

***FEAGAIGA AND TAXATION: A HISTORICAL
CRITIQUE OF THE DEBATE BETWEEN THE
CCCS AND THE SAMOAN GOVERNMENT
CONCERNING TAXATION OF CHURCH
MINISTERS***

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

This paper attempts to explore the taxation of church ministers within the wider history of Christianity in Samoa. This historical investigation is a response to the recent taxation debate in Samoa which erupted in 2017. The Samoan government amended the Income Tax Act 2012 which not only renders clergy as the employees of a parish but also classifies their monetary gifts as income. The Congregational Christian Church Samoa (CCCS) protested the amendment because it impinges on the minister's status within the village known as, *fa'afeagaiga*. The supporting documents released by the Samoan government include past legislations, specifically in 1906, 1911 and 1924. This undertaking intends to scrutinise these taxation laws together with the terms *Feagaiga* and *Fa'afeagaiga*, which are dominant threads running through the debate. Hence this paper is guided by two questions: What is *feagaiga* and *fa'afeagaiga* from a historical perspective? How far back in history does taxing the church ministers occur?

Feagaiga is a Samoan word for covenant which is attributed to a sister, while *fa'afeagaiga* is a church minister in a village. This thesis argues that these relationships are tantamount to Samoan tradition and Christianity, both of which have been deeply affected by the new taxation amendment. The legislation has also disrupted the relationship between the church and state, where the decision-making capacity of the former has been undermined by the latter. This research is by no means exhaustive. It is recommended that the taxation debate within Samoa requires engagement from all theological disciplines to strengthen the notion that the church and state are founding pillars of Samoan life, and ought to be treated as mutually indispensable.

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that this thesis, which is 36992 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.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

DEDICATION

To the “Ministers of Religion” and Samoan government of the Independent State
of Samoa.

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Acknowledgments

The completion of this work is the result of great influence and assistance of many people. But first and foremost, glory and praises be given to our Almighty God for His love and blessings that have fulfilled my studies especially this thesis journey in the Pacific Theological College, Suva. To God be the glory. I would like to acknowledge the support of the General Secretary and the Congregational Christian Church Samoa for supporting our academic journey in every way possible; physically, mentally and spiritually. Indeed, I express our gratitude to the Principal Rev. Maafala Lima and staff of Malua Theological College for this golden opportunity to pursue further study. Thank you for your prayers.

To my supervisor, Rev. Dr Ralph Weibrenner. It is indeed a great pleasure to work with you in two years. Thank you for your outstanding academic insights, effort and guidance putting into this work since the beginning towards its final form. Faafetai Telē Lava! I thank also to the Church History Department, Faculty, Students, Ethnic groups and everyone in the PTC Community for the space to share and learn with you. Not forgetting Rev. Dr Upolu and Masaga Vaai and the Aiga Samoa for your support and prayers. I cannot forget Rev. Siu Vaifale and family and the Samoan Church in Suva. Thank you and may God bless you all.

To Rev. Dr Faafetai Aiava and Dr. Fatilua Fatilua, wives and children. Your tremendous support is exceptional and your fruitful academic contributions are loudly echoed in various part of this study. Faafetai Telē Lava! I am much indebted with the editing support of Vaai Saito Sililoto, Delsa Evotia Tuitea and Rev. Dr Latu Latai. Thank you very much and may God continue to bless you, your families and all your endeavours.

I convey my sincere gratitude to church ministers who have contributed to this work through interviews. Rev. Vavatau and Roina Taufao (General Secretary CCCS), Father

Kasiano Leaupepe (President National Council of Churches and Roman Catholic Deacon), Rev. Elder Utufua Naseri (Apia CCCS), Rev. Elder Fili Matalavea (Faleula CCCS), Rev. Elder Ailepata Leuta (Satapuala CCCS), Rev. Lotu Uele (Vaiala CCCS), Rev. Faasalafa Tasi (Vailima CCCS), Rev. Eletise Suluvale (Toamua CCCS), Rev. Lavilavi Soloi (Letogo CCCS), Rev. Vaueli Sanerivi (Faletagaloa CCCS), Rev. Peniamina Europa (Aopo CCCS), Rev. Mareko Posi Leota (Tafagamanu MCS), Rev. Esaroma Fatilua (Matautu Lefaga CCCS) and Rev. Alapati AH Kuoi (Malie MCS). Thank you for the hours of sharing towards this project. May God bless you.

I acknowledge the availability of online materials of the Samoa Observer and the Samoan Parliamentary documents which are resourceful to this work. I am deeply appreciative also with the endless support of the George Knight Library PTC, IT and staffs in making space and availing your time to my studies and writing this paper. Thank you very much, Vinaka Vaka Levu and may God bless your work.

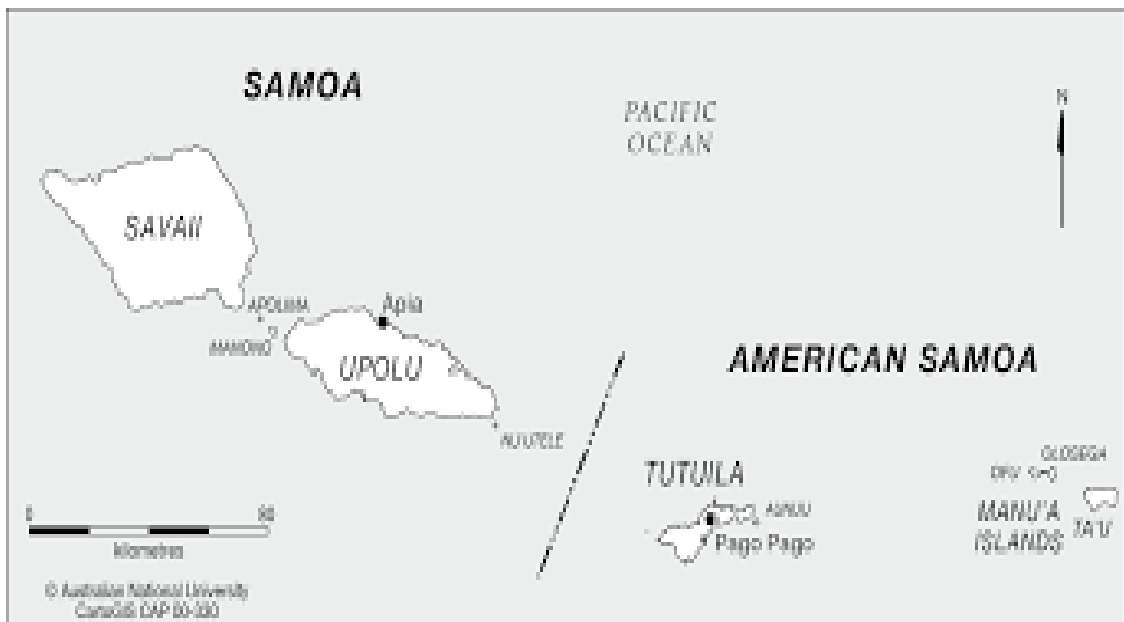
To the never-ending spiritual and material support of our families in Samoa and abroad, Malo Tapuai. To my mother and brothers and my wife's family, thank you for your Tapuaiga and your constant prayers. Last but not least, it is my great honour to say Faafetai Tele to my wife Fetu and my children Elsa Moevanu, Agnes, Totoa and New Delhi for your support, patience and understanding, especially your prayers. FAAFETAI! FAAFETAI! FAAFETAI TELE LAVA.

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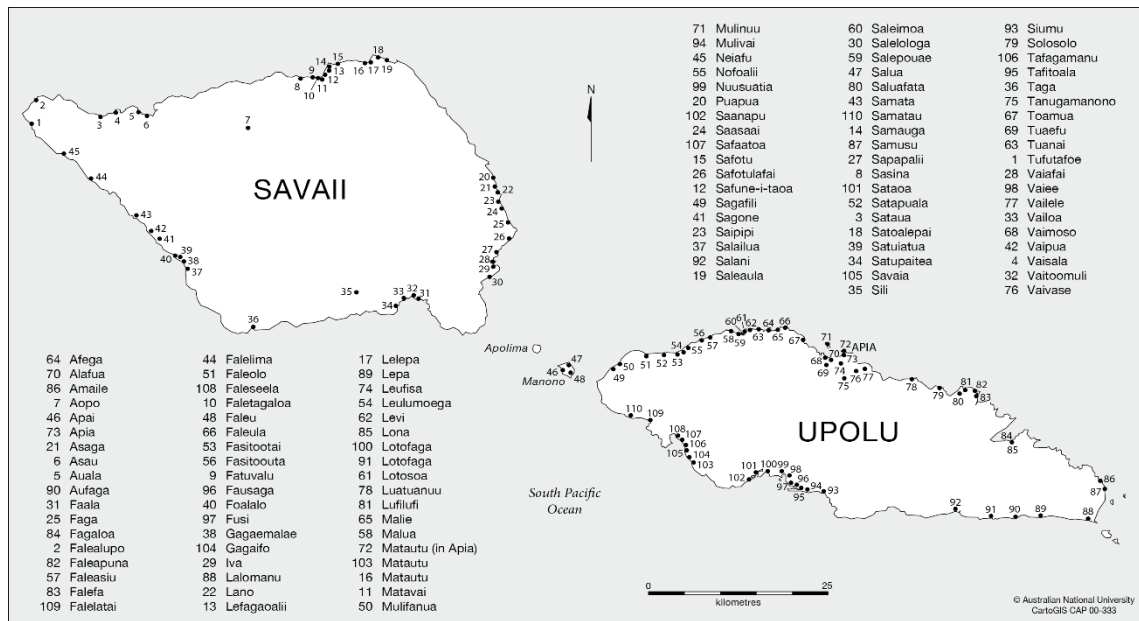
Samoa in the Pacific



Map of Samoa



Upolu and Savaii



American Samoa



List of Abbreviations

| | |
|------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| CCCS | Congregational Christian Church Samoa |
| HRPP | Human Rights Protection Party |
| MCS | Methodist Church in Samoa |
| RCC | Roman Catholic Church |
| SPG | South Pacific Games |
| P. A. Y. E | Pay As You Earn |
| D. H. P. G | Die Deutsche Handels-und Plantagen-Gesellschaft der Südsee Inseln zu Hamburg |
| COU | Certificate of Urgency |

INTRODUCTION

It was not until 2018, when church ministers (hereafter referred to as *faiifeau*) were exempted from paying tax. This exemption was upheld in Samoa since its Independence in 1962 to the year 2017. That was until the Samoan government recently decided that *faiifeau* were to be regarded as employees that are being paid to deliver the service of spiritual guidance. The main evidence to support taxation before Independence can be found in between 1900 to 1924, where the German and New Zealand administrations enforced taxation¹. These historical provisions seem to suggest that since the arrival of Christianity in 1830 until 1900 the tax debate was not a priority. As a result, the Congregational Christian Church Samoa (hereafter referred to as CCCS) protested against the new tax law. In the Samoan context, a *faiifeau* is God's representative (*suivaia o le Atua*)² which derives from the arrival of Christianity in 1830. They serve the village under the name *faiifeau* or *fa'afeagaiga*³. *Fa'afeagaiga* is rooted in *feagaiga* which is a Samoan term for covenant. In the Samoan worldview, a sister is a *feagaiga*⁴. It is this paper's view that *feagaiga* and taxation are two different entities, yet of particular importance in the structure of the Samoan lifeway – culture, family and spirituality. That is, *feagaiga* holds together identity (culture), unity (family) and belief (spirituality) while taxation governs a different network of relationships.

¹ Prime Minister's ministerial statement on Tuesday 29 2018 in the Letter dated 22 Iuni 2018 (page 7) from the office of the Prime Minister, Apia. That is, "*Ua 56 tausaga tausaga talu ona Tutoatasi, ua 56 foi lea o tausaga o malolo pea tatou Fa'afeagaiga mai le totogiina o lafoga [...]*", meaning, "56 years since Independence the *Fa'afeagaiga* were rested (*malolo*) from taxation". "*malolo*", according to the Prime Minister is resting or relaxing without working. Consulting this letter also depicts taxing the church ministers in 1900 to 1924.

² See Chapter 3.

³ See Chapter 3.

⁴ See Introduction Chapter 2.

In January 2018, the Samoan government imposed taxation on the ministers of religion (*faiifeau*) on the basis that they receive monetary gifts through their work in the villages as spiritual leaders. The Income Tax Act 2012, Section 2 was amended to include the *faiifeau* as employees⁵, based on the monetary gifts they received from the village on a weekly, fortnightly or a monthly basis. Also, Section 61 of the same Act was amended to include monetary gifts as income. From the CCCS's viewpoint, taxation has an effect on the church as a whole and their *faiifeau* who are designated as *fa'afeagaiga* in the village. Consequently, they protested with the CCCS's office contending they do not remunerate *fa'afeagaiga* and the village aids as a payment for service. The Samoan Prime Minister interpreted the protest as "pointing a gun to the Samoan government's head"⁶. As a result, they began to seize money from the bank accounts of *faiifeau* and summoned each to appear in court⁷. The CCCS's self-understanding is that the *faiifeau* are not employees and monetary gifts are not income. This view attests that *faiifeau* are servants of God in the ministry of God and thus, freewill offerings given to the *faiifeau* are done through faith couched within the Samoan culture of reciprocity.

In the beginning of the debate, media outlets and social media were flooded with mixed views and harsh criticism, which were often misleading because they took place on a superficial level. The current undertaking aims to offer something more academically-inclined and where possible, less biased. Recently, Bismarck Tamati (2018) and Dr Fatilua Fatilua (2018) have approached the taxation issue through theological and biblical perspectives. They focused on sacrificial offerings and church-state relationships with minimum bearings on *feagaiga* and taxation. This paper intends to offer a historical standpoint. In relation to the concept of *feagaiga* there are numerous works that are

⁵ See Appendix

⁶ Letter on 22 Juni 2018: Prime Minister's ministerial statement (page 7).

⁷ See Appendix

available pertaining to its significance within the Samoan society. However, due to limited space I cannot accomodate them all. Rather, some, which I have managed to locate, are used and acknowledged in this study.

Regarding taxation, few studies already exist and the prospect of further discussions in academia is welcome. The two recent works mentioned above were what primarily motivated me to offer a view from the field of Church history. They also prompted me to investigate how the taxation debate posed challenges and opportunities to my own worldview for which the understanding of *feagaiga* is based. This worldview resonates with my upbringing within a family of one (*feagaiga*) sister and in a village church where there is only one *fa'afeagaiga* (no other denominations). By revisiting the taxation history and also that of Christianity in Samoa, this thesis aims to be an interpretive exercise and not just one of analysing historical data. In reading historical events and people, I draw from my cultural worldview because of its potential to empower, reclaim and develop Pacific voices and knowledge (Gegeo and Watson 2001). This potential is essential to my task as a Samoan researcher.

The aim of this study is to locate and retrace *feagaiga* and taxation roots in Samoa as far back as the available resources allow. Locating *feagaiga* roots is a trace of its origin, usage and importance. Growing up in a family of three brothers and one sister, we were taught that our sister is a *feagaiga*; our covenant. This was a traditional norm and a common principle within Samoan homes and communities. However, studies like Faatauva'a (1992), Aiono Le Tagaloa (1992), Gilson (1970) and many others identify *feagaiga* as status and relationship. This work focuses on relationship and explores the notion of *feagaiga* postulating more than a relationship that equally governs the existence of two opposing parties or individuals. Status is not a major concern of this undertaking

but I will acknowledge the various studies that do. This paper presupposes that *feagaiga* is a catalyst of the Samoan religious, cultural, social, economic and political lifeway.

Moreover, taxation normally involves money and those who work for it⁸. In my *feagaiga* worldview, Samoa exists in a world of reciprocal gift exchange which derives from a face-to-face interaction of people or respect (*fa'aaloalo*). This interaction is a horizontal relationship of individuals to give and to receive items. This was understood by the first settlers as bartering; yet, it transformed into trading and Samoa began to realise her material pathway. This is discussed further in Chapter 2 and 4. Furthermore, retracing the roots of taxation not only focuses on historical instances where Samoa took the pathway of receiving and earning material income, but also defines how exchange evolved from traditional reciprocity to one that required taxation. Specifically, the attempt to retrace seeks to find out who initiated it, when and where it took place, the underlying intention and how it was used.

There are two apparent channels of the study: *feagaiga* and taxation. They are studied separately under the headings of *feagaiga* and economic relationships. The former signifies the church while the latter refers to the state. While each is distinct in its own way, both are key components in navigating the Samoan lifeway. This study departs according to the two channels, but they merge at the end to propose a historical standpoint for the taxation issue. Worthy of mention is that the paper does not entertain the rejection of any of the views. The aim is to offer a kind of synthesis as a way of inviting further dialogue.

The methodology is theoretical, exploring and interpreting both primary and secondary sources. It is this paper's view that interviews cannot touch the roots of human

⁸ This is my working experience as I was a government employee where I worked and received a taxed pay.

life and issues on their background. Personal expressions could be worrisome and misleading, which can be a limitation to this study. In that sense, the author only gathered information from *faiifeau* as interviewees. Local newspapers and corresponding letters were collected in addition to available written primary sources located. The *faiifeau* were selected on the district level and they were from the three mainline churches: CCCS, MCS and the RCC. Targeting every *faiifeau* in Samoa was time consuming. Only a few of them managed to define what “spiritual guidance” is in their calling as *faiifeau* in villages. Chapter 3 houses these interviews. Yet, the availability of secondary sources helped this paper accomplish its aim.

There are five chapters. Chapter one explains the taxation dilemma within three divisions called the Samoan government, the CCCS denomination and the public. Principally, it seeks the self-understanding of the two entities and states their lines of argument. The inclusion of public opinion highlights individual perspectives in three categories such as agree, disagreed and undecided. This paper acquired them from online social media such as the Samoan Observer. While taxation is a state-regulation, the CCCS protests it from a *faiifeau* and *fa'afeagaiga* viewpoint. This difference enables this chapter to formulate two questions: What is *feagaiga* and *fa'afeagaiga* from a historical perspective? How far back in history does taxing the church ministers occur?

Chapter two exhibits the notion of *feagaiga* roots in Samoan myths and legends, delving into identification of its position in the Samoan social-political structure of family (*aiga*), village (*nuu*) and district (*itumalo*). It consists of two sections. Section one is a development of *feagaiga*, targeting Tagaloalagi and Fatu's wish to his children (*feagaiga* roots), Tapuitea and Toiva (*feagaiga* relationship) and Nafanua and Mālietua Vainuupo (prophetic *feagaiga*). In the socio-political structure, *feagaiga* is both status and relationship, but this chapter centralises the aspect of relationships in regards to *feagaiga*.

Section two is a transition, connecting the prophetic *feagaiga* to the emergence of the first European settlers and Siovili. The transition is important because the first settlers and Siovili are connected to the arrival of Christianity in 1830 which tends to be the reality of the prophetic *feagaiga*.

Chapter three examines a transposition of *feagaiga* to *fa'afeagaiga* when Christianity arrived at Sapapalii. Since chapter one looks at *feagaiga* in a relationship, this chapter looks at *fa'afeagaiga* as an embodiment of it. It is divided into three major sections. Section one explains the *feagaiga* between Malietoa Vainuupo and John Williams in 1830, highlighting the importance of *feagaiga* between Samoa and Christianity or between an indigenous state and church. It also briefly accounts for a reformation of people's norm of godly to Godly *feagaiga*. Section two explains the importance of the arrival of the three mainline churches in the Samoan tradition and culture of *taeao* (mornings). The third section attempts to describe the beginning of the Samoan native agency of *fai'feau* or *fa'afeagaiga* as representatives of God in villages or parishes.

Chapter four retraces the origins of taxation or employer-employee relationships in Samoa. This chapter consists of three major sections. The first section revisits the definition of employer, employee and employment in the Samoan Income Tax Amendment Act 2018 and tries to seek any occurrences of an employer-employee relationship before and after the arrival of Christianity in 1830. Section two is a brief account of the first Samoan premier named Albert Steinberger. Section three explores the taxation systems introduced by the colonial administrations of Germany and New Zealand.

The final chapter is a critical discussion followed by a conclusion. The discussion ponders on six major historical potentials. They are divergence, convergence, institution

versus non-institution, religious and state taxes, a biblical and early Christianity taxation revisit and peculiarities of *feagaiga* and taxation. These historical potentials shape a conclusion that *feagaiga* and taxation are control centres of the triadic relationship of the Samoan lifeway – culture, family and spirituality. Their unequal dispensation would possibly collapse the triad.

CHAPTER 1

FEAGAIGA AND TAXATION: THE ISSUE

1.0 Introduction

In January 2018, the Samoan one-party government – Human Rights Protection Party (HRPP) introduced legislation which enforced *faifeau* to pay taxes on their weekly, fortnightly or monthly monetary gifts, labelling them as earnings or income. This caused constant consternations between the Samoan government and the CCCS denomination as well as the Samoan communities both local and abroad. In fact, the CCCS remains the largest denomination in Samoa and is the only denomination that repudiated the tax law via a consensus from the Annual General Assembly in 2017 (hereafter referred to as *Fono Tele*)¹. This resolution was reinforced in the subsequent *Fono Tele* of 2018 to the present. In October 2018, the Minister of Revenue began to seize \$5000 of tax due (January-March) from *faifeau* bank accounts (Feagaimaalii-Luamanu, 10 Oct 2018; Feagaimaalii-Luamanu, 23 November 2018), without any prior agreement and subtle monetary demands were made to *faifeau* as an exercise of political power of the one party government. This move was what instigated a perpetual trepidation in the public sphere and while taxation has happened before, the seizing of assets made this issue an unprecedented one in Samoa.

This chapter is divided into five sections and has been arranged in sequential order of occurrence. The first section is an account of the evolvement of the Samoan Government, starting from the 1960 Preamble for the Constitution of the Independent

¹ A motion moved by the Elder's Committee about the government's taxation during the CCCS General Assembly and the General Assembly decided to, i. Reject; and ii. Devise a letter in response. The decision reads: "FT17/25 SE FINAGALO O LE FONOTELE E UIGA I LAFOGA A LE MALO MO ALOFA O FAIFEAU. *Iuga:* i. *Ia teena le faia o Lafoga.* ii. *Ia faia se Tusi e ave I le Malo.*"

State of Samoa, when the existing ruling political party of the Independent State amended tax laws. This section explores the Introduction of Bills in the Constitution and Parliamentary debates with which the tax Bill evolved. It seems appropriate to begin with the Preamble as it sets the context of this new tax law. The Parliamentary debates/sessions are also included, given the Samoan belief, that every law is *soālaupule*² (to consult together) in the government. The second section is the CCCS's repudiation, stating six reasons to support their rejection. The third section is a response from the Samoan Government to the CCCS's repudiation. The fourth section is a collection of opinions and thoughts from the public domain. The different understandings from the three domains (state, church and the public) lead to identifying my research question in the fifth section. Lastly, the final section briefly summarises the chapter and provides full detail of the thesis' research question.

1.1 The Samoan Government: Its evolvement

As an independent state, the Samoan government began to formally exist in October 1960, with the formation of the Preamble for the Constitution of the Independent State of Western Samoa³. The formation of the national government developed after World War Two in 1945, when Western Samoa became a new United Nation's territory. During that time, New Zealand administered Western Samoa. The United Nations used this

² Letter on 22 Iuni 2018 (page 5): “ua uma foi ona soalaupule e outou sui uma I totonu o le Maota o le Palemene”, meaning, “your district candidates in the parliament had already soalaupule (the tax law).” *Soalaupule* is made up of three words *soa* (two pairs), *lau* (to recite or declare) and *pule* (to distribute or portion out and conveys authority). It is efficient in decision-making in the *fa'amatai* system. That is, decision-making pairing of two, three or more but not a single authority. Pratt (1911[1876], 277) defines *soalaupule* as “to consult together, and not to confine the instruction to the authority of one person.”

³ Samoa was formerly called Western Samoa from 1962 Independence until 1997, when the government changed the name to Samoa.

administration to prepare Western Samoa for independence (Bryant 1986, 30-31)⁴. According to Bryant, in 1957, under the New Zealand administration, the national members or local chiefs (*matai*) formed the first Legislative Assembly. In 1959, the United Nations intended to select a local Prime Minister to head the national Cabinet prior to independence (Bryant 1986, 31). In 1960, a Constitutional Convention (*Fono Fa'aFaavae*) was formed to draw a national Constitution for independence, (Aiono – Le Tagaloa 1992, 125). In the formation of the Constitutional Convention, Aiono claimed that the village and districts choose one hundred and seventeen chiefs as members of the Constitutional Convention: forty-two members of the Legislative Assembly, five European members and three European assistances, one Tama-a-aiga, and Tupua Tamasese Meaole and Malietoa Tanumafili II to chair the Convention, (1992, 125-6). The 1960 Preamble for independence reads:

“IN THE HOLY NAME OF GOD, THE ALMIGHTY, THE EVER LOVING

WHEREAS sovereignty over the Universe belongs to the Omnipresent God alone, and the authority to be exercised by the people of Samoa within the limits prescribed by God’s commandments is a sacred heritage;

WHEREAS the Leaders of Samoa have declared that Samoa should be an Independent State based on Christian Principles and Samoan customs and tradition;

AND WHEREAS the Constitutional Convention representing the people of Samoa has resolved to frame a Constitution for the Independent State of Samoa;

WHEREIN the State should exercise its power and authority through the chosen representatives of the people;

WHEREIN should be secured to all the people their fundamental rights;

WHEREIN the impartial administration of justice should be fully maintained;

⁴ The full account is discussed **in a later chapter** because Bryant (1986) did not fully describe a specific event leading up to independence. For example, under the New Zealand administration, according to the History of Samoa, it was the Mau movement that contributed to Samoa’s Independence in 1962. Bryant’s discussion implied that the Independence of Samoa was caused by an agreement between the United Nation and the New Zealand administration.

AND WHEREIN the integrity of Samoa, its independence, and all its rights should be safeguarded;

NOW THEREFORE, we the people of Samoa in our Constitutional Convention, this 28th day of October 1960, do hereby adopt, enact, and give to ourselves this Constitution.” (The Constitution of the Independent State of Samoa 2016, 7-13)⁵.

This Preamble remained unchanged and was maintained from the Independence on January 1 1962, to the present⁶. In fact, Christian principles and Samoan customs and traditions highlighted the important role of this Preamble for framing the Constitution. The authority to frame laws had to stay within the confines of God’s commandments and this authority maintained the impartial administration of justice safeguarding every law created under the Constitution of the Independent State of Western Samoa. The supposition is that without the Preamble, laws became void and the Constitution of the Independent State was something in a vacuum. Aiono – Le Tagaloa claimed that the Samoan government “are part and parcel of their ancient traditions” (1992, 126).

In addition, the introduction of the new tax law to tax the *faifeau* is subjected to the Constitution of the Independent State of Samoa in which:

“[...]any Member of Parliament may introduce any bill or propose any motion for debate in the Assembly or present any petition to the Assembly, and the same shall be considered and disposed of under the provisions of the Standing Orders [...]” (The Constitution of the Independent State of Samoa 2016, 46)

The Constitution clearly indicates that Bills cannot become an Act of the Parliament unless they were debated, passed in Parliament and assented by the Head of State (The Constitution of the Independent State of Samoa 2016, 46-47). The Standing Orders of the Parliament conveys the fundamental principle of forming laws to become an Act, in a

⁵ Aiono – Le Tagaloa (1992, 126-7) uses Western Samoa instead. This paper prefers the Constitution of 2016.

⁶ Proof of this statement is found in the Constitution of the Independent State of Samoa 2016.

state where it begins from a Bill until it becomes a law⁷. Before we explore how the Parliament of Samoa debated and passed this tax law, it is important to refer to an interview by Sarafina Sanerivi⁸ with the Minister of Revenue⁹ on March 12 2017, whom the tax issue began.

The Minister of Revenue proposed a plan to review tax laws with the intention that everyone who received money had to pay tax (Sanerivi 2017). The interview manifested clearly that the taxing of *faifeau* and the Head of State were definite parts of the review. Eventually, the Ministry consulted a decision from the National Council of Churches (NCC)¹⁰ and claimed that it was a pending result. Interestingly, before a parliamentary debate took place on May 30 to approve the tax law, the Ministry of Revenue hosted consultations on March 27 and 28 in Upolu and 30 to 31 in Savaii. Doubts have been raised about the validity of this process¹¹, whether it is in line with how Bills are to be introduced into the parliament for approval. In addition, the Minister revealed that “the government needs revenue” and that the change was to be made effective after the 2017-

⁷ According to the Standing Orders of the Parliament 2016, a Bill must be read “three times”; has an “Explanatory Memorandum [...] stating fully the objects and reasons for the Bill”; contains a “title and [...] clauses” indicating its content; “matter which [...] have no proper relation to each other”; and shall not “contain anything foreign to what its long Title imports.” The “First Reading” of a Bill is public consultations which invites the consultants and members of the public to express views and opinions via the Samoa Gazette, newspaper, and /or broadcasting services and members of the parliament, which allow any relevant details of the Bill before it is written in its second reading. The second reading of the Bill is a written statement to become an Act; and the third reading is the reiteration of the Act before the Assembly/Parliament and considers to implement as a new Act, after the assent of the Head of State (Standing Orders of the parliament of Samoa 2016, 68-77).

⁸ A journalist for the long serving newspaper in Samoa, the Samoa Observer.

⁹ Honourable Minister for Revenue, Tialavea Sio Hunt.

¹⁰ The National Council of Churches consisted only of the three mainline denominations: The Congregational Christian Church Samoa (CCCS), the Methodist Church in Samoa (MCS), and the Roman Catholic Church in Samoa (RCCS).

¹¹ According to the Constitution, consultations only take place after the reading of an introduced Bill. It seems that Consultations with the NCC were taken by the government as part of the first reading of the Bill.

2018 budget was to be approved when parliament reconvened in May 30 2017 (Sanerivi 2017).

1.1.1 A Parliamentary debate/session

On March 7 2017, according to the Hansard of the Parliament of Samoa¹², Parliament debated and passed the Tax Exchange Information Bill 2017. The bill discussed the exchange of tax information between 17 countries including Samoa, without touching the *faifeau*. Parliament reconvened on May 30 2017, to discuss this issue; yet the *faifeau* were not included. On March 12 2017, the Minister and his Ministry of Revenue planned a review of tax laws, as mentioned earlier in the interview. According to the Maota Daily Progress & Summary of the Parliament of Samoa on May 30 2017, the government passed the Appropriation Bill 2017-2018. The only amendment made on this date was the Income Tax Amendment Bill stating that tax credit was due on December 31 2017, instead of July 12 2017. Parliament then reconvened on June 21 2017, however, nothing seemed to confirm what the Minister of Revenue promised in the interview to tax *faifeau*.

However, during a parliamentary session on Friday 23 June 2017, the taxing of the *faifeau* came to light, when the Minister of Finance¹³ acknowledged the Minister of Revenue¹⁴ “for adjusting tax rates to earn revenue for the country.”¹⁵ It was on this date that the Income Tax Amendment Bill to tax *faifeau* was introduced by the Legislative

¹² See www.palemene.ws.

¹³ Hon. Sili Epa Tuioti, Minister for Finance and Member for Faasaleleaga No. 1 East.

¹⁴ Hon. Tialavea Fea Leniu Tionisio Hunt

¹⁵ Consider the site www.palemene.ws for all the information about Parliamentary sessions regarding taxation. Adjusting tax rates implies a search for money and the author believes this was the initial stage that led to the taxing of church ministers.

Assembly under the Certificate of Urgency (COU)¹⁶. In the re-discussing of the Appropriation Bill 2017/2018, the taxing of *faifeau* began to unfold, when the Minister of Revenue addressed the development of the prison facility claiming that “\$8million [...] was not enough” and strategically, “he will not address the issue of taxing religious leaders as the Bill was yet to be introduced in Chambers” (Parliamentary Sitting Summary, June 2017, 4). Meanwhile, a Member for Vaimauga East¹⁷ opposed the tax strategy. This was overlooked by the Minister of Revenue who strongly insisted the taxation of religious leaders “in the hopes of developing Samoa” (Parliamentary Sitting Summary, June 2017, 5). On June 26 2017, the first and the second reading of the Income Tax Amendment Bill 2017 took place and was adjourned until the next day¹⁸. On June 27 2017, Parliament commenced with the second reading of the Bill followed immediately by a third reading before it was passed as legislation on the same day. The underlying hopes of the Minister of Revenue continued to master the objectives of the Bill and contended for the equal contribution of all Samoans as a “primary” means to develop

¹⁶ The Certificate of Urgency (COU) is part of the Standing Orders (SO) of the Parliament of Samoa. Under the SO 100(2) of the 2016 Constitution, if the Clerk received an urgent Bill from the cabinet, there will be no publication of the said Bill. The progression of the Bill is moved by the Leader of the House (Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi) for debate. The debate on the urgency is limited to 30 minutes. Under SO 101(1), the second reading of the Bill must take place on the third sitting day following. However, when a Bill is urgent, the second reading is done on the day the Bill was read a first time. Under SO 102(2), “an urgent Bill introduced under Standing Order 99/100(2), or a Bill which is proved to the satisfaction of the Speaker to be urgently needed for the interest of the people” (Standing Orders of the Parliament of Samoa 2016, Part XXVI, 67-75.)

¹⁷ Sulamanaia Fetaiai Tauiiili Tuivasa.

¹⁸ Consider the Constitution of the Independent State of Samoa where Bills are to be read first, second and third. Standing Orders of the Parliament of Samoa 2016, under PART XXVI, BILLS, identifies various reading of a Bill. The Procedural & Statistical Digest No 29 of the Legislative Assembly of Samoa in June 21- 23 & 26-27 2017, the Income Tax Amendment Bill was introduced under Certificate of Urgency (COU) on June 23 2017. This Bill was also considered in detail on Tuesday 27 June and was then for a third time and passed in Parliament on the same day. Under the heading ASSEMBLY BUSINESS, this Bill was permitted by O Le Ao o le Malo.

Samoa¹⁹. A member for Aleipata Itupa I Lalo²⁰, revoked the second reading due to minimum public consultations²¹ following the Ministry's plans to review as initially planned in March 2017. However, the Prime Minister objected and supported the hopes contended by the Minister of Revenue, and reflected on the V.A.G.S.T²² in 1994 where its implementation was unproblematic²³.

Consequently, the amendment took place with the Parliament amending eight sections of the Principal Income Tax Act 2012 enforcing this law to take effect in January 2018 once registration was completed on December 31 2017²⁴. This amendment brought to attention a few important things: the *faiifeau/fa'afeagaiga* is addressed as an "employee", the taxing of the "contributions made by members of the congregation" which the CCCS calls "*alofa*"²⁵, the tax law targets individual *faiifeau*, and the consequence of failing to comply. Yet, the CCCS rejected the tax law after its Fono Tele in May 2017 and refused to register accordingly.

Surprisingly, on June 21 to 25 2018, Parliament, for the second time, amended the Income Tax Amendment Bill 2017 again under a Certificate of Urgency. On June 25 2018, the Minister of Revenue tabled two matters of preparation for the 2019 South Pacific Games (SPG) addressing that there was a need for deduction to the assessable

¹⁹ According to the Parliamentary Sitting Summary on Monday 26 June 2017, during the second reading of the Bill, the Minister for Revenue revealed that 15 churches agreed and supported the proposal. This was the Ministry of Revenue's report of their consultations in March 2017, before the Income Tax Bill was introduced in June 2017. The clarification of this tax law implied the importance of "collecting revenue as this is the primary means to develop Samoa."

²⁰ Tafua Maluelue Tafua.

²¹ He raised the concern that "there are 49 constituencies yet only 15 leaders were sought."

²² Value Added Goods and Services Tax. See Samoa Tax Facts 2017 in www.bdo.ws.

²³ The "hopes for developing Samoa" reflects that the *faiifeau* are not part of that development, but the Tax Act 2012 depicts the onus of the *faiifeau* as "spiritual guidance". It means the *faiifeau* are focusing on the people's spirituality.

²⁴ See Appendix for full detail of the Amendment: 2017 Income Tax Amendment No. 11.

²⁵ "*Alofa*" is literally means "love" and members of the congregation offer in freewill gifts of any kind including monetary gifts to show their love to their feagaiga. See section 1.2 for more detail.

income of the sponsors and the removal of taxation from monetary gifts received by a *faiifeau* from other activities, except solely “*alofa*” (Palemene Lona XVI Tauaofiaga Lona Tolu 2018, 358-374).

In particular, five members²⁶ of the parliament including the Minister of Revenue and the Prime Minister supported the 2018 proposed amendment but one member²⁷ rejected it. The clarification of opinions reflected a disconcerted tax issue in this Parliamentary session as the issue rested in the midst of discussing preparations for the 2019 SPG. For instance, a member of Vaimauga Sasae²⁸ asserted that the clarification of this tax law in the 2017 Parliamentary session was minimal. A member of Nu'u Tu Taulaga Sisifo²⁹ claimed that the government target the “*alofa*” of the *feagaiga* except small monetary gifts from other activities. This qualifies a Samoan proverb “*E togi le moa ae u'u lona afa*”, meaning, “he throws the chicken while holding its sinnet”. A member of Falealii Sasae³⁰ uttered the absence of consultations in Salani³¹ and articulated that the introduction of this tax law for amendment happened always under COU. Unexpectedly, the matter changed its tenor when an independent member³² strongly

²⁶ Aliimalemanu Alofa Tuuau, Member of Alataua Sisifo (supported the Amendment 2017 and attempted to apply taxation on other activities to all members of the Public); Faaulusa Rosa Duffy-Stowers, Member of Gagaifomauga No3 (supported the amendment 2018); Saulamanaia Fetaiai Tauiliili Tuivasa, Member of Vaimauga Sasae (supported the amendment 2018 but stated that there was minimal clarification of this particular law in 2017); Faumuina Asi Pauli Wayne Fong, Member of Itumalo Tu Taulaga Sisifo (supported the amendment 2018 and claimed that he now fully understands the tax law but it is too late for him, the law has already passed. His claim implied that loving the *faiifeau* in this way would be only half love – to tax the *alofa* but not tax other activities where they get free monetary gifts.

²⁷ Olo Fiti Afoa Vaai asked “Poo le mea o lea faatoa sue tupe e fai ai a tatou taaloga?” meaning “Have we just started looking for money to do our 2019 SPG?” (Palemene Lona XVI Tauaofiaga Lona Tolu 21 Iuni-25 Iuni 2018, page 365).

²⁸ Sulamanaia Fetaiai Tauiliili.

²⁹ Faumuina Asi Pauli Wayne.

³⁰ Fuimaono Te'o Samuelu.

³¹ A village in the far east of Upolu. See map.

³² Olo Fiti Vaai (Member of Salega Sasae).

opposed the 2018 Amendment as he did also in 2017. This opposition reflected a monetary demand by the Minister of Revenue for the 2019 SPG³³. Fundamentally, the debate was undeniably centralised on *alofa* which the Minister of Revenue and the Prime Minister of Samoa defined as a usual income earned by the *fa'afeagaiga* weekly, fortnightly or monthly. Therefore, the debate gave the impression that the government targeted the *alofa* of the *fa'afeagaiga* in particular, for an intended demand (2019 SPG)³⁴. The law was not aimed at the CCCS denomination but individual *fa'afeagaiga* of all churches who are serving in villages. As the biggest denomination, however, the CCCS reaffirmed its rejection in May 2018 and avoided paying tax until today³⁵. This rejection provoked a response from the Samoan government, which can be found in section 1.3.

1.2 The CCCS Rejection

On May 15 to 23 2017, the CCCS FonoTele with minor dissent³⁶, rejected the tax law and urged the Minister of Revenue (via a letter) to delay the implementation of the tax law on January 2018 as the tax law was absolutely vague. On May 26 2017, the

³³ The Minister for Revenue said “Mo le taimi leni, e puupuu le taimi lea tatou te galulue ai [...] mo le 2019 SPG [...] e toe tasi le tausaga le totoo [...] E \$40 miliona le budget mo le 2019 SPG [...] ua ave le \$11 miliona, talosia ia gafatia e kamupani ia fesosoani mai I le suega seleni a le komiti” which literally means “At the moment, we are working in a very limited time [...] for the 2019 SPG [...] we have only one more year left [...] \$40 million budget for the 2019 SPG [...] we gave \$11 million, hoping that the Companies can cater for our committee’s search for money.”

³⁴ According to this Parliamentary debate, the Minister for Revenue stated that the tax law “e faasino lea I faafeagaiga [...] na o tupe maua masani a faifeau [...] o alofa e ao I le vaiaso poo le tailua vaiaso” which literally means as “directs to church ministers [...] their usual income [...] of alofa which is earned or collected weekly or fortnightly” (Page 359-60 of the Palemene Lona XVI Tauaofiaga Lona Tolu). Prime Minister illustrates that “o loo manino lava o mea ia e le masani ai, na o mea lava o alofapoo tau” which means “it is clear that monies received from funerals, weddings, and the likes are not usual income, only the *alofa* or reward.” (Page 362 of the Palemene Lona XVI Tauaofiaga Lona Tolu). Note that the only denomination in Samoa that calls their church minister “faafeagaiga”, and has the tradition of “alofa” is the CCCS.

³⁵ See section 1.3 where the CCCS’s rejected the tax law.

³⁶ According to the CCCS’s letter on 15 Iuni 2018, the CCCS’s General Secretary, Rev Vavatau Taufao, claimed that “e le itiiti ifo I le 98 pasene oi latou uma [...] sa teena leni tulafono a le Malo” meaning, “approximately 98% of them [church members] rejected the government’s tax law.”

General Secretary, Rev Vavatau Taufao wrote to the Prime Minister; unfortunately, there was no reply. On August 7 2017, the CCCS sent another letter to strengthen the delay of implementing the law (Tusi Iugafono Fonotele 2017, 45; Letter 7 Aukuso 2017)³⁷. The CCCS' decision to reject remained unaltered after its FonoTele in May 2018. On June 15 2018, the CCCS Elders' committee pursued the Prime Minister's decision in Apia and issued a letter stating six reasons for their rejection.

Ordination became the intrinsic factor of the rejection. In this regard, the CCCS ordained its *faifeau* and designated them with *Faifeau Samoa* (FS) or Reverend (Rev). As a mother church, the CCCS has the authority to assent or to eradicate that designation. According to Rev Taufao, taxation is bothersome, affecting all areas of the congregation's *faifeau*. In fact, one of the CCCS's obligation is to protect the dignity of ordination. Ordination is one ultimate factor that has controlled the gravity of Christianity in Samoa since its arrival in 1830 and the formation of the CCCS's Constitution in 1928. (O le Faavae o le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano I Samoa 1985; The Constitution of the Congregational Christian Church Samoa 2011).

As mentioned earlier, there were six reasons that founded the rejection³⁸. Firstly, the tax law dissociated with Biblical teachings concerning "flat tax". The eleven tribes of Israel paid this tax except the Levites tribe. According to the history of Israel, her neighbouring nations introduced several kinds of taxation, and the Levites were exempted from these taxes. Further, Genesis 47 and Ezra 7³⁹ gave evidence for the Levite's

³⁷ The CCCS letter stated "Faamolemole pe mafai ona faatuatua le faamamaluina o lenei tulafono ona ua manatu, e tataua lava ona toe saili se finagalo o le Fono Tele a le Ekalesia" meaning, "Please we urge if you can delay the implementation of this tax law, as the CCCS wishes to discuss this in its Fono Tele".

³⁸ Letter on 7 August and/or 15 June 2018. To simplify, (1) the law is not in line with Biblical principles; (2) the law contradicts with the CCCS core belief; (3) the law will impact the work of the church; (4) the law does not take into account the church's contribution to the development of the government and Samoa; (5) the need for separation of the church and state; and (6) the CCCS' view to the law.

³⁹ Ezra 7: 21-28 (New Revised Standard Version (NRSV)).

exemption from taxation. In the New Testament, the Romans adopted the Greek's Tax Farming as their taxation system, but they corrupted it and used it differently. However, Jesus paid his taxes as Jesus was not a Levite. The Levites were also exempted from the sharing of wealth, land and toils of the village, but depended on what people offered as gifts for them. Moreover, there was a poll/head tax devised by Caesar because he owned the land and people of that land. According to the CCCS's view, if that was the foundation of the government's new tax law for church ministers, then it implied that the entire nation was solely owned by the Prime Minister and his government; a subtle way of perpetuating limitless power. Additionally, in using Matthew 17: 24-27, Jesus used money from Peter's fishing net to pay his Temple tax but not from the people's pocket. Thus, at the heart of the Biblical texts, there were no specific texts to illustrate that the Levites (herein equivalent to *faiifeau*) paid their taxes. For argument's sake, the letter that was issued admits that biblical texts are always debatable⁴⁰.

Secondly, the tax law contradicted with the CCCS' "*faiifeau tausi nuu*" (*fa'afeagaiga*) and "*alofa*"⁴¹. Accordingly, a "*faiifeau tausi nuu*" is evident in Luke 9: 2-6⁴² in all means of his calling in which the people or village that elect him would provide for him. The *faiifeau*'s vocation is timeless unlike a government employee, whose working hours are already allocated. It is believed there is no limited job description and the work is pursued until death approaches him⁴³. The CCCS called this a pure "calling" not a "career with a salary scale" like those government jobs that privilege academic and

⁴⁰ This is well spelled out in the letter.

⁴¹ "*Faiifeau tausi nuu*" is equivalent to *faiifeau*, *feagaiga* or *faafeagaiga*. "*Alofa*" is discussed in footnote 25.

⁴² New Revised Standard Version (NRSV): The story of the "The Mission of the Twelve" which clearly indicates verse 3 "Take nothing for your journey, no staff, nor bag, nor bread, nor money – not even an extra tunic."

⁴³ It was mentioned in this letter that a *faiifeau* burned his blazer from saving someone whom the village burned alive. Also, in the first date of changing road codes for traffic to travel, one village in the Savaii Island blocked this change. But the *faiifeaus* of that village bowed on the road and peace was restored.

technical qualifications. Moreover, the “*alofa*” evolved from free/goodwill (*lotofuatiaifo e lelei*)⁴⁴ justified by faith. These are derived from cultural servitude or a sacrificial consciousness in which people had never perceived their actions as that of paying the salary or wage of the *faiifeau*. The question to most churchgoers was, if the *faafeagaiga* or *faiifeau* tausi nuu is an employee, who is the employer?

Thirdly, the new tax law affected the development of the church as a whole. The CCCS depended solely on “*faigā taulaga*”⁴⁵ because it had no other means of provisions for the development of the church. This “*faigā taulaga*” included the “*faiifeau tausi nuu*’s” share. It meant, what the people offered in goodwill for the “*alofa*” of the *faiifeau* was returned by the *faiifeau* for this “*faigā taulaga*”. The taxing of the “*alofa*” would definitely affect every church development.

Fourthly, the tax law belittled the contribution of the CCCS to the government’s development plan for Samoa. The CCCS noticed that the Minister of Revenue claimed that “everyone should contribute to the development of Samoa.”⁴⁶ However, the CCCS’ Colleges had the most spending expenses; 60% of students were from other denominations; the CCCS’ Colleges were the last resort for those who were not accepted by other Colleges because of failure; the CCCS contributed to the government’s Correction Centres namely Taeao Toe Afua and Oloamanu, Dialysis Unit at the hospital, the elders at Mapuifagalele, Sports, Customs, VAGST, and the CCCS’ main office in Apia which employed two hundred and sixty employees. Nonetheless, the “*faiifeau tausi nuu*” immeasurably contributed to the spiritual development of Samoa. The CCCS still

⁴⁴ *Loto* is will, *fuatia* is weigh/scale, *ifo* is under/below/less, *e lelei* is good. Goodwill weighs a least to give.

⁴⁵ The CCCS usually called this, “Faiga Me” meaning May Offerings. This offering is done in November annually (not May) in the whole of Samoa. Each CCCS’s district church (Matagaluega) contributes and the CCCS office collects. The CCCS distributes what is collected to all the developments of the church. This includes church scholarships.

⁴⁶ Palemene Lona XVI Tauaofaiga Lona Tolu 21 Iuni -25 Iuni 2018.

insisted that since Christianity in 1830 and prior to Samoa's Independence, Samoa was already literate as the church introduced and established education systems⁴⁷. Furthermore, the church could be a perimeter to consolidate the Samoan identity.

Fifthly, the tax law subtly subjugated the relationship or the space (*va*) between the church and state by its lack of mutual dialogue. The CCCS saw the tax law as a catalyst swirling the state of authorities between the two entities. Both should remain distinct without any overlap and failure to distinguish between the two can be demeaning to the freedom of each. The CCCS claimed a Supreme Court Hearing in New York in 1970⁴⁸ that

“the power to tax involves the power to destroy. Taxing the churches breaks down the healthy separation of churches and states and leads to the destruction of the free exercise of religion” (Letter 15 June 2018, 8).

The sixth point was the ambiguity concerning how the government defined and positioned this new tax law within the realm of laws. The ambiguities were (i) according to the CCCS Constitution, the wife and children had to couple the occupation of the “*faiifeau tausi nuu*” in a parish. The Constitution does not allow a *faiifeau* to serve the village without a spouse; (ii) the Government's National Accounts labelled “*alofa*” as “remittances” because they were gifts from overseas families that required exemption; (iii) the new tax law marked the *faiifeau* as an “employee” but one cannot validate who the employer was; (iv) the *alofa* should not be regarded as income as it was founded on the traditional reciprocity and a sacrificial consciousness of people to God; and (v) the new tax law specifically demanded the *alofa* and other monetary gifts of *faiifeau tausi*

⁴⁷ The CCCS's letter (page 8): “e fanau mai le Malo Tutoatasi o Samoa I le 1962, ua leva ona a'oa'o e le Ekalesia le atunuu I le Talalelei tainane o le Poto-salalau, aemaise lava I le Matematika, le tusitui ma le faitau tusi” meaning “before the birth of Samoa's Independence in 1962, the church was fully responsible in teaching its people the gospel and academics, especially in Mathematics, write and read.”

⁴⁸ It appears that the American model of church and state separation generally accepted as a good example by the CCCS.

nuu, instead of focusing on the Prime Minister and member of the parliament, CEOs and the like, who also received monetary envelopes from ceremonies and services.

As a whole, the letter asserted the CCCS belief that Samoan custom and tradition go hand in hand with its Christian beliefs. The two pillars which are also prioritised in the Constitution of the Independent State of Samoa. As a nation founded on God, any law which contradicts the aforementioned pillars, should not be implemented at all. The law seemed to be violating the fundamental religious beliefs and the core beliefs of the CCCS. That is why the Fono Tele rejected this new tax law in 2017 and 2018 as “it alleges the annihilation of God, Christian principles and Samoan customs and tradition of the Preamble for the Constitution of the Independent State of Samoa.” The Preamble acts as a guide in the formulation of every law. Furthermore, the CCCS presupposed that the new tax law implied the over-exertion of power. This rejection received a colossal response from the Samoan Government.

1.3 The Samoan Government’s response to the rejection

On June 22 2018, the Samoan Government responded to the CCCS’ protest via a letter dated May 29 2018, which included copies of taxation during the German and New Zealand dominance in 1906, 1911 and 1924. The principal argument of the letter rested on biblical “governing authorities” portrayed in Romans 13: 1-7 and the chiefly system (*fa’amatai*) in villages⁴⁹. These arguments denounced the use of the Old Testament view used by Rev Taufao in the CCCS’ letter. Rather, the Prime Minister insisted on submitting

⁴⁹ Romans 13: 1-7 (New Revised Standard Version (NRSV)) “Let every person be subject to the governing authorities; for there is no authority except from God, and those authorities that exist have been instituted by God.” The *faamatai* is Samoa’s chiefly system where the *matai* (chief) is the head, representative and elector of the *aiga* (family) on the *fono a le nuu* (village council). Each village has its own traditional law or constitutions. Aiono-Le Tagaloa (1992, 12-121): “The constitution or *faavae* of the village *fono* has also established that all groups must work in mutual respect towards the achievement of common goals which benefit the whole community and village.”

to governing authorities as they are from God. His contention seems to accentuate a prevailing authority of the Samoan state as reflected in resorting to German and New Zealand authorities. Furthermore, the Prime Minister stated that the government authorized laws for everyone, as the *f'aamatai* authorized the acceptance or removal of the *faiifeau/fa'afeagaiga*. Adamantly, he stated that villages tried to find a suitable place for the *faiifeau* into the Samoan eternal inheritance (*tōfiga o le vavau*)⁵⁰. Henceforth, the Savali Newspaper in 1906, 1911 and 1924 historically claimed the taxing authorities of the German and New Zealand. This is explored further in Chapter 4.

Obviously, the Prime Minister's Ministerial Statement in Parliament on May 29 2018 and his arguments were fundamentally placed in the context of an Independent State government. However, the issue of *feagaiga* was discussed as an appendage to things such as the fifty six (56) years of Independence, state authority, development, and a consolidated single government for all of Samoa⁵¹. The Prime Minister was also vocal about the "destruction of the Samoan government" due to the discretion of a single denomination (CCCS). He claimed that there were 35 Christian Churches in Samoa who

⁵⁰ Letter on 22 June 2018 (page 2) - Prime Minister's Office, Apia, Samoa: "o feagaiga taulagi a Nu'u [...] e tau faaofiofi ai au'aua a le Atua e fou i Tofiga o le vavau ua uma lava ona fai ae lei taunuu mai le Tala Lelei", meaning, "*feagaiga* of villages [...] that villages tried to find a suitable place for the servants of God who were new into the ancient Samoan patrimonial system before the gospel arrived." *Tofiga o le vavau*: *tofiga* derives from the word *tofi* which is equivalent to "calling" but it also refers to system, and *o le vavau* is ancient; hence ancient calling or systems. Ancient systems are referred to *fa'amatai* system.

⁵¹ According to the Prime Minister's ministerial statement, literally, the Parliament of Samoa passed the taxing of *fa'afeagaiga* (church ministers). Obviously, the tax law targeted *fa'afeagaiga*. The CCCS denomination have their church ministers called *fa'afeagaiga* as the village covenanted with Him to look after the parish. The Methodists called their church ministers "*faiifeau faamaoni*" (true church minister) and their services change every six years. The Catholics only have "*faiifeau fesoasoani*" (helper) and a padre. The Methodists and the Catholics do not receive *alofa*. This tax law was formulated by an Independent State government; however, the tax evidences were from colonial times. (I will mention this also in Chapter 4). It appears that there are still colonial elements in the formation of laws in this Independent State government. How can the Preamble for the Constitution of the Independent State of Samoa act or work according to this type of creation of laws? Other things to consider here, is the single government and a *fa'afeagaiga's* contribution to the development of Samoa. Presently, the Samoan government is a single ruling party called the HRPP containing 90% members of the parliament without an opposition. The *fa'afeagaiga's* contribution is not clear because in the Income Tax Act 2012/2017, their sole occupation was spiritual guidance. What is spiritual guidance?

accepted the tax law, except the CCCS. In fact, the Income Tax Act exempted them for fifty-six years since Independence.

The government's response did not fully respond to the CCCS's argument concerning the specific role and understanding of a *fa'afeagaiga*. Instead, the government continued to argue that the *fa'afeagaiga* earns a weekly, fortnightly or monthly income called *alofa*. They also reiterated the fact that in any country there is one government of and for the people. The CCCS was thus accused of trying to seek its only special exemption from tax, by arguing that the law applies to all thirty-five Christian Churches in Samoa. Needless to say, the taxation debate generated more heat than light and gained public attention over the last two years.

1.4 Public Opinion

In the wake of this tax issue in March 2017, an opportunity for public opinion was sought and various perspectives on the issue were expressed by Samoans both local and abroad. From 12 March 2017 to November 2018, waves of opinions swept through the nation and caused incongruous dialogue every day⁵². Using the Samoan Observer online⁵³ as a medium to search for incongruity about the tax issue, fifty four agreed in favour of the government's initiative, seventy one disagreed, and eleven were undecided. This dialogue revealed that the issue was a lot more complex than simply accepting or rejecting the law.

⁵² We call this everyday experience "*tala fa'alogu*"; meaning, "rumors". This is equivalent to the saying "walls have ears".

⁵³ This is a long serving newspaper in Samoa which is up-to-date in every matter. This medium online provides an opportunity for Samoans abroad to contribute and share their views about this tax issue. I am not intending to suppress other media outlets but I believe they are always connected to each other. I decided hereby, there was no need for me to approach other media as this consumed time. 99% of these articles were downloaded since the beginning of this tax issue and kept safely by me.

There were vastly different opinions. On the one hand, those who supported the law argued that fairness for all was to be enforced. This argument was based on the premise that all workers are uniform and that a *feagaiga* was no different from an employee. By making the faifeau an employee, the *feagaiga* is not to be perceived as a relationship but as an individual tax payer. Arguing that the faifeau is not above the law, supporters of taxation claimed that faifeau should also be taxed like everyone else as even they need to use government infrastructure like hospitals and roads. This means that whatever monetary donations they receive should be treated as income regardless of their designation as *fa'afeagaiga*. Since all citizens are accountable to the development of the country, all should pay tax. Failure to pay tax, according to this camp or thought, meant that *feagaiga* were stealing from the people. Other misguided statements hurled insults to the General Secretary of the CCCS as stupid; and labelling CCCS faifeau as greedy despite the fact that decision to protest coming from the *Fono Tele* was a resolution passed by church members and not just *faifeau*.

On the other hand, those who disagreed observed the government's frailty of making laws and questioned its authority to implement it. They also supported the church from the historical perspective of *feagaiga* and *alofa*. For example, the government was desperate for money; money was lost through corruption; taxing the *faifeau* was double taxation; the government needed to cure corruption first before rushing to enforce taxation; culture started to disappear due to the influence of money and too much government spending; the loss of forefather's wisdom in the Preamble to safeguard laws; government positioned themselves to control everything; the contributions were freewill giving or love offering not a business transaction; taxation promoted power; Mālietoa Vainuupo covenanted with John Williams in the arrival of Christianity and made him *Ao Faalupega*; Jesus paid taxes to the Temple but not Levites; tax law targeted the CCCS

and the Methodist but not the Catholics; the government had one ruling party with no opposition; the tax law implied single authority; *faifeau* covenanted with villages under verbal agreement but not through applications like government employees; the *faifeau* were exempted and why now; the tax law would change the perception of the church goer about the church; there was a possibility that bribery started from the top; the tax law targeted the *fa'afeagaiga* only but not the wife and the children; the ordination of the church minister to carry baptism and Holy Communion were disregarded; Parliament should have debated “*alofa*” first before tax was implemented; there could be manipulation going on; taxing the *faifeau* cannot solve the problem of the government’s debts; and many more. Again, this was a snapshot of people’s voices who opposed the tax law.

Others, the undecided, asserted that the ambivalent relationship between the church and state was the result of both not having the time to explore the deeper implications of *feagaiga* and *alofa*. The two entities (church and State) should have collaborated to resolve the ambiguity before forming and implementing the law. These people insisted that the relationship of the state and church was in need of review before discussing a change in tax laws. These people argued that a definitive understanding of the government on the type of role performed by the church minister was in order; the tax law was enforced but still remains ambiguous in relation to income; the government should also consider fishermen making cash sales along the beach road; the tax law did not comply with democratic processes; the details of the tax law were confusing because neither of the two entities (church and state) fully described what “*alofa*” was; and whether taxing ministers was the only solution for the money problem in Samoa after so many years. The variety of thoughts and understanding only beheld individual presuppositions and mind

sets. Factors such as fairness in taxation, historical traces of *feagaiga* and ambiguity of the new tax law seem to identify a possibility for a historical perspective on the tax issue.

1.5 Research Focus

The controversial issue above is without doubt a complex one and it is not possible to provide answers for all the questions raised. However, by looking at the correspondence between the CCCS and the HRPP government of Samoa, including public perceptions of the issue, I have identified various gaps that this undertaking intends to address. I begin with the formation of the new tax law as unconstitutional. The consultations from March 27 to 31 2017, do not align with the Introduction of the Income Tax Bill 2017 in June 2017. According to the Constitution of the Independent State of Samoa 2016, consultations only take place when the First Reading of a Bill is debated and passed by the Parliament. The assumed problem is that in the parliament debate in June 2017 and 2018, the Legislative Assembly issued a Certificate of Urgency to proceed the taxing of the *faifeau* and the Head of State. Concisely, the formation of the new tax law was unconstitutional because the COU somehow acted as a catalyst to pass the law. It can be deduced that this might be a political manipulation of forming laws. Rather, doubts have been raised about the act of legislation being in line with the Constitution. While this is not the main focus of this study, it is worthy to note that there are loopholes existing in the formation of laws and some examples of these loopholes will be highlighted in due course.

Secondly, the Income Tax Amendment Act 2017 regards the *faifeau* or *fa'afeagaiga* an employee because their *alofa* is compatible with the Pay As You Earn (P.A.Y.E.) scheme. Accordingly, their onus is “spiritual guidance” which is not fully understood because the Act interprets the employee as an individual who is directed under an employment by an employer and holds a fixed remuneration in any public office

(Income Tax (No. 12) 2012). In this regard, if spiritual guidance is the job of the *faiifeau* and church employment is regarded a ‘public office’ then that means the government is the employer. Nevertheless, the Act does not interpret what “spiritual guidance” is.

Concisely, in the heat of the tax debate, *feagaiga* and *alofa* are in the centre of the discussion, but there is a lack of clarity concerning their meaning. Interestingly, traces of taxation in the 1900s are evident historical transience. It was not, but claiming the Samoa eternal inheritance (*Tōfiga o le vavau*) in the Prime Minister’s predisposition mentioned earlier, also encourages a historical search. Hence two main questions may give direction to this paper: What is *feagaiga* and *fa’afeagaiga* from a historical perspective? How far back in history does taxing church ministers occur? The first question will answer the *feagaiga* portion of the topic while the second focuses on taxation. This thesis does not intend to provide reasons for whether the *faiifeau* must pay taxes or not; rather, it specifically discusses how this tax issue is explored from a historical viewpoint.

1.6 Summary

The taxation issue presented various understandings of the two said parties: The Samoan government and the CCCS. Setting up a context for the new tax law, the discovery of the Preamble for the Constitution of the Independent State of Western Samoa demonstrated how laws were to be safeguarded by Christian Principles and Samoan customs and traditions. According to the Constitution, laws were initially introduced into Parliament, underwent three reading stages, passed and assented and became a Parliament Act or law. The parliamentary debates and the response by the Prime Minister disclosed how the Tax Bill was amended and passed, which unfolded evidence that the German and the New Zealand administrations from 1900 to 1924 endorsed the imposition of taxation on *faiifeau*. Authority and power were in fact their underlying motive with which everyone must submit. The CCCS, however, rejected from six different probabilities: The Bible;

the tradition of *feagaiga* and *alofa*; church development; the belittlement of the church contribution to Samoa's development; the church and state relationship; and the ambiguity of the tax law in the realms of laws. The CCCS pursued a delay in the implementation of the tax law; however, the response by the government and the Prime Minister had little regard for their request for time. In the public domain, a constant dialogue arose and the multiplicity of opinions suggested no solid conclusion to rest upon.

Arguments from both parties (church and state), eventuated with a few loopholes which ultimately framed the focus of this study. Since the government evidently yielded the occurrence of taxation in the 1900s, the CCCS remarked on the exemption of *feagaiga* and not an employee. From the public dialogue, few occasions cited the historical event between Malietoa Vainuupo and Christianity in 1830. In fact, these are considerable historical key moments. Thus, the centrality of this paper is to historically seek and define what *feagaiga*, *fa'afeagaiga* and *alofa* are all about and how taxation evolved. Since *feagaiga* and taxation are different entities, they exit from this point onwards into their own pathways, until they meet in Chapter 5 to discuss a historical standpoint for this taxation debate.

CHAPTER 2

***FEAGAIGA*: LOCATING ROOTS AND ITS IMPLICATIONS**

2.0 Introduction

This chapter is an attempt to find, firstly, the root of *feagaiga* in Samoan myths and legends regarding the quest for employee and employer; and secondly, how it connected to Christianity since 1830. *Feagaiga* is the Samoan word for covenant, in which Samoan tradition and culture refer unto a relationship of a brother “the man of the family” (*ali’i o ‘aiga*) and sister his *feagaiga* (Sauoaiga 1988, xv-xvi). This notion traces back to Samoan myths and legends which have been woven and developed as a norm of existence in Samoa throughout time (Ete-Lima 2001, 9). But the word was transposed to foreign missionaries in 1830 when Malietoa Vainuupo, who accepted Christianity in that time, gave them the privileges and rights of a sister, and called them *fa’afeagaiga* or like covenants (Aiono – Le Tagaloa 1992, 124). Pratt defines *feagaiga* as “an established relationship between different parties” (1911[1876], 139). There are various layers of meaning in the use of the term: one is the object of *feagaiga* (the sister and not the brother), the other is an established relationship and another is a transposition (*fa’afeagaiga*). The understanding of *feagaiga* can be traced as far back as to include Samoan myths and legends.

I am cognizant of the fact that some scholars are pessimistic of using myths and legends as historical materials. Speaking as a Samoan¹, our myths and legends inform and shape our Samoan worldview. They are considered as “life-justification proof – the life

¹ I was born and raised in Samoa.

sources of a particular statement or opinion” – called *lagisoifua*² (Aiono-Le Tagaloa 1996, 2). In this way, mythical traditions are used as historical materials in this study. These life sources do not intend to invalidate the Western scientific understanding of evidence; rather, myths and legends, as life sources, are living texts in the cycle of our daily lives that continue to speak to us in the reshaping of our modern existence. Aiava contends that “Failure to revisit the context that once gave life and significance to various traditions would be to empty those traditions of their deeper meaning” (2017, 95). Liuaana remarkably asserts on the insignificance of Pacific Island oral traditions in the West which are now recognised and “accepted by a wider circle of scholars” (1995, 3). Davidson identifies further that “new primary sources – in particular, oral evidence and records in the vernacular languages of the islands – have been used” (1966, 5). Other recent studies which contributed to this strife are Tofaeono (2000), Tuwere (2002), Havea (2004), Bevans (2002), McMillan (2011) and Barnes and Hunt (2005), to name a few³.

This Chapter is comprised of three major sections. The first section explores the origin of *feagaiga* in the Samoan creation story of Tagaloalagi, Tapuitea and her brother Toiva, and a legendary account of Nafanua and Mālietoa Vainuupo. The aim is twofold:

² *Lagisoifua*: *lagi* (sky or heaven) and *soifua* (life). According to Aiono, *lagisoifua* is a Samoan lifeworld referring to people, land, sea, traditional belief and so forth. For example, the word covenant in the Bible refers to the covenant between Israel and God with, Moses for instances, as their mediator. The Samoan lifeworld of covenant (*feagaiga*) refers to the relationship between the brother and his sister, high chiefs and chiefs or between Samoans.

³ Tofaeono (2000, 23, 171) accounts myths as “sacred history or narrative” that is temporal and spatial, regulated by God in the past but informing our modern flow of life. This is also evident in Tuwere (2002) that time and event are bonded to land to identify the nature of a community. Havea (2004, 203) in his cross-cultural theologies of relations, portrays that relationships are born from culture. Similarly, Bevan’s (2002, 59-60) “cultural romanticism” depicts the importance of culture in anthropological studies for cultural identity. He insists on Christianity not as the “importation of foreign ideas” but “a perspective on how to live one’s life even more faithfully in terms of who one is as a cultural and historical subject.” McMillan (2011, 33) supports “our own stories as key to our own autobiography”. These ideas suggest that myths and legends are living texts. They define where I come from and what I can offer, alternatively, for the purpose of interpreting history.

to see where *feagaiga* originates from and explore its potential influence on the employer-employee relationship; and to see how it connects to Christianity and the way the church and state understand it. Section two is pre-Christian contacts or a transition from Nafanua and Mālietoa Vainuupo to the acceptance of Christianity in 1830. It is a pre-contact period before the full embrace of Christianity in 1830. Section three summarises the chapter.

2.1 Myths, Legends and the Social-Political Structure of *feagaiga*

The myth below is reproduced from the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (1982, 164-189), Tapuai (1972) and Ete-Lima (2001). There are many versions⁴ but the reproduction aims to ease understanding. This reproduction does not intend to conceal others, but it is important to note that they are highly considered in academic writings.

2.1.1 *Feagaiga* Root: Tagaloalagi

Tagaloalagi, alone, dwelt in the Expanse. There was no sky, country, sea and earth. To dwell was to wander to and fro in the Expanse. When he willed to stand, where he stood evolved a Rock. There bore his first name Tagaloafaatutupunuu (cause to grow). Then he spoke to the Rock to split and six other Rocks brought forth: Papataoto; Papasosolo; Papalauaau; Papaanoano; Papaele; Papatu; and Papaamuamu. He again struck the Rock then Earth and Sea formed. He turned to his right side and spoke to the Rock again, then Sky formed. He continued to speak to the Rock several times and Ilu (Immensity) and Mamao (Space) brought forth and were appointed to Tuiteelagi. Luao (cloud) and Luavai (water) were also formed and appointed to Sa tualagi. Avalala and Gaogaoletai (plants and creatures) were also formed. He spoke once more to the Rock and a Man, Spirit, Heart, Will and Thought brought forth. Then Tagaloa joined the Spirit, Heart, Will and Thought and planted inside the Man. The Man became intelligent and coupled to the Eleele then Fatu and Eleele began to exist as first human beings: Fatu the Man, and Eleele the Woman.

Fatu and Eleele had ten boys and a girl. When Fatu grew very old and was about to die, his last wish (*mavaega*) was that the oldest boy would be the head of the family. Upon the death of this eldest son, his place should be taken by the next brother and so on, until there were no more brothers; whereupon

⁴ The existing literature: Andersen (1969), Poignant (1967), Sauoaiga (1988), Aiono – Le Tagaloa (2003), Onesemo (2012), Talapusi (1990), George Turner (1884), Tapuai (1972), Ete-Lima (2001), Tofaeono (2000), Holmes (1958), to name a few. Pritchard (1866, 106 -113) also accounted on Tagaloalagi and other Samoan life origins.

the eldest son of the eldest brother should succeed to the position. The girl was made tamasa (sacred child) and the brothers were told “burn your faces” (e mu iai o outou mata), meaning that each day they should make the oven for the girl and that she should only eat hot food rather than the food cooked the day before lest their children get sick.

According to Pratt (1911[1876], 139), *feagaiga* is an established relationship between parties. Relationship is associated with agreement or covenant. The parties, Fatu and his children, which this myth portrays, seem to suggest that the term *feagaiga* is not mentioned at all. Studies such as Muaiava (2017), Latai (2015), Ete-Lima (2001), Faatauva (1992), to name a few accepted that this basic text is talking about *feagaiga*. Yet the term *feagaiga* is used ambiguously. However, Chladenius’ art of historical interpretation claims that:

“A history which is told or written to someone assumes that that person will use his knowledge of the prevailing conditions in order to form a reasonable resolution [...] If in reading a story of this kind I focus my attention on just that which is able to bring about the pleasure and if I consequently experience the pleasure which is intended, then I have understood the book completely.” (1985, 55)

Focusing more attentively on the prevailing conditions of this myth, it certainly displays bits and pieces of *feagaiga*, not referring to a sister, but a life shared by both her and her brothers.

In fact, Tagaloalagi is a creator or god, Fatu and Eleele as parents and Fatu’s children are the most occurring parties in the story. The story cannot dismiss Tagaloalagi because he is an invisible Samoan ancient god. However, Fatu’s wish completely holds an attention because its content is ambiguous, but its ambiguity is a glimpse of parties forming a covenant. On the one hand, the brothers are the head of the family and the sister is the only sacred child (*tamasā*) and on the other hand, the brother burns his face for his sister and the sister does nothing for her brother. The former renders as a patriarchal

alignment of the family, characterising the brothers as superiors⁵. The latter is obligation which implies the brother's suffering and the sister's abusiveness of her sacredness. These glimpses epitomise a partial or non-egalitarian relationship between the brother and his sister, for the sister is not accountable as a head of the family and the brother can never be sacred but superior to her. Also, the story pronounces the sister a sacred child but not a *feagaiga* (covenant). These ambiguities leave me to ponder about *feagaiga* as something invisible that embraces both the brother and the sister but not superior or sacred one over the other. Perhaps a covenant that determines the religiosity of the social-political life settings of parties who agree to be part of it (covenant). It is this religiosity that assumes impartiality and egalitarianism in relationships.

Attentively, Fatu is not so important, but his wish and his children are the absolute part of concern. Seemingly, the parties are the brother and his sister. To reiterate, the brother is the head of the family and sister is the only sacred child. The brother burns his face for his sister while the sister abuses her sacredness. In this situation, partiality becomes more pronounced between parties. But using the brother and the sister as participating parties of Fatu's wish, one might wonder what is holding them together to become equally related and connected. Worth noting is the fact that the brother is superior while the sister is the sacred child symbolizing two participating parties playing different roles. But their relationship contains something that obliges each of them equally to honour it. There is nothing in the story to suggest that the brother and the sister agreed or covenanted. However, it presupposes that Fatu established a *feagaiga* that the brother is obliged to provide or offer life for his sister and, conversely, the sister nurtures that life for her brother, using her sacredness, blessedness or holiness. The brother and sister's obligations determine their social-political life setting but the *feagaiga* between them

⁵ See subsection 2.1.4 for an explanation of what a Samoan family (*aiga*) is.

helps to guide that life setting. They both live according to this *feagaiga* that one is to provide and the other is to nurture life; hence *feagaiga* is a “shared life” together. This is a harmonious relationship where two participating parties connect to life and life connects to creation, Tagaloalagi (god).

In recent studies, Aiono-Le Tagaloa (1996), Taisi (2000) and Ete-Lima (2001) overwhelmingly enunciate the importance of sacred space (*va tapuia*), boundaries (*tuāoi*) or taboo (*tapu*) as critical elements that procure harmony in relationships. However, space is “not void and independent, but connects and firms the relationship to one another to become one body”⁶ (Lima 2013, 80). Vaai in his holistic approach of God shares a spirituality dimension of relationality that life is found in harmonious relationships (2017, 33). This means spaces are not just spaces but a life sprouting in that space allowing participating parties to share and connect. Moreover, Aiava (2017) rediscovers the transfiguration episode of Jesus as an “encounter” between God and humanity, suggesting that it is not a single transfiguration but a “double transformation” - Jesus and the disciples were transfigured. The double transformation pictures the impartiality between two parties, as qualifies in the Eucharist’s “cup of the covenant”⁷. It is embodied and all-embracing but not partial to one over the other. It is inadequate to say that *feagaiga* is transformative only to the sister and not the brother; it embraces all parties. This is further to be identified in Olthius (2004) and his discovery of God’s revelation to us through loving relationships. He describes love as a gift that

“creates a space-which-is-meeting, inviting partnership and co-birthing and fundamentally calling into question the deconstructive idea that structures are necessarily always violent [...] Connection rather than control is the dominant metaphor [...] With this focus on *eros* as the desire to connect, as the passion for mutuality and right relation, we have the possibility for non-possessive,

⁶ “O lea va, e le o se laolao e tuufua. E le o se avanoa foi e tumaoti lava ia. Ao le avanoa e fesootai ai itu [...] O le va, o le avanoa na te so’oa ma taofiofia itu e lua, ina ia aveia ma mea e tasi.”

⁷ In the CCCS’ celebration of the Holy Communion, we say “O le ipu lea o le feagaiga fou”. *Ipu* is cup and *feagaiga fou* is new covenant.

non-competitive (i.e., non-violent) connecting, co-partnering, co birthing, in the interspaces of love and creativity” (2004, 37).

This way of relating is tantamount to *feagaiga* relations. It is not a rule book or a legalistic code of relations which can become oppressive. In a *feagaiga*-space, connection is more important than control and it is not bound to an individual but to beings-in-relation. If *feagaiga* is shared then one could argue that the sister also views her brother as a *feagaiga* in the sense that there is a mutual (non-possessive, co-partnering) bond; hence *feagaiga* can be defined as a ‘shared life’. It is not bound to a sister but embraces both the sister and the brother calling both parties to oblige and respect it – one provides life and the other nurtures it. *Feagaiga* as a ‘shared life’ is further illustrated in the next episode about Tapuitea and Toiva.

2.1.2 *Feagaiga* Relationship: Tapuitea and Toiva⁸

In Falealupo, a southernmost village of Savaii, there lived a lady named Tapuitea and her brother named Toiva. Tapuitea had two pairs of eyes in which one pair situated at the back of her head, making her half human. She was the *feagaiga* because she was the *tamaitai* (lady) of the family and whole of Falealupo. She was unpopular because she possessed cannibalistic tendencies, especially towards the young. One day, she wandered around to look for someone to feast on and she noticed a young man. She did not realize this was her brother Toiva. By the afternoon, Toiva went to the pool to bathe but before he did he was mindful of the fact that his sister was near and of her fierceness and cannibalistic behaviour. For safety, he climbed the *fasa* (pandanus) tree and waited for a while. Through the reflection on the water, Toiva recognised Tapuitea as she began to pounce on him. Immediately, Toiva looked up and said, “Shame! You are a foolish sister”⁹. Tapuitea was contrite when she saw that it was her brother then she remarkably covenanted

⁸ There are many versions of this story. This version is my own reproduction of Fanaafi Aiono – Le Tagaloa (1996) and Michiko Kyoko Ete-Lima (2001) accounts. I am cognizant of the limitations of reproducing the existing accounts. I rather push myself to this limit to avoid bias of denoting the one without the other. In this way I briefly make an account only for the purpose of this thesis. These literatures already existed widely in writings; however, Turner (1884) claimed a different one. Turner’s Tapuitea is Toiva’s mother; not a sister. This is the only literature this type of story is found.

⁹ “*Isa! Ai lava o tuafafine vale lenei*”.

with him¹⁰. “I shall become a star in the heavens. But when I appear in the west, that’s the time for your rest. When I stand forth from the east, that’s the time to fish (or hunt)” (Aiono Le-Tagaloa 1996, 25)

The narrative above is commonly understood in Samoa as the *feagaiga* at the Pandanus tree¹¹. It tells of an incident where Tapuitea, after feeling remorseful for her actions toward her brother, transforms into a cosmic entity (star). While the story begins with Tapuitea’s adverse cannibalistic behaviour, it ends with her honouring the *feagaiga* between her and her brother. This shared obligation to nurture life instead of harm is for many Samoans the overriding motif in the story. It continues to be upheld by those fishers that use the morning and evening star to navigate at sea. Likewise, Toiva reminded Tapuitea of her absurdity and as a result the brother is allowed to live while the sister maintains the quality of life through navigation. Given this dynamic, Tapuitea and Toiva are not *feagaiga* in their individual capacities, but an embodiment of *feagaiga* in terms of their mutual coexistence in relationship.

Recent studies such as Ete-Lima (2001), Latai (2014), and Iati (2000), demonstrate a shift of *feagaiga* as sister from her natal family, to become a wife of a chief in her husband’s family¹². When the sister leaves her natal family due to marriage, the aforementioned studies suggest that her *feagaiga* status is immensely violated in her wifely undertakings (Ete-Lima 2001, 21-23; Latai 2014, 306; Iati 2000, 72). Latai (2014) does not refer to violation but the fact that the wife (as a *nofotane*) has to honour her husband’s status of service to his sister (*feagaiga*). *Feagaiga* as status is not this paper’s focus. The author sees a danger of confining *feagaiga* to a sister in terms of status. That

¹⁰ The usual saying in Samoan oratory is stated by Michiko Kyoko Ete-Lima (2001), “*A ou tu mai I sisifo e te talisua ai, a ou tu mai I sasae, e te lagaseu ai*”.

¹¹ *Mavaega I le tulafasa or fasa*.

¹² Wife in Samoa is *faletua*, *tausi* or *ava a taulelea*. *Faletua* is made up of two words: *fale* (house) and *tua* (back) meaning a house at the back or a house to resort to. *Tausi* means nurture which highly connotes a heavy laden work. When the *feagaiga* as sister becomes a wife (*nofotane*), her husband’s family may position her in a house at the back with heavy laden work.

is, in the marital stage, the sister as a *feagaiga* can be suppressed by her husband or members of his family. To revisit Fatu's wish, suppression seems to be characteristic of the brothers as superiors of the family. This paper suggests that *feagaiga* is a life shared by Tapuitema and Toiva - a covenantal and mutual bond connecting them together. This should not be confused with the former understanding which tends to tie a particular status to an individual, particularly, the sister.

In a similar study Tofaeono (2000) identified *feagaiga* not as referring to a particular person or object but as an embodiment. He explains Jesus the *logos* as "embodied life" that links God, creation and creatures. This view suggests that "the Logos becoming flesh is an embodiment of a Godly life" (2000, 222). This understanding of the Logos as manifesting the shared life of the divine and temporal is similar to the *feagaiga* mentioned above between Tapuitema and Toiva. Though Western thought regarding human relationships do not speak about *feagaiga* in the Samoan context, similar sentiments can be found in Buber's *I and Thou* idea of the human being (1974, 44). The *I* refers to creatures including human and *Thou* is the only supreme living God. The *I*, though human, exists in a relationship similar to that of a creature and God. The *I* lives in a creaturely relationship with God. Buber's view is that any human sees another human a *Thou*. This is equivalent to the Samoan way of respect (*fa'aaloalo*) where one respects the other and reciprocity is born. Levinas supports that "the human *I* is the reuniting of the profane and the sacred. It is not a substance but a relationship" (1994, 6). The *I* is only unique when an attribute is added to make him/her different from other individuals (1994, 156). This causes partiality. In his *Humanism of the Other*, he addresses Heidegger's "essence of being" and "forgetting of being". That is, when a man forgets the essence of his being that means he makes himself like a monad; an ultimate man of the "psychic life" or a god (2003, 61). Weaving together the above mentioned studies, it can be noted that

feagaiga is a godly linkage, a creaturely relationship and is neither a substance nor a person, but a way of relating to God and the other. These studies suggest that confining *feagaiga* to an object would be to limit its capacity to transform both parties. In a *feagaiga*, for instance, between a *faiifeau* and a village the designation is not limited to one party but rendered equally to both. This will be demonstrated further by the prophecy of Nafanua and Malietoa Vainuupo which I will turn to next.

2.1.3 *Feagaiga* in Prophecy: Nafanua and Malietoa Vainuupo¹³

Nafanua was a goddess, a hero/legend, a prophetess and a *feagaiga*. She was born a blood clot (*alualutoto*) and her mother hid it in land, which gave her name Nafanua¹⁴. She believed to belong in Puluotu, an abode of spirit in the Savaii Island, making her goddess. As hid in land, she grew up and became a war legend or hero, winning many battles she fought. As a legend, she won the heads/titles war¹⁵ by restoring four honorary titles of Samoa called *tafa'ifa*. This fulfilled her father's wish that her rule is soon to come¹⁶. After the war of collecting the four heads, Malietoa Vainuupo, who related to Nafanua, searched for a head¹⁷ but Nafanua urged him to "wait for heavens would give you dignity/rule"¹⁸. Nevertheless, she was a *feagaiga* in her social and political setting, but she did not use that at the height of her existence. In

¹³ This thesis does not take into consideration the full account of this story. I reproduced it in short form to make it understandable

¹⁴ Nafanua means "hidden in land". "Na" is the short word for "nanā" means "hide"; "fanua" is land/earth. Other oral traditions claimed that the word derived from "sa nanā I fanua" or "na na I fanua" means "she was hidden in land". Turner (1884, 38-40) remarkably explains this.

¹⁵ "taua o ao/pāpā e fa": *taua* is war, *ao/pāpā* is head/title/dignity, *fa* is four.

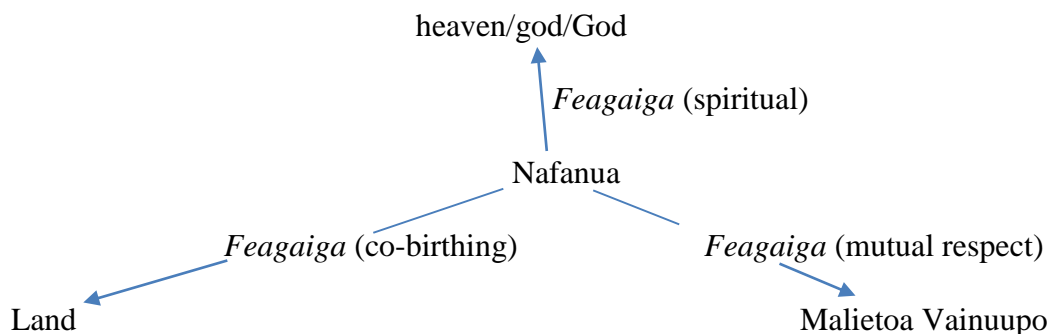
¹⁶ "E lologo ia te oe malō." *Lologo* derives from the root word *logo* means tell or to report, and has a nuance of to predict, and also connotes prophecy or foreseeing. *Ia te oe* means you or to you; and *malo* is victory, government/state, or victors of a war. *E lologo ia te oe malo* could mean (i) You report victory; (ii) You predict/foreseeing government/state; (iii) You will be a victor. The saying implies future victory, future state or government; or perhaps future independence.

¹⁷ According to *Lagaga: A short history of Samoa* by Meleisea (1987, 56-58), the prophecy was directed to Malietoa Fitisemanu who asked her for a share in the government. The head of the government was given to Leulumoega and only the tail was left. Then Nafanua urged Malietoa Fitisemanu to wait for a head from heaven. Fitisemanu was succeeded by Gatuitasina and Gatuitasina was succeeded by Malietoa Vainuupo, who accepted John Williams in 1830.

¹⁸ "Tali I lagi se ao o lou malō". See Griffin (1920) version of the head and the tail of the fish in his "The head that came from afar". The Spirit gave Tamafaiga the head of the fish but when Malietoa came to look for a head for his government, the Spirit gave him the tail or body of the fish and told him to wait for the head that came from afar.

fact, she bridged the gap between wars and Christianity and connected man with God (Meleisea 1987, 32; Sauoaga 1988, 32,)¹⁹.

Accordingly, this story elucidates two things. One is a worth of Nafanua in relation to heaven, to land and man and the other is that she is a *feagaiga* in her social-political setting as shown below:



Nafanua seems to have a spiritual, social-political and an ecological worth emphasising three relational connections: to divinity (heaven), to nature (land) and to man or people (Mālietoa Vainuupo). She seems to be a mediator or god's intermediary²⁰. These connections describe a harmonious relationship of a human being. Her relation to god indicates a relationship of man to his God guided by a spiritual *feagaiga*. In relation to land, it depicts the ecological worth of a man or a relationship of man to his natural environment guided by *feagaiga* as co-birthing because he belongs to it and he cares for it. Her relation to Malietoa is a portrait of a man-to-man relationship guided by *feagaiga* as mutuality, co-partnering and egalitarianism that human beings play different roles but *feagaiga* makes them live equally together. Hence *feagaiga* is predominantly a 'shared life' in between man and God, man and environment, and man to another.

¹⁹ Liuaana (1995, 12) considers this story as relevant as it is widely published in Protestant and a Roman Catholic missionary. This is also apparent in Schoeffel (1987, 181-182).

²⁰ Chapter 3 offers some lights on this. It can be interpreted that Nafanua, in her social attributes of *feagaiga*, could be a first image of *fa'afeagaiga* or the first Samoan *faiifeau*; Or she foreshadowed the coming of the real *faiifeau*.

Nevertheless, in her social-political setting she becomes a mere object of *feagaiga* in terms of status, but evidently not an acclivity of her fame. Her prophecy signifies that *feagaiga* as status is not important; rather, the *feagaiga* between her and Mālietoa is so crucial depicting themselves as participating parties of the prophetic *feagaiga*. Indeed, her relationship with Mālietoa is a chassis of a family to village and village to district, but not a brother-to-sister relationship. Pratt (1911[1876], 139) identifies a relationship between a high chief and a chief and considering *feagaiga* relation in this, one can view his counterparts as *feagaiga* or the sister can view her brother a *feagaiga*. *Feagaiga* relationship seems genderless. These aspects may espouse *feagaiga* not particular to an individual or to a brother-to-sister relationship, but a life that connects two or more parties who participate to honour it²¹. These aspects of *feagaiga* have plausible effect of things to come such as the spread of Christianity in 1830.

Moreover, wars were the hallmarks of the ancient political Samoan government, the lexicons of control and avenues to escalate chiefly status²². They imply aspects of partiality, superiority, oppressiveness, and non-egalitarianism among the families, villages, districts, chiefs and one another. Significantly, Malietoa's search for a head and Nafanua's prophetic reply put a halt to a world of wars and simultaneously begins the world of interconnectedness guided by *feagaiga* as spirituality (God), mutuality (man) and ecology (nature). Worthy to note is the fact that in between Mālietoa and God there is Nafanua. It is appropriate to suggest that Nafanua is the embodiment of a Godly life who had a vision of a Christian God. Mālietoa on the other hand can be described as the

²¹ See the next subsection (2.1.4) for more clarification of *aiga*.

²² Valentine (1970, 340) asserts that there was never a village unification in Samoa because there was no centralized government. It was a "village government" (Gilson 1970, 26). Villages were governed by the *matai* system (Aiono – Le Tagaloa 1992, 122), hence chiefs fought for prestige and power to elevate their status. In Sauoiga (1988), the search for the greatest authority triggers wars and the chiefs were considered the instigators of wars earlier.

embodiment of chiefly titles who had a vision for the *tafa'ifa*²³. However, Mālietua's acceptance of Nafanua's prophecy may suggest that they both are embodiments of a *feagaiga* and they are designated as *fa'afeagaiga*²⁴. Mālietua's notion of transposing *feagaiga* to *fa'afeagaiga* in 1830, is not because Nafanua as a *feagaiga*, but because he considered the missionaries as embodiments of a Godly life (see next chapter). Before a turn to Christianity it is necessary to explore the social-political structure of families, villages and districts that operate *feagaiga*.

2.1.4 *Feagaiga* in social-political structure: *Aiga, Nuu and Itumalo*

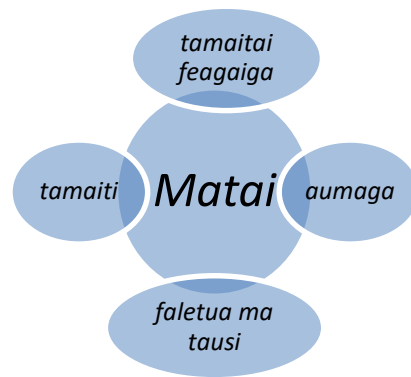
A Samoan proverbial says “*O Samoa ua taoto a'o se I'a mai moana; o le I'a iviivia, ua uma ona aisa*” which is literally translated as, Samoa lies as a deep sea fish; a bony fish, already apportioned. It means, Samoa is already structured; religiously, socially and politically. Families form a village, villages shape a district, and districts are essentials of the Samoan society. There is a single (a microcosm) and an extended (a macrocosm) family. In these settings *feagaiga* as a shared life seems obscured. However, the overlapping circles seem to depict a mutual bond that is shared as shown hereunder:

- “A 1. *Matua – (a) Matai (e) Faletua poo le tausi.*
 2. *Fanau – (a) Alii o aiga (e) Feagaiga (i) Tautua.*
B 1. *Maota poo le Laoa.*
 2. *Tuamaota ma tualaoa.*” (Sauoaga 1988, xv)²⁵; and

²³ Pratt (1911[1876], 307) defines this Samoan term as “the whole of the high titles united in one chief.” According to Pratt, *tafa'i* is “to break off” and in the Nafanua's event, Nafanua breaks off or able to obtain four honorary titles that were held by other Samoan kings. *Tafa'ifa* in the Samoan tradition and culture is a collective term given to one high chief holding Samoa's four honorary titles of Tuiatua, Tuiaana, Vaetamasoalii and Gatoaitale. Nafanua became a *tafa'ifa* before prophesizing a Christian God.

²⁴ See Chapter 3 for the composition of this word.

²⁵ *matua* (husband and wife/*faletua/tausi*); *matai* is chief; *fanau* (children: brother (*alii o aiga*), sister (*feagaiga*) and *tautua* (servants)); *maota poo le laoa* (houses), and *tuamaota* and *tualaoa* (lands)”.



(Aiono – Le Tagaloa 1996, 124)²⁶.

In the two portraits above, it is evident how *feagaiga* is confined to a female individual (*tamaitai*), not the connecting bond between the various groups of people. Yet, the overlapping boundaries within these groups show some kind of holistic cohesion that bonds the individual parts. I contend that the overlapping circles validate *feagaiga* not as an object or a status tied to particular individuals but a bond that holds the circles together. In Samoa, regardless of gender, everyone is an heir or a chief who heads a family; both the micro and macrocosm and he/she represent the family in the ideal social-political organization of Samoa called the chiefly system (herein referred to as *fa'amatai*). A high chief and a chief have the authority of the *fa'amatai*. Although the chief represents the authority of the family in the village, Meleisea recalls that when a chief dies the family control the *matai* titles (1987, 27). It means the family, both the micro and macrocosm, establishes relationships with its members, agrees for any member and makes covenant to hold a *matai* title. In this way, each member relates, bonds and connects rather than controls. Aiono identifies the attainment of goals in a community and a village by acquiring mutuality and bonding in a form of respect (1996, 34).

²⁶ *Matai* (chief), *tamaita'i* (lady), *aumaga* (untitled chiefs), *faletua ma tausi* (wives of chiefs), *tamaiti* (children).

Moreover, the village normally exists in two social groups: chiefs and women²⁷. The chiefs' group (*nuu o alii*) is more central because of its authority in the whole village concerning the village meeting (*fono*). Also, there are untitled chiefs (*taulele 'a*) who serve the chiefs, and they are normally the backbone of a village. In the women's group (*nuu o tamaitai*), sisters and daughters of local men shape a social group called *auluma* (Latai 2015, 95)²⁸. Accordingly, they are as important as chiefs in all facets of a village setting. In the micro and macrocosm context, the sister/*feagaiga* of a chief deal much with family affairs and business. But everyone is subjected to the village meeting controlled by the *faamatai*.

Apparently, this social-political structure shows that a “*tamaita'i*” (lady) is particularly the only confined object of *feagaiga* while the rest of the families, including the chief, are not. Additionally, the chiefly authority continues to uphold the superiority and control of the brother as reflected in Fatu's wish in the creation story. If we revisit *feagaiga* in the “double transformation” in the transfiguration event mentioned earlier, the above structure shows that *feagaiga* is transformative only to the female and not to the male; hence a danger of confining *feagaiga* to a particular individual. The structure also qualifies the Prime Minister's claim that the church ministers have no place into the Samoan eternal inheritance (*Tōfiga o le vavau*)²⁹ and is authoritative because of the *fa'amatai*.

²⁷ “*nuu o matai*” (chief's village – titled and untitled) and “*nuu o tamaitai*” (women's village). The word group is used as the chiefs and the women are from a single village. A village has a village meeting called *fono*; untitled chief called *taulele 'a* who are ‘the backbone of a village’ or *malosi o le nuu*; and the *auluma* or *taulelea's* wives.

²⁸ Latai defines *auluma* as a team in front that has a special honour in both the family and village setting. *Au* is team and *luma* is front.

²⁹ Letter on 22 Iuni 2018 from the Prime Minister's Office (page 3): “*e taufaaofiofi ai au auna a le Atua e fou I tofiga o le vavau*”, meaning, the servants of God has no place in the Samoan eternal inheritances because they were new.

However, Meleisea (1987) is pessimistic of the *fa'aSamoa* after the Independence of Samoa in 1962 that in modern government affairs, the *fa'aSamoa* continues to justify the authority of the *fa'amatai*. This authority predominantly shapes the mind-set of the government, causing the government to be a “mutilated system” in Samoa (Meleisea 1987, 208; Lawson 1996, 152). At the rise of title proliferation called the Samoan suffrage³⁰, the democracy in families and villages seeks “prestige” and status instead. Modern thinking influenced the government’s mindset and caused them to change the goal of what a chief is supposed to be. In 1985, Tofilau Eti Alesana deployed “universal suffrage”³¹ to encounter the Samoan suffrage in order to protect the dignity and the nature of the *fa'amatai*. In particular, the *fa'amatai* is more about maintaining the social-political life of families and villages, but as Lawson claims a “need not be imposed by the national government for its own affairs” (1996, 153). Lawson suggests that the Samoan suffrage (the chiefly system) within the Samoan government, resulted in creating “a government of *matai*, by *matai*, and for *matai* – ‘a strange contrast with democratic principles’” (1996, 155).

Thus, it seems relevant to deduce that Tofilau Eti Alesana’s trepidation to the issue of the *fa'amatai* in 1985, appears to exist in today’s Samoan government and the way the current Samoan Prime Minister is structured by this chiefly authority. The re-visitation of *feagaiga* relation or space suggests that the *fa'aSamoa* in terms of the chiefly system may possibly cause harm on *feagaiga* when it is confined to a particular individual. But if *feagaiga* refers to a ‘shared life’ then one could argue that a chief not only views his

³⁰ Aiono – Le Tagaloa (1992, 127).

³¹ The universal suffrage, according to Lawson, was a passed referendum initiated by Tofilau Eti Alesana in 1985 to “preserve Samoan customs and traditions [...] and the *matai* system [...] from the corrosive effects of title proliferation”. Lawson adds that the universal suffrage “discourages politicians from engaging in bribery and other corrupt practices using the *matai* system in the election.”

family, village or district a *feagaiga* but also their mutual bond as *feagaiga*. Mutuality is more of connection than control. It is this *feagaiga* that a village, under the *faamatai*, easily connects to *faiifeau* whom they elect to look after their parish. This connection continually concerns the interaction of the natives with the foreigners before Christianity emitted in 1830.

2.2 Pre-Christian contact: A transition

The early strokes of European settlements in the Pacific to the emission of Christianity in 1830 in Samoa was not a transfer of European ideas, but caused by a disagreement in doctrines and teachings between the Catholics and the Protestants in Europe that led to the establishment of missionary organisations (Meleisea 1987, 54). This period is often accredited by historical materials to first Europeans named Roggewein in 1722, Bougainville in 1768, La Perouse in 1787, and waves of sailors, convicts, traders and beachcombers and the Siovili cult.

2.2.1 Roggewein, Bougainville, La Perouse, H.M.S. Pandora

From 1721 to 1722, a Dutch “Three Ship Expedition” under the command of Roggewein sailed around the world in search for gold. They passed by Samoa without landing³². Bougainville in 1768 took the same route; yet, contact was extremely scarce both on land and in person. They distanced themselves from the shore and observed the natives wondering to the proliferations from the horizon (sea end). Without landing, studies believed that they practiced bartering on the sea around the boat where “Provisions

³² Jacob Roggewein is suggested to be the first European explorer to sight Samoa, without landing. Watson (1918) claims that Roggeveen “placed the group somewhat inexactly, called several of its islands by names now unused, and sailed away without landing.”

were brought out and exchanged over the side for cloth” (Watson 1918, 24; Gilson 1970, 66; *The Cyclopedia of Samoa* 1907, 1-3)³³. Bartering seems unconvincing due to the fact that some think it was introduced to Samoa rather than the land having its own traditional exchange practices. This raises questions of why the natives paddled to the ships, who was in the boat, why did they exchange and was bartering an introduced practice?

In the Samoan tradition, a woman or a sister³⁴ greets visitors in the presence of a chief. In these first contacts, it appears that greeting visitors happened on waters and in this process, it is possible to suggest that Roggwein or Bougainville and the natives somehow stimulated a *feagaiga* between them. Williams identifies the leading and surrounding canoes approaching the ship to be covenanted (1838, 329)³⁵. Tcherkezoff describes this as “the Master of the country” sitting with “a young woman” known as a chief and his wife approaching the ship (2008, 18-21). This espouses a feeling that the leading canoe created a *feagaiga* and the surrounding ones protected it. Tcherkezoff further identifies this as a “‘mutual agreement’ (feagaiga) constituted by two aspects” (2008, 18).

Additionally, this “mutual agreement” germinated offering when two different parties agreed and bonded. Simply put, offering is employed once *feagaiga* is attained. Earlier, offering was Samoa’s predominant practice – an offering to their chiefs and wives or perhaps, in some, their gods³⁶. Turner states that,

³³ See Chapter 4 for the importance of barter in the economic life of the Samoans.

³⁴ Aiono (1996) clarifies these various names.

³⁵ Covenanted is “*osi feagaiga*” similar to covenant ceremony.

³⁶ When I was in Malua Theological College, Samoa, from 2014 to 2017, we did plantations for the first time. At the harvest period we performed what is called *Talomua* (First fruits) where we celebrated the provision of God/gods through these first fruits. The first person to receive these first fruits is the chief. *Talo* is similar to Fijian *darō*; *mua* can also be *muamua*, means, first or number one. Turner (1884, 20) stated the priest, who was the chief, “fixed the days for the annual feasts in honour of the deities.”

“...the priest [...] who is the chief of the place [...] fixed the days for the annual feasts in honour of the deities [...] regulated by the appearance in the settlement of the bird” (1884, 20).

Considering Tagaloalagi as god, the natives believed that any proliferations from their horizon were his provisions; hence the natives offered food and petitions at their satisfaction that their god Tagaloalagi had revealed to them in their horizon (*The Cyclopedia of Samoa* (1907, 2; Turner 1884, 20). However, in the foreigners’ perspective, offering is bartering. Tcherkezoff (2008) identifies this as an immediate interpretation of “sacrificial offering” as bartering. The Europeans quickly turned to bartering when they observed the natives giving to them coconuts, fish and foods; and in return, they gave “glass beads”.

Furthermore, in 1787, the French La Perouse’s came to Samoa enroute to Tutuila and Manua and spotted a movement of canoes on the shores; hence gave the name Navigator Island (Watson 1918, 24). In search for water the French ship came to land where they traded glass beads with the natives, until the situation quickly turned hostile when a quarrel arose and resulted in killing. In their defence, the natives argued that they were avenging one of their own who was killed on board the French ship, after being accused of stealing from them (*The Cyclopedia of Samoa* 1907). The Samoans sought revenge and killed the French officers and few men of the ship³⁷. La Perouse retreated with the opinion that the natives were treacherous savages as they planned a hostile return in the days ahead. Consequently, the H.M.S Pandora from Britain visited Samoa in 1790 in search of the *Bounty* mutineers. The natives organised an attack but it was met with heavy gunfire from the ship which dispersed them and left several casualties. The attack was understood as stone-cold revenge and the use of excessive force verified their intentions.

³⁷ Watson (1918, 25) and Ieremia (1968, 8) state that this incident was “uncertain”.

Such stories such as those between the French and the Samoan, is in the view of Chladenius, a work of fiction not because it is untrue but because of the “unexpected and incongruous things” that were remembered (1985, 69). Such encounters resonate with a Samoan proverb which says, “Though fishing may be unsuccessful, suspicion is not.”³⁸ This saying reiterates the underlying notion that all first encounters, including reports of such events, need to be viewed with suspicion. Suspicion is one insightful element of modern interpretation helping to solve incongruity of a text or an event³⁹.

Accordingly, there is a need to consider three important sides of the French and Samoan encounter. One includes the murdering of the Samoan on board; another witnessed the quarrel on land that killed the French men; and the third is the one who reads, interprets the event in all of its discrepancies. More specifically, the La Perouse crew called the man who climbed on the boat a “thief” but even still the punishment for theft is far from death. The Samoans have been responsible for instigating the quarrel but as a reader of the story (the third recipient) it cannot be certain that the man who boarded the ship was interested in stealing or just in awe of the new things he had just witnessed⁴⁰. Considering his Samoan context, heavily safeguarded by the *fa'amatai*, a man in his position would be cautious of not affecting the reputation of his chief. Turner commented that the *fa'amatai* had their own laws; though they were unwritten, they were pivotal in guiding the lives of the Samoans (1884, 176-178). As mentioned earlier, the natives were

³⁸ “*E asa le faiva ae le asa le masalo*”.

³⁹ Jensen (2007, 11) identifies “suspicion” as Paul Ricouer’s preferable way of looking at any text, claiming that “...utterance [historical source] may not at all tell the interpreter about history [...] the utterance is not the product of the autonomous self, but of a distorted self, which is not in control of its own thought, words and deeds, and which is not even aware of this distortion.”

⁴⁰ Tcherkesoff already in a position of interpreting the “theft”. This paper builds more from the theft interpretation to the man’s reputation that does not affect his *fa'amatai system*. That is, the man is only aware of new things in his horizon and the *fa'amatai*.

curious of new things emerging from their horizon. From the French perspective, stealing took place, whereas from the Samoan viewpoint it did not.

In addition, the Samoan's stone attack and their dispersion from the gunfire are compelling enough to mirror aspects of relations, spaces and superiority. Tcherkezoff made a contrasting claim of the encounter saying,

“everything went peacefully [...] there were among them a certain number of women and very young girls who made advances to us in the most indecent fashion, of which several people (supposedly French) took advantage” (2008, 57).

On that claim, women, young girls or sisters as *feagaiga* cannot be dismissed from the attack and the dispersion event. If what Tcherkezoff says is true, then another crucial contribution to the hostility was how the men responded to the *feagaiga* of the village as manifested in the girls who were present. Another refers to the idea of superiority represented by two different parties – the natives and the foreigners. We might have been haunted by the fact that the gunfire event shows how superior and oppressive the foreigners are to the natives. Yet, the event is more of a control than connection. Only when the two parties are bonded under *feagaiga* relations do impartiality and peace prevail. Despite a difference between parties, it is noteworthy that upon considering *feagaiga* relations and spaces, neither a stone revenge or a gunfire would have occurred. From that background, *feagaiga* continues to exist in the influx of cult practices.

2.2.2 Siovili cults and cult practices: An anticipation

Later in the early 19th century, the European interests in Samoa gradually raised through whaling fleets, sandalwoods search, the seekers of beche-de-mer and shell, sailors, convicts and beachcombers (Gilson 1970, 67; Pouono 2014, 15; Watson 1918, 26). These interests supposedly increased the bartering system, which encouraged people into trade as a way of meeting the demands of the international markets. The sandalwoods

and the “beche-de-mer” for incense, aroma, food and medicine were constant demands during this period. Others are the inflow of escaped convicts from Australia who took Samoa as their escape resort. The beachcombers who escaped from sea labour to pursue a new life setting commenced sect practices. In their pursuit, they implemented sea knowledge and skills to persuade settlement⁴¹. Holmes (1980) recalls a wreck in Upolu that paved the way for the sailors to land in Samoa while the Samoans seized the cargo and treated them with hospitality. To imitate in order to live, “they turned missionary” (Holmes 1980, 472, 477).

Furthermore, Siovili or Joe Gimblet was a first Samoan cult-leader, who resided in Eva of Upolu Island, went to Tahiti and experienced the LMS Christianity and Tahitian Mamaia Heresy. Through whaling, he brought a Christian-like religion and initiated in Samoa⁴² and Samoans fully recognized and accepted him (Holmes 1980, 472; Tofaeono 2000, 77). He fortified himself as a spirit medium prophesising the new god that is soon to come from the sea (Meleisea 1987, 52). For the Mamaia Heresy, it was “anti-

⁴¹ I am acquainted to the fact that some early pre-contacts occurred in the Manua and Tutuila Island which is now called American Samoa. Looking from the perspective of *feagaiga*, these pre-contacts do not seem equivalent with the arrival of John Williams in Manono and Sapapalii, when Mālietoa Vainuupo accepted Christianity for the first time. It is because the treacherous physiognomies of Samoan people by La Perouse was contended by Ieremia, saying: “La Perouse gave the Samoans a name for treachery [...] served as a warning to other navigators. This, however, was more of a warning on paper than in fact, for ships, more of whalers and traders than of navigators and explorers” (1968, 8). Pouono (2014) also accounts on these pre-contacts at Tau, Ofu and Olosega of the Manua Island which deems fit into my view that the pre-contacts did not occur in Upolu and Savaii. Additionally, the incident between La Perouse and Samoan people also, claimed by Pouono (2014), occurred in Manua Island; not Upolu or Savaii. Watson (1918, 25) also depicts a memorial event in Tutuila in 1883 for the murdered men of La Perouse. Gilson (1970, 69), however, remarks on a distinct establishment of “Christian-inspired millenarian cult in Upolu”. I deduce that this (Gilson) was the only fact to prove the pre-contact events in Upolu and Savaii; other than Tutuila and Manua Island. Perhaps the most ideal suggestion to instil is that in 1721 to 1830, the Manua, Tutuila, Upolu and Savaii were labelled by the name “Samoa”.

⁴² Gunson (1970, 16) describes few uncertainties in Joe Gimblet’s identity. Tofaeono (2000, 77 f70) expresses Siovili as Joe Gimblet that derives from Sio as Joe and Vili as drill. Vili is derived from Sio’s experience of performing the *vili* or drill on board during sailing. Pritchard (1866, 205-6) portrays Joe Gimblet as *Sio Vivi* and claiming that in Samoa has many Siovivians. This cult was perverse at some stages because he allowed, according to Pritchard, polygamy, dancing, feast-days, curing the sick by miraculous touch, and selected an old woman as his chief priest. He also called Jesus Christ, Sisu Alaisa.

missionary” focusing on women as specific adherents. They strongly emphasised rites and doctrines, prophecy, miracle and incarnate spirits; pretended to read books; shared night dancing and tattooing; sang sea-shanty hymns and delivered sermons in any languages the preacher happened to know. They incorporated material wealth through spiritual means (Setu 1988, 14; Gilson 1970, 76-77; Gunson 1970, 15-16). The young Samoans, mostly women turned as traditional spirits (*taulāitu*) and they practiced praying on the sick and prophesying. The Siovili cult continued in the late 1820s until Samoan people became literate and began to realize the hoaxes of these practices around 1840 (Gunson 1970, 23).

Indeed, in the author’s opinion, the rising of European interests and the Siovili cult do not specifically touch on *feagaiga*. However, both are important in describing different relationships. On the one hand, European interests connote the establishment of economic relationships guided by material benefits where one party demands and the other responds; or one gets rich and the other gets poor⁴³. As already mentioned, trade accomplishes international markets. Goldin and Reinert claim that “international trade is a means of *expanding markets* [which] can generate employment and incomes for people” (2006, 47). Obviously, economic relationship is a relationship where employment and income are generated. This is elaborated in Chapter 4.

On the other hand, the success of Siovili particularly apprehends *feagaiga* relationships. This success arrests Samoan’s recognition, sensitivity and authentic acceptance of him as a spirit medium. Convincingly, he seems to act as a curtain raiser of the heavenly *feagaiga* prophesied by Nafanua and tends to foreshadow the true God appearing soon. On that note, Nafanua created an anticipation to the Samoan people to expect a *feagaiga* to fall from the sky. Gilson claims that the materials brought by the

⁴³ See Chapter 4 for the importance of this kind of relationship in relation to taxation.

missionaries “have been regarded by the Samoans as made by Jehovah and distributed by his agents on earth” (1970, 73). This was advanced further by the native preunderstanding of Christianity and the heavenly rule foretold by Nafanua. Salesa (2014) spotted a dismissal of Siovili by the missionaries in scholarly literature. He sees the importance of Siovili and claims that Siovili lotu “was a *lotu* built explicitly on a relationship with the new Atua” (Salesa 2014, 152). Hence Samoan’s natural acceptance of the white people and Christianity in 1830 was not by chance but by prophetic expectations. The truth lies at their realisation of the hoaxes of cult practices when they became literate ten years after Christianity had arrived. Additionally, the fact that the women served as adherents and traditional spirits (*taulāitu*) can be understood in the way that they continue to master their assumed role as *tamasā* (sacred child).

To the author’s understanding, economic relationships differ from *feagaiga* relationships where the former generate employment and income that leads into control and the latter generate mutuality, co-partnering, relationality, connection, bonding, equality and the like. These things are not so apparent in this early stage of contacts but considering Nafanua’s prophecy and the way she anticipated the native Samoans, we may wonder that the validation of these relationships was not yet proved until the full emission of Christianity in and after 1830 came into realisation. This draws attention to a point where these relationships began to emerge but at some point merge. Gilson remarks that “Williams told a chief that European vessels would not come to trade at his harbour unless he and his people became Christians” (1970, 73). From a *feagaiga* perspective, Christians can trade but *feagaiga* guides it. If trade generates employment and income, Christians in general is appropriate, but for *feagaiga* participants, like a *fa’afeagaiga* in a parish, may not.

Historically speaking, there was no point in time that these relationships conflated until the colonial era⁴⁴. Colonization by Germany and New Zealand prevailed for a short period of time until in 1924 to the formation of the Preamble in 1960 for the Independent State of Samoa in 1962, guaranteed the separation of economic and *feagaiga* relationships. It was not until the 2017 taxation, economic relationships seemed to consume *feagaiga* relationships.

However, the foreign settlers earned the name “*palagi*”, because the natives regarded them as gods who exploded (*pa*) from heavens (*lagi*) or gods who emerged from the end of their horizons (Meleisea 1987, 42; Setu 1988, 10-11; *The Cyclopedia of Samoa* 1907, 1). These studies assert that the spontaneous emergence of the *palagi* is linked to Nafanua’s prophecy to Malietoa. It was not until the full emission of Christianity in 1830 by John Williams, that it was explicitly fulfilled. Even though the word *palagi* is fundamentally connected to the prophecy, Tcherkezoff (2008) preferred to view “*palagi*” as a subtle enforcement of a superior ideology in the sense that conversion was a necessary path to material prosperity far superior to the natives. Missionaries imitated the traditional hospitality and used their own knowledge and skills to teach the Samoans which included healing and prophesying. Aiono also claims that “the British missionaries in 1830 represent the whole of Western civilization with all its real and presumed superiority” (1996, 35). Meleisea (1987) and Lawson (1996) condemn the use of the *faamatai* system and the imposition of the *matai* authority in the government and note that this is becoming a prevalent problem of superiority in the Samoan government.

⁴⁴ In Chapter 4 the conflation seems to emerge in the influence of Albert Steinberger in 1875.

2.3 Summary

An exploration of *feagaiga* relationships and its implications was carried out through the recollection of Samoan myths and legends and early European settlements before the full emission of Christianity in 1830. It proved that myths and legends are the life worlds of *feagaiga* that created an anticipation in the Samoan people for a *feagaiga* to fall from heaven. The recollection led to an interpretation of *feagaiga* as a ‘shared life’ that is non-possessive but co-partnering; not a legalistic code but a relational space. This mutual embodiment of connection rather than control was argued in this chapter as being the underpinning tenets of *feagaiga*. It invisibly sprouts between those who participate in it and because of that invisibility, it is life belonging to a god or God. In the context of *feagaiga*, those who participate to embody it are called *faafeagaiga*. The risks of confining *feagaiga* to a particular individual are aspects of control, oppression, superiority and so forth. This is evident in the social-political structure of families, villages and districts, under the marital stage and the *fa’amatai* system. In the pre-Christian contact, the European interests and the Siovili not only provided a linkage of Nafanua’s promise and Christianity in 1830, in the way that the Samoans continued to realise the truth of their *feagaiga* to fall from the sky (*palagi*), but also mend our understanding of the establishments of economic and *feagaiga* relationships. The former is to control and the latter is to connect. Nevertheless, the white missionaries earned the name *palagi* when the Samoan genuinely accepted them as gods burst from their horizons.

Therefore, since *feagaiga* is not confined to a sister and not a legalistic code possessed by any person, but a ‘shared life’ between parties who participated in its context honoured it, it may not fit into the characterisation of the employer-employee relationship. The participating parties, whose obligation is restricted to *feagaiga*, may be called *fa’afeagaiga* (like covenant) as they embody *feagaiga*. Importantly, since the tax law is

about the employer-employee relationship, it may not be applicable to church ministers as *fa'afeagaiga* because *feagaiga* is not an employee. The next chapter continues to explore more on *feagaiga* as 'shared life' and *fa'afeagaiga* as its embodiments.

CHAPTER 3

FA'AFEAGAIGA AS EMBODIMENTS: A TRANSPOSITION

3.0 Introduction

In Samoa, *fa'afeagaiga* refers particularly to the CCCS's *faiifeau* who look after a congregation in a village. The village calls and covenants with him and he becomes the village's *fa'afeagaiga*. It is the village, not the church, that designates him *fa'afeagaiga*¹. *Fa'afeagaiga* is a composition of two words – *fa'a* and *feagaiga*. According to Pratt, *fa'a* is a causative prefix that prefixes the root *feagaiga* to make it *fa'afeagaiga* (1911[1876], 37). As a causative prefix, *fa'a* is “to cause or to make”, “to mark a comparison” and “nearness” (Pratt 1911 [1876], 76). These meanings of *fa'a* appear plausible - to cause or to make covenant, like a covenant and near covenant. Hence *fa'afeagaiga* refers to someone who causes or makes, looks like and is near to covenant. Aiono Le-Tagaloa asserts that “*fa'afeagaiga* is to be like the covenant” (1992, 124). That contemplates *fa'afeagaiga* as embodiment of *feagaiga*.

Noteworthy, the Samoans regarded the missionaries and the teachers as “gods” due to their provision of beads and the *feagaiga* between the *faiifeau* and the village was warmer, solid and more secure (Gilson 1970, 73, 137; Tofaeono 2000, 136 f20). The former perceives the *fa'afeagaiga* as God's “agents” and the latter shows that *feagaiga* exists in between the *faiifeau* and the village. Considering *feagaiga* as a “shared life”, it seems to suggest that the *faiifeau* and the village are warrants of *feagaiga*. Hence *faiifeau* are designated by the village of the CCCS as *fa'afeagaiga*. In the MCS and RCC denominations their church ministers are called *faiifeau* or pastor, padre or deacon, but not

¹ Constitution of the CCCS (2011, 7): “*osi feagaiga*” (have covenanted) and “*feagaiga*” (covenant) are only mentioned without *fa'afeagaiga*. *Osi feagaiga* refers to the covenant between a *faiifeau* and a village. The Constitution uses *faiifeau* which tells that the village only designates its *faiifeau* a *fa'afeagaiga*.

fa'afeagaiga. Since Christianity arrived in 1830, *faifeau* are identified as the “representatives of God”² (*suivaaia o le Atua*) in the Samoan tradition and culture – it was and still is a natural tendency.

This chapter is divided into three main sections. The first section largely emphasises the interaction between Mālietoa Vainuupo and John Williams in the beginning of Christianity in 1830 as the major event of *feagaiga*, where *feagaiga* took on the form of *fa'afeagaiga* and the notion of addressing the *fa'afeagaiga* as *Lau Susuga I le fa'afeagaiga taulagi*³. This section includes Puaseisei as the first Samoan Christian and Safune where Puaseisei said the first Christian prayer. The second section concerns the churches' hallmark known as “mornings” (hereinafter *taeao*). In the Samoan tradition and culture, the three main denominations (LMS, MCS, RCC) have a *taeao* called the *taeao* of salvation. They seem to point to one prophecy and one *feagaiga*. Section three is the emergence of *faifeau* as *fa'afeagaiga* or God's representatives in villages.

3.1 Mālietoa Vainuupo and John Williams

“It has become a legend in Samoa that Malietoa had received a prophecy from the oracles of Nafanua enjoying him to await the coming of a new religion from the heavens.” (Gilson 1970, 70 f20)

Mālietoa Vainuupo awaited the heavenly promise and Siovili emerged as a curtain raiser of the promise to which the Samoans eagerly anticipated a Christian God. But John Williams⁴ built a (seventy to eighty ton) ship called the *Messenger of Peace* in Rarotonga in the Cook Island and desired to take the gospel to Fiji, Melanesia and Samoa. The alarming dangers of the Melanesians changed his plans; instead, he took the Samoan route

² Gilson (1970, 73) clearly identifies this.

³ This is an honorific address of the CCCS church ministers by a parish he works in.

⁴ Studies often define John Williams a hero of the Pacific Protestantism, a successful LMS figure, an English iron-monger, a pioneer of the Christian religion in Samoa.

taking another European missionary, Charles Barff, and eight teachers from Tahiti and Rarotonga, (Gilson 1970, 69; Moyle 1984, 7; Howe 1984, 235; Meleisea 1987, 55-6). John Williams' plan evokes Paul's vision of a man in Macedonia, when the Spirit of Jesus did not allow them to visit Bithynia⁵. Perhaps, this was all part of Nafanua's heavenly vision of a Christian God and the success of Siovili. Yet, the change of plan coincided with the desired Samoan returnees, Faueā and Puaseisei, when Williams found them on Tongatapu's wharf in Tonga on his passage to Samoa. Williams attentively spotted Fauea and Puaseisi as the preferable catalysts to ferment the gospel in Samoa, when he noted Faueā's spirits of seeing his homeland (Watson 1918, 32; Williams 1838, 236).

Faueā as a catalyst, has three vital connections – to John Williams, to Mālietoa Vainuupo and to the Samoans – which appears to foster Christianity as being successful in Samoa⁶. Faueā was adamant that Tamafaigā⁷ would be an obstacle in their mission and that the gospel would not flourish in the land unless he was removed. In hopes to avoid Tamafaigā, Faueā redirected the mission to Sapapalii in Savaii, knowing that Mālietoa Vainuupo, the then paramount chief, was their best chance of being accepted. As they sailed, people of Falealupo surrounded the *Messenger of Peace* with canoes and Faueā's correspondence with them aided Williams in establishing a solid foothold in the Samoan mission. This traditional correspondence which employed the traditional protocols of respect (*fa'aaloalo*) was vital to that initial mission. The Samoans recognised Faueā's terms when asking where Tamafaigā was and they replied "Oh! [...] he is dead, he is dead! [...] He was killed only about ten or twelve days ago" (Williams 1838, 327).

⁵ New Revised Standard Version (NRSV) – Acts 16: 6 -10.

⁶ He is a chief of Salua of Manono in the Upolu Island and he relates to Mālietoa in Sapapalii (Williams 1838, 326-7).

⁷ Tamafaigā possessed evil spirits causing him to commit an incest-like act in the Upolu Island, where he "tried to take a chief's wife" (Meleiseā 1987, 56).

Feeling comforted on board, he exclaimed “*Ua mate le tevolo*” meaning the devil is dead. Tamafaigā’s death seems to pinpoint the end of darkness in Samoa and marks the arrival of Christianity in 1830⁸. Section 3.2 explores that.

Essentially the alarming dangers from the Melanesians not only changed the route used by the missionaries. It also consolidated the acute recognition of Nafanua’s anticipation for a heavenly *feagaiga* by the Samoan people. In addition, the success of Siovili further equipped the Samoans to seek true religious explanations which seems to suggest that *feagaiga* did not occur in a vacuum but it is a natural tendency⁹ prophesized and realised by the Samoans in the Samoan vicinity of relations or spaces.

3.1.1 Puaseisei, Safune and arrival at Sapapalii waters

Realisation began with Puaseisei at Safune. The full historical accounts concerning the Puaseisei and Safune (as an “unknown bay”) are clearly portrayed in Williams (1838), Moyle (1984), Gilson (1970), Howe (1985), Meleisea (1987), Fauolo (2005), Faletoesa (1959) and many other historical materials. Due to the scope of this thesis, the author considers only significant facts that are contributory to the study of *fa’afeagaiga* as embodiments. These are, a congregate of canoes surrounding the ship, Fauea’s explanation of the “praying ship” (*vaalotu*), Puaseisei as the first Samoan Christian who

⁸ Earlier, Tcherkezoff (2008) claimed what is called “mutual agreement” or *feagaiga* in the pre-contact periods where females used to greet visitors. When the *Messenger of Peace* arrived in Sapapalii in 1830, “a number of natives came off to us, bringing with them females, and articles for barter” (Williams 1838, 329). Obviously, mutual agreement seems to participate in Sapapalii as it was in the pre-contact era. See Chapter 4 the importance of barter in Samoa’s economic affairs.

⁹ Natural tendency (phenomenon) here refers to Nafanua’s vision of God that grew in the minds and hearts of the Samoans. It is something that naturally evolved in the minds of the people making them to seek for true religious explanations.

said the first Christian prayer on Samoan soil and Safune as the first Samoan place the first Christian prayer was first said (Faletoese 1959, 9)¹⁰.

As significant facts, the surrounding ships was an ancient norm of contact but it appears that they were in pursuit of true religious explanations. The norm refers to things proliferated from their horizon as things provided by Tagaloalagi. Their new pursuit comes from Nafanua's anticipation. This came into contact with Fauea's promising testimony of *vaa lotu*, a fact that cemented the native's ancient *lotu* to Christian *lotu*. Additionally, Puaseisei seems to make a shift from traditional to Christian understanding of *feagaiga*¹¹ and Safune seems to provide plausible things to come in the following hours. The event in Safune somehow predestined the major event at Sapapalii.

Nevertheless, the arrival at Sapapalii waters was also promising. Faueā advised the missionaries to avoid any condemnation of native practices when they arrived, but to be persuasive by any fitting measures of Christianity that stimulated the natives' interest. Otherwise, imposing direct abstinence on the people's customary practices¹² would evoke a stark resistance. Faueā, on behalf of John Williams, corresponded with the approaching vessel led by Tamaalelagi¹³. At a successful colloquy on board, Tamaalelagi dispatched inspiring news to Mālietua for his decision, while he avenged the death of Tamafaigā in

¹⁰ Interview with Rev Vaueli Sanerivi on the 9th January 2018. Rev Sanerivi is a *fa'afeagaiga* for ten years now, in a CCCS' parish in Faletagaloa Safune, Savaii. He claimed that their parish commemorates this event annually, to mark their place where this blessing was first said, and where Puaseisei became the first Samoan Christian. This interview seems to prove the fact that prior to the arrival at Sapapalii, the *Messenger of Peace* anchored at the "unknown bay" of Faletagaloa, Safune. Compelling is the fact that the missionaries, John Williams and Charles Barff, did not intend to say this prayer. The records did not depict any underlying intention of Puaseisei why she stood up, or whether Fauea and the missionaries told her to do so.

¹¹ It could be noted that Puaseisei carried her *feagaiga* status, but to be part of the Christian mission by pronouncing the first prayer, it seems to suggest that her *feagaiga* status was not so important. Rather, the assumption is that she made a shift of understanding from *feagaiga* as status to *feagaiga* as shared life or from godly to Godly *feagaiga*.

¹² Not all traditional practices are abnormal. Polygamy can be abnormal. Covenant ceremony (*osi feagaiga*) and *ifoga* (reconciliation) are traditionally known as normal practices.

¹³ Malietua Vainuupo's brother.

Manono. Meanwhile, people offered foods as gifts for the visitors. A traditional practice that exalted the Samoans in the eyes of the visitors (Williams 1838, 333). All these captivate the attention to *fa'afeagaiga* as someone not from a vacuum but evolved from plausible effects of *feagaiga*.

3.1.2 *Feagaiga*: Malietoa and John Williams in 1830

Mālietoa's reception of the missionaries at Sapapalii was what promoted missionaries to the elevated status of *feagaiga*. Faueā was one of the promising figures of interest that secured this acceptance. The reception of Christianity was not only exceptional because of how Mālietoa accepted them, but also in the way that the Samoans enthusiastically treated them with kindness and care. The missionaries received homage, residency and boundless conversation under the roof of Malietoa's large dwelling (*faletele*) as Mālietoa welcomed them to the shores of Savaii (Williams 1838, 341). This contact significantly derives and launches one of the longstanding hallmarks of Christianity in Samoa since 1830. This is called *Taeao nai Mātāniu feagai ma le Ata*¹⁴ (Tu'i 1987, 9-12).

Moreover, on August 30 1830, *feagaiga* became a central event after landing at Mātāniu, Sapapalii. Mālietoa initiated a traditional covenant ceremony (*osi feagaiga*). He

¹⁴ See Subsection 3.2.1 for the importance of “mornings”. *Mataniu feagai ma le Ata* is a meeting place (*malaefono*) in Sapapalii. Sauoaiga (1988, 166) describes an event where this *malaefono* originates from. From this version, two Sapapalii people slept in the shadow (*ata*) of a coconut top (*uluniu*). When they woke up, the shadow disappeared and their eyes (*mata*) directly saw the sun; hence the name for the *malaefono*. Samoa has two types of *Taeao*; the ancient and the Christian *Taeao*. The former, according to Tu'i (1987), has twelve *taeao* derived from ancient wars and wishes. The latter has three important *Taeao*: *Taeao nai Mataniu feagai ma le Ata*, *Taeao nai Faleu ma Utuagiagi*, and *Taeao nai Maleola ma Gafoga*. The *Taeao nai Mataniu feagai ma le Ata* marks the initial acceptance of Christianity by Malietoa Vainuupo in 1830 when he landed the LMS missionaries (which is now CCCS) in Sapapalii Savaii. The *Taeao nai Faleu ma Utuagiagi* is a hallmark of the arrival of the Methodist Church in 1835 at Manono Island which was brought by Peter Turner. The *Taeao nai Maleola ma Gafoga* marks the arrival of The RCC in 1845 at Lealatele in Savaii. It is remarkable in the Samoan tradition nowadays that these three important *Taeao* are frequently used in oratory speeches because it is widely considered that these were the days that darkness was over. The ancient *Taeaos* are a rarity but are not discarded from the history of the Samoan tradition.

covenanted with John Williams in his meeting dwelling and a concourse of people witnessed an “interview with le alii papalangi, or the English kings” (Williams 1838, 343-4). In the eyes of a surrounding assembly, Williams remarks that

“Malietoa made his appearance, bringing in his hand two beautiful mats, and a large piece of native cloth, one end which was wrapped round him, and the other formed a train which an elderly female bore lightly from the ground. He placed these [...] at my feet [...] took his seat opposite to us [...] and we thanked him for his present but added that to obtain his property was not the object of our visit, for we had come exclusively to bring him and his people the knowledge of the true God [...]” (1838, 344)

Apparently, the offering of the two beautiful mats and a large native cloth are the respective elements of the covenant. In the Samoan tradition, fine mats (*ie toga*) and native cloth (*siapo*)¹⁵ are commonly used in occasions where two parties mutually correspond with each other. According to Reverend Vavatau Taufao, in the traditional covenant ceremonies between a *faiфеаu* and a village, the village provides a fine mat known as the mat of the covenant (*ie o le feagaiga*) and the *fa’afeagaiga* keeps it until the *feagaiga* breaks ¹⁶.

Meanwhile, John Williams inquired for a consent to begin the proclamation of the gospel in Samoa. Mālietoa further promised assurance by declaring that

“I and my people must now go over to Upolu to the war; but immediately after my return I will become a worshiper of Jehovah and place myself under the instruction of the teachers. In the meantime, this house is yours, as a temporary place in which to teach and worship; and when we come from the war we will erect any building you may require, and all the people who remain at home can come tomorrow, if they please, and begin to learn about Jehovah and Jesus Christ” (Williams 1838, 345).

¹⁵ Moyle 1984, 82 footnote 141: “Siapo – bark cloth made from the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*); Fauolo (2005, 28-9): “*ietoga mananaia e lua, ma le siapo tele*” meaning, “two large fine mats and a large cloth”; and Pritchard (1866, 129): “it is only on grand occasions.” These claims validate the importance of these traditional elements in the Samoan way of life.

¹⁶ Interview with Rev Vavatau Taufao on 29 November 2018.

Obviously, Mālietoa became Christian under the teachers' instructions. This could either be a heightening of his status or an example of a relationship between a native government and the church. Moreover, the gifts are paramount gifts which validate the innate *alofa* (love) in the Samoan tradition and culture. The house depicts unity and life; in fact, it embodies a Samoan family (*aiga*) or the Samoan identity (Tofaeono 2000, 33). Fine mat (*ietoga*) is used for a reconciliation (*ifoga*)¹⁷ to retrieve life and native cloth (*siapo*) is for wrapping a dead body which signifies a manner of respecting life. The offering of these paramount gifts seems to confirm how Mālietoa and the Samoans anticipated their religious pursuit for their godly *feagaiga* since Nafanua. It did not end there but they continued to marvel it by freely contributing to the mission. This is discussed in Section 3.3.

Significantly, Mālietoa placed himself under the supremacy of the Christian God instructed by the teachers. His shift of his ambition from wars to one of consolidating the nation resembled something like a government formed under the precepts of Divine rule. In the author's view, this could be a contributing factor to the formation of Samoa's Preamble in 1960 which the Samoa Constitution 2016 considers a "sacred heritage". Moreover, under God's supremacy emerged a new notion of respect or a transformation of the Samoan traditions and customs where Samoans began to recognize its relationship with God to be a natural tendency (phenomenon)¹⁸ (Fauolo 2005, 30-31). This relationship was extended in principle by the Samoan perception of missionaries and teachers as divine representatives of God serving within their villages (Gilson 1970, 27;

¹⁷ Tofaeono (2000, 162) has a convincing description of *ifoga* but this section focuses on the *ietoga* as an essential element in *feagaiga* relationship.

¹⁸ My view here is that in the old way of respect, it was directed to the high chiefs. The covenant between Mālietoa and Christianity tended to shift this respect to the missionaries instead. See how Mālietoa put himself under the teacher's instruction, connotes a form of respect to the missionaries.

Tofaeono 2000, 136). Taking into account the offering of the paramount gifts, the persistence of that norm was and still is practiced in offering contributions for the church.

3.1.3 *Feagaiga*: A people's norm

Worth noting, *feagaiga* as a people's norm is Samoans' recognition of the missionaries and teachers as "representatives of God" through the tradition of reciprocal gift exchange. After the covenant ceremony at the large dwelling (*faletele*)¹⁹, Mālietoa set an example for Samoans to protect their *feagaiga*, to some degree this can be seen as *alofa* regenerated. Evidently, what was given to Malietoa and Tama-a-aiga as foods (*sau*) was directed to the missionaries and the teachers. This became a norm since 1830 until 1945 (Fauolo 2005, 29). The village was responsible for taking care of the *faiifeau*. In the Samoan mind-set since the beginning of Christianity in 1830, breaching this norm was a sin; yet, no one questioned its origin (Fauolo 2005, 30). Reverend Taufao insists that the recent tax law tries to liquidate this norm of respect to the *faiifeau/fa'afegaiga* that had survived in the lives of the Samoans in their relationship with God. Perhaps a subtle form of marginalizing the church for the state to prevail as the only supreme entity greater than the church²⁰.

Furthermore, *feagaiga* has its own merits of reciprocation. Precisely, John Williams and the teachers presented their own gifts of axes and beads²¹ and when Malietoa received them, he said

"This is the happiest day of my life, and I rejoice that I have lived to see it. In future I shall consider ourselves *aininga tasi*, one family, and hope you will do the same." (Williams 1838, 346; Fauolo 2005, 31).

¹⁹ Pritchard (1866, 132): *faletele* is where "travellers are received and fed gratuitously."

²⁰ Interview with Reverend Vavatau Taufao on 29th November 2018.

²¹ Fauolo (2005) provided a minimum description of these gifts, but Meleisea (1987 *Lagaga*, 54) portrays that the gifts are cloth, steel, knives, guns, ships, axes and beads.

The receipt of the gifts may allude to the idea of elevating status. However, he avowed

“Today, the Samoan *tafa’ifa* is concealed to earth. The Malietoa discharges at Poutoa as a fallen chief; but God through Jesus in heaven becomes essentially our heavenly rule, the supreme King of Samoa”²² (Fauolo 2005, 31).

Interestingly, the fulfilment of Nafanua and Siovili’s anticipation of Malietoa and Samoans for their heavenly *feagaiga* came to life. Malietoa’s discharge to his residence at Poutoa²³ established the missionaries and the teachers as central figures in the Samoan community and initiated a spiritual pathway for Samoans to exist as people of the Christian God and the Godly *feagaiga*. Concisely, Malietoa’s avowal seems to incline towards the Preamble which the Constitution considers a sacred heritage.

Also, the concealment of the four honorary titles (*tafa’ifa*) was not a full eradication of the throne but a reformation of it in the exposure of the Christian God. This connotes a separation of church and state. That is, the heavenly rule may represent the church and the *tafa’ifa* represents the state²⁴. The *tafa’ifa*, as a godly throne, acted as the head of the ancient Samoan government. In terms of reformation, the Christian God validates the existence of the *tafa’ifa* – as a godly throne – in the Samoan chiefly system. This does not rule out the traditional understanding of Tagaloalagi as the Samoan ancient god. Rather, it is a reformation of understanding from an ancient god to a Christian God – a fact to prove that there was an unknown god in Samoa that they sought for true explanations since Nafanua and Siovili.

²² “E amata I le asō, o le a tanu I le eleele le tafa’ifa o Samoa. O le a susū le Mālīetoa I Poutoa o le tapaa faasisina; ae afio Iesu I le lagi o le Tapaau Faalelagi, o le Tupu lea o Samoa.” Pratt (1911 [1876], 113, 321): *tapaa* is chief, ruling or principal chief; and *faasisina* is drop or damage. The word *tanu* is bury which seems offensive to the *tafa’ifa*. Its English translation (conceal) is more relevant and applicable and has a sense of continuity which shows its importance in the Samoan tradition and culture.

²³ A place in his village of Malie.

²⁴ According to Davidson (1967, 42) *tafaifa* is a chiefly status of Malietoa and Malietoa was the government (*malo*) from 1830 until he died in 1841. Then a war broke out in 1843 and the supporters of Malietoa won. The war did not cease until peace restored in 1857.

For the missionaries and the teachers as central figures in the Samoan community, Mālietoa honourably bestowed his honorary title “*Susuga*” onto them and addressed them as “Your excellency like covenant” (*Lau Susuga i le fa’afeagaiga taulagi*)²⁵. The intention derives from “the representatives of God”. Tuimalealiifano identifies this transposition by claiming that the *faiifeau*’s position meets “all levels of custom” (2000, 172-3). This indicates that the *faiifeau* or *fa’afeagaiga* has a significant place in social hierarchies and deemed fit for prestige according to the Samoan way of life. Since the inception of Christianity, Samoans naturally felt indebted to the *faiifeau* or *fa’afeagaiga* because of the “knowledge of salvation” they brought (Williams 1838, 447). Samoans honoured them as “men of God” for their preaching and conducting of worship and the people in return freely offered anything on an “impressive scale” (Garret 1985, Tofaeono 124; 2000, 136). Honouring the *faiifeau* is part of Samoa’s natural, social, economic and political existence. This is a phenomenon or a tendency appropriate to the consciousness of the Samoan mindset to express their gratitude unto the representatives of God.

At the completion of the covenant, Mālietoa and Tamaalelagi divided the missionaries and the teachers equally among them. Eventually, John Williams and Charles Barff prepared to leave Samoa and promised to return with more missionaries for they were certain that Mālietoa and Tamafaiga consolidated their protection of the eight teachers. Before they left, Matetau, a high chief of Manono, requested Williams to delegate a teacher for them. It is worth considering during this period, Mālietoa and Tamaalelagi, as part of an ancient government, provided an example of a government that protects, instead of ruling the church.

²⁵ See Fauolo (2005). The traditional understanding is that *Susuga* is how the Samoans address Mālietoa. The root word is *susū* meaning come or go. For example, “please come” or *susū mai*. The addition of *ga* as a suffix makes *susū* a noun.

In 1832 John Williams returned and was astonished at what he encountered upon arriving. Sailing back to Samoa, he turned to the Manua and Tutuila Islands on the eastern side of Upolu and witnessed elements of worship and Sabbath observance in Leone village led by Amoamo. Amoamo used to voyage to Sapapalii to learn about the gospel and eventually introduced it to Tutuila by teaching his people about Christianity (Faletoese 1959, 14). Upon returning to Upolu and arriving at Manono, Williams left Teava of Rarotonga as he promised to Matetau earlier. They left Manono and returned to Sapapalii and upon arrival, he marvelled at the realisation there was peace upon Samoa when Malietoa became the *tafa'ifa* and a thorough protection of the eight teachers. Christianity reached every corner of Malietoa's settlement and villages erected houses as centres for religious gatherings and particularly worship, in both Savaii and Upolu (Williams 1838, 24). Villages like Palauli, Manono, Falelatai, Mulifanua, Saleimoa, Apia, Pago Pago, and Leone were considerable advantageous areas (Meleisea 1987, 58). Teaching and conversion were the predominant activities. This culminated in the establishment of the first denomination in Samoa called the London Missionary Society (LMS), which is now widely known as the Congregational Christian Church Samoa (CCCS). Although the LMS introduced Christianity in 1830, it does not deny the relative arrival of the Methodists in 1835 and the Roman Catholics in 1845, to further consolidate Christianity in Samoa.

3.2 *Taeao* (Morning): Christian *Taeao*

Due to the scope of *feagaiga* relationships, this part of the thesis does not fully account for these churches' establishment²⁶, but their arrivals are significant to the

²⁶ See Appendix 4 for a brief account of these establishments. Studies by Gilson (1970), Meleisea (1987), Garret (1985), Howe (1984), to name a few, have absolute accounts on these churches' mission and establishments. However, these studies lack accounts on *taeao* (morning).

Samoan tradition and culture of *taeao*²⁷. In fact, Christianity earns a *taeao* that is more prominent than the ancient Samoan *taeao*. The three Christian missions (LMS, MCS and the RCS) have their own *taeao* and what makes them unique is that they all point to Nafanua's prophecy. In fact, the Samoans searched for true religious explanations. As the MC and the RCC do not have covenant ceremonies and designate their church ministers as *fai'feau* not *fa'afeagaiga*²⁸, their arrival are historical hallmarks of Christianity and the *fa'aSamoa*. Referring to the Christian *taeao* highlights the change of time and events; from darkness to the "age of enlightenment" and from feuds to reconciliation (Tofaeono 2000, 82).

3.2.1 Three *Taeao* to one *feagaiga*

The MCS and the RCC historical accounts may resonate as incomplete as they seem to neglect their *taeao* which are the seals of their arrival. Liuaana identifies *taeao* as "something in the future and something in the light" which represents a significant event in Samoa's history (1995, 5). Tofaeono (2000), Tu'i (1987) and Sauoaiga (1988) further support it as indicators of critical events in history. They often refer to it as "central morning" (*taeao faitauina*). Literally, *taeao* means morning or tomorrow symbolizing a new dawn. These include historic events, an accumulated experience or service and a cyclical way of referring to the past to inform the present and the future²⁹. It is evident that recent historical studies do not put emphasis on *taeao*. However, it is interesting that

²⁷ See subsection 3.1.2 and footnote 14. In this section, I rather use *taeao* instead as it is connected to the *faaSamoa* (Samoan way of life). In Samoan oratory speeches, *taeao* is frequently used.

²⁸ Interviews with Reverend Vavatau Taufao and his wife Roina. Roina was a Methodist; Reverend Alapati Ah Kuoi (Methodist Church Malie); and Reverend Mareko and wife Siulepa (Methodist Church Tafagamanu, Lefaga).

²⁹ Amosa (1999, 16-17) defines *Taeao* as "*o se mea logologoa, na tupu, e manatua pea e augatupulaga*" and as "*taeao I totonu o le aiga*". The former refers to historic event and the latter refers to accumulated experience or service.

in the Samoan context Christian *taeao* is first and foremost in tradition and culture. This paper considers it important as Christianity is a sacred heritage in the *fa'aSamoa* and *fa'amatai* system. In fact, the Christian *taeao* replaced the time of “darkness and sin” in the ancient Samoa (Liuaana 1995, 6; Mo'a 2014, 45).

As the Samoans granted the LMS a *taeao* called the *Taeao nai Mataniu feagai ma le Ata*³⁰, similarly, the Methodist and the Roman Catholics Church received the same prestigious mark in different places and time such as the “*Taeao at Faleu ma Utuagiagi*” at Manono in 1835 and the “*Taeao at Malaeola ma Gafoaga*” at Lealatele in 1845. Obviously, there are three different *taeao*, but they refer to one event, namely, “the morning of the gospel” (*Taeao o le Talalelei*)³¹. Generally, they are not considered as separate *taeao* for Samoa, rather they reiterate the same event – the gospel. Tu'i identifies this *taeao* as the “*taeao* of salvation, of Samoa's first real dawn and daylight” (1987, 10).

In the Samoan understanding, every important event has a *taeao* and the gospel received one of it. This was anticipated by Nafanua and Siovili, but it is now recognized as Samoa's age of enlightenment. Practically, the Samoan chiefs frequently use the *Taeao o le Talalelei* in any prestigious event at any time of the day; whether in the morning, afternoon, or nighttime. Simply, *taeao* pays no attention to time in the liturgical calendar, but accentuates a monumental event that is unfolding. A chief usually says, “of all the *taeao* of Samoa, this is the greatest *taeao*, God's children have gathered”³². In this way, the *taeao* authenticates events of the past (what happened), inform the present (what is happening) and anticipate the future (what will happen). Hence the *taeao* of the gospel memorialises the prophetic event between Nafanua and Mālietoa, validating the prophecy

³⁰ See Subsection 3.1.2.

³¹ *Taeao* is dawn, *Tala* is news and *lelei* is good; hence dawn of goodnews (gospel).

³² “*E ui i taeao o Samoa, o le taeao sili lenei, ua feiloai le fanau a le Atua.*”

in Christianity 1830 and “re-creating and re-articulating a cultural and religious identity” in their own “given circumstances” (Mo’a 2014, 51).

One might wonder how authentic *taeao* is to *feagaiga*. There are three Christian missions, but they all fulfill one prophecy; hence one *feagaiga*. Studies such as Dyson (1875), Allardice (1984), Gilson (1987), Garret (1985), Howe (1984), Meleisea (1987), and Tofaeono (2000) do not account any of the above undertakings in the two respective denominations (MCS and RCC). Taking into consideration the three Christian missions to one prophecy, leading the author to perceive that the MC and RCC might have tried to avoid any similarities of Christian efforts. They might be reluctant to perform another *feagaiga* because they believed in a single prophecy³³. In that way, it can be suggested that they only needed to fully support the Christian faith initiated by the LMS. The most likely interpretation from the perspective of *feagaiga* relationship is that, to avoid a mixture of Christian efforts, the MCS and RCC might have had in mind to neglect *feagaiga* undertakings because the LMS had already been in that course³⁴.

Some might argue that the exception of the CCCS’s *fa’afeagaiga* from the tax law applies to all “ministers of religion” including them. Concerning the *taeao* of the gospel that points to one prophecy and one *feagaiga*, the *fa’afeagaiga* is not an exception to taxation. However, studies often referred to them as the “representatives of God” who embody a Godly life. In a way, the CCCS vexed about the dissolution of the people’s norms which relates to the *taeao* of salvation³⁵. Reverend Taufao insists that taxation is

³³ This is evident today that these two denominations (MCS and RCC) do not perform any covenant ceremony (*osi feagaiga*). Their church administrations decide a *faiifeau* to look after a parish; not the village. In the CCCS context, the village votes, call and covenants with the *faiifeau*.

³⁴ This personal understanding derives from my Samoan worldview of performing respect (*faaaloalo*) in many ways. One way is that, in some occasions, we normally say “*ave le faaaloalo I e na muamua mai*” which literally says “give the respect to those who came first”. I have experienced this respect operation since childhood. Academically, historical materials do not account on this but we can assume that the MCS and RCC operated this kind of respecting the LMS as they initiated Christian mission in the first place.

³⁵ Interview with Rev Vavatau Taufao.

not about money alone, but the power to dissolve, rule and control. This may suppress the merits of *taeao* that have been implemented by the founding fathers which had become foundational in the traditional conception of the Samoan identity. While the church, through the *fa'afeagaiga* and the representatives of God continue to identify the uniqueness of the *taeao* in Samoan way of life, taxation seems to deride its traditional and natural essence.

3.3 From a Samoan teacher to a *fa'afeagaiga*

3.3.1 LMS Stations

In the wake of Christianity, setting up stations was the LMS strategy of Christianizing Samoa, but it was a significant historical moment when Samoans began to emerge as *fa'afeagaiga* of the villages. The intention of stations in districts was for training and educational purposes; however, their underlying motif was “to develop an attitude of political impartiality” (Gilson 1970, 91). Accordingly, Samoa did not have a centralised political government, but the missionaries learned that the villages were secured centres of political authorities (*fa'amatai* system). From the perspective of developing a political impartiality, they wanted to eschew war between villages and districts and re-secured a centralised political arena to help master the dispersion of the gospel. However, that motif no longer sustained when Mālietua left Sapapalii around 1836 to reside in Malie due to a piercing conflict with Tamaalelagi. Besides, there was an increased number of Samoans interested in the gospel (Gilson 1970, 90). The missionaries learned that high rank protection of the LMS mission, which Mālietua promised, had now been deserted. The relinquishment would be a hindrance to the spread of the gospel. The missionaries finally rejected Mālietua's influence and re-amplified their mission by targeting high chiefs in every station they were going to build. Building stations created

a passage for the Samoans to become *fa'afeagaiga* of villages. This is discussed later in this section.

Moreover, stations began in 1836 when the LMS missionaries, Barff, Buzacott and six missionaries arrived (Gilson 1970, 88). Adding to a set of LMS teachers already in the scene and the exposure of the Wesleyans in mission activities, the LMS distributed its missionaries to allocated stations namely Tutuila, Apia, Manono, Sapapalii, Safune, Matautu Bay in Savaii, Lepa in Atua, Tau in Manua, Fasitootai in Aana, Falealupo in Savaii and at Palauli (Gilson 1970, 90-92). The missionaries headed the stations, but the London headquarters and the Samoan District Committee (SDC) controlled it. That is, they employed decisions and instructions while the teachers occupied the conversion activities in villages. The missionaries did not allow them to administer the sacraments because they were not ordained ministers. Annually, the church collected contributions not from each church but from the district stations. These funds contributed to the upkeep of the church and her projects, missions and education. Plausibly, setting up stations cemented the LMS stronghold in Samoa and bolstered the transformation of Samoans to Christianity, but was a way of avoiding Samoans to becoming ordained ministers. This could be a tactic. However, the missionaries did not seem to be cognizant that they were creating a passage for Samoans to enter the theological and mission endeavours. Their ordination came later.

3.3.2 Village Church: The emergence of a Samoan teacher

The preparation to become a Samoan teacher was caused by certain factors. In fact, from 1839 to 1840, the mission slowed due to John Williams' death in Eromanga in 1839 and the missionaries were perplexed and unsettled with the conversion activities. Meanwhile, the Samoans realised their crucial influence in Christianity and it was neither

a coincidence nor chance, but caused by factors of attention pressing to “the problem of illiteracy”, “law of the land”³⁶ and “active participation of the Samoans” to the gospel (Gilson 1970, 96; Setu 1998, 96). Also, the teachers in the fields were insufficient and the stations could not accommodate these circumstances. Accordingly, Samoans refused to abandon their villages to visit the stations and they conformed to their own traditional ideas, making it easy to adapt and adopt Christianity (Gilson 1970, 97-8). Such issues were problematic to the missionaries and in hindsight explain why European missionaries were hesitant about the possibility of Samoans being labelled as “ministers” (Gilson 1970, 98).

Taking the stage as a church minister in the first place was not from a vacuum but from training and theological education which Samoans had to pass before entering the mission fields. It seems that the LMS could not face the emerging issues, especially the “law of the lands”, the abandonment of their villages to go to the stations and their composure in their tradition and culture as a way to adapt and adopt Christianity. Hence, in 1844, the LMS established Malua and Leulumoega as centres for theological education with a printing press to bolster such purposes (Garret 1985, 125).

In fact, the Bible was Samoa’s first source of literacy, but the crux of establishing Malua, was to provide a theological trained “native agency” (Turner 1861, 30). The LMS preparation of the Samoan teachers or *faiifeau* was to replace the priestly role taken up by chiefs in family and villages while injecting “Christian sacral sanction to the traditional social order” (Garret 1985, 124). With this, it implies that the sanctity of the traditional social order can only be ascertained when a *faiifeau* lends Christian sacred sanction upon it. The conventional order has its own traditional sacredness but without Christian

³⁶ Gilson (1970, 96) refers to social and personal relationships or immoral practices and activities concerning these relationships.

sanctity, it becomes null and void. Sacredness and sanctity are associated with *feagaiga* relations and spaces. Hence the “native agency” is a potential to see *fa’afeagaiga* as embodiment of *feagaiga*.

3.3.3 LMS Objectives

The creation of a native agency was based on specific objectives. That is, they prohibited chiefly titles, they prevented from serving their own villages, their welfare depended on their congregations, they received no salary or allowance from the mission (stations), but “the kindness of those whom they [sought] to instruct” (Gilson 1970, 101-2). The objectives seem to depict a non-institutional organization³⁷. For example, forbidding chiefly titles means inviting Godly titles such as *faiфеau* or *fa’afeagaiga*. The Samoan orators often refer to them as “head of inheritance” (*ao faalupega*)³⁸. Serving outside their villages means to be a stranger or a foreigner in villages, but their onus of “spiritual guidance” makes them as mediators or God’s intermediaries for the villages³⁹. The dependence on the congregations means he belongs to the congregation as a member of the family. The Samoans often call them “spiritual parents” (*matua fa’aleagaga*). Receiving no salary or allowances means the village or the people whom they sought to instruct will provide for them through the traditional reciprocal gift exchange. Similarly, Rajagopal remarks on “Reward gained by Servant-Leaders” that servant-leaders “receive heavenly rewards at the accomplishment of their divine calling” (2017, 47). Lastly, “the people” depicts an inclusiveness of their work without targeting a particular group. These characteristics validate the contention that the native agency in villages is not an institutional organization. Rather, it is context dependent and/or adaptive.

³⁷ See Chapter 4 as it describes an “institutional state”.

³⁸ Tofaeono (2000, 136) refers to *ao faalupega* and *fa’afeagaiga* as traditional religio-cultural titles.

³⁹ Gilson (1970, 124) identifies the church ministers as “mediators”.

Moreover, to attain such objectives, the native agency needs grounded Christian knowledge guided by biblical, theological, pastoral and historical merits integrated with traditional knowledge, practices and active reasoning. Christian knowledge is “receiving God’s gift of grace” to develop and maintain the true piety and moral self-discipline of a Samoan teacher (Gilson 1970, 102). These make the *fa’afeagaiga* more distinctive in the Samoan context rather than a wage earner. Certainly, the missionaries see that welding of Christian knowledge to traditional practices warrants the success of Christianity in the *fa’aSamoa*. Gaining both kinds of knowledge would make a Samoan teacher a vessel and a cup of the gospel and a person who embraces the Samoan identity of *feagaiga* in the exposure of Christianity. By 1850, there were “one hundred and fifty Samoan teachers” trained and ready to serve the gospel as *faiifeau/fa’afeagaiga* (Gilson 1970, 102). Significantly, their embodiment of *feagaiga* is purely a divine calling.

3.3.4 Malua and Leulumoega Institute

The LMS established Malua in 1844 for a native ministry under Hardie and Turner’s supervision (Setu 1988, 96). The students were required to enter Leulumoega School first for pre-theological studies, where the intake was usually aged between fifteen and twenty, and then they were eligible to enter Malua. In Malua, students took “four years of strict discipline and hard labour”, but academically studied “systematic theology, practical theology, scripture exposition, scripture history, church history, arithmetic, geography, writing and composition, natural philosophy and Elements of the English language (Setu 1988, 98). The focus was to acquire the full capacity of inward and outward intellects of God in the meanings and challenges of life. A factor which augured the success of Samoa in the future, by “the young men of Malua” (D.C 1917, 139). From 1850 to 1854, the Samoan teachers began to infiltrate the villages as “theological graduates” and the villages tended to facilitate, in every means, the Christian cause. That

is, the facilitation, both economic and physical, derived from the “people’s generosity” (Gilson 1970, 13-133).

Attentively, three things are worth noting: Malua Institution, people’s generosity and *faifeau* as embodiments of Godly life. Firstly, the Malua Institution shows signs of a systemised organization which houses teachers to teach students. They are rather called employees. Factors such as strict discipline and hard labour are grasps of a standardised institution managed, controlled and paid by the LMS. Secondly, the people’s generosity stems from the reformation phenomenon of teachers as representatives of God that Mālietoa declared in 1830. This was a norm evolved in Nafanua’s vision of a Christian God, Siovili’s vision of a new god and the arrival of the gospel in and after 1830.

Thirdly, the importance of Malua’s establishment exhibits *feagaiga* relationships in the sense that the dedication of the Samoans to foster the growth of the gospel prevents themselves as embodiments of a Godly life. Embodying Godly life is receiving God’s authority to save His people. Gilson (1970) and Keesing (1978) identify them as people who “possessed spiritual authority” and appeared “as gods”. Rajagopal takes them as servant-leader with “superior spiritual power [...] generated by [...] the Holy Spirit” (2017, 41). This is not to say that the *faifeau* are gods, but to distinguish between the converts and *faifeau/fa’afeagaiga*. That is, the converts are not subjects of that Godly authority but they are simply Christians who received faith in Christ. They can also become a *faifeau/fa’afeagaiga* when they endeavour to do so. The *faifeau/fa’afeagaiga* are servants who represent God in the world or, are “theological graduate[s]” (Muaiava 2017, 32). A representative of God or a theological graduate is the difference between being a Christian and being God’s mediators or intermediaries. As such, the maintenance

of being a Christian needs the availability of the *faifeau/fa'afeagaiga*⁴⁰. Can these justify the validity of taxation upon the representatives of God?⁴¹

3.3.5 A Samoan Church: Mission declines and *feagaiga* operates

The operation of the Samoan teachers under the roof of the missionaries' instructions continued from 1854 to 1862. It was not until around 1862 that the LMS missionaries began to leave the field, when they observed the saturation of converts under the instruction of the Samoan teachers. Upon that observation, the *faifeau*, as “self-styled ‘radicals’”, proposed for an independent mission (Gilson 1970, 134-5). These self-styled radicals were unique in their own Samoan ways of planting the gospel. Their uniqueness dominated the Christian mission. In 1871, the Samoan District Committee endorsed the Samoan teacher as *faifeau* until in 1875⁴², the Committee implemented a native church policy. Ordination was one ultimate factor of this implementation which every Samoan teacher would “be ordained and permitted to exercise full pastoral power” (Gilson 1970, 135). But the withdrawal of the LMS missionaries was not fully executed. They retained Malua as their centre of ordination to ordain the Samoan teachers. This is still seen today in Malua during the church's annual conference. With respect to that, the *faifeau/fa'afeagaiga* remained under the supremacy of the Samoan Mission committee, a

⁴⁰ The Constitution of the CCCS (2011, 10) speaks about “those who are ordained to be servants of the Word and Sacraments to serve the Church” and describes the task of the ordained minister: “His true work is to bring sinners to repentance; lead the people of God in worship, prayer, the preaching of the Gospel, and the celebration of the Sacraments [...]; assist people so that they may receive truly all blessings of salvation and sanctification in Christ; and to prepare them to serve others.” See subsection (3.3.6) that the above claim is proven by the *fa'afeagaiga* who currently serve the churches in villages.

⁴¹ See Chapter 4 for the difference between a Christian as a convert and a “representative of God”: The Christians contributed to the Traders and to the funds of the Christian mission – a fact to certify that a Christian contributed money for the church while the representative of God warranted them of life forever.

⁴² The beginning of Albert Steinberger's activities in Samoa.

panel composed of both the missionaries and the Samoan pastors, as a governing body of the LMS.

However, the success of the gospel was by the work of the *faifeau/fa'afeagaiga* despite the fact that they were under the ordination jurisdiction of the LMS. The work was village-based where local affairs were well managed and organized by the *fa'amatai* (Gilson 1970, 137). The *faifeau/fa'afeagaiga* became a “key figure” more than a *matai* who took the priestly and prophetic role in the ancient Samoa religion (Garret 1985, 124). As key figures, they became devotional leaders (*failotu*) targeting souls, environment and all spheres of human existence. Their work seems immeasurable. In fact, the villages called a *faifeau* or a theological graduate, covenanted (*osi feagaiga*) with him and designated him *fa'afeagaiga* (Gilson 1970, 137; Garret 1985, 124; Setu 1988, 108; Muaiaiva 2017, 31-2; Tofaeono 2000, 136). The success of the *fa'afeagaiga* in the work of the gospel was overwhelming, as the LMS in 1888 declared that:

“Subjection to the mind of Christ has advanced as rapidly as the circumstances surrounding these people would permit. We place no limit on the power of the Spirit of God, but we do not forget that the effect of human environment is still seen in those who are manifestly the subjects of the Spirit’s power” (Gilson 1970, 137).

Intriguingly, the *fa'afeagaiga* may be “the subjects of the Spirit’s power” or, as this thesis entertained so far, the “representative of God”, a fact to further certify *fa'afeagaiga* as embodiments of *feagaiga*. The *feagaiga* between the *fa'afeagaiga* and the village became a “closer, stronger and more stable relationship” (Gilson 1970, 137). Appropriately, *feagaiga* securely holds the relationship of a *fa'afeagaiga* and a village together. If *feagaiga* is a “shared life”, the *fa'afeagaiga* and the congregation shared *feagaiga* equally. In the context of theology where all life occurs in God (John 10:10), a *fa'afeagaiga* is someone that mediates (*faa* to be like or near) this life of connection (*feagaiga*). This *fa'afeagaiga* role is not limited to the relationship between ministers and

their congregations but also includes acting as intermediaries and mediators between the village and God. As mediators, they are biblically known as servants in Jesus' examples⁴³. However, the abuse of this *feagaiga* ensues weaker and instable relationship which leads into the dismissal of the *fa'afeagaiga* from the village⁴⁴. This still exists today in many villages.

3.3.6 A modern *fa'afeagaiga*: A comparison

As *fa'afeagaiga* became key figures in villages, the main idea here is to draw a comparison on whether the occupations of the old *fa'afeagaiga* survive in the *fa'afeagaiga* of the modern context. In previous accounts, evidences ratified *fa'afeagaiga* as subjects of the Spirit's power or representatives of God. Their sole occupation as "spiritual guidance" verifies themselves as divine intermediaries who strengthen the relationship of the village and God. They seem to be unique in their responsibilities and not their status.

Ten CCCS *fa'afeagaiga*, two Methodist *faiifeau* and a Catholic Deacon⁴⁵ were interviewed in relation to their understanding of "spiritual guidance" in their parishes⁴⁶. Out of the thirteen *faiifeau*, one responded that he pays taxes for the reason of "helping Samoa's development"⁴⁷. The CCCS' *fa'afeagaiga*, however, defined 'spiritual

⁴³ Matthew 20: 26-28; John 13: 13-16, 15: 15-16 (NRSV). These are just examples from numerous ones. They represent aspects of attitude, authority, abuse and non-isolated.

⁴⁴ I have witnessed this kind of practice in my village when my village liquidated the "covenant" with the *fa'afeagaiga* and the *fa'afeagaiga* and his whole family was dismissed from the village. This is called "*tatala le feagaiga*" which literally means "untie the covenant".

⁴⁵ Leaupepe is the present President of the National Council of Churches. The RCC members in Samoa usually call him a *faiifeau*.

⁴⁶ See Bibliography for the list of those interviewed. The selection was randomly geographical, meaning, it did not focus on every church minister as this would have been too time consuming. To avoid that, the selection is district-based where one church minister covers one or two districts. In the CCCS denomination, district is *matagaluega* and it covers more than ten CCCS churches.

⁴⁷ Interview with Rev Elder Utufua Naseri. Apia CCCS.

guidance’ in light of the initial covenantal ceremony known as *osigā feagaiga* where new *faiifeau* and the village partake in a religious-cultural induction.

As part of this ceremony, the church hosts a traditional *ava* (*kava*) ceremony. It begins with the Eucharistic cup of the covenant then a traditional cup of *ava*⁴⁸. The *fa’afeagaiga*’s self-understanding is that their covenant ceremony is historical. It points to Nafanua and Mālietua, the arrival of Christianity in 1830 and the Christian principles of the sacraments⁴⁹. Also, it alludes to Mālietua’s meeting house (*faletele*), fine mat (*ie toga*) and a native cloth (*siapo*) as elements of the *feagaiga* and Mālietua’s way of addressing them as “*Lau susuga I le fa’afeagaiga taulagi*”⁵⁰. The covenant ceremony was and is still an attractive church and Samoan tradition that invites both the Eucharist cup of the covenant and the tradition of *ava* ceremony to define the viability of *feagaiga*.

Concisely, the interviews seem to certify *fa’afeagaiga* as encompassment of *feagaiga* because of their covenant with God (Eucharist cup of the covenant) to be God’s “spiritual guidance” and their covenant with the village (traditional cup of *ava*) with which “spiritual guidance” comes into play. Worth noting is that the village called them and provided the mat of the covenant (*ie toga*) for the covenant. This seems attentive because it pictures the desire of the village for Godly rewards. Also, calling a *faiifeau* to be God’s representative verifies *fa’afeagaiga* as manifestations of *feagaiga*.

Secondly, spiritual guidance has an intrinsic worth that further validates *fa’afeagaiga* as “representatives of God”. In this capacity, “spiritual guidance” obliges

⁴⁸ This is a personal understanding based on my Samoan worldview, concerning traditional *ava* ceremony. Traditionally, before a chief drinks his bowl of *ava*, he firstly pours some parts on the mat and says, “*lau ava lea le atua*” (God, this is your portion). The understanding here is that the call to look after the parish is not the *faiifeau*’s but God’s calling.

⁴⁹ See section 3.1.2.

⁵⁰ Reverend Esaroma Fatilua remarks “*ta te taulagilagi pea ma oe I aso uma*”, meaning, the village continues to talk, to correspond, to relate, or to connect. Other *fa’afeagaiga* verify this from the perspective of sister as *feagaiga* who resides in the chief’s house called *maota*. That is why Mālietua offered the *maota* for the *fa’afeagaiga* and called that the *fa’afeagaiga*’s residence (*maota o le fa’afeagaiga*). It is this *maota* that the village *taulagilagi*, talk, correspond, relate or connect with the *fa’afeagaiga*.

faifeau to devote themselves to preaching, pastoral care and counselling. They transform both the inward and the outward being of individuals by promoting peace and not turmoil; lead people to repentance; rescue people's soul; guide the people's heavenly or everlasting journey; restore the sacredness of man that God created in the beginning; save the land, environment and people; liberate the subordinated; secure the youth from worldly charismas; and save the world⁵¹. They consecrate new born babies, marriages, deaths and chiefly titles⁵². Death matters seem challenging as it affects the *faifeau/fa'afeagaiga* in whatever course – fight causing death and normal deaths⁵³. Life and death need the guidance of a “representative of God”.

In fact, their administration of the sacraments merits them more unique in the Samoan context. Matthew seems to consent to this view by claiming that “Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and the Son and of the Holy Spirit”⁵⁴. Appropriately, to make disciples and to baptize the nations describe an onus that tries to retrieve the damaging image of God – man, the perceptive crown of creation. From the author's viewpoint, *fa'afeagaiga* is not viewed an obliteration of the traditional understanding of *feagaiga* in terms of *feagaiga* status⁵⁵, but

⁵¹ These were recorded in Samoan and I tried to make a closer translation.

⁵² Reverend Vauei Sanerivi. “Api o le Galuega”. Faletagaloa CCCS; Reverend Iese Uele. “Api o le Galuega”. Vaiala CCCS; Reverend Semikueva Ugapo. “Api o le Galuega”. Moataa CCCS. Api o le Galuega is A Record Book of the Ministry which record every pastoral activity in the ministry.

⁵³ The three mainline churches share the same concern in their pastoral care and counselling work. The interview with Reverend Faauuga Faauuga of the Tulaele CCCS claims that God rescued him from death. Around 0300 in the morning, a family of his parish called him for help as two individuals were fighting with machetes. He went and one of the two seemed to obey him but the other was screaming at him while holding a machete. Meanwhile, Faauuga expected his death as he approached this second individual. However, God intervened and this individual calmed down.

⁵⁴ New Revised Standard Version (NRSV). Matthew 28: 19.

⁵⁵ Davidson (1967, 23) claims “Samoan culture recognized a special relationship between brother and sister. Brothers had an obligation to consider the interests of their sisters and their sisters' children. Sisters were held to have the power of cursing their brothers and their descendants if this obligation were neglected. This relationship was not lost, in principle, with the passage of generations, though, in practice, it became less potent.”

rather a re-adjustment of it from godly to Godly *feagaiga*, so that the Samoans realise it not a vacant but an occupied natural Samoan self understanding of life – God truly existed earlier in Samoa. This presupposes *fa'afeagaiga* not being an employee of the government, but an employ of the God.

Furthermore, there is little or no evidence to suggest that the monetary contributions offered by the congregations as gift (*alofa*) are fixed remunerations; rather, gifts change over time based on the *faiifeau* as *fa'afeagaiga taulagi*⁵⁶. According to Reverend Esaroma Fatilua, *taulagilagi* neglects personal quantities but absorbs personal qualities such as mutuality, respect, reverence, love and the like. It is not a fixed process but dependent on the availability of the aforementioned qualities. Such qualities enable a Samoan to recognize the *faiifeau/fa'afeagaiga*. The self-understanding is that provision of gifts in the sense of loving is one form of *taulagilagi*⁵⁷. In this way, it seems to suggest that taxing the *faiifeau* might have manipulated the tradition of reciprocal gift exchange⁵⁸ represented by the *alofa* donated by the village for the *faiifeau/fa'afeagaiga*. To make sense, *alofa* is not a fixed remuneration; thus, taxation seems inapt.

In fact, the Methodist and the Catholic churches are excluded from the *alofa* arena⁵⁹. Roina Taufao claims that the Methodist has “a pledge” kind of contributions instead⁶⁰. There was also a Methodist’s “system of contributions after 1857” to help mission

⁵⁶ *Taulagi* is used here in a form of to speak to, to relate to, to connect to. I used *lagi* as “tuning”. For example, if I say “*lagi ia lau pese*” that means “tune a song”. Such notion is applied to *taulagi*. Hence *fa'afeagaiga taulagi* refers to tune with the *faiifeau/fa'afeagaiga*. To tune is to correspond through freewill offerings.

⁵⁷ Interviews with Reverend Vavatau Taufao and Reverend Esaroma Fatilua.

⁵⁸ Manipulation here talks about changing the people’s mindset causing the people to offer less (or nothing) for the representative of God.

⁵⁹ According to the interviewees – MCS and RCC.

⁶⁰ A plate is passed around and members of the congregation are free to offer or not.

activities (Gilson 1970, 128 f44). Kasiano Leaupepe⁶¹, confirms that their main administration office in Apia pays him and their padres. Gilson discovers Marists collections and their dependence of the converts for other kinds of assistance” (1970, 128, f44). For whatever reason, the converts’ assistance is similar to the convert’s contribution to Christian mission and refraining from taking collections is suspicious because there is a padre paid by the administration office instead of the church minister at the parish. What is deemed appropriate, however, is that the three mainline denominations share the same designation as “representatives of God” and carry the same preaching and pastoral burden respectively. But attentively, the RCC administration pays their padre and deacons in the village. It is a way to suggest that they seem fit for taxation.

Thus the comparison of the old and the modern *fa’afeagaiga* proved related. The onus is context dependent and adaptive. That is, the old *fa’afeagaiga* was adaptive to the context of godly practices, to a disturbed economic and political instability and to the era of foreign colonial rule. The modern *fa’afeagaiga* is adaptive to the context of an independent state government, to stable economic and political life and to concerted new circumstances of modernity. Their (both old and modern) overarching charge of spiritual guidance still remains unchanged but adaptive.

3.4 Summary

The exploration of *fa’afeagaiga* as embodiments in the history of Christianity in Samoa shows that *feagaiga* is a niche in both the Samoan tradition and Christianity that had and still have shaped the attitudes of a true Samoan. *Fa’afeagaiga* is measured by the magnitudes of both the Tradition and Christian knowledge welding together as a force of

⁶¹ Kasiano Leaupepe is a deaconess not a padre or a church minister. The Samoan RCC calls them Helper (*Fesoasoani*) and considers their padres higher than their Helpers.

life to control each individual's inward and outward being. To a certain extent, the traditional and Christian understanding of *feagaiga* and *faafeagaiga* gives birth to active reasoning to generate decision-making in order to extract the just and the humble and to adjust the vanity and the vices in the world of circumstances. It has been found that *fa'afeagaiga* as an embodiment of *feagaiga* seems to arrest the vanity and the vices and rescue the aptitudes of their true traditionality – Samoan and Christian tradition.

Fa'afeagaiga as embodiments of *feagaiga* is rooted in Nafanua's heavenly promise and Mālietoa's acceptance of Christianity in 1830, but for Samoans to become a *fa'afeagaiga* began not earlier than 1860 at the formation of a native agency. The acceptance marks the truth of Nafanua's promise, revealed through the recognition of church ministers as representatives of God. Moreover, the arrival of LMS, MCS and the RCC established their uniqueness in the Samoan tradition and culture of *taeao* dominating Samoa's ancient *taeao*. This church *taeao* points to one prophecy and one *feagaiga*; hence their *taeao* is the *taeao* of salvation where the godly Samoa disappeared and the Godly Samoa transpired. The significance of *taeao* is pointing to all church ministers as representatives of God, including the *fa'afeagaiga*.

Furthermore, the Samoans became *fa'afeagaiga* of villages soon after the formation of the native agency in 1871. Becoming a village *fa'afeagaiga* evolved from the Samoan's radicality and traditional compatibility, but an occasion of two things: a village call and a covenant ceremony. The ceremony is both essential and fundamental as it began with the Eucharist cup of the covenant with God in the church then the traditional cup of *ava* with the village. Afterwards, the village calls him their *fa'afeagaiga*. The *fa'afeagaiga* as his status is not the key, but his onus of spiritual guidance affirms him as the representative of God, who embodies a Godly life or *feagaiga* which makes him the village's *fa'afeagaiga*.

Lastly, in a comparative study, the modern *fa'afeagaiga* seems to authenticate and maintain the identity of the prophesized *feagaiga*, Samoa's tradition of reciprocal gift exchange that has existed as a natural tendency (phenomenon) since 1830, their reformation of the ancient *taeao* to the *taeao* of salvation, their unique onus in God's Word and Sacraments as Samoan teachers, and their relation to *feagaiga* as representatives of God who embody a Godly life in an ordained fashion. The *fa'afeagaiga* may not be viewed as an annihilation of the traditional *feagaiga* but a reformation of it – from godly to Godly *feagaiga* – which makes *fa'afeagaiga* a 'complete whole'⁶² of a village embodying the *feagaiga* of the village. Being the only individual called *fa'afeagaiga* in a flock of divine servants called church ministers, *feagaiga* relationships sees that the pull of taxation is not monetary but a destruction of the domain of *feagaiga*. The pull of taxation takes this paper to retrace taxation roots in Samoa.

⁶² A personal understanding here is that a village is not complete without a *fa'afeagaiga*. This understanding derives from an everyday experience that at the dismissal of a *fa'afeagaiga* from a village, the village calls another *fai'feau* to be their *fa'afeagaiga*. This process occurs in Samoa for ages and it gives an impression that without a *fai'feau/fa'afeagaiga* in a village, the village is empty. In the context I come from, where there is only one church (CCCS), the village looks empty when there is no church on Sundays and evening devotions.

CHAPTER 4

RETRACING TAXATION ROOTS IN SAMOA: EMPLOYER- EMPLOYEE RELATIONSHIP

4.0 Introduction

This Chapter attempts to explore the taxation part of this thesis starting with the question: How far back in history does taxing the church ministers occur? The intention is not to change the tax law because, generally, the tax law is already implemented and the current government seems reluctant to reverse it. However, there is always a possibility to amend it to be applicable to the church. One potential alternative is to locate the origin of taxation in the history of Christianity in Samoa. The orientation concerning the roots of taxation allows this thesis to explore Samoa's customary network of relationships known throughout history as a *feagaiga* and the employer-employee (hereafter referred to as economic) relationships.

Within the network of relationships, *feagaiga* and taxation seem to address two distinct types of partnerships which might not be identical but are mutually indispensable. The *feagaiga* relationship, as discussed in the previous chapters, ought to be brought into conversation with the economic relationships which this chapter will look at. In the context of the latter, taxation appears to be the controlling factor compelling parties to oblige in order to benefit from the relationship either in money or materials. This characteristic can determine the difference between the *feagaiga* and economic relationship. On that note, the expectation is that the two relationships accommodate without one dominating the other. Hence the location of taxation roots focuses specifically on dates, events, personal figures and their underlying intentions involved in any tax development.

This Chapter is divided into three main sections. The first section is twofold. One recalls the definitions of employer, employee and employment in the Income Tax Amendment Act 2018 and the other is the location of taxation and/or economic relationship before and after Christianity in 1830. Section 2 seeks the validity of this relationship in the evolution of Albert Steinberger in Samoa from 1873 to 1875. Studies such as Gilson (1970), Howe (1984), Garret (1985), Davidson (1967) and many others often mention this important figure in the establishment of a provisional centralised government and taxation system. Section three explores the period when Germany and New Zealand had sovereignty over Samoa. The full accounts of these foreign controls are numerous in the literature. This chapter does not intend to repeat these works. Rather, the main focus is to locate taxation roots and its implications, without invalidating the previous conclusions drawn from the facts. It is important to note, however, that the Samoan Government in 2017 and 2018 used the tax legislation of 1906, 1911 and 1924 as a historical justification of why taxing the *faifeau* is acceptable. This chapter presupposes that while taxation did take place, a certain distinction needs to be drawn between what constitutes economic relationships and what constitutes *feagaiga* relationships. Without a proper understanding of either, could lead to a detrimental backlash of disapproval.

4.1 Economic (employer-employee) relationship

4.1.1 The Income Tax Amendment Act 2017

The Act defines an employee as “an individual engaged in employment”, employer as “a person who engages or remunerates an employee” and employment as “a management public office or company which holds a fixed or ascertainable remuneration” (Income Tax Act 2012, 6-7). Simply an employer provides employment

and remunerates his/her employee. It seems to suggest that remuneration (or a payment of services) guides the relationship between an employer and employee and it benefits both of them. This relationship gives birth to material benefits.

According to the Act, the tax law considers the minister of religion an employee: he is “engaged in employment” called “spiritual guidance of a specific congregation in Samoa”. In the CCCS denomination, the contribution provided by the congregation for their *fa’afeagaiga* is considered by the Act as salary and wage under the scheme of P.A.Y.E.¹ It seems that the congregation is the employer, the *fa’afeagaiga* is the employee and the contribution is the *fa’afeagaiga*’s remuneration. As contended by the CCCS², their *fa’afeagaiga* are not employees as they receive no salary from the Church Office in Apia, but the village provides for them.

One cannot dismiss the fact that the amendment seems to blend two non-identical relationships - *feagaiga* and economic relationship. The *feagaiga* relationship has already been examined and has revealed that this concept pertains specifically to space between parties who participate to honour it. The *feagaiga* embraces both parties. For economic relationship, there is a space between the employer and its employee, but it is occupied by money through remunerations and taxation. This fundamental difference between *feagaiga* and economic relationship will be explored in detail below.

4.1.2 Relationships before and after the arrival of Christianity in 1830

In the pre-contact period³, the earliest European settlers in Samoa initiated barter and trade. This is a succinct collision of the Europeans and the Samoans generating

¹ Pay As You Earn - The Ministry for Revenue’s scheme for income earners.

² See the CCCS rejection in Chapter 1. This also refers to interviews by Reverend Vavatau Taufao.

³ See Chapter 2.

bartering or trading relationships. Where one benefits from the other, similarly, the other may or may not benefit equally from the bartered or traded materials. Bartering can be closely aligned to the Samoan tradition of reciprocal gift exchange which focuses on strengthening the community and the nurturing of life through sharing resources. Be that as it may, bartering is predominantly an “induced practice” of the early European settlers, not a Samoan tradition (Jeremia 1968, 7; Tcherkezoff 2008,17). Jeremia and Tcherkezoff tend to lean upon the fact that bartering is an exchange of goods that gains profit while the Samoan exchange of gifts is reciprocity. The presupposition is that bartering is a subtle form of trading. It impacted the life of the Samoans before and after the arrival of Christianity in 1830 and appears to be one way that fosters the relationship of the Samoans with their everyday materialistic needs.

Before proceeding further, Pratt’s classes of words concerning barter seems more inclined to support economic relationship. These include questions and phrases such as “What is the price [;] come to sell [;] what to sell [;] be weighed [;] it’s a dollar’s worth [;] buy twenty heads [;] what do you want [;] pay you in money [;] for sale [;] how many?” (Pratt 1911[1876], 100-01). Seemingly, these portraits are associated with trading that one is to sell the other is to buy or one receives money while the other acquires an item. The product of this relationship is income or material assistance.

As mentioned in Chapter two, trading served the demands of international markets. Goldin and Reinert claim that “international trade is a means of *expanding markets* [which] can generate employment and incomes for people” (2006, 47). Obviously, trading is a practice that creates employment and employees for the purpose of market expansion. If that was the case, then it means that the Samoans in the pre-contact period and after Christianity in 1830, had already submitted to economic relationships with the Europeans. Such submission also determines the advancement of trading for economic

purposes (Gilson 1970, 140; Tofaeono 2000, 117). Evidently, the Europeans bartered glass beads, axes, cloth and so forth with the Samoan foods. In this practice, the Samoans may seem to undertake employment, in a subtle way by the Europeans, but they did not seem attentive to it and discern on its vulnerabilities. The fact, however, is that trading breeds employment and incomes.

Nevertheless, studies never dismiss the importance of bartering and trading in the Europeans' emergence. Their (Europeans) emanation historically validates Nafanua's anticipation of the Samoans for a heavenly *feagaiga* and it became a reality in the arrival of the LMS, MCS and RCC. That triggered *feagaiga* relationships. But the success of trading in the first place seems to suggest the birth of Samoa's relationship with the international economy. The Samoans responsively reacted to the commercial activities with the Western world (Tofaeono 2000, 65). This prompted the Samoans to the commercial progress around the Pacific with which their (the Samoans) involvement certifies the existent economic relationship.

In Beaglehole's *Exploration of the Pacific*, the activities of the Dutch in the seventeenth century was described as a "determined expansion of trade" (1966, 4). In fact, there were people travelling in "canoes" interested in "trading off several islands" where Samoans were the main customer of "large blue beads" (Jeremia 1968, 8; Gilson 1970, 67, f14). Markedly, the Dutch in the seventeenth century seems to suggest that Roggewien in 1722, Bougainville in 1768, La Perouse in 1787 and HMS Pandora were also in the Pacific to expand trading. This exposure meant that Samoans were not oblivious to economic relationships surrounding trade.

At the exposure of multiple Europeans on the scene after 1830 they established trading spots around the country and paid attention to land for settlement. Several Europeans wanted land for plantations to expand European markets (Meleisea 1987, 76).

However, the European trading interests became somewhat an improper practice that hindered the lives of the Christian converts (Gilson 1970, 139). When the missionaries became aware of this, they began to educate their followers with economic policies teaching them how to adapt to the “material standard of life” (Gilson 1970, 139). The missionaries knew that trading and commerce were important processes in relation to economic stability, and therefore aided converts with ways to regulate and maintain trade standards. With the help of education, Samoans learnt to perceive economic relationships in ways that could help them consolidate their traditional *feagaiga* relationships.

Attentively, tending to the demand for materials by converts is crucial as it illustrates without a doubt, it was the Christians who became employees for such demands. To advocate policy for economic purposes, the missionaries focused on their “taste in trade”, “political means of regulating growth” and the “effects of foreign commerce” (Gilson 1970, 140). However, the lack of a central government in Samoa appeared problematic to push education in order for the policy to prevail. The missionaries did not want to mix spiritual and economic affairs. They resorted to village and district governments as these were the only “basic political unit” which existed at that time (Meleisea 1987, 5). In fact, literacy in Samoa began from the church – the Bible.

As mentioned in Chapter three, the LMS built stations and village churches as religious centres. This was where the converts began to learn how to become employees. It is evident that the missionaries’ intention was to eschew themselves from the emblems of political office and focus on the mission of faith as their unique profession. Seemingly, the converts are worthy to consider as the only people who can fit into economic relations as material, remunerations or income tended to be their certain physical demands. Watters believes that

“...the material benefits of the *papalagi* that were considered superior to their own artefacts went [to] the desire for possessions and powers that did

not exist in their own culture – a desire that is commonly felt by societies experiencing contact with a highly developed culture” (1969, 394).

Considering Watters’ view in light of economic relationship, there is a desire for possession and power controlled by material benefits. Apparently, the superior, which is the *papalangi*, always benefit. One party can benefit and the other may or may not. To illustrate further, as the employer provides employment for an employee, the employer benefits more than the employee. Considering the fact that an employer benefits more than an employee, an employee might have no chance to benefit more than the employer as an employer has optimum ability to control employment. For trading relationships, Europeans as traders can be viewed as superior to the Samoans. This implies superiority.

In contrast, *feagaiga* relationship is different in which two or more parties equally share the same *feagaiga* benefits – love, respect, reverence, awe, veneration, honour, nobility, privilege, distinction and so forth. Parties relate accordingly bringing forth spiritual aspects of life in order to connect and relate. In fact, it was a neighbouring, persuasive and secure relationship in the *feagaiga* between the faifeau and the village (Gilson 1970, 137). While the two relationships are different, it was not uncommon for *feagaiga* to result in some kind of economic stability for the parties involved.

Captivatingly, the exploration of economic relationships before and after the arrival Christianity in 1830 indicates that the church advocated the declination of unregulated forms of trading that affected the convert’s standard of physical demand. Under the guidance of the village government they implemented education for such a purpose. Indeed, the focus, as claimed by Gilson (1970) and Davidson (1967), was to be perfect converts endeavoured for commercial purposes. This distinguishes between converts who endeavoured for economic purposes and *faifeau/fa’afeagaiga* who are not devices for such purposes, but God’s intermediaries for spiritual purposes. *Feagaiga* relationship

accommodates economic relationship through education enhancing understanding and knowledge about economic purposes. The *faiifeau's* sole occupation, as revealed by the Income Tax Amendment Act 2018, is spiritual guidance and the support of their faith mission came from the contributions of the Christians who are involved in economic ventures.

Additionally, the outbreak of trading in Samoa establishes Samoa's moneymaking group or society as a way to certify that *feagaiga* and economic relationships existed side by side without overlapping. One might observe that this argument seems hypothetical. However, studies⁴ prove that Samoa's money world began from European settlements before and after 1830. They continued in the influx of missionaries in 1836, with the affairs of George Pritchard, the influence of W. C Cunningham and the expedition of Charles Wilkes in 1839, a number of visiting trading vessels in 1846 which culminated in the introduction of a German trading company called Godeffroy and Sons in 1857⁵ which resulted in the ascendancy of stores in Apia in 1860 established by John Williams Jn. Albert Steinberger of America in 1875 further secured the exposure of Samoa's commercial community to the world economy (Gilson 1970, 140-151; Meleisea 1987, 35; Howe 1984, 246-247). As the Samoans increased their desire in trading and

⁴ Lockwood (1971), Meleisea (1987 and 1987), Gilson (1970), Howe (1984), Tofaeono (2000).

⁵ *Beyond the Reef* by Hugh Neems (pg26). Date not identified. First, the expansion of this German land firm reached Tonga, Niue, the Tokelauan group, the Gillbert and Ellice islands, the Marshalls and the Carolines. Taxation in Samoa was from the expansion of the German land firm. Second, "Copra was purchased and collected [...] then taken to Apia for later carriage to Europe to be used in the manufacture of soap, candles and cattle cake." There is a connection of land and copra and copra and the Samoans. The Samoans seemed to be the main employee of German's expansion. Third, Germans became landowners and tended to import Chinese and 'black boys' from the Solomon Islands as laborer. Was there an import law to allow the importation of foreigners to Samoa? Otherwise, it is one of a colonial factor. Fourth, between 1869 and 1872, Godeffroy bought 25000 acres of Samoan lands for plantation. Godeffroy is a German Land Company in Hamburg. Neems claims that buying a huge amount of land could be a "first step of "taking over" the land". This caused conflicts between the Samoans and the Germans over land sales. It is important to note that land sales began in 1860 by the Germans. In 2017, the Samoan government passed a Bill concerning the sale of lands for government developments. There is a need to consider whether the Independent State government of Samoa developed their motif from the 1860 land sales or not.

commerce, the missionaries fully supported it (Tofaeono 2000, 117). Evidently, there was a unit of missionaries (*feagaiga* relationships) who educated the commercial community (economic relationship) on their standard of material concerns. Also, Samoans produced coconut oil for the traders and offered contributions for the mission (Lockwood 1971, 23). Apparently, there is a relationship between the Samoans and the traders as well as the Samoans and the missionaries. It is appropriate that from the pre-contact period until 1875, employment existed in Samoa but did not dominate the Christian mission; rather, it contributed to fund the mission. This is another example of the economic and the *feagaiga* partnership coexisting in harmony and not through dominance.

Appropriately, in the studies above, there is unclear evidence to validate a fusion of *feagaiga* and economic relationships. Gilson identifies two things: a “commercial community and the missionaries who levied no tax” and “No provision was made at this stage (1860) for levying of duties or taxes” (1970, 128, 246). It is not clear who actually levied no tax and upon whom that tax was not levied. What seems enthralling is that there are two sets of people and there was taxation. In the two sets of people, the commercial community focuses on the physical needs of the people while the missionaries and teachers focus on religiousity and spirituality. The assertion is, economic relationship concerns money and material which is important in any physical desire. However, *feagaiga* relationship concerns people whom God created in His image. Taxation existed, but its operation is unclear.

4.2 Albert Steinberger: Official Tax law

The rise of “the commercial community and the missionaries who levied no tax” did not mean that taxation in Samoa was non-existent during the trade relations of the 1800s. Studies could not confirm an exact date of when taxation became officially enforced as a law in Samoa as there was no centralised government to take care of

Samoa's commercial life or any definitive laws governing economic policies. These began to surface when Apia became the centre of commerce in 1860⁶. In 1873 to 1875, Albert Steinberger became Samoa's key figure for launching a standardized and consolidated Samoan government, a political body to formulate law codes for revenue purposes and Samoa's international ventures (Gilson 1970, 293-7; Howe 1984, 248-9; Meleisea 1987, 35-7; Lockwood 1971, 23).

Steinberger was America's agent, but, as claimed by Gilson (1970), Davidson (1967) and Howe (1984), a key figure to the establishment of a Samoan government and her economic and political affairs. When Mālietoa Vainu'upo, who held the *tafa'ifa* title, died in 1841, the war for the *tafa'ifa* throne emerged until the chiefly authorities of the Europeans and Samoans decided to form a provisional Samoan government to be headed by two councils – *Fono a Ta'imua* and *Fono a Faipule*⁷. After the *tafa'ifa* war, Steinberger made an appearance in 1873 where he was prominent in both councils. Observing Samoan political affairs and economic relationships, he aimed at Samoa to be America's protectorate; but above that was a formation of a Samoan government and Samoa's code of laws to guarantee Samoa's interaction with Britain and Germany. After his observation, he returned to America to report Samoa's situation and requested an immediate return to Samoa.

Through Hamburg in Germany, at the heart of the Godeffroy trading land company, he returned to Samoa in 1875 and commenced labour works and imposed taxes on copra and fibre (Howe 1984, 251; Davidson 1967, 51). He worked on three conditions namely

⁶ See footnote 5 (Hugh Neems' *Beyond the Reef* (pg 26)).

⁷ Meleisea (1987, 36): *Fono a Taimua* is "council of the front line" and *Fono a Faipule* is "council of law makers". Howe (1984, 251): *Faipule* is a lower class with 20 *matai* of districts and villages and *Taimua* is an upper house consisted of high chiefs. Gilson (1970, 315): *Taimua* is House of Nobles and *Faipule* is House of Representatives.

“the observance of their [Samoan] own standards of peace and order, acknowledgement of loyalty to Steinberger or Germany, payment of taxes [to] Godeffroy as a banker” (Gilson 1970, 319; Meleisea 1987, 83)⁸. Concerning taxes, Steinberger introduced a poll tax⁹ or head tax “to finance the official payroll” and some “programmes of public works.” However, studies identify that the missionaries saw poll tax as an “unsuccessful attempt to raise public revenue” (Gilson 1970, 319)¹⁰. Perhaps, from the author’s view, the missionaries had a clear understanding of this taxation system and many of them were aware of Steinberger’s coalition with Godeffroy’s trading business in Hamburg. Missionaries were also cautious of the manner in which the poll tax affected the purpose of their missions¹¹ which included Godeffroy’s activities on Samoa’s lands (Gilson 1970, 319).

Meanwhile, a European Captain C. E Steven intervened and opposed Steinberger’s activities which led to Steinberger’s deportation to America. Steven argued that Steinberger’s activity in Samoa was not authorized by America and that he manipulated land issues in Samoa (Gilson 1970, 325-9; Davidson 1967, 57). Jealousy seems to be a contributing factor to such intervention, but tax implementation and extraction were another one. The Taimua and Faipule found out that Steven forced Malietoa to sign Steinberger’s removal from Samoa. The combination of jealousy, taxation and an

⁸ Meleisea (1987, 83) depicts Steinberger’s intention: (1) A consent of the Samoan government for the importation of indentured labour, (2) recognition of all German claims, (3) government would levy a tax on every Samoan matai to provide the government 60 pounds of copra and 60 pounds of coconut fibre which the government would sell to Godeffroy, and (4) Godeffroy would act as a Banker.

⁹ This is one definition of poll Tax in Samoa during German administration translated by Rev Dr Ralph Weinbrenner from a source: Hiery, Hermann Joseph. 2001. "Die deutsche Verwaltung Samoas 1900-1914." In *Die Deutsche Südsee 1884-1914: Ein Handbuch*, edited by Hermann Joseph Hiery, Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, German University of Bayreuth, Lehrstuhl für Neueste Geschichte, Veröffentlichungen: <http://www.neueste.uni-bayreuth.de/VerwSamoaIII.htm> accessed 20.08.2018.

¹⁰ See also Davidson (1967, 65) about the dislike of tax.

¹¹ This can refer back to the establishment of mission stations, village churches and mission in the Pacific and around the world.

enforced removal, was the beginning of conflicts between Britain, Germany and America¹².

In Steinberger's emergence, certain specific things are worth noting in relation to economic relationship. Firstly, the establishment of a Samoan government in 1875 to cater for economic and political affairs, indicates the inaugural standardization of Samoa's economic relationship. Evidence only showed that since the pre-contact period until 1874, the Samoans were in the world of reciprocal gift exchange system and the Europeans absorbed that as part of their trading practices. There was trading but the Europeans did not make "labour contracts" with the Samoans at that time (Firth 1973, 11). It shows that from 1830 to 1875, Samoans undertook employments unofficially. The deduction is that the Samoans became officially known as employees since 1875. Forming a consolidated economic and political government could be one way to suggest that Samoan converts officially began to become employees.

Secondly, and more importantly, the imposition of taxes on copra and fibre indicates a force of order (impose), the owner of the order (Steinberger), the receipt of the order (Samoans), the beginning of that order (when) and specific matters of the order (copra and fibre). Tax cannot be imposed unless tax is passed and assented to become a (Samoan) national law. In this case, it was specifically imposed on copra and fibre. This was evident in Steinberger's activities. The *Taimua* and *Faipule* (as a provisional government), Steinberger (as a premier) and Malietoa (as a king), formulated a tax law,

¹² Later in 1878, studies such as Stephen W Stathis (1982) identified that Steinberger was prominently an American figure to the establishment of a Samoan government and Steven was a kind of jeopardizing such movement. The conflict hovered upon Samoa and was nearly resulted in a war, though confrontations, between foreign powers (America, Britain and Germany) until they signed the Berlin Act in 1889 for a joint authority to govern Samoa. This is discussed in the next section.

passed and assented it to be imposed on copra and fibre alone¹³. It seems that tax became officially a law since Steinberger. In fact, “business taxes” and “copra taxes” around 1888 existed around the Pacific as the Germans took control of the Marshall Islands (1973, 25). Seemingly, targeting copra in Samoa could be an extension of taxation and Germany’s dominance in the Pacific¹⁴. It appears that Steinberger’s establishment of tax law in 1875 evolved as an avenue to develop Samoa, but the underlying principle was to support German demands.

Additionally, poll taxes, as mentioned above, were evidently not a means of raising Samoa’s revenue. While this form of taxation seems inappropriate to include everyone, it was imposed on land owners who farmed copra and harvested fibre for economic purposes. The Samoan government of 2018 argued that taxing the church ministers is for every Samoan to raise Samoa’s revenue to help the development of the country¹⁵. The early poll tax and the Samoan government in 2018 are different. The context of the poll tax determines its distinction. That is, it is an external operation induced by Steinberger to develop Samoa’s economic and political affairs; it aimed at land owners because of copra and fibre production; and an extension of copra taxes of German’s dominance in the Pacific. In contrast, the Samoan government 2018 taxation was an independent state operation; it was imposed on anyone who receives money weekly, fortnightly or monthly; and it was generated by a one-party government. In observation of this, poll taxes occurred in times of unsettlement and in the nature of developing Samoa where Samoa

¹³ Stathis (1982, 95) identifies Taimua and Faipule as the government and Steinberger was their Prime Minister. They created a tax law, passed and assented by the king Malietoa Laupepa, before they imposed it on certain elements.

¹⁴ Note that Steinberger’s appearance in 1873 was to observe Samoa’s political affairs then returned to America shortly after observation. In 1875, according to some historical materials such as Gilson (1970), he wanted to establish a Samoan government. Instead of a direct trip to Samoa, he went through Hamburg, Germany, and found the Godeffroy’s company as a way to re-enter Samoa. Undoubtedly, his establishments in Samoa were connected to the Godeffroys.

¹⁵ See Chapter 1 for the Samoan government’s argument.

fell into the hands of the foreigners. Davidson identifies that “levying a head tax on all Samoans was disliked both in itself” (1967, 65). This detail highlights the intention that the poll tax was imposed on Samoans for German purposes, proving counterproductive and negative, solidifying the relationship of Samoans as employee and Steinberger, on behalf of the Germans, as employer.

Moreover, the conflict between Steinberger and Steven caused political difference and affected Christian mission. There was disruption and hindrance in Christian mission, a decline in spirituality and a congregation of converts joining the confrontations between foreign powers (Liua’ana 2001, 29-30). The emergence of the confrontation between foreign powers in Samoa from 1878 to 1889 warrants aspects of superiority, control, power, supremacy, compromises and manipulations that evolved between parties economically related or controlled by money. During this period, Samoa began to experience waves of difficulties and troubles due to their exposure to material demands regulated by taxation. Taxation was imposed by the Germans in 1900 to 1913 but were mandated¹⁶ when New Zealand took control of Samoa in 1914 to 1924.

4.3 Exploring German and New Zealand taxation

4.3.1 Samoan Government 2018 taxation evidence

The Samoan one party government of 2018¹⁷ alluded to German tax legislation in 1906 to 1911 and that of New Zealand in 1924, as evidence to tax *faiifeau* in Samoa. The “O le Savali” newspaper was their only piece of truth. The paper contended that the modern *faiifeau* receive weekly, fortnightly or monthly contributions known as gifts,

¹⁶ See “New Zealand taxation” part in subsection 4.3.4.

¹⁷ This one party government refers to Samoa’s existing government without an opposition party. The one ruling party existed in 2017 until now is the Human Rights Protection Party (HRPP).

which the congregation offered on freewill. According to the local newspaper, in 1906, Erich Schultz, who was a deputy governor, signed a directive to impose twelve marks (equivalent to three dollars) on chiefs and church ministers and eight marks (equivalent to two dollars) on unnamed chiefs¹⁸. In 1911, he signed another directive to increase taxes to twenty-four marks (equivalent to six dollars) and twenty marks (equivalent to five dollars). In 1924, the New Zealand Administration imposed a tax of one point four pounds (£1.4s) to chiefs and church ministers and one pound (£1) to unnamed chiefs. The rejection of this order resulted in additional marks and pounds upon their allocated taxes, heavy labour and/or imprisonment. A similar event happened in 2018, when the Samoan government began to seize \$5000 from the *faiifeau*'s bank account¹⁹ upon refusing to register and pay taxes. One might have been irked by the fact that early taxation repeated itself in the modern Samoa government as this government points to colonial epochs as reference of taxing *faiifeau*. Despite tax law penalties in its legislative forms, what captures attention is that the seizing of \$5000 seems to repeat the consequence of rejecting tax payments mentioned above.

From 1906 to 1924 Samoa was in the age of social, economic and political disorder by foreign domination. Disorder is one way to picture more or less shortcomings in economic relationship. Such a historical interval indicates an agitation of *feagaiga* and taxation (economic) relationship and the result was unconvincing as economic relationship dominates the *feagaiga* relationship by ordering the *faiifeau*, including the *fa'afeagaiga*, to pay marks and pounds. As already prefaced, Steinberger's influence introduced poll tax intended for land owners. In the German and New Zealand

¹⁸ Letter of response from the Prime Minister's Office. The mandate is in Samoa: "Ia lafo tupe matai ma faifeau o Lotu ia tofu ma le tai 12 Maka – e tusa lea I le Tolu Tala; a o taulelea ia lafo tupe e tofu ma le tai 8 Maka – e tusa I le Lua Tala" (O le Savali. Aperila 1906: Numera 8; O le Savali. 1 Iulai 1911; O le Savali. 2 Iulai 1924 & 20 Setema 1924). See Appendix.

¹⁹ Feagaimaalii –Luamanu, 10 October and 23 November 2018. Samoa Observer.

administrations, it can be asserted that they renovated Steinberger's taxation system by including the *faifeau*. One might wonder about the context of colonization in 1906 to 1924 that Samoa could not escape as she was under dominion activity and poll/head tax might have acted as a colonial catalyst. Using Ricoeur's master of suspicion in Jensen (2007), colonial activity through taxation may have a hidden ideology of superiority which can suppress the merits and assets of the Samoan tradition and culture venerated by the *feagaiga* relationship.

4.3.2 Head/Poll Tax and its implications

Since 1875 until 1879, Steinberger's government still remained active under the guidance of the Taimua and Faipule, headed by Sa Malietoa - Malietoa Talavou and Malietoa Laupepa. They remained existent in their headquarters at Mulinuu after Steinberger's departure under the name Pulefou. As an existing governing body around 1877, they sought British and American protection, but were unsuccessful. Meanwhile, the Sa Tupua created an opposing party in Leulumoega challenging the Pulefou leadership. In 1881, the two parties (Pulefou and Sa Tupua) disputed. As a result, the Sa Malietoa and Sa Tupua decided to merge as a joint government.

However, later in their collective activities, the Samoans had an aversion to this new government over tax issues claiming the Europeans and the government for misused money (Meleisea 1987, 38). In effect, the Sa Tupua withdrew from the joint government and re-created its opposition in Leulumoega; but this time, the Germans, under the control of Eugene Brandeis identified the aversion which turned them to support the Sa Tupua. In 1887, Brandeis, a former employee of the D.H.P.G became Tamasese's premier, supporting the Sa Tupua under the name Tamasese-Brandeis regime (Gilson 1970, 382-3). They liquidated the Pulefou at Mulinuu, captured Malietoa Laupepa, exiled him and enforced a similar regime to the one Steinberger proposed earlier. Such impositions

include a “naval power” of the Germans on Samoan waters (Gilson 1970, 388). Samoans were entirely under supreme control with fear being the controlling factor of their compliance.

Supremacy took the route of a poll tax and directed the Samoans to a measure of enslavement. Evidently, Gilson identifies that the Tamasese-Brandeis’

“poll-tax [...] was applicable to the initial six months [...] that within about four weeks, there must be paid the cash sum of one dollar by or for every Samoan male who was able to climb a coconut tree and every female who was capable of working [...] of helping to make copra. Only Samoans regularly residing within the municipality of Apia were exempted. Failure to pay within a specified time was to result in the raising of the tax charge to two dollars, to be paid within an extended period of only five days, beyond which time delinquency would be punishable by one month’s forced labour and imprisonment” (1970, 388).

Manifestly, taxation is beyond the measure of exact extraction ordering every Samoan to pay and lay additional tax charges: a month’s forced labour and imprisonment. It seems that unfairness and injustice are portrayed in the exemption of Samoans in the boundary of the municipality. Earnest, is the fact that taxation at this context specifically pointed to copra production, but grave is how taxation regulated the Samoan way of reciprocal exchange. Surprisingly, a similar obligation is obvious in the “O le Savali” newspaper (1906, 1911, 1924) used by the Samoan government as evidences of taxing the *faifeau*. It says,

“Failure to pay taxes on 30 June 1906 would result in the additional 8 marks (equivalent to two dollars) upon your allocated taxes, a week imprisonment and hard labour along the government roads”²⁰

Seemingly, this taxation system is repeating when the Samoan government in 2018 sought to tax the *faifeau* as a way to contribute to develop Samoa through the lines of

²⁰ “6. O tagata uma lava ua le totogia lenei lafoga I le aso 30 o Iuni 1906 o le a tofu ma totogi le tai 8 Maka, poo le Lua Tala, o le faasala lea e toe faapopo ane I tupe moni o a latou lafoga ma tuuina I le fale puipui I le vai aso sa e tasi ma faigaluega mamafa ai I le ala ole Malo. Apia, Mati 8. 1906. Schultz, Sui Kovana Kaisalika” (O le Savali, Aperila 1906, Numera 8 –attached to the Prime Minister’s letter of response to the CCCS’ rejection).

supporting the SPG and the establishment of a new prison facility²¹. In 2018, the failure of the CCCS's *f'aafeagaiga* to pay their taxes resulted in seizing \$5000 from their bank accounts by the Ministry of Revenue. In addition, the announcement of their imprisonment as they began to receive summons to appear before the Court seems abrupt in their context as *faafeagaiga*.

In fact, the British and the Americans along with the European settlers and the mission support and raised an awareness to the gradual growth of the German's economic desires through the Tamasese-Brandeis regime. It evolved political factions between the three Powers triggering tensions in 1889 in the municipality of Apia. A penetrating hurricane terminated this unsettled state in Samoa. Consequently, in mid-1889 the three Powers came to an agreement in a Berlin Act for a combined protection of Samoa, "exercising joint jurisdiction"²² to recognize the rights of the Samoans to choose their King and an independent Samoan government (Gilson 1970, 396-7). The Supreme Court and Chief Justice was the first Berlin Act's innovation. Gilson identifies that

"...the Mulinnu government, acting on advice from the Chief Justice, resorted in 1891 to a system of tax-farming, four prominent chiefs being appointed collectors in each of the eight districts and promised, in lieu of salaries, a ten percent share of the money they were able to account for. This innovation proved, however, a dismal failure; for after two years the Samoans, scheduled to pay in a gross annual sum of thirty thousand dollars, were more than forty thousand dollars behind in their tax payments, and all attempts to collect from them had [...] ceased [...] As for the head tax, it continued to be levied annually, but it was never collected in full" (1970, 416).

It is worth considering that from 1889 (Berlin Act) to 1899 (partitioning of Samoa), tax-farming²³ and head tax were most preferable to foster Samoa's economy. While it was an

²¹ See Chapter 1 in the Samoan government argument.

²² The Berlin Act 1889 objectives: "to make the government less dependent on agreement among local representatives of the three Powers": (1) to strengthen the judiciary; (2) to reorganize public finance; (3) to re-establish the municipality of Apia; and (4) to see that the Samoan government had responsible and reliable European advisers (Gilson 1970, 397).

²³ See Gooder (2009, 8-9): Tax-farming originated in Greek city-states but was adopted by the Romans. It is a system where "the tax collector [...] buys the right to collect taxes from the empire." In advance the

achievement on one hand, it equally turned disastrous on the other hand. Evidently, tax-farming and head tax were the objectives of the Berlin Act 1899 implemented to founding a standardised Samoan government, but it proved implausible.

Eventually, the three Powers agreed to send Malietoa Laupepa back to be king and re-established a Samoan government. The re-establishment focused on public finance by “imposing any form of taxation” on imports and exports to raise tolerable revenues to refurbish Apia from the damage (Davidson 1967, 63). Hempenstall identifies significant pressures of the German administration in most parts of the Pacific and claims that the head tax was “the obligations of direct German rule” (1975, 12-14). Clearly, there were tax pressures along German’s rule in the Pacific – a way to see how taxation was enforced in Samoa and how dominance prevailed. To a certain extent, the head or poll tax could be interpreted as an imposing directive to relate and connect people handling economic relationships; hence tax is a device of accomplishing one side of the relationship (employer) while putting pressure on its employee simultaneously.

Returning to the fact, the imposition of taxation around 1889 is most likely focusing on the re-development of the municipality in order to restore economic and international relationships in trade and commerce. Adequately, it occurs in a particular context of people related to each other because of physical developments and money. This is seen in the relationship of the Samoan government and the three Powers, exports and imports as well as the municipality itself. Imposition controls this relationship mirroring the superiority of one party over the other, setting up unstable relations and insecure affairs. Thus, dissimulation may cause impulsive contradictions and precarious frictions which may result in volatile relationships.

collectors pay the required amount; however, they collected more than what was required. In Roman times, this was the case. It is very important to consider this in future study.

Nevertheless, the re-emergence of Malietoa as king in the new Samoan government set another intense period of fragilities. From 1891 to 1899, there was a heated opposition to the Sa Malietoa, a traditional confrontation for the *tafa'ifa* throne, the levying of a head tax on all Samoans, and foreign decisions that produced fervent conflicts (Davidson 1967, 65-7; Meleisea 1987, 40-1; Gilson 1970, 370-395). The aforesaid fragilities capture the author's attention. That is, a heated opposition to the Sa Malietoa is nevertheless a battle for material benefits from the foreigners. This was reflected in the traditional protest for the *tafa'ifa* throne. Securing that throne was nothing more than a ploy to attain an elevated status and gain material favour, characteristic of the economic relationship introduced by the Europeans.

Captivatingly, the levying of a tax²⁴ on all Samoans accumulates few perceptions about the nature of economic relationships. Firstly, it refers to the re-establishment of Samoa from the damage of the hurricane and secondly, it refers to taxation in the era of political turmoil. Head tax is effectively a prominent way to restore and develop a better municipality and urban stretches and those who work for economy and money. However, it is inessential to have taxation to extend colonial activities around the Pacific or in Samoa. Firth (1973) identifies active German companies in the Pacific which reflects how powerful the Germans were in dominating the Pacific. In this way, this paper suggests that poll or head tax as a whole is an imposing directive to establish dominance. Therefore, contracts, social order and imposition describe the nature of a body of people having economic relationships, this being common to the structure of a state.

Anter depicts three remarkable emblems of a state as an institution namely "rational statutory orders", "to all" and "imposed orders" (2014, 36-37)²⁵. He describes rationality

²⁴ See previous page where I discuss tax-farming and head tax. Note that in 1891, tax-farming and head tax were evident as the Berlin Act's avenues to foster Samoa's economy.

²⁵ Anter refers to Max Weber as the founder of modern sociology.

as an attribute belonging to an establishment of a state; “to all”, which explains the inescapability of anyone from demanding orders and imposition is somewhat a negation of agreement, but introducing domination (*ibid*). Relative to that are “methods” of order and security, “boundaries” and “jurisdictions” to serve “its (state) sovereignty” (R.P.C.M 1986, 222-3). Davidson asserts that “The nineteenth century had also produced innovations of an institutional kind that had a lasting effect upon Samoan political thinking” (1967, 72-3). One of the innovations was “a system of taxation” that targeted any individual involved in “the money economy” (Davidson 1967, 73). Clearly, the production of an institution in Samoa took place in the nineteenth century. Methods, boundaries, jurisdictions and taxation could be associated with such production. Lockwood identifies an enforcement of the existing poll tax²⁶ that “every Samoan landowner was required to plant fifty coconut palms on his own land” (1971, 24). The intention of this enforcement is not clear, but it is obvious that poll tax applied specifically to landowners. An author’s view is that planting fifty coconuts is an indication of employment or a jurisdiction to meet tax demands. Revisiting the emblems of an institution, planting is employment, given the fifty coconut palms as fixed reference point and the lands on which they occupied and planted as the context of employment. These are associated with standardized, systematized and imposed nature of an institution. The end-product of this employment would be tax. Thus, taxation is favourably an institutional mechanism imposed and controlled by an institutional state.

However, economic instabilities determine the kind of relationship between those who undertake money economy. For instance, if fifty coconut palms do not meet tax demands, the employer would impose another fifty and this would cause unstable

²⁶ According to Lockwood, when the Germans took over Samoa, they continue to master the existing poll tax initiated by Steinberger in 1875.

relationships. Generally, money making changes every time and the relationship between those who are under such undertaking may also change. Hence, taxation may be deemed appropriate to a state as it is an institutional phenomenon governed by methods, boundaries, jurisdictions, social order. It may not be pertinent to *feagaiga* (as a shared life) and *fa'afeagaiga* (as its embodiments) for they are non-institutional. In fact, more than 200 church members, including ordained ministers, work as employees for the church office in Apia. All of them pay taxes to the government, excluding the *fa'afeagaiga* of villages. The Methodist and Catholic Office in Apia are on the same framework.

4.3.3 German Taxation

“In April 1899 the three Powers appointed a commission to take temporary control of the country and make recommendations for its future government [...] Meanwhile [...] the island should be partitioned [...] The United States would acquire Tutuila and Manua [...] the remainder of Samoa would become German [...]” (Davidson 1967, 67; Lockwood 1971, 23)

In 1900, Germany took provisional control of the west of Samoa, the Americans to Tutuila and Manua on the eastern side and the British settled on the margin. The German administration was not from a governmental succession of the Germans in Samoa, but it was from Wilhelm Solf who took an interest in Mataafa Iosefa's leadership and Tumua and Pule as an existing government (Davidson 1967, 76). Solf observed an immense existence of two things – agriculture through plantations for economic development and an existing government for the formation of official laws. In fact, as Davidson identifies, he did not have a policy to begin his political control nor had he received any instruction from Berlin to start with (1967, 77). Rather, he introduced new administrative departments and positions under a “one policy” regime that everyone, including settlers and missionaries, should abide with. This policy was only provisional; the intent to stimulate economy production.

In his policy, poll/head tax was his resort to bolster the administration as cocoa and rubber plantations were one of his tax motivations. In supporting that, he introduced Chinese workers in 1903 as enforced labour²⁷ and targeted the “experimental gardens” owned by the LMS and the Catholic mission (Davidson 1967, 77). There was a suppression of European economic relationship with the Samoans by colonial governments in 1905 (Firth 1973, 27). The suppression, nevertheless, included the LMS church because of her gardens. As previously mentioned, Steinberger’s influence in Samoa was through Godeffroy & Sons in Hamburg Germany as copra was their biggest source of income (Firth 1973, 12). There were also “business taxes” and “copra taxes” in the Marshall Islands as the Germans took control of them (Firth 1973, 25). This implies Solf’s interests in plantations that plantations could be one way to strengthen the German-Godeffroys relationship. There is a possibility that Solf’s tax motivations subtly subordinated the *fa’afeagaiga* of villages. There is no indication how taxation affected the *fa’afeagaiga* in the villages, but the presupposition is that land and plantations were the most preferable source of life the people had for their *fa’afeagaiga* and the missionaries.

Contributing to the idea of subtle subordination was Solf’s layout of his administration at district and village level, taking himself as paramount king (*tupu sili*) and Mataafa Iosefa as paramount chief (*alii sili*) with Malietoa Tanumafili and Tupua Tamasese as Advisors (*fautua*). Taking into consideration his “one policy” regime, his intention was for everyone (Samoans and Europeans) to abide by it. Targeting everyone through this regime can be interpreted as a way to support Germany’s dominance in

²⁷ “Forced labour” is found in some Biblical materials such as, for instances, Joshua 16:10 and Judges 1:28 (New Revised Standard Version (NRSV)). Reading these materials reflects Israel’s community in a disorganized and chaotic context. This thesis sees these potentials for future studies of *feagaiga* and taxation.

Samoa and popularity in the Pacific. Dominance reached to the level where it affected English schools conducted by Protestant missionaries (Laracy 2005). Laracy identifies that “in 1901, [...] the Germans would require Samoan school children to be taught German instead of English (2005, 159). Note that there could be tension between the Germans and the Protestant missionaries who conducted English schools from 1830 until 1901. Why did the Germans require such a change in a very short period of their colonial rule (1900-1911)? Solf’s administration appears necessary to one end if taxation was a resort for revenue to develop the Samoan material pathway. However, it is colonial to another end if Solf’s intention was for taxes to support German’s superiority in Samoa.

Additionally, the poll or head tax caused tension between the Samoans and Solf’s administration. The Samoans saw that this taxation system affected their customs. Customs are blurred in Davidson’s account, but worthy to note is the fact that “there was the inevitable dislike of the payment of poll tax” (1967, 81). Earlier in Chapter 3, there was a contribution to fund Christian mission and *fa’afeagaiga*. It appears that the customs – reciprocal gift exchange - the Samoans referred to was contribution to the church. The introduction of a poll tax by Steinberger in 1875 and its reinforcements by Solf from 1900 to 1913, might have disturbed that traditional custom of contribution. From the author’s view-point, the inevitable dislike was based on taxation affecting reciprocity. It can be said that the economic relationship affects the indigenous essence of life in the Samoan tradition and culture of *feagaiga* represented by reciprocity. Worthy to consider, is the fact that the dislike of the Samoans was not a complete rejection of taxation, but they saw it as strictly unavoidable. In this sense, it seems that the Samoans conveniently accepted taxation at a certain degree and at a specified level to meet its demands.

Similarly, a dislike to poll tax is also evident in Ide (1899). As a former Chief Justice of Samoa, he claims that:

“The system of taxation provided in the Treaty (Berlin) is both impracticable and unjust. It imposes equal head taxes upon every man, woman and child of the Samoan race, without the slightest regard to capacity to meet the exaction. This is unjust. But it has uniformly proven to be vain and ineffectual. Natives resent and avoid it” (Ide 1899, 689).

It appears that Ide certifies the poll or head tax as a taxation system adopted by the Berlin Act²⁸ which the Germans continued to master. This paper views that Ide distinguishes human race as more important than head tax or perhaps he had humanitarian thinking at that time. Viewing this head tax between the natives and Germans, in effect, he might have seen that this tax benefits one race (Germans) while suppressing another race (Samoans). Inequality could have emerged. In fact, Ide regards it as unjust and vain. It is unjust in the way that everybody is included. This can generate inequality causing tension and leading to confrontations. This is unlike *feagaiga* relationship; *feagaiga* embraces two opposite parties making those parties equal. Sharing equality by both parties is same as acquiring life by both of them – which culminated *feagaiga* as a shared life.

Regretfully, history seems to be repeating itself. From the author’s view, the poll/head tax during German rule in 1900 to 1913 seems to repeat with the events of taxing of the *faiifeau* by the Samoan government in 2018²⁹. To reiterate, this taxation system appears to be an obligation of the German rule in which domination is a trait. Seemingly, domination could be a hidden ideology that subtly weaves together with the developing of the country which affects everyone. In a way, taxation could be appropriate to certain people who are in employment for money economy, but it may be inappropriate to include every Samoan such as ordained ministers. This inappropriateness, as evident

²⁸ Consider footnote 22 in this subsection.

²⁹ See the Problem Chapter where the Prime Minister of Samoa argued that everyone who receives money or earns an income must pay taxes. Also, the consequence of refusing to pay taxes in 1900 to 1913, as appeared in the “O le Savali” newspaper, seems to be repeated in the taxing the *faiifeau* in 2018.

in Davidson (1967) and Gilson (1970), was resented and avoided by the “natives” like Namulauulu Lauaki causing tension between the Samoans and Solf’s administration.

In 1910, Solf left Samoa and Erich Schultz acted on his behalf until he became Governor in 1912 enforcing taxation laws. The tension elevated when O L F Nelson together with representatives of the commercial community objected excessive taxation of the German rule. It climaxed in 1913 until a rivalry between Britain and Germany in 1914 broke out, which, in later weeks, saw New Zealand take over Samoa through military occupation (Davidson 1967, 89-90). In as much as possible, the poll/head tax (or simply taxation) was a cause of conflicts, tensions and frictions between parties who worked for it. It gives an impression that these parties shared unequal or fluctuated rights and justices. Hence economic relationship is a partnership of instabilities benefiting one party more than the other.

4.3.4 New Zealand Taxation

In 1914, New Zealand took control of Samoa from German rule even though she was not involved in the Berlin Act of 1889 and the commission to partition Samoa in 1899. The regime lasted until Western Samoa became an independent state in 1962 and governed her own affairs. This means New Zealand was the last foreign rule of Samoa. Essentially, her times mark the establishment of Samoa’s Constitution Order, Legislation, Samoa Act, a Mandate, Health, Education and Economy. But it was another epoch for Samoa to experience other fallibilities such as a military occupation, a grave influenza epidemic in 1918 carried by the Talune ship from New Zealand, an imposed mandate by Richardson in 1919 in which taxation was unavoidable and a massive opposition from the Mau Movement that led Samoa to her Independence. Studies such as Gilson (1970), Davidson (1967), Lockwood (1971), Meleisea (1987 and 1987) and others share similar and detailed accounts.

Taxation, as the essence of this Chapter, was nevertheless a problem with regards to foreign control; rather, it was an imposing device. It became viral in the minds of the controllers to set a powerful standard for its colony by means of welfare, to suppress the colony by acquisition of profits and to accomplish their ideologies for being superiors over the colony. Through the lines of recorded facts, New Zealand did not focus on taxation from 1914 to 1919. Davidson affirms that they maintained it [Solf's one-policy] but "the exigencies of war [military occupation] dictated their abandonment" (1967, 92). Obviously, the military administration and the German policies and laws lasted for some time. Moreover, a disruptive influenza epidemic in 1918 caused another change in the economic development from 1914 to 1918, as a way for New Zealand to direct her focus on Health, Education and Economy (Davidson 1967, 104). Upon that was the setup of Samoa's Constitution Order and "a mandate" around 1919 to 1920 to implement her own political agenda (Davidson 1967, 100-101). From 1921 to 1923, copra and cocoa began to acquire interests and gradually gained convincing grounds for developing the economy since the disease and the fulfilment of their mandate – in fact, the mandate was not clear until 1923.

Early in 1923, a Brigadier-General George Spafford Richardson, who was an army official and later became an Administrator, changed the tone of administration by introducing a mandate of promoting the "welfare of the natives" (Davidson 1967, 98, 103, 108). The mandate was an imposing directive and from observation, it ran like a military operation. Concisely, the mandate included the "prohibition of fine mats [*ie toga*]" and taxation (Davidson 1967, 106-7). Davidson only refers to the use of fine mats as "wasteful of time and resources"; however, observantly, the prohibition of fine mats signals a few

things. Fine mats are Samoa's *measina*³⁰ and the prohibition of it is simply a prohibition of culture and tradition. Nevertheless, as mentioned earlier in Chapter 3, the fine mat was central to covenant ceremony (*osi feagaiga*) between the *fa'afeagaiga* and the village. The village called this fine mat "the mat of the covenant" (*ie o le feagaiga*). It appears that Richardson's pursuit of the mandate had impacted *feagaiga* relationships.

For taxation, as a path for the pursuit of the mandate, reached in 1924, where Richardson

"proposed to the Fono a Faipule that each Samoan taxpayer should be allocated an area of land for cultivation [...] Under the new system individual matai were to retain the *pule* [authority] over the cultivated land [...] Every taxpayer without land was to be allocated a five-acre block; and, when he had completely planted it, he was to receive a second block" (Davidson 1967, 107).

It seems that this was an imposed directive to Samoan people for the attainment of Richardson's mandate. However, "each Samoan taxpayer" or "every taxpayer" endorses one of the Berlin Act objectives – of public finance³¹ – that Solf also used during his rule. It is also apparent that there was a Samoan taxpayer who had land and a taxpayer without it. In one way or another, a Samoan taxpayer who had land refers to a chief and a taxpayer without land could refer to the missionaries, teachers and *faafeagaiga*. Meleisea clearly portrays three different "land policies" namely a "Crown land [...] belonged to Germany's previous administration", "European and mission land [...] belonged to the mission and the settlers" and "native land" (1987, 130). A deduction is that a matai can pay tax because he earns from what he cultivates on his lands and the missionaries can also pay taxes as they use Samoan lands for cultivation and worked as an administration body of the church. However, the teachers or *fa'afeagaiga* who are foreigners in villages³²

³⁰ In my Samoan worldview, this is a traditional word given to the most important elements of the Samoan tradition and culture such as fine mat, native cloth, and Samoan language for instances.

³¹ Consider footnote 22 of this Chapter.

³² Gilson (1970, 128) describes Samoan village teachers as "strangers in the villages" with no salary.

serve as representatives of God for the purpose of spiritual guidance and do not own land thus are not subject to that taxation system.

The use of land can be traced back to Steinberger's initiative in 1875 where he supported land claims by a German Codeffroy land company in Hamburg. In the German rule in 1900 to 1914, Solf targeted land and raised taxes mainly on plantations. Here in Richardson's pursuit of his mandate, land was also his principal mean of raising the economy. There is nevertheless a repetition of events (from Solf to Richardson) to verify the contention that taxation was based on land tenure with taxation targeting specific people such as *matai*, missionaries or any individual, but not the representatives of God or *fa'afeagaiga* of villages. Taxing the *faiifeau* in the "O le Savali" newspaper, provides insufficient evidence to support their argument to tax *faiifeau* in the present. In fact, taxation from 1900 to 1924, was mainly applied on agriculture, as a colonial boost of economy, but not on the contributions made by the congregation for their *faiifeau* or *fa'afeagaiga*.

In a complex situation, the Richardson supremacy lasted until 1926 when a native movement called the Mau Movement started to oppose foreign administration and proposed an independent administration body to govern its own native affairs. There is enormous evidence to suggest that taxation contributed more to conflicts and tensions between Samoa and the foreign powers. It is also evident that taxation was principally on land and agriculture matters but not on the people's contributions for *faiifeau*. In one way or another, taxation could fall upon *faiifeau* who use land for cultivation as he can sell his produce and the money he receives should be taxed. The Mau movement continued its opposition until the League of Nation ordered the Samoans, under the New Zealand administration, to formulate a Preamble for the Constitution for the Independent State of Samoa in 1960. Later, Western Samoa became the first independent Pacific nation in

1962. From 1962 to 2016, the Samoan government exempted the minister of religion from taxation until the Samoan government in 2017 taxed them³³.

4.4 Summary

The attempt to seek the origin of taxation in Samoan history especially the taxing of *faifeau* unfolds certain particularities. Firstly, economic relationship is significantly different from *feagaiga* relationship and unique because it refers to people's materialistic desires and economic demands; its ambitions were acquired from land. It seems that the source of money was from the plantations and cultivating the land³⁴. Meanwhile, material ambitions instigated tensions between people, on a level where the employer imposed on its employee and the employee could not meet the demands desired by the employer. Fluctuations and frictions between the Samoans and the foreigners were obvious derivatives and war became a consequence. Secondly, unofficial employment and taxation seemed to surface in the pre-contact period but became evident since 1830 until 1875. It was because Samoa did not have an official centralised government to formulate tax laws to apply. In this period, Samoa had a tradition of reciprocal gift exchange which the early European settlers claimed as bartering later turning into a trading habit when the Samoans unofficially began economic relations until the 1870s. Taxation was not clearly

³³ It has been noted so far that the legislative evidence of taxation provided by the Samoan government during the colonial era does not align with the exact definition of poll/head taxes revealed by numerous historical materials. That is, the Germans and New Zealand administration collected a poll tax either in a month or six. Historical materials already existed, which dated poll taxes back to Roman times, suggest that poll taxes were usually collected annually under the basis of a census. This paper vexes about the basis of monthly and annual collection. Mathematically, a monthly collection weighs more than an annual collection. It is important to research this in further study, to see what lies, ideologically, behind a monthly and annual poll taxes.

³⁴ Land tax could be another interesting study in the near future. This thesis has not touched on land tax, but we can assume that it is another avenue for taxation. Samoa has two types of land: customary and free-hold land. Customary land includes the extended family (macrocosm) whereas the free-hold land involves the microcosm (father, mother and children). This thesis would like to recommend further study to this in regards to poll taxes as the churches are taking enormous amount of land as free-hold land.

manifested then and Samoa was completely under the guidance of the missionaries who “levied no tax” on the contributions made by the congregation for the *faifeau*.

Thirdly, inaugural Samoan government, official employment and taxation began to surface around 1857 in the introduction of the Godeffroy & Sons land company, but became official at Steinberger’s activity in 1875, the Berlin Act objectives in 1889, and German and New Zealand rule from 1900 to 1924. Taxation was evidently an imposed directive that defines the state as an institutional body to govern every Samoan affair. There were two most likely principles in this imposition: one was to augment the development of Samoa’s material life and her standard of money demands and the other was the accomplishment of their ideologies of dominance and rule. However, tensions and conflicts arose when its extraction went beyond its confines. High taxation contributed to the deportation of Steinberger, the refusal of Solf’s administration and the repudiation of Richardson’s imposing mandate in 1924. This gave birth to the Mau opposition, who strived for an independent Samoan administrative body. This thesis acknowledges, indeed, these foreign rules due to their colossal impact on the development of Samoa’s social, economic and political life. However, their taxation system was not a promising avenue as it seemed inevitable. Finally, from 1875 until New Zealand in 1924, employment and taxation were imposed on Samoans under colonial principles and one disturbing taxation effect was the prohibition of the Samoan *measina* of fine mats. This impacted the Samoan tradition of reciprocal gift exchange from which the norm of contribution to the church evolved from.

Therefore, taxation is obscure from the pre-contact period to 1875 but it became a colonial device from 1875 to 1924. It seems to suggest that dominance, control and power were the underpinning principles laid in taxing the church ministers in 1906, 1911 and 1924. It can be a regard for economic development specifically targeting certain people

undertaking employment and certain materials like copra, cocoa and fibre. Beyond its confines of extraction, this could result in dissipation and injustice which can lead into silencing tradition and culture (of reciprocal gift exchange) and disturbing compromises and manipulations. Confrontations which trigger war should not be embedded in economic relations. Generally speaking, income is the economic relationship's yield by taxing that income benefits one side of this relationship. In as much as possible, people could act as a tax that a *fai-feau* can pay to God as man was and still is created in God's image; the crown of creation.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

While attempting to locate *feagaiga* and taxation roots in the history of Christianity in Samoa, there are reasonable facts that provide tangible adjudications to the taxation debate between the 2018 Samoan government and the CCCS denomination. To reiterate, the intent of this paper is neither to put a halt to the tax law nor to substantiate a resolution to the debate. Instead, seeking historical possibilities is another avenue of dispensing to the taxation issue. Thus, if given the opportunity to motion, then my contribution only passes through the capillary of relationships between *feagaiga* (representing the church) and taxation (representing the state). In the following discussion, six areas are clarified and discussed further as worthwhile contributions.

5.1 A Divergence

Divergence refers to a separate existence of *feagaiga* and taxation in their own distinct pathways. From chapter one to the last, they came into their own forms: the former is a “shared life” and the latter is shared money or item. The shared life is rooted in myths but promised and fulfilled in the emergence of the Europeans (*papalagi*), Siovili and the arrival of Christianity in 1830. The Europeans and Siovili define the two distinct pathways: the economic (taxation) and religious (*feagaiga*). They travel in their own paths according to their own ways.

Within the vicinity of *feagaiga* relationship, myths and legends proved to be the “life justification proofs” of *feagaiga*. It was a prophecy, fulfilled by the arrival of Christianity through the LMS, MCS and the RCC. Christianity travelled the *feagaiga* pathway where it took the crown of *taeao* (morning). Through the channels of *feagaiga*, Christianity reached the stretches of Samoan settlement – both urban and rural areas. It

reformed the Samoan vertical-horizontal relationship with the Christian God allowing them to acknowledge the existence of their ancient god Tagaloalagi and realise the truth of their relational-horizontal reciprocal norm. A relationship where *fa'afeagaiga* (covenant maker), as representatives of God, were the third or the central party – God, *fa'afeagaiga* and village. This vertical-horizontal relationship maintains two things: the traditional and the Christian *feagaiga*. One vindicates the Samoan tradition and culture of *feagaiga* and the other is the legitimacy of *feagaiga* relationship in the Christian world. Taking on board the relational aspect of *feagaiga*, it appears that the God of *feagaiga* is all-embracing and encompassing and works in a down-top framework.

With regards to taxation, the economic life of Samoa was a system of reciprocal gift exchange founded on a face to face interaction (*fa'aaloalo*). This generated and consolidated reciprocity as the norm for the Samoan way of life. However, the Europeans rendered this system as bartering and Samoa began to experience new casual economic and political path. In this vein, Samoans interacted with the foreigners for the pursuit of materials and, later, money. Gradual European interests in Samoa together with an “unpoliced form” of needs and wants by the converts, seem to describe a horizontal contact of people or a two-party engagement: employer–employee relationship. As already unfolded, this relationship fell into the category of an institution where a framework of top-down is usually a norm. Conflicts and tensions are yielded of that horizontality and power from the top always prevails. Thus, the taxation pathway is materialistic, institutional and top-down (employer-employee).

Considering *feagaiga* and taxation in two diverged pathways, it is highly likely that the church and the state had or may have existed in a similar manner. There was a depiction of “a commercial community” and a group of missionaries and the teachers to further support the separation. In fact, there is no taxation in the pre-contact period, the

missionaries “levied no tax” since the beginning of the Christian mission and “no levying of duties and taxes” in 1860 until 1875, when Albert Steinberger introduced poll or head tax. The divergence - shared life (covenantal) and shared money (contractual) - seems to suggest a separation of the church and state in the Samoan context.

5.2 Non-Institutional versus Institutional

In the diverged pathways, *feagaiga* and taxation, as non-institutional and institutional realities, are not so apparent in the two routes mentioned, to further support their separation. However, factors such as people, place, time and work determine the difference of the two. In *feagaiga*, it is all-embracing (people), wide-reaching (place), accessible (time) and welcoming (work). These are attributed to a *faifeau/fa'afeagaiga*, making him a central figure in the vertical-horizontal relationship of the village and God. The translation of God into the village and the assurance of the village to God, are the corpus of a *fa'afeagaiga* or a *faifeau's* spiritual onus. The village, in their traditional reciprocal system, provides for his welfare. These render *feagaiga* a non-institutional, or rather, charitable organization. It is this way that describes a distinction between the spiritual covenant (*feagaiga*) and the institutional side of the church which would be deemed open to taxation by the state. Examples of this institutional side may be seen in the church's annual collection, church's administrative office in Apia, Malua Institute and other church developments. For taxation, place, time, people and salary are static, ordered, imposed and the like. They characterize an institutional organization or, to an extent, a state. It officially began in 1875 and impacted the Samoan way of physical demand, allowing them to pursue wealth in the materialistic pathway. It focused more on the development of the urban stretches, mainly the municipality, the heart of economic and political relations. Thus, considering the differences between the two entities,

feagaiga is more traditional and divine and taxation is more global and mandatory. To this, the former may reward tax exemption while the latter may not.

5.3 Religious and State Taxes: Tax Usage

Since taxation is an institutional phenomenon, its usage must fall into the complex of an institution. Historically, the church was dominant without a centralised state/government, which means the church managed their own affairs, especially Christian mission and education around Samoa and abroad. In the LMS (CCCS) denomination, there was a form of church tax introduced by the missionaries through annual collection not from each church but from mission stations in every district. It was used for the upkeep of churches, maintenance of mission projects and boosting education. Annual collection, somehow, is associated with religious taxes and this could be an opportunity for the state to look upon and obtain taxes from the church. In this way, taxation extends to other institutional chattels of the church. However, taxing individual *faiфеau* or *fa'afeagaiga* in villages appears inadequate in the charitable sphere of the covenant (*feagaiga*).

Moreover, tax usage is one man's meat but another man's poison. Since 1875, taxation was a promising avenue for Samoa's revenue and development. However, as found, tax went as far as Hamburg in Germany through Godeffroy's pocket. It was a way of expansion, preparation and assistance of Germany's supremacy around the Pacific and in Samoa. Similarly, Richardson's acquired taxes from agriculture were used in the development of the urban convenience and the municipality. This was a convenient act where taxation targeted agriculture and land operations for the development of the urban stretches and things economic. However, there is no indication that their taxes helped the church. In fact, Richardson's agenda shifted to Education, Health and Economy after the disease in 1918 that depressed economy. The church did not appear to be his high priority

but a target for his tax extraction to meet his agenda. This seemed poisonous to others, which, consequently, was resented by some Samoans like Lauaki and the Mau. It appears that tax usage is focused on the physical development of Samoa. When in fact, it underpinned the attainment of ones' superiority and exercising of power. Ultimately leading to corruption and dissipation, as was seen in the fall of Steinberger and the rebellion against Solf and Richardson. Can these explain the deficits of the power of taxation over the power of *feagaiga*?

5.4 Convergence

Interestingly, there are times when *feagaiga* and taxation subconsciously merged or one consumed the other. The merge is where *feagaiga* accommodates taxation or taxation consumes *feagaiga*. There are two areas, for example, in which accommodation and consumption are evident: education and taxation (Steinberger's poll taxes, Solf's administration and Richardson's mandate). The first area highlights the accommodation of taxation by *feagaiga*. That is, the church was the first entity to implement education in villages to educate the converts about their ethical standards of acquiring their physical needs and wants. Education was church based and Samoan literacy originated from the Bible; in fact, education was the principle attention of Christian mission which began in 1830. It seems to suggest that the two entities deviate in their own pathways, yet when united, one should accommodate and support the other.

However, the taxation area inclined more towards consuming *feagaiga*. Taxation was an opening opportunity for supremacy to exist. One might wonder why the missionaries did not use taxation. Perhaps the church's annual collection the missionaries used to collect might be similar to what is called religious taxes. These collections or religious taxes are important for church developments and missions (See 5.3 Tax Usage). Nevertheless, taxation is relevant if it is extracted in the border of commercial activities

(employer-employee context), but beyond its confines, or crossing the boundary (*tuāoi*) with the church, might validate the idea that the merge is a consumption, yet dominance, but not an accommodation¹. Moreover, a poll or head tax, intended for the development of the municipality, seems appropriate in terms of development. Indeed, the particular needs of the church were met by annual collections which seems to suggest that, in regard of state taxation, the churches were part of the municipality and took advantage of the public development. One might wonder about demanding additional funding of the church by the state. However, a taxation for heightening the German sovereignty and power, appeared cynical in a context where *feagaiga* is part of Samoa's traditional and cultural identity.

Consumption also refers to penalizing the *faiifeau* who repudiated taxation. Tax penalties are legislative and typical to those who work for money economy, but the inclusion of the representatives of God seems disparaging to the fact that they are not tax devices, but are divine servants of The Word of God and Sacraments. Hence, penalizing a representative of God for not paying taxes seems to suggest the vexation of tradition, culture and devalues the Christian worth of *feagaiga*. While *feagaiga* is more human based, taxation is more power based. Specifically, the former is a retrieval of God's damaging image, a spawning of buoyancy in physical ambitions and a transformation of solidarity equally between individuals in terms of a Godly life. The latter is a circulation of money to gain profits, in terms of materialistic welfare. The former is infinite, and the latter is the opposite. Thus, the consumption of *feagaiga* by taxation can be a wounding of the native's life sources (*lagisoifua*): people, land, sea, traditional belief and so forth.

¹ The point here is that poll taxes affected every Samoan including the church ministers (*feagaiga* relationship). In terms of accommodation, there is no evidence to suggest that poll taxes helped the Christian mission. Evidences show that it was an avenue to develop the municipality and the German's activities.

Appropriately, the paragraph on convergence ends up with an admonition to mutual acceptance instead of one dominating the other. It is worth addressing, in particular, that the government needs to be mindful of the understanding of *feagaiga* as well as the danger of overpowering the spiritual heart of the Samoan life. This thesis argues that the power of *feagaiga* cannot be outplayed by any other power and in the heart of the Samoan life, culture, family and spirituality are the respectable elements of existence. It could be a general warning that the one who has the power of taxation needs to be very cautious and mindful of the destructive potentials of taxation. These potentials can be evident in the Bible and the early stages of Christianity.

5.5 Biblical and Early Christianity revisit

Despite the fact that taxation issues in the Bible and in early Christianity are normally contentious it is important to revisit them as they may have some impulsive hitches of taxation that is worth relating to the history of *feagaiga* and taxation already mentioned. Recent studies of Oden (1984)², Miller (2012), Mitchell (2017), Dickson and Nwaobia (2012), Wayne (1984), Rieger (2018), to name a few, shed light on the nuisances of taxation on biblical Israel and in Jesus' time. In this limited space, according to these studies, taxation was Israel's medium of social, economic, religious and political development, but it turned disastrous when it became an avenue to assert personal supremacy. For example, David's census at the end of 2 Samuel implies enforced taxation which contributes to the famine and his fall. Better, yet, it was a medium of exerting

² This is a huge undertaking in the field of taxation. Oden highlights various occurrences of taxation in Biblical Israel. These are just indications. (1) *mas*/forced labour tax – found in 1 Kings 4: 6; 5: 27-28; 9: 20-22. (2) The Royal taxation system: Judah was exempted but Israel (northern kingdom) paid taxes – 1 Kings 4: 7-19. (3) Emergency tribute levy: taxes paid by enemy and it is proportionate equity. (4) Head/Poll tax: taxes paid annually to the Temple to support priestly officials and the general ritual activities of Israel's state sanctuary. It normally called for strict equity. (5) tithe taxes: normally referred to the 10% and it is voluntary not obligatory. (6) Extorting the poor through taxation: Amos 5: 11.

dominance in Solomon-Rehoboam's dynasties, which also led to the collapse of Israel's monarchy. Obviously, for our limited purpose, taxation was a channel of exerting sovereignty; but worth noting is the fact that the census, accordingly, is a form of taxation similar to poll/head taxes used by Steinberger, Solf and Richardson as an avenue to promote intentionally their dominance. The missionaries might have had in mind the danger of taxation in the beginning of Christian mission, a reason they did not enforce it on church contributions. In Jesus' time, Rieger (2018) identifies the importance of God's created image on the Caesar's coin that Rome could not retrieve. At some stages, he conveys that taxation is serving a wrong (empire) god and power, stating further that power leads to dominance.

In early Christianity, Robert M Grant's *Early Christianity and Society*, identifies the "census" as "(poll tax plus property taxes)" (1978, 46). Grants' huge undertaking of taxation and exemption reveals the rise and downfall of emperors in the Roman Empire because of "extraordinary [or burdensome] taxes" and taxation as a "solution" for the Roman financial problems (1977, 46, 51, 52, 54). What is interesting is that the Romans destroyed the Temple in 70 A.D and Diocletian persecuted the Christians, Jews and Jewish Christians in 302 A.D based on the great wealth of the Temple Tax for the Temple and blaming the Christians for the rise in price of goods. The Romans viewed the temple as "a bank for the valuables of the rich" (Grant 1977, 50). Famine and violence was the consequence of those defects. It was not until emperor Constantine changed the ways of extracting taxes which opened some channels of wealth for Rome. Grant concludes that "inequitable taxation [w]as one of the main causes of the collapse of Rome" (1977, 55).

The aforementioned examples do not serve to foreshadow a collapse of the 2018 Samoan government and the church in the future. Instead, it aims at comparing historical events of the past and present, indicating the destructive potential and consequences of

taxation. For the record, Steinberger, Solf and Richardson are important historical figures essential in the development of Samoa's economic and political affairs which led Samoa to her independence. However, as noted, human beings (as revered by *feagaiga*) were more consumed by the way foreign administrations extracted taxation. Consequently, taxation was one cause of their fall.

At some point, it is worth suggesting that both the Samoan taxation debate 2018 and history of taxation in Samoa, can be hypothesized according to biblical and early church history. This paper vexes about repeating those taxes disorders that can traumatize the dignity of the Samoan tradition and values and the Christian principles, as Grants says, "the power to tax involved [...] the power to destroy" (1977, 65). This points to an inherent power relatedness of taxation which applied to the said historical situations, but seems applicable also to the taxation debate in Samoa. In the Samoan context, *feagaiga* resides in the heart of the Samoan lifeway – culture, family and spirituality – making the existence of Samoans durable. Those with the power to tax should be mindful of all facets of the human existence – people, land, sky and sea – that are venerated by *feagaiga*. An execution of political power through taxation in the Samoan lifeway can weaken the traditional norm of people inherited in 1830 between the Samoans and the *fai'feau*, the identity and unity of life within culture and families, but most importantly, spirituality that strengthens them all.

5.6 An X-Factor

Furthermore, an x-factor is something that is peculiar in *feagaiga* and not in economic relationships. This x-factor is not to suggest an exemption of the church from taxation, nor to put the church under a shade of a big tree, neither to define a boundary between the church and state, or to judge who is right and who is wrong. Instead, it is to mark a difference between them, so that every Samoan, including the church and state,

should be cognizant of it, before it comes to a stage of formulating tax laws. It immediately comes to mind that in the past (1875 onwards), the foreigners who invaded Samoa formulated tax laws. However, in 2018, tax laws were passed and assented by an Independent State government - a fact to consider the importance of the relationship between Samoans themselves and their lifeworld (*lagisoifua*). We learned that *feagaiga* and taxation are life provider entities in which the former is never-ending and the latter is predictable, yet predetermined and restricted. The “never-ending” is more distinctive that defines the peculiarity of *feagaiga* relationships.

Significantly, *feagaiga* and economic relationship existed separately which has discovered that the former is covenantal (non-institutional) and the latter is contractual (institutional). Both obviously existed in a twofold paradigm or a two-party engagement; between a brother and sister and between an employer and its employee. However, looking closely at the degree of vertical-horizontal relationships in *feagaiga* and taxation, *feagaiga* is an engagement of three figures – brother, sister and the cosmos; or village, *fa’afeagaiga* and God. Taxation is restricted in its bi-fold interaction framework (employer, tax and employee) for the benefit of the community and the municipality. Apparently, the *fa’afeagaiga* or *faifeau* are the central figure of the three-party engagement, embodying *feagaiga*. Noticeably, as the central figure, they make a covenant between the village and God and vice versa.

Evidently, there are certain areas that are worth supporting of the threefold paradigm of *feagaiga*. In Fatu’s wish, *feagaiga* was ambiguous but Fatu can be rendered as the third factor to translate the existence of a god (Tagaloalagi) between his children. The ambiguity seemed to unravel in Tapuitema’s life provision by transfiguring into a morning and evening star (cosmos). From a star into a prophet (Nafanua) and into a spirit medium (Siovoli), consolidating the centrality of *feagaiga* between Samoa and God. Such

instances can draw Fatu, Tapuitea, Nafanua and Siovili as the first covenant makers or *fa'afeagaiga*. They are the x-factors of *feagaiga*. Yet, the arrival of Christianity validates *faafeagaiga* as the central figure in the threefold paradigm or the vertical-horizontal relationship of *feagaiga*.

Noticeably, *fa'afeagaiga* or *faifeau* are obliged to translate the Christian God for the Samoans. Unlike some politicians nowadays, they love to talk about theology through social media outlets, but never translate the God of the Preamble over into the taxation policies they make (in the past and present). It is most likely that taxing the *faifeau* is either a way to translate God into taxation – which makes the contract null and void - or to maintain the bi-fold paradigm of the *faifeau* and the village, enabling the government to reduce the covenant into contract or to make the *feagaiga* an institution. Reducing the covenant into a contract verifies Grant's claim that "the power to tax involved [...] the power to destroy" (1977, 65). At the very least, this thesis observes that the hidden pulling forces of taxation ideologically aim to destroy the dignity of the covenant for the power of the state to dominate as a single directive.

CONCLUSION

From our study, it seems evident that *feagaiga* and taxation in the past (what was then) can shed meanings to *feagaiga* and taxation in the present (what it means). First and foremost, the Samoan government in 2018 argued on certain points. They were: *faifeau* and *fa'afeagaiga* were employees; their monetary gifts received from the village or congregation were income; everyone must contribute for the development of the nation and taxation was an avenue to gain revenue. These arguments summed up with a provision of 1900, 1911 and 1924 as only evidence of taxing *faifeau*.

The historical critique of the history of Christianity in Samoa suggested that Samoans began their material pathway from the pre-contact period, during early European settlements when these foreigners took the Samoan tradition of reciprocal gift exchange as bartering, which later turned into a trading habit and finally into taxation activities. From then until 1875, taxation was obscured or not imposed on *faifeau*, but officially became a law when Steinberger firstly administered Samoa in 1875, an imposed directive in Solf's administration from 1900 to 1914 and Richardson's mandate in 1914 to 1924. Evidences revealed that taxation was possibly an avenue for revenue in the development of Samoa which seemed appropriate and convincing. However, this study found that sovereign and dominant intentions to construct exceedingly high extractions were seemingly contagious for the Samoan context. It ended up in rebellions and wars. This contributed to a native call for independence.

As the CCCS contended, evidence showed that *feagaiga* and *fa'afeagaiga* in the Samoan context were not employees and neither the monetary gifts they received were income. It was because their onus of spiritual guidance evolved from firstly, the mythical *feagaiga*; secondly, the priestly and prophetic obligation of a Samoan chief (*matai*) within families, villages, districts and whole of Samoa; and thirdly, Christianity. These occasions

identified *feagaiga* as deeply rooted in traditions, cultures, families and Christianity and concerned more of spaces, boundaries and taboos. It was these roots that also identified *feagaiga* as not confined to a particular individual, but embracing everyone equally. Due to the fact that *fa'afeagaiga* embodied *feagaiga*, or *faiifeau* embodied a Godly life, it could be shown that they were the third and the central figures in the vertical-horizontal relationship of the village and God, which began from Tagaloalagi until the emergence of *faiifeau* (Samoan teachers) around 1860 onwards. Incidentally, it reformed the people's norm of respect towards the representatives of God, taking both the *faiifeau* or *fa'afeagaiga* and reciprocity as a natural tendency. These aspects of *feagaiga* relationships plausibly validate the CCCS' contention that taxation might not be appropriate. Consequently, I resound that for the Samoan government to reconsider the tax law to target the institutional chattels of the church, but not their *fa'afeagaiga* and *faiifeau*.

From a Samoan perspective, the tension between taxation and *feagaiga* in Samoa can almost be likened to a two-fold manifestation of God here on earth, as revealed in two distinctive pathways running parallel, yet in different directions: either shared life and shared item; covenant and contract; non-institution and institution or revered and imposed. The two pathways were the spiritual and material warfare which Samoans faced on a daily basis (past and present). The pursuit of spirituality by the church could be equivalent to the pursuit of tax by the government. In fact, the *feagaiga* was the landscape for which Samoans historically began their spiritual warfare. With regards to taxation, barter, trade or employer-employee framework were a charter for Samoa's material welfare that introduced Samoans in social, economic and political businesses. Masses of tensions and conflicts were proven the after-effects. Such diverged existence caused a

separation of the church and state, but once fused, taxation (state) consumed *feagaiga* (church).

Furthermore, Samoa historically existed in a triadic relationship of culture, family and spirituality as revealed in the brother-sister relationship, covenant at the Pandanus tree, Nafanua's harmonic relationships and Samoa's socio-political structure. It appears that *feagaiga* and taxation could function as control centres which determined the constancy and stiffness of the triad. For the former, God, who existed in *feagaiga* relations and spaces, held and bound the three faces of the triad together, making each face relational and connected. In a form of a triangle, acquiring God in such relationship keeps the triad emitting, but without Him, culture and family remained in a linear skeleton of a godly importance; a situation where the triad became tenuous. In accounting for appeal, nurturing God in the triad, creates a premise that "all things come from God" (Davidson 2004, 135). It means that authority, power, money, material and so forth are in a premise where God owns them.

In the latter (taxation), it was another dynamic that innately involved in a person's life for the welfare of the triad. Taxation, as a source, certifies social, economic and political development, but it symbolized the material worth that people imposed onto others to maintain the triad that people nurtured or disregarded. However, it was an environment of oscillations where God was neither the climax nor a great priority; instead, it was human power and control or sovereignty and dominance over human beings. In fact, history rendered taxation an imposed directive affecting the triad and escaping from it was not a possibility. As an imposed directive, taxation seemed to force the faces of the triad to comply. As a result, each face became vulnerable to a position where power and rule easily penetrated. This penetration of the power to tax seemed to belittle the worth and value of cultural and Christian identity.

A suggestion and recommendation

From a historical perspective, yet a theological disposition, even though consumption of *feagaiga* by taxation could not overcome and extinguish *feagaiga*, their unity could be the best policy. They can be the steering wheels to uphold and maintain the triad coherent and enduring. However, as evident, acquiring material wealth never proves worthy unless *feagaiga* guides it; otherwise, the power of taxation predominates the power of *feagaiga* which can undermine the constancy of the triad. The unity of the two entities is their equal dispensation in the heart of the triad, rather than taxation dominating or consuming *feagaiga*. This ensures that culture and family (the linear skeleton of the triad) would nurture and control their spirit of acquiring a Godly life and worldly materials. In fact, the church is the nucleus of “providing advice on housing, employment, and welfare.” (Davidson 2004, 149).

Moreover, imposing taxation on anybody who receives money could be inappropriate. However, in the three faces of the triadic model, there exist areas in which taxation seems fitting. For instance, Samoan culture consists of chiefs as landowners of cultivating activities and businesses; familial employees and communal developments in the family and community and in the spirituality sphere, are institutional church chattels. These are worth relating to taxation. Taxation beyond these existing areas would administer power and rule to predominate until the triad weakens and collapses. In fact, “*feagaiga* [is] an attunement [that] one tries not to overreach” (Tuagalau 2008, 296) - a fact to certify that taxation cannot outplay *feagaiga*.

Finally, this thesis recommends a study that weaves all theological disciplines together – Biblical, Theology, Ministry and History – to further strengthen the importance and understanding of *feagaiga* and taxation in Samoa.

Appendix 1

Income Tax Amendment 2017

2017 *Income Tax Amendment* No. 11

SAMOA

Arrangement of Provisions

Short title and commencement

Section 2 amended

Section 61 amended

Section 66 amended

Section 93 amended

Section 104A amended

Schedule 1 amended

Schedule 2 amended

Consequential amendment

2017, No. 11

AN ACT to amend the Income Tax Act 2012 (“principal Act”).

[30th June 2017]

BE IT ENACTED by the Legislative Assembly of Samoa in Parliament assembled as follows:

2 *Income Tax Amendment* 2017, No. 11

Short title and commencement:

- (1) This Act may be cited as the Income Tax Amendment Act 2017.
- (2) This Act commences as follows:
 - (a) sections 1, 4, 6 and 7(c) on 1 July 2017;
 - (b) sections 2, 3, 5, 7(a) and (b), 8(a) and 9 on 1 January 2018; and
 - (c) section 8(b) on a date nominated by the Minister.

Section 2 amended:

Section 2 of the principal Act is amended as follows:

- (a) for the definition of “employee”, substitute ““employee” means an individual engaged in employment and includes minister of religion”; and
- (b) insert:

““minister of religion” means an individual:

who is ordained, commissioned, appointed, or otherwise holds an office or position, regardless of their title or designation, as a minister of a religious denomination or community that meets the charitable purpose for the advancement of religion;

whose duties are related mainly to the practice or advancement of religious beliefs; and

whose duties are performed on a regular basis.”.

Section 61 amended:

In section 61 of the principal Act:

(a) in subsection (1), after paragraph (f), substitute “full stop” with “semi colon” and insert:

2017, No. 11 *Income Tax Amendment* 3

“(g) income of minister of religion.”;

(b) after subsection (9), insert:

“(10) For the purposes of this section, the income of a minister of religion whose sole occupation is the spiritual guidance of a specific congregation in Samoa is comprised of:

contributions made by members of the congregation; and

income received from performing services in their role as church ministers.”.

Section 66 amended:

In section 66(1) of the principal Act, repeal paragraph (c).

Section 93 amended:

In section 93 of the principal Act:

(a) after subsection (2), insert:

“(3) Subsection (1) does not apply to a minister of religion as the minister of religion will be responsible for withholding tax from his or her salary and wage income.”.

(b) after section 93, insert:

“93A. Obligation to file salary and wage tax return:

(1) An employer must file a salary and wage tax return on a monthly basis setting out salary and wage income received by an employee.

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(2) Subsection (1) does not apply to minister of religion.

(3) A minister of religion can either choose to file his or her own salary and wage tax return on a monthly basis or choose a third party to fulfil his or her reporting obligations.

(4) Where a minister of religion chooses a third party to fulfil their reporting obligations under this section, the minister of religion must remain responsible for fulfilling these reporting requirements and the actions of the third party are imputed to the minister of religion.”.

Section 104A amended:

In section 104A of the principal Act, for subsection (5), substitute:

“(5) This section expires on 30 June 2017, without affecting the validity of anything done or suffered under this section or any right, interest, or title already acquired, accrued, or established, or any remedy or proceeding for any credit allowed under this section.”.

Schedule 1 amended:

In Schedule 1 of the principal Act:

- (a) in clause (1), for the table, substitute:

| Taxable Income (\$) | Rate of Tax |
|---------------------|-------------|
| 0 - 15,000 | NIL |
| 15,001 - 25,000 | 20% |
| 25,001 + | 27% |

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- in clause (7), for the table substitute:

| Salary and wage income for fortnight (\$) | Rate of salary wage and income tax |
|-------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 0 - 576 | NIL |
| 577 - 962 | 20% |
| 963+ | 27% |

- for clause (8), substitute:

“(8) If an asset is sold within 12 months, the rate of capital gains tax is 10%; and if sold over 12 months, the rate of capital gains tax is 27%.”.

Schedule 2 amended:

In Schedule 2 of the principal Act:

- (a) in Part A (1), paragraph (l) is repealed;
- (b) in Part B (1), for paragraph (h), substitute:
“(h) 50% of the income tax payable to be paid only by exporters of goods (re-export excluded) provided exporters remit back to Samoa 100% of profits from overseas sales of exports.”.

Consequential amendment:

In section 6 of the Head of State Act 1965, repeal paragraph

- (a).

The Income Tax Amendment Act 2017 is administered by the Ministry for Revenue.

Printed by the Clerk of the Legislative Assembly, by authority of the Legislative Assembly

Appendix 2

Summon

(SECOND SCHEDULE)
(FORM 2)
Section 20
Jus 57

SUMMONS TO ACCUSED

In the District Court of Samoa

Held at APIA

Between Commissioner of Inland Revenue, Savalalo, *Informant,*

And Reverend Amosa Reupena, Minister of Religion of Vaimoso
Defendant,

Whereas 2 Informations have been laid against you by the above-named informant, that on various dates, you:


- (i) Failed to file 5 salary and wage tax returns; and
- (ii) Failed to withhold tax from salary and wage income.

TAX ADMINISTRATION ACT 2012: Section 70 & Section 71

You are therefore summoned to appear before this Court at Court Room No. 4 on the 11th day of December 2018, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, at Courthouse at Apia, there to answer the charge so made against you.

Dated at Apia this 21st day of Nov 2018

To the above-named defendant.


I
 (Deputy)Registrar

Rid 04/12/2018

Appendix 3

"O LE SAVALI" NEWSPAPER

(Letter 22 Juni 2018 has attached copies of 1906, 1911 and 1924)

NUMERA 8.  APELIA 

O LE SAVALI.

O le nusipepa faa-le-Malo, ua faasalalauina e le Malo Kaisalika,
mo Samoa uma. Lomia i masina uma i Apia.

**Talaiga i Samoa uma mo le
Lafoga o le Tausaga 1906.**

Iua ia tusa ma le faatonuga na faia e lana Afoga a le Kovana ma folafolaina i le fonotaga i Mulivuu i le aso 12 o Setema 1905, (silasila i le Savali, Numera 2). O lea foi ou te faatonu atu ai nei e faapea:—

1. Ia lafo tupe matai ma faifea o Lotu ia tofua ma le tai 12 Maka—e tusa lea i le Tolu Talu: a o tauleleia ia lafo tupe e tofua ma le tai 8 Maka—e tusa i le Lua Talu.
2. Ia totogi afe lafoga uma i Pulenuu a o le'i silia le aso 30 o Iuni. O Pulenuu foi ia latou tuu atu ni pepa lisiti o lafoga ua totogi.
3. O Pulenuu o Upolu ia latou tuuina atu tupe o lafoga ua maua i le Fale Tiute i Apia, a o Pulenuu o Savaii ia latou tuu atu a latou lafoga i le Ametimani i Matautu, Savaii.
4. Ia tofua foi le Pulenuu ma tuuina mai sana pepa o igoa o ē ua totogi lafoga, ma se tasi foi pepa o igoa o i latou na e le'i totogiane a latou lafoga.
5. O tagata atunuu uma lava o loo fai ni o latou fanua moni i Samoa nei, poo loo mau ai i ni aiga Samoa, poo galulue i ni papalagi, ia latou totogi lava lena lafoga. E faapea foi tamauti ma nisi tagata atunuu. Ae yaganā tamauti nā, atoa ma nisi o i ai, ua annaia i Samoa nei ona ua fai feagaiga totogi-tausaga; o i latou na ua faatagaina e le 'a'ua i lena lafoga.
6. O tagata uma lava ua le totogia lena lafoga i le aso 30 o Iuni 1906 o le a tofua ma totogi le tai 8 Maka, poo le Lua Talu, o le faasala lea e toe faapoopo afe i tupe moni o a latou lafoga ma tuuina i le fale puipui i le vaiaso sa e tasi ma faigaluega mamafa ai i le ala o le Malo.

Apia, Mati 8. 1906.

SCHULTZ,
Sui Kovana Kaisalika.

Silasila Mai.

Ua maua e le Sui Kovana le tusi mai le Kovana i Pago Pago e uiga i malaga e malia atu i Tutuila.

O le mea lea na faaali atu ai, a malaga atu se tasi poo nisi i Tutuila, ia muai tuu atu le tusi folau i le Failautusi Sili mo sauniga Samoa i le Fale Faamasino i Pago Pago. Silasila i le mataupu ua lomia i le Faatonu a le Malo o Amerika ua faasalalauina i Tutuila ma Manu'a na tusia i lelo e faapea:—

(O le ata)

Ua poloaina nei e lana Afoga le Kovana Sili o malaga Samoa uma na taunuu i Tutuila mai Upolu poo nisi nuu i tua, ia ave atu lo latou tusi pasi i le Failautusi Sili mo sauniga Samoa, ina ia faamau igoa uma o le malaga. Afai ua lē nonofo telei le malaga i Tutuila ma lē usiusitai i tulafono o le Malo, faapea foi ma tulafono faa-le-nuu, ona faia lea e tusa i le finagalo o le Kovana Sili, pe vave ona ē ese pe leai.

O solitulafono o le a faamasipoina e tusa i le tulafono, ma faaoo atu foi le sala i ē na solitulafono.

Sa lomia ma faasalalauina i lo tatou atunuu i le Savali o Fepuēli, le mataupu i "tōga", ina ia mafai cna filifili i tu ma masani a lo tatou atunuu, i mea e tupu ai le mativa, o lea na lomia ai le taofi o nisi a'ii e toalua. A ua maua nei foi ni tusi e le Alii Sui Kovana, mai lea nuu ma lea nuu, ua tutupu ai sefinauaiga ma tana'imisaga i nisi itu o lo tatou atunuu, ona o lena lava mataupu, ua avea la tatou oloa taua ma mea e ui mai ai mala e i ai maseiga faatupu agasala, ma ua vale ai foi le feagaiga ma tamafafine, e faapea foi le va o tapau ma faleupolu.

Appendix 4

MCS and RCC Establishments: A brief account

Historically, certain events and peoples certify the arrival of the **Methodist mission**. In brief, these include the “1830 agreement” in Rarotonga, Williams and Malietoa’s refusal for a teacher, Saivaaia’s report of the lotu Tonga in 1828, Lilomaiava’s petition for a teacher, Tauinaula’s search for a teacher in 1831, Peter Turner’s mission in 1835, Turner’s dismissal and the suspension of the mission in 1839, and its re-emergence in 1857 by Reverend Dyson and George Brown. In the **Roman Catholic mission**, events and people attest their success in Samoa despite some frailties before, during and after arrival. The events include the 16th century enmity between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics, their unwelcome landing from Falealupo, Safune, Matautu, until Lealatele in 1845 where the first RC mass occurred, their reception in Salelavalu when Lealatele people motioned them as “tali pope”, their search for landing in Apia in the village of Lepea but the LMS strongly opposed them, and the proper landing at Mulinuu Peninsula when Mataafa Fagamanu intervened the LMS opposition and accepted them cordially. Concerning the major characters, Father Roudaire (Lutovi’o), Father Violette (Saipele) and two lay Brothers named Ioakimo and Kosetatino entered Samoa via a ship called *L’Etoile de la Mer* from the Uvea (Wallis) Island. Others were Tuala Taetafe or Tuala Talipope, George Pritchard (a British consul), Faumuina of Lepea, and most importantly the paring of Tui Uvea called Lavelua and Mataafa Fagamanu. In fact, Mataafa was a Methodist who received a letter from Tui Uvea to accept the Roman Catholic mission as a token of his (Mataafa) exile in Wallis where Tui Uvea paid homage to him. Studies by Gilson (1970), Meleisea (1987), Garret (1985), Howe (1984), to name a few, have absolute accounts on these churches’ mission and establishments. However, these studies lack accounts on *taeao* (morning).

Glossary

| | | |
|--------------------------|---|---------------------------------------------------|
| <i>āiga</i> | - | family |
| <i>ao fa'alupega</i> | - | honorific title given to the church minister |
| <i>'aualuma</i> | - | sisters/daughters of local men or untitled chiefs |
| <i>'aumaga/taulele'a</i> | - | untitled chiefs |
| <i>alii o āiga</i> | - | man of the family |
| <i>alofa</i> | - | love |
| <i>'ava</i> | - | kava |
| <i>'ie o le feagaiga</i> | - | mat of the covenant |
| <i>'ie toga</i> | - | fine mat |
| <i>īfoga</i> | - | apology; reconciliation |
| <i>ipu o le feagaiga</i> | - | cup of the covenant |
| <i>itumalō</i> | - | district |
| <i>osi feagaiga</i> | - | covenanted; covenant ceremony |
| <i>fa'aaloalo</i> | - | respect |
| <i>fa'afeagaiga</i> | - | covenant maker |
| <i>fa'amatai</i> | - | chiefly system |
| <i>faaSamoa</i> | - | Samoan lifeway; Samoan way of life |
| <i>faiā</i> | - | relationship; related |
| <i>faiʻfeau</i> | - | pastor; church minister |
| <i>faigā taulaga</i> | - | sacrifice; offering |
| <i>failotu</i> | - | devotional leader; priest |
| <i>feagaiga</i> | - | covenant; sister |
| <i>faletele</i> | - | large dwelling or house |
| <i>fasa</i> | - | Pandanus tree |

| | | |
|----------------------------|---|------------------------------------------------|
| <i>lagisoifua</i> | - | lifeworld; life source |
| <i>lelei</i> | - | good; virtuous |
| <i>loto fuatiaifo</i> | - | freewill; freely; generously |
| <i>matai</i> | - | chief; orator |
| <i>matai alii</i> | - | high chiefs |
| <i>mātua</i> | - | parents |
| <i>nofotane</i> | - | wife |
| <i>nu'u</i> | - | village |
| <i>nu'u o alii</i> | - | village or group of chiefs |
| <i>nu'u o tamaita'i</i> | - | village or group of women or ladies |
| <i>pālagi</i> | - | foreigner; exploded/burst/fall from heaven/sky |
| <i>sau</i> | - | food; blessings |
| <i>siapo</i> | - | native cloth |
| <i>soālaupule</i> | - | to discuss; to converse |
| <i>suivaaia o le Atua</i> | - | a representative/subject of God |
| <i>taeao</i> | - | morning/today/tomorrow |
| <i>tafa'ifā</i> | - | four dignities/titles/heads |
| <i>taulaga</i> | - | sacrifice/offering |
| <i>taulaitu</i> | - | traditional spirits |
| <i>taulagi/taulagilagi</i> | - | to correspond/to speak to/to converse/to tune |
| <i>tausī nu'u</i> | - | look after the village |
| <i>talalelei</i> | - | good news; gospel; salvation |
| <i>tamasā</i> | - | sacred child |
| <i>tama'ita'i</i> | - | lady; women |
| <i>tapu</i> | - | taboo |

| | | |
|--------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| <i>tofiga o le vavau</i> | - | eternal inheritance |
| <i>tuāoi</i> | - | boundary; neighbour; confine |
| <i>va 'a lotu</i> | - | praying ship/vessel |
| <i>va tapuia</i> | - | sacred space/relationship |

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