

A HISTORY OF THE JUBILEE HALL

A comparative study of the old and new Jubilee Hall.

A Thesis Paper

Presented to the Faculty of Malua Theological College Apia,

Samoa

In Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

Bachelor of Divinity

By

Tufi Faapusa

2nd August 2019.

CONSENT FORM FOR THE RETENTION AND USE OF THE THESIS

I, Tufi Faapusa,

Agree that the thesis paper be accessible for the purpose of study and research in accordance with the normal conditions established by the Malua Theological College Librarian for the care, ban and reproduction of the thesis paper. *

Signed: _____ Date: _____ (month and year)

*subject to the policies of the Malua Theological College Library

ABSTRACT

This Thesis paper has come about as a direct result of wanting to formalise and construct a history account of the Congregational Christian Church Samoa Jubilee Hall (O Le Fale Iupeli). The Psalms of Accent stated that, "Unless the Lord builds the House, those who build it labour in vain. Unless the Lord guards the city, the guard keeps watch in vain." As a member of the church, I am intrigued by its growth, from its humble beginnings since 1894 to where it is now as one of the biggest landmarks in Samoa.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis in memory of those who deliberated and built the Jubilee Hall and the ongoing legacy since 1894 until today. It is also dedicated to my parents Reverend Elder Tufi and Kalita Faapusa Meleiseā, my wife Barbara Tweedie Faapusa plus all the individuals of the CCCS who have pride on this great historical building. 'May God bless the Temple of God'.

DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP OF THESIS PAPER

I, _____ hereby declare that the submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge, it contains no material previously published or written by another person nor material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at Malua Theological College or any other educational institution, except where due acknowledgement is made. Any contribution made to the research by colleagues with whom I have worked at Malua Theological College or elsewhere during my candidate is fully acknowledged.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my Supervisor Reverend Doctor Latu Latai for the continuous support in my Bachelor of Divinity study and research, for his patience and immense knowledge. His guidance assisted me all the time of research and writing of this thesis.

Besides my supervisor, I would like to thank the Malua Theological Principal Reverend Maafala Limā for his support during desperate time when I needed to conduct interviews and extra research outside of Campus. Thanks to Reverend Enefatu Lesā, my brother Iafeta Faapusa, Reverend Epati Setefano and Steve Palala for providing and acquiring me all the available sources for the writing of this thesis.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my recognised Tutor Rev Petaia and Sarai Tuifao and the rest of my thesis interviewers for your patience, love and support.

God bless you all, faafetai tele.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction:	vii – viii
Chapter 1: The Old Jubilee Hall	1 – 15
Chapter 2: The New Jubilee Hall	16 – 28
Chapter 3: Comparative Analysis of the Old and New Jubilee Hall	29 – 39
Conclusion:	40 – 41
Appendix:	42 – 45
Bibliography:	46 – 50

Introduction

My inspiration for this research comes from my study of history particularly of the birth of Protestantism during the Reformation of the 16th century as well as the rise of Congregationalism in England and America since the 17th century. One of the significant features of the Reformation as well as Congregationalism includes the shift from the emphasis on material worship to the idea of worship in spirit. A shift from a medieval understanding of God as transcendent to a more personal intimate relationship with God. Hence was the shift from the elaborate designed churches of the medieval period that were filled with venerated objects such as statues and images to more simply designed churches. To me, the original Jubilee Hall represented those ideas and values that are core to Protestantism and Congregationalism. However, the taking down of the old Jubilee Hall and the construction of the current church as its replacement, I began to query the factors surrounding this decision, and in particular the reasons for the new grand design and the incorporation of images. For me, I question whether this reflects a change in our theological understanding of worship, of God, and our Christian identity as Protestants and as Congregationalists.

The following are key questions that will guide this research. Who were involved in the designing and construction of the old Jubilee Hall? How was the old Jubilee Hall built and funded? What was the theological significance behind the design of the old Jubilee Hall? What were the reasons for the old Jubilee Hall being taken down? What were the theological factors for the design of the new Hall?

Methodology

This thesis uses textual as well as oral sources. Firstly, information on the building of the original Jubilee Hall are gathered from the archives of the LMS and periodicals of the church such as *O le Sulu Samoa*. These are held in the LMS Microfilms Collection at the Malua Theological Library. Copies of *O le Sulu Samoa* used in this thesis are found at the National Library and Archives of New Zealand in Wellington as well as at the Malua Theological Library. Secondly, information about the building of the new Church are gathered from the records of the CCCS held at the John Williams Building Tamaligi as well as personal interviews with leaders and elders of the Church as well as those involved in the designing of the church at the time of construction.

Outline of Chapters

The thesis is divided into three chapters with an Introduction and a Conclusion. Chapter 1 looks at the construction of the original Jubilee Hall to commemorate the 50th year anniversary of Malua since it was established in 1844. It looks at those involved in designing and building of the church. More importantly how the church design reflects the theological understanding of worship at the time. Chapter 2 then shifts to the dismantling of the Jubilee Hall and the building of the new Church. It analyses the reasons for the new church and more importantly the controversies surrounding it. Most importantly is a look at its design and whether it reflects a shift in our theological understanding of worship. Chapter 3 is a comparative analysis of the two churches reflecting on the differences in designs and what they mean for our church in our understanding of worship and of God.

Chapter 1: *O le Fale Iupeli: The Jubilee Hall*

The building of the Jubilee Hall was to mark the 50th year anniversary of Malua Theological College since it was established in 1844. Its purpose was not only for church services but also a building for school purposes. The decision to build this new Church was made at a meeting at Malua during the anniversary celebrations on the 26th September 1894.¹ According to a report in the *Sulu Samoa*,

The Hall was undertaken at the wish of the Samoans themselves at their great meeting held in Malua to celebrate the Jubilee of the Institution in September 1894.²

It was the Samoans therefore that came up with the idea to build the new Church and they were also the ones who greatly supported the construction of the new Church. At that meeting the six districts or *matagaluega* in Upolu and Savaii all offered help. These included Faasaleleaga and Itu o tane in Savaii and Aana, Malua, Apia and Falealili in Upolu. The six districts were equally represented; three of them offered to provide the coral lime needed and the other three to carry the stones and wood for the building. The students of Malua were tasked with the building of the Hall. After that meeting the missionaries then set to work on planning the construction of the Church.³ The overall design of the Jubilee Hall and its architect was drawn and produced by missionary J. S. Walker. Mr. Walker who was in Apia at the time, had already started on the architectural drawing of the church.⁴

¹ Richard Lovett, "The History of the London Missionary Society"
<https://archive.org/details/historyoflondon01love/page/393>, (2 May, 2018)

² Misi Neueli, "Special Edition" *O le Sulu Samoa*, December 8-9, 1897, 1-15. Note that the *Sulu Samoa* is written in Samoan. Hence, the translations in English are my translations.

³ Misi Neueli, "Special Edition" *O le Sulu Samoa*, December 8-9, 1897, 9

⁴ Misi Neueli, "Special Edition" *O le Sulu Samoa*, December 8-9, 1897, 10



Figure 1: First Church in the Institution of Malua in 1869.⁵

A request was sent to a former LMS missionary in Samoa George Pratt who was living in Sydney, to become the consultant for the project. He was asked to look out for a builder in Sydney in order to assess everything needed for the job. The appointed builder must oversee the ordering of the materials before they were purchased and shipped to Samoa. Pratt then recommended Alexander Dean & Sons Company in Sydney, New South Wales to be in charge of ordering the materials. He contacted them for the required materials and their pricings. Pratt also introduced Malua and the committee to the new builder whose name was Mr. William Williamson.⁶ Williamson was invited to lead the works of the Jubilee Hall while undergoing construction of the church of Apia at the same time.

In 1894, Rev James Newell who was the Principal of Malua requested a Tuvaluan named Tuiteke to be in charge of making lime paint or *vali namu* for the Church building. On a missionary visit to Tuvalu, Newell made an agreement with Tuiteke when they met at Nui Island. Mr. Tuiteke later arrived in Samoa and initiated the boxing for the lime paint work. This refers to the work of burning the lime and preparing it for use as cement for the building. Tuiteke was assisted by two students from New Guinea named Nakara and Peniata and others who knew about making lime paint. The painting job was frequently carried out on

⁵ Image downloaded from <https://ia800705.us.archive.org/25/items/fruitsoftoilinth17115gut/17115-h/images/malua.jpg> Artist unknown, 1869.

⁶ Misi Neueli, "Special Edition" *O le Sulu Samoa*, December 8-9, 1897, 3

Wednesdays by Malua students, because it was their working day.⁷ Some of the names given included Titania, Pitoitua (Tanielu), Natapu, Alapati, Tuiasau, Maalona, Kaisara, Lauina, Esekielu and many more. Tuiteke was a valuable person. He stayed and assisted Williamson until the end of the project, although during his time in Samoa his wife died. This didn't stop him from coming back to Samoa and continue working for the project.⁸



Figure 2: Photo of Alexander Dean owner of the Construction Company Alexander Dean & Sons. Image taken from City of Archives, NSCA CRS 54/463. Photographer unknown, 1827-1905. **Figure 3:** The plaque of the Jubilee Hall naming the architect and constructor companies Alexander Dean and Sons and J. S. Walker the Architect. Taken by Tufi Faapusa, 4th February 2019.

Under the supervision of Williamson, the Malua staff and students carried out the work. It was a challenging period for the college as they had to endure the hard-physical work as well as managing its own school programmes. Nevertheless, everyone involved were devoted to every task like carrying wood and rocks, making the lime paint and plastering the walls and foundation of the building. Some students did not take a holiday break because of the many work that needed to be done. These students' names were recorded as Sio, Ioane, Musu, Sopoaga, Isara, Uele, Iakopo, Asotasi, Taele, Iuta, Sulufai.⁹

⁷ The same students who were involved in this task eventually became church ministers (*Faifeau*). Their last names were not recorded but these were their first names.

⁸ Misi Neueli, "Special Edition" *O le Sulu Samoa*, December 8-9, 1897, 3

⁹ Misi Neueli, "Special Edition" *O le Sulu Samoa*, December 8-9, 1897, 4

The six districts of Upolu and Savaii also assisted with manual labour as promised in the initial meeting in 1894. The districts of Falealili, Faasaleleaga and Itu o Tane were tasked with lime burning or *tafutafu umu namu*.¹⁰ The districts of Apia, Aana and Malua were responsible for carrying stones and rocks. This was an enormous help for the students of Malua. Firewood for the *tafutafu* were taken from the land of Matini in Utualii who offered his land and trees. Rocks and firewood were also taken from the lands of Lilo and Umu and the chiefs of Levi and Saleimoa.¹¹

For three years the community of Malua together with the help of the six districts in Upolu and Savaii were responsible for the entire project. The lime paint work was one of the hardest. This involved gathering corals from the sea, and then transferring them by canoes to be burnt on huge ovens. After the burning of the corals, then the lime dust is gathered and used as cement for the construction of the floor and walls of the church. This process of lime burning was completed in August 1896. The next phase involved building the roof and ceiling and adding windows and eventually the finishing touch. Despite the challenges involved, the new church was finally completed after three years in 1897. Although it was a challenging building project, many believed that everyone's contribution made everything possible with God on their side.¹²

Design of the Jubilee

The following are the designed dimensions of the Jubilee Hall. The length of the church was 112ft by 66ft wide. The length of the transepts was 58ft by 22ft 6inches wide. The height of the walls at the back for both transepts of the building was 14ft. The tallest section of the

¹⁰ *Cannibals and Converts: Radical Change in the Cook Islands*, (Crocombe 1983, 92)

¹¹ Misi Neueli, "Special Edition" *O le Sulu Samoa*, December 8-9, 1897, 4

¹² *Ibid.*, 4

building from the foundation up to the ceiling was 30ft. The porch in the front was 25ft in length by 10ft wide on the inside. The wall's thickness was 2ft. The walls were created from sand, stones, cement, and lime paint.¹³ There were also large posts which were made and decorated in Sydney to support the upper roof of the building.¹⁴

A circle structure on the ceiling inside the church where two transepts meet was 26ft wide, and the circles on the ceiling in between the posts along the nave were 10ft wide. The ceiling was made up of wood with red and white coloured decorations placed alternatively with ventilation holes which made the whole interior look amazing.

The windows surrounding the perimeter of the church were framed in wood and bound together using brass-capped lead. The larger window behind the pulpit, had the name of the Jubilee Hall in Samoan "O le Fale Iupeli, Malua, 1897" as suggested by missionary R. W. Thompson, the Secretary of the LMS who paid for it.¹⁵

The other two larger windows on both transepts had the English translation, "Malua Jubilee Hall, 1897". Above these three windows near the ceiling were round ventilation holes. Both transepts have built in partition which can be drawn. The purpose for this was to allow the space as extra rooms for College's lectures. According to a report,

A partition was made to divide the whole church during school days. One side was used for worship, while both transepts (matāfale) at the back were used as classrooms for senior classes. The partition was made in Sydney and it was perfectly

¹³ "Tour Guide Manual," Twinning Ward, <http://www.samoatourism.org/Content/SiteResources/PAGE/48/TOUR%20GUIDES%20MANUAL.pdf> ; (May 14, 2014, 48)

¹⁴ Misi Neueli, "Special Edition" *O le Sulu Samoa*, December 8-9, 1897, 2

¹⁵ Misi Neueli, "Special Edition" *O le Sulu Samoa*, December 8-9, 1897, 10

manufactured. The chairs and desks were made of bright wood, known as Kauri wood. The legs of both chairs and desks were made of iron.¹⁶

The Jubilee was thus designed to be a multipurpose Hall, for worship as well as to serve as classrooms for the students. Hence was the reason why it was called a Jubilee Hall instead of a 'Church'. The design of chairs with desks was for the purpose of hosting classes for students. Hence it was used as a church on Sundays and other worship services but also a hall during school hours (See Figures 4 & 5 below). In the 1800s, these churches were also called Parish Halls where church services and school assembly, banquets, meetings, community and charitable use were exercised.¹⁷

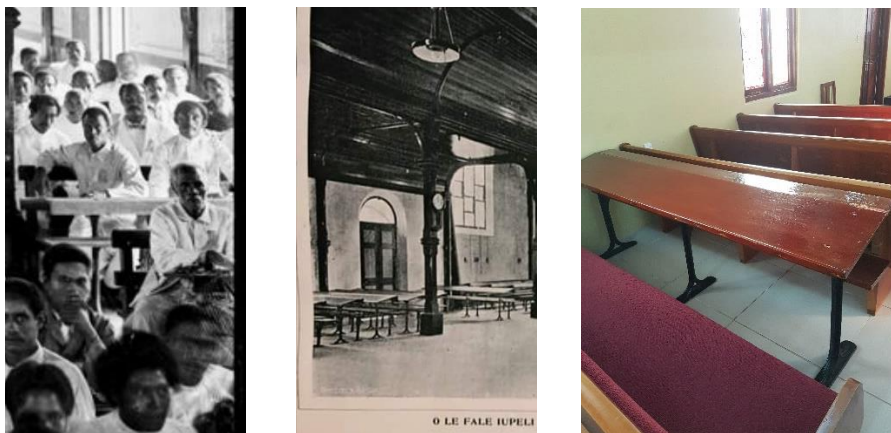


Figure 4 & 5: Men leaning their arms on desks taken in 1897 when it was completed. Photo from 'O le Sulu Samoa'. Unknown Photographer, 8th December 1897. **Figure 6:** The only desk left inside the small Malua Jubilee church (replica building of Old Jubilee Hall). Tufi Faapusa, 18th May 2019.

The inside of the Hall along the navel are five huge lights hanging down from the ceiling which illuminated the whole interior. The alter rail was also a fascinating piece of design made from Sydney Australia. The chairs and tables were made from Kauri wood with steel legs. Outside

¹⁶ Misi Neueli, "Special Edition" *O le Sulu Samoa*, December 8-9, 1897, 3

¹⁷ William Sagar and Brian Sagar, "Fairfax. Images of America" Arcadia Publishing, https://books.google.ws/books?id=tELvehPRlucC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbg_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=Parish%20hall&f=false (2006, 97).

the Jubilee Hall, the roofing was fixed with water drainage to catch rainwater over to the side tanks for outside usage. Other miscellaneous materials for the church's maintenance were safely kept on two solid shelves which were imported from Sydney together with steel bars for the church's proposed fence. These all added up to an amount of £10,000.¹⁸

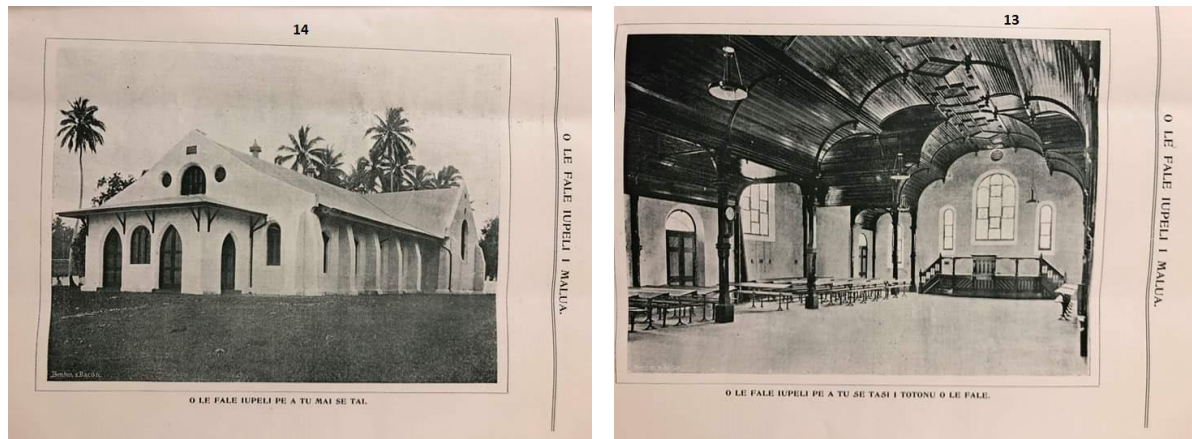


Figure 7: Exterior of the Malua Jubilee Hall taken in 1897 when it was completed. Photo from 'O le Sulu Samoa'. Unknown Photographer, 8th December 1897. **Figure 8:** Interior of the Malua Jubilee Hall. Photo from 'O le Sulu Samoa'. Unknown Photographer, 8th December 1897.

The design of the Malua Jubilee Hall reflects the typical design and architect of Reformed churches since the Reformation in the 16th century. These were the days when Gothic architectural church buildings were transformed into Protestant church designs that depict Protestant theology. According to Stephen Smalley,

the Reformation understanding of the Christian Church and its worship led to an insistence on what may be termed 'togetherness'. It was felt that the congregation, since it was one, should worship together in a proper and visible relationship to the focus of their worship.¹⁹

¹⁸ Misi Neueli, "Special Edition" *O le Sulu Samoa*, December 8-9, 1897, 3

¹⁹ Stephen Smalley, *Building for Worship: Biblical Principles in Church Design*. (Warwick Lane London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1967), 97.

During the Reformation, the church buildings were in medieval design. The reformers adopted the existing medieval churches and thus transformed the interior in order to cater for their protestant services. For instance, the Holy Communion table which was used to set up on the eastside of the chancel of the medieval churches, was then moved to the centre of the chancel facing the people and covered by 'fair white linen cloth'. The new position of the Holy Communion table created a new seating for the congregation to gather around and to participate fully in the worship. The importance of the transepts were therefore important in the design as it enables the congregations to gather around the communion table and the pulpit.

Another transformation was the replacement of stone altars by wooden holy tables. This act represented the Lord's Supper ceremony as a meal rather than a sacrifice. This is based on the on the reformers understanding of the Sacrament of the Holy Communion as an act of remembrance. An additional feature was a fixed rail which protects the Holy Communion table in the chancel.²⁰

In later centuries after the Reformation in England, the Puritans believed that the reformation of church buildings hadn't proceeded far enough. Therefore, they carried out another intensive programme where they cleansed the churches of 'popish' relics and imageries. These were bones and statues as well as images on stain glass windows which were visible inside medieval churches and favoured by the Roman Catholics. Another transformation was a cross-shaped or T-shaped pattern of architectural design. This represented the Protestantism style of church building which began from the late 19th centuries up to now.²¹

²⁰ Stephen Smalley, *Building for Worship: Biblical Principles in Church Design*. (Warwick Lane London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1967), 40-62.

²¹ Ibid., 40-62

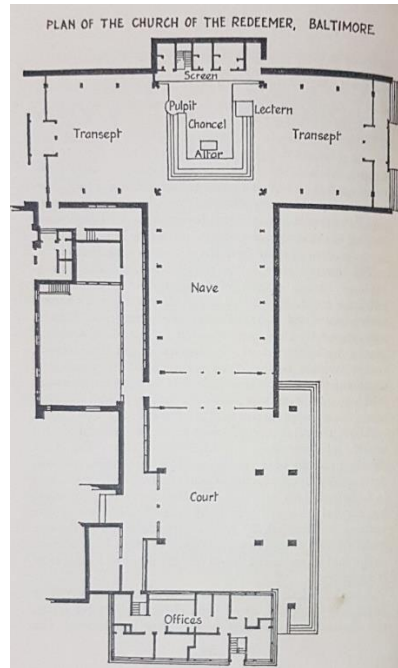


Figure 9: Image illustrating the usual Protestant T-shaped or Cross-shaped looking from plan view. The Church of The Redeemer, Baltimore Maryland USA. Architect Pietro Belluschi, 1958.

The new church design transformations since the Reformation in the 16th century reflects the theological perspective of Protestants, Puritans and Congregationalists. The London Missionary Society which was founded in 1795 was largely made up of Congregationalists.²² These were the missionaries that set foot in Samoa, hence changed our belief systems from our traditional worship to Christianity.²³ Their image of a Christian church was represented by the Malua Jubilee Hall. It was constructed as a T-shaped structure like the cross of Jesus Christ. The interior contained a pulpit at the centre of the chancel with the Holy Communion table in front. A temporary wall was positioned in between the chancel and the nave on the opposite side where the congregation sits facing the altar and the pulpit. The Jubilee Hall design reflects strong Protestant and Congregational theological ideas about worship. The

²² Norman Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society, 1895-1945*. (University of California: Oxford University Press, 1954), 202.

²³ Niel Gunson, *Messengers of Grace*. (University of California: Oxford University Press, 1978), 128.

building does not have relics, imageries and statues but a simple plain structure. The windows are made of coloured stain glass but without any images except the shield with the name of the Church. It is simple and contains no images – a reminder of the Protestant idea that worship should be spiritual rather than material.

Dedication of the Jubilee Hall

The dedication of the Jubilee Hall took two days from the 8th to the 9th of December 1897. It was estimated that about 3000 people gathered in Malua for the celebration. Most of them were from Upolu and a few including church ministers and several deacons from the Districts of Faasaleleaga and Itu o Tane in Savaii.²⁴ The members of the Church in Tutuila and Manu'a were supposed to attend, unfortunately they were unavailable to participate due to difficulties in transport. Hence, Missionary Cooper F. P. and his family along with the Boys School of Fagalele stayed back.²⁵ Although they could not attend, they still managed to help by pledging a large sum of money as an offering for the Jubilee Hall.²⁶

On Tuesday the 7th of December, the day prior to the celebration, two large boats arrived in Malua from other villages carrying vast amount of food for the feast. The organizers of the event suggested that each village church provide food for the feast. At dusk, Malua was extremely packed with people from all over Samoa. Even the tents that were installed by the students of Malua were filled. Spotlights were placed in different locations on the field, however, Malua was blessed with a full moon and a clear weather. According to the

²⁴ Others from Faasaleleaga and Itu o Tane were reluctant to travel to Malua because of safety issues in which their village leaders informed them to abide by. Conflicts between the two preparatory schools or *Aoga Faamasani* at Tuasivi and Matautu, triggered caution amongst the missionaries. The two schools had a history of confrontation; therefore, the village and church leaders tried to prevent any incident that would ruin and cause disgrace on the church's special occasion. *O le Sulu Samoa*, 1897, 4.

²⁵ Jennifer Taylor and James Conner, *Architecture in the South Pacific: The Ocean of Islands*, (University of California: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014), 184.

²⁶ Misi Neueli, "Special Edition" *O le Sulu Samoa*, December 8-9, 1897, 4

organizers, God was behind the preparations. Even though the weather forecast for the month was heavy rain, the weather on the week of the celebration was perfect.²⁷

On Wednesday the 8th of December, additional people from nearby villages arrived in Malua together with several Europeans and their families. Notable guests included Mr. William Lea Chambers who was the Samoan Chief Judge at the time; the Municipal President Dr Raffel and his sister; the British Consular T. B. Cusack-Smith and LMS missionaries such as Missionary Dean and his sister Miss Skelton; Missionary Gurr, Missionary Skien, Missionary Denvers²⁸ and many more who wanted to attend the service.



Figure 10: Photo of LMS missionaries who worked in Samoa at the time and were involved in the building of the Jubilee Hall.

Top left to right: M. Cooper, M. Goward, M. Marriot, Captain Horn, M. Newell, M. Wookey, M. Morris; Bottom left to right: Mrs. Wookey, Mrs. Beveridge, Mrs. Goward, M. Crosfield, M. Thompson, Mrs. Cooper, Mrs. Schultze, Mrs. Forth; Front left to right: Miss Mary Cooper, Miss Isabel Cooper. Photo from, 'O le Sulu Samoa'. Photographer unknown, 1897.

²⁷ Misi Neueli, "Special Edition" *O le Sulu Samoa*, December 8-9, 1897, 4

²⁸ The names of the missionaries in Samoan translations; M. Dean (Misi Tini), M. Gurr (Misi Kea), M. Skien (Misi Seini), M. Denvers (Misi Tevise).

Missionary James Newell invited those who were available for a meal at Malua Tai.²⁹ Later that afternoon an initial gathering at the *malae* or the main field was held as planned by the Elders Committee. Rev John Marriott led the service. The main aim of the service was to see whether the Jubilee Hall was free from any debts. The total amount of money that was donated was £11,762.00. This amount was donated by the districts of Apia and Falealili, Malua and Malua Seminary, Faasaleleaga, Itu o Tane, Aana, Tutuila and Manua and the people who attended the celebration of the Jubilee Hall. Money that was previously donated for the Senetenari³⁰ house was also transferred to the Jubilee Hall's funds; plus, an existing amount that was saved in 1896 for the Jubilee Hall.³¹

The two elderly members, Rev Alama FT and Rev Esene FS were beyond delight and were overwhelmed with the people's offering or *Faigātaulaga*. Similar emotions of thanksgiving were also seen in the eyes of Rev John Marriott and an unnamed female pastor who just arrived in Samoa on that day. Rev Newell who was also the Secretary for the Elder's committee and Director for works and labour for the Jubilee Hall, was speechless in front of everyone. His heart was full of excitement although he had previous doubts about the completion of the work.³²

During the official opening service, the speakers expressed joy and thanksgiving that the Jubilee Hall was debt free. Rev Marriott led the opening service before Rev Newell presented an account of the work and other details of the Jubilee Hall. Rev Esene FS also spoke to thank

²⁹ During the meal, a couple of British preachers and other invited guests had the opportunity to speak about the importance of high schools in Samoa. They spoke about how blessed Samoa was due to the generosity of the London Missionary Society (LMS) and the development of these schools in order to benefit the children of Samoa for the future. *O le Sulu Samoa*, 1897, 4.

³⁰ Fale Senetenari is the Centenary Hall which was built to mark the 1944 celebration of the college's one hundred years.

³¹ Misi Neueli, "Special Edition" *O le Sulu Samoa*, December 8-9, 1897, 9-10

³² Misi Neueli, "Special Edition" *O le Sulu Samoa*, December 8-9, 1897, 5

the different village churches and Districts for the donations. Similar speeches were also delivered by British missionaries acknowledging each village and district offering.³³

The new songs which were composed for the Jubilee Hall celebration were sung beautifully by the Malua Seminary choir as well as the new Hymns during the service inside the Jubilee Hall. A prayer to consecrate the blessing of the Jubilee Hall was led by Missionary Goward³⁴. It was a full service packed with missionaries, Europeans, Reverend Ministers and the *Aoga Faamasani* from Falealili. Goward's preaching also encouraged the girls at the School of Papauta; to be more actively involved in the building of the Jubilee and a clear indication of their interest in Jesus and His Church in Samoa.³⁵

In the evening a big feast was carried out in the field. Everything ended successfully and the chiefs of the district of Malua showed their appreciation and gratitude by observing an evening curfew around Malua. from the early hours in the morning to 10pm at night. This was continued until the last day.³⁶

Others in the community expressed sadness towards His Highness Malietoa, Tamasese and other high chiefs of Samoa for not attending the ceremony. However, this was a difficult period in the history of Samoa with civil wars from 1893 to 1898.³⁷ Thus, the leaders of these factions planned to keep everything peaceful and calm by not attending. Their contribution to the Jubilee Hall however were well received by the church.³⁸

³³ Misi Neueli, "Special Edition" *O le Sulu Samoa*, December 8-9, 1897, 5

³⁴ Missionary Goward is Misi Tauati in Samoan translation.

³⁵ Misi Neueli, "Special Edition" *O le Sulu Samoa*, December 8-9, 1897, 5

³⁶ Ibid., 5

³⁷ Malama Meleiseā, *Lagaga*. (Institute of Pacific Studies and Western Samoa Extension Centre: University of the South Pacific 1987), 93-98)

³⁸ Misi Neueli, "Special Edition" *O le Sulu Samoa*, December 8-9, 1897, 5

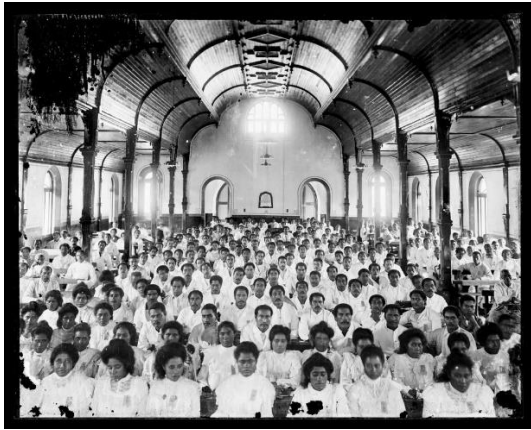


Figure 11: Malua students and wives in an interior view from the front of the church. Photographer Thomas Andrew, late 1890s. **Figure 12:** Interior view from the rear of the church. Photographer Thomas Andrew, late 1890s.

On Thursday morning the 9th of December, the last service was held in the Jubilee Hall. Those who led the service included Rev. James E. Newell (Service leader), Rev Elder Alama, Rev Elder Peteru, Mose (Faasaleleaga), Aso Lelei (Itu o Tane), Reupena (Aana), Petaia (Manu'a) and Missionary Schultze (*Misi Sulesa*).

Rev Newell expressed words of thanks and appreciation towards everyone for the final donation which paid off the Jubilee Hall. Acknowledgment of Rev. Elder Alama and Rev. Elder Peteru were also made as they encouraged the Samoans to complete the Jubilee Hall on time. They were both described in '*O le Sulu Samoa*', as Simeon in the Bible with his thanksgiving song to the Lord in Luke 2:23-30.

Rev S. A. Beveridge and Missionary Goward also had the opportunity to show their appreciation to Rev John Marriott and Rev James E. Newell for their hard work and participation throughout the whole project.³⁹ Thursday was the last day of the Jubilee Hall's celebration and basically was a day of sharing among the people, for the great effort and the

³⁹ Richard Lovett, "The History of the London Missionary Society"
<https://archive.org/details/historyoflondon01love/page/n403>, (2 May, 2018)

successful completion of the Jubilee. At last, final words of appreciation were shared by both teachers of the Malua Theological College, Rev. Saaga and Rev. Imo. They along with the students of Malua were involved in this project from the beginning to the end. They shared their gratitude for the Jubilee Hall which would now be used by the college for its worship as well as classes for its students. The celebration finally ended on the 9th of December 1897, and everyone returned to their homes.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Misi Neueli, "Special Edition" *O le Sulu Samoa*, December 8-9, 1897, 6

Chapter 2: *O le Fale Iupeli Fou: The New Jubilee Hall*

The building of the new Jubilee Hall was initially proposed at the General Assembly of the Church in May 1974. The main proposal was to renovate parts of the roof of the Jubilee that was damaged due to old age and to extend the church in order to accommodate more people. However, the 1974 General Assembly rejected the motion to expand the old Jubilee Hall.⁴¹ Ten years later, during the 1984 General Assembly, the District of America again proposed a renovation of the Jubilee Hall. The General Assembly agreed and requested the District of America for a bid to start renovation. The American District offered \$5000 SAT to begin work on the Jubilee Hall.⁴² No work however was carried out. During the 1989 General Assembly, the District of North Auckland again requested the renovation of the Jubilee Hall. The same year, the Women's Fellowship proposed an offer to repair and renew the Church.⁴³ The Chairperson of the Women's Fellowship, Moevao Tavita Talamaivao and the Women's Fellowship then commenced the renovation of the Jubilee Hall on the 14th October 1989 until the Finance Committee took over on the 4th February 1990.⁴⁴ The renovation process included repainting the whole building, the installation of a new iron roof, a new reinforced concrete floor, new tiles and new seats.⁴⁵

In 1995, the issue concerning the need to extend the Jubilee Hall was again raised. Discussions were made among the members of the General Assembly towards adding additional shelter like temporary marquees around the old Jubilee Hall. This would accommodate those who are not able to find a seat inside when services are hosted there during the General Assembly.

⁴¹ Vavatau Taufao, "Faapaiaina le Malumalu Iupeli Fou i Malua" *O le Sulu Samoa*, Me 18, 2017, 6

⁴² Ibid., 6

⁴³ Ibid., 6

⁴⁴ EFKS Land Commissioner Rev Epati Setefano, Interview on Moevao Talamaivao, 19 July 2019.

⁴⁵ EFKS. "12 Me 1989 Faafouina o le Iupeli, "Iugafono Komiti Faletua Au-Toeaina 1989-2018, Me 12, 1989, 14-15.

Since then this became the practice during the General Assembly every year. Even outdoor speakers were installed outside for those using the tents.

After fifteen years of this practice, the General Assembly of 2010 finally accepted an advice by the District of Manukau⁴⁶ to push forward with the construction of the new Jubilee Hall. The main idea was to extend the church so that it can accommodate everyone attending the General Assembly. Its main purpose was to make everyone fit inside in a safe and comfortable environment especially in the events of Malua Theological College's graduations and ordinations of Samoan Church Ministers during the annual General Assembly.⁴⁷

During the General Assemblies of 2011 and 2013, the District of Faasaleleaga reiterated the construction of a new Jubilee Hall. Despite Apelu Aiavao's expressions of regret and emotions in the *Sulu Samoa*⁴⁸ paper, there was no turning back. Hence in 2013 the General Assembly finally declared the start of the new Jubilee Hall soon after the General Assembly that year.

A report from the General Purposes Committee revealed that the project had begun. The architect for the new building was Evan Ngau Chung. The Quantity Surveyor was Matafeo Ronnie Matafeo. The Civil Engineer was Murray Campbell. The preliminary estimated cost of the project was \$7,114,600 including a contingency provision of \$3,000,000.⁴⁹

The Dismantling of the Jubilee Hall.

After 116 years since it was built, the Jubilee Hall was finally pulled down to make way for the new church. A farewell ceremony was held on the 29th August 2013. The old Jubilee Hall was

⁴⁶ EFKS. "Fale Iupeli i Malua ina ia toe Fausia Lelei," *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele*, Me 10-21, 2010, 17.

⁴⁷ Vavatau Taufao, "Faapaiaina le Malumalu Iupeli Fou i Malua" *O le Sulu Samoa*, Me 18, 2017, 6

⁴⁸ Vavatau Taufao, "Faapaiaina le Malumalu Iupeli Fou i Malua" *O le Sulu Samoa*, Me 18, 2013, 3

⁴⁹ Vavatau Taufao, "Faapaiaina le Malumalu Iupeli Fou i Malua" *O le Sulu Samoa*, Me 18, 2017, 6

once more filled with those attending this sad occasion. The attendees included the Head of State, his Highness Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Efi and his good lady Filifilia, Council of Deputies Tuimalealiifano Va'aletō'a Sualauvi II and respected leaders of the CCCS church. These included the CCCS Chairman Rev Elder Tavita Roma who led the service, Deputy Chairman Rev Elder Tautiaga Senara, Chairman of the Elders Committee Rev Elder Peleti To'ailoa, their wives and many more.⁵⁰

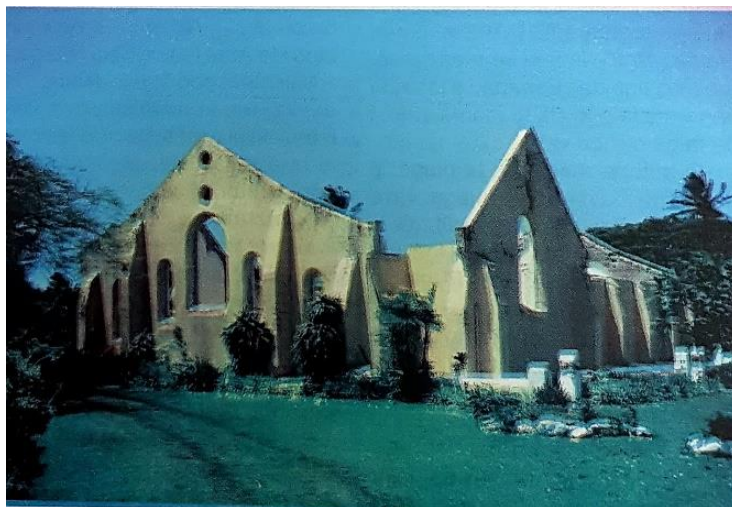


Figure 13: Malua Jubilee Hall when it was dismantled on the 18th October 2013. Photo from, 'O le Sulu Samoa'. Unknown Photographer, 18th October 2013.

According to the General Secretary of the CCCS at the time, Rev Dr. Iutisone Salevao, the process of dismantling the Jubilee Hall was to commence in October 2013.⁵¹ Arrangements were made for the preservation of some parts of the Jubilees Hall. The pulpit was to be stored at the EFKS Museum. Some of the posts were to be used to construct a monument designed by the Museum architect. The windows and seats were to be used in the new Jubilee Hall. The corrugated iron and the ceiling were requested by Malua Theological College. Later however, most of these materials and parts of the Jubilee Hall, which included the pulpit,

⁵⁰ Apelu Aiavao, "Faatofa atu i le Malumalu Iupeli" *O le Sulu Samoa*, Me 18, 2013, 3

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 3

ceiling and stain glass windows were given to Malua to build what became known as Jubilee 2, a chapel where much of the interior of the Jubilee Hall is now preserved.⁵²

The Building of the New Jubilee Hall

It was the beginning of November 2013 that the bids and tenders were submitted for the new building. Interviews for the building companies was carried out on the second week of December.⁵³ On the 2nd of April 2014, construction works on the New Jubilee Hall finally commenced. It began with a ground-breaking service conducted by the CCCS Chairman Rev Elder Tavita Roma and a prayer led by CCCS Secretary Rev Elder Kerisiano Soti in Malua. Several members of the CCCS attended the service including the Elders Committee and members of Parliament, Deputy Head of State His Highness Tuimalealiifano Vaaletō'a Sualauvi II, Cabinet Minister Fiame Naomi Mataafa Faumuina II, and Members of Parliament Tolofuaivalelei Leiatua Falemoe, Tuisugaletaua Sofara Aveau and Le Mamea Ropati.⁵⁴



Figure 14: Ground-breaking service on the 2nd April 2014. Photo from, 'O le Sulu Samoa'. Unknown Photographer, May 2014.

⁵² Apelu Aiavao, "Faatofa atu i le Malumalu lupeli" *O le Sulu Samoa*, Me 18, 2013, 3

⁵³ Apelu Aiavao, "Faatofa atu i le Malumalu lupeli" *O le Sulu Samoa*, Me 18, 2013, 2

⁵⁴ EFKS, "Faatofa atu i le Malumalu lupeli" *O le Sulu Samoa*, Me 2014, 3

In the same month, the foundation works of the new Church began. The chosen contractor for the project was a multi-billion company from China called Shanghai Construction Co. Ltd. They were responsible for the concrete foundation works and wall structure. This was carried out from 2014 until the end of 2015. The Evaeva company assisted with the earthworks – in the ‘cut and fill’ process for the initial foundation preparations.

During the works of the Shanghai Construction, Chinese workers lived in makeshift accommodations on site in Malua. This was a novelty for Malua, having Chinese workers who were foreign people with a foreign culture and religion. Because they were not Christians, they even worked on Sundays. Fortunately, that didn’t go for long. The EFKS Secretary Rev Dr Iutisone Salevao issued them a formal letter to cease any work on Sundays.⁵⁵

By the end of 2015, the structural walls of the church was completed and then Shanghai operations ceased from the beginning of 2016 until August later that year. This was due to the late arrival of Glulam beams⁵⁶ supplied from Techlam company in Wellington, NZ.⁵⁷ When the beams finally arrived in August 2016, Shanghai returned to install the roof. They were responsible for the operation of the two cranes which lifted the entire roof. This work was carried out in September 2016.⁵⁸

Upon the completion of the main structure of the Church, other contractual companies stepped in to work on finishing the church. Fanualelei Pelenato Alo contractor were responsible for the installation of the ceiling as well as the finishing touch to the entire

⁵⁵ Malua Theological College Principal, Interview on Shanghai workers, 22 July 2019.

⁵⁶ “Techlam NZ,” band, <https://techlam.nz/case-studies/cccs-jubilee-church>; (July 07, 2019).

⁵⁷ EFKS Treasurer Rev Rimoni Wright, Interview on the Construction for the New Jubilee Hall, 14 June 2019.

⁵⁸ Vavatau Taufao, “Faapaiaina le Malumalu Iupeli Fou i Malua” *O le Sulu Samoa*, Me 18, 2017, 7

building. They were also involved with the construction of the tower in the front including the spire with the *tānoa* and the cross at the top.

Pelenato Liufau and the Leulumoega School of Arts were responsible for designing and installation of the stain glass windows. Helen Tagaloa Dearness & Mist-Ec were charged with the whole painting plus the building of the new lavatory at the rear end of the church.

Tui Fepuleai & Flooring Contractors tiled the church. Julius Fruean & Diamond Heads Company were in charge of the iron roof installation. Francis Caferreli & Aluminium Design built the doors and glass windows. Williams Caferreli & VW Construction focused on the plastering works and waterproof. Lesa Keil & Co were responsible for making the seats. Feo Nemaia Esau & Telecomp Tronics were in charge of the electrical wiring. Stephenie Vagana helped with the light's installation. Rev Afereti Uili was in charge of the electrical safety of the building. Techlam Company in Levin Wellington constructed rafter beams for the roof.⁵⁹ Ott Construction Company Ltd worked on the bitumen surface that surrounds church, its carparks and nearby roads.

By early 2017 much of the work was done with only the finishing touches and painting to be completed before the annual General Assembly when the new church was supposed to be dedicated. At the dedication service, the Secretary of the CCCS, Rev Vavatau Taufao expressed his feelings about the completion of the Church.⁶⁰

I cannot say anything to fully justify the amount of effort that has gone into this project. The works of the new Jubilee Hall is now completed: It is a clear testimony of God's response to the prayers of His Church. His perfect love for His fellow

⁵⁹ Vavatau Taufao, "Faapaiaina le Malumalu Iupeli Fou i Malua" *O le Sulu Samoa*, Me 18, 2017, 7

⁶⁰ Ibid., 7.

workers. An indication of His heeding to the prayers of the faithful. The fact that no one was killed is a sign of God's guidance and protection.⁶¹

Design of the New Jubilee Hall.

According to the architect of the New Jubilee Hall, Evan Ngau Chung, the new church is 1500m². Its roof is 20 meters high and its spire reaches 35 meters. The new church is thus twice as big as the old Jubilee Hall and can accommodate up to 1,170 people. It contains twenty windows at 3.6 meters high by 3.6 meters wide and two large windows at each transepts at 7.2m high by 7.2m wide and the main window behind the pulpit. The main window is measured at 10m tall by 6m wide (See Figure 15).

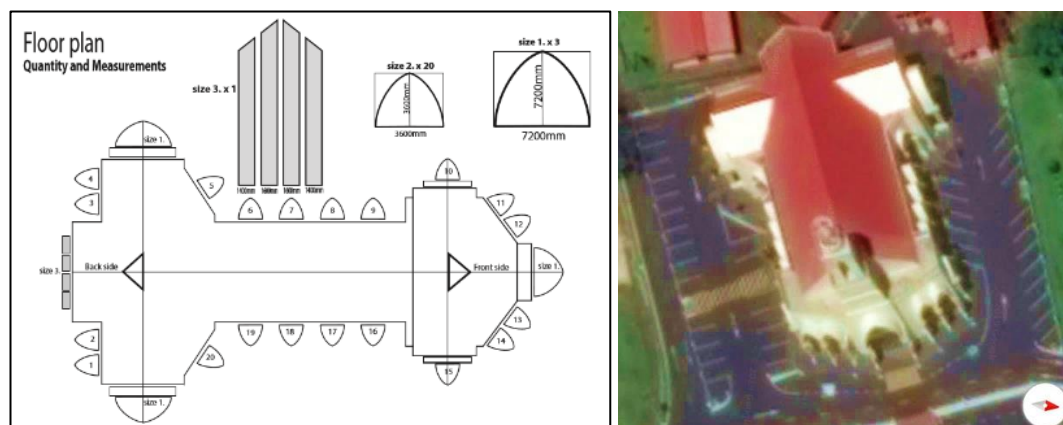


Figure 15: Malua new Jubilee Hall Floor Plan 3rd June 2019. **Figure16:** Cross-like shaped bird eye view.

The whole structure of the church is a standard cross of Protestant style (See Figure 16). Compare to the old Jubilee Hall, the shape of the interior is still maintained. This include the transepts where the congregations gather around the Holy Communion table and the pulpit. The pulpit although much bigger and taller in size still sits in the middle facing the nave. The new distinctive additions however is the vestry at the back of the pulpit and the larger foyer

⁶¹ Vavatau Taufao, "Faapaiaina le Malumalu Iupeli Fou i Malua" *O le Sulu Samoa*, Me 18, 2017, 6

at the entrance to the Church. Moreover, the whole church is sealed with glass and is chilled by twenty-two air condition units.⁶²

A conspicuous design of the new Jubilee Hall however is the extremity of the spire. This is also a feature that did not exist in the old Jubilee Hall. The initial design was a 35 metres spire which costs more than a million dollars. In order to cut costs a new design was requested. After an inspection of other drawings and images, the committee finally selected Pili Maua's drawing. He was the son of the Elder Reverend Poka Maua. The General Assembly confirmed the drawings, and it was implemented at no extra cost. The design was a gift from Pili Maua as a token of appreciation and support for the construction of the Jubilee Hall. Pili Maua was an Engineer for the Land Transport Authority.⁶³

In summary, compare to the old Jubilee Hall, the new building is much bigger and grandeur in size. The immensity of the new church meant that it could accommodate more people. However, one of the challenges now is the amount of echo inside the new church.

Consecration of the New Jubilee Hall.

On the 18th May 2017, during the first week of the annual General Assembly, the New Jubilee Hall was officially opened. Those who attended the ceremony included the Head of State, his Highness Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Efi and his Good lady, Prime Minister Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi and his Good lady, Parliamentarians, the Chief Judge and his Good lady, Parliament Speaker and leaders of other denominations in Samoa as well as members of the National Council of Churches or NCC. Also attended were members of the Congregational Christian Church of American Samoa or CCCAS, Congregational Christian Church of Tokelau,

⁶² Evan Ngau Chung, Interview on Designs of the New Jubilee Hall, 16 June 2019.

⁶³ Vavatau Taufao, "Faapaiaina le Malumalu Iupeli Fou i Malua" *O le Sulu Samoa*, Me 18, 2017, 7-8

the Ambassadors and High Commissioners of overseas countries in Samoa and the CCCS Elders Committee, Chairman of the General Assembly, members of the Women's Fellowship and delegates of the General Assembly.⁶⁴

The new Jubilee Hall was finally blessed after 43 years since it was first proposed in 1974. It was a day of celebration, full of joy and pride. The celebration began with the ribbon cutting ceremony which was performed by the Head of State's Good lady, her highness Filifilia Tamasese. This was followed by everyone entering the new church. It was a big ceremony where some people were unable to find seats inside. These people remained outside and listened to the service. This is ironic because the main reason why the old Jubilee Hall was pulled down was because it could not accommodate everyone.



Figure 17: The new Jubilee Hall dedicated on the 18th May 2017.

The Dedication Ceremony of the new Jubilee Hall was conducted by the Chairman of the CCCS, Rev Elder Tautiaga Senara. He also conducted the sermon. These were the words of the dedication,

⁶⁴ Vavatau Taufao, "Faapaiaina le Malumalu Iupeli Fou i Malua" *O le Sulu Samoa*, Me 18, 2017, 1-2

Dear brethren, God has inspired the spirits of His servants to establish this new church for the benefit of its people and the glory of His name. And so, we will accomplish this purpose as we are assembled here. For worship of God, to preach the Gospel to the victorious Christ, in caring the Sacraments of the Lord's Supper and Baptism, and the sanctification of family lives.⁶⁵

The congregation responded,

We offer ourselves for the true worship of God and service in His Kingdom. In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen.⁶⁶

The dedication and opening of the new Jubilee was a monumental occasion for the church. The multi-million dollar structure was the pride of many CCCS members. However, there were also many criticisms as well as controversies that came out of this building.

The Controversies surrounding the New Church

The amount of debt was one of the major controversies since the completion of the new Jubilee Hall. The massive debt of \$17 million SAT created confusion, frustration and mix feelings among members of the CCCS Church, and the public. The comments below were some of the opinions posted on Facebook media regarding the \$17 million debt.⁶⁷ According to Dale Hunter,

It's a beautiful building, but that's all it is, a building, could the money to build such a lovely building not have been better spent assisting the many Samoan families who

⁶⁵ Vavatau Taufao, "Faapaiaina le Malumalu Iupeli Fou i Malua" *O le Sulu Samoa*, Me 18, 2017, 4

⁶⁶ Ibid., 4.

⁶⁷ "Samoa Observer," Muliaga Jean Ash Malifa, https://m.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=1681326755229464&id=278391252189695 (May 18, 2017).

struggle from day to day? I have visited Samoa some 12 times and heavens above it's not hard to notice that there are churches everywhere, and even though many say there is no poverty it's as plain as the pimple on your nose, there is poverty in Samoa and it's a very sad reality.⁶⁸

The comment by Dale Hunter expresses concern perhaps a question of, 'How can we build an expensive church and have debts, considering that much money would be useful to assist families and people who are struggling to feed their children?' Similarly, Su Nga Lu commented,

No, God didn't ask for a million dollars' worth building for the church to be held in that building is constructions by some church members who are forced to do it! But we all the majority of us Samoans everything is competition ae suffer ai aiga! Seriously some people need to set their priorities straight, it started within our families...ave la kupe fai ai le loku ae sue solo meaai a kamaiki. Again, this is my opinion.⁶⁹

Su Nga Lu's comments reflect on the competitive nature of people within the church. This raises questions such as, Did God really encourage us to build expensive churches? What are the biblical references relating to church buildings and debts? Is competition a positive or a negative factor in the church? Lu's comments are similar previous critiques by other scholars.⁷⁰ Logoiamagu Eka also commented,

⁶⁸ Ibid., Facebook comment by Dale Hunter.

⁶⁹ Ibid., Facebook comment by Su Nga Lu.

⁷⁰ Alec Thornton, Maria Kerslake, Tony Binns, "Alienation and Obligation: Religion and Social Change in Samoa". *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 51 no. 1 (2010):1–16. See also Aukilani Tuiai, *The Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, 1962-2002: A Study of the Issues and Policies that have Shaped the Independent Church*, PhD Thesis, Charles Sturt University, Sydney, Australia, June 2012.

Samoa need more school buildings than a church. We should focus on building more schools and providing more education for our kids and future generation than falesā. Educating our own people and our future generation kids. I'll be happier if universities are built for that much kupe than a falesā. I feel a falesā it's not going to improve our country. I do know when a university is built it will benefit every single child from Samoa and future.⁷¹

Logoiamagu Eka suggested more buildings like schools and universities are more beneficial to be built rather than churches. This is a worried issue and a serious concern to society having agreed that education is more important compare to religion. This proves that there are people in our society today who are questioning the works and wisdom of the church. Do we have to build bigger and expensive churches, or should we conduct services under trees as Kastler Loreta responded in the below comment?

I work with families in New Zealand who gave so much money to help build that church. They struggle so bad trying to pay off debts (loans etc). Not enough money to buy food let alone no money left to buy milk next week. That's an awesome church but God would rather conduct a service under the tree rather than in a flash building which left many families with high debts and hunger.⁷²

This exemplified that people are referring to other developments as much more beneficial to society rather than expensive church.

In summary the building of the new Jubilee Hall is an interesting chapter in the history of the CCCS. The rationale behind replacing the old Jubilee Hall was for practical reasons. However,

⁷¹ Ibid., Facebook comment by Logoiamagu Eka.

⁷² Ibid., Facebook comment by Kastler Loreta.

in building the new one, it has now caused much controversies and financial burden on the church. In the next chapter we will turn to a detail analyzes of the old and the new Jubilee Hall. As we have seen, although there are similarities between the two buildings there are also remarkable differences. The next chapter seek to answer the question whether the differences reflect new shifts in the CCCS's theological understanding of worship and liturgy or not.

Chapter 3: Comparative Analysis of the Old and New Jubilee Hall

On the completion of the New Jubilee Hall, we come to realise the remarkable differences between the two buildings. These differences range from size, to structure, to the actual designs both of the exterior and interior of the two churches. The first difference between the two designs are their sizes. This is obvious because the reason for building the new church was because the old one could no longer accommodate the increase in the number of people attending services especially during the annual General Assembly. The original Jubilee Hall comprised a smaller area of 600m² while the new Jubilee Hall covers a 1500m² area more than doubling the size of the former Jubilee Hall.

The old church's wall structure was constructed by a traditional method known as lime painting where huge amount of corals were transported from the reef to land in order to crush and burn in massive ovens for hours until the lime is extracted from the coral. Large amount of rocks and wood were essential in this process in order to burn the coral in higher temperatures. The lime from the oven is then transferred to construct the walls.⁷³ This method was introduced by LMS missionaries and was popular in the 19th century in the Pacific islands beginning in Tahiti and then in Samoa and much of Polynesia. Whereas, in bigger countries such as Australia, New Zealand and Africa, the mining industries extracted limestone formed from fossil remains deposited over thousands of years, in the Pacific there was an abundance of corals on nearby reefs.⁷⁴

The second differences in the construction of the two churches is the amount of labour involved in building the old Jubilee Hall compare to the new building. As we have learned, all

⁷³ *Cannibals and Converts: Radical Change in the Cook Islands*, (Crocombe 1983, 93)

⁷⁴ *Rotary Kilns*, (Akwasí A Boateng 2011, 265-266)

of the districts in Upolu and Savaii offered much needed manpower to assist students at Malua. Obviously with improved technology since the end of the 19th century when the old Jubilee Hall was built, much of the manual work were now carried out by machines. As a result, the work was carried out only by Chinese, without the assistance of Malua. The only criticism that we learned was that these were foreign, non-Christian workers who preferred to work on Sundays.

In terms of the structural designs of the two buildings, there are several differences. Although the two buildings have a T-shaped or cross design which is common among Protestant churches, there are still remarkable differences. For example, the new church has a much larger foyer and a huge spire in the front. Similar however to the old church are the transepts on both sides where members of the congregations can sit facing the nave and the Holy Communion table.

Another distinctive difference are the huge arches that surround the whole building. These arches are covered with huge stain glass windows. The designs and images on these huge windows are perhaps the other major differences between the two churches. According to protestant church design, the windows are always kept plain as well as the interior of the whole church. However, the windows of the new Jubilee Hall are much more colourful and elaborate in design.

The stained glass windows were designed by artist Pelenato Liufau of the Leulumoega Fou School of Fine Arts with the under the advice of the Elders' Committee. In an interview with artist Liufau, the window designs for the new Jubilee Hall was supposed to be based on the original design from the old Jubilee Hall but with some additional alterations (see figure 18 & 19).

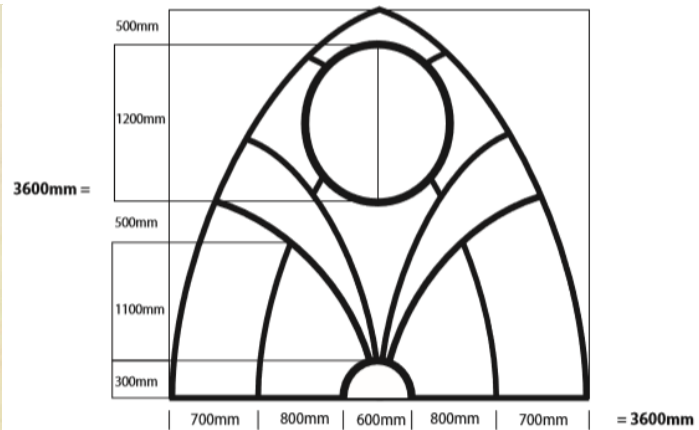


Figure 18: Photo of rear side windows taken from small Malua Jubilee church (replica building of old Jubilee Hall). *Iafeta Isaac Vaopuka, 1st May 2019.* **Figure 19:** Window Frame design for new Jubilee Hall. *A'oa'o Malua Pelenato Liufau, 4th June 2019.*⁷⁵

However, as we can see from the figures above, the differences are quite remarkable. Moreover, the final designs of the windows show even more remarkable differences. (See Figure 20 below) The windows of the original Jubilee Hall have a simple pattern and the colors of the stain glasses are limited to the Christian symbolic colors of green, purple, red. The windows of the new Jubilee Hall are much more elaborate and colorful. Moreover, they contain images ranging from Christian images such as lambs, anchors, fish and crosses to Jewish symbols such as the Star of David.

⁷⁵ The image in figure 18 shows a wooden frame dividing the glass into its particular cut. This is one of the windows from the old Jubilee Hall found inside the small College Jubilee Chapel built as a replica of the old Jubilee Hall in 2014. Figure 19 outlines the new aluminium frames for the new windows. They are much bigger than the old design. According to Liufau, the detailed frames such as the bigger circle on top signifies the sun and the small circle at the bottom is the moon with both rays streaming up and down. The details in the frame supports each pieces of glass cut into perfect fit to present a single unit of art displayed in figure 20 below.



Figure 20: Window design for new Jubilee Hall. Tufi Faapusa, 2nd May 2019.

One of the strongest differences is the incorporation of Samoan traditional motifs and patterns in the designs of the windows. These include coconut leaves, flower patterns and triangular shapes similar to those on a Samoan tattoo or *tatau*. Overall the new stain glass windows are much livelier and more colourful rather than the simple and monotonous colours of the old Jubilee.

The bigger windows on both transepts reveal a much more contextual image of Christianity. Both windows have three crosses as a symbol of Golgotha, the place of the ‘skull’ where Jesus and the two prisoners were crucified. The main cross however sits on a Samoan traditional *ava* bowl or *tānoa* which out of it grow vines. The vine which is a strong Christian symbol growing out of a *ava* bowl reflects how the Gospel is being contextualised with symbols of traditional Samoan ceremony and religion.

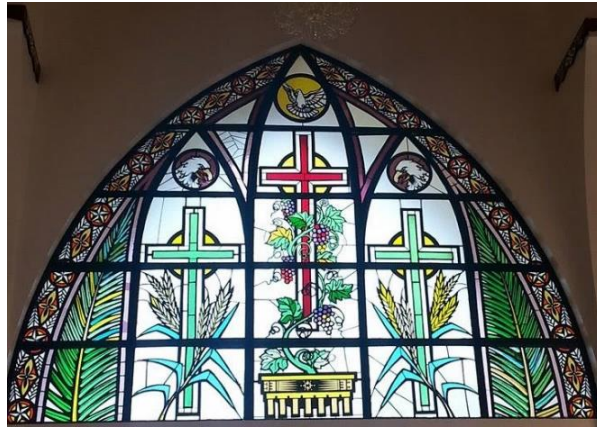


Figure 21: 'Golgotha' window in the new Jubilee Hall. Tufi Faapusa, 4th June 2019.

The vine from which the wine derives signifies the blood of the New Covenant is juxtaposed with the ava the sacred liquid significant to Samoan ava ceremony. The tānoa also represents the gathering of Samoans in an ava ceremony can also represents the gathering of the faithful in Holy Communion. The two coconut leaves (*launiu*) on the sides represents the ones carried by chiefs to a funeral of a high chief as a sign of respect in the Samoan custom. The same respect goes out to Jesus, the Higher Chief of all nations. Finally, the carved patterns surrounding the window frame indicates the patterns of a Samoan tattoo or *tatau* on the tattooed person. The tattooed individual waits patiently enduring the pain of the needle or *au* such as the suffering or the Passion of Christ.⁷⁶ The mixture of images reveals not only the biblical representation of the window but also the inclusion of Samoan customs and practices.⁷⁷

The main window behind the pulpit is perhaps one of the most striking. In the old Jubilee Hall, this main window only contained the shield with the name Malua Jubilee Hall, and the year 1897 written on it (See Figure 22). The main window is classified a Grisaille styled windows in

⁷⁶ Pelenato Liufau, Interview on Window designs of the New Jubilee Hall, 3 June 2019.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

the 1890s.⁷⁸ It contains three longitudinal coloured panels containing small medallion like structures with a symbol of a cross in it.⁷⁹ The dominant purple colour represents royalty or God the Father. Gold is a symbol of holiness of life. The color blue means Heavenly love and red illustrated sacrifice.⁸⁰

The new main window behind the pulpit however is far different. It now has an image of Jesus ascending into heaven from what seems to be a Samoan island village with tropical plants and deep blue sea. According to Liufau, the major window of the new Jubilee Hall had caused a few conflicts among the Elders Committee in relation to the right image to be displayed. In the beginning, there were two proposed images which were rejected by the committee due to their lack of a contextual representation of Samoa (See Figures 23 & 24 below). The final design was thus based on Rev Elder Tanielu Lemāmea's⁸¹ contextual opinion of an Image of 'Jesus' Ascension' from Malua Theological College in Samoa (Figure 25).

⁷⁸ Grisaille, a thirteenth-century development named for its gray appearance is comprised of a delicate pattern painted on clear glass with a thin gray or black line, and then fired. The paint itself was a mixture of copper oxide or iron oxide, pulverized glass, and a binding agent such as a mixture of wine and gum Arabic, from the acacia tree. The technology has changed little today. Toward the end of the thirteenth century artists began inserting small coloured panels or medallions into the grisaille glass and was popular during the 1890s.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Bernard Ramm, "Protestant Biblical Interpretation: A Textbook of Hermeneutics" Baker Books 1999, <https://books.google.ws/books?id=MjiASZteC3QC&printsec=frontcover&dq=protestant+biblical+interpretation+bernard+ramm&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewjT9bvO9aLjAhWjiFQKHTiVAj4Q6AEIKDAA#v=onepage&q=blue%2C%20as%20color%20of%20heaven&f=false> . (4 July 2019).

⁸¹ Rev Elder Tanielu Lemāmea, Faifeau Toeaina penisione, Otara, Auckland New Zealand.



Figure 23 & 24: Main window behind the pulpit of new Jubilee Hall. A'oa'o Malua Pelenato Liufau, 4th June 2019.

Finally, this contextual perspective is illustrated in the final design as shown in Figure 26. It is described as Jesus ascending from the lush green vegetation, an illustration of the plants and trees in Samoa. The colourful rays around the image presents Jesus as the Light of the World as in John 8:12. Unlike other contextual perspective such as Samoan artist Greg Semu who depicts the image of Jesus in the Last Supper with a Samoan male tattoo⁸², this image of Jesus is traditionally European. Framing the image however are traditional Samoan patterns 28.⁸³



Figure 25: Main Window behind pulpit of Iupeli 2. Tufi Faapusa, 2nd May 2019. **Figure 26:** 'Jesus Ascension' Main window behind the pulpit of new Jubilee Hall. Tufi Faapusa, 4th June 2019.

⁸² "The Last Cannibal Supper...Cause Tomorrow We Become Christians," Greg Semu, <http://www.gregsemu.photography/the-last-cannibal-supper>; (July 07, 2019).

⁸³ Pelenato Liufau, Interview on Window designs of the New Jubilee Hall, 3 June 2019.

The stain glass windows of the new Jubilee Hall thus shows a major shift in design, from the plain windows in the old Church to the much more colorful windows with images and Christian symbols in the new Church. In saying that however, we have also noted that many of these images represent the local contexts of Samoa as well its deep cultural and religious values. This theme of Samoan patterns and motifs are not confined to the stain glass windows but also on the ceiling, the pulpit and also in the exterior of the Church.

As we can see from the figures below, the two pulpits are quite different. From the simple pulpit in the original building, to the much more elaborate pulpit of the new building with carved images of burning flames and crosses with the lectern in the shape of the bible.



Figure 27: Old pulpit locates inside the College Iupeli 2. Tufi Faapusa, 29th July 2019. **Figure 28:** New Pulpit inside the New Jubilee Hall. Tufi Faapusa, 4th June 2019.

On the outside, the top rail surrounding the perimeter of the new building as illustrated below represents a designed pattern of flower petals zig-zagging along the rail as seen on Samoan tapa cloths or *siapo*. This pattern continues with the spire which is one of the most prominent features of the new church. On top of the spire is a *tānoa* with a cross in the middle. The *tānoa* and the cross are held by twelve round posts representing the twelve apostles. The

spire which is a significant visible feature of the new building is in complete contrast to the lack of one in the original Jubilee Hall.



Figure 29: Photo of Ava bowl plus cross on tip of tower and flower petals pattern on designed rail. Photo taken by Tufi Faapusa 1st June 2019.

Shifts in Protestant theology of worship or contextual experimentation.

There is no doubt that the two churches show remarkable differences in design both externally and interiorly. The original Jubilee represented a much more Protestant and Congregational understanding of worship, which the LMS missionaries emphasised in Malua. The structure is simple and plain. It contained no images and less symbols. This reflects the ideals of Protestantism. Since the Reformation of the 16th century, Protestants took hold of public places, abbeys, convents or Catholic churches which they adapted to conform to their spiritual beliefs. These beliefs included the banning of religious paintings (images) and statues. Hence Protestants had to reorganise the interior of these building which led to the disappearance of the altar and recounting around the pulpit and the communion table.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ "Musée protestant", Fondation pasteur Eugene Bersier, <https://www.museeprotestant.org/en/notice/larchitecture-religieuse-protestante/> ; (June 5, 2019).

The emphasis was on spiritual worship than ‘material’ worship. Moreover, it was considered a hall rather than a church. Early congregational Churches in England and America, began with household churches, before they built halls as churches.⁸⁵ For the old Jubilee Hall, it was not just for worship but also provided classrooms for Malua students. The new Jubilee Hall is much bigger in size and extravagant in design. It consists of no partition like the old church, which was used for academic purposes as well. The new building is now transformed for the only purpose of worshipping God unlike the multipurpose design of the original Jubilee. The new building is now catered for worship services only, while other church activities are to be hosted in other buildings such as the Fale Mafutaga and Fale Senetenari.⁸⁶

With the new Jubilee Hall, we see a strong feature of Samoan designs incorporated into the exterior and interior designs of the church building. As we have learned the Samoan Elders were heavily involved in this design making sure that it has a strong Samoan essence in its design. The new images with a mix of traditional Samoan patterns and motifs in the new building, illustrates a shift to a place of worship that reflects our local contexts, environment and cultural values. This is a significant shift. Perhaps in this post-colonial period, it shows how much we have moved away from the once strong Protestant ideas and views that came with LMS missionaries. As we have seen in Chapter 1, the construction of the old Jubilee Hall was heavily influenced and controlled by the LMS missionaries who made sure that the design of the church is as close to Protestant and Congregational ideals as possible.

Today however, our people are much more inclined to the incorporation of images and art in worship. This is not only reflected in the new Jubilee Hall but also in many CCCS churches in

⁸⁵ Andrew Pettegree, *The Reformation World*. (London: Psychology Press, 2000), 511.

⁸⁶ Fale Mafutaga is a multipurpose building for worship and centre for learning. Fale Senetenari or Centenary Hall was built to mark the 1944 celebration of the College’s one hundred years.

villages around Samoa. One of the main factors for this increase interest in art, occurred in the 1987 when the CCCS established the Leulumoega School of Fine Arts, headed by renown Italian artist Maestro Ernesto Cotter. The popularity of the School and the increase interest of Samoans in art led to the incorporation of art in many of the CCCS churches in Samoa. When the new Jubilee Hall was constructed, Leulumoega School of Fine Arts was offered to carry out the designs of the windows and hence the prominent presence of images. The new Jubilee Hall thus represents the changes that has been happening in the CCCS.

Conclusion

This thesis set out to document a history of the old and the new Jubilee Halls. In Chapter one, I focused on the building of the original Jubilee Hall from 1894 until it was completed in 1897. This building was to commemorate 50 years since the establishment of Malua and it was strongly supported by the Samoans. In constructing this church, we learned of the challenges of building such a structure at the time. However, with the support of the various districts of the church and commitment of the staff and students of Malua, the work was completed. We learned of the important roles of the LMS missionaries in leading the work and in the actual design of the Church.⁸⁷ The Jubilee Hall was a multipurpose building that catered not only for college worship but also for classes at Malua. Its design was simple and reflected strong Protestant ideas about worship. When it was dedicated in 1897, it was free of debt and it became a source of pride for the Church.

In Chapter 2, I then shift focus on the construction of the new Jubilee Hall from 2014 to 2017. We've learned that the reason for pulling down the old one was to make way for a larger Church that could accommodate members of the Church during its annual General Assembly. As we have learned the new Church, compare to the old one, is much bigger and grandeur in size. Its construction involved a Chinese company and several contractors. Despite the immensity of this new building the use of machineries reflect how much has changed in terms of building technology. When the new building was dedicated in 2017, it had not only incurred millions of dollars in debt, but it also caused a lot of criticisms from the public.

⁸⁷ London Missionary Society member – my definition are the Samoan and Europeans LMS.

In Chapter 3, a comparative analysis of the two Churches was made. We have learned that although some strong features of Protestantism remain in the design of the new Church, there were also remarkable differences. One of those major differences include the incorporation of images in the new Jubilee Hall. These images clearly reflects a shift away from the spiritual emphasis of Protestant churches. However, as we have also learned, this shift also saw the incorporation of strong symbols of Samoan art, religion and culture. This reflects how much the elders of the Church as well as members of the CCCS have transformed in their views on worship since the times of the LMS missionaries.

In conclusion, this comparative history of the old and new Jubilee Halls has shown important shifts in the CCCS. These shifts show the theological and liturgical transformations in the way the Church sees worship and places of worship. Most importantly these shifts also reflect how much the CCCS has transformed since it was a colonial church. As an independent church since 1962, the new Jubilee Hall with all its controversies shows how much the CCCS is still finding its identity.

Appendix

Iupeli 2.

2014, marked the 170th year since Malua Theological College commenced in 1844. It is also the 120th year since the first Jubilee Hall was originated. The same year, Malua Theological Colleges' Principal Rev Dr Afereti Uili and faculty decided to establish a new Church of Worship for the College and they called it, the Iupeli 2.



Figure 30: Iupeli 2 as College Church. Photo taken by Tufi Faapusa, 1st July 2019.

The majority of materials which were used for its construction were reprocessed from the old Jubilee Hall. Its structural appearance, although the transepts were not included, nonetheless it represented the old Jubilee Hall that was dismantled in 2013. It is therefore, the Iupeli 2 was dedicated a house memorial for the old Jubilee Hall building and was decided to be built in its new location on the eastern side of the Fale Mafutaga.⁸⁸ Its entire roof top and ceiling, the front porch, windows and doors as well as the front stage were built from existing wood, timber and corrugated iron sheets of the old church. The furnishings such as the pulpit, the communion table, the baptismal stand, podium, chairs and the blackboard for writing songs,

⁸⁸ Rev Dr Afereti Uili. "Falesā Fou o le Kolisi." *Iuleo o le Maluapapa*, Nov 2014, 1-4.

all of which were used from the old church except for the cement, bricks, steel rebars and the *Lali*⁸⁹ were paid under the colleges' expenses.⁹⁰

The Iupeli 2 was built on the 5th July 2014 until it was consecrated on the 26th November 2014. It took 5 months to build the new College Church. In fact, none of the staff had a Building License to initiate the licensing process, therefore, a qualified Builder named Rev Faatafa Nefu who was the Reverend Minister of the EFKS at Alamagoto, was consulted by the College Principal to implement the license permit. Vincent Li'o Hicks was the Architect, who also donated \$3000WST for the project. The Deputy Principal Rev Maafala Limā and Rev Alesana Eteuati were the two main project Builders and supervisors.⁹¹

The total cost of Work was \$170,136.55WST. Within the total cost include \$80,000WST which was gifted by the EFKS, \$64,540WST from Malua Theological Colleges' Offering (Taulaga), \$4,000WST was donated from other Church Ministers and Friends and \$21,596.55WST received from other College funds. Among the contributors, the Fa'aiuaso of 2014 agreed to offered fourteen windows placed in each sides of the building. Rev Namaia Tuiletufuga and faletua plus their congregation at Falealupo offered the making of two *Lalis*. Rev Tautua Aurelio and faletua provided scaffolds. Rev Julius Fruen supplied the timber formworks and most of the electric carpentry machineries owned by Samoa Amosa Maiava were utilized for the entire job.⁹²

⁸⁹ *Lali* and *pate* both refer to wooden gongs in Samoan. The smallest, the *pate*, is originally thought to be from Tahiti or the Cook Islands; Tongans introduced the *lali*; and the *nafa* is thought to be originally Samoan. (Buck Peter, Te Rangi Hiroa, 576-578)

⁹⁰ Ibid, 2.

⁹¹ Ibid, 3.

⁹² Rev Dr Afereti Uili. "Falesā Fou o le Kolisi." *Iuleo o le Maluapapa*, Nov 2014, 3

Table 1: Meaalofa mo le Galuega.⁹³

Mafutaga	Names	Aulotu	Costing
Mafutaga aoao Tinā o le Ekalesia.			Fa'alo - \$227,576.50 Fa'amalama & Faitotoa - \$824,150.00 \$1,051,726.50
Mafutaga a Tinā po o le Sosaiete a TPT.			\$500,000.00
	(FT) Simeona Taefu & faletua	EFKS Mt Drutt	Pulelaa - \$40,000.00
Mafutaga a Tinā Pulega a Falealili.			Seti Faamanatuga - \$15,000.00
Pulega a Falealili.			Laulau ma nofoa Faamanatuga - \$16,000.00
	(FS) Petaia Lokeni & Aulotu	EFKS Magele	Chandelier lapoa - \$12,838.50
	(FS) Etisone Tinetali & Aulotu	EFKS Lalomanu	2 chandeliers laiti - \$12,909.39
	(FT) Faauuga Matautia & Pulega a Faleata i Sisifo		2 chandeliers laiti - \$12,909.39
	(FT) Leaso Tupai & Pulega a Palauli		4 chandeliers laiti - \$24,800.00
	(FS) Nuuasala Siutaia & aulotu	Poretasano	2 chandeliers ile foyer
	(FT) Pouniu Faamausili & aulotu	EFKS Panmure	Faamalama teuteu i tua o le pulelaa - \$25,000.00
	(FT) Setu Samitioata & Pulega Vaimauga i Sisifo		Arch tele i Sisifo - \$20,000.00
	(FS) Enefatu Lesa & aulotu	EFKS Tanoaleia	Arch tele i Sasae - \$20,000.00
Peresetene & Faalapotopotoga LMS			4 Arches pito i luma - \$28,000.00
	(FS) Kafareli Sasagi & aulotu	EFKS Owairaka	Faamalama teuteu diagonal i Sisifo - \$7,000.00
	Panapa Too ma Fata Too		Compound and chip boards - \$11,040.00
	Meaalofa a Namaia Tuiletufuga Kofe & aulotu	EFKS Vaotupua	Laupapa Ifilele uma ona mamanuina Aoga Tusiata
	Lomi Tomane & faletua		Igoa & Jerry Picker – free of charge
	Lealiiee Rudolf Ott		Drainage \$40,000.00 & Civil works more than \$1000.00
	(FS) Fiatepa & Pulega Waitemata		Tanoa & Satauro - \$12,000.00
Falelua		EFKS Ierusalem Fou & Utah	Logo o le Iupeli ova atu ma le \$10,000.00
	(FS) Tuitoga Leota & aulotu	EFKS Faleseela	Laau tōtō luma ma autafa ole falesā leai se totogi
Alii Pule ma le Aoga Tusiata			Labour cost - \$800.00
	(FS) Reupena Leau & aulotu	EFKS Piu	Arch tele pito i luma - \$20,000.00

⁹³ Vavatau Taufao, “Faapaiaina le Malumalu Iupeli Fou i Malua” *O le Sulu Samoa*, Me 18, 2017, 8

Table 2.⁹⁴

1. Papauta College 2	\$1,026,000
2. John Williams Complex	\$14,899,000
3. Two Storey Office/Retail Complex	\$6,551,000
4. Printing Press	\$2,064,000
5. TV Station	\$1,562,000
6. Carpark Area (Tamaligi)	\$8,017,000
7. Hall Tupulaga	\$8,399,000
8. Maluafou College	\$17,651,000
9. Vaisigano College	\$3,430,000
10. Papauta College 1	\$15,336,000
11. Malua College	\$14,138,000
<hr/>	
Total	\$93,073,000

⁹⁴ Toleafoa Elon P. Betham, "Valuation of EFKS properties located at Tamaligi, Mulinuu, Vaisigano, Maluafou, Papauta and Malua" in *Meeting with Treasurer* (Tamaligi, Apia: 2015), 61.

Bibliography

Oral Sources

Interview with Lesā, Rev Elder Enefatu and Palala, Steve Tanoalei’a Vaivase Uta, 3rd May 2019.

Interview with Setefano, Rev Epati on EFKS land properties, Tamaligi, 3rd May 2019.

Interview with Liufau, Pelenato on window designs of the New Jubilee Hall, 7th June 2019.

Interview with Ngau Chung, Evan on Designs of the New Jubilee Hall, 7th June 2019.

Interview with Wright, Rev Rimoni on Finance matters for new Jubilee Hall, 14th June 2019.

Periodicals, Journals and EFKS General Assembly Reports

Newell, Rev. J. E. (Misi Neueli) "O sina tala i le Faiga ma le Faaulufalega o le Fale lupeli i Malua, atoa ma Tausaga sa fai ai," *O le Sulu Samoa*, December 8, 1897, 1-14.

Aiavao, Afemata T. Apelu. "Tala o le Malumalu lupeli," *O le Sulu Samoa*, Sep, 2013, 3.

EFKS. "Fale lupeli i Malua ina ia toe Fausia Lelei," *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele*, Me 10-21, 2010, 17.

EFKS. "12 Me 1989 Faafouina o le lupeli," *Iugafono Komiti Faletua Au-Toeaina 1989-2018*, Me 12, 1989, 14-15.

EFKS. "Iupeli Fou – Architect, Quantity Surveyor, Civil Engineer," *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele*, Me 13-24, 2013, 17-18.

Taufao, Rev Vavatau. "Faapaiaina le Malumalu lupeli Fou i Malua," *O Le Sulu Samoa*, May 2017.

Feagaimaali'i Luamanu, Joyetter. "Church pays \$1.7m annually for Loan," *Samoa Observer*, May 24, 2018.

Elon P. Betham, Toleafoa. "Valuation of EFKS properties located at Tamaligi, Mulinuu, Vaisigano, Maluafou, Papauta and Malua," 2015.

Uili, Rev Dr Afereti. "Falesā Fou o le Kolisi." *Iuleo o le Maluapapa*, Nov 2014, 1-4.

Books

Crocombe, M.T. *Cannibals and Converts: Radical Change in the Cook Islands*. Institute of Pacific Studies: University of the South Pacific, 1983.

Meleiseā, Malama. *Lagaga*. Institute of Pacific Studies and Western Samoa Extension Centre: University of the South Pacific, 1987.

Smalley, Stephen. *Building for Worship: Biblical Principles in Church Design*. Warwick Lane, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1967.

Boateng, A. A. *Rotary Kilns: Transport Phenomena and Transport Processes*: Burlington, MA 01803, USA: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2011.

Buck, Peter, Te Rangi Hīroa. *Samoa Material Culture*. Simi Valley, CA, U.S.A.: Kraus Reprint Co, 1930.

Goodall, Norman. *A History of the London Missionary Society, 1895-1945*. University of California: Oxford University Press, 1954.

Gunson, Niel. *Messengers of Grace: Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas 1797-1860*. University of California: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Taylor, Jennifer, and James Conner. *Architecture in the South Pacific: The Ocean Islands*. University of California: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014.

Books Online

Richard Lovett, M.A. "The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895." Oxford, <https://archive.org/details/historyoflondon01love/page/393>

Sagar, William & Brian. "Fairfax: Images of America." Arcadia Publishing, https://books.google.ws/books?id=tELvehPRlucC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=Parish%20hall&f=false.

Bracken, B Gregory. "A Walking Tour Bangkok: Sketches of the city's architectural treasures. Walking Tour." Marshall Cavendish International Asia Pte Ltd, https://books.google.ws/books?id=fc2IAAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=A+walking+tour+bangkok:+sketches+of+the+city%27s+architectural+treasures&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjDmI_r3NriAhWlJzQIHTAWDSQQ6AEIKDAA#v=onepage&q=Christian%20churches&f=false.

Hammett, John S. "Biblical Foundations for Baptist Churches: A Contemporary Ecclesiology" Kregel Academic, <https://books.google.ws/books?id=eM2CDwAAQBAJ&pg=PA162&dq=congregationalism+an>

d+priesthood+of+all+believers&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjf4I-J0-

LiAhUpw1QKHf9EA4oQ6AEIKDAA#v=onepage&q=congregationalism%20and%20priesthood
%20of%20all%20believers&f=false .

Huse, Nola and Hamilton, Lucy, "Discovering Stained Glass in Detroit" Wayne State

University Press, [https://books.google.ws/books?id=SiUsbJk-](https://books.google.ws/books?id=SiUsbJk-1KMC&printsec=frontcover&dq=discovering+stained+glass+in+detroit&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjU0pgW86LiAhVOwZ8KHWuAB2MQ6AEIKDAA#v=onepage&q=grisaille%20glass&f=false)

1KMC&printsec=frontcover&dq=discovering+stained+glass+in+detroit&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0

ahUKEwjU0pgW86LiAhVOwZ8KHWuAB2MQ6AEIKDAA#v=onepage&q=grisaille%20glass&f=f
alse.

Ramm, Bernard, "Protestant Biblical Interpretation: A Textbook of Hermeneutics" Baker

Books,

<https://books.google.ws/books?id=MjiASZteC3QC&printsec=frontcover&dq=protestant+bib>

[lical+interpretation+bernard+ramm&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjT9bvO9aLjAhWjiFQKHTiV](https://books.google.ws/books?id=MjiASZteC3QC&printsec=frontcover&dq=protestant+bib)

[Aj4Q6AEIKDAA#v=onepage&q=blue%2C%20as%20color%20of%20heaven&f=false](https://books.google.ws/books?id=MjiASZteC3QC&printsec=frontcover&dq=protestant+bib).

Online Sources

"Tour Guide Manual,"

[http://www.samoatourism.org/Content/SiteResources/PAGE/48/TOUR%20GUIDES%20MA](http://www.samoatourism.org/Content/SiteResources/PAGE/48/TOUR%20GUIDES%20MANUAL.pdf)
[NUAL.pdf](http://www.samoatourism.org/Content/SiteResources/PAGE/48/TOUR%20GUIDES%20MANUAL.pdf).

"Ko nga Tuhinga Motuhake me nga Pikitia." <http://mp.natlib.govt.nz/detail/?id=29225&l=mi>.

"Musée protestant." [https://www.museeprotestant.org/en/notice/larchitecture-religieuse-](https://www.museeprotestant.org/en/notice/larchitecture-religieuse-protestante/)
[protestante/](https://www.museeprotestant.org/en/notice/larchitecture-religieuse-protestante/).

“Techlam NZ,” <https://techlam.nz/case-studies/cccs-jubilee-church>

“The Last Cannibal Supper...Cause Tomorrow We Become Christians.” Greg Semu,
[http://www.gregsemu.photography/the-last-cannibal-supper.](http://www.gregsemu.photography/the-last-cannibal-supper)