

A HISTORY OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY IN FUSI SAFOTULAFAI FROM 1830-1880

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Malua Theological College

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Requirements for the Degree of

Bachelor of Theology

by

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ABSTRACT

This research is an attempt to construct a written inaugural history of the origin and the establishment of the LMS Church in Fusi Safotulafai within the first fifty years since the arrival of the LMS in Sapapalii. It investigates how the LMS was spread to Fusi Safotulafai in the first fifty years of Christianity. This research used a Samoan perspective of *iloiloga* to evaluate and investigate the oral sources together with the written records by John Williams and the local historians about the history of the LMS in Samoa. Lastly this work will show the roles of Fusi Safotulafai that contributed to the establishment of the LMS in Samoa in its early years.

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that this thesis, which is about 12, 000 words in length, excluding the bibliography, has been written by me, that it is the result of work carried out by me, and that it has not been submitted, either in whole or in part, in any previous written work for an academic award at this or any other academic institution.

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

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated in loving memory of my late grandmothers, Sauileone T Komiti and Lusi F Kolose, who passed away in the beginning of my journey in Malua Theological College.

Moreover, it is a privilege to dedicate this work to my spiritual parents Reverend Mafi Fa'amoetauloa Taveuni & Lepetiomālō Taveuni as this year marks the 28th years of their service in the CCCS in Fusi Safotulafai.

Last but not the least; I dedicate this work to my wife Pologa Faasaoina and my two beautiful children Leonelorina Faasaoina and Faasaoina Junior Faasaoina

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I also acknowledge the advices and the blessings of my Spiritual Parents here in Malua, *Susuga* Melepone and Tupe Isara. Thanks also to my auaiga for their support. May God bless you all.

To my Spiritual Parents Reverend Mafi and Lepeti Taveuni as well as Reverend Valaauina and Veronika, I thank you for your prayers and support throughout this project.

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.Faafetai faafetai tele lava, ia faamanuia le Atua!

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1. LMS – London Missionary Society
2. EFKS – Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano Samoa
3. CCCS – Congregational Christian Church Samoa
4. CC – Catholic Church
5. CJCLDS – Church of Jesus Christ of Latter- Day Saints

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CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

1. Introduction

This chapter serves as the introduction to the study. Its attempts to provide a perspective in reconstructing and understanding the history of the London Missionary Society Church¹ in Fusi Safotulafai² from 1830 to 1840. Firstly, I will discuss the purpose of the study and the personal motivation that prompted me to pursue this research. Secondly, I will discuss background information to accustom us with the subject of my investigation that is the LMS church in Fusi. Here I will make mention of the geography, the people, the religion and village organization of the village of Fusi. Thirdly, I will discuss the method of investigation and the evidences that I will analyze for historical information. Included in this section is a discussion of the minimal historical evidence available for the history of the LMS in Fusi and how I am going to decipher this evidence for historical reconstructions. And lastly, I will briefly outline the content of this study. Here, I will give brief descriptions of the chapters following this introductory chapter.

2. Purpose and Motivation

No one has ever known when the LMS Church was establish in Fusi or made a serious attempt to construct a history of the LMS Church in Fusi. So, as a current theological student and member of the Congregational Christian Church in Fusi (CCCS Fusi), I am both obliged and humbled to attempt such a feat. In addition, there are two underlying motivations for this research. First, is to construct a history of the

¹ London Mission Society will be abbreviated to LMS for the purpose of this research. London Missionary Society was later name the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa in the annual meeting of the church in 1962. See, Featuna'i Ben Liuaana, *Samoa Tulai: Ecclesiastical and Political Face of Samoa's Independence 1900-1962*, (Apia: Malua Printing Press, 2004), 3.

² Fusi Safotulafai is a sub-village within the traditional village of Safotulafai. The people believed that the name Fusi comes from the word *taufusi* (swamp) based on a traditional myth of a blind man and his daughter who came from the district of Amoa going to Palauli.

establishment of the LMS in Fusi and trace my home church's contribution to the early mission of the LMS. And second, is for the purpose of informing present and future generations interested in the history of the LMS Church not only in Fusi but Samoa as well.

Furthermore, this work is also inspired by a personal desire to prove my personal belief and hypothesis. That is, the LMS in Fusi was established within the first ten years of the arrival of Christianity in Samoa in 1830. This hypothesis is based on several factors. First, is the close proximity of Fusi to Sapapalii where the LMS mission first landed in 1830. Geographical speaking Fusi is immediately adjacent to the village of Sapapalii. Their close proximity is clear in Figure 1 below. Second, the two villages have close genealogical ties from ancient times as a result of intermarriages between villagers prior to the arrival of LMS missionaries.³ And third, is a historical reference I came across considering a comment made by John Williams in 1832 when he and his friend Makea⁴ visited the Amoa district. On their way, Williams observed that he saw a chapel that had already been built and another one erected in two of the villages they passed before they reached Amoa.⁵ I presumed that one of the villages mentioned by Williams here is Fusi due to the fact that it lies between the villages of Sapapalii and the district of Amoa. Not only that, Fusi is the center of Safotulafai so it will be improper in the Samoan traditional mindset to build a chapel elsewhere rather than the center of the village. These deductions heighten my suspicion that the LMS Church in Fusi was established within the first two years of

³ The location of Fusi Safotulafai is shown on the Map of Samoa below. Clearly, the distance and close proximity of Fusi to Sapapalii is evident.

⁴ Makea is the king of Rarotonga and he is John Williams's friend. On his way back to Samoa in 1832, he brought him to witness the mission in Samoa.

⁵ John Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands* (35 Paternoster Road: John Snow, 1837), 115.

Christianity in Samoa. However, to prove my belief, further investigation is needed for which this research will undertake.

3. Background of Fusi

As mentioned above there is a need to familiarize ourselves with the village of Fusi in order to put us into perspective in understanding its history. Therefore, this section is an attempt to briefly highlight some of the background information concerning the village of Fusi which is vital to understanding this work.

a) Location

Figure 1⁶ **Map of Savaii**



Fusi is located in the Southeast coast of Savaii, the biggest island of the Samoan archipelago. Fusi is a sub-village and the center of the village of Safotulafai in the Fa'asaleleaga district on the Southeast coast of the island. Traditionally, the

⁶Wikipedia https://www.google.com/search?q=map+of+Fusi+Safotulafai+Samoa&rlz=1C1VFK_B_enAU657AU657&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKUkwifopHI49vjAhUhjIQKHRIWC4MQ_AUIESgB&biw=1280&bih=610#imgsrc=ww85SqFpVn7m8M: access date, July 30, 2019.

Fa'asaleleaga district is from the village of Salelologa to the village of Tuasivi.⁷ Culturally, the village of Safotulafai is the center of the district. It is where the *malae fono*⁸ (meeting field) of the Fa'asaleleaga is located. This *malae fono* is called *Fuifatu*⁹ and is located in Fusi. In the ancient days *Fuifatu* was where the district came together for meeting and worship to the god Tagaloalagi. In this sense, Safotulafai therefore is not only the political center but also the religious center of the district. As shown in Figure 1 above, Safotulafai is at the north of the village of Salelologa and south of the village of Tuasivi.¹⁰ Today, Salelologa is the trading township of Savaii¹¹ while Tuasivi is the center of government administration.¹² This made Safotulafai the midway point between the economic and political centers of the island of Savaii. As shown above in Figure 1, Safotulafai is located next to Sapapalii, the landing place of the LMS in Samoa. It is also two to three kilometers away from the Amoa District.¹³

b) People

Fusi consists of two hundred and thirty-two families with the approximate number of 704 people excluding the people who are living elsewhere in Samoa and overseas.¹⁴ The latest census report from the Ministry of Statistics 2016 shows that the dominant age group in the village is the young adults from the age of 22 to 35 which

⁷ Savaii is the largest island of the Samoa archipelago. Figure 1 above refers to the Faasaleleaga District as Faasaleleaga No 1 due to Electoral division. Yet, Faasaleleaga No 1 is the traditional district of Faasaleleaga while Faasaleleaga No2 is the traditional district of Amoa.

⁸ *malae fono* is the meeting field where a village or a district assembles for their meeting.

⁹ *Fuifatu* is the meeting field of the village of Fusi Safotulafai and as well as the district of Faasaleleaga. Literally the name *Fuifatu* means 'to dip the heart' referring to the god Tagaloalagi's act of pouring kava onto the hearts of the dead to resurrect them.

¹⁰ It is the main entry point into the island with the only ferry terminal on Savai'i. It also serves as the main township for shopping and public amenities with a market place.

¹¹ The village of Tuasivi is in the electoral political district of Fa'asaleleaga. Tuasivi is the main centre for government administration on Savai'i.

¹² Tuasivi is also where the only LMS College in Savaii Tuasivi College is located. In May 1948, Tuasivi College was officially opened in Savaii.

¹³ Amoa District is identified on the map of Savaii in Figure 1 as Faasaleleaga No 2.

¹⁴ Samoa Bureau of Statistics (Population and Demography Census, Dec 2016)

make up for 50% of the village population.¹⁵ This suggests that, the majority of Fusi's population are young people who are able to work to support the people of the village.

The majority of the families rely on the land and sea for everyday consumption and income. Most of the families have their own plantations of taro, cocoa, coconut inland which they sell the surplus to earn money. Some families raise cattle, pigs and chickens not only for the family use but also for income. Those who fish operate on a small scale, mainly for the purpose of family consumption with the surplus sold at the market for income. To make ends meet the people rely heavily on money remitted from relatives living and working in either Apia or overseas. Every family in Fusi has people working in Apia and overseas in either New Zealand or Australia. People working abroad help the development of their families in the village.

Most of the people in Fusi have intermarried within the village while others married to people from neighboring villages like Sapapalii, Fatausi, Fogapoa, Lalomalava, Salelavalu and so forth.¹⁶ These inter-marital trends existed long before the arrival of Christianity and are still evident today. This is why most of the families in Fusi are connected through marriages and most families also have strong genealogical connections with the aforementioned villages, especially with the villagers of Sapapalii.

¹⁵ In the research, there are more than 400 people of Fusi Safotulafai who lived outside of Samoa.

¹⁶ The elders of Fusi believed that during the time of the LMS mission in the early years, that was the time the intermarriage was high due to the people going to Sapapalii for Bible School as well those who were hosted in Fusi.

c) Village Organization

Fusi is like any other Samoan traditional village. The *faamatai*¹⁷ (chief system) is the ruling and the governing sector. Due to the huge amount of people in the village, Fusi is divided into four *pitonuu* (sub-villages) divisions; Vaimaga, Eveeve, Fusi and Fuifatu. These *pitonuu* are grouped into pairs called *falelua* (two houses); Vaimaga is paired with Eveeve while Fusi is paired with Fuifatu. Each of these two groups has their own *fono* (governing body) with a *sui o nuu* (village representative) representing the village to the Samoa assembly of village representatives.

These *falelua*(s) exclusively monitor village affairs including customs, culture, *matai* titles, land matters and village development projects. However, there are times when the two *falelua*(s) meet especially to deal with serious matters in the village. For instance is the banishment of someone or a family that commit a serious offence that disrupts the harmony and stability of the village as a whole.¹⁸

Working in conjunction with the *fono a matai* (chief's council) is the *komiti a tamaitai* (women's committee). The *fono a tamaitai* in Fusi is also organized into *falelua*(s) each with a *sui tamaitai o le nuu* (woman representative of the village) representative Fusi to the *Fono a sui tamaitai o nuu* (national council of women representatives). The women committee attends to matters concerning local families. They deal with household hygiene, child wearing, weaving to list but a few.

¹⁷ The *faamatai* (chief system) is the traditional Samoan system for governing villages. In Fusi Safotulafai, each *aiga* (family) have a *matai*. The *matai*'s responsibility is to represent the *aiga* in the village *fono* (council). Also see: Fana'afi Le Tagaloa Aiono, *Western Samoa: The Sacred Covenant: Land Rights of Pacific Women*(Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies of the University of the South Pacific, 1986), 103. ff; Malama Meleisea, *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*(Suva: University of the South Pacific, 1987), 117.

¹⁸ For further information on Village Council See; Legislative Assembly of Samoa website: www.parliament.gov.ws Government of Samoa website: www.samoagovt.ws Ministry of Justice & Courts Administration website: www.mjca.gov.ws.

Furthermore, the *fono a matai* and *fono a tamaitai* are organized hierarchically according to rank and status. These ranks are preserved within the *faalupega* (honorifics) of the village of Fusi.

Tulouna Leilua, ma le toalima o ona alo. Tulouna! le Aiga Sa Alalatoa ma Alo o Malietoa, Alalata'i le Maopu o Tufuga ma le na ai i malae, Oulua na Pule, Tuilagi ma Namulauulu, ma upu ia te oe le matua Safotulafai ¹⁹ (Greetings! To Leilua and his five sons. Greetings! To the Sa Alalatoa family and the Sons of Malietoa. Greetings! To Mafuolo, Faletufuga and Fauolo, Greetings! To Tuilagi and Namulauulu and the rest of Safotulafai.)

Apparent from this honorific is the fact that Leilua is the paramount chief of Fusi. Next to Leilua are his five sons Agavale, Mata'u, Tauiliili, Māta'u and Tumā'ai who are considered *alii(s)* (high chiefs). Next are the *matai* from the Alalatoa family. The leading two *matai(s)* are Letufuga and Pau who are regarded not only as *alii(s)* but also as two of the leading *tulafale(s)* (orators) of Fusi. The next level includes the *matai(s)* who are considered sons of Malietoa. These include Moananu and Taulapapa. They were the sons of Malietoa Aeoainuu and Mauai Laufiso of Safotulafai. Following the sons of Malietoa are the *maopu tufuga* and the one refer to as *le na ai malae*. The former refers to the orators Mafuolo and Faletufuga while the latter points to Fauolo. After these titles are the orators Tuilagi and Namulauulu the two are also considered as two of the leading orators of Fusi. That is, they are of equal standings as Letufuga and Pau when it comes to oratorical matters in Fusi. However, Tuilagi and Namulauulu considered as more respected orators when it comes to national affairs. Every other *matai* who is not part of the listed leading families in Fusi comes under the general title Safotulafai. They are considered as less authoritative in the village.

¹⁹ M.K Lemamea, ed. *O Le Tusi Faalupega O Samoa* (Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1981), 47.

This social order governs the *fono* and organisation of Fusi. The *matai*(s) with prestigious titles acquired the lion's share of the land and good distributions while the lesser *matai*(s) received minimal shares. Not only that, when it comes to decision making the leading *matai*(s) also have the most say. For instance, the *alii* and his *faletua* (wife) are the most influential people within the two *fono*(s). This is because both the *alii*(s) and their *faletua*(s) opinions are highly regarded in the *fono a matai* and *fono a tamaitai* respectively. According to Tauaola Fatagogo Samoan hold the *afioga* (opinions) of *alii* very dear and no one dares to challenge or oppose what they have to say.²⁰

d) Religion

Fusi is a Christian village. There are three major Christian denominations in the village; CCCS, the Catholic Church (CC) and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (CJCLDS).²¹ Approximately, 50% of the villagers attend the CCCS, 25% attend the CC, 20% attend the CJCLDS while the other 5% go to other denominations outside of the village.²² Of the 50% attending the CCCS the majority resides in the sub villages of Fusi, Eveeve and Vaimaga which are closer to Sapapalii. At the same time, most of those residing in Fuifatu attended the Roman Catholic Church. This is due mainly to the fact that villagers tend to attend the Church closer to their parts of the village. Furthermore, I presume that the high membership of the CCCS is a result of its history as the first church to be established in the village.

²⁰ Tauaola Fatagogo Tinai, Interview with author, (November 12, 2018). Tauaola is a chief and orator of the village of Fusi.

²¹ The majority of the people of Fusi Safotulafai attended the LMS because it was the first denomination in the village.

²² There are no actual figures available concerning the membership of the three Churches. The percentage mention here are calculated through a head count I conducted by attending the Sunday services of the three respected Churches.

In summary, it is apparent from the aforementioned background of Fusi that the village is a typical Samoan village. That is, its affairs are governed by the *faamatai* and Christian beliefs and values. It is also apparent that the sub-village of Fusi plays a significant role in Safotulafai, the Faasaleleaga district and the rest of Samoa. First, its *malae* is the religious and political center of the Faasaleleaga district. Second, its orators are regarded with utmost respect as *faiupu(s)* (orators) in Samoa. And thirdly, the village has genealogical connections to the kingly family of Malietoa. Testament to the significance of the village is the claim made by Augustin Kramer that the importance of Safotulafai is equated to that of Manono Island as the two parties to be consulted in the conferring of the Malietoa title.²³ This suggests that the Fusi sub-village which is the center of Safotulafai have close affinities with the Malietoa family.

In addition, the general information given here also highlights Fusi as a Christian village with the majority of its people attending the CCCS in Fusi. In other words, there is a strong LMS influence in Fusi. This trend raises a few questions such as: When was the LMS Church established? Was the establishment of the LMS a result of the close ties between Fusi and the Sa Malietoa family and the village of Sapapalii? What role did the people of Fusi play in establishing the LMS Church in the village? Did the people of Fusi contribute to the mission of the LMS Church? These questions and related ones will be addressed as this project progresses.

4. Methodology

As mentioned above there is no published material concerning the history of the LMS Church in Fusi. Even the mention of Fusi in history works is also scarce.

²³ Dr. Augustin Kramer, *The Samoan Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, vol. one (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 56.

Therefore, there is a big void in academia concerning the history of Fusi that this research is intended to fill. In this sense, this work therefore will start from scratches and will heavily rely on primary sources. However, this does not mean that I will completely neglect the secondary materials available in libraries around Samoa, as well as the resources in the Malua Theological College's library. I will use the works of known historians concerning the history of the LMS Church to make sense of the primary materials that I will gather. For example are the works of Malama Meleisea,²⁴ Oka Fauolo²⁵, Augustin Kramer²⁶ and Kenape Faletese²⁷.

Moreover, the primary materials that I will consult for this work includes the Journal of John Williams,²⁸ Church Records of the LMS Church in Fusi, Oral Traditions acquired through interviews, Landmarks, Tombstones and Memorial Plaques, Family Genealogies and Cultural Practices.

a) The Journal of John Williams

The main record of interest to this research is a reference made by William concerning Safotulafai in his journal. Williams observed that;

“The following morning we left Sapapalii for Amoa, a station about eight miles distant, at which the inhabitant had built a chapel, and were all receiving Christian instruction. In going thither we passed through a settlement called Safatulafai [Safotulafai], which is one of the most beautiful in the group, and which astonished

²⁴ Meleisea, *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*. (Suva: University of the South Pacific, 1987).

²⁵ Oka Fauolo, *O Vavega O Le Alofa Laveai* (Tamaligi: Malua Printing Press, 2005).

²⁶ Kramer, *The Samoan Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, one.

²⁷ Kenape Faletese, *Tala Faasolopito O Le Ekalesia Samoa (L.M.S)*(Tamaligi: Malua Printing Press, 1959).

²⁸ Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands*.

and delighted me...before we reached Amoa we passed through two or three other settlements, which, although large were inferior to Safatulafai [Safotulafai].”²⁹

There are a few discrepancies concerning William’s description of the area between Sapapalii and Amoa, possibly because of his limited knowledge concerning the geography of the area. Therefore, this piece of evidence needs to be critically observed in order to yield ample historical information for the construction of the history of the LMS Church in Fusi.

b) Local Interviews

Furthermore, I have interviewed the elders of the LMS Church in Fusi. For the purpose of acquiring the oral traditions and stories passed down from generations to generations regarding the history of the LMS Church in Fusi. However, I am critically taking into consideration the fact that these elders are second and third generation descendants of those present at the time when Christianity arrived in Samoa and perhaps Fusi in the 1830’s. This chronological gap can yield bias and inadequate accounts of historical event in question. To overcome such problem I will address these accounts carefully and critically obtain accurate insights for the construction of a history of the LMS Church in Fusi.

c) Genealogies

Genealogies can be viewed as store houses of historical information. In this sense, I will also search the genealogies of some families in Fusi to establish genealogical linkages between the people of Fusi and Malietoa Vaiinupo who first accepted Christianity. It is important to make this connection since Malietoa and his families were among the first Samoans to be Christianized.³⁰ In this case, the

²⁹ Ibid., 115.

³⁰ Faletese, *Tala Faasolopito O Le Ekalesia Samoa (L.M.S)*, 12.

genealogies of families in Fusi will be critically examined to highlight and identify genealogical connections to the Malietoa family.

d) Api o le Galuega (Church Records)

This research will also consult the Church Records of the LMS Church in Fusi. The *Api o le Galuega* is a written report kept by the Church minister to record every detail of the works of the Church. This book is supposed to be kept with utmost care and to be passed from one minister to the other before they leave the parish. Unfortunately, the church records of the LMS Church in Fusi are incomplete. There are significant information missing and there are gaps concerning the history of the church. In this sense, the content of the book needs to be carefully and critically examined in order to retrieve accurate historical information for the construction of the history of the LMs Church in Fusi intended in this work.

e) Tombstones and Memorial Plaques

Furthermore, tombstones and memorial plaques of late ministers are also helpful for this project. For they yield historical information concerning the ministers and the time they served in the LMS Church in Fusi. However, the problem with these sources of information is that the historical information they contain is limited. In the case of the LMS Church in Fusi the tombstone had been shifted from the old church building to the new. This caused damages to the tombstones resulting in missing pieces that are valuable for historical reconstructions. As Mafuolo Lotovale claims the list in the Hall is incomplete. For him there are a number of ministers missing from

the list.³¹ This problem also raises the need to examine the minister lists from these sources carefully to identify their historical value for historical reconstructions.

Figure 2³² **Tombstones and Memorial Plaques**



f) Cultural Practice

I will also explore cultural practices for historical information. In particular is the cultural practice of *faatua* (to give support). *faatua* literally means to give support, or to lend a helping hand. This cultural practice is a traditional practice carried out by the people of Fusi on the twenty fourth of August every year. Through the traditional practice of *faatua* the people of Fusi gives support of any kind to the people of Sapapalii with the commemoration of the arrival of the LMS missionaries to Sapapalii. Mafuolo claims that such practice dates back to the days of the early missionaries when nearby villagers lend support to Sapapalii in hosting the servants of

³¹ Mafuolo Lotoale, Interview with author, (3rd November, 2018). He is one of the elders of the LMS Church in Fusi. He is 89 years of age, born in 1932. He is known in Fusi's honorifics as the Maopu o Tufuga.

³² Figure 2 shows one of the tombstones of the past Church ministers who served at Fusi. Figure 2 shows the latest year found on the tombstones.

God.³³ This traditional practice also contains historical insights that are valuable for historical formulations in constructing the history of the LMS Church in Fusi.

g) Landmarks

Furthermore, I will also see the sight of old church building of the LMS Church in Fusi. Observing this landmark could yield historical insights valuable for the purpose of this study considering that nearly all of the elders in Fusi that I have consulted claim the location of the old church building as the initial location of the LMS Church in Fusi. This Church building was called *O le Tootoo o le Talalelei* meaning the ‘The Staff of the Gospel’. This name could have significant value in constructing the history of the LMS Church in Fusi. Thus needs to be studies and explored further.

Figure 3.³⁴ **Landmarks of the Old LMS Church Building in Fusi Safotulafai**



In summation, the sources for historical formulation that I have identified for this study need to be critically examined in order to reveal their true historical value for history writing. In doing this, I propose the use of the Samoan method of deduction known as *Iloiloga* (analysis).

³³ Lotovale Mafuolo; Interview with author, (24 Jan, 2018.)

³⁴ Figure 3 is the landmarks of the first chapel of the LMS Church in Fusi.

5. Samoan Methodology of *Iloiloga*

The Samoan term *iloiloga* is defined by George Pratt Milner as the process of examination or investigation.³⁵ According to Pratt, the term *iloiloga* is a noun derived from the Samoan verb *iloa* meaning to see, to know or to understand. However, Mautanoa Lisi Va'ai went further identifying two possible related roots of the term. That is, the term *iloiloga* is a derivative of the term *iloilo* meaning to examine, to look at or to inspect and *iloa* meaning to know, to see or to understand. Yet, the terms identified by Vaai are derivatives of the short term *ilo* the means to sort or to show as a verb.³⁶

Judging from this brief etymology of the term *iloiloga* it is clear the term refers to the process of investigation for one to gain knowledge or understanding. A consideration of the proposed roots of the term identifies the various stages of investigation that needs to be carried out for one to gain understanding and knowledge. The first phase is the *ilo* phase. This phase involves the identifying and the sorting of evidences for historical formulations. I have already identified relevant sources to construct the history of the LMS Church in Fusi what is left is the sorting of the information from these sources to paint a clear picture of the history of the LMS Church in Fusi. However, prior to that task there is a need to critically examine sources in order to retrieve the historical information they contain. These tasks can be done in the second and third phases that follow.

The second phase of the *iloiloga* method is *iloilo*. This phase requires the interpreter to closely examine the evidence and identify the historical information they contain. The third and final phase of the *iloiloga* methodology is *iloa*. In other

³⁵ George Bratt Milner, *Samoan Dictionary*(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966).

³⁶ Mautanoa Lisi Vaai, *Tusi Upu Samoa: Samoan to English*(Suva: University of the South Pacific, 1989).

words, it is the process of critically scrutinizing the evidence and source to ensure the information gathered is accurate and understandable. Afterwards the second stage of *ilo* (first phase) is applied which involves the sorting of the gathered information to piece together a clear historical narrative or portrait of the studied subject.

It is my hope that the application of the *iloiloga* methodology will eliminate any biases on the part of the interviewees, retrieve the necessary information from the identified sources and aid in constructing a historical narrative of the LMS Church in Fusi.

6. Structure of the Thesis

a) Chapter One – The Study

Chapter one functions as the introductory section of this research. It includes the purpose and motivation for conducting this work. It provided a brief Geography of Fusi Safotulafai which consists of the location, people, village organization and the religious. Furthermore, this chapter presents the available sources of information and their weaknesses and the purpose for using the Samoan deduction method *iloiloga* to analyze the information. Lastly, it showed the outline of the thesis.

b) Chapter Two – Constructed History of the LMS Church in Fusi

Chapter two aims to construct a history of the LMS Church in Fusi by implementing the *iloiloga* methodology on the presented information. Its content contains the arrival of the LMS in Sapapalii, and the development of the mission which led to the establishment of the LMS Church in Fusi. Finally in the summary of the chapter, I will construct a history of the LMS Church in Fusi based on the result of the *iloiloga* methodology.

c) Chapter Three - Roles of Fusi People in the Establishment of the LMS in Samoa

Chapter three will focus on the significance roles of the Fusi people in the establishment of the LMS Church in Samoa. The content of this chapter includes hosting the Samoan Christians as well as the Missionaries, together with spreading the Gospel and helping the families in Sapapalii as described in the cultural practice *faatua*.

d) Chapter Four: Conclusion

This is the last and final chapter of this research. It shall detail the conclusion which will summarize the findings and its relevance to the overall aim of this research. It will also state the significance of this study to the present and future generations of Fusi Safotulafai as well as the LMS as a whole.

7. Conclusion/ Summary

In this chapter I have set the stage for this study. My intentions are to paint a clear picture of the aims and objectives of this study and to provide the necessary backdrop for understanding the history of the LMS Church in Fusi. In addition I have also identified the sources of information that this study will rely upon. These sources require to be critically scrutinized and I proposed the use of the Samoan deduction methodology of *iloiloga* for such purpose. The overall aim is to retrieve accurate historical information for constructing the history of the LMS Church in Fusi.

CHAPTER TWO: Chronological History of the LMS in Fusi

1. Introduction

The aim of this Chapter is to construct a chronological account of the first fifty years of the LMS Church in Fusi. In doing so, I will carefully scrutinize the evidence through the Samoan process of *iloiloga* to yield the historical data required to paint a clear picture of the developments of the LMS Church in Fusi from 1830 to 1880. However, with the gathered evidence, the history that I am about to offer will include a lot of gaps which I intend to fill with further researches. All the same, to put us into perspective I will firstly offer a brief overview of the arrival of the LMS Church in Samoa.

2. The Arrival of the LMS Church in Samoa

The Missionary Society was founded in London in 1795, and was later called the LMS in 1818. It was organized as an ecumenical protestant missionary society with the aim of fulfilling the Lord's Great Commission³⁷ of evangelizing the whole world. The LMS began its work in the Pacific in 1796 by sending missionaries to Tahiti, the Marquesas and Tonga where they faced setbacks due to the hostility of the natives. However, things eventually changed for the better and Tahiti was converted to Christianity. Here the LMS set up its' headquarter for the mission to the rest of the Pacific and from Tahiti the "streams of salvation were to flow to the numerous islands scattered over that extensive ocean."³⁸

³⁷ "Matthew 28: 19," in *The Holy Bible. New Revised Standard Version; with the Apocrypha* (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publisher Marketing, 1989),26.

³⁸ John Garrett, *To Live among the Stars: Christian Origins in Oceania* (Suva: Oceania Printers Ltd 1982), 8-18.

Afterwards the LMS moved to the Cook Islands under John Williams's leadership. It was there that Williams made preparations for the mission to Samoa by building the 'Messenger of Peace' from materials found on the island.³⁹ On the 24 May 1830, Williams and Charles Barff with eight Tahitian teachers left Raiatea and set sail for Samoa. On their way, they made a brief sojourn in Tonga, where Williams encountered a Samoan chief name Fauea whom he decided to take as their interpreter.⁴⁰

In the month of August, 1830 the Messenger of Peace arrived on the island of Savaii, at the village of Sapapalii the home of Malietoa Vainupo. The official meeting between John Williams and Malietoa was held at Malietoa's residence at *Mataniu Feagai ma le Ata*⁴¹, on August 24 1830. In the course of the meeting, Williams gave details to Malietoa concerning the purpose of his visit and the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Malietoa in response expressed his desire to receive Christianity and assured that he would devote his efforts to spread the Gospel throughout the country.⁴² Malietoa praised the occasion as;

This is the happiest day in my life, and I rejoice that I have lived to see it. In future, I shall consider ourselves and you as one family, and hope you will do the same.⁴³

The words of Malietoa revealed not only his willingness to accept the missionaries and their mission but his joy in receiving the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. Furthermore, Malietoa also assured the missionaries that the instructions of the

³⁹ Neil Gunson, *Messenger of Grace; Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas 1797-1860* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1978), 21.

⁴⁰ Faletese, *Tala Faasolopito O Le Ekalesia Samoa (L.M.S)*, 8.

⁴¹ Cultural meeting place of chiefs and orators of Sapapalii village

⁴² Henry F, 200-201.

⁴³ Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands*, 90.

new *lotu* (religion) would be carried out as soon as he had finished the war in which he was avenging his kinsman Tamafaiga.⁴⁴

The Messenger of Peace stayed on the island for a few days, and Williams departed leaving the mission to the Tahitian teachers under Malietoa's help. Word of the Tahitians missionaries' teachings and activities eventually spread all over the Samoan islands. After 1830, the spread of Christianity was quite rapid, for the people were enthusiastic to learn more about this new *lotu*. In 1832, Williams returned to Samoa and found out that Malietoa had been true to his promise and had supported the evangelization of Samoa. Christianity was so peacefully accepted that by the 1850's heathenism was largely wiped out.⁴⁵

3. The LMS in Fusi from 1830 to 1880

a) Early Christian Converts 1830

The first development in the establishment of the LMS Church in Fusi was the fact that there were people from Fusi among the early Christian converts in 1830. Williams in his journal also testified to Malietoa and his families' acceptance of Christianity by expressing his heartfelt gratitude for Malietoa and his families' support of the Christian mission through their acceptance of the Gospel and support in hosting the missionaries and teachers.⁴⁶

Through the process of *ilo* (sorting and identifying) what stands out from Faletoe's and William's testimonies is the fact that the first Christian converts in Samoa were Malietoa and his families. Malietoa has many family ties all over Samoa and the village of Fusi is no exception. The first piece of evidence to support this claim can be

⁴⁴ Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands*, 98.

⁴⁵ When John Williams returned in 1832, there is a rapid growth of the mission, and it was because of the great influence of Malietoa as the king of Samoa and his families which helped the fast growth of the mission.

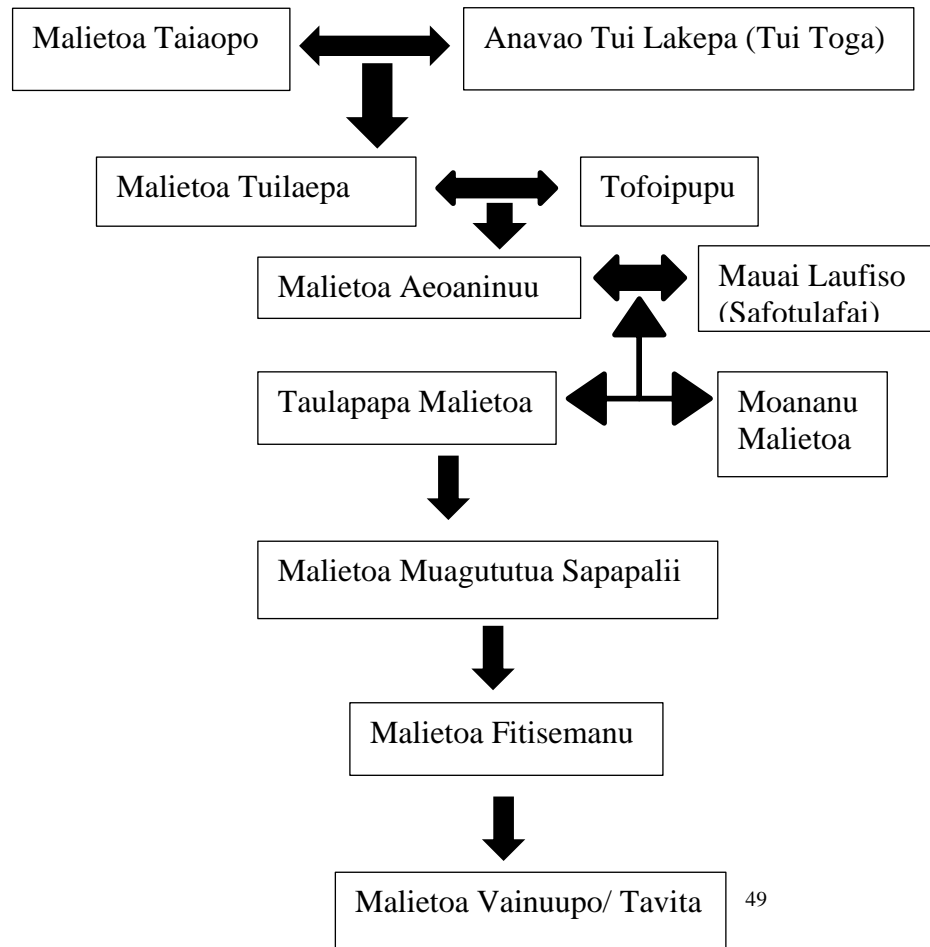
⁴⁶ Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands*, 102.

found in the honorifics of Fusi mentioned in Chapter One. If the honorifics of Fusi is *ilo* it is apparent that Malietoa have offspring or a family residing in Fusi. Malietoa's family is referred to in Fusi's honorifics as *alo o Malietoa* which means literally as sons of Malietoa and metaphorically as the family of Malietoa.

The second piece of evidence that prove Malietoa's family connection in Fusi can be found in Malietoa's genealogy as shown in Figure 3 below.

Figure 4⁴⁷

b) Families of Malietoa in Safotulafai⁴⁸



⁴⁷ The genealogy of Malietoa is still debatable subject, however, for the purpose of the study, this genealogy starts from Malietoa Taiaopo, the first and the only lady who hailed the Malietoa title.

⁴⁸ Kramer, *The Samoan Islands: An Outline of a Monograph with Particular Consideration of German Samoa*, one, 311.

⁴⁹ Malietoa Vainuupo received the LMS mission. He wanted to change his name to Malietoa Tavita as a sign of accepting wholeheartedly the Gospel and he wanted to be named after of the great kings of the Bible.

If this genealogy is *ilo* it is apparent that Malietoa Vaiinupo's great, great grandfather married a woman from Fusi and sired two sons Moananu and Taulapapa. The latter was Malietoa Vaiinupo's great grandfather. This suggests that Malietoa had very close family ties to the people of Fusi.

If this claim is *iloilo* in light of the close proximity between Fusi and Sapapalii⁵⁰ then a number of historical truths are manifested. First, it is possible that people from Fusi who were members of the Malietoa family among the first Christian converts in Samoa. Second, it is likely that there were people from Fusi converted to Christianity as a result of the LMS mission. And third, it is possible that there were Christian converts from Fusi as early as 1830.

Furthermore, if the above claim concerning Malietoa's family connection to Fusi is *iloilo* in light of William's claim that Christianity spread promptly in Samoa. A few historical insights are revealed. Firstly, the number of Christian converts in Fusi increased rapidly immediately after the arrival of LMS missionaries in 1830. And secondly, the number of Christian converts is significant for them to build a Church of their own in their own village. Moreover, putting the aforementioned historical insights through the process of *iloa* yields a clearer portrait of the LMS Church in Fusi in 1830. It manifests that the LMS Church in Fusi started to develop from as early as 1830 in conjunction with the establishment of the LMS Church in Sapapalii due to a sudden increase of Christian converts.

c) Building of the First Chapel 1832

With the growing number of Christian converts the next possible development is the building of a church to accommodate them. Such a development was evident in Fusi in 1832. Testament to this development was William's diary entry mentioned

⁵⁰ As illustrated in the map in Chapter One which discussed the geographical location of Fusi.

above.⁵¹ According to William while travelling to Amoa where a Church had already been established he passed through the beautiful village of Safotulafai and two or three other settlements. In one of these settlements a Church had already been erected while in the second the people are making preparations to build a Church.

Through the process of *ilo* a number of factors stand out. First, in 1832 there was an established LMS Church in Amoa. Second, there were two or three other villages between Safotulafai and Amoa. And third, in one of these villages a Church had been built while another village is making preparations for a Church. These factors need to be *iloilo* to harvest the historical truths that could prove the erecting of a Church in Fusi. Working fields

When the first factor is *iloilo* in light of the geography of the Savaii⁵² it discloses that the spread of Christianity had already passed Fusi which is a sub-village of Safotulafai, since we reach Fusi first when travelling from Sapapalii to Amoa as William did. Furthermore, when the second factor is *iloilo* in light of the geography of the area, it reveals William's portrayal of the area to be inaccurate since there were no other villages between Safotulafai and Amoa. That is, Safotulafai is adjacent to Faga the first village of the Amoa district. Therefore, the two settlements mentioned by William were probably sub-villages of Safotulafai. Additionally, when the last factor is *iloilo* it suggests that by 1832 there was an existing Church in Safotulafai. This claim could further be *iloilo* using the status of Fusi in Safotulafai. As mentioned above Fusi is the traditional and religious center of Safotulafai and the Faasaleleaga District. So, it should be the location of the first church in Safotulafai and the

⁵¹ Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands*, 115.

⁵² Refer to the discussion of Figure one: Map of Savaii in the Location of Fusi explained in Chapter one.

Faasaleleaga district. Taking this aspect into account, it is therefore possible that existing Church William mentioned is located in Fusi.

Other confirmations that support the building of a Church in Fusi in 1832 are the testimonies of Faaloiloiia Faletufuga and Ae Siasia Tumaai.⁵³ Both of them claim that the old church building site on their lands was land given by their ancestors to the early missionaries for the purpose of building a Church. Faletufuga further commented that her late husband claimed that the land was given in the early years of the LMS mission and his name Viliamu (Williams) gave witness to this occasion. That is, he was named Viliamu after John Williams. According to Faletufuga the name Viliamu was circulated in her husband's family for generations up to now to commemorate the offering of their land to the LMS missionaries.⁵⁴

Scrutinizing the above claims using the *ilo* tool; two things stand out. That is, the land for the Church in Fusi was given in the early years of the LMS mission in Samoa and the name Viliamu was used by the Faletufuga family to memorialize the offering of their land. When the two factors mentioned are *iloilo* they yield valuable historical insights. First, is the fact that, the LMS Church was built sometime close to the arrival of LMS missionaries in 1830.

In summation, using the method of *iloa* to scrutinize the claims made in the *iloilo* analysis reveal that the Samoan traditional designed Church building in Fusi was erected close to the arrival of LMS missionaries more likely in 1832 as Williams

⁵³ Ae Siasia Tumaai, Interview with author, (December 23, 2018). He is the oldest member of our LMS in Fusi Safotulafai. He is 93 years of age. He was born in 1926.

⁵⁴ Faaloiloiia Faletufuga, Interview with author, (December 21, 2018). Faaloiloiia Faletufuga is the wife of the late orator Faletufuga Viliamu. He is one of the deacons in the LMS Church in Fusi Safotulafai. They owned the part of the land in which the first permanent church building was first built.

observed. This suggests that the LMS Church in Fusi was well organized and operated in the early years of the LMS mission.

d) Operations of the LMS Church in Fusi: late 1830's to the 1860's

Not much is known concerning the operations of the LMS Church in Fusi from the late 1830's to the early 1870's. However, there are elders suggest that the Church during this period was administered from Sapapalii given Fusi's proximity. According to Mafuolo Lotovale Leifi⁵⁵ in those years there was no need of a residing minister since Sapapalii is only a five minutes' walk from Fusi. So, there is no difficulty for the people of Fusi of going to Sapapalii to receive Christian instructions. Similarly, there was also no difficulty for a teacher or missionary to travel to Fusi from Sapapalii to give Christian lessons and conduct Sunday worships. He further added that on occasion when the need arise a missionary or teacher visited and resided in Fusi especially when there was a special occasion such as a funeral, a wedding, blessing of a *matai* title and inauguration of a new building. Testament to this claim is the witness of Selepa Oloapu.⁵⁶ She claims that according to her family stories their *tautua* (responsibility) to the Church was to host every visiting missionary in the early years of the LMS Church in Fusi. According to Selepa proof of this *tautua* is the existence of the name Misi (Samoan abbreviation for the English term Missionary) in her family.

Furthermore, if we *iloilo* the above testimonies a number of factors concerning the operations of the LMS Church in Fusi in its early years can be seen. Firstly, the LMS Church in Fusi was most likely be closely monitored by the missionaries and

⁵⁵ Mafuolo Lotovale Leifi Interview with author (January 11, 2019). He is one of the elders in the LMS Church in Fusi, he is 87 years old.

⁵⁶ Selepa Oloapu Interview with author (December 19, 2018). She is a member of Oloapu Misi's family. The late Oloapu Misi passed away in New Zealand. However Selepas son is also called Misi and the name Misionare is still alive in their family today

teachers residing at Sapapalii. Secondly, it is possible that there was a consideration among the missionaries that the village of Fusi is part of Sapapalii given its close proximity and easiness of travel to and from Fusi. Thirdly, it is possible there were constant contacts between the people of Fusi and the LMS missionaries. Such contacts can lead to spiritual growth among the people of Fusi. And lastly, it is most likely that there were formal worship conducted in Fusi by visiting LMS missionaries starting from the 1830's to the 1860's. Consideration of these factors through the process of *iloa* reveals a portrait of the LMS Church in Fusi as a Church already operational and administered by the missionaries residing in Sapapalii. The operations of the LMS Church also disclose the need for a residing minister to focus solely on the daily running of the Church in Fusi.

e) Employment of a Samoan Minister: 1870's

The need for a residing minister identified above was met in the 1870's. Testifying to this historical development is the list of Samoan ministers in Figure 4 below.

Figure 4⁵⁷

List of Ministers who served in the LMS Fusi

Names	Years they served in Fusi
Reverend Olive	First church minister who worked in the late 1870's
Reverend Kaio	Second who served in the early 1890's but the year is unknown
Reverend Fineaso	1900-1917
Reverend Elder Amosa	1917-1938
Reverend Tafuna'i and Siala	1938-1940
Reverend Soti and Nai	1940-1946
Reverend Si'uoa'ana and Vitoria	1971
Reverend Petaia and Omai	1972- 1981
Reverend Palale Naioti	1982- 1991
Reverend Mafi and Lepetiomalo Taveuni	1992-present

An *iloiloga* of Mafuolo's claim and the list of ministers above disclose a few historical insights pertaining to the LMS Church in Fusi. Firstly, the LMS Church in Fusi has now developed into a full grown Church with some degree of independence from the control of the missionaries. Secondly, the administration of the LMS Church in Fusi is now in the hands of Samoan ministers. Evidently, since the employment of Olive in the 1870's only Samoan ministers took up residents at the LMS Church in Fusi up to now.

f) First European Designed Church: 1880

According to Mafuolo, Reverend Olive was highly regarded by the elders of Fusi due to his pioneering work in building the first European styled Church.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ This list was compiled from the information gathered from the tombstones, memorial plaques and entries in the Church Records.

Reverend Mafi Faamoe Taveuni recalls that the present church building in Fusi is the sixth LMS Church building in the village. For him, the first two church buildings in the early years of the LMS Church in Fusi were traditional designs referred to as *fale vaa(s)* (canoe houses). The first of this building could be the chapel Williams referred to in his journal as mentioned above.⁵⁹ Mafi went further claiming that following the *fale vaa(s)* were European Designed Churches and the first of which was built around 1880.⁶⁰

Ae, in agreement with Faaloiloia and Mafuolo, recollects that the first European Designed LMS Church in Fusi was named *Tootoo o le Talalelei* which literally means the ‘Staff of the Good News’. Ae also states that the Church was perhaps constructed to commemorate the first fifty years or Silver Jubilee of Christianity in Fusi. Sulufaiga Fialii Mafuolo⁶¹ in support of this view claims that his grandfather Mafuolo Kiripati Mafuolo in his old age always boasted of his contribution as one of the leading carpenters in the erection of the first LMS Church. According to Sulufaiga the old man vividly recalls how the work was distributed among the villagers by the elders and Reverend Olive. The chiefs and the young men used canoes to collect the corals from the sea to make cement (*namu*) while the women collected stones from the plantation lands to fill the basement.⁶²

Furthermore, Sulufaiga also describe his grandfather’s account of the hardship they faced in raising funds for building the Church. According to the old man it was difficult times for the people of the LMS Church as they all attested to the difficulties

⁵⁸ Mafuolo Lotovale Leifi Interview with author (January 11, 2019). He is one of the elders in the LMS Church in Fusi, he is 87 years old.

⁵⁹ Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands*, 115.

⁶⁰ Reverend Mafi Faamoetaulua Taveuni Interview with author (December 26, 2019) Mafi is the Church minister in the CCCS Fusi.

⁶¹ Sulufaiga Fialii Interview with author (January 23, 2019) is one of the chiefs of Fusi. He served as a deacon in the LMS in Fusi.

⁶² Sulufaiga Fialii Interview with author (January 23, 2019)

involved in financing the construction. They relied on money from selling taro and banana as well as fish in the market. Yet, such a struggle was all paid off with the feeling that they were striving to glorify the Lord. Sulufaiga's grandfather's account of events was verified when I visited the old building site as shown in Figure 3 above. Still at the site are remains of the Old Church building which consists of huge cement blocks made from *namu* and medium size rocks big enough for a woman to carry.

If I *ilo* the above oral accounts of the people of the LMS Church in Fusi a number of elements come to the fore. First, the LMS Church was built in 1880. Second, the Church was probably constructed for the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the LMS Church in Fusi. And third, the building was the collected effort of the people of Fusi. If we *iloilo* these three factors in light of Mafuolo Misipati's claim that the construction of the Church was difficult both physically and economically then, we can yield several insights. First we can see that the development of the LMS Church in Fusi in its first fifty years was challenging. But, despite difficulties the LMS Church had survived and reached maturity. We can also realize from the aforementioned factors that the LMS Church in Fusi is growing spiritually and morally. Evidence to this was the willingness of the people to work together and offer their time and efforts to build God's work in the vicinity of Fusi.

4. Conclusion

In this chapter I have provided a chronological history of the LMS Church in Fusi. In it I have identified some of the major developments in the history of the Church from its humble beginnings to a concrete Church. This can be seen in its growth from a Church dependent on missionaries and without a resident minister to an independent Church with a Samoan minister residing in Fusi. A similar trend can be viewed through the design of the Church buildings of the LMS in Fusi. It began in

thatched Samoan houses and ended up fifty years later with a European designed concrete building. All in all, an *iloiloga* of these developments yield a portrait of the LMS Church in Fusi as a Church in progress in its first fifty years.

CHAPTER THREE: The Roles Played by the People of Fusi in the Mission of the LMS in Samoa: 1830-1880

1. Introduction

In the previous Chapter I have identified the progression of the LMS Church in Fusi in its first fifty years. In the process I have also identified the contributions of the people of Fusi to such development. Yet, in this chapter I am aiming to highlight the contribution and roles played by the people of Fusi to the early mission of the LMS and the spreading of the Gospel throughout Samoa. In this chapter, I proposed that the people of Fusi in the early days of the LMS in Samoa played a vital role through the hosting of the missionaries, hosting of the Samoans who migrated to Sapapalii for Christian instructions and acts as spokesmen for the missionaries and teachers in spreading the Gospel. In the process, I will also carefully scrutinize the evidence through the use of the Samoan method of deduction known as *iloiloga* to produce the historical information regarding the roles the people of Fusi played in the early days of the LMS in Samoa.

2. Hosting the Missionaries

Williams in his journal claimed that while in Sapapalii, Malietoa promised him that he and his families will protect and host the island teachers in Sapapalii. According to Williams, Malietoa even assigned four teachers to himself and the other four to his brother Tamalelagi.⁶³ Such claim clearly indicates that Malietoa and his families hosted the teachers and missionaries in the early days of the LMS in Samoa.

⁶³ Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands*, 90. See also Faletese, *Tala Faasolopito O Le Ekalesia Samoa (L.M.S)*, 10. See also Fauolo, *O Vavega O Le Alofa Laveai*, 28.

As a matter of fact the missionaries were dispatched two years later during William's second visit to Samoa in 1832.⁶⁴

If Williams claim is *ilo* the phrase 'Malietoa's families' stand out. An *iloiloga* of this phrase in light of the claim made in Chapter Two that Malietoa had many families all over Samoa yields the fact that the phrase is an inclusive term referring not only to Malietoa's families in Sapapalii but also to his families in neighboring villages including Fusi. This suggests Malietoa's families in Fusi were also involved in the hosting of the LMS missionaries and teachers in the early years of the mission. Tauaola Fatagogo alludes to this arrangement as the origin of the *fa'atua* (give support) cultural practice in Fusi.⁶⁵

The *fa'atua* is a cultural practice unique to the people of Fusi. It is simply the donating and giving of food items and services by the people of Fusi to their families in Sapapalii on the 24th of August of every year when the people of Sapapalii commemorate the arrival of the LMS Church in Samoa. The idea behind such cultural practice is to assist the people of Sapapalii in hosting the guests from around Samoa and abroad that flocked to the village for the inaugural celebrations.

As aforesaid Fatagogo claims that the tradition of *fa'atua* dates back to the time the LMS arrived in Sapapalii. For him, *fa'atua* started with Malietoa's families in Fusi when they gave food and offered their services to fulfill Malietoa's promise made to Williams and Barff. Yet, over the years other families in Fusi joined in with their donations due to the belief that their contributions is a form of offering to God and the spreading of the Good News to other parts of Samoa. This is a clear indication

⁶⁴ Faletese, *Tala Faasolopito O Le Ekalesia Samoa (L.M.S)*, 13. See also Fauolo, *O Vavega O Le Alofa Laveai*.

⁶⁵ Tauaola Fatagogo, interviewed with author (2018)

that the people of Fusi played a vital role in the establishment of the LMS Church in Samoa. They provided support to the LMS mission in Samoa.

On his return trip to Samoa Williams praised the hospitality of Malietoa and his families. For he observed that the teachers he left behind in Samoa were safe and well looked after. This acclamation is not only directed to Malietoa and his families in Sapapalii but also to the people of Fusi who donated both services and goods in hosting the island missionaries.

Furthermore, the testament of Oloapu mentioned in Chapter Two also gives witness to the role played by the people of Fusi as host to the missionaries. In brief, Oloapu asserts that her family played host to the visiting missionaries and teachers in the early days of the LMS Church in Fusi.⁶⁶ Such role is important for the LMS mission since it provides support to the missionaries and teachers who conducted Christian teaching and worship for the people.

Not only that but it avoided the people of Fusi from travelling to Sapapalii to receive Christian instructions. The influx of people to Sapapalii could create overcrowdings in the venues allocated for Christian teachings since the people migrated to Sapapalii from all over Samoa.⁶⁷ Williams also testified to the increasing movement of people into Sapapalii for instructions. When he recollected the testimonies of a man from Manua and a man from Leone who claimed that they migrated to Sapapalii for instructions on a weekly basis.⁶⁸

In summation, an *iloiloga* of the evidence and testimonies of the interviewees mentioned above yields a clear picture of the role of the people of Fusi as hosts to the

⁶⁶ Selepa Oloapu Interview with author (December 19, 2018).

⁶⁷ Faletese, *Tala Faasolopito O Le Ekalesia Samoa (L.M.S)*, 12. See also Meleisea, *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*, 57.

⁶⁸ Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands*, 109.

early missionaries. The people's support on missionaries and their work allows the missionaries to focus on their work in spreading the Gospel.

3. Hosting the Samoan Christians

Faletoese asserted that the number of people travelling to and from Sapapalii for Christian instructions increased dramatically in the early years of the LMS mission in Samoa. The hosting of these people was one of the roles the people of Fusi played in the establishment of the LMS mission.⁶⁹

In the early years of the LMS church, word had spread rapidly across the country especially in Savaii about this new *lotu* (religion). People from different parts of the island near and far came to Sapapalii to learn about the Bible and to listen to the new teachings. Surprisingly, the school grew fast and there was a steady increase of members from around the island. The two long houses that were built for schools could not host all the members. This was when the neighboring villages helped to host these people as they travelled far from around Savaii and the rest of Samoa to hear the Word of God. Fusi in particular was one of the hosting villages. It is possible for Fusi to host these people since Fusi was in possession of big houses that could be used for hosting *aumalaga* (travelling parties). Williams alluded to the existence of these big houses in his description of Safotulafai. According to Williams Safotulafai was one of the most beautiful in the group with spacious buildings for public usage.⁷⁰

Leilua Elia⁷¹ agrees with this observation, recalling that his parents always told him stories about *malo* (visitors) from distant places in Samoa who travelled to Fusi by long boats in the early days of the LMS mission in Samoa. The intended destination

⁶⁹ Faletoese, *Tala Faasolopito O Le Ekalesia Samoa (L.M.S)*, 79.

⁷⁰ Fauolo, *O Vavega O Le Alofa Laveai*, 46.

⁷¹ Leilua Elia Interview with author (January 22, 2018). He is one of high chiefs in our village. He held the highest chief title Leilua.

of these *malo(s)* was Sapapalii for the purpose of receiving Christian directives. Testimonies to these encounters were the intermarriages amongst people of Fusi and other distant villages in Savaii. Leilua also mentioned that these people would have left their families for an entire week or two, and come to Sapapalii to be educated in Christian ways and some found wives or husbands during these endeavors. Leilua could not recall a direct example of such cases however my genealogy testifies to such tendency. We have distant relatives in villages around Samoa such as Sasina on the island of Savaii and Vaiala, Nofoalii and Saluafata on the island of Upolu.⁷² An *iloiloga* of the account given by Leilua exhibits the role of the people of Fusi as hosts to Samoans who flocked to Sapapalii to be instructed in the Christian ways by the Tahitian teachers left there by Williams and Barff.

4. Spreading the Gospel

Faletoese also claimed that Malietoa and his families were at the forefront of the evangelization process.⁷³ Malietoa himself even delivered sermon like speeches to encourage the people to turn from their pagan ways. Williams recalled one of Malietoa's speeches in a Sunday service in Sapapalii delivered to defend the integrity of the missionaries and encourage the audience to accept the Christian faith.⁷⁴ Malietoa and his families' involvement in the evangelization process led to mass conversion and the rapid growth of Christianity in Samoa. Williams in 1838 described this progression as; out of the 60,000 inhabitants of the land of Samoa, over 50,000

⁷² Genealogies of my family could not be presented here due to confidentiality concerns. This particular matter is sacred within the family; therefore it is imperative that it remains familial circles.

⁷³ Faletoese, *Tala Faasolopito O Le Ekalesia Samoa (L.M.S)*, 12.

⁷⁴ Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands*, 111. See also Fauolo, *O Vavega O Le Alofa Laveai*, 55.

people were converted and committed to Christianity.⁷⁵ This shows the rapid growth of the mission within the early years of the LMS in Samoa.

Again the mention of ‘Malietoa’s families’ could be seen as a direct reference alluding to the participation of the people of Fusi in spreading the Gospel. In other words, the rapid growth of Christianity observed by Williams can also be attributed to the people of Fusi. This claim can be supported through a consideration of the name given to the Church building erected in 1880. It was called as the *Tootoo o le Tala Lelei* (Staff of the Good News). This name was not randomly picked out of a hat, but carefully thought over by the minister and Church members to commemorate the role played by the orators of Fusi in spreading the Gospel and Christianity.

The *tootoo* (staff) is a symbol of authority given to a Samoan orator to speak and deliver a message. In the context of Safotulafai the *tootoo* represents the *pule* (authority or mana) that Malietoa Savea gave to Leaula of the village of Saleaula and Letufuga of the village Safotulafai. The *pule* was given on the request of Leaula and Letufuga so that they could earn the respect of other orators on the island of Savaii. This made the two orators traditional spokesmen to voice Malietoa’s desires and aspirations whenever he wishes to come to Savaii. In this manner, Letufuga who lives near Sapapalii where Malietoa resided is obliged to be at Malietoa’s side to voice his wishes and demands.

Ae Siaosi claims that when Malietoa accepted Christianity, Letufuga became the spokesman for the LMS mission and helped with the spreading of the Gospel in around Savaii.⁷⁶ In this sense, Letufuga’s *tootoo* became the *tootoo* of the Christian mission or the Gospel. Tauaola Fata clearly explains show this works. He claim that

⁷⁵ C. Silvester Horne, *C. Silvester Horne, the Story of the L.M.S.: With an Appendix Bringing the Story up to the Year 1904*(London: London Missionary Society, 1908), 28-29.

⁷⁶ Ae Siaosi Interview with author (December 23, 2018).

whenever the missionaries decide to enter a village to spread the Gospel, Letufuga or other known orators of Fusi would address the *matai(s)* of that village to give permission and safe passage for the missionaries and their work.⁷⁷ An *iloiloga* of Ae and Tauaola's claim reveals the role the orators of Fusi played in spreading the Gospel. The role of the orators of Fusi matched the role played by Fauea when the LMS mission arrived in Samoa.

5. Conclusion

In this Chapter, I have identified the roles played by the people of Fusi in the establishment of the LMS mission in Samoa. First, they assisted the people of Sapapalii in hosting the missionaries. Second, they assisted the people of Sapapalii in hosting the people who travelled to Sapapalii for Christian instructions. And last, the chiefs and orators also assisted the missionaries by acting as spokesmen for the mission when they entered "heathen" territories. They also acted as Malietoa's orators to deliver his intentions and wishes to other villages to accept the Christian mission and the Gospel of Jesus Christ. When we *iloilo* the roles played by the people of Fusi in the early years of the LMS mission in Samoa, I think it is fair to say that their contribution to the LMS mission was highly valuable.

⁷⁷ Tauaola Fata Interview with author (2018). Tauaola explained in details the whole myth of Letufuga and his brother Leaula and the bestowing of the *pule* from Malietoa Savea.

CHAPTER FOUR: Conclusion

1. Introduction

The conclusion will be divided into three parts. Firstly, I will reflect on the materials used in this research by discussing the validity of the sources employed for this study as well as how these sources contributed to the purpose of the study. I will also elucidate the weaknesses of the sources gathered. As a result of these weaknesses and limitations, there was a need to process the sources which required filling in the gaps. Therefore, using the Samoan method of deduction known as *iloiloga*, I was able to scrutinize the historical value of the sources. This will also be discussed in this conclusion. Secondly, I will discuss the ideas and arguments presented in the main body of the thesis. Lastly, I will explicate the importance of this study for the members of the EFKS Fusi parish, especially the younger generation. I will also comment on the significance of this study for the development of the church and its members.

2. Sources -Strengths and Weaknesses

During the early stages of this study, I was faced with the tough task of accumulating the relevant sources relating to the history of the LMS Church in Fusi. Astonishingly, in accruing the sources required I realized that there were little written sources both primary and secondly regarding the establishment of the LMS Church in Fusi. What surprised me is that despite the many different written accounts of historians about Samoa as well as historical accounts from foreign sources, I was unable to find any written accounts about the history of the LMS church in Fusi. There was one primary source however that I was fortunate enough to come across which proved to be of great value in this study, and it is the diary of John Williams.

This diary was significant in the purpose of this study because it is the only written account that is reliable and it contained information about the beginnings of the LMS Church in Samoa. John Williams's diary is invaluable because he was the actual pioneer who arrived together with the LMS missionaries. Another reason why this source was vital in this study is because it is from a foreigner's perspective. Considering this, it meant that John Williams would have gone out of his way to record the events that took place, because he was not a Samoan, and thus would have found it hard to understand the cultural practices. Nevertheless, Williams made the effort to record what he had witnessed firsthand, making it a crucial source of information for the purposes of this study. Regardless of this, there are weaknesses in John Williams' source because as mentioned before, he is not Samoan and doesn't understand much of the Samoan customs and local traditions. For example, his written account does not take into account important cultural aspects that were witnessed at the time which also includes the village of Fusi but no emphasis or attention was placed on it.

Another primary source that this paper relied upon was the interview conducted with members of my village as well as members of the church at Fusi. This was the main purpose of the research because as mentioned before, there were absolutely no written accounts concerning this issue. It was important for myself to obtain information from these people, because not only was it the purpose of this paper, but also to be able to show other important areas that needed attention like these people whom never had any significant standing in the eyes of the early historians.

However, there is a disadvantage of oral views and traditions in relation to my research. Firstly, all firsthand witnesses from 1830-1880 are no longer with us. This

means that there is an enormous chronological gap. Secondly, the possibility for an eyewitness to have made an error by mistake, or on purpose, in recollecting past events which may not have happened to begin with. Thirdly, despite witnessing the same event, everyone will have differing accounts, thereby questioning the integrity and honesty of people. What needs to be understood is that this is not an attempt to minimize the importance of the primary sources but to identify the challenges, because this is the core of my research.

The other primary sources that were used and researched upon, was the history and the historical landmark of the church which includes the parish and the church. Firstly, the landmarks and leftovers from the old church that were part of the village are still there. It is important to understand the history of this church in terms of its age which is of great help to my findings. However, the weaknesses of this landmark are that there is no one alive from that period to provide information about construction of the church. Even when reading through the written accounts of the Pastors, there is also none regarding the church.

This is also the case with another historical landmark, the tombstones of Pastors who have passed away during their ministry in Fusi. There is an inability to obtain proper analysis of the site because of the decayed condition which has been affected by changes in weather over the years. This is the reason why there are no proper historical accounts of the Pastors that ministered in my village.

Moreover, it is safe to say that the majority of parishes have church records which contain extensive insight and many written accounts based on the history and the progress of the church and its developments. Unfortunately, it is not the case with our church. According to Rev. Mafi, they had only begun to gather historical information of the church since their ministry started in 1992. Thus, what that means

is that events before 1992 have no written accounts for the church and its developmental history.

Not only do the primary sources have this problem, but also written articles based on the history of Samoa in relation to the arrival of the Good News as is known. This is not to minimize the important roles and efforts made by these servants of God in trying to compile such a huge task, but for the purpose of this paper, a humble concern needs to be made known.

The importance of such writings such as that by the late Oka Fauolo, Kenape Faletose as well as other writings by historians like Meleisea and Kramer, who describe the successful arrival of the good news to Samoa and the beginnings of the good work here in Samoa and other countries around the world. However, from these many writings, there is no full and proper written account which this paper is aiming to do. Important information such as the year that each church began including Fusi and who attended such openings, are a few important examples. These written accounts are all based on the writings of John Williams. However, there are many parts of this accounts which differ to that which is written by John Williams. One written account is the first church in Safotulafai which is used as a founding thought of the writing. John Williams explains this but the other writings do not have it.

Based on the materials that are placed before us, it shows us, that not only is it the lack of written information for the purpose of the paper, but there is also not enough information to obtain a standard that can be used as a historical document. It is not to disrespect the effort, but it is hoped that I will know the big picture that dwells within these different accounts. In saying this, this is the exact reason the Samoan method of deduction was needed to be used, the *iloiloga* methodology with the hope that more effort is placed upon research and revision of the many written

historical accounts so that their historical value is realized and also to know the important link.

3. Summary of arguments and ideas

This writing starts with the brief historical background LMS in London, their purpose and their arrival in Samoa. Moreover it talks about the preliminary of the mission in Sapapalii which led to the establishment of the LMS Church in Fusi. However the arguments about the history of the Church in Fusi must go through the process of *iloiloga* to scrutinize the historical value of the information. In doing so, the methodology is divided into three phases which is derived from the division of the *iloiloga* word which makes up the whole meaning and purpose of methodology.

In chapter two I presented major developments of the history of the LMS Church in Fusi. in doing so, there is a need to *ilo* the information, the arguments in the study starts by stating that the Church in Fusi starts when Malietoa and his families were evangelized. The search found that Malietoa and his families were the first to be converted, and *iloilo* the information it is clear that Malietoa's families as stated talks about his families in Sapapalii as well as in Fusi given the close relation Malietoa to Fusi both biologically and culturally.

This view is supported by the information from John Williams account which indirectly mentioned Safotulafai in relation to the chapel that he and Makea his friend saw as they passed by heading to Amoa in 1832. After the critical *iloiloga* of the source, the things that stand out are the facts that John Williams refer to Safotulafai as a whole but with the village of Safotulafai, there are sub-villages which include Fusi. Therefore, to *ilo* the information, there are traditional factors which need to be touched to prove my suspicion that the chapel that John Williams was referring to was in Fusi, not only because Fusi is capital and center of Safotulafai but also Fusi is the

sub-village of chiefs and culturally considering this, the priority is most of the Samoan villages is given to the chiefs as paramount of the village.

The administration of the church at that particular time according to the information was centered at Sapapalii, due to the small amount of teachers or missionaries at the early years of the LMS. However, this was not the case, because in the fifty years of the church in Fusi in 1880, Ae Siaosi said that by that time, there was a permanent teacher or minister and it the silver jubilee of the church was marked in the building of the first European style church building in Fusi, pioneered by Reverend Olive in 1880. The stories of building the church was not easy, however it breaks my heart listening to the tough path our ancestors had to go through for serving the Lord and his ministry.

The third chapter talks about the roles of Fusi Safotulafai in the establishment of LMS in Samoa. It will discuss the impacts of these roles not only in the establishment of the church. Leilua Elia explains that one of the major roles of the Fusi village in the establishment of the church is the hosting of the missionaries. All the missionaries were hosted by Malietoa Vainuupo and his families. However, there are stories of missionaries who resided in Fusi Safotulafai during the first years of the church. The name Misionare a Samoan name for Missionary is one of the common Christian names in the Samoan society. This name is in remembrance of the missionaries who served in the early years of the mission in Samoa. Secondly, they contributed by hosting the Samoan Christians who travelled far from home to be educated in Sapapalii in the early years of the LMS mission. Arguments about intermarriages were also mentioned by elders' interviews because of hosting these Samoan Christians. And lastly, the roles of the chiefs of Safotulafai as orators for Malietoa and his will to spread the Gospel to all parts of Savaii and all of Samoa.

These roles were evidence by the culturally ties of Malietoa and Fusi through the bestowing of his pule Letufuga and Leaula. All in all, these roles were not mentioned in any account, and it is the intention of this paper to acknowledge these significant roles which contributed to the establishment of the LMS Church in Samoa.

4. Significance of the Study

I have been motivated to conduct this research because I believe it will help the future generation of Fusi Safotulafai. Though this attempt have lots of gaps because of the lack of written documents, Hopefully this research will aid them in understanding the origin of the Church not only in Samoa, but also the establishment of the church in our village. It could be a reference to understand the importance of written documents which records important events such as the establishment of the church and other historic events. I hope starting from scratch to attempt this task will motivate them pick it up and fill the gaps with further research.

Moreover, it will also help them appreciate the work and contribution of our ancestors in the establishment of Christianity in Samoa. It is also a lesson for the future generation of the church to remember these good works our ancestors had done and follow the footsteps of our forefathers by serving God through his ministry.

GLOSSARY

1. *afioga* – chiefs opinion
2. *alii*- high chief
3. *Api o le galuega* – Churchs record
4. *Au Malaga(s)*- travellers
5. *Ilo* – to sort
6. *Iloa* – to know/ to see
7. *Iloilo* – to investigate
8. *Iloiloga* - analysis
9. *Faamatai* – Chief system
10. *Faalupega* - Honorifics
11. *Faatua* – to give support
12. *Faiupu* - Orator
13. *Falelua* – two houses
14. *Faletua* – Chiefs wife
15. *Falevaa* – canoe house
16. *Fono* – meeting / governing
17. *Fono a Matai* – Chiefs Council
18. *Fono a Tamaitai* – Womens committee
19. *Fono a sui Tamaitai o le nuu* – National Council of Women representative
20. *Lotu* - Religion
21. *Malae fono* – Meeting Field
22. *Malo* – Visitors/ quests
23. *Matai* - Chief

- 24. *Namo* – coral cement
- 25. *Pitonuu* - sub-village
- 26. *Sui o Nuu* – Village Representative
- 27. *Sui Tamaitai o Nuu* – Women representative of the village
- 28. *Tootoo* - Staff
- 29. *Tulafale* - orator
- 30. *Pule* – authority/mana

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