faced, not only in coping politically with foreigners, but in competing economically with them. The movement, with German support, might have enabled Samoans to become full participants in the international economy. But German opposition meant that Samoans had to keep their subordinate status and remain at the mercy of the middlemen who controlled copra exports.

The Mau of Pule

Namulau'ulu Lauaki Mamoe was a famous tulafale of Fa'asalele'aga, a district of Safotulafai and which is one of the traditional Pule districts of Savai'i. The title Namulau'ulu originated in Safotulafai, but the title Lauaki originated from Tonga. It was one of four important Matapule titles of the Tui Tonga (Matapule were chiefs with special responsibilities to serve the Tui Tonga). The Lauaki title came to Samoa on the occasion of a malaga by the Tongan royal family to Fogapoa in Savai'i, which is the seat of the Namulau'ulu title. When the royal party departed from Samoa they left the title Lauaki as a gift to the family in Fogapoa who had looked after them.

The failure of the 'Oloa movement did not stop Samoans from wanting to have a greater voice in governing the country. Namulau'ulu Lauaki Mamoe was a very important spokesman in Samoan politics, and
held office in the Malo as a faipule. By 1905, Namulau’ulu had
developed a number of objections to the German Administration.
These were: firstly, matai losing the power to represent their families
in the Government of Sāmoa. In the days before German administration,
executive authority was shared among groups of tulafale and they had a
voice in making the rules which governed the country. Secondly, it was
wrong for a foreign authority to imprison and threaten Sāmoans.
Thirdly, Namulau’ulu felt that Sāmoans should take part in all aspects of
national development, and not be excluded, as they had been, by the
German Administration.

Namulau’ulu, having heard about the British protectorate in Tonga,
visited Britain to replace the German authorities in Sāmoa. The
objection to German rule, expressed by Namulau’ulu, came to be
shared by many leading Sāmoans, particularly among the Pule o Savai’i.
A movement began which was known as the Mau a Pule, the Opinion
of Pule. The supporters of the movement paid their taxes to the Mau
instead of to the Malo. (There is an oral tradition from Savai’i that the
first tax money collected by the Mau a Pule was used to buy horse-
driven carts for Namulau’ulu and Maletoa Laupama.)

Support for the Mau a Pule came from Safo Tuifale and
Fa’a’alilo’a’aga, Satupa’itea, Falefasi and Palasau, Leialo’a o le
Gaga’amauga, and Saia’aula. These groups had their own grievances
against the German Administration, in particular, the loss of land
around Faletese, Va’aimauga, and Fa’a’alilo’a’aga, and the head tax imposed
by Germany.

Namulau’ulu won respect from many parts of Sāmoa for standing
up to the German authorities. When Soff returned from overseas in
1909, having gone abroad to get married, Namulau’ulu organized a big
ceremony of welcome for the Governor and his bride. He used the
occasion to present a petition to Soff, complaining about the German
Administration. Namulau’ulu was becoming impatient with Mata’afa
iofia for allowing Soff to dictate to him, and considered transferring
the support of Pule to Maletoa and Tamaseso as representatives of the
Sāmoan Malo.

The Mau a Pule was an attempt by Sāmoans to reestablish their
independence and assert their authority in their own country.
Namulau’ulu Lauaki made the following points in his petition to Soff:
German authorities should show more respect to Mata’afa as he was the
representative of the dignity of the Sāmoan people. All the tama’a’aiga
should stay at Mulinu’u to assert the dignity of the Sāmoan government.
Mata’afa’s signature should appear beside that of Soff on important
government papers. The German administration should account to the
Sāmoan people for their expenditure. Sāmoa should become fully
independent as soon as possible.

After travelling around the country to seek support for resistance to German authority, Namulau'ulu finally decided to confront the Governor. Davidson (1967: 84) presents the following account of the motivation for Namulau'ulu's decision:

Early in 1908 Lauaki Mamoe visited the Ali'i Sill at Mulinu'u. He found Mata'afa bitterly regretting his loss of power. "I have wept," he said, "at the idea of Tolo and Laupu'e parading along the main road at Mulinu'u in their white coats, and neither advising nor consulting me about anything whatsoever. In the old days when the Faipule met at Malinu'u it was I who had the power."

In January 1909, when Lauaki was summoned by the Governor to Mulinu'u, he set out with a fleet of canoes manned by his supporters from Savai'i, Apolima and Manono. They met their supporters from Tuamasaga who had gathered at Vaiusu, across the bay from Mulinu'u. When Solf could not persuade Lauaki to give up his opposition to German rule (in exchange for Solf's forgiveness for his rebellious challenge), Solf decided to punish him. On the arrival of German warships in Samoa, Lauaki and nine other chiefs were taken into custody. Accompanied by their families and a pastor, they were taken to the island of Saipan, in the Mariana islands, which was also one of Germany's Pacific colonies. Thus Solf brought about the end of the Mau a Pule.

Namulau'ulu Lauaki Mamoe was the first leader of the Samoan independence movement, which was not to be successful for another fifty years. He died at sea, in 1915, aboard the ship which had been sent by the New Zealand authorities to bring him and his supporters home. Among the exiles who accompanied Namulau'ulu Lauaki Mamoe were Tui'iga 'Pisa, Mata'afa Moefiu, Asiata Taetoloa, Le'ataua Mana, Tevaga Mataafa, and Tagaloa Maumausolo.

They were accompanied by their wives and some of their children. The song which commemorates their exile has these words:

0 Pule! 'Aiga-i-le-tai is Pule
The money which fell into the water will probably never be recovered
Where is Lauaki? Tevaga has been taken,
Pule has no foundation
Please Governor, tell us when the exiled men will return.

(Translated by Malama Meleisea)

When the party arrived at Saipan and were shown where to live they organized a small village settlement with Lauaki as its honorary head. They spent most of their time discussing Samoa, as this helped to relieve the boredom on Saipan.
During the Mau, Lauaki's right hand man was a young matai, I'iga Pisa, from the Si'iu-o-Amoa in Fa'asalele'aga. I'iga was 29 years old at the time, and was used by Lauaki to send messages to allies. One of these trips was to American Samoa to solicit support for the Mau. Although I'iga tried to be discreet - he tried to hide inside a bag of kapok on his way to Pago Pago - he was discovered and was punished before he was deported.

In Saipan when I'iga learnt that New Zealand had taken over Samoa at the beginning of the First World War, he knew that his ability to speak German was of no more use. He decided to escape to Guam, which was then an American colony, to learn how to speak English. He built an outrigger canoe and left the island of Saipan secretly during the night, he arrived on Guam after two days at sea. As a result of this trip, the Strait between Saipan and Guam is known as the rip Pisa Strait.

Except for I'iga Pisa, who was informed in Guam as USA was not involved in the war. The rest of the exiled party returned to Samoa in 1916. After the end of World War I, rip went to Hawaii. He was sent his fare to return to Samoa by his older brother, Rev. Sia, through Colonel Logan, the then New Zealand Administrator. When he arrived home, a big feast was held in his honour at his village of Le'aauva'a, and it was then that I'iga was invited by Colonel Logan to be the Secretary for the Office for Samoan Affairs, at Mulinu'u. He established Vaipouli School, and remained as Secretary until he retired in 1954.

The German Administration of Samoa has been admired by many historians. It has been suggested Governor Solf was a man ahead of his time, who ruled the Samoans fairly and wisely. In comparison with the Governors of other colonies during this period, this claim is probably true. In some other parts of the world, colonial regimes were encouraging white settlers grabbing land, and using violence against native peoples who resisted. Solf protected Samoan land rights, prevented Samoans from being forced to labour on plantations, restricted white settlement of Samoa, and gave the country a period of peace and prosperity. This is why many old people remember the German period, or have heard about the German period, as a good time in Samoan history. Indeed, in 1923, when Samoan leaders were becoming dissatisfied with the New Zealand Administration, a telegram was sent to Solf while he was German Ambassador to Japan, requesting him to return as Governor once more (Hempenstall 1978: 68).

Namulau'ulu Lauaki Mamoe was one of the few Samoans who recognized the true intentions of the German Administration. Some historians have said that he, Lauaki, was a backward-looking traditionalist. But the place he will always occupy in Samoan history is that of a patriot. At a time when a few European countries ruled the whole
world, Namulau'ulu asserted the right of Samoans to rule themselves according to their own ideas about government. In this respect he was a man many years ahead of his time.

The Volcanic Eruption on Savai'i 1905 - 1910

In 1905, in the districts known as Itu-o-Tane, Gagaifomauga and Gaga'emauga, Matavanu a volcano erupted. The lava flowed slowly down across forty square miles of countryside to the sea, where it poured over the cliffs. The boiling lava flowing into the sea caused clouds of steam which, together with smoke and ash from the volcano, could be seen for miles. When the volcano first exploded, people from all over Savai'i heard and felt the eruption. They were very much afraid, and many believed it to be God punishing them. The Methodist Missionary, Rev. E.G. Neil, tried to reassure people and persuade them not to leave their homes and villages.

The depth of the lava flow varied from ten to four hundred feet. It flowed initially along a dry riverbed near Toapaipai and into the sea. The coral reefs flocked the flow, which then curved westward and covered the villages of Salago and Sale'aula. The Methodist Church, which was only partly built at the time of the eruption, was undamaged by the flow, but the Mormon and Catholic churches were buried. The grave of a young postulant nun was spared by the flow, but the rest of the large Catholic Mission, Malo, was destroyed.

There was famine in the villages in the surrounding areas, which had escaped destruction. This was caused by sulphur fumes and volcanic ash, which destroyed the crops and contaminated the water supplies. However, nobody was killed by the eruption.

The people of Sale'aula had built a new village by 1907, but the salt deposits caused by evaporating sea water, which resulted from the boiling lava flowing into the sea, damaged their crops; and gas from the lava made people sick. The people of Safotu and Safune were less seriously affected, and Matautu and Fagamalo were spared.

The volcano continued to emit lava until the end of 1910. The people of Sale'aula lost all their land and villages as a result of the lava flow. They could not survive there, because there was no longer enough arable land, and their crops were destroyed. The German Administration acquired land and resettled the people at Salamumu and Leauva'a, on Upolu.

The following chant is well known among Samoan people, and was composed during the period when the volcano was erupting:
Alas, how fearful!
The fire burning over there
How terrifying that Ito-tane
Has been turned into rocks
Authorities of Salafai!
Don't be idle -
Pray for relief from this terrible disaster,
Refrain from stubborness.

How sorrowful!
The disaster in Samoa.
The fire below
which is swallowing Savai'i,
An intimidating event -
Reminding us to repent Of
our stubborn ways.

We cannot know God's will,
But the slow encroachment of the lava
May indicate His Mercy
Because it allows the people to escape
it may be a warning
Concerning our sins -
As a result of which,
Savai'i has been turned to stone.

(Translated by Malama Meleisea)
Plate 18. Mata'ala, Ai'i Sili, with the Court, early 1900s.