

SAMOAN METHODISM.



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Dr. Mitchell.

MY STORY OF SAMOAN METHODISM



JONAH.
a native Christian of Samoa.

MY STORY

OF

SAMOAN METHODISM;

OR,

A BRIEF HISTORY

OF THE

WESLEYAN METHODIST MISSION IN SAMOA.

BY

MARTIN DYSON,

LATE MISSIONARY IN SAMOA AND TONGA.



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P R E F A C E .

MY STORY OF SAMOAN METHODISM has been written for all who take an interest in Christian Missions. It contains only authenticated facts, which have been collected with care. I have given them with impartiality, and expressed my own opinions on them with respectful deference to those who differ from me. I can truly say that, whilst I have a most sincere and very strong attachment to my own Church, yet I believe that God never designed Methodism to be His only agency in the conversion of the modern world. All Evangelical Missionary Societies have wide fields of labour, and Samoa is now *honourably* and *legitimately*, but at present perhaps *unwisely*, shared by *two* of them. If, even in the shading or dark part of my limning, I have done an injustice to any one connected with this Mission, no one will regret it more sincerely than myself.

MARTIN DYSON.

KYNETON, 4th August, 1875.

MY STORY OF SAMOAN METHODISM.

Rise and Growth to 1839.

IT is our intention to write the history of Methodism in Samoa, South Pacific, from the time of its introduction by the Tongans down to the present time. We shall trace its rise and growth to 1839, its abandonment for eighteen years, according to the "united wishes"* of the Directors of the London Missionary Society and the Committee of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, its resumption by the Australasian Conference, and its subsequent history.

We have no wish to overlook, and less to ignore the labours of the London Missionary Society in Samoa, but we purpose to refer to them only where we shall find them entangled with our own operations. The nominal adherents to that society in all Samoa number about 27,000. In 1862 the number of their church members was 4200; and of their candidates, 3245.† Two hundred teachers were then busily at work in as many villages and hamlets, and the whole mission was under the care of eight European missionaries. Their churches were dissimilar in quality, and did not much exceed the number of their teachers. Some of them were neat and large buildings, and a few of them would accommodate 500 natives. Notwithstanding the poverty of their people, they raised annually £2000, in contributions to the work of God and in the purchase of the Holy Scriptures.‡ It is to the missionaries of this society we most willingly cede the merited honour of having given to the church and Samoa a complete translation of the Bible in the vernacular. The opinion of one of them is that "It is free from all obsolete Samoan words and phrases, and will be far plainer in this respect to a Samoan than our English version is at the present day to many of our

*Dr. Beecham's Letter to Rev. A. Tidman, 1844.

†Western Polynesia, 457.

‡Western Polynesia, 459.

countrymen."* They have also an institution for training native agents, which is managed with ability and success. We freely express our admiration of much of their work, and our respect for the missionaries themselves as Christian brethren, and should deplore the decay of their society as a calamity to Christianity in the South Seas. To its devoted agents we sincerely say, "The blessing of the Lord be upon you."

But while we say this, we have to add that they entertain and seem to cherish a bias, if not a prejudice, against the Methodist Mission in Samoa. A pious concern for the outlying heathen of other countries, the assumed waste of men and money on Samoa by the presence of *two* evangelical societies, and the supposed evils of nonconformity to the form of godliness, seem to have given a specious appearance to their continued opposition to Methodism in Samoa. In the following narrative, our end is to show that this mission is both a righteous and an honourable one, so long as the Wesleyan Conference shall choose to continue it, that the objections of the London Missionary Society to it are indefensible, and the renewed *Protest* against it, an unmerited wrong. We hope to show that their arguments concerning it are sophisms, and, unless we are mistaken, that they will not bear the crucible of public opinion for a day.

The introduction of Methodism to Samoa, was one of those fortuitous events which happen without a *human* purpose. It was in no degree the result of human design and arrangement. Tubou, the father of the present king of Tonga, openly renounced heathenism and professed Christianity in the year 1827. Subsequent to that time, large canoes once and again brought Tongans to Samoa, some of whom had already followed the example of Tubou and become Methodists. "There had been from time immemorial, frequent intercourse between the inhabitants of the Navigators' (Samoa,) and the Friendly (Tongan) groups."† Some of the Tongan Methodists, who visited Samoa, married into Samoan families and remained there. They next made an open profession of their new religion, which from that time was called in Samoa, the "Lotu Tonga," and they established family worship. A few Samoans followed their example. The

*Nineteen Years in Polynesia, 171.

†Williams' Enterprises, ch. xvii., 77.

rest of the inhabitants were heathens until the year 1830.

In that year Messrs. Williams and Barff arrived in the *Messenger of Peace*, with an influential chief, or native from Samoa, named Fauea, who had attached himself to them in Tonga, and who may be considered as their first Samoan convert. The *Protest* says somewhat audaciously concerning this visit of those honoured men. "The immortal Williams and the venerable Barff took possession of Samoa on the 24th of August, 1830," in true military style. Two things appear to be claimed by the London Missionary Society in this modest language; *seniority* and the *right of sole possession*. But what constitutes seniority in the age of missions? Does a mission date from the time of the arrival of the acknowledged agents of it, or from the first profession of the nominal membership of the objects of it? If the former, then the London Missionary Society is senior, but if the latter, then Methodism was first planted. There were Methodists in Samoa before the arrival of Mr. Williams. But either way it gives to neither society the heirdom of the mission. Nor does the arrogated right of the sole possession of the group rest upon any better foundation. A religious right or privilege in our fellow men depends upon the will of the grantor, and also upon that of the subject of it. Now, even if the subjects allow the right or privilege, but the grantor has no acknowledged power to confer it, then those who claim it commit themselves to a merely gratuitous assumption. The case is this—the Directors of the London Missionary Society, either had or had not power to take *exclusive* possession of Samoa for their operations. We need not stay to prove that if they had not, then Messrs. Williams and Barff had not, as a matter of consequence. If the Directors of a Christian mission had such a privilege, namely, of sole occupancy of any particular field, then at least a majority of other religious bodies, which have the same right in common with themselves, must have granted it. But neither the Directors nor Messrs. Williams and Barff, preferred such a claim in 1830. That "little horn" was not grown until 1863.

Further, if all Missionary Societies had granted the right of the exclusive possession of Samoa to that particular body of Directors, yet it remained null until the Samoans acknowledged it, which from 1830 until now

several thousands of them have steadily refused to do. Here then we press the vaunted right to its natural dimensions. Fauea first and then Malietoa and his tribe next attached themselves to the missionaries named above, who left eight teachers behind them, for they only visited the group in order to prepare the way for future operations. Beyond this, at that time, the London Missionary Society had no spiritual control in Samoa. As a matter of course it had none over the Wesleyan Methodists, nor over the outlying heathens of the group, which another society had not, until the natives had nominally at least attached themselves to it, and even then only so long as the natives chose. It is trite now to say that the right of private judgment attends and is inseparable from Christianity, and will be allowed on all hands to have the precedence of all assumed rights, claims, or privileges of churches or societies to coerce even a few thousand Samoans concerning the mission to which they shall belong. The twin missions were born, and the abandonment of one of them in 1837 was a terrible calamity.

The First Samoan Methodists.

Saivaiaa, a native of Savaii, visited Tonga in 1828-9. During his stay there he abandoned heathenism, and publicly professed Christianity, and called himself of the "Lotu Tonga"—a Methodist. He returned to Samoa in a double canoe shortly afterwards, and introduced his new "Lotu" to his friends and kindred at Tafua and Salelologa, two villages on Savaii. They were induced to renounce the religion of their forefathers and to become Christians. From this time the "Lotu Tonga" grew apace. The young vine cast her slim tendrils over Savaii, the largest island in the group, and also appeared in many places on the other islands but as yet no labourers had entered the vineyard. Everything was in a state of spontaneous growth. Demons were rapidly sinking into contempt, the lost knowledge of God was being restored, and the first faint semblance of Christian worship was offered to Him, but garbed in language which, heretofore, had been used in devil worship. Prayer to God instead of to their ancient "aitu," and the observance of the Lord's-day formed the sum of their new religion. Like Cornelius they were waiting for another Peter.

How the Twig was Bent.

At this juncture, shortly after the *Messenger of Peace* had left in 1830, a trivial event occurred which appears to have determined the future duality of this Christian mission. Williams had placed his eight Tahitian teachers under the protection of the chief, Malietoa, who called them his "papalangi," or foreigners. Six of them were stationed on Savaii, and the other two on Upolu. Their safety depended, at first, to all appearance, on the issue of a case of affliction in Malietoa's family. All ended well, and they secured the confidence of their protector. Having gained a little of the language, they now attempted to extend their services to Satupaitea, but the tribal selfishness of their chief crushed their aggressive movement with a word. Himself unable to understand the object of his new teachers, he had made them accessory to his vanity, and retained them as ornaments of his family. He said, "My foreigners must not be scattered among other tribes," and the teachers submitted to their master. Tui (Tui na ula) was then the leading chief of Satupaitea. He heard of the prohibition of Malietoa, and was not a little insulted by it. He had already adopted the "Lotu Tonga," and was a Methodist, but would have changed names for a teacher, and have accepted of the "Lotu Tahiti" (London Missionary Society, from Tahiti.) But the twig was bent, and henceforward he looked towards Tonga. Prompted by a desire to see that group, and also to be equal to Malietoa in having foreign teachers of the new religion, he took his passage in a ship to Tonga, and proceeded to Tubou, through whom he petitioned the Wesleyan missionaries, in the year 1831, for a missionary to be sent to his native town, Satupaitea. This is referred to in the annual report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society for 1832-3, p. 46:—

"The Navigators' (Samoan) Islands, also, we recommend to the Committee as being another delightful opening for the establishment of a mission. One of the chiefs (Tui) of those islands having petitioned us through our chief Tubou for a missionary, and we have begun to prepare a book, also, for their instruction."

Then in p. 43 of the same report the Committee's reply is as follows:—

“And the brethren of the district will adopt the best measures their circumstances will allow for improving the favourable opportunity which is presented for introducing Christianity into the Navigators' Islands.

Tui Returns to Samoa.

Tui returned to Samoa, and soon became the head and soul of the “Lotu Tonga” in Satupaitea. Prejudices were now created against the London Missionary Society, and a prepossession formed in favour of Wesleyan Methodism, on the glowing news from Tonga, which grasped like roots the prepared minds of thousands of Samoans. Nor was this confined to Savaii. About this time Tuioneula, a chief of Upolu planted the “Lotu Tonga” in Satapuala, and hundreds on Upolu renounced heathenism soon after.

In three years from the time of Tui's return there were forty villages and hamlets on Savaii, and twenty-five on Upolu that had turned from the worship of “aitu” to serve the living God, and were now called of the “Lotu Tonga.” The Rev. Peter Turner, who alone had an opportunity of obtaining reliable information on this subject, says:—“I went round the islands (in 1835) and found forty places on Savaii, in which there were persons professing to be of the Tongan Lotu. They had service on the Sabbath, some in chapels, others in their own private houses. In going round Upolu, I found twenty-five places in which were persons of the Tongan Lotu. So that there were about two thousand persons (a very moderate estimate) who called themselves of the ‘Tongan Lotu.’ The first time I went round Savaii about two thousand (more) people came over to Christianity.”*

Thus, during the first six years of its existence in Samoa, Methodism, without guide, overseer, or ruler, had penetrated into one-fifth of the villages and hamlets of the whole group. The movement, self-sustained, and independent of foreign aid, had been begun and continued outside, and widely separated by family jealousies from the London Missionary Society's people. It had grown

*Letter, March, 1862.

into a mission, the like of which, in other places, many years of toil and expense had failed to accomplish. Churches had been built and congregations were collected, and, if it had been possible, the poor heathen in this instance would have given a practical answer to the apostle's question: "How then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed," &c., "and how shall they hear without a preacher," &c.*

If ever the Lord set before the Wesleyan Church an open door to any people which no man should have shut, surely this was one—"a people prepared for the Lord."

Williams' Second Visit.

A second visit to Samoa was made by Mr. Williams in 1832, and a third by Messrs. Barff and Buzacott, in 1834. Mr. Williams found, "that in the two large islands of Savaii and Upolu the Gospel had been introduced into more than thirty villages, and that nearly all the inhabitants of Manono had placed themselves under religious instruction."† These visits, being confined to their own converts, had but little if any effect upon the Methodists in the group. The twin sects grew up together without either mutual support or countenance, as sister plants which our Heavenly Father had planted.

First Wesleyan Missionary to Samoa.

It was not until the year 1834 that active measures were adopted by our missionaries in Tonga towards executing the intentions of the Missionary Committee, and of "improving the favourable opportunity which was presented for introducing missionaries into Samoa." They suspected no impediment, as they knew of none. At their District Meeting of that year they appointed Rev. Peter Turner to Samoa.

This zealous and successful missionary had been made to pass through unusual scenes of adversity and prosperity prior to this appointment. In the beginning of 1833 a tropical hurricane laid his house in ruins; he and Mrs. Turner had to flee for their lives. But the following year was a happy one in his history. He agreed with a band

*Rom. x. 14, 15.

†Enterprises 110, 119.

of class leaders to seek by prayer and earnest intercession for a copious shower of heavenly blessing in his circuit. At noon of every day these earnest men directed their prayer to God, "touching the thing that they asked for, and waited patiently for the Lord." The Lord was at hand. At Utui a whole congregation of Tongans became convinced of sin at one service, and many of the people received the forgiveness of sins shortly afterwards. Hearing of this, another village united in earnestly seeking salvation. The work spread wonderfully; more than 1000 natives were converted in one day. The church rose rapidly from 800 to 3000 members, and the whole of Mr. Turner's circuit was mightily moved by the power of God. This revival also spread to the south, and extended to Haabai and Tongatabu. Two thousand conversions took place in the Haabai Islands in the course of a fortnight, and many were added to the Lord in Tongatabu.*

Mr. Turner was eminently prepared in this way for the work before him, and he now turned his attention towards Samoa. A schooner from Fiji called at Vavau, where he resided, and was bound for Niuatobutabu (Keppel's Islands.) He secured a passage in her for himself, Mrs. Turner, and four Tongan teachers. They left Vavau in January, 1835.

Voyage to Niuatobutabu.

They chose a month when sailing is usually dangerous between Tonga and Samoa. The schooner was caught in a storm and was spoomed for several days. During a whole week alarm and consternation reigned on board. Regular food and rest were impossible. Hope flickered in the socket. The roar of the wind through the rigging, the wild waves which struck the vessel, and the grinding of her timbers were heard as certain death tokens by the alarmed passengers, until they sighted Niua, and then hope revived. But now squalls and contrary winds held them back from the isle, and the sea was rough. Natives descried the vessel, and a Christian teacher and a few others made for her in a canoe. When they arrived on board and saw a missionary, their joy was unbounded; they

*Tonga, S. S. Farmer, 225, 241.

would not remain, but hastened back with the joyful news. This encouraged the mission party but they could not land. They had to endure another anxious night in their perilous condition. Help was delayed, but it came at last. A canoe was sent from shore on the following morning and took from the schooner the natives who were in the mission party. More than usual precaution was taken for their safety in passing the reefs. Forty men were waiting at the opening, and held themselves in readiness, up to the neck and swimming about in the sea, to save the boat from being staved in among the rocks. After Mr. Turner had seen the first detachment safely landed, he and Mrs. Turner ventured ashore in the same way. The following day the vessel came to an anchorage.*

Revival on Niuatobutabu.

Niuatobutabu was white to harvest. Taking this isle together with Tafahe, there was a population of 1300 on the two isles twenty-five years afterwards† (and there would be more in 1835.) Six hundred, it appears, were waiting for the word. Three teachers had prepared the way, but themselves needed to have the way of God expounded to them more perfectly. They had sown the seed among the Niuan, without knowing its value themselves. Like many others on first embracing the glorious Gospel they had received the spirit of bondage, and as yet they were strangers to the spirit of adoption. The stream did not rise higher than its source. The people were not more spiritually minded than their guides. But their day was now come, and those things which concern our Lord Jesus Christ were at hand. A divine power at this time attended the simple preaching of our zealous missionary. He understood well, and he faithfully preached those heaven-born doctrines which have ever proved to be the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.

He knew the language,‡ though imperfectly, and yet his preaching took immediate effect upon the rough hearts of the Niuan. Gogo, the king of Niua, was convinced of sin, and after a severe struggle he plucked out his "right

*Tonga, S. S. Farmer, 269.

†Tala i le lalolagi, 23.

‡The Niuan speak the Tongan language, with variations.

eye" and cast his polygamy from him. His people were encouraged to decide for Christ by his example. One of the three teachers in astonishment declared that something new had come to them, and he was right. Five hundred in a few weeks professed to have received the forgiveness of sins. No doubt some of this work was superficial, and a mild form of enthusiasm matured the seeds too rapidly, and because they had no root they withered away. But many were born again and became "industrious, happy and liberal." Their zeal, however, unfortunately outran their prudence. They made a rash attempt to carry the Gospel to Uvea, a small group of nine islets, enclosed within one reef, about 230 miles N.W. of Niua. Two thousand six hundred people are isolated there now, and probably some 3000 or 4000 then. Our Niuan converts ran before they were sent. Gogo and his party arrived safely among their heathen neighbours, but their rash movement ended in the destruction of most of them.

Mr. Turner's arrival in Samoa.

Before Gogo's disaster, Mr. Turner and the mission party, after being on the island four months, left it in an American whaler, and reached Manono, 18th June, 1835. Their reception was most cordial, not more so from the Wesleyans, whom they found in two villages on this island, than from Teava, the Tahitian teacher at Apai. He very kindly entertained Mr. and Mrs. Turner for about four weeks. Mr. Williams describes this teacher as "a pious and intelligent man, the novelty and excellency of whose prayer, together with the pious fervour of his manner, much pleased him."* Teava had now been at Apai, the smallest of the three villages on Manono, a little under three years. Under the protection of Tuilaepa (Matetau,) he had had free access to the people of the whole island, nearly all of whom early placed themselves under his instructions.† But he had been nearly six years on the isle, and it was not until 1838 that his labours were rewarded by the formation of a church.‡ Mr. Turner found in him a brother whose name deserves a record and an honourable mention in the churches.

*Enterprises, 106.

†Enterprises, 119.

‡Western Polynesia, 453.

During Mr. Turner's brief stay on Manono he opened communications with the Methodists in various parts of Savaii and elsewhere. "Many chiefs and some persons who were acting as teachers of the Tongan lotu came to bid the missionary welcome, and to bring presents."* The numerous applications for his teachers from Tonga took him somewhat by surprise. Manono got three of them. Barnabas Ahogalu was one of them. Two chiefs and a few Methodists at Salua secured him. He is still labouring in Samoa, and is now an ordained native minister, and will be referred to once and again in this narrative. The other two were appointed to Taegogo and Vaovasa; two chiefs and their families in Saleiataua, the chief town of the isle, where the writer lived about eight years. Mr. Turner could not meet the demand, but to make the most of his Tongans, he made a teacher of his manservant, and sent him and another teacher over to Savaii.

Great excitement prevailed at Satupaitea on that isle on the arrival of Mr. Turner there. About a thousand natives lived in this neighbourhood, and two-thirds of them were already Methodists.† Tui was wild with joy. He and Asiata, and hundreds more, gave the new missionary an enthusiastic welcome. From this time Mr. Turner resolved to make Satupaitea the head of his new circuit. After a few hurried arrangements with Tui, he returned to Manono and forthwith prepared for his removal. Mrs. Turner and he now finally left the hospitable home of Teava, and cast themselves fully amongst their own people at Satupaitea. They were now at home, and Mr. Turner soon pencilled out the broad outline of his work and put the mission into vigorous action. From 2000, his converts quickly multiplied to 13,000. This marvellous work was accomplished in the short space of twenty months. During this time eighty churches were built in as many villages. Four thousand persons were distributed into above 300 classes, and 1000 teachers, who themselves had newly been taught to read, were busy as bees in the midst of 6000 scholars, teaching them the wonderful "Pi" (lesson card) and the art of reading.‡

Two months or more after Mr. Turner's arrival on Manono, Revs. Messrs. Platt and Wilson, of the London

*Wesleyan Chronicle, 11th Feb., 1864.

†Wesleyan Chronicle, 11th Feb., 1864.

‡Wesleyan Chronicle, 11th Feb., 1864.

Missionary Society, from the Society Islands, visited their own people in Samoa. Mr. Platt remained about a year, and Mr. Wilson about four years in the group.* In June, 1836, or a year after Mr. Turner's arrival on Manono, six missionaries of the London Missionary Society, reached Samoa from England in the *Dunnattar Castle*, and settled in the group.*

The Missions Entangled.

From this time dates the unhappy contention between the agents of the two missionary societies. Mr. Turner had scarcely seen through the brilliant spring of his mission, with its rich promise of converts, when, like a lark in the heavens, it was suddenly beclouded and silenced in a dire storm. On the 13th of June, a week after their arrival, the new missionaries wrote with youthful ardour to Mr. Turner and essayed forthwith to shame him back to Tonga, and then to claim his 13,000 converts. His coming to the Navigators', said they, was "an *unwarrantable intrusion*." It was "ungentlemanly, not to say unchristianlike conduct." His work was a "direct attack upon them, in order to wrest from them the fruits of their labours," and he was bent upon religious piracy, and intended to wrest from them the fruits of the labours of their native teachers. On Manono, for example, where they were only able to form a church two years after this time.† Mr. Turner's motives, too, were base; he sought "to claim the conversion of these islands as the result of his labours," which, in one short week after they had reached Samoa, they had discovered to be an arrogant assumption. This was the first stirring of the pool, and here the muddy water begins. Mr. Turner deserved no such treatment. He had done nothing beyond his duty. His accusers, however, had power on their side, and though they should have left Mr. Turner's Committee to have withdrawn him without their meddling, yet they were not to be blamed to the full extent of their censoriousness. They appear, however, to have had authority to dismiss him from Samoa, but instead of entreating him as an elder brother, they fell upon him

*Western Polynesia, 451.

†Western Polynesia, 453.

in no friendly manner. *They* can justify such treatment of this devout missionary, and their excuse for it was based upon the agreement which had been made between their Directors and the General Committee of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in London.

The History of the Agreement.

The history of this agreement dates from 4th July, 1830. Misunderstanding, misconception, and *disagreement* have been woven into it from the beginning. To it we are compelled to trace every stream of bitterness which has flowed between the two societies in Samoa and beyond it. It should never have been made, but after having been made, and driven like a nail through the Wesleyan Mission, the London Missionary Society should have been left to bear their own desired responsibility in Samoa.

The proposition from whence the agreement grew belongs to the Rev. Nathaniel Turner. Rev. John Williams gives the origin of it. He says,—“At this Conference, also, the brethren (N. Turner and W. Cross) expressed a wish that, as the Fiji Islands were so near to Tongatabu and politically connected with it, we should leave that field open to them, and urged upon us the extent and importance of the Navigators’, on the ground that the affinity of the language and other circumstances appeared to assign that group to our mission, and the Fijis to theirs. Feeling the great importance of keeping our spheres of labour distinct, we readily acceded to their proposition; and Mr. Barff and myself on the one part, and Mr. Turner and Mr. Cross on the other, agreed that we should occupy the Navigators’ Islands, and they bend their attention to the Fijis.”*

Mr. N. Turner repudiated any such agreement, and in a letter to the General Committee of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, dated 10th August, 1837, challenged the accuracy of Mr. Williams’ statements concerning any. Mr. Turner remembered having said to Mr. Williams, “I understand that the Samoan dialect approximates much nearer to the Tahitian, and, therefore, I should think that a much more likely field of labour for *your teachers*”—that is, Samoa a much more likely field of labour than

*Enterprises, 79.

Fiji. He explains, "I wish the Committee particularly to observe that what there passed between us had exclusive reference to the *native teachers* they had with them," &c.*

Concerning these conflicting statements we may remark: First—that both Mr. Williams and Mr. Turner agree that the latter was the author of the proposition. Secondly—that each of them gave to it his own meaning; the proposer intending by it only a reference to the appointment of a few Tahitian teachers, while Mr. Williams took a broader view of the matter, and supposed that missionaries also were included in the scheme.

Was this an agreement? Let us understand the term. "The simple consent of parties constitutes an agreement." Certain forms and solemnities are necessary to make a contract or covenant valid, but no deed is necessary to make an agreement binding, it may be merely verbal. Now the proposition was, that the Tahitian teachers who were with Mr. Williams should be taken to Samoa, and not to Fiji. Mr. Williams consented to it, and here was an agreement Mr. Turner did NOT propose to give up Samoa to the London Missionary Society, and to keep Fiji for his own society; he made no proposition about this, but Mr. Williams supposed he had done, and consented to that also. Now, since Mr. Turner made no such proposition, and would have opposed it if any one else had done so, he could not be said to have consented to it. Therefore, there was no agreement between the parties concerning it.†

We attach no weight to the fact that it was not an official compact, however necessary this was to render the preliminary negotiation in order. That it was not, proves nothing against an agreement between Mr. Williams and Mr. Turner. If they had agreed, it remained for the latter to have carried it in due form before his District Meeting, and thence to the General Committee, and for Mr. Williams to have taken it before the Directors of the London Society. Mr. Turner's proposition, to the mind of Mr. Williams, as he understood it, appeared to be a happy suggestion, and from that time he, doubtless, proposed to give it practical effect.

*Wesleyan Chronicle, 11th Feb., 1864.

†The remarks in Ellis' History of the London Missionary Society "that it was amicably arranged," &c., are not supported by the facts of the case. See Vol. I., page 296-7.

But one of two things is very clear, from the fact that he afterwards, namely, after his interview with Mr. Turner, sent two of his teachers to *Fiji*.^{*} First, he either did not himself, at that time, understand any agreement to leave Fiji to the Wesleyan Society, and, consequently, his scheme of divided mission labour was matured in his own mind *afterwards* and was *antedated*. Or, secondly, if he then so understood it, as it appears from the above quotation from his "Enterprises," we are forced to the conclusion that he, himself, was the first to break it. Thus, in all fairness, and even assuming the existence of an agreement, and looking at it either way, it appears worthless and fictitious.

Still, we readily allow that it was a noble scheme, and one which missionary societies might wisely adopt in all heathen countries, where it may be practicable, namely, to keep their spheres of labour distinct. Further, it was a serious omission that such a plan was not thought of and applied to Samoa in 1830. The few Methodist families in the group at that time would have been easily put into harmony with it, and Methodism, unfed from Tonga, would then have withered away. Mr. Nathaniel Turner and the brethren did not believe in such a scheme, but countenanced the unrestricted growth of their own mission in Samoa, and rendered the policy of Mr. Williams impracticable in this case, except by coercive measures, such as were afterwards painfully carried out.

Whatever Mr. Williams intended by leaving teachers in Fiji, he had resolved to secure Samoa to his own society. After his return to Raiatea he communicated his purpose by letter to Mr. N. Turner.[†] It does not appear that any opposition was offered to it by Mr. Turner, until the year 1837, when it was too late. If his letter of that year to the General Committee of the Wesleyan Missionary Society had been written and sent to them in 1832, immediately after Mr. Williams' communication to himself, it is almost certain that the scheme would have been rejected in London; first, because of the promise of the Tongan missionaries to Tui,[‡] and next, in consideration of the very tempting prospects, newly discovered, of a

^{*}Wesleyan Chronicle, 11th Feb., 1864.

[†]Letter, Wesleyan Chronicle, 11th Feb., 1864.

[‡]Annual Report, Wesleyan Missionary Society, 1832-3.

flourishing Methodist mission in Samoa. But after the scheme was known in Tonga, four years were allowed to pass away without an effort to defeat it from those who abhorred it, until it had grown into official negotiations of imposing magnitude and importance. The object of Mr. Williams was finally gained, and our Wesleyan missionaries were confounded.

The General Committee of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in London, and the Directors of the London Missionary Society were induced, by Mr. Williams alone, and on his representations, to agree that the latter society should exclusively occupy the Navigators' or Samoa, and the former the Fiji Islands. It became known afterwards that this grave action was taken *without a full knowledge* of the condition of the Methodist mission at that time in Samoa, and *without any knowledge* of the real opinions and wishes of the Wesleyan missionaries in the Friendly Islands.

The motive which prompted the compact was most manifestly a praiseworthy one, and the course subsequently pursued by the Wesleyan Committee and the Directors of the London Society, in reference thereto, as Mr. Ellis remarks, "was alike dictated by sound judgment and correct and honourable Christian feeling." The General Wesleyan Committee felt bound to abide by the agreement, and even after having fully and carefully considered all the facts of the case, which were subsequently placed before them by their own agents in Tonga and Samoa, resolved—"Dec. 6th, 1837. That Mr. P. Turner and colleague or colleagues who may have subsequently joined him are affectionately but positively required to relinquish forthwith their operations in the Navigators' Islands." Thus they had sworn to their own hurt and changed not.

We have already admitted that the scheme or general rule in evangelical missionary societies which would keep their spheres of labour distinct was a noble one. With scarcely two exceptions it would be peculiarly adapted to the Polynesian Islands. But, notwithstanding its excellency, it is open to serious doubt whether it ought ever to take the form of a mutual compact. Mutual respect and esteem between two evangelical churches, without the necessity of putting each other in bonds, should be sufficient to prevent any violent collision by their occupying the same island, or even the same little group. But

a compact, covenant, or solemn agreement like the one under consideration is scarcely secure on sound principles.

If it be admitted that the Protestant churches and missionary societies are now equally strong and well prepared to evangelise the heathen, which a visionist may believe, or allowing that two societies are now in all respects equal, what guarantee have we that either of them will continue to have men or means to occupy a given field with efficiency for the future, or that one of them may not fall into grievous errors. In either case an agreement like the above would become an intolerable fetter to an orthodox and earnest church. Such a church could not endure to see a mission dragging miserably in the mire, and yet leave its victims to perish, in order to maintain a principle of honour with another society. So extreme a case perhaps never may occur, but in the event of such a dilemma, what should be blamed more than the compact which had led to it?

Mr. Peter Turner again.

We left Mr. Turner confounded, and helpless in the coil of such an agreement. The first announcement of it among the natives carried unfeigned dismay and consternation to hundreds of families, whose religious feeling had risen high, and had become greatly intensified in consequence of a religious revival occasioned by Mr. Turner's labours. An iceberg had suddenly struck their vessel, and now she must be abandoned. Mr. Turner wrote "The sad agreement nearly broke my heart;" parental affection was tortured. He was required to abandon his own children in the Lord. "Is it any wonder," he asks, "that I grew grey prematurely, and got a head as white as flax at the age of forty?" Wrung with sorrow he remonstrated with the Committee—"If writing this in my blood would be the means of your retaining this mission how gladly would I do it; or if by prostrating myself on my bended knees before you would avail how would I rejoice to do it."* But neither entreaty nor remonstrance could move the Committee. "We have made this engagement with the London Society," wrote the secretaries, "and our honour is pledged before the Christian public; we cannot now draw back." Their decision was confirmed and sealed.

*Letter.

The Opinion of the Tongan Missionaries.

Mr. Turner's hope was now lost, and, as he calls it, "one of the most prosperous missions ever commenced" was cut away from Methodism, and left to the care of missionaries who, though excellent men, were certainly not admired by Mr. Turner's converts. These natives from some cause held most extraordinary prejudices against them. The Tongan Wesleyan missionaries deeply sympathised with Mr. Turner in his affliction, and would have prevented the disaster of his withdrawal if it had been possible. They were unanimous in their disapproval of the unintentional yet suicidal nature of the agreement which led to it. One of them says, "We, knowing the extent of the work there (in Samoa,) and how gloriously God was still carrying it on in connection with Mr. Turner's labours, and the teachers who accompanied him, thought surely it was impossible that our fathers should take such a step; but that they would, as soon as they heard of the wondrous triumphs of the Gospel, see the hand of God as manifest in the awakening and conversion of souls just emerging from heathenism, that they would at once alter their minds and rescind the resolution. We, therefore, resolved at our District Meeting to represent the case to the Committee, and inform them that Mr. Turner was at Samoa; and that the earnest request of the Samoans was to have a missionary from Tonga. Knowing, however, that a year and a half must elapse before we could receive their answer, we resolved to send him help, and, therefore, appointed the Rev. Matthew Wilson to join him at Samoa."*

Mr. Wilson arrived in Samoa in the year 1836, and was stationed on Manono, where he and Mrs. Wilson resided until, together with Mr. and Mrs. Turner, they were compelled finally to abandon their thousands of young converts from heathenism, and to leave the group.

Methodism before their Departure.

Let us see the position of the two missionaries and the state of their mission before they left it. Not less than eighty congregations of regular hearers, amounting to

*Mr. Tucker's Letter, Methodist Recorder, No. 139, Vol. III.

13,000 souls, had been gathered in by them from heathenism. Three thousand of these were church members. Above 6000 adults and children were spelling their way through the first lesson cards. This is no mere showy display of figures. Underlying them, great social, moral, and spiritual changes had been effected. Many who could scarcely learn to read the seventh commandment had soon learnt to obey it. Monogamy had taken the place of polygamy. Peace and happiness had entered and united many a divided family. Human life, which had cheapened down to that of a swine, so that he that clubbed a man did it as if he had killed a pig, now had risen in value and become sacred. The unity and tranquility of the tribes now contrasted with their former wars and misery. "Poula," or night-dances, the most demoralising and sensual amusements in Samoa, had entirely ceased in many villages to debase the young. Obscene songs were hushed in hundreds of families, and instead of them you might have heard, morning and evening, the simple hymns of praise to Jesus which had newly been taught to them. Prayer to the true and living God was now the daily exercise of thousands. Righteousness, scarcely known before, now abounded like the waves of the sea. Moso and a crowd of other gods had suddenly fallen like Dagon, and were now held in contempt. Every evening, 13,000 natives acknowledged the true God, and every Sabbath-day, though but newly known, thousands of them kept it with exemplary simplicity and Christian propriety as a sacred day. Powerful chiefs, in nothing inferior to Malietoa, who belonged to the London Missionary Society, were the fast friends of Messrs. Turner and Wilson, and also regular hearers of the word. Young men and women were then converted who passed unfallen through the dire war which only ended in the year 1857, and in 1865 (the time the writer knew them) continued to be worthy examples of piety.

Methodism was in full operation on Savaii and all the chief isles of the group. Its branches were young and tender, and its foliage was fresh and green, and the spreading mission was everywhere white with blossom. Unfriendly censors may have marred the bloom with careless handling, and ruthlessly bent the boughs into unnatural shapes, but even now, after years of wild

growth, the twisted mission and its scattered fruits give proof and presumptive evidence, at least, of two things:—First, that “our Gospel came not unto them in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance.” Secondly, that the harvest would have been a glorious one, perhaps superior even to that in the Friendly Islands, in number of converts, at least, as the population is greater, if only the original labourers had remained.

We know that the knowledge of the natives was necessarily small, but they knew God, and feared Him, and we ask what Wesleyan among the 13,000 turned again to the worship of demons? They had been taught by Messrs. Turner and Wilson the plan of salvation by grace through faith in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and who among the 13,000 turned aside to seek eternal life in any other name, until several hundreds of them were beguiled by false teachers and thus seduced? And why were these seduced? A thousand times have we heard the question answered. It was because Messrs. Turner and Wilson were withdrawn. But in hundreds of instances more it befell them according to the true proverb, “The dog is turned to his own vomit again, and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire.” And why? we ask again. Our answer is the same.

They fell back slowly and only partially to the customs and manners of their forefathers, because their guides had been taken away from them. Some, however, though only a remnant of them who endured the temptation, and were driven by a felt want of the bread of life, united themselves with the London Missionary Society, but, like another Naomi, dwelt as in a strange land. Others continued united among themselves, a dismembered branch of the Methodist Church, for many years. They retained their own places of worship and continued their own services. The work of Messrs. Turner and Wilson was no delusive religious excitement or revival mirage. It was as true and real as it was young and lively.

The fact of it being a remarkable revival of true religion, and yet for the instruments of it to be compelled to leave it, occasioned much trouble to the two missionaries. They felt their position to be an unusually grave and serious one. Their path was most intricate and

bewildering, but they proceeded. Mr. Turner says, "I tore up the class books and broke up the schools. I did all in my power to get the people to go over to the other society (London Missionary Society) but all to no effect. Our chiefs and people held public meetings on the subject. I invited some of the London Missionary Society's missionaries to be present at one or two of the meetings, when I spoke and endeavoured to persuade our people to yield and to come over, but all to no effect. If the London missionaries attempted to speak, our chiefs became angry, and said, 'We will not hear you, as you want to drive our missionaries away from Samoa. We will not "lotu" to you. Mr. Turner and Mr. Wilson shall not go.'"^{*} Open persuasion failed.

Mr. Turner next fell on a device which had all the appearance of an attempt to surprise them to submission to the London Society. "He agreed with the Rev. Mr. M'Donald to have his (Mr. Turner's) principal chapel. The plan was laid by the two missionaries unknown to the natives. On the Sabbath morning a large congregation assembled. Mr. Turner ascended the pulpit, and commenced the service. He then sat down, and Mr. M'Donald, according to agreement stood up to preach. He had not uttered many sentences, before a chief of high rank rose in the body of the chapel, and said "Mr. M'Donald, you are not our missionary; we will not hear you. Mr. Turner is our missionary." Mr. Turner rose and reprov'd the chief, and begged the people to hear Mr. M'Donald. That gentleman rose again, thinking that his point was gained, but he had only proceeded for a few minutes when the chief again stood up and said, "Mr. M'Donald, you are not our missionary; we will not hear you. Friends, do as I do." He then walked out of the chapel, when the large congregation, consisting of hundreds of persons, rose *en masse*, and followed his example, leaving Mr. Turner and his household as the sole auditors of the Independent Minister."

Mr. Turner still lingered in the group until November, 1838, when the *Camden* arrived.† Mr. Williams was on board, and had come to carry out his scheme. Mr. Turner writes of him: "He had got orders from our Committee, and told the people when he landed at Apia

^{*}Wesleyan Chronicle, No. 2, Vol. IV.

†Life of Williams, 144.

that he would make me fly to where I came from." This was a truly Samoan way of showing how quickly Mr. Williams would execute his orders, and how soon Mr. Turner would be away from Samoa. Four months, however, were allowed to pass by before their removal was attempted, when says Mr. Turner, "After long delay Mr. Williams agreed to take us in the *Camden* for eighty pounds (£80,) myself and wife, Mr. Wilson and wife, and our Tongan teachers, their wives and families."*

Rev. Chas. Tucker, writing of this period, says: "The natives, finding they were likely to lose their missionaries, began to consult how they might detain them. At length a scheme was laid to seize Mr. Turner, and carry him into the bush, there to detain him until the *Camden* had sailed. He heard of it, and frustrated their design." The following plan was a more sensible one, but had also to be resisted.

Great Meeting on Manono.

The chiefs determined to have a meeting of the principal chiefs and tulafales, to know what should be done, and what request should be sent to King George (Friendly Islands.) This meeting was held at Manono, and was attended by several thousands. The following is an extract of a letter from Samoa respecting it:—

"At this meeting all our people resolved to continue as they were, Wesleyan Methodists, and they determined to petition King George to allow the Tonga men to remain, or to return to them, and also to supply them with more teachers from Tonga, until the kings and missionaries of Tonga should write to the Committee. Surely, said they, our fathers in England will not disregard when all these write, and when they shall know our minds," &c.

During the meeting they addressed Joel, King George's brother, thus: "Our minds are very much pained with the news from England, that Mr. Turner and Mr. Wilson must leave Samoa. Mr. Turner tells us to join the other missionaries, but we cannot do so. No, we cannot do that. Our minds are fixed upon Mr. Turner, who stands there. (Mr. Turner was present.) It is not right that the good

*Wesleyan Chronicle, No. 2, Vol. IV.

people should take away our missionaries whom we cleave to, and try to make us unite with those whom we do not want, and whom we do not love. Our friends do not know how difficult Samoa is. We have not one king here, but we all do what we please. Are there not many different sects in England. Then why should the people of England wish us to have only one here? The Tahitian teachers were there long before Mr. Turner, but they never sought us; they never travelled round the islands; but when Mr. Turner came he journeyed round the islands, and many thousands have become religious. How, then, can we go over to these people. Joel, if Mr. Turner and Mr. Wilson go, we will return to our foolish ways, to our dances, to our many wives. This is very bad in the people of England, to take from us the true light, and to involve us in darkness, and perhaps in eternal ruin."

Then turning to Mr. Turner, the speaker said: "Mr. Turner, have you no love for us? You came from Tonga to Samoa for our good. You told us to give up our many wives, and we gave them up, so that now we have only one woman each. You told us it was very bad to have night dances, and we gave them up. You told us to repent of our sins, and to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and we should be baptised. Many of us have repented of our sins, believed in the Saviour, and are baptised. Will you now leave us to go astray? Do you expect us to join the other missionaries? Mr. Turner, we cannot do it. If you leave us, we will die with love to you, and our spirits shall follow you on the mighty deep. If you go, we will seek another from Tonga."

Again addressing Joel, the speaker said: "I beg you will attend to me. Have you any love to this land? Has King George any love to us? Has Josiah (the then) king of Tonga any love to us?*" Will Tonga throw us away? We are your friends, your sons and your daughters. You know that Tonga chiefs are chiefs here, and Samoa chiefs are chiefs at Tonga. And shall we be separated by the Lotu, or by our Lotu relatives in England? No—no—NO. Never let it be thus. But what do we know of Tahiti? What communications had the Tahitians with us, or with Tonga? We only heard of Tahiti last night."

*King George was at this time only king of one part of the Friendly Islands, Josiah at his death ceded Tonga to George.

Will any one wonder, after reading this account, that Mr. Turner was perplexed? He reasoned as to what was the path of duty. The Samoans offered to support him if he would only remain with them; and as the islands are very productive, there is no fear but that he would have had a good supply, and as his diet consisted chiefly of arrowroot, he would have felt no lack on that point. He reasoned as to whether it was not his duty to resign his position as a Wesleyan missionary, and to remain with his beloved flock, rather than to be torn away from those whom he had begotten in the Lord, and who were firmly resolved to abide by the religion of their Tongan relatives; but as a faithful son in the Gospel he thought it his duty to obey the commands of the Committee. He now finally prepared to take his departure, and both missionaries and Tongan teachers cleared away from Samoa in the *Camden*, 23rd May, 1839. From this time Methodism was adrift in the group. After having been run astern the London Missionary Society and put in tow, the Methodists of Samoa indignantly cut the tow-line and were now unfortunately drifted from one disaster to another until the year 1857, when the unhappy remnant that was left was quietly dying out.

Adrift, from 1839 to 1857.

The removal of Messrs. Peter Turner and M. Wilson was a decapitation of the mission which no amount of skill and care could heal. Something scarcely short of frenzy distracted the agonised Methodist community in every part of the group. Conscious of the fact that the mission must now die of necessity, the chiefs sent once and again powerful and influential deputations to the Tongan missionaries and King George, to induce them to undertake their cause, and to secure the reappointment of Wesleyan missionaries or Tongan teachers to them. Meanwhile, they maintained their independent denominationalism, continued their usual Sabbath and other services, and retained their places of worship. There was no abatement of their zeal, and their numbers increased rather than diminished during the year 1839. At this time nearly all the ruling chiefs were Methodists and many of the tulafales were preachers.

Masua and Alaiasa.

Two tulafales, Masua and Alaiasa, who took a great interest in the work at that time, met together in one of the villages of Upolu, when one remarked to the other, "I am afraid we are getting wrong." Masua was of the same opinion, and proposed that Alaiasa should go to Tonga and get instructions how they should proceed. Being men of influence their proposition was taken up with enthusiasm on Upolu. The *rulers* of Savaii and Manono took no active part in it, but the teachers on those islands did. Those who agreed to Masua's proposition met and resolved to send three influential chiefs from Atua and Tuamasaga as a deputation. These were Alaiasa, of Falefa, Sosuia, of Falealili, and Samuela, of Vailele. There happened to be at this time a whaler in Saluafata Bay. The deputation secured a passage in her to the Friendly Islands and left Samoa in 1840. They carried with them a letter to the Tongan king and missionaries which was duly delivered and which literally translated is as follows:—

"To Mr. Thomas, Mr. Turner, and all the missionaries. We the teachers of Apia, Tuamasaga, Manono, Savaii, and all the people of this Samoa, who belong to the religion which was taught by Mr. Turner. We cannot by any means turn to those from Tahiti, but we are endeavouring to make our religion stand firmly in Samoa.

"Therefore, we write to make known our minds to you, Mr. Turner, Mr. Thomas, and the king, that ye may be merciful to us and allow missionaries to return to us in Samoa. We continue in this religion from our love to the meaning of that which Mr. Turner made known in Samoa. We do according to that which we did when he was here. The leaders' meeting at Satupaitea still continues, and all the leaders' meetings in Savaii in every place, and the leaders' meetings in Manono, Atua, Tuamasaga, and Tutuila. The leaders still relate their Christian experience at their meetings.

"We still continue our class-meetings, and we take leaders to all those places that need teachers. We stand firmly in the religion. We commemorated the day on which the Saviour was born, and the day on which He

died. We are thankful that we stand steadfastly in the work of the Lord. It is because God blesses our work in Samoa. Therefore, we persevere, that we may know the mind of God and the mind of your missionaries, whether you will be merciful unto us, and let some missionaries come unto us.

“Do print a great many parts of the sacred writings and bring them unto us.

“King George Taufaaahau, if Samoa be thrown away by the missionaries, do you select some Tongan teachers and send them unto us. We will not by any means change our minds, for our religion is well established in Samoa. Some persons from the other missionaries have come over to us, and some of ours have gone to them. We have great love to Mr. Turner and Mr. Thomas, to all the missionaries, and also to the king of Tonga, and to the Tonga teachers. Have love to us and hasten some missionaries to Samoa. This is the conclusion of our letter to the missionaries of the Lord from us in Samoa.”*

The missionaries could not reply to this appeal; they remained silent. They had already committed themselves by resolution to abide by the decision of the Committee. After hearing their Committee's instructions respecting the relinquishment of the Samoan mission, bearing date 11th February, 1838, they passed the following resolution at their District Meeting:—“That every attention shall be most promptly paid to the Committee's instructions.”† It was not, therefore, possible to sacrifice their honour to meet the wishes of the Samoan Methodists.

But they could not prevent the king, on his own responsibility, from sending some of his own people. He was free to act in the matter, and, unfettered by any restraint, and heedless of the Committee's instructions, he selected a band of Tongan teachers—Barnabas Ahogalu, Benjamin Latuselu, and others, and supplied them with two double canoes and sent them to Samoa under the care of three chiefs.‡ They all arrived in safety on Upolu in 1841, and shortly afterwards took the whole work in hand. The Tongan teachers made themselves overseers, superintendents, and pastors of all Samoan

*See also Tonga, S. S. Farmer, 282.

†Minutes of District Meeting, 1838.

‡Tonga, S. S. Farmer, 284.

Methodists, and the two named above, being men of will and influence, restored the work to the Tongan model, and it now went forward again with fresh vigour. But there were yet loud calls for more Tongan teachers, and the chiefs of the Western tribe resolved to set forth a scheme which would secure another supply and meet the wants of Savaii.

The natives of Atua and Tuamasaga had succeeded in their enterprise and had obtained teachers, could not the rulers of Savaii and Manono do the same. They believed so, and called a meeting to consider the matter. Teachers had conducted the first movement and had negotiated with the missionaries and the king, but rulers, as such, now took up the second deputation scheme to Tonga. These set aside the missionaries, and placed the mission in the hands of the king of Tonga, and henceforth appealed to him. Four Samoan representatives were chosen by the ruling tribes of the group, and then were sent to treat directly with the king. Pau, of Safotulafai, was one; Talo, of Manono, was another; Aufai, of Saleaula, was a third; and Piliai, of Leulumoega, was the fourth. This formidable deputation, sent by the highest powers in Samoa, and immediately on the heels of the former one, thoroughly enlisted the king's sympathy and co-operation, and won over his powerful aid. In keeping with its importance, he commanded double canoes to be prepared and in due time to depart for Samoa, and he himself would accompany them in person.

This was a great event for both peoples, and vast preparations were made before the king departed. Himself and his party left Vavau during the month of July, 1842. In addition to the deputation from Samoa and his own immediate attendants, he took with him ten more Tongan teachers and their families. They all arrived safely in Samoa, and were met with an enthusiastic welcome. The king resolved to see the state of the work with his own eyes, and he himself visited most of the chief towns and villages, and also opened three new places of worship. He attended a very large meeting of all the ruling Samoan chiefs, and a vast concourse of other natives, who met on the island of Manono. Seldom had ever so great an assembly been seen before on the island, and perhaps never for purposes of peace. This was a time of joy.

Methodism had now reached its highest altitude in Samoa, both in numbers and in popularity, if not in spiritual life and power. As usual, on such occasions, there was a great deal of speech-making, but the proceedings took a remarkably solemn turn. With the seriousness of strong-willed religious covenanters, and with a forest of uplifted hands, this vast assembly took a solemn oath to maintain to death the Wesleyan Methodist religion, and to continue it in the same form in which Mr. Peter Turner left it. These things strongly impressed the king in their favour, and after a few weeks' stay in Samoa, he returned to the Friendly Islands. When he reached home he addressed a letter to the Wesleyan Missionary Committee, London, which concludes with the following earnest request: "And now I must earnestly beg and beseech you, dear fathers, whom we greatly love, that you will at length untie the words that you have spoken, and again send your missionaries to Samoa. The friends in England are not able to change the minds of the people of Samoa or Tonga, as to what religion they shall be of."* The Committee could not entertain the king's request or change their purpose.

During the next five years the work was in the hands of Tongan teachers, who were not fully equal to the position which they had assumed, yet they did the best they could do under the circumstances. If they had only kept themselves entirely free from political meddling they would have made Methodism the religion of Samoa, and it would have been an utter waste of men, money, and time for the missionaries of the London Missionary Society to have remained in the group. But Benjamin Latuselu became a political meddler, and joined himself to a political party, and gave such offence by it to the Methodists on Upolu that hundreds of them forsook him and united themselves either to the London Missionary Society, or to the Roman Catholic priests. A tribal war, also, which broke out in 1847-8, above five years from the time of the king's visit, made matters still worse. From this time the fate of Methodism was sealed. It now rapidly declined, and was soon outstripped and overcast by the kindred society. The war brought out again the heathen abominations. The dancing

*See the Letter in Tonga, by S. S. Farmer, 284.

houses were nightly filled again, and the Methodist places of worship on Upolu became empty, and finally, either fell into the hands of the London Society's missionaries, or perished with only few exceptions. On Manono, the London Society got one of the Wesleyan churches, and the other was now closed until the year 1857. On Savaii the falling away was not so general, but in the eastward island of Tutuila, Methodism fell into contempt, and was proscribed by the chiefs, and burnt out of the place; one of the churches being by order burnt to the ground.

Rev. John Thomas Revives the Question.

It was during this decay and rapid decline that the Rev. John Thomas, missionary from the Friendly Islands, unfortunately revived the question of the Wesleyan Missionary Society again resuming their mission in Samoa. About twelve years after King George's visit, and sixteen years since the withdrawal of Messrs. P. Turner and M. Wilson, this was done by Mr. Thomas at a breakfast meeting, held in the schoolroom of York-street Chapel, Sydney, on the 8th June, 1855. His address on that occasion and his statements awoke a deep sympathy for Samoan Methodists. A petition was drawn up and active measures were taken towards resuming the mission.

The First Step.

Under date of 8th June, 1855, the Rev. R. Mansfield wrote to the Secretary of Wesleyan Executive Missionary Committee, Sydney:—"At the request of the breakfast-meeting held this morning in the schoolroom of York-street Chapel, I have the pleasure of conveying to you the unanimous request of the meeting, that the Missionary Committee will be pleased to take into their consideration the expediency of pledging itself, in the event of that course being pursued, to provide the requisite pecuniary means; and with the view of ascertaining the present state of things in that group (Samoā) in relation to the missionary work, the meeting expressed a wish that the Committee would give instructions for an early visit to be paid there by the *John Wesley*."

In accordance with this request, which was considered at a meeting of the Executive Committee, held 13th June, 1855, it was resolved:—"That the Rev. John Thomas and Benjamin Latuselu be authorised to visit Navigators' Islands, in order to ascertain the state of affairs in those islands; this visit to be made in connection with the usual trip of the *John Wesley* to Niua (Tobutabu) and Niua Foou, and that the Rev. Mr. Thomas be required to furnish full and documentary evidence of what he shall find to be the present state of our people in that group."

It was further resolved:—"That the President of the Australasian Conference be requested to inform the Rev. Dr. Ross of the resolution of this meeting relating to Samoa, and also of the circumstances that have led to its adoption on the part of this Committee."*

The President's Letter.

The President justified the action of the Committee, and wrote as follows:—

"The object of the Committee in thus authorising the *John Wesley* to visit the Samoan group is to ascertain by the personal enquiry of parties upon whom we can rely, the present condition of a large number of professing Christians, who are represented as remaining disconnected with the London Society's missionaries, and consequently exposed to evil influences from Popish agents, &c.

"We naturally feel for those who, by a mistake on the part of the Wesleyan Committee in London, have been so much annoyed as to lead them to take so extreme a course, and should the reports made to us from various quarters be verified by the results of this visit, it will be a serious question with us whether we are not bound to receive them under our care, to prevent greater evils befalling them. It will scarcely be necessary for me to assure you that the Committee, as well as those numerous friends who have impelled the Committee to move in this matter, are entirely free from sectarian influence. Considering the extent of the work and the limited capacity of our means, both as it respects money and

*Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, 13th June, 1855.

men, it is a matter of annoyance to us that our attention should have to be directed to a field of labour which had before been fully occupied by the members of a kindred society. But still we could not refuse to enquire into the truth of certain representations which seemed to reflect upon our fidelity to a large number of professing Christians, the fruits of the labours of our missionaries, and who from no fault of theirs, have, by an act of ours, been deprived of the advantage of a regular ministry in connection with the church which they prefer."

*The Reply of Revs. Messrs. Mills and
Sunderland.*

The Revs. Messrs. Mills and Sunderland, missionaries of the London Missionary Society of Samoa, having received from Dr. Ross, the President's letter for their remarks upon it, now sent their reply to the Executive Committee; which, omitting the repetition of the letter and an expression of their surprise, &c., runs as follows:—

"Considering that a sacred agreement was entered into by the missionaries of the respective societies, and confirmed by the board of Directors, in London, presiding over the affairs of such societies, to the effect that they should not encroach on each other's fields of labour, thereby to cause a waste of men and means; we deem it neither honourable nor Christian for any local committee nor any part of their agents to violate such agreement without first apprising the Directors in London. If it be said that the Wesleyan body existing in Sydney is no longer connected with the body of Directors in England, we reply that the original agreement is no less binding, and that there are hundreds of islands in the Pacific where they might profitably carry on missionary operations without wasting their energies on a field already efficiently occupied.

"That the London Missionary Society has most sacredly adhered to the terms of the agreement above referred to, that they have at an enormous expense kept their missions in a state of efficiency which will bear comparison with that of any other society in the North or South Pacific, that they withdrew their native teachers from Rotumah, in order that the Wesleyan missionaries might occupy it

and take charge of the body of converts we left there, and we cannot but lament that that island has been much neglected, yet we have avoided encroaching on that or any other fields occupied by the Wesleyan Missionary Society; that the missionaries of the London Missionary Society have always acted on this honourable principle towards not only the Wesleyan but all kindred societies, that having in our mission men belonging to various sections of the Christian Church, Congregationalists, Episcopalians and Presbyterians, we have no sectarian views to promote, but the Gospel of Jesus Christ alone to establish.

“That any keeping back for a time of any parties in Samoa from uniting with our mission has been owing entirely to the way in which the missionaries of Tonga have tampered with old converts; such converts have been told by the native Tongan teachers that the agreement existing between the respective societies would not be permanently binding; that they might expect European Wesleyan missionaries; that the fact was that the Rev. John Thomas was going to England to arrange the matter.

“We would especially mention, also, that we considered it far from honest that Latuselu, ordained a native missionary to occupy Niuafouu, according to published report, should have been sent to Samoa to labour, thus keeping up a spirit of dissension. We consider his mode of baptising, calling together whole districts, receiving property for performing the rite, highly injurious.

“Notwithstanding all these efforts, the natives, seeing the advantages to be enjoyed by coming under the instructions of the missionaries of the London Missionary Society, united with us, except a party kept back by political motives and family connections, and know no distinction, but as to the truths of the Gospel, they have as a body quite sufficient to preserve them, by the divine blessing, from deadly errors.

“That, considering the wants of the heathen world, the numerous islands destitute of the Gospel and waiting to receive it, the very limited means at the disposal of the whole Church of Christ, the very inadequate way in which the islands are occupied, not only by the Wesleyan Society at Tonga and Fiji, but by ourselves at the New Hebrides, we cannot but lament that the Australian Executive Committee should for a moment think of

spending means on a field which, considering the wants of the world, is already amply supplied.

“There is a population of 33,000 in the Navigators’ group, and to meet their necessities we have fourteen missionaries, a large staff of native teachers, a printing establishment, kept up at a great expense, an institution for the training of a native ministry to meet the growing demands of the islands for religious instruction, the whole Bible translated and printed at the expense of many thousands of pounds, to say nothing of the best energies of the missionary staff having been employed upon that great work for a period of eighteen or nineteen years.

“Looking at these facts, does it seem wise or just for the Wesleyan Society to come into collision with another kindred society in a comparatively small group of islands, when so much is needing to be done elsewhere, and when, after all, we are not so much concerned for the advancement of our peculiarities, but the Gospel of our common Lord and Master.

“We are not aware that the withdrawal of the Wesleyan missionaries has led in any case to conversions to popery, that any persons who have joined them have done so altogether apart from religious motives. Popery will not flourish where the people are so abundantly supplied with the Word of God, and taught how to read it. It has ever been our principle to occupy as much ground as we could, but not more than we could effectively occupy.”

The Executive Committee's Rejoinder.

On 16th January, 1856, the Executive Committee of the Australasian Wesleyan Missionary Society addressed a letter to the Rev. Dr. Ross (agent for the London Missionary Society,) from which we make the following extracts:—

“1. Into the general question of the propriety of the agreement entered into by the Committees of the London and Wesleyan Missionary Societies some time sixteen years ago, it is needless for us to enter at large. Neither of the Committees were aware at the time of *all* the case before them. The parties principally affected, and whose views ought to have been consulted, had nothing

to do with that agreement, they never consented to it, and have all along, and up to this present time protested, and yet protest against its validity. A compact between two parties affecting the rights of a third party which declines to accede cannot be defended by intelligent liberal men as either legally, honourably, or morally binding. Our Congregational friends, taking as they do high ground in opposition to any merely human intervention in matters of religious belief or church polity, are bound to sympathise with the discarded Wesleyans of Samoa, whose religious sympathies and liberty of choice have been sacrificed to the consideration of two missionary societies in England. They will surely admit that churches and church members have sacred rights with which no power, civil or ecclesiastical, ought to interfere. This opinion, in reference to this very case, has been repeatedly expressed by many eminent ministers and laymen in England connected with the London Missionary Society, and is a complete justification of our re-opening this vexed question.

“2. Whether the Samoans are intellectually and spiritually competent to form opinions for themselves, and to exercise this liberty of choice, which all admit to be the spiritual birthright of European Christians, is a question which appears to be easily settled. If they are so far enlightened and influenced as to see the truth, and feel in some measure the power of Christianity, they have to that extent given proof of the possession of mental faculties and moral feelings which, however inferior *in degree* to those possessed by more matured Christian communities, are yet *in principle* the same, and entitle them to an equal degree of respectful consideration from all the churches of Christendom.

“No body of men in England, or elsewhere, have any right to decide upon the section of the Christian Church to which the Samoans, or any portion of them shall attach themselves.

“3. We assert, with confidence, that the indisposition of the Wesleyans in Samoa arises from no *interference*, direct or indirect, on the part of our missionaries in Tonga. The charge of ‘tampering with old converts,’ &c., is an uncharitable one, accompanied as it is by no proof, except a statement that certain ‘native teachers’ from Tonga have mistaken their wishes for facts, and

have indulged in anticipations natural to men in their position, while feeling so deeply the injustice of their abandonment.

“We have no fault to find with the missionaries of the London Missionary Society in Samoa, but rejoice in their successful and arduous labours, with which we have no desire to interfere. We are aware that it is no fault of theirs, but to ‘political motives and family connections’ (to quote the letter of Messrs. Mills and Sunderland) that a large number of the Samoans yet refuse to unite with the London Missionary Society. We regret this, but as the state of things exists, and is likely to continue, and will probably produce yet greater evil results, both spiritually and politically, to the Samoan people, it becomes a serious question of no small practical importance—involving as it does great responsibilities—as to the means which should be adopted by the London and Wesleyan Missionary Societies to remedy the mischief which has been done.

“4. Having already for sixteen years endeavoured to compel the Wesleyans of Samoa to forego their connection with the Tonga missionaries, and having completely failed in this effort, it is useless to persevere. We cannot prevent native Tonguese teachers and local preachers from labouring in Samoa; at present they are uncontrolled by any European missionary, and are in danger of being influenced by local prejudices and partisan feelings.

“If it be an evil to have Wesleyan European missionaries labouring in Samoa, it is not a less evil to have these native teachers without guides and directors. But we cannot think that our brethren of the London Missionary Society, can seriously regard the presence of one or more of our missionaries in Samoa as an evil. Surely if, in the London Society’s Mission, men labour together, ‘belonging to the various sections of the Christian Church—Congregationalists, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians,’ the addition of a Wesleyan will equally harmonise with this most liberal and unsectarian arrangement.

“5. With respect to the bearing of the arrangement between the two societies upon the islands of Rotumah and Fiji, we have no wish to interdict the missionaries of the London Missionary Society from entering these fields of labour.

“There are several positions in Fiji which we should rejoice to see occupied by our brethren of that society, and we should be glad to give them the benefit of our experience, books, &c., in carrying on their labours.

“6. In conclusion, we trust that our brethren of the London Missionary Society will admit that, as a Church, we cannot but feel deeply for our Wesleyans in Samoa. However inferior in knowledge they may be to the members of European churches, they are to us the ‘little ones’ whom our Saviour cautions us ‘not to offend,’ *i.e.*, to cause to offend. We fear that by our mistake they have been caused to err from the right way. Sectarian motives are out of the question. There are other fields far more inviting than Samoa, and nothing but a pressing sense of duty towards a remnant of our own Church, in danger of being lost to our common Christianity, would induce us to entertain the question of a mission to these islands.”

The deliberations of the general Wesleyan Missionary Committee upon the question, now terminated in their final determination to resume the Samoan mission. At their meeting held in Melbourne, 1st February, 1856, they resolved:—

“That in the opinion of this meeting, the arrangements made in the year 1837, between the London and the Wesleyan Missionary Societies, to leave the Navigators’ group entirely under the charge of the London Missionary Society have not answered the end originally designed, and learning from the report of the Rev. John Thomas’ recent visit to Samoa that serious evils have occurred, and are likely to be perpetuated and aggravated, if Wesleyan missionaries are not immediately sent to meet the wants and wishes of the Wesleyan Societies residing in these islands, this meeting recommends that a missionary shall, as soon as possible, be appointed, and that the reasons of this decision shall be forwarded to the Committee of the London and Wesleyan Missionary Societies.”

This resolution was adopted by the Australasian Conference. The mission was resumed solely and only by this Conference. The British Conference is wholly irresponsible concerning it. We fully endorse the conjecture that, “in all probability, if the direction of the Polynesian missions had still remained at Centenary Hall, our Mis-

sionary Society would have felt bound to adhere to the understanding come to with Mr. Williams."

Having now placed before our reader the chief and only important facts of this mission's vexed question, and having supplied what has been urged on both sides of the question, an impartial person will be prepared to form his own judgment concerning it. But if possible we wish to put it in a better light, that it may be manifest to all the churches that the Australian Wesleyan Methodists have acted honourably and in harmony with all Christian principle and New Testament precept, but very unwisely and unnecessarily, in again resuming this mission.

First, then, concerning the original agreement, which is used as the battering ram against the Wesleyans, we ask, was it in any degree binding upon the *Australian Conference*? We think not. No one can, or will, deny the principle of honour involved in it, namely, that *the parties or Committees who made it, were bound, most conscientiously, to keep it so long as they remained in power to do so, and they were faithful, and have left their names without a single stain in connection with it.* But were their successors in office bound to keep it? *If they approved of it, but otherwise, they were certainly not bound to keep it.* Would any church or corporate body cede such a power to any Committee of infallibly deciding for their successors the policy which they shall adopt in future time? Who besides a pope would assume such a power? The Wesleyan Missionary Committee and the British Conference arrogate no such authority. Though it may be certain that they would, in ages to come, have most faithfully kept the agreement and never have sent a Wesleyan Missionary to Samoa after 1837, yet why so? Because they approved of the compact. But if they had not approved of it, what then? Their predecessors had sworn to their own hurt and changed not. This was praiseworthy. But were they bound not to change who had not sworn? And then if Samoa were to pass into the power of another Conference and another Missionary Committee that had taken no part in the agreement but utterly disapproved of it, then by what law, human or divine, were they still bound to observe the compact? Are the covenants of our forefathers everlasting and unalterable? Who then will still contend

that the Australian Conference was to be tied by all the details of arrangements made many years before by the British Conference, and made by mistake concerning Samoa.

But if the Australian Conference could honourably resume the mission, we ask, secondly, was its resumption in any way necessary? The Conference thought so, but the missionaries of the London Missionary Society saw no necessity. The former believed that "A remnant of our own Church was in danger of being lost to our common Christianity, and that serious evils had occurred, and were likely to be perpetuated and aggravated, if Wesleyan missionaries were not immediately sent." They believed, further, that the attempt which had been made by the London Missionary Society to draw the abandoned Wesleyans into connection with themselves had "completely failed."

In 1852, the latter held an exactly opposite opinion and give the following reasons for it. They record that "on some of our (London Missionary Society) stations, the former adherents of the Wesleyans have come over to us as a whole; in others, some villages have joined us; and in some, individuals. But we have every reason to conclude that at no distant day few of those who now stand aloof from us will continue to do so."

Now, concerning this, we can easily narrow the question to a point if we can ascertain the true condition of the Samoan Methodists in 1856. What then was their condition at that time? Let this question be candidly and fairly answered, and it will then appear whether there was or was not a necessity for again sending them Wesleyan missionaries. All our information of it on the one part comes from the Rev. John Thomas, and on the other from the agents of the London Missionary Society.

Rev. John Thomas.

Our first witness, whose representations alone guided the Australian Conference in their decision, was every way worthy of confidence and trust, as a conscientious and faithful witness of what he had seen and heard in Samoa. Further, he, having been specially sent as a deputation to Samoa, would be scrupulously careful not

to mislead the Conference. But what he had heard might be untrue, and appearances among Samoans are as delusive as the desert mirage. What were his opportunities of knowing the state of the Samoan Methodists? Should not this question be candidly answered? We think it should.

1st. He was not acquainted with the Samoan language. He knew the Tongan tongue, but Samoans do not understand it, nor could he understand them, and, therefore, he obtained all his information about their state in 1855 through interpreters.

2ndly. His interpreters were not Europeans, but natives, who knew both Tongan and Samoan, and who, apart from an incurable tendency to exaggeration, were strongly prejudiced in favour of resuming the mission, and who would, unconsciously, highly colour all they said on the subject.

3rdly. His own observations were made in the group during a visit of the *John Wesley*, in the year 1855, and were crowded within a few days, were made very hurriedly, were comparatively local, and much too superficial to become safe data for the *only* guidance of the Committee. He could very easily have made inquiries, and have obtained very valuable information from the European missionaries then living in the group, but he refrained from doing this.

Samoan Missionaries.

Our second band of witnesses had much better opportunities for knowing the facts of the case. They wrote and spoke the Samoan language; they dwelt among the people, and were well acquainted with them; that is, the majority of them, for they seldom held intercourse with the Wesleyan Methodists, and probably never preached to them. Concerning these, we are compelled to admit their testimony with caution, and to discount most of their depreciatory remarks. Everything pertaining to the poor Tongan teachers is unfortunately tainted and disagreeable to their senses. We can safely rely upon their census and numerical returns of Methodists. Such, then, are our guides in the present maze.

We accept the census of Samoan Methodists from the London Missionary Society's missionaries. In 1855 they "had dwindled down to three or four thousand." This was a reduction of ten thousand in sixteen years. In the year 1858 the writer carefully counted them in each village family by family, and found 2445 adults and children, or not quite one-twelfth of the number of adherents to the London Missionary Society, or one-thirteenth of the whole population. Four hundred of these professed to be members of the Methodist Church in 1857, and not quite so many in 1855. These were "a remnant of our own Church." Now, if Wesleyan missionaries had not been sent to them, would they have been endangered, and the Methodist Church have been found guilty of neglected duty? We think not. But, to make the most of it, there was only a weak necessity for resuming the mission, and though it certainly was a just and right act before God, as it was truly honourable in the sight of man, on the representations which Mr. Thomas made to the Committee, yet it was inexpedient and impolitic, notwithstanding the fact that such a course was taken in order to save a remnant of the wreck of one of the best of Methodist missions.

It may have been magnanimous to have foregone the praise of a kindred church in order to do good to two or three thousand Samoans, but were all the certain effects of this line of action duly considered? Was it overlooked that, in consequence of the opinions and strong feelings of the missionaries of the London Missionary Society against the return of Wesleyan missionaries and teachers to Samoa, they would offer the utmost opposition to such a measure? They would ignore the resumed mission and would remonstrate and protest against it, and, indeed, do everything which was possible in a Christian society to do to another in condemnation of its acts. Was it expedient with a feeble necessity, if any, to provoke such results in a great and honoured branch of the Church of Christ?

Then Samoans dwell in small villages, few or none of which exceed 400 inhabitants, but often much less, and as subsequent facts have shown, they have become divided between the two societies, and have thus induced an interminable harshness in the working of the two missions.

Was it expedient thus to divide semi-civilised small villages by mission agency? Even allowing what is extremely doubtful that one in a hundred natives knew, in 1855, any but unimportant and trivial distinctions between the London Society and Wesleyan Methodism.

Further, was it expedient to incur a duality of agency and expenditure, which the Church of Christ can ill afford, for her missions to the heathen?

Finally, the two or three thousand Methodists in Samoa, in 1855, were very widely scattered along a line of two or three hundred miles of coast, and dwelt in villages, where, with only a few exceptions, they were within a few minutes' walk from the regular services of the London Missionary Society. So far was one Methodist family from another, and one Methodist village from another, that long and dangerous voyaging was necessary from any station in the group, in order to reach the people who were, on the other hand, in every case, conveniently near to a station of the London missionaries. Now, unless we assume that Methodist agency is not only superior to any other, which as Methodists we harmlessly believe, but, also, that in this case it was absolutely indispensable; then why not have left the three thousand *nominal* adherents to us to be finally, as they were being certainly, absorbed by the London Missionary Society, whose missionaries and native pastors could have done all the work so easily, so willingly, and so well. And even now, though the difficulties have been increased, and there are 4800 Wesleyans scattered among about 28,000 of the other society, yet the former could be honourably and successfully united to the latter, and thus two of our missionaries and a band of native teachers would be released from Samoa, and prepared for work in New Guinea and other islands, which would yield abundant satisfaction to the churches, and much greater honour and profit to our own, and greater gain to the kingdom of God.

Revised in 1857, and Subsequent History.

However inexpedient, and whatever fragile and doubtful assumptions underlay the necessity of Wesleyan missionaries then returning to Samoa, or of continuing their

operations in the group, we distinctly repeat that they have neither broken nor are they breaking through any New Testament principle by doing so; but the resumption of the mission was a strictly just and honourable act. The way was taken and the mission was revived, and we now purpose to sketch its history from the time the writer was drawn into connection with it until he was removed from it by the Conference in the year 1865.

In 1854 the Wesleyan Church, "embracing the missions in the Australian Colonies, New Zealand, and Polynesia," was constituted a distinct and affiliated connexion by the British Conference, "*with free action and self support.*" The new Conference being thus left "*with free action,*" and no longer bound either by law or honour to the London Committee's agreement touching Samoa, resolved to use its freedom. It had full and perfect confidence in the representations of the Rev. John Thomas, which, both to himself and the Conference, appeared to be quite correct, and to harmonise fully with the state of the abandoned Methodists of 1839; and the Conference also believed that the Williams' policy, however excellent in theory, had neither worked well, nor could ever be made to work in this case, and, therefore, it resolved that the policy should be discarded, and the Methodist mission be resumed. Samoa, accordingly, was received on the Conference minutes of 1856, and reconstituted a Wesleyan Methodist Mission Circuit.

The report of the action of Conference was received in Tonga with great satisfaction by Mr. Thomas, the chairman of that district, and measures were forthwith adopted by the missionaries in connection with him towards carrying it out. Soon after their annual District Meeting in 1856 they procured seven of their choicest Tongan teachers, and sent them to Samoa, with the tidings that they would be shortly followed by a missionary. They arrived on Manono in the beginning of 1857, and very quickly spread themselves over Savaii, Manono, and Upolu.

How they Found the Methodists.

They found the Methodists had either, on the one hand, sunk back to spiritual death, yet not to idolatry,

or, on the other hand, they had become absorbed by the London Missionary Society. The teachers claimed all, and sought alike with zeal to bring back the latter and the former to their communion. The three thousand Methodists, however, found them an abundance of work. These had in a few places retained an empty form of public worship, but all religious restraints were removed, and iniquity abounded. Savaii was a moral swamp. The natives on the south coast of that island, where most of the Methodists were then found, were debased and ignorant to a proverb.

Methodism had been swept entirely away from the eastward islands, Tutuila and Manua. The London Missionary Society there dwelt alone, under the shadow of their own name. On the large and most important island, Upolu, Wesleyanism flickered in the socket. In a hundred villages its light was out. One family in Salani and 200 souls in Tiavea were the only Methodists among the thousands of natives in Atua. Mulivai was the only Wesleyan village in populous Tuamasaga. And there were not more than fifty adult nominal Methodists in the whole of Aana. Only a few were left in one village on Manono, and not one on the isle of Apolima.

The teachers were pious and earnest men, but they knew nothing of the rights of other evangelical churches, and, therefore, acknowledged none. There was as much joy in their presence over a convert from the London Missionary Society, as from popery or heathenism. They had one voice, and it was for Methodism; but this is not to be wondered at, for they, themselves, owed everything to it under God. Their zeal was a flame, but, while it was unguarded, and even after it was restricted from proselytism by their own missionaries, it consumed, rather than benefited, the work of the London Society, and many were induced to turn back to Methodism; so that in two years from 2400, the number of Wesleyans gained from the London Missionary Society, increased to 4800, and in 1863, had crept up to 5000. They remained at this number until the year 1869, when they fell to 4700, and have continued about the same, with little variation to the present time (1875.)

How these truly pious and earnest teachers did their work will appear below. On Manono they commenced

divine service in a Wesleyan place of worship, at Saleia-
taua, which had not been used for that purpose for
several years previously. This church and another at
Salua on the same isle were built by Latusele since the
withdrawal of the Revs. Messrs. Turner and Wilson.
At Salua all the natives had turned to the London
Society, and the church had passed into the hands of
that society's missionaries. But one of the Tongan
teachers communicated with the chiefs of Salua, and won
them over to himself and his cause, and they forthwith
gave him authority to take possession of the church. He
boldly acted on their authority, and all those who chose
to remain in connection with that society gave up the
church to him and very soon built another for themselves.

An old chief at Fasitoouta, Upolu, was induced to
return to Methodism, and, in his village, another Tongan
teacher formed the sprout of a branch where it had
entirely withered away. Another chief, at Salani, had
steadfastly held fast to his original "lotu," and around
him a third Tongan teacher soon collected new converts
from the London Society. He also won over an entire
village in Falealili, called Malaemalu, which until then
had been divided between the Roman Catholics and the
London Society. A Christian Tongan, who had married
a Samoan woman, was summarily called out by his
brethren, and sent as a teacher to Safata. He fixed his
station at Fusi, where Methodism was extinct, but by
persuasion he soon won over a chief and a few others.
Tiavea, mentioned above, was taken up by a Samoan
teacher. And two villages in Lefaga retained a few
people who had held fast their "lotu" until now, and
regular Wesleyan services were appointed for them.

The field was larger on Savaii. In the four villages of
Satupaitea, where public worship had become a solemn
caricature of religious ordinances, and where the London
Society had been carefully shut out, another teacher did
good work by re-establishing seemly services. He also
re-opened a large church at Palauli, and here gathered in
a small congregation. This church was afterwards burnt
to the ground by H.M.S. *Cordelia*, in a little trouble
with the natives. Six miles from Satupaitea, at Tufu,
there was another small church where a Samoan, who
knew a little Tongan, held a kind of religious service ;

but in everything, except the name, this village was heathen. Another Tongan teacher was located still further westward, in the midst of Methodists in the Sagone branch, where the light had indeed become darkness. He gathered together in this neighbourhood a few who had been formerly local preachers, and appointed their work, and re-opened six preaching places. Still further westward, and around to the north coast of this island, another teacher had commenced regular services in five villages before the end of 1857. Proceeding eastward on the north coast, and about twenty miles further, other teachers collected around them about 300 Methodists from Sasina to Salago, and commenced regular services in four or five places of worship. On the east coast, the last place where Wesleyans were found, there was another teacher sent who assembled together about 300 more. These very excellent men, as such they certainly were, laboured with unwearied diligence and zeal. Nothing was wanting on their part in the revival of the dying embers, and if Methodism did not return to its former numerical strength and glory in the group it was not their fault.

Our Arrival on Manono.

Such was the state of the work in its general outline, when on the 8th of September, 1857, the Rev. Thomas Adams, as deputation, and ourselves arrived on Manono, with another band of four Tongan teachers, by the *John Wesley*. The Friendly Islands' District Meeting, held at Lifuka, Haabai, had finally and unanimously resolved on 10th August previously, that we should be appointed to this work.

Our reception by the natives of Manono was remarkable. To ourselves it was as disagreeable as it was wild. "A more heathenish looking lot I have not seen even in Fiji," said the captain of the brig. Naked to their shame, for they trouble little about clothing in their boats, and top-heavy with hair a foot long, and bristly as that of a swine, our new friends collected in crowds to look at their missionary and his wife. We knew not, as a matter of course, a word of Samoan. This rendered their vociferous clamor most intolerable jabber.

Before we had left the brig we were offered our choice, through an interpreter, of any house in Saleiataua, the chief village on the island. In our simplicity we believed the natives, but on coming ashore we were glad to creep into an old hovel no better than a Tongan boat-house. The brilliant reports of the Methodism of Samoa might fit the year 1839, but they certainly were untrue of 1857. We soon discovered that we were illuded and balked by the natives. No attempt was made for several weeks to provide us even with the shell of a house to live in, so we made the best of the wretched place which was lent to us. If we had just arrived in a land of barbarians, whose cries and tears had never been shed for the Wesleyan missionary, then we should have gloried in such privations for Christ's sake; we should have expected nothing better. Our missionaries are prepared for such indifference from heathen tribes; but it was, in our case, intolerably galling to find ourselves the victims of odious Samoan hypocrisy and guile. Instead of a few thousand Methodists and Christian people, as we were led to expect to find, whose preferences for our church agencies deserved our respect and sympathy, we found that a few chiefs had sent for us; the ring-leader of them (Leiataualesa) belonging to the London Missionary Society, and who only became Wesleyan after our arrival. This chief and others had sent for us from motives the most mercenary and contemptible, which they were not ashamed to confess to us afterwards. One only reason, a stray ray of hope, reconciled us to our newly appointed work at this time. We fully believed that God would teach us some important lesson by it, and overrule the well meant action of our church for good, though we seemed to have erred egregiously in returning to Samoa. Then further, there was manifestly work enough for a missionary whose whole object was to bring men to repentance, and from the kingdom of darkness into the kingdom of God.

A miserable ten years' war in the group was only just ended. The fear of God had been banished by the multitude. The people had become dissipated, and their habits had become loose and irregular. Their moral condition was low, and vice abounded. Until we had been on Manono several months, and had begun to preach to them in their own language, they held publicly every night

what is called the "Poula"—night-dance, a prolific parent of sensuality, which was attended by crowds of spectators. Many of the members of the London Society had fallen away from the church through the war, and our remnant of the people had sunk back to open heathen vices.

Such was the condition of the natives among whom our deputation, Rev. Thos. Adams, left us, until the return of the *John Wesley* in twelve months from that time. He had waited upon a few of the missionaries on Upolu, and had apprised them of our arrival and the object of our return to Samoa. They made no secret of their united and utter aversion to it, and wrote a month afterwards concerning our mission vessel:—"We hoped that those who direct the movements of that vessel would see that the repetition of her visits to Samoa would be only a waste of the Church's time and resources."* Mr. Adams did not change our plan, but endeavoured to establish a friendly relationship with the missionaries, and also finally determined to recommence our own mission, and left us to carry out, among other instructions, the following sensible arrangements:—

First. The Methodists should cease to use Mr. Peter Turner's version of portions of the Scriptures, and should accept of the one which had recently been issued by the London Society.

Secondly. No native teacher should conduct divine service in any village at the same time when a missionary of either society was doing so.

Thirdly. There should be a mutual recognition by both societies of the status of their Church members.

Which Bible should be used.

The first of these arrangements only affected the Methodists and their own missionaries, but we found a little difficulty in making this change. Mr. Turner had translated thirteen chapters of Matthew, which were printed in twenty months from the time of his arrival in Samoa, and were necessarily very imperfect. He had also translated eleven chapters more of the same Gospel, and subsequently, also, the whole of the Gospel by John, the Acts of the Apostles, the Book of Genesis, and part of

*Samoan Reporter, October, 1857.

the Psalms, &c.* But these last were not in the hands of the people when we arrived amongst them. The half of the Gospel by Matthew in Samoan, and the Bible in the Tongan language (and not more than two or three Samoans could read the latter) were their only and the whole of their authentic Scriptures. They accounted the Bible of the London Society apocryphal. They neither used nor possessed it. This might partly arise from the utter dissimilarity of the two versions of Matthew. To select only one illustration, we give the following as a specimen of Matthew xiii. 55:—

Mr. P. Turner's—

“Na oo o faapea ua uma le gaasi faataoto a Jisu, na alu ia i ai.”

London Society's—

“Ua faaiu e Iesu nei faataoto, ona maliu ese ai lea o ia i lea mea.”

It is not necessary to add that the latter translation is intelligible to any Samoan who can read and understand his own language. In the two translations even the names of our Lord were quite different. The natives were finally led to adopt and use the London Society's version in all our services, since we unhesitatingly did so, and assured them that no attempt would be made to provide a Methodist Bible for them.

The second arrangement met with only a small and feeble opposition from our own teachers, and, with the exception of one village, Safotu, on Savaii, it was fully carried out within a few months.

The last recommendation of the three was caught at first in the thicket. We had no scruples about receiving the members of the London Society to the Lord's table, as they were moral in their outward conduct; but our members were not officially recognised at their communion, nor allowed to communicate with them, with only one or two exceptions, until after September, 1859.† The London Society's missionaries, who often retain their people as probationers for two or more years, were very slow to admit that our new converts could be fit for the Lord's table in one short year, the time we kept our Samoan members on trial. Our fully accredited members in one

*Wesleyan Chronicle, No. 2, Vol. IV.

†See page 71.

district on Upolu complained to us once and again of having been refused the elements of bread and wine (or cocoa-nut water, which some of the missionaries used instead of wine,) and were merely allowed to be present as spectators.

Whose Samoan Hymns should be used.

An entire change was made by us in the hymnic part of our services. Mr. Turner's collection of hymns was very small, and, no doubt, had served a good purpose in the commencement of the mission; but we could not overlook its necessary imperfections of language, and were obliged to let it fall into disuse. The London Society's collection was the united labour of several missionaries, who wrote and spoke the language correctly, having now been many years in the islands, and one of them was a somewhat gifted hymnist. Their collection, also, had been prepared and revised with great care, was evangelical in sentiment, giving great prominence to the leading doctrines of the Gospel, and the hymns breathed the spirit of true devotion. We resolved, without hesitation, to use them in all our services, and have no reason for regretting this act. About twelve years afterwards our (Wesleyan) missionaries made and published a new hymn book, containing 132 hymns, equal, if not superior to the book in use, and which has displaced it in our Samoan churches.

With our introduction of the London Society's Bible and hymns, we determined to have all Samoanised foreign names read and pronounced as they were printed. The phylacteries of a Jew were not more manifest than was the phraseology of a Samoan Methodist. He would call Christ "Alaisi," and Peter "Pita," but a person belonging to the London Society would call our Lord "Keriso," and Peter "Peteru"—the former following Mr. Turner and the ear, and the latter following the eye. Without fear of mistake the "lotu" phraseology of a Samoan could have been taken as certain proof of the religion to which he belonged. It was hard to give it up, but the Scriptures and hymns were required to be read as they were printed, and the same rule was enjoined in the use of Scripture names in preaching and prayer. Our people pronounced this to be utterly

anti-Methodist, and became alarmed, especially when we discontinued the "Taulotu" in public worship. This is the repetition of the Lord's Prayer by the whole congregation, a good custom, perhaps, but as it seemed to promote formality, we preferred and practised the repetition of the Lord's Prayer at public worship by the preacher alone. Our successors have restored the "Taulotu," and also introduced the custom of reading prayers at the Sunday morning service.

Though in everything of any importance we strictly adhered to Methodist usage and custom, if we except that of sitting during singing, yet in rejecting Mr. Turner's Gospel, hymns, names, and custom of "Taulotu," and not regarding Christmas-day and Good Friday as holy days, like the Sabbath, we defaced the pet marks of a Samoan Methodist, and our people exclaimed, "Methodism is no more," and the report spread among the islands. One Tongan brother came fully forty miles with the story, and to know what should be done. Prejudice took affright. Chiefs met and held consultation about it, and sent in to us their remonstrances. At one of these meetings the chiefs who were present procured a native to write for them the following letter, and sent it to us. It was dated 1st March, 1858, Salelologa, Savaii, and translated it runs as follows:—

"O Mr. Dyson, we, the chiefs and rulers of Salelologa, write this letter to you in order to inform you that we have brought our deliberations to an end. We are willing to accept of the Holy Scriptures (of the London Society,) and to read them, though we are poor in them. But, O Mr. Dyson, we have no sympathy with the '*Ituaiga*' (London Society,) whose customs you are introducing. We hold to the customs practised formerly by Mr. Turner. Our reason for this is that if we discontinue them then the missionaries of the London Society will write to Britain, saying that there is nothing left of Methodism in Samoa. O Mr. Dyson do forgive, but we beg of you to defer to us. We are troubled on account of your associating with the missionaries of the London Society. Mr. Turner did not so (associate with them) formerly, but every one held fast to the customs of his own '*lotu*.' These are our views about it."

And at that time several hundred adult Methodists, in Samoa, would have signed this letter. They supposed that they were now drifting into the common stream of the London Society, and their own rivulet would lose its peculiarities and flow unknown under a name which they abhorred. We waited a year in hope of conciliating the people, and in hope of the union of the two evangelical missions on the arrival of the Rev. John Thomas, by the *John Wesley*, in 1858. But, Mr. Thomas, the chairman of the Friendly Islands District would hear of no relinquishment of our mission.

We devoted most of the first few months of our residence on Manono to the study of the language, and commenced our public duties in the beginning of 1858. On Sunday, 31st January, we preached twice for the first time in Samoan, and to large congregations. From this day we held three weekly services in each of our two churches on Manono, with the help of our teacher. We got quick returns. The nightly obscene dance, a very miasma of vice, was put down in Saleiataua, in February, and had not been revived again when we left the town, about seven years afterwards. The other village on Manono, Salua, followed the good example a few months later. Our congregations usually comprised the whole population of these villages. Before the end of 1858, forty-five persons professed to have found Christ, and met in class. In 1859, the number increased to 109; forty of whom were now admitted as full church members. The following year there were 128 in class, seventy-six of whom were retained on trial for a year. The members continued to increase, but many of those who were received on trial, not unlike the "stony places" in the parable, produced only a semblance of fruit, and "because they had no root they withered away." There were twenty-eight on trial in 1861, and sixty-six church members. Since, then, we have maintained nearly the same numerical strength against the ordinary waste and decay. We sent out six young men from Manono as teachers, five of whom began to meet in class since 1857. Four other young men had become local preachers on the isle, and in 1865 were acceptable to the people. Six class leaders also during this period were appointed from our Manono members. "So then, neither is he that planteth any-

thing, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase."

Satupaitea, the seat of Samoan Methodism.

Savaii was mapped out into eight branches, all of which were, more or less, in the two or three districts of the London Society, and answered in some degree to our home circuits in the dioceses of the Anglican church. *Satupaitea* and two villages, Palauli and Tufu, east and west of it, formed the chief branch on this isle. Here, in the year 1858, we found several hundred nominal Methodists, and all of them were in a state of the utmost spiritual destitution, and the most deplorable darkness. Excepting the incomplete Gospel of Matthew, the Holy Scriptures were unknown to them. Only two children and a few adults could read. Two of the adults, who were now under the direction of the Tongan teachers as local preachers, had not a single leaf of the Scriptures in their own tongue, but managed to read and translate from the Tongan Bible. We found that nearly all those who were members when Messrs. Turner and Wilson left in 1839 had now cast off the form of godliness. But on the arrival of the teacher in the year 1857, he collected nearly 100 backsliders and formed them into classes, and in 1858 we admitted fifty more on trial, and also opened a new place of worship. Excepting Palauli and Tufu, there was scarcely a church building on the island now belonging to us which was worthy of the name. The ruins only were left of one in which Mr. Turner worshipped at *Satupaitea*. We had to build again from the foundation, and God was pleased to favour us.

In 1859 we received, after above twelve months' trial, sixty-six accredited church members, and left 148 on trial. We took this year their first contributions towards our missions, which amounted to £3 7s. 8d. in money, and also a quantity of oil. Barnabas Ahogalu was removed by us to this place, and commenced vigorous operations, and soon prepared the way for making *Satupaitea* a station for a missionary. He built a house on a suitable block of land, which was afterwards secured to our missionary society, and also erected dwellings for native

students, which were quickly occupied by fifteen youths, who formed the nucleus of a training institution. The cause, under his efficient management, continued to extend. In the year, 1860, within six miles of his residence, there were 970 regular attendants on public worship, and 249 persons meeting in class. Above 200 could now read the Bible in their own tongue, and the Satupaiteans sent £16 12s. that year to the general fund.

But the most important event of the year, not only for Satupaitea, but also for the Methodist mission in the group was the arrival, on the 30th October, of the Rev. George Brown. Two months afterwards he opened a large new church at Satupaitea, and preached his first sermon in Samoan on that occasion. From this time the Savaii Methodists claimed him as their missionary, and on 21st January, 1861, he and Mrs. Brown removed to Satupaitea, and our new missionary took the oversight of the work on Savaii. The influence of his labours soon became manifest among the people, and the evidence of this appeared in their increased liberality. The proceeds of their third missionary meeting amounted to £54 12s., and they gave £60 16s. the year following.

On this station the classes steadily advanced from year to year. In 1861 there were 139 members and ninety-eight on trial. The next year they had increased to 161 full members and eighty-four on trial, then in 1863 to 191 and ninety-eight on trial, and in 1864 to 246 full members and 106 on trial; thus showing that the work was no mere outburst of transient feeling, but one of the Holy Ghost. Eleven excellent men, also, were obtained from this branch, who became valuable native teachers and who were, in 1865, actively and honourably employed in the mission.

It will be seen that we have confined our remarks chiefly to Manono and Satupaitea, and as in most respects these two branches were counterparts of the remainder of our work, we submit them as samples of the rest. Let us, however, return to the year 1858, and review the general state of the Methodists throughout the group. We spent the months of April and May of that year in visiting and examining into their religious condition. With scarcely three exceptions we penetrated into every

village where any Wesleyans were to be found, and made their acquaintance by personal intercourse. We were charmed with their munificent hospitality and hearty welcome everywhere. Every possible expression of joy kindled into life. Every village kept holiday while we remained, and resounded with gleesome songs.

But we cannot speak so favourably of their religious life. Beneath the gay and merry welcome the people slept in spiritual death and darkness. Many of those who were now called by our name had chosen it and returned to us from open and undisguised hatred to the London Society on account of some offence or other, or from the lust of novelty. The Lord, however, wrought upon their minds conviction of sin, so that from them, and the original remnant of Methodists in the group, we gathered about 600 into church fellowship, and put them on trial a year. These were separated from the surrounding ruins and placed apart for our "spiritual house," which we now prepared to build.

Our materials were ready, and a band of Tongan workmen were at hand. It is true they were at work when we arrived, and had laboured with a burning zeal since the beginning of 1857, not only to bring sinners to Christ, but former Methodists also from the London Society. We firmly set our face against proselytism after our arrival, and any testimony to the contrary is not only reckless but absolutely false. Yet in several places on Upolu our teachers, without our knowledge, had opened a way and begun public worship and gathered congregations, which we could not and did not drive back to the London Society. Our teachers drove furiously along, and no marvel if they sometimes ran foul upon a quiet village to the dismay and alarm of unfriendly lookers on. They observed scarcely any order, and had no church government, but were merely a kind of flying column of preachers. The time, however, had now arrived for the introduction of law and system, and having become able to speak Samoan we convened a general meeting to be held on Manono.

The Reorganisation of the Mission.

The reorganisation of the mission was delayed a year for several reasons. First, we hoped to have had the

pleasure of effecting the union of the two evangelical missions in the group, and to have been reappointed to Tonga. Secondly, we delayed the reconstruction of the mission in order to become first personally acquainted with the Methodists in the group. And thirdly, that we might be able to converse with them in their own language. Our first hope was utterly dashed to the ground by Mr. Thomas, and, therefore, after his visit in 1858, we prepared our plan of action, and on the 4th October met the natives, who had assembled on Manono by special invitation.

Multitudes of chiefs and their attendants, from all parts of Upolu and Savaii, east and west, came in boats and canoes with the teachers and preachers. We first met the Tongan teachers alone, and subjected them to a close examination of their religious experience and abilities for their work. They could all read well, in both their native tongue and Samoan, and were well acquainted with the fundamental doctrines of our holy religion. Most of them, also, were manifestly sincere and earnest Christian men, and some of them an honour to our Tongan mission. It was not possible to know them without respecting and loving them for their consistent piety. Some of these good men are now beyond the reach of our praise—safe at home in heaven—but others still survive. Maika Tongia and Barnabas Ahogalu, who took part in the proceedings of the meeting, deserve in particular an honourable mention by us.

Maika Tongia.

Maika Tongia was born in Muitoa. This Tongan village and the isle of Haano, on which it is found in the Haabai group of the Friendly Islands, are not more thoroughly encompassed by the restless sea than were the friends and family of young Maika by the dark surges of heathenism. In his youth the probabilities of Maika's conversion were uncommonly faint and feeble. His father died a worshipper of Tuihaafohu, many years after Tonga had cast away her gods. When Maika was a child his little finger was cut off, and, dripping with blood, the stump was held to the god Havea, praying him to remove an affliction from the child's family. In

the midst of this heathen family the boy grew to a young man, "without God in the world." Heedless curiosity at length led him to attend a service which was being conducted by Peter Mafi, whose text was Matt. x. 26. The words were shot by the preacher at a venture, and Maika fell. He was "pricked to the heart." His sins were discovered to himself. Alarm and fear overwhelmed him. The sullen peace of night was past, and he awoke to righteousness. No subtle doubts interlaced his mind. He believed on Jesus as soon as he was instructed to do so, and entered without delay into the kingdom of God. Thirty years afterwards, and only a few days before his death, he said to us, "Since my first fellowship with Jesus Christ we have known no separation from each other, even to the present time." He fell asleep in Jesus on Manono, in 1865.

Barnabas Ahogalu.

Barnabas Ahogalu has been a member of the Samoan Methodist mission, with only a brief interruption, from the year 1835. He is a native of Vavau, the northern part of the Friendly Islands. When he first arrived in Samoa with Mr. Turner he was an ardent and earnest young convert. His piety was always sincere and clear. He was a firm and rugged brother, and, like a rock, he remained unchanged in storms. He is now (1875) sixty-five years of age, and is without a stain upon his character. In the year 1851, when imperative orders were sent to all Tongan teachers who might be still endeavouring to keep up Methodism in Samoa, that they should return home to the Friendly Islands, or, otherwise, peaceably join the London Society, he, together with all the rest of his brethren, obeyed his own missionaries. But while others chose to return to their native land, he, with a catholicity of spirit which is rare among his people, sacrificed his religious preferences, and left the Samoan Methodists and offered himself as a teacher to the London Society. But the change was not congenial to his heart, and after about two years he returned home to the Friendly Islands and to Methodism. He remained at Vavau, where he entered the mission school for training teachers, but only continued in it a short time.

On hearing of the resolution of the Australasian Conference concerning Samoa, in 1856, and finding that the dying cause would now be revived, he again offered his services for the Samoan work, and was re-appointed with other Tongan teachers who arrived in the group in the beginning of 1857. There are few native teachers superior to Barnabas Ahogalu. He is richly endowed with both grace and gifts. In keeping with the national character of the Tongans he has an easy power of command over weaker wills, and secures a willing submission from all those who are under his direction. Young men who would have despised an order from others would go at once at his bidding. His opinions were weighty and strongly fortified by shrewd observations and common sense. He is a fearless enemy of vice and ungodliness. His reproofs are often caustic with satire, and burn and blacken the fair deceiver whom he brands. He is somewhat censorious in his preaching, but he excels in prayer, and makes a model native minister and pastor. He continues (in 1875) to labour with much acceptance in Samoa.

Such were two of a band of very valuable "helps" to us in the reconstruction of our mission. The rest were inferior to Maika and Barnabas, but were, nevertheless, men who were fully devoted to God, and acceptable preachers. None of them was authorised to administer the sacraments, but each having, from this time, charge of a separate branch or circuit, the group of islands being divided into branches, the teacher gave appointments to his local preachers, received persons on trial as church members, and in conjunction with the class leaders, removed any from church fellowship who walked disorderly. Their stations were now determined for one year.

Two days after their appointments we met seventy Samoan preachers, who until now had had no status among us. Our Tongan teachers had called some of them, and the rest were self-appointed. They, however, presented themselves for examination. Only forty-five of them could read, and only four out of the seventy possessed copies of the sacred Scriptures. Most of them were converted, and had a talent for talking. Some of them proved to be excellent men.

We now abolished the old names of office, by which they had called themselves, and having introduced the church offices and appointed the officers, we named them anew. The head teachers were called Leoleo, or overseers; their assistants, or subordinate teachers, were designated Aoao, or teachers. The local preachers were termed Failauga, after public speakers, and class leaders were now to be called Taitai, leaders. These new terms were adopted without trouble, and soon became common. Those candidates whom we could accept were received on trial as local preachers and class leaders, and installed in office, under the tuition and superintendence of the head teachers.

On the 7th October we assembled all our new church officers, and submitted to them a form of church government. Our own "Rules of Society," having been translated, were read, and also rules and regulations for the working of the entire machinery of Methodism in Samoa. One regulation was, that each church member should contribute to our general mission fund, in addition to a regular weekly contribution of food towards the support of the teachers. This rule raised the dust in the meeting. It was something new to them. They had never before been required to give either oil or money to the mission. They strongly objected to the proposition as an innovation, and said, "It was not so when Mr. Turner was amongst us." But the rule was enforced, and very few members afterwards failed in some degree to observe it when they understood the reasonableness of it. Thus, from the first we endeavoured to make our Samoan mission self-supporting.

On the 8th of October we held a special service, and administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to our newly-appointed officers, and sought for the divine seal on our work, and obtained it. An overwhelming influence from God came down upon us, which made us weep and shout aloud for joy. He "gave to us the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts." As the service was openly and professedly in connection with the resumption and formal reorganisation of our mission, we received this shower of blessing, which also, during our stay in Samoa, was again and again repeated, as certain and conclusive evidence that there was nothing in the sight of God

either sinful or even dishonourable in our return to the group. Our work was divinely sanctioned, though we still believe that the same work *might, could, and should* have been done by the missionaries of the London Society. And if we had had our own way they would have been left to do it, or to answer for it, and we would never have removed the responsibility from them, or, even after the year 1839, have shared it with them of feeding the flock of God in Samoa. But we were carried away by an excess of zeal, which should have been directed elsewhere. Our resumed mission was supererogatory. Good effects, however, followed it, under the divine blessing, and appeared in the general outward reformation of the people we now gathered around us, some of whom gave abundant evidence of their conversion to God.

Even its collateral effects were manifestly beneficial to the London Society. The native teachers, themselves, in connection with that society, have, times innumerable, said so to ourselves. And their own statistics will show that, since the time of our return to the group, they have enjoyed unprecedented prosperity. In the year 1856, the year before we arrived in the group, they reported 2000 church members, and about ten missionaries; but in 1862, with fewer missionaries, the number of members had risen to 4200, besides 3245 on trial as probationers. In 1858, the year before our people began to contribute to the mission fund, their people raised for their society £510, which was, in fact, less than what was collected in either 1856 or the two preceding years. Our first missionary meetings in Samoa were held in the year 1859, and from that year *their* contributions rose, so that in 1862 they had become "considerably over £1000." These are facts which need no comment, but they ought to rebuke all those friends of the London Society who malign our work, as being injurious to the common interests of religion in Samoa. If it be maintained that this result was obtained by them in spite of our work, and would have been greater still without us, then we ask, why was it not once gained during the *eighteen* years before our return to the group, during which time the field was untrodden by our missionaries? Why should their prosperity, as shown above, with fewer missionaries, increase simultaneously with the reorganisation and renewed working of our mission?

Giving Introduced.

The chief evidence of a genuine work of God is cheerful giving, whether it be "two mites," or any larger sum; and the evidence becomes brighter and better if it is seen in persons who, till now, have never learned to give. Samoan Methodists had not so learned their duty; but, on the contrary, it had been their boast for twenty years that their lotu was the cheapest and easiest in the group. Nor were they wholly to blame for their error, as they may have been misled by the custom of some honoured missionaries, who make presents to heathen chiefs, in order to obtain their favour and protection. We have no desire to indicate anything by these remarks beyond what seems to us to be a *weak principle* of action in such cases. Those who conduct *secular* undertakings among heathen tribes must pay for their safety. They need their caravans of cotton cloths and trinkets, their knives and ironware; and without these payments and bribes, they could neither insure their own safety nor secure their object. This custom also is quite in harmony with the policy of the Roman Catholic Church, whose agents carry it out in Samoa. An example is to hand, in the gift of a beautiful whale-boat, by one of these, to a ruling chief. But to us it appears unworthy of the name of an evangelical missionary, and without one solitary New Testament precedent. Believing this, we refused to observe the custom with Samoan chiefs, and lost nothing by it except the hollow friendship of worthless men. The observance of the custom weakens a missionary's cause, by an appeal to cupidity, to enable him to carry it on. Favour bought by bribes, or, say, gifts, to heathen chiefs, is deceitful. In a time of trouble, confidence in them is a foot out of joint. Such a bridge for Christianity to pass over to a heathen people, will not bear its own weight. Why not ford the river, without the risk of a broken bridge in crossing. From admissions from natives themselves, in Samoa, which have been made again and again to us, we are bound to believe that it was the hope of gifts, and secular gain, which led the *chiefs*, in 1855, to clamour for Wesleyan missionaries. The *common* people had no voice or power in the matter, were not generally accustomed to get presents from the missionaries, and expected none.

It will be seen that such a state of mind in our people was highly prejudicial to their liberality, and that if they did become liberal, then, most certainly, it was the work of God and not of man. We resolved that we would not make presents to the chiefs, yet treat them with all due honour and respect, and, further, that simultaneously with their being made partakers of our spiritual things, they should be instructed to minister to our mission in carnal things. In the year 1859, we held eleven public missionary meetings in the group, and one chief only had the courage to endeavour to prevent a meeting in his town, but after we had spoken to him he offered no further resistance. The first meeting took place at Lufilufi, on Monday, 11th April, in the open air. About 150 people were present, who gave £1 4s. in money and thirteen gallons of cocoa-nut oil. The last for that year was held on Manono. Three or four hundred natives assembled in the open air, and gave, at that meeting, £24 4s. 4d. The total of the eleven meetings amounted to £80 8s. 9d., which was forwarded to the general secretary as the first Samoan offering to the Wesleyan mission fund.

The ice was now broken, and the prejudices of the natives fell to pieces from this time. In 1860 they sent £134 15s. 4d. to the general mission fund; in 1861, £296 2s. 6d., and gave about £90 in property to their native teachers; and in 1862, £304 11s. 8d. to the general fund and about £100 to the native teachers. Since then there has been a little fluctuation in their contributions, but in 1873 they raised £376 11s. 2d., or about 1s. 6d. per Methodist of every age in the group—an evidence, we submit, of a good work accomplished in leading them to prove that “it is more blessed to give than to receive,” and no longer foolishly to boast in a religion which cost them nothing.

Second Annual Meeting.

Our second annual meeting was begun on 21st September, 1859, in Saleiataua, Manono. Two teachers were made Leoleo, and eleven local preachers were appointed Aoa. Twelve were admitted on trial as preachers, and eleven as class leaders. But sixteen teachers and local preachers, after a year's probation, were deposed as being

unfit for office. The group of islands was divided into thirteen circuits or branches, and a responsible Leoleo was placed at the head of each of them. We had now thirty-six agents, who were supported in part by the native Christians, and in part by the produce of the lands which were given for their use, and which were cultivated by them. Nine villages sent in requests for teachers, five of which had steadily refused to receive the agents of the London Society from the year 1839, with the hope held out to them that Wesleyan missionaries would return to them. The other four had broken away from that society on account of family quarrels. The total church membership this year was 311, and 675 on trial.

Until now our Leoleo and Aoao had lived with the families of chiefs of the villages, to which places they had been appointed by us, but we resolved to obtain separate houses with land for their own use, and we succeeded beyond our expectation. In a few months we got twenty-two teachers' residences built, without a cent. of cost to the mission. From this time, also, attempts were successfully made towards securing for our paid agents regular and systematic support, and at the same time they were separated from all employments which would interfere with their special work.

Training Institution.

A most deeply felt want was ventilated at our second annual meeting. Every one desired an institution for the training of our agents. We had an admirable model institution of the London Society at Malua, Upolu, and our leading chiefs were united in purpose with us and warmly espoused the project to have one of our own. Lands were offered to us for the purpose, suitable and unsuitable, and we finally accepted of an allotment at Satupaitea, but, owing to the want of help, we could make no use of it for three years.

In the year 1863 the work was taken in hand by Mr. Brown, who was now doing good service in the mission. With a band of young men, he cleared the school-ground, built eleven houses upon it, and commenced classes for the new trainees. The schoolroom was built, and on the 17th March, 1864, it was opened. We held

a public meeting on the ground in the open air. About 300 natives were present, and were addressed by several speakers, and afterwards were entertained by the friends, who had provided not less than thirty cooked pigs and heaps of taro, &c. There were now sixteen students on the premises, ten of whom were married. The number soon increased, additional houses were erected, and a stone school-house was built. After a time it was found desirable to remove the institution to Lufilufi, Upolu, where it now is (1875.) Houses, grounds and plantations have been prepared under the skilful direction of Mr. Brown and other missionaries, and the institution now supplies the want which was so severely felt in the commencement of our work eighteen years ago.

Provision for Communicants.

While we sought to make our agents efficient pastors and teachers, we also felt that the church members, who were increasing around us, were in need of some arrangement or other which would secure for them the benefit of the Lord's Supper oftener than once a year. Our residence was on Manono, and we could only reach them once in twelve months. There were two ways open to us,—either to appoint our Leoleo to give the sacraments, or to ask the missionaries of the London Society to permit our members to attend their communion service. In many places in the group their native pastors administered the Lord's Supper, and why should not ours do the same? We resolved, however, to take the second path, and received the following answer from the London Society's missionaries:—

“Fasitootai, 26th September, 1859.—My dear brother,—I beg leave to forward to you the copy of a minute of the meeting of the Samoan mission, held at Matautu on the 21st and 22nd inst.

“XX. Mr. Dyson, the Wesleyan missionary residing on Manono, having requested that we admit to occasional communion any of the natives who have been received by him as church members—

“Resolved—That we agree to do so, provided that the parties in question are furnished with a certificate, and make their application in the usual way to the missionary or native pastor, to the communion service.

“And further, that the secretary transmit a copy of this resolution to Mr. Dyson, &c. &c.—(Signed) Saml. Ella, Secretary.”

Our members from this time were at liberty to avail themselves of the privilege now ceded to them. A few of them did so, but the plan did not work well, and they would have preferred the communion from our own Leoleo.

Third Annual Meeting.

Our third annual meeting was commenced on the 21st of August, 1860, in Saleiataua, Manono, and was brought to a close on the 25th. Sickness had disabled a Leoleo, and an Aoao and two others had left the work for personal reasons. Their places were partly supplied by the timely arrival of two native teachers from Tonga. We now reported thirty-four Leoleo and Aoao, forty-one full and accredited local preachers, thirteen on trial and seventy class leaders. The total membership was 449, and 900 on trial, and the total number of nominal Methodists was 4863. In the year 1873 the number was 4880. Fourteen additional teachers' houses had been erected during the year. We now held divine service regularly every week in forty-three villages in the group, and by the blessing of God upon our work, the night-dance was abolished in thirty-seven of them.

At this meeting a prolonged conversation was held, and the question touching our relation to the London Society was earnestly discussed by the Leoleo and Aoao. They were eager to see our number and influence increase in Samoa, and had small sympathy with any policy which acted as a brake on their zeal. We had steadily and perseveringly held them from working in any way on the natives belonging to the London Society in order to gain their object. They champed the bit, and would gladly have broken the bridle from us whenever any of that society came in their way. We, however, utterly abhorred proselytism, and discountenanced every approach to it by our teachers, and it is not only uncharitable, but untrue for any one to affirm the contrary concerning our work in this mission to the year 1865; and the non-increase of Methodists in the group since then will answer for the rest.

The Border Question.

Yet we could not and would not forbid or prevent the natives of the London Society from attending our services if they wished to do so, nor from changing their "lotu" and becoming Methodists, if the change was unprovoked by us, and entirely originated with themselves. This, however, is an interminable border question, and should be fully explained by us. It cannot be settled so long as one society considers the natives to be in their minority, and unfit to enjoy the right and privilege of choosing their own "lotu." Now, we believe that they are entitled to enjoy the unrestrained possession of religious liberty. And further, that it is our plain duty to protect them in this right to the full extent of our power. We do not cede this privilege to them on account of the extent and exactness of their religious knowledge, or on account of the quality of their motives, but simply and only because they are free moral agents, and responsible to God only for their faith and religion. Religious liberty is the inalienable right of every Samoan, as it is of every other man. Naturally enough, and without even suspecting any opposition to it, the natives take it as a man takes the liberty to choose his own wife. So long as the two societies' services are held in the group, the natives are free to follow their own inclination, and attend either the one or the other. In general, when a family or a number of families have determined to "liulotu," or change their church, be the cause ever so trivial, it is not common for them to change their purpose. It would be useless to reason with them on the inconveniences and disadvantages of sectarian divisions and non-conformity in their small villages. Unity and conformity are nothing to them. They would never yield up their own interests and prejudices to secure either the one or the other. Passions, and not reason, rule the Samoans.

Assuming then, what has actually occurred, that when a chief and his family have determined to leave the London Society, either because they have quarrelled with the missionary or their teacher, or with their own neighbours, or because they prefer the Wesleyan Society, and, as is often the case, this family has been joined by

another or more; and assuming further, that the agents of the London Society cannot conciliate them, or recover them again to their congregation; and also assuming further, what is strictly true, that we have in no way, either directly or designedly, caused their "liulotu," nor offered any encouragement to it, beyond the mere existence of our mission in the group; we ask every impartial Christian, would it be consistent with the character of a Christian missionary to thrust away the disaffected from us, and to refuse to preach to them, especially as, in some instances, they had built a preaching-house for the purpose. The question is not about the *membership* of such natives. Those who have been expelled from the church of the London Society are not members in ours, nor are they allowed to "meet in class" any sooner with us than on repentance they would be allowed to attend the "seekers' class" of that society. The point at issue is simply this—Is it right and honourable for the Wesleyans to preach to the disaffected hearers of the London Society, when and after they have professedly ceased to attend their chapels, and, also, after they have asked for Wesleyan services? We should be sorry to overstate our own case, or to do a wrong to the London Society, but, on the other hand, we most solemnly protest against the manner in which our mission, as we have worked it since 1857, has been misrepresented, and the facts of the case contorted.

The Protest of the London Missionary Society's Missionaries.

This was done in a very reckless way in the public "Protest of the Samoan Missionaries of the London Society," which appeared a few years ago, and was widely circulated in the London "British Standard." Our mission is there caricatured as "A system of proselytising aggression on the stations in charge of our (London Missionary Society's) missionaries." "Stations" in this instance, we presume, is intended to mean districts within which those missionaries claim the sole and undivided right of religious teaching, preaching, &c. Accordingly, as all the Samoan Methodists were scattered in most of their districts, we were "intruders," even though we went only to our own people.

The brethren were "deeply convinced that they (Wesleyan missionaries and their system in Samoa) are the most grievous hindrance to the cause of Christ in Samoa." Hence we must be got rid of. Green withs have been tried, and they have failed. We must now be shamed out of their districts. Here is Tonga, and there is Fiji, and what are the Wesleyans doing in either group? "We believe," say the brethren, perhaps not boastingly, that "Samoa is better supplied with the means of grace than Tonga or Fiji." So that really we were not needed. They were sure of that, and said most earnestly, "There is no occasion for this intrusion." "Samoa is too circumscribed a field for two large missionary societies." This is reasonable, if they would drop the ugly word "intrusion." But they persisted—"In fact, the re-intrusion of our Wesleyan brethren is a source of infinite annoyance to us;" and these Wesleyan brethren are incorrigible, and the case is hopeless. Let the London Society's missionaries rest, and not be troubled, for if our work be of man only, and not of God, it will come to nought.

But they would not rest and wait. They seem to have been carried away with alarm and needless fears, and made the humiliating confession contained in the following extract, which was copied into their "Protest," from a minute passed at their meeting held in July, 1861:—

"We regret to be again compelled to call the attention of the Directors to the doings of the Wesleyans in this group. In consequence of their presence and proceedings, our situation is becoming increasingly difficult. Their lax method of admitting members, appointing teachers and preachers, and their liberal promises to supply missionaries, combined with the propensity of the native chiefs and others, on taking offence for any cause, to show their anger by turning to another sect, will, we greatly fear, eventually lead to their getting the upper hand, and drawing over the mass of the people," &c.

There are in this minute several things which ought not to have been said by any Christian man, much less to have been recorded officially by a collective body of ministers. They say of us—

First—That we have a lax method of admitting mem-

bers. The fact is this. Our method, during the time referred to, was not lax, but to admit those only as full members who had given *a year's* evidence of their desire to flee from the wrath to come, by their obedience to the rules of our society. In Samoa, as elsewhere, we receive sinners into our church, *but none who continue to practise any known sin*. Do our brethren call the righteous only, and would they have us do the same? Their method is not lax, certainly, for we understand that some of their members were kept in the "seekers' class" half a dozen years at least. Do they make themselves our standard?

Secondly—They say that we have a lax method of appointing teachers and preachers. Here, again, we must place facts against loose assertions. We took the teachers we found in 1858, who had been appointed from Tonga, and man for man they were equal, if not superior, to the same number of the London Society's teachers in any sense. We speak from personal knowledge of many of the latter as well as of the former. Then, concerning our local preachers, we appointed none until 1858, and from that year to the date of the above minute, we admitted no one without first carefully examining the candidate in reading and writing and in the chief doctrines and precepts of the Holy Scriptures, and also concerning his own experience of salvation. We found some unworthy men among us, and dealt with them as they deserved. But, if to the brethren themselves our agents appeared so much inferior to theirs in any sense, then we ask how could this be understood to lead to our getting the upper hand, &c.? The Samoans prefer good teachers and preachers.

Thirdly—They say we have made liberal promises to supply missionaries. This also we deny. We promised neither more nor less than to *ask* for missionaries, and we never asked for more than *two* for Savaii, and *one* for Upolu, nor ever promised to ask for more. If these were "liberal promises," we have made them. And to whom? Certainly not to the people of the London Society, but to our own people only. If such promises could lead to the "drawing over the mass of the people," &c., they must be *very easily drawn* over to us. This it would seem was the opinion of the missionaries themselves, for

they admit that the natives are drawn over to us by our mere presence in the group, together with the hope of easier terms of membership, and inferior teachers and preachers, and with the expectation of two or three more Wesleyan missionaries.

Fourthly—They say that native chiefs and others, on taking offence, show their anger by turning to another sect. It is a relief to us to know that we are not charged with being the cause of their anger. It is, no doubt, a fact that the chiefs and people of the London Society, or some of them, become angry for any cause and take offence, and the brethren were afraid that this portion of their offended hearers would become so large that “the mass of the people” would leave them. This was not pleasant to think of, and looks a little humiliating from a body of nearly half a score able and experienced missionaries, after twenty-five years of well sustained labour in Samoa. Happily for them their fear was groundless, but it was very mischievous.

Fourth Annual Meeting.

The month after the date of the above minute we held our fourth annual meeting on Manono, which occupied us nearly a week. All our agents, paid and unpaid, assembled on the occasion, and much of the time was employed in examination of their character, qualifications and work, as usual. One Leoleo was reduced to a subordinate office in consequence of incompetency to govern his branch well. One of the teachers had died peacefully in the Lord. Two others were deposed for inability to fulfil the duties of their office, and one was expelled for impropriety of conduct. We also put down six local preachers and five class leaders. But recruits were at hand to take the places of the useless and incompetent. Four Leoleo, six Aoao, and ten local preachers were newly appointed and others were admitted on trial. The number of members this year was 673, and 475 on trial. One thousand children, and 1500 adults were now attending our schools.

The presence, for the first time, of our new missionary, the Rev. George Brown, gave special interest to this meeting. It had been diligently stated, and extensively

reported and believed before his arrival, that we should be the last of our missionaries in Samoa. Our people were often taunted with contemptuous scorn for expecting more. But now their joy was unbounded. This reaction in their favour no doubt occasioned the groundless alarm of the other missionaries. The cloud which we took to be a cheering token of the blessing and presence of God among us, and which gave light and joy to us, was "a cloud and darkness to them." We were jubilant over our new missionary, but they put on sackcloth. Our situation was becoming increasingly easy, but theirs was "becoming increasingly difficult." We place no mean laurel on their brow for their manifold and fairly won honours in the mission field, but we utterly eschew their prejudice against Samoan Methodism.

Fourth Tour round Savaii and Upolu.

It was during this year we made our fourth tour round the islands of Savaii and Upolu. We had the pleasure of the company and valuable help of Mr. Brown. From the beginning to the end our journey was nearly 300 miles, and was made chiefly in boats. We went through all the stations or districts in the group, except the Tutuila one and the small eastward islands, where were no Wesleyans.

Our first voyage was a run down from Manono to Satupaitea, a distance of twenty miles, which we accomplished in five hours. The sea rolled heavily through the straits, and tossed us like a plaything. We endured, but certainly did not enjoy these voyages. During the six days we spent at Satupaitea we had abundance of work. Two of them were devoted to the school examinations, and were gala days to the natives, who made the most of themselves. They paraded, with pride, their scraps of knowledge, and shone in feats of memory. One day was set apart for their

Missionary Meeting.

Three or four hundred natives from the villages in the bay crowded into our new church, and quietly submitted to two or three hours' speechifying. They like to be talked to, and a Samoan speech on such occasions

is a great work. At a missionary meeting it has usually a text of Scripture for a motto, as Matthew ii. 11, &c., but like gold on the edges of a book, this is only to gild the speech, which commonly rests on a couple of ancient legends, of which Samoans are very fond. One of these is first retailed with every particular, and then applied, as in the parable of the tares by our Lord. The next is given in the same way. Some of them are intolerably coarse and harsh, but others make good similes. The following is an average.

Samoa Parable.

There were two sportsmen, said a public speaker, one from Aopo and the other from Safune, who, each with his dog, went into the interior of Savaii to catch birds, and were benighted in the valley of Vanumaisu. One of them, Tavae by name, who expected rain during the night, wished to erect a temporary house as they would be out in the valley all night. But his companion, who objected to the trouble, dismissed the request with a confident exclamation of contempt for his mate's anxiety: "E mamago vanu!" The valleys will be dry! Tavae, however, built his hut, and he and his dog crept into it. Before midnight his Safune friend began to reap the fruit of his vain confidence. The clouds grew dark and heavy and the rain descended. With piteous tones he stood shivering in the cold and begged of Tavae for admission to his hut. "E mamago vanu!" was the answer. The dripping sportsman urged his request and crouched in hope of an entrance. Still his own words were returned with mocking bitterness—"E mamago vanu!" Well then, said he imploringly, give up a corner for my dog. Again Tavae replied—"E mamago vanu!" Hope finally sickened, and the dog died in the night, and here ends the story.

The moral follows the parable as a matter of course. Who, says our native orator, is Tavae? The missionaries. And who is the Safune man? The impenitent. What is the night? Death. The rain, what? The wrath of God. What is the house of shelter? The Saviour, Jesus Christ. What is Tavae's warning? The warnings of the missionaries. Thus, almost everything is moralised, and the lesson

is tacked to the story, and will never be forgotten by the natives who heard it.

As a matter of course, such speeches have no effect upon the collection. This flows from other tributaries. A superstitious fear of the wrath of God, and the hope of pleasing Him, are in some natives, and the love of God and man in others, the unmistakable springs of their liberality. But, in not a few of them, it must be admitted that a low emulation and lust of praise are the affluents which feed the collections. The emulation of some of our chiefs this year rose to fever heat. Each was determined not to be beaten by his neighbour.

This was notably the case at Tufu, a village about six miles from Satupaitea. The road between these places runs through splendid land, well watered, and invaluable for the cultivation of taro. A creek runs through Tufu, which equally divides one part from the other, and the natives here are also as completely separated in tribal interests and religion. There were about 500, or less, and one-half were Wesleyans. They all met us in the faletele, or village hall, where we held our missionary meeting, and collected £20. Their hospitality also was remarkable. We counted not less than thirty-four cooked pigs, and 300 baskets of taro, with many other articles of native food, which they had prepared for us, and presented to us on the occasion.

Our next stage was to Gagaemalae, which was at this time a twelve hours' trip of no little danger. Boats, along this part of the coast, are usually tossed by a chopping sea, like cocoa-nuts on the deep. When we reached the town or district, we found work enough for many days. The "Talavai," or the dispensing of medicines, was an important part of it, and fell to Mr. Brown in this tour round Savaii.

The Talavai.

The Talavai often took up more time than a religious service, and usually attracted crowds of natives. They attached great importance to it. Many who would not have gone a mile to hear a sermon would have gone thirty miles for a dose of medicine. This was the chief attraction of a mission station to the outside multitude, and we had an unusually large share of their patronage.

The Roman Catholic priests, who are ever wiser in their generation than the children of light, were often accustomed to bait their *lotu* with a pill. They gave no medicine to heretics. A Samoan must first "liulotu" and become a holy Catholic before he was allowed to have the benefit of the holy Catholic powders and pills. Since he cares, as a rule, most for his body, it was no wonder to see him occasionally with his soul in the scales against a dose of Epsom salts.

Sagone.

We next visited Sagone. Our path inland to this place had been cleared and swept for our visit, and we were welcomed with all the honours of great chiefs. The village is hemmed in with forest, and stands midway up a mountain, and is connected with the sea by a foot track a mile in length. It is the head of a branch, and contained about half a thousand Wesleyans. We spent nearly a week with them, and concerning some of them we were much pleased with their simple piety and earnest zeal. But the latter had hurried the chiefs beyond our landmarks, and committed them to a little petty legislation which we could not sanction.

Public worship was conducted in all our Samoan churches with becoming decency, and it was very rarely necessary to call the worst to order. But from two causes, viz., the custom of the London Society, and tropical laziness, some of our people persisted in sitting during singing at public worship. Our Sagone rulers resolved not to allow it, and made a law that a fine should be imposed upon any one who should refuse to rise to sing. A village law similar to this was afterwards made by the chiefs of Neiafu, by which every native in the place was compelled to attend divine service on the Lord's-day. It was told us also that a similar course of action had been pursued by the Sagone chiefs concerning the contributions this year at our missionary meeting, each adult being required to give a certain sum. These petty village laws may seem harsh to us, but they were not so to themselves. Though money was precious among them, yet they contributed £30 this year to our General Mission Fund.

Neiafu and Falelima.

We returned by land from Sagone, and then from Gagaemalae we put out to sea again in our two boats, and proceeded still further to the westward. A head-wind and a wild sea were against us all the way, but we soon wrote these troubles in the past, and went ashore at Falelima. We left our boats here and walked three miles further to Neiafu, along a miserable track along the coast.

Neiafu and Falelima form another branch. They are isolated and stand alone, the remnants of populous villages of former times. They had now nearly 400 Wesleyans, amongst whom we spent six days, and crowded every day with abundance of work. Their liberality was even in advance of that of the Sagone tribe. We next took our boats, and going still westward until we reached the extreme point of Savaii, where we had a view of what were supposed to be

The Gates of Hades.

“The entrance to the Hades of the Samoans was supposed to be two circular basins among the rocks at the west end of Savaii. When a person was near death, it was thought that the house was surrounded by a host of spirits, all waiting to take the soul away to their subterranean home. As soon as the spirit left the body it was supposed to go in company with this band of spirits direct to the west end of Savaii. If it was a person residing on one of the more easterly islands of the group, his spirit travelled on by land to the west end of one island after another until finally it reached the Fafa, or Gates of Hades, the entrance to their invisible world. There was a cocoa-nut tree near this spot, and it was supposed that if the spirit happened to come in contact with the tree, it returned, and the person, who seemed to be dead, revived and recovered. If, however, the spirit did not strike against the tree, it went down the Fafa at once.”

The two circular basins were pointed out to us as the place where the spirits went down. One was supposed to be for chiefs, the other for common people. The sea

was calm as we passed them, so that we had a chance of making a nearer approach than usual to Fafa. Down there in those lower regions the Samoans believed there was a heaven, an earth, and a sea, and people with real bodies, planting, fishing, cooking, and otherwise employed, just as in the present life. At night their bodies were supposed to change their form, and become like a confused collection of sparks of fire. In this state, and during the hours of darkness, they were said to ascend and revisit their former places of abode, retiring at early dawn, either to the bush, or back to the lower regions. It was supposed that these spirits had power to return, and cause disease and death in other members of the family. The chiefs were supposed to have a separate place allotted them, called Pulu, and to have plenty of the best food, and other indulgencies.* From these associations with the Samoan Fafa, the word became one of terror in heathen times, and is used in cursing to the present day by the natives. The basins among the rocks were not visible as we passed them, but we watched for a short time an eddy or two here and there among the low rocks of the coast.

Falealupo.

Further on we called at Falealupo, a town of 400 people. They were Wesleyans formerly, and continued to be so even after a missionary of the London Society was located amongst them. He built a strong stone mission house here, and gave them every assurance of a permanent residence in the town, but he was obliged to leave them, as they still continued to call themselves Wesleyans until after he had left them, when they turned in a body to the London Society and continue so, with the exception of a few Papists, even until this time. After a short rest here, we proceeded to

Sataua.

We arrived at this place late in the evening, and found the natives in the midst of a "poula," dancing and capering as if they were possessed with demons, which for anything that appeared to the contrary may have

* Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 235.

been actually the case. The house, which was built like most of the best Samoan dwellings, was in the form of a circus, and was open all round. In the centre was a blazing fire, which shone brightly through the darkness outside, and quite sufficient to illuminate the grotesque figures of the naked natives, as they went rollicking, roistering, jolting around. They were not expecting us at that time of the night, but when our arrival was announced they slunk away like vampire bats before the light, and the dance was broken up before we got well ashore. We gave them all a chance of salvation on the following day, but they regarded our preaching with the utmost indifference.

Asau.

Running along the north coast and proceeding eastward we came to Asau, where we spent four days. This is an ugly and most uninviting locality, and the people were deeply sunk in ignorance and sin. They had stubbornly shut out the influence of the London Society from the beginning, and were only now re-emerging from the heathenish vices to which they had returned, and were showing the remote effects of our work in the group. Forty-three new members had been enrolled, and public worship was regularly observed. Asau and Sataua were made a separate branch. This was necessary in particular, as it was isolated and rarely visited by the natives from the eastward islands of the group. In 1864 the Wesleyans in the Sagone, Gagaemalae, Neiafu and Asau branches numbered exactly 1590, and from a comparison with previous years, it was manifest that they were decreasing from natural causes. Twenty miles further eastward we came to

Safotu.

In order, if possible, to escape the trade-wind, which blew now only in the day-time, we left Asau in the evening at moonrise, and were out all night at sea in the boat. If the night had been calm we should have enjoyed the trip, but we had to contend against both wind and rain for many a weary hour. But we were heartily

welcomed by the natives when we got ashore. We spent five days among them, and found 154 Methodists. During one of our services in connection with a school examination, a strong and healthy looking man became deeply excited, until at length he cried out in utter agony. His body in the meantime writhed as if in torture. No one interfered with him, and he ultimately became quiet. If this had been in Tonga we should not have wondered at it as we did to see a Samoan thus overcome by religious feeling. Samoans are not demonstrative in religious assemblies, except on very special occasions.

Saleaula

Was our next branch, and here we called and spent three days amongst 200 Methodists. This village is about four miles from Safotu. One of the stations of the London Society, a well chosen place of residence, is between them in the midst of a flourishing cause, among about 2000 natives east and west of the missionary, who has resided here above twenty years. We called at his homely looking mission house, and met with a most kind reception. He is the author of a Samoan Grammar and Dictionary. The Samoan and English part of the vocabulary is a handsome monument of his care and industry, and is invaluable to any student of the language. The other part, English and Samoan, is meagre, and the Grammar is of little value, but will no doubt be greatly improved in the next edition.

Salelologa.

As soon as our missionary meeting was over at Saleaula on Thursday afternoon, we took the boats and passed the shoal, and got out to sea before the sun went down. The night was quiet on the deep as the wind slept, and we made over twenty miles by daybreak and went ashore at Salelologa, the chief village of the last branch which we had to visit on the Savaii island. Here we spent four days amidst 400 Methodists, and after an absence of exactly five weeks from home and family, we returned to Satupaitea, and thence the day following, after a passage of nine hours sail, we arrived at Manono.

New Mission House.

A surprise had been prepared for us by the natives of Manono. They had made extensive preparations for plastering our new mission house. Immense logs of wood had been dragged from the interior of Upolu, and collected on the beach for huge fires. Large quantities of coral had been carried up from the lagoon on the bare shoulders of the natives, and burnt into ten immense ovens of beautiful lime. The whole male population of Manono, irrespective of rank or sect, had united in this work. Nine months later and they began in good earnest to plaster the walls of the house, and in eleven months it was finished and we removed into it. The Samoans, in this work, as in all public undertakings, were intolerably slow and spasmodic in their benevolence. The house, from first to last, was built by the natives, with the trifling assistance of a foreigner, who prepared and fixed the posts for the doors and windows. Our people, on whom the burden of the work fell, had never done any wall building or plastering until now, but they did what they could in a very rude style of workmanship. The house, a few years afterwards, was much injured by a hurricane, and the timber was eaten and honeycombed by the white ant, and finally the whole dwelling was demolished by the Rev. J. Osborne, who, captivated by its beauty, sent its praise through all the Methodist churches.*

Upolu.

After a rest of a few days we commenced a tour round the island of Upolu, and first visited Lefaga, on the south coast, where we spent four days with seventy-nine Methodists. These attached friends were here shut out on the margin of a population of thousands of the London Society. Methodism had been starved down to a skeleton for many long years, and even now existed in this place without life. An old chief or two were its pillars. From thence we went to Safata, where our cause was very weak. There were 250 Wesleyans in a population of 2000. If they had been in one village it would not have been so bad, but they were sprinkled over six, and required

* Missionary Notices, No. 6, Vol. II.

six preaching places and the usual compliment of services in each of them, where also regular services were conducted by the London Society. After three days we left for Falealili, and made a weary passage through an angry sea. "The billows frothed like yeast." We had left early in the evening, a little before moonrise, and the cold wind from the south-west blew showers of hissing spray over us from stem to stern, while we paddled hour after hour through the night. It was a heavy toil. The night lamp, as seen from our boat, was flickering out its faint light on the window blind of the London Society's mission house, at Sapunaoa, as we passed by to Salani. Our hands and arms were smitten with palsy, and we trembled on our arrival, from exposure in the boat, like an aspen leaf.

Falealili.

Salani is one of three villages in Falealili, where, in all, we now claimed 275 Wesleyans, and where we spent five days, preaching and attending to other mission work. We believed that God smiled upon us and we worked with our might. Considering that most of the Wesleyans on Upolu were in these parts and chiefly in Atua, we endeavoured to fix a station here for another missionary. In company with Mr. Brown, we visited a piece of land near Salani, and unitedly resolved to secure it for our purpose. The old church was to be converted into the missionary's dwelling house, until he could build one for himself, and a new church was forthwith to be erected. This was done, and two years later, when the new church was opened and our third missionary was on the station, and the mission was snowy white with blossom, there came a cold bleak wind and a killing frost, and in Falealili the work sickened. Since then Methodism has grown weak and faint here, and our influence has gone down.

We left Salani and proceeded twenty miles further. The wind was against us, and the natives became discouraged and failed at the paddles. We were ten hours making the voyage to the east end of the island, and then ran ashore for the night at Lalomanu, and took refuge in an abandoned mission house of the London Society. The natives in this locality all belonged, at this time, to that society or to the Roman Catholics, yet they teased us so

much for medicine that we yielded to their importunity. After this we ran round to the north coast of the island and down to

Tiavea.

Here we found exactly 177 Wesleyans. This poor people have long been down-trodden and crushed by haughty chiefs of a dominant tribe, and their lands have been barely allowed them to live upon. They have held fast to our name of Methodist, or the "Lotu Tonga," from the beginning, while their proud masters, without an exception, were gone with the multitude to the London Society. But the wily priest eyed the stray village, and, finding that it was abandoned and cast away, without a guide, only waited his time. One of the people fell ill, and the priest was forthwith at his ear, whispering, "Turn to our lotu, and you shall be saved." The helpless man was taken, and fell without a struggle. Others followed, and Popery grew in the village, and is well cared for by the watchful priest. Farther to the westward, in the Lufilufi district, where we had 132 Wesleyans, we came into open collision with one or two of the priests.

Public Discussion with Father Elloy.

One evening after we had finished our work for the day, a priest suddenly and most unexpectedly dropped in upon us. His long black coat and modern beard superseded the necessity of any formal introduction. We welcomed him, and, as we had no chair, we offered him a box for a seat. He spoke Samoan, and appeared feverish with zeal against our heresy, and forthwith opened his business.

"Have you not called our 'lotu' a false religion?" Mr. Brown pleaded guilty. "And did you not compare our 'lotu' to a 'gatafeai,' which destroys the souls of men?" Such we admitted was the fact. "Are you prepared to prove your charges to-morrow morning in the 'malae,' before the natives?" Certainly, we replied, and with pleasure. Without further conversation, after naming the time of the discussion, our visitor withdrew.

He forthwith despatched a messenger to Apia with

the request that Father Elloy, now Bishop of Samoa, should come to his aid. The bishop came up during the night and we met together in the "malae" at the time appointed. A few hundred natives assembled to hear the discussion, amongst whom was the king of Atua, who had introduced popery into Samoa, and who still remained its chief supporter and friend.

Father Elloy had all the finished bearing of a French or an Italian gentleman, and in a most winsome manner spoke at length against the reports of the Protestant missionaries, which had been circulated against the Catholic religion. He showed that his lotu only was the true one. And knowing the natives' respect for the sacred Scriptures he made repeated appeals to them in triumphant confirmation of his assertions. This gave a sacred spicing to them which disarmed prejudice, and held the natives in silent attention, until he finally proved with an air of victory that our Lord's words, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church," &c., were spoken only of their church which was founded by Peter the apostle, who had given the keys to the Pope, &c. The London Society and the Methodists were no churches, neither were their missionaries true ministers. The Catholic religion was the only true one, and their missionaries were true priests.

Mr. Brown replied at length and exposed the character and foul doings of some of the Popes from John VIII. downwards, and showed most unmistakably the absurdity of the Romish dogma that the holy and pure influences of the Holy Ghost should have passed down to the church of God and its ministers, through such unholy sensual and carnal men.

The discussion was conducted for several hours in a most orderly and seemly manner, each of us keeping to our subject without any approach to personalities or angry feelings. The natives sat in perfect quietness from first to last. But argument on any abstract question before them was useless, yet they appeared to be deeply interested. The spread of holiness and experimental religion alone will save them from that most attractive mere "form of godliness." The results of our discussion were apparently small, but we had publicly and most openly defended the great doctrines of the New Testament, as justification and

forgiveness of sin by faith alone in our Lord Jesus Christ, &c., and one thing is certain, that Popery in Lufilufi soon afterwards drooped and withered away.

Fasitoouta.

After the discussion we ran down in our boat to Apia, took tea with the missionary of the London Society who is stationed there, and then proceeded still westward to Fasitoouta, where we arrived at midnight. A few sections of villages form this branch, which contained now 150 Methodists. The training institution of the London Society at Malua on the one hand, and the printing press of that society at Leulumoega on the other, together with a cluster of four missionaries within twenty miles from Apia to Leulumoega, illumine this part of Sēmoa so brilliantly that our light here is much in the case of a street lamp on a moonlight night. Yet what must be done, since the moon changes, and churches may do the same, and then dark nights have to be provided for. At present we have no alternative but to shine on. After four days' preaching, &c., we ran down to Manono, and were thankful to find ourselves at home again.

These journeys are of yearly occurrence, and the visits are made to the Methodists only, as there are no outlying heathens now. Twenty-seven thousand Samoans belong to the London Society, 2000 are Roman Catholics, and the remnant, about 4000 or 5000, are Methodists. With fair weather and much haste these pastoral visits would not occupy much more than a month at any time on either Savaii or Upolu; but unless the care of our churches here be cast wholly upon the native teachers, it would be scarcely possible to do the work in less time than we usually allowed for the tour. Since Mr. Brown's arrival, he took Savaii and we had Upolu, and were able to visit the branches twice a year.

Fifth Annual Assembly.

Our fifth annual assembly was begun on the 1st of September, 1862, at Satupaitea, and continued six days. Much time was consumed in the examination of character and the general abilities of our agents for our work.

One Leoleo was reduced to a subordinate position, and another had returned home to the Friendly Islands. One Aoa and four local preachers had withdrawn on account of ill-health, and one was expelled for disorderly conduct. But after these were removed we were still able to meet our own wants without further aid from Tonga. We appointed four new teachers and, after a year's probation, we received eight local preachers to their full status. Seven were also added to the number of preachers on trial. Our catechists now numbered thirteen, and we had twenty-seven teachers well reported of among us.

We had 869 full church members now, and 458 on trial, and in all a little under 5000 nominal Methodists in the group.

Resolutions.

Several topics of conversation occupied the attention of this assembly. Our catechists and teachers, and some of our local preachers freely expressed their opinions, and the following resolutions were passed, with good majorities, by our assembly:—

1. That the custom, which is spreading in our Samoan churches, of using the dual instead of the singular number, as "O la la Afioga," when speaking of God, shall be forbidden.

Our motto was, "Avoid petty legislation." But it cannot be avoided in the government of a petty people, either in the church or state. Samoan society is rude and child-like, and children must have small precepts. No Samoan would suppose that the rule of our church which forbids "the taking the name of God in vain," could in any way be understood to forbid the taking it in dualistic phraseology as if there were *two gods*, and *only two*. To a people who a few years ago had more gods than villages, an error of this kind was a very easy offence.

2. But a more serious one was frequently perpetrated in our pulpits, which nothing less than a coercive measure could have put an end to. Some of our preachers had a very wild imagination, and often suffered parable to run mad. They would use, as similes and illustrations of religious truths, the strangest old legends and tales which their traditions supplied, and often, "the pure milk of

the Word" turned sour in their bowls. To put an end to this, we resolved that all similes and parables which had no foundation in matter of fact, should be forbidden to all our agents in their public preaching.

3. Another pulpit evil which had grown into notice was concerning the lesson. Some of the native preachers were in the habit of maiming a narrative and mangling a lesson by reading to the middle of a paragraph and abruptly concluding there. We determined that a whole chapter of the Bible should always be read in connection with every preaching service.

4. Fomai or Samoan doctors were the cause of another injurious custom. They still continued to practise charms and incantations, and often the afflicted natives would resort to them for relief. This was sometimes done before they would place themselves under the rational treatment of a missionary. In many instances it, doubtless, arose from their remote distance from a missionary, yet in no case would we allow it, but by resolution it was strictly forbidden to all Methodists to take part in the charms and incantations of the native doctors.

5. Another very mischievous custom may, with propriety, be called the lottery. Many family events during a year called it forth; such as marriages, births, deaths, &c. On these occasions fine mats and native cloth, &c., were collected together in vast quantities as a nominal expression of respect, friendship and affection. After the wedding or funeral, &c., was past the property was divided among the friends, and each of them got something in return for what he had given. This had the appearance of a mere exchange of presents and friendly sympathy between families, but it had become a source of continual quarrels, and we now resolved to oppose the custom, and confine it within the following restrictions:—That the exchanging of property on account of "molaga," child-birth, or in connection with the sickness or death of anyone, shall not have our countenance, being, as we believe, opposed to the revealed will of God.

6. An impression had gone abroad that the marriages solemnised by the priests were not valid. This led to the inquiry in our assembly:—"Are Roman Catholic marriages lawfully and properly solemnised, and if so, then may our members take part in the marriage feast?"

After conversation, we embodied our answer in the following resolution:—That it shall be forbidden to all our people to assist in any *religious* movement of the Roman Catholics, yet, everything else being right, the marriages solemnised by the priest shall be considered valid.

7. It was found to be necessary to resist the encroachments of the chiefs upon the religious liberty of the people, and we resolved that it was wrong for the Samoan rulers to compel, under penalty, anyone to attend the services of religion, but every man should be left at liberty to attend the services, or otherwise. We thus endeavoured to quench the evil in the spark.

8. Some of our agents we found had fallen into the Papal error of supposing that the end sanctifies the means, and that it is allowable to do evil that good may come. Ungodly chiefs had been appointed to pray at some of the prayer-meetings with the design that this should lead them to repentance; but this practice was peremptorily forbidden, and was discontinued.

Our Third Missionary.

The most interesting event in connection with Samoan Methodism this year was the arrival of the Rev. A. and Mrs. Rigg, on the 15th May. Mr. Rigg had been appointed by the Australasian Conference, and was welcomed by many whose prayers had been offered on his behalf. According to previous arrangement, he was stationed at Falealili.

But here again we were unfortunately brought into too close proximity to the London Society. Their stations were so numerous, thirteen in all, and in general so well chosen that it was impossible to secure more than one, Satupaitea, in any part of Samoa where a Wesleyan missionary could be near his own people and live comfortably, without either occupying one of the London Society's deserted stations, or else becoming an unwelcome neighbour. The first station we took up on Manono is only a few minutes' walk from theirs on the same isle, which was supplied with a resident missionary till within two years of our arrival in the year 1857, and continued to be the centre of a large population of the London

Society's people. In the year 1865, there were about 400 Wesleyans on Manono and in the villages on the Western or Aana part of Upolu. In the same places the London Society numbered 2000 at least. Their missionaries, therefore, would be fully justified in re-occupying their Manono station. Then again, if we have two stations on Savaii, one of them must be next door to one of theirs either at Matautu, Falealupo, or Salailua. Nor is Upolu island any better. The smallness of the number of Wesleyans in Aana and Tuamasaga districts disallows of either one or the other having a Wesleyan missionary, even if there was a station free for one, so that we were shut up to Atua somewhere. But Lufilufi, Aleipata, and Falealili were the only places in Atua open in any way to us. The first place is the next village to Saluafata, where the London Society have a fine stone mission house going to ruin (1865) for want of a tenant. Lufilufi would be a good station, and it was made one ultimately, but a Wesleyan missionary could scarcely be there before he might be followed by a London Society's missionary at Saluafata. This actually occurred. Then why not Aleipata? Because here also you must come to the threshold of another of the deserted stations, and where the same difficulty exists as at Lufilufi. Further, to appoint a Wesleyan missionary there, while it might not win over a single Papist, it would most probably draw away hundreds of the London Society. Then send him to Falealili. But there he must necessarily live within a mile or two of an occupied station. If the case be thus, then leave Atua, and consequently Upolu, without a Wesleyan missionary. But Atua cannot be efficiently worked from Manono, fifty miles away, much less from Savaii, still further away, and more difficult of access.

Here, then, we were shut up between difficulties. One of two things we had to choose, either to have no missionary on Upolu, or to station one on or near to a mission house of the London Society. We had asked for and obtained a missionary for Upolu, and we believed at the time that Falealili was the place open to us. After a little delay, Mr. and Mrs. Rigg left Manono on the 19th of January, 1863, and arrived at Falealili on the following day.

It soon became manifest that we had got among the

breakers. A dark cloud settled upon the young mission family, which nothing seemed capable of dispelling. On 18th March their infant boy died, and now sleeps at Sapunaoa, "until the day break and the shadows flee away." This trouble in a strange land fell heavily upon them, and the bereavement told severely on the mother. "Mrs. R. is very unwell," wrote Mr. R. "I shall feel it my duty to consult with the brethren in the coming (Friendly Islands) district meeting about our return." The case was urgent, and he could not wait for the district meeting, and before we knew that Samoa was made a separate district his arrangements for his return to the colonies were completed, and he was ready to leave in the *John Williams*.

In April he wrote again, "I believe it my duty to return to Sydney, and as soon as possible. The *Williams* will leave in June, probably. If I have the approval of the brethren here (Mr. Brown and the writer,) I should wish to leave then."

A meeting was called, and Revs. A. Rigg, George Brown, and the writer, met at the mission house, Manono, 24th April, when we agreed *unanimously*—

1. That Brother Rigg shall remain in Samoa until the *Fohn Wesley* comes.

2. That he shall forthwith remove to Aleipata, if he can stipulate with the missionary of the London Society in Falealili, about the unoccupied mission house at Lalomanu.

The house was placed at his disposal; but he still felt it to be his duty to return as soon as possible to Sydney, and our resolutions fell to nothing. The missionaries of the London Society very liberally came to his aid, and offered him a free passage in their vessel to Sydney. The offer was accepted, and, in the month of June, Mr. and Mrs. Rigg took their final departure from Samoa in the *John Williams*, and arrived safely in the colonies.

This was a thirteen month's episode in the history of the mission. A chilling cold from this time benumbed our native teachers, and a general impression went out that our work now would soon come to an end. Confidence was shaken and the mission drooped. The busy tongues of talebearers found both warp and woof for their stories, and our cause fell in public estimation everywhere. Our

new missionary's removal was a mystery to the Methodists. They feared, and the opinion grew, that it was owing to a want of sympathy with their cause. This spread like fire under the active fans of those who wished it so. Samoan Methodism thus sprung a leak at the time when we thought it was most sea-worthy. On the very day that Mr. Rigg arrived in Falealili our Conference began in Hobartown at which Samoa was divided in two circuits, and constituted a separate district. Two months after the Conference a noisy "Protest" of the Samoan missionaries of the London Society was written against our work. A few months later and a spirited muster of their new missionaries from England, arrived and settled in Samoa. They were flushed with success and triumph, and their ensign floated gaily in the breeze, while ours drooped on the flagstaff. A current now set in against the mission which has kept it comparatively stationary ever since.

The year 1863 was one of severe trial to us, but we lost nothing of our confidence in the *righteousness*, justice and benevolence of our cause, though we learnt continually that now necessarily, for a time at least, we were committed to a self-imposed work which would not add much to the glory of Methodism. We continued to be cheered with the conversion of sinners here and there in the group. Our members increased from our own hearers and not as some would say from the stray wounded sheep of the London Society.

Sixth Annual Assembly.

Our sixth annual assembly was begun on the 31st of August, 1863, on Manono, and ended on the 5th of September. We prefaced our proceedings with a prayer-meeting. During the year one of our catechists had died. He was a good man, and for many years had served Methodism in his native land and in Samoa with unswerving fidelity. He died trusting in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ alone for salvation. Another catechist and a teacher had been obliged to retire from the work on account of failing health, and one of our paid native agents was deposed from office. Among our local preachers this year we found three no longer able to take appointments. One was reduced to a second probation

for a year, and another was expelled. But as our brethren thus fell in the storm, fresh shoots appeared forthwith to take their places, and we now reported forty-nine native paid agents. We also now admitted twenty-nine brethren on trial as local preachers. The number of our church members had increased to 1029 and 473 on trial, and the entire number of Samoan Methodists now amounted to 5160.

Several changes in the working of the mission were made at this assembly. From it dates our regular *quarterly* circuit meetings of local preachers and leaders of classes, which until now had been utterly impracticable. Our *annual* meeting was no innovation on Methodistic usage, but a simple necessity in the commencement of the mission. Distance alone prevented us and the natives from meeting together once a quarter, nor, indeed, was there any necessity for attempting this before we had *two* missionaries and two circuits in the group. Our annual meeting from that time was confined exclusively to our native paid agents and missionaries, and was made an appendage to our regular annual district meeting.

The Vexed Border Question.

The vexed interminable border question was brought up again at our annual meeting this year. It was manifest to us from the first that our mission in Samoa must either be held in bonds and miserably nailed down like the branches of a vine to a wall, or be the occasion of endless unpleasantness on the border of the London Society. If religious liberty were allowed to the natives they might, could, and would change their lotu. Individuals, families, and even whole villages had left the London Society and become Methodists. We could not prevent this, though we never provoked it, and yet, whenever it occurred, we had no stint of praise for our successful proselytism. Of course, if Wesleyans became adherents of the London Society there would be no unpleasantness in the matter. The feeblest resistance against our people turning to that society was never offered, nor was the faintest complaint ever uttered by us when any have done so.

A somewhat knotty little affair had now to be discussed and settled, but we must first explain. Tutuila was for many years without even a tinge of nonconformity. The 3000 souls on that island were without an exception of the London Society. This was not so from the beginning. At one time Seetaga, Fagalua, Masefau, Tula and Onenoa, five entire villages, were Wesleyan, and there were also families in twenty other villages on the island that belonged to us. At Seetaga what could not be done by moral means was accomplished by fire. The Wesleyan church there was burnt to the ground by the natives of the London Society, in order to burn out the last traces of Methodism, which shortly afterwards was proscribed throughout the island. Rumours had often come down from Tutuila to us that our services there were wanted again, but we had disregarded them. Now, however, a chief from Vailoa and a party of natives made a formal application to us, and begged that we would establish preaching among them. After conversation with the brethren in our assembly, we resolved—

“That, in consequence of an earnest request having been sent to our missionaries in Samoa from Vailoa, Tutuila, for one of our teachers, we appoint a deputation to visit Tutuila with power to station one there, if it shall seem proper to the deputation to do so.”

We did not consider it prudent to entrust this business to any of our native agents, but Mr. Brown most heartily undertook it, and accordingly visited Tutuila in the following October, in the *Lalla Rookh*. He found that the Vailoa chief was in political difficulties, and we saw our way clear to refuse any compliance with his request. Subsequent applications have been made to us by the same chief in person, and also by others from Amanave, a village about eight miles from Leone, Tutuila, but we have paid no attention to them since we rejected Vailoa. If they had not had a nominal connection with the London Society, but had been heathens, surely no one in our position would or could have rejected the request. But we really wish for none of the London Society's people, and would not knowingly feather a “pa” to catch the best of them.

First District Meeting.

We had now been working the machinery of Methodism in the group six years, and as our agents improved and increased around us, we were able every year to add something towards its perfection. This year, 1863, we took the position of a separate district, and held our first district meeting at our mission house, Satupaitea, on Monday, 5th October. The creation of small districts may in some instances weaken our connexional power, yet on the other hand, in our case, though Mr. Brown and the writer were the only missionaries, we gained no advantage by being appended to Tonga. We could never attend their district meeting, and as the languages and customs of the two peoples were distinct and separate, it was not desirable that each missionary should learn both Samoan and Tongan in order to be able to take a circuit in either group. Besides this, we had now two very extensive circuits in Samoa, and there were only three in the Friendly Islands. If these were sufficient for a separate district, then Samoa, a larger group with a larger population, was sufficient for another, and it was now made one. Nothing in fact was neglected which we believed would give completeness to our Samoan mission. Our second district meeting was held on Wednesday, 5th October, 1864. The usual routine work was gone through. Nothing of much special importance transpired. The state of the mission in many places was encouraging. We now reported forty-nine churches and forty-five teachers' dwelling houses, only three less than the total number of our paid native agents. Sixty-four local preachers, 102 class leaders, 1111 church members, and 480 on trial; forty Sunday schools, sixty-three day schools, 1843 scholars, and 5074 nominal Methodists.

The Seventh Annual Assembly.

Our seventh annual assembly was held immediately before our second district meeting, and was concluded on 4th October. One catechist had departed to his reward during the year, saying as he went, "I desire to go to my God." Two teachers also had ceased to work and

live. After the usual examination of character, &c., one teacher was found to be no longer able to do his work, a catechist was expelled for adultery, and another was placed in a subordinate position, but refused to submit to it, and resigned his office, and lost it altogether. Both the latter were Tongans, who had been connected with us, in Samoa, since the year 1857. Three new catechists were appointed to fill the vacancies. The twelve probationers who were received on trial at the preceding annual meeting, for our native paid agency, were examined in the usual way, but only five of them passed with credit. The other seven remained as they were. Three young men from our native training school were newly admitted as probationers, and five other young men, who had passed their quarterly meetings, had the sanction of our annual assembly to enter the training school. The question came up again, and was strongly advocated by our leading native agents at this meeting, that we should take a free and independent position with reference to the London Society, and no longer give up our services on account of any of theirs which might be conducted by a missionary. But after an abundance of talk we finally agreed for the present to "let well alone."

Since our removal from Samoa to Tonga, after this year and until now, Samoan Methodism has passed through no common difficulties. Our eight years of peaceful labour were unbroken by a single tribal war of any importance, but wars commenced in the year we left the group and have continued, with periods of tranquility, to distress and injure the mission. Mr. Brown, who since 1865 was the chairman of the district until 1874, has worked it through a stormy sea with unwearied diligence and with changing colleagues, and now leaves in the group 4880 Methodists to be cared for by our church, or otherwise to be transferred to the London Society's missionaries, who still claim to be the only legitimate spiritual overseers of Samoans.



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