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"MANONO: O LE MOTU O LE FEAGAIGA"

(Manono: The Island of the Covenant)

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A Thesis

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INTRODUCTION

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INTRODUCTION

It is without doubt, a lot has been written on the history of Samoa. However a lot more concerning Samoa's history needed further research and study. This urge prompted me to do a study on Manono Island. It is to be noted that my reference to Manono includes Apolima as well. Manono designated: '*O le Motu o le Feagaiga*' (The Island of the Covenant) draws much attention on this controversial concept '*Feagaiga*' (Covenant, Agreement and so forth). The '*feagaiga*' concept holds a very significant place in Samoa's custom and culture. It is a very delicate issue in Samoan Society because it has a connotation of bringing 'blessing' or 'curse'. Adherence to the '*feagaiga*' brings blessing, and 'curses' when the '*feagaiga*' is breached or broken. Samoa had this belief about the '*feagaiga*' well before the arrival of Christianity, with the same understanding about God's '*feagaiga*' (covenant) with Israel.

The term '*feagaiga*' is a noun derived from the verb '*feagai*' which literally means 'to be opposite to each other', 'to correspond', or 'to be on good terms'.¹ The verb '*feagai*' denotes an action of 'coming face to face' or 'living together in harmony'. It is also used of two parties 'corresponding to one another' or 'entering into a verbal mutual agreement'. Thus, '*feagaiga*' could mean a relationship between two people. It could also mean a 'correspondence', 'an agreement' or the christian rendering 'covenant'. Thus, mentioning the term, '*feagaiga*' could mean 'a person' or 'a verbal agreement'.

In traditional Samoan Culture, there were basically three main types of '*feagaiga*'. They were referred to as '*feagaiga tamaitai*', '*feagaiga mavaega*' and '*feagaiga tofiga*'. The most popular application refers to the '*tamaitai*' (lady) or '*tuafafine*' (sister) as a '*feagaiga*'. Verbal agreements, like '*mavaega*' and '*tofiga*' are also treated as '*feagaiga*'.

The '*feagaiga tamaitai*' denotes a special relationship between the '*tuafafine*' and her '*tuagane*' (brother). This is an unwritten code of Samoan life. Any Samoan male has in his blood the understanding that his *tuafafine* or sister is his '*feagaiga*'. The '*tuafafine*' is treated with great honour and respect. It is the duty of the '*tuagane*' to protect the '*feagaiga*'. A

Samoan saying about this relationship is as follows: '*O le ioimata o le tuagane o lona tuafafine*' (A sister is the pupil of her brother's eye). This indicates the care and protection demanded of the brother for his sister. The services rendered by the '*tuagane*' to the '*feagaiga*' is expressed in another Samoan saying: '*E mu mata o le tuagane i lona tuafafine*' (The brother's eyes are burnt for his sister). However, this '*feagaiga*' between the '*tuafafine*' and '*tuagane*' is rooted in a unique Samoan tradition, honouring the '*teinemuli*' or '*taupou*' (virginity) of the '*feagaiga*'. In old Samoan culture for a '*tuafafine*' or '*tamaitai*' to maintain her virginity, it meant a lot for her '*tuagane*' and '*aiga*' (family). Her brothers and family would be respected and honoured. As for the '*tuafafine*' she would be recognised as a '*taupou*' (fit to sit at the post) in honour of her virginity. The Roman Catholic missionaries immediately adopt the idea by naming their lady missionaries '*Taupousa*'² – (Sacred Virgins). This Virginity Cult is closely associated with the 'defloration ceremony'³ widely practiced in old Samoan traditional wedding ceremonies. In response to the services offered by her brothers and family, the '*feagaiga*' had a lot of roles to do. The '*feagaiga*'s' role is reflected in her various titles, '*faioa*' (economic source), '*taulasea* (healer), '*pae ma le auli*' (peacemaker), '*tausala*' (redeemer), and '*ositaulaga*' (priestess).

'*Mavaega*' is a noun derived from the verb '*mavae*' which literally means 'to part' or 'to split'. '*Mavaega*' refers to a 'death-bed statement' or 'last wish' made by a family chief to his children and '*aiga potopoto*' (extended family). Normally, it is an oral request concerning the appointment of a successor to hold the '*matai*' title of a family. It is often accompanied by an oath to be adhered to by all members of the family. This oath confirms the acceptance and recognition of the '*mavaega*'. Consequently, a '*feagaiga*' has been created and bonded between the dying chief and his family.

¹ Pratt, G: "*Pratt's Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language*"; Reprinted Malua Printing Press, Apia, Samoa, 1977; pg.139.

² Aiono, Dr. Fanaafi: "*O le Faasinomaga*"; Lamepa Press, Alafua, Apia, Samoa, 1997; pg.19.

³ Kramer and Theodore Verhaaren (Trans.): "*The Samoa Islands, Vol. I*"; Polynesian Press, Samoa House, Auckland Aotearoa, New Zealand, 1994; pg.39.

For instance, Muagututia's '*mavaega*'⁴, Talaifeii's '*mavaega*'⁵ and Malietoa's '*mavaega*'⁶. '*Tofiga*' comes from the verb '*tofi*' which means 'to appoint' or 'to inherit'. This could be a further development of the '*feagaiga mavaega*'. Basically, however '*tofiga*' (inheritance or appointment) is most particular to land division or settlement allotment. Samoa is always regarded as Samoans '*tofi*' (heritage) from the gods (God). Some examples are Tonumaiepa Lafai Sauoaiga's '*tofiga*'⁷ and Tuiaana Pili's '*tofiga*'⁸.

All these types of '*feagaiga*' have a great impact on Samoan customs and culture. Their significance lies in many of the origin of certain aspects of Samoan customs and culture. For example, the origin of the high chiefly title Malietoa.⁹ Moreover, the division of Upolu into its unique four main districts, and so forth.

⁴ Muagututia, a chief of the Sa Tupua family was very ill and was about to die. He called his family together and made this '*mavaega*' to his chief orators Lufilufi and Leulumoega. "Lufilufi ma Leulumoega, o si o'u atalii o Tupua, o le a outou feagai; a'o si o'u atalii o Fepuleai, o le a tautua." (Lufilufi and Leulumoega, my son Tupua will be your chief; and my son Fepuleai will serve). This '*mavaega*' is still recognised and respected today. Tupua is a high-ranking title of the Sa Tupua family. Fepuleai is also a '*matai*' title of the Sa Tupua family serving Tupua.

⁵ Talaifeii was the Tongan chief that ruled Samoa in the final years of Tongan domination of Samoa. He was defeated and chased out of Samoa by the brave brothers Tuna and Fata who were the sons of Leatiogie, a brave warrior of Tuamasaga in Upolu. Tradition tells that Talaifeii managed to escape to a spot known as Tulatala on the western side of Upolu opposite Manono where his fleet of war-canoes anchored. There he made this '*mavaega*':

Ua malie toa Ua malie tau	Sweet warrior Sweet victory
O le a ou alu ou te le toe sau	I shall leave not to return
A ou toe sau o le auliuli folau	If I return, just to visit
Ae le o se auliuli tau	But not for war.

⁶ Malietoa Uituaagi, a chief of the Malietoa family at Tuamasaga pretended to be ill. His son La'auli who had two beautiful wives came to visit his sick father. La'auli knew that his father was not sick. La'auli told one of his wives to go and sit at his father's feet and massage his lower body. Malietoa asked, who was sitting at his head. La'auli replied it was him. Malietoa again asked who was sitting at his feet. La'auli told him it was one of his wives. Malietoa sat up and thanked his son La'auli for his kindness. Malietoa thus made a '*mavaega*' that La'auli was to be his successor to the title Malietoa. As for the beautiful wives they were honoured with the female chiefly titles '*papa*' – Gatoaitale and Vaetamasoalii.

⁷ According to Samoan tradition, Tonumaiepa Lafai Sauoaiga a chief of Savaii made the following '*tofiga*' to his sons. Tonumaiepa had two wives. He had two sons from his first wife and one from his second wife. The wives learned that Tonumaiepa was seriously ill. They secretly sent their sons to visit their sick father with the intention of inheriting their father's title. Tonumaiepa knew of his wife's motives, as his sons arrived at his place, all at once Tonumaiepa made their '*tofiga*' to his sons. He called his eldest son 'Luapitofanua'. He called his second son 'Ufagalilo' – (An arrow shot in the dark), to commemorate their mother's actions. The youngest son was named 'Lafaialii' (Lafai the chief and the heir to the '*papa*' (title) of Tonumaiepa.

⁸ Tuiaana Pili, a chief of Aana made his '*tofiga*' to his sons that resulted in the emergence of the four main districts of Upolu namely – Atua, Tuamasaga, Aana and Aiga-ile-tai.

⁹ The title Malietoa originated from Talaifeii's '*feagaiga mavaega*' with the Samoan people.

In our study, we shall concentrate mainly on the '*Feagaiga Tofiga*' especially on Tuia'ana Pili's '*tofiga*', that designated his youngest son, Tolufale to the district of '*Aiga-ile-tai*' (Home in the ocean). '*Aiga-ile-tai*' district include Manono, Apolima Island, Mulifanua and Afolau (a village of Mulifanua).

Attempting a study of this calibre is not an easy task, especially in Samoan history. This is because in Samoan tradition, there are several versions held by different groups, concerning an important historical event. However, in this study, attention is focused on traditions peculiar to Manono Island. Scholarly advice from Sione Latukefu, Tuiatua Tamasese Efi and H. E. Maude is taken with caution. Sione Latukefu, a Tongan historian rejected the idea that Oral Tradition have no historical value whatsoever. He suggested, the requirements for the successful use of oral tradition, included a good knowledge of culture.¹⁰

Tuiatua Tupua Tamasese Efi echoed the same thoughts. He agreed with Sione Latukefu on the importance of Oral Tradition to the study of history. He stressed the relevance of 'language, names, honorific, genealogy, ritual and chants to historical analysis'.¹¹ H. E. Maude wrote: "...use of oral tradition by Percy Smith and other Pacific Specialists... coupled with development of the functional school of anthropology by Malinowski and Ratcliffe Brown, resulted in a reaction which largely rejected the historicity of tradition."¹²

The aim of this study is to look into the cultural, social, political and religious involvement of Manono in the history of Samoa. It explores the significance of Manono's geographical location and her relationship with, and to Samoa as a whole through intermarriages and other connections. It is hoped that in the end, we might understand Manono's role as a '*feagaiga tofiga*' and her contribution to Samoa's history.

¹⁰ Sione Latukefu: "*Oral, present and Future*"; Article on Pacific History; Journal of Pacific History, Vol. 3, 1968; pg.36.

¹¹ Tuiatua Tupua Tamasese Efi: Oral Tradition; Journal of Pacific History, Vol. 3, 1968; pg.140.

¹² H. E. Maude: "*Past, Present and Future*"; Article on Pacific History; Journal of Pacific History, Vol. 6, 1971; pg.8)

This project contains four chapters. In Chapter One, discussion is centered on the origin of Manono as told in Oral Tradition, and the importance of Manono Island in the Cultural history of Samoa. Chapter Two deals with the role Manono played in the Social and Political life of Samoa. Attention is drawn to some prominent political figures of Manono Island. Chapter Three discusses the significance of Manono Island in the religious history of Samoa. Discussion is directed to various aspects of Manono's role and involvement in the acceptance of Christianity in Samoa. Chapter four is a summary of the discussions and conclusion.

There was a couple named Tea and Lope who lived in Fij and had two sons. The elder was called Manono, and the youngest was called a name. The brothers were always quarrelling. One day, they fought and chased each other to the sea. The younger brother was very angry, and was in pursuit of his older brother. The couple saw the reason growing bitter; they took hold of two species of fish (one was called 'mala' and the other 'mala'). As they approached their sons, the younger boy had caught up with Manono. He came up with a spear in hand to kill his brother. Tea arrived just in time to 'catch the boy's hand' (apo le lima) and saved his older son's life. The younger boy cried in anger and jumped into the sea. He became the island of Apo-le-lima (Apulima) named after the saving act of Tea. It is told that the boy's tears could still be seen in a small creek flowing at the island of Apulima today. Tea was very sad by his son's fate. He told Manono to go and live to the south-western side of Apulima and that the origin of Manono. Tea's wife, Lope was told to live between the two boys with the two species of fish to feed her children. Lope became a small island called Nu'ulope between Manono and Apulima. According to the local the two species of fish 'mala' and 'mala' still exist in abundance off Nu'ulope Island today. As for Tea, he became a very big fish called the Mala. According to the tradition, he acted as guardian for his family.

The next legend told that:

A Tufiti had three sons, Lantala, Sa'una and Gogo. Each had a special duty to perform in their family. One day the Tufiti hosted a feast for his village chiefs. The boys attended to their assigned duties. Lantala attended to the domestic duties in the house. Sa'una hurried in preparation of food while Gogo went fishing. Gogo had a hard time trying to catch a fish. He finally succeeded and rushed home with his catch. Unfortunately, he was far too late as the feast had ended. Arriving home, he placed the fish before his father. Tufiti was very angry at Gogo for turning up very late. He grabbed Gogo's fishing spear and threw it at Gogo. Gogo dodged the spear and ran away. The day ended but there was no sign of Gogo. Lantala told

¹ Personal interview with Lantala Sa'una, 27 Jan. 2000.

² Personal interview with Fij, 27 Jan. 2000.

CHAPTER ONE

THE ORIGIN AND CULTURAL IMPORTANCE OF MANONO.

The origin of Manono Island is told by many legends. I would like to relate the two versions upheld by the orators of Manono and its neighbouring Island, Apolima. The first says:

There was a couple named Tea and Lopa who lived in Fiji and had two sons. The eldest was called Manono, and the youngest was without a name. The brothers were always quarreling. One day, they fought and chased each other to the sea. The younger brother was very angry and went in pursuit of his older brother. The couple saw the tension growing bitter, they took hold of two species of fish (anae and malau) and followed their children into the open sea. As they approached their sons, the younger boy had caught up with Manono. He stood up with a spear in hand to kill his brother. Tea arrived just in time to 'catch the boy's hand' (apo le lima) and saved his older son's life. The younger boy cried in anger and jumped into the sea. He became the island of Apo-le-lima (Apolima) named after the saving act of Tea. It is told that the boy's tears could still be seen in a small creek flowing at the island of Apolima today. Tea was very sad by his son's fate. He told Manono to go and live to the southwestern side of Apolima and thus the origin of Manono. Tea's wife, Lopa was told to live between the two boys with the two species of fish to feed her children. Lopa became a small island called Nu'ulopa between Manono and Apolima. According to the locals the two species of fish 'anae' and 'malau' still exist in abundance off Nuulopa Island today. As for Tea, he became a very big fish called the Malatea. According to this tradition, he acted as guardian for his family.¹³

The next legend goes thus:

A Tuifiti had three sons; Lautala, Sa'uma and Gogo. Each had a special duty to perform in their family. One day the Tuifiti hosted a feast for his village chiefs. The boys attended to their assigned duties. Lautala attended to the domestic duties in the house Sauma hurried in preparation of food while Gogo went fishing. Gogo had a hard time trying to catch a fish. He finally succeeded and rushed home with his catch. Unfortunately, he was far too late as the feast had ended. Arriving home, he placed the fish in front of his father. Tuifiti was very angry at Gogo for turning up very late. He grabbed Gogo's fishing spear and threw it at Gogo. Gogo dodged the spear and ran away. The day ended but there was no sign of Gogo. Lautala told

¹³ "Personal interview with Leiataua Pesa"; Salua; 27 Jan., 2000.

"Personal interview with Futi Iese"; Faleu; 27 Jan., 2000.

Sa'uma to go and look for their brother. Sa'uma found Gogo still crying at the end of the island. Sa'uma consoled Gogo to come home with him, but Gogo refused. He told Sa'uma he was planning to go and find another place to live as their father was unkind to him. Sa'uma loved his brother very much and offered to go with him. Their plan was revealed to Lautala who supported it, and promised that some day would search for them. They bade farewell and the pair departed. On their way, they met Tuifiti's '*ilamutu*' (super human servant). The '*ilamutu*' knew what had happened and told the boys to take some *eleele ma papa* (soil and rocks) as gifts for their journey. The brothers arrived in Samoa where they met Tagaloaalagi,¹⁴ who inquired; '*Pe iai se oso o le malaga*' (If they had any gift for their trip). They replied that they had brought only *eleele* (soil) and *papa* (rocks). Tagaloa told them to cast the soil into the sea. They did so and an island was formed. Tagaloa told Gogo to take the island for himself and thus was the origin of the island, for Gogo know today as Manono. Sauma was told to take the boat further into the deep. Tagaloa told him to cast down the rocks. Sauma did as he was told but as the rocks were heavy, Tagaloa urged him to support it with his hands (*apo-i-lima*). He managed his task and an island was formed and was called Apolima. Sa'uma was given that island and his name is honoured as a chiefly title of that island today. The salutation of Apolima is: *Susu mai Sa Sa'u ma Sa'uma. Lau fetalaiga Leva'a ma Tautaiolevao* (Honoured Sa Sa'u ma Sa'uma. Your speaker Leva'a and Tautaiolevao).¹⁵

Just as there are many traditions concerning Manono's origin, there are also several traditions as to how it obtained the title 'Island of the Feagaiga'. According to Samoan tradition, Manono became important because of Pili and his sons. Pili was a descendant of the famous Lu, who had a *sa* (taboo) for his *moa* (chickens). Lu's *moa* were not to be eaten or touched by anyone. Lu's *moa* were treated as sacred. Many believes this was the origin of the name Samoa.¹⁶ Tradition tells that Tagaloa-a-lagi violated Lu's taboo on his chickens. A great war was fought and Tagaloa was defeated. In order to save his abode and people, Tagaloa offered his sister Lagituaiva to become Lu's wife. Lu agreed and took Lagituaiva as his wife. From this lineage of descendants came Pili who was also known as Pilia'au. Pilia'au married Sinaaletava'e, the daughter of Tuia'ana Tava'etele and had four sons; Tua, Ana, Saga and Tolufale.¹⁷

¹⁴ Supreme god of old Samoa, known as Tagaloa of the heavens.

¹⁵ Personal interview with Leva'a Auapa'au Sauaso (Tu'ua of Apolima and a matai of Salua Village at Manono); 01.Mar.2000.

¹⁶ The name Samoa is taken from Lu 'sa' of his 'moa'.

¹⁷ Kramer, "The Samoa Islands"; Vol. I; pg.26.

According to tradition, Pili nearing his death made his *'tofiga'* to his sons. Tua was given the *'oso'* (planting stick) and was told to reside at the eastern part of Upolu. His district was called Atua after his name. Ana was given the *'tao'* and *'uatogi'* (spear and club). He resided on the western part of Upolu and his district was called A'ana. Saga was given the *'to'oto'o'* and *'fue'* (orator's staff and flywhisk). He lived at central Upolu and his district was known as Tuamasaga. Tolufale was told to live at Manono Island and his district was known as *Aiga-ile-tai* (home in the sea). The items they received from their father signified their various duties. Tua was to till the land for food. Ana was to become a warrior while Saga became an orator. As for Tolufale, his duty was to supervise and oversee the duties of his brothers. Since Pili did not have a daughter, he advised his older sons to serve and protect their young brother, as a *'feagaiga'* amongst themselves. According to tradition, this *'feagaiga tofiga'* made Tolufale and his island Manono the *'feagaiga'* for the island of Upolu.¹⁸ All his brothers served and protected Manono as their *'feagaiga'*. Pili's *'tofiga'* to his sons bears great significance on Samoa as a whole. Geographically, Atua district has the most fertile and arable land suitable for agriculture. Tuamasaga became as orators. Aana was known for the bravery of her warriors. Aiga-ile-Tai was regarded as the *'feagaiga'* for all other districts.

The other tradition regarding Manono as the *'Island of the Feagaiga'* came about because of Leiataua, a high chief of Manono. There is a saying: "O Leiataua o le Feagaiga a Pule (Savaii) ma Tumua (Upolu)." (Leiataua is the *'feagaiga'* for Pule and Tumua). According to tradition, Tumua and Pule had a meeting to discuss Malietoa's leadership. Malietoa was accused of wrongdoing and Tumua and Pule doubted his leadership. The meeting engaged in a heated debate for the first day. A settlement was not reached, and it reconvened on the second day. The orator representing Tumua known as *'tootoo o le malae'* (staff of the green) proposed that Malietoa should be executed. The orator representing Pule, known as *'tootoo o le a'ava'* (staff of bitterness) disagreed. They suggested that Malietoa should be exiled. The second day ended without a result.

On the third day, it looked like a settlement could not be reached. As the day ended, Tumua and Pule requested an opinion from their *'feagaiga'*, Leiataua. Leiataua told the meeting that

¹⁸ "Personal interview with Tanuvasa Solomona"; Fasitootai; 11 Feb. 2000.

Malietao should be sent to an uninhabited island off the coast of Faleula Village, called Malolo,¹⁹ for at least a week, to think about his behaviour that had caused much trouble for the people. After that period, Malietao should return and be their leader. Leiataua's speech was accepted with great appreciation by both sides and all who had gathered. Malietao was sent to Malolo. As for Leiataua, he was given the salutation ; "O le susuga tu tasi o Leiataua Lesa." (Leiataua Lesa has the final say).²⁰

Culturally, respect for Manono as '*feagaiga a Pule ma Tumua*' could be found in oratory. In Samoa's culture, orators usually debated to find a speaker to present the formal speech on an important occasion. Well known orators like Leulumoega, Lufilufi, Tuisamau, Auimatagi and others from Savaii would try their best to win the debate. This custom would go on for a long period of time if the orators could not agree on one speaker. In such circumstances, a Manono orator could intervene. In the case of a Manono orator's intervention it would be obvious then, that no one would do the speech but a Manono orator. For example, an incident that happened during the last session of the Samoan Parliament in 1987.²¹ It was customary for a speaker to reply to the speech given by the Prime Minister. A heated debate went on for some time in Parliament to find a speaker. Sa'u Lo'ivao who was the representative for Manono in Parliament at the time, intervened and pointed out to the debaters that he was the *feagaiga*. Since they could not agree on a speaker, therefore he should make the speech. The debaters agreed and Sau Lo'ivao made the formal speech on that day. This incident showed that Manono's position as a '*feagaiga*' is still respected culturally today.

¹⁹ Malolo, is a small island off the coast of Faleula, now sunk. There is a saying in Samoan about this island – 'Lafo ia le taula i Malolo.' – Cast the anchor at Malolo.

²⁰ "Personal interview with Futi Iese and Fiu Loimata"; Faleu; 05 Feb. 2000.

²¹ Parliament records of the Legislative Assembly, Mulinuu; Apia, Samoa; 23.Dec.1987.

Manono as the '*island of the feagaiga*' of Pule could be traced back to the legendary Pili, the father of Tolufale. According to tradition, Lealali²² was a direct descendant of Pili.²³ Lealali made the following stipulations on behalf of his children:

Salevaogogo and Sausi remain rulers in Leulumoega, so that both will rule for Tuiaana, all the way to Falealupo. His other sons are to go to Savaii as chiefs.²⁴

According to this tradition, the genealogy of Lealali shows that:

- Lealali married Sinaalegogo, the daughter of Leutelelei'ite in Falefa and had two sons; Salevaogogo and Sausi.
- Lealali married again Malelegaaletu'elau the daughter of Tuisafua in Iva and had three sons; Tupa'imatuna, Tupa'ilelei and Tupa'isiva.

Tupa'imatuna married Laufafaetoga from Tonga and had a son Vaasiliifiti and a daughter Fotuosamoa. Vaasiliifiti married Malelegasavaii a woman of Tufutafoe, born was Vaasiliuli. Vaasiliifiti again took two wives; Feegaga from Sagaga and Fe'easoa gave birth to Laifai. Laifai married Mata'uiatali, a woman from Falease'ela, and had Fotulafai²⁵ (Safotulafai), Talalafai (Iva), Tupa'iloa (Falealupo), Loaloe (Safe'e), Tupa'ifa'aulu (Neiafu) and Muliagalafai (Salemuliaga). From the genealogy given, the three sons of Lealali who became the founder of the famous Lafai family, giving Savaii the title Sa Lafai (Family of Lafai).²⁶ Their descendants became the founder of Pule in Savaii Island. The connection between Manono and Savaii is very close because Tolufale of Manono and Lealali, the political organiser of Savaii were direct descendants of Tuiaana Pili.

The relationship of Manono to the whole of Samoa could be found through intermarriage. Intermarriage in Samoa's culture during the pre-contact with European period, was very important in connecting high ranking families, villages, districts and the country as a whole. It was customary for a high chief to have many wives. For example, Tuiaana Tamaalelagi,

²² Lealali the political organiser of Savaii. His direct descendant from Tuiaana Pili explains his *mavaega* which made Leulumoega so powerful as it retained its sovereignty from Lealali's sons Salevaogogo and Sausi.

²³ Tuiaana Pili married Tuamanulele i le Nimo, and had a daughter Apa'au'ula. Apa'au'ula married Ufiufi and had Lealali.

²⁴ Kramer, pg. 107 - 108.

²⁵ Kramer, pg. 109.

²⁶ Savaii has a different version of Lealali and his sons and the establishment of Pule. The Sa Malietoa family has it that Lealali was a descendant of Leatiogie in the lineage of Ufi.

paramount chief of Aana, had ten wives.²⁷ The connection between the Sa Tupua, Malietoa, Tuimalealiifano, Mataafa and other high-ranking titles was through intermarriage.

The connection of Manono to Samoa is clearly shown in the genealogy of Tolufale. Tolufale was the youngest son of Pili. He got his name from the time of his birth. His mother, Sinaaletava'e was taken to three houses before her son was born. So he was named Tolufale (three houses) after his mother's ordeal.²⁸

Tolufale's genealogy is as follows: (See Appendix A).

1. Tolufale married Sinalaufelo; daughter of Utu and Agi of Manono and had two sons: Luatutu and Luafataalii.
2. Luatutu married Titimalefua, daughter of Amiatu of Leulumoega and had two sons: Taupa'u and Mulipola.
3. (i) Luafataalii married Sinataeoapai of Manono and they had three children: Puna, Manava and a daughter Ulalemamae.
(ii) Luafataalii again married Lelapuiiaisalele, daughter of Malatatetele of Salailua and had Leiataualesa.
(iii) Luafataalii again married Sinatapaaalofilagi, daughter of Vele of Sapapalii and had Papaliipalemafuta.
4. Papaliipalemafuta married Namo, a daughter of Naina in Leuo (inland village behind Pu'epu'e), and had a son, Papalii-na-gau-ai-Savaii.
5. (i) Papalii-na-gau-ai-Savaii married Suualo-i-fanua, a daughter of Lotoa in Satapuala and had a son, Papalii-taupoto-o-fanua.
(ii) Papalii-na-gau-ai-Savaii again married Fitimaula, a daughter of Letufuga in Safotulafai, and had two sons: Alaalatoa and Tuma'ai and a daughter Fa'alulumaga.
6. Papalii-taupoto-o-fanua married Fafaga-ele-sau, daughter of Tuia'ea of Vaipu'a, and had a son Papalii-na-fetaliai-ai-aiga.
7. Papalii-na-fetaliai-ai-aiga married Leutogilaufou, a daughter of Niutoa in Afolau (an inland village near Mulifanua) and had a son, Papaliipu'efua and two daughters Fitifogavai and Vaiolupe.²⁹

²⁷ Tuiaana Tamaalelagi's wives were: Namoaitele, Gese, Umalau, Seiomana, Fulisiailagitele, Ufalefu, Seamatoe, Siotafasi, Siotamea and a Tongan lady Vactofaga the mother of Salamasina.

²⁸ "Personal interview with Futi Iese" Faleu; 05.Feb.2000.

²⁹ Vaiolupe married Manusamoa of Falealii and had Ise and thus making a connection with Falealili.

8. Fitifogavai married Taimalelagi Tipo of Afolau at Mulifanua and had a daughter Pouli.
9. Pouli took two husbands:
 - (i) Onofiamuli of Sagaga, and had two children: Tautaigali (f) and Saamasofa (m).
 - (ii) Tuisamoa of Falealili, and had a daughter Gaga'eloa.
10. Gaga'eloa married Tapusoa of Saoluafata and had a daughter Gasegaseivao.
11. Gasegaseivao married Satele of Salesatele and had two children: Lesatele (m) and Alaifea (f).
12. Alaifea married Mata'utiamoelala of Falealili and had Lutu (m) Solosolo (m) and Aulapataume (f).
13. Aulapataume married Alaimoana from Tonga and had a daughter Tofono.
14. Tofono married Tafilipepe, son of Matagitau of Nofoalii and had a son Fanene.
15. Fanene had two marriages:
 - (i) Samalaulu of Saoluafata and had four children: Te'o-na-po-ai-le-nuu (m), Avaialise (f), Oilau (f) and Taetele (f).
 - (ii) Taufau a daughter of Samataua of Lotofaga and had Tuatagaloa (m), Meleisea (f) and Leilua (f).
16. Tuatagaloa married Tuitama, a daughter of Sila of Falelatai and had a son Tuatagaloa-na-tafea-ai-le-tau'ofe.
17. Tuatagaloa-na-tafea-ai-le-tau'ofe married Paepae of Falelatai and had Tuatagaloa-sialepa.
18. Tuatagaloa-sialepa married Gese, a daughter of Fualau of Falealili and had Uliulilelava (m) and Tuatagaloa-na-tu'uao.
19.
 - (i) Uliulilelava married Tuvailagi of Lufilufi and had a son Manuoleso'ata.
 - (ii) He again married Taloloa, a daughter of Lefale in Aleipata and had a daughter Ulu.
20. Ulu married To'ale'apaialii of Satapuala and had a daughter Nateu.
21. Nateu married Sa'u of Apolima and had a daughter 'Ale'aleapua'a.
22. 'Ale'aleapua'a married Moaulua of Manono and had a son Leiataua-le-lologa.

23. (i) Leiataua-le-Lologa married Valasi-i-ologa, a daughter of Asiata of Satupaitea and had a daughter Letaua-ia-Tipoila.
- (ii) Leiataua again married Lo'alo'a, a daughter of Tuailemafua in Samauga and had a son Leiataua Pe'a or Tamafaiga.
24. Leiataua Pe'a married Gaitosala, a daughter of Autuli in Safata and had a son Leiataua-seleni.³⁰

The genealogy given shows that Manono's connection through intermarriage has covered all of Samoa. Such connections included high-ranking titles of Savaii, like Tagaloa, Tonumaip'e'a, Papaliitele and others. It is interesting to note that Tolufale's genealogy started at Manonó and ended in Manono. The cycle is complete and it enveloped the whole of Samoa. Samoa has a lot of sayings to this effect: "Ua soo le gafa o Samoa." (Samoa's genealogy is complete). "O le aiga e tasi Samoa." (Samoa is one family). Consequently, Upolu, Savaii and Manono are related and referred to as "Samoa ua tasi." (Samoa is One Unit).

According to Manono's tradition the famous chiefly title Leiataua of Manono originated in Savaii. Tradition has it that Taua and Lesa of Manono heard that Luafataalii's wife was about to give birth. They took a fish and went to Savaii to visit Luafataalii and his wife. Lesa and Taua arrived at Savaii and found that Luafataalii had left early in the morning for his plantation. They arrived as Lelapu'aisalele was giving birth. They sent word to Luafataalii to come home soon. Luafataalii arrived home and found a fish and enquired about it. His wife told him that Lesa and Taua had brought it from Manono. Luafataalii then said a name for his son has been found. He announced that the boy would be named Leiataualesa to commemorate the fish brought by Lesa and Taua of Manono. The name Leiataualesa literally means the fish of Taua and Lesa. Tradition also tells that the boy was taken to Manono and became a chief of Manono.³¹ Malama Meleisea has another tradition for the origin of the title, Leiataua. A Manono chief showed respect and hospitality to the

³⁰ Leiataua-seleni was the one who received the Methodist Missionaries at Manono.

³¹ "Personal interview with Futi Iese"; Faleu, 05.Feb.2000.

"Personal interview with Vaisagote Loimata"; Faleu, 05.Feb.2000.

war-goddess Nafanua by catching a fish and giving it to Nafanua for a meal. As a reward the chief was given the title *Leiataua* which literally means 'the important fish'.³²

Manono's relationship with the war goddess Nafanua is of cultural importance to Manono Island. Tradition also has it that Nafanua blessed Manono as warriors for her. This tradition was commemorated by giving Manono a warrior's club called, '*Laau a le Saualii*' (the devil's club). The name is still used in Manono today as the name of their '*fautasi*' (long racing boat).

Manono's alliance in times of war was greatly sought by Upolu and Savaii. Manono was very important for its fleet of war-canoes known as '*fuatava'a*'. Manono's war canoes were very fast and swift on the sea. Manono's god of war was the '*matu'u*' (heron).

In combat, one of the war-canoes carried a big drum called '*limulimutau*' used to signal the attack of the enemy. According to tradition, during preparation for war, the fleet of war canoes assembled at '*a'au-loa*' (long reef). This reef extends from Manono to the seafront of Mulifanua. On this reef the warriors were given orders before dispersing to the war-zone.³³ Manono's fleet of war canoes also controlled and guarded the canoe route between Upolu and Savaii. Manono's geographical location was also important in Manono's connection with the neighbouring islands like Tonga and Fiji. Manono's connection with Tonga was very strong.³⁴

Manono is situated in the strait between the islands of Upolu and Savaii. The canoe-route for transportation of old passed right in front of Manono. This means that people from Savaii travelling to Upolu had to go past Manono and likewise for the Upolu travelers.

³² Meleisea, M: "*Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*"; Institute of Pacific Studies and Western Samoa Extension Center of U.S.P., Suva, Fiji. 1987. Pg.62.

³³ Personal interview with *Leiataua Pesa*"; Salua; 12.Feb.2000.

³⁴ Compare Tolufale's genealogy; (13).

In times of bad weather, Manono was a haven for the troubled travelers, enhancing the close relationship between Manono and Upolu and Savaii. More-also, this brings about economic resources for Manono. According to Samoan culture, the exchange of gifts between the host and visitor was an important culture.

Therefore Manono was known for her great warriors, through Leiataua Lelologa and his son Tamafaiga, who played an important part in the Social and Political history of Samoa.

CHAPTER TWO

The Social and Political Role of Manono.

Samoa's social life centers in the unit of the '*aiga*' (family). A Samoan family is quite different from that of the Europeans biological group consisting of parents and children. It includes a wider group of blood, marriage, and even adopted connections. At the head of this Samoan social unit is a *matai* who is either a '*alii*' (chief) or '*tulafale or failauga*' (orator). The particular role of the *matai* is the leadership and care of the family under his control. In return for his leadership he is entitled to the services and cooperation of all members of his family.

A Samoan family is a well-organised unit. All members have been ascribed special duties, their services to the *matai* and welfare of the family as a whole. The young and untitled men till the land, raise chicken and pigs, and go fishing. The ladies attend to domestic duties and weave finemats, sleeping mats, *siapo*, fans, food trays and so forth.

The office of the '*matai*' also demands a rendering of service. His duties include the taking care of the family land and properties, through the fair distribution of land for the use by family members. He also initiates the building of the family's guesthouse and residential houses. The *matai* discharge the duties associated with deaths, weddings and other ceremonies affecting his family to the family members. He is the family's representative to the '*fono a le mu'u*' (village council). He is honored if his family members conduct is good and upright. If any member of his family does something unacceptable to society, the *matai* must prepare to suffer the consequences, which are normally serious in Samoa. Punishment takes the form of being banned from the *fono*; the *matai* and his family ceasing to take part in village affairs; or worse, removed from the village.

The '*mu*' (village) is another important unit of Samoa's society. It is formed of several families grouped together. In this Samoan setting, the *matai* of every family come together to form a '*fono*' (council). This *fono* of *matai* is the sole authority of a Samoan village and they control the affairs of the whole village. In some villages, many families are related

through marriage. That is why we find in Samoa some villages that are almost of one family. Manono is a good example of this. Manono is said to be the island of Tolufale's sons, Luatutu and Luafataalii. Traditionally, Luatutu and Luafataalii were referred to as the 'tapumu'u' (sole owners) of Manono Island. Manono is made up of four villages; Faleu, Salua, Lepui'ai and Apai.

According to Samoan tradition, Luafataalii resided at the village of Saleiataua, known today as Faleu. Luatutu lived at Salua Village. Leiataua Letaua became the chief for the village of Lepui'ai. Tradition held that Taua who was Lesa's brother married a daughter of Leleisiuao of Palauli. He had a son named Sapapa. Sapapa went to Manono and served Leiataua Lesa and in gratitude for service rendered, he was given the title Leiatuaa Letaua. Apai village chief was Tuilaepa, whose genealogy could be traced in the Malietoa title lineage. Malietoa Taulapapa in his third marriage, married Tonu'umatasiva, a daughter of Leiataua of Manono. He had a son Seiuli and a daughter Taioaopo. Taioaopo married Anavao of Lepa and had a son Tuilaepa who became chief of Apai village.³⁵ This village has a fascinating history. The name of the village was previously known as Ha'apai a Tongan name, as this village was said to be a Tongan settlement.³⁶ They did not have a chief, so they served Leiataua Lesa as they were afraid of him.

Tradition has it that people did not use 'sasa'e' (long poles) to flatten the hot stones in their cooking oven, as they might disturb the silence reserved for Leiataua. Instead of long poles, they used their feet, as it was much quieter, in observance of Leiataua's 'sa' (taboo). This act brought to existence such names as Toloumu (flattening of the oven) and Tolovae (flatten with feet). These names are still in existence in the village of Apai today. It is also said that when they had their meals, they put down the blinds of their houses for fear of the great chief passing by during their mealtime.³⁷

Leiataua's grandson Tuilaepa visit Manono. Leiataua appointed Tuilaepa to become the chief for the village of Apai. When the people heard that a chief for their village had been appointed they cried with Joy. So loud and prolonged was the villagers crying, Tuilaepa

³⁵ Dr. A. Kramer, "The Samoa Islands."; pg.317 - 318.

³⁶ Tamasese, T. T.; "Tamafaiga - Shaman, King or a Maniac"; The Journal of Pacific History, Vol. XXX:1, June 1995; pg.19.

ordered them 'ga-ia' (to stop). This incident is marked by the matai title Gaia of Apai today. Their duty as slaves to Leiataua was lifted and they received the salutation Pologama (disgraced slave).

The traditions so far discussed showed that the villages in Manono are all related. Consequently we can speak of Manono as a family unit. The close family connections of Manono are also shown in its honorific designations.

1. Overall honorific (salutation) of Manono Island:

<i>Tulouna oe Aiga-ile-tai.</i>	<i>Greeted you the family in the sea.</i>	<i>A family of the Malietoa title.</i>
<i>tulouna lua Faaitu</i>	<i>greeted the two sides</i>	<i>referring to Salua & Saleiataua</i>
<i>tulouna lua Iataua</i>	<i>greeted you two Iataua</i>	<i>Leiataua lesa and Letaua.</i>

2. Faleu Village designation:

<i>- Susu mai lau Susuga</i>	<i>Welcome your Susuga</i>	<i>the supreme chief of Manono</i>
<i>Leiataua Lesa</i>	<i>Leiataua Lesa</i>	<i>who lives at Saleiataua or Faleu</i>
<i>o le tapunuu</i>	<i>the ruler of the land</i>	<i>on his estate Luatimu.</i>
<i>tulouna le aiga Sa Mutimuti</i>	<i>greeted the family of Sa Mutimuti</i>	<i>Manono family of close</i>
<i>ma le matua o Vaisagote</i>	<i>and the matua o Vaisagote</i>	<i>relationship with Leiataua</i>
<i>tulouna oe le tulafale,</i>	<i>greeted the orator</i>	<i>Orator chief of Faleu</i>
<i>o lau tofa Futi</i>	<i>your tofa Futi</i>	<i>village.</i>

3. Designation of Lepuia Village:

<i>Tulouna lau Susuga</i>	<i>Greeted your Susuga</i>	<i>Lesas brother Letaua got a son</i>
<i>Leiataua Letaua</i>	<i>Leiataua Letaua</i>	<i>Sapapa who served Leiataua</i>
		<i>Lesas</i>
<i>ma le falelima o alo</i>	<i>and the house of five sons</i>	<i>was given the title Leiataua</i>
<i>o Sapapa</i>	<i>of Sapapa</i>	<i>Letaua.</i>
<i>ma le matua o Vai.</i>	<i>and the matua Vai</i>	<i>Sapapa's five sons were: Afoa,</i>
		<i>Sefanaia, Tuafoe, Opelu and</i>
		<i>Vaipae. Vai was an orator of</i>
		<i>Leiataua Lesa.</i>

³⁷ "Personal Interview with Tuilaepa Fuava"; Apai; 19.Feb.2000.

4. Designation of Salua Village:

<i>Tulouna lau Susuga Luatutu</i>	<i>greeted your Susuga Luatutu</i>	<i>Luatutu was older son of Tolufale</i>
<i>Tulouna lau Susuga Taupau</i>	<i>greeted your Susuga Taupau</i>	<i>Taupau and Mulipola were</i>
<i>ma Mulipola</i>	<i>and Mulipola</i>	<i>sons of Luatutu from a</i>
<i>Tulouna le aiga sa Tuilagi</i>	<i>greeted the family Satuilagi</i>	<i>Leulumoega lady.</i>
<i>Tulouna le tulafale, o lau</i>	<i>greeted the orator of</i>	<i>Manono family</i>
<i>Fetalaiga Auapaau</i>	<i>speech Auapa'au</i>	<i>Orator chief of Salua</i>

5. Designation Apai Village:

<i>Tulouna lau Susuga Tuilaepa</i>	<i>greeted your Susuga Tuilaepa</i>	<i>A grandson of Malietoa Taulapapa</i>
<i>O le alo o Malietoa</i>	<i>the son of Malietoa</i>	<i>who married a daughter of</i>
		<i>Leiataua.</i>
<i>Ma le Pologama</i>	<i>and the disgraced slave</i>	<i>pologa -slave, ma - to be</i>
		<i>disgraced.³⁸</i>

Manono's closely knit social organisation made her very effective and influential in the political history of Samoa as well. As a family, Manono's support and alliance was greatly sought by rival parties of later years in their quest for political supremacy.

In the political arena of Samoa the peace was only disturbed by the rule and domination of Tonga from 960 to 1250 AD.³⁹ According to tradition, Tuitoga Talaifei'i ruled Samoa for a long time. These were the dark days for Samoan people as they were made slaves to the Tongans in their own land. Samoan people did hard labour for the Tongans. They built high stones fences and other developments.⁴⁰ Fortunately for Samoa, the bravery of Tuna and Fata led to a plan to conquer the Tongans. Tuna and Fata were sons of Leatiogie, who was the son of Feepo. Leatiogie was a great warrior so were his sons. Tradition holds that the Tongans planned a great feast at Aleipata. The Samoans were told to prepare the feast and provide entertainment. Tuna and Fata saw this as an opportunity to raise an attack on their conquerors. The feast began and during the time of the entertainment, the Samoans led by Tuna and Fata performed a war dance called '*Matamatame*'.⁴¹ The Tongans were caught

³⁸ Kramer; "The Samoa Islands."; p209-210

³⁹ Henry, F.; "History of Samoa"; Commercial Printers, Apia, Samoa. 1979. pg.25.

⁴⁰ Stone fences are found in land mostly in Upolu. Stone-mounds could be found in Samoa built during this Tongan domination period. (See Henry; pg.29, 30).

⁴¹ Matamata me, Matamata me, Matamata me Matamata me
Ta le Samoa, ta ia sese Hit the Samoan, hit him missed
Ta le Toga, ta ia pe. Hit the Tongan, hit him dead.

unaware and unarmed by the attack. They were defeated and they fled to Mulifanua where their canoes anchored. At a cape called Tulatala, Talaifei'i, a Tongan chief, made a 'feagaiga'⁴² with the Samoans. The Tongans left Samoa ending their domination of the Samoan group. The victory of Samoa over the Tongans was marked with the emergence of the title Malietoa in Samoa's history. The title Malietoa came from the farewell speech of Talaifei'i praising Samoa for their bravery. From then on, the title was used by the Malietoa family. The first person to be named Malietoa was Savea⁴³ who was the youngest brother of the brave warriors Tuna and Fata.

After the Tongan era, a dramatic shift in Samoa's political affairs surfaced. As of traditional Samoa, the idea of sole authority vested in a king was unknown. The Tongans might have introduced this central authority during their occupation of Samoa and they might have influenced the Samoans. When the Tongans left, Samoan wars for domination started to appear in history. The most significant one was the domination of A'ea i Sisifo (Climbing West) by A'ea i Sasae (Climbing East) in Savaii. The war-goddess Nafanua heard of the suffering of the people of A'ea i Sisifo and came to their rescue.⁴⁴ Nafanua defeated the A'ea i Sasae. Her victory was hailed by the Samoans as the *malo* (conquering or ruling party). This was the first time in the political history of Samoa that a ruling party was recognised. Chiefs from all parts of Samoa enthusiastically sought alliance with Nafanua's *malo*.

Chiefs from Aana with their orators Leulumoega, were the first to approach Nafanua. They were given the *ao*⁴⁵ (leadership) of the ruling party, after they helped shift Nafanua's house to Lega (a place near Falealupo). Nafanua promised them that she would come to Aana to establish the *malo*. Malietoa and his party arrived late with their request for a share in the

⁴² Ua malie toa ua malie tau Sweet warrior, Sweet warfare
O le a ou alu, ou te le toe sau I will leave, not to return
A ou toe sau, o le auliuli folau If I come back, purpose to visit
Ae le o se auliuli tau. But not to fight.

⁴³ Savea is widely accepted as the first holder of Malietoa title. Other tradition tells that Ulumasui, the son of Tuna and Fata's sister, was given the title.

⁴⁴ This war of Climbing East and Climbing West caused severe punishment for the people of the defeated Climbing West. One of their chief, Taii was to climb a coconut tree with his head facing downwards. The punishment was so severe that Taii exhaustedly wailed. His wailing was heard by the war goddess – Nafanua. So was the Samoan saying: "Ua logo i Pulotu le mapu ea a Taii." Pulotu was the abode of Nafanua who heard Taii's wailing and came to their rescue. (See L. Sauoaga: "Mavaega na i le Tai"; Malua Printing Press, Apia, Samoa, 1988).

⁴⁵ *ao* – meaning 'head', 'cloud' and 'leadership'. I prefer to translate as leadership in this study.

malo. Nafanua told them that the *ao* had already being handed over to Aana. She comforted Malietoa to await his *malo* from the heavens.

According to Samoan tradition, Nafanua came to Leulumoega to establish the *malo* she promised Aana. She arrived at Mataiva (a spring well with nine sprouts) at Leulumoega. The spring well was reserved and kept sacred for the Tuiaana (paramount chief of Aana). At the spring well, Nafanua met a lady believed to be Tuiaana's daughter. Nafanua politely asked the lady for a drink, as she was very thirsty. The lady who did not know Nafanua snobbishly refused and went away. Nafanua was greatly offended and immediately left for Savaii.

On her way back to Savaii, Nafanua met a fisherman off the coast of Manono Island. This man was Leiatauaalesa who was the chief of Manono. Leiatauaalesa kindly asked the voyagers to be his guests at his island. Leiataua did not know that he was meeting the famous war goddess Nafanua. Nafanua accepted Leiataua's invitation and landed at Manono. Leiataua and his people showed their guests one of Samoa's very unique customs – *talimalo lelei*.⁴⁶ Nafanua was impressed and satisfied with Leiataua's hospitality. Consequently, Nafanua blessed Leiataua of Manono as the – *uluai pou o malo* (literally, first post of the ruling party). Tradition also tells that the name Lua'itimu⁴⁷ of Leiataua's residence at Manono, originated from Leiataua's meeting with Nafanua. Nafanua dominated the political history of Samoa especially in the Wars of the Papa. (Taua o Papa).⁴⁸ Manono Island became very effective in political affairs of Samoa ever since.

Nafanua who was in possession of the four *papa*, wanted her relative Sooa'emalelagi, who was a sister of Tamaalelagi (son of the heaven), a chief of Aana, to have all the four titles. Sooa'emalelagi had adopted Salamasina the daughter of his brother Tamaalelagi.

⁴⁶ Talimalo lelei – hospitality to guests – Samoan had a belief that hospitality should be shown to every strangers for they might be angels or evil spirits. Interview with Aiono Fanaafi; Apia, 25.Feb.2000).

⁴⁷ Tradition has it that as Nafanua landed Manono, it began to rain for the first time since she left Savaii on this trip. 'Luaitimu' means 'first rain'.

⁴⁸ The war of the *papa*: Tuiaana title was disputed by Tamaalelagi and Sagate. Nafanua aided Tamaalelagi and Sagate was defeated. The title Tuiaana was given to Nafanua. Gatoaitete was to be served by orators Fata and Maulolo. Malietoa Sagagaimuli wanted Fata and Maulolo to serve him. Gatoaitete appealed to Nafanua for help. Nafanua defeated Malietoa and she took the title Gatoaitete. Tuiatua title was disputed by Foganiutea and Fogaoloula. Nafanua helped Foganiutea and Fogaoloula was defeated so the title

Sooa'emalelagi had dedicated her love and life to Salamasina. She refused Nafanua's wish, and asked if the titles could be given to Salamasina. Nafanua accepted Sooa'emalelagi's request and Salamasina was given the four important titles of Samoa. Salamasina became the first ever *Tafaifa*⁴⁹ and sole authority in Samoa. During her rule, Samoa's unstable political affairs eased for a while. Central authority and the idea of kingship seemed to have taken hold of Samoa's political motives. Salamasina would begin a royal line that would culminate in Malietoa in 1832. The leadership chronology is as follows:

A.	Salamasina	ca. 1488
	Fofoaivaoese	ca. 1510
	Sina	ca. 1540
	Faumuina	ca. 1570
	Fonoti	ca. 1600
	Muagututia	ca. 1630
	Tupua	ca. 1660
	Galumalemana	ca. 1690
	Nofoasaefa	ca. 1720
	Maee	ca. 1750
	Moegagogo	ca. 1780
	Iamafana	ca. 1810
	Malietoa Vaiinupo	ca. 1830 ⁵⁰

Tuiatua went to Nafanua. Since Tanumafono and Alataua disputed the title Vaetamasoalii, Nafanua fought for Satanumafono and won. The title Vaetamasoalii went to Nafanua.

⁴⁹ Tafaifa, a Samoan title for a king or queen. It includes the four paramount titles Tuiatua, Tuiatua, Gatoaitale and Vaetamasoalii.

⁵⁰ Lau Asofou Soo: "Political history of Samoa"; Paper presented for Malua Tehological Students; Malua, 11 Aug. 1999.

From the chronology of leadership, we find that the Malietoa title appeared in the leadership role for the first time in 1830 through Malietoa Vainuupo.⁵¹ Malietoa's ascension to the leadership role of Samoa was attributed to Iamafana.⁵² Iamafana's appointment of Malietoa as his successor was a milestone in the lineage of Samoan leaders, held for so many years by the Sa Tupua family. It came as a shock to Upolu and Savaii, especially for Safeofafine, the son of I'amafana. However, the appointment of Malietoa was based on I'amafana's knowledge that Malietoa Fitiseanu, the father of Vainuupo was a close relative of Galumalemana and Tuimalealiifano of the Sa Tupua family. I'amafana died in 1820.⁵³ His death diminished the glory days of Aana and Sa Tupua in leading the political affairs of Samoa. Thus, the political situation of Samoa was again in turmoil. Safeofafine⁵⁴ received the support of his 'aiga' in Atua, who gave him their title Tuiatua. He challenged Malietoa's appointment by staging a war with Malietoa and his allies.

During this conflict between Malietoa and Safeofafine, a chief of Manono appeared on the political scene, namely Leiataua Lelologa, a descendant of Tolufale. He did not rule Samoa, but was dominant in some parts of Savaii and Upolu. Tradition has it that Leiataua Lelologa was a great warrior and a very fierce man. He lived at Savaii and became the founder of Salelologa village. It is believed that he had a close relationship with Nafanua. He used to live at Vaoto (a village between Falelima and Neiafu) and at Sa Oloa (a village between Neiafu and Tufutafoe). These villages served Leiataua Lelologa. According to tradition, Leiataua arrived from Manono and sent for food from his villages. He did not receive any food, and became very upset. He ordered his warriors to kill everyone in Vaoto and destroy the whole village. Vaoto was demolished and those who escaped were pursued and killed. Those who managed to survive, sought refuge at Falelima.

At Falelima, Leiataua was met by Folasu Tuioti and Fuiavailili who begged him to spare the people who had arrived at Falelima. Leiataua agreed and told them that he was returning

⁵¹ All the leaders from Salamasina to Iamafana were of the Tuiatua and Sa Tupua title.

⁵² I'amafana visited Sapapalii the official residence of Malietoa. I'amafana's aumaga (untitled men) had an argument with Malietoa's aumaga over the kava bowl. The argument led to a fight and I'amafana's aumaga were chased into the sea. Vainuupo came to the rescue of I'amafana's aumaga. I'amafana was very impressed with Vainuupo's act of kindness to him and his men. I'amafana then made a *feagaiga* or *mavaega* that Vainuupo would be his successor.

⁵³ Sauoaga, L.; "O le Mavaega na i le Tai"; pg.203.

⁵⁴ Safeofafine rallied support from Atua. A war was fought where he was killed. (See Henry, 'History of Samoa'; pg.160).

home to Manono, but his lands Vaoto and Sa Oloa would be given to them for their kindness to him. Leiataua while boarding his war-canoe to leave, saw some of Vaoto's people on coconut trees. He called out; "*Sele ia i lalo*" (Get down). A place at Falelima of that name exists to mark that event.

The troubles of Vaoto and Sa Oloa reached Asau and Falealupo. This encouraged a brave warrior of Falealupo to kill Leiataua. Tradition has it, that when Leiataua was at sea, no one dared to fish or sail, as he would be killed by Leiataua. Tradition tells that Leiataua and his warriors sailed for Manono. On reaching Papa Puleia, they saw a man fishing and Leiataua was furious and offended. He ordered to direct their canoe to the fisherman. As they drew near, the fisherman stood up with a spear and threw it at Leiataua. Leiataua was hit on the chest and fell dead. Tradition has it that he was taken ashore and was buried at Sili near the '*laoa*' (residence) of Fiu, called '*Luatimu*' (first rain), which was the name of Leiataua's '*maota*' (residence) at Faleu Manono. Leiataua used to live at Sili as his second wife was a relative of Tagaloa.⁵⁵

As already mentioned, Leiataua Lelologa had two wives;

- (i) Valasiiologa, daughter of Asiata of Satupaitea. Her son was Leiataua Tipoila.
- (ii) Lo'alo'a, daughter of Tuailемаfua in Samauga. Her son was Leiataua Pe'a, who later became the most feared Leiataua Tonumaipe'a Tamafaiga.⁵⁶

Leiataua Pe'a Tamafaiga was a very cruel and dangerous warrior. He was respected as a priest and was thought to be possessed by Nafanua. He gained the name Tamafaiga (dangerous man) because of his barbaric behaviour. John Williams wrote: "Leiataua Tonumaipea Tamafaiga, a war priest of Manono, rose to power following Manono's defeat of Aana district – the traditional home of Samoa's Kingship in a war called – '*O le peiga o le malo*' (crushing of the malo)".⁵⁷

⁵⁵ "Personal Interview with Vaisagote Loimata"; Faleu; 11.Mar.2000.

⁵⁶ "Personal Interview with Futi Iese"; Manono; 05.Feb.2000.

⁵⁷ R. M. Moyle (ed); 'The Samoa Journals of John Williams, 1830 – 1832.' Australian University Press, Canberra, 1984; P.129.

During Tamafaiga's time, various 'ruling parties' were established at Safune, Safotu, Tuamasaga and other parts of Atua. Tamafaiga and the people of Manono, allied with Aana and other villages of Faasaleleaga, waged war against Safune and Safotu. Malietoa Vaiinupo with other villages of Faasaleleaga joined the '*malo*' of Safune and Safotu.⁵⁸ The '*malo*' was defeated, and some people of Safune and Safotu fled to Atua. Although Malietoa took side with the '*malo*', Tamafaiga did not punish Malietoa as he was his relative. On top of Manono Island, there is a stone mound with twelve sides. Manono locals told that it was built during Tamafaiga's rule, with the help of his allies. The twelve sides signified the twelve '*aiga*' of the Malietoa title.⁵⁹ After defeating Safune and Safotu, Tamafaiga went to Atua to conquer the *malo* established there by Mataafa Filisounu'u⁶⁰. Atua was defeated and punished severely. Tamafaiga returned victoriously to his island Manono.

The increase in his power was inevitable. He gradually rose to become the leader of the ruling party. Aana, one of his loyal ally, feared the power of Tamafaiga. Faleiva (leading orators of Aana, also known as Leulumolega) conferred their title Tuiaana on Tamafaiga in an effort to gain his favour. They even persuaded Tamafaiga to live at Leulumoega, the traditional seat of Tuiaana's ruling party. Tamafaiga did not like to live at Leulumoega, so he lived at Manono and established his '*malo*' there.⁶¹ More-also, the other three *papa* Tuiatua, Gatoaitale and Tamasoalii were given to Tamafaiga by their respective *aigas* in order to receive favourable treatment. Consequently, Tamafaiga, now *Tafaifa*,⁶² continued his cruel and barbaric treatment of the people. Malietoa's appointment was overshadowed by the might of Tamafaiga. He took side with Tamafaiga and await his chance to fulfil his ambition.

Tamafaiga visited Aana and was hosted at Fasitootai. He demanded to sleep with Tuiumi's daughter. Tuiumi was very upset and he consulted other chiefs of his village to kill Tamafaiga. Tamafaiga was told of the chief's plan and immediately left for Manono. The good relationship between Manono and Aana was threatened. Tamafaiga assembled his warriors to punish Aana for two reasons. Firstly for secretly planning to kill him. Secondly,

⁵⁸ Henry, F.; pg.164.

⁵⁹ "Personal interview with Leiataua Luma"; Faleu, Manono; 08 Mar 2000.

⁶⁰ "Personal interview with Moananu"; Mulifanua; 01.Mar.2000. (See Henry; pg.164).

⁶¹ "Personal Interview with Tanuvasa Solomona"; Fasitootai; 01.Apr.2000.

⁶² J. B. Stair, "Old Samoa."; R. McMillan; Southern Bookbinding, Papakura, New Zealand; 1983; pg.252.

Tamafaiga knew that some people from Safune and Safotu were made as slaves by Aana. Aana was defeated and Tamafaiga out of pity freed the people from Safune and Safotu. His anger had subsided and took notice that they were from his mother's village. The village of Fasitooouta was burnt and their land was devastated. Tamafaiga returned to Manono and consolidated his leadership of the *malo* (ruling party).⁶³

John Williams wrote a vivid description of Tamafaiga's immoral habits:

It appeared that the people of Upolu wearied with the outrages and suppressions of this tyrannical monster, whose rapacious grasp neither wives, daughters nor property escaped who had power of life and death, and who was actually worshipped as a god...⁶⁴

Tamafaiga's cruelty caused ill feeling among the people of Samoa. Even his people at Manono disliked him secretly. His rival Malietoa Vaiinupo regarded him as an obstacle to his ambition of becoming the leader of the *malo* (ruling party).

Tamafaiga suffered the most horrible death. He was murdered at Fasitooouta, and his body was severely mutilated. Tradition has it that Aana succeeded in their revenge for what Tamafaiga had done to their chief Tuiumi's daughter, and the devastation of their village Fasitooouta. The place where Tamafaiga was killed became known as 'Lepisi'. According to tradition, his body was taken to Manono, and was buried at Apolima Island, as he had wished. His death was regarded as the beginning of a new era in the political history of Samoa as Malietoa Vaiinupo became the first of his family to hold the leadership role of Samoa.

Malietoa's family had very strong connections with Manono, through intermarriage. According to the Malietoa title's genealogy, Malietoa Taulapapa's descendants were Malietoa Tuilaepa, Malietoa Aeoinuu, Malietoa Laulauafolasa, Malietoa Ti'a. Malietoa Ti'a married Taufailematagi, a daughter of Li'o of Sapapalii. His children were Sulusulumaivasa and Fitisemanu who became Malietoa. Malietoa Fitisemanu's sons were Vaiinupo and Gatutasina Taimalelagi. Malietoa Vaiinupo had two sons of two different

⁶³ "Personal Interview with Vaatiuola"; Mulifanua; 01.Apr.2000.

⁶⁴ John Williams: 'A Narrative of Missionary Enterprise in the South Seas Island.' P.85.

marriages. Moli and Talavou. Moli and Talavou both took the title Malietoa. Malietoa Moli married Fuatino, a daughter of Su'apaia of Salelavalu and had a son Laupepa. Laupepa became Malietoa and one of his children was Tanumafili I. Malietoa Talavou married Faamelea, a daughter of Malulaufa'i of Manono and had a son Faalata. Malietoa Talavou was also known as Malietoa Pe'a,⁶⁵ since he wrested the title Tonumaip'e'a from Satupaitea with the aid of Manono. More-also, Aituolepu⁶⁶ a descendant of Malietoa Uituaagi married Letaua ia Tipoilā, a daughter of the famous Leiataua Lelologa of Manono and had a son Papalii. Manono became very influential in the clashes for power of Malietoa Laupepa, Malietoa Talavou and Mataafa Iosefo.

Dramatic changes in political affairs of Samoa came through the influence of the Europeans, especially the missionaries, traders and the three great powers – America, Britain and Germany, who showed great interest in Samoa. Malietoa Vaiinupo accepted the arrival of the London Missionary Society in 1830. Some Historians saw this as a great opportunity for Malietoa Vaiinupo to pursue his long awaited ambition to become the leader of Samoa. Tamafaiga had just being killed, so Malietoa Vaiinupo had the chance to pursue his ambition.

Malietoa Vaiinupo's rule was marked with a most devastating war. This war was a revenge of Leiataua Tamafaiga's brutal murder by Fasitootai Village. The war was called the '*Faitasiga o Aana*' (All against Aana). Tradition has it that a great deep pit known as *Tito*, was dug at a place called Maota at Fasitootai. It was filled with firewood and lit. Malietoa and his party threw into the pit men, women, children, old aged people, infirmed people, animals and properties. Aana suffered a great loss in this horrible war.⁶⁷ Malietoa made Sapapalii in Savaii, and Malie at Tuamasaga district, his official residence and seat of his *malo* (government). In 1839, he made Manono the official seat for his *malo*. Tradition has it that this was a political move of Malietoa to gain the support of Matetau and people of Manono, as they were great warriors.⁶⁸

Malietoa Vaiinupo died in 1841 and his son Moli became Malietoa and took over the leadership role. Malietoa Moli died in 1860. His half brother Talavou argued with Laupepa

⁶⁵ Richard Lovett; 'History of London missionary Society, 1795 – 1895.' P.382.

⁶⁶ Kramer; 'The Samoa Islands.' P.327.

⁶⁷ "Personal Interview with Tanuvasa Solomona"; Fasitootai: 01.Apr.2000. (See also, Henry; pg.173).

over the leadership role. They were both given the title Malietoa and they became great rivals. Malietoa Talavou, mentioned earlier, married a lady of Manono Island. Therefore he gained the support of the Manono people. He set up a government called *Faitasiga* (Union) at Mulinuu. Malietoa Laupepa moved the seat of his government from Malie, the traditional seat of Malietoa's *malo* to Matautu. His government was known as the *Faitasiga* (Confederacy).⁶⁹

The two parties finally engaged in war in 1869, and Malietoa Laupepa was defeated. Malietoa Talavou was declared King by his supporters. However, the intervention of the Europeans (Albert B. Steinberger, an American Consul.) annulled Malietoa Talavou's position. Malietoa Laupepa was appointed as King and Tupua Pulepule became as Vice King. Malietoa Talavou died in 1880 and further struggle for the leadership role continued between Malietoa Laupepa and Tupua Tamasese Titimaea who died in 1891. After Malietoa Laupepa's death, Mata'afa Iosefo was favoured to be the next king. Mata'afa Iosefo is a descendant of the Mata'afa title in the Salevalasi family. Mataafa Iosefo's genealogy also has connection to Manono.

Mata'afa Filisounu'u married Fuatino Faumalevai, a daughter of Aiono of Fasitoota. He had three children, Mata'afa Tuiatua (m), Vaailua (m) and Saimu'a (f). Mata'afa Tuiatua married Toeosavai'i, a daughter of Leiataua of Manono and had no children. Saimu'a (f) married Tuimalealiifano Sualauvi. Vaailua married Aliiesalele, daughter of Futi of Manono and had a son Mata'afa Iosefo who was also known as Mata'afa Faifeau for his devotion to Roman Catholic Church. On November 12, 1898, Mata'afa Iosefo was declared king by his supporters and people of Manono. Tupua Tamasese Titimaea, strongly opposed his appointment.⁷⁰

It was the intervention of the Chief Judge W. L. Chambers that Mata'afa Iosefo, was removed from the kingship. However, Manono had played an important role in the political history of Samoa. Manono's social unit as a family contributed to her political endeavours. Manono was united in backing Talavou and Iosefo for the kingship.

⁶⁸ Kramer, pg. 17.

⁶⁹ Meleisea, M: "*Lagaga*"; pg. 62.

⁷⁰ Kramer, "*The Samoa Islands: Vol. I*"; pg. 391 - 392.

Manono being blessed by the war goddess Nafanua as '*uluai pou o malo*' was an inspiration for Manono chiefs to gain leadership. Leiataua Lelologa and Tamafaiga were well known figures in political matters of Samoa during their time. Manono's connection with high-ranking titles, made her important in political matters as well as religious matters of Samoa.

Before the arrival of Christianity in Samoa, a traditional priest proposed that Samoa would receive a new religion. Henry wrote:

Tradition relates that even a venerable old 'tautai' (priest of Manono) and predicted that the dynasty of the old gods would soon be superseded by another one, and that the new god would bear away the whole of Samoa.⁷¹

According to Samoan tradition, when the war-goddess Nafanua won the war for the A'ea i Saka against the A'ea i Saka, Malietoa impured Nafanua for a share in her male. Nafanua told him to await his 'vaele' from heaven.

Three oracles played a very important role in Samoa's confrontation with the new religion. Malietoa, who was anxious for the fulfillment of Nafanua's prophecy, hastened to Sapapaha to greet the missionaries. He might not thought that this was the male Nafanua referred to when she said that: '*Tai i luga o le vaele*' (I was your male from heaven).

The arrival of the missionaries could Malietoa's response to the new religion and perhaps was Malietoa knew that the arrival of the 'vaele' was 'god' given. He could not refuse it. Moreover, Malietoa heard of the new changes that Christianity had brought in the neighbouring island of Tonga. These changes and stories of Malietoa's father by other chiefs like Tahi, Koroheke and Tonga through the missionaries were very much prompted Malietoa to willingly accept Christianity. Furthermore, Malietoa may have accepted Christianity as an escape from all the violence of war.⁷²

It is recorded that on the 14th day of August 1830, the first missionaries of the London Missionary Society arrived at Sapapaha, Samoa. Sapapaha was the official residence of

⁷¹ See Ford, *op. cit.* pg 113.

⁷² Malietoa in his first conversation with John Williams, expressed that he would like to see there should be no more war and the only way to end it was by accepting Christianity. John Williams - Narrative of the Missionary Journey to the South Sea Islands, pg 38.

CHAPTER THREE

Significance of Manono Island in the Religious History of Samoa.

Before the arrival of Christianity in Samoa, a traditional priest prophesied that Samoa would receive a new religion. Henry wrote:

Tradition relates that even a venerable old 'taulaitu' (priest of Manono), had predicted that the dynasty of the old gods would soon be superceded by another one, and that the new god would bear sway over the whole of Samoa.⁷¹

According to Samoan tradition, when the war-goddess Nafanua won the war for the A'ea i Sisifo against the A'ea i Sasae, Malietoa inquired Nafanua for a share in her *malo*. Nafanua told him to await his '*malo*' from heaven.

These oracles played a very important role in Samoa's confrontation with the new religion. Malietoa, who was anxious for the fulfillment of Nafanua's prophecy, hastened to Sapapalii to greet the missionaries. He might have thought that this was the *malo* Nafanua referred to when she said that: '*Tali i lagi se ao o lou malo.*' (Await your malo from heaven).

The arrival of the missionaries found Malietoa engaged in the most vicious and barbaric war. Malietoa knew that the arrival of the '*lotu*' was 'god' given. He could not refuse it. Moreover, Malietoa heard of the new changes that Christianity had brought to the neighbouring island of Tonga. These changes and material blessings enjoyed by other islands like Tahiti, Rarotonga and Tonga through the missionary work may have prompted Malietoa to willingly accept Christianity. Furthermore, Malietoa may have accepted Christianity as an escape hatch from all the violence of war.⁷²

It is recorded that on the 24th day of August 1830, the first missionaries of the London Missionary Society, arrived at Sapapalii, Savaii. Sapapalii was the official residence of

⁷¹ Bro. Fred Henry: pg.130.

⁷² Malietoa in his first conversation with John Williams, promised that he would take care there should be no more wars after the one he was involved in avenging Tamafaiga's death. John Williams - Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands: pg.88.

Malietoa at the time. The mission was under the auspices of John Williams and his colleague Charles Barff. They came to Samoa from Rarotonga via Tonga.

John Williams and Charles Barff traveled through Tonga where they met Nathaniel Turner and his associates of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission. It was this meeting that they made an agreement that as John Williams and Charles Barff were heading for the Samoan group, Samoa was to be their mission field. The Wesleyan Methodist Mission Society was to direct their work to Tonga and Fiji.

On this first visit to Samoa by LMS missionaries, they were accompanied by a group of Tahitian teachers. There were three from Raiatea, Tuatori and wife, Umia and wife, and Arua. From Huahine was Moia, his wife and five children, and Boti. There were two from Moorea; Fuatai and Faaruea.⁷³

Samoans' confrontation with Christianity was unique in the Pacific. This was due mainly to the willingness of Malietoa to accept Christianity for personal and political reasons. More also, the missionaries had brought with them a native of Samoa from Tonga, named Fauea and his wife Puaseisei. Fauea had been in Tonga for eleven years.⁷⁴ In Tonga, Fauea approached John Williams and asked for passage for him and his wife to Samoa. Williams accepted Fauea's request as he would be of great help to them in their mission.

Fauea was a relative of Malietoa and a native of Manono Island. His father was Seiuli of the Malietoa family. His mother was Tululautu who was a daughter of Mulipola of Salua Village of Manono.⁷⁵ Fauea's residency in Tonga was for several reasons.

Firstly, Fauea was related to both Malietoa and the 'devil' Tamafaiga. Tamafaiga rose to power and he was very cruel. Fauea may have feared him and left for Tonga as his family had many connections with Tonga. Fauea in accompanying the missionaries to Samoa, knew very well that Tamafaiga would become a hindrance to the new *lotu*. He was anxious to hear

⁷³ Richard M. Moyle (ed.); "The Samoan Journals of John Williams, 1830 - 1832"; pg.23.

⁷⁴ Moyle; p.54-55.

⁷⁵ "Personal interview with Leiataua Pesa"; Manono; 19.Feb.2000.

word about Tamafaiga. Having heard that Tamafaiga was killed, Fauea in excitement and joy exclaimed '*ua mate le Tevolo, ua mate le Tevolo*' (the devil is dead, the devil is dead)⁷⁶.

Fauea was very influential in convincing the people of Samoa about the missionaries' objectives as John Williams' reported:

As soon as the anchor was dropped, a number of natives came off to us, bringing with them females and articles for barter. Fauea informed them as ours was a '*vaa lotu*' – a praying ship, women would not be received, and that, as it was '*le Aso Sa*' – sacred day, they must bring off food, and other items for sale in the morning. This was to them, extraordinary information. Fauea, however, gave them to understand who we were, and what was the object of our visit.⁷⁷

Fauea had learned from the Samoans that Tamafaiga was dead. He knew immediately that Malietoa would be the next leader. Therefore, he directed John Williams to Sapapalii, which was the residence of Malietoa. John Williams wrote of this incident:

His relationship to the principal chief was a circumstance of no small moment... had we not met with him, we should not have gone to the place we did, and of course should not have known Malietoa.⁷⁸

John Williams expressed to Fauea his fears about Malietoa and the people of Samoa, if they would not receive their visit. Fauea replied that if they do not receive the teachers kindly and treat them well, I will go to a strange land and die there.⁷⁹

Fauea's response showed how well he knew Malietoa and his people. He was also committed and dedicated to the cause of Christianity in Samoa. John Williams attributed briefly to Fauea, the success of his mission to Samoa:

No doubt, much of this success was attributable under God, to Fauea, with whom we met so providentially, and who was so admirably adopted to further our important embassy.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ "Personal interview with Leiataua Pesa"; Manono; 19.Feb.2000.

⁷⁶ "Personal interview with Leiataua Pesa"; Manono; 19.Feb.2000. (See also Moyle; pg.69; also Williams; pg.85).

⁷⁷ Williams; p.85.

⁷⁸ Williams; p.92.

⁷⁹ Williams; p.92.

⁸⁰ Williams; p.92.

Fauea retired to Manono as an old man. He took the chiefly title Mulipola of his family in Salua Village, Manono in 1843.⁸¹ He is believed to die of old age in his family at Manono. His grave is at Salua Village in Manono.

John Williams was wrong in recording that Tamafaiga was killed only a month or two before his arrival.⁸² According to tradition, it took almost one year for Malietoa and his allies to subdue Aana.⁸³ The missionaries arrived at Sapapalii while Malietoa was engaged in the war against Aana. In Malietoa's absence, his brother Gatutasina, also known as Tamaalelagi, greeted the missionaries with great hospitality. Tamaalelagi permitted the landing of the teachers with their families and properties. Malietoa was informed of the missionaries' arrival. Malietoa later accepted the missionaries and offered protection for the teachers. John Williams amazed at the conduct of Malietoa and his brother Tamaalelagi, wrote:

How differently were these two brothers employed at the same moment – one, with his ferocious warriors dealing misery and destruction upon the objects of their savage vengeance – the other with his delighted people, conveying to their shores, with expressions of frantic joy, those who could teach them the principles, and impart to them the blessings, of the Gospel of peace.”⁸⁴

John Williams was excited with such favourable conditions encountered in Samoa. He wrote:

Thus while we were landing the messengers of the Gospel of peace on the shore, the flames of a devastating war were blazing on the opposite; and under these striking conditions, was this interesting mission commenced.⁸⁵

As John Williams prepared to end his first visit to Samoa in 1830, he met Matetau, whom he described as a chief of Manono:

Matetau, the chief of the neighbouring island of Manono having come to see us... He was described as equal in rank and superior in war to Malietoa... He was one of the largest and most powerful man I ever saw. His muscular and bony frame brought forcibly to our minds, him of ancient fame; 'the shaft of whose spear was like the weaver's beam'. Men of ordinary size would be as grasshoppers in his hands.⁸⁶

⁸¹ R. P. Gilson; "Samoa 1830 – 1900; pg.69.

⁸² Williams; pg.85.

⁸³ "Personal Interview with Leiataua Pesa"; Salua; 19.Feb.2000. (See also Henry; pg.171).

⁸⁴ Williams; pg.85.

⁸⁵ Williams; pg.85.

⁸⁶ Williams; pg.92.

According to tradition, Matetau took the title Tuilaepa of Apai Village in Manono. His descendants still inherit the Tuilaepa title today.⁸⁷ He had a daughter whom King Taufaahau Kanokupolu of Tonga took as his wife. She was named Salote, but was baptised Salata to distinguish her from the King's other wife – Salote. It is recorded that she was returned to Manono with many gifts for Matetau, when King Taufaahau became a Christian under the guidance of the missionaries of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission Society.⁸⁸

Matetau begged John Williams for a teacher to reside with him at Manono. He was informed by Williams that all the teachers had been assigned to Malietoa. William promised that he would bring a teacher on his next visit.⁸⁹ In 1832, John Williams again visited Samoa. On this visit, he landed at Manu'a where he found that Christianity had been there through the work of some Raivavae fishermen blown off course by a strong hurricane.⁹⁰

John Williams visited almost every island of the Samoan group in this visit. He landed at Manu'a, then the islands of Ofu and Olosega. He visited Tutuila before sailing for Upolu, Manono and Savaii. All these places requested Williams for a teacher. However, John Williams informed them that he had brought with him only one teacher, and he was for Matetau.⁹¹

Arriving at Savaii, John Williams was informed by the teachers that an argument had developed between Matetau and Malietoa. This was seen as a threat to the work of the teachers and progress of the gospel. John Williams set out to reconcile the two leaders. Malietoa refused to go with John Williams to Manono, but later agreed through the persuasion of the missionary. Matetau had refused to go to Savaii, upon John Williams' request. At Manono, Matetau finally agreed to reconcile with Malietoa. Having reconciled their differences, John Williams encouraged them to work together. John Williams emphasised that they were very important in the progress of the gospel. More also, they were both entrusted with the care of the teachers.⁹²

⁸⁷ "Personal interview with Tuilaepa Fuava"; Apai; 26.Feb.2000.

⁸⁸ John Garrett: "To live among the Stars."; pg.79.

⁸⁹ Williams: "Mission Enterprises to the South Sea Islands"; pg.92.

⁹⁰ Moyle: pg.100.

⁹¹ Williams: pg.105.

⁹² Williams: pg.116 – 118.

After this incident, Matetau was given Teava and his wife, to live with him at Apai, Manono. Teava and his wife started working on Manono Island in 1832.⁹³

He wrote to John Williams from Manono on November 5th, 1832.

Dear Friend,

I like this place very well, the chief is very kind and the people supply me with plenty of food. We held our services yesterday in the largest house in the settlement, which was quite full... This morning, we met to teach the alphabet, when the house was again filled...

Blessing on you, through Jesus.

TE-AVA.⁹⁴

Teava's work in Manono was very successful. He did not contain himself to Manono Island only. He was influential in the mission throughout the whole of the Samoa group. At one time, he was picked up later by Aaron Buzacott at Leone Tutuila, in 1836. Teava's residence at Apai, Manono later became the residence of Reverend and Mrs Heath in 1836. Teava returned to Rarotonga worn out with labour in the cause of his Divine Master.⁹⁵

Despite the comity which John Williams believed they had made in Tonga with Nathaniel Turner and John Thomas of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission Society (WMMS), Peter Turner and his colleagues arrived at Manono Island in June 1835.

Manono has a tradition of Peter Turner's arrival:

Leiataua Putetele, of Faleu Village at Manono, convened in a meeting with his orators Futi and Sa-Mutimuti. All was peaceful and quiet as it was customary when the village council (fono) convened. The peaceful atmosphere was suddenly interrupted by an outcry that a strange vessel had entered through the reef – opening (ava) called 'seli'. The warriors took arms and ready to attack. Leiataua ordered his son, Talo, to investigate the disturbance. Talo soon returned reporting that: 'it was a trip from heaven.' (O le malaga mai le lagi). He was told to calm down the people and escort the visitors to the meeting house. The Missionaries arrived and exchanged greeting with Leiataua and his orators.

⁹³ Api o le Galuega; Apai, Manono Island; Courtesy of Rev. Iona Le'au.

⁹⁴ Williams; p.118.

⁹⁵ Rev. Aaron Buzacott: "Mission Life in the Islands of the Pacific."; p.120.

Peter Turner told Leiataua of their objective and Leiataua willingly accepted the Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries. In return Peter Turner presented Leiataua with a 'shilling' as a gift for his acceptance of their work. From then, Leiataua was given the name Leiataua Seleni, in honor of Peter Turner's gift. The name Seleni is still used today in that family.⁹⁶

Peter Turner's mission in Samoa, especially on the island of Manono was met with great disapproval by John Williams. John Williams was successful in convincing the Directors in London regarding Peter Turner's actions. The London branch of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission Society (WMMS), had suffered financial problems, to fund their overseas missions. A decision was made to vacate Samoa and Peter Turner was ordered to leave Samoa.⁹⁷

Peter Turner with great regret of the decision, left Samoa in 1839. Just before leaving, he gave this report:

I feel tempted to complain of the conduct of Mr Williams; who has attempted to persuade our committee from sending any missionaries here but to take the Fiji Island and to leave this to them entirely. How can this be? How can we give up so many thousands whom the Lord has given us in these islands.⁹⁸

After Peter Turner left in 1839, news about the Samoan Wesleyan mission being disbanded was met in Tonga with great disapproval. Consequently, the Wesleyan Methodist Mission in Samoa continued to be assisted by the Tongans. Joel Tupou, a brother of King George Tupou Taufaahau I, visited Samoa and promised to help the Tongan teachers. The King of Tonga visited in 1842 and 1847 in an effort to uphold the WMMS cause. In 1848, Benjamin Latuselu, a Tongan chief and ordained minister of the Wesleyan Church arrived in Samoa.⁹⁹

The King of Tonga persuaded the Committee for the Wesleyan Methodist mission to reopen mission work in Samoa. He was acting on behalf of Tuinaula, a native of Satupaitea who went to Tonga to ask for a missionary after Malietoa turned down his request for a teacher. Tuinaula approached the King of Tonga, who promised to help.¹⁰⁰ In 1855, the Wesleyan missionary committee in Sydney decided to investigate the situation in Samoa. In 1856, the

⁹⁶ "Personal Interview with Futi Faatau & Vaisagote Laumata"; Faleu.

⁹⁷ Meleisea; pg. 62.

⁹⁸ Meleisea; pg. 62.

⁹⁹ Meleisea; pg. 62.

¹⁰⁰ Meleisea; pg. 63.

General Conference in Sydney confirmed the reopening of the mission, and, in 1857, Rev. Martin Dyson was sent to Samoa as a missionary to be followed by others from England, Australia and New Zealand. In 1860, the famous missionary, George Brown arrived in Samoa.¹⁰¹

Due to the financial chaos faced by the London branch of the WMMS, the mission work was handed over to the Australian branch. It was here that the Wesleyan Methodist Mission to Samoa was later reopened.

The ancient connections between Tonga and Samoa, were the instruments in the establishment of the Methodist Church in Samoa. The Tongan occupation in Samoa had been for a long time. Intermarriage between Tongan and Samoans had been numerous.¹⁰² The links between Samoa and Tonga had therefore been very strong. Most families in Samoa have connections with Tonga especially on the island of Manono.

The arrival of the WMMS officially in 1835, created a question in many people's minds. Why did Peter Turner choose to land at Manono? According to tradition, the Methodist religion had unofficial contact in Samoa about 1828, through the work of Saiva'aia, a Samoan who had been in Tonga. Peter Turner after meeting Leiataua of Manono left two Tongan teachers at Manono, then left with others for Satupaitea the place of Saiva'aia.¹⁰³

Peter Turner's interest in Samoa was through the request of a Samoan chief, Lilomaiava.¹⁰⁴ Lilomaiava was a close relative of Malietoa. He was from the island of Upolu and was a powerful advisor to Malietoa. He was consulted by Malietoa upon every subject of importance. However, Lilomaiava's request for a teacher was turned down by Malietoa. Malietoa's denial of a teacher for Lilomaiava and other chiefs was seen as a political ploy. Malietoa wanted all the teachers under his care so that all other chiefs could join him and be instructed by the teachers. Lilomaiava did not accept Malietoa's idea of central authority over the religious teachers. Thus, Lilomaiava turned to Tonga and requested for a missionary

¹⁰¹ Meleisea; pg.62.

¹⁰² Tuia'ana Tamaalelagi married Vaetoifaga, a Tongan lady. Also Tui Kanokupolu Taufaaahau married Salote, a daughter of Matetau at Manono;

¹⁰³ Meleisea; pg.61.

¹⁰⁴ Williams; pg.117.

for himself. Although he was a relative of Malietoa, he was also related to the great warrior chief Matetau of Manono. From these internal differences between Malietoa and other chiefs, Peter Turner consequently landed at Manono.

Peter Turner's arrival at Manono highlighted another important issue. So far, we have discussed the relationship between Manono and Malietoa. The question asked by many people is; Why did Manono accept the Methodist mission? It showed that the relationship between Malietoa and Manono people was not always rosy. John Williams reported that Malietoa visited Manono island and was confronted by a chief identified as Pe'a. This chief had in his possession the head of the deceased Tamafaiga. He proposed to Malietoa to demand a tribute for Tamafaiga's head from different settlements. Malietoa replied that there was no Tamafaiga and he would not agree to demanding any tribute for anything of the kind. Malietoa also told that Jehovah of the skies was his God and with his consent there should never again be a Tamafaiga. This angered Pe'a, the keeper of Tamafaiga's head and he proposed to kill Malietoa.¹⁰⁵ From this account is another interesting point concerning the authority of Malietoa.

Manono Island chiefs were able to challenge Malietoa's authority. Most significantly was the rejection of Malietoa's conservative attitude concerning the teachers, which caused other rival chiefs to accept other missions that came to Samoa. Consequently, the Methodist mission arrived at Manono and the Roman Catholic mission arrived at Lealatele in Savaii.¹⁰⁶

The Roman Catholic mission, under the Society of Mary, arrived in Samoa in 1845. They were not welcomed by the missionaries of the London Missionary Society and Wesleyan Methodist Mission Society. The main reason of other mission objection was that the Roman Catholic mission had a bad reputation in the Pacific, for what they did in Tahiti. Tahiti was converted Christian by the LMS, but the Roman Catholic mission with the help of the French navy forced the young Queen Pomare IV of Tahiti to sign a treaty in favour of France and the Roman Catholic Church.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Moyle; pg.137.

¹⁰⁶ Meleisea; pg.63.

¹⁰⁷ Garrett; pg.254.

According to Garrett, the Roman Catholic Marist missionaries were sent from Uvea (Wallis) in response to repeated requests, addressed by Samoan travelers and converts to Bishop Bataillon.¹⁰⁸ According to Catholic record; "They were exposed defenceless, in their solitary abodes, to pagan barbarism, nay more, to persecution from heresy on shore, ahead of them in arrogant possession".¹⁰⁹ This complaint prompted Bataillon to send Roman Catholic missionaries to Samoa.

The pioneers of the Roman Catholic mission to Samoa were Father Gilbert Roudaire (Silipili) and Father Louis Violette (Lutovio). They were accompanied by two young Samoan men, Kosetatino and Ioakimo, who had settled and married in Wallis Island. The rebellious activities of other missions affected the efforts of the Roman Catholic mission. They were rejected at most places like Falealupo, Matautu and Safune. However, the priests were successful when they met Tuala Taetafe of Lealatele in Savaii. The priests remained several days in Lealatele, offering the first Mass there on 15 September 1845.¹¹⁰ Tuala Taetafe's acceptance of the Roman Catholic mission earned him the nickname Tuala Talipope (Tuala who receive the Pope). At first this was a mocking title but today it is used as an official name of the title Tuala of Lealatele.

From Lealatele, the missionaries moved to Salelavalu where they settled for awhile. The missionaries then moved to Upolu as they were anxious to meet Mataafa Fagamanu. They arrived at Faleata and were greeted by Faumuina who later withdrew his support through the opposition of the people. The missionaries moved to Mulinuu where they received the support of Mataafa Fagamanu, who was an adherent of the LMS. The missionaries had brought a letter from Lavelua, a chief of Uvea, for Mataafa Fagamanu, asking his help and care for the missionaries. The relationship between the two chiefs began when Mataafa Fagamanu and a group of men were blown from Samoa in a strong hurricane. They landed at Uvea and Lavelua cared for them and assisted towards their return to Samoa. Fagamanu allowed the Marist priests the use of his land at Mulinuu as a favour to his friend Lavelua.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Bishop Bataillon was head of mission for Roman Catholic in Uvea. (See also Wiltzen).

¹⁰⁹ Garrett; p. 129.

¹¹⁰ Rev. Fr. Joseph Heslin, SM: "A History of the Roman Catholic Church in Samoa, 1845 - 1995."; p.24.

¹¹¹ Heslin; pg.25.

The Roman Catholic mission interest in Manono was influenced by Mataafa Iosefo, who was a native of Manono. Mataafa Iosefo was a devout Roman Catholic. During the wars of 1858 - 1899, he would walk from his campsite at Vaiala every morning, to the Roman Catholic Cathedral at Mulivai for Mass. His deep devotion to Roman Catholicism earned him the title - '*faifeau*' (pastor) yet he was not an ordained priest. He was a great warrior and powerful political leader. When his great rival Tupua Tamasese Titimaea died, Mataafa set him up as the sole leader of Samoa. He was an enthusiastic competitor for the leadership of Samoa. He got the support of Roman Catholic adherents and people of Manono and some parts of Upolu and Savaii. His claim of the leadership was annulled by the three super powers who favoured Malietoa Tanumafili I. After losing the leadership struggle, Mataafa Iosefo retreated to Manono and became active in the work of the Roman Catholic mission in Samoa.

Manono was a strong Methodist and LMS island at the time of the Roman Catholic arrival. It was hard and slow for the Roman Catholic priests to obtain a foothold there. However Father Augustin Chouvier finally obtained acceptance at Manono in 1871. He was followed by Father Joseph Henquel. About 1877, there was a resident priest at Manono until a shortage of personnel led to it becoming dependent on Leulumoega until its revival at Malotau, Manono Uta today. Manono today has only two villages, Faleu and Salua who embraced Roman Catholic mission. The only Roman Catholic Church on the island could be found at Faleu Village. At Salua, only the site of the old church building is found but no congregation. Only Faleu and Salua have Methodist Churches. All villages of Manono has an LMS Church.¹¹²

Having discussed the religious history of Samoa, through the work of the three major denominational missions, it is interesting to note the influence and participation of Manono people in their work. Manono was only a small island with fewer people compared to Upolu and Savaii. Although Manono was just a small island, Manono held a special and significant position in Samoa's history. The question to be asked at this stage is, why did all the missions took such great interest in Manono?

¹¹² See photographs fig. i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii.

CHAPTER FOUR

Summary of Discussion and Conclusion.

Conducting a study of this calibre is not an easy task, because there are a lot of issues that needed explanation to avoid contradiction and controversy. However, careful assertion and review must be done with great respect to other traditions as Samoans traditions are known for its various colourful and at times, very different versions. '*E tala lasi Samoa*'. Such is seen in the question about Tolufale's gender. Was Tolufale a female or male? Some people upheld that Tolufale was a female, which suited her to become the '*feagaiga*' to his brothers.¹¹³ Other people including myself believe that Tolufale was a male. It is clearly indicated in our study that Tolufale married Sinalaufelo, a daughter of Utu and Agi of Manono.¹¹⁴ Tolufale was taking a wife, therefore he must have been a male. If we consider the roles of the '*tamaitai*' ascribed in Samoan culture, Manono took on a more manly duty. Tolufale was the arbitrator for his older brothers. In the execution of his arbitratory role, armed intervention was unavoidable, thus we find Manono involved in several wars. Tolufale being designated as the '*feagaiga*' was his '*tofi*' from his father's '*tofiga*'. Consequently, we find the term '*feagaiga tofiga*'.

Manono's connection to the whole of Samoa through intermarriage elevated her status and cultural importance in Samoan history. In Tolufale's genealogy presented, some very important connections were created. Ulalemamae, a daughter of Tolufale married Tuiatua Puleleiite, establishing the connection with the Tuiatua title. Her second marriage was to Tuimanu'a Fotu, creating connections with Tuimanu'a.¹¹⁵ Connection with the Papalii title in Savaii was made in Luafataalii's (son of Tolufale) third marriage to a daughter of Vele in Sapapalii. Further connection with Savaii was created in the marriage of Papalii-na-gau-ai-Savaii and Fitimaula a daughter of Letufuga in Safotulafai. Fitimaula was sired in Letufuga's marriage to a daughter of Tuiaana Uotele.¹¹⁶ The children of Fitimaula were Alaalatoa, Tuma'ai and Faalulumaga. Alaalatoa became the father of Pa'u, one of the chief orators of Safotulafai. Connection with Falealili was made in the marriage of Papalii-na-

¹¹³ Tamasese, T. T.; "Tamafaiga - Shanan, King or Maniac"; pg.3.

¹¹⁴ Kramer, pg.250.

¹¹⁵ Kramer, pg.250.

¹¹⁶ Kramer, pg.116.

fetaliai-ai-aiga and Leutogilaufou. They had two daughters, Fitifogavai and Vaiolupe. The later married Manusamoa from Falealili and they had a son Ise. Ise became the father of Fualau and Talomaanao.¹¹⁷ These two are respected titles in Falealili. Vaiolupe's sister Fitifogavai brought further connections of Manono and Falealili, in her marriage to Tuisamoa. In their lineage came Lesatele who married a daughter of Lefua in Sataua, thus the origin of the Lesatele title in Sataua Savaii.¹¹⁸ Also in this lineage came Fanene, whose father Tafilipepe is of the Satuala family. Fanene married Samalaulu of Saluafata who was probably a daughter of Tuiaana Faumuina.¹¹⁹ Oilau, one of Fanene's daughters married Fuimaono of Falealili and gave birth to Fuiavailiili who was adopted by Muagututi'a as Tupua.¹²⁰ Fanene in his second marriage to Taufau of Lotofaga created stronger connections with Atua district. The children of this marriage were Tuatagaloa, Meleisea and Leilua, all-important titles of Falealili. Leilua married Tuimanu'a and had a daughter Leilua-susuvaivai and four sons Touli, Asuao, Tapu and Lealiiee. Susuvaivai married Lilomaiava Letama-a-le-aitu-male-tagata creating connection with the Lilomaiava title.¹²¹ Leilua's brother Tuatagaloa married Tuitama of Falelatai, making connection with the Tuimalealiifano family.

All these connections are preserved in the '*Faalupega*' (Salutation) of the respective villages. For instance, the salutation of Safotulafai says:

greeted the family Saalaalatoa, Pa'u and Letufuga
respectedly welcome your highness Leilua and your five sons.¹²²

Tafua's salutation mentions the names of Leiataua and Sa'u.¹²³ Sagone's salutation mentions Leiataua.¹²⁴

Manono's '*tofiga*' as Aiga-ile-tai is recognised in the Salutation of Samoa. Manono's connection with the famous war-goddess Nafanua brought great significance to Manono in

¹¹⁷ Kramer, pg.251-252.

¹¹⁸ Kramer, pg.252.

¹¹⁹ Kramer, pg.252.

¹²⁰ Kramer, pg.253.

¹²¹ Kramer, pg.253.

¹²² Kramer, pg.55.

¹²³ Kramer, pg.66.

¹²⁴ Kramer, pg.93.

warfare and in the political scene. Manono's alliance with Nafanua's family Tonumaipea in Savaii, took control of the sea-lanes between Upolu and Savaii. Tradition has it that Manono's fleet played an important role in the campaigns of Tupai and Tauiliili (traditional priests of Nafanua) in Tuamasaga and Atua.¹²⁵

Nafanua's oracle concerning Manono's political status, was realised in Leiataua Lelologa. The Manono Malo was opposed by Tuailemafua who set up the rival Safune/Safotu Malo. War broke out between the two factions and after a year an accommodation was negotiated. One of the conditions of this accommodation was the union between Lelologa and a daughter of Tuailemafua. This union begot Tamafaiga, who was regarded with awe as someone having close to deity status. Tamafaiga succeeded his father. Leiatua Tamafaiga got the 'ao' of Tonumaipe'a of his mother's lineage.¹²⁶

His regime was characterised by fear, destruction and death. Tamafaiga's first ever-political involvement came in the war with the rival Safune/Safotu Malo. This rival Malo, was joined by Malietoa Vaiinupo and his constituency of Faasaleleaga and Tuamasaga. Mataafa Filisounu'u rallied with an Atua contingent. Manono invited support from their allies in Tonga and Fiji. Aana and Safata supported Manono so did the Tonumaipe'a domain in Savaii. The rival Safune/Safotu Malo was defeated. Mataafa Filisounu'u assured his continued opposition, invited his allies to join him in Atua. He and his contingent withdrew to avoid a confrontation with Manono. Malietoa made submission and pledged support for the Manono expedition to bring Atua to heel.¹²⁷ Mataafa Filisounu'u had minimal support, so Tamafaiga's forces made short work of the opposition. Filisounu'u was among the victims of this short war known as '*Taua o le Taeao Fua*' (War over and done in the early hours of the morning). Malietoa did not take part in this war.

Having subdued the rival Safune/Safotu Malo, the Malietoas and Mataafa's Malo at Atua, Tamafaiga definitely established his credentials to rule. However, he suspected that his Malo would never sit well with Aana, the traditional seat of the Malo. Aana who was Manono's

¹²⁵ Tamasese, T. T.: "The Journal of Pacific History": Vol. xxx; pg.3.

¹²⁶ His father Lelologa married a daughter of Asiata in Satupaitea who is of Tonumaipe'a title.

¹²⁷ Tamasese, T. T.: "The Journal of Pacific History": Vol. xxx; pg. 14.

closest ally for years now became a foe. During Tamafaiga's efforts to conquer Aana, there he met his unpredictable fateful death.

The assassination of Leiataua Tonumaie'a Tamafaiga was considered by the Tonumaie'a family a vicious blow to their honour as Tonumaie'a was their chief. Manono was aroused because Leiataua was their chief. The Malietoa's joined the predictable winners for the spoils.¹²⁸ Atua, the Vaa-o-fonoti and others of old alliance, stood aside by what they considered Aana's treachery. Districts that had scores to settle with Aana declared for Manono. Aana was without allies so the war that followed was known as the '*Faitasiga o Aana*' (All against Aana). This war was one of revenge and reprisal on Manono's regime rather than that of succession on the Malietoa side. After this war, the big issue was power, not titles. The Malo represented the party in power, and the Malo was in Manono not in Sapapalii.¹²⁹

In the political history of Old Samoa, it is obvious that warfare was sparked by claimants of highest titles. Nafanua is her prowess, claimed all of the papa. Samoa was left without any high title while Nafanua ruled with power. The papa were given to Salamasina who started a royal lineage of leadership. The last of this succession was Iamafana, who broke tradition by appointing Malietoa to be his successor. After Iamafana's death war started to break up, when his son Safeofafine claimed his right of the leadership role. He was given the Tuiatua title by his '*aiga*'. But Safeofafine needed the Tuiaana title for his leadership to be recognised. This meant that war was the only possible mean to obtain the Tuiaana title because 'Aana supported Iamafana's *mavaega*'. A war was fought and Safeofafine was killed. An interesting point to note is that, while the heirs of high title fought for succession Leiataua Lelologa confronted the rival *malo* in Savaii. His son Leiataua Tamafaiga finally defeated all the rival *malo* in Savaii and Atua. Thus Tamafaiga ruled in power and not on title succession.

Malietoa was invited twice by the Manono chiefs to join them in Luatimu, the Leiataualesa residence in Manono. Firstly, to deliberate on a successor to the Tamafaiga title. Malietoa declined and said that there should be no other Tamafaiga. Secondly, to join the rest of the

¹²⁸ Tamasese, T. T.: "The Journal of Pacific History"; Vol.XXX: pg.17.

Malo in paying a tribute to Tamafaiga's skull. Malietoa again declined on the ground that there was only one Lord – Jehovah in Heaven. Manono felt insulted and declared war on Malietoa. Unable to win the Malo from Manono and unwilling to fight for it, Malietoa's party bestowed the Tafaifa title for Malietoa Vaiinupo. This claim should not be validated as Atua and Aana were defeated by Manono. However, Malietoa's regime took advantage of foreign expertise which was already a factor and an increasingly important component in the political equation. To bridge the gap between Malietoa and Manono, Talavou married a lady of Tamafaiga family in Manono. Talavou acquired the title Tonumaie'a at the instigation of Manono. Manono became strong supporters of Malietoa Tonumaie'a Talavou in his bid for the leadership role. Notwithstanding severe military setbacks in the 1850's and 60's and shifting of the capital to Apia, Manono still maintained the belief that the Malo remained in Manono.

In 1889, while Malietoa Laupepa was in exile, Mataafa Iosefo was installed as Malietoa in opposition of the Tamasese regime. Manono made Mata'afa their Tama Sa and named him To'oa.¹³⁰ Thus Malietoa Tooa got the support of Manono in his struggle for leadership. After his defeat in Faleula, 1893, he retreated to Manono, the seat of the Malo, insisting on 'residence politics', originated from cultural significance attached to residence.¹³¹

The prominence of Tamafaiga in the political role of Manono stamped its mark on the religious activities of Manono. The Manono regime was blessed by Nafanua and Tamafaiga was her designated high priest. Tamafaiga's assassination marked the end of the Nafanua religion to coincide with the oracles of a Manono Taulaitu, about a new 'lotu' and that of Nafanua concerning a 'ao' for Malietoa from heaven. While Manono was at the revenge of Tamafaiga's death, the London Missionary Society Missionaries arrived at Sapapalii, the official residence of Malietoa. John Williams attributed to Fauea this favourable direction. Malietoa accepted the missionaries as the fulfillment of Nafanua's prophecy. The London Missionary Society missionaries enjoyed the favourable conditions they encountered in Samoa. However, that was an overstatement as the situations in Samoa was unsettled due to political struggle. Malietoa's denial of a restoration of the Tamafaiga succession, led some

¹²⁹ Tamasese, T. T.: "The Riddle in Samoa History"; *Journal of Pacific History*, Vol.xxix; pg.70.

¹³⁰ Tamasese, T. T.: "The Riddle in Samoa History"; pg.71.

¹³¹ Tamasese, T. T.: pg.71.

chiefs of Manono to embrace Methodism through their cultural connections with the Tonumaip'e'a domain of Satupaitea, Salega, Alataua i Sisifo and Asau the stronghold of Methodism today. Moreover, Manono's alliance with Tonga was very strong. This contributed to the acceptance of the Methodist Missionary Society in Manono in 1835. The withdrawal of Peter Turner in 1839, was felt with great remorse in Tonga. In the 1840's, King Taufaahau George visited Manono in response to Samoan requests. The Tongan King negotiated the Samoan Methodist situation with the Australian Branch of Methodist mission which resulted in the re-establishment of the Methodist mission in 1857.

The Roman Catholic arrived in 1845 to the favourable taste of Tuala Taetafe of Lealatele. The missionaries in search of Mataafa Fagamanu finally settled at Mulinu'u. Mata'afa Iosefo became a devout adherent of Roman Catholicism. He invited Roman Catholic Missionaries to his residence in Manono.

An interesting point to note at this stage is the affiliation of the missions with the political strategies. The LMS established a relationship with Malietoa whose aiga is Manono. The WMMS established themselves with Tamasese of the Sa Tupua family. Tupua was a descendant of Tolufale. The Roman Catholic sought connection with Mataafa who was also related to Manono.

CONCLUSION

Development and technology have influenced Samoa dramatically. Modern Samoa is still in the making according to western ideologies. Consequently, old Samoan ideals and way of life are gradually lost or outdated. However, there is a resurgence or renewal interest in the study of our own culture and way of life. This has driven me to conduct this study on Manono. 'O le Motu o le Feagaiga' because her significance is gradually fading in this on-going process of development.

All along I have argued that Manono was given the title: 'O le Motu o le Feagaiga' through the legendary Tuiaana Pili's 'tofiga'. In this study I find that there is a difference between these three main concepts of 'feagaiga' in Samoan customs and culture. The 'feagaiga-tamaitai' is a personified *feagaiga*. The 'tamaitai' is the 'feagaiga'. Whereas in the 'feagaiga-mavaega', the emphasis is on the *igoa matai*. The 'mavaega' plays an important role in the appointment of a successor to hold a 'matai' title. The 'feagaiga-tofiga' deals greatly with the allocation of lands and settlements. For instance, Tonumaiepa Lafai Sauoaiga's 'tofiga' concerning his children's settlements. Morealso the 'tofiga' by Tuiaana Pili that, his youngest son Tolufale was to reside at Manono, therefore Manono became 'O le Motu o le Feagaiga'. (Manono: 'The island of the Covenant').

Manono, a small insignificant island lying in the strait between Upolu and Savaii played an important role in the cultural, political and religious history of Samoa. Manono's geographical location was a blessing, she became the centre of commerce, communication and was in control of the sea-lanes. As a converging zone for Samoan travelers and neighbouring islands like Tonga and Fiji. Manono's connection with high ranking titles and the Tongans became evident through intermarriage. These connections were proved effective in Manono's involvement in Samoan history. Manono's connection with various titles and villages are preserved today in the cultural salutations of Samoa, "*Tumua ma Pule, Aiga i le Tai ma le Vaa o Fonoti*."

Manono was a home away from home for the trouble - stricken travelers. Nafanua who was tired and thirsty in a round trip from Savaii to Upolu was kindly invited and hosted by Leiataua of Manono. In return, Nafanua blessed Leiataua as the '*uluai pou o malo*'. Nafanua's blessing heralded Manono's involvement in the political affairs of Samoa. Manono became the home of the most influential leaders of Samoa. She enjoyed the blessings and privileges of being honoured and respected. In return Manono supplied the

necessary help to her allies, such as her expertise in wars. Her fleet of war-canoes was devastating. Manono's affiliation with Nafanua created an alliance between Manono and Tonumaipaea another unsung hero, proved very devastating for Aana and the Atua districts in troubled times.

The political history of Samoa is a history marred with fighting and bloodshed. The obvious reason for these wars was for title succession. During this chaotic period of power struggle between rival chiefs and rival districts of Samoa, Nafanua suddenly appeared on the political scene. She was victorious in the battles of Aea i Sasae and Aea i Sisifo, at western side of Savaii, and the wars known as '*Taua o Papa*'. (Battles of the Four Chiefly Titles of Samoa – Tuiaana, Tuiatua, Gatoaitale and Vaetamasoaalii). Consequently, Nafanua was in control of these four titles, but she never became a Tafaifa. Nafanua might have known that this was the cause of all these troubles. Later on, she handed over these titles to her relative Sooaemalelagi at Leulumoega.

Sooaemalelagi bestowed these four titles to his adopted daughter Salamasina, the first known Tafaifa in Samoa. The office of the Tafaifa was passed down to the direct descendants of Salamasina. The last of this royal lineage was I'amafana, who appointed Malietoa Fitiseanu, his adopted son to be his successor instead of his son Safeofafine. Safeofafine was very disappointed therefore sought the help of his '*aiga*' who then bestowed him the title Tuiatua. He was an ambitious young man therefore fought for the Tuiaana title too. Unfortunately, he was killed in that war with Aana.

After Malietoa Fitiseanu, Vaiinupo received the title Malietoa and he became the leading chief of Samoa at the time. Tonumaipaea Tamafaiga of Manono became a threat to Malietoa particularly when he defeated the rival '*malo*' established at Safune and Safotu in Savaii and Atua. Malietoa Vaiinupo represented the new era in Samoan history.

Tamafaiga, who was a contemporary of Malietoa Vaiinupo, must have had great influence on Malietoa. His abuse of power that caused a lot of sufferings to the people, was closely watched by Malietoa. When Tamafaiga was brutally murdered, Malietoa immediately put a stop to his rule. He rejected Manono's request for a Tamafaiga's successor and strongly

opposed a tribute to Tamafaiga's scalp. As for the title – succession Malietoa in his death bed statement clearly stated that the Tafaifa office will go with him to his grave and God shall be Samoa's only King. Malietoa was a great leader. He was a man of great confidence with a clear vision. His guidance and leadership is a living witness to Samoa's political life today.

On the religious side, Tamafaiga's death opened Samoa to the new 'lotu'. Tamafaiga was greatly feared and regarded as an obstacle to Christianity as he was the designated high priest for Nafanua. Fauea of Manono who accompanied John Williams of the LMS from Tonga was excited with joy when he heard the news about Tamafaiga's death. Manono as a small insignificant island with the least population, one wonders why all the missions took so great an interest in her. The reason I find is that Manono was the 'seat of the malo' at the time. Manono was the focal point of the cultural, political and religious activities of old Samoa.

The fear and terror of the deceased Tamafaiga still lingered on and haunting all of Samoa, thus honouring and respecting Manono. It has been mentioned that Manono received a resident LMS teacher in 1832, through the demands of Matetau, inspite of Malietoa's disapproval. The Wesleyan Methodist Mission followed the LMS. If I could make a comparison here, I would compare Manono to Bau Island of the Fiji group. Bau a small insignificant island off the coast of Viti Levu, became the power base of the Fiji group. Chiefs of Bau should be consulted first for any mission to succeed. Manono was the power base of Samoa at the time. The Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries who were successful in Tonga and Fiji, had this in mind and therefore targeted Manono as their landing spot. Peter Turner officially arrived at Manono in 1835. Peter Turner and his party arrived when Manono and Malietoa were at loggerhead over the Tamafaiga issue. Leiatua accepted the Methodist missionaries. On the other hand, Manono had strong connections with Tonga. This connection helped the Methodist work in Samoa especially in the resumption of mission in 1857. Manono's connections to other parts of Samoa was an advantage to the Methodists. The western side of Savaii whose ancestors could be traced to Manono is dominated by the Lotu Toga (Religion of Tonga). Salelologa Village, founded by Leiatua Lelologa and residence of Lilomaiava an archrival of Malietoa is today dominated by the Methodist.

Roman Catholicism was a late arrival to Manono in 1871. Mataafa Iosefo became a devout adherent of the Roman Catholic Mission. He received the name Mataafa Faifeau although he was not an ordained priest. Mataafa Iosefo retreated to Manono after failing his bid for the leadership role. The Roman Catholic followed him to Manono and established their work there for a short time. Roman Catholic Mission was later revived at Malotau in Manono-Uta where it is today.

The most important role of Manono in the religious history of Samoa could be found in the correspondence of old Samoa's 'taeao' with the New Samoa's 'taeao'. Old Samoa's 'taeao' of wars and bloodshed are: 'O le Taeao na i Saua,' 'O le Taeao na i Samana' ma le 'Aso na i Namo or Tumua'. The 'taeao' of New Samoa are: 'O le Taeao nai Mataniu Feagai ma le Ata, Faleu ma Utuagiagi, Malaeola ma Gafoga'. Old Samoan 'taeao' refer to events in Manu'a, Savaii and Upolu. New Samoa's 'taeao' refer to the landing spots of the missionaries of the first three missions to Samoa. The LMS and Roman Catholic landed in Savaii and the Methodists landed at Manono. These *taeao* are a concrete foundation the new Samoa has been built upon.

All villages of Manono today has a Congregational Christian Church.¹³² Two villages have Methodist Churches.¹³³ There is only one Roman Catholic Church,¹³⁴ served by the resident priest at Malotau in Manono Uta.

Manono is very important in the cultural, political and religious history of Samoa. It is my hope that in the ebbing tide of change through development, Manono should not be overlooked. Manono of today is no longer in control of the sea-lanes because development and technology is in control. However that small insignificant island situated off the coast of Upolu is still known as "*Manono: O le Motu o le Feagaiga*", or 'Manono: The Island of the Covenant'.

¹³² See Figures 1, 2, 3, 4.

¹³³ See Figures 5, 6.

¹³⁴ See Figure 7.

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Aioro Dr. Fanaafi;	Apia, 08.09.2000
Auapaau Finau;	Lepuia, Manono, 27.01.2000.
Futi Faatau;	Faleu, Manono, 11.03.2000.
Futi Iese;	Faleu, Manono, 27.01.2000.
Gaia F. Kirisome;	Apai, Manono, 12.02.2000.
Leau I. (Rev.)	Apai, Manono, 26.02.2000.
Leiataua Luma	Faleu, Manono, 19.02.2000.
Leiataua Pesa	Salua, Manono, 27.01.2000.
Levaa A. Sauaso;	Apolima, 12.02.2000.
Mauinatu M. (Rev. Elder);	Lepuia, Manono, 12.02.2000.
Maposua, S. (Rev.);	Faleu, Manono, 19.02.2000.
Moananu F.;	Mulifanua, 01.03.2000.
Mulipola, K;	Salua, Manono, 26.02.2000.
Saufoi, I. (Rev.);	Faleu, Manono, 05.02.2000.
Tanuvasa S.;	Fasitootai, 11.02.2000.
Tuilaepa F.;	Apai, Manono, 19.02.2000.
Vaatiuola, L. M.;	Mulifanua, 08.03.2000.
Vaisagote F. L.;	Faleu, Manono, 05.02.2000.

GLOSSARY

anae`	a kind of fish - (pg.1).
ao	head of a person, ruling party, leadership - (pg.19).
Apolima	name of island - (pg.6).
eleele	dirt or soil - (pg.7).
feagai	to sit opposite each other - (pg.1).
feagaiga	an agreement or covenant - (p.1, 2, 8, 9, 10, 18, 40).
feagaiga tamaitai	a lady as a covenant - (p.1, 2, 40).
feagaiga mavaega	a mavaega as covenant - (p.1).
feagaiga tofiga	a tofiga as covenant - (p.1).
faatasisa	getting together - (P.25).
fue	fly whisk - (p.8).
ga-ia	to stop crying - (p.16).
ilamutu	a superhuman servant - (p.7).
laoa	an orator's residence - (p.22).
Lepisi	a place at Fasitoota, Upolu - (p.24).
Lilomaiava	name of a chief - (p.35, 36).
lu	name of ola Samoa god of the land - (p.8).
malo	conquering or ruling party - (p.19, 23, 24, 27).
Malietoa	High chiefly tile - (p.2, 9, 11, 16, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 25-30, 32, 35-36).
maota	a chief's residence - (p.22).
matamatame	a war - dance (p.18).
Matetau	name of Manono chief - (p.31-32).
matai	honorary status - (p.2).
moa	chicken - (p.8).
Muagututia	name of a high chief - (p.2).
Nafanua	name of war-goddess - (p.19, 20, 27).
oso	gifts for a trip - (p.7).
`oso	planting stick - (p.8).
papa	rocks - (p.7).
papa	high ranking titles - (p.20).
sa	taboo - (p.8, 16).
talimalo lelei	hospitality - (p.20).
taeao	morning, dawn - (p.42).
Tamafaiga	name of a Manono chief - (p.22, 23, 24, 29, 36, 41).
tao	spear - (p.8).
tapunu'u	sole owners- (p.16).
Tagaloaalagi	name of old Samoa supreme god - (p.7).
taulaitu	superhuman servant - (p.27).
tofi	to appoint or to split - (p.2).
tofiga	an appointment or agreement - (p.2, 3, 8, 40).
Tolufale	name of a person - (p.3, 9, 11, 13).
to'oto'o	an orator's staff - (p.8).
Tonumaip'e'a	name of a chief in Savaii - (p.3).
tuafafine	a sister (p.1).

tuagane
Tuiaana
Tuifiti
uatogi

a brother (p.1).
paramount chief – (p.3, 9, 19).
a Fijian chief – (p.6).
a club, warrior weapon – (p.8).

ABBREVIATIONS

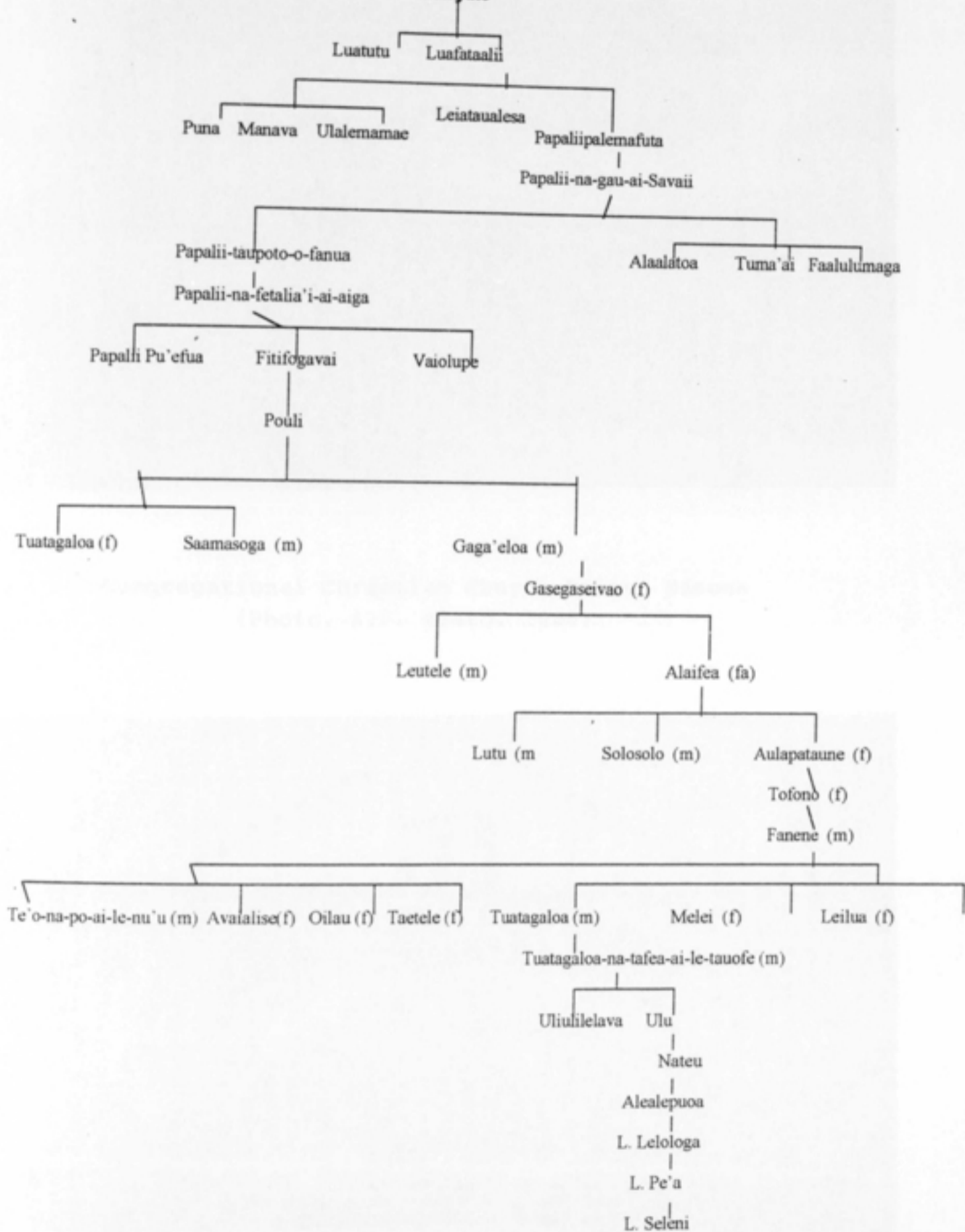
LMS

London Missionary Society.

WMMS

Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.

APPENDIX A

Tolufale



1. Congregational Christian Church Faleu, Manono
(Photo. A.F. Afato. 2000)



2. Congregational Christian Church Salua Manono
(Photo. A.F. Afato. 2000)



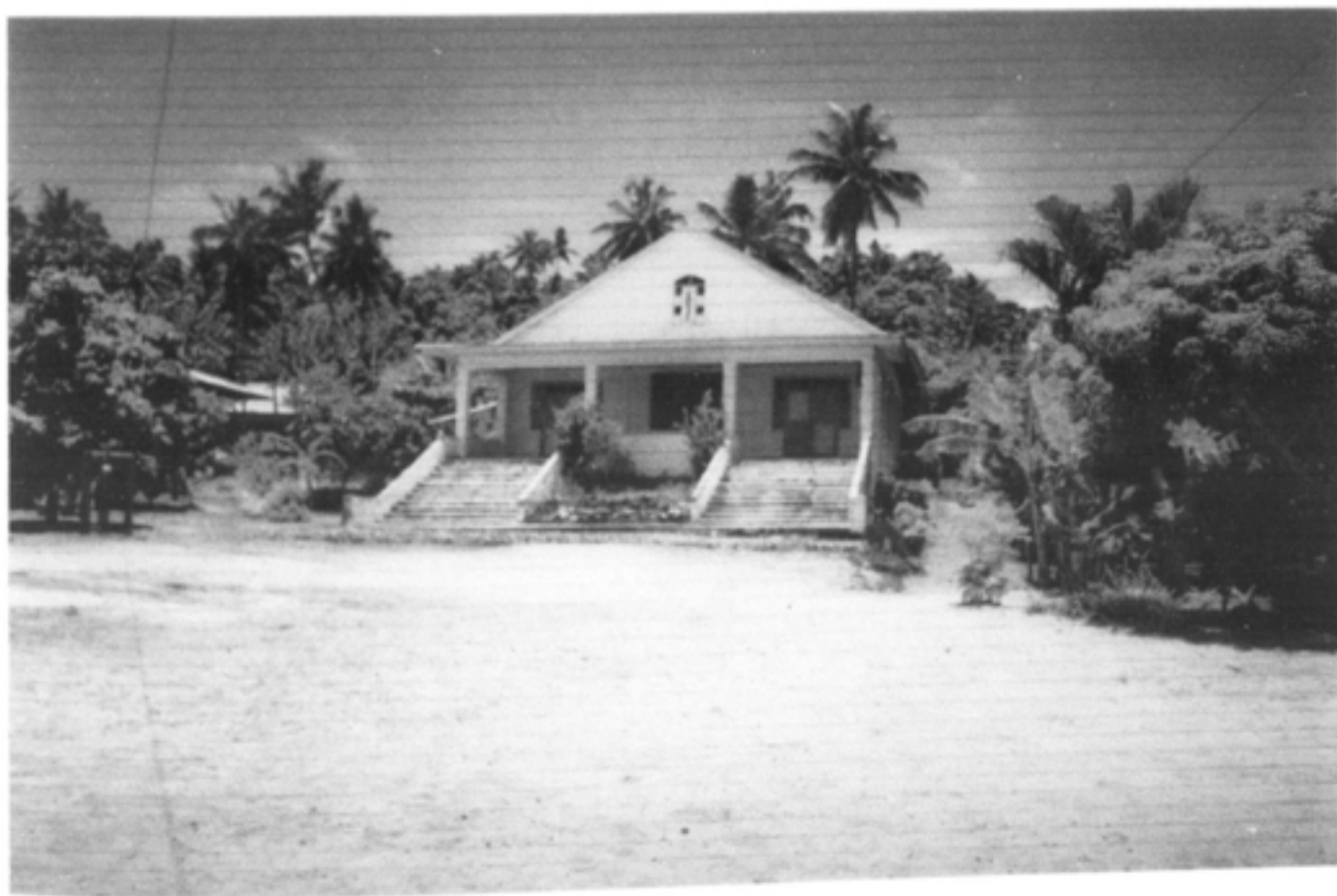
3. Congregational Christian Church Apai, Manono
(Photo. A.F. Afato. 2000)



4. Congregational Christian Church Lepuia'i, Manono
(Photo. A.F. Afato. 2000)



5. Methodist Church Faleu, Manono
(Photo. A.F. Afato. 2000)



6. Methodist Church Salua, Manono
(Photo. A.F. Afato. 2000)



7. Roman Catholic Church Faleu, Manono
(Photo. A.F. Afato. 2000)



8. Fauea's grave Salua, Manono
(Photo. A.F. Afato. 2000)



9. Peter Turner's Memorial Faleu, Manono
(Photo. A.F. Afato. 2000)



10. Teava and Heath's residence site, today,
Congregational Christian Church Minister's
residence, Apai, Manono.
(Photo. A.F. Afato. 2000)



11. Parts of Twelve-sides Stone mound, on top of Manono Island.

(Photo. A.F. Afato. 2000)



12. Author at Stone mound

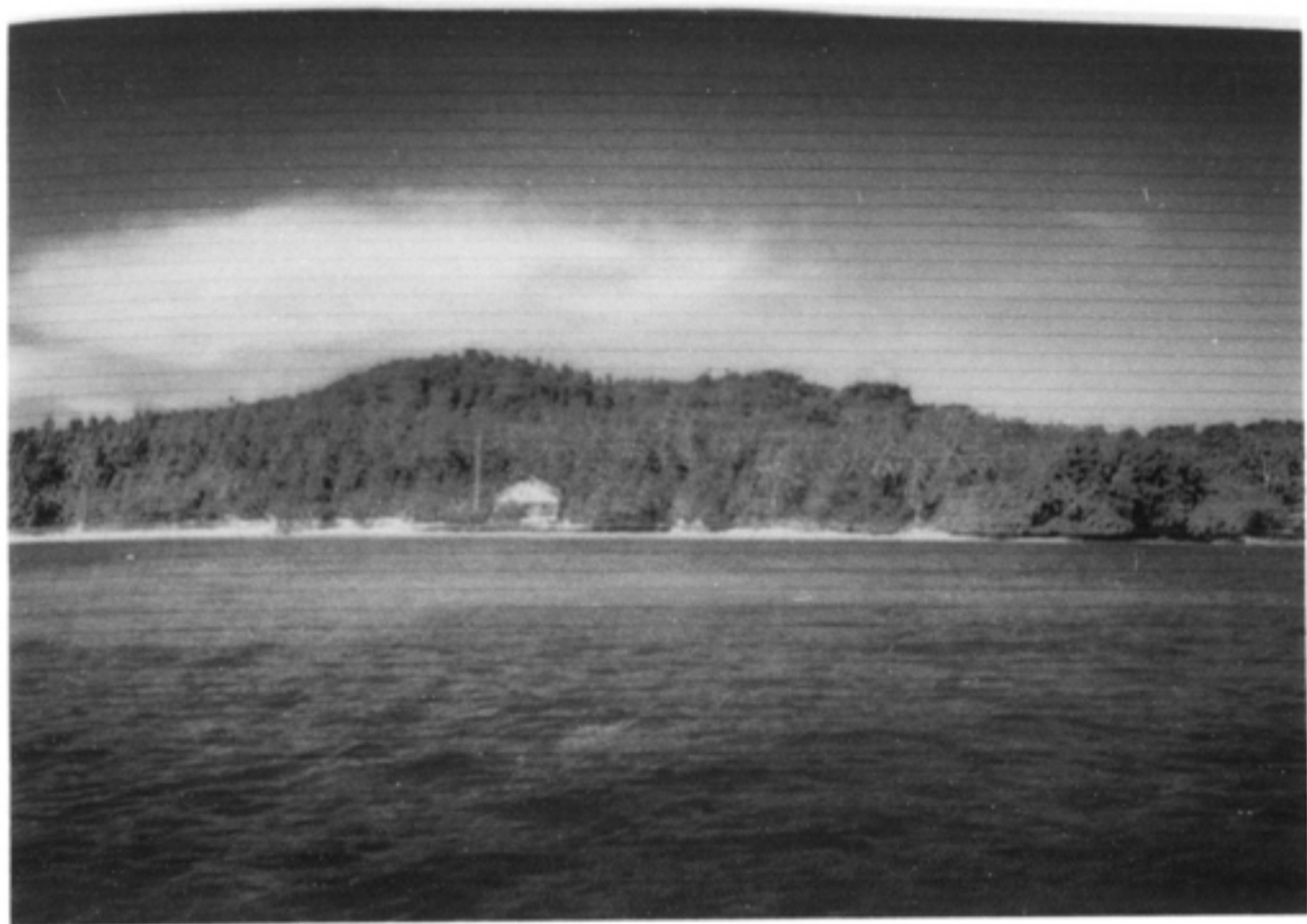
(Photo. A.F. Afato. 2000)



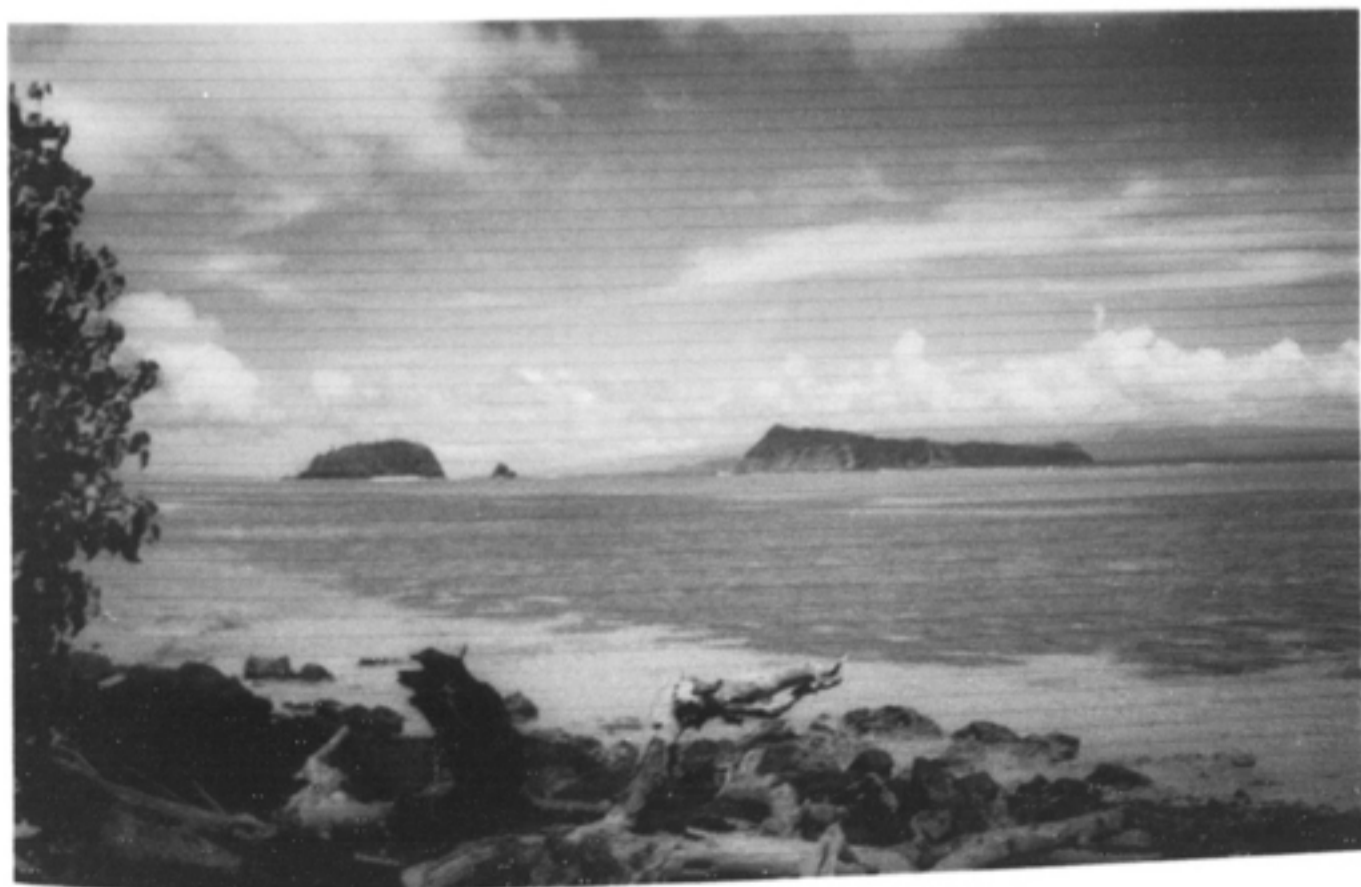
13. On top of Stone mound
(Photo. A.F. Afato. 2000)



14. Fautasi - Long racing boat, Lepuia'i, Manono
(Photo. A.F. Afato. 2000)

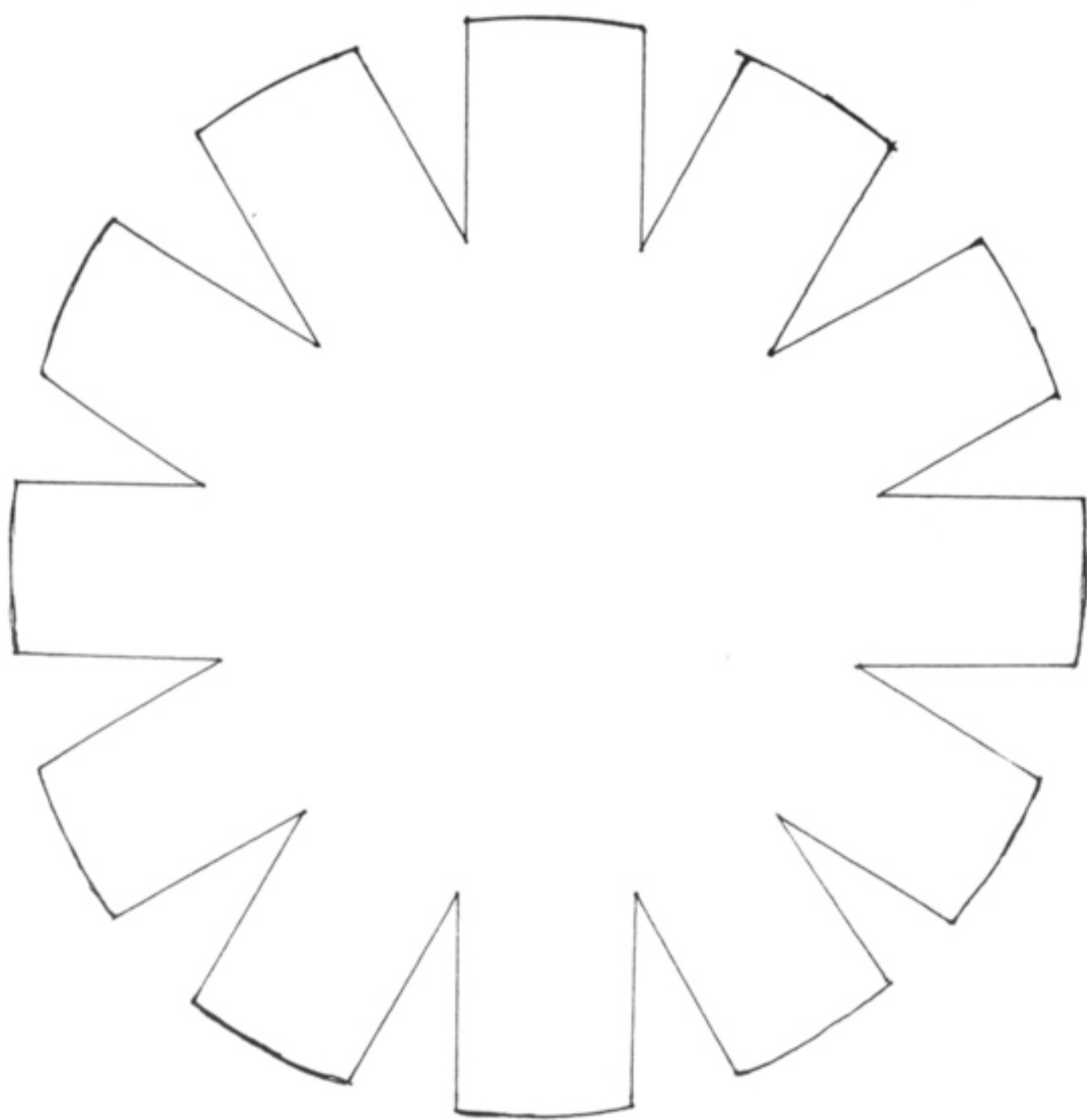


15. A view of Apai village from the sea.
(Photo. A.F. Afato. 2000)



16. A view of old canoe route from Salua shoreline.
(Photo. A.F. Afato. 2000)

A ROUGH-SKETCH OF TWELVE SIDES MOUND.



Mound built during Tamafaigā's regime.
