HISTORICAL *MAMANU*:

A RELATIONAL APPROACH TOWARDS THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN SAMOA BETWEEN 1830 AND 1900

A Thesis Presented to the

Faculty of the Pacific Theological College

Suva

In Partial Fulfilment of the

Requirements for the Degree

Master of Theology

by

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September 2019

ABSTRACT

Before the arrival of the London Missionary Society in 1830, the pattern of education in Samoa was gained through traditional systems; these were informal processes whereby people acquired skills and knowledge from childhood onwards by a practical oriented and dialogical method. The memorising and observing were crucial skills in the Samoan traditional knowledge system in perpetuating and sustaining our *aganuu* (culture) values which are enacted and manifested in the *faasamoa* (way of doing things in life).

The establishment of schools in 1840's initiated by the London Missionary Society (LMS) made great changes to the Samoan traditional knowledge system. This study explores the introduction of 'formal education' by the missionaries from 1830 to 1900[1] using the Samoan concept of *mamanu* (patterns or designs of an artwork) as a framework to navigate and highlight the historical issues pertaining to this dimension of the history of the LMS. Integral to this exploration is to interrogate and investigate potential contributing factors that were associated to the devaluing of the traditional knowledge system. Changes in the education paradigm concerning the mode of delivery, content of lessons and the rationale of education are the three main objectives of this undertaking.

The 'relational' nature of *mamanu* as a method is authentic to this task appealing for a recognition of the traditional system as an integral portion of the modern academic spheres. Drawing on similarities and differences between the two systems afforded a *faia* (relational) space to design an aesthetic *mamanu* of education. In that way it

[1] The first schools established by missionaries 1844 (Malua Theological College and Leulumoega Fou College) to the last school in 1910.

creates a relational pattern that acknowledges both the traditional and the foreign as equally important in nurturing and moulding a Samoan child. Hence, it encourages the Congregational Christian Church Samoa to revisit, rethink, re-orient its mission in encouraging a relational educational system in Samoa.

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that this thesis, which is 34,093 words in length (excluding the bibliography and front matter), has been written by me, that it is the result of work carried out by me, and that it has not been submitted, either in whole or in part, in any previous written work for an academic award at this or any other academic institution.

I also declare that this thesis has not used any material, heard or read, without academically appropriate acknowledgment of the source.

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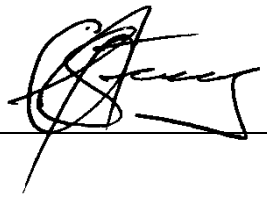
Signed: 

Date: 18th September 2019

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to Rev. Elder Poka and Faletua Malo Maua for their great and valuable contribution in paying my school fees throughout my Secondary and Tertiary level of education. Without your award as part of your ministry in Savaia and Tafagamanu, I would not have been able to come this far.

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Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I praise God for the strength to persevere with this project. The completion of this task would not have been possible without your love and guidance.

I would like to express my most sincere and heartfelt gratitude and appreciation to my supervisor Rev. Dr. Ralph Weinbrenner; thank you for your consistent commitment in the supervising of this work. Thank you for the insights and wisdom shared through your constructive comments and encouragements that helped me complete the writing of this thesis. I believe if it were not for your commitment to continue as a supervisor I would have found it very difficult to pull through these last months of writing.

I am indebted to the assistance and dedication of Faalavaau Dr. Juliet Nanai for your meaningful suggestions on the format and proofreading of this thesis. I would also like to mention the help of Tuaopepe Lucia Kasiano and Fr. Falani Terry for your comments and advice that has been very helpful in the writing of this thesis. To Rev. Dr. Upolu Luma Vaai and Rev. Dr. Faafetai Aiava and the Hermeneutic course, thank you so much for the wisdom shared and guidance during the putting together of the 'Relational *mamanu*' as a methodology for this research. I owe so much gratitude to the staff and personnel of the George Knight Library at Pacific Theological College for taking time out for helping me.

My great Faafetai tele lava to the prayers and support of our *Aiga* Samoa at Pacific Theological College especially the Principal Rev. Dr. Upolu Luma Vaai and Faletua Tuamasaga and the children. Thanks for your words of encouragement and for your kind support throughout my two years here at PTC. In the same manner, I would like to acknowledge with much appreciation the contribution and endless support of the Samoan faculty members; Rev. Dr. Faafetai Aiava and Faletua Luse and the children;

also Dr. Fatilua Fatilua and Faletua Vaituutuu and the children. Thank you so much for all that you have done for us. I also extend my special thanks to all the members of our Au-aiga Samoa; Rev. Piula and Faleuta Elizabeth Samuelu and children; Rev. Sitivi and Etenauna Kamu Wright and Sitivi Jr.; Craig and Vaoita Masaniai; Tutoatasi and Fetu Toalima and children; Rev. Sauileoge and Lia'i Pouli and children; Leuelu and Eseta Panorama Setu and Ataata; Esera and Pauline Esera and children and Etele Falealii. I also acknowledge the support and prayers of all members of our Aulotu Samoa here in Suva, especially Rev. Siu Vaifale and Faletua Taia'i and children.

I acknowledge the prayers and financial support by the Congregational Christian Church Samoa, for writing of this project, especially the opportunity given to study at PTC for two years. To all our Pulega and Aulotu; Pulega Itu o Tane, Pulega a Lefaga ma Faleaseela; to our Aulotu at Sasina, Tafagamanu and Falelatai MALO FAAFETAI MO LA OUTOU TAPUA'IGA TATALO.

To the Principal, Rev. Maafala and Faletua Lalokava Lima, lecturers and Faletua, and Malua Theological College, thank you for keeping us in your prayers, and the opportunity given to be part of this program and learn more about God's will for us and the ministry.

I also acknowledge the support and prayers of our parents; Rev. Panapa and Leafaitulagi Fata To'o, Etevise Tusani Stowers. Not only that but to all our families, brothers and sisters for their spiritual, moral and financial support.

Last but not the least, I express my heartfelt and greatest gratitude to my wife, Fofogaolevai Tusani Stowers and my three little angels; Bernadette Josephine, Leafaitulagi Jacinta and Robert Leonidas Stowers. Words cannot explain how I appreciate and value all that you've done for me. I thank God every single day of my life for the love that has showered upon me through you and our children.

List of Abbreviations

LMS	-	London Missionary Society
CCCS	-	Congregational Christian Church Samoa

Introduction

The history of the London Missionary Society (LMS) within the Pacific definitely underscores the efforts of the missionaries not only to convert heathens to Christianity but to introduce the missionaries' own culture in its secular aspects upon the people as well. Education was momentously utilised to accomplish both the conversion and the replacement of the indigenous epistemological systems. The history of the Church in Samoa is both a history of the establishment of church and a history of changes made by the missionaries to the educational system both theological and secular.

Charles Forman, in his book *The Island Churches of the South Pacific Emergence in the Twentieth Century*, declared that education was a significant vehicle of converting the heathens process by the LMS in Samoa. For example, a strategic set up began with the theological college situated at "Malua to transform pastors and missionaries" of the local people, while at "Leulumoega Fou a schooling institution was set up for teenagers", who could be influenced to transit into the Malua theological college as potential pastors, and further on in "Papauta village a similar establishment was prepared for young girls from American Samoa" to groom them as potential missionaries' wives of pastors to create and ensure a sustainable pool of prospective missionaries to fulfil LMS mission and culture (Forman 1982, 23). Education was not limited to young people. It also involved the training of those who would support and continue the mission of the LMS. The missionaries offered a totally new way of acquiring and communicating knowledge. The new way was welcomed and received with great support from the Samoan people.

> To the islander there was something mysterious about conveying sounds and ideas through marks on a page, and at the same time the church showed such interest in reading and writing as to suggest that these might be part of its sacred mysteries. Almost the first thing that a mission representative would

> do upon becoming established in a village was to begin a school (Forman 1982, 182-185).

In a similar vein, the enthusiasm poured into collaborating willingly this new way of teaching and instructing Samoans was echoed in Murray's records of the LMS missions where it is stated that:

> On Saturday, the 11th of June, we had our meeting with the chiefs. We had before them, through Mr Wilson, the object of our mission – viz., that we had come as teachers of religion; that our first and great business would be to *instruct* them in matters pertaining to that, and that everything else would be strictly subordinated to that (1876, 22)[1].

These scholars offer convincing evidence of the role and contribution the missionaries had in the development of the 'formal education' in Samoa. The writings also show how missionaries perceived their work of Christianising the Samoans. In this context, the missionaries became the pioneers in initiating formal educational as manifested through establishing these schools.

It must be stressed, right at the start, that this thesis studies education, which is one of the many patterns introduced by the LMS missionaries, in fact, modified Samoan society. The task of this research is to historically explore the thought system of Samoans and the ways they used to acquire and sustain knowledge. Exploring the pre-history of Samoa through *'talatu'u'* (oral traditions) accentuates the relational notion of our own indigenous epistemological system which appeared to recede during the missionary's era.

[1] According to Murray, this meeting was for the commencing of Malua in 1844. The meeting was held at Fasitoo Uta in 1837.

Chapter 1

Interweaving the Problem and Approach

1.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the problem in education in Samoa as well as the desired approach that this thesis will employ. This will be done in four stages. First, I discuss various patterns of learning taken from my own upbringing to demonstrate where and how I am situated within this research. Second, I propose *mamanu* or Pattern as a conceptual framework which governs how the following chapters of this thesis will unfold. Third, I put forth *mamanu* as an analytical method of inquiry. This method puts forth an alternative way of analysing the history of education in a non-condemning and relational way. Fourth, I identify the specific aspects of the problem that this thesis intends to deal with.

I must concede that I am a product of these educational patterns and designs which were introduced by the LMS missionaries. This leads me to start by sharing my educational experience as it not only formed my perception of educational aims and purposes; it also highlights some important aspects of education which have motivated and inspired this undertaking.

1.2. My Educational Experience and Worldview

The enthusiasm to explore the patterns in the development of education in Samoa is from an emic perspective. It is a lived experience of the contribution of European missionaries inherited and continued by the Congregational Christian Church Samoa (CCCS) ministers. As someone who grew up in a rural area, I experienced a lifestyle that was shaped by various patterns of instructions in nurturing our skills and

knowledge. I begin with the ontological positioning of my *faasinomaga* - the place of knowing from within the immediate family where the basic cultural values and the process of the acquisition of knowledge, skills, and beliefs were first learnt and gained.

Explicitly, I remember how my parents taught me how to demonstrate the values of respect. This is to lower myself in front of elders, visitors, or guests by bowing my head and say *tulou* (excuse me) when walking in front of people. These were the etiquettes of behaviour we continue to perform, *o tu ma aga* or norms of what is the appropriate *faasamoa* way to conduct ourselves even to foreigners. This is the respecting the relational space or *va* (sacred space) between my being in the presence of others.

I was taught the values of being polite. That it was not to intrude or talk when elders *talanoa* (converse). I was taught that stretching my legs when facing a person, and eating and drinking while walking or standing were very disrespectful habits. I was taught to speak politely to, and in the presence of, elders; and that I had to sit down and speak using the appropriate addresses or honorifics of '*susuga*' and '*afioga*' (for the high chief or the *faifeau*).

Central to these informal instructions is the essence of '*va fealoa'i*' (mutual respect). There is a Samoan saying '*E iloa oe i lau tu, savali, tautala*' (your character is expressed by the way you stand, walk and talk).[1] A Samoan child needs to be taught about his/her basic cultural values to understand the significant quality of *faia* (relationships). So, the way he/she stands, walks and talks must reflect *va fealoa'i* (mutual respect). A well-instructed Samoan is identified by showing these basic

[1] In ordinary parlance, whenever someone misbehaves in public, people tend to question how his/her parents carried out their duties in the home in instructing him/her. There was this Samoan song that was usually sung when someone misbehaved: "Soo se mea lava e te faia mafaufau lelei I le ata o lau toeaina" (Whatever you do reflects the picture of your father).

cultural values. The aim and purpose of being well- instructed by parents in these cultural values is for us to respect and acknowledge our *faia* with others; knowing our place as a child, as a *taule'ale'a* (untitled man) and as an *aualuma* (unmarried girl) within the community. In fact, to know our place explicitly defines our roles and responsibilities and all other values such as *alofa* (love), *faaaloalo* (respect), *va tapuia* (sacred space), *va fealoai* (mutual respect) *uiga talafeagai* (expected behaviour and attitude) which are certainly crucial in fashioning one's character. Moreover, of these basic cultural values, the most important reminder is to respect the evening curfew[2] when we all gathered in the *fale* (house) for our *lotu afiafi* (evening prayer).

The first formal education[3] I came across was the *aoga a le Faifeau*[4] (pastor's school). Although we were the only Roman Catholic family in our village we were not excluded from the (CCCS) minister's ministry. At the *aoga a le Faifeau* we learned to memorise the alphabet, in both the Samoan and English languages. We also learned some simple arithmetic. These lessons came before we learned how to read the Bible. The predominant intention behind being educated, as stressed by our pastor when we came to the end of a tutorial each day, was: '*work hard in school in order to get a good job and earn a lot of money'*.

Patterns continued to evolve within my educational life. It was a transition from learning basic cultural values at the *aiga* (home) to an environment where we started to experience a teacher-student relationship, a blackboard and chalk, Bible and books with a new aim and purpose of being educated. I still remember being taught in these

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[2] Aiono Fanaafi claimed this Samoan tradition of evening prayer called (Fanaafi o faamalama) was adopted by the missionaries. See Motugaafa 1996, 7.

[3] Formal education from the Pacific understanding refers to schooling within classrooms and informal education or traditional ways of learning. For instance, planting, fishing, weaving and so forth.

[4] Prior to the establishment of these schools, the missionaries had started with the home tutorial. Gunson further elaborated this by saying that "in order for people to learn how to read, the Bible became the core of these tutorials" (Gunson, 1978).

tutorials about the rhyme called the *Faitau Pi* (Alphabetical order): 'A' stands for *ato* (basket), while 'E' stands for *elefane* (elephant). Aside from the fact that I had never seen an elephant in my whole life, this animal was still instrumental in my learning of the Samoan alphabet. It was from this experience where I started to answer basic biblical questions such as *'O ai na faia oe?* (Who created you?) *O ai lou Faaola* (Who is your redeemer?). I also learned by heart the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, of which, the most commonly used was the fifth one '*Ia e ava i lou tama ma lou tina, ina ia faalevaleva ai ou aso i le nuu o le a foaiina atu e le Alii lou Atua ia te oe*' (Exodus 20:12). At that stage, my learning patterns started to either parallel my earlier experience or contradict it. These are interesting patterns in the educational life which contributed to who I was before I started primary school where more patterns were imposed.

At primary school level, I noted the important contribution of church ministers to the development of education. The *Faifeau* (church ministers) used to carry out a morning household inspection of our village to make sure the children who were supposed to be in school where in attendance. The minister also supported the financial contribution that families had to make in terms of schools fees. As children, we used to collect ten coconuts each per day. These coconuts would be roasted as dry copra by the church minister, with the help of the youth and church members, to pay for our fees. What is important to note was the effort of the *Faifeau* to encourage the children of our village to be educated. Furthermore, our *Faifeau* also awarded a prize for the top student at the year eight level and would pay for that student's secondary school fees.

At secondary level, I was educated in a Roman Catholic mission school, Chanel College, with my fees paid by the CCCS minister. I then spent ten years teaching in a Catholic mission school. I always treasure this experience. What I have observed over

the years was that the *Faifeaus* were anchors, if not pioneers, of education in villages. Their efforts were to some extent aided by the conviction that church and state worked in tandem in the development of education in Samoa.

When I entered Malua Theological College in 2014, especially as someone from a different denomination (Roman Catholic Church), more new patterns were introduced. Spending four years in Malua as a student was a turning point in my life. There was a shift which certainly questioned and redesigned all the different levels of patterns of experience of life. I observed that the content of the educational pedagogies in Malua focussed on three aspects of life; namely Academic, Discipline and Extracurricular activities. These pedagogies articulated the purpose of education. For instance, the academic dimension required patterns that were designed by the secular schools (primary and secondary) in terms of reading and writing in English and Samoan. These patterns guided us in understanding the Bible, doctrines, theologies and, most importantly, church history. Secondly, the discipline aspect accentuated our family and village patterns where our cultural values of '*va fealoa'i'* were very important. It was a part of the learning strategy which fortified and informed a future minister and his wife about the significance of their values as role models and as spiritual designers within the ministry. Learning the Bible and theologies was not enough for the minister to cope with the mission. Hence, it is the design of *'va fealoa'i'* that can support and transport the theological and biblical knowledge and so strengthens *faia* (relationships) which is the relationship between the minister and the people and the relationship between the minister, the people and God.

Lastly, the extracurricular activities (preparing Samoan food, farming, cleaning, fishing); central to this aspect gave rise to the notion of self-support and *tautua* (service). The ideal notion of being a church minister is not to be served but to serve the

people in both their spiritual and bodily needs. The recollection of patterns (cultural values, *Aoga a le Faifeau*, primary and secondary Schools, university level and teaching career experience) to design one's character for Malua Theological College is the most important dimension of this case.

1.3. Thesis Scope

As seen from my educational experiences, there are many overlapping and underlying learning patterns worthy of note. However, due to reasons of scope, I can only look at three overarching patterns of education throughout this thesis, namely *the mode of delivery, the motivation to be educated and the content of the lessons*.

Regarding the delivery of lessons, the focus of the following chapters will be on the systematic processes where the only right answer is given by the teacher and the textbook. I assumed that perhaps respect guided or governed this kind of approach; the one-way teaching-learning relationship. Cultural values were certainly emphasised in schools. Teachers were to be respected and obeyed without question. Teachers were always right. In contrast, we had the pattern of an open dialogue at home in family meetings, after or before evening prayer. Also, at bed time, my mother told us a *Fagogo* (storytelling about myths and legends) and we often interrupted by asking questions about a character or a place. These home patterns started to fade at primary and secondary levels. (More will be said in Chapter 2).

Regarding the rationale behind why education is important, there was an inherent shift from '*va fealoa'i'* (which I have learnt at home and the *'aoga a le Faifeau'*) to a more competitive emphasis. The essence of 'sharing' (from cultural values) in terms of knowledge during class disappeared. There appeared the need to be ahead of or to be better than the rest due to the prize giving at the end of the year. Consequently, the

element of dualism was introduced; those who got more prizes versus those who got nothing, the capable versus the incapable.

Regarding content, the patterns of cultural values continued to lose importance in the content of lessons at the tertiary level and during my teaching experience. The idea of compartmentalising subjects restricted us from taking other courses. For example, only the students who were majoring in Samoan were able to take the Samoan language course. Yet, it appeared that those who opted to take the Samoan course were less capable than those who took English or Art (Geography and History) or Science. As a teacher majoring in Science and Mathematics at the secondary level, my knowledge was predominantly confined to theories and formulae given by text books. Consequently, my acquired scientific understanding of earth and ocean, both non-living things, seemed so inadequate or unfulfilling. It opened my eyes to personally see how much my tertiary education underestimated our own values and epistemological systems. Inevitably, the power of money in terms of salary rise for getting higher grades for students in a course became the impetus propelling my teaching career. I knew the way our indigenous navigators read the moon and the clouds during sailing. Unfortunately, why bother teaching these indigenous methods of navigating when they are not part of the Physics curriculum.

Sharing this educational experience explicitly situates my situation within this task. I have chosen the establishment of schools by the LMS missionaries for two important reasons: (1) according to history, the first ever formal schools on the soil of Samoa were put up by the LMS missionaries and (2) the scope of this paper does not allow me to discuss later schools put up by other denominations. This paves the way for my core motivation in investigating the history. Based on my experience as both student and teacher, I want to retrace the history of education in Samoa to find evidence

or examples of Samoan learning and teaching strategies that are comparable or even compatible with the strategic educational system introduced by the missionaries. This investigation should give a better understanding of some of the factors that led to the devaluing of our indigenous knowledge and thought systems and hopefully will give birth to a more multifaceted and interwoven pattern of education.

In the next section, where I develop a *mamanu* hermeneutical model, the multidimensional learning experiences of my upbringing to my various encounters with formal education are assumed. These learning patterns are not only pivotal in the lead-up to my present situation as an *a'oa'o* (theological student) of the CCCS, but they are also instrumental in shaping who I am today.

1.4. *Mamanu* as a Relational Framework and Thesis Structure

The term "*mamanu*" is defined as patterns in figure work in cloth (tapa), clubs, sinnet or body (Samoan *Sogaimiti*). It also refers to the architecture used by Samoan builders for houses. *Mamanu* changes the appearance of something. The beauty of an art work is enhanced by the variety of patterns yet interrelated. It is for this reason that I start with my cultural perspective and worldview. They are relational and throughout this thesis the Samoan term *'faia'* will be used. The term relational as it will be used in this task adopted Upolu Vaai's definition that "The 'relational' embraces the uniqueness of both individuality and communality, unity and diversity, visibility and invisibility, male and female, top and bottom, secular and sacred, heaven and earth, God and the world, rich and poor, tangible and intangible" (2017, 11). Significantly, what is unique to this experience is that no pattern in life is less important in fashioning who I am today. It depicts how *mamanu* will be utilised in this task as both framework and methodology. It is not the purpose of this undertaking to create an 'either or platform' between indigenous and foreign *mamanu* but to generate an alternative countenance of a

more complementary *mamanu*. In that sense it is the nature of *mamanu* that the modifications in the appearance of the final form of an art work are always pleasing.

Traditionally, each particular *mamanu* was usually drawn from Samoan religion, environment, customs, and everyday life while expressing the interconnectedness of everything in nature in the life of a Samoan, the land, sea and humanity. According to Albert Wendt, *mamanu* of the Samoan tattoo (both female and male tattoo) are not just for decoration(s): they are scripts/texts/testimonies which to do with relationship, order, and form (1996, 9). In that sense, *mamanu* designed on a body, mat, club and even the architecture of the Samoan *fale* articulates relationships between one's present context and the lifestyle of the ancestors; they are scripts which allow the past to speak to the present. What is important to note at this point is that *mamanu* from a traditional perspective sustained and perpetuated our history, our stories. It was a medium in which they displayed (through Samoan tattoo, houses, canoes) and bridged our past to the present before our history was transformed into papers. Nevertheless, what we have before us today as our history are the *mamanu* which were designed by the foreigners for us. From a relational perspective of *mamanu*, how can we reorient and reconstruct these dominant foreign with our indigenous *mamanu*? This perception or philosophy of our people about *mamanu* requires the task of re-reading the history of education in Samoa using a suggested lens. It is an approach aims to create space for the indigenous *mamanu* to be part of, and acknowledged as a useful design within the broader picture of success. In that way it may reflect how *mamanu* from both ends (indigenous and foreign) work collaboratively for the consciousness in life of the community as a whole, yet provides an alternative understanding of history of our *itulagi* (side of heaven).

In utilising *mamanu* as a framework in this work I have divided *mamanu* into three interrelated stages, namely:

1.4.1. *Mamanu o le Anofale* (Patterns within)

The term *anofale* is made up of two words; *'ano'* means crater, inner space, hole and the term '*fale'* is a house. Therefore, the word '*anofale'* simply means the inner space, or the space inside of a Samoan house. In fact, the *mamanu* of the *anofale* articulates relationships because the variety of designs reflects the special knowledge and skills of the *tufuga* (carpenter). Hence it makes us ponder how the skills and knowledge passed on from one generation to another since there were no special institutions like the Samoa Polytechnic as what we have today. Take, for instance, the circular or oval shape of the Samoan fale. It is one of the common *mamanu* of traditional *fales* which reflects the notion of *fealoa'i* (face to face) whilst reflecting the wisdom of the *tufuga.* Functionally the fale is predominantly a meeting place for families and village where they discuss the development and postulate future progress for the betterment of all members. Its openness depicts the culture of hospitality and social relations. Furthermore, the *fale* is not standing in a vacuum. It considers the contribution of nature through the piece of land *'tulagamaota'* (*tulaga* means position and *maota* is a respectful word given to the house of the extended family)[5]. Significantly, what is distinct to the *mamanu o le anofale* are '*faia*' (relationships), the connectedness of the *tufuga* and the structure of the *fale*, the *faia* of the *fale* and the family; the *faia* of the family to the land constitutes life for all.

The significance of the *'anofale'* at this stage of the work situates the context of chapter two. As spelt out by the meaning of the word *anofale*, the space within the *fale*, chapter two therefore seeks to explore the pre-history, so to speak, of the indigenous educational *mamanu* that was used by our ancestors. The educational patterns (delivery

[5] In any Samoan family there is always has a special place for the extended family's house which belongs to the whole family.

modes, content and purpose of being educated) will be scrutinised according to the socio-political structure of *aiga*, *nuu*, (village) and district in relation to Samoa as a whole. Predominantly, the pre-history of Samoa is entrenched within our *talatuu* (oral tradition); *fagogo,* poems, chants and songs which are basically the sources for chapter two. The argument about myths and legends as historical evidence will be discussed in the introduction of chapter two.

1.4.2. *Mamanu mai Fafo* (Foreign Patterns)

The word *'mai'* is a Samoan preposition which means *'from'* and *'fafo'* means '*outside*'. Chapter three utilises this phase to investigate the foreign materials and influences that were introduced into our normal patterns of education (indigenous epistemologies) in terms of delivery modes, motivation and the content of lessons. Unique to this chapter is the transition from the pre-missionary era to the time of the missionaries' encounters. As the *mamanu o le anofale* attempts to investigate, the indigenous epistemological systems simultaneously seek to deliberate the worldview of the Samoans before the arrival of the missionaries. Hence *mamanu mai fafo* enumerates the transitioning patterns which metamorphosed or transformed the mind-set of our people about education.

1.4.3. *Mamanu Talafeagai* (Complementary Patterns)

Talafeagai is made up of two words, *'tala'* means '*story/ies*' or '*tale/s*', '*tala*' also can mean, the '*side/s*' of a Samoan fale. The term '*feagai*' means '*face to face, mutual, related, appropriate, fitting*' or '*joint*'. So, the *mamanu talafeagai* is the reconstruction and redesigning phase of the *mamanu* framework. In chapter four, *mamanu talafeagai* aims to weave the local patterns (*anofale*) with the foreign patterns (*mamanu mai fafo,*

the second phase of *mamanu*) and thread them together so that the concept *talafeagai* is evidently respected in the merging of the two patterns.

In this aspect, history is related to active life. As Wilhelm von Humboldt in the book named "The Hermeneutic Reader" states:

> If one mentally scans even only one human life, one is seized by the various moments through which history stimulates and captivates, and in order to resolve the task of his enterprise the historian must assemble events in such a manner that they move the spirit in a way similar to that of reality itself (2000, 109).

Mamanu is aware of the fact that no matter how compatible the *mamanu* model is in integrating the different strands of *mamanu* to create a new pattern there will nevertheless be strands that can never merge. It is conceivable that the new pattern will have *mamanu* both in and outside the space or *'va'*. Therefore, instead of blending those together in order to meet the pattern of 'in between' a space is created where they can co-exist. This is not to avoid tension but an alternative that will embrace both indigenous and the imposed educational strategies.

1.5. *Mamanu* as an Alternative Research Methodology

The *mamanu* as a research method is used in this undertaking as the departure point for the task of analysing the history of education in Samoa. It is commonly understandable that academic history writings are contingent to facts which must represent a worldview that underpins local people's knowledge, values, and beliefs. Worldview is derived from the German etymology of *welt*, the world and extended to *weltanschuauung* which is defined as a 'comprehensive conception or apprehension of the world especially from a specific standpoint' (Merriam-Webster, 2019). As this research is promoting the Samoan holistic positioning, it is imperative that a Samoan worldview as part of the Pacific approach warrants recognition. Taufeulungaki suggests that:

> [t]he role of Pacific research is not only to identify and promote a Pacific worldview, which encompasses identifying Pacific values, and the way in which Pacific societies create meaning, structure and construct reality, but complementary to these is the need to also interrogate the assumptions that underpin western structures and institutions that we as Pacific peoples have adopted without much questioning (2000, 29).

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) also stipulates that we must decolonise methodologies to promote by reviving, reclaiming and revaluing cultural and local way of knowing and being when conducting research. In doing so, we must also put on a critical lens in order to ensure our voice represents our knowledge in an authentic, credible and valid ways (2012, 44). *Mamanu* is symbolic of the Samoan worldview positioning. The *mamanu* process requires an art of interrogation and questioning of these foreign structures is where *mamanu* as a framework considers the *tufuga-taliau* (*tufuga* is the *designer*[6] and *taliau* is the *wearer*) relationship. The carving of *mamanu* on a particular object connotes *faia* (relationships); the relationship between the *tufuga* and the wearer, the connectedness of the wearer[7] to his/her family, identity (land, family title, ocean, gods) which are articulated by the *mamanu* of the tattoo, and the relationships between the variety of *mamanu* themselves. This assimilates the depiction by a historian according to Humboldt "… the historian in his depiction is able to attain to the truth of what has taken place only by supplementing and connecting what was incomplete and fragmented in his direct observation," (2000, 98). Accordingly, *mamanu* as the research method of this task does not isolate the researcher from these relationships in dealing with facts. David Bebbington has claimed that the analysis of facts is often influenced by the cultural, political and religious values a historian holds (1979, 5). In that sense the development of the three stages for *mamanu* approach aims to create a neutral

[6] The word Tufuga in Samoa is a title given to the carpenter, tattooist, canoe maker, artist.

[7] The same notion of relationship is applied to the carpenters, tapa maker, canoe builders with regards to the mamanu of the canoe, fale or tapa.

position of the author which will aid the analysis and avoid bias of the writer due to the above influences.

Various researches had been done in developing the art of analysis in research. The thrust of such undertaking encourages the researchers to create methods that show an intimate interaction between the researcher and the researched documents. (Hodder 2002; Rose and Gurvenor 2001). In such a way the Comparative and Contrastive analysis stages of the methodology intended to create this interaction between the writer and documents that will be used in this task. In relation to the *mamanu* as discussed the three stages is extracted from task of a *tufuga* (carpenter, artist, canoe builder, tattooist) within their trade in comparing, contrasting and sustaining the connections (*faia o mamanu*) of the job done (tattoo, *fale* or canoe) to the reality of life of the society as a whole. As already mentioned, though my educational view was moulded by various patterns, they have all contributed in forming who I am today. They are patterns which have laid my foundation as a Samoan and as a Christian. Hence, as the *tufuga* (researcher) of this paper, the devaluing of one pattern over another is not the aim. I have taken seriously the ideas of Spivak who advised that it is the task of a researcher to "… dismantle the metaphysics and rhetorical structures which are at work, not in order to reject or discard them, but to reinscribe them in another way" (1974, xxv). Therefore, *mamanu* intends to research and resurrect the wealth of our own indigenous epistemological system in relation to the introduced *mamanu* of education introduced by the missionaries. I will be using three important stages as interpretive tools in investigating, monitoring and interpreting the facts.

The three stages of the *mamanu* method are:

1.5.1. *Faatusatusa Mamanu* (Comparative Analysis)

The word *faatusatusa* (compare) deals with the similarities or sameness of particular *mamanu* on an art work. While no two patterns are identical, the comparative analysis used in this thesis employs what JW Davidson connotes as not being wholly concerned with drawing conclusions from certainties but rather an assessment of probabilities or informed guesses (1969, 23). The *mamanu* method of *faatusatusa* assesses the probabilities (education in Samoa) by identifying the similarities or the patterns that are consistent to both systems in relation to the context of both the historian and the event.

The repetitive nature of *mamanu* is integral to this stage of the method because it identifies the similarities of the designs (*manutasi* where *manu* means *pattern* and *tasi* means *one*). In one way or another, the frequent appearance of one particular pattern can be for some reasons. It can either mean that the *tufuga* favours a particular design or the origin of the pattern signifies its significance within the art work as a whole. The same idea applies to the analysis of history from the *mamanu* lens. It considers the relevance of a given fact in relation to the social, political and religious influence of both the author and the event itself. This is guided by questions like: What makes the sources similar? How is the pattern of facts coherent?

The researcher is conscious that chapter two will specifically be focussing on the patterns within the so-called pre-history of Samoa; the period concerned with oral tradition. However, quite a number of sources of the pre-history of Samoa have been written by outsiders like George Turner, Fred Henry and Norman Goodall. The list continues. Only recently have local sources surfaced, mainly in the writings of Tuiatua Tamasese Efi (1980s), Malama Meleisea (1980s) and Albert Wendt (1970s), to name a few. The consistency of points of view of the outsiders in comparison with the local

writers will be the most important task of the *faatusatusa* tool in tracking evidence about the Samoan indigenous learning and teaching strategies.

1.5.2. *Eseesega o Mamanu* (Contrastive Analysis)

The term *eseesega* comes from the root word '*ese*' meaning different or dissimilar. Traditionally, each particular *mamanu* was usually drawn from Samoan religion, environment, customs, and everyday life; all expressed the interconnectedness of everything in nature in the life of a Samoan. The differences of the origins of these *mamanu* simultaneously express the diverse significance of each particular *mamanu* contributing to the beauty of a piece of work in its final form. This aspect is central to this part of the model, which is the identification of the inconsistencies of testimonies. Thus, seeking to discover the difference(s) of the *mamanu* enables this undertaking to locate *mamanu* that led to the conflicting patterns within either the written history or the historical process itself.

This is the uniqueness of the *mamanu* as a method in investigating history. *Mamanu* goes beyond the final form of the art work. *Mamanu,* as a multidimensional approach, takes into consideration miniaturised relationships which also contribute to the beauty of the countenance. In fact, discrepancies and conflicts within historiography and historical processes are sometimes treated as minor issues or even ignored because they either distract the flow of a chronological sequence of history or most probably were influenced by the social and cultural forces of a certain period. Peter Munz claims that the writing of the history of the non-European society is part of a process of interaction between two cultures (1971, 7). This interaction between two cultures is problematic as viewed by the *mamanu* model because what we have noted with the existing history is simply one-sided (*manutasi*). It is influenced by the social and cultural values of the outside historians. Significantly, these discrepancies within

history under *Eseesega o Mamanu*, must be carefully studied because they are not unimportant to us who are trying to define who we are.

1.5.3. *Faia o Mamanu* (Relational Analysis)

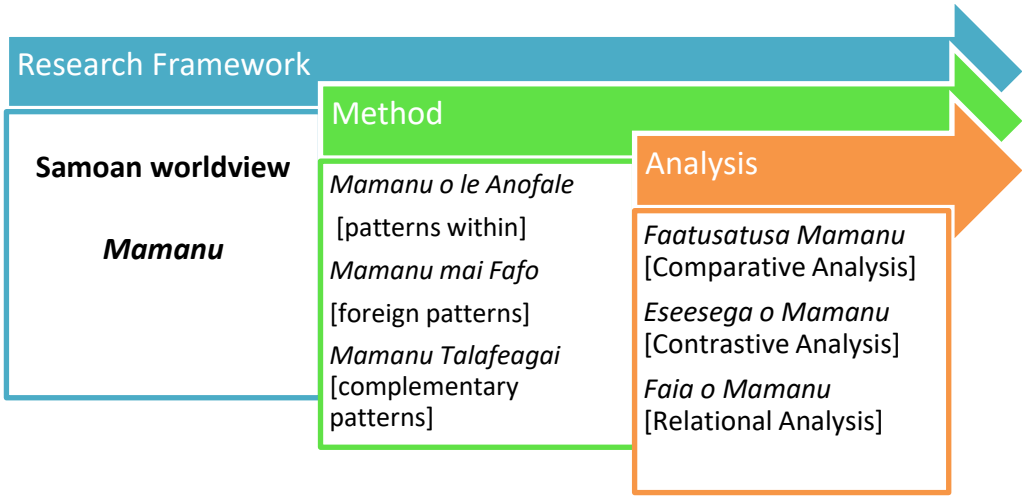
The word *faia* is defined as bridge (Pratt 1911,126); it depicts a notion of relation or connection. The definition given by Pratt articulates the significance role of the bridge in connecting two separate pieces of land. In this aspect it accentuates the cause of the separation of the two pieces of land, hence enabling us to consider the significance of the bridge in connecting the gap in between. Upolu Luma Vaai and Unaisi Nabobo-Baba regarded *faia* as relational (2017,11). It underscores the multidimensionality of relations of a person to both his/her past and present situation, hence enabling us to acknowledge the present as a product of the past. Furthermore, Fatilua Fatilua suggests that "*Faia*…signifies the existence of an interconnectedness that holds everything together for better or for worse" (2018, 32). In this point of reference, the appreciative and creative notion of *faia* is reflected. Therefore, *faia* is not just to connect or relate two separate parties, it goes beyond to interrogate and acknowledge all microcosmic relations hence contributed to the success of an existence.

Faia o mamanu, in this undertaking, attempts to reconstruct and reorient discrepancies and similarities obtained from the *Faatusatusa and Eseesega o mamanu*. It is a reweaving process of *mamanu* which exhibits inclusiveness, a complementary history that acknowledges whilst scrupulously investigating both strengths and weaknesses of patterns which contribute to the development of the history of education in Samoa. As claimed by Bebbington:

> The (history) discipline itself is not a matter of reading, but researching. It entails calling accepted views into questions on the basis of freshly discovered or freshly interpreted evidence. History demands a critical frame of mind (1979, 4).

For this reason, *faia o mamanu* is not intending to romanticise facts for the sake of the *mamanu* but it is a task that encompasses an honourable investigation of our own history, stories and narratives, hence avoiding the stagnancy of interpretation. Thus, in relational interpretations, "humans' relationships with themselves, their gods, with others and the environment become the text [*mamanu*] where the 'truth' resides, and where relational ethics provides the secular and sacred moral codes which govern human behaviour within these relationships" (Anae 2014, 96).

Figure 1: Mamanu Model



1.6. Thesis Problem

The existing historical evidence tends to suggest that the emphasis placed on the importance of education by the LMS missionaries was an essential part of the overall framework deliberately used to evangelise the Samoans. Such a strategy was widely used in the 19th century by the mission societies in their work (Howe 1978, 34). It was a major paradigm shift which changed the life of the recipients forever. For the first time in their history, Samoans were confronted with a new epistemological system; a foreign methodology in how to attain knowledge and appreciate its benefits. It was an alternative Samoans found difficult to ignore. Murray recorded that at their

(missionaries and teachers) meeting on the 4th April 1837, they managed to acquire reports from various stations which showed huge progress of things being made in the different departments of their work. He stated that:

> […] the professionally Christian party was steadily increasing in numbers, the Schools and services were well attended, and many were desirous of making a public avowal of their attachment to Christ (1892, 56).

It would appear that this captivated the attention of the Samoans for they were quick to make the connection that such knowledge seemed to be responsible for the material wealth personified in the lifestyle of the missionaries. The European system of learning and the nature and purpose of such an enterprise was a vital tool in the subtle introduction of western civilisation.

Sad to say, but this educational development undermined certain prominent indigenous values. As mentioned in the scope of the thesis, this paper attempts to explore historical evidence to support the argument that we (Samoans) had our own indigenous epistemological system which perpetuated our knowledge and thought system before the arrival of the missionaries. In fact, the arrival of the missionaries in the 19th century gave rise to what is called "formal education" or education in classrooms which in some cases devalued our own ways of learning and teaching. Significantly, the work investigates history to judge whether the devaluing and neglecting of our own indigenous learning and teaching skill was due to the ignorance of the missionaries or due to the enthusiasm of our people to make their own the introduced way of attaining knowledge.

There are a few studies by Samoans on the history of the CCCS where the subject of education is partially covered. Oka Fauolo's '*The Miracle of the Saving Love; A History of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa'* (2005) predominantly focusses on the achievements of the church at the hands of the LMS missionaries. The

establishment of schools is one of these accomplishments. Aukilani Tuai in his PhD thesis in 2012, "The Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, 1962-2002: A Study of the Issues and Policies that have Shaped the Independent Church" discovers the decline of the schools of the CCCS in the period 1980-1990 due to mismanagement. Latu Latai, in his Master's thesis (2005) "E au le ina'ilau a Tamaitai: The history of Samoan Missionary wives in the Evangelisation of Papua New Guinea from 1883 to 1975", draws attention to the missionaries' wives as products of the educational development by the LMS missionaries. He specifically mentions Papauta. Tafesilafa'i Lavasi'i recorded the history of the Malua Theological College in his thesis called "To Supply them with Knowledge: A History of the Samoan Mission Seminary 1844-1875" in fulfilling his Bachelor of Divinity in 1984 at the Pacific Theological College. Lavasii's attempt predominantly aimed to separate the history of the Samoan Mission Seminary now known as Malua Theological College from the history of the church as well as its contribution to the development of both Samoa and various part of the Pacific. However, distinct to this research is a comparative and a contrastive investigation of the indigenous ways of teaching and learning (delivery modes, motivation of education and the content of learning) with the foreign or new ideas in obtaining the knowledge introduced and imposed by the LMS missionaries. In that point the abovementioned research will be utilised and are, of course, helpful sources in exploring the proposed aim of this undertaking.

Employing an indigenous method in recovering the mute voice of our people in history not only offers important insights into the missionary enterprise but it also provides new questions and new ways of thinking about the colonial process in the Pacific; questions targeting the effectiveness of teaching and learning projects and the implications of these for the Samoan people (Latai 2016, 16). Latai harbours the view

that our own indigenous knowledge system accentuates a more relevant and meaningful kind of formal education for our people. His view resonates with the concern raised by Konai Helu Thaman in the book named '*Whispers and Vanities'*

> In almost all Pacific Island communities, formal education is 'extractive' in the sense that students acquire knowledge, skills and values that often do not allow them to fit easily back into their island communities, forcing them to seek work in urban areas or, as is increasingly the case, in the metropolitan centres of other countries (2014, 303)

The most damaging impact of the approach in education, mentioned by Thaman, is the heightening of disconnectedness. The Western educational system damages relationships as in *faasinomaga* (sense of belonging, identity). This is the problem faced by most of our graduates from the schools in Apia and also from overseas; the incompatibility of the gained knowledge and the graduates' home context.

This leads the study to consider perceptions by the Samoans of the Europeans (missionaries) during their first encounter. Perhaps it was due to their understanding of the European missionaries when the Samoans donated their lands for schools and churches. This offering of lands was part of the contribution of the Samoans to the development of formal education. Yet, this is ignored by most history records as if offering lands for schools was not important. To the Samoans, to accept the European God empowered them to get hold of European wealth. Presumably the giving of lands to the missionaries was one way of getting rich. Most likely, Christianity or the Christian life was a means to that end. The end, of course, or what was foremost in the mind of the people was the acquisition of material wealth.

Perhaps the same perception was in the minds of the people when engaging with formal education; to succeed in life was to be educated. This is not to say that education is bad but the concern at this point is our definition of being intelligent. Nevertheless, if we still define 'being intelligent' as *the only* way to get material wealth then the

problems of individualism and capitalism pop up. These problems prominently devalue our own relational ways of learning. The concern at this point is the unavoidable growth of a dualistic understanding of things. The attention focuses only on the smart learners, the intelligent, the educated who are the big shots, so to speak. The contribution of the farmers, the fishermen, and all other people with natural talents, people who had never had any formal education, is sadly underestimated. In fact, these talents or experiences, which people informally learnt from elders and parents contribute to the well-being of the whole community. Therefore, it is the task of this study to retrace historical evidence that considers our side of the story in order to produce a narrative that tells of our people, our ideas, as well as our unacknowledged contribution to the development of formal education at its outset.

1.6.1. Hermeneutic in Pacific History

The employing of an indigenous model like *mamanu* is an attempt to recover the voice of our Pacific people. This voice has long been silenced by the colonial models of education. It is therefore imperative to discuss some general notions which have triggered the decolonising movement within the Pacific.

Specifically, within the discipline of Pacific History, numerous studies have attempted to discuss the idea of rewriting, rethinking and decolonising the history of the Pacific. Niel Gunson records that when Jim Davidson occupied the foundation chair of the Pacific History at the Australia National University in 1970, Davidson initiated a move to turn imperial history on its head (992, 4). The mandate was a result of his involvement in Pacific affairs around the 1940's to '50s.[8] Davidson encouraged the Pacific historians to write history from their own perspective, experience and values and

[8] Davidson was a Cambridge academic already playing a political role in Samoa as an adviser to the New Zealand government (Gunson 1992)

as participants of a particular society rather than of the imperial power influence. And we have R G Crocombe with "*Demeaning Spectacles*" (1973), Doug Munro with the *Outsider/Insider Dichotomy* that questions who owns the Pacific History (1994) as well as Serge Tcherkezoff's double approach known as "*Internal and Ethnographic*" analysis to deal with the first contacts of the Polynesia specifically the case of Samoa. The first approach, "Internal", re-examines the voyagers' original accounts and the latter, "Ethnographic", is his reinterpretation of the ethnographic work in the 19th century to yield a different outcome from the European lens which was used to record the history of the Pacific (2004). Latu Latai in his PhD thesis "*Recuperating the voice of the Samoan Women in the mission to Papua New Guinea*" uses a "Double Vision" lens (2016). Latai's work is basically concerned with the unacknowledged contribution of the pastors' wives in Papua New Guinea.

The predominant aim of such necessary approaches was to help and guide Pacific historians to revisit and rethink the history of the Pacific which was written through a foreign lens. The new emphasis was to look at history from our own perspective and to question what had been written (history) which unfortunately tended to define who we are and what we are in the present time. What is distinct about this move is the interweaving of the personal experience of the Pacific historian in his/her analytical approach. Davidson has claimed that:

> To the historian, directly concerned as he is with the analysis of human motives, the relationships between personal experience and the intellectual discipline is perhaps of rather special importance. From study of the past he (historian) clarifies and extends his understanding of the present; and from preoccupation with the present problems he may derive enlightenment as to the character of those that exercised the minds of earlier generations. (27, 1969).

Davidson highlights the importance of the personal experience of the historian in engaging with the past; in his attempt to bring to life the disposition of our ancestors

and to convey to us the flaws and successes within history that we need to contemplate. Therefore, *mamanu* as a model articulates my experience as a Samoan and at the same time aims to take part in rewriting the history of the Pacific specifically with regard to the establishing of schools or formal education in Samoa.

1.7. Summary

This chapter discusses my view of education as the product of my upbringing. This was done to firstly highlight the motivation behind this undertaking. My encounter with various patterns of education in life gave rise to the *mamanu* concept which frames the progress of this work. The multidimensionality of the *mamanu* of an art work spells out '*faia*' (relationship) between individual patterns. The '*faia*' articulates the beauty of a single task and that is the most significant feature of *mamanu* that will be used in this research.

Secondly, the worldview also highlights both the issue and the hypothesis of this work. When the missionaries changed the Samoans through formal education, our indigenous epistemological system started to fade. The hypothesis presents the belief that the devaluing of our indigenous teaching and learning system was the result of the enthusiasm of the missionaries to educate the 'uneducated'.

The next chapter, *mamanu o le anofale*, will focus on the indigenous strategies that were used by our ancestors to sustain the knowledge and thought system of our people. The three stages of the *mamanu* method, discussed in this chapter, enable this research to investigate historical evidence from the pre-missionaries or pre-1800s period in the hope of finding the required data for the undertaking.

Chapter 2

Mamanu o le Anofale (Patterns Within)

2.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to explore the pre-history or the pre-missionary era which generally is referred to as the pre-1800s. Distinct to this chapter is the exploration of the *mamanu*, the indigenous epistemological system utilised by Samoans in the pre-missionary era. Firstly, the chapter elaborates the Samoan word for education 'a*oga'*. In doing so, it enables the study to take into consideration the relationship between education, *aganuu* (tradition/culture) and *faaSamoa* (the Samoan way of doings). Also, it considers space for education which contrasts with the introduction of a specific place for education within the classroom realm or formal education. Secondly, the chapter explores the worldview of the Samoan embedded in *talatuu* (oral traditions or stories/knowledge from the past passed down through the generations) as both the mode of delivery and content of education in Samoa, which constitutes the motivation of being well instructed in contrast with the western art of literacy and theoretical strategies. The myth of creation will be investigated as the source of knowledge of the pre-missionary era.

2.2. *Faa-tufuga-ga o le Atamai*: Patterning Knowledge

The Samoan word for education is *aoga*. *Aoga* is derived from the root word *a'o* meaning 'to teach or to learn' (Pratt 1876, 58). Milner has extended the meaning of the term by giving examples of the uses of the word *a'o* which include: "To learn, as in, *O fea na a'o ai lau faitautusi*? (Where did you learn to read?) To train, as in, "*O lea a e a'o le faa-saienisi a Lola*" (Lola is training to be a scientist.) To study, as in, "*Ou te le*

fiafia e a'o" (I hate studying.) To practise, as in, "*A'o faalelei lau lauga*" (Practise your speech properly) (1996, 22). It is important to note Milner's examples of the word *a'o* in Samoan language that can be translated into various English words. However, *a'o,* as in obtaining knowledge, is the most important fact in this case.

In the Samoan language, the plural form of a word is made by duplicating the first syllable of a word. In doing so, a diminutive or frequentative force is given to the verb (Pratt 30, 1911).[1] So, in that sense, the plural form of the word *a'o* is *a'oa'o*. *A'oa'o* articulates the repetitive and continuous action of learning, teaching, training and/or practising. The form expresses a continuous notion of the action *a'o* whilst signifying a practical-based method undertaken by the Samoans. That means obtaining and imparting knowledge is carried out through participating, imitating and observing which leads to learning and teaching. As Turner explains:

> Girls always, and boys for four or five years, are under the special charge of the mother and follow her in her domestic avocations. The girl is taught to draw water, gather shellfish, make mats and native cloth. The boy, after a time, follows his father, and soon is useful in planting, fishing, house-building, and all kinds of manual labour. (1861, 177).

Accordingly, Turner's observation signifies interconnectedness between parents and children as well as with the surrounding environment, thus enabling the knowledge to be sustained within the art of teaching and learning. The practice of learning and teaching could happen everywhere and anywhere at any age. By way of delivery, oral communication was utilised in teaching. This was enhanced by demonstrations and normal family as well as community activities. The learners, on their part, acquired knowledge and skill from participating with and imitating the elders.

Aoga or education, as the noun form of the word *a'o,* is therefore in the Samoan understanding deemed as a way of initiating and relating one's character to the way of

[1] For further reading see "Grammar Dictionary and Samoan Language" by George Pratt. (30-32)

life of the society and community. Konai Helu Thaman defines *aoga* or in Tongan *ako* as "an introduction to a worthwhile learning and teaching" (2003, 73). Indigenous education was largely informal (unorganised, non-institutionalised, worthwhile learning) and non-formal (organised, non-institutionalised, worthwhile learning) yet what was worthwhile to learn and teach was achieved primarily through oral traditions, such as myths, legends, dance, poetry, songs, proverbs and certain rituals such as *Fanaafi o Faamalama*[2] (evening prayers).

Crucially, the transmission of skills and knowledge through *aoga* for the Samoans and various islands of the Polynesia are for cultural survival, growth and continuity. In that context the purpose of Samoan traditional education, according to Thomas and Postlethewaite cited by Niseta Buatava is as follows:

> *Aoga* [w]as to familiarise the young with the organisational structure of Samoan society, the roles people played in it, their culture's foundation, and the rewards and punishments for abiding by or violating the society's standards and expectations (2003, 117).

A similar notion is expressed by Thaman in the Tongan educational system, "early Tongan education was informal (i.e. unorganised worthwhile learning) aimed at the continuation of the social order and the maintenance of the status quo" (2003, 74). Apparently, the basic motivation for being educated was to continue and sustain our *aganuu* (culture). In fact, the content of the 'organisational structure and culture foundation' lies at the heart of the Samoan '*talatuu*' manifested and performed through songs, poems, *fagogo*, and rituals. In that way, it articulates the nature of existentialism that is rooted in the indigenous philosophies, "either by movement to the beginning (past) or the beginning [having] been transferred to the end and then we have a movement to the future but with the same goal' (Talapusi 1990, 176). This can be

[2] See further reading Le-Tagaloa Aiono Fanaafi "Motugaafa" 1996

reflected by an on-going use of the proverbial sayings derived from '*talatuu*' or stories of the past within present political and religious ceremonies. According to Duranti cited by Lefau Sauvao-Va'auli:

> Samoan lauga (oratorical speech) celebrates an ancient world, full of mythical-historical characters and places, eternal value an immutable hierarchy. Some of the recurrent properties of a traditional lauga found in a ceremonial performance are the frequent use of arcane expressions, metaphors and proverbs along with the consistent selection of lexical items called 'Upu Faaaloalo' (respectful words). (p.22)

The abovementioned discussion of *aoga* obviously clarifies that *aganuu* dictates the content of the Samoan educational system in the pre-missionary era. This necessitates a proper connection between *aoga* and *aganuu*. The considerable existing literature gives the definition of *aganuu* that can be cited. However, the following definitions point out its important aspect; that the study believes is in fact suitable to this undertaking. *Aganuu,* according to Tofaeono, can be defined as two distinctive characteristics.

> The word aga refers to the moral and social or behavioural character of a *nuu* (village of a community). Aga bespeaks the spiritual (when interpreted from agaga – spirits) character of the community. It includes their visions, dreams, anticipations, fears and hopes, or the way they conceive and face the ups and downs of life. This means that [the] spiritual and social behaviours of the community are intimately interwoven to foster a specific ethos and a way of life of a society (2000, 22).

Meleisea, on the other hand, suggests, "The word for culture defines the unity. *Aganuu* speaks of nature and nurture in the same breath; for *aga* is the essence of nature and things, while *nuu* represents the sum of man's learned experience" (2008, 177).

In a similar manner, Thaman defines culture as "the way of life of a group of people, and is inclusive of its education system, language and worldview" (2003, 73)[3].

[3] Culture: Ron Crocombe (1980) used the term culture in two main ways. He writes that the term is used in the narrow sense focussing on (i) creative expressions such as language, song, dance and art, and (ii) and the broader anthropological perspective in which culture is regarded as a total way of life. See Vilson Tausie in "Art in New Pacific" (1980): Firstly, culture gives one confidence and identity. A

Seen in the light of these perceptions in the relationships between *aoga* and *aganuu* it clearly illustrates that the Samoan epistemological system is relationally based. In agreeably with Thaman expression of this connection she says "education is about people and people have cultural histories which include their particular ways of knowing and understanding the world in which they live, including important beliefs and values that have been handed down to them from previous generations […] (1997, 119). It is grounded on *faia* and guided by values such as *va fealoa'i* (mutual respect). Firstly, imparting and obtaining knowledge by the Samoans cannot treat the religious (sacred) and social (secular) as separate entities. They are considered equally important as the foundation of educating and nurturing ethos for a Samoan. In that context the behaviours and ontological notion of the sacred relational spaces have epistemological underpinnings based on the Samoan worldview.[4] As Tuiatua rightly suggests, the Samoan and Pacific worldview is a "worldview that understands the environment, humans, the animate and inanimate – all-natural-life – as having its sources in the same divine origin, imbued with life force, interrelated and genealogically connected" (2007, 31). This way of seeing the world leads to holistic approaches and practices that seek the integration of multiple elements. The way the Samoans pictured the concept of nature, of self or society is grounded on the intimate *faia*. They regarded every single matter in their surroundings as part of their life. Nothing is more important than then the other but they grounded on a belief that they are biologically brought forth from the

person without a culture is a person without a soul. Culture is something that belongs to a group – it is something its members can call their own. Even if other people can imitate it, what they produce will usually be 'second rate'. Culture is a means by which a group can assert itself and develop confidence. Secondly, cultural expression allows for greater fulfilment of the potential of everyone.

[4] This is an important point because it is one of the consequences of the foreign mamanu of education introduced by the missionaries which separated the religious schools from secular schools. This will be further discussed in chapter three.

same womb.[5] As equally observed by Marshall Sharlins and cited by Crawford James "the presence of 'truncated descent lines' may be related to an 'ecology wherein resource zones are not widely separated, but are clustered such that all domestic groups can engage in the entire range of production' (Crawford 1977, 14)

Tuiatua underscores three interrelated elements of a Samoan worldview that further elaborates on the claim of this undertaking that *aganuu* prescribes the content of the Samoan epistemological system. They are the 'cosmos' which deals with sacredness and gods; 'people' which includes social systems, *faamatai*, customs, beliefs and practices; and the physical elements concerning land, sea and sky. It is a perspective that depicts a value-based way of knowledge system. Speaking about the relationships between the three elements necessitates a deliberation on the social and sacred relational spaces or '*va*' which are central to the Samoan epistemological system. Therefore, *manuia* (peace, consciousness, blessings, intelligent) lies in the "harmony within oneself, with one's fellow men, with the cosmos and with the environment" (2005, 2). The knowledge of a person or "family custodian of indigenous knowledge' as Tuiatua refers to in the book named "*Whispers in Vanities"* is imperative to be shared in order for family members to find their roots for their *faasinomaga*. In that sense, before the arrival of missionaries, Samoa did not have separate places to teach and learn. As it is contemporarily known, institutional formal schooling has transmitted faith-based religious and secular knowledge and simultaneously took place both within the *aiga* or family and *fale o matai* such as village meeting house establishments.

Couched with the content of education as embedded in the *aganuu*, it is also significant to deliberate the rationale behind being educated in the pre-missionary era. In that context, the worthwhile subjects to learn comprised the past philosophies and

[5] This will be further illustrated later under the Samoa creation story as a source of intelligence.

worldviews embedded in our *aganuu*. It makes a group of people or an island unique from others. This is, in fact, *mamanu*: the worldview of the present in order to react to continuous changes in life. Thaman, cited by Teweiariki Teaero, further signifies this by saying:

> Most of these [Pacific] cultures have stores of knowledge and understandings, beliefs and values developed over thousands of years and passed on from generation to generation in languages that were appropriate for living in society and meaningful to learners. These cultures have adapted to the many changes in the past, but the main aim of learning has remained unchanged – cultural survival and continuity (2002,4).

Significantly, attempting to learn about our cultures, according to Thaman, prepares any generation to deal with changes in life. Aiono pictures this connection of changes and education to a mount on a free-running horse. In order to deal with changes in life, education must be the rider who controls the changes (the horse) (1996, 1). In doing that she says, "education must set the pace, must decide and measure the steps as well as the stops, must measure the burden and weigh the load as well as map out the destination" (1996, 1). This is where *faasamoa* comes into the scene. According to Goodall:

> "Faasamoa is an unwritten body of tradition but, chiefly, it refers to something still more subtle and indefinable, an attitude, a characteristic mode of reaction to certain demands and challenges, the persistence of ancient loyalties, standards, and beliefs which remain incompatible with any other "way" (1954, 378).

Goodall is aware of the diverse understanding of some Samoan scholars[6] of the term *aganuu* and *faasamoa*. But as discussed, the *aganuu* is the content of education, and *faasamoa*, as argued in this study, declares how the Samoans enact religious and social values, beliefs and worldviews to cope with changes in life. This matches with Anae, cited by Tuagalu, that *faasamo*a "is the rules and emotions that govern Samoan

[6] Roina Faatauvaa refers to *faasamoa* as culture and tradition In "Ordination of Women: A Critical study of the Present status of Women in Samoa with Reference to the Methodist Church in Samoa" 1991,

behaviour…" (2008, 108). This rule, according to Anae, defines the questions of 'why' the Samoans perform things in certain ways. Furthermore, Anae lists some of the institutions such as *tautala faasamoa* (language), *aiga* (family), *matai* (chiefly system), *faalupega* (village chiefly honorifics) and *faalavelave* (entanglements) (2008, 108) all of which make a Samoan a real Samoan. The *faasamoa* anchors the belief system of the people and upholds their identity as Samoans by an on-going accomplishment of these sanctions. As Gilson contends, *faasamoa* is "an essentially conservative element within Samoan society; it should be seen as tied to preservation of a Samoan identity; [rather] than to mere opposition to change" (1970, 14). This conservative nature of the Samoan was experienced by the missionaries when Christianity appeared to be Samoanised[7], the Samoan aspects of indigenous religion were [assimilated] and adopted as part of Christianity (Vaai 2012, 77). Participating and imitating the *faasamoa* in such a way was, in fact, an epistemological and ontological tactic in sustaining and continuing the nurturing of the younger generations about these significant entities of the *faasamoa*.

However, when missionaries arrived with formal education, things started to change. Take, for instance, the term *aoga* which was and is now regarded as a specific place consisting of school buildings, teachers, textbooks and a fountain of knowledge. On the contrary, in the pre-missionary era, the teacher-student relationship was undertaken between elders (family *matais*, parents, uncles and aunties) and children. *Mamanu*-ing of one's knowledge and skill was not confined to a specialised teacher or specific place (schools) but was a collective responsibility of society. As rightly differentiated by Thaman "unlike the western, scientific traditions of inquiry, Pacific inquiry tends to be less abstract and analytical and more practical and substantive (2003, 7). Thaman elaborated more by saying that "logical thinking (as described by western

[7] For further reading see Featuna'i Liuaana "Samoan Tula'i" 2004.

philosophers) is not usually emphasised, although this does not mean that Pacific peoples are not able to think logically and abstractly" (2003, 7). This is because our knowledge system is grounded in our ancestor's philosophies which are embedded in the everyday experience of people.

In summary, the indigenous educational system is built upon *faia*. It enables a Samoan to learn about the knowledge system (philosophy, psychology, religious, social relations) stored in our sets of subjects or the *aganuu* which accustomed one's character to the way of life which is distinct to the Samoans or *faasamoa*. In saying this, the secular perception of people cannot be dismissed from the religious beliefs of the surroundings. The idea of obtaining and imparting knowledge is not confined between people, or a set of theories but being intelligent is deemed to be the result of acknowledging the *faia* between humans and the spiritual blessings of elders and the surrounding cosmos. It is cosmological. The social, political, economic and religious perspective of humans was never anthropocentric; in fact, perspective was shaped by *faia* between nature, humans and the ancestors. Furthermore, the way we react to changes in life is reversible; the present is always being informed by the ever-living philosophies of our ancestors through spoken speeches and rituals such as the village council and kava ceremony. It is reversible.

2.3. Space for Education: *Aiga, Nuu, Itumalo*[8] versus School

This section attempts to deliberate upon the subject of where education took place before the arrival of the missionaries. It is not the purpose of this part of the work to define in detail the meaning of *aiga, nuu* and *itumalo* but to consider a space for *aoga*. The introduction of school buildings by the LMS missionaries was foreign to the

[8] Aiga means family, nuu is village and itumalo is districts.

experience of the people. There was no specific place for education to take place, but it happened everywhere, within the *aiga*, village and in district as whole. One of the Samoan sayings is '*O aoga a mea uma*', meaning 'education is everywhere'. If it is sports, planting, dancing, singing or even making an *umu* (oven), people take it as ways of learning and teaching new skills. In that sense, the Samoans look at these chores as *avanoa* (gap or space); or opportunities to obtain more knowledge and skills. This space, according to Walter Brueggemann

> […] means an arena of freedom, without coercion or accountability, free of pressure and void of authority. Space may be imagined as weekend, holiday, avocation, and is characterized [sic] by a kind of neutrality or emptiness waiting to be filled by our choosing (1977,5).

An extracted comment by Brueggemann highlights two significant features of space which resonate with the nature of education in Samoa. First, *aoga* was an involuntary activity. In saying this, there were no specific guidelines for the learner to achieve within a set period of time. The content or curriculum as we are now using as guiding principles for schools was embedded in the everyday experience of the people. Therefore, the on-going performing of *aganuu* by the elders naturally transmits the knowledge and skills to the younger generation. Second is the neutrality or emptiness, the eagerness of the people to learn. Whatever activity is undertaken by someone, or what instruction or word comes from the mouths of the elders, were regarded as valuable lessons for the future of one's character. This necessitates the discussion of the concepts within the three spaces given by *aiga*, *nuu* and *itumalo*.

2.3.1. *Aiga*: Primary Level of Education

The *aiga* family or household is generally regarded as the cradle of being educated within the Samoan context. As one Samoan proverbial saying goes; "*E amata mea uma i totonu o lou aiga, ma o iina e amata ai tatou sailiiliga i le aganuu*", meaning

"The starting point to search for your culture starts in the family". Before the arrival of missionaries, the *aiga* was regarded as both the kindergarten and primary school of a child as reflected in one of the Samoan sayings "*O le aiga o le ulua'i faleaoga*", meaning "Family is the first ever space for learning". It signifies the importance of *aiga* as the starting point for learning about the *aganuu*. It is where a Samoan child started to encounter basic *mamanu* of knowledge from the daily diet of advice. As Aiono argues:

> [t]he Samoan philosophy of language believes that the proper diet for the young humans is language. Feed the human with words; sweet words, polite words, fearless words; and courageous words, harsh and strong words; deep and spiritual words, words of tofa manino; words of atonement; words of reconciliation and forgiveness; words of the tapuaiga; for the words and tones of the mother tongue will enhance and facilitate the realization of each individual being created by God" (1996, 82)

From this perspective it underscores the ultimate importance of both the language and dialogical approach in conveying such diet for the young generation. It is indeed within this diet of wisdom that a Samoan child encounters to learn about important aspects of one's *faasinomaga* (sense of belonging) embedded in the entrusted wisdom of the *aiga* (details will be discussed late in this chapter). These aspects include lands and sea boundaries, *matai* titles, family genealogies which upholds one's *faia* within the family that any Samoan should aware of. One of the integral aspects of this diet of wisdom is defining roles and responsibilities of a child. And significant to these roles is the notion of *faia* embedded within the brother-sister relationship called *feagaiga* (literally means covenant). In fact, there is no other space to find about these aspects of life than within the *aiga.* In that sense participation and involvement in family gatherings such as the *fanaafi o faamalama* (evening prayer) or a family informal discussion or even the everyday family chores is crucial for any Samoan child in obtaining the knowledge.

Furthermore, on the significance of language it is also noted from Aiono's perspective that language through a dialogical approach exhibits both the spiritual and ordinary *mamanu* of a Samoan child. Hence these *mamanu* becomes the permanent artefacts which enlighten and guide the view of a child to the outside world. As in the words of Caroline von Humboldt "The whole field of ideas, everything that concerns the human being first and foremost, the very thing which beauty and art depend, enters the mind solely through the study of language, the source of all thought and feeling (cited by Hohendahl 1989, 259).

The *aiga* in the Samoan understanding is not just the parent-child relationship or group of people who are genealogically connected as it is given in the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (Deuter 2015, 557). *Aiga* according to Crawford includes

> [all] members of the domestic household […] all those belonging to one of the maximal descent groups, designated by the prefix Sa [Sa Malitoa, Sa Tupua] as aiga potopoto [extended family]. Corporately, they inherit land and other property, and own and control a title or titles (1977, 19).

Gilson further elaborates the matai-household relationship by saying;

> Each household has its chief, or matai, a man whose authority extends to all members in their performance of domestic tasks, in the maintenance of orderly relations among them, and in the regulation of their relations with other village households. The chief controls the recruitment of household members and may expel anyone who, by refusing to submit to his authority, threatens the unity of the group (Gilson 1970, 15).

Accordingly, the role of the matai at this point correlates with Holmes expression that;

> The matai is a father to all who live beneath his roof. He is responsible for the welfare of the group through efficient administration of the family lands and resources. The chief of a Samoa may considered as privilege class but not without special obligations and demands (1987,40).

Mamanu-ing the knowledge of a child according to the above junctures is the responsibility of the *matai* or the elders. As Margaret noted that, "in Samoan families there is a relative lack of strong emotional attachment between children and their biological parents" (1928, 210). *The aiga potopoto* (extended family) portrays a picture

of multiple ways of learning for a child from the elders within the space of *aiga*. Needless to say when it comes to hostility and misbehaving, resentment is diffused because more than one individual can punish a child. This is further defined by the *matai's* obligations and demands through teaching his family members about the entrusted wisdom. This includes family genealogies, land and sea boundaries, expected values as well as their gods.

Moreover, imparting the knowledge within the *aiga* initiates a child to both the spiritual and ordinary learning entities of the *aganuu*. As Tofaeono rightly contends that "The concept of *aiga* constitutes the wholeness of Samoan life. It has bonded the divine and the ordinary into synthesis of existence" (2000, 30). In that context it accentuates Aiono's analogy of feeding the child with the right wisdom enhanced by the dialogical approach. In saying this there is a strong belief of the Samoans that the *faamanuiaga* (blessings) is conferred through a breath or dialogical way. This is only done by the elders as a reward of his/her service to the family. In imparting such a blessing Tuagalu refers to this kind of *faamanuiaga* as *'mavaega'*[9] or last will, she states; "The *faamanuiaga* is 'breathed' into the recipient and is of vital importance to the future of the family" (2008, 116). Sadly to say that the reverse is true, failure to show an acceptable behaviour results in a *malaia* (curse)[10]. Significantly *aiga* as a learning space determines the future of a child. Furthermore, here we can see the involvement of practical–oriented and dialogical-based kind of instructing a child. Conversely, this goes back to the role of the elders and *matai* in the family in disciplining a child to avoid such curses from falling upon a child. In that way the

[9] The same notion of the concept of mavae also found in "Mavae and Tofiga by Albert Refiti 2014

[10] See for further reading in the Kramer, 1994: 280-81, the story about Tupuivao who lost his inheritance to the Tui Atua and Tui Aana titles when his mother disowned him due to his refusal to admit to her request but preferred instead to hunt pigeons.

mamanu of knowledge designed within the *aiga* prepares a Samoan child to enter the secondary level of instruction which is the *nuu* and *itumalo.* Unfortunately, how did the Samoans in the missionary era and the present enable to continue these kinds of bestowing the blessing when the missionaries introduced boarding schools?

2.3.2. *Nuu*: The Secondary and Tertiary Level

As afore discussed the crux of a child's early *mamanu* of knowledge is predominantly takes place in a space of the *aiga*. The deliberation about the space of *nuu* attempts to identify the social and cultural organisation of the *nuu* which at the same time highlights *faia* within it.

Meleisea defines the *nuu* as:

> The nu'u was more than a settlement, it was a territory which was collectively owned and controlled by a number of bilateral corporate descent groups termed aiga…politically autonomous with its own hierarchy of leaders and historical traditions or "charter" summarised in the faalupega (refers to address of greeting which encapsulate rank of authorities and their genealogical origin within the nu'u) (1987, 6).

The above expression signifies two important aspects of the *nuu* that the study needs to draw particular attention upon. First is a *nuu* is collectively owned and controlled by corporate units of *aiga*. Second; the *faalupega* not only makes a *nuu* distinct from others in a district and in the national state but also reflects it's self-governing with regards with its rules and regulations.

The *nu'u* has two well-defined parallel hierarchies of distinct spheres of activities known as the '*nu'u o alii'* (council of men) and '*nuu o tama'ita'i'* (village of women). These sexual divisions are based on primarily on the complement of the sister and brother and not so much of the husband and wife (Faatauvaa 1991,2). Within these two

villages each *aiga* has its defined member (*matai*)[11] as a representative to the development and welfare of the *nuu*.

In serving the *matai* the *aumaga* (the group of untitled men of the village) are responsible to the serving the *matai* for its daily functioning. The *aualuma* (local descendants' women) on the other hand do the same in the village of *tama'ita'i*.

In many cases the women received somewhat an equal respect to that of the *matai*. This prestigious position of the women derived from the above said brother-sister *faia* called *fegaiga*. Furthermore, this respect of the women is also reflected in some of their roles which similar and somehow complement to that of the *matai*. The *feagaiga* is also called *'o le pae ma le auli'* which translates as the 'shell and the iron' referring to her role as the peace maker. She is the *'fai'oa'* the 'maker of valuables' like *ietoga* or fine mats and *siapo* or tapa which are extremely important to the social cultural of Samoans. She is the *Taulasea* the healer, the *tausala* (the ransom) or *taulaga* (the offering) referring to her role as the redeemer who will be able to ransom or redeem the *aiga* in time of dire need (Latai 302) (Aiono 1996). In the course of worship, the *fegaiga* is the only person who can replace the *matai* in leading the worship ceremony.

Deliberating upon these *faia* within the social structure of the *nuu* it stressed out the prestigious positions held by both the matai and the *feagaiga*. Ostensibly in the later chapter we will see how *Malietoa Vainuupo* the political leader of Samoa in 1830 handed over the *feagaiga* to the missionaries as a point of acceptance them in the Samoan *aiga* as a sister (Robson 2009, 29). Consequently, the expressed values and status of both the matai and the feagaiga were conferred to the *Faifeau* which perhaps became the potential factor in encouraging the Samoans (male and female) to attend

[11] The title of the man in the village of men allocate the position of the wife within the village of women.

schools established by the missionaries. Yet tolerate changes foreign *mamanu* of knowledge to supersede the indigenous *mamanu* of knowledge.

2.4. History in *Talatuu*: Samoan Pre-Missionary Worldview

Talatuu or *talatuugutu* is made up of three words. *Tala* means story, tale, and narrative. *Tuu*, according to Pratt, means to convey, place, let go or permit, put aside or to pass (1862, 140), while *gutu* means mouth. *Talatuu*, in this sense, refers to stories or narratives of the past that are left to be passed on or transmitted from one generation to another. Similarly, Tofaeono defines the term as "stories which had been told and are left to be retold in perpetuity" (1999, 22). Tofaeono refers to these stories as a whole complex of religio-cultural teachings, practices, norms of behaviour and life-ways that were orally handed down from long ago. The oral transmission of the stories accentuates the significant aspect of memorising or rote learning. This correlates with Bruce Briggs definition, he states; "Oral Tradition is any culturally defined, word of mouth way of intentionally passing on information about the past" (1979, 82).

The Samoan worldview of history was determined before the accession of the Christianity upon Samoa. It was the worldview that was affected and manipulated by the Christianity's civilisation and centralisation specifically formal education. It is for a purpose of this part of the study to take us back to investigate how Samoans in the pre-missionary era perceive and find meanings in relation to their surrounding world. As Wilhelm Dilthey in the book called *Wilhelm Dilthey Pattern and Meaning in History* edited by H. P. Rickman states;

> Human life and history are meaningful. […] All the meaning in human life is linked to its temporal structure. To a momentary consciousness unaware of the past and future the world would not be meaningful at all. Such a pure consciousness, groping its way back to its own past and its place in the world by means of argument, is, in fact, a misleading figment of philosopher's imagination. Man's [sic] past, present and future is interlock

> at every moment of his life and every experience is meaningful to him in terms of these temporal dimensions (1951, 31-32).

From this perspective seeking to find an overview of understanding of the pre-missionary serves to re-connect this task to the *mamanu* of the pre 1800s period. Needless to say, that these are *mamanu* which seemed to be un-important, less valid in the contemporary academic spheres. In fact, this is the purpose of this task is to recuperate and re-orient this pure consciousness of our people so that they can be acknowledged as a worth contributed factor of the final form of the contemporary *mamanu*.

Firstly, the study has to concede that it is not the purpose of this part of the study to argue about the recognition of the *talatuu* as historical facts. But it is an awareness of an on-going debate within the historical writings. In saying this, the prominence of printed information about the chosen period (pre 1800s) contributes to the continuing struggles of authenticating our *talatuu*. The struggle is intensified further when researchers attempt to use *talatuu* as historical evidence. For instance, H. R. Lowie stated that "I cannot attached to oral traditions any historical value whatsoever under any condition whatsoever" (1915, 598). Peter Munz also strongly argues that "Myths" cannot be qualify as historical evidence due to their lack of time index which distinguishes them from history" (1971, 3). However, thanks to scholars like J. W. Davidson and, H. Maude, and their progenies, who had paved the way for the Pacific oral traditions to be recognised as noteworthy additions to Pacific island sources (Latukefu 1992, 28,) (Featuna'i, 1994, 4). The recognition very much benefits Pacific researchers because *talatuu* consists of our stories that uphold our consciousness and identity. A consciousness in our traditions and ways of life Faitala Talapusi claimed that:

> …oral traditions that reveal the totality of the Samoan beliefs, their ways of life, history and the animistic conception of nature which influenced their social and political activities. These conceptions are characterised by a profound interest in genealogical continuity, which not only runs through human history but back into the pre-human age, the age of the gods (1990, 158)

The extracted statement shows that the past is never disintegrated from our present. *talatuu* are stories which endorse our relationships through genealogies, relationships between the present and the past which signifies ones' history. Our connectedness with our ancestors sustained by *talatuu* hence defines our *faasinomaga* (sense of belonging).

Accordingly, the philosophy of *talatuu* is inseparable from an indigenous understanding of History. The Samoan word for History is *Talafaasolopito*. Uili Nokise literally translated the word as 'a continuous story in parts' (1983, xii). Nokise's juncture of the *talafaasolopito* identifies an anti-clockwise pattern of analysing Samoan history. In this manner the history of a family, village or district always starts from the present holder/leading chiefs and is traced back to the previous narratives *(talatuu*).

Nevertheless, the word is made up of three terms; *tala* means story, tale, or etymologically *tala* can be also defined as the side of a Samoan *fale. Faasolo* means to evolve, or progress in sequence, to convey, whereas *pito* means sides, dimensions, edges. In that light *talafaasolopito* means stories that are continuously evolved due to the transmission from one generation to the other. In fact, each story had a significant version or dimension which is suitable to a particular family, village or district. The term *talafaasolopito* therefore has a twofold function, in relation to *talatuu.* First, one must be aware of the multidimensionality of relationships of a particular version of a story. Second, the evolvement of one story takes into consideration the Samoan understanding of time and space particularly within the context of events. As Meleisea contends:

> For each story there are many versions and each version has special meaning and importance to the people who tell it. To understand why versions of a particular story can contradict each other, it should be remembered that one function of oral traditions is 'legitimisation' (1987, 10)

This is not to say that stories can be told in whatever viewpoint we wish to but as Meleisea continues by saying "Differing versions of oral traditions cannot be looked at as 'true' or 'untrue' (1987, 10)" but to consider why one story is significant for one family, village or district, but not for others. This is similar to the task of *mamanu* as a model it does not aim to judge which way (Western or Oral Tradition) of writing history is true or not true. The revisiting of the worldview of the pre-missionary era brings to the fore the perception of our people about the *mamanu* of our history. It is worth noted that our *talatuu* and *talafaasolopito* were libraries which comprised of the content, modes of delivery and the rationale to be well instructed in the pre-missionary era. This enables the study to consider possible gaps within the history of education of both the pre-missionary period and the civilised era so to speak so that we can re-construct an alternative *mamanu* which perhaps reflect a complementary artefact.

2.4.1. *Talafaasolopito* verses History

There are various ways that the understanding of *talafaasolopito* from a Samoan perspective is different from the mainline historians' views. The above discussion had stressed the indigenous philosophy of the Samoan understanding of history. In two occasions the evolvement of a particular story in many versions and the reliability of *talatuu* as historical evidence (facts) in expressing the *talafaasolopito* is remote from the conventional understanding of recording history. *Mamanu* at this point would like to revisit both the chronological understanding of the mainstream history in relation to the Samoan perception of time. And investigate the discrepancy and similarity within these

two views about ‘facts’ so that the *talafaasolpito* view can be a worth *mamanu* to be considered alongside the conventional perspective of history writing.

2.4.1.1. Chronologic or Cosmologic Mamanu

The mainline understanding of academic history writings always considers recording of event chronologically which necessitates the proper sequence of time. As Munz contends:

> The timelessness of Myths is a guarantee of their great interest and fascination.[…] to Herodotus the study of history was an inquiry into which events could be located in time.[…] And this inquiry was not in the first run an inquiry into the difference between the false story and a true story; but into a difference between a story which had no location in time and a story which had a location in time (1971, 3).

This perspective unfolds the inauthenticity of myths (oral tradition) as a history concept due its timelessness. In line with this claim also when the missionaries our *talatuu* were dated as *Tala o aso pogisa* (literally, stories of time of darkness). Historically Munz’s argument was grounded on his interpretation of Herodotus’ (Father of History) rationale when he wrote the history for the Greece. According to Herodotus “…he wrote so that people will remember what happened and what was done by men” (1971, 2). From my point of view, Herodotus’ statement discloses the significance of being connected to the memories of the past and the evolvement of the stories about the event. However, Munz’s interpretation reveals a chrono-logic process in recording history. Hence led him to a conclusion that the locating of Greek’s myth in time by Herodotus was then qualified these tall stories to be called history. Munz continues by saying that any historian is supposed to tell the truth and not to believe myths (1971, 3).

On the contrary the philosophy of time from the *talafaasolopito* takes a different stance. Linguistically Aiono claimed that there is no proper translation for the word

'time' in the Samoan language (1996, 34). Furthermore, Talapusi contends that we did have calendar for the months of the year[12] which depicted by harvesting (digging yam), the months of rainfall, the months of fishing a particular fish or principal worship of the month (1990, 177). Turner also recorded that "The moon was the time keeper of the year. The year was divided into twelve lunar months and each month was known by a name in common use all over the group (1884, 203). Take for example in the month of January it is called *utuvamua* which was rendered as the first yam digging. Religiously the great god *Aitu-tele* was the principal worship of the month. The same goes to the parts of the day – *Tafa o ata* – dawn, *segisegi* – twilight, *Fanailupe le La*; eight o'clock; *Taupaletu o le La*; nine o'clock (Talapusi 1990, 177)[13].

The above understanding of time reveals a Samoa [Pacific] perception of time. Time does not control people and events, but rather people and events control time. Time is represented by significant achievements of people or by significant events in life of the people (Liua'ana 1994, 5). This implicates an intimate relationship between human and the surrounding environment, as Talapusi suggests that the Samoan time "…derives from social relations and social interactions: it is influenced by and expressed the story, feelings, beliefs and values of a people" (1994, 178). This echoes Herodotus' logic about recording the history of Greek. It is a way to relate the present to the past event by remembering. Despite the 'must be' forum that have transferred it from the timelessness in the faculty of memory into pen and paper controlled by the power time.

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[12] For futher reading see Faitala Talapusi's PhD Thesis pg. 176, under the sub topic "Samoan understanding of Time".

[13] Existing records George Turner 1884: Hundred Years ago and long before, Featunai Liuaana 1994, Pacific Oral Traditions – Mythical or Historical: Searching for a Meaningful Pacific Interpretation, paper presented to the Trinity Seminar at Pacific Theological College; Aiono Fanafi Le Tagaloa: Motugaafa

As noted from the preceding perspectives the social, religious, political even the educational worldview of the era was all interconnected and tandem to *talatuu*. In this aspect the indigenous understanding in terms of *talafaasolopito*, theologies, philosophies of time are relatively cosmologic. However, the linear understanding of history was very much an idea that was basically hastened by the Christian understanding of history. According to Bebbington:

> The keynote of hope is grounded in the twin beliefs that God is guiding history forward in a straight line and that it will in due time reach his goal.[…] The outcome of world history is therefore already assured.[…] Thus Christian eschatology, together with belief in divine control of the historical process, guarantee the future (1979, 170).

The above perception of history theologically emphasises the promise of tomorrow than the belief of progress. The future is guarantee not by man, but by God. It depicts the belief about the intervention of God in the course of history. However, it is significant to consider at this part of the study because the undertaking attempts to investigate the influence of education introduced by the Christian missionaries. Seemingly this idea was also contributed to the civilisation process through formal education.

The discrepancies and similarities of these views accentuate patterns in recording of history that *mamanu o faia* needs to consider. The Samoan time is controlled by relationships between human and the environment. A history for Samoa is a lived event that continues to unfold in our daily reality. It assimilates Dilthey's approach in history of mankind states; "For communities, they experience their present in terms of the past, the recollection of which is preserved for them in tradition, and the future, in which collective purposes are to be realised" (1951, 32). This can be reflected through the continuous using of the *alagaupu (*proverbial sayings) and *muagagana*[14] (wise sayings)

[14]The term muagagana (wise sayings) are profoundly intellectual and shrewd sayings fundamentally acquired theough life exoeriences by means of interactions with Nature. Alagaupu (proverbial saying) is historical in nature and character. Alagaupu also refers to as an archive of multiple

within oratorical speeches. As stated by Talapusi "By nature, Samoans always look to their past (origin) to confirm and orient their living, because the affinity of the Samoan people towards their past is very strong, the way of life of ancestors, their belief and custom" (1990, 168). The Samoan understanding of history is based on their interaction with the nature of their surroundings. Vitolia Mo'a suggests that the Samoa's reference of time always backwards, forwards and onwards reality-reading (2014, 50). It is a kind of understanding of time that is cyclical not linear, cosmo-logic not chrono-logic. In fact, the basis of learning and knowing depends on a relational strategy of life. The success of tomorrow depends on how we live the past in the present.

2.4.1.2. Facts or Lagisoifua (Life Singing Events)

Couched within the Samoan understanding of time is an alternative perception of facts. Simultaneously, Liuaana agrees with Talapusi's view of an event or fact resonates with *Taeao ma le Aso (Taeao* literally means morning or tomorrow while *aso* is day or something in the light) in the Samoan dialect. Liua'ana elaborates more by saying "The concept of *taeao* and *aso* also carries with it the idea that time is sustained from the moment a particular event occurs (1994, 5). Le Tagaloa refers to as *'Lagisoifua'* (life-justification proof) (1990, 2). The word *lagi* means heavens or signing a song (Kramer 1994, 24) and *soifua* means life, alive. From these perspectives, facts signify the ever substantial and freshness of an event which proclaims life for the people and the community. Though it is not immune to changes in the way it might transform the lives of the people through the ages. It still remains authentic in history and to the

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meanings that acts as metonymies for all kinds of knowledge. These sayings were found from events and experiences of the Samoan people, such as in fishing, sports and games, hunting, dancing and tools and so forth.

communities that gave meaning to the event. This correlates with Heidegger's view of history states that:

> Our history is not something that we may be viewed by as a detached or unbiased attitude. What is not so much our history in terms of facts and details of our past, but our historicity, our being historical. We are thrown into a world which language, culture, and institutions of life are already given, so not matter where or when we find ourselves we will always be conditioned by our own historical situatedness (1962, 69).

From this aspect we can never deny the fact that changes is natural, but that does not mean that change will take away our identity as who we are in our history. Take for instance in a Samoan oratorical speech there is always a part of the speech which deliberates about *Taeao.* It is where the orator recalled the past significant events which had made changes to the lives of the people, such as the "*o le taeao nai Saua ma Samana* (commemorates the deeds of the *aitu* (god)) represents political events, while 'o le *Taeao nai Mataniu Feagai ma le Ata (*time and place of the L.M.S. arrival in Samoa), *o le taeao I Faleu ma Utuagiagi* (time and place of the Methodist W.M.M.S. arrival in Samoa), and *o le taeao I Malaeola* ma *Nafoaga* (time and place of the arrival of Roman Catholic Church in Samoa), are important events. All three Christian *Taeao* are regarded as a victorious event *(taeao o le manumalo*) no matter when and which denomination arrived first in Samoa. But these are *lagisoifua*, they were and are events which the present continually recite through *muagagana* and *alagaupu* to commemorate its significance to who we are today.

From that perspective, the inauthenticity of *talatuu* as historical facts in the Western way of recording history is remote from the Samoan understanding of the past. Because it appears from the Samoan philosophy of time and place, that the event marked as the *taeao male aso* (morning and day) highlights the sense of enduring existence of the past in the present situation of the people despite a damaging and emotional effect of an event on people. *lagisoifua* deliberates events that articulate life

for the community as a whole. History from the *mamanu* of *talafaasolopito* understanding deals with dimensions of our past stories which always integrated and evolved in fashioning one's present life and character as a Samoan.

In relation to this task, the nature of *mamanu o le anofale* as I have mentioned in chapter one, is not just the space inside the house, but it considers all other relationships which are involved. The study cannot assume the understanding of people back then by investigating the *talatuu* as facts to search for historical evidence for the purpose of this paper. But to concede that these are our own worldviews, stories and ways of approaching the world which appears to be disintegrated from our contemporary world. The cosmic understanding of things which enhanced the intimate *faia* of oneself to others and to the world around us. The cosmological approach of life which commemorates freshness of the past event in our midst yet advert the human greed by sacrificing today for the future. It is a kind of perception that resonates the nature of *mamanu* that no pattern is less important than the other. Therefore, the success of the present depends on how we sustain our relationships with our past.

2.5. *Talatuu* (Oral Tradition) Curriculum

Samoans before the arrival of the missionaries were illiterate people. They knew nothing about reading the symbols on papers which was experienced an astounding practice when they saw the missionaries' letters on papers. Nevertheless, we have seen the significance of *talatuu* in educating a Samoan child in the preceding discussions. In this section the study would like to discuss three significant aspects of *talatuu* namely *fagogo* (story telling), *measina* (entrusted wisdom) and *tala o le vavau* (myths) in the educating the Samoa pre-missionary era. In doing so the study will be able to explore how our ancestors used *talatuu* in perpetuating our genealogies, stories and narratives. Moreover, it looks at *talatuu* as a mode of delivery in conveying of the entrusted

wisdom of the past from generation to generation. Myths as one of the aspects of *talatuu* deals with the stories of origin will be discussed as source of knowledge and wisdom expresses in the Samoan creation story.

2.5.1. Fagogo: Mode of Delivery

Fagogo is a type of *talatuu* which is generally considered to be freely told and learnt by people, in that one was free to tell the stories to others.[15] The story teller would interpret stories such as '*Sina and the eel*', or '*The fishing adventure*' (Ministry of Youth, Sports, and Cultural affairs 2001) according to the background of his/her own experience, yet pronounced true to life both for the interpreter and the listeners (such as a mother to her children, or between friends).

Featuna'i Liua'ana rejects the inclusion of *fagogo* in the Samoan oral tradition. He contends that: "Samoan *fagogo* are not oral traditions because they are stories, songs or poems which are made up of in the spirit of the moment when people gather together for story telling" (1990, 7). However, *fagogo*, according to Tuiatua, refers to a good medium for initiating the *talatuu* to the younger generation aside from the enclosure of the sense of humour and joke (2014, 17).

This study considers *fagogo* as a mode of delivery which comprised the significant content spelling out one's history (genealogies, origin, identity). The open dialogue and the sense of humour convey the message that motivates the audience to listen. Rote learning is crucial to this mode of delivery because, as the parent or elder tells a story, it is a must for a listener to memorise important aspects of that particular story, so they can retell it to their friends or to their future kids.

[15] The sequence of the talatuu from fagogo to myths is not regarded according to their authenticity. This is my own sequence.

Significantly, these are important learning patterns which were very much appropriate to the formal education system in learning Mathematics and Science, which were also needed in my theological education for memorising the Greek and Hebrew languages. This is not to say that the knowledge was only usable when formal education was introduced, because rote learning, according to Tuiatua, was a crucial for any orator in preparing a speech (Tuiatua, 2012, 8). One could say that memories contain the wisdom of the people. In this aspect, *fagogo* is still a part of *talatuu*.

2.5.2. *Measina*: From the Faleoo (open Samoan fale) to the Library

Measina is categorised as '*mea sina a aiga*' (entrusted wisdom which is sacred to the family); for instance, family genealogies, family chiefly titles, and family trade secrets or specialist knowledge (fishing, planting, and healing techniques, even the house, canoe builders and tattooist). These forms of *talatuu* are different from *fagogo* because of their context. *Measina* are sacred and secret stories which are only told within the family, specifically directed towards the future generation and giving their sense of origin. Tuiatua refers to *Measina* as *Tala tumumusu* (culture of whispers) because it carries the notion of exclusivity (2014, 14). He further elaborates this by saying:

> *Tala tu'umumusu* were and are family treasures. They defined family roles and responsibilities within the village, district and national scene. They determined political hierarchies (the boundaries and rules for claiming authority over lands and chiefly titles). They dictated the relevance of social conventions and prescribed moral standards and religious norms (2014, 14).

Tuiatua's perspective discloses the functional notion of *talatuu*. *Measina* upholds the treasure of stories which contain the knowledge and wisdom about one's true *faasinomaga* or identity. As stated in the discussion above, *talatuu* are stories that are orally passed on and intended to be left. The successful and peaceful atmosphere within

the family and the village depends on the members' knowledge of and understanding about their *measina.*

Measina as the content of what the Samoans had been instructed with simply identifies the rationale of being educated in the pre-missionary context. Our *talatuu* was intellectual food which pointed a child to his origins by learning genealogies and the family trades. The idea of being part of the *aiga* was crucial because *talatuu* determines the destiny of life in terms of lands, titles and trades. In fact, the motivation to be instructed was initiated by both the parent/elder and the child because, as it is revealed by the definition of *talatuu,* they are stories that must be shared in order to perpetuate the identity of family.

Unfortunately, these stories were hardly heard in my experience. I only found them in books in the library when it was required for our secondary school assignments. This is the consequence of the imposed educational strategies (details of which will detailed in Chapter three). It was a shift in educational paradigm. Change has shifted from an open dialogue through *fagogo-in-a-faleoo* (story telling in Samoan fale) into the cold atmosphere of libraries and bookshops yet enables only those who can afford to pay and reach higher education to access these stories. It appears from this experience that even our parents had lost track of these important stories. The root of the problem then goes back to the changes made in the content of lessons and the shift of emphasis within the schools.

2.5.3. *Tala o le Vavau* (Myths) *Tala Anamua* (Legends)

Myths are stories about things that happened in the past in the form of the history of the origins of man and nature, or the origins of a nation. Myths in the Samoan understanding connote the consciousness that connects people to their nature of origin and existence. Bascom claims that "Folklore [Myths] like language, is mirror of

culture" (1965, 84 cited by Tau'au 1989, 2). Yoon also support this supposition by adding that folklore contains some of the finest raw data available concerning people's perspectives of nature (1976,1). From these perspectives it shows and interrelated and intimate *faia* of people's *aganuu* to the nature of their existence. In that context, it appears that our myths or *talatuu* are the philosophies that ground the worldviews of the Samoans as above stated by Tui Atua. The Samoans ways of perceiving the world is rooted in the source of their same divine origin, hence exhibit the interconnectedness between human beings and the non-human. This will be reflected in the following deliberation of the Samoan Creation story.

2.6. *Mamanu* of intelligence in the Samoan Creation Story

The creation story of Samoa in this part of the chapter serves various aims. Firstly, to discover the patterns of intelligence within the creation story which the study posits, lays the foundation for the perceptions of the people who exhibit an intimate cosmic *faia* between human beings and the environment. Secondly, the study is cognisant of the fact that the existing interpretation of this version of creation is very much inclined to ground the religious and theological juncture of the Samoans (Talapusi, 1990, Peletisala Lima 2001) and many others. However, the undertaking attempts to utilise the creation story as a *lagisoifua*[16] (fact) to investigate and attest to patterns of knowing and understanding (in terms of delivery mode, content and motivation to be instructed) which were explicitly rooted in the creation story. In doing so, it facilitates answers to the questions of when, how, why, what, and where these

[16] Le Tagaloa refers to as 'Lagisoifua' (life-justification proof) (1990, 2). The word lagi means heavens or signing a song (Kramer 1994, 24) and soifua means life, alive. From these perspectives, facts signify the ever substantial and freshness of a past event which proclaims life for the people and the community. Though it is not immune to changes in the way it might transform the lives of the people through the ages. It still remains authentic in history and to the communities that gave meaning to the event.

indigenous epistemologies and understandings prevailed in instructing and fashioning the pre-missionary era's worldview of being educated or instructed.

The Samoan creation story is classified under the *talatuu* as *Tala o le Vavau* (Myths). The undertaking acknowledges various versions of the story. The version recorded by George Turner in the book "*Samoa a Hundred Years ago and Long Before*" states, "Tagaloa, whose beginning is unknown, first created the heavens as he wished the place to live. Again, he wished to have a place under the heavens, and he made the *lalolagi* (under the heavens) or the earth. The formation of the islands were rocks rolled down from heaven" (1884, 7).

The version that I am reproducing here was historically first recorded by Rev. Thomas Powell in the 1840s, later translated into English by the Rev. George Pratt and published in 1892 (Frazer J, 1892, 164-189). The reproduction by Malama Meleisea (1987), and Faitala Talapusi (1990) will be used to assist this duplication. This is not to say that others are tenuous or less important.

2.6.1. Source of Intelligence

O Tagaloa o le atua e nofo i le vanimonimo	The God Tagaloa dwelt in the Expanse
Na ia **faia** mea uma	He **created** everything
Ua na o ia e leai se lagi, leai se nuu	He alone was there, not any sky, not any country
Ua na ona **fealualua'i** i le vanimonimo	He only **walked** (went) to and for in the Expanse
E leai foi se sami ma se laueleele	There was no sea and no earth
Ao le mea na ia **tu** ai na tupu ai le papa	At a place where he **stood** there grew up a rock
O Tagaloa-fa'a-tutupunu'u lona igoa	Tagaloa-fa'a-tutupunuu was his name
Aua e lei faia foi mea uma	All things were about to be created
E oo I le lagi ma mea mea uma e lei faia	Even the sky was not made nor anything else
Ona **tautala atu** lea o ia I le papa sa tu ai	Then Tagaloa **ordered** the rock which he stood on
'Mavae ia'	'Be then split'
Ona fanau ai lea o papa e fitu	Then were brought forth seven rocks
Papa-taoto, Papa-sosolo, Papa-lau-a'au,	Lying rock, creeping rock, reef rock,
Papa-'ano-'ano, Papa-'ele, Papa-tu,	thick rock, clay rock, standing rock,
Papa-'amu-'amu	coral rock

Ona toe **tautala atu** lea o Tagaloa I le papa ma **ta** I lona lima taumatau Ona fanau mai lea o Eleele (matua o tagata uma) ma le sami	Then Tagaloa **spoke** again to the rock and **struck** it with his right hand. Then the earth brought forth (the parent of all people) and the sea.
Ona **faasaga** lea o Tagaloa I le itu taumatau Ona maua mai ai lea o vai O Aoa-lala (tama), Gao-gao-le-tai (teine) o le tagata, o Agaga, Loto, Finagalo, ma masalo Na fananau uma mai ina ua toe tautala Tagaloa i le papa	Tagaloa **turned** to the right side Fresh water sprang up Was Aoa-lala(boy), Gao-gao-le-tai (girl) Man, Spirit, Heart, Will and thought were all born from Tagaloa's **order** to the rock.

Ordinance Tofiga

1 Let the Spirit and the Heart and Will and Thought go on and join inside the Man; and they join there, and man became ***intelligent***. And this was joined to the earth (‘*ele-ele’*) and it was called *Fatu-ma-le-eleele*, as couple. *Fatu* the man and ‘*Ele’ele*, the woman. (Frazer 1892, 166).

Another version, which was recorded by J B Stair (1987), is a supplement of the above version. “Tagaloa, the god of heaven, sent down his daughter in the form of a bird called *Tuli.* The bird was flying all over the space and could find no place to rest. She returned to the heavens and then Tagaloa created a land so that *Tuli* could find a resting place. *Tuli* found dry land when she came down again. Thus, came the attribute of Tagaloa Fa’atutupu nu’u, (*Faatupu* means ‘to bring about’ and *nu’u* is earth or land, village) god the creator of land (1896, 35-37).

The myth clearly shows when intelligence was given to man [sic], which gave rise to the notion that knowledge was one of the *mamanu* of Tagaloa’s creations. As commonly interpreted “The god Tagaloa dwelt in the Expanse” as the sole intelligence there (Frazer 1892, Meleisea 1987, Talapusi 1990). This is an obvious interpretation which articulates intelligence within the story. However, the investigation focuses on the patterns which were contributed to the conferring of intelligence to human beings.

In that sense the story will be treated as a *lagisoifua* to understand the event and historical evidence when exploring the delivery modes, content and rationale to be intelligent during the pre-missionary era.

The study considers the actions (verbs) within the story as patterns of creation, such as Tagaloa created, walked, stood, spoke or ordered, turned. As observed from the flow of the story that every action by Tagaloa resulted in bringing forth a new *mamanu* of the creation. For instance, the rock was born where he *stood* which also brought forth his name *Tagaloa-faa-tutupunuu* (the creator). When Tagaloa ordered/spoke to the rock (which he first created by standing on it), he *mavae* it (split it up) then brought forth seven rocks. He again ordered/ spoke and struck the rock and the parents of all people from the earth and the sea came forth. Tagaloa spoke to the rock again and man, spirit, will and thought all came into being.

2.6.1.1. Dialogical Instruction: Mode of Delivery

The pattern *tautala* (order/speak) seems to be the most commonly used within the story. *Mavae* (split up) and *fanau* (bring forth) or bringing in to being matters of creation were designed by the *mamanu* of speaking. The interaction between the Tagaloa is the act of speaking, and the rock was carried out through a process of parturition.[17] *Mamanu* perceives this relationship as a dialogical way of instruction. The processes of *mavae* and *fanau* functioned according to the conversation between Tagaloa and the rock. In other words, the *mamanu* of the creation depends on the instructions given by Tagaloa to the rock. Within a dialogical sphere, there is always a mutual respect between parties. This is shown by the way the rock responds to Tagaloa's order.

[17] It generally underpins a religious understanding in relation to the existence of the spirit (Nokise. Efi 2014, Talapusi 1990).

It is worthwhile to note that the first word uttered by Tagaloa was *mavae* (to become, to unfold, and to open[18]) which moved the natural world. It appears from the story that the word *mavae* has a notion of "to begin, or to start" or "becoming". It happened to be the transformation process of the creation. As discussed in chapter two, word *mavae* has an essence of bestowing blessings[19]. In that sense, the rock seems to be blessed by Tagaloa's oral instruction to be the womb in order to begin and transform. This reflects a mutual dependence of both parties (Tagaloa and the rock) which depicts a parent-child relationship. On the one hand the rock's response to Tagaloa's order discloses a cosmological connection where the rock fulfils the wish of the god. On the other hand, Tagaloa's words of instruction to the rock connote a sense of *mavae* (blessing) to it to *fanau* (give birth) or bring into being matters of the creation. As Faalepo Tuisuga-le-taua suggests:

> Dialogical method is crucial for Samoan education and rarely any critical interchange of ideas occurs between parent and children as they believe in the repertoire of knowledge and wisdom vested in the parents and older generations, thus children could only listen and learn (2009, 98).

Distinct to this perspective is the belief that whatever comes from the mouth of an elder or parent is a blessing to a child. It echoes the relationship between Tagaloa and the rock - when the god *mavae* (bless) to *fanau* (bring forth). Therefore, instructing a child occurs within a relational space where both the child and the parent have a role to play. Cognitive learning through reading and writing is a foreign concept for Samoan people. (Details will be given in chapter three).

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[18]I prefer to use the translation of the word mavaega here as "to become", "to unfold" and "to open" because it is more fitting to the notion of the bestowing of blessings or last will or testament or parting words which attest to titles and land ownership. For current usage see (Lowell D. Holmes, 1925). Details of such ideas will be discussed later in this chapter under the sub-title Mavaega Pili (Pili's Ordinance)

[19]The story of Pili in George Turner's book "Samoa a Hundred Years and Long Before" 1984, describes the mavaega by Pili to his four sons which gave division to the island of Upolu up until today.

A saying from Samoan education philosophy is '*E fafaga tama a manu i fuga o la'au, a'e fafaga tama a tagata i upu ma tala*'. In English, it literally means, 'animals/birds feed their young siblings with fish and blooms/berries of trees, but the young of humans shall be fed with words'[20]. This denotes the great emphasis of the Samoan people on education through oral instructions. As the study claims, *fagogo* as a dialogical strategy is unique to the Samoan educational experience. It is a way that parents/elders of the family transform and bless their children which enhances that parent-child relationship. The parents/elders, as creators of their children, must carry out this responsibility to talk, to share, to discuss with their children. As one of the Samoan proverbial sayings' states: '*Matimati le fanau ae aua le tuufauina* [Do not neglect the children but nurture them]'. It indicates a *va-fesoota'i* (relational space) between parent and child. It is for a child to fulfil the wish of the parent but also sustain blessings within the family. When parents fail to undertake this role as a creator to the child, they may risk the life of the child as well as the family.

The dialogical method *fagogo* was utilised to direct the future generation to the basic patterns of the *faasinomaga*. A well-instructed person is the one who fully understands his/her roots by learning his/her *faia* (genealogies) within the family, village and district. This is reminiscent of the purpose of *measina*; the basic content of learning of a Samoan is to understand patterns of his/her *faasinomaga* (matai title, place and village). Lowell Holmes states:

> A very high Talking Chief [sic] title may derive its status from the acknowledged fact that legends report that the original titleholder rendered exceptional service [Tautua] as an orator for a king or represented his village well in some historic negotiation with another village or other island kingdoms (1925, 18).

[20] I adopted the English translation by Aiono Fanaafi Le Tagaloa in the book called "Le Lagaga"

From this perspective, getting a privilege class as a high talking chief was always the rationale within this system of education. To be the most recognisable (intelligent) person within a community is to fully understand the *faia.* *Faia* which disregards the notion of individualism because he/she cannot dismiss the past from the present. These are the underpinning aspects of being well-instructed. *Mamanu* which stipulates and situates a person within the village as a whole. It entails roles and responsibilities which implement a praxis-oriented kind of learning. (Details will be in the next sub topic). The tradition of getting a qualification on a piece of paper is remote from the motivation of being intelligent in the Samoan context during the pre-missionary era.

Considering the pattern *tautala* accentuates the significance of words. Hence the essence of *talatuu* is echoed in stories and narratives that were and must be orally passed from one generation to the other. It is with this essence of speaking/order that the study believes that the creation story formulates an effective system for the instruction of people. As it states in one of the Samoan sayings: '*E pala le ma'a ae le pala le tala* (The rock rots and decays but words live forever)'. The tradition of speaking as a mode of delivery enables the sustaining and perpetuating of our own epistemological systems. This is not to say that other patterns are less important than speaking.

2.6.1.2. Practically Oriented: Tautua as a Learning Process

The Samoan way of instruction is in a practically oriented kind of system. In that sense a theoretical approach to obtaining the knowledge is remote to the educational life of a Samoan. As stated by Keesing, "[During] the pre-white days, indigenous societies had definite systems of education, in the broad sense that every generation took steps to transmit the cultural heritage to the growing youth" (1941, 243). He elaborated more by stating that children copy grown-ups and play at or assist in adult tasks, while the adults

variously encourage, instruct, praise, admonish, and compel. In a similar manner, Faalepo A. Tuisuga-le-taua contends: "Samoan epistemology is basically pragmatic and practical" (2009, 98). These junctures signify the transmitting of an already existing tradition by the elders of the community observing and practising in the pre-missionary era. Practical learning emphasises a community-based approach rather than a one that is confined within a classroom-based learning experience. The learner moves beyond thinking by experimental manner and feeling to acting. Values and behaviour are identified from the interaction of the individual with the surrounding society (both humans and the environment) rather than solely on the society or the individual.

In the Samoan myth of creation, the earth (parent/ancestor of all human beings) and the sea were created through two patterns known as *ta* (struck) and *tautala* (ordered). "Ta" according to Pratt means to strike, to cut, design or build a canoe, to tattoo a body (1911, 286). What is worth considering at this point is the process of becoming the earth and sea through the action of ta. The word '*ta*' in the Samoan context has a notion of tilling the land in terms of cultivation. "*Ta le vao*" means 'to cultivate the land', as well as in the trade of the *tautai* (fisherman) "*ta le vaa*" means 'to make a canoe' for fishing. '*Ta*' at this point contemplates a reciprocal relationship between human, sea and land which at the same time connotes humans are not central to the creation but part of it. According to Ama'ama Tofaeono, the relationship between human, sea and land is "fundamental resources and promoters of life upon which other forms of the created order depend. […] Like blood that flows to nurture the whole body, … (2000, 184). In that light '*ta*' suggests a mutual dependency of the two parties: human and creation. The service of the land and sea as promoters of life connotes '*ta*' as the humans' responsibility to care, to love and to treasure them (land and sea) as part of his/her everyday accomplishment. In the course of the arrival of Christianity 1830,

this service of the land and sea was the first to exhibit not only the hospitality of our people but considered as a practice of caring. As stated by Williams:

> Tamalelagi and his brother [sic], not knowing who we were, had brought off some pigs, bananas, and coconuts for sale: but, on seeing his relative Fauea, […] he ordered the pigs, with everything in his canoes, to be arranged on the deck, and then, presenting them to us, stated that, had they known us, they should not have brought off anything for sale; and that in the morning they would bring a more abundant supply (1984, 88).

Significantly, land and sea in the pre-missionary era was prominently the womb of life for the Samoans. Vaai contends that the interconnectedness of the land and sea make up the space of existence for humans (2017, 224). Vaai's philosophy of land and sea correlates with one of the Samoan sayings "*O le eleele ma le sami o lo tatou 'tofi' mai le Atua*" (The land and sea is our ordinance/blessings from the gods/God). This echoes the first ordinance made by Tagaloa to *Fatu* (seed, heart, or create) and *eleele* (earth) in the creation. In that aspect the *mamanu* of intelligence (spirit, heart, will and thought) cannot be divorced from defining humanity within the social, political, economic, and religious spheres of life. In other words, an intelligent person is defined by the way he/she cares, loves and treasures his/her connectedness with the creation. However, this indigenous perception of land and sea as a source of blessings and space for existence greatly outraged foreigners. Their understanding of education, shown by one of their sayings, is "Education is the key to success". The centrality of education, in this case, moves the land and sea as servants to humanity. Due to scientific understanding, land and sea contain non-living things.

The philosophy of a practically oriented way of learning/teaching is exclusively embedded in the Samoan creation story. The relationship between human, sea and land pertaining to the *mamanu ta* will be discussed further by one of the Samoan sayings "*O*

le ala i le pule o le Tautua" which means; a path to success is through service[21]. *Tautua* is made up of two words: *tau* means to fight, work and *tua* defines as the back, as of a person, animal or house. *Tautua* simply refers to the service of untitled men and women protecting and supporting the *matai* (chief of the family) so as the whole family.

According to Felise Vaa, *tautua*, service, is typically Samoan, because it means providing service to others, family, religion, society, without hope of reward. It is voluntary service which does not seek payment but nevertheless ends well for the provider because succession to a title is the usual reward (2009, 244). Apulu also contends that *tautua*

> [in] order to take a higher position within the realm of Samoan society and be blessed with receiving an honorary matai title, you must learn to serve others. To serve with no questions asked and to be happy at all times while serving others (2000, 15).

Accordingly, these junctures express the trade of *tautua* from a hierarchical stance. They signify one's compassion in playing the role of *tautua* which simultaneously illustrates the complexity of the role. Furthermore, the predominant rationale of being a *tautua* is to become a high chief guided by the religious and spiritual belief of blessing.

However, the study attempts to consider *tautua* as a process of practical learning for all Samoans. Taking *tautua* as a process of learning avoids the problem of '*tautua fiamatai*' (playing a role of *tautua* with a desire to get a *matai* title). The undertaking believes that the problem occurs when we confine the role of *tautua* to the untitled men (*aumaga*) and women (*aualuma*). However, seeing *tautua* as a learning process for all people including the *matai* avoids the imperial essence of being a pule (chief of the

[21] The proverb is generally translated as "A path to authority is through service" because the word "pule" means authority. But I prefer to use the word success because it is more fitting to this study.

family) but takes the position of pule as an opportunity to learn more and continue the service for the betterment of the family.

The trade of *tautua* is a practically based learning experience. As one saying goes, "Practice makes perfect". Through one's persistent involvement and participation in the trade of *tautua* one acquires more experience to cope with the uncertainties of life or become an 'expert'[22]. As Peni Leota claimed, *tautua* is "the principle which governs relationships with others. It defines the specific duties and obligations in every relationship and, therefore, strengthens the mutual dependence of the people in their corporate identity" (1991, 91). Unique to the duty and obligation of a *tautua* is his/her *faia* (relationships). Someone who is responsible for the welfare of the *matai* and the whole family must not lose sight of every single member of the family who are under his/her service. This includes the constant supplying of food, the protection of the family belongings (titles, lands, sea, *Feagaiga*[23]) as well as sustaining the family narratives. The *taulealea* (untitled man) must have a large enough plantation (land) and be an experienced fisherman (sea). The *aualuma* (untitled women), on the other hand, are responsible for the interior of a house, that is, the weaving of mats, and the hygiene and cleanliness of the house.

The success of a *tautua* to become a chief of the family is a communal agreement. It reflects a hierarchical structure of the *faasamoa* (the Samoan way of life). The Samoan hierarchical nature, according to Leota, "reflects a functional distinction which is all important for the harmonious running of the whole community" (1991, 15). Hence the bestowing of the *matai* title to someone is rendered as a certificate (the

[22] This will be discussed in detail in the next section, as Tchkezoff argues that it is a proper name given to the Polynesian matais.

[23] Feagaiga means covenant. It denotes the responsibility of a brother to his sister is to serve and protect her throughout her entire life. See for further reading Latu Latai 2014).

contemporary award) or reward of faithful *tautua*. In fact, when someone receives the *matai* title, it marks the expectations of a family that this is someone with *tofa*[24] [wisdom] (Neemia 2002, 52). And as the study understands the trade of *tautua* as a process of learning, the wisdom or *tofa* within the future successor has been obtained from participation and experience when he/she served the *matai* and the family. It is within that *tofa* where the significance of *faia* is expected to be reflected in the way he/she talks, acts as well as in decision making. As Tcherkezoff rightly suggests "the historical meaning of the term *matai* throughout Polynesia is not a 'chief' but an 'expert' (2000, 151-190). He elaborated this by saying that without the living person who embodies the *matai* title, there will be no one to speak on behalf of the family and the ancestors as well to deal with the family belongings [*measina*]. In that sense the expert during his/her time of being a successor of the family will evoke all the *mamanu* that had been learnt from the trade of *tautua* out of love, care, courtesy, and respect to aid him/her in time of decision making.

Practically within the hierarchical structure of the *faasamoa,* the parent-child relationship within the family marks the underpinning origin of the educational place for any child. It was where boys and girls were expected to learn basic cultural values (respect, good manners, mutual relationship, courtesy) before they entered the next level of training which is the *fale o matai* (village council meeting house). The tradition of *ava* ceremony, serving the *matai* in the village council meeting, started at this level; it was carried out practically. The tactics of listening and memorising were very much significant skills for any learner/*tautua* because there were no bridging courses or first-year students. Once someone enters this level, they are expected to have learned these basic skills from his/her family. At this point, making a mistake in front of the *matai*

[24] Tofa is the respectful word for Samoan wisdom in general.

council rendered a chance to learn more because such an unexpected performance resulted in a huge lecture from the *matai* after wards.

Tautua stresses both the motivation and content of being well- instructed in the Samoan context. As above, stressed by Leota, *tautua* is a mutual dependence of the people in the corporate family embedded within practically oriented strategies. It is a strategy that is enhanced by observing and practising with the *matai*/elders of the family, village and district. The social, religious, and political knowledge of a person is obtained from being part of the community amenities. In fact, every single aspect of *tautua* is shaped by *faia* because learning and teaching is a communal responsibility. The *mamanu* of knowledge and wisdom of oneself is enhanced by the collaborative work of humanity and the creation. As it is revealed in our creation story, intelligence is always part of us from birth. In that light, becoming a success in life is not an individual effort. In contrast, this study is not trying to conceal the importance of higher education nowadays. What is worth considering is the latency of our indigenous *mamanu* within education.

2.7. Summary

First and foremost, the Samoan knowledge system as observed from this chapter is a relational based system. This is reflected in practical–oriented and dialogical ways of teaching and learning where the younger generation has to maintain their *faia* with elders through participating and imitating them. The study has clearly stressed that this system has underpinning values of an educational life of a Samoan. In reminiscence of the afore given definition of 'relational' *'faia'* that has been utilised throughout this task, it is indeed allied by the Pacific worldview as given by Tui Atua who speaks of a "worldview that understands the environment, humans, the animate and inanimate – all-natural-life – as having its sources in the same divine origin, imbued with life force,

interrelated and genealogically connected" (2007, 31). The relational system of education in this sense enhances connectedness between human beings and the surrounding environment which is greatly influenced by the Samoan values *va fealoa'i* (mutual respect). Being intelligent is to know these ultimate *faia* of one's character not merely with other human beings but in considering the other non-human aspects of the surrounding as equally important for the life of the community.

Moreover, *faamanuiaga* (blessings) seemed comparable with a reward for someone's hard-work in serving both the *matai* and the family. In this context it signifies the importance of being practical oriented that complements dialogical approach as the key feature of the Samoan knowledge system. Sustaining the *aganuu* as the content of learning and teaching identifies a reversible philosophy of learning. Yet exhibit an ever fresh and living existence of the past in the present to prepare the future. In that way it is that for some reason the Samoans hardly let go of the significance of their *talatuu.*

Chapter 3

Mamanu mai Fafo (Exploring Foreign Patterns)

3.1. Introduction

The chapter explores the introduction of Christianity in Samoa as its arrival portrays the infiltration of foreign patterns of how knowledge was obtained and assimilated into the Samoan culture. These foreign patterns of learning and teaching in Christianising Samoan people are referred here as the *mamanu mai fafo* (knowledge patterns from external or 'outside' sources). This chapter begins with a discussion of the contributing factors which hastened the rapid acceptance of Christianity in Samoa.

The conversion to Christianity was not a simple process. Considering these potential factors enable the study to interrogate whether the devaluing of our indigenous *mamanu* was due to the ignorance of the missionaries or the enthusiastic reaction of the Samoans to the foreign *mamanu*.

Following this interrogation, the chapter examines the basic instructional approach employed by the missionaries within their mission. Such techniques expressed the gradual supplanting of the indigenous *mamanu* by foreign ones. This section shows how practical-based and dialogical-based learning within *aiga*, *nuu* and *itumalo* are displaced from oral to written instructional approaches that give way to the importance of literacy within confined spaces.

Lastly, the chapter seeks to explore how the establishment of learning spaces through schools such as Malua Theological College, Leulumoega Fou and Papauta Girls' School aided this process of assimilation. It investigates the transformational emphasis where several similarities between the local indigenous knowledge, values and skills of the *mamanu* assisted in satisfying the work of the missionaries. It must be

remembered that to choose an 'either or' platform of the two ends (missionaries and indigenous people) is not the purpose at this point, but to inspect both major and minor contributing factors which hastened the civilisation process and cultivated the seeds of intolerance to our indigenous epistemologies.

3.2. The arrival of Missionaries: Taeao o le Malamalama[1]

On 24th August 1830, the two LMS missionaries John Williams and Charles Barff, accompanied by eight natives, set foot on the soil of Samoa in the village of Sapapalii (Williams 1837,85). The event was marked by Samoans as the "*Taeao o le Malamalama*" (Morning of the Enlightenment). The use of "*Taeao*" in a Samoan tradition, with reference to the arrival of Christianity, signifies a great change, an extraordinary shift such an incident had made to the lives of the people. This shift explicitly contrasted the past as the era of darkness and the arrival of the missionaries was marked as the beginning of the enlightenment period. As Norman Goodall deliberates:

> … [f]rom this point onwards the history of Samoa became the story of people's development from barbarism to civilisation, chiefly through the impact of [the] Christian mission (1954, 352).

Accordingly, these civilisation developments by the Christian missionaries enlightened our people to discover a new way of life through the redemptive acts of Jesus Christ (Williams 1840, 3), yet shared with us the magical art of civilisation in reading and writing. At the same time, it introduced intolerance to our own indigenous epistemological systems.

[1] A morning of enlightenment. The event is generally regarded as the "Taeao o le Talalelei" (Morning of the Gospel). However, some orators refers to this event as the morning of knowledge and enlightenment which will be used throughout this study.

John Williams' amusement attributed to the successful mission at Navigator's Island as "gracious interpositions of divine providence", leading him to confess: "Here is evidence of something more than accident: *this is the finger of God!*" (1840, 148).

The author is aware of the theological claim made by Williams. In contrast with other islands of the Pacific, Samoa seemed to be the most peaceful and successful mission. As in the words of Williams:

> In some places, indeed, the teachers landed at the peril of their lives; and in almost all the Hervey Islands they were plundered and ill-used [sic]; while here they were welcomed with open arms, both by chiefs and people, who vied with each other in expressions of kindness and delight. Instead of losing their property, four excellent dwellings were given to them, and the very best and largest house in the settlement was set apart for public worship and instruction (1837, 93).

The study cannot overlook the hospitable nature of the Samoans as expressed in such comments by the missionaries. However, what needed to be considered from such observations are the contributing factors about the values demonstrated which enhanced the rapid acceptance of Christianity in Samoa. Attempting to unveil such impetus behind the favourable stance of the Samoans will accentuate potential circumstances which led to the assimilation of the foreign educational *mamanu* with the indigenous *mamanu* of the *anofale.*

For the missionaries, the enthusiasm to Christianise the whole world lies at the heart of their vision. As John Williams puts it:

> It is founded upon the grand principles of Christian benevolence, made imperative by the command of the ascending Saviour, and has for its primary object to roll away from six hundred millions of the race of Adam the heavy curse which rests upon them; to secure the elevation to the dignity of intelligence [sic] creatures and children of God; to engage their thoughts in the contemplation, and to gladden their hearts with the prospects, of immortality; to make known "the way of life" through the meritorious suffering of the Redeemer; in a word, "to fill the whole earth [sic] with the glory of the Lord" (1837, Preface 3).

From this vantage point, the missionaries' passion for accomplishing their mission was not only to convert people but also a considerable pressure brought to bear upon

local populations to conform to the missionaries' ideas of proper behaviour in the secular aspects of life as well as in the religious sphere" (Marchette 1984, 4). Furthermore, the goal of elevation to the dignity of intelligent creatures and to become God's children was predominantly the product of a civilisation process. As Marchette states: "To Christian missionaries of the past centuries the "good Christian" was the good, "civilised" man and woman on the European model" (1984, 4). In that light, Christianising the heathens seemed only to be possible if they could grasp the basics of the preceding instructions in the western arts. For Samoans, our traditional dress, ceremonies, even our stories and narratives as well as our values and practical-based ways of instruction were regarded sacred and represented the wisdom of our ancestors. Unfortunately, to some extent they were regarded as wicked in the eyes of the missionaries.

This great influence in our educational system is reflected in various expressions of the event in the Samoan oratory language. In one of the Samoans' commonly used proverbs uttered by chiefs in their speeches: "*E ui i taeao, ae o le taeao sili lava o le Taeao o le na suluia ai Samoan i ave o le Malamalama*" – 'Of all mornings, the most important morning was when Samoa was enlightened by emissions of the knowledge.' It depicts a comparative notion of the unworthiness of the past in relation to the missionary era. These high attributions of the arrival of Christianity portray a huge transition in the mind-set of the Samoans. Obviously, the wording of the proverb discloses how the foreign *mamanu* superseded or assimilated the *mamanu* of the *Anofale.* It appears from it as if the Samoans did not have any epistemological systems prior to the arrival of the missionaries.

The question that comes to mind here is "What were some contributing factors or hidden impetus behind the enthusiasm of the Samoans?" One of the great influences in

the rapid acceptance of Christianity in Samoa was due to the political role of the chiefs[2]. Simultaneously, it was John Williams' goal in evangelising the Pacific islands to target the protection, patronage and power of chiefs to stimulate a mass conversion in the shortest possible time (John Williams cited by Nokise 1983, 44). The tactic was well-suited to the context of the mission in *Sapapalii.* As noted by Williams at their meeting with *Malietoa* and the people in 1832 (this was Williams' second visit):

> The chief [Malietoa] then requested me to state what was esteemed, [forbidden] or bad, according to the principle of Christian religion, promising to abandon every practice which the word of God condemned. In reply I confirmed that there were very many things, the evil of which they would see as soon as they were a little more enlightened; and that therefore our first object was to supply them with knowledge. […] I then referred to war, revenge, adultery, theft, lying, cheating, obscene dances, and many of their pastimes, (1837, 113).

On one hand, this statement clearly shows the enthusiasm of the natives to proceed with the shift. Malietoa's strong conviction (as the representative of the people) for the Gospel is evidently based on his political stance as a then new leader of Samoa. The fulfilment of the prophecy by the Samoan goddess Nafanua[3] is also a contributing factor in Malietoa's persuasion. Politically, Liua'ana suggests that Malietoa's favourable stance in accepting the LMS missionaries was only to protect his elite status and to maintain people's respect for his authority (2004,7). This seems to be proved by the chief's later behaviour when Williams came back in 1832, Malietoa refused to allow any teachers to spread out and reside in various districts of Samoa.

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[2] This could be also related to the death of Tamafaiga as Fauea mentioned this to John Williams on their voyage to Samoa. Fauea said Tamafaiga was "the man in whom the spirit of the gods dwelt; that he was the terror of all the inhabitants; and that, if he forbade it, the people universally would be afraid to place themselves[sic] under our instruction. For further reading, see Missionaries Enterprises by John Williams (1840 pg. 79-81)

[3]Nafanua was a Samoan goddess (aitu fafine) who prophesised the arrival of Christianity. In the story of Nafanua, when Malietoa asked her for his share of ao (heads) of his kingdom, she replied "*Tali I lagi se ao o lou malo*" which means "Await a head or ruler of your kingdom from Heaven". When the missionaries arrived in 1830, Malietoa attributed the event as the fulfilment of Nafanua'a prophecy.

Aside from Malietoa's refusal to release any teacher, there is evidence that people from various parts of Samoa heard of the new *lotu* (religion) that had travelled to *Sapapalii* to be instructed. A man named Amoamo from Tutuila travelled all the way to *Sapapalii* to be instructed with the Bible and then returned every fortnight to Leone to teach his people (Liua'ana 2004, 7).[4]

On the other hand, Williams' response to Malietoa confirmed that civilisation (western art) was the gateway to Christianity. Williams replied, "our aim is to supply them with knowledge" (1837, 12). It is obvious from his statement that instruction was central to the work of the missionaries. At that point, instructing in the knowledge of Christianity cannot be divorced from the influence of the secular western arts upon our people. Holmes claimed that the LMS missionaries had a major influence in Samoa, for instance, "beginning with their project of reducing the Samoan language into writing in 1834, the London Missionary Society workers have had a profound impact both religiously and educationally upon Samoan lives" (1925, 12). What is important to note here is that the enthusiasm consequently resulted in a gradual removal and devaluing of all these traditions of the pre-missionary times by the Samoans. As in the words of Richard Lovette:

> The teachers were now preaching to large numbers of convert [sic]. In rotation they visited all the chiefs and the people on the island who professed to be willing to abandon idol-worship and abominable customs connected therewith, and to become the worshippers of Jehovah (1899, 374).

[4] It is important to note that the arrival of the missionaries was not the first time the Samoans came across such an understanding of material wealth. Evidence shows that Samoa had been in contact with the Europeans before the 1800s. For example Jacob Roggeveen, Louis Antoine de Bougainville, who named Samoa's Navigator's Island is mentioned in John Williams' records, and Jean Francois de la Perouse, who lost twelve sailors in Tutuila after a misunderstanding with the local people. For further reading, see Featuna'i Liua'ana (2004, 3). (Williams 1840, 148).

Thus, the introduced religion was astonishing to the eyes of the Samoans. This apparently compelled them to accept and assimilate these foreign *mamanu* of the new system.

Moreover, the favourable stance by *Malietoa* in accepting the gospel reluctantly gave away the honour of *feagaiga* (literally means covenant) to the missionaries. Historically, the '*feagaiga*' thus "refers to the covenant of respect between a brother and a sister which gives special honour to the sister" (Fa'atauva'a 1991, 4). In this *feagaiga* the brother is obligated to serve and protect his sister for as long as he lives. It is generally believed that the sister has the power to curse the brother if she is angry or unhappy. In performing family worship, the *matai* or his *feagaiga* played the priestly roles in ancient Samoa (Meleisea 1987, 37).

With the coming of Christianity, the status of Samoan women was taken by the *faifeau* (pastor). Not only that, but the priestly roles of both the *feagaiga* and the *matai* were now given to the *faifeau*. As a result, the relationship of the *faifeau* and village was now regarded as the brother-sister relationship. The *faifeau* was now seen as the man with divine power; hence his word was unquestionable, and he was feared because his curse would surely lead to misfortune and death, a spirit mediator, a *feagaiga* that the village was obligated to protect and power. Ostensibly, the rise in status of the *faifeau* may have had a great influence in the minds of the Samoans when the institution for pastors commenced in 1844.

The material wealth can be also the contributing factor of the enthusiasm of the Samoans. In that sense it is apparent that material wealth[5] captured the attention of the

[5] This is a duplicate of the footnote on the previous page.

people. Consequently, the description of Christianity uttered by Fauea[6] when he first met the Samoans was predominantly a comparison which showed that the Samoan context in every aspect was exceeded by the civilised ideas brought by the missionaries. He said:

> Let us look at them, and then look at ourselves; their heads are covered, while ours are exposed to the heat of the sun, and the wet of the rain; their bodies are clothed all over with beautiful cloth, while we have nothing but a bandage of leaves around our waist; they have clothes upon their feet, while ours are like dogs'; and then look at their axes, their scissors, and their other property, how rich they are!" (Williams 1837, 86).

Interestingly, this is reflected by the astounding conviction of the people, voiced by one of the men and recorded by John Williams:

> I look…at the wisdom of these worshipers of Jehovah and see how superior they are to us in every respect. Their ships are like floating houses, so that they can traverse the tempest-driven ocean for months with perfect safety; whereas, if a breeze blow upon our canoes, they are in an instant upset, and we are sprawling in the sea (1837, 86).

From this perspective it expresses the practicality of our people, it was to the missionaries' advantage when introducing the new *mamanu* of knowledge system. In saying this, the Samoans' attention was easily overwhelmed. They were captivated by what they saw and ostensibly attributed the missionaries' God as a God of wealth and knowledge. The material wealth brought by the missionaries expressed the kind of wisdom and knowledge they had brought.

As stated by Turner, "The ships, the masts, the sails, the boats, the calico, the hatchets, the trinkets, and a host of other things, gave the natives high ideas of the white men of God" [sic] (1861, 103). For Samoans, in order to get hold of that kind of wealth there was no other way than to grasp their *mamanu* of knowledge. Therefore, the

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[6] Fauea and Puaseisei, a Samoan couple, were picked up by the Messenger of Peace from Tonga. Evidence shows that their connectedness to Malietoa plus their Samoan background also contributed to the fast acceptance of Christianity. For further reading, see "Missionaries Enterprises" Journal of John Williams 1840. There is another reference to this journal but I cannot find it. I want to ensure it has the same title.

Samoans' ambition to acquire the new knowledge system-initiated tolerance in the foreign *mamanu* to supersede the *faasamoa.* The consequences of the enthusiasm of the Samoans due to some of the aforementioned reasons dimmed their vision, thus losing their entrusted epistemological systems; that would arise later in their society.

3.3. Cementing the Foundation: The Effort of the Native Teachers: 1830-1835

In the usual *mamanu* of the Samoan *fale* the foundation was laid just only the stones without any cement. The cementing of the foundation at this point refers to a more systematic system of knowledge that has been introduced to the Samoans by the missionaries and native teachers. In this section, an attempt will be made to discuss basic changes introduced to the *mamanu* of instruction made by the native teachers in the given period. The lack of literature concerning this era (1830-1835) is perhaps due to either the absence or the ignorance of the white missionaries which seems as if the era was not really important. Only bits and pieces of the work done by native teachers within this period were considered important or recorded, aside from John Williams' Journals from his short visits. Unfortunately, the white missionaries misunderstood the work of native teachers at this era of mission in Samoa, as stated by Turner:

> To this day [when the six missionaries arrived in 1836] however, some of the people are still led on, by native religious pretenders, into all sorts of extravagances and absurdities, the blind literally lead the blind, and both, when they die, falling into the ditch - a feature of poor, corrupt, sin-loving humanity which, alas, is not peculiar to Samoa (1861, 108).

Turner, at this point, instead of applauding the effort explicitly shows a lack of appreciation of the native teachers. Moreover, his words clearly express how low and uneducated the Pacific people were in the eyes of the missionaries. As Goodall contends:

> Regular missionary work was begun six years later, and from this point onwards the history of Samoa became the story of people's development from barbarism to civilisation, chiefly through the impact of the Christian mission (1954, 352).

From the *mamanu* perspective these are latent patterns within history. The author assumes that they may have greatly contributed to the later success of the educational work carried out by the white missionaries. The effort of the natives as foundation layers within this part of the study is extracted from the house-building experience or *mamanu*-ing the Samoan *fale*. In that sense it contemplates the Samoan understanding that a solid *fale* depends on a firm foundation. Therefore, the successful development of education when the white missionaries arrived in 1836 due to the rapid proliferation of translations[7] as well as the supply of reading books should be attributed to the solid foundation laid by the native teachers. Most importantly expressing these basic changes informs us of how the exotic *mamanu* transformed the Samoan ways of imparting and obtaining knowledge.

On October 11 1832, John Williams returned to check the work of the native teachers he and Barff had left in 1830. Williams recorded considerable changes which reflected the hard work done by the natives. On his return, he firstly visited the island of *Manu'a* where he recorded some interesting developments, even though they did not place any teacher there in 1830 (1837, 109). At Leone, Williams found that people had already erected a place for worship; the structure was said to imitate the Tahitian style at *Sapapalii*. When Williams asked them how they acquired the knowledge of the new religion, a man named *Amoamo* replied, as recorded by Williams:

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[7] Evidence shows that in 1836, Platt and Wilson translated the Gospel of Matthew which was later printed in 1837. In 1837 the missionaries enlarged the spelling book, catechism and some hymns, 1,000 copies of which Matthew had already translated into Samoan. There were 5, 000 spelling books, 8,000 catechism books and 6,000 hymn books. See Richard Lovette "History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895."

> That is my canoe, in which I go down to the teachers, get some religion, which I bring carefully home, and give to the people; and, when it is gone, I take my canoe again, and fetch some more (1837, 110).

In fact, before Williams' arrival in 1830, he had heard of the news about the killing of La Perouse and eleven of his crew at the bay in Leone (1837, 98). Astonishingly, that was not the reaction of the people of Leone when he (Williams) arrived. The first thing they asked of him was about a 'religious worker' *tama fai lotu*. Williams regarded this change in the lives of the people as "an earnest [change] of the complete victory that the Gospel would shortly obtain over the superstitions, the idolatries, and the barbarities of the inhabitants of the whole group (1837, 110).

Moreover, before Williams left Leone, chief *Amoamo* and the people convinced him by reciting a chapter out of the Tahitian primer, partly in the Tahitian dialect and partly Samoan dialect; they also repeated the Lord's prayer in broken Tahitian (1837, 111).

Upon his arrival at *Sapapalii* in the same year, the native teachers informed him about the great change in the mission. They reported that Malietoa (Leone's brother), the principal chiefs, and nearly all the inhabitants of their settlement had embraced Christianity; the chapel was built in the Tahitian style, thatched with the leaves of sugar cane, instead of pandanus. It would accommodate six or seven hundred people, and it was always full. On the two large islands of Savaii and Upolu, the gospel had been introduced into more than thirty villages (1837, 111). Within these basic instructions by the native teachers, Williams also noted that the Samoans took part in the service by reading a chapter of the New Testament translated into a Samoan dialect as well as the prayers. The teacher's wife also proceeded with instructing the women in the manufacture of white Tahitian cloth and persuaded them to cover their upper part of their torso.

The eagerness which the people had shown within the early years of Christianity explicitly expressed how they acceded the foreign *mamanu* of knowledge to supersede that of the indigenous. Williams records that Malietoa also appointed a day for all the young men to publically renounce their heathenism; where all people came together to perform a ceremony in the abandonment of their former systems (1837, 115). This was done by consuming their gods. It is one of the Samoan systems that articulated the intimate connection of knowledge of the people to the creatures of the creation. As Turner explains; "One, for instance, saw his god as in the eel, another in the shark, another in the owl, another in the lizard and so forth (Turner, 1984, 17). Practically as aforementioned, the knowledge system of the Samoans was not compartmentalised in separate subjects (religion, social science, or science). That is, the intimate connection of the people is to the existence of the gods (religious), reflected and upheld by their worldview that their knowledge in respect to the surrounding environment, is what is later labelled as social science and now understood as ecology.

Added to the contribution of the natives, *Makea*, a king of Rarotonga who accompanied Williams in his voyage in 1832, also shared his conviction about what the gospel had done to the people of his island. This solidified the belief of the Samoans in the gospels. As recorded by Williams:

> Now we enjoy happiness, to which our ancestors were strangers: our ferocious wars have ceased; our houses are the abodes of comfort; Ave [sic] [we] have European property; books in our own language; our children can read; and, above all, we know the true God, and the way of salvation by his son Jesus Christ. (1837, 113).

Significant to this conviction is the educational impact of the missionaries upon various islands of the Pacific which perhaps further sanctioned the understanding of the Samoans about other aspects of the introduced religion.

Consequently, looking at the architecture, the chapel was built in a Tahitian style which explicitly underrated the Samoans' own carpentry skills and knowledge. Moreover, people started to read a foreign language and at the same it appears from the recited chapter that the Samoan translation of the Bible was already in progress by the native teachers before the arrival of Pratt who was regarded as the pioneer of translation in Samoa. In the course of 'the Samoans who recited the chapter during the service' we also experienced how the native teachers utilised one of the indigenous ways of upholding knowledge through memorisation. In that light the positive progress of the mission observed by Williams signifies the commitment of the native teachers to their calling despite their insufficient knowledge.

Moreover, couched with these important contributions of the native teachers in accomplishing the mission in Samoa it also brings to the fore the advantage of being taught by the native teachers due to some similarities of teaching methods in the Pacific utilised in imparting the knowledge of the gospel. Somehow, *Fauea* requested that the missionaries not condemn some of the amusements of the Samoan people in their teaching, otherwise they might refuse to accept the religion. Instead:

> Tell them, [sic] to be diligent in teaching the people, to make them wise, and then their hearts will be afraid, and they themselves will put away that which is evil. Let the 'Word' prevail, and get a firm hold upon them, and then we may with safety adopt measures, which at first would prove injurious (Williams 1837, 87).

From this vantage point, teaching the people to be diligent instead of forcing them to forbid what seemed normal in their lives reflected a sense of *faia*, a relational way of imparting knowledge which was commonly used throughout the Pacific. In other words, the practicality of the Samoans was their way of obtaining the knowledge through observing and imitating the teachers. This enabled them to choose what was aesthetic

for the lives of the people within their society. However, in the next section we will see a change of tactic when the white missionaries arrived in 1836.

3.4. Partitioning the Samoan *fale*: Instructions in 1836-1843

One of the common *mamanu* of a Samoan *fale*, as discussed in the methodology, is its openness which both articulates the hospitality and informs the significance of social relations embedded in the *faasamoa.* The blinds woven with coconut leaves were only needed at night or when it rains. Yet fixed partitioning of the *fale* is not part of the *mamanu* of a Samoan *fale*. When the missionaries arrived, the openness of the *fale* was deemed insecure and afforded less privacy. In response to such a concern, new *mamanu* was introduced by the usual architect of the Samoan *fale* where the partitioned houses started to be built for the missionaries within the villages. According to history, the first European-style houses built within villages were for the pastors as recorded by Gilson:

> […] pastors' houses were of traditional fale afolau type, but lately there has been a fad for building them of imported materials in a style combining European and Samoan elements. These are further distinguished by their large size and bright colours (1970,14).

Analogically, in a similar manner, the missionaries at the outset of formal education began with condemning and forbidding some of the indigenous traditions which they thought were not in line with Christian teachings and values. Take, for instance, the forbidding of tattoo in Tutuila as recorded by Murray. He states that "tattooing was a regular profession among the Samoans. *O le Tufunga ta tatau,* or the tattoo-maker, was a personage of no small importance in the days of darkness; but now the light had come, his profession was no longer in repute, and tattooing was numbered among works of darkness, and abandoned wherever Christianity had been received" (1876, 224). Consequently, changes to such a relational system of knowledge of education, fractured connections within a system left the Samoan indigenous system of education

fragmented. As Downs rightly suggests, “western ideas and western goods are made available in these simple Samoan communities. They may easily become a disintegrating force, for they react on the people as an additional and disturbing influence, which tends to discount their own culture” (1944, 10).

3.4.1. Bible Translation and the printing Press

The enthusiasm and the favourable stance taken by the Samoans to Williams’ two visits between 1830 and 1832 vested his visit to England in 1834. It seemed like attempting to take that voyage was to find some resolution to the enthusiasm and rapid growth of Christianity in Samoa. As a result, he brought with him the six first permanent missionaries – Hardie, Heath, Mills, Macdonald, Murray, and Barnden (Garret 1985, 127).

When the missionaries arrived in 1836, they were amazed at the number of Samoans who were able to read (Carson 1983, 6). Inevitably, the problem of insufficiency of materials such as pencils, slates, papers and books which they had brought with them could not meet the demand (Lovette, 1899, 37). Translating the materials into the Samoan language was the resolution to advance the educational work. It led the missionaries to authorise the printing of the Gospel of Matthew translated by Mr Samuel Wilson of Tahiti, despite its imperfections (Murray, 1888, 41). Wilson, together with George Platt from Raiatea, also worked on a few hymns and a spelling book together with the catechism. Charles Barff, who had accompanied the band of missionaries in 1836, went back with some translated materials that the missionaries found ready for printing from Huahine (Murray, 1888, 40). In 1837, less than a year after the settlement of the white missionaries, it was recorded that they had printed “1,000 copies of the Gospel of Matthew as far as the twenty-first chapter”, (Murray, 1888, 40), “5,000 spelling books, 8,000 catechisms, and 6,000 hymn books (Carson

1983, 5). It appears from the printed copies that there were less gospels than simpler reading material which clearly indicated the number of Samoans who were able to access the foreign *mamanu* of reading.

The significance of reading within the development of the mission in its outset was integral to the work of the missionaries. Apart from printing the translated materials which had been processed by the Tahitian teachers as mentioned above, Mills was asked to prepare a sacred geography, Murray and Hardie a scripture of zoology and Heath an arithmetic book (SMCMM, June and September 1836, cited by Carson 1983, 6). Even though this demanding work added to the load of the missionaries in preparing these books, there were still insufficient supplies for the great proliferation in the number of converts. As estimated by Lovette, the natives were eager to be taught and it was computed by 1838 that no less than 23,000 were under instruction (1899, 375). The integration of civilisation and Christianity within the work of the missionaries advocated for the success of their mission. On the recipients' end, the continuous eagerness of the Samoans portrays a picture of a partition between the indigenous epistemologies and the foreign *mamanu* of education.

Ostensibly developing the spiritual side of the mission was not the only prospect of Williams' perseverance. On his visit to England in 1835 he also sought to find someone who could help the missionaries to advance simple education. As noted by Murray:

> [At the] close of 1838 an ever-memorable event occurred, which was hailed with great joy both by us and the natives. This was the arrival of […] Mr J. B. Stair a printer. Mr Stair came furnished with all necessary appliances for carrying out the special object of the mission […] to meet the growing demand for books all over the group (1888, 42).

At the same time, Camden brought to Samoa a Mr Day, who settled at *Falefa*; […] and Mr Buchanan, a normal schoolmaster, who began work at *Falealili* (Lovette 376). They

were the most important figures in the development of schools within Samoa. Apparently the educational side of the mission was greatly taken into consideration by the missionaries Christianising the Samoans.

The greater development of the art of civilisation within the mission in Samoa was like an explosion. As stated by Murray, before they dispersed to their respective stations in 1836, they divided the New Testament among themselves in order to translate it (1888, 41). The idea was further hastened by the establishment of the printing press in 1839 by J. B. Stair at *Falelatai*. The first books printed by this press in 1839 were the "Roman and Protestant churches", "*O le Tala I lotu eseese*" or A Talk about Different Religions (Lovette 1899, 380). In 1841, the Gospel according to John was printed. It was followed by other portions. Within the next eight years, the entire New Testament was fully translated. The Old Testament was completed and printed in 1855; this was marked as the most historical success of the LMS mission (Murray 1888, 47).

3.5. *Mamanu* in Formal Schools

Within the chosen period of this undertaking (1830-1900) of the Samoan seminary, Leulumoega Fou and Papauta were the predominant schools established by the LMS. Significant to this part of the study is the historical exploration and an analysis of the educational system introduced and utilised by the missionaries from its outset. In doing so, the study divides the section into two subsections extracted from the "*tufuga's*" architect (relationships with builder, house-builder, canoe-maker, tattooist) namely: rooming the *fale* and fragmenting the *fale*. The study contemplates the imposition of foreign *mamanu* in educational systems introduced and/or utilised by the missionaries in accomplishing their goal "to supply the heathen with knowledge". In brief, the following section Rooming the *fale* will focus on the Samoan seminary

which is currently named Malua Theological College. The compartmentalisation of the subject originally started in the seminary. 'Fragmenting the *fale'* focuses on the latter secular schools known as Leulumoega Fou and Papauta because the study assumes that, as the separation of theological and secular education started at the same time, the motivation of being educated also changed.

3.5.1. Rooming the *fale*: Samoa Mission Seminary

The arrival of the missionaries had introduced a European house which not only converted the Samoan *fale* into a partitioned house but also compartmentalised the *fale* into rooms. In other words, rooming the *fale* was not part of the *mamanu* within Samoan architecture. This part of the study will specifically focus on the division of the system of subjects introduced by missionaries to our education system in light of 'Rooming the *fale*'. The aforementioned education system in the pre-missionary era was an all-in-one strategy. The religious, social, political and economic understanding of the Samoans was considered as one subject and hence was taught and imparted under an open *fale*. The central aims of those instructions were to sustain the *faasamoa* and to perpetuate *measina*, guided by values of *faia* which were upheld by *talatuu.* In contrast, the compartmentalisation of subjects which will be deliberated in this section is considered foreign to the *mamanu* of the '*Anofale*' educational system.

The compiling of the curriculum or the content of lessons for the Samoan Mission Seminary is reflected in two huge rooms created within the *fale*. That is, the separation of the religious and secular teachings. As stated by Valerie Margaret Carson in her thesis *"The Samoan Mission Seminary 1844-1884: A Study of the Means of Furnishing Teachers in Samoa for Educational and Religious Outreach by London Missionary Society Members in the Nineteenth Century"*, integral to the proposed curriculum of the Samoa Mission Seminary was its religious content pertaining to the biblical and

Christian knowledge of the students. On top of that the missionaries also took into consideration the significant development of the secular nature of education through the inclusion of arts associated with a literate society and civilisation (1983, 46). The courses offered then in the Samoan Mission Seminary were divided into three sections: (1) Secular curriculum included reading and writing, composition, arithmetic, geography, astronomy, English, natural history, natural philosophy. (2) Religious subjects comprised scripture exposition, sacred or scripture history, biblical or systematic theology, church history and pastoral theology. As part of the weekly schedule, time was also arranged for extra-curricular activities which included fishing, carpentry work, planting and even gardening (Turner 1861, 128).

The drawing up of the curriculum cannot be detached from the influence of the missionaries' educational background; either from living in the civilised country they came from or by other resources they had to draw upon. The missionaries' experience, drawn from their encounters with the precedent islands of the Pacific, could be the first. The second was what they had heard, seen and read about educational work either before they came or during their mission. Last were the resources to which they could refer in accomplishing their work.

In fact, it is also important to know that when initiating local schools, the missionaries predominantly aimed to develop the understanding of the Pacific people about the gospel. The words of the directors, in responding to the request for the education of the natives, state:

> […i]t is not desired to transform our native agents into foreigners, but to educate and improve them, without injury to that identity of thought and feeling and interest and habits which is necessary to a due and profitable sympathy between teachers, or pastors, and their people (Stallworthy 1856, 4 cited by Carson 1983, 48).

Otherwise what was important to the missionaries in drawing up the curriculum was the way to accomplish their calling as teachers to the illiterates. As Carson states:

> The curriculum was thus weighted in favour of the inculcation of facts, moral facts, right principles and religious feelings. The distinct impression gained from this is that the tutors believed that the art of teaching depended more on knowing the right facts than on any systematized [sic] instruction concerning principles and methods of teaching. (1983, 48).

This response was that it was not the purpose of initiating the institution to transform the natives into foreigners. However, the dependency of teaching upon 'the right facts' raises the question, "Right facts according to whom?" Was the curriculum set-up regarded as what was right to the Samoans or what seemed right to the missionaries?

3.5.1.1. Curriculum

In secular programmes, reading and writing was a pre-requisite for the Samoans to enter the seminary. The central focus of classes taken by missionaries at their mission stations in villages before commencing the seminary was enabling the people to read and write predominantly for the purpose of understanding the Bible. Historically, the emphasis on reading is definitely derived from the experience of the missionaries in the United Kingdom. As Birchenough states, "The customary method was to begin with the alphabet and to proceed to read by means of spelling" (1914, 223). This was the method used by the tutors in Samoa.

The scripture exposition subject was combined with the reading sessions due to the lacking in reading materials. According to Turner:

> The entire literature of my first class of students was three Gospels and an Epistle, the History of Joseph, some Scripture lessons, and a few miscellaneous pieces in a small native magazine, which we had commenced (1861, 133).

In teaching the writing course the same problem faced by the tutors of the seminary was the lack of materials in the Samoan language. The skills for writing very much dependent on the knowledge of the students in the mission station. In that case it

also became one of the required standards for entrance. In the undertaking of the course within the seminary, writing was associated with the mastery of spelling and arithmetic. And as Turner states, his method of teaching the writing skill was:

> I found it necessary, therefore, to put all my instructions carefully in a compact written form, and to let the young men have a separate copy, from which to write out as much as they could, to take with them when they left the institution, as a help to the memory for future reference (1861, 133).

The idea, according to Turner, was not bound just for the sake of imparting the knowledge and for the Samoans to learn. The missionary, in his approach, never dismissed the purpose and the motivation of commencing such an institution as he stated that:

> When the young men leave the institution, they return to their missionary who sent them, and are located each in some particular village. That they conduct schools, preach, and in some cases are appointed to baptize [sic] the children of church members and administer the ordinance of the Lord's Supper. [..] Our native agents will, we trust, eventually be fit to take the care of the churches entirely on themselves (1961, 140).

It was this holistic preparation of the Samoan future teacher and the missionaries' full commitment to their calling which motivated more secular subjects to be added to the curriculum. As recorded by Tafesilafa'i Lavasii, the 'natural history' subject was only introduced in 1852 (1984, 93). It was the tutors' desire to introduce the students and to prepare them in some measure for the impact of civilisation. Added to this was the need to broaden the vision of the students about other parts of the world; the intended goal of the missionaries was to prepare the students to respond to the call to take the Gospel to other islands of the Pacific (Carson 1983, 70-71). In the seminary, the emphasis was put on the physical geography of Palestine pertaining to religious understanding.

The health medical was not introduced until Turner's son arrived in 1869, due to the desire of the directors (Carson 1983, 80). The opportunity was given to the students of the seminary to attend classes for the medical as an integral preparation for their

mission in the future. Unfortunately, the opportunity came to an end when Dr Turner decided to move to Apia due to its central location. As it is recorded, this move led the directors to a decision that only those who were preparing for the foreign mission work were qualified to attend these classes (Carson 1983, 82).

Natural philosophy was said to be introduced from the beginning of the seminary. The content of this course included hydrostatics, pneumatics, acoustics, optics and magnetism (Turner and Hardie, cited by Carson). An outcome of this course was the surprise and delight observed by the missionaries (Carson 1983, 72). Sufficiency of resources for the course donated by overseas aid assisted the eagerness of the students to engage with the subject. Tuner recorded:

> 12 diagrams of the Working Men's Educational Union, and two Royal 8 vo [sic] volume cases of specimens in mineralogy purchased by the year's proceeds of a Missionary box kept by Mr Wm Logan Junior, of Glasgow. Also, a 'Wheel of Life' with three sets of coloured Illustrations, and a small model steam boat from the Hobart Town Sunday School Children (Turner 1864, cited by Carson 1983, 73).

The subject of English was not a core focus of the curriculum in the first two years of the Samoan Seminary. This was due to the debatable issues regarding the indigenous concern for their language[8]. For the British missionaries, their interest in the language controversy was directed first and foremost to the possibilities of using the native dialects to convert people to Christianity. It seemed impracticable to substitute the use of English for the vernacular due to the lack of suitable literature in the language (Carson 1983, 78). As aforementioned, it was not the aim of the missionaries to change the Samoans into English men. As in the words of Stallworthy, cited by Carson:

> …the natives neither speak nor read English […] But, supposing the natives to have acquired the ability to understand and read English, in proceeding to

[8] In Fiji, all mission teaching was in the vernacular until the turn of the century. Even then, the wisdom of providing an English education for all was questioned by the missionaries, and many of the older Fijians were opposed to it because they thought it would open up new dangers to youth – especially to girls (Carson 1983, 77).

> educate them as teachers of Christianity to their countrymen, very imperfectly for their work, if they were not also taught how to clothe their ideas in the costumes of their native tongues (1983, 79).

What we have noted from the given history of education in Samoa was the hard work and the perseverance of the missionaries. However, it is also important to look at some of the important *mamanu* from the recipients that were overlooked and replaced by these movements. Reading and writing was, of course, relevant to understanding the Bible. Nevertheless, we are bound to see the gradual supplanting of the Samoan *mamanu* of oral and dialogical methods of learning by the civilised arts of reading and writing.

The setting of the curriculum was predominantly inclined to both the civilised experience of the missionaries and materials then available. In that context, it reflected the passiveness of the student within the teacher-student relationship. A Brazilian philosopher, Paulo Freire referred to this relationship as a "banking concept of education" where the teacher is the depositor and the students are the depositories (1921, 52). It understandable that the missionaries persevered when conducting their teachings in the Samoan vernacular but the concern, at this point, is the content of the lessons that was totally foreign. Friere wrote that one of the dominant attitudes of teachers in education was that they (teachers) are there "to fill the students with the contents of his narration – contents which are detached from reality, disconnected from the totality that engendered them and could give them significance" (1921, 52).

As a result, the practical characteristics which enhanced their creativity was now transformed into a system that; "Knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry human beings pursue in the world" (Freire 1921, 53). Consequently, the values of *va fealo'ai* (mutual respect), *faaaloalo* (respect) guided by the understanding of *faia* between the Samoans

and the missionaries as representatives of God was the advantage in proceeding with the foreign mamanu. Therefore, division of the subjects not only created separate rooms within the *fale* with a different emphasis for each, but also disconnected the knowledge system of the Samoans from its usual *faia*.

Take, for instance, the introduction of health. This subject explicitly disclosed how the foreign *mamanu* of healing overrated our indigenous *taulasea* (traditional healing) – which the Samoans acknowledge as the contribution of nature through the use of tree leaves, soil and seawater, to name a few healing substances.[9]

Considering the above concerns, it is still a wonder to consider the reasons behind the inclusion of astronomy in the curriculum from its outset. Perhaps it was the influence of the English education system. As noted in the recordings of Saffin, the teaching of science around 1865 was common in England. Science included astronomy as well as physics and natural history, chemistry, mechanics, natural philosophy and lectures on the steam engine (1973, 323). As part of the subject, Carson states that the tutor used the telescope with the students to view the sun, moon, some of the planets, double stars and nebulae (1983, 74). The subject seemed astounding to the Samoans but the everyday experience of the students is still unknown. Again, the indigenous knowledge of reading the moon and the stars by the navigators now depended upon the telescope which was invented by a European scientist.

In the religious curriculum it is important to clarify the shifting *mamanu* of theological understandings of the Samoans as well as the interrogation of the new imposed values. In the drawing up of the religious curriculum, Rev. S. Whitmee (Turner's son-in-law who assisted him briefly at the Samoan Mission Seminary in

[9] For further reading, see Turner 1861, 223-226.. Turner explains how the Samoans used the juices from the bush, mud and even filth mixed up and taken as an emetic draught.

1869) recorded that there were four significant doctrines that were considered essential in the development of the institution. These were (1) Human depravity and the consequent doom of mankind; (2) The remedy and means of escape provided by the death of Christ; (3) The influence of the Holy Spirit necessary to change the heart; and lastly, the necessity of holy life, and consistent work [behaviour] and conversation as an evidence of sincerity (1870, 2 cited by Carson 1983, 84).

The Scripture exposition subject was limited to the available materials in the early years of the institution. This course was combined with the reading and writing courses. In that way the skills of writing and spelling were practised. As recorded by Carson, in 1854 when Turner finished with the Gospel of Mark, the students were given 511 pages of notes to copy. When Turner finished Hebrews in 1855, the students were given 460 pages of notes. Turner started with the Acts of the Apostles which he finished in 1857 (1983, 85). Apparently within the first ten years of the institution the emphasis of the course was mainly focussed on the New Testament books. In 1869, commentaries compiled by Turner were printed and used as course notes which saved time and allowed the tutors to focus on other areas of the Bible in class (Carson 1983, 88).

Scripture history was prominently concerned with the Old Testament. Perhaps this is why the Scripture exposition only focussed on the books of the New Testament. The thrust of the Scripture history course was an overview of the history of Israel and the beginnings of Christianity. The history of Joseph as aforementioned and printed by the press was one of the readers for this subject. Inevitably the insufficiency of the resources meant the tutors had to translate their own work into Samoan for the students. As a result, Turner managed to compile a textbook from all of his translations; these were used in the course during the later years. The following year he stated that:

> When I wrote in 1 Oct. last, I was working on the Scripture History. It is now printed and in circulation. We sell it at 1/-. It contains all that I consider valuable in Watt's 12 mo. Volume, and other matter from Calmet – Brown Kitto etc. and now then "a note" from good Matthew Henry (1856 cited by Carson 1983, 89).

The relentless struggle of the missionaries to compile and translate materials at the outset is obvious. However, there were also palpable areas that show their lack of consideration. A misperception was noted, specifically about the understanding of the character of Joseph in the story of the Old Testament and the Joseph in the story of Mary in the New Testament. This was recorded by George Pratt who was based in Savaii. He states; "[…] only a few Sabbaths ago a graduate of Malua came and asked me if Joseph the husband of Mary, the mother of Jesus, was the same as the Joseph who was sold into Egypt" (1859, cited by Carson1983, 91). Pratt, in his response to the confusion, blamed the order in which the scriptures came into their hands, first the New Testament, Psalms and then the Pentateuch (Carson 1983, 91). The question here is "But who authorised the printing of the Bible in such a way?" In that way it accentuated some political issues behind the Bible translation.

In the Biblical and Pastoral Theology courses, the Bible was crucial to the work of the tutors. What was commonly expressed in the theology of these courses was a traditional lines. As Carson stated from September 1853 to August 1854, the students' attention was directed to the divine authority of the Scriptures, the attributes of the Trinity, creation, the Fall, redemption, and the work of the Spirit (1983, 94). In that sense, the traditional lines grounded the theology of the sermons to the student. In 1869 the visitations of the sick were included with classes on preaching, the mode of delivery, public prayer and conversations with candidates for church fellowship (Carson 1983, 96). Conversely, the accessibility of the Samoan Bible to the students was now

one of the advantages in the development of these courses. However, the content and motivation of the courses were still orchestrated and authorised by the missionaries.

The Church History course was primarily based on one of the first books printed in 1839 called *O le Tala I lotu eseese*, or A Talk about Different Religions. The arrival of the 'Wesleyans in Samoa in 1835 and the Roman Catholics in 1845' seemed to be the two denominations the course targeted. In 1846 according to Carson, Stair who was responsible for printing printed some copies which included 'cruel persecutions, atrocious and murderous deeds of the Papists' and which included the political affairs of the French in Tahiti (1983, 101). The mission did not accept these sources at a general meeting in 1849 but decided to keep to accenting the scriptural differences with the Roman Catholics, not historical difference (SMCMM 1849 cited by Carson 1983, 101). Nisbet prepared a book on the subject of popery based on his lecture before he left in 1867 (Carson 1983, 91). The period of Reformation and the Reformation in Germany was included in 1873, together with the influence of the Reformation in England, Scotland, Italy, Spain and France (Carson 1983, 93).

From the development of the course as discussed content was mainly focussed on the weaknesses of the Roman Catholic faith which led to the Protestant Reformation. The rejection of the notes, given by Stair, included the political affairs of France in Tahiti. Perhaps the mission did not want to introduce to the Samoans a political influence which in fact may have enlightened them about the colonial affairs which were also integrated within their way of teaching.

In summary, both the content and the motivation within the realm of education was now turning. The issue about the availability of the materials is obvious within the development of the institution. Nevertheless, looking back at the five doctrines which appeared as a vision of the institution is sufficient to substantiate the paradigm shift of

learning. Within the vision as given above, the depravity of humankind, the remedy and the changing of heart through the work of the Holy Spirit were inevitably reflected in the content of the courses. Sad to say that, what was known as depravity in the eyes of the missionaries was the Samoan knowledge system. As a result, the missionaries imposed a foreign *mamanu* of content and motivation into the Samoan knowledge system. Take for instance, the understanding of humans as the 'crown' of creation as taught in the 'Bible creation story' hampered the understanding of the people that human beings are part of creation not the ruler. Gilson also raises a similar concern that explicitly discloses the ignorance of the missionaries. He states:

> There were, of course, analogies between Christian and traditional beliefs, as with respect to the divine creation of the world and man [sic], the existence of a soul and a life after death, and the punishment of forbidden acts and relationships by supernatural means. These, and other parallels, might have facilitated the Samoan's adaptation to Christianity, but they could also entrench and conceal misunderstanding of it (Gilson 1970, 103).

Moreover, as far as the writer remembers in Biblical Studies attended, in the New Testament courses the Gospel of Matthew emphasises the Christology of Jesus as a king whereas the Gospel of Mark accentuates the servant-hood of Jesus. And from the records of Turner, in his class he started with the Gospel of Mark because the Gospel of Matthew had already been printed, as had the Book of Hebrews. From that aspect, the master-slave theology was emphasised in these theologies; the loudest theme in Hebrew is that there is no going back in the life of a Christian (deSilva, 2001).

Apparently, the changes made to the knowledge system portray a picture of a Samoa *fale* that was now divided into rooms. Undeniably, the significance of the *aganuu* as a part of indigenous knowledge was now preceded by the power of paper and pen, theories and inventories which are grounded in the foreign *mamanu* of knowledge. The *mamanu* of the practical and dialogical methods of instruction was now no longer valid and was supplanted by copying notes and reading. The essence of *faamanuiaga*

which was regarded as being collectively bestowed by serving the elders whilst signifying values of *faia,* was now bestowed by the student-textbook relationship. Relationships were disintegrated by the boarding school system. As a result, individualism was encouraged within *aiga, nuu,* and the church. As Downs contends, the impacts of the motivation of the imposed education system as "[…] education regarded – as it is by the majority of people in the west as well as in more primitive communities – as a means of gaining knowledge from the outside, becomes a disruptive force; changes are superimposed on the old tradition, without any real understanding of the people themselves" (1967, 22).

3.5.2. Fragmenting the *fale*: Papauta and Leulumoega Fou

The success of the educational system introduced by the missionaries enabled them to proceed to the next level of their achievement. The establishment of Leulumoega Fou in 1892 and Papauta Girls Schools in 1901, signified the enthusiasm of missionaries and the positive reaction by the natives, hence the imposition of what is foreign to the experience of the Samoans called 'formal education'. Again, the Samoan way of education, as discussed in the proceeding chapters, was predominantly not only learned and imparted under the same roof of the *fale* but also aimed at sustaining the *faasamoa* which guided and manifested through the value of *faia*. In contrast, the establishment of the two schools mentioned is understood in this study to be the 'Fragmenting of the *fale*' into separate places with separate motivation and content. The consequences of these movements initiated by the missionaries plus the favourable reaction from the natives motivated the author to interrogate both positive and negative impacts of the introduced system.

3.5.2.1. Leulumoega Fou

In 1888 the directors, together with the local missionaries, decided to establish a school aside from Malua Theological College to prepare the young male generation for Malua and other work of the church (Fauolo 2005, 693)[10]. The school originally started in Apia was known as Malua Fou. The missionary Ellis was appointed to be in charge of that historical success of the LMS mission. The war called "the *Luatuanuu* war" emerged in the same year and precluded the continuation of the schools. Another meeting was held in 1889 regarding the re-commencement of the school at Malua where the theological college was. However, a land issue led to the decision to leave it to the *Aana* district to find a suitable place for the new school. *Leulumoega* village council appreciatively accepted the request for land and *Nuuausala* was given with a forty-year contract of lease (Fauolo 2005, 693). At the end of this lease, the elders then decided to move the school to Malua. This was accomplished in 1925 where the school is currently at now (Fauolo 2005, 693).

In the month of August in 1890 the first subjects of the school were officially underway by the management of Ellis with the help of the Samoan teachers Mose and Talatonu (Fauolo, 2005, 693). Religious content was never questioned because it underpinned all the LMS mission schools. The secular subjects as Fauolo enumerated included "arithmetic (*Numera*), memorising numbers (*Numera Tauloto*) writing (*tusiga faaa'oa'o*), stories about trees (*Tala i Laau*), essay writings (*Tusigatala*), map drawing (*Tusiga faafanua*), art (*Tusiga Faatagata*), history (*Tala I le Lalaolagi*), reading and hand writing (*Faitau ma Tusilima*). The carpentry skills were also part of the programme (Fauolo2005, 693).

[10] Oka Fauolo's book is written in a Samoan vernacular which the writer translated.

One of the struggles mentioned in the progress of the Samoa Mission Seminary was the teaching the students to read and write and imparting the theological knowledge. It appeared from the start of Leulumoega Fou that there was some resolution to this struggle. In fact, the gradual shift in the emphasis of education was obvious where the Samoa Mission Seminary now started to focus on the theological aspects while the secular entities were the responsibility of the Leulumoega Fou. As stated by James,

> If a boy wishes to go further [this was from the mission stations in the village] he enters the High School at Leulumoega, where much attention is given to industrial training. Samoa presents one of the most favourable opportunities for helping the Government to shape a complete and effective education in fullest accord with missionary ideals. (1923, 135).

The great contributions of the LMS mission's education to the development of Samoa cannot be denied. However, what is apparent from such comment and also the move of the missionaries to commence such a school fragmented the *fale* in terms of demarcating the spiritual and secular highlights both negative and positive which this study is interested in. With regard to the content of the lessons, the secular dynamics of education were now the emphasis, yet still guided by the religious values. Therefore, central to the indigenous knowledge was the continuation of the *aganuu*. Obviously it was vexing to obtain new knowledge and skills imposed by the missionaries whilst tolerating changes and manipulation of the Samoan knowledge system. Yet the danger of devaluing the latter is common as we are noticing now in the incompatibility of the knowledge skills gained by the contemporary generation to the social and cultural context of the indigenous people.

3.5.2.2. *Papauta* School

The establishment of Papauta Girls School was primarily initiated by the two London missionaries named Sir Albert Spicer and Reverend Joseph King who visited

Samoa in 1887 (Small 1967, 9). As outsiders, their perspective of women's education was subservient to the education of men. As a result, Sir Albert Spicer urged the directors to establish a college for training Samoan girls (Small 1967, 11).

Valesca Schultze, a German who had trained as a teacher in Berlin and had some nursing experience including midwifery, was appointed to start work. Elizabeth Moore from a poor family (with an Irish father and a mother from the Society of Friends), who used to work in a mill and later had a chance of getting teacher training was appointed to accompany Schultze in this mission in 1891 (Small 1967, 110). The school was initially started from Malua while awaiting the negotiation with *Seumanutafa*, Chief of Apia, for the purchase of the land.

In 1892 the schools were officially opened and marked the great development of education within the Pacific because girls from other parts of the Pacific also attended the school (Downs 1967, 24). The required standard of the intake of new students was set by the pastors in the villages and mission stations. The school was again a boarding school like Malua and Leulumoega Fou.

The content of the curriculum comprised the three areas that were initially started in Malua: religious, secular and extra-curricular activities. The secular lessons, as listed by Downs included: arithmetic and geography, hygiene, language, psychology, composition, music and singing, reading and writing and of course that most difficult foreign language English, while the religious subjects included scripture and worshipping (1967, 32). The daily programme was regulated by the bell, with respective duties already arranged week by week. In the morning they started with outdoor jobs like cutting or weeding the grass. Another bell signalled the breakfast break.

The religious life of the schools was very important. According to Downs, religion "cannot be treated merely as part of the curriculum, a subject to be taught, but rather as a spirit which permeates every part of life, something to be caught and absorbed by the growing personality" (1967, 34). Foreign to the experience of the Samoan girls was privacy or personal prayer life. In teaching the Bible narratives, the tutors were aware of the strong dramatic sense of the girls in accordance with their culture of singing and dancing. Drama was another successful way that Downs observed to suit the interest of the students in biblical stories.

3.6. Summary

The complementary findings of this chapter allow us to find out about the crux of devaluing our indigenous knowledge system. As a result, it was the enthusiastic Samoans who were captivated by the material wealth alongside the favourable political stance taken by the chiefs. In that context it suited the eagerness of the missionaries and their full commitment in their calling to bring knowledge to the heathens. Consequently, it led to the notion of intolerance which enabled changes which shifted the emphasis within our knowledge system. In the end, this not only created partitions in the Samoan *fale* but also fragmented the knowledge system into various entities. Effectively the imposition of the formal education system "comprised of imported structures and processes that bring with them specific philosophies and ways of learning and knowing" (Koya 2017, 2). Yet the emphasis concerning the content of the knowledge system that was predominantly to sustain the *aganuu* fostered in the *faasamoa* was now superseded by the foreign *mamanu* of theories, inventories "which perpetuate the originating knowledge-bases situated in the Global north (West) and locate research [education system] within a set of paradigms, each with its own

ontological, epistemological, methodological, pedagogical and axiological assumptions about the world and human engagement within the world (Koya 2017,2).

Chapter 4

Conclusion - *Mamanu Talafeagai*: Complementary Patterns

4.1. Introduction

This chapter highlights three points of analysis namely the assimilation of Christianity, the use of the *mamanu* methodology and the coexistence of traditional Samoan and Christian values in education. That Christianity was assimilated into Samoan culture and has placed precedence in converting the heathens in educating and perpetuating colonisation processes, which exists in the political, economic, and social systems to date. Also, that the use of *mamanu* is a valid, authentic, credible as well as an appropriate critical praxis of a research methodological framework in promoting my positioning in this research of the historical patterns and process of education and Christianity in Samoa. David Gegeo writes in rethinking Pacific Island research, "we must design research strategies that are grounded in Indigenous and Native epistemologies … Outsiders have ignored or made light of the idea that Pacific islands cultures have philosophies, in part because our knowledge was oral rather than written until very lately – yet philosophy predates literacy (2001, 24). Most important of all, the teaching and learning spaces from the *aiga, nuu* and *itumalo*, now coexist within Samoa with Christianity informing the curriculum development through the integration of Samoan knowledge, values, beliefs and skills where *faifeau* upholds such axiological positioning to serve rather than to be served practice-oriented and dialogical underpinnings.

By addressing the above aims, the chapter now attempts to identify both the positive and negative impact of both systems so that the study could offer a complementary *mamanu*. As afore discussed, the word *Talafeagai* is made up of two

terms, *tala* as it commonly used to refer to stories, narratives or history. Etymologically *tala* can also mean sides of the *fale* and it is this definition that the study will prefer to utilise in this chapter (Soo 2000, 129). While *feagai* means 'face to face' or 'suit'. Aiono uses the word "aesthetic to *talafeagai* or *onomea*" (1996,9).

4.2. *Faa-feagai o Mamanu*: To Complement the Mamanu

As noted from the proceeding chapters, the study employs the *mamanu* of the *fale* to compare and contrast the two systems such as 'rooming the *fale'* as analogies in expressing the *mamanu* which were foreign to the Samoan. Before proceeding, the study wishes to firstly concede that it clearly shows from the investigation that the missionaries did not take away the *Anofale*, but sought to build new things upon and within the same foundation of the Samoan *fale*. This is reflected in the way the missionaries' idea of education was assimilated within the Samoan indigenous knowledge system. The study must be reminded that *mamanu* as an approach is an appeal for an inclusivity of the indigenous knowledge system, that as we engage in discourses on teaching and learning, we also need to take into consideration the wealth of our own indigenous past. That is, this part of the work aims to *'faa-feagai' ('faa'* means 'to' and *feagai* means 'face to face') the two ends so that one complements the other.

4.2.1. Oral and Literacy

Oral or dialogical instruction was prominently utilised by the Samoans in conveying the knowledge from one generation to another. The skill of memorising and rote learning was significant in perpetuating the *aganuu* whether it is from within the learning spaces of the *aiga, nuu, village* or districts as the content of lessons which were the main purpose of the indigenous knowledge system. As contended by Unaisi

Nabobo-Baba "…the importance of listening and of silences as pedagogies keep us [Pacific people] interconnected in respectful and sustainable relationships with each other, and with all other beings in the cosmos – our 'other relatives', the birds, sharks, the sun and the moon (2014, 317). In this respect, the knowledge system within the Pacific and Samoa was never detached from their worldviews. Learning is not something boxed within a specific place but within a freely given space to interact with others including the animals and other aspects of the creation. In saying this of course, we understood reading literacy was foreign to our ancestors but that does not mean we underestimate their ability to read nature (navigating, planting seasons, harvesting seasons) and that is the gift we hardly experience at our present generation.

When the missionaries introduced formal education as we have noted in chapter three, literacy appeared to be the window to the art of civilisation and Christianising the heathens. Literacy initiated the partitioning of the Samoan *fale*, because it began from the mission stations where the missionaries teach the people how to read the Bible.

Firstly, the study will deliberate some of the aspects that disclose the assimilation of the foreign *mamanu* of literacy into the oral tradition by the Samoans. As above discussed, the undertaking argues that the Samoans and various islands of the Pacific utilised *Fagogo*, poems, songs and dance to impart their knowledge. When literacy introduced to the Samoans, the elders memorised some of the Biblical stories and retold them in a form of *fagogo* to the youngsters as we also experienced in our generation. Dramatizing biblical stories was also noted in the scripture classes in Papauta which also utilised the Samoan dramatic sense. (Downs 1944, 36). Moreover, the Samoans also composed songs and poems to commemorate historical accomplishment carried out by the missionaries. One of the examples is the song recorded by Oka Fauolo (2005) about the Bible translation (Appendix 1 for the lyrics of the song). Another song is

recorded by Richard Moyles composed by the Samoans to commemorate the return of Williams in 1832. (Lyrics are in Appendix 2). The idea of rote learning in memorising the genealogies, and myths was also adopted within Sunday schools to learn off by heart some of the scriptures verses which the writer also experienced in the '*aoga ale Faifeau'*.

In the course of hymns Crawford recorded that "The LMS showed little taste for Samoan music and indeed… discouraged its use in the services and meetings of the lotu [religion]" (1977, 398). Nevertheless, Holmes states that;

> [t]he words of Samoans adopted hymns are often direct translations of …Protestant hymns, but the melodies are frequently different. Harmonically, Samoan church music differs little from Western religion music, but the tonal quality and musical style are uniquely Polynesian. The women sing in high nasal voices, while the men carry the lower parts with full, deep tones (1974, 71).

In fact, it is one of the Samoan characteristics of traditional Samoan singing that freedom is given to a singer to sing naturally as loud as possible. It is interesting to note that the secular and spiritual notion of singing was still blended by the Samoans within these hymns. This goes back to the pre-missionary understanding of the Samoans that all songs are *viiviiga*[1] (song of praise).

Regardless the best fit approach of connectedness with these aspects there are also some hurdles experienced from the indigenous ends. What is worth to be noted at this point is the shift in content and rationale of being educated. Yet it introduced intolerance to the indigenous knowledge system which led into a danger of disappearing and devaluing. Consequently, the two *tala* (sides) of the *fale* seemed no longer *feagai* (face to face) but back to back. What the study needs to recommend at this part of the case is that our oral and dialogical approach was and still in use. Unfortunately, the

[1] Viiviiga refers by the Samoans to songs of praise which speaks the history of a village or a commemoration of an important person within an event.

content/*aganuu* has been lost which is the concern of this task. And we cannot turn back the time, what seems aesthetic now is to transform the wealth of our ancestors into written sources. The Samoans need to be more attentive in collecting and compiling information through writing and publication from our elders while we still have the chance. This is not to devalue the significance of oral tradition and dialogical methods of teaching. As encouraged by Thaman the Pacific people/researchers need to "reconceptualise education in a way that will allow the Pacific people to reclaim ownership of their education and to articulate a Pacific vision for education (2014, 308). In doing so the future generation will be enabled to continue upholding the wealth and access the wisdom of their ancestors.

4.2.2. Practical and Theoretical

Participating and imitating the elders of the *aiga* and *nuu* reflects the practicality of the Samoans in obtaining and imparting the knowledge. The skill of listening and observing was prominently significant in sustaining the *aganuu* which was manifested in the *faasamoa.* Nevertheless, the introduction of theories written in books and invented by outsiders lessens the relational approach and the intimate connectedness of this kind of learning. Moreover, leaving the *aiga* due to the system of boarding school allied the fracturing of these *faia* between parents/elders relationships. As afore said, we cannot escape the fact that the world is moving forward so fast due to the luxury of technology and intelligence not forgetting the influence of migration for better future in overseas countries.

In order to *faafeagai* the *mamanu* at this point it is the task of the church to re-emphasising the practical learning within the mission schools. As we have noted in the outset of the Malua Theological College as well as Leulumoega and Papauta academic was not the only focus of the curriculum. The extra-curricular activities were common

in the three schools despite the difference in motivation. In the words of Thaman "Other scientists have argued that the indigenous knowledge system should be considered a form of science, because indigenous medicines, farming practices, hunting techniques and use of fire require intimate knowledge of natural ecology and biology (2014, 310). This is proved by most of the conferences and awareness of climate change issues consults the Pacific contributions through indigenous approaches to provide answers. Take for instance the 'Reweaving of the Ecological mat' undertaken by the International Mission Research (IMR) at Pacific Theological College. Also, the 'Eco Relational Theologies' constructed and compiled by the principal of PTC Rev. Dr Vaai presented in Germany in May 12-15 2019. Mentioning these articulates the richness of the wisdom of the Pacific, the wisdom that has been practically conveyed yet qualified and considered universally to provide comfort. Hence there is no other forum to develop and advertise this wisdom than being part of our school curriculum to initiate the future of tomorrow about the wealth upheld by the wisdom of our ancestors.

4.3. The Authenticity of *Mamanu* as a Method

Interpretation, according to Tui Atua, is the art of 'searching for meaning' (2009). The aim of searching for meaning "should not only be about trying to understand something but also, most importantly, about trying to question from whence our thinking and knowledge has been sourced" (Vaai 2017, 20). Vaai encourages this search for meaning of the knowledge and understanding of the people to be rooted in their history (2017, 11). In this sense, uncovering this meaning would be co-construction of knowledge which reflected an authentic method it was the relational nature of *mamanu* that triggered the interest of the writer to utilise it as a method to analyse the history of education in Samoa in the said period. Fortunately, what we have before us explicitly substantiates the significance of such an approach.

Based on the *mamanu* findings the history of education in Samoa as it is given was both the commitment of the missionaries and the enthusiasm of the Samoans. In saying this, the Samoans and most of the Pacific islanders were fortunate and blessed not only by the spiritual blessings but also opened the gateway to the secular blessing through the work of the missionaries in educating them. *Mamanu* as a relational approach create a *faia* to bridge the space between the two by acknowledging the hard work done by the missionaries as well as the loss of the indigenous knowledge system. Yet it resurrects the latent *Mamanu* by proposing ideas that enable developments that instead of condemning but allow moving forward. In the actual fact it was challenging to think of a way implementing the findings of this undertaking, hence *mamanu* as method bring to the fore both sides of the argument by comparing and contrasting yet creating *faia* between the two.

4.4. The role of the Church in Re-Orienting the *Mamanu*

In this section of the concluding chapter the undertaking looks at some of the proposed resolutions for the loss of our indigenous knowledge system.

The establishment of Malua Theological College ostensibly demarcates the role of the priest or the pastor from the *matai*. In saying that in the pre-missionary era one of the roles of the *matai* is to conduct *tapua'iga* or *fanaafi o faamalama* (prayer) within their *aiga* and *nuu*. It was a great shift in the lives of the Samoans where spiritual entities tended to be separated from the ordinary aspect of the life of the people. Various titles were given to the pastor; the *Ao o faalupega* (head of the village family), the spiritual parent, the source of knowledge,[2] the *faafeagaiga* (the covenantal belief that the brother looks after the sister). These highly regards given to the pastor signifies

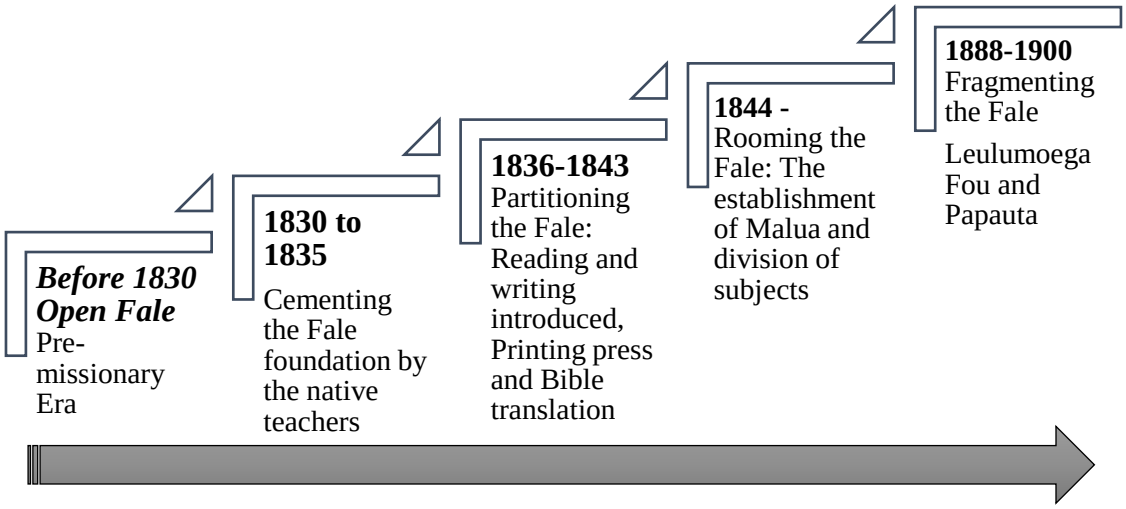
[2] Bear in mind in those days' pastors were the only well-educated people in the Western art.

the trust and the faith of the people that everything done by a *Faifeau* was right and from the direction of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, most of the assimilation and changes made to the traditional knowledge system of Samoa initiated by the pastor were considered as blessings for the village.

The Samoan worldview of *aoga* integrated aspects of the *aganuu* and the Christian values manifested by the *aoga a le Faifeau* (pastor's school). The church must revisit and rethink its mission within villages, to reemphasise this because what the writer noted in most parishes now, is that there are hardly any *Faifeau* who are able to continue this important role of teaching and nurturing the children about basic ideas of the Samoan knowledge system. Because no matter how hard the higher education pushed to revisit, rethink and reclaim our indigenous knowledge it should be reemphasised from the early development of the child through the pastor's school.

As demonstrated in Figure 2, this implementation exists today. The sustainability of how Christian values are preserved and maintained within the establishment of the school's systems and institutions. In establishing its imprint through the analogy of building a *fale* beginning with cementing the foundation in converting the heathens, then sustaining it through partitioning of the *fale* when the first permanent missionaries arrived in 1836, the establishment of the printing press and the Bible translation proceeded. The establishment of Malua Theological College marked the Rooming of the *fale* when subjects were divided. Lastly 1888-1900 *Leulumoega* and *Papauta* established where it portrays a picture of Fragmenting the *fale*. In the actual all these changes given by this timeline brought both positive and negative impact yet they were all contributed to the beautiful expression of both Samoa and the success of the Congregational Christian Church Samoa today.

Figure 2: Timeline



Appendix

Appendix 1

Fai mai o lalo lava o le talie	-	It's said it was under the talie
I tala ane o le fale vali e,	-	Beside the painted house
Na punonou ai alii o le Komiti	-	The Committee members were intent
Ua taua o le "Papa o Misi"	-	Named the 'Rock of the Missionaries'
Ch/ Pepese ia I le pese	-	Sing the song
Faafetai I le lagi	-	Thanksgiving to heaven
Ua aofia mai le Ekalesia	-	The church gathers
I le maa o le Tusi Paia	-	In commemoration of the Holy Bible (Oka Fauolo 2005, 76).

Appendix 2

Paraparau ana ia William	-	Let us talk of Mr William
A to niu I malama a duu adu	-	Let cocoa nuts grow in peace for him for months
Fua o le toelau nei e galo	-	When storng the easterly winds blow our thought forget him not
Ia mamatua mai le nau lotu a Sina	-	Let us greatly respect the Christian land of the white chief
Toe o le malo, ma le Atua ua tasi	-	For we are now all malo. For we have all one God
Sa I mea u ma faiva o papalagi	-	Now no kind of food is sacred we catch and eat all kinds of fish

Glossary

A'o	-	to learn, study, practice
A'oa'o	-	theological student, to learn, to train, to study
Aganuu	-	culture
Aiga potopoto	-	extended family
Aiga	-	family, relative
Alofa	-	love
Anofale	-	the crater or inner part of the fale
Aoga ale Faifeau	-	pastor's school
Aoga	-	school/education
Ato	-	basket
Ava	-	kava
Avanoa	-	space/opportunity
Aualuma	-	local descendants' women
Elefane	-	elephant
Eseesega	-	difference
Eleele	-	earth, dirt
Faaaloalo	-	respect, pay respect
Faalupega	-	a set of ceremonial greetings addressed to the matai names of seniority, which are associated with historical organs of each village
Faamanuia	-	to bless
Faasamoa	-	Samoan way of life, in the manner of Samoans
Faasinomaga	-	sense of belonging/identity
Faatusatusa	-	to compare
Fafo	-	outside
Fagogo	-	storytelling, traditional Samoan stories

Faia	-	relational/relationship
Faitau Pi	-	alphabet
Fale	-	house
Feagai	-	face to face
Feagaiga	-	covenant
Itulagi	-	side of heaven
Itumalo	-	district
Lotu afiafi	-	evening prayer
Mai	-	from
Malaia	-	curse
Mamanu	-	patterns/design on a cloth, architect, tattoo, canoe
Manuia	-	conscious, blessings
Mavaega	-	last will of a dying person
Measina	-	entrusted wisdom
Nuu	-	village
Siapo	-	tapa cloth
Tala	-	story, narrative, side of a Samoan house
Talafeagai	-	complement
Talanoa	-	converse
Talatuu	-	oral tradition
Tamaitai	-	female
Taulasea	-	Samoan traditional healer
Taule'ale'a	-	untitled man
Tautala faasamoa	-	to speak in Samoan language
Tautua	-	service
Tufuga	-	carpenter, tattooist, canoe maker
Tulaga	-	position

Tulou	-	excuse
Uiga talafeagai	-	expected behaviour
Umu	-	oven
Va felaoa'I	-	mutual respect
Va tapuia	-	sacred space
Va	-	space

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