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ORIGIN AND BEGINNING OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCH OF SAMOA [C.C.C.S.] IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND.

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A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OTAGO, DUNEDIN

NEW ZEALAND.

[DATE].....

DEDICATED TO

MY MOTHER FA'AULIULI IOKA WHO IS 91 YEARS OLD AND IS STILL WRITING LETTERS AND READING THE BIBLE WITHOUT GLASSES;

AND TO

THE MEMORY OF MY FATHER IOKA MAULOLO KALEPO TOEVAI WHO DIED WHEN 80 YEARS OLD IN 1981 WHILE STILL ABLE TO CUT DOWN COCONUT TREES WITH THE AXE AND ROLL HUGE STONES TO FENCE OUR COCONUT PLANTATION;

AND TO

THE COURSE FOR WORLD PEACE IN THE WAY OF JESUS CHRIST- THAT GOD'S WILL BE DONE ON EARTH AS IN HEAVEN.

ABSTRACT

Since this work is the first major research on the history of the C.C.C.S. in Aotearoa New Zealand, the main objective is to provide a general survey of its origin and beginning.

The Thesis takes seriously the self-understanding of the C.C.C.S. about its own history. This neccesitates the use of the cultural-theological perspective in the most inclusive sense which captures best the holistic mind of C.C.C.S. members as Samoans, while also reflecting the interdisciplinary nature of the holistic mind particularly through its mode of the historical imagination. This perspective is used within the hermeneutical boundaries of the thematic and chronological approaches in conventional history writing. The history of the C.C.C.S. which is only about thirty years old, from 1962-63 to 1993, is therefore understood in a wider historical context following the hermeneutical guide of the historical imagination of the C.C.C.S.

Chapters One and Two trace the origins or roots of the C.C.C.S. in the homeland of its founders, Western Samoa, and in the growth of the founders' home church [E.F.K.S.] outside Samoa in Fiji, Hawaii and in the U.S.A. The link between these two aspects of the wider historical origins is the central self understanding of modern Samoa which Samoan migrants especially since Post World War II took with them to countries of migration. Chapter One identifies this self-understanding as a ***Biblical culture and a Christian society***. This, according to the Samoans, culminated the theological evolution of modern Samoa at the interface between Samoan culture and Christianity on the basis of the Samoan national theological confession [or motto], ***'Fa'avae I le Atua Samoa'*** [May Samoa be founded in God], from 1830 to 1960.

The migration of this self understanding [or world view] with Samoan migrants became foundational in the establishment and growth of Samoan Churches in Fiji, Hawaii, the U.S.A., and in the P.I.C.C. in New Zealand. Particularly significant was the association of this migrating world view of modern Samoa with the main motivation for Samoan migrants, and with the emotional attachment and the spirit of loyalty to spiritual and cultural roots in the home church and the homeland which explain the eventual links between these migrant churches and the mother Church in Samoa. The C.C.C.S. began in New Zealand on the same basis when its founders left the P.I.C.C. But there were more crucial considerations involved.

Chapters Three and Four identify the inadequacy of the multicultural church context of the P.I.C.C. to accommodate the full impact and requirements of Samoan Christianity, and also its tendency to compromise and to undermine the holiness of Samoan worship. Of utmost importance was the assertion of the right and authority for self-determination in relation to religious life, religious development and religious future in New Zealand which included the preference for the sole jurisdiction of the mother Church in Samoa. Chapter Four also enlarges on this as reflecting the full impact of the migrating world view of modern Samoa with Samoan migrants. What began as a natural assertion of the right for self-determination by the C.C.C.S. turned out to reflect the increasing assertion by Independent indigenous Churches of the Pacific with their indigenous leadership of their authority against the traditional authority and leadership of missionary Societies. Chapter Five gives a detailed account of the complex beginning of the C.C.C.S. in

relation to these issues, and because of the controversial involvement by the relevant Church authorities – the E.F.K.S. in Samoa, and the P.I.C.C. and the C.U.N.Z. in New Zealand. The inseparable issue of the appropriate form and manner of Christian witness and ecumenism explains best the opposition by the Samoans who remained in the P.I.C.C. against the beginning of the C.C.C.S. In the final analysis, the broadminded and accommodative ecumenical approach by the E.F.K.S. in solving the complex issues arising from the controversial beginning of the C.C.C.S., because of its founding vision, had more merits than the narrowly construed and culture dismissive ecumenical approach by the P.I.C.C. and the C.U.N.Z. Chapters Six and Seven illustrate the successful growth and consolidation of the C.C.C.S. because of the inherent dynamism of its transplanted cultural foundation and its imported Church structure, and in conjunction with the positive influence of the multicultural and rich society of New Zealand. A summary of the conclusions of the Thesis may be briefly stated.

The C.C.C.S. began in New Zealand as a ***Settler Church*** which was also a part of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. This founding vision embodies the central hopes and aspirations of founders of the C.C.C.S., and also explains the actual course of the history of the C.C.C.S. in its thirty years from 1962-62 to 1993. The founding vision encapsulated certain important aspects of the wider historical context of the origin of the C.C.C.S. One was the transplantation to New Zealand of Samoan Christianity and the world view of modern Samoa in which it was formed – a biblical culture and a Christian society in the holy land of Samoa. Secondly, the link between this migrating world view of modern Samoa and the historical movement and migration of Christian civilisation means that the growth of Samoan migrant churches in countries of Samoan migration was Samoa's authentic contribution to the historical movement and migration of civilised societies and Christian civilisation. In this respect the beginning of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand is viewed as a significant expression of the migration of the Mind of modern Samoa which, through the courtesy of modern communication and transport, and the push-pull operation of all migration, had extended its 'home horizon' in countries of Samoan migration. The founding vision also reflected the assertion of the right for self determination and the authority for the sole control of religious life, religious development, and religious future in New Zealand which included the preference for the E.F.K.S. in Samoa to be the sole authority to exercise jurisdiction over the C.C.C.S. This reflected the increasing assertion of the authority of Independent indigenous Churches of the Pacific and indigenous leadership against the traditional authority and leadership of missionary societies. This was consistent with developments in world-wide Christianity particularly in relation to the paradigm shift in the form and manner of Christian witness and ecumenism as exemplified in the integration of the I.M.C. – the epitomy of traditional approach to mission, and the W.C.C. – the symbol for the transition into mission through indigenous and independent national Churches of Christian countries. When the origin and beginning of the C.C.C.S. is placed in the wider historical context, it clearly demonstrates a pioneer example of the migration of indigenous Churches of the Pacific with the determination to join the ecumenical movement in the Pacific and world wide on the basis of national independent Churches, and on the universal mood of Independence characterised by a cultural-theological spirituality.

PREFACE

The brief statement on methodology below highlights the holistic and the interdisciplinary perspectives which define the scope and nature of this work. This reflects part of the personal agenda of the author which is largely based on the living tradition of the Samoan Church, the E.F.K.S. in Samoa, the author belongs to. Selecting the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand, which is part of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa, as the topic of study is part of the personal wish to share some of the insights of the living tradition of the E.F.K.S. that may contribute to answering some problems of modern society. One problem in modern society is that of the ***'homeless mind'*** in thought and in reality. One of the causes of the 'homeless mind' is its willful estrangement from its divine roots, and from the divine mandate for its application. Its ominous expression is the frantic activism to secure a future through the greed for possession and earthly resources which always involve disrespectful management of the earth, and always bedevils the achievement of true peace between people, and between humans and other creatures and the earth. Its particular expressions for the Christian believers is the difficulty to define the true role of the Church in culture or in society, and the usual unhealthy way the true significances of the Church and Christian culture are tended to be conceived in irreconcilable polarity. How can a Church be a Church of a Culture without being marginalised by Culture ? How can a Culture survive in a life-giving way without fear of becoming extinct in a multicultural situation or society ? How can Church and Culture become two servants in mutual operation for the Gospel of the Kingdom of God without confounding each other? Finding answers to these questions can be one way of eradicating some causes of the 'homeless mind', and may help to solve some of the problems it causes for society. It is hoped that the ***unitary view of life and reality*** reflected in this work as a characteristic feature of the Samoan mind that is reflected in the Samoan Church tradition the C.C.C.S represents may contribute to this end.

Briefly stated, the ***unitary view of life and reality*** understands life and reality in the holistic and inclusive way. The categories of ***past, present and future*** interpenetrate each other. The present can be realistically viewed to be constituted by the living-Past and the Nascent-Future. A characteristic Samoan wisdom-advice reflects this – ***'Fua i Luma, Fua i Tua'*** – [Consider the Future, Consider the Past]. This is usually the wisdom-advice to cultivate the best way of thinking and best way of living for the present. It is believed to be achieved by a careful consideration of an intruding living past and a proper anticipation of likely effects on the future of decisions and acts made in the present. Applied to daily living, the most intelligible thing to say and thing to do is always found in the process of acknowledging the ***'presence'*** of other truths and other realities in public and communal contexts of life. This inclusive and organic sense of Life and Reality is similar to a wider yet organic view of ***'Truth'*** as not composed of pieces of truth, but is always a ***totum***, a living whole.

The Christian Faith offers the best hope if it needs restating, that the Christian Doctrine of Incarnation can be meaningfully grasped in its wider liberating significance if it is understood in the light of the Christian Doctrine of Creation out of a good earth, and the continuing re-creation of the good earth in the light of the Gospel of Incarnation.

METHODOLOGY

The Thesis utilises the ***thematic and chronological approaches*** in conventional history writing. Chapters One, Two, Three, Four and Seven generally follow the thematic approach. While Chapters Five and Six follow the chronological approach. This combination is set within the chronological sequence of seven chapters which is also set within the wider historical context at the background of the whole Thesis. This wider historical background is explained in the Introduction. The chapters that follow the thematic approach also treat their thematic focus within a specified time period which is in line with the chronological sequence of the seven chapters in the wider historical context. Furthermore the Thesis utilises the ***holistic approach*** which is essentially ***interdisciplinary***. This is unavoidable because of the hermeneutical aspect involved in the attempt to account for the history of the C.C.C.S. according to the self understanding [or the Mind] of the C.C.C.S. It is equally unavoidable in the common sense understanding of history in its central mode of revelation – the historical imagination in its broad and comprehensive significance, and also in its various concrete expressions. Briefly put, the historical imagination has most of the aspects of other branches of studies like Sociology, Phenomenology, Philosophy, Anthropology, Theology, Science and a host of others which make the study of History a difficult branch of study. The relevant point for our purpose is that in attempting to understand the history of the C.C.C.S. for the purpose of accounting for it, one is forced to consider the wider historical context, and the broad expressions of the C.C.C.S. historical imagination in such a context. Let me illustrate this by using Chapter One. Chapter One illustrates not only the combination of the thematic and chronological approaches, but also the holistic (interdisciplinary) perspective which is necessarily involved when the study of history takes seriously the comprehensive mode of the historical imagination, and when such historical imagination belongs to the makers of such history. For example, Sections A and B have thematic focus which represent cultural-theological readings and understanding of the historical evolution of modern Samoa according to Samoans. The cultural-theological hermeneutics that are involved in such readings and understanding are not objective modes of readings and understanding independent of concrete historical events described. Rather they are the hermeneutical clues given by the concrete eventuality of such historical events. As shown in Chapter One, the operation of the hermeneutical clues given illustrate also the influence and relationship of social, cultural, theological, and political processes in the historical process. And they demonstrate the inseparable vitality of other branches of studies as part of the study of History – hence the ***holistic*** or ***interdisciplinary approach*** used in this Thesis. Sections C and D illustrate the chronological evolution of the thematic aspects of Sections A and B. They also illustrate the operation of the holistic mind of Samoa through the persistent recapitulation of the living truth of past heritage for creating future visions.

Throughout the whole Thesis I use the ***cultural-theological perspective*** in the inclusive sense which captures best the holistic mind of Samoans, while also reflecting the interdisciplinary nature of the historical imagination. This perspective is used within the hermeneutical boundaries of the thematic and chronological approaches in conventional History writing. It is the hope that this comprehensive approach is the most appropriate in answering the three basic questions that should be helpful in understanding the Origin and the Beginning of the C.C.C.S. in Aotearoa New Zealand – ***What Happened ? How did such happen ? and Why ?***

A NOTE ON SOURCES

An explanation of the oral sources used is necessary. I started researching with the thought that the work will be largely based on ***oral sources***. The Questionnaire in Appendix xiii includes questions designed to collect such oral materials from all parishes of the C.C.C.S. The approach was unsuccessful mainly because most church members ***'had no time to write'***. The few responses received are referred to in the 'Personal Stories...' of the Bibliography Section as response to Questionnaire. I found very early during the research that there were abundant written sources in the form of Parish Books, Sub-District Books, Diaries and Personal Papers of important Church leaders, and Church documents of various kinds as indicated in the Bibliography. Being a member of the C.C.C.S. avoided most problems related to access to these sources. The result was that the academic focus of the research was added the moral obligation entrusted by the C.C.C.S. that the story and the history of the C.C.C.S. may be faithfully told. The oral source was still necessary to complement the written sources. It was discovered that in the form of personal stories of earliest members of the C.C.C.S. and founding leaders of parishes, oral sources contained much of the unwritten records of the C.C.C.S. They are invaluable not only in interpreting written facts, but in providing the authentic interpretation of some recorded facts. The problem for the historian in such situations where one deals with oral and written sources is how to be critically objective in one's final interpretation wihtout under-interpreting, over-interpreting or even misinterpreting the ***'historical truth'*** that sources bear witness to. To a large extent the ***'truth'*** in oral culture is the communal voice of the community that may be encoded in a specific communal saying while at the same time appear in various expressions. If such truth is written, it also remains oral. It is the way, very Samoan, to ensure that the authority of Truth will always be the shared property of the writer and the speaker, the literate and the illiterate, the educated and the uneducated, the wise and the fool. The ***narrative style*** adopted in Chapter Six largely reflects the author's subscription to this way of thinking. Questions in the Questionnaire were used in Personal Interviews to collect Personal Stories. I deliberately refer to oral sources as ***'Personal Stories'*** because of the way they were collected and the understanding and objective attached to the purpose for collecting them. Since it is the first research on the subject, it was important to collect the full story from selected individuals on everything they remembered and their interpretations of what they remembered. As Samoans, Church members were more prepared to ***tell stories*** than to respond to the usual interview questions that are brief and selective on certain facts. The way around this problem was to ask the usual interview questions in the conversational manner while the interviewee is telling his/her story. But it needed long hours of taping and transcribing afterwards. This research was fortunate in that most of the founders of the C.C.C.S. and contemporaries of its beginning are still alive and have fresh memories of the beginning of the C.C.C.S. Some of the Personal Stories are already transcribed, others are still in tape recording. They are in the Author's possession and they will be deposited in the Library of the Malua Theological College in Western Samoa. Some of the most important primary sources like the letters and the correspondence of the founders of the C.C.C.S., of the P.I.C.C. and the C.U.N.Z. and of the E.F.K.S. are included in the Appendices. These are crucial in relation to Chapters Three, Four and Five. Some of the English translations of quotes in the Text that refer to Appendices III, V and VIII have slight differences in wording from the English translations provided for these Appendices. This is because I have included the translations of such Appendices by the Chief Translator of the Legislative Assembly of

Western Samoa which, in most cases, are based on clear straight forward English which capture the general meaning. Where the Text may differ, it is mainly to provide a more specific translation that captures as much as possible the original in the Samoan Language. Almost all sources used in the Research are in the Samoan Language.

'O LE SULU SAMOA' SOURCE

The 'O le Sulu Samoa' is the present and only official Journal of the E.F.K.S. since 1839. The information included are mostly relevant for Chapters One, Two, and Six. There are four runs of 'O le Sulu Samoa' in the Hewittson Library of Knox Theological College in these arrangements – (1) 1930-1938; (2) 1944-1950; (3) 1947-1954; (4) 1953-1957. A few photocopies of the 'O le Sulu Samoa' for the years from 1900-1929 are found in the Hocken Library of the University of Otago. Other runs for the years from 1960s-1990s are published for sale by the E.F.K.S. in these arrangements- (1) 1963-1966; (2) 1964-1967; (3) 1968-1971; (4) 1972-1975.

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ABBREVIATIONS

E.F.K.S.	– Ekalesia Fa'apotopotoga Kerisiano Samoa.
C.C.C.S.	– Congregational Christian Church of Samoa.
L.M.S.	– London Missionary Society.
C.U.N.Z.	– Congregational Union of New Zealand.
P.I.C.C.	– Pacific Islanders' Congregational Church.
P.I.P.C.	– Pacific Islanders' Presbyterian Church.
H.E.A.C.C.C.	– Hawaiian Evangelical Association of Congregational Christian Churches.
P.T.C.	– Pacific Theological College.
I.M.C.	– International Missionary Council.
W.C.C.	– World Council of Churches.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an attempt to provide the history of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa [C.C.C.S.] in the way and manner which not only reveals important aspects of the authentic mind and spirit of the C.C.C.S., but also helpful in understanding 'its brief contemporary history' in Aotearoa New Zealand - a history which began strictly in 1962. The period from 1962-63 to 1993 provides the main focus of the thesis. This time period is in one sense unavoidable because of the fact of the C.C.C.S.'s brief and modern beginning. In the perspective of the thesis this period may be understood generally as the period of the Beginning [and Settlement] of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

A wider historical framework is adopted because it is necessary for the proper understanding of this authentic mind or spirit of the C.C.C.S. This will be most evident when one reaches Chapters three, four, and five. So a period of approximately one hundred and sixty years from 1830 to the 1990s is at the background of the whole thesis. The title of the thesis reflects this historical time line in the wider historical framework adopted. The 'Origin' of the C.C.C.S. is therefore situated in the history of modern Samoa which covers the period from 1830 to 1960 and in the perspective developed in Chapter One - the historical evolution of the biblical culture and Christian society of modern Samoa. It also provides the major focus of Chapters One and Two. This therefore explains the comprehensive coverage and contents of Chapters One and Two which may also be understood as providing the 'Introductory Chapters' or 'Historical Background' as in conventional historical works. The 'Beginning' of the C.C.C.S. provides the major focus of Chapter Three to Chapter Seven. It is situated within forty years from 1950 to 1990 in the history of Samoan migration and in the perspective developed in Chapter Two - the movement and migration of a biblical culture and a Christian society.

The thesis is developed in seven chapters and their specific concerns are as follows. Chapter One sets the origin of the C.C.C.S. in Western Samoa, the homeland of its founders. It advances the thesis that the historical evolution of the modern history of Samoa, or of modern Samoa, since 1830 has been a growth and development of a 'Biblical

Culture and a Christian Society'. This is suggested to be the paramount feature of the mind of modern Samoa. This is developed in four sections, A, B, C, D, through a cultural hermeneutic which is explained in Section A and illustrated in Section B. More specifically, Section A identifies and illustrates the essential nature of this feature of modern Samoa. Section B locates its birth place at the village unit of Samoan society which is the birth place of Samoan culture and Samoan Christianity. Section B also illustrates how this common origin of Samoan culture and Samoan Christianity had nurtured this mind of modern Samoa in such a way that it could neither comprehend the gospel without its cultural component nor could it comprehend culture without its theological basis and significance. This is one of the central claims of this thesis which makes Chapter One foundational to understanding other aspects of the thesis developed in succeeding chapters. Section C and D illustrate the evolution and consolidation of the concerns in Section A and B in historical perspective through the role of cultural, political, and church leaders of modern Samoa.

Chapter Two locates the wider origin of the C.C.C.S. in the growth of the mother Church, Ekalesia Fa'apotopotoga Kerisiano Samoa [E.F.K.S.] or the Samoan Church outside Samoa. This aspect is developed by the thesis which claims that the growth of the E.F.K.S. outside Samoa through the establishment of its branches in Fiji, Hawaii, U.S.A., and 'in the P.I.C.C. in New Zealand', was the result of the movement and migration of the biblical culture and Christian society of modern Samoa with Samoan migrants. A brief introduction to the E.F.K.S. is offered though its central role is largely indicated throughout Chapter One. The emphasis here is to chart its mind in relation to the growth of its first outside branches which is important to understanding not only its role, but the prior existence of its first outside branches to the beginning of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

Chapter Three identifies the direct and indirect causes of the beginning of the C.C.C.S. within the immediate historical context and circumstances of New Zealand society. There is a brief reference to previous researches which bear some relevance to the thesis. But

emphasis is on the religious context of the P.I.C.C. from which founders of the C.C.C.S. had separated.

Chapter Four identifies the Founding Vision of the C.C.C.S. according to its founders. Chapter Five is a detailed account of the complex beginning of the C.C.C.S. A brief introduction is added to help explain the major concerns of the chapter. Concluding observations are added to help maintain the development of the thesis reached at this stage.

Chapter Six provides the chronological growth of the C.C.C.S. through the growth of its parishes. An introduction is added in the beginning of the chapter to explain the major concerns the chapter intends to highlight. Concluding observations are offered to maintain the flow of the thesis.

Chapter Seven illustrates the consolidation of the 'Beginning' of the C.C.C.S. through the growth and development of other aspects of its institutional structure and life, and also through the role of certain vital factors.

Concluding observations are added at the end of most chapters to help maintain the development of the thesis reached at different stages. An overall conclusion to the thesis is offered which simply reiterates the various conclusions reached in the different chapters. It also offers some suggestions on deeper implications of the main conclusions reached, and some recommendations that may be useful for further researches on this subject.

CHAPTER ONE

[A] BIBLE IN THE NATIONAL CONSCIENCE OF SAMOA : THE CULTURAL CLUE.

" *Fa'avae i le Atua Samoa.*" [Samoa is Founded in God] (National Motto of Modern Samoa)

In the realm of ultimate belief, Samoans understand themselves to be a Christian people with a Christian culture. And Samoa, their country, land of birth and origin, with a distinctive culture,[1] is believed to be their divine ***Tofi*** (inheritance) transmitted through

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[1] A balanced and inclusive approach to define culture according to the Samoan understanding is given by Aiono Dr. Fanaafi Le Tagaloa. Accordingly, culture, translated ***aganu'u*** in Samoan, views life as a unity, hence a holistic view of life :- 'In philosophic and religious consideration, what maintains unity between man and God, the unity between the material and the spiritual, the unity between the physical and psychic, the unity between the socio-political and economic, the unity between the practical and aesthetic, the unity between male and female, is of absolute importance...The word for culture in Samoa defines this unity. *Aganuu* speaks of nature and nurture in the same breath;...'
Aiono Dr. Fanaafi Le Tagaloa, "The Samoan Culture and Government", in Culture and Democracy in the Pacific, p.121. R. Crocombe; U. Neemia; A. Ravuvu; W. Vom Bush; (University of the South Pacific : Institute of Pacific Studies, 1992), p. 121.

The merit of this definitional approach is that while it implicates the Samoan belief in certain unchanging aspects of Samoan culture, it also portrays the Samoan culture realistically as having the potential for changes, growth, and transformation which result from the effects of the **total environment** indwelled by both the human and the divine in all their manifestations.

In consistency to this Samoan holistic understanding of culture, Tautiaga Senara could then relate the place of religion in the culture of Samoa in the following way :- 'Religion was for the Samoan, an integral part of his whole culture and way of life. So much so that it could not be divorced from it and objectified as an entity in itself. Religion was part of a total way of life which the Samoans had inherited from their ancestors reaching back to the mythical past. It was therefore only one aspect of a highly developed social and political organisation with which it was closely identified.'
Tautiaga Senara, "Religion and Culture in Samoa". Bachelor of Theology Dissertation, University of Otago, 1986, p.9.

Also the flexibility inherent in the holistic conception of culture (*aganu'u*) is referred to by Meleisea though in defining the term ***Fa'asamoa*** (literally the Samoan way of doing things) within the limits of Samoa's cultural politics and economics. Fa'asamoa here can be understood interchangeably with Le Tagaloa's term ***Aganu'u*** though the former may be accurately viewed as the 'operative and expressive spirit' of ***Aganu'u***. According to Meleisea :- 'Fa'asamoa, as the Samoans term their political and economic system conveys a very deep meaning to Samoans : clear in essentials, flexible in details... Because the Samoans conceived of Fa'asamoa as a framework for action based upon the social structure of the *aiga* and the *nu'u* and the authority of *matai* and *fono*, new practices, ideas and goods could be accepted and incorporated into it so that either the system remained unchanged in its essentials, or else was not perceived to have changed fundamentally.'

past generations to preserve to posterity.[2] Samoa to the Samoans is thus a Holy Land indivisibly in two related ways - for its being a divine gift for the Samoans in particular, and for its being a gift originated solely from the realm of the Divine (or of God).[3]

Such self understanding expresses the triune constitution of the ***Agaga Fa'asamoa*** (the Samoan mentality or Spirit) at the most basic and foundational level of communal belief. It

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Malama Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa. (University of the South Pacific : Institute of Pacific Studies, 1987), pp.16-17.

[2] Note 2 may be read together with Note 1 above. Also the terms 'culture' and 'land' in the usage by following authors may be used interchangeably with 'Samoa'. This traditional understanding by the Samoans is clearly acknowledged in post graduate studies by Samoans. For example, Pastor Levaula Kamu recognises the limitations of Samoan culture in the light of the Christian gospel while also acknowledging Samoan understanding of Samoan culture as of divine origin. He writes :- 'While the general concepts of culture discussed above are attributed to human endeavour, the Samoans insist that their culture is of divine origin...their culture is not exclusively a human achievement because its origin was from god Tagaloa...This belief in the divine origin of culture has established a theological basis whereby God's participation in human culture is made intelligible and human participation is meaningful. In other words, culture is indicative of the interaction between God and people.'
Levaula, Kamu. "The Samoan Culture and the Christian Gospel". PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1989; pp.71-72.

Also Pastor Fa'afouina Iofi relates the same understanding in the following way; 'The Samoan understanding of the land as a heritage given to the extended family is fairly close to the Old Testament concept of the land as a gift of God to the people of Israel to use and cultivate.'
Fa'afouina Iofi. "Samoan Cultural Values and Christian Thought : An Attempt to Relate Samoan Traditional Values to Christian Understanding." D. Min. Dissertation, Claremont School of Theology, 1980, p.106. [Microfilm]. Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106 : University Microfilms International.

[3] The meaning of the name ***'Samoa'*** preserves the ancient Samoan self-understanding of the sacred origin and sacred purpose of creation in all its physical and human aspects. This explains why Samoan culture in its holistic sense is also believed to be of sacred or divine origin. Meleisea is right to suggest that the variety of stories about the name ***'Samoa'*** may be understood in the light of one of the functions of oral traditions which is, legitimisation. Malama Meleisea, Lagaga : A Short History of Western Samoa. (Fiji : Institute of Pacific Studies, 1987), p.10. But it is equally clear that in all the stories about the origin and significance of the name ***Samoa***, its first inhabitants, humans and animals, and its lands, the divine and sacred element in relation to origin , intended significance and purpose is clearly explicit. And this feature is true whether one reads it from the modern perspective, or from the ancient perspective as self-evident in the language and grammar of the stories themselves. See for example the four brief stories about the origin of the name ***Samoa*** recorded by George Turner in his book, Samoa, A Hundred Years Ago and Long Before. (University of the South Pacific : Institute of Pacific Studies) Third Reprint. 1989; pp.10-15. Also, the often used and authoritative expression in cultural oration, ***'O Samoa o le Ao Mamala'*** (literally meaning, Samoa is a Holy Cloud) relates to this understanding. It essentially means Samoa and what it signifies and possesses must be treated with respect by all Samoans and outsiders. That is, it prescribes respectful engagement by anyone. Samoan or outsider.

is rooted in the historical memory of Modern Samoa, and in continuity with the cultural spirituality of Old Samoa.[4]

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[4] A fundamental feature of ancient traditions of Samoa (pre- 1830 time) is a futuristic expectation of better days and movement into enlightened existence which is believed to have originated from the God of Samoa who was aware of the God of the Bible. This is believed to be at the heart of the spiritual significances of the 'dying testaments' and farewell discourses of Samoa's past kings and high chiefs, which in themselves have prophetic significances. A typical example is the collection of ancient traditions of Samoa by a Samoan, Lafai Sauaoaiga, in his book, O Le Mavaega i le Tai (The Farewell Testament in the Sea). The book is published only in the Samoan language; But the collection is documented with the primary objective to illustrate the above point which the author clearly states in the introduction to Part 3 of the book :- '...Your (ie Samoa's) holiness (divine essence embodied in the cultural Constitution, Fa'alupega) did not originate from your earthly ancestors. It all began by the holy God of Samoa. It is clear in the biblical prophecies of the Old Testament. It means, the spirit of the God of Samoa had inspired your heroic ancestors to prophesy through Farewell Discourses (*Mavaega*) and cultural decrees (*Tofiga*) for the early foundation of Samoa. But the deeper objective was, that Samoa must return to the tenth heaven from which its ancient god Tagaloaalagi had come, so that Samoa may have peace which would be envied by all nations of the earth.'
Lafai Sauoaiga, O Le Mavaega i le Tai. (Apia, Western Samoa : Malua Printing Press, 1988), p.216.

There are also cultural prophecies in ancient traditions which anticipated the advent of such better and enlightened days in association with the coming of the Christian Gospel to Samoa. The most well-known is that by the goddess Nafanua. For this, See Malama Meleisea, Lagaga : A Short History of Western Samoa. (University of the South Pacific : Institute of Pacific Studies, 1987), pp.56-58.

The three less known ones are, the one recorded by J.B. Stair, and two others in the Parish Book of the Village Church of Sapapalii in Samoa. Stair refers to a Samoan diviner who also predicted the coming of the Gospel to Samoa in the following way - '...the generations to come in Samoa would be blessed, for there was soon to be set up in Samoa a kingdom of peace and goodwill.' J.B. Stair, Old Samoa. (Oxford : Religious Tract Society, 1897). p.291.

The two prophecies in the Parish Book of the Sapapalii village Church (E.F.K.S.) may be best expressed by a literal translation of the Samoan version :- 'Two old men of the village told stories of the arrival of the Gospel, and 'revelations' pertaining to it before its arrival. According to these revelations : (the prophecy of Nafanua referred to above is first related). Then there was the 'Rain of Iron' (Timu U'amea). They were stored in bamboo with the thought that they were real iron to make crowbars, but they melted. Then there was the 'Snow of Iron' (Li'i U'amea) which was seen falling from heaven. These 'revelations' were prophecies to prepare people to accept the Head of the Samoan Government (the Kingdom of God) and the Word of Life, which was symbolised in the snow from heaven.'
Photocopies of pages containing these cultural prophecies were given to me by Rev. Oikirisi Tuia of Vaisala Village Church in 1994.

The crucial point is, that it is only by recognising the futuristic aspects in the cultural spirituality of Old Samoa that one could appreciate the enlightened manner by which Samoan kings and chiefs had accepted and accommodated the cultural blessings of Western Culture and Western Christianity. This point is stressed by Malama Meleisea in Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa, pp.17-18.
For a concise and perceptive insight into this point, and in relation to this Samoan self understanding, see the article by D.J. Inglis, "Reasons For the Acceptance of Christianity in Western Samoa in 1830", in P. Davis & J. Hinchcliff, Dialogue on Religion : New Zealand Viewpoints, 1977.

To the Samoan mind, the first two constituents of its self-understanding - being a Christian people with a Christian culture - are historical achievements coterminous with the historical evolution of its modern Christian society dated back to the beginning of the nineteenth century to the civilising and christianising impact of Western Christianity.[5] More specifically, they attest to the formative and predominant influence of the Christian Church and its biblical tradition in the transformation and historical evolution of Modern Samoa.[6]

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[5] Western Christianity is understood to include its cultural and intellectual expressions in the forms of trade, commerce, politics, intellectual achievements, and etc. Keesing's understanding of the earliest part of this period in Samoa's adjustment to inevitable changes is paradigmatic. He writes:- 'Between 1830 and 1870 there emerged what might be called a 'Samoan -mission-trader' equilibrium of culture which is the basis of the conservative Fa'asamoa today. At this early stage the native Samoan accepted those goods he wanted from the trader and bowed to the voice of an evidently superior Deity.'
Felix. M. Keesing, Modern Samoa : Its Government and Changing Life. (London : George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1934), p.476.

[6] The irreversible influence of the Church and its Biblical tradition was largely consolidated by the mid-nineteenth century. A qualified appreciation of this is given by Malama Meleisea :- ' While the Samoans were able to accommodate Christianity, and even welcomed it as an epistemological solution to the challenges to old beliefs presented by increasing contact with Europeans, they did so with characteristic conservatism...After the first thirty years of missionary influence this framework remained intact.'
Malama Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa, p.20.

One of the profound cultural understandings, if also a revolution in cultural-intellectual wisdom, into the impact of the Biblical Gospel is aptly expressed in a popular wisdom saying in Cultural Oration - 'Ua utufia le toto masa'a.' It literally means, the spilled blood is returned to its living source (in the person and in the Divine). The expression implicates the folly and darkness of Old Samoa in its pre-1830 warring days; but its literal force celebrates the 'promise and performance' of the Rebirth and Reconciliation brought by the Gospel. The notion of 'returning the blood to its living source...' is a way of expressing two general convictions in the personal (human), and the impersonal (non-human) aspects of society. Of the former - earthly healing, reconciliation and restoration to life that is individually felt and operational in human relationship. Of the latter, it refers to the promised effects (healing and respectful caring for nature and living space) to follow from the prior reconciliation and rebirth in the human. This expression of promise and performance of the Gospel in this Samoan wisdom saying is a microcosm of the unity of biblical faith in the distilled essence of divine redemption. A theological reading of the juxtaposition of two biblical references in the Books of Genesis and I Corinthians may illustrate this. The spilled blood of the murdered Abel which cries to God from the ground (Genesis 4:8-16) is 'returned to the human and the divine' already purified to resume its life giving reality through the sacrificial blood of the 'divine human', Jesus Christ. 'It is done' by the redemptive creativity of God in the flesh, on earth; and it explains the symbolic significance of the wine as the sacrificial blood of Jesus in the Christian Holy Communion (I Corinthians 11:25). In this sense, the Samoan wisdom saying envisages life (spilled blood) resurrected from the ground into new life and new beginnings. The crucial point is that this cultural insight into the redemptive promises and impact of the Biblical Gospel and Western Christianity is firmly believed as the Moment of Cultural Rebirth which should effect cultural Reformation.

The third constituent - Samoa as the holy land - is what Samoans had always believed as reflected in their ancient traditions (pre-1830), to be their divine gift and inheritance in **HISTORY**. In the Samoan mind the abiding rule is 'Samoa for Samoa'[7]; and only secondarily can Samoa be for others, though still by the sole dictate of the Samoans. This refers essentially to the fundamental aspects of authority and possession; or, in other words human right (rooted in culture) and land (rooted in place).[8]

This has always been the cultural platform from which Samoans naturally interacted and made their engagement with outside influences.[9] It undergirded a great deal of the Samoan indigenous spirit which cultivated its Christian society in conjunction with the Christian missions and the benefits of the Christian cultures of the Evangelical missionaries since

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[7] For a general appreciation of this 'abiding rule' in the historical evolution of Modern Samoa, see the book by J.W. Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa. (Melbourne : Oxford University Press, 1967). For an in-depth appreciation from the Samoan cultural perspective by a Samoan historian, see Malama Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa, 1987. An analytic and passionate treatment of this in its eruption during the Mau Movement of the 1920's and 1930's is found in Michael. J. Field, Mau : Samoa's Struggle for Freedom. (Auckland : Polynesian Press, 1984).

[8] A good example involves cultural belief about land. Customary land can never be sold. It is always a family possession related to a family chiefly title, and under the communal authority of the family which is invested in a representative capacity in the custodianship of the elected ***Matai***, the chief. A village tradition of my village, Afega, in Western Samoa may illustrate the enduring force of this belief. Up to the present, 1990's, a shop can not be built in the village by villagers or outsiders. The main reason besides the usually emphasised one of the sacredness of tradition and the fear of the evil associated with social influences of commercial ventures in the village is, that it protects village land from any possibility of being owned or being sold to outsiders. The reasoning is that shops as commercial ventures will eventually lead to land sale which would disrupt and destroy village life in all its aspects. At the bottom line is the traditional bar on land alienation of village lands. For further elaboration, see Malama Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa, pp.21,29-32. See pp.214 -220 for an extreme illustration of how another village protects its traditions (implicating land).

[9] This was recognised by Turner way back in the mid-nineteenth century. Turner writes :- 'A Samoan is very independent : he prefers liberty to money; any attempt to force him to do more than he feels inclined, would only cause him to turn on his heel and say, 'Goodbye, I'm going' .'
George Turner, Nineteen Years in Polynesia : Missionary Life, Travels, And Researchers in the Islands of the Pacific. (London : John Snow, 1861), p.116.
Also, Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa. pp.74-75. See also, John Garrett, Footsteps in the Sea : Christianity in Oceania to World War II. (University of the South Pacific : Institute of Pacific Studies, 1992), pp.188, 192.

1830,[10] and also the variegated impact of Western colonial presence mainly towards the end of the nineteenth century, and the beginning of the twentieth century.[11]

It is most helpful to understanding the history of Samoa to recognise the above expression of Samoan self-understanding. For while it is consistent to what the Samoans would advise to be the proper 'window' and 'entrance' into a proper appreciation of its kingdom of values, beliefs, and ways of life, it also provides the most legitimate perspective for a critical evaluation of the history of modern Samoa. Most specifically, it recognises the indigenous and authentic Samoan Spirit which had guided the transition from the Old Samoa to the Modern Samoa, and which was always at work in the historical evolution of its fundamental religious and cultural mentality throughout the whole period from 1830 to about 1960.

The triune self-understanding of modern Samoa eventuated as the result of Samoa's contextualisation of the Bible, Western Christianity and Western culture which operated through a historical process that eventually transformed and baptised Samoa into a biblical vision of society. The particular form the historical process undertook was the mutual interpenetration between the biblical World and the Samoan cultural World. And it was realised through the combined work of the Samoan Church and Culture largely in the

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[10] Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa, p.17. See also discussion in Note 26 of Chapter One. See also, Meleisea, Lagaga, pp.67-70.

[11] Examples of this all pervasive mentality of Samoans in this period are clearly acknowledged with clarity by Kennedy and Garrett. According to Kennedy :- 'By the beginning of 1877, the Samoans seemed to be turning more and more to the idea of throwing their islands under the protection of either Britain or the United States - if only to avoid being ground between the many external and internal pressures... There is little evidence to suggest that the independently-minded Samoans ever appreciated the legal and political implications of formal rule by a great power;...'
Paul. M. Kennedy, The Samoan Tangle : A Study in Anglo-German-American Relations 1878 - 1900. (University of Ireland : Ireland University Press, 1972), p.12.
Garrett refers to the conclusions by a German political official, Wilhelm Solf, and by an L.M.S. Missionary, James Edward Newell, about the independently- minded element entrenched in the mentality of Samoan church and cultural leaders. According to Solf, 'The Samoans can be guided, but not forced.' According to Newell, '...undoubtedly they were very independent & nothing would induce them to think that God made them to serve the white man & their only destiny was slavery of any kind & it need not be degrading, to be quickly resented by the Samoan.'
Garrett, Footsteps in the Sea...,pp.188,192.

spirit of cooperation though at times, in determined conflicts less in the national level of Samoan society but mostly in the village context. This is a mainstream belief which is treasured in all levels of contemporary Samoa. It is understood as a past cultural hermeneutic (a kind of Samoan life-skill in appropriating life and the world) which had founded and had moulded the modern Fa'asamoa, the Samoan Indigenous Church, and Samoa's National Identity and National Conscience. This cultural hermeneutic, which is also believed to be on going, is preserved in three main expressions :-

(1) Na va'ava'alua mai lava le Talalelei ma le Aganu'u talu le amataga.
The Gospel and the Samoan Culture have always been 'two boats in mutual operation' since the beginning.

(2) E mamalu le Talalelei ona o le Aganu'u.
The Gospel is respected because of the support of Culture and its rootedness in Culture.

(3) E mamalu lava le Talalelei ona o le Talalelei a le Atua.
The Gospel has respect and dignity because of its being the Gospel of God.

It must be stressed that these three related expressions of cultural hermeneutics represent authentic Samoan cultural reading and understanding of the historical evolution of modern Samoa at the interface between the biblical Gospel and the Samoan culture. According to the Samoan mind, they represent the predominant Samoan reading of the historical evolution of modern Samoa which is holistic by virtue of its being thoroughly historical, cultural, theological, intellectual, and popular all at once.

A good indication of the general nature of the operation and evolution of this Samoan cultural hermeneutic within the historical process of the mutual interpenetration between the biblical World and the Samoan cultural World throughout the nineteenth century, is clearly shown by Crawford in his work, "The Lotu and the Fa'asamoa : Church and Society in Samoa, 1830 - 1880."[12] His conclusion merits special mention.

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[12] Ronald James Crawford, "The Lotu and the Fa'asamoa : Church and Society in Samoa, 1830 - 1880." PhD Thesis, University of Otago, 1977.

> In conclusion, then, it may be seen that it was in the very denomination (at present the E.F.K.S.) that attempted the most far reaching changes in Samoan society, and showed the least sympathy for traditional culture, that a fully developed movement toward Samoan control took place. This movement, associated with the entrenched position of the pastors in the villages, and an assimilation of the practices and doctrines of Christianity to traditional beliefs and values, was to prove a permanent, and a conservative influence in Samoan village life. But this conservatism was not a blind refusal to accept change; rather it was a determination to subdue new influences, ideas and technology, and place them firmly at the disposal of the maintenance of the integrity of Samoan social identity. It is this flexibility in the union between the **Lotu** and the **Fa'asamoa**, that has in part, enabled Samoans to weather many drastic changes up to the present day. [13]

On the basis of this conclusion, Crawford further concludes, and quite rightly, about the true extent of missionary influence in such a way which not only highlights the operation of the Samoan Cultural hermeneutic, but also places the extent and worth of missionary influence in the proper historical status which had won them the lasting gratitude from the modern Samoan Church.[14]

The predominant influence of this Samoan cultural hermeneutic throughout the twentieth century, was seen unmistakably in the way it provided the moral vigour and spiritual vision in the preparations for the restoration of Samoa's political independence, and the

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[13] R. J. Crawford , "The Lotu and the Fa'asamoa...", p.427.

[14] According to Crawford :- 'It will be evident that two over-simplified pictures of the contact between European Christianity and non-European, non-Christian Societies, cannot be supported by a close examination of the evidence, in the case of Samoa. Missionaries, on the one hand, were not the agents of catastrophic change which devastated the traditional patterns; neither, on the other hand, were they the enlightened artisans of a beneficent influence which swept before it the 'dross of superstition', and wrought a 'glorious' change, in the interests of the Gospel. The first, a popularised and generalised version of criticisms by anthropologists of a former generation, which no doubt had their validity in particular situations, has a wider currency than the second, which perhaps had its vogue in nineteenth-century missionary publications. Both, however, over-estimate the extent of missionary influences, and under-estimate the resilience of the indigenous culture, in its ability to absorb the beliefs, practices and values of the missionary, into its traditional patterns.'
R. J. Crawford, "The Lotu and the Fa'asamoa...," p.428. For a compatible viewpoint, see Inglis, "Reasons for the Acceptance of Christianity in Western Samoa in 1830," pp.12-13.

attainment of its constitutional government, on the foundational Christian conviction, ***Ia Fa'avae i le Atua Samoa : May Samoa be Founded in God.***[15] This was generally acknowledged in the national life of Samoa - in culture, politics, and in Church - as the true, abiding, and non-negotiable spiritual legacy of its past Christian leaders and ancestors for a Christian foundation of Samoa's development and future progress. Its thematic contribution to the credal formulation of Samoa's National Anthem in 1947 was the true measure of its overriding influence and status in the national conscience of modern Samoa.[16] And similarly in its literal codification in the preamble of the Constitution (1960) of the Political Independent State of Western Samoa (1962) which declares that "...Western Samoa should be an Independent State based on Christian principles and Samoan customs and traditions."[17] This partnership of Gospel and Culture is the clearest

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[15] For an incisive and detailed analysis of the cultural and political developments founded in alliance with this Christian conviction, see Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa, Chapter 6. Also Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, Chapters 10, 11, 12, 13 in particular. And Field, Mau, Chapters 14,20.

[16] **Samoan National Anthem**; [Samoan Version] :-
Samoa, Tula'i, Ma sisi ia lau Fu'a - O lou Pale lea.
Samoa, Tula'i, Ma sisi ia lau Fu'a - O lou Pale lea.
Va'ai ina Fetu o lo'o ua agiagia ai,
O le Fa'ailoga lea o Iesu na maliu - mo Samoa.
Oi Samoa e, u'u mau,
Lau Pule ia Fa'avavau.
'Aua e te fefe o le Atua o lo ta Fa'avae,
O lo ta sa'olotoga.
Samoa, Tula'i, ua agiagia lau Fu'a,
O lou Pale lea.

English Version (My Translation) :-
Samoa, Be Upstanding and Raise your Flag which is your Crown.
Samoa, Be Upstanding and Raise your Flag which is your Crown.
Look to the stars 'written and flown' on it.
It is a sign [a] of Jesus' death for Samoa.
Oh Samoa, hold fast your Kingdom (ie. Samoa's Authority) to eternity.
Do not be Afraid God is our Foundation,
Of (And) [b] our Freedom.
Samoa, Be Upstanding, your Flag is Raised and flown which is your Crown.

[a] It can also mean memorial.
[b] The Samoan version includes both renderings using 'and' and 'of'. When using 'and', the sentence reads - Do not be afraid God is our Foundation 'and' our Freedom. When using 'of' - Do not be afraid God is the Foundation 'of' our Freedom.

[17] C. G. A. McKay, Samoana : A Personal Story of the Samoan Islands. (Wellington : A.H & A.W. Reed, 1968), p.169.

attestation of the mutual interpenetration between the Biblical World and the Samoan Cultural World. In forming the foundational and core structure of modern Samoa, it shows the continuing operation of the indigenous Samoan mind which, as reflected in its conception of Culture,[18] perceives life holistically and as a unity. It was able to permeate cultural politics at the national level because of its prior rootedness in communal belief at the village level of Samoan society.[19]

Furthermore, the 'partnership of the Gospel and Culture' reflects Samoan understanding of the contemporary roles of the Church and Culture. Both have become two servants for the Kingdom of God. As an historical achievement since 1830, it demonstrates the success of the Samoan Christian Church in making Samoan culture a living sacrifice and an instrument of Gospel proclamation. At the same time, it shows a culture that is open to conviction, change, and transformation. In the Samoan mind, the surrender of culture as 'a living sacrifice and an instrument of Gospel proclamation' is the true end of its God-given and God-begotten culture. And it is also the way to ensure security, longevity and continuing usefulness of culture. This is the sense which explains the essential meaning of part of Samoan cultural hermeneutics referred to above - 'The Gospel is respected because of the support of Culture and its rootedness in Culture.' This also explains another related Samoan understanding that there is Gospel and Grace in a Culture when Culture is baptised into the work of the Church for the Kingdom of God on Earth. Samoan culture then, as the unity of nature and nurture in essence, and as the result of its historical evolution in mutuality with the biblical Gospel, has faith corresponding to the sense the covenanted communities of the Bible have faith. Its contemporary 'operative and

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[18] Le Tagaloa, "The Samoan Culture and Government", p.121.

[19] For a brief introduction and guide into this aspect see, Charles. W. Forman, The Island Churches of the South Pacific. (New York : Orbis Books, 1982), Chapter 4, pp.70-77. Also J. Garrett. Footsteps in the Sea, pp.200-202. Particularly pertinent is Garrett's recognition of The Toeaina (the Elders Committee of the L.M.S. Samoan Church [E.F.K.S.]) as setting 'the stage in Samoa for educated and experienced L.M.S. Samoan leaders to promote...the emergence of the independent Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, and the independent nation of Western Samoa'...(and also to Malua Theological College that) 'provided pastoral and lay leadership...for the weaving of the Fa'asamoa and Christian faith into the fabric of the emerging future nation of Western Samoa'.

expressive spirit' is encapsulated in the workings and operations of the often quoted reference to a unique Samoan way, the Fa'asamoa, which may be properly defined as the spirit of the Samoan culture to locate and to defend the placement of the biblical God at the heart of the total life of Samoa. This therefore explains the exalted status of the Christian Church in modern Samoan culture and society.

In essence the historical evolution of Modern Samoa (the Biblical Culture and a Christian Society) as the result of the historical operation of Samoan cultural hermeneutics within the historical process of the mutual interpenetration between the biblical World and the Samoan cultural world, witnesses to the centrality of the Christian Bible interpreted in a certain way. At the heart the Bible became the 'Soul of Modern Samoa' in the sense of giving ultimate allegiance to the God of the Bible.[20] This had resulted through the incorporation of the biblical World in all its contents and its presuppositions, as the 'given and heavenly World' of the biblical God into the Samoan cultural world.[21] The result was that biblical knowledge became phenomenal[22] and as Forman rightly observes '...the people had very widely appropriated the whole salvation history of Christianity (or even better, of the biblical faith) as their own history'.[23] This partly explains the peculiar phenomenon of Samoa's historical inclination to treat the Bible as the non-exhaustible

[20] Whether understood historically or theologically, the beginning of this in Samoa is traced back to the way the Gospel was accepted by Samoa in 1830, and more importantly to the kingly pronouncement by the Samoan king Malietoa Vainu'upo in his dying testament referred to in Part C .

[21] I personally remember how we understood everything we learned from the Bible in Pastors' Schools in the 1960's. All stories and characters and everything were believed to be in heaven, the World of God. It is true to say that this was typical in Samoa throughout the first half of the twentieth century, and even since the receipt of the Bible.
For the latter, see 'O Le Sulu Samoa' (Malua) August 1930, 129-130.

[22] Examples of this phenomenal knowledge of the Bible by Samoans abound in various literature on Samoa. To cite a few references, see the following :- W.B. Churchward, My Consulate in Samoa, (Southern Reprints, 1987),p. 83. Forman, The Island Churches of the Pacific, p. 94. Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, p.37. J.B. Stair, Old Samoa, pp.290-291.

[23] Forman, The Island Churches of the Pacific, p.94.

minefield for inspiration in relation to cultural growth, for political visions, and for education into achieving basic life-skills to live life and to interpret life.[24]

The Bible was also understood in a deeper sense. Once the biblical God and the biblical world became incorporated into the Samoan cultural world, Samoan cultural hermeneutics came to be automatically believed as biblically warranted. This essentially means the methodological clue to understanding the Bible was not an objective hermeneutic independent of cultural spirituality or the human spirit of the Samoan culture. The human story, in the individual and the corporate senses, of the Samoan cultural world finds many similarities and parallels in the biblical stories of its counterpart especially in the relationship of the human spirit to the Divine. The Bible therefore provides the living encounter between the past and the present as often the case for biblical communities in relation to inherited traditions whether in oral or in written forms. It was no different throughout the history of Christian churches and civilisations as demonstrated in the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century, the Evangelical Awakenings of the eighteenth century, and the Ecumenical Movement of the twentieth century. This cultural way of appropriating the Bible is similar to the way a biblical scholar, Phyllis Trible, understands a particular role and function of the Bible for the Christian church, and especially in relation to the concerns of contemporary society. According to Trible :-

> The Bible is a pilgrim wandering through history to merge past and present...[and in such merging] the past moved to the present both to interpret and to be interpreted...As the Bible interprets itself to complement or to contradict, to confirm or to challenge, so likewise we construe these traditions for our time, recognising an affinity between then

[24] One classic example is the way Samoans almost literally consumed the Bible by naming their people (kings, pastors, chiefs, children etc) and their religious and cultural events and institutions after the names of people, books, concepts, doctrines, places and various aspects of the Bible and its contents. This marked characteristic was extended to include the most tangible expressions of the presence of Christianity in Samoa - namely the names of missionaries and their wives and the various objects and manifestations of their civilised culture, and also their distinctive Christian culture. This is also an apt illustration of how Samoans had absorbed Christianity (including the Bible) in all its varied expressions into its cultural world and cultural framework. In this way Samoan culture had contextualised Christianity while Christianity added substance to the content of Samoan culture and also transformed it.

> and now. In other words, hermeneutics encompasses explication, understanding, and application from past to present.[25]

Equally important, in the fusion of the biblical world and Samoan cultural world through this cultural hermeneutic, a process of 'mutual enlightenment' operated which allowed the Bible to exhibit its performative role by ways of cultural-affirmation[26] and cultural transformation.[27] At the same time the Bible in itself yields multiple interpretations of itself

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[25] Phyllis Trible, God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality. (Philadelphia : Fortress Press, 1978), pp.1,4,7.

[26] As would be clear by now, it was the combination of the comprehensive nature and content of the Bible, and the various ways it was read, understood and appropriated by Samoans which reinforced in the Samoan mind the inalienability and integrity of some of its ancient beliefs, values, and some of its cultural institutions. That is, it created in the Samoan mind a strong sense of continuity in certain aspects of its culture. This would be true throughout the whole period of the evolution of modern Samoa. There were numerous ways Samoans could identify points of convergence and resonance between their cultural world in its contents and its cultural presuppositions, and those of the Bible. Some basic examples were concepts and stories of origins of people and the world in creation stories, patriarchal and communal social structures, institutions of kingship, families, tribes, communal feasts and festivals, understanding of land and authority, and also a holistic relationship and understanding of the world in its physical and spiritual form and significance. Indeed part of the enduring gratitude by the Samoan Church and Samoans for the Evangelical Missionaries stem from the latter's' efforts to acknowledge and to express the human spirit of Samoans, in particular its expressions of pride in Culture and Country, in Church hymns. Two well-known hymns by Missionary James Edward Newell, 353 and 356 are included in the section, 'Hymns of Praise and Worship for the Well-being of True Homelands' in the E.F.K.S. Church Hymnary. The first verses and choruses of each hymn may be enough to serve as illustrations.

Hymn 353	Hymn 356
My real homeland in which I have delight, I shall seek for things for your blessings. Seas. May you be fruitful and be an enduring homeland. Samoa may be sought, envied, and remembered in far off lands.	My real homeland and birth place. You are good and blessed in the South You have received from heaven a valuable blessing (and duty).
Chorus. Lads of Samoa, prepare to praise and worship. Offer thanksgiving. (Lord) Our homeland. Our homeland must be the subject of intercession. Our homeland must be blessed.	Chorus. Samoans awake, Give thanksgiving to the Authority Who has given your homeland in the South Seas.

For further elaborations of this, see Inglis, Reasons for the Acceptance of Christianity in Western Samoa in 1830. pp.12-13. Also Norman Goodall, A History of the London Missionary Society 1895-1945. (London : Oxford University Press, 1954). pp.356-364.

[27] The mainstream Samoan experience about the impact of missionaries largely confirms the basic perspective by John Garrett in his book, Footsteps in the Sea. For example in the Foreword of the book he writes :- 'Critics of missions say they have suppressed and wilfully distorted the cultures of Oceania.

and makes its secular contribution to Samoan society and culture because it is in itself the product of its own variegated cultural environment and world.[28] In this sense, interpreting the Bible is mainly interpreting life with the help of the Bible. This has been possible because the fusion of 'two worlds' in 'mutual enlightenment' is itself the operation of a 'totality of interpretation' which eschews systemising[29] and specialised modes of interpretations as habitual in biblical hermeneutics.

Sometimes they did; more often a different process set in. Islanders voluntarily appropriated and absorbed outside influences, including Christianity.'
Garrett, Footsteps in the Sea, p.xi.

The crucial point is, that it was largely because of the active role and lead of Samoans themselves that cultural transformation maintained stability in society at large while undergoing silent and gradual changes. For further elaborations, see Meleisea, Lagaga, pp.67-70. Also Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa, pp.16-20. Also the references in Note 25. But where Samoan culture was proven impregnable to changes and influence involved to a considerable extent its having to accommodate itself to foreign imposed structures and systems of authorities that would threaten to challenge traditional systems and structures of authority. For a similar view, see Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, pp.74-75. For the prudence and far sightedness of approaches by some L.M.S. missionaries, see Goodall, History of the London Missionary Society 1895 - 1945, pp.357-358, 366.

[28] One of the most conspicuous ways the Bible added to the substance of Samoan culture in the sense of enriching what was already a cultural characteristic was in the cultural expression of hospitality in general. Some of the notable examples were shown in the ways the various districts of the Samoan Church often welcomed visitations from the L.M.S. Headquarter in London throughout the first half of this century. In these, village churches extended their utmost cultural biblical hospitality to show its lasting gratitude for the Gospel, for the L.M.S. missionaries who brought the Gospel, and also for the current missionaries working in Samoa. In the Samoan mind, the L.M.S. was their father in the faith, in the things of the spirit. Samoan cultural hospitality was increasingly infused with Christian motives. Gratitude for what was freely received (Gospel) was to be shown in free giving to those through whom the Gospel had reached Samoa. Hospitality was understood beyond its traditional cultural usage to maintain general peace and security within the matrix of a communal society. It was extended to welcome strangers as human beings whatever their motives and their designs. At the heart of this transformed cultural expression of hospitality was the spirit that 'giving is the best and blessed way of living' and was also strongly believed and propagated by Samoan Christians as indicative of the workings of Divine Grace from within Samoan culture. See the following references for example :-
London Missionary Society, Report of Deputation to the South Seas and Papua, Revs. A.J. Viner, G.J. Williams and Rev. Frank Lenwood. (London : London Missionary Society, June 1915 - June 1916). See other Reports of the L.M.S. for the years, 1919, 1928, 1953. Also, 'O Le Sulu Samoa' [The Samoan Torch] (Malua). November and December Issues, 1915.

[29] Trible, God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality, pp.4,8. The later sections, The Word of God in the Word of Samoa, and the Case Study on Church notices, provide two examples of this 'totality of interpretation' in the interaction between the Samoan cultural world and the biblical world.

In spite of this, the perennial temptation to domesticate the biblical text by the over identification between the Samoan cultural world and the biblical world has always been the inherent danger of the Samoan cultural-biblical based cultural hermeneutic.[30] But here, the Samoan cultural conviction that the Gospel is respected because of the support of culture and its rootedness in culture is balanced by the Samoan Church conviction - ***E mamalu lava le Talalelei ona o le Talalelei a le Atua*** [The Gospel has respect and dignity because of its being the Gospel of God].[31] The potential for, and reality of tension are both the ideal and fact which characterised the 'balancing effect' of the respective claims by the Samoan Church and Samoan culture in Samoan society in general - in the Church, in Culture, and in State Politics. At the same time they reflect 'the pendulum spirit' which constitutes the national conscience of Modern Samoa as the result of its continuing interaction with the Bible. This is the 'sacred place' of pilgrimage Samoans constantly return to for inspirations into God's restless and transformative spirit. The call to this place of pilgrimage is the culture-designated role of the Samoan pastor which, in the context of the trinitarian self-understanding of Samoa and, in its historical evolution through the operation of the Samoan cultural and biblically based cultural hermeneutic, provides the authentic 'Cultural Clue' to be found at the very heart of the spirit of Modern Samoa - the Biblical culture and a Christian society.[32]

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[30] For this, see the L.M.S. Reports referred to in Note 28, in particular Reports for the years ;1915-1916, (pp.73-82); 1928 (this whole Report is significant because of the relationship between the Samoan Church and the Samoan Nationalist Movement, the Mau); 1939-1940 (pp.16-17); 1952-1953 (pp.82-85); Refer also to the article cited in Note 32. And to Stuart Craig, Between Two Miracles. (Great Britain : London Independent Press, 1956), pp.36-52.

[31] It is evident in the light of references in Note 30 that the relationship between these two claims, by the church and culture, in various periods in the first half of this century suggests a tilting of the balance towards the disadvantage of the Church. As a Samoan Church leader expressed it best to the L.M.S. Deputation of 1952-1953 - 'We have Samoanised Christianity too much and christianised Samoan culture too little'. But this in itself indicates more of the exception than the rule. For as argued as part of the central contention of this Chapter, the historical evolution of the Samoan culture of Modern Samoa as encapsulated in the term Fa'asamoa, is characterised by the spirit to maintain the centrality of the biblical God at the heart of the total life of Samoa.

[32]A good example is the article by an Elder Pastor of the Samoan Church entitled, "Words of Advice to All Protestant People", in the 'O le Sulu Samoa' (Malua), July 1944. It follows the evangelical tradition of the Protestant Evangelical Missionaries by giving the Bible a 'Protestant Reformation Sense' of appropriation and application. The article is intended for all Samoans, and parts of it are used for illustration :-

[B] BIBLE AND THE SAMOAN CULTURE.

"Samoa mo oe, Samoa mo le Atua."[33]
[Jerome Grey].

(i)Bible and the Samoan Cultural Oration [Lauga Fa'asamoa] : The Word of God in the Word of Samoa.

The structure, parts of the content, and the way(s) the Samoan cultural oration (Lauga Fa'asamoa) actually operates in modern times illustrate clearly the immense influence of the Bible on this vital aspect of Samoan culture.[34] Yet also in another real sense it shows the ability of the Samoan cultural mind to accommodate the Bible into the fabric of the Samoan culture and to add to the content and substance of the culture. A brief note on the status of the Lauga Fa'asamoa in the Samoan mind is requisite to a better comprehension

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'...The whole country is well aware of the things that are happening which are a challenge and a test to see who and what we really are.(a) So that we should search with the utmost diligence and seriousness for the things on which we should base our faith. Let us examine our character and our habits...'.
'We must as our first priority hold fast to this. That it is not a Samoan WORD to which we have surrendered ourselves. Nor should we try to attract (b) the Fa'asamoa (c) to it. [This is because] they are WORDS (d) which cause, nurture, and preserve Fellowship with our brothers in Ultimate Subjects (Theology) that pertain to the salvation of our souls.' 'This should be the winning thought in all things. Because our ultimate hope is to find the true subjects on which to base our Faith...'. 'We should not abase the good name, Protestant. Because all those who call themselves by this name are wanting to know how this name appears and is given expression by people in our side of the world.' 'We will eventually be known for what we really are by the way we appear to be people of Jesus, or not, through our behaviour before the country...(e).'

(a) Two contemporary issues are implicitly referred to - the preparation for self-government, and the disruptive and unchristian effects of the presence of American Troops in Samoa during ' World War II' (most properly called the European- Asian-American War) on social behaviour and morals.
(b) The sense is not to confuse and adulterate the Word of God with Samoan words and ways of doing things.
(c) Here it means Samoan way of doing things which are proved contrary to biblical Gospel.
(d) Samoan version here is plural though it refers to its preceding usage which is in singular form.
(e) 'O le Sulu Samoa' (Malua), July 1944, p.99.

[33] The English translation - 'Samoa for You [Samoa], Samoa for God'. This is a phrase in a popular contemporary Samoan song, 'We are Samoa', by Jerome Grey.

[34] A detailed understanding of the Samoan cultural oration (Lauga Fa'asamoa) in its formal structure, diversity of application, nature, role, and function in Samoan culture, and including varieties of examples and their flexible application, can be found in these two sources :- Fa'amatuainu Fa'afetai Tu'i, Lauga : Samoan Oratory. (National University of Samoa : Institute of Pacific Studies, 1986). Also Tavale Tanuvasa, Matimati. (Auckland 1994). Special booklet for learning Samoan Language and Samoan Culture for the University of Auckland. This is published in the Samoan Language only.

of the influence of the Bible. The status of the Lauga Fa'asamoa can be identified by understanding its social and cultural functions. According to Fa'amatuainu Tu'i :-[35]

> It is the living soul of the Samoan people...the main tool by which the indigenous social structure is maintained, and the principle organ of social communication, awareness...capable of achieving immortality [because] through its various levels of transmission and preservation, oratory transmits social, cultural, political and religious information from one generation to another. It is the only acceptable form of individual public comment on Samoan society. To understand Samoan oratory is to understand the Samoan ethos.[36]

A more fundamental significance underlies the social and cultural functions which involves the mandatory inclusion of the ***'Fa'alupega'*** in a proper Lauga Fa'asamoa.[37] The ***'Fa'alupega'***, according to Fa'amatuainu Tu'i, is 'the ceremonial style and address of an individual, village, or district.'[38] But when applied to Samoa as a whole in the sense of 'the ceremonial style and address of Samoa, ***'Fa'alupega'*** becomes more a recitation of the Oral Cultural Constitution of the Samoan society overall.[39] This is essentially because the 'Fa'alupega of Samoa' relates, in the sense of public re-affirmation, the diversified unity of the island and district components of Samoa, the leading villages within them, and the leading cultural families and chiefly titles related to them in their varying degrees of status and roles within village and district levels.[40] Furthermore, to hear a master and skilful orator recite the 'Fa'alupega of Samoa' part of the Lauga Fa'asamoa, is to hear about the

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[35] Fa'amatuainu is the chiefly title of Fa'afetai Tu'i, and is used in accordance to Samoan etiquette, hence Fa'amatuainu Tu'i.

[36] Fa'amatuainu Tu'i, Lauga; pp.108-109.

[37] T. Tanuvasa, Matimati, p.72; Fa'amatuainu Tu'i, Lauga, pp.6-8.

[38] Fa'amatuainu Tu'i, Lauga, p.6.

[39] This seems agreeable to Meleisea's definition of fa'alupega as 'A set of ceremonial greetings which served as a constitution, recognising those foremost in authority in the land.' Meleisea, Change and Adaptations in Western Samoa. (Christchurch : Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies , 1988), p.26.

[40] Fa'amatuainu Tu'i, Lauga, pp.8-9. Also Meleisea, Change and Adaptations in Western Samoa, pp.9-10.

divinely-chosen and divinely-ordained divisions of the socio-political and cultural structures of Samoa, as well as the sense of Samoa as one large extended family united in one divine origin. In this respect, one would see the 'world-making' influence of the Lauga Fa'asamoa on Samoan life. It has a stabilising effect through its imbued sense of unity and orderliness. And it is especially effective because it is always given in the presence of the recognised leaders and authority of Samoa in the main spheres of culture, politics, and church. The more so as it comes from the only authority for this cultural institution - the Samoan chief. Also as the official speech of the Samoan culture, it is only heard on formal occasions in all spheres and at all levels of Samoan life. It is also the sole domain of the Samoan chief in the same way the gospel-sermon is the sole duty and domain of the Samoan pastor.[41]

Given this brief understanding of the Lauga Fa'asamoa as illustrative of its 'status' in the mind of the Samoan, we are now in a position to understand the influence of the Bible on the Lauga Fa'asamoa as an integral part of the Samoan culture.

The five-part sections[42] in the formal structure of the Lauga Fa'asamoa includes two which represent the influence of the Bible (or the Christian faith). The first one is the ***'Fa'afetai'*** part (Thanksgiving and Praise to God) which is the third section, and includes solely the acknowledgment of the living reality and power of the Grace and the Wrath of God. Its inclusion shows the important status of the biblical faith in the authoritative Word of Samoan culture and also its contribution to the ethical content of Samoan cultural

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[41] This is mainly to identify formal roles in Samoan society. But in practice, both relate and overlap in various ways.

[42] There are variations in the number of sections in the formal structure of the Lauga Fa'asamoa, depending on different cultural understandings of orators. Fa'amatuainu subscribes to seven sections. Tanuvasa subscribes to five. Both are equally recognised in Samoan society. I follow Tanuvasa's divisions. The five sections are (1) Folasaga [Introduction]; (2) Ava [Kava]; (3) Fa'afetai [Thanksgiving to God]; (4) Taeao [Mornings]; (5) Paia[Dignity of the sacred names and titles in the Fa'alupega]. See Fa'amatuainu Tu'i, Lauga, pp.22-26, for a brief discussion of the structural content of the Lauga Fa'asamoa. There are several examples of real and already delivered Lauga Fa'asamoa in the book. There is also an insightful, firsthand explanation by a non-Samoan of the Lauga Fa'asamoa in action, and a translated version in McKay, Samoana, Chapter xiii.

cultural oration. The second example of biblical influence is in the part, ***'Taeao'***, [literally meaning Morning, and refers to the most vital and formative events in the historical evolution of Samoa.].[43] In this section the historic ***Taeaos*** of the culture and the three historic ***Taeaos*** of the Gospel (the days of arrival in Samoa of the Christian missions of the L.M.S., the Methodist, and the Catholic) comprise the formal contents. The actual significance of Gospel ***Taeaos*** vary according to orators' skill, intellect, and preference. Some merely recall them as historic events of equal significance with the cultural ***Taeaos*** in the history of Samoa. The greater tendency is to exalt the ***Gospel Taeaos*** as the only historical events worthy of remembrance as Samoa progresses to the future.[44]

Another significance of the ***'Taeao'*** division in the actual operation of the Lauga Fa'asamoa illustrates further the effective influence of the Bible. A proper Lauga Fa'asamoa must be long because of its content and its importance in culture. But it can be cut short with success while still retaining its dignity. This depends largely on the skill and expertise of the orator whether the one who speaks, or the one who attempts to cut short an oration. It also depends on the nature of the occasion involved. In modern practice the tendency is to cut short the oration mostly after the ***'Taeao'*** division, and by both the speaker if s/he wishes to, or by an orator who wishes to cut short another orator's

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[43] See Fa'amatuainu, Lauga, pp.9-12, for various examples of the most important and often used 'Taeaos' in oration.

[44] This tendency is reinforced in a certain popular way in the actual operation of the Lauga Fa'asamoa. In particular when the ***'Taeao'*** division is connected by the orator to the present context and the occasion which has given rise to the Lauga Fa'asamoa. More often than not, the present occasion is usually referred to as, ***'O le Taeao sili lava lenei'*** [the best morning of all mornings]. The main reason is the fact that the hoped-for occasion which gives rise to the oration is now successfully realised. This is not a creation of a new ***'Taeao'***, although it is possible if the event is of great significance to a village or district that this occasion is taking place. In the context of the speech, the reference to the present occasion as 'the best morning of all mornings' is a further acknowledgment of God's ever present and ever available Grace. It intends to underscore the unending validity of God's Grace shown for Samoa in the past 'historic mornings' (those of the Gospel) which is believed to be also in operation in the actuality of the present occasion and fellowship. But it singles out the present context in the same joyful spirit of the biblical Psalmist which is often heard in songs of Christian praise - "This is the day that the Lord has made. We will rejoice in it..."

speech. And the main reason and rationale is the 'God-Factor' which is clear in the discussion of the ***Taeao*** in Note 44.[45]

Quite clearly, the inclusion and operation of the 'Fa'afetai' and 'Taeao' parts in the formal structure and in the actual operation of the Lauga Fa'asamoa show the effective influence of the Bible or the Christian faith.[46] It demonstrates the 'world-making' effect of the 'biblical world' in permeating this vital institution of the Samoan cultural world - hence the Word of God in the Word of Samoa. This is highly significant in the light of the important status of the Lauga Fa'asamoa not only in the mind of a Samoan, but as the cultural institution which represents '...the only acceptable form of individual public comment on Samoan society.'[47]

But it must also be recognised that this world-making influence of the Bible on Samoan culture is largely possible because of an inherent 'hospitality element' in the Samoan mind and in the Samoan culture. This would explain the Samoan inclination to welcome strangers for critical and mutual coexistence, and to accept strange influences which they adapt and add selectively to the substance of their culture. It also reflects the flexible nature of Samoan culture to accommodate certain changes and needed transformations. By this, Samoan cultural traditions evolve to find security, strength, longevity, and enduring influence in other 'new' forms. In the Samoan mind, the biblical world and faith

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[45] See Fa'amatuainu, Lauga, pp.12-13, for examples of other cases, and other reasons for cutting short orations. In the usual operation of an oration, the orators' motives and spirit for cutting short speeches may be crudely expressed in the following :- (i) After stating that this is the 'best morning of all mornings' because of
the effective operation of the Grace of God, what else is left to say ? (ii) What more human words to add to the 'Word of God' already spoken during Samoa's historic mornings, and has now brought to reality our hopes and desires ? (iii) After God, who else ? What else ?

[46] The modern tendency also shows the increasing influence of biblical insights in the Introduction part. But this, in most cases, shows the limitation and superficiality of an orator's knowledge of the proper contents of an oration's Introduction which usually consists of proverbial phrases relating to Samoan mythology, traditions, folklore, history,...etc. Biblical influences often appear in the adoption of biblical equivalents of such Samoan requirements.

[47] Fa'amatuainu Tu'i, Lauga, p.109.

is given great respect and has earned a permanent place in Samoa's life and society. In this way, the Bible had carved its influence on the 'stone tablets' of Samoan culture, and also in the 'living speech' and effective Authority of Samoa.

The extensive use of biblical quotations and allusions for oratorical effect and rhetoric characterises Lauga Fa'asamoa[48] and are employed in all five sections of its formal structure. It often leads to a superficial use of the Bible[49] though it also reflects a sophisticated appropriation of the biblical literature which result in authentic expressions of theological creativity by culture in its service for the Church.[50] The deeper significance is the extent of the successful interpenetration of the biblical world and the Samoan cultural world in a mutually enriching fusion. The human experience of biblical communities and cultures resonate well with the human experience of Samoan people in many ways. They meet in stories, in ideas, in ultimate values, in hopes and aspirations, and also in world views. In the process, such fusion accounts for one of the main reasons for the successful transformation of some of the cultural institutions and values of Samoa to more enlightened ways and to discover their more extensive capacities. It is within this same process that the 'Word of Samoa' has shown hospitality to the 'Word of God' by grafting it on to the concrete and daily fulfilment of its social and cultural functions. This is indeed a cultural example of the Divine Word made flesh and finding hospitality in the world It created.[51]

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[48] The brief mention of this in these three sources are only a few of its numerous references in various literature on Samoa. Churchward, My Consulate in Samoa, p.83; Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, p.37; McKay, Samoana, pp.86-87.

[49] See the brief discussion by Crawford which shows the merits and demerits of the influence of Samoan Oratory in the biblical sermons of Samoan pastors in the nineteenth century. This is slightly different because Crawford is discussing sermons of pastors in church worship. It is only relevant to the extent Crawford's discussion implies the demerits to reflect the fact that Samoan pastors were at such stage more of men of culture than of the Bible. Crawford, The Lotu and the Fa'asamoa..., pp.394-398. My personal knowledge is that it is a true reality of the Lauga Fa'asamoa of some Samoan orators in contemporary Samoa. Though it is not true for all orators and for all times.

[50] This vital point is well illustrated in the section on the Case Study of Church Notices and Appeals.

[51] See John 1:1-13 in the Christian Holy Bible for a biblical example of the interaction between the Divine Word (Gospel) and the Human Word (Culture) which is reflected in this claim.

In modern Samoa both the Samoan chief and the Samoan church pastor speak the 'Word of God' in two different but related ways. The former the 'Word of God' in Samoa's Biblical culture and Christian society; the latter the 'Word of God' that is continuously explored and discovered in inspired biblical research in theological education and in conjunction with the wider Christian community world-wide. The result for modern Samoa is a positive contribution and consolidation to its Biblical culture and its professed Christian society.

(ii) Samoan Cultural Understanding of the Samoan Christian Church Pastor : Living Symbol of Cultural Testament.

A proper appreciation of the exalted status of the Samoan pastor in the Samoan culture can only be gained by recognising its historical growth and significance as part of the historical evolution of modern Samoa into a biblical vision of society. Five main cultural designations[52] of the Church pastor embody its cultural rootedness, and also reflect the broad nature of cultural understanding of its historical growth and significance in Samoan culture and society.

(i) **Auauna a le Atua** - The servant of God. This is the straightforward designation of the pastor primarily in relation to his central calling as the teacher of the Bible and preacher of the Gospel. It is sometimes used apologetically to clarify the pastor's role as essentially the servant of God, but not of the village in the village pastoral ministry.

(ii) **Faifeau**[53] - Doer of the work or servant. This is the most common title of the pastor in daily reference. It is directly related to the first one (i) in the sense that because the pastor is the servant of God, he is therefore the doer of the work of God. It specifically

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[52] These apply especially to the pastors of the E.F.K.S. Church. Samoan Methodist and Catholic denominations tend to retain imported pastoral designations of their Missionary Societies, which therefore reflect a slower process of contextualisation as opposed to the E.F.K.S.

[53] This cultural designation is now given to pastors of all religions in Samoa. It is in this sense a general recognition of the distinctive role of pastors within the religious sphere in contrast to secular society. In the E.F.K.S. Church. it was given, in chronological sequence to the Tahitian missionary teachers, to the resident L.M.S. missionaries, and logically to Samoan pastors.

captures the cultural recognition of the pastor as the 'Authority' whose primary and ultimate concern is for the spiritual welfare of the village. The designation also preserves the continuity of the role of the L.M.S. missionary pastor in the Samoan pastor. It is now commonly known as **'Faifeau Samoa'** to distinguish the independent status of the Samoan pastor as fully educated in Malua Theological College, and as ordained by the independent authority of the Samoan Church, the E.F.K.S.

(iii) **Tama o le Galuega** - Father of the [Church] Ministry. This is used interchangeably with the designation **'Tama Fa'aleagaga'**- [Father in the things of the Spirit]. It refers to the pastor as the Father of the village church ministry which is perceived generally as primarily a spiritual ministry. It confers the highest reverence principally because of the divine nature of the pastoral ministry, and secondarily if the pastor is old and his character is judged worthy by village church parishioners.[54] Missionaries of the L.M.S. in Samoa were commonly referred to in this way because of the above reasons, but mostly to do with the benefits of the civilised and christianised life for Samoans. The older, longest resident, and most popular missionaries were also called 'Fathers of the Nation'. In the latter aspect within the village ministry the Samoan pastor is called the 'Father of the village' together with the old chiefs.

(iv) **Fa'afeagaiga** - 'Covenant and Covenanted Basis'. This designation extends to the Samoan Church pastor the most exalted status and respect by the Samoan culture. Technically the term combines an important cultural institution the ***Feagaiga*** [covenant], and the biblically influenced cultural spirit or way, in human relations in Samoan society. This is denoted by the 'verb part' of the 'Fa'afeagaiga' which is 'fa'afeagai', and it means to live in a relational and a covenanted way of life.[55] The origin and meaning of this.

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[54] Some villages do not refer to the pastor in this way especially if the pastor is young and is newly inducted into the village ministry. So other designations like **'Fa'afeagaiga'** is used.

[55] As Meleisea briefly put it , 'The pastor was termed "o le feagaiga" because of his covenant with the village, and in recognition of the covenant between God and man.' Meleisea, Lagaga, p.69.

cultural institution [Feagaiga] is rooted deeply into the ancient history of the divine and family-originated cultural tradition[56] which determined the past and contemporary social, cultural, and political relationship between islands and cultural districts of Samoa. It is also rooted deeply in the cultural philosophy at the basis of the ideal socio-cultural arrangements and groupings of the Samoan culture called, ***Fa'amatai***;[57] and also to the sacred relationship of mutual respect between the masculine and feminine aspects of humanity in Samoan cultural and philosophical understanding.[58] The common feature inherent in these cultural rootages of the 'Feagaiga' is the 'belief and practice' in a covenanted mode of existence and living. It is given symbolic and institutional

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[56] This refers to an ancient 'founder family' of Samoan society from which also had originated the names and divisions of the cultural districts of Western Samoa in particular. This is the family of Pili who was the son of Tagaloaalagi, the highest God of Samoa. The crucial point relates to Pili's daughter, Tolufale, and her role as 'Feagaiga' of her brothers. She was not allocated an active cultural role for being a female in the ancient context of 'warring Samoa'. As female she represented the weaker side of humanity [hence, itupa vaivai, though only in the physical sense], and therefore must be given all the protection necessary. But in the consultative process which governed decision making in societal affairs, she became involved 'mostly' when the wisdom of her brothers may be found wanting. So as the 'Feagaiga' of the brothers, she has respect . in the main, for these two reasons. But her role as 'Feagaiga' had determined the cultural status of the district Manono [or Aiga i le Tai] she was chosen to inhabit. That is, in national cultural gatherings of Samoa, chiefs of Manono are not expected [and to some, should not be considered] to orate. They must play the role of 'Tapua'i' - worshipful silence'.
For a brief introduction to the story of Pili's family see, Meleisea, Lagaga, pp.27-31; Also August Kramer, The Samoa Islands. Vol.I. (Auckland : Polynesia Press, 1994), pp.26-30.

[57] For this see, especially Dr. Aiono Le Tagaloa, The Samoan Culture and Government, pp.117 -118; 123-124; and Note 2 in page 134. Most pertinent for our concern is the perspective by Aiono Le Tagaloa which outlines, defines, and defends the 'Fa'amatai' as the most appropriate social organisation for Samoan people and their culture. And that within this "Fa'amatai' cultural philosophy, the church pastor as 'Fa'afeagaiga' had found a place in the traditional institution of the Tama'ita'i or Feagaiga. This is further argued to illustrate the ability of the 'Fa'amatai' to accommodate changes and make innovations on the basis of a holistic view of life. It is on the basis of this cultural placement of the Feagaiga concept of the church pastor that some Samoan women have pressed the legitimacy of women to become ordained pastors for the church. For this see the articles by Roina Fa'atauva'a, Marie Ropeti, and Feiloaiga Tauleusumai in Pacific Journal of Theology, Series II, No. 7, 1992.
This, according to the author, is legitimate, though it is based on a limited awareness of the Samoan cultural contribution and understanding of the term 'Fa'afeagaiga' in the coalescence and transmutation of the biblical and Samoan cultural worlds into the biblical vision of modern Samoan society. It is even problematic in the light of the Samoan Church [E.F.K.S., Methodist, and Catholic] conception and reality of the pastoral ministry as essentially the partnership of the pastor and his wife.

[58] This aspect is clearly implicated in the two cultural rootages of the 'Feagaiga' above with their accompanying Notes, 55 and 56. Suffice it to note further that the demands on the daily coexistence between male and female in Samoan society required by the fulfilment of this sacred relationship (covenant) is still strongly adhered to in modern Samoa.

expression; and the controlling principle [or binding spirit] is the required operation of the virtue of respect in direct proportion to culturally ordained role and function. Rooted in this cultural basis, transference of this cultural institution and conception [Feagaiga] to the church pastor had partly accounted for the exalted status and cultural significance of the church pastor in Samoan society.

A more significant influence is associated with the overall exalted status of the Christian Church in relation to the world-making impact and influence of the Bible on the evolution of modern Samoa. At heart it means that everything the country does revolves around the 'priority consideration' of the divine significance of the role and the presence of the Church - hence its pastors and everything related to the divine function of the church - in Samoan society. This is historically related to the ultimate reversal in the Samoan cultural mind which was effected by King Malietoa Vainu'upo's acceptance of Christianity and promised care for the L.M.S. missionary pastors and teachers,[59] and also to his revolutionary dying testament which will be referred to later in Section C.[60] The relevant point at this stage is, that for King Malietoa Vainu'upo, the church pastor was his Feagaiga in the cultural sense adumbrated already, but more importantly in the larger sense related to the new allegiance to the biblical God. The former simply meant he had the obligation, self imposed, to ensure the well being of the missionary pastor in all possible ways. The latter aspect which was the more fundamental one was the missionary pastor as Malietoa's Fa'afeagaiga in relation to accepting the Christian Gospel. Hence the 'covenanted basis' aspect of the term Fa'afeagaiga is crucial. It essentially refers to a new relationship which meant that the 'Church pastor' was to be the only culturally recognised mediator between Malietoa and God and between the whole of Samoa and the divine world, and was to be respected as such.[61] It was the reason King Malietoa had

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[59] Kenape. T. Faletoese. A History of the Samoan Church. (Malua, Apia : Malua Printing Press, 1959), pp.9-12.

[60] See Section C (ii).

[61] This explains why, in Samoa, only the Church pastors of the E.F.K.S. are given the cultural designation Fa'afeagaiga. And it further explains why there is a covenant-making ceremony between the village church

surrendered his honorific title of Address ***'Susuga'*** and the ancient cultural service due to Malietoa only, his ***'Sau'***,[62] for the Samoan Church pastor of the L.M.S.

The dying testament by Malietoa Vainu'upo added a vital aspect which had become nationally adopted mainly because its essential import was consistent with the concern by the Church to christianise Samoa. It was revolutionary mainly because of its requirement upon Samoa for a complete reversal in ultimate concerns, values, and direction. The required reversal had one of the intended effects of 'levelling down' or equalising relationships in all levels of cultural relationship. The objective sought was peace and national unity whose achievement was only realistic with the simultaneous acknowledgment of the sole Kingship of the biblical God in the whole life of Samoa. The Church pastor was to be the eternal symbolic reminder of this cultural decision to embark on a reversal of 'ultimate life' which was thought consistent with the cultural acceptance of the Christian Gospel. Thus as the 'covenant and covenanted basis' of villages and for Samoa in general, the Church pastor represents the symbolic reminder of the Christian-based spirit and basis of cultural fellowship at all levels of Samoan society legitimated and sanctioned by the Samoan culture. At the very core of the Samoan mind, the Church pastors are the 'covenant and covenanted basis' of villages and the whole country because they are visible representatives of God - [O Faifeau o Fa'afeagaiga a nu'u ma le Atunu'u aua o latou o sui va'aia o le Atua]. In modern Samoa therefore, Church pastors are Fa'afeagaiga [covenant and covenanted basis] in exactly the way the Bible understands

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and its called pastor in the beginning of a pastoral ministry for all E.F.K.S. pastors in village church ministries. It also explains the conservative mentality of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand which does not recognise Samoan pastors of religious sects like Assembly of God,...etc as Fa'afeagaiga. For lay people and chiefs, the same restriction is applied to foreign trained Samoan pastors. The reason involves relationship to the cultural basis of Feagaiga and the Samoan Christian basis related to King Malietoa's relationship with the coming of Christianity to Samoa. The deeper aspect of rootedness in land of origin [Samoa] is an underlying force in such considerations.

[62] This refers to the special meal traditionally given for King Malietoa, which corresponds to that given to all high chiefs [Alii or Lord], called suavai.

the essence of the concepts of Old Testament and New Testament to represent and to embody the covenanted relationship between God and the chosen Community of Faith.[63]

One of the best examples, out of the numerous examples in the Bible, is the symbolic significance objectified in the rainbow in the covenant God had given for the world through Noah and his family.[64] The main significance of the rainbow as the seal of the covenant is to remind Noah and his family [the whole world] that there would be no more flood to destroy the whole world. Simultaneously it is also to remind God of God's promise as expressed through the covenant. The main point relevant to the concern of this part of the thesis is that the Samoan concept of 'Fa'afeagaiga' is similar to this biblical concept of covenant. The pastor objectifies, symbolises, and represents the 'historical promise' and 'historical decision' by the Samoan culture to be always a ***People of God.*** In this respect, the exalted status of the pastor as Faafeagaiga was part and parcel of the general cultural acceptance and appropriation of the biblically based vision for Samoan society.

Moreover as Fa'afeagaiga, the Samoan pastor therefore embodies a vertical, and a horizontal dimension in Samoan cultural understanding of its Christian faith in God. Vertically, the pastor is the eternal reminder to Samoa of it's 'historical decision' and 'historical promise' to be a Christian country. The central element is 'covenantal living' which the term 'Covenanted Basis' signifies. The horizontal dimension refers to a new transformation in the spirit and manner of all cultural gatherings and fellowships. Because of the theological implication of the vertical dimension of Samoan culture's

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[63] For this reason, the tendency by some Samoan women [See Note 55] to justify the ordination of women to be pastors on the basis of the cultural conception of 'Feagaiga' is not only limited but also misplaced. And this is because the biblically influenced cultural spirit embodied in the 'Fa'afeagaiga' designation has nothing to do with the gender-based considerations. For the same reason, a fuller appreciation of the exalted status of Church pastors as 'Fa'afeagaiga' can not be ascertained 'wholly' in the light of the latter's cultural place and significance in the cultural philosophy of 'Fa'amatai' as presented by Aiono Le Tagaloa [See Note 55]. Rather it needs to be equally understood according to Meleisea in the light of 'A New Traditional Order' in which 'The most influential of all the seeds of change to be planted in Samoa was Christianity.' Meleisea, Change and Adaptations in Western Samoa, pp.9-25.

[64] See the story of the Flood in the Book of Genesis, Chapters 6-9.

relationship to God as covenanted in the status of the pastor, the horizontal dimension is inextricably related as the corollary of the theological implication of the vertical dimension. Essentially, Samoan society is to become a covenanted community of faith. They are to believe in themselves as a chosen people with their gatherings to be conducted solely in the Christian spirit of **peace**, **love** and **unity**; and their cultural relationship to be transformed to attain to the level and manner of Christian fellowship. At the 'steering wheel' is the Church pastor as the living symbol of the Cultural Testament. This is the primary import and fundamental significance of the concept of the pastor as 'covenant and covenanted basis' of villages and of Samoa. This is one of the ways which illustrates how modern Samoa is essentially a product of a consistent 'historical effort and decision' to actualise for Samoan society the biblical vision of a Godly covenanted Community of Faith.

(v) **Aofa'alupega** - The ceremonial head and embodiment of the highest village dignity and honour.[65] This captures the gist of what the Samoan culture in general has given of itself to the Church in line with the all encompassing designation of the pastor as the 'covenant and covenanted basis'. Because he is the 'covenant and covenanted basis' he is also the 'Aofa'alupega', or, as Meleisea puts it - 'a new kind of sacred chief'.[66] What distinguished a village in dignity, status, is ceremoniously conferred on the pastor. He carries in his person all the distinguished status, dignities and everything of ultimate importance and value in the village. The church pastor is thus entitled to receive the best service and ultimate respect in the village. In the Samoan cultural and religious mind, what the village does to the pastor is done to God. Not that the pastor is God, but as the visible ambassador of the Divine Will.

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[65] When considering the definition of 'Fa'alupega' referred to in pages 22 & 23, it becomes obvious how exalted the status of the Church Pastor has become in the light of this cultural designation. For 'Aofa'alupega' literally means the embodiment of the total conferment of the 'Fa'alupega'.

[66] Meleisea, Change and Adaptations in Western Samoa, p.22.

The cultural understanding of the place of the Samoan Church pastor is another illustration of the inherent hospitality element in the Samoan culture, in particular in the operation of the biblical culture and Christian society of Samoa. In the village context the pastor is the '***stranger***' cared for in the name of the biblical God and because of Samoan Church policy in relation to its pastoral ministry. In the operation of the village pastoral ministry the 'stranger' and his house is the door to general village hospitality for all strangers coming to the village. This would explain the peculiar habit of village people and Samoan Christians to give their best for the pastor and his household. It is to cater for the pastor's family, their Fa'afeagaiga, but also in anticipation of visitors to the village who tend to enter through the pastor's household.

The hospitality element in the Samoan culture is the operation of a cultural hermeneutic of cultivating general security and ensuring general peace which is culturally believed to be the strength and foundation of a communal society understood organically. In this respect the true Samoan mind is no stranger in anticipating and catering for endless visiting journeys [malagas][67] of all kinds from within Samoa or from overseas. Large feasts are held to feed everyone including strangers. People must eat to live and in order to know God. This hospitality element in Samoan society has long been admired and commented upon by foreign observers and overseas visitors to Samoa.[68] It is even stronger in Samoan communities overseas. There is 'holy pride' and overindulgence in Samoan hospitality. But its outward manifestation should not blur the integrity of the cultural mind that undergirds it. This is mostly because it is cultural hospitality which has become a major force and inspiration for a distinctive expression of Samoan Christian hospitality.

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[67] This would help to explain the 'church and cultural' mentality involved in the brief introduction to a Samoan malaga by Betty. K. Duncan in her article, "Christianity : Pacific Island Traditions", in Peter Donovan (Editor), Religions of New Zealanders, (Palmerston North : Dunmore Press, 1990).

[68] To cite a few references which refer to this see, McKay, Samoana, p.10; Churchward, My Consulate in Samoa, p.47; And also Note 28, and further references cited in relation to the same feature therein.

In modern Samoa, the Samoan Church pastor has become the major beneficiary to this cultural-Christian hospitality. And the main reason is historical. As shown above, it was a cultural decision originated with the first Samoan Christian King Malietoa Vainu'upo. The challenge is for the Samoan pastor to channel the hospitality he receives for the benefit of more strangers. In other words, to insist on cultural hospitality to be more inclusive. Preaching and demonstration will impress on the 'giving Samoans' that hospitality is even better when it is shown to many others besides the pastor as the Fa'afeagaiga and the Aofa'alupega.

A critical appreciation of the exalted status of the church pastor can now be delineated on the basis of the proper appreciation of the cultural understanding outlined above.

Crawford,[69] in line with Gilson,[70] discusses the mutual relationship between the natural evolution to autonomy of village-based church congregations and pastoral ministry, and the growing influence of Samoan pastors especially within the L.M.S. Samoan church. The former was largely the result of the entrenched independent mentality of villages which quickened the assumption of self-supporting village ministries. The latter was the logical consequence of their biblical training and the call system for village pastors which reinforced the ties between village churches and the resident Samoan pastor, to the relative weakening of ties with the district-based missionary. While this was indicative of the growing development of a self-determined indigenous Samoan Church by the end of the nineteenth century,[71] it was also the ominous forecast of the beginning of the distinctive Samoan approach to the pastoral ministry which was consistently authoritative in relation to its evangelical mission, and tyrannical in relation to its counter-culture role and concerns within villages.

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[69] Crawford, The Lotu and the Fa'asamoa..., pp.407-427. And also pp.238, 364.

[70] R. P. Gilson, Samoa 1830 to 1900 : The Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community. (Melbourne : Oxford University Press, 1970), pp.115-137.

[71] Crawford, The Lotu and the Fa'asamoa, pp.426-427 in particular. And Gilson, Samoa 1830-1900... pp.127-137 in particular.

A British resident consul in Samoa in the 1880's, W.B.Churchward, observed a glimpse of the combination of these features of the Samoan pastoral approach[72] which became typical in the beginning of the twentieth century[73] and even throughout the first half of the century.[74] But ironically, for the Samoans, such manner of pastoral approach was, like the coming of Christianity to Samoa, to be endured as a matter of 'historical necessity' for the education of the character of a nation and its people. And it remained as such as long as the translated Bible was the predominant way to literacy, to civility, to providing the 'Founding Text' of modern Samoa especially its nation-making spirit; and as long as secular education in Samoa was largely provided by church schools up until the 1950's.[75] The L.M.S. Report of 1939-1940 sums up this historical reality perceptively, 'Any history survey of the spiritual and cultural progress of Samoa will apparently show that the village schools of pastors were a great chapter in Educational service.'[76] In a very real sense, the exalted status and effective power of the Church pastor was the corollary of the status and role of the Christian church within Samoan society. So that the pastor's

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[72] Writes Churchward :- 'Many of the pastors, as they are called, feeling the great power over their more ignorant countrymen that education has given them, cannot curb their ambition, and beyond their missionary influence assert a sort of temporal authority, ruling the districts in which they live with a veritable rod of iron, and in a manner worthy of the old Presbyterian ascetics.'
Churchward, My Consulate in Samoa, p.81.

[73] Understanding this as a clear and negative influence of Samoan cultural mentality in the religious sphere, Keesing therefore concludes that 'In numerous ways Fa'asamoa interpenetrated church matters, while the spiritual authority of pastors and other leaders was used to wield secular power.'
Keesing, Modern Samoa, pp.402-403.

[74] Craig's perceptive observations in relation to this is well supported even in contemporary times by the majority in the Samoan Church. That the ministers' great power in community is true. But its source in the presence of a strongly religious culture which had its 'ministers and priests' is less true in Samoa than in other Pacific Islands. It is more appropriate in Samoa to attribute it, as Craig realises as the second source, to the Samoan perception of the church ministry as associated and as offering the highest social status in general. The most perceptive observation by Craig is his claim that '...I doubt if one could find anywhere else in the world a place where the Protestant Pastor has comparable prestige and power.' In its negative sense the mainstream belief by Samoans attributes this to the accommodation by Elder Pastors of the absolutist Fa'amatai [chiefly] spirit of rule, to the eclipse of the proper spirit expected of Elder Pastors - O le Agaga Fa'atama [spirit of fatherly benevolence which does not rule but advise].
Stuart Craig, Between Two Miracles. (Great Britain : Trinity Press, 1956), pp.39-40.

[75] Karen Ioka, "Secondary Education in Western Samoa : Developments in the English Curriculum, 1960's - 1990's." M.A. Thesis, University of Otago, 1995.

[76] L.M.S. Report, 1939-1940, p.18.

spiritual authority which derived solely from his biblical education and pastoral training has enabled him, with the cooperation of cultural authorities of chiefs, to effect the welding of Christianity into the Fa'asamoa practically through the village pastoral ministry. This was possible because the 'covenanted respect' the Christian Church 'had earned' within Samoan culture and society had been the greatest cultural contribution which assisted Church pastors as 'They kept a paternal eye on the welding of Christianity into the Fa'asamoa.'[77]

(iii) Bible and the Village Church : Birthplace of the Biblical Culture and Christian Society of Samoa.

[A Case Study of Village Church 'Announcements and Appeals' for Village Church Development in the First Half of the Twentieth Century].

(a) Preliminary Notes and Background Information About the Case Study.[78]

The Case Study seeks to elucidate the fundamental fact of the village church as the living symbol of the mutual interpenetration of the biblical world and the Samoan cultural world. The central focus is on village church 'Announcements and Appeals' as exemplifying a vital aspect of Samoan God-Talk which operates publicly from the village, the 'womb' of Samoan life; hence the main subject for this section - Bible and

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[77] John Garrett, To Live Among the Stars : Christian Origins in Oceania. (Suva, Fiji : Institute of Pacific Studies, 1982). p.124.

[78] The Case Study includes one hundred and sixty (160) village church 'Announcements and Appeals' publicised in the 'O le Sulu Samoa' [The Samoan Torch] between 1900's and 1950's. These are found in the four collections of 'O le Sulu Samoa' in the Hewittson Library of Knox Theological College of the Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand in Dunedin. A few examples in the 1920's are found in the few copies of 'O le Sulu Samoa' in the Hocken Library in the University of Otago. Many issues for the period covered are not found in the collections mentioned above which account for the great differences in number of 'Announcements and Appeals' for each decade as shown below. For 1920's, 12; for 1930's, 22; for 1940's, 62; for 1950's, 64. Not all the 160 'Announcements and Appeals' are used because some only briefly state their objectives and do not include subject materials relevant to the Case Study.

the Village Church : Birthplace of the Biblical Culture and Christian Society of Samoa. An Introduction (Part b) is provided to situate the Samoan village church in its historical perspective. Then the major focus of the Case Study (Part c) in two parts - (1) The Names of Village Churches, and (2) The actual contents of Announcements and Appeals.

Nature and Purpose of Village Church Announcements and Appeals.

Most are public invitations for fundraising census for Church renovation, for completion of work of a church already under way, or for the start of new churches. Second in number are notices for Church dedication, for laying cornerstones of new Churches some of which include fundraising census. The third less frequent ones are notices for celebration of some historic dates and progress of churches in villages like,. silver jubilees, jubilees, and century (100 years) anniversary. All are intended for family relations, friends, and anyone who may have some connections to church members and villagers of the village sending the notice. All are intended nation-wide with quite a number extending their invitations to Samoan connections overseas which shows the operation of the communalism of the Samoan society and its general Christian spirit. Quite a lot of notices include names of Churches which are treated as a different section because of their important contributions to the central focus of the Case Study and also their vital significance to the overall thesis developed in Chapter One.

The following are typical examples which reflect the predominant reasons given for the renovation, modernising, and building of churches.

(1) As a permanent memorial and expression of God's work and God's dwelling in the village.

(2) For a better church than the old one, and one that reflects the progressive role and expression of faith in equal measure to our eternal gratitude for the Gospel.

(3) For the worship of our children and the future generation to the eternal King, God.

(4) Because of the sincere concern to safeguard and maintain the complete

work our ancestors had done for the name of God and for God's work.

(5) The need to maintain the church that was built amidst the suffering and oppression faced by our parents.

(b) Introduction - The Village Church in Historical Perspective.

The village church, in its theological significance and cultural status, symbolises the all-embracing place of the biblical God in Samoan life and Samoan society. It stands today as the monumental testimony to the historical evolution of a unique Samoan indigenous form of Christianity rooted in the foundational units of Samoan traditional social structure - the virtually autonomous villages which are the birth places of Samoan culture. In the early years of Christianity in Samoa especially within the second half of the nineteenth century, the Church, in particular the L.M.S. Churches, was successfully located at this foundational level of Samoan life and Samoan culture. To a certain extent this development is a tribute to the mission objective and mission approach envisaged in the 'Fundamental Principle of the Missionary Society' [L.M.S.][79] which generally guided the mission strategies of the Evangelical Missionaries on the field, upon the occasional insistence of the Board of Directors in London.[80] But it was largely the result of the combined effect of Samoa's powerful and resilient social structure[81] and Samoans' unwavering confidence and belief in their own way of doing things.[82] Through the village church Christianity quickly and most effectively made its greatest inroads into the 'power

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[79] A statement of the Fundamental Principle with an analysis of its true significance from the standpoint of its founders is found in Goodall, A History of the London Missionary Society 1895-1945, pp.2-14. Also included in Note 3, page 3, is the reason for changing the name of 'The Missionary Society' to the L.M.S.

[80] For an understanding of this in relation to the work of the L.M.S. in Samoa see, Forman, The Island Churches of the South Pacific, pp.127-130. Also Gilson, Samoa 1830-1900, pp.134-137.

[81] See especially Garrett, To Live Among the Stars, pp.121-124; 277. Also, Forman, The Island Churches of the South Pacific, p.23.

[82] See the following with references in Note 80 for various expressions of this aspect of the Samoans. Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, pp.74-75; Goodall, A History of the London Missionary Society, p.378; Meleisea, Change and Adaptations in Western Samoa, Chapters 1&2.

source' of Samoa's cultural authority.[83] This cultural context is important in relation to the vital aspect of effective authority for both the church and culture with their respective leaders, the pastor and chief.[84] Meleisea rightly refers to the Samoan system of cultural authority as 'a unitary system of dispersed power'.[85] For the autonomous village units explain to a large extent the reference to 'dispersed power' in relation to the overall social structure - Samoa Potopoto [the congregation of Samoa as a whole] - which embodies villages combined into various independent districts. In this way, the village church [and therefore the village pastoral ministry of the church] illustrates the most important and practical way Samoan Christianity was welded into the 'unitary system of dispersed power' of Samoa's system of cultural authority. In this way also and in the historical evolution of the Samoan village church, the Christian gospel was allowed to sink deep into the soil of the Fa'asamoa, the cradle of Samoan life, and the basic level in which Samoans are nurtured into the essential ways of Samoan life. Here, the foundation of the Samoan Church was carved into the foundation of Samoan life. It was from this position also that Samoan cultural authority and traditional politics consistently resisted foreign

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[83] Because the village is the birthplace of Samoan culture, it is also the 'power source' of cultural authority. This is surely behind Aiono Le Tagaloa's definition of nu'u [which is Samoan for village] 'as representing the sum total of man's learned experience'. Aiono Le Tagaloa, The Samoan Culture and Government, p.121. Meleisea is emphatic in referring to the village and its basic unit the aiga [family] as the fundamental source of chiefly authority. Meleisea, Change and Adaptations in Western Samoa, p.31; 36-37. And so because of this central nature of the village, it was natural to have become the basic foundation for Samoan Church independence through the village church as discussed by Forman, in Forman, The Island Churches of the South Pacific, pp.70-83.

[84] While the pastor's political power is circumscribed by the effective force of chiefly rule in some villages, (Meleisea. Change and Adaptations in Western Samoa, p.24), for most villages, the power and rank of chieftainship is secondary to the pastor, because of the evolving subordination of village authority to the political authority of central government, and the overall levelling effect of Christianity on Samoa (Goodall. A History of the London Missionary Society 1895-1945, p.366; Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa, p.14). The 'check and balance' nature of internal village politics especially in relation to its cultural leaders, the chiefs, was rightly observed by foreign government officials who previously worked in Samoa. According to Watson - 'But in all times known to Europeans, though possibly it had not always been so, the chiefly authority was curiously limited by the power of Samoan communism', R.M. Watson, History of Samoa (Wellington : Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd, 1918), p.41.
According to McKay - 'A common error is to assume that a society which preserves a chiefly system is autocratic. In Samoa the system survives by being democratic.' McKay, Samoana, p.9.

[85] Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa, pp.1-2. The same definition is equally true for the authority structure within each village, and for the 'district level' of Samoan overall social structure.

dictates to centralise power and authority in such ways as recognising one chiefly title or king above others. The Church is most fortunate. For in accommodating its pastoral ministry to the village unit it was successful in laying the foundation for the 'Kingdom of God' at the foundational structure and basis of the Kingdom of Samoan Culture - the village and its constituent cultural authority. The village church therefore epitomises the successful accommodation of the church [Christianity and Bible] by the Samoan culture into the most basic and 'effective source' of cultural authority. In the Samoan mind, it allows and retains the 'democratic sense of access and connection to God' in daily activities and in life. And it further affirms the traditional recognition and acknowledgment of the divine place and influence that was an integral part of the 'total life' of Samoan society since ancient times.

It must also be seriously noted that in the Samoan Christian mind, the village church attests to a fundamental movement of the spirit of Samoan culture to erect for the Kingdom of God in the village an earthly vessel for the eschatological community of faith the Kingdom of God is believed to bring to birth. This is based on the Christian belief in the church as the chosen 'host' to the power of the spirit of God. This also would explain one of the main reasons why Samoans overseas are inclined to build Church communities for themselves as a first community effort, as a priority, and as that into which they channel their cultural creativity and secular achievements. This reflects the working of the secular part of the Samoan 'Holistic Mind' in service to its sacred and holy part, in the same way the Samoan culture has given the biblical God the ultimate cultural placement as represented in the centrality of the village church in the Samoan village.

(c) (i) <u>The Cultural - Biblical Contents of Village Church Announcements and Appeals</u> : <u>The Names of Village Churches</u>.

Names of village churches illustrate clearly the direct influence of the Bible and, derivatively, the indirect and general influence of a biblical culture. More specifically

they reflect and embody local piety, theology, concerns, hopes and various understandings in the fusion of the biblical World and Christian culture, and the Samoan cultural World.

Some church names signify important dates and events associated with the arrival of the L.M.S. mission in Samoa, and significant stages and development in the historical growth of the Samoan Christian church [L.M.S.] according to the understanding of village churches.[86] Some church names simply adopt general references to places of worship and specific names of Temples of the biblical community, or some of their important parts.[87] Some church names emphatically prescribe what the Church stands for in relation to its witness to the work of God and some of its most characteristic benefits.[88] Quite a number

[86] The Church in the village of Safune is named - O le Ulua'i Taeao o le Malamalama o Samoa [The First Morning of the Enlightenment of Samoa]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; March, 1953). It reflects the pride of the village in the fact that John William's ship, 'Messenger of Peace', first landed on its shore; and in the same event, the first Christian prayer was said by Puaseisei, the wife of the Samoan chief Fauea who accompanied John Williams from Tonga. The Church of Apia is - Taimane o le Vasa Laolao [Diamond of the Open Sea (the Pacific Ocean)]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; October, 1947). It is a tribute to John Williams as the Diamond of God in the Pacific. The Church in Malua- O le Fale Iupeli [The Jubilee House]. It commemorates fifty years since the establishment of Malua Theological College in 1844. The Church of Avao is - O Mata'itusi Auro Fa'aaloiafi [Golden Letters like Sparks of Fire]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; November, 1950). It reflects the pride of the village for being the place where the Bible was translated into the Samoan language. The new, and second Church of Sapapali'i is - O le Seneturi Fou o Samoa [The New Century of Samoa]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; January, 1927). It marks the beginning of the second century of the Christian Church in Samoa. Sapapali'i was the village John Williams and his crew went ashore to meet the Samoan King, Malietoa Vainu'upo.

[87] Fagasa's Church is named - O le Fale o le Atua [The House of God]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; November, 1952) and that of Levi is simply - O le Malumalu [The Temple]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; July, 1946). While these names are biblical references to places of worship of the biblical community, they are also purely Samoan names for church buildings mainly as worship places to God. The Church of Salani is - O le Ana e sili ona Paia [The Holy of Holy]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; July, 1944). The Church of Malie is - Mauga o Ieova [Mountain of Yahweh]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; July, 1930). And that of Leone is - O Siona o le Mauga Paia [Zion is the Holy Mountain]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; March, 1950). The last two names emphasise in an exclusive manner the church building as the sole possession of God, as like the following two names which are literally biblical phrases (both are found in the Book of Revelation in the Christian Bible) stressing church buildings as the dwelling place of God. So the Church at Fitiuta is - O le Nofoali'i o le Atua ma le Tama'i Mamoe [The Throne of God and the Lamb]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; June, 1952) and the Church of Ofu in Manu'a - O le Afioaga o le Tupu o Tupu ma le Ali'i o Ali'i [The Throne of the King of Kings and Lord of Lords]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; November, 1953; and 1957).

[88] The Church of Paia is - O le Fofoga'aga o le Filemu [The 'Proclaimer and Proclamation' of Peace]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; November, 1953). That of Fa'ala Palauli is - O le Nofoa o le Alofa [The Seat of Love]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; 1955). Of Vatia is - O le Fale o le Alofa [The House of Love]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; June, 1944). Of Si'usega- O le Fu'a o le Filemu [The Flag of Peace]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; April, 1947). The Church of Afono is named - O le Pulou o le Ola [The Hat of Life]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; June, 1952) and is

of church names express the theological significance of the Church or, to suggest what the Church offers in relation to the achievement of divine gifts of the Good life on earth and also of eternal life.[89] Some church names literally adopt biblical references to divine theophanies and self-revelations of God.[90] Several church names embody vital biblical concepts, biblical expressions of faith or biblical ideas, objects, and events connected with biblical stories of faith, and the divine name which is self-revealed in the Bible.[91]

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meant to signify 'the permanent place of Yahweh in the village'. Furthermore, while the Church of Sale'ilua is simply named to prescribe the purpose of the Church building, hence - Ia Paia mo Ieova [May it be Holy for Yahweh]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; April, 1929) that of Matu'u reaffirms the general conviction of Samoa - Samoa mo Iesu [Samoa for Jesus]; ('O le Sulu Samoa', April, 1947).

[89] The Church of Vaiala is named - O le Sulufa'iga o le Ola Moni [The Refuge for True Life]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; January, 1956). Of Nu'uuli - O le Ala i le Ola [The Way to Life]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; September, 1953). Of Fagatogo - O le Ki i le Malo o le Atua [The Key to the Kingdom of God]; ('O le Sulu_Samoa'; August, 1934). Of Matavai - O le Punavaiola [The Living Spring of Life]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; January, 1956). Of Lefagaoali'i - Upu o le Ola [Word of Life]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; February, 1952). Of Si'umu - O le Puna o le Fa'avavau [The Source of Eternity]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; April, 1952). Of Papaloa - O le Puna o le Olataga [The Source of Salvation]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; June, 1952). Of Lalomanu - O le Vaipuna o le Olataga [The Living Spring of Salvation]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; February, 1950). and of Lona Fagaloa - O le Faitoto'a o le Lagi [The Door of Heaven]; ('O_le Sulu Samoa', 1957).

[90] The Churches of 'Asili and Asaga' ('O le Sulu Samoa'; November, 1944) and Amanave ('O le Sulu Samoa'; 1957), are both called - Peteli [Bethel]. This biblical place is further specified, as in the biblical narrative, in the name of the Church of Matautu Falelatai, hence - O Peteli o le Fale o le Atua [Bethel is the House of God]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; March , 1953). The Church of Papa Sataua is - O le La'au Talatala e Mu ae le Fa'aumatia [The Burning Bush that is not Consumed]; ('O le Sulu_Samoa'; May, 1952).

[91] The Church of Lotofaga is - O le Lupe o le Taeao [The Pigeon of the Morning]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; August, 1934) which refers to the pigeon released by Noah in the story in Genesis (It also refers to the favourite food of Samoan chiefs usually caught in the morning). That of Fasito'outa - O le Pupula o le Satauro o Keriso [The 'Shining Revelation' of the Cross of Christ]; ('O_le Sulu Samoa'; February, 1947). Of Satitoa - O le Tulagavae o le Satauro o Keriso [The Footstep of the Cross of Christ]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; March, 1953). Of Sale'imoa - O le Omeka o Mea Uma [The Omega of all Things, which means the only proper End and fulfilment to pursue]; ('O le Sulu_Samoa'; March, 1953). The Church of Vailu'utai is - O le Alefa ma le Omeka [The Aleph and Omega]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; March/April, 1933), which is meant to express the faith of the church members that it was God who started and furnished the whole work of their church. The Churches of Olosega ('O le Sulu Samoa'; 1955) and Samatau ('O le Sulu Samoa'; March , 1951) are both named - O le Ao Pupula [The Shining Cloud]. It refers to the cloud in the event of Jesus' Transfiguration. Moreover, Lelepa's Church is - O le Fetu o Samoa [The Star of Samoa]; ('O le Sulu_Samoa; July/August, 1937). It is meant to refer to the arrival of the Gospel in Samoa (1830) as the Morning [Event] of the new birth of Samoa, and is the second 'only' Morning [Event] to the morning of the birth of Jesus as in the Bible. In other words, the village is saying about their church - Here is Bethlehem! Pointed to by a new star. Here is the signpost to coming and to knowing Samoa! Another village by the same name of Lelepa calls its church - O le Fetu mai Saute [The Southern Star]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; January, 1953) and it expresses the village pride in their church as the best one in the South and in the Islands of the South Seas. The Church of Asaga is - O le Fetu, na iloa e Makoi [The Star seen by the Magii]; ('O le_Sulu Samoa'; January, 1953). And that of Saoluafata - O le Malamalama o le Fetu mai Sasa'e [The Light of the Star from the East]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; September, 1947). The Church of

Two church names denotes for the Church the sense of intellectual enlightenment and a hopeful beginning, and also the sure carrier of the eternal hope of biblical faith.[92]

The last two church names express a theological understanding of the two Testaments of the Bible, and an indigenous [Samoan] understanding of an earthly event thought consistent with expressions of biblical faith. Of the former, the Church of Aunu'u[93] is named - O le Tulafono ma le Talalelei [The Law and the Gospel]; Of the latter, the Church of Papa Puleia[94] is called - O le Fetu Lele mai le Lagi [The Flying Star from Heaven]. It refers to a shooting star that fell on the centre of the foundation of the church on a night the villagers were working to build their church. So the name expresses the village belief that they actually received a supernatural-divine blessing to encourage the village in their work of building the village Church.

The examples of village church names clearly demonstrate certain important features of a Biblical Culture and a Christian Society in operation through an important aspect of the village church. Clearest is the direct influence of the Bible and some of the most important historical events associated with the arrival of the Christian mission and its earliest developments in the majority of village names. The very few which do not show the direct influence of the above show the direct influence of a biblical culture and a Christian society. In particular, the most dominant is to name churches in relation to various understandings of the **works**, **hopes**, and **promises** of the blessed Gospel of God attested throughout the Bible and in Jesus Christ as in the faith of the Christian Church.

Solosolo is - La o le Amiotonu [Sun of Righteousness]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; August, 1947), which is the Psalmist expression of faith in God.

[92] In relation to the former, Lauli'i named its Church - O Apa'au o le Taeao [The Wings of the Morning]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; July/August, 1937). And to the latter, Falevao called its Church - O le Apa'au o le Fa'avavau [The Wings of Eternity]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; July, 1950).

[93] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; June, 1929.

[94] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; January, 1956. The story of the origin of the name of the Church is included in the same reference.

Secondarily, the names which show the direct influence of a biblical culture and a Christian society clearly express the fusion of biblical, Christian, and cultural ideas.

A very significant feature which is unique to Samoan Churches is the fact that Church names do not celebrate any human person or Church saint. This is one of the most central features of the theology of the Samoan Church, which would also explain an important aspect of the Samoan Church's persistent counter-culture role in the Samoan culture and in Church affairs.[95] If one were to explain the Samoan mentality behind this aspect of village church life, several features may be discerned. There is a single-minded loyalty and commitment to the biblical faith, and the Christian task [or role] of the Church that follows from it. It shows a cultural mind which is clearly baptised to the things of the Christian faith with a clear awareness of the distinction between culture and faith. It thus evidences a cultural, and contextual embodiment of the biblical faith in the language, thought forms, and ethos of modern Samoan society in general which the Samoan Church and Samoan culture embody and exemplify. Names of Samoan Churches embody a variety of cultural understanding of the **History**, **Hope** and **Promise** included in the Biblical faith, and Christian culture whether of the missionaries or of the Samoan Christian society.

(c) (ii) The Cultural-Biblical Contents of Village Church Announcements and Appeals : Main Focus of the Case Study.

The unifying feature of the Announcements and Appeals is the complex appropriation of various aspects of the biblical literature to provide a concentrated and arresting public appeal for participation and for contributions. The contents generally include direct biblical quotations, paraphrasing of parts of biblical narratives or stories, or restatement of biblical expressions of faith and ethics in the common language of daily speech and in

[95] Two typical examples were the refusal by the Church Assembly in 1950 to accept a proposal from one Church District that the Church should erect a memorial stone for King Malietoa Vainu'upo; and a proposal from a Church District in 1970 to forbid the printing of pictures of Church Elders on the front cover of the Church Newspaper, 'O le Sulu Samoa'.

the 'respect language' of Samoan public invitations. While examples of each category above appear individually in different notices, the most common feature is to appear in varying forms and decrees of combinations. An equally important feature is that the selection of biblical examples, illustrations, references and quotations are drawn from across the wide spectrum of the Bible. There is no discernible preference for a particular section of the Bible either in particular notices or in general. The sense of the Church calling churches to help in church development is most evident. It further shows how the Churches appropriate the Bible in such a way that the Bible is actually calling the Churches and the Samoan Christian society to help and be involved. In line with the main concern of this part of the Chapter, the Bible is allowed its performative role through this aspect of the work of the village churches. One of the central biblical insights into the economy of God's grace in relation to God's calling and election of God's faithful community is, that if the elected community does God's work in God's way, God will always provide. This biblical insight is generally presupposed in all village church announcements and appeals used in the case study.

A marked feature is to use biblical quotations or their restatements together with Christian expressions of biblical faith, Christian moral principles and Christian ethics.

By the Church of Lauli'i:- We are parts of the Body of Christ, brothers in Christ. "Peace be within your walls, and security within your towers!" [Psalm 122:7]. "You shall love your neighbour as you do to yourself." [Luke 10:27]. [96] By the Church of Malie :- "Come let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob." [Isaiah 2:36]. Your freedom, it is that which is agreeable and shall make your heart content. "But as for me and my family, we will serve Yahweh." [Joshua 24:15]. [97] By the Church of Solosolo for the dedication of the village church:- Do not let your bag of money get in the way. Come still! Come once! Come all! "But the greatest of these is love". [I Corinthians 13:13]. [98]

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[96] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; October, 1931.

[97] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; July, 1930.

[98] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; August, 1947.

Similar examples are provided by the names of the Churches of the villages of Vaigaga and Sa'anapu.[99]

A slightly different variation of this feature is to attach theological explanations or meanings, and to suggest their practical applications though for the benefit of the village owning the notice.

By the Church of Faleu :- Come now with your whole soul, and with your whole heart, and with your whole mind, and with your whole strength...[Luke 10:27 or Deuteronomy 6:4]. That is the greatest love for God. [100] By the Church of Lepuia'i Manono for its fundraising census to renovate the village church :- Remember the saying of the Lord which forever glitters from the Bible like a treasured-stone [Diamond] or like a Pearl in its full glitter. Love one another...[John 15:12]. Love is to bind everything together in perfect harmony according to Paul [Colosse 3:14]. Love is not a thing of the mind, but of the heart - heart applied... Brothers, as the waves of the Achaean Sea were breaking Paul saw a glittering [white] wrist waving, Come over to Macedonia and help us...Where is Macedonia? Here in Lepuia'i. [101]

The notice by the Church of Saoluafata for its fundraising census includes features of the above two categories and adds the sense of everyone being members of the biblical community. In particular it restates biblical expressions in different forms of addresses and, like the example of Lepuia'i Manono, it substitutes the name of a biblical place for its village name. Also a direct biblical quotation about an ethical truth is used as an example of the most admirable prayer in heaven :- I am inviting and calling in the

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[99] By the Church of Vaigaga :- God has given one thing only for our social security. Only one love. "Love never ends." [I Corinthians 13:8] The word by an Angel to Cornelius - "Your prayers and your alms have ascended as a memorial before God." [Acts 10 :46]; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; February, 1951). By the Church of Sa'anapu for its fundraising census for the church renovation :- Those who offer gifts, their names will be written in the census for Eternal Life. The scent of their sacrificial offerings will save other people...Do not be misled by the voice of the devil that encourages weakness; ('O le Sulu Samoa'; June, 1950).

[100] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; 1955.

[101] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; February, 1952.

Macedonian voice - Come now to Saoluafata and help. [Acts 16:9-10]. The prayer heaven admires is - It is more blessed to give than to receive. [Acts 20:35]...[Hope that]...all Israelites will meet in the near future in their dearest city of Jerusalem. [102] This feature of identifying Samoan Christians with believers of biblical communities of faith illustrates a skilful appropriation of the Bible. This is seen in the appropriation of the biblical expression, 'the true Israelite' which is extensively used in many Announcements and Appeals. The biblical term is specifically used as a way of identifying the intended recipients of notices as true Israelites in various ways.[103] In the notice by the Church of Luatuanu'u:-'...I will depend on you the true Israelite.' [104] By the Church of Faletagaloa Safune:- 'I appeal in the manner of Jesus' words to Nathaniel - Behold the true Israelite without a lie.' [105] The notice by the village of Lepa substitutes the phrase 'the true Israelite' with its name, hence - 'You yourself the true villager of Lepa without a lie.' [106] Matatufu Church includes the term in a straightforward manner to evoke village loyalty of Matatufu people living in other parts of Samoa. The term is strongly emphasised and added an emotive stress by other villages. [107] The notice by Siutu Church identifies the intended readers as originally true Israelites:- 'It is your true village heart [loyalty] as a true Israelite.' [108] The notice by the Church of Sato'alepai makes a complete identification

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[102] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; September, 1953.

[103] In the same way, the vision of the Apostle Paul about a Macedonian man calling him to help is another example. The vision as in Acts 16:9-10 states : 'Come over to Macedonia and help us.' While it is included in a straightforward manner in many village church Announcements and Appeals to give the sense of urgency to their appeal, some notices, as shown in other categories, re-state it in the sense of a binding truth about Christian charity. A good example is the use by the village of Saoluafata mentioned above - 'I am inviting and calling in the Macedonian voice...' Some village notices go further to substitute the biblical Macedonia with the names of their villages. The village notice by Lepuia'i Manono is typical. After including the biblical quotation 'Come over to Macedonia and help us', the notice then relates, '...Where is Macedonia? Here in Lepuia'i'.

[104] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; November, 1953.

[105] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; March, 1953.

[106] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; April, 1947.

[107] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; December, 1947.

[108] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; August, 1955.

with an emotive stress, and added the welcome phrase of respect reserved for Samoan high chiefs only - 'The very, very true Israelite, [Afio mai ia] Welcome.' [109] The notice by the Church of Lona follows in the same straightforward manner - 'This is the last big thing in your village to show and to prove you are a true Israelite.' [110] The notice by the Church of Vaie'e for laying the cornerstone for the new church is most exemplary, when a few other statements in the notice are quoted together - 'The hope fulfilled is the growing and blossoming tree...The very true Israelite...Now raise the window of your upper room towards Jerusalem the capital centre of worship...'. [111] This practice of identifying Samoan Christians as true Israelites reflects one of the clearest examples of the mutual interpenetration between the biblical world and the Samoan cultural world. It was a measure of the highest religiosity and a mark of true wisdom to be conversant, well versed, and to reflect a biblical character in language and behaviour.

Some Announcements and Appeals employ a biblical quotation from events of similar nature in the Bible to those undertaken in villages as mentioned in the notices. In other words, biblical references are employed for similarities of ideas, and are intended to illustrate present experience [in the context included in Announcements and Appeals] on the assumption that the contents of biblical references have similar motivations and meanings. For its fundraising census, the village of Saleimoa includes the words of Nehemiah in the event of holding a census for the people of God:- 'Then God put it into my mind to assemble the nobles and the officials and the people to be enrolled by genealogy.' [Nehemiah 7:5].[112] In the same respect the village of Sapapali'i in 1927 paraphrased the exemplary loyalty of Nehemiah which was shown in his return to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem to attract support from its village members around Samoa and overseas. 'May you have the "true village heart" of Nehemiah. Despite the distance of

[109] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; August, 1955.

[110] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; 1957.

[111] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; 1957.

[112] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; 1953.

Babylon, and his exalted status and blessing there, such things did not win him over. What won over him was his "true village heart", his loyalty...'[113]

A variation of this is their employment to give a sense of importance to other members or relations of the village church who have not yet contributed, or, who may be thinking that their late contributions would have less importance than those received earlier. By the Church of Afonotele:- 'The whole bunch of vine gathered is not much better than the branch of vine yet to be gathered of Ephraim. I have started [the work] but you will finish it...Come now and we shall ride on my chariot so that you shall witness my dedication to Yahweh.' [114] A similar example is provided by the church of Fasito'outa village about a fundraising census for more funds to complete the village church. It includes the biblical expression - 'Better the end of a matter than its beginning,...'[Ecclesiastes 7:8]. The notice further impresses the better course 'that seeing is believing' to encourage participation by using the biblical reference to part of the story of Queen Sheba in the reign of King Solomon :- 'It is better to see and then you believe it; then you will go and witness as done by Queen Sheba in the days of Solomon.' [115] In the same manner, the Church of Faleapuna refers to the story of the doubting Apostle Thomas to further impress the need to attend the fundraising census for church renovation :- 'It is best if you come to look and witness; The Apostle Thomas' opinion is good...I need to put my hands at the places pierced by nails.' [116]

One remarkable feature of many 'Announcements and Appeals' is the skilful use of combinations of biblical expressions of faith, parts of narratives, phrases, ideas, and

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[113] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; January, 1927.

[114] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; June, 1952.

[115] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; December , 1932.

[116] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; April, 1947.

references to other parts of the Church liturgy like hymns.[117] The church 'Announcement and Appeal' for the dedication of the Church of Matatufu is analysed as typical.

> 'IT IS FINISHED. The prayer of David is now ended...To our families, this notice is different, It is not a voice of one who's weary and is calling for help. But it is a declaration, "It is finished". I am small but able, because I have put my heart in it...[I only intend for you] to see the work I have done for the worship of our children to the Eternal King. Come free [with nothing]; do not attempt to bring anything. The strength of my bow is enough and is maintained since my hands have been strengthened by the Hands of the "Strength of Jacob". I do not say this to suggest that the work is beautiful and is worth seeing. Let someone else praise you but not from your "own mouth".'[118]

The notice is entitled "It is Finished' which is the exact words uttered by Jesus on the cross [John 19:30] and also part of the words by the Spirit of the Risen Christ in Revelation 21:6. It is intended for its dramatic appeal though it also shows the influence of biblical knowledge and a love for its use. Old Testament influences are shown in the quotation 'The prayer of David is now finished', in the expression - '...my hands have been strengthened by the Hands of the Strength of Jacob', and in the ethical advice - 'Let someone else praise you but not by your own mouth'. A verse of a hymn in the Samoan Church Hymnary is also included - 'I am small but able, because I have put my heart in it.'[119]

Another feature of the skilful appropriation of biblical references is to include them in a creative fusion with common Samoan language of respect in public appeals without

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[117] The skilful employment of verses from well known church hymns of the Samoan Church Hymnary demonstrates the extent of the appropriation of church liturgy within the operation of a biblical culture. The example by the village church of Taputimu for its fundraising census to complete the work of the church in 1952 is typical :- 'Our families and highly esteemed relations, the words of the hymns 353 and 356 written by Missionary Newell do not lose their sweetness, their exactitude, their truth, and their importance. You sing them [as you come], and I shall await you...and [then] we shall all sing together the hymn 224...'

[118] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; February, 1924.

[119] This is a phrase in the Hymn 380 in the E.F.K.S. Church Hymnary.

altering their main biblical meaning. A person unfamiliar with the Christian Bible would not be able to recognise the biblical contents which make up the substance of some Announcements and Appeals. This is common in many Announcements and Appeals, and operated on the assumption that readers were well-informed about the Bible, which was generally expected for most Samoans in these years, 1900's to 1950's. Though it may also be noted that a very common habit of Samoans is to use biblical references in a variety of ways as proof of wisdom and advance into holy life. Three examples would be sufficient. By the village church of Matautu Lefaga for its church dedication in 1947 :- '...We hope the fellowship of brothers will be a day of joy like the good oil on the head of the priest. Like the coolness of the dew from the mountains.'[Psalm 133]. [120] By the village Church of Satalo for its church dedication in 1956:- 'If this notice shall come to your attention, do not go the other way like the Levite and the Priest, but may you have the loving Spirit of the Samaritan.'[Luke 10:29-37]. [121] By the village Church of Asaga for the dedication of its church in 1953:- 'You will be guided [rightly] by the star situated at the centre of Amoa i Sisifo until you shall arrive properly in Bethlehem on this side of Pu'apu'a.' [122]

Some of the Church 'Announcements and Appeals' are notable for a number of biblical references strung together in one notice. Biblical references are both direct biblical quotations and also paraphrases of biblical quotations. Almost all are written by pastors as for most of the notices used in the case study. The stringing together of biblical references shows sophisticated patterns of thought and creative theological insights. A few examples are given.

The Announcement and Appeal by Safotu for the dedication of the village church runs as follows :- 'Because the true Israelite does not lie, but opens his window to see his true

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[120] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; December, 1947.

[121] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; 1956.

[122] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; 1953.

village Jerusalem. Come now to Macedonia to help...the greatest of these is love. It is more blessed to give than to receive...'. [123] A discernible feature is the inclusion of one Old Testament reference [Psalm 137] and four of the New Testament [John 1:47; Acts 16:9; I Cor 13:3; Acts 20:35]. This is less a preference for the New Testament than the Old Testament but rather the writer's greater familiarity with the New Testament. The crucial point is the logic of the thought that binds the biblical references in the given order which not only creates a biblically based kind of piety and ethical duty, but indicates the pastor's skill in weaving random biblical references to produce a complete message. The anticipated logic of thought in the mind of the person reading the Announcement and Appeal is as follows - Starting from the integrity of one's self-identification with religious identity, it must be shown by the relevant action which is a caring concern through the act of love, because giving of love is a blessed way of living.

The 'Announcement and Appeal' by the Church of Matautu Apia for its church dedication in 1952 is marked by its use of biblical examples of female loyalty and liberating love for one's people. The example of Esther is used together with a feminine reference[124] in the book of 'The Song of Solomon'. Reading the notice conjures up a romantic kind of sentimental piety. The most notable feature, like the 'Announcement and Appeal' by Safotu Church above, is the logic of the thought that links the different biblical references and gives unity to its intended purpose :-

> I adjure you I do not stir up nor awaken my love until she pleases. [But] please, I desire to stir you up and awaken you my dear in Samoa and overseas. Look at Esther in her dignified dwelling with King Ahasuerus, she did not think highly of her exalted status, but she saved and liberated her people the Judahites...There are three ways of life, but the best way is Love. [125]

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[123] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; 1953.

[124] Song of Solomon 2:7; Christian Bible.

[125] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; January, 1952.

The notice by Samatau Church for its fundraising census is sophisticated. It was written by a village pastor[126] who was well known for his ability to express biblical insights through Samoan expressions in preaching. Particularly illuminating are the biblical quotations and parts of biblical narratives and ideas which are cleverly woven into Samoan expressions to produce theological insights. The allusion to one outstanding example of the success of the Church in Samoa to channel the creative energy and strength of Samoa into the service of the work of God suggests a mind that was cradled in the Church's cultural-transforming role in Samoan society :-

> It is true. Love never ends, like prophecies. We are now walking the one mile. Come and we shall walk the second mile. [Afio mai] Come. Just yourself and your usherer of good and free willing heart which is in the house of love and of true village heart. Love is the Heart of the Kingdom of God. Fellowship is the weaving of the Book of the Gospel of Mutual Caring Love. There are no more wars to prove the best service to the country. Now it is only in the work of God that life of service is to be proved. Remember it is 'the money' that determines and reveals the true nature of the person as it was for Judas Zechariot... [127]

Some Church 'Announcements and Appeals' illustrate clearly the subordination of certain cultural values in village communities to the service of the Christian gospel through giving the highest recognition, and in institutionalised form, to the biblical God. One typical example is the notice by the village of Lufilufi for laying the cornerstone of their new church in 1950.

> ...At the usual place of residence of the highest Chiefs 'The Tuiatua's', it is now built for the second time the throne of the Almighty. All the true people of Lufilufi living in the four sides of Samoa and the farthest place, sleep with anticipation [a proper plan of action] like the man from A'ana. May you have the true village heart and loyalty of the Judahites as it was in

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[126] Pastor Leasuasu Tavita. F.S.

[127] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; March, 1951.

> the young man Nehemiah who lived at Susana [Susa] - LOVE, GET UP, COME, HELP.[128]

Another good example is the Church 'Announcement and Appeal' by the village of Vailu'utai in the March - April issue of 'O le Sulu Samoa' in 1933. The relevant aspect here is the offer by a chief of the village who was a carpenter to build the church without charging for his services. His explanation was that it is the opportunity where '...his wife and his children could be of some use [service] to the village.' A deeper significance is to show how an example of a village's need for community development is made possible by a family's sacrificial service. This is significant because in Samoan villages the village church is a community project which symbolises the worship of the biblical God. To build a village church is to build the soul and the life of the village. It is one of the main reasons for notification of members of the village in other parts of Samoa and overseas.

A third example of similar nature is the Church 'Announcement and Appeals' by Lalomanu village in the July-August issue of 'O le Sulu Samoa' in 1932. It refers to the chosen site for the church building which was to be situated on the elevated piece of land in the centre of the village so 'that the throne of Yahweh is exalted and is in the centre of the village.' One may further note in this same notice another example of the complete identification by the notice of the village Church community and all members of the village inside and overseas with the Old Testament Jewish community during the Babylonian Exile and the rebuilding of the Second Temple. As the notice has it - '...The Brethren in Babylonia, we are building our second Temple...'

A very common appropriation of biblical references is the 'playful application' of biblical ideas, events, and stories. So in the Appeal for support to complete the Church of Salani in 1931, the public is advised to 'Come running like the running of Ahi ma-az', as in 2 Samuel 18:19-23. [129] The notice by the Church of Lufilufi in 1953 for its fundraising

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[128] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; February , 1951.

[129] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; August, 1931.

census to complete its church includes an exaggerated emphasis of Jesus' teachings on the Christian duties to love and to give :- 'Jesus had likewise taught - Love, love, love; Give, give, give'. [130] The playful application of biblical references shows unmistakably the familiarity with the Bible and a love for its use in the operation of a Biblical culture and a Christian society.[131] God has humour according to the imaginative language of Samoans.

Some observations are in order in relation to the extensive and various appropriations by village churches of biblical contents of their 'Announcements and Appeals'. One is the freedom to adopt and adapt biblical materials to the ends envisaged by the village Churches. This often results in creative interpretations of biblical materials whether as direct quotations or as in their re-statements and paraphrases. And it shows further the deliberate subordination of the divinely inspired human experience of the biblical communities to the ends envisaged by Samoan Church communities. In this sense the Bible is more than a pilgrimage through history to merge past and present. It is also appropriated as the literary embodiment of the inspired past which the present utilises to cultivate the future.

Another observation is the operation of a mode of interpreting the Bible which is essentially a 'Cultural Hermeneutic of Human Experience'. This is most clear in the identification by 'Announcements and Appeals' of their cultural religious world and present experience, with their equivalents in the biblical community. It thus involves the mining out of the continuities and similarities in human experience and cultural sensitivities within a holistic and overarching belief in the 'Reality and Oneness of One God'. Mostly through the role of pastors who were responsible for writing Church

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[130] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; 1953.

[131] Popular community songs of Samoa for communal entertainments in communal gatherings widely appropriate the Bible in this sense - playful and humourous but never cynical. For example, songs like, Aue o Atamu, Atamu e; Fa'auta o le Mea e Matua Lelei...; Le Mavaega a Tavita ma Ionatana, etc.

'Announcements and Appeals', one clearly witnesses the continuing enriching of the Samoan language and expressions by the literature of the Bible. A most significant effect is the enlargement of the Samoan mind, both cultural and religious, to create new worlds of meanings, values, and cultural progress within the growing and extended horizon of Samoa's religious imagination. In the Samoan mind, the biblical God is also Samoan, and the Samoan language is one of God's many languages [speeches] in God's universal reign. Furthermore, through this aspect of Church Announcements and Appeals for village church development, the successful inter-penetration of the biblical world and the Samoan cultural world [or society in general] is most clearly illustrated. And it is also shown to have originated from the birthplace of Samoan culture and Samoan Christianity - which is the village.

Section B therefore relates directly to Section A [The Cultural Clue] because village Church Announcements and Appeals illustrate an important aspect of Samoan God-Talk which is largely derived from a certain operation of the Samoan cultural-biblical hermeneutics in the village Churches.

[C] BIBLE AND THE POLITICAL SPIRITUALITY OF SAMOAN CULTURAL AND POLITICAL LEADERS : 1830 - 1930.

(i) Introductory Note to a Vital Feature of the Samoan Mind : The Celebratory Relationship to the Past as an Aspect of the Holistic Samoan Mind.

An important aspect of the Samoan indigenous mind [or attitude] is its 'celebratory relationship' to its past, which is in many ways akin to the Judaeo-Christian mentality in the biblical literature. The past is celebrated with praise and gratitude though it also elicits criticism. The noble and life-giving aspects are celebrated as 'living-resources' for inspiration and for enlightenment. The ignoble aspects are remembered as

'understandable human efforts'[132], and as examples of deeds not to be repeated. This characteristic attitude contributes greatly to a conservative mental attitude or spirituality which is neither a decadent worship of the tyranny of traditions nor a blind refusal to change. Rather it is a mark of prudential wisdom born of experience, appreciation, and learned respect for meaningful traditions. Davidson captures this aspect well in the context, moment, and with the people [Samoan political leaders] which are of direct relevance, and indeed representative, to the important focus in this section of the chapter. As a participant in the Samoan Convention which deliberated to produce a Constitution for the political independence of Samoa, Davidson observes the characteristic Samoan conservatism :-

> Samoan conservatism - the preoccupation with continuity and with the avoidance of situations that could lead to a revival of factionalism is inimical to rapid decision. It is felt that problems are best left unresolved till a consensus has been reached, that silence or equivocation is wisest while significant differences of opinion remain.[133]

This conservative tone in political thinking characterised by the desire for cautious advance and for maintaining a firm link with the past, is born of Samoan cultural spirituality and is also well entrenched in the mainstream thinking of the Samoan Christian Church. There is a more fundamental rationale to this celebratory relationship to the past in the Samoan mind. It illustrates a holistic understanding of reality and life which naturally in turn engenders a holistic attitude and approach to reality and to life. Such holistic understanding is premised on a world view that understands the past, present, and future organically as one whole 'Reality in Continuum'. The dimensions of time - past, present, and future - coalesce into a focus of the present without losing the

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[132] This basically refers to the basic virtue of human patience and acceptance of limitations in human nature which is a fundamental element in Samoan oration. In this respect the limitations of ancestors and their times are related, always with sincerity and sympathy, in contrast to the felt-progress of the present. This element in Samoan oration [speech], as constitutive of Samoan cultural mentality and way of life, is a 'crucial point' where changes in culture occurs from within.

[133] Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, p.358. See also, Churchward, My Consulate in Samoa, p.131.

binding relationship to the past and its constituent focus to continuity, from which the seed that births the future is rooted.[134]

This brings to light another dimension of Samoan holistic mind - understanding their universe [the totality of their relationship with the animate and inanimate world] in a personal way. The complexity of this subject is beyond the scope of this section of the chapter. But it is partly shown above in the way Samoans celebrate their past, and in particular in their comprehension and appropriation of their past made possible through historical memory. It can be said that the heart of this Samoan understanding of their universe in a personal way involves an approach to life and living which requires that the best pace to conduct life is on the basis of the person's heart beat. This is the essence of Samoa's most authentic style [way] of decision-making called, ***Soalaupule***[135] [collective discussion of issues between all people that should be involved, and arriving at a consensus not by majority vote or its supposition, but when each participant is sincerely agreeable]. The main objective is to value the human person as an end and who is always worth something either to society or to God.

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[134] In other words, the past, present and future are conceived as different aspects of 'One Divine Decision' always intertwined with 'the life and experience of the human', and must be comprehended as 'one complex whole' in any given historical circumstance. It means that the past is more than the sum of the noble and ignoble deeds of the dead. It includes the 'LIFE' the dead had lived which transcends mortality and had returned to its divine source. This is the 'Eternal Life' which is part of the life of the 'Present', and which the present receives to find that it includes the story of the past. This latter aspect of the eternal life - the refusal to let the past go from memory - is what the present uniquely inherits from the past. And it does so through the eternal and all-encompassing presence of eternal life which is basically Divine. For the present, this life is received 'fresh from the Word', whose source is ultimately Divine, and it comes in part through historical memory. In this sense, the past is always a 'potential presence' available to and for the present. The same is true of the future. While the present is a 'potential past' to the future from the perspective of the future, the future lies dormant in the present. This sense in holistic Samoan understanding is congruous to the doctrinal concept in biblical understanding called **Realised Eschatology**, and also the philosophically-related theological concept of the **Eternal Now**. It is also similar to the biblical insight usually related to the Book of Ecclesiastes - 'There is nothing new under the sun'. In the Samoan mind, this does not connote a sense of fatalism or a negative view of life as some bible interpreters understand the theology of the Ecclesiastes. Rather it is a positive affirmation of the sufficiency of what is in life for the life of everything in the holistic foundation of thinking and understanding of reality.

[135] For the etymology of this Samoan term, and its essential significance within the Samoan holistic understanding especially in cultural and political leadership see, Aiono Le Tagaloa, " The Samoan Culture and Government", pp.117; 122-123

The brief diversion to explain the holistic nature of the Samoan mind would clearly show why there is the irresistible and even passionate attachment to the past. For to the Samoan mind, the path to the future is walking the footsteps of its ancestors and ancestoresses.[136] It is believed to be the most reliable source of assurance and certainty mostly because it is received 'fresh from the Word' and stored in life-giving cultural traditions, and transmitted throughout generations in historical memory. To the Samoan mind, historical memory is as much a part of a person's mental faculty as it is a part of the moral constitution of community ethics and mores. As such, it is greatly revered and treasured as a 'living inheritance' both in the personal and in the community [public] realms for their life-giving potentials.

Walking to the future in the footsteps of ancestors and ancestoresses is more than an illustration of a cultural hope, a cultural faith, and an expression of the holistic nature of the Samoan mind. It is also more than part of the Samoan pragmatic epistemology to conduct life on the basis and pace of the human heart. It is a fundamental aspect of cultural hermeneutic or cultural epistemology of modern Samoa which, as explained and illustrated in Sections A and B, seeks to place, and to defend the biblical God in the most highest, most authoritative, and most life-giving spheres of Samoan society - in politics, culture, and in Church.

For the immediate purpose of this section, I intend to do two things which are closely related. One is to show how this 'spirit in Fa'asamoa' is a cultural heritage modern Samoa has inherited from its past national and culturally recognised leaders. Secondly is to show how this had cultivated among a succession of Samoan national leaders during some of the formative periods and events in the historical growth of modern Samoa a kind of political spirituality. This political spirituality is characterised by a cultural mind largely baptised by the biblical gospel, and thus agitated for the achievement of national

[136] It is the way to proper understanding of Roots and Origins which furnish an educated articulation of future visions. In real life, it explains cultural traditions which make binding various codes of morals like respect and obedience for Elders whether kin-related or not.

aspirations and goals to be based on biblical inspiration and biblical education. At the root is the desire to trust no other ultimate belief or ultimate concern which does not have the biblical God as its foundation.

(ii) A Heritage in the Making : The First Christian King of Samoa - Malietoa Vainu'upo, 1830 - 1841.

This first Christian King of Samoa occupies the most revered place in the 'historical memory' of modern Samoa. In the political history of Samoa he stands in succession to an ancient tradition of leading family and district chiefs of the same title Malietoa dated back to A.D.1000.[137] In the history of the Samoan Church he represented a very dignified and highly honoured Malietoa family in the tradition of cultural families.[138] As a King 'after God's heart' like King David of the Bible,[139] Malietoa died as he lived as a Christian King since his Christian baptism in 1830, but never as a 'King of Samoan Christians'. The latter was a result of Malietoa's personal conviction which was publicly demonstrated in his dying testament which will be referred to in greater detail later. The immense respect accorded to Malietoa Vainu'upo in the 'historical memory' of Samoa is a tribute to his exemplary pious character and the historic revolutionary influence of his convictions and personal decisions.[140] Equally important, it is also associated with a cherished belief by the Samoans that it was his time and during his kingship that Samoa had witnessed the fulfilment of certain Samoan prophecies foretelling the coming of the

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[137] Meleisea, Lagaga, p.203 [A Chronology of Samoan History].

[138] K. T .Faletoese, O le Tala Fa'asolopito o le Ekalesia Samoa [L.M.S.]. (Malua : Malua Printing Press, 1959), p.9.

[139] Malietoa Vainu'upo 'changed' his name to Malietoa Tavita (David) as proof of his conversion, though possible also because the Book of St Matthew was the first Book of the Bible to be translated and made available in the Samoan language. King David is mentioned in Chapter One in the genealogy of Jesus Christ.

[140] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; 1930. Also Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa, pp.27-28, 42.

heavenly King for Malietoa's government and better days for Samoa.[141] It is still generally believed by modern Samoans that this was the most hallowed time and the foundational moment which heralded the birth of modern and civilised Samoa. Of direct importance to our purpose is Malietoa's ***mavaega*** [Dying Testament] in 1841 to which the origin of Samoa's national motto, '***Fa'avae i le Atua Samoa***', is directly traced. In his ***mavaega***, Malietoa Vainu'upo declared before Samoa, in particular the congregation of Samoa's traditional authority, that Samoa would recognise and worship one King who was also their one God - the biblical God 'revealed in the biblical drama of incarnation'. Malietoa's declaration could not fail to exert significant influence especially when it was made public before an important congregation of Samoan cultural authorities, besides the obvious fact that it came from such a highly venerated King whose chiefly title [Malietoa] carried the dignity that his word was the command for Samoa ['O le Malietoa e fa'alogo i ai Samoa'].[142] The Samoan and the translated version of Malietoa Vainu'upo's mavaega are as follows :-

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[141] These Samoan prophecies are included in Note 4. It may be of interest to consider the prophetic role and the actual prophecy of Nafanua as similar to the prophetic role and prophecy of John the Baptist in relation to the coming of the Jewish Messiah, Jesus Christ. For the subject of world or human spirituality, the affinities in relation to the pre-emptive goodness of the Divine as always directed for the betterment of the human and all the created world can not be doubted.

[142] The origin of this cultural designation of King Malietoa is traced to two known traditions. The ancient one relates to the honour given to the first Malietoa, Malietoa Savea, in recognition of the role of his family in freeing Samoa from the despotic rule of the Tongans at about 1000A.D. The recent one relates to an historic meeting and agreement between Malietoa Vainu'upo and Tuimanu'a (the leading Chief of the islands of American Samoa and Manu'a) somewhere between 1830 and 1841. Briefly, the tradition preserves this story. That after all the leading high chiefs of other Samoan districts had agreed that Samoa would worship 'only' the God of the Bible, Malietoa went last to receive the opinion of the Tuimanu'a which was found agreeable. Chiefs in American Samoa and Manu'a emphasise the point that it was Tuimanu'a who referred to Malietoa in the honorary designation 'O Malietoa e fa'alogo i ai Samoa'. This is meant to suggest that it was necessary for Malietoa to seek the consent of Tuimanu'a for being the highest of all high chiefs in their side of Samoa, and for all Samoa in relation to the real origin of Samoa. An important agreement was also made that Samoa would accept no other religion besides Christianity. To this date, the Manu'a island observes this agreement, but not American Samoa and Western Samoa. Both traditions are true. The crucial point relates to the cultural recognition and impact of Malietoa Vainu'upo's dying testament. While the ancient tradition secures the national status of Malietoa in Samoan society, the recent one gave more legitimacy and ensured its effective impact by the fact that Malietoa had already consulted and received the unanimous consent of all leading chiefs of leading districts of Samoa. His dying testament was therefore binding on all Samoa, hence its perennial influence on the evolution of Modern Samoa.

> 'Tumua, o outou papa na outou fa'ae'e ia te a'u, o le a ou alu ma a'u i le tu'ugamau. Aua nei toe fa'aaogaina, a ia tasi le Tupu o Samoa tau lava o le Atua e to'atasi; o le Satauro foi o Keriso Iesu ia outou tapuai i ai seia o'o i lona toe afio mai. Ae o ina tala'i le Talalelei ia Keriso Iesu i nu'u ese, o lo outou manuia lena, e tumau ai pea lo outou mamalu e o'o i le fa'avavau.'[143]
>
> Tumua,[144] your titles you have bestowed on me, I will take with me to the grave. Do not use them again. There will be only one King of Samoa and that is the one God [the biblical God].[145] [The Gospel][146] of the cross of Jesus Christ you shall worship until his return. But go and spread the Gospel of Jesus Christ to other countries. That is your blessing. It will also maintain and safeguard your dignity to eternity.

This is a highly significant testament from a King who may have erred in subordinating his Christian privilege, influence, and association to his cultural and political ambitions.[147] But such alleged limitations can not be exaggerated given the brief years, 1830-1841, of his exposure to Christianity, and also in the light of his other useful services for the course of Christianity in Samoa.[148] A closer analysis of Malietoa's mavaega [dying testament] vindicates its immense and perennial significance in the historical memory of modern Samoa.

The most significant is the literal content and meaning of the **mavaega**. The leaders of Samoa are instructed to embark on a complete reversal of ultimate beliefs, ultimate values, and ultimate concerns and direction. The significance of his utterance to take with

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[143] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; June, 1951, p.120.

[144] '***Tumua***' refers both to the leading orators of the leading districts of the Island of Upolu and also to the whole Island of Upolu.

[145] My addition, as implied in the original Samoan version.

[146] My addition, as implied in the original Samoan version.

[147] For some examples and brief discussion of these see, Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa , pp.12-13; Also Gilson, Samoa 1830-1900, pp.107, 117-118, 125. And Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, pp.35-36.

[148] Numerous examples of missionary work to convert Samoa by members of Malietoa's families around Samoa, and people in districts with allegiance to King Malietoa are found in the two sources, 'O le Sulu Samoa'; June 1944, pp.94-95; And in the 'Parish Book' of the E.F.K.S. Church of Sapapali'i (Western Samoa). Some of them became the first Samoan missionaries to the Pacific Islands in 1839.

him to the grave the ***papa*** [titles which in combination and in possession by a chief would legitimise his kingship over Samoa] must be stressed for its symbolic power and its revolutionary consequences.[149] It is a ceremonial enactment of the 'eternal death and complete erasure' of any idea or cultural aspiration for Samoa to have a human king. The logical implication of this was to envisage the world of Samoa turned upside down. In the historical context of the time, it was the call to end the blood spilled, the life wasted, and the strength misused to seek cultural status and power to dominate and to rule. The corollary to this was to end all cultural conflicts and wars but to embark on a new commitment to cultivate peace all over Samoa.[150]

The least recognised but no less revolutionary aspect of the ***mavaega*** was the instruction to re-direct Samoa's ultimate concern to become a missionary people to other countries, for it was a way of receiving divine blessings, and also a way of retaining the respectability of Samoan chiefs and culture forever. Malietoa's suggestion to Samoa to become a missionary people was the extension of what his families and all the villages and districts related to him had already done and were still doing for Samoa by becoming wandering preachers and resident village teachers in different villages of Samoa. If the first Samoan missionaries overseas were beckoned by the 'King of Kings' through the prompting of the Divine Spirit, it must be added that part of the joy of these Samoans to become missionaries was influenced by the example of their King who was already a Christian missionary among his own people.

One observation is self evident. That Malietoa's ***mavaega*** was a culmination of his [Malietoa's] consistent service with his families and all his cultural connections for the

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[149] For its controversial significance in the immediate historical context of cultural politics see, Meleisea, Lagaga, p.74. Its essential meaning is already noted by Davidson that it was to ensure that the '***Tafa'ifa***' [the combination of four great titles which legitimises one to become the national king] 'should never again be held by one man'; and by Gilson, that 'it was ostensibly to prevent war that the ***Tafa'ifa*** was to die with him'.
Sources ; Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, p.42; Gilson, Samoa 1830-1900, p.117.

[150] Gilson, Samoa 1830-1900, p.117.

course of the Gospel in Samoa. Furthermore, it provided a pioneer and powerful example of a counter-culture and a culture-transforming Christian leadership from within the cultural and political spheres of Samoa. It represents the genesis of the unique Samoan political spirituality which is infused with biblical faith, and was to continue with remarkable consistency by successive cultural and political leaders of Samoa up to the twentieth century. It simultaneously gave the national recognition if also the origin of the 'spirit in the Fa'asamoa' which seeks to defend the place of the biblical God in the highest and most authoritative power centres of Samoa's national life. It was therefore the ultimate beginning of the modern national identity of Samoa - Fa'avae i le Atua Samoa : Samoa is Founded in God.

The refusal of Samoa's historical memory to underrate his time and his kingship is largely due to his pioneer and revolutionary contributions in several ways mentioned above. One example in modern Samoa is typical. In the Samoan Church[151] Malietoa's ***mavaega***, especially the parts which refer to God as the only King of Samoa and to the symbolic rejection of a future human king for Samoa, is constantly heard in preaching in village churches and also in annual General Assemblies of the Church. It is used for inspiration to faithful discipleship. It is also used as polemic against any pretensions mainly by the laity and village chiefs who are deacons in village churches to aspire for power in the village churches, or to wield chiefly authority within the community fellowship of village churches. The constant reference to this by Samoan orators in church occasions, or in general cultural gatherings is to highlight the historical and legitimate role of Samoan culture in giving dignity to the role of the church in culture, and the necessity of the chiefly authority to complement the role of the pastor in the pastoral ministry of the village church. Subsequent political history of Samoa after 1841 seemed to have made a farce of Malietoa Vainu'upo's mavaega. Civil wars continued

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[151] By personal acquaintance and a born member of the E.F.K.S. It is true for all Christian denominations in Samoa.

until the close of the nineteenth century.[152] But this was the 'war story of Samoa' which was declining as in the Samoan proverb - the tree stands but its fate is sealed [E tu le la'au a ua o ia], and is sure to fall. There was a larger and more promising story which was making its 'silent revolution' in the villages (the birthplaces of Samoan culture) and was already beginning to make its irrevocable impact on Samoa, and was starting from the recognised cultural authority of Samoa. This was the story of peace-making political spirituality which was biblically based, and was to become a force to unite warring districts and chiefs on a new basis of national unity. For the national leaders in particular, it became a weapon to interact and to engage the domineering political power of the foreign powers with their uncouth naval presence and their barbaric application. Its hopeful feature lay in the fact that it originated from within Samoan cultural leadership, in particular, by the cultural appropriation of the Christian Bible. And as already mentioned above it was the greatest contribution by Malietoa Vainu'upo to the political spirituality of Samoa in the national level of Samoan life, and for the national leaders of Samoan culture. For through his kingship and influence, in particular through his mavaega, the Bible had made its successful entrance and its powerful challenge to the very heart of Samoa's political and cultural mind which was inclined to factionalism and rivalry.

(iii) IRRESISTIBLE HERITAGE 1870 -1930.

(a) Samoan National Leaders in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century - Tupua Tamasese Titimaea, Malietoa Laupepa, Mata'afa Iosefo.

An in depth study of each leader is unnecessary for the main purpose of this section. The main concern here is to see in their political careers in particular, Malietoa Laupepa and Mata'afa Iosefo a maturing concern for biblical peace in spite of their involvement in cultural conflicts for supremacy. They also reflect the state of Samoan national leaders

[152] See the general histories of Samoa already mentioned above by, Davidson, Gilson, Masterman, and Meleisea.

towards the end of the nineteenth century. A preliminary survey of the historical background of this period, in particular its political and cultural aspects, is necessary.

The Historical Context - 1870 - 1900.

The cultural and political history of Samoa in this period is more than adequately surveyed and documented in the works by Kennedy, Meleisea, Davidson, Gilson, Keesing, and Masterman.[153] Two central and related issues confronted cultural and political leaders of Samoa and the three resident consuls of the three colonial Powers of Britain, United States of America, and Germany. One was the problem of governing a multicultural community which necessitated the establishment of a centralised political government. The other was the deeper issue of Samoan sovereignty against the foreign Powers in the pursuit of their worldwide colonial and imperialistic concerns which were economic, strategic, mission-related humanitarianism, cultural and sentimental.[154] Various attempts on both sides to address the former issue ended in failure because it was directly related to the latter. The perspective from which the Samoans approached a solution was nevertheless characterised by political realism.[155] Its historical manifestation in the 1870's is clearly identified by Kennedy :-

> Once again, a situation existed in which the white interests manoeuvred between the Samoan groupings in order to secure political and commercial advantage, while at the same time the various native bodies themselves

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[153] The works by these authors cover mostly the period from 1830-1900. For a brief introduction to the history of Samoa prior to 1830, see the book by Meleisea, the Samoan historian, Lagaga. The relevant works by Meleisea, Davidson, and Gilson have already been referred to in previous notes. For the other two; Paul. M. Kennedy, The Samoan Tangle : Study in Anglo-German-American Relations 1878-1900. (Dublin : Irish University Press, 1972). And, Sylvia Masterman, The Origins of International Rivalry in Samoa 1845-1884. (London : Unwin Brothers Ltd, 1934). Further historical works relevant to this aspect are indicated in historical sources cited.

[154] The works of Masterman and Kennedy are detailed works on these aspects of the three Powers. Masterman, for the period 1840's to 1880's; Kennedy, for the period 1870's - 1900's.

[155] Here and henceforth, this concept when referred to the Samoan political attitude simply means - the acceptance of the reality of foreign presence in all manners of its civilisation, and the attempts to find political solutions on the assumption of this unavoidable presence. It was a cultural attitude which was influenced and encouraged in positive ways by Christianity and in consideration of the benefits of Papalagis' civilisation.

> were endeavouring to strengthen their hands by obtaining the support of one of the great powers. By the beginning of 1877, the Samoans seemed to be turning more and more to the idea of throwing their islands under the protection of either Britain or the United States - if only to avoid being ground between the many external and internal pressures...but their publicised offers of cession or a protectorate led to the most frenzied negotiations and stimulated the conflicting white interests and their more reluctant governments into a race to obtain recognition by treaty of their 'rights' in the group. [156]

Davidson captures the true Samoan spirit within this political attitude, and it was one that characterised Samoan political approach throughout the rest of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century :-

> Though the Samoans were intent on avoiding annexation, the combination of internal autonomy and the help of a friendly power in handling their relations with other foreign governments was a solution that strongly appealed to them. [157]

The eventual failure of the Samoan perspective (approach) was the result less of the uncertainties of its traditional politics which may have impressed upon the foreign powers the inescapable need to assume control of Samoa as a colony.[158] Rather, it was largely the result of the 'complex presence' of foreign traders and settlers with economic and commercial interests which involved political motives.[159] Undoubtedly among the

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[156] Kennedy, The Samoan Tangle, p.12.

[157] Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, p.49.

[158] Masterman is of this opinion in relation to the negative value of Samoa on the Great Powers : 'Had the natives shown themselves capable of forming an independent Government which maintained order, the problem would not have become so acute. It was the failure of native autonomy that led to attempts to control the native Government'.
Masterman, The Origins of International Rivalry in Samoa...,pp.197-198.

[159] Kennedy is emphatic on this point while also acknowledging the weakness of Samoan cultural politics:- 'It was a swiftly changing and chaotic state of politics, although the natives themselves do not appear to have complained much of it. Its real weakness lay in its potentiality for exploitation either by unscrupulous white traders, who were ever at hand to sell arms to both sides, or by established European firms, which sought commercial security and advantage by backing one of the rival candidates in a succession of quarrels in the expectation of being able to influence, or even control, the Tafa'ifa they had placed in power.'

Samoans, the old struggle for titular supremacy reasserted itself in a form which was exasperated by religious divisions[160] (denominational rivalry), and which complicated the efforts to achieve national unity needed for a stable and centralised government. But this was a faint remnant of Samoan unchristian cultural politics which at this period was largely in decline. It erupted again as a response to foreign Powers' attempts to impose solutions on traditional politics. In particular, the various attempts to achieve central government based on foreign Powers' preferred choices of traditional leaders conflicted with traditional understanding of the most legitimate and appropriate leader according to culture and its changing demands and moods. On a deeper level, the political concept of central government to provide a focus of national leadership and unity, and its implied exaltation of either a Samoan or a foreign leader, was not congenial to the increasing God-conscious spirit of Samoan traditional leaders. In addition the eruption was once again unavoidable in the continuing struggle by Samoans to control if also to combat the increasing encroachment by foreign settlers on its sovereignty especially through their insatiable demands for land. In this connection Meleisea is emphatic in stressing '...the long struggle among the Samoans for a viable central government to protect Samoan sovereignty, and the repeated sabotage of these efforts by rival European factions motivated by their claims to Samoan land.'[161]

The failure of the foreign Powers in relation to the two central issues above was more blame-worthy as generally attested to by Davidson, Masterman, and Meleisea mostly; and to a qualified extent by Keesing. While they attribute part of the failure to the fluctuating character of Samoan traditional politics, and the unavoidable consequence of cultural contact of different world civilisations, they are most emphatic on the negative role of the political intrigues of the resident consuls and officials of foreign Powers in

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Kennedy, The Samoan Tangle, p.4.

[160] For this, see, Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, p.53; And Forman, The Island Churches...,p.24.

[161] Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa, p.42. For an understanding of the relationship between land and the Samoan conception of authority or sovereignty see, Meleisea, Change and Adaptations in Western Samoa, pp.25, 29-30.

Samoa, which reflect the irresponsible politics and international diplomacies of their respective countries. According to Davidson, 'The failure was indeed, an almost inevitable consequence of western impact on Samoa'[162] as was the case in Tahiti in the 1830s, in Hawaii in the 1850s, and in Fiji in the 1870s.[163] Its reality for Samoa in the 1870s is related thus:-

> In Samoa European interests were too strongly entrenched before a serious attempt was...made to form such a government. In the 1870's Apia was, next to Honolulu, the most important port in the Pacific Islands. Settlers were engaged in developing, or in planning to develop, a large proportion of Samoan lands as commercial plantations. Under these conditions, no Samoan government had any real chance of establishing its authority. Furthermore, the Powers were not uninterested in Samoa, but their interest was centred upon their own advantage and that of their nationals. During 1878 and 1879 the United States, Germany and Britain all entered into treaty relations with Samoa. The three Treaties had certain common characteristics. In particular, they all included a "most favoured nation" clause, so that a concession granted to one Power had also to be granted to the others... [164]

The situation in the 1880s and the 1890s did not lend to likely success because. as Davidson further concludes, 'Since European encroachments on Samoan sovereignty had made political stability impossible, traditional rivalries continued to dominate politics till the end of the century'.[165] And it was also because, 'Not infrequently, Europeans sought to encourage Samoan factionalism in the hope that it could be used to serve their own purposes'.[166]

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[162] Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, p.58.

[163] Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, p.58.

[164] Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, p.58,60.

[165] Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, p.61.

[166] Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, p.61.

Masterman is equally emphatic especially in relation to the underlying motivation (spirit) by which the foreign Powers conducted their diplomacies in Samoa from the 1840s to the end of the nineteenth century.

> Within Polynesia, the history of Samoa illustrates with peculiar aptness and emphasis the problem of the mingling of Polynesian native with invading white men. The problem at the root of the question might be posed thus : "What form of government can be compassed that will admit of white encroachment, and also of the preservation of the native peoples?...A distinct contrast to the problem which arose later (circ.,1884), ie. Who is to have which islands and in exchange for what?" [167]

Keesing concludes his discussion of the problematic control by the three Powers in a more qualified manner.

> From the point of view either of securing the peace and order so desired by the whites or of refashioning the native Samoan polity into some workable system of autonomous national government they certainly achieved little success. The jealousy of the powers prevented any one nation taking charge and by sheer domination producing order and a unified control. On the other hand, whites, official and unofficial, continuously thwarted native factions in their attempt to settle their rivalries by the old method of fighting to a finish, or rather to a point where a malo [victorious] party exercised a paramount if temporary dominance. [168]

In 1899, the three Powers after three decades of joint influence on Samoan political affairs finally partitioned the Samoan Islands - Germany to rule over Western Samoa, United States of America over Eastern Samoa, and Britain withdrawing her colonial interests in favour of colonial concessions from Germany elsewhere in the Pacific. Politically, Samoa fell victim to this manifestation of a 'new imperialism' in the Pacific. The resentment by Samoan political leaders of this partition of Samoa was not surprising. To what extent the general populace understood and were made aware of this is less

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[167] Masterman, The Origins of International Rivalry in Samoa, p.194.

[168] Keesing, Modern Samoa, p.74.

known. But the 'sarcastic disbelief' by the modern Samoan historian, Meleisea, in his observation of the nature of colonial politics by the Powers in this period may well express their historical silence. According to Meleisea :-

> The twenty years from 1880 to 1900 were a period in which the great powers were like three large dogs snarling over a very small bone...Although the 'three dogs' almost fought one another in 1888, they eventually agreed to break 'the bone' up between them and add it to their larger and more important 'collection of bones' or Empires. [169]

The Peace Tradition of Samoan Culture Through the Dying Testaments of their Cultural Leaders.[170]

It is somehow ironic that Samoan national leaders seemed to make a habit to declare for the need for peace in their dying testaments. As seen in the case of Malietoa Vainu'upo above, it was also true in the examples of leaders below. In 1889, Tupua Tamasese Titimaea made his dying testament before his families and all Samoans connected to him through chiefly titles :-'Let Sa Malietoa and Sa Tupua take turns in Kingship, and there shall be no more wars and bloodshed in Samoa forever, but shall live in peace.'[171] In 1898 Malietoa Laupepa made his dying testament in similar terms -'Mata'afa Iosefo is to succeed me in Kingship. The heirs of Sa Malietoa and Sa Tupua should take turns.'[172] In favouring a system of alternation these dying testaments exemplify a commitment to a central element of political ingenuity within traditional politics in relation to leadership succession. It holds the potential for securing lasting peace because it is the cultural mechanism which maintains order and stability in the Samoan traditional system of authority - a unitary system of dispersed power. Its fundamental merit is the recognition of the 'equal and democratic rights' of the culturally recognised families, districts and

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[169] Meleisea, Lagaga, p.101.

[170] See Appendix I for further enlightenment about this aspect.

[171] Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, p.73.

[172] Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, p.73.

chiefly titles to shared leadership at the national level. When locating these dying testaments in their specific historical contexts,[173] their significance for achieving national peace and security will be evident in contrast to the divisive influence of the encroachment by foreign Powers. In the Samoan Constitution of 1881, the political settlement by the Powers made Malietoa Laupepa King, Tupua Tamasese Titimaea vice-king, and Mata'afa Iosefo was excluded for being Catholic. The rift between Laupepa and Titimaea in 1885 led to the formation of two separate governments, and it was provoked and exploited by the Germans in their efforts to eliminate British and American influence and establish full control of Samoa. In supporting Titimaea, the Germans after a systematic persecution of the Laupepa government exiled Laupepa in 1887 to the Marshall Islands, and was returned in 1889 to find his rival Titimaea dying, and making his testament which, as mentioned above, recognised their dual rights for the Kingship office. The dying testament by Malietoa Laupepa in 1898 is significant because it was directly connected to his controversial appointment to the office of the Kingship after Titimaea on his return from exile in 1889. For his appointment by the Powers was a compromise solution which, according to Davidson, was based on diplomatic expedience but not on a rational assessment of the cultural situation in Samoa.[174] So the ailing Titimaea was unacceptable to the British and Americans; and Mata'afa Iosefo who had the majority support of the Samoans, and was already conferred the Malietoa title by the majority side of the Malietoa family, was unacceptable to the Germans for leading a successful popular revolt against Titimaea - the German supported leader. The crucial point is the recognition in Malietoa Laupepa's dying testament of the rightful succession of Mata'afa Iosefo to the Kingship as representative of the Sa Tupua family. It shows he had never lost sight of Mata'afa's rightful claim for national leadership; and it is even

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[173] There are various accounts relating to these, and the specific political developments and cultural issues involved. See especially, Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, pp.61-67, 72-73. And Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa,pp. 38-42. Also, Gilson, Samoa 1830-1900, Chapters 15, 16, and Conclusion; most specifically pp.415-433.

[174] Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, p.65. Meleisea confirms Davidson's point by saying - 'The decision was foolish because it took no account of the realities of the situation in Samoa.' Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa, p.40.

more significant when part of his own Malietoa family chose his eighteen year old son [Tanumafili] as successor which was upheld by the Court. The resulting civil war clearly vindicated the alternating system for national leadership which was maintained in the dying testaments of Titimaea and Laupepa. It is difficult to doubt that these leaders' dying testaments reflected their Christian characters. For their peace-making intentions show a larger concern for securing future national unity and peace. And the professed spirit is clearly beyond the limited boundaries of family and district loyalties, which were some of the major causes of cultural conflicts and civil wars of Samoa in the nineteenth century. Davidson's observation when referring to these dying testaments in connection to the imposed political settlement by European powers would support this - 'Samoan leaders themselves, at least when concern for political harmony took precedence over personal ambition, seem to have favoured alternation.' [175] These glimpses of peace-making mentality were expressions of leaders' growing assertion of biblically-based political spirituality in the national level which reflect the irresistible influence of the Christian Bible in forming character. A closer look at Malietoa Laupepa and Mata'afa Iosefo will illustrate this more clearly.

MALIETOA LAUPEPA.

Malietoa Laupepa's dying testament shown above to be expressive of a biblically-based political spirituality for peace was to be expected from a 'King' who was educated at Malua Theological Seminary, and whose display of Christian piety fleshed out in empathetic concern for his people was a consistent feature of his character.[176] Robert Louis Stevenson who was personally acquainted with Laupepa was to have a lasting admiration of Laupepa despite the latter's other uninspiring traits as a political leader. According to Stevenson, 'It is not so much the facts that are historical, as the man's

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[175] Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, p.73.

[176] Churchward, My Consulate in Samoa, pp.2, 63, 372-382, 388. Also Robert Louis Stevenson, A Footnote to History : Eight Years of Trouble in Samoa. (London : Cassell & Company Ltd, 1892). These two sources are personal accounts which include first hand knowledge of Malietoa Laupepa.

attitude...'[177]. Laupepa's empathetic concern had on one occasion exemplified the Cristian virtue of self sacrifice for the love and well-being of his Samoan people.[178] Hearing of the threatened consequences to the Samoans by the German government if he did not surrender to the government, Laupepa gave himself up.[179] With tears he accepted exile from his homeland with the thought that he might not return.[180] His farewell letter to Samoa shows his heart and his Christian faith :-

> To all Samoa. On account of my great love to my country and my great affection to all Samoa, this is the reason that I deliver up my body to the German Government. That government may do as they wish to me. The reason for this is, because I don't desire that the blood of Samoa shall be spilt for me again. But I don't know what is my offence which has caused their anger to me and to my country. Tuamasaga, farewell! Manono and family, farewell! So, also, Salafai, Tutuila, Aana, and Atua, farewell! If we don't again see one another in this world, pray that we may be again together above. [181]

Laupepa was returned from exile to find his rival Titimaea, T.T. dying of a broken heart, but not before he made his dying testament [mentioned above] which was a noble gesture of reconciliation for the two high chiefs, if also an encouraging welcome to the returning Laupepa. The 1889 political settlement by the foreign powers posed a great temptation for the Samoan leaders especially Mata'afa who was generally favoured by Samoa to be the rightful claimant to be 'King' at the time. For a while Laupepa and Mata'afa proved

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[177] Stevenson, A Footnote to History..., p.86.

[178] Stevenson, A Footnote to History...,pp.78-80.

[179] Stevenson recorded this German threat in the way it reached Malietoa Laupepa : 'If Malietoa did not give himself up before ten on the morrow, he was told that great sorrow must befall his country.' [Stevenson, A Footnote to History..., p.78]. It was according to Keesing [Modern Samoa, p.69] Laupepa's alleged insult of the German Emperor in Germany that he was outlawed and exiled by the Germans. But this was a trivial excuse in the increasing attempts by Germans for unilateral influence in Samoa according to Gilson, Samoa..., pp.382-392.

[180] Stevenson, A Footnote to History..., pp.78-80.

[181] Stevenson, A Footnote to History..., p.80.

to be more Christian and were mindful of the fact that they were culturally related in chiefly titles. Cultural conflicts ensued as a consequence of the 1889 political settlement by the foreign powers to reinstate Laupepa as King for life against the popular Mata'afa. But according to Stevenson's account, Mata'afa still referred to Laupepa as 'my poor brother', and was showing willingness to compromise with Laupepa who was predictably refusing undisputed loyalty to him. Stevenson is emphatic on these leaders active concern for unity and peace - 'The two entered into a competition of generosity, for which I can recall no parallel in history, each waiving the throne for himself, each pressing it upon his rival.'[182] Stevenson further adds that they embraced a compromise in terms which would always remain obscure; but it is almost certain that it involved the agreement to take turns in Kingship. There was peace in the hearts and blood of these rival leaders. The influence of their education in mission schools would instil in them the biblical message of peace which was a well known benefit and influence of the missionaries and their mission work for Samoan society throughout the nineteenth century. By the end of the nineteenth century Christianity in Samoa was most conspicuous in its peace-making efforts with tangible benefits. Important aspects of the political careers of Mata'afa and Laupepa mirrored this state of affairs especially in relation to foreign political influence. According to the eye witness account of these Samoan leaders' contemporary and friend Robert Louis Stevenson- 'The voice of the two whites [Consuls of Germany and U.S.A.] has ever been for war'[183] in contrast to Samoan leaders' expressed desire and commitment to cultivate peace.

MATA'AFA IOSEFO.

This high chief represents another classic example of Samoan leaders through whom the Bible had made further inroads into the political life of Samoa. A glimpse into the peace making political spirituality of Mata'afa is already shown above in connection with

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[182] Stevenson, A Footnote to History..., p.272. Also mentioned and discussed by Gilson, Samoa..., pp.417-419.

[183] Stevenson, A Footnote to History..., p.290.

Malietoa Laupepa. Mata'afa has further significance besides his literal appropriation of the Bible. As a loyal Catholic and a miner of the Bible for examples to follow, he made a vow of chastity '...to live as our Lord lived on this earth',[184] which he faithfully adhered to. He showed great ability in weaving the practical realism of biblical faith, especially with respect to the pursuance of peace, into national political issues and in the attainment of political results. In advocating peace and unity for 'his beloved Samoa' Mata'afa, like Laupepa and Titimaea before him, contributed to the growing influence of the Bible on the developing conscience of Samoa. The clearest indication of Mata'afa's agitation for biblical peace can be seen in his letter [1899] to the three great Powers of Britain, Germany, and U.S.A. for a 'benevolent consideration' of Samoa's chaotic state of affairs.[185] The letter is entitled :- 'O le Tagi a Mata'afa mo lona nu'u i Malo Tetele e Tolu' [The Cry of Mata'afa for his People to the Three Great Powers]. The letter expresses Mata'afa's personal agony over foreign settlers' disturbing and unwarranted intrusion into Samoan politics, in particular the choice for a Samoan King. Equally deplorable and barbaric was the social and political turmoil caused by the corrupt and insensitive government of foreign Powers' representatives. These two sectors of foreign presence in Samoa were referred to by Mata'afa as '...certain evil white men...the influence of certain officials and white men...and those who care only for the money they receive...'[186] With a keen sense of 'political realism' the letter expresses full confidence in the expected response of the Great Powers which in the past had been of great benefits to Samoa according to Mata'afa. The sentiments, the language, and the peace loving virtues and hope of a Christian infuse the letter. For example, the attention of the Great Powers is respectfully requested for the sake of Samoans in the manner of an intercessory prayer :-

> It is for their sakes that I raise my voice, and pray...to listen to my voice and grant my prayer...If the Great Powers will send good men to take

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[184] Stevenson, A Footnote to History..., p.312.

[185] Meleisea, Lagaga, pp.102-105.

[186] Meleisea, Lagaga, p.104; "The Cry of Mata'afa..."

> charge of the Government,...Samoa will become peaceful, happy, and prosperous. I pray to God that this may be so, for I love my country and my people greatly'.[187]

Furthermore, in Mata'afa's unwavering confidence to receive the benevolent response of the Great Powers, he would attribute it as the answer to his prayer for peace, happiness, and prosperity for Samoa. This is an enlightened acknowledgment of the validity and necessity of the Christian politics of the supposedly Christian powers of Britain, U.S.A. and Germany. And it is clearly perceived through the prism of their professed allegiance to the workings of the 'Politics of God' the missionaries to Samoa had successfully impressed on the Samoan mind. From this perspective, the Christian chief Mata'afa further envisaged a blessing for the foreign Powers' expected benevolent concern - 'The smile of God brightens the lives of those who assist the injured and the wronged, and the blessings of those whom they relieve and assist will continually follow them.' [188] This was not a voice of a reactionary cultural nationalist, but a voice of a well informed Christian cultural leader who was engaging with foreign Powers in a Christian spirit.

The central affirmation is- that their advocacy of a peace-mentality, rooted in their biblically-based political spirituality, in the context of the failure of the foreign powers to achieve a workable central government to secure national peace and to promote national security, was a clear indication that already among the national leaders of Samoa. the political and ethical requirements of making the biblical God the absolute King of Samoa were gradually blossoming.

Politically, the nineteenth century closed with an ominous forecast for Samoa. The division of Samoa into colonies by the joint resolution of the three Powers in 1899 ended half a century of political experimentations and gave Samoa a nominal independence. But as Gilson and Davidson both acknowledge, Samoan conviction in the integrity of its

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[187] Meleisea, Lagaga, pp.102-105; "The Cry of Mata'afa..."

[188] Meleisea, Lagaga, p.105.

cultural traditions and the determination to control its own affairs and destiny remained unshakeable.[189] In practical terms, Samoan national leaders, as exemplified by Mata'afa Iosefo's political aspirations,[190] were still committed to the feasibility of political cooperation with its new and 'sole colonial master', Germany.

(iii) (b) Samoan National Leaders of the First Quarter of the Twentieth Century : Lauaki Namulauulu Mamoe, Olaf Frederick Nelson, Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III.

As for the previous section, the same procedure will be followed in this section. A brief historical context is provided as a 'backdrop' to the analysis of the three leaders.

Historical Context, 1900 - 1930.

In this period, Samoa became more insistent on the integrity of its traditional political system and the rights to be accorded the respect and dignity to its distinctive cultural identity in all its forms and expressions. Part of this Samoan mentality reflects Samoan Christian church influence on indigenous thinking. The Christian Faith and Gospel had sunk deep into the Fa'asamoa and had added to the Fa'asamoa the necessity for 'cultural preservation', and also the gospel legitimising claims for self-determination. In this respect one could witness the combined effects of the cultural transforming and cultural affirming status of the biblical world on the Samoan world.

Within the Church, Samoans were well-drilled into this by the Church literature which was mainly published in the Church monthly magazine, 'O le Sulu Samoa' [The Samoan Torch]. Most significant were religious articles, sermons, and editorials by Church pastors, by resident British missionaries, and also by Samoan overseas missionaries on

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[189] Gilson, Samoa 1830-1900, p.433; Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, pp.74-75.

[190] Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa, pp.46-48. And in his, Change and Adaptations..., pp.30-31.

leave in Samoa, or, who wrote religious articles from their mission work and were published in 'The Samoan Torch'.[191] Equally important were speeches by visiting speakers to Church gatherings and to Malua Theological College published in 'The Samoan Torch'. One notable example was the speech by Robert Louis Stevenson which emphasised to the theological students the need to preserve Samoan lands for Samoans. Part of the speech was re-published in 'The Samoan Torch' of 1932.[192] Its culture-affirming emphasis is commendable, and exemplary of his great love and concern for Samoa.[193] No less significant were the Church hymns provided for the Samoan Church by British missionaries whose welding of patriotic love and true village loyalty into Church praise had become classic hymns for Samoans in general, whether in Samoa or in overseas countries.[194] Some of these hymns have given Samoa cultural and religious unity transcending denominational sectarianism,[195] and have been established in Samoan conscience as classic hymns for their nation-building[196] and church-building force and spirituality.

In the culture at large the Samoan mind was inclined to explain and to understand all life's happenings as having much to do with divine operations. The most promising aspect was the predominant understanding and conviction among the village chiefs in general and national leaders that Samoa was already founded, and had invested its future,

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[191] Examples of all these may be found in the 'O le Sulu Samoa' Issues of the first three decades of the twentieth century. They are all in the Samoan language.

[192] The specific year and date Stevenson made his speech at Malua Theological College cannot be established. Its re-publication, part of it, in the 'O le Sulu Samoa' of 1932 only refers to the fact that 'on one day Stevenson gave a speech...at Malua Theological College...' It is possible that its re-publication in 1932 reflected the general mood of Samoa towards Church and political self-determination.

[193] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; January/February, 1932.

[194] Three of the most well known are the Hymns 352, 353, and 356 in the E.F.K.S. Church Hymnary. Verses of 353 and 356 have been referred to in Note 26.

[195] All Christian believers of various Christian denominations in Samoa sing these hymns in national gatherings.

[196] These were the hymns which were selected for the Independent Inauguration Worship Service of Western Samoa in 1962 - Hymns 356, 359 and 353.

in the biblical God. The words by a Christian chief in addressing a Church deputation of the London Missionary Society to Samoa in 1926 were typical of the 'God-conscious' climate in Samoan thinking :-

> O Samoa ua avea ma nu'u manuia. E ui ina auai mai Malo Tetele e pule ia Samoa, ma le vao tu ma amioga, a ua umia pea Samoa i ona aao talu lava le o'o mai o Viliamu ma Papu, e pei foi o lo'u o'o mai... [197]
>
> Samoa has become a blessed nation. Despite the continuing presence of Great Nations and their alternating rule on Samoa, and also of numerous expressions of different habits and cultures and behaviour, [Samoa] is held safe in the hands of God since the coming of John Williams and Charles Barff, as like your coming and presence.

The omnipresence of this God-conscious climate was a significant cause of a series of political controversies between Samoan cultural leaders (chiefs in particular) and German officials during the German rule of Samoa from 1900 to 1914, which was characterised by colonial paternalism.[198] That it was also at the root of the spirited rejection by Samoans of the paternalist control of New Zealand military administration[199] as demonstrated in

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[197] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; December, 1926.

[198] Despite the economic and educational benefits of the German rule of Samoa, and the fact that it was a relatively settled period in Samoan national politics, Meleisea perceptively demonstrates the 'hidden agenda' of German colonial paternalism which eventually arouse the suspicion of conservative chiefs like Lauaki and led to a series of open revolts and confrontation. According to Meleisea :- 'These were to destroy Samoan political institutions and to replace them with modern, rationalised institutions which would consolidate German authority and the expansion of German commercial interests...The beginning of tension between Samoans and their colonial rulers therefore was not only over who ultimately exercised authority...[but] their desire to control the Samoan economy, to remake it in a manner that suited themselves and the individualistic, competitive, maximising spirit of the period.'
Meleisea, Change and Adaptations in Western Samoa, pp.31,35.

For a thorough introduction to this aspect of German rule in Samoa from 1900 to 1914, see these sources. Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, Chapter 4; Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa, Chapters 3, 4. Also Keesing, Modern Samoa, pp.75-95.

[199] For this specific aspect of New Zealand rule in Samoa, see Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa. Chapter 5. And Field, Mau : Samoa's Struggle for Freedom, 1984. For a broader perspective in the context of the whole period, see Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, Chapter 5; And Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa, Chapter 6.

the Nationalist Movement of Samoa - The Mau Movement of the 1920's and the 1930's - is evident in the way a leading Samoan chief had understood the 'Samoa for the Samoans' slogan of the Mau Movement:-

> ...that we want to be broken away from the control of Europeans. We have for many years not been shown a proper respect by Europeans, who have looked down on the Samoans. So the Samoans should be allowed to control their own government, but given the protection of some European power. The basis of Samoan government shall be the Church; God shall be the ruler. [200]

Understanding the essence of the Mau Movement as the demonstration of the Samoan solidarity in defending its cultural institutions, the cultural politics that maintain them, and their integrity to provide the framework and foundation for progress to the future is more than adequately treated by several authors.[201] Meleisea, after considering the merits and demerits of various observations, expresses it best especially by putting it in the broad historical perspective to include its nascent beginning under German rule of the early twentieth century :-

> ...the Mau movement was a demonstration of Samoan solidarity to protect their institutions...the process began early in the 20th century, when Samoan leaders realised the negative implications of the German policies intended to reform or abolish their traditional institutions. The Mau was therefore, in terms of years, a short episode in the continuing struggle by the Samoans to defend their system [p.128] ...The Mau was a rejection of external control and systematic change, an assertion of Samoan capacity for autonomy within the sphere of traditional authority and the expression of a belief that that system was capable of accommodating any changes desired by the Samoans. [p.154]. [202]

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[200] Quoted in Keesing, Modern Samoa..., p.179.

[201] A brief guide to the various observations by several authors on the subject is founded in Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa, pp.127-128.

[202] Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa, pp.128,154.

But the theological imperative in the broad historical perspective of Samoan attempts to defend its cultural and traditional institutions since 1830 must also be acknowledged. This was part of the genius of Malietoa Vainu'upo's dying testament already discussed above. A brief recapitulation of the theological significance of the cultural and political requirements of his dying testament is relevant at this stage. The redistribution of four chiefly titles he held as Tafa'ifa [the only legitimate qualification culturally recognised to become the overall king of Samoa] was symbolic of the clear rejection of an absolutist and centralised cultural system of authority, but in favour of the traditional system of authority - a unitary system of dispersed power. This was to ensure peace and the preservation of culture from the self-destructive struggle for the Tafa'ifa. In the overall context of the dying testament this was theologically motivated.[203] There was an even more crucial theological dimension. The preservation of culture and the cultural system of authority was also envisaged to be achieved by their being appropriated for the missionary work of the Church. Hence, part of the dying testament - 'But go and spread the Gospel of Jesus Christ to other countries. That is your blessing. It will also maintain and safeguard your dignity to eternity'. This reflects the belief in the biblical God as King of Samoan culture without necessarily destroying Samoan culture. Indeed as preserved in the historic experience of modern Samoa, the theological imperative in Samoan acceptance of the biblical God as the only God of Samoa and Samoan culture, is a definite Samoan cultural hermeneutic to maintain and to ensure the integrity and survival of Samoan cultural and traditional system. Theological imperative therefore intertwined with natural cultural instincts to ensure the survival of what is of eternal value in culture. The fundamental point needs reiterated that the theological imperative was not only conterminous with Samoan acceptance of Christianity, but it has always been, since 1830 and especially in relation to the historic dying testament of Malietoa Vainu'upo in 1841, a powerful component [force] in Samoan cultural resistance to foreign aggression and encroachment on Samoan sovereignty. Its resurgence during the German and New

[203] Refer to Note 142, especially to the part relating to the strong tradition in American Samoa about the origin of Malietoa's honorary status as, that whom Samoa must listen to [O Malietoa e fa'alogo i ai Samoa]. The theological motivation is not only explicit in the context of the dying testament. but in the manner and motivation Malietoa had in consulting the leading Royal Families and Chiefs of Samoa.

Zealand rule of Samoa was largely ignited by Germans, in particular during the Solf administration [1900-1903], in their unconscious transgressions of the sacred place in the Samoan system of authority Samoan culture had for a long time surrendered for the biblical God.[204] In other words, and in line with the major contention in this section, the biblically based political spirituality of Samoan cultural leaders continued the 'Irresistible Heritage' which provided the 'check and balance' mechanism to thwart any Samoan pretension to have a human king. As this was denied to the Samoans in all their cultural and political aspirations, it was in turn denied to foreign powers in the guise of Samoan unwavering assertion of Samoan nationalism. So that 'Samoa for the Samoans' as a central slogan of the Mau Movement meant more than 'Samoa without New Zealanders and without Germans' in the contest for ultimate political control. It was an old time expression of Samoan will to owe its ultimate allegiance to no foreign kings and powers, but to the biblical God of the Christian faith. This was an indispensable element of the God-conscious climate of the historical context of Samoa in this period - 1900 to 1930, which the Mau Movement had clearly demonstrated, if it had also fired its anti - colonial agitations.[205] And in this context, the peace-spirituality of Samoa national leaders both in politics and in culture became the 'soul force' and 'moral weapon' drawn to resist and to contain the uncouth and intrusive paternalism of foreign power politics. Amongst the best known leaders were the chief orator and Church deacon Lauaki Namulau'ulu Mamoe, the Samoan nationalist and half caste Olaf Nelson, and Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III.

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[204] For example, Solf's references to the German Emperor as 'Tupu Sili' [Highest King], and 'our earthly king, the Kaiser' would have been repugnant to Samoan leaders who had already believed in the biblical God as not only the heavenly King but the earthly King of Samoa and the whole world. See speeches by Solf quoted in Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa, pp.48, 58.

[205] I find Field's perspective illuminating and basically true. It is worth quoting :- ' Samoa's self-government, the Mau, is a movement which, in an age of terrorism and violence, deserves widespread appreciation and recognition. Today the names of two men, Gandhi, and King, are synonymous with pacifism and non-violent protest. Samoa's Mau deserves to be recognised in this fashion for, despite grave provocation from the New Zealand authorities who showed little reluctance to resort to violence, the Mau remained dedicated and loyal to the principles of pacifism they saw as being incumbent on them as Christians. And their leader, Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III, a young and gentle family man, died a violent death. Yet in doing so he stressed the validity of pacifism.'
Field, Mau..., Introduction, xvi - xvii.

LAUAKI NAMULAU'ULU MAMOE - 1890's-1910.

Lauaki's political career,[206] like that of Mata'afa Iosefo, bridged the transition of the biblically based political spirituality of Samoan leaders from the nineteenth century to the twentieth century. Lauaki was a classic Samoan Christian nationalist and defender of culture whose legacy is a perfect blend of the Christian virtue of 'always be children of God under all circumstances', and the Samoan agitation for the defence of the Samoan culture, in particular its self-respect, integrity and practicability, as opposed to the insidious and overt imposition of foreign forms of government and authority. Following the tradition of Laupepa and Mata'afa, Lauaki exemplifies in his political involvement the weaving of the chiefly culture of respect in leadership with Christian piety to provide the dominant spirit and contents of political decisions and activities in cultural leadership. Amongst his various involvements in leading political resistance to certain policies by the German government of Samoa,[207] the most celebrated example of Lauaki's legacy was his decision to surrender himself and his supporters to the German government which led to their exile.[208] Lauaki's decision to surrender was first and foremost a personal act of self sacrifice. Its political necessity ironically displays the political persecution of indigenous Christian intellect in the historical and political context of German colonialism in which the powerlessness of the missionaries was shown in the extent to which they were willing to cooperate with the German administration.[209] For it was 'only' out of respect for his trusted missionary pastor,

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[206] Various aspects of Lauaki's political career can be found in these sources. Stevenson, A Footnote to History..., p.78. Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa..., pp. 48-59. Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, pp.71-72. Garrett, Footsteps in the Sea, pp.197-199. Further references to Lauaki are indicated in Notes in these sources, in particular by Garrett.

[207] These may be found in sources cited in Note 206 above.

[208] A brief outline and discussion of this may be found mainly in Garrett, Footsteps in the Sea, pp.197-199; and in Meleisea , The Making of Modern Samoa, pp.53-58.

[209] It is conceivable that the political exile of Lauaki and his supporters was the best solution which reflected the successful mediating role of Missionary Newell between the German government and the intransigent Lauaki. But in the context of German colonial paternalism as opposed to Lauaki's bold attempt to weave gospel faith into the earthly reality of the defence of good culture, the exile reflects the ironic reality of foreign attempts to define what is good for other people.

Newell, that Lauaki and his supporters had yielded and made clear to him that they would 'have yielded to no other man'.[210] According to John Garrett, Lauaki's meeting with 'Newell - a reunion between a trusted minister and a leading deacon of the Church - led Lauaki to a fateful decision; his pride bowed before the recognition that for his people, in that hour, peace was preferable to war.'[211]

Christian empathy for one's people and Christian trust for a gospel minister were able to convince Samoans to do things they felt contrary to their enlightened conscience.

Lauaki represents the growing examples of Samoan national leaders whose involvement in national politics had shown a consistent application of a biblically-based political spirituality. His political career shows the remarkable extent to which Samoan national leaders had veered clear of the imprudent assumption of nationalistic Christianity. Rather they nurtured the legitimate resistance of culture which was thought consistent with the gospel-based political spirituality against unwarranted imposition of foreign authority and rule.

Lauaki died on the boat on return from exile and was never to see his homeland again. His death in exile exemplifies the negative implications of political morality and political tyranny backed by military power in the historical evolution of a fast growing Christian society.[212] In other words, the Christian society of Samoa was successfully showing remarkable ingenuity in contextualising biblical faith and the Christian gospel to bringing out indigenous expressions of a Christian culture; while it also resisted foreign imposed conception of political authority and a centralised form of national government which

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[210] Goodall, The History of the London Missionary Society ...,p.358.

[211] Garrett, Footsteps in the Sea, p.199.

[212] One may find similarities with this in an historical reflection or historical reading of the New Testament Gospels. That is, when the Gospels are understood as subversive Jewish Gospels with a political manifesto to defend, while also reconstituting, Jewish nationhood in the political context of Roman imperialism.

were at loggerheads with the cultural conception of national government and a cultural system of authority.

INTRODUCTION to MAU LEADERS.

People's character reflects and mirrors the historical character and historical circumstances of their times to a large extent. On a deeper level, one is offered a glimpse of the essential values and beliefs of an age through the personal identity of celebrated personalities of the age. In the political history of Samoa, Olaf Nelson and Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III were amongst the most notable during the national resistance movement by Samoa [the Mau Movement] against the New Zealand government of Samoa in the 1920's. In essence their political behaviour reflected and also continued the 'God-conscious climate' of Samoa in general, its resistance to the uncouth intrusion and destructive effects of foreign politics on Samoan cultural institutions and values. The political exile of these two leaders continued to show the corrupt reality of foreign colonial presence in the historical evolution of Samoa as was shown in the political exiles of Malietoa Laupepa in 1887, Malietoa Iosefo in 1893, and also of Lauaki Mamoe in 1909.

Olaf Frederick Nelson 1920s-1930s.

Two examples relating to Nelson's political involvement in the Mau Resistance Movement would suffice to illustrate his exemplary role and representative status with respect to the political spirituality tradition of Samoan national leaders. As a leader of the Mau Movement he was influential in drawing up the four original objects of the Movement.[213] One is mostly relevant for its humanitarian Christian spirit and concern which asserts that [humanity's] heritage from God is to give one another what one needs to survive in the belief of people's equal worth before God :- 'We declare and believe

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[213] Olaf Frederick Nelson , The Truth about Samoa : A Review of Events Leading up to the Present Crisis. (Auckland : National Printing Company, 1928). For further references to Nelson see the following sources :- Field, Mau..., in particular Chapters 5,18,19,20; Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, Chapter 5; Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa, pp.139-154.

that [humanity's] heritage from God is to help each other, irrespective of race, station, colour and creed, and that all [people] are equal in the sight of God.' [214] Writing from his exile in New Zealand, and while trying to solicit support for the Mau Movement which was to take him to the League of Nations meeting in Geneva in 1928, Nelson penned a farewell message to Samoa which illustrates clearly two vital and related characteristics of Samoan leaders' religious politics at the time. One was the belief that they were protesting from a biblical understanding of justice. The other was the unshakeable confidence in the biblical God Samoa had already known and worshipped :-

> Thanks be to God that our Dear Country has been ever kept in His Love...May the hopes of our little country be realised and the matter on which you have set your hearts be accomplished in that meeting...[in Geneva]. Let us trust in God. Though in exile in these distant lands, I find it impossible for my faith to wane in the righteousness of the cause of our people. I therefore move around in the confident hope that the day will come when we will see the loving hand of God in this matter. To Him shall we give praise. [215]

Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III 1920's-1930's.

The unique historical significance of Tamasese[216] involves his command to the Samoans for peace and patience amidst gun shots from New Zealand police while leading Samoa's non-violent and peaceful demonstration against the New Zealand government officials ruling Samoa. More significant was Tamasese's 'dying appeal' which illustrates best the integrity of his Christian piety in the midst of the barbaric militarism of New Zealand military administration of Samoa in the 1920's.[217]

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[214] Nelson, The Truth About Samoa..., p.19.

[215] Nelson, The Truth About Samoa..., p.20.

[216] Overall significance of Tamasese in relation to the Mau Movement and its historical context may be found in these sources. Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, Chapter 5. Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa, Chapter 6. And Field, Mau..., Chapters 5-15.

[217] About the nature of New Zealand military administration see, Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa..., Chapter 5. About specific context of Tamasese's peaceful leadership and his dying appeal, see, Field, Mau..., Chapter 14.

A popular community song of Samoa about the Mau Movement includes the command by Tamasese for the Samoan protesters to be calm and peaceful.[218] The lines - (i) 'Please keep the peace, and be calm as the sea; and (ii) 'Await from heaven our victory' - are important. They show the combination of the need for peace and its achievement solely from the divine realm which thus shows that Tamasese was conscious of the peace tradition of Samoa in its two origins in the Church biblical tradition, and in the Samoan prophesy of Nafanua referred to above. In Nafanua's prophecy, the awaited kingdom from heaven was to have as one of its central features the coming and presence of peace.[219] Tamasese's words - 'Await from Heaven our Victory' were not the 'exact words' remembered of Nafanua's prophecy which is - 'Await from Heaven the Head of your kingdom [government]'. But in the Samoan mind, and in consideration of both the historical circumstances of these two utterances[220] they were to bring about essentially the

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[218] The machine gun goes rat-tat-tat.
The Chief [Tamasese] stopped and said (a)
"Please keep the peace" [and be calm as the sea].
"Await from heaven our victory" (b)
Allow Britain to do as she wants.
Oh Governor you have denied that you did not know of the machine gun.
But youngsters and the daughter of Filisi witnessed that you yourself squeezed the trigger.
Source :- Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa, p.147. The Samoan version is included in Note 26 of Chapter 6.
(a) The phrase in brackets is included in the usual way the song is sung. (b) Version by Meleisea has, 'look up to the sky for solutions'. This is the literal translation of the Samoan version. I am of the opinion that the original, 'Tali i lagi so tatou 'ai', is explicit in its theological sense; which means 'lagi' should be translated heaven, not sky.

[219] This often quoted prophecy by Nafanua is always used to explain the connection of Samoan prophecies with the coming of Christianity to Samoa. Some educated Samoans now tend to use it in an anti-colonial mentality to discount the 'historical necessity' of the missionary movement in coming to Samoa. Often less recognised is the 'peace-content' of the prophecy when considered in association with other native prophecies mentioned in Note 4, which predicted better days for Samoa. Together they prophesied a Kingdom of peace and future times of peace and prosperity for Samoa. Equally vital is Nafanua's usage of the term Head or Crown [Ao, in Samoan] for Malietoa's government to come from heaven. I discern this aspect to be explicit in pointing to a peace mission. Oral traditions of Samoa which transmit the association of Nafanua's prophecy with the coming of the Missionaries to Samoa with the Gospel of Peace on John William's boat, 'The Messenger of Peace' (Savali o le Filemu) must be accepted for the integrity and authenticity of their historical witness.

[220] The historical context of Nafanua's prophecy was the end of Samoan wars in which the goddess Nafanua led the winning side. The point is underscored in conjunction with the explanation in Note 219. Tamasese's appeal for Peace, and for hope in a heavenly victory was in the context of inevitable conflict.

same effect - the divine-originated response whose content was to bring real and lasting peace.

Secondly, Tamasese's dying appeal is quoted thus :- 'My blood has been spilt for Samoa. I am proud to give it. Do not dream of avenging it, as it was spilt in maintaining peace. If I die, peace must be maintained at any price.'[221] These noble words from a dying Church deacon continued to reaffirm the political spirituality tradition of Samoa's national leaders characterised by a profound sense of 'peace loving' and peace making. The literal force of such dying appeal is unmistakable in showing a mind inhabited and in service of a willing self-sacrifice for the common good, forgiveness in pursuance of peace, and a firm conviction to seek peace as an ultimate concern. In the historical context of Samoan national resistance to the insensitive and tactless rule of New Zealand military administration, Tamasese's dying appeal was an early example in the twentieth century of political leaders' loyalty to the efficacy and validity of Christian pacifism in national politics. An important point must be stressed therefore in relation to the historical evolution of modern Samoa - the Biblical Culture and a Christian Society. Cultural and political leaders [Samoan Chiefs] in the political life of Samoa were as important as the Missionaries and the Samoan Christian Church in such an historical achievement.

[D] CARVING AND TATTOOING THE SPIRITUAL HERITAGE INTO THE NATIONAL CONSCIENCE OF SAMOA : 1940-1960.

INTRODUCTION

The main concern in this section is to illustrate the way in which the 'Irresistible Heritage' of past national leaders culminated in the creation of the modern national foundation and identity of Samoa - Fa'avae i le Atua Samoa : Samoa is Founded in God.[222] The sub-title 'Carving and Tattooing the Heritage into the National Conscience

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[221] Quoted in Field, Mau..., p.157.

[222] This will be referred to as the **'national theological confession'** from now on , unless otherwise stated.

of Samoa' captures the historical process which focuses on two general and related aspects.

One is the historical circumstances of he decades 1940's and 1950's with special reference to dominant trends in political and religious thoughts in the national level. The influential role of the Church is emphasised especially in its continuing concern to christianise all aspects and all levels of Samoan life, and to bring the various expressions of Samoan biblical culture into national focus. Into this prevalent concern by the Church, the Heritage of past Samoan leaders had merged to create a concentrated religious climate in the 1940's and the 1950's.

The second aspect refers to three related events connected with the achievement of the Independent Political State of Samoa in 1962 - the Convention in 1960 which produced the Constitution for the Independent State of Samoa, the Preamble to the adopted Constitution, and some aspects of the circumstances and events of the celebration of Samoa's political independence. These are intended to illustrate the predominant religious influence they both reflected and embodied.

(i) <u>Historical Circumstances of the 1940s and 1950s</u>

Samoa entered the second half of the twentieth century with a vibrant sense of self confidence in all levels of its national life, in particular the leadership levels in Government and in Church. Cultural authority in village and district levels remained resilient as ever, but fortunately open to change and conviction. Overall, the cultural mood in general had largely influenced if

also dictated the direction of national politics. This was to speed up the achievement of self government on the basis of Samoan culture and traditional politics,[223] away from international supervision in particular in being a reluctant mandated territory of the United Nations.[224] On this cultural mandate, Samoan political leaders pursued this objective prudentially on the basis of association with New Zealand, and in the characteristic broadminded spirit the Samoan Church leaders had achieved Samoan Church independence from the L.M.S.[225]

In the 1940's the general convergence of the ultimate concerns of Samoan culture, of national politics and of the Christian Church since 1830 crystallised in the overriding national theological confession - Fa'avae i le Atua Samoa : Samoa is Founded in God. This had shown its nation-making spirit by rooting itself into various concrete expressions of Samoa's self definition and self-understanding.

In 1948, an important date in Samoa's progress to self-government with the trusted help of the New Zealand Government, the Samoan flag was raised side by side with the New Zealand flag at Mulinu'u in Apia. Inscribed on the Samoan flag are five stars as a symbol of Christ's saving Cross[226] to which the Samoan National Anthem refers to as the sign

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[223] Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa, pp.210-211. Also Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, pp.163-187, 262-263.

[224] Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, pp.164-166. Also Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa, p.209.

[225] John Garrett captures the characteristic nature of the 'forty years transitional period' from leadership partnership between L.M.S. resident missionaries in Samoa and Samoan Elder Pastors in the 1920's to complete independence of the Samoan Church (E.F.K.S.) Elder Pastors in the 1960's :- 'Evolution of a genuinely Samoan Church was compatible with genuine feelings of affection towards resident white missionaries'. Garrett, To Live Among the Stars, p.124.
Because this was the same period of Samoan agitation and movement towards self government and political independence, it shows that to a large extent, Samoan leaders in Church and Government were of a 'similar mind' in relation to outside Authorities as regards Church and Political affairs.

[226] It is well known that this idea was suggested by the 'Tama a Aiga' [Sons of the Royal Family] of Samoa, who represented the Samoan point of view in the preparations to self-government and political independence. The community song by the Lepa District in the Independence Celebrations of 1994 brought this fact once again to national recognition. One may also note the connection with Malietoa Vainu'upo's dying testament (1841) - 'The cross of Christ you should worship' - which the Church leader Tapeni Ioelu applauded as showing the good decision by political leaders to remember the spiritual legacy of past ancestors ['O le Sulu Samoa'; September, 1952, p.131].

and memorial of Christ's death on the cross for Samoa.[227] In the Samoan National Anthem itself, the national theological confession is included as both a vital aspect and a commentary to the Anthem. It reminds Samoa not to fear anything because God is the foundation and the basis of the freedom of Samoa.[228] A commission from the United Nations Organisation had told Samoa in 1947 that the main concern of the U.N.O. was not to decide whether Samoa had a legitimate claim to self-government, but how best to prepare and to educate Samoa in the best ways in its eventual assumption of complete self-government with the help of New Zealand. In a Church editorial in its 'O le Sulu Samoa' newspaper of September 1947,[229] the U.N.O's visit and official declaration was referred to as the most important and ultimate story for Samoa, and in Samoa at the time. There was thus a remarkable unity of purpose and mind in general for the common good and progress of Samoa. The Church had consciously 'tuned in' to 'watch over' the political development of Samoa.

In 1951, the national theological confession as the official crest in national politics, was prescribed and adopted for all government departments.[230] This was the concrete expression in the Samoan mind that it was fully prepared in character and in spirit to be self-governing. Its vision and strength of purpose was drawn from its unwavering faith in God. On a deeper level, it was the clear acknowledgment in the political level of the indispensable role of the Church since the 1830's in civilising and christianising the foundational structures of Samoan life in general. Two examples give further illustrations of this political acknowledgment of the Church's pivotal role.

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[227] Refer to Note 16 for the National Anthem.

[228] See Note 16 for explanation of this line and idea in the National Anthem.

[229] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; September, 1947, p.137.

[230] Meleisea, Lagaga, p.210.

One is the speech by the High Commissioner[231] in the General Assembly of the Samoan Church in 1952.[232] In this speech the Church is asked to help Samoa in two ways - in Education, and in village government. The Church is specially asked because according to the High Commissioner, its village pastors '...have the dignity of the village, and their word is recognised and listened to in villages'.[233] And also, it was incumbent upon the Church to guide such authority in the ways of justice and to achieving general peace and well-being for Samoa.[234] The speech further reaffirms the necessity to recognise the foundational authority of village chiefs in village government not only as the basis of the prosperous development of Samoa, but as that upon which the national government of Samoa, which was founded in God, was standing and was drawing its strength from.[235]

The second example is the national speech by the High Commissioner broadcasted on radio in September of the same year, 1952.[236] The relevant part is the statement which referred to the 'present debt' of Samoa to the work of the Churches and the pastors :- 'Thanks to the good work done by various Churches and pastors [or preachers] of Samoa. For Samoa stands in debt to the various Churches and preachers for their good work for Samoa.'[237] The response in the editorial to the 'O le Sulu Samoa' in November, 1952, was complementary because according to the editor,[238] the speech had depth [E loloto le

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[231] For the crucial position and role of the High Commissioner as the New Zealand Administrator in Samoa in this period, see, Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa, pp.209-211; and mainly, Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, Chapter 6. Also Meleisea, Lagaga, p.147-151.

[232] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; June 1952, p.91.

[233] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; June 1952, p.91.

[234] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; June 1952, p.91.

[235] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; June 1952, p.91.

[236] I refer to parts of the speech included in the 'O le Sulu Samoa'; November, 1952 in Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu's editorial commentary on the speech. I had no access to the original copy of the speech.

[237] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; November, 1952.

[238] The editor was Elder Pastor Ioelu. His editorial suggests the High Commissioner's speech did not elaborate on his statement. But Ioelu's comments and reflections on the statement may well be what the speech had intended because Ioelu was a well known church leader and pastor who also knew at first hand

saunoaga] for it was voicing a deep truth. What this constituted according to the editor, was largely indicative of the general beliefs among the Samoans. It was not about economic development because the Church was not giving monetary contributions or large plantations to help in the development of Samoa. Rather it was partly the general education the Churches had offered for the children of Samoa, and also to the united efforts of the Churches and the government for the general good of Samoa. [239] The editor is emphatic about his personal understanding of the Churches' true contribution which had put Samoa in debt. One was the concern, which was largely bearing fruit, to direct and mould Samoa into fellowship with God as the way to true righteousness pleasing to God. Secondly was the determined effort to direct and improve the habits and character of the people of Samoa; for its blessings and results were more precious and lasting than the blessings from cocoa, coconuts, dignity, wisdom and good health. [240] It is very possible that these were also meant by the High Commissioner in his statement. For in his first speech mentioned above,[241] he was thoroughly aware of the historical influence and the widely acknowledged contribution by the Church for Samoa. Equally important was his acknowledgment of Samoa's national theological confession.[242] The request for more help from the Church was therefore, from the perspective of the Church, a recall of the Church to its proven role. These clearly indicate the recognition in the political sphere, as was generally acknowledged in other spheres of Samoan society, of the vital contribution by the Church in building the character of modern Samoa, of its people and institutions, through the secular and spiritual education by the Church.

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the contribution by the Church for Samoa. He received his M.B.E. for his role in Church Education for Samoa. He was Chairman of the E.F.K.S. a few times in the 1950's, and represented the E.F.K.S. on many occasions overseas.

[239] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; November, 1952.

[240] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; November, 1952.

[241] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; June 1952, p.91.

[242] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; June 1952, p.91.

(ii) Prophetic Voice of the Church in Politics : Bringing the Biblical Gospel and the 'Biblical Culture of Samoa' to National Focus.

One important way the Church had exerted its predominant influence in the 1950s, and continued to speak the biblical gospel to politics and to culture, and with power in the national level, was through its monthly newspaper - 'O le Sulu Samoa.'[243] A good example was the series of sermon-articles by a well known Church leader and Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu, in the publications between June 1952 and June 1953. It was entitled : O le Mea Ua Fia Maua [The Thing That is Mostly Needed].

Elder Pastor Ioelu identifies the most serious national problem as the pervasiveness of stealing which persisted like a contagious disease,[244] and reflected the general 'hardening into sin and the blossoming of bad and evil habits.'[245] Another conspicuous trend was 'the new and strange habit of the sudden and explosive emigration of Samoans from their homeland as like an exile.'[246] Elder Pastor Ioelu strongly relates the proven failure of human wisdom, of dignity, of wealth, of strength, and of everything imaginable, to save Samoa from the recurrent moral laxity.[247] The only solution was 'God alone, God alone' [Na o le Atua lava. Na o le Atua lava].[248] For Samoans overseas the typical Samoan

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[243] It was widely read for its informative contents on national issues in Church, in Government, and also on activities in village churches. In continuity with the century old vision on which it was founded, it continued to be widely recognised as the extension of the Church's edifying role and spiritual nurture of the whole country. This was mainly through strictly religious publications in particular the sermon, and religious articles and editorials which were mainly theological assessment and comments on current issues in general. Of increasing importance it became the source of all of these for Samoan migrants overseas, and a vital link between the Samoan Church and its newly established branches in Hawaii, the United States of America, and in New Zealand.

[244] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; August, September, November, 1952.

[245] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; August, September, November, 1952.

[246] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; June, 1953.

[247] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; August 1952, p.115.

[248] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; August 1952, p.115.

reminder for intended emigrants is extended - 'Work and rest. But remember our tradition, worship in the morning and worship in the evening.'[249] Elder Pastor Ioelu elaborates on how God is to be a God of Samoa to alleviate the anxiety over recurrent sins :-

> God must be truly found and be made the foundation. God must be first and given priority in everything, and must be thoroughly sought and found. Only when God stays in Samoa, and dwells with the Samoan people, and is made the Chief of all Samoan families, and is made the friend of the country, and the most cherished treasure of Samoa, and dwells with all churches that we will have no more worry and anxiety. [250]

In his sermon-article in the September issue of 1952, Elder Pastor Ioelu reiterates the general conviction of Samoa that 'Samoa has truly known God' [Ua iloa e Samoa le Atua] to illustrate its pervasive influence in the daily lives of Samoans as well as its rooted expressions in the heart of Samoan life.[251] The reasons for the claim that Samoa has truly known God were, that Samoa has already possessed the Gospel for more than a century, and almost all Samoans have heard and have known the Gospel from reading the Bible.[252] And the clearest evidence to Elder Pastor Ioelu was the manner in which Samoan God -Talk was a matter of public discourse which pervaded all levels of Samoan life :-

> '...the name of God has become a sweet name in the lips of Samoan people in speaking, in worship, in family-talk, in family gathering, or in village meetings and occasions, even in proceedings in legal justice, and when welcoming visitors; the name of God is always 'in speech' to prove the truthfulness of all speeches. Even in cases where it is unnecessary to mention the name of God, there is always the effort to mention God's name. Because it seems to be a belief in the person [Samoan] that if the name of God is not mentioned, the speech is not a good one. It is true there

[249] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; June 1953, p.84.

[250] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; August 1952, p.115.

[251] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; September ,1952.

[252] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; September 1952, p.131.

> are unwarranted usage; but because of the Samoan belief in the Samoan God like the ancient Israelities, it is thus always sweet in his/her lips to mention the name of God...' [253]

Elder Pastor Ioelu admits there were superficial usage in such Samoan God-Talk as also known to many preachers.[254] But, as he himself suggests, the point needs stressing that the pervasiveness of such God-Talk reflected a genuine influence of the Bible, if also the 'grass root' awareness and familiarity with the biblical God, in the daily lives of Samoans.

Elder Ioelu cites examples to show that Samoa's knowledge of God was more than a theological belief and verbal God-Talk :-

> ...The existence of large beautiful Churches for worship to God... They are seen to be full on Sundays from morning to evening, even in week days. It will be heard the tremendous offering and giving of Samoan people for the Kingdom of God. Various Church Schools have been established which include education in the subjects pertaining to the knowledge of God. It is also more than well-known the continuing participation of sons of Samoa as missionaries for the Gospel overseas... [255]

The attitude of the Samoans to the things pertaining to 'their God' is also likened to the way the pupil of the human eye is precious to the person.[256] It is for this reason that there is a spontaneous readiness and application by Samoans of themselves and their possessions whenever their service for 'their God' is required :- 'When a Samoan hears about something to be done in relation to the worship to God, there is joy to act accordingly, because his/her God is dear to his/her heart, the God now becoming the God

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[253] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; September 1952, p.131.

[254] As emphasised by another preacher, Pastor Alama, in his sermon in the 'O le Sulu Samoa'; July, 1954.

[255] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; September 1952, p.131.

[256] The Samoan translation in the article is - 'O le mea uliuli lava i mata o tagata Samoa o mea e fa'asino i lo latou Atua.'

of his/her country Samoa.' [257] Elder Pastor Ioelu further suggests that the Samoan appropriation of the biblical God as a Samoan God was the explanation of Samoans' willingness to become missionary martyrs overseas - 'because of their joy to offer their lives as self sacrifices to the God of the Samoans.'[258] Elder Pastor Ioelu is most emphatic about this understanding of God as Samoan - 'Dearest Church and Country, Remember 'in-heart' our country. It is our inheritance from God. Hold fast to the God of Samoa.'[259]

In a more conventional manner, and in line with the most authentic religious mind of Samoa in general, Elder Ioelu reiterates the belief in the biblical God brought by the London Missionary Society and accepted by Malietoa Vainu'upo in 1830 as the true God of Samoa - 'Believe in this God of Samoa...All thinking Samoans will never forget the God that was brought by the first Church L.M.S.'[260]

It is clear in Elder Ioelu's language and expressions how he understood God as the 'God of Samoa'. In reality, this represents the extent of Samoa's God-Talk which was generally widespread, and which in turn strengthened another equally widespread conviction that Samoa was a chosen people and country by God. This is not a tribalization of the universal God of the Christian faith. Rather it illustrates the extent to which the biblical gospel had nurtured the language and substance of the biblical culture of Samoa by the mid-twentieth century.

To Elder Ioelu, some of the most evident proofs of the deep rootage of Samoa's knowledge of God were the decision by the political leaders to put the name of God in the shield of the government, the national theological confession [Fa'avae i le Atua Samoa],

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[257] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; September 1952, p.131.

[258] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; September 1952, p.131.

[259] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; June, 1953.

[260] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; September 1952, p.131.

and the sign of the cross on the Samoan flag.[261] These were indications of the things that were mostly needed - for Samoa's nation-making spirit to be founded on the Spirit of God in its capacity for recreation and rebirth.[262] In his last religious article, a poem is included which gathers up his main concerns which he urges readers to recite daily.[263]

As an example of the role of the Church in recalling the generally shared biblical foundation of the developing Christian society of Samoa, and also of the way the Church had made its prophetic voice heard through the contemporary issues facing Samoan society, Elder Ioelu's series had contributed largely to consolidate the predominant religious climate of the 1950s

Another example includes two articles by a village pastor in the July and August issues of the 'O le Sulu Samoa' in 1954 which may serve to illustrate an 'engaging Church response' to political developments. It is a solemn reminder from 'Church to Politics' of the spiritual heritage of Samoa as the basis of national developments. The articles were

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[261] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; September 1952, p.131.

[262] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; June 1953, p.84.

[263] Samoa the beloved, and known as the Pearl.
Guide your boat straight as it is now beginning to enter world affairs.
Watch the sea ! If it swirls, it is the sign of approaching winds.
Guide your boat according to the southern star; It is better than the compass of the whites [Europeans].
Be mindful of the innocent - women and Samoan children .
For the boat may sink and they cry unceasingly as like Rachel's ceaseless cry.
It was impossible to comfort her because of her children taken in exile.
Young men of Samoa, attend to your duty.
Pluck your victory from the coconut called Niu-Sina.
Remember the word of our ancestors, Samoa must be founded in God.
Samoans overseas, work hard and remember to rest.
Remember also our tradition, worship in the morning and also in the evening.
Parents, be watchful. New wisdom and understanding are approaching.
Don't be misled by its outward appearance; look deep to discern that which is hidden.
Clothe the children with the Bible. That guarantees blessed living.
What is the thing that is mostly needed ?
It is the Holy Spirit that enables rebirth, and indwells you always, as like Enoch and Noah.

The Samoan version is found in 'O le Sulu Samoa'; June 1953, p.84.

entitled - 'Cooperative Societies'.[264] They explain the various significance of such developments for the time and how they reflect social and economic developments of Samoa according to government policies. According to the articles,[265] 'cooperative societies' represented the major national developments initiated by the government and was generally supported and encouraged by cultural authorities in villages. They also reflected rising economic prosperity whose future would be sustained by an equally rising and promising academic development and achievement of Samoa. 'Samoa is now at the time of Rising Tide of New Prosperity'[266] whose dominant mood is expressed in housing development, more plantations, and numerous societies and groups developing their various concerns in the spirit of cooperation.

The critical appreciation by the articles is shown in the question included, and designed 'to make earthquake shakes in the hearts and ears of our spirits.'[267] - 'WHAT ABOUT SPIRITUAL THINGS ?'[268] The one basic and complex answer is related. It refers readers to the spiritual heritage of Samoa traced back to 1830 to its beginning 'in the first Society of spiritual things, the London Missionary Society'. [269] The general belief of Samoa is also related as typical of church understanding and preaching. The L.M.S. was the 'society' whose arrival was the fulfilment of Samoa's pre-1830 prophecy of Nafanua.[270] Such fulfilment made the most miraculous, most penetrating, and the most newest

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[264] "Cooperative Societies were established by Government" in 1954 according to Meleisea, Meleisea, Lagaga, p.211.

[265] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; July,August, 1954.

[266] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; July 1954, p.98.

[267] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; July 1954, p.98.

[268] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; July 1954, p.98.

[269] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; July 1954, p.98.

[270] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; July 1954, p.98.

transformation unsurpassed in the history of Samoa.[271] In highlighting the Christian foundation of modern political developments of the 1940's, the article in the July issue makes the connection between this historic event [1830], with the decision by political leaders of modern Samoa to base political developments on Samoa's historical spiritual foundation, in particular as symbolised in the cross inscribed on the national flag :- 'It was then [1830] that our foundation was changed to Samoa for God. This historical foundation is now revived in a concrete way in our flag - the five stars. This is the heart of Samoa - The Cross of Jesus'. [272] The necessary requirement which the second part of the article relates, should be the urgent application of Samoa to its other noble spiritual heritage - as a missionary people.

> The morning of "Mataniu Feagai ma le Ata". [273] When can it be forgotten ? See with spiritual eyes...Our hearts are blurred because of the world...But we are already being called by Jesus for His world wide mission. And the ashes of the dearest sons of Samoa are all over the Pacific as lasting memorial of our acceptance of such call.[274]

In the same manner, a sermon by a village pastor Kirisome in the 'O le Sulu Samoa' issue of October 1955 is significant in the way it relates the 'totality of Samoa' and its 'total development' to its religious heritage dated back to 1830.[275] Particularly important is the way the sermon probes the national conscience of Samoa to re-examine anew the root and

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[271] The article in the August issue stresses the L.M.S. as the society of spiritual things which arrived at the darkest moment of rising oppression and paganism . It was eventually able to civilise and christianise by 'substituting our waist cloth [titi], ending abruptly the wasted blood, and opened our eyes to the True God'. 'O le Sulu Samoa'; August 1954, p.114.

[272] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; July 1954, p.98.

[273] This is the name of the place in the village of Sapapali'i in the Island of Savaii where John William's boat, Messenger of Peace, landed in Samoa to meet the Samoan King, Malietoa Vainu'upo.

[274] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; August 1954, p.114.

[275] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; October 1955, pp.184-187.

ultimate theological question about the 'Decision' for the One and Only True God.[276] The sermon text is I King 18:30 [Then Elijah said to all the people, "Come near to me"; and all the people came near to him. And he repaired the altar of the Lord that had been thrown down]. The preacher understands the narrative from which the sermon text is taken as to engage in showing the only true God who was Elijah's God, against the pagan god Baal. The preacher envisages the same vision for Samoa in a perceptive and skilful way. Accordingly,[277] the whole of Samoa is the altar God had chosen for Godself in 1830. So all the cultural institutions, religious customs, and everything Samoan ancestors had consecrated in their faithful response as being the 'chosen altar of God' must be consecrated. Examples cited are church buildings, Sunday worship and Sunday observance, preservation of villages, private expressions of piety, family worship, individual hearts, White Sunday for children, family and village lands offered for village worship to God, and for pastoral ministry of the Church. A solemn warning is included if Samoa would decide against this 'total' or 'wholesome consecration' of Samoa to God by the ancestors. The preacher drums up Samoa's patriotic hearts by further impressing the fact that 'Samoa to the Samoans is a land of pride, the **dearest**, the **pearl** of the South Seas, and not a mere village' as the Apostle Paul felt about his own Hebrew origin.[278]

Through this sermon and the two articles considered above, Samoa is challenged to recall its 'historical experience' of being a chosen and a holy nation, the experience from which her holy pride about everything Samoan had largely originated. What is directly relevant in the historical context of the 1950's was the continual reminder from 'the Church to the

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[276] It is possible the sermon was partly motivated by the increasing influence of religious sects, like the Mormons, because their insidious influences were a major issue addressed by several articles and sermons in the 'O le Sulu Samoa', during this period. And it raises the issue of who is the **True God** as Samoa's political developments were advancing towards self government and constitutional developments.

[277] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; October 1955, pp.184-187.

[278] The preacher had in mind the usual reference in the Samoan expression of the apostle Paul's reference to his being no less a Jew of noble heritage as some conservative anti-Christian Jews had made him to be. This is in Philippians 3:2-6. This is usually shortened in common usage by Samoans in the expression - E le se nu'u fa'atauva'a lo'u nu'u [My village is not a simple, mere village]. One may find many analogies to Milton's Jerusalem; the Scottish Covenanters; and the Pilgrim Fathers in America.

State or from Pastor to Politician' of the already established Christian foundation and national allegiance of the whole country. The Church was well-awake in her prophetic role in the political life of Samoa as Samoa was entering the transitional period to complete political independence.

Equally important, such Church publications continued the popular cultural hermeneutic tradition in Samoan biblical interpretation. But they appropriated this cultural hermeneutic with respect to Samoa's spiritual heritage [or tradition]. So Samoa's spiritual heritage is brought to public attention [for the Church and Politics and Culture] as a pilgrimage through the historical evolution of Samoa to merge its past and its present. From the Church's perspective, the past spiritual heritage is brought forward mainly to critique modern development and to reinvigorate religious piety by reminding Samoa of its spiritual source of enlightenment. In this way, and for the 1950's, the Church was also unleashing the intellectual content and challenge which was part of Samoa's spiritual heritage.[279] At the same time the Church was also maintaining the vital feature of the Samoan mind - the celebratory relationship to the past - through the continuing revisiting, reviving, and re-appropriation of Samoa's past and spiritual heritage to provide fresh hope and future vision.[280]

An article 'From the Church to the State' in the September issue of 'O le Sulu Samoa', 1958, [281] is significant. It is entitled : 'Temokarasi, E le lava mo Samoa' [Democracy, Not Enough for Samoa]. The most important point is the suggestion for the most appropriate political system of government which would be consistent with Samoa's national theological confession - ***Fa'avae i le Atua Samoa***. This, according to the article, is found in the Theocratic system of government of the Jewish biblical community in the Old

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[279] This refers to the persistent efforts by the Samoan Church in Samoan history to influence the dominant thought patterns in national politics and in culture in general.

[280] Refer to Section C (i) Introductory Note to a Vital Feature of the Samoan Mind.

[281] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; September 1958, pp.162-163.

Testament. The writer disavows any intention to be judgemental but is most appreciative to God for democracy as a political system.[282] And his specific example is the government whose classic formulation was given by Abraham Lincoln - 'a government of people, for the people, by the people', and whose main intention is '...to outlaw one-man-rule, oppressive rule, and loveless rule'.[283] But he relates two reasons, one positive and one negative, for the inadequacy of democracy for Samoa. The first one is democracy's chaotic and corrupt manifestations in America which he thought proved to be the same in Samoa when it appeared in Samoa around the years from 1930 to 1950. The writer lists examples from an American newspaper of how Americans corrupt democratic lives:-

> (i) An individual spends $150 for worldy pleasure, and $1 for the work of God or for the poor and needy; (ii) Pattern of many deaths in every forty minutes by killing and murder; (iii) One million babies born every year outside the law [ie. not in wedlock]; (iv) More girls found in night clubs than in college; (v) Divorce rate of 3 out of 5 legalised by court rulings. [284]

In referring to comparable corrupt examples of the democratic way of life in Samoa, the writer contrasts them to the days prior to the 1930's when there was little entertainment and things of chaotic and immoral nature in the lives of Samoa, but only peace, a content mind, and happiness found in families and characterising family fellowship :-

> We look with sadness with regards to Sunday which is not as holy as in the days before. People used to hide and gambled in the bush; but now, we see such behaviour as a norm in villages and besides the road when we go to Apia. If big boats arrive on Sundays, we see dancing houses full on Sundays. There is also commerce and business on Sunday. If Jesus were to return suddenly on a Sunday he would surely be saying - This day is called a day of worship to God, but you have made it a day for drinking beer, dancing, and commerce. [285]

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[282] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; September 1958, p.162.

[283] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; September 1958, p.162.

[284] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; September 1958, p.162.

[285] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; September 1958, p.163.

In the light of these corruptions, the writer re-emphasises that democracy is 'not and never enough' for Samoa.

The second reason [positive one] is that 'It is God's holy purpose for all people and all countries to be ruled and cared for under the government system, Theocracy - the government of people instituted by God'.[286] For the writer this is what we mean when we pray the Lords Prayer, 'Thine Kingdom Come, Thine will be done on earth as in Heaven'. And in this system of government there is no selfish concern for personal rights and for democratic freedom, but of duties and good works for others and for God. The writer concludes that in the general preparation for the development of Samoa, the greatest concern must be for Samoa to be developed, and for Samoans to live by the '...often mentioned national theological confession. And it is therefore incumbent on us [Samoans] to say - Democracy is not enough for Samoa [E le lava le Temokarasi mo Samoa]'.[287]

There was no limit of sermons and articles of this nature towards the end of the 1950's in the 'O le Sulu Samoa'. They intended to influence Samoan politics at the crucial period of Samoa's transition to political independence in the 1960's. In this way the Church was relentlessly putting before Samoa and its political leaders the religious heritage and the political spirituality of Samoa's past leaders and ancestors since 1830. The Bible is held up again and again as the 'Text of Samoa' in the past which should also be the same for Samoa at the time and for the future.

(iii) Constitutional Convention of 1960 : God's Government for Godly Samoa.

A truly concentrated religious atmosphere pervaded the two-months sitting [August 16-October 28] of the Convention which eventually produced the Constitution for the

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[286] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; September 1958, p.163.

[287] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; September 1958, p.160.

Independent State of Samoa.[288] This was largely the result of the character [identity] of members. Most were Christian chiefs who were also deacons and lay-preachers in village churches and were representing district political electorates. Non-chiefly members could not be uninfluenced by the general description of the Samoan character particularly leaders, of the 1950's which is aptly captured by Davidson's observation :- 'The people of Samoa were beginning, cautiously but with assurance, to abandon the forms of racial discrimination that belonged to their paternalist past.' [289] A distinguished presence in the Convention were the village church pastors representing the Church, and whose main role according to one of the selected pastors[290] was 'to think together with the country on its constitutional development and its transition to political independence.'[291]

Actual proceedings of the Convention showed various expressions of religious influence.[292] Prayers opened and closed daily sessions, even in between sessions within one day. Opening prayers in daily sessions by an appointed member would be followed by a prayerful introduction to daily proceedings by different chairmen of sessions. Members' speeches followed the century-old characteristic of Samoan cultural orations of

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[288] For a thorough understanding of this Constitutional Convention, see, Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, Chapters 11, 12.

[289] Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, p.319. See also, Garrett, Footsteps in the Sea, pp.402-407, for the historical precedent in church attempt, in particular Missionary Bartlett, to induce Samoan political leaders who were also lay leaders of the Church into the road to forgiveness, in relation to anti-New Zealand mentality connected with the Mau Movement.

[290] This was Elder Pastor Mila Sapolu. Sapolu was a well-known Elder Pastor of the E.F.K.S., and of Samoa. As Chairman of the E.F.K.S. in 1961, he officiated in the worship service of the first Independence Celebration in 1962. It was the same in the 25th Anniversary Celebration of Independence when he was again Chairman. He was the first Samoan principal of Malua Theological College in 1967. He received government honours in 1993 as a celebrated national figure in church and in Samoan national affairs, and died in 1995.

[291] According to Sapolu.
Source :- Personal Interview with Sapolu at his home in Vaigaga, Western Samoa, 1993.

[292] WESTERN SAMOA OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION - 1960.
Given to me by courtesy of Utumakaiona Nofoa Petana, Chief Translator of the Legislative Assembly of Western Samoa.

being studded with biblical quotations, examples, and allusions. But their most common and unifying feature was the sense of gratitude for everything the speakers could associate with the eventual reality of the Convention. In the same spirit members would also attribute to God the anticipated successes of the historic Convention.

Part of the opening speech by the Samoan Prime Minister in reply to the opening Address of the Convention by the High Commissioner of New Zealand exemplifies the continuity and strong presence of the political spirituality of past Samoan leaders, and the influence of the prophetic role of the Church as shown above to have been predominant in the 1950's, on leaders of the Convention.[293] The Prime Minister referred to what he believed was a well-known characteristic of Samoa. That despite its being a small country, '...it can achieve great things through their courage and determination.'[294] This, he believed, was largely responsible for the evident good progress in the development of Samoa though with the vital help and opportunities offered by the New Zealand Government. But the greatest factor, according to the Prime Minister, was that Samoa was a nation chosen by God, and it was also God's will for Samoa to become an independent nation :-

> ...This is based on the words of Jesus that ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you. If God therefore has chosen Samoa to establish an Independent State of her own, we shall then be able to overcome whatever difficulties we might encounter through the power of our victorious Christ.[295]

The Prime Minister's speech sets the tone of the whole Convention by reiterating the essence of the spiritual heritage of Samoa's past national leaders as was also re-emphasised by the Church in the 1950's. He ended his speech with the expressed hope

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[293] WESTERN SAMOA...CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION - 1960, p.9.

[294] WESTERN SAMOA...CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION - 1960, p.9.

[295] WESTERN SAMOA...CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION - 1960. p.9.
Compare with the evangelical tradition that God's covenant is with nations not just individuals. Numerous examples abound in the Christian Bible from start to finish.

'that may Samoa be founded upon God.'[296] Understandably, in his last speech to conclude the entire sitting of the Constitutional Convention, the same hope was expressed in the very same words.[297] The major point to note is that the worship and religious atmosphere of the Convention clearly gives a sense of politicians preparing a covenant declaration of a religious nature.

Indeed this was the expressed hope throughout the Convention the leaders had constantly reminded members. It followed in the spirit of the first Constitutional Convention in 1954[298] where Tupua Tamasese, a national leader and a 'son of the Royal Family of Samoa', who was one of the chairmen of the current convention [1960], had strongly emphasised the necessity of a Christian basis for a Samoan Government. According to Tamasese - 'I am sure that if we establish our Government on the Christian principles, we are sure to succeed in all our work and achievements.'[299] Part of the continuing pride of modern Samoa results from the fact that leaders of the 1960 Constitutional Convention had adopted Tupua Tamasese's suggestion and included it in the Preamble to the Samoan Constitution.

In the last speech by the Prime Minister on the last day of the Convention, he remembered to make a public acknowledgment of the prayers of the Churches which he thought were truly answered through the success of the Convention, in particular in being able to agree on a Constitution.[300] This public acknowledgment of the role of the Churches had a deeper significance when one considers other speeches by the Prime

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[296] WESTERN SAMOA...CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION - 1960, p.9.

[297] WESTERN SAMOA...CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION - 1960, p.922.

[298] WESTERN SAMOA OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION - 1954, p.26.
Given to me by Utumakaiona Nofoa Petana, Chief Translator of the Legislative Assembly of Western Samoa.

[299] WESTERN SAMOA...CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION - 1954, p.26 .

[300] WESTERN SAMOA...CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION - 1960, p.921.

Minister in the Convention. It illustrates how a modern church-educated political leader of Samoa stands in loyalty to the strong and over-powering spirituality tradition of past national leaders of Samoa. And this spirituality tradition was largely influenced by the Bible, and nurtured in the biblical education in mission schools, and also in the pastoral education in village pastoral ministry.[301]

(iv) Preamble to the Constitution of the Independent Political State of Western Samoa : A Political Testament called 'Christian Mataiism'.[302]

Various key clauses of the Constitution's preamble illustrate clearly its Christian basis. In other words, the 'irresistible spiritual heritage' of past national leaders which crystallised in the national theological confession in the 1940's and 1950's - Fa'avae i le Atua Samoa [Samoa is Founded in God] - had also determined the founding constitution of the Independent State of Samoa, and had found legal codification in the preamble to the Constitution.

Most obvious is the opening clause of the preamble which declares the divine authority (source) from which the constitution was conceived, and that by which it is to be understood and enacted. It follows the manner biblical prophets authenticate their divine

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[301] A son of Church prayers can never be lost. He will always remember to thank his Church for his education. Prime Minister Mata'afa, the first Prime Minister of Samoa, was a well-known E.F.K.S. Chairman, lay preacher and deacon. He is remembered in Church circles for his emphatic conviction and usual reminder to chiefs and deacons not to meddle with holy things only Pastors are consecrated to deal with.

[302] This concept, 'Christian Mataiism' is by Misa Foni Retzlaff , a current member of Parliament of Western Samoa, and a Cabinet Minister. This is his definition of the economic system of Samoa as it operates for the general economic well-being of Samoans. It is found in his article, 'Western Samoa : A Response to Albert Wendt', in which he critiques Professor Albert Wendt's criticism of the twenty fifth celebration of Western Samoa's Independence in Wendt's article - 'Western Samoa 25 Years After : Celebrating What ?' Wendt's article is in the 'Pacific Islands Monthly', 1987. Vol.58, No.6. Retzlaff's in the 'Pacific Islands Monthly', August, 1987. Vol 58, No.8. I am using the concept in a wider sense to include not only Retzlaff's meaning, but the synthesis of the Christian and Samoan cultural foundation of the Political Independence of Western Samoa as enshrined in the Preamble of the Constitution.

oracles by saying, 'Thus says the Lord'.[303] For the framers of the Samoan Constitution their divine authority clause is - 'In the Holy Name of God, the Almighty, the Ever Loving.'

The second relevant clause is that which prescribes the boundary of authority Samoan people shall be able to exercise in relation to the absolute and sovereign Authority of God. That it shall be '...within the limits prescribed by His [God's] commandments [which] is a sacred heritage.'

The third relevant clause is that which declares '...that Western Samoa should be an Independent State based on Christian principles and Samoan customs and tradition.' This is explicit in the recognition of the legitimate roles of the Church and the State [or the Gospel-Culture duality] in the formation of the government and in determining government activities and policies.

In essence, the preamble to the Constitution embodies the predominant Christian influence and spirit of the 1960 Convention. In providing the Christian foundation for the Independent State of Western Samoa it may therefore be viewed as a political testament in the nature of a religious covenant. Its deeper significance is implicit in its opening declaration, 'the divine authenticating clause.' It decrees the incorporation of Samoa's 'political life', inclusive of all its institutional expressions and future developments, as was already achieved with respect to the Samoan culture, into the ultimate ground and authority of Samoa's national conscience - the biblical God. And in relation to the larger question of the historical evolution of modern Samoa since 1830, this provides the clearest illustration of the eventual success of Samoa's biblical culture to influence Samoa's political development and achievement. Behind this is the underlying historical success of the Samoan Christian Church in moulding and shaping Samoa to become a Christian society.

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[303] This is found mostly in the prophetic books of the Old Testament part of the Christian Bible.

(v) Divine Baptism of a Biblical Culture and a Christian Society.

One hour before midnight on New Year's Eve of 1961, church bells all over Samoa rang loud to herald the birth of the Christian state of Samoa and to call Samoans to the usual worship celebration for the advent of the New Year at midnight. An important part of the midnight Thanksgiving Service in many churches was the prayers for divine blessings for the celebration of the Political Independence of Samoa which was held the next day, January 1, 1962, at Mulinu'u in Apia. The Church newspaper, 'O le_Sulu Samoa', included a report of the celebrations.[304] The significant parts of the report are the references to the circumstances of the night before the Independence Day and also of the first day of the celebrations which are related as instances of divine miracles.

'About the behaviour of the heaven on the night',[305] in the hour before midnight, the report relates there was thunder, lightning and wind, but for a brief time. Heavy rain stopped before midnight. To the reporter, God was well aware of what was in the hearts of Samoans.[306] The miracle continued on the first day of the Independence celebration to which the report entitled its account of it by saying - 'Something miraculous was seen on that day.'[307] The miracle is related in the following manner :-

> The nature of the day and the behaviour of the wind - everyone thought there would be pouring heavy rain because dark heavy clouds had covered and encircled Mulinu'u. It was to everyone's surprise that the rain was pouring around Mulinu'u, leaving clear and untouched the place where the

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[304] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; January and February issues, 1962. The report starts in the January issue and is continued in the February issue. It is included under the general heading, 'O Mafaufauga i Mea i nei ona Po', [Thoughts About Issues in these Days]. Three issues guide the report - (1) Ua maua le Malo Tuto'atasi o Samoa i Sisifo [The Achievement of the Political Independence of Western Samoa]; (2) O le Vaiaso o Sauniga Eseese [The Week of Various Services and Celebrations]; (3) O mea na Vaaia ma Lagona i le Loto [Things Seen and Felt in Hearts].

[305] This is a literal translation of a subtitle to part of the report. 'O le Sulu Samoa'; January 1962, p.3.

[306] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; January 1962, p.3.

[307] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; February 1962, p.24.

> celebrations of the day were held. It seemed to be a miracle because it was something unbelievable and was causing surprise...[308]

Aren't these cases consistent with the authentic tradition of the church's biblical stories of faith where the dynamically experienced works of the Holy Spirit find correlated proofs both in the human experience and physical and supernatural events ?[309] For the report in the 'O le Sulu Samoa' the answer is an unequivocal 'Yes'. The religious conviction is also stressed that only the 'eyes of faith' could discern in such miraculous revealings the spiritual baptism of the new Political State of Samoa.[310] Following the description of the miracles the report relates that people appeared more reverent of God because they have seen miraculous works of God.[311] The report concludes its references to miracles with the hope which was reminiscent of the general hope at the time that Samoa should not be like the Israelites in their unbelief despite being revealed many wonders of God's miraculous works.[312]

For the national leaders of Samoa in the circumstances of Samoa's first Independence celebrations, the apparently miraculous events were the divine seal and approval on Samoa's national decision to found their government on God. It was at the same time felt to be a divine blessing on the Samoan mind which understood the achievement of

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[308] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; February 1962, p.24. Personal interview with Mila Sapolu who officiated in the Service on the day confirmed the miracle in the following way - 'Yes, it was a miracle in the feeling of the people. It looked as if something was resisting the rain in that particular fellowship of worship in 1962.'

[309] See for example the accounts of Jesus baptism and temptation in the Book of St Matthew, Chapters 3 and 4; and the account of Jesus' crucifixion in Chapter 27 :45-50. Narratives of this sort abound in the Christian Bible.

[310] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; February 1962, p.23.

[311] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; February 1962, p.24. Tapeni Ioelu, who was the editor of the 'O le Sulu Samoa' and was the writer of the Report, also wrote to the High Commissioner of New Zealand in this way about the miraculous events during the Independence Celebration - 'We have seen something of the love of our Lord.' This was the letter in which Tapeni Ioelu extended his gratitude for his M.B.E. from the Queen of England for his service for Education in Samoa.
Source :- Secretary's Correspondence, in E.F.K.S. Archive, Western Samoa.

[312] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; February 1962, p.24.

political independence as a divine gift, and which celebrated receiving this divine gift by surrendering [offering] it back as a 'living sacrifice' to God.[313]

For Samoa in the moment of Independence the result was a dwelling on a historical reminiscence mainly in the sense of showing a heart-felt gratitude for 'everything' that was life-giving in the past, especially in cultivating future visions. There was a heart-felt and tearful recognition of New Zealand's 'fatherly love and benevolent concern and help' for Samoa's preparation for Independence since 1947, as the flag of New Zealand was lowered in the moment of full Independence, in 1962.[314] The missionaries who had given the Samoan Church classic hymns[315] were elevated in the thoughts of many as like 'prophets who prophesied about future achievements of Samoa' and 'who seemed to have known that Samoa would have a government which would find useful the words of such hymns'.[316] On the second day of Independence celebrations another important service was held for the unveiling of the memorial stone for the Political Independence of Western Samoa.[317] It was prepared by 'The Society of Ex-Students of Government Schools of Western Samoa' which was founded in 1947, and had a branch in New Zealand.[318] Engraved on the stone were the national theological confession, various expressions and hopes of the Christian Faith, in particular, the symbolic inscription of the Christian doctrine of the Holy Trinity which the President of the Society who presented the gift to

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[313] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; February 1962, p.24.

[314] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; January 1962, p.2; and February 1962, p.23.

[315] Of numerous hymns prepared by the Missionaries, classic ones are Hymns 356, 352 and 359 which were sung in the Independence Service.

[316] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; February 1962, pp.22,24-25.

[317] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; February 1962, p.24.

[318] Important information about this Society are included in the 'O le Sulu Samoa'; February 1962, pp.30-32. Most vital and relevant is the mutuality of the political and the Christian concerns in the foundation, motivation, and purpose of the Society which reflect the general mood of most developments in Samoa at the time. Its extension in New Zealand also reflects part of the Samoan mentality which founded Samoan Church communities overseas.

the government referred to as the central significance of the memorial stone.[319] The point is clear. In the minds of Samoans, political independence was their gift from God. So celebration of Independence was both a Thanksgiving ceremony and a way of re-dedicating their gift - the Independent Political State - to God. In recognition of this essential Samoan mentality, the New Zealand Government gave the Independent State of Samoa its gift of the Christian Bible.

[E] CONCLUSION

When conducting the service for the thirty first [31st] celebration of the Independent State of Western Samoa in 1993, the Chairman of the E.F.K.S.[320] made a comment which aptly recalled the self-understanding of Samoa about the achievement of her political independence in 1962[321] - 'O le Malo Tuto'atasi o Samoa na fanau mai i le Malo o le Atua' [The Independent Political State[322] of Samoa was born from the Kingdom of God]. The comment by this Elder churchman is largely representative of the general conviction of the modern leaders of Samoa in Church, Politics and in Culture.[323] Its deeper significance lies in the way it captures in one concentrated statement the historical realities prevalent and existent in the historic events which were directly related to the

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[319] The special report of this service is included in 'O le Sulu Samoa'; February 1962, pp.30-32. Also included is the full speech by the President of the Society which includes a detailed explanation of the circumstances related to the motive, purpose and preparation of the memorial stone; and also a detailed explanation of the mostly Christian motivated and influenced inscriptions on the memorial stone. These embody the vision that had guided the historical evolution of Modern Samoa since 1830, and also the hope to which Samoa had surrendered itself since its Political Independence in 1962.

[320] Elder Pastor Fuata'i Tuautu, now retired in 1995.

[321] I was personally present in this service during research for this Thesis in Western Samoa in 1993.

[322] The word 'State' can also be translated 'Kingdom' as I use it in translating 'Malo o le Atua' [Kingdom of God]. The translation 'State' is most appropriate to the Samoan mentality especially in relation to politics and governmental affairs. Kingdom has a divine connotation, mostly, in Samoan mentality.

[323] The same understanding pervaded the speech by the Prime Minister of Samoa in the gathering of Samoan Churches and Samoan Chiefs in Auckland in 1993 for the Independence celebration. I am indebted to Chief Tanuvasa Tavale, a former lecturer of Samoan studies in the University of Auckland, for allowing me his video tape which includes the 'Speech' and other cultural ceremonies of this gathering.

preparation and the actual celebration of the Political Independence of Western Samoa on January 1, 1962.

An article by a pastor in the 'O le Sulu Samoa' in 1963[324] had already linked these events and their significances to the perennial influence of the nation-making role of the Bible in a certain way - by claiming that the two most important events in the history of Samoa were the coming of Christianity in 1830, and the achievement of Political Independence in 1962 with its expressed foundation in the Christian God.[325]

The crucial point of direct relevance to the conclusion to Chapter One relates particularly to the 'theological imperative' in Samoan mentality and self-understanding which underlies and gives thematic unity to the historical perspective of Chapter One argued above that this constitutes a vital dimension of the mainstream historical experience of Samoa in relation to the evolution of its modern history. This was also shown to reflect a peculiarity of the Samoan mind especially among leaders and authorities in culture and in politics. I have referred above to its holistic feature which inclines to innovative conservatism and a respect for continuity which are historically wrought through real life experience. This was the root of the 'spirit of culture' whose movement and evolution reflected in reality the movement and evolution of the Samoan mind. As constitutive of the peculiar Samoan cultural hermeneutics, it made the Samoan culture hospitable to strangers and to outside influence, and accommodative of changes. When baptised into the world of the Bible and Christianity since 1830, it found security, longevity and an enlarged capacity for adventure, for recreation, and for a wider application beyond the purely cultural concerns. By mid-twentieth century this Samoan mind, or spirit of Samoan culture, was mostly biblical, Christian, and still broadmindedly Samoan. And it

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[324] 'O le Sulu Samoa'; June 1963, p.116.

[325] The article refers to these two events as 'New Things in the Past', that is in Samoa's recent past. It therefore relates - 'In Samoa, I have only known two new things; (I) The New Morning of the Gospel on August 24, 1830; (2) The New Morning of the Independent Political State of Western Samoa on January 1. 1962. We will continue to celebrate this past. And their true and important lessons will be constantly brought before us for the development of new things in the pursuit of new life.'
'O le Sulu Samoa'; June 1963, p.116.

was most responsible in moulding and shaping the character of the independent political state of Western Samoa. The conclusion to Chapter One is therefore in order.

The coming of Christianity to Samoa in 1830 and the Political Independence of Western Samoa in 1962 provide the historical boundaries of the historical evolution of Modern Samoa. The burden of Chapter One is to suggest that the mainline story of this historical evolution of Modern Samoa has been essentially the growth and operation of a Biblical Culture and a Christian Society. Its most unique feature was in giving a contextual and Samoan expression of Jesus' radical injunction to render Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's. In the Samoan mind as shown above, absolutely nothing belongs to 'Caesar' ultimately. All life originate and belong to God, and therefore all developments in life and in all levels of society and in all manners of living must recognise such ultimate Truth. Its greatest historical achievement was Western Samoa's Political Independence whose foundation on the mutuality of Samoan culture and Christian principles founded unity of action and purpose in the national theological confession - May Samoa be founded in God.

The last part of Section D, 'Divine Baptism of a Biblical Culture and a Christian Society' demonstrated, according to Samoan self-understanding, the divine baptism of this Samoan mind or spirit of Samoan culture. In relation to the larger context of the historical evolution of the totality of Samoan society, this was symbolic of a more comprehensive baptism of other formative and foundational aspects in the historical evolution of Modern Samoa. It was the baptism of a people whose national identity and conscience indwelled the symbols and substance of a believing Christian society, as demonstrated in Section A. It was the baptism of a people's culture for being hospitable to the Christian biblical gospel, and in the historical process was amenable to transformations until it became an instrument for gospel proclamation as shown in Section B. It was also the baptism, if also the symbolic fulfilment, of the fundamental spirit in the Fa'asamoa which agitated to locate and to defend the central place of the biblical God in the totality of Samoan life as pioneered by the first Christian King of Samoa, King Malietoa Vainu'upo. This was

shown above to have found continuous expressions in the political spirituality of past successive national leaders, and which was crystallised in the national theological confession - Fa'avae i le Atua Samoa, as shown in Section C. In the 1940's it became the converging point of the ultimate concerns of the Samoan Church, Samoan culture. and Samoan national politics. And finally, it was the baptism of a biblically based vision of an independent political government whose constitution was likewise framed in the spirit of a religious covenant.

These are various expressions of the historic spirit of modern Samoa at the interface between Samoan culture and Samoan Christianity which Samoan migrants, especially since Post World War II, took with them to countries of migration. This therefore provides the link between Chapters One and Two, and also between Chapter One and Chapters Three and Four.

CHAPTER TWO

ROOTS IN THE GROWTH OF THE SAMOAN CHURCH [E.F.K.S.] OUTSIDE SAMOA 1880 - 1960 : MOVEMENT AND MIGRATION OF A BIBLICAL CULTURE AND A CHRISTIAN SOCIETY.

(i) Introduction to the Ekalesia Fa'apotopotoga Kerisiano Samoa [E.F.K.S.]

The Ekalesia Fa'apotopotoga Kerisiano Samoa [E.F.K.S.- Samoan translation of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa], grew out of the missionary work of the L.M.S. which started in Samoa in 1830. A great deal is already written and published which should provide a sufficient and an authoritative introduction into the history of the E.F.K.S. generally from 1830 to 1960.[326]Some background information is included primarily to help understand its growth outside Samoa.

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[326] There are three major [official] sources which should provide the authoritative introduction to the E.F.K.S. One is the 'O le Tala Fa'asolopito o le Ekalesia Samoa [L.M.S.]' [A History of the Samoan Church (L .M.S)] by K.T. Faletoese which is already mentioned above. This is a brief documentation of important periods, events, and developments from 1830 to 1960, and in Samoan. This is presently used by the E.F.K.S. for teaching its history in its pastoral schools. The other two are the official history of the L.M.S. by Norman Goodall and Richard Lovett which document everything about the Society especially its missionary work worldwide from the 1790's to the 1940's. The one by Goodall is already mentioned above, and the two Volumes by Lovett is called The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895. Though written from the missionary perspective of the L.M.S., the sections on the Samoan Church are informative on its fast development to becoming a missionary church, a mission base for the L.M.S. Pacific mission, and a successful indigenous church, though with its own problems and weaknesses. The works by Forman and Garrett (mentioned above) on Pacific Churches and Pacific Christianity are vital. The E.F.K.S., like all Pacific Churches, is viewed and situated in the wider context of the origin, growth, and the process of becoming independent, of a distinctive Pacific Christianity among Pacific Churches in the Pacific in the twentieth century. Neil Gunson's Messengers of Grace..., and particularly Stuart Craig's Between Two Miracles are relevant in this aspect. As part of the plurality of religions in the history of Samoa, see, Meleisea, Lagaga. Other relevant aspects in relation to the history of Samoa may be found in postgraduate works as mentioned above like those by Crawford, Kamu, Senara, and Iofi. Another official history of the E.F.K.S. from the Samoan perspective is now in process and to be written by Rev. Oka Fauolo, as authorised by the E.F.K.S. in 1993. Some basic information and insights on the E.F.K.S. since the 1960's especially in relation to the growing charismatic churches in Samoa are found in, Ernst Manfred, Winds of Change. (Pacific Conference of Churches : Suva, 1994), pp.161-177.

The E.F.K.S. has been the major Protestant denomination in a predominantly Christian Samoa throughout a century and a half [or since 1830] of the modern history of Samoa.[327] Its numerical dominance in terms of population, adherents and number of village churches[328] reflects its predominant cultural status and nation-making-role. In particular it is directly related to its leading role in the historical evolution of the 'Biblical Culture and Christian Society' of modern Samoa as shown in Chapter One.

Prior to 1928, it was doubly known as the 'Lotu L.M.S.' [or the Lotu Fa'apotopotoga] and the Lotu Taiti - the former to distinguish it from the Methodist and Catholic

[327] From the 1840's to the 1940's its share of population adherence fluctuated between two thirds (2/3) and three quarters (3/4) of the total population of Samoa. For the nineteenth century, see graphs about 'Denominational Growth and Decline, 1840-1880' by Crawford, pp.437-439. For the early twentieth century, see L.M.S. Report, 1939-1940, and Craig, Between Two Miracles, p.38. The table below demonstrates the declining predominance of the E.F.K.S. in a relatively stable Christian Samoa, since the middle of the twentieth century. A more comprehensive Table which includes diversity of 'Religious Affiliation in Western Samoa 1961-1991', is found in Ernst, Winds of Change, p.164.

YEAR	Total Population	Percentage of Denominational Adherence			Total.
	Samoa	E.F.K.S.	Methodist	Catholic	
1945		58.7	17	18.9	94.6
1951	84,909	56.5	16	20.6	92.11
1956	97,327	55	11	22	87
1961	114,427	55	16	22	92
1966		52	15	22	89
1971	146,627	51	16	22	89
1976		50	16	22	88
1981	156,349	49	16	22	85
1986		47	15	22	84
1991	161,178	43	17	21	81

Notes About Table.

1. Total population figures are from the Statistics Department of Western Samoa.
2. Except for percentage figures in 1945 which are from the L.M.S. Report 1952/53, others are all found in 'O le Sulu Samoa'; October, 1994.
3. The decline shown in the total of the three main denominations since 1970 was partly due to migration and the influence of charismatic sects in particular the Assembly of God.
4. General decline in the three denominations since mid century was largely due to migration. For the E.F.K.S. in particular these migrants established branches of E.F.K.S. in countries of migration as in Chapter Three.

[328] At present E.F.K.S. has 230 village churches in 238 villages in Western Samoa alone.

denominations while also indicating the period of missionary leadership of the Samoan Church; and the latter as indicating the pioneering role of Tahitian resident missionaries in Samoa, and the importance to the Samoans of the coming of the gospel to Samoa through Tahiti.[329] The official change of its name to the 'Ekalesia Samoa L.M.S.' [Samoan Church L.M.S.] in the first Constitution of the E.F.K.S. in 1928 reflected the prevalent spirit for partnership in control between the resident missionaries and Samoan Elder Pastors.[330] This was indeed indicative of the gradual devolution of full self-government for the Samoan Church which was realised in 1961.[331]

(ii) Origins and Beginnings of E.F.K.S. Branches Outside Samoa.

Introductory Note

The E.F.K.S. has 'District Branches' in Fiji, Hawaii, U.S.A., New Zealand, Australia and Tokelau. With the exception of Tokelau,[332] these countries were major destinations of Samoan migration in which migrants established branches of the E.F.K.S. as transplantations of Samoan Christianity with the hope of maintaining links with their home church and their home country. Only the branches of the E.F.K.S. in Fiji, Hawaii, and the United States of America are included in this section. The main reason relates to the chronological focus which is intended to clarify certain important aspects of the wider historical background of the origin and beginning of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand. Most important is to locate the historical position of the beginning of the C.C.C.S. in New

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[329] Faletoese, O le Tala Fa'asolopito o le Ekalesia Samoa, pp.85,87.

[330] The 'O le Sulu Samoa' of August, 1933, puts the contemporary understanding of this spirit in this way :-
O le Ekalesia Samoa [The Samoan Church]
1830 - 1928 = Under L.M.S.
1928 = Partnership with the L.M.S. in its new Constitution.

[331] The Constitution of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, 1962. p.3. [Official Document].

[332] Tokelau was not a destination of Samoan migrants. Its three islands - Fakaofo , Atafu and Nukunono - were part of the British Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony since 1915 and were transferred to New Zealand rule in 1926, and were administered from Samoa. This political connection with Samoa added to a much longer association through L.M.S. missionary work in the Pacific since 1861.

Zealand in relation to the chronological growth of other branches of the E.F.K.S. outside Samoa. The Australian branch is therefore excluded because it came after the establishment of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand - that is, in 1983. It is the latest branch of the E.F.K.S., which grew out of the continuing migration of Samoans from Samoa through New Zealand.[333] The Tokelau District of the E.F.K.S. is different. It was granted District status in 1987, but Tokelau Island churches of Fakaofo, Atafu, and Nukunono were affiliated to the Samoan Church in 1926. This was because they were within the orbit of L.M.S. missionary work particularly as important mission fields of Samoan missionaries since 1861.[334] Samoan Church communities in the Pacific Islander Congregational Church [P.I.C.C.] can be included in the chronological background because they were established in the 1950's. They are treated separately in Part V because of their direct importance and significance to the New Zealand background of the beginning of the C.C.C.S. [335]

Fiji Branch of the E.F.K.S.

The origin of this branch of the E.F.K.S. is traced back to the 1880s to a house church of a small Samoan migrant group in Levuka, the previous capital of Fiji before Suva in 1882.[336] The official connection of this Samoan Church community to the E.F.K.S. started in 1903 when the Samoan Church under the auspices of the L.M.S. bought a three

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[333] The leading founders of the Australian branch was Fuimaono Nasau, one of the leading founders of the C.C.C.S. parish of Christchurch in 1966, and Pastor Tepa Faletoese, the second pastor of the Christchurch Parish. And also Pastor Talalelei Poasa, the first pastor of Kingsland Parish.

[334] Faletoese, O le Tala Fa'asolopito o le Ekalesia Samoa..., p.57.

[335] The history of the Samoan Church communities in the P.I.C.C. has already been done by Lili .F. Nokise. See his, "A History of the Pacific Islanders' Congregational Church in New Zealand, 1943-1969." M.Th thesis, University of Otago, Dunedin, 1978. The main concern for our purpose is to highlight the relationship between the mind of the Samoan religious migrants in New Zealand in connection with the unfolding of the characteristic response by the E.F.K.S. in relation to its branches overseas, particularly the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[336] Tuimaleali'ifano, Morgan. Samoans in Fiji : Migration, Identity and Communication. (Fiji. Tonga and Western Samoa Extension Centres of the University of the South Pacific : Institute of Pacific Studies, 1990), p.102.

quarter [3/4] acre piece of land for the Samoan congregation in Suva.[337] A church was built in 1904 and pastors were appointed from Samoa.[338] Until 1946 this Church community was in reality a 'mission outpost' of the L.M.S. and the Samoan Church for its mission work in the Pacific. Yet at the same time a growing concentration of Samoan migrants in Suva had led to a considerable growth in church membership which resulted in a strong migrant Church community by the middle of the twentieth century. A resolution by the General Assembly of the Church in 1946 had officially included this Fijian branch to the Samoan Church.[339] The resolution merely accepted the recommendation by a Deputation of the Samoan Church which was requested by the Samoan Church community in Fiji to look into the internal problems and difficulties besetting the Church. Internal divisions among the church members particularly the lay leaders and the pastor, and financial difficulties in maintaining a resident pastor were the major problems. Various terms of the resolution clearly show the beginning of the characteristic attitude by the E.F.K.S. in relation to later involvement with the growth and subsequent inclusion of Samoan migrant Church communities in other countries.[340] The characteristic attitude is always a benevolent response to the needs and requests of Samoan Church communities to be part and branch of the mother church [E.F.K.S.] in Samoa. From its official linkage to the E.F.K.S. in 1946 up to the present (1990's), it remained an important migrant Church for scholarship students of the Samoan Government and the Samoan Church [E.F.K.S. and the Methodist Church] to the University of the South Pacific [U.S.P.] and to the Pacific Theological College [P.T.C]

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[337] Tuimaleali'ifano, Morgan, Samoans in Fiji..., p.102.

[338] Tuimaleali'ifano, Morgan, Samoans in Fiji..., p.103.

[339] Resolution of General Assembly of Samoan Church, 15-17, 5, 1946. In folder, Mataupu o le Fono, 1919-1950'; E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.

[340] Several resolutions related to the acceptance of the Samoan Church in Fiji are found in, 'Resolution of General Assembly of Samoan Church, 15-17, 5, 1946' in 'Mataupu o le Fono 1919-1950'. Relevant to the point are the following :- 5 (a) That the Church in Suva be included as part of the Samoan Church [L.M.S.]. The different circumstances in Suva must be recognised. Therefore it must be treated accordingly, other than the ways pertaining to Churches in Samoa. (e) That the Samoan Church retains authority to appoint the pastor for Suva...but it shall not be done without prior consultation with the Suva Church, and without giving them the opportunity to present their views on any related changes to be made.

respectively. An increasing but fluctuating class of Church membership had been the skilled migrants and contract workers from Samoa who work as lecturers and administrators at the U.S.P. and the P.T.C., and in offices and works connected with the Pacific Council of Churches [P.C.C.] and agencies of the World Council of Churches [W.C.C.].[341] In the same period, pastors were appointed and paid by the E.F.K.S., and they were mainly returning missionaries or pastors who were either lecturers in the P.T.C. or as personnel officers related with the works of the P.C.C. and the W.C.C. in Fiji.[342]

The Hawaii Branch of the E.F.K.S.

This branch of the E.F.K.S. began in 1950 in the same manner as the branch in Fiji. It originated in a 'house Church' by a migrant group of one hundred and sixteen people in Honolulu which comprised Church members [confessors] and deacons mainly from American Samoa and Manu'a, and was headed by a Samoan ordained pastor.[343] It was founded on the understanding of it being '...the growth and the development of the Samoan Church in Honolulu...'.[344] It was linked to the E.F.K.S. through the Manu'a and American Samoa District of the E.F.K.S. from 1950 to 1953 '...until such time when the status of the Samoan Church in Honolulu will be decided.'[345] This occurred in 1954.[346] The death of the founding pastor in 1953 led to internal divisions in the Church because the E.F.K.S. in Samoa appointed an ordained pastor the majority of members strongly

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[341] For a detailed analysis of the member composition of the Suva Church from its beginning to the present. see, Tuimaleali'ifano, Morgan, Samoans in Fiji..., particularly Chapter 7.

[342] Tuimaleali'ifano, Morgan. Samoans in Fiji..., pp.104-110.

[343] This information is included in a brief report of the third Anniversary Service of the Honolulu Church which includes information about the beginning of the Honolulu Church in 1950. It is written by the founding pastor of the Honolulu Church, and is to be found in the 'O le Sulu Samoa'; July, 1953 .

[344] 'O le Sulu Samoa', July 1953, p.11.

[345] 'O le Sulu Samoa', July 1953', p.11.

[346] Sources of the complex developments at this period are the letters and correspondence by church leaders in the Honolulu Church. These are included in the 'Ekalesia Honolulu File', in the E.F.K.S. Archive. Apia.

opposed.[347] The requested Deputation from the E.F.K.S. in 1954 restored unity to the Honolulu Church, and secured the assistance from the Board of Missions of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association of Congregational Christian Churches [H.E.A.C.C.C.] to cater for the sacramental life of the Church community, and for other matters relating to the community's development and relationship with the Hawaiian society.[348] The explosive migration of American Samoans to Hawaii in the 1950s due to economic difficulties related to the withdrawal of the United States Naval Administration from American Samoa had quickly increased Church communities in Hawaii.[349] The consequent increase in church membership in various Church communities, and their increasing prominence as financial sources for the Samoan Church had eventually earned them the status of being a formal District of the E.F.K.S. in 1969.[350] In 1980 the withdrawal of the Tutuila and Manu'a Districts from the E.F.K.S. to becoming 'an independent but allied E.F.K.A.S.'[351] gradually took with it the majority of Samoan Churches in Hawaii. The main reason is because members are almost all migrants from American Samoa and Manu'a islands. A reduced Hawaiian branch [District] of the E.F.K.S. now (1993) consists of four member Churches.[352]

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[347] Further details of this aspect is to be found in the later section, 'The Mind of the Samoan Religious Migrant: The Experience of Samoan Migrants in Fiji, Hawaii, and United States of America..'.

[348] 'Decision of the Deputation from Samoa 16 October , 1954'. This is found in the 'Ekalesia Honolulu File', in E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.

[349] This fact is mentioned in almost all correspondence from the Honolulu Church to the E.F.K.S. in the 'Ekalesia Honolulu File'.

[350] 'Minutes of the General Assembly, 1969'. [Official Publication of the E.F.K.S.].

[351] 'Minutes of the General Assembly, 1980'. [Official Publication of the E.F.K.S.]. The E.F.K.A.S. stands for Ekalesia Fa'apotopotoga Kerisiano Amerika Samoa. Literally translated in English - Congregational Christian Church of American Samoa. The phrase 'an independent but allied E.F.K.A.S.' embodies the hope for separate development in the physical side but still united in the spiritual side. The hope for separate church development by Samoans in American Samoa and Manu'a was often raised and discussed in the Elders' Committee, and the E.F.K.S. General Assembly during the 1960's. The major reason was the fact that American Samoan and Manu'a people were under the U.S. political rule and system. The issue of finance was less important until from the 1960's to late 1970's. And it was the major reason for the withdrawal for separate development by the E.F.K.A.S., particularly in view of their perception, and quite justified, that most of the annual church offering was spent for the improvement of Church offices and schools of the E.F.K.S. in Upolu, but not in American Samoa and Manu'a.

[352] 'Minutes of the General Assembly, 1993'. [Official Publication of the E.F.K.S.].

The Branch of the E.F.K.S. in the United States of America.

This branch of the E.F.K.S. originated in the continuation of the same explosive wave of migration of American Samoans in the 1950s through Hawaii, which led to the founding of the branch of the E.F.K.S. in Hawaii as mentioned above.[353] The first Church community of the U.S.A. branch was founded in the chapel of the Naval Campus in San Diego, California, in 1955 by a lay preacher who was amongst the founding Church community of the Hawaii branch of the E.F.K.S. in Honolulu.[354] While it is likely that Samoan migrants to the U.S.A. would eventually congregate in Church communities, the individual initiative of the lay preacher, Suitonu, is significant. Using the opportunity of being a naval officer in the U.S. naval administration in Hawaii, he secured a transfer to San Diego for the sole purpose of founding a Church community for Samoan migrants[355] as part of his larger vision to congregate all Samoan migrants in U.S.A. in Church communities,[356] and his '...utmost hope for the L.M.S. [that is, the Samoan Church] to cover this whole area of the Pacific Ocean.'[357] It was for this purpose that he undertook pastoral training in Honolulu,[358] and requested the status of the Samoan ordained pastor[359] which was given in 1956.[360] Suitonu clearly shared the typical inclination of Samoan religious migrants to establish and to live in Samoan Church communities overseas

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[353] See especially U.E. Sala, 'A Theology of Samoan Christian Immigrants in the United States'. D.Min. Dissertation, The School of Theology at Claremont, 1980. Introduction, pp.9-12; and relevant sources cited in Notes in relation to 'The Emigration Process'.

[354] 'O le Sulu Samoa', February 1956, pp.37-38. [Report of the 'O le Ekalesia Samoa (L.M.S.) i Amerika', by its founding pastor, Pastor Suitonu].

[355] 'O le Sulu Samoa', February 1956, p.37.

[356] Lay preacher Suitonu to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu. Letter, dated January 1, 1955. 'Ekalesia Honolulu File', in E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.

[357] Lay preacher Suitonu to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu. Letter, dated October 29, 1953.

[358] Lay preacher Suitonu to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu. Letter, dated January 22, 1955.

[359] Lay preacher Suitonu to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu. Letter, dated January 22, 1955.

[360] Resolutions of Elders' Committee, 1952-1978. Official Publication of the E.F.K.S. , p.22.

because of the centrality of worship in one's language and in the usual manner of worship, and also the concern to keep the children of migrants in the Samoan expression of the Christian faith. According to Suitonu :-

> Father [Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu] I have great concern for the youth [boys and girls] of Samoa in the Continent of America where there is the great wisdom of the world. I believe the sheep of the L.M.S. [Samoan Church] are still hungry and thirsty for the Truth in and through the Samoan language and the Samoan worship they are used to.[361]

Likewise the element of religious patriotism which was common among Samoan religious migrants was strong in Suitonu's mind :-

> It is because of my pursuit of knowledge and wisdom that I am going around, but not to seek wealth. I need the wisdom of the whole wide world and the enlightenment God had given them. because I want to be of some use for Samoa in the future...When in San Diego. I will try to the best of my ability to establish the Samoan Church and in conjunction with your advice [Elder Pastor Ioelu's advice]. I will use my lay preacher's certificate [status] in the established church ministry. and the assistance of a Palagi church minister to administer the sacraments I am not allowed to administer...[362]

The leading initiative of Suitonu in the beginning of the U.S.A. branch of the E.F.K.S. illustrates other important aspects of the relationship of religious migrants and migrant Churches to the E.F.K.S. One is the leading role of lay preachers in the beginning of migrant Churches. Related to this is the initiative and vision of migrants in the beginning of migrant Churches. Their subsequent attachment to the Samoan Church in Samoa was also the migrants' preference though at times resulted from difficulties in the infant stages

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[361] Lay preacher Suitonu to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu. Letter. dated January 22. 1955.The same spirit is reflected in Suitonu's report of the first service of the beginning of the Samoan Church in America in 'O le Sulu Samoa'. February 1956. p.38. :- 'I have seen the great desire of children of Samoa for the spiritual milk they had been fed by the L.M.S. in Samoa - the Word of God. Some had to come through thousands of miles. paying hundreds of dollars to travel by train to attend worship to God in the Samoan language...Some had to start leaving their homes on Thursday or Friday to be able to attend worship...'

[362] Lay preacher Suitonu to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu. Letter. dated. December 18. 1954.

of growth and development. In 1961 migrant Churches in the U.S.A became an official District of the E.F.K.S.[363] Like the Samoan Churches of the Hawaii District, the withdrawal of the Tutuila and Manu'a District from the E.F.K.S. in 1980 gradually led about half of the U.S. Churches to join the E.F.K.A.S. In 1993 only eight remained with the E.F.K.S.[364]

(iii) Locating the Growth of Samoan Migrant Churches Within the Wider Historical Movement of Christian Civilisation.

The most formidable proof of the combined success of the Christian missions of the Evangelical Missionaries and the Samoan Church in Samoa between 1830 and 1960 was in making the Samoan Church a Missionary Church[365] and Samoan migrants settling outside Samoa church goers[366] and mostly Church planters. In this respect, Christianity not only provided the major impetus in the transformation of Samoan society to become a Biblical culture and a Christian society as shown in Chapter One. It also linked Samoa, in particular Samoan migration and movement, to the historical movements and migration of civilised societies and Christian civilisation world wide. and as far back as the migrant faith communities of the biblical world and of the dawn of human civilisation.

Samoan migration which began at the end of the nineteenth century and became a major phenomenon throughout the twentieth century had resulted from the general push-pull operation of all migration. Its major destinations were, in chronological waves, Fiji, to a lesser extent, but mostly to Hawaii, United States of America, New Zealand, and Australia. The push-pull operation of migration in relation to Pacific Islanders' migration

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[363] 'Minutes of the General Assembly, 1961'. [Official Publication of the E.F.K.S.]

[364] 'Minutes of the General Assembly, 1980'. [Official Publication of the E.F.K.S.].

[365] This strong feature of the Samoan Church is clearly stressed in the three official sources for the history of the E.F.K.S. noted in Note 326. The comment by Goodall is typical and representative which had made Samoa also known as the 'Antioch of the Pacific' - 'But no island group maintained a larger or more continuous tradition of overseas service than the Samoans': Goodall, A History of the London Missionary Society..., p.377.

[366] See for example the Outlook [the official journal of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand] on these issues - March 28, 1970; June 6,1970; November, 1970; October-November, 1971.

to these countries, on the fringes of Polynesia and beyond, eventuated in a certain form. It merged the migratory instincts and way of life within Polynesia and the economic and political trends and developments which resulted and facilitated by the 'colonial networking' of countries during European and Western colonial imperialism in the Pacific.[367] The conclusion by Grant McCall and John Connell on the modern phenomena of Pacific Islander Migration when viewed in global perspective is most intelligible in this regard, and equally applicable to Samoan migration.

> Migration is an integral part of Pacific Islander culture and social organisation...In migrating and movement, "the peoples of the Pacific are returning to an old pattern of fission, migration, settlement and contact..."... Whatever metropolitan governments decide. Pacific Islanders are going to continue to explore and continue their settlement in distant lands as they have always done. The difference now is in the degree of inter-connection in the world : today's Pacific Islanders are seeking to development and improve their suburb of the Global Village.[368]

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[367] Migration of American Samoans and Manu'a to Hawaii and U.S.A. was the eventual effect of being hooked into the economic benefits deriving from being a colony of U.S.A. since 1899. For a closer analysis of this and with reference to official sources, see these two post-graduate works: Stanton, Max Edward. "Samoan Saints : Samoans in the Mormon Village of Laie, Hawaii." PhD Dissertation, University of Oregon, 1973; Chapter III. And Sala, Ulisese Elisara. "A Theology of Samoan Christian Immigrants in the United States", Chapter I. In the same way the migration of Western Samoans to New Zealand resulted from being associated with New Zealand since the end of W.W.I. For a detailed research into 'all areas' related to Samoan migration to New Zealand, see, Pitt, David, and Macpherson, Cluny. Voluntary Separation and Ethnic Participation - Samoan Migrants in Urban New Zealand. (Nuffield Foundation Ethnic Relations Project Preliminary Report No.1. November, 1971). On the legal aspects of Samoan migration, see especially Krishnan, Vasantha; Schoeffel, Penelope; Warren, Julie, The Challenge of Change : Pacific Island Communities in New Zealand, 1986-1993: especially pp.1-26. For an overall introduction to migration phenomenon within Polynesia [and into Polynesia], especially from Pacific Islands to New Zealand, see Crocombe, Ron. Pacific Neighbours : New Zealand's Relations With Other Pacific Islands. (MacMillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies : University of Canterbury, 1992), Chapter I.

[368] McCall, G; Connell, J. Pacific Islander Migration, A World Perspective. (Kensington, N.S.W. : Centre for South Pacific Studies, University of New South Wales in association with the Bureau of Immigration Research, 1993). pp.3,14. See also Crocombe, Pacific Neighbours.... pp.3-4, for the 'Three Waves' of migration between Aotearoa New Zealand and Pacific Islands.

An inseparable element in these movements and migration from the nineteenth century is a liberating spirit which is a noble legacy of the Christian missions in the Pacific;[369] and to a large extent, it rightly justifies granting for the Christian missions in the Pacific the status of being a 'historical necessity' in world wide movements for liberation. This particularly relates to the theological understanding of migration which, in relation to Samoan migration, is deeply rooted in Samoan self-understanding and in actual experience of Samoan migrants.

For example, a Samoan pastor, Nove Vaila'au,[370] perceives the liberating spirit in the cause of migration as a world wide phenomenon which became a liberating force for Samoan migration. This is perceived through C.S. Song's idea of the compassionate God of the Bible,[371] and through Ruben Alves' perspective which understands migration [from the Latin American perspective] as a freedom movement from the negative confluence of cultural and religious factors.[372] According to Vaila'au with special reference to Samoan migration to New Zealand, '...the emigration of the Samoan people should now be looked

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[369] Like other countries, Pacific Islands have legends and stories of migrations and movements resulting from being invaded and colonised by other Islands, or from clear motives to engage in colonising expeditions. For example, between Samoa and Tonga and Fiji. The contribution of Christianity was to end such ignoble aspects and spirit in ancient movements and migration, those in which Pacific Islanders had shown themselves no better than some of the repugnant aspects of colonial imperialism of the West and European nations in the Pacific in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

[370] Pastor Nove Vaila'au is a B.D. graduate of the E.F.K.S. from P.T.C. in Fiji (1988) who's been widely involved in works of the P.C.C., W.C.C., and C.W.M. He is now Secretary of the E.F.K.S. and Deputy Moderator of C.W.M.

[371] Vaila'au quotes Song from his The Compassionate God, (pp.30-31) as follows :- 'This is a theology of migration at its best. God is at the head of the migration column and the leader of the migrating people. Migration begins with God's order and continues under God's direction. This faith in the migrating God ought to help expand the frontiers of our historical experience...For God is the power that moves people and nations. We encounter here a dynamic God.'
Vaila'au, Nove. "Theology of Migration". B.D. Thesis. (Pacific Theological College : Suva, 1988), p.4.

[372] Vaila'au quotes Alves from his From Paradise to the Desert : Autobiographical Musings, p.289, as follows:- 'Cultural and religious obligations make migration, the silent revolution against the status quo necessary.'
Vaila'au, "Theology of Migration", p.35.

at as a silent revolution against the status quo...'[373] And by the latter he means the combination of outside colonial exploitation and cultural and religious factors associated with Samoan society.[374]

Likewise, in his "A Theology of Samoan Christian Immigrants in the United States", Samoan pastor Ulisese Sala, demonstrates this further in relation to Samoan migration to the United States of America, and from the sociological and theological perspective. The major thrust of his work highlights the centrality of the culture-consciousness and Christian faith of Samoan migrants in understanding their experience as immigrants in the United States.[375] According to Sala, Samoan migration to the United States of America is 'ordinary' (that is, less significant) when compared to the great historical migrations which 'must be part of God's revelation in history', and which had produced great nations and cultures like Rome and America, and certain creative periods in past civilisation.[376] But Samoan migration is all the same 'by nature a witness to the biblical God who **comes** and **goes**',[377] and who is always present in the plight of all immigrants.[378] This emphasis on the reality of the biblical God as a migrant God which Christianity had powerfully impressed on the Samoan mind of the twentieth century partly explains the

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[373] Vaila'au, "Theology of Migration," p.21. For a detailed research into the motives, nature, and stages of Samoan migration to New Zealand since W.W.II., and especially their adaptive strategies using Fa'asamoa, Samoan church, and family, see Pitt and Macpherson, Voluntary Separation and Ethnic Participation...; as cited above.

[374] Vaila'au, "Theology of Migration", p.21.

[375] As stated in the Abstract to his Thesis he writes :- 'At first , I thought that the sociological and psychological aspects of the Samoan experience would bring about a meaningful understanding, but as this project will show, it is the theological manifestations that actually bring out the depth and meaning of the Samoan experience in America ...The Bible...has held a dominant place in my theological investigation...I have taken the story of our people and related it to the story of God's people in the Bible. As the Israelites followed this God in their exodus experience, the movement of the Samoans from Polynesia to America has been influenced by the revelations of the same God who liberated Israel from bondage...'
Sala, Ulisese. "A Theology of Samoan Christian Immigrants in the United States"; pp.v-vii

[376] Sala, Ulisese, "A Theology of Samoan Christian Immigrants...", p.8.

[377] Sala, "A Theology of Samoan Christian Immigrants...", p.9.

[378] Sala, "A Theology of Samoan Christian Immigrants...", p.9.

modern attitude of religious Samoans in Samoa and in Church communities overseas, towards the legacy of colonial imperialism in the Pacific and its bearing on Samoan migration.

In the mind of modern Samoa the 'fatal impact' of European and Western colonial imperialism was not allowed its ugliest manifestations in Samoa because of the 'Christian embrace' of the Christian missions of the Evangelical missionaries.[379] This Samoan mind reflects the influence of Samoan Christianity on Samoan cultural spirituality. It outlaws militant cultural Christianity and the fallacy of reactionary cultural nationalism in favour of the vision to ascertain the victory of the human spirit, and to preserve the Christian spirit of culture through being wedded to the movements of the Divine spirit. Samoan migration of the twentieth century eventuated on this vision. As a movement and migration of 'A Biblical Culture and a Christian Society', it added a liberating dimension to the Christian self understanding that Faith conquers the world - that is, Faith also opens up the world and other cultures for the migration of a religious culture.

This was a prophetic dimension in the Samoan mind which was powerfully at work in the minds of the Samoan religious migrants who were most responsible in creating Samoan Church communities in countries of migration. It was rooted in the forgiving spirit of Samoan national leaders who founded the Christian-based constitution of modern Samoa in 1960. More importantly, it was rooted in the general acknowledgment of the blessings on Samoan society which Samoans had attributed to the dedication and commitment of the Evangelical Missionaries for the good of Samoa in all aspects of Samoan life.

Samoan religious migrants left Samoa with full awareness of the fundamental spirit of modern Samoa in relation to the value and vitality of the work of the Missionaries in

[379] For being less a victim of colonialism, it is therefore not an ardent protagonist for the Third World or Pacific anti-colonial mentality. This partly explains why Samoans who are more learned in the history of the Samoan Church in Samoa, especially in its overpowering influence in the historical evolution of modern Samoa, are less featured in the 'decolonising perspective' of much history writing now currently in vogue in the Pacific.

Samoa. The constant reference to the L.M.S. missionaries by the Samoan Church in Samoa, and Samoan Church communities overseas in the 'O le Sulu Samoa' clearly reflects the lasting gratitude for the Missionaries. For the former, the highest honour is accorded to the Missionaries - 'Missionaries are the fathers of Samoa, and the L.M.S. is the father of the Samoan Church.'[380] For the latter in their constant correspondences to the mother Church in Samoa, there is always a special acknowledgment of the Missionaries apart from expressions of loyalty for the church in Samoa.[381] Referring to the legacy of missionary work in such a positive and reverent way bespeaks the mind of a prophetic church and a biblical culture who saw in the missionary spirit of Evangelical Missions the liberating workings and movements of the spirit of the migrant God of the biblical world.

This aspect of the mind of the Samoan Church resonates well with the biblical prophetic perspective in understanding world-wide movements of wandering people, nations and powers in history under the universal Lordship of one God.[382] It engenders an understanding of historical movements 'in their chaotic and covenanted aspects' which transcends 'truth explanations' of the 'colonising and decolonising perspectives' in history writing which are predicated on the false reality of both the First World colonial imperialism and Third World anti-colonial or reactionary nationalism. For the Samoan Church both perspectives are not normative in history writing for the history of the Church [the Samoan Church] if it is designed to proclaim the gospel of world wide freedom and salvation, and if it purports to be true to the Mind of Christ. There is a 'third alternative' which to the mind of the Samoan Church was represented by the Evangelical missions in their christianising and civilising work for Samoan society. At the heart of

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[380] Faletoese, O le Tala Fa'asolopito o le Ekalesia Samoa..., p.62.

[381] There are numerous examples in migrant church correspondences from E.F.K.S. branches in Hawaii and U.S.A., in the 1950's and 1960's in the 'Ekalesia Honolulu File', in E.F.K.S. Archive in Apia.

[382] This is clearest in the prophetic Books of the Christian Bible, in particular the Books of Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Jeremiah.

this 'third alternative' is the language of the heart that understands the divine gospel of salvation to always come through human flesh. Hence it believes in the literal truth of the dictum - to err is human and to forgive is divine.[383] In the mind of the Samoan Church the 'third alternative' was clearly illustrated in the Christian commitment by the missionaries whose selfless concern and service for the Samoan people was a human sacrifice of the highest nature. That they desired nothing for themselves but to be messengers of Grace and Peace, and that their satisfaction was gained only from the self-knowledge that one has spent one's life for the good of others. Impressing the 'third alternative' on the mind of the Samoan Church was the missionaries' way of impressing their version of the Mind of Christ.

Embracing the 'third alternative' has given the Samoan Church both in Samoa and in its branches overseas the powerful piety of gratitude which is often and endlessly expressed through its general hospitality when entertaining visitors and outsiders. For the branches of the Samoan Church overseas, this piety of gratitude is also one of its adaptive strategies designed both for survival and as a way of Christian witness. Its cultural peculiarities are the ways the Samoan Church and Samoan culture had given the Christian biblical gospel its contextual forms and expressions. To discern this mind of the Samoan Church in the origin and growth of its branches overseas is to discern one of the most important theological explanations for the uncompromising loyalty of Samoan religious migrants to their spiritual roots in their home Church in Samoa, and the continuing inclination by the latter to accommodate the requests from migrant Church communities to be part and parcel of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. For in the Samoan mind, the conceptions of cultural and spiritual roots are outward expressions of the deeper reality of blood relation. To disown the latter is suicide and a Fall from the Garden of Eden. To enjoy the

[383] As alluded to already, a strong element in the mind of the Samoan Church is the lasting gratitude for the L.M.S. for bringing the Gospel in 1830. The limitations of L.M.S. missionaries are all too well understood as natural to human nature, hence the tendency to exaggerate gratitude and to extend forgiveness as an attitude that is appropriate as a memorial for historical contributions to liberation of Samoa in the past. How can you bite the hand that fed you ? is closest to this element in the mind of the Samoan Church. See also, Ioka, Danny. "London Missionary Society : An Aspect of British Protestantism". B.D. Thesis. (University of Otago, 1992). Epilogue, pp.51-61.

blessings of Paradise [countries of Samoan migration] without sharing them with relations in the Holy land [Samoa] is to commit the sin of forgetting that one was born from human parents, not from animals of the lower order of creation. It is also to forget the general aspiration at the root cause of Samoan migration - the search for Paradise for the sake of the Holy land, Samoa, and in particular, the family.

One can now appreciate the relationship between the persistence to always build churches and to live in Church communities overseas, and the larger context of the migration waves by which Samoans had migrated to overseas countries within the general impact of colonial imperialism in the Pacific, and the liberating legacy of Christianity. It has to do with the fundamental religious character of Samoan migrants, in particular, the strength of their faith and piety and the cultural basis and cultural expressions of such faith and piety. Because the 'Church' in the village and in the national conscience Samoa embodies the holy and sacred place of God, Church communities of Samoans overseas replicate that understanding of the Church. Moreover in the Samoan mind the 'Church rooted in Culture' was the 'womb and reservoir' of the birth and rebirth of the national identity of modern Samoa which is shown in Chapter One to be fundamentally religious. So that what is believed to have preserved their human spirit and the life giving aspects of their culture in their home society, and what was proven to have effected a 'transformed conservation' of their culture, and created the modern identity of Samoa is also trusted to preserve Samoan Christianity in countries of migration. At the same time, to make Church communities the focus of all aspects of their life in new societies is part of the Samoan struggle to maintain for themselves and for Christianity their most authentic vision and version of a Christian society.

Ultimately, in the larger perspective of the liberating spirit in the historical and universal movement of Christianity which the Evangelical missionaries had given the Pacific, the decision by Samoan migrants to build and to live in Church communities wherever they

migrate is obviously not unique to Samoan Christian migrants.[384] This is equally true in relation to the eventual growth of branches of the E.F.K.S. outside Samoa when understood in the sense of the migration of a religious culture.

(iv) The Mind of the Samoan Religious Migrant : The Experience of Samoan Migrants in Fiji, Hawaii and the United States of America.

A very notable and strong feature of the mind of a Samoan religious migrant is the profound spirit of loyalty and commitment to Samoa the homeland and to the E.F.K.S. the home Church. The most intimate kin-spirit of warmth and belonging typical in family atmosphere, and the empathetic spirit characteristic of Christian fellowship greatly influence the language and expressions of their correspondence to their Church in Samoa. Such characteristics reflect the fact of their being new immigrants to new lands of settlement, and also of being infant Church communities in the process of effecting transplanted Christianity while simultaneously trying to maintain connections with their home church. Equally vital they reflect the very nature and motives for migration. Not as exiles from their homeland but as adventurous migrants infectiously attracted by the 'life opportunities' of outside countries, and who were determined to 'carve out' a future for themselves and for their families, villages, churches, and for Samoa in countries of migration. Family, country, culture, and spiritual roots flow in the blood, and as long as these are remembered their hearts would always be historical - that is, they can not sever themselves from their origins and roots.[385]

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[384] For example, the literature on historical movement and migration of European Christianity in various ways into the 'New World' of America, Australia, New Zealand, etc. is voluminous and a universal fact. For a representative case see Booth, K.; Broadbent, J.; Phillipps, D. and Matheson, P. The Farthest Jerusalem : Four Lectures on the Origins of Christianity in Otago. (Faculty of Theology and Hocken Library : University of Otago, Dunedin, 1993).

[385] This is clear in Samoan songs where Samoans tend to preserve part of their histories and profound beliefs. For example the song, 'I left my Heart in Samoa' by the Yandal Sisters, a family group of one of the first Samoan migrant families in New Zealand. Another popular song for Samoan migrants is - 'Samoa my Dearest Country in Heart' [Samoa e, lo'u Atunu'u Pele i le Loto].

When referring to the parent Church [E.F.K.S.] in Samoa, the spirits of the individual migrant and that of the migrant Church community are similar.[386] The E.F.K.S. is always the 'Dearest Samoan Church' [le Ekalesia pele e], and its pastoral ministry in Samoa is the 'Dearest ministry of God' or the 'Dearest ministry in Samoa'. Its publications, especially 'O le Sulu Samoa' and its direction [suggestion] for the best spiritual books to read must be sought with the single minded spiritual thirst in the manner of King David's request to want to drink only from the water of the well in the gate of Jerusalem.[387] The main reason is because they truly contained the spirit of God. Furthermore, the Samoan Church is the true shepherd for the Samoan migrants [its sheep] overseas. So that the reason for building Samoan Church communities overseas and the preference for Samoan pastors was 'the longing of the soul to establish and worship in the church they were brought up in their villages in Samoa.'[388]

References to the pastor leaders of the Church and pastors in the village ministries in Samoa are the most intimate. In general all religious Samoans overseas view themselves in relation to their Church in Samoa as children of the Samoan Church in the spirit, and in faith. The pastor leaders of the Church and village pastors are the 'Fathers in Samoa' or their 'Fathers in the Spirit' [Tama Fa'aleagaga]. The correspondence by the 'lay preachers' who were Church leaders in the Churches in Hawaii and in U.S.A. are most emphatic in this aspect. The pastor leaders of the Church in Samoa are the 'Church Fathers',[389] and also 'Fathers in the Spirit' whose letters must be carefully read to discern their prophetic contents, and whose visitations and deputations to the overseas branches

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[386] Unless otherwise stated and for reason of emphasis, the specific examples which will be referred to are all from letters and correspondence by individuals, and by pastors, written on behalf of migrant churches, either to Tapeni Ioelu or to the E.F.K.S. in general. These are included in the 'Ekalesia Honolulu File' [which also includes letters and correspondences from the migrant churches in U.S.A.] in E.F.K.S. Archive in Apia.

[387] This is a reference by one migrant letter to King David's wish in 2 Samuel 23:15 . Quote :- 'O that some one would give me water to drink from the well of Bethlehem which is by the gate.'

[388] 'O le Sulu Samoa', November 1947, p.143.

[389] The sense here is similar to how the modern Christian Church regard the writings and historical status of the Early Church Fathers of the Christian Church.

of the E.F.K.S. are to be awaited 'as bringer of salvation', because 'they are always chosen and sent by God.' Moreover, it is from them that 'they personally received excess of spiritual nourishment necessary for the whole life in general and most appropriate in the church ministry' of Samoan Churches overseas. And 'not only are they always present in the reminiscence of their hearts [the religious migrants] and soul for the good things they had given for their lives', the writings of the Church Fathers in the Samoan Church religious literature are the secure guides to bring forth Christian believers and to help in the Christian journey to eternal life. One example in a letter by the lay preacher and founder of the Samoan Church in U.S.A. [Suitonu] is most exemplary :- 'Happy are the Samoans who eat and drink in them, for they will no doubt bring forth useful trees for this life, and to help achieve the journey to new life in heaven.'[390] Another example is by a lay preacher who was also a Church pastor in a Samoan Church community in U.S.A. The most significant aspect of this example is the 'child-like' loyalty of this lay preacher in spite of his further academic and theological achievement from a theological seminary in U.S.A., and also his 'licence as a pastor' from the Congregational Church in Southern California :-

> I confess to you [Father Ioelu] and the Samoan Church. that you, Fathers, and the Samoan Church I was born into and was nurtured in, come first in my heart. Papalagis do not come first in my mind, but you. That is the reason why I am asking you and the Samoan Church first. I have achieved and secured these blessings but have not used them before I receive a 'word of direction' from the Church and from our Father in heaven if it is appropriate.[391]

In his correspondence in April 6, 1961, the same spirit is reiterated :- 'I shall always remember the Samoan Church, especially the encouraging and life giving words that have given endless drinks [that is, teachings in spiritual life] for the children of our Church in

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[390] Pastor Suitonu to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu, August 11, 1967. 'Ekalesia Honolulu File'.

[391] Pastor Malaetia Tufele to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu (not dated). 'Ekalesia Honolulu File'.

overseas countries.'[392] The child like loyalty to the E.F.K.S. is also exemplified in the great demand for the 'O le Sulu Samoa', and also its significance for the migrants. For some, despite access to many newspapers they still wished to read the 'O le Sulu Samoa' mainly because it includes the stories about 'our dearest country Samoa and the dearest Church.' Others delighted in 'the biblical thoughts for spiritual growth', or 'the great and inspirational lessons and teachings', and also 'the death reports [of Church members] which are even better because they include good lessons for the living'. Still others emphasised 'tneir spiritual contents and the spiritual inspirations of biblical articles' which are 'even more useful and inspirational because they could read them in the Samoan language'. The profound sense of loyalty to spiritual roots was clearly a major reason for the evident need in the mind of the Samoan religious migrant to maintain spiritual links with the home Church. Maintaining these links was of mutual benefit to both the migrant Church communities and their home Church. The former receiving spiritual direction from the latter, and the latter receiving the worldly riches for development from the former. For one of the important reasons migrant Churches wished to maintain these links was their 'hope and promise' that they could be of great help to the E.F.K.S. in Samoa.[393]

There was also a clear presumption in the minds of migrants about the continual phenomenon of movement and migration in which Samoans would undoubtedly be involved and could use to their advantage. In this respect, Samoan Church communities overseas would cater for such movements by Samoans but particularly those adhering to the E.F.K.S. This expectation contributed to the zeal to build the most beautiful churches possible in migrant Church communities, which would also be a witness to other people

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[392] Pastor Malaetia Tufele to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu, April 6, 1961. 'Ekalesia Honolulu File'.

[393] To a large extent, this was the expectation of families, relations, and village churches as clearly shown in various 'Church Announcements and Appeals' in Chapter One, Section B (iii); and in Chapter Two (ii). This was not a priority expectation by the E.F.K.S. at least in the initial stages of relationship with its branches outside Samoa. The main concern was for migrant church communities to be places of true worship by Samoans in the spirit of unity.

of the centrality of the worship to God by the Samoans.[394] A quote from the Church report for the dedication of the first church building [Holy Cross] by the first Samoan migrant Church community in San Diego California is most representative :-

> It is the development of the work of God and for the prosperity of Samoans in the future, and in view of the progress of the Samoan Church [which was always in the minds of Samoans][395] when they left their ten beautiful islands in the Pacific Ocean...We all worked for the future and in anticipation of your coming, and there is already a Church for you to worship God...[396]

The potential witness to the Christian faith in God in the very fact of building a beautiful church for the community is related with pride, and in connection with the unbelievable story about the Samoan carpenter and his children who built the church for free :-

> There is a silent wonder among American people about this carpenter who has worked with his children for free. But it was a free sacrifice for God and for the true Polynesians from Samoa in the Pacific Ocean. If the wise people of America and the world would think of how Samoa looks in the map, they are only dots hardly visible unless they are seen through a magnifying glass. And to compare that with this great work they have done for Samoans and the world, it would be very important in their minds. And they will eventually thank God and the Samoan Church in San Diego.[397]

The major point to note is that what undergirded this related 'hope and promise' in the minds of the migrant churches of what they could do to help the Samoan Church in Samoa and in its expected growth outside Samoa, was their appreciation of the 'worldly riches' and 'extensive resources' for life and development in countries of migration. In

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[394] 'O le Sulu Samoa', February 1964, pp.31-32.

[395] My addition as implied in the Samoan version.

[396] 'O le Sulu Samoa', February 1964, p.31.

[397] 'O le Sulu Samoa', February 1964, p.31.

the migrants' mind they were in Paradise.[398] And so part of the hope for developing their Church communities was to channel the blessings of Paradise for the development of their home Church and their homeland - their Jerusalem in the Holy land, Samoa. Again the words of the migrant are self evident :-

> The love for Samoa our dearest country is eternal - [that is, unending and of the highest priority in heart]. Wherever and whatever corner of the world we may settle and live, we raise our windows to see you Samoa in the East as was done by Israelites in ancient times...[399]

The establishment of migrant Church communities meant more than transplantations of Samoan Christianity. They were also extensions of migrants' home horizon.[400] In the mind of the Samoan migrant Church communities, the 'extension or stretching of their home horizon' is neither an indifferent, a separatist, or reactionary attitude against the realities in all aspects of life in their new homes in countries of migration. Nor is it an unthinking transplantation of their cultural and religious life from their home society, Samoa.[401] Samoan religious migrants were well aware of the transformations in their society which resulted from the advent and impact of Christianity. They were poor migrants. And their only assurance was their spiritual belief in the victory of the human spirit conjoined to the Divine Spirit.[402] So the unwavering zeal to create and to live in

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[398] A typical and pervasive experience of Samoan migrants in Hawaii, U.S.A., New Zealand is reflected in the phrase often related in letters to families and friends - 'Now I have come to my real land of birth'. [O lea fa'atoa o'u o'o mai i le nu'u moni na 'ou fanau ai].

[399] 'O le Sulu Samoa', November , 1958.

[400] This experience is clearly embodied in the often heard phrase among different migrants in New Zealand at the present time - 'Home away from home'. For others, 'a second home'.

[401] For the Samoan religious migrants, their Church communities are the most appropriate community contexts within which they can realise their life-giving cultural and religious heritage, while simultaneously accommodating changes and challenges of their new homes. It has little to do with a fortress mentality, though it is sometimes understood by migrants as places to guard against secular ideologies like 'melting pot' or becoming 'brown pakehas'

[402] This is related to the prophetic dimension in the mind of the Samoan Church, 'the third alternative', which is mentioned above to have influenced the mind of Samoan religious migrants and subsequently their migrant Churches.

Church communities was the operation of their cultural and religious mind to exercise dominion over their new environment, by fashioning a cultural and religious community environment within which they could be truly Samoan and authentically religious.[403] In this way migrant Church communities were also ways of adaptive strategies though rooted in the religious character of Samoan migrants.

The development of migrant Church communities in the pursuit of the above hopes also became significant sources of an independent spirit which influenced relationship with other Church communities in countries of migration and also with their home Church. To a large extent, this spirit of independence discernible in migrants' correspondence reflects more the fact of migrants becoming successfully acclimatised as comfortable citizens of the New World than a tendency to sever ties with origins and roots.[404] At times it was used by outside branches to challenge the authority of their home Church. But the greater tendency between the 1950's and 1960's from the evidence of the Fiji, Hawaii and U.S.A. branches of the E.F.K.S. was the consolidation of links. And the initiative was always from the migrant Church communities. In relation with other Church communities in countries of migration, the independent spirit as a mode of interaction proved most constructive and fruitful in enhancing mutual understanding and also in preserving their cultural expressions of their Samoan Christianity.

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[403] Cluny Macpherson rightly captures this spirit of Samoan migrants in New Zealand - '...that for one who had been working in Samoa, it appeared that the Samoans had recreated Samoa in New Zealand and that everything was happening very much as it did in Samoa.' Macpherson, Cluny. Samoan Migration to New Zealand and Polynesian Migration and Settlement, p.12. This article is in Macpherson, C.B.;Shore and R. Franco (eds) New Neighbours...Islanders in Adaptations. (Centre for South Pacific Studies : University of California, 1978).

[404] This is mostly true to Samoan Church communities in the Pacific Islander Presbyterian Church [P.I.P.C.] in New Zealand. And it relates equally to the areas of cultural and spiritual connections to Samoa.

(IV) (b) The Heart of the Matter : Worship as Biblical Injunction Becoming a Cultural Truth.

One of the most noticeable attitudes of Samoan religious migrants was their church-going nature and their love of attending Church worship.[405] Various explanations of this attitude especially from the sociological perspective have been offered and the tendency has been a one-sided over-emphasis on the useful functions of the Church community as a social and cultural focus of migrant communities.[406] An equally important stress in sociological studies is to view such religious communities as the unifying symbol of the migrant's various adaptive strategies in their new environment.[407] The major importance of these studies has been the identification of various patterns of migrants' cultural-religious behaviour in their relations with their new environment. And it furnishes insight into various motivations that fire the zeal to congregate in Church communities. Most often, the cultural dimension of migrants' behaviour is emphasised and the religious integrity of migrants' Christian piety and faith is either less emphasised or totally ignored.

So always missing is the 'heart of the matter', which tends to result from the fact of secular commentators writing about the Church life of Church communities, and in some ways reflecting their secular perspectives if not the predominant secular climate of their societies.[408] Almost all Samoan migrants of the period under focus [1940s-1960s] were Christian believers as would be implicated by the central thesis of Chapter One. While the outward expressions of their religious beliefs have been identified, these unfortunately tend to suggest the operation of a cultural Christianity which is believed to be temporary

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[405] Refer to sources in Note 366.

[406] For Samoan migrants in New Zealand, see especially Pitt and Macpherson, Voluntary Separation and Ethnic Participation..., Chapter 5. For Samoan migrants in Hawaii and U.S.A., see Macpherson, Shore and Franco (Eds), New Neighbours...Islanders in Adaptation, on most Articles included.

[407] Refer to sources in Note 406.

[408] My point is not that sociological studies don't always write the truth about Samoan migrants, but that there is a tendency to under estimate the issues of piety and religiosity in Samoan migrants in this period, 1940s-1960s.

and only a survival strategy which would in time prove impracticable and unnecessary.[409] This perspective has been the road to multicultural Churches which proved mostly unworkable for Samoan migrants in Hawaii and the U.S.A., and with limited success for Samoan migrants in New Zealand and in Australia.

The 'heart of the matter' that is always underrated in the explanations of the church-going attitude of the Samoan migrants is the simple and basic commitment to love, and enjoy worshipping God. In the mind of the Samoan religious migrant, this is a cultural truth and a Christian duty he or she inherits from Samoa, the Biblical culture and a Christian society. This Christian and cultural orientation was reinforced by the new found opportunities and freedom in countries of migration. The experiences of the migrants themselves are most illuminating in this respect.[410] One of the most important reasons singled out is the depth of the Christian evangelisation of Samoa by the Samoan Church through its village pastoral ministry, and by the initial nurturing role of Christian parents in the family context of Samoan life. According to the migrants themselves :-

> Samoa is only a tiny virtually non-existent part of the world, but it has become a large part of the Christian world because of the strength and depth of the proclamation of the name of Jesus Christ; and the majority of Samoans are Christians...[411]

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[409] For a similar insight, see Betty.K. Duncan, Christianity : Pacific Island Traditions: in Donovan. Peter (Ed), Religions of New Zealanders. (The Dunmore Press Ltd : Palmerston North. 1990). See particularly Note 6, in page 139, where Duncan corroborates this point by citing Nokise against R.L.Challis whose leadership of the P.I.C.C. Churches tended to be based on the misguided philosophy of Pacific Islanders becoming brown pakehas in New Zealand.

[410] One example is typical. In the 'O le Sulu Samoa' issue of November, 1962, p.204, the Christian Endeavour Committee of the E.F.K.S. put in a question for all members of the Christian Endeavour Society of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa and overseas to answer - "Do you know the reason why the children of Samoa overseas in countries like New Zealand, America, Honolulu [Hawaii] and all parts of the world are very church-going?" The answer by the Pastor of the Samoan Church in San Diego was published in the 'O le Sulu Samoa' issue of December, 1963, p.230. This is largely referred to in the text.

[411] 'O le Sulu Samoa', December 1963, p.230.

From the pastor of the Samoan Church in Los Angeles he writes :-

> Firstly, I thank you parents because of the good seed you have planted in the lives of your children while they were with you in Samoa. Now its wonderful fruits have been shown as you have heard. Because together with the role of the servants of God [pastors], it is you who are the first road-guide for the future of the children. Now they just cannot take away from their life their true spirit [spiritual thirst] to want to worship God. Whatever corner of the world they are in, at the top of their priority [in life and application] is God...[412]

On this strong Christian foundation in Samoa, the migrants had found in the freer circumstances of their overseas Church communities a more 'individuated and authentic joy' for worship, and the opportunities to feel responsible and to hold important positions in the Church. The sense of the new found freedom to worship and to give offerings in worship is stressed in contrast to the limited village atmosphere of communal pressure and firm authority.[413] The opportunities to hold important status and positions in the Church is equally stressed in contrast to the tendency in Samoa to prefer Elders, chiefs, the rich, and those with government status.[414] Of equal importance is the realisation of the limited scope available in villages for advancement in most spheres of life as is clearly shown in the limited opportunities within the structure of the Church.[415]

Another reason stated is the strong missionary element in the Christian nurturing of Samoan migrants which is usually evoked by migrant Church leaders. It is the inspired and personalised sense that a migrant is continuing the missionary tradition of Samoan martyrs in spreading the Gospel in the Pacific, when s/he is exemplifying in daily living

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[412] 'O le Sulu Samoa', November 1958, p.216.

[413] 'O le Sulu Samoa', December 1963, p.230.

[414] 'O le Sulu Samoa', December 1963, p.230. Interestingly, much the same point is mentioned by George. F. Night in the P.T.C's Newsletter, No.6. of July, 1967. It is related in the Samoan meaning of the term Congregation :- 'Congregation, in Samoan, means "Council of Elders and Chiefs".'

[415] 'O le Sulu Samoa', December 1963,p.230.

the required life the Samoan missionary martyr had died for in other countries. In other words, to go to church in foreign countries was a result of historical reminiscence about Christian upbringing in Samoa, the expression of loyalty to the Christian direction for all Samoan migrants and their future,[416] and the simple continuation of the church going way of life in Samoa which in countries of migration was facilitated by worshipping in their own language given by God in their own Church communities. Again the experience of a migrant pastor is mostly illuminating :-

> A Samoan in America feels joy in his heart to imitate the life in Samoa - that on Sundays, he picks up his Samoan Bible and Samoan Church Hymnary, and walk to Church. This is greatly encouraged in America because of the continuous reminiscence about the Christian life they were nurtured into by their parents, and the Christian foundation that had prepared the true Samoan Christian migrant to gentile countries. ...There is the need to worship in the true Samoan language but not other languages because God had already classified different parts and people of the world and each was given a language. And the world will be judged on the basis of race in and through their different languages. ...I remember the phrase in the history of our Church - "The ravines/valleys of gentile nations are now overflown by the blood of Samoan missionary martyrs. Isn't this the spirit which underlies the efforts and endeavour of the children of Samoa - that they reminisce about their brothers and sisters, fathers and mothers, who were killed in pagan lands and have their bodies distributed and eaten by fierce cannibals in their opposition to the Gospel, but they were never afraid nor refused to withdraw from offering their lives for missionary work ? Isn't this the present spirit of the present [modern] children of Samoa? Yes it is."[417]

(IV) (c) The Unavoidable Involvement by the Home Church [E.F.K.S.] and the Beginning of its External Policy in Relation to its Outside Branches.

Two examples from the Hawaii and the U.S.A. branches of the E.F.K.S. will serve to show the major reason(s) for the unavoidable involvement by the E.F.K.S. in the growth

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[416] Refer to poem by Elder Pastor Ioelu in Chapter One, Section D.

[417] 'O le Sulu Samoa', December 1963, p.230.

and development of migrant Church communities. The related aspect of the nature of such involvement is also important because it illustrates the beginning of the making of the mind of the E.F.K.S. in relation to migrant Church communities, which will be important in relation to the beginning of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

The Hawaiian Example[418]

In 1953, three years after the beginning of the first Samoan Church in Hawaii, the founder pastor of the Church community died. Division in the Church which resulted from the appointment by the E.F.K.S. in Samoa of an ordained pastor as successor led to a split. Ten families with single church members welcomed the appointment most probably because of family and village connections with the appointed pastor.[419] The majority who rejected the appointment by the E.F.K.S. had reasons which reflected an independent spirit, a clear understanding of Church policies in relation to the appointment of pastors for the Church village ministry, and also a clear notion of the different circumstances in countries of migration.[420] One important reason was the claim about the unchristian and corrupt past of the appointed pastor in his previous ministry in American Samoa which in the testimony of the opposition did not improve since his arrival in Hawaii.[421] The second reason was the claim that the appointment contradicted Church policy that a village pastor is requested by the village congregation but not appointed by the Church central office or central leadership. The third reason for the dissatisfaction was the suspicion relating the appointment to the operation of nepotism.[422] The

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[418] Unless otherwise stated and for reasons of emphasis, the sources for this example are letters and correspondence from migrants in the 'Ekalesia Honolulu File', in E.F.K.S. Archive, in Apia.

[419] Lay preacher Suitonu to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu; undated letter, but it was clearly written at the end of 1953 according to contents of letter. Also in letter by Suitonu to Vavae (Secretary of Samoan Church), October 27, 1953.

[420] Lay preacher Suitonu to Ministerial Sub-Committee of the Committee of Elders, Letter dated, December 25, 1953. Also letter by majority who rejected Samoan Church decision to Vavae; dated October 30, 1953.

[421] Suitonu to Ministerial Sub-Committee of the Committee of Elders. Letter dated, December 25, 1953.

[422] Tusi Fa'avae to Vavae; Letter dated, November 8, 1953.

'mistake'[423] by the E.F.K.S. had serious consequences for the Church community in Hawaii. It brought out the 'evil of arrogance' in the appointed pastor which justified the opposition's reservations about his character.[424] Several fights occurred in the Church which eventually led to divisions. For the majority in opposition, the primary mistake by the E.F.K.S. would have been less serious if it had not written to the appointed pastor about his appointment before informing the congregation, and even before the congregation had decided on a new pastor for the Church.[425]

It was in the context of this 'learned opposition' that the spirit of independence was always related as shown in the correspondence by Church leaders. While they were willing to be part of the E.F.K.S., it was conditional on the E.F.K.S. making the right and just decision. Uncompromising loyalty was at times qualified by critical reverence in the form of the spirit of independence.

In 1954, the E.F.K.S. accepted the request for a deputation to restore normalcy in the Hawaiian Church community. Reconciliation between the divided groups was restored with the assistance of the H.E.A.C.C.C. But it was effected at the cost[426] of sidelining the properly ordained pastor in favour of a lay preacher who was more popular; And it meant disqualifying the appointment previously made from the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. The reconciliation was nevertheless welcomed by both sides and even reluctantly by the

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[423] It was a mistake from the perspective of the Hawaiian Church for justifiable reasons, in particular their assessment of the ordained pastor chosen by the Samoan Church, and according to constitutional stipulations regarding pastoral ministry. But from the perspective of the Samoan Church, the chosen pastor was already in Hawaii which would save the Hawaiian Church from having to pay for the family of a pastor to be chosen from Samoa.

[424] Suitonu to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu; Letter dated, October 29, 1953. Also Tusi Fa'avae to Vavae; Letter dated, November 8, 1953.

[425] Tusi Fa'avae to Vavae, November 28, 1953. Also letter by majority who rejected Samoan Church decision; October 30, 1953.

[426] Letter by Mine, wife of rejected Pastor, Whitman, to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu; dated January 26, 1955.

sidelined ordained pastor.[427] All were united with the often related hope and advice from the Samoan Church that the main thing the Samoan Church would want to hear from the migrant Samoans was unity, peace, and working together in Christian fellowship. Later divisions in the Hawaiian Church communities which led to the beginnings of new Church communities were a result of other factors to do with certain aspects of the character of Samoan people, and changing realities of migrants' overseas circumstances.

The unmistakable influence of these aspects were shown in the later split which seems to justify the appointment made by the E.F.K.S. which the minority supported. For this side, which welcomed the appointment, they were also defending the integrity of the status of the ordained pastor, which was equally a major concern by the E.F.K.S. later in the increasing growth of migrant Churches outside Samoa, and who wanted to be part of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. This concern was proved justified not much later after the Deputation's reconciling mission in 1954. The 'reconciled Church' in Honolulu did not last long under the pastoral leadership of the ordained lay preacher.[428] The reasons were complex, including the increasing growth of Samoan migrants which necessitated new Church communities, and the 'unhealed wounds' of the dissatisfied minority who were still loyal to the 'sidelined ordained pastor.' But according to correspondence by other Church leaders,[429] the decision by the Deputation to unite the separated parties under the pastoral leadership of a lay preacher even if he was ordained was inappropriate for other reasons. His preaching and leadership was not up to standard, and Samoan character was such that they only listened with sincerity to the recognised leaders of the Church pastoral ministry, the ordained pastors. The preferred solution was to have for the Samoan Church in Honolulu a proper ordained pastor from Samoa without the above weaknesses because:-

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[427] Mine Whitman to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu; January 26, 1955.

[428] Mine Whitman to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu; January 26, 1955.

[429] Lay preacher Lavata'i to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu; January 4, 1954. Also Mine to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu; January 26, 1955.

> Most members are young men with little patience and appreciation but are critical of sermons by lay preachers...and Hawaii is a land of freedom that only the strength - that is, the status and experience of an ordained pastor and the fact that he is recognised by members as such, could influence the hearts of the impatient young men.[430]

The main point is clear. In relation to the involvement by the E.F.K.S., it was often requested in the spirit of migrant loyalty to spiritual roots in their homeland. The spark of the independent spirit shown in migrants' correspondence associates more with issues of piety internal to the Church. Also when this independent spirit was related by way of emphasising the reality of migrants' overseas circumstances as living in the lands of Freedom, it was never to threat a severance of links. Rather it was a way of emphasising to the E.F.K.S. the need for a committed response. For in the mind of migrant Church communities, authority was still strongly believed to reside in their cultural and spiritual roots in Samoa.

The Example From the U.S.A. Branch.[431]

The example from the U.S.A. Branch of the E.F.K.S. deals with the general problem of the controversial divisions within the established Church communities which resulted in splits and the creation of new Church communities in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Such divisions and splits reflect deeper controversies related to the fundamental issues of authority, loyalty, and churchmanship. This involved relation to the parent Church [E.F.K.S.] in Samoa, the relationship between Samoan Church leaders of the migrant Church communities, and the relation of the latter to established Churches in U.S.A. to which Samoan migrant Churches were associated.

The primary cause of controversial schisms was the constant dissatisfaction with the leadership of the ordained lay preacher, Suitonu, who was authorised by the E.F.K.S. to be the overall leader of Samoan Churches in the U.S.A. Allied to this dissatisfaction with

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[430] Lay preacher Lavata'i to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu; January 4, 1954.

[431] Unless otherwise stated and for reason of emphasis, sources for this [U.S.A. example] are letters and correspondences from individuals and pastors in U.S.A. migrant churches. These are included in the 'Ekalesia Honolulu File', in the E.F.K.S. Archive in Apia.

Suitonu's leadership was the controversial development of the office of the lay preacher in the U.S.A. branch of the E.F.K.S. New lay preachers who received theological training in U.S. theological seminaries and were given 'pastor licence' from Churches related to these seminaries were increasingly becoming influential in migrant Churches, and were claiming to have the equivalent status of the ordained pastor of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. The splits in the established Churches which led to the establishment of new Church communities were often the direct result of the controversial clash of leadership authorities between these U.S. licensed lay preachers, and the E.F.K.S. lay preachers who were ordained as pastors by the E.F.K.S. in response to the need for pastoral leadership in the first established Churches of the migrant communities in the U.S.A. A specific example of the anxiety over the 'U.S. trained and licensed lay preachers' was related by one Samoan ordained pastor to the Chairman of the E.F.K.S.[432] He refers to the half-hearted loyalty to the E.F.K.S., the radical and new ways of worship, and therefore a 'concern for the children of Samoa' who were being perverted as the consequence.

The increasing presence of proper ordained pastors of the E.F.K.S. in the mid-1960s presented another source of controversy. This time, they were a threat to Suitonu. At least in the beginning, no major controversies in this regard appeared before the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. This was mainly because the presence of ordained pastors in the Samoan Churches in the U.S.A. did much to resolve the problem of lay preachers who received 'pastor licence' in U.S.A., and were claiming the authority of the E.F.K.S.'s ordained pastor to administer sacraments and to be pastors of new Samoan Churches.[433] But later, the specific issue in contention was the question of who was to represent the delegated authority of the E.F.K.S. in relation to other Churches the Samoan migrant Churches

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[432] Pastor Anoa'i to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu; Undated letter, but undoubtedly in the early 1960s on the basis of contents.

[433] E.F.K.S. ordained pastors successfully stopped practice by Samoan U.S. trained lay preachers to receive licence with the hope to be pastors of Samoan Churches. Overall leader pastor Suitonu supported this though he also refers to the successful attempt by E.F.K.S. ordained pastors as an expression of their attempt to assume pastoral leadership of Samoan Churches in U.S. This is clear in Suitonu's letter to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu; August 11, 1967.

were associated with in the U.S.A.[434] Suitonu's letter to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu clearly explains a particular incident which illustrates this developing controversy.[435] With the presence of ordained pastors of the E.F.K.S. in the migrant Churches in U.S.A., Suitonu had the impression that they were acting as the leading authorities of the migrant Churches. For Suitonu it was unwarranted and was a breach of the authority of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa which had delegated the responsibility to him alone. Meanwhile a slight change of attitude from the United Church of Christ in Southern California was perceived by Suitonu as a 'challenging threat' to the independence of Samoan migrant Churches, and was a clear departure from the original understanding and relationship.[436] The issues involved 'licence for pastors' and 'offering' in the Church. Initially, licence for pastors were given free and without conditions by the United Church of Christ. As Suitonu relates in his letter, a condition was later added which required that licence for pastors would be given but offerings in the Church were to be given to the Palagi Authorities.[437] In Suitonu's mind there was now a double challenge [or threats] which directly impinged on the status of his overall leadership over the migrant Churches, and also on the ultimate authority of the E.F.K.S. over its U.S. branches. The former was issued from the presence and pretensions of the ordained pastors of the E.F.K.S., and the latter came from the new change of attitude from the United Church of Christ in relation to church offerings.

Increasing tensions developing from clashes of authorities were partly settled in the General Assembly of the United Church of Christ in Southern California. At least according to Suitonu's report of their meeting with the Church officials of the United Church and the ordained pastors of the E.F.K.S. in the General Assembly, he had the

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[434] Pastor Suitonu to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu; August 11, 1967.

[435] Pastor Suitonu to Elder Pastor Ioelu; August 11, 1967.

[436] Pastor Suitonu to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu: August 11, 1967.

[437] Pastor Suitonu to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu; August 11, 1967.

opportunity to state clearly the proper status of authority in relation to the Samoan Church communities in U.S.A.[438] The threat from the presence of the ordained pastors of the E.F.K.S. seemed the more dangerous one to Suitonu because in his letter, what he said was directed in response to a statement by one of the ordained pastors; although he also had in mind the challenge of authority from the Church representatives of the United Church of Christ. According to Suitonu he responded in the following way :-

> ...that they have no right and authority in relation to Samoan Churches. They only work together but the authority of the Samoan Churches come from Samoa, and I am looking after the Churches [under that authority].[439]

Fortunately Suitonu's letter also includes the impressions by the Samoan ordained pastors in response to his imprudent remarks. That it was arrogant and it clearly ignored 'their presence and logically their status as being ordained pastors in this life'.[440] In a 'joking way' the ordained pastors also told Suitonu, that he was 'making himself the king of Samoa', which Suitonu relates in his letter in an equally joking way.[441] It is evident that on the question of ultimate authority, Church leaders of Samoan migrant Churches looked unconditionally to the E.F.K.S. in Samoa.[442] It is the reason for the 'joking way' the ordained pastors responded, which was a way of minimising the embarrassment they had received from Suitonu's imprudent remark and the arrogant way he said it. For they also shared this general attitude of Samoan religious migrants. But Suitonu's realism was his way of checking the encroaching challenges from other authorities which was giving his leadership the common experience of all leaders - that of 'status anxiety'. And in the

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[438] Pastor Suitonu to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu; August 11, 1967.

[439] Pastor Suitonu to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu; August 11, 1967.

[440] Pastor Suitonu to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu; August 11, 1967.

[441] Pastor Suitonu to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu; August 11, 1967.

[442] Despite occasional differences, Suitonu's letter and letters by other pastors generally reflect the fact that it was their loyalty to the E.F.K.S. that ultimately united them.

context of the developing Churches of the Samoan religious migrants, it was part of the deep-seated preference for the spiritual authority of their spiritual roots in their home Church in Samoa.

Thus far, as was shown in relation to the migrant Church community in Hawaii, the direct and official involvement by the E.F.K.S. in Samoa was evidently occasioned by complex problems and difficulties which were internal to the growth and development of migrant Churches. Such involvement were always requested, and the response by the E.F.K.S. in Samoa was consistently to accommodate the migrant spirit of spiritual loyalty, while also recognising their freedom and independence in the light of their different circumstances in other countries. Only when the quality and integrity of the pastoral ministry of the Church was at risk would the E.F.K.S. provide authoritative policy directions, and to insist on their fulfilment. This is underscored by the fact that even the eventual inclusion of migrant Churches in the constitutional structure of the E.F.K.S., in particular through becoming proper Districts of the E.F.K.S., took years.[443] The major reason was the absence of a policy by the E.F.K.S. in relation to migrant Churches prior to 1950. There was no vision for an outside extension of the constitutional structure of the E.F.K.S. Migrants were mostly from different villages whose primary loyalties were to their village Churches. The inclinations to divisions within migrant Churches and the difficulties to unite migrants under one united leadership mainly resulted from this fact. So to be able to congregate a number of families and individuals from many different villages in Samoa in overseas countries was in the period under focus [1940s - 1960s] no less than a miracle in the minds of the migrants themselves.[444] In fact this was the reality which accounted for the fast growth of migrant Church communities.

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[443] Refer to the section on Origins and Beginnings of Branches of the Samoan Church Outside Samoa in relation to when Hawaii and U.S.A. branches became Districts of E.F.K.S.

[444] This is very clear in the letters from Samoan migrants in New Zealand in the 1950s. Refer to Section on, 'The Mind of the Samoan Religious Migrant : The New Zealand Experience'. The same applies to Samoan migrants in Hawaii and U.S.A.

But this 'miracle' was, according to one learned pastor, the expression of the phenomenon of 'Fast Growth, Wrong Motive'.[445] And it involved issues related to the integrity of pastoral leadership and the spirituality of lay members which necessitated firm leadership from the E.F.K.S. On the one hand, it refers to the operation of two contrasting phenomena in the first two decades [1950s and 1960s] of the growth and development of Samoan migrant Churches in Hawaii and in the United States of America. One was the congregation of migrants into Church communities with the genuine need to worship; and secondly, the absence of truly able spiritual leaders amongst the migrants to cater for such need. In most cases, it was not a fault of anyone in particular. The E.F.K.S. did not envisage it, nor the first Church leaders amongst the migrants who were mainly lay preachers and lay Christians.

The other was the inability of Church leaders in migrant Churches to work in unity and in harmony which often led to controversial beginnings of new Church communities.[446] This reflects the lack of spiritual integrity amongst migrant Church leaders which often occasioned the demand for the spiritual authority of the home Church, the E.F.K.S. Two examples of correspondence from pastors of migrant Churches in the U.S.A. to the E.F.K.S. illustrate these clearly. A pastor in the Samoan Church in San Francisco wrote to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu in 1959 :-

> We hope that the E.F.K.S. remembers and send a visit to U.S.... These Churches need Samoan pastors from Samoa but the present obstacle [fear] is money [that is, not enough money]...Father, do not ignore us...The

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[445] This is the strong view of a Samoan Pastor, Rev. and Doctor Reupena Samuelu who was a pastor in American Samoa and is now a pastor in Western Samoa. The phenomenon referred to is Dr. Reupena's thesis for his Doctor of Ministry which was done on Samoan Churches in U.S.A. I had no access to his thesis but we had a thorough conversation in Samoa in 1993 about his thesis which is the basis of the information I am using in this work.

[446] Equally responsible for splits and controversies in Church communities was the attitude of Church members. For example, an obvious characteristic of Samoans from Manu'a Island in American Samoa is to prefer ordained pastors from either Manu'a or American Samoa, than those from Western Samoa. This is according to a personal interview with Rev. & Doctor Fa'afouina Iofi in Samoa in 1993, who is currently a pastor in one of the Samoan Churches in U.S.A.

> children of Samoa here in U.S. are keen to attend worship and the Church, but the problem is the relationship between pastors...[447]

Correspondence from the pastor of the Samoan Church in Los Angeles California in 1959 is more emphatic :-

> The children of Samoa are now lost without direction and not knowing what to do...I thought foolishly that we could solve problems arising out of the Church ministry here by ourselves. That is why I did not let you and the Church know about it when we were in Samoa...Now I can see we cannot solve the problems which have endured for more than a year now...The ministry in America is in total ruin because of the corrupt leadership by Suitonu...It is true, this leader has no love and no honesty in looking after the Holy ministry of God. ...He has shown himself to have no caring concern for Jesus and His ministry...I now realise the wisdom of the decision by the Deputation not to choose Suitonu to lead the Church of Samoa in Honolulu...I am now telling you Fathers of the Church because I can see no other way to solve the problem...Now I cry with a humble heart and with great respect to the Church Fathers and the pastors in Samoa for your help as done by the Deputation for the Church of Samoa in Honolulu...We will await with hope for a salvation from you Fathers...[448]

This graphic criticism of the overall leader Suitonu may well exemplify the general lack of spiritual integrity amongst the earliest Church leaders of Samoan migrant Churches. Ironically, the pastor responsible for the latter correspondence was later dismissed from the parish for financial mismanagement.[449] It is not clear in the correspondence if it involved personal use of Church finance. What is clear is the unnecessary and illegitimate exercise of pastoral authority in the parish Church which may well have included the temptation to appropriate Church finance without consultation with the parish congregation. This tendency to absolutist authority by Elder Pastors or those in charge of overall leadership in migrant Churches was another prevalent problem which plagued the

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[447] Pastor Anoa'i to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu; Undated letter probably in early 1960s.

[448] Pastor Malaeti'a Tufele to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu; Letter dated, July 7, 1959.

[449] Pastor Anoa'i to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu; Undated letter probably in early 1960s.

spiritual health of migrant Church communities. Its effect on creating mutual recriminations between pastors is clearly evident in the correspondence from a pastor in the Hawaii branch in 1967. The pastor had written to Elder Pastor Ioelu not to channel any more information from the Samoan Church for their Church community in Nanakuli, Hawaii, through Pastor Pita Malae, the recognised pastor-leader of all Samoan Churches in Hawaii. The major reason was the absolutist and domineering leadership of central leadership :-

> ...it seems that the main cause for the recurrent controversies and differences in the ministry [of Samoan Churches] in Hawaii is because of the unnecessary intervention and the issuing of commands and directions for the ministry of one pastor by another pastor...[After relating the cause and example of Pita Malae's domineering leadership, the pastor goes on to convict Pita Malae]...I am writing these mainly so that you would not again channel any information for us through such a liar, arrogant person, and abuser of authority.[450]

One main observation is clear in relation to the unavoidable involvement by the E.F.K.S. in the growth and development of migrant Churches. As already stated above, the migrant Churches strongly believed that cultural and spiritual authority still resided with their home Church in their homeland. This belief was reinforced as a result of their inability to solve problems and difficulties associated with the control of Church communities and the spiritual aspects of Church ministry. In other words, the official involvement by the Samoan Church is always requested and is always given as a response of a 'parent Church' sharing with migrant Churches the hope that the faith and Church traditions of the Samoan Church in Samoa may be maintained. On a deeper level, home Church involvement was requested on the basis of what was implicit in the imported foundation of migrant Churches - the Movement and Migration of a Biblical Culture and a Christian Society with Samoan migrants.

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[450] Pastor Fonoti to Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu; Letter dated, September 10, 1967.

(v) The Samoan Church - [E.F.K.S.] and Samoan Church Communities in the Pacific Islander Congregational Churches [P.I.C.C.].

(a) The Mind of the Samoan Religious Migrant : The New Zealand Experience, 1950 - 1960.

Letters and correspondence [451] from the first Samoan Church communities in the Pacific Islander Congregational Church [P.I.C.C.][452] in New Zealand to the E.F.K.S. show the essential similarities with the migrant Church communities in Hawaii and U.S.A. in the way they perceive their new countries of settlement, their home land Samoa, and their home Church the E.F.K.S. Two reports by the P.I.C.C. in Wellington in 1952 and 1962 in the 'O le Sulu Samoa' may illustrate the relationship in the migrants' mind of loyalty to the home Church, with the self understanding about their churches as extensions of the home Church.

The report in 1952 relates the commemoration service by the Samoan Church community in the Wellington P.I.C.C. since its first year of origin.[453] The spirit of the report exudes the sense of being part of the E.F.K.S., besides the obvious fact of including the report in the E.F.K.S. Church newspaper. Some expressions in the report are illuminating in this respect :-

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[451] Unless otherwise stated, these are to be found in the 'Secretary's File on New Zealand Correspondence' [Mo le Failautusi] in the E.F.K.S.Archive, in Apia. It included numerous letters from individual migrants from many different places in New Zealand, in the 1950s and 1960s. These are the sources for the requests for the 'O le Sulu Samoa' in this section.

[452] P.I.C.C. includes migrant church communities from Cook Islands, Niue, and Samoa. It was formed in 1948 as part of the Congregational Union of New Zealand. For a brief history of its origin and earliest development, see, Chambers, J.B. A Peculiar People : Congregationalism in New Zealand. (Congregational Union of New Zealand : Levin, 1984), Chapter 5. For a detailed study of the P.I.C.C., see, Nokise, "A History of the Pacific Islanders' Congregational Church in New Zealand 1943-1969"...Samoan Church Communities in the P.I.C.C. which are relevant in this case are the main and earliest four in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Tokoroa.

[453] 'O le Sulu Samoa', 1952.

> This is the commemoration service to mark the first year since Samoans [in New Zealand] worshipped God in their own language... In this big city and capital of New Zealand is grown the second Samoan Church in New Zealand...comprising mainly of young men and women who are surrounded by new things...[454]

A major emphasis is on the ecumenical sermon by the Samoan preacher, who attended the Theological College of the C.U.N.Z., from the text of St John 17:22, and the conclusion of the service with the patriotic and nation-making Church hymn of the E.F.K.S., hymn 356.[455]

The report in 1962[456] is more emphatic about the spirit of attachment to the E.F.K.S. in Samoa which shows the strengthening of the spirit of loyalty with time. The self understanding of being 'an extension' of the Church in Samoa in heart, in spirit, and in development is evident in the opening statement. The reporter extends gratitude for the opportunity to '...write a brief story of the Christian life and witness of the "Samoan Church L.M.S." which is being developed and operated by the born-children of the Church in Samoa living in New Zealand.'[457] It is related with the hope that such story would be 'the ultimate gospel and joy to the Fathers of the Church' whose 'ceaseless prayers' for the 'born children of the Church in Samoa' was 'the strength and the power' which was giving birth and was empowering the Samoan Church communities in New Zealand. The sense of lasting gratitude and endless wonder is stressed with the testimony that 'the seed of the Gospel that was planted by pastors in the hearts and minds of the born children of Samoa has now shown great growth and bearing fruits'. The unmistakable proof was a new manner of '...unity, harmony, and of mutual respect'

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[454] 'O le Sulu Samoa', 1952. The impression related is the 'wonder' that young migrants were so devoted in worship and to be active in the formation of Church communities in the midst of so many distractions and temptations.

[455] 'O le Sulu Samoa', 1952.

[456] 'O le Sulu Samoa', August 1962, pp.157-158.[Tala mai Ueligitone Niu Sila; E. Agavale : Report from Wellington New Zealand; by E. Agavale].

[457] 'O le Sulu Samoa', August 1962, p.157. Further examples in the text until Note 458 are from this source.

which was miraculously uniting Samoans from different families and villages in Samoa. The greatest wonder was its most visible effects among the young men and women: and the result was the creation of a new basis of family and village identity powerfully cemented by a 'brotherly and friendly Christian spirit'. The second proof related of 'the growth of the gospel seed planted in the lives of the born-children' of the Church was the promptness to attend worship despite the distance most members had to travel when going to church. The report ends with the reaffirmation that the migrant Samoans were loyal church goers as was taught and expected by the Samoan Church.

Loyalty to the faith of the home Church and the home land was also expressed in the report by the P.I.C.C. Samoans in Auckland about the success of its fundraising census for their new church building in 1962.[458] The report praises the unity and solidarity of Samoan families which contributed to their great offerings. To this was added the significance of individual young men and women making individual gifts besides their contributions through family offerings. All these reflect the Christian commitment and loyalty of Samoan religious migrants to an important aspect of their migration in the vision and understanding of their home Church : 'The Dearest Church in Samoa, you are still in our hearts and souls. That is the reason for creating this sacrificial altar for worship to Jesus our Salvation'.[459]

The most representative example of the desire to maintain links with Samoa and the E.F.K.S. could be illustrated by the constant request for the 'O le Sulu Samoa.'[460] And some of the main reasons related for the need for this Church newspaper, and the ways the migrants had subsequently used this E.F.K.S. publication to reinforce and consolidate links clearly demonstrate the basic understanding by the religious migrants that their

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[458] 'O le Sulu Samoa', June 1962, p.115.

[459] 'O le Sulu Samoa', June 1962, p.115.

[460] Shown in letters included in 'Secretary's File on New Zealand Correspondence'.

Church communities were an extension of their home Church in Samoa. A very common request is the desire to maintain a continuous supply of 'O le Sulu Samoa' 'all year round' and 'forever'. It was mostly requested because of the need to be 'updated' with the development of the Samoan Church, and Samoa. It was a 'source of joy' and 'a way of learning' about Samoans in other countries in the Samoan language. Like the Church communities in Hawaii and U.S.A. links were maintained with the hope to effect the phenomena of transplanted Christianity. And it meant among other things that the worship of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa would become the worship of its adherents who had settled outside Samoa.

One of the main ways religious migrants had used the 'O le Sulu Samoa' was to publish a variety of religious articles and publications from New Zealand in their hope of contributing to the spiritual enlightenment of the Samoan Church.[461] Some examples of these publications are Samoan translations of religious publications of Churches in New Zealand, translations of various aspects of the history of the Samoan Church in history text books particularly on the missionary work of the Samoan Church, sermons by New Zealand trained Samoan pastors in the P.I.C.C. Churches, their religious achievements and progress in New Zealand, and even reports of their journeys to the Holy land and to various meetings of world wide Christian fellowships and Associations. The desire to be useful for the home Church usually includes various reports of achievements which the migrants thought the home Church had the right to be told because of its spiritual role in the Christian nurture of Samoan migrants. With this sense of loyalty was the clear tendency by pastors in New Zealand to see themselves in 'humbler status' in relation to the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. Some correspondence by pastors show their self-references in many ways as mostly in terms like 'your servant son' or 'your son in the ministry'.

[461] See especially compilations of ' O le Sulu Samoa' for the periods, 1960s and 1970s. These are published for sale by the E.F.K.S. in Samoa.

(b) Charting the Mind of the Samoan Church as it Moved Towards Advocating a Definite Policy in Relation to the Beginning of its Official Branch in New Zealand - Congregational Christian Church of Samoa [C.C.C.S.].

The essential attitude of the Samoan Church [E.F.K.S.] to the growth of its branches outside Samoa is already indicated above in relation to its branches in Fiji, Hawaii and the U.S.A. The same attitude characterised the E.F.K.S.s relationship with the Samoan Church communities in the P.I.C.C. whose mind was in many ways similar with those of the Samoan Church communities in Fiji, Hawaii, and U.S.A. The 'accommodative attitude' of the E.F.K.S. reflects the combination of its independent spirit and its openness to religious developments in the Pacific and world wide. A brief introduction to the historical evolution of this attitude by the E.F.K.S. is necessary to illuminate its essential relationship with the Samoan Church communities in the P.I.C.C. in New Zealand. This is crucial in understanding its approach in relation to the origin of its branch in New Zealand - the C.C.C.S.

The historical cooperation between the Samoan Church and the L.M.S. which officially ceased in 1961 was merely a ceremonial recognition of an independent Samoan Church since 1928.[462] Within these years the Samoan Church had become the most successful Indigenous Pacific Church to become self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating in the light of the L.M.S.'s fundamental objectives for a mission.[463] The role of the L.M.S. missionaries during these years was therefore perceived no longer as missionaries 'to preach the gospel to the heathen' but to serve as teachers, administrators,

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[462] The resolution of the General Assembly of the Samoan Church in 1922 clearly emphasises the point, that 'It is now time Samoa should look after, and should provide for its own ministry'. And it was such basis on which it would also attempt to help and to cooperate with the L.M.S.
Source : 'Mataupu o le Fono, 1919-1950' (File) ['Resolutions of the Meeting, 1919-1950']. E.F.K.S. Archive, in Apia. See also, Faletoese, O le Tala Faasolopito o le Ekalesia Samoa, pp.81-84. The reason for the year 1928 is that this 'independent spirit' by which the Samoan Church was deciding to relate to the L.M.S. was embodied in the first Constitution of the Samoan Church [L.M.S.] in 1928.

[463] Goodall, A History of the London Missionary Society..., Chapter 6, especially pp.372-380; and Chapter 10.

technical experts and theological educators in an essentially advisory capacity.[464] This meant, in practice, nominal independence by the Samoan Church. The real need by the Samoan Church for the development of its secular and theological education made the contribution by the New Zealand based missionaries of the L.M.S. indispensable.

Furthermore, despite the independent status of the Samoan Church after 1961, the historical cooperation with the L.M.S. continued when merging into the wider developments in the Pacific region with the Island Churches moving into closer unity in the spirit of cooperation and ecumenism.[465] The growing ecumenical cooperation among the Island Churches went hand in hand with the various efforts by Congregational Churches worldwide to merge into unions.[466] Part of this included the 'merging and continuation' of the evangelical missions of the L.M.S. within the general evangelical concerns of established Congregational Churches in New Zealand.[467] In New Zealand,

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[464] As Lesslie Newbigin aptly puts it in relation to the changed direction of the missionary role of the International Missionary Council [I.M.C.] - 'There was no longer the simple call to go and bring the Gospel to the heathen. It was a matter of supporting 'younger churches'...Mission was being absorbed into inter-church aid.'
Newbigin, Lesslie. Unfinished Agenda. An Autobiography. (London, Michigan : S.P.C.K. and Eerdmans, 1985).

[465] For example, the initiative and pioneer efforts which brought about the ecumenical spirit and related movements in the Pacific Churches included those of Norman Goodall and Stuart Craig who were both Secretaries of the L.M.S. in the Pacific. And they were both closely associated with the Samoan Church. For a better insight into the origin and related developments of the Ecumenical Movement among the Pacific Churches, see especially, the two works by Charles. W. Forman - (1) The Voice of Many Waters (Lotu Pasefika Production for P.C.C. : Suva, 1986) and (2) The Island Churches of the Pacific,... especially Chapter 12. Also Garrett, Footsteps in the Sea, Epilogue.
In 1949, the General Assembly of the Samoan Church resolved to host the meeting related to the ecumenical concern for Pacific Churches which was later held in Malua, Western Samoa in 1961. 'Resolutions of General Assembly of the Samoan Church [L.M.S.], Malua, May 10-20, 1949'. In 'Mataupu o le Fono 1919-1950' File; E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.

[466] See Goodall, A History of the London Missionary Society..., Chapters, 14,15,16. Also Chambers, J.B. A Peculiar People. Congregationalism in New Zealand. (Levin; Congregational Union of New Zealand , 1984). Chapters 13,14. [Official Publication of the C.U.N.Z.]

[467] Chambers, A Peculiar People...,Chapter 5. Also, a paper by R. L. Challis entitled - Our Church. This is a brief history of the P.I.C.C. given on an Anniversary Service [undated] of the P.I.C.C. In E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.

similar efforts for Church unions were attempted with varying degrees of success.[468] On the national level, the National Council of Churches came into existence.[469] What is of direct relevance to the attitude by the E.F.K.S. was the concern by the Congregational Union of New Zealand [C.U.N.Z.][470] for the Pacific Islanders migrants to New Zealand which led to the creation of P.I.C.C. within the C.U.N.Z. in 1948.[471] This concern grew out mainly from the same missionary spirit among the adherents and missionaries of the L.M.S. in New Zealand.[472] It recognised the Island migrants as the 'children of the L.M.S.' from the Islands of the L.M.S. missionary work in the Pacific. As such, the C.U.N.Z. which was integrating the missionary concern of the L.M.S. was also catering for the religious life and needs of island migrants. This concern and its active fulfilment was most welcome to the Samoan Church. And it consolidated mutual cooperation between the Samoan Church and the C.U.N.Z. as seen in the constant visitations and invitations between the two Churches in the 1950s until late 1960s,[473] and the continuing presence and willing assistance by L.M.S. missionaries attached to the C.U.N.Z. in New Zealand for the Samoan Church until the 1970s.[474] This was also shared by the Samoan leaders of the P.I.C.C. who had received theological training in the Theological College

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[468] See especially, Davidson, Allan. Christianity in Aotearoa. A History of Church and Society in New Zealand. (Wellington ; Education for Ministry , 1991), Chapter 12.

[469] Davidson, Christianity in Aotearoa...,pp.121-123. Also Brown, Colin. Forty Years on a History of the National Council of Churches in New Zealand 1941-1981. (Christchurch ; N.C.C. Publication , 1981).

[470] The C.U.N.Z. was formed in 1882 as a union of Congregational Churches in New Zealand. For the history of its origin and development and its later connection with the P.I.C.C. through the L.M.S., see Chambers, A Peculiar People..., Chapter 3.

[471] Chambers, A Peculiar People..., p.127.

[472] Chambers, A Peculiar People..., pp.124-131. Also Challis's paper, Our Church.

[473] See the numerous correspondence between these two Churches in 'Secretary's File on New Zealand Correspondence'; E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia. Also in the 'O le Sulu Samoa' publications of the 1950s and early 1960s.

[474] For example, David. J. Inglis and Leslie Brame were missionaries still working for the Samoan Church in the 1960s and 1970s.

of the C.U.N.Z. in Mt Eden and who were advocates of the ecumenical spirit and cooperation at the time.[475] The attitude of the Samoan Church appeared to the C.U.N.Z. and the Samoan leaders of Samoan Churches in the P.I.C.C. precisely in the way Rev. Leuatea Sio understood and expressed it - 'The Samoan Church communities operated in the P.I.C.C. under the religious umbrella of the C.U.N.Z., with the already expressed blessings and the promise of continuing prayers for them, the born-children of the Samoan Church, by the Fathers of the Church in Samoa.[476] In other words the Samoan Church was able to accommodate the preference by Samoan Church communities in the P.I.C.C. to maintain links while simultaneously recognising their being part of the P.I.C.C. attaching to the C.U.N.Z.

A closer look at some examples in the relationship between the Samoan Church and the P.I.C.C. leadership is vital to bring the attitude by the Samoan Church into sharper focus. In 1949 Rev. Challis[477] requested financial assistance from the Samoan Church for the pastoral ministry for the Samoans in the P.I.C.C.[478] The request was declined by the Samoan Church on the reasoning that the Samoans in New Zealand were able to afford all financial requirements for their religious needs.[479] This case illustrates the two different perspectives with which the Samoan Church and the P.I.C.C. leadership viewed the central issue related to the existence of the P.I.C.C. Rev. Challis thought in terms of the continuation of the missionary work of the L.M.S. for Samoans and for the Pacific

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[475] For example, Rev. Leuatea Sio; Rev. Kenape Faletoese; Rev. Ned Ripley.

[476] Rev. Leuatea Sio, retired pastor of P.I.P.C. Newton, 1994; 'Personal Story of Beginning of C.C.C.S'. Interviewed and taped by author. Auckland 25, January Transcribed copy in author's possession.

[477] Reverend R.L. Challis was the L.M.S. missionary in the Cook Islands who was specially requested by the C.U.N.Z. to be the leading pastor for the P.I.C.C. in the beginning. He was a well known missionary to the Samoan Church for his pastoral ministry and leadership for Samoans in the P.I.C.C., for his help for the Samoan Church scholarship students in New Zealand, and his role in founding the Boys Brigade for the Samoan Church in Samoa. See Nokise, "A History of the Pacific Islanders' Congregational Church...", for further details about Rev. Challis.

[478] 'Resolutions of General Assembly of the Samoan Church (L.M.S.), Malua, May 10-20, 1949'.

[479] 'Resolutions of General Assembly of the Samoan Church (L.M.S.), Malua, May 10-20, 1949'.

Islanders in general.[480] The Samoan Church operated from a different basis. It distinguished between the purely missionary work in which the Samoan Church was still involved as partner to other Churches in the Pacific under the L.M.S. banner, and the growth of Samoan migrant Churches overseas which involved different considerations.[481] The example further relates to an important aspect and understanding of the pastoral ministry on which the attitude of the Samoan Church was largely based, and one which the Samoan Church communities clearly understood and were willing to maintain.[482] For the Samoan Church, its response was based on the usual operation of the village Church ministry where the village congregation provides all the necessary requirements for the village pastoral ministry, except for the ordained pastor it has to request from the graduates of the Malua Theological College of the Samoan Church [E.F.K.S.]. Samoan migrant Church communities shared this without qualms because this was presuppositional in the establishment of their Church communities.

In 1957, the request by Rev. Challis for the use of Samoan pastors who graduated from the theological college of the C.U.N.Z. was accepted by the Samoan Church despite its stated wish to have the graduated pastors working for the Samoan Church in Samoa.[483]

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[480] This is already clear above. See also, Challis, Our Church.

[481] The point is, the Samoan Church viewed the Samoan Churches in the P.I.C.C. in the same way with its branches in Hawaii and U.S.A. The Samoan Church was relating from its status as an indigenous 'independent' Church to migrant Churches who preferred to maintain links, and with full awareness of its implications, mostly financial. The crucial aspect relates to the independent spirit of the Samoan Church which became prominent later in the beginning of the C.C.C.S.

[482] There was a slight difference between Samoan migrant Churches in Hawaii and U.S.A. and those in the New Zealand P.I.C.C. in this regard. For the former, they maintained the Samoan Church policy 'to the letter'. For the latter, according to Meilani Anae, they requested Samoan pastors from the Samoan Church to be part-time pastors 'until such time as his congregation was able to support him.'
Anae, Meilani. "The Origin of the Newton Church : Historical Invention or Cultural Truth ?" A paper presented at the IX Pacific History Association Conference, December 25, 1992. Anthropology Department; University of Auckland.

[483] The resolution by the E.F.K.S. in relation to Rev. Challis' request is as follows :-
Calling of Samoan Students in New Zealand.
Resolved that : A letter be sent to Mr. Challis acknowledging the calling of Leuatea Sio and Pepe Nokise to work with the Pacific Islanders' Church in New Zealand. Although the Samoan Church had hoped for an opportunity of calling them to serve in Samoa we pray for God's blessing on them and all they shall do, hoping that at a suitable time they will bring the benefit of their gifts and experience to the Samoan

When the Samoan Church requested one of these pastors to be a tutor at Malua Theological College in 1959,[484] it was not granted due to the more pressing needs of Samoan Church communities in New Zealand, though with personal reasons by the pastor involved.[485] In the early years of the 1960s, the growth of Samoan Churches in the P.I.C.C. meant a greater need for Samoan pastors which the Samoan Church was only too willing to help to meet.[486] A major observation is, that while the Samoan Church could not assist in financial requirements of the migrant Church communities it was able to accommodate the vital need of migrant Church communities to maintain cultural and spiritual links. In this way, the attitude of the Samoan Church was broad enough to accommodate the migrants' desire to maintain links with the Samoan Church while also identifying themselves as 'children of the L.M.S.' in the Pacific in the P.I.C.C. as in the perspective of the C.U.N.Z.[487] Later, as I shall hope to show in the controversial beginning of the C.C.C.S., this general attitude of the Samoan Church largely contributed to the adamant opposition by Samoans who remained in the P.I.C.C., to the Samoans that left to establish the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand in 1962. For the Samoans who remained in the P.I.C.C. they were able to remain **born-children**[488] of the Samoan Church even while in the P.I.C.C. and under the C.U.N.Z. This was unrealistic if also impossible to the

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Church. The Samoan Church [L.M.S.] General Purpose and Finance Committee: 57 G.P.F.C. 68. [E.F.K.S. Official Document].

[484] This pastor was Rev. Leuatea Sio. G.P.F.C. Samoan Church July 1959.

[485] Rev. Leuatea Sio; 'Personal Story of Beginning of C.C.C.S', 1994. According to Rev. Sio, it was difficult to leave the P.I.C.C. because he was just beginning his ministry for Islanders in the P.I.C.C.

[486] The Samoan Church released Rev. Kenape Faletoese in 1964, who was a teacher at Malua Theological College, for the P.I.C.C. in Christchurch.

[487] According to Rev. Sio, an important aspect of the P.I.C.C. vision especially among the Samoan membership, was for a double identity. That is, Samoans would worship in the P.I.C.C. in New Zealand but when in Samoa they worship in the E.F.K.S. Church.
Rev. Leuatea Sio; Personal Story of Beginning of C.C.C.S...., 1994.

[488] **'Born-children'** transliterates the Samoan term, tama fanau. This term is a basic reference by Samoans to indicate distinctive group identity. For example, **'tama fanau'** of the E.F.K.S. means members [in most cases youth and young adults] born into and reared in the E.F.K.S. Church. The same sense applies when referred to 'born children' of Samoa. It is also generally used as a collective term for biological, cultural and spiritual identity.

founders of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand who separated themselves from the P.I.C.C., to establish independent Samoan Church communities to be more closely attached to the Samoan Church as its 'part and branch like the Samoan Church communities in Hawaii and U.S.A.'[489] This will be shown in Chapter Three and Chapter Four.

The fundamental point to note in relation to the origin, growth, and development of the Samoan Church communities in the P.I.C.C. is, that the attitude of the Samoan Church was broad enough to allow complete freedom to decide whether to maintain links to the home Church in Samoa, or to become independent. This was the general attitude which characterised the nature of the involvement by the Samoan Church in Samoa with Samoan migrant Churches established outside Samoa during this period. As indicated above in relation to Samoan migrant Churches in Fiji, Hawaii, and U.S.A., it was not the policy of the Samoan Church to extend its growth outside Samoa, but the desire by the Samoan religious migrants to maintain cultural and religious links with their home Church in their home land Samoa. The accommodative attitude of the Samoan Church in relation to its overseas branches shows that its independent spirit is always part of its cooperative spirit in association with religious changes and developments in the Pacific, and in relation to the ecumenical concerns of Christianity. It reflects the way in which a progressive indigenous Church in the Pacific prefers to interact with Pacific Churches and wider Christianity from its authentic Christian self-understanding rooted in its cultural context. While it did not envisage overseas extension in the form of migrant Church communities, it nevertheless planted the seed in Samoan migrants to become future missionary people of God in all circumstances. The growth of Samoan migrant Churches as part of the Samoan Church in Samoa and as an indication of the overseas migration of a 'Christian culture' [the Modern Fa'asamoa] illustrates how this seed eventuated in reality. This therefore explains the basic relationship between the Mind of the Samoan Church in its growth outside Samoa, and the Mind of Samoan religious migrants who

[489] This was how the leading founder of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand envisaged part of the founding vision of the C.C.C.S. This will be referred to again in Chapters Three and Four.

established migrant Church communities in the hope to maintain links with their cultural and spiritual roots. Both Minds migrated in the 'Movement and Migration of a Biblical Culture and a Christian Society' [the main concern of Chapter Two] which is in itself the migration of the fundamental spirit of modern Samoa [as shown in Chapter One]. In the wider sense, this continues the historical migration of faith communities and Christian cultures since biblical times. This therefore maintains the chronological link and gives thematic unity between Chapter One - 'Roots in Samoa : A Biblical Culture and a Christian Society', and Chapter Two - 'Roots in the Growth of the Samoan Church Outside Samoa: Movement and Migration of a Biblical Culture and a Christian Society'.

CHAPTER THREE

ROOTS IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND : APPROPRIATING PARADISE FOR A HOLY VISION, 1950 - 1960.

"...that for one who had been working in Samoa, it appeared that the Samoans had recreated Samoa in New Zealand and that everything was happening very much as it did in Samoa." [Cluny Macpherson, 1978].

(i) Introduction : Previous Researches on the Origin and Beginning of the C.C.C.S. in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Two major studies of direct relevance to the origin and beginning of the C.C.C.S. in Aotearoa New Zealand are by U.P. Taimalelagi and U.F. Nokise.[490] Taimalelagi's work concentrates on the relationship between Samoan migration to New Zealand and the role of the C.C.C.S., especially in meeting the needs of Samoan migrants. Chapter V, Congregational Christian Church of Samoa in New Zealand, is most relevant. He notes the importance of the socio-cultural aspect of the Church to migrants as the major factor behind the establishment of the C.C.C.S. which naturally led to the establishment of the C.C.C.S. for various related reasons : -(1) C.C.C.S. was established in New Zealand due to cultural values. (2) That some members broke away from the P.I.C.C. to form C.C.C.S. for two reasons :- (a) P.I.C.C. had become too Europeanised. So, there was need for a Church to be totally Samoan, so that Samoan identity and cultural values are preserved. (b) They wanted to handle their own church organisation and administration.[491] The merit of Taimalelagi's work is to underscore the importance of the sociological perspective in understanding the role of the C.C.C.S. for Samoan migrants. The recognition of the need to exercise authority which enables the preservation of Samoan cultural identity and

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[490] Taimalelagi, U.P. "Migration : The Study of Western Samoan Migration and the Roles of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa." B.D. Project , P.T.C. Suva, 1980.
The M.Th. Thesis by Nokise is already mentioned above.

[491] Taimalelagi, "Migration...", p.60.

values within a cultural based understanding of the Church is important. The basic limitation reflects the conceptual limitation of the sociological perspective as I have mentioned above.[492] In relation to the origin of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand it fails to consider the cultural-theological dimension in the Samoan mind which best explains the social-cultural significance of the Church as a cultural institution and a spiritual fellowship.

Nokise's work is crucial for a different purpose. Nokise devotes a whole chapter, 'The Split Within the Samoan Group of the P.I.C.C.' as an example of 'one major crisis it [the P.I.C.C.] experienced during its short history.'[493] The major relevance of this chapter of Nokise's work is that it covers the area - The split within the Samoan Group of the P.I.C.C. - which for the purpose of my work constitutes the immediate cause of the beginning of the C.C.C.S. in Aotearoa New Zealand. The crucial aspect is the way Nokise tends to understand the ominous aspect of the 'split as the major crisis in the P.I.C.C.' as the eventual beginning of the C.C.C.S. To the extent that Nokise's discussion sought to understand the split strictly as an example of the major crisis, the chapter has merits even on the basis of limited sources it is based on. For as this work also affirms, the split among the Samoans was indeed a major crisis as far as the P.I.C.C. and the C.U.N.Z. were concerned. And for the Samoans involved in the split, the crisis was no less than a shaking of the Samoan cultural foundation and expressions of Samoan Christianity.

On the whole, Nokise's treatment of the split as resulting in the beginning of the C.C.C.S. has more demerits than merits. He emphasises what he believes as questionable motives for the split which led to an unwise establishment of a separate Church for Samoans in New Zealand. He is most emphatic on the suspicious role of the Delegation from the

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[492] Refer to Chapter Two (iv). b :- 'The Heart of the Matter : Worship as Biblical Injunction Becoming a Cultural Truth'.

[493] Nokise, " A History..", p.31.

E.F.K.S. and the complicity of the E.F.K.S. in it which eventually recognised and confirmed the unwarranted beginning and existence of the C.C.C.S. in Aotearoa New Zealand. It will be shown that such contentions by Nokise can not be sustained on the basis of solid documentary and oral historical evidence. The basic weakness results from the lack of relevant sources for most of the vital issues, aspects, and important personalities involved.[494] The result is a series of conjectures, presumptions, serious misrepresentations and allegations especially in relation to the roles and positions of the founders of the C.C.C.S., the E.F.K.S., and its Delegation. Though unrelated to Nokise's specific concern, the relevance of the chapter of his work referred to is obviously also limited in the light of the wider perspective the origin and beginnings of the C.C.C.S. is approached in this work. Major limitations and points of contention with Nokise's position will be dealt with in the course of this Chapter and in Chapters Four and Five.

(ii) Founders of the C.C.C.S.

The founders of the C.C.C.S. in Aotearoa New Zealand were a group of Samoans[495] mostly belonging to the Fuimaono family,[496] and was led by chief and deacon Fuimaono

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[494] This is especially related to the sources necessary for a proper understanding of the respective roles of the E.F.K.S., its Deputation, and the founders of the C.C.C.S.

[495] The actual number of this group is uncertain. The resignation letter to the P.I.C.C. Choir, [Appendix II (a)] refers to the signatories as 'Fuimaono and Others'. When the founding group first met on December 29, 1962, Fuimaono's diary records twenty members (20) attending the meeting, and four are specially designated as 'brothers visiting the meeting'. So sixteen members of the founding group is the best possibility. This number was confirmed in a 'brief history' of the beginning of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand given in its twenty fifth Silver Jubilee Anniversary in 1988. And the 'brief history' was given by the first Secretary of the C.C.C.S. who was a member in the first meeting of the founding group. A video tape of the 25th Silver Jubilee Anniversary was distributed among the members of the Grey Lynn Parish. It includes the whole ceremony and the cultural dances and celebrations of the day. Author has a copy of the Video Tape.

[496] The beginning of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand was the sole initiative and leadership of this family. The Fuimaono family were all Samoan migrants of the Post World War II wave of Samoan migration to New Zealand. Chief and Deacon Fuimaono Ta'ala was the recognised leader and chief of the family in New Zealand according to interviews with Fuimaono's son and other members of the extended family. They hold a yearly family service to commemorate their family contribution to the beginning of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand. An 'offering' is collected in these annual family services which is donated to the E.F.K.S. Church through the Grey Lynn Parish.

Ta'ala, with his wife Faititilipatasi.[497] They resigned membership from the Newton P.I.C.C. in Edinburgh Street, Auckland, in December 1962[498] for the sole purpose to found a Lotu Fa'asamoa [A pure Samoan Church] of the same status as the Samoan Churches in Hawaii and in the United States of America.[499] Both sexes were equally represented in the founding group. There were eight males and eight females.[500]

(iii) (a) The Making of the Mind of the Founders.

The role and influence of the New Zealand society in general as the immediate historical background to the origin and beginning of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand is of direct importance. For our purpose a rather limited perspective is adopted. The interface between the social, economic, political, and religious climate and the questions of direct

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[497] The prominence and initiative of Fuimaono Ta'ala and his wife in the beginning of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand was publicly recognised in a commemorative service for the beginning of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand in 1969. This service also celebrates the newly granted status of the C.C.C.S. as a proper District of the E.F.K.S. This was held at the C.C.C.S. Parish Church in Grey Lynn where eleven (11) C.C.C.S. Parishes around New Zealand gathered - 7 in Auckland, 3 in Wellington, 1 in Christchurch [Source Below]. It is important to note the leading role of Fuimaono Ta'ala and his wife, with the support of the Fuimaono family, because there has been a 'growing story' by many Samoans which tend to credit the beginning of the C.C.C.S. to Rev. Siaosi Ieriko, the first pastor of the first parish of the C.C.C.S. It is the remarkable growth of C.C.C.S. Parishes which owes much to Rev. Siaosi Ieriko. This historical truth needs to be properly registered since there is also a strong and dominating 'Pastor Tradition' in the Samoan Church [E.F.K.S.] which tends to spiritualise stories of beginnings of Church events. This tendency results in attributing the 'truth', 'the significance' and the 'only meaningful', to things done by the pastors or pastoral beliefs about things, but reluctantly to the layity.
Source :- Api Pulega Aukilani [Minute Book of the Auckland Sub District]. It includes the 'Historical Report' of the beginning of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand which was given in the service in 1969 by the first Pastor Secretary of the C.C.C.S.

[498] See Appendix II (a) (b) (c). These are the three letters of resignation by Fuimaono Ta'ala on behalf of the Samoans who left the Newton P.I.C.C. The original versions of two of them, Appendix II (a) and (b), are in Samoan. English translations by the author is provided. The third letter, Appendix II (c), is in English and it is the original by Fuimaono Ta'ala.
See Appendix III (i) .

[499] This is clearly stated many times by Fuimaono in his letters and correspondences. See Appendices II (b); III (i) and V (i).

[500] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala. p.3. The equal representation of male and female in the founding group of the C.C.C.S. was clearly emphasised in the 'historical report' of the beginning of the C.C.C.S. given in its twenty fifth Jubilee Anniversary Celebration in 1988 - [as mentioned in Note 539]. The emphatic reference by the first secretary of the C.C.C.S. [one of the founding members of the C.C.C.S.] to this fact in the ceremony [Video Taped] clearly showed this to have meant something of great significance to the secretary in connection to the beginning of the C.C.C.S.

origins and beginnings is viewed through the 'eyes and understanding' of the founders of the C.C.C.S. as shown in their correspondence and through personal interviews with some of them. This is most appropriate because it focuses on the particular aspects of the 'general environment' which the founder(s) themselves had revealed to have been influential in their decisions; or, in other words the specific aspects the founders had consciously appropriated and had consciously reacted to positively or negatively in their attempts to establish and to realise their vision for their separate Church, C.C.C.S. in New Zealand. In this respect a comprehensive survey of the general climate in the various aspects noted above of the New Zealand society is unnecessary.[501]

Economically, founders of the C.C.C.S. shared the general impression of Pacific Island migrants in New Zealand during the 1950's and 1960's that New Zealand was the land of opportunities, freedom, and fulfilment. It was simply **economic paradise**, the dream land which guaranteed work for workers and education for children, two of the most important motives for migration. The earthly riches of New Zealand, the **economic paradise**, were often celebrated in the main founder's correspondence to the E.F.K.S. And it gave the founders of the C.C.C.S. a deeply felt sense of social power and social possibility for self-determination especially in relation to building their own communities particularly the Church. According to Fuimaono Ta'ala :-

> There is a lot of money in New Zealand. There is money every week. And you are never afraid [worry] of giving as offering two pounds every Sunday...There will never be a time when New Zealand shall ask for money from Samoa. [This refers to New Zealand as a country, and also to the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand in relation to the E.F.K.S. in Samoa]. There will always be more money in New Zealand...Buying land and houses in New Zealand is not a difficulty...Every working person is a contributing individual. There is no longer the case of one person depending on another

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[501] For a general introduction into these aspects in their relation to Christianity in Aotearoa, New Zealand. see Alan Davidson, Christianity in Aotearoa..., and further references cited therein. See especially Chapters 12, 15, and 16 for the historical context that would be relevant to the beginning of the C.C.C.S. in Aotearoa New Zealand.

> because a young man or woman can afford what is needed in life. Everything is easy in New Zealand and there is always more good than bad in this country. The truth is, in this country, one goes to worship with joyful heart because one is never without the necessities of the worldly life, except for the Name of the Living God you would always need...Be prepared to witness that the Samoan Churches in New Zealand will be the living spring in one or two years because there is a lot of money available for their development...[502]

Two examples of the positive effects of economic prosperity on the social life of Samoan migrants are noticeably celebrated especially for their importance to their new Church. One was the new development in families, as alluded to in the quote above, where the individual working members were self supporting financially and were also enhancing the capacities of families to contribute to the Church. The other was the establishment of Societies and Fellowships by Samoans which offered to support Church activities and developments for both the Church in Samoa and the newly established C.C.C.S.[503] The result of the positive appreciation of the economic prosperity of New Zealand for the Samoan migrants pouring into New Zealand was clearly perceived by Fuimaono. He saw that most tended to overstay or tried to seek permanent resident for the main hope to pursue 'a good life, good health, and peace.'[504] At the same time, this general appreciation of New Zealand not only fired the enthusiasm of the founders of the C.C.C.S. but was a vital motivating factor behind the founding vision of the C.C.C.S.:-

> This is the essential reason for establishing this Church [C.C.C.S.]. It is the calculation [perception] that there is in New Zealand the blessings of the Church in Samoa, but it is denied and hidden because there is no good leader as in the journeys of the Israelites.[505]

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[502] See especially Appendix III (ix), (x); and V (ix), (xii). These are few examples of the variety of references and allusions to the seemingly unbounded appreciation of the economic prosperity of New Zealand.

[503] See especially Appendix III (xvi), and Appendix V (iv).

[504] Fuimaono Ta'ala to Secretary of the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, April 23, 1963.

[505] Appendix V (vi).

The political climate in New Zealand was a positive factor as far as the beginning and the early stages of the development of the C.C.C.S. was concerned. When the E.F.K.S. required further enlightenment from the separated Samoans in response to their request to be 'part and branch' of the E.F.K.S., part of the response related was the wonderful freedom for religious beliefs and the establishment of Churches.[506] Indeed according to the leader of the separatist Samoans, it was this political guarantee for religious freedom that he was able to be granted a legal licence to conduct state marriages in Church, against the learned advice by a lawyer who was one of the leading Church leaders in the P.I.C.C.[507] Political guarantee of freedom was almost a religion in New Zealand society in the experience of the first wave of Samoan migrants during Post World War II. Its practical merits was to give Samoans the determination to establish and develop various forms of small clubs and societies to realise their various needs be they cultural, social, economic or religious.[508] Its most positive advantage was the political recognition by the New Zealand government of the importance of Samoan Church communities and its affiliated groups not only as the most appropriate community development Samoans preferred for self development, but as the point of contact between the government and most Samoans in New Zealand[509] in the gradual recognition of the reality of New Zealand as a multicultural society.

But migrant Church leaders also had considerable reservations on the social consequences of freedom, in the sense of its almost being a religion, which resulted from

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[506] Fuimaono Ta'ala to E.F.K.S. Letter dated June 23, 1963.

[507] Fuimaono Ta'ala to Secretary of the E.F.K.S. Letter dated April 23, 1963; and June 23. 1963.

[508] See Appendix III (xvi), and V (iv). Further examples were the Society by Samoans in Palmerston North from which founding members of the C.C.C.S. Parish in Palmerston came; and small clubs by Samoans in Wellington which were formed to help find ways to raise funds for the Parish, and to provide guarantees for Church loans during the early years of the Parish formation.

[509] For example, the 'Samoan Moni' [True Samoans] fellowship in Auckland established in the early 1960's had the double purpose of maintaining cultural values, but was also used by the Auckland Court to deal with Samoan youths involved in illegal behaviour of various sorts. Also in the report in the 'O Le Sulu Samoa' from the Samoan Church community in the Wellington P.I.C.C. to the E.F.K.S., it relates the political recognition by the New Zealand government of the Church community as the point of contact between the government and Samoans, and also for other ethnic groups. 'O Le Sulu Samoa', August, 1962.

the combined effects of economic prosperity and a freer cultural and political environment. Highly representative is the letter by Fuimaono Ta'ala to the Secretary of the E.F.K.S. which includes various examples. Most notorious was the '...failure to go to church, too much picnics and journeys everyday, even and most often on Sunday.'[510] He particularly noted the never-ending death toll from road accidents, social clubs, burglary, drowning at sea, and the almost hourly deaths in hospitals reported daily in the Newspapers.[511] As a typical Samoan Christian of the 1950s and the 1960s migrating to New Zealand, and tending to view New Zealand as paradise but with excessive freedom, what he chose to report and how he understood their various significances especially their causes, is understandable. He attributed them to the fact of being a permissive society which '...goes on picnics everyday without prayer and particularly non-attendance in Sunday worship.'[512] Closely related to this was the strong fear amongst the elder members of Samoan Church communities that the migrants, in particular the young men and women, would be 'too drunk with the cup of freedom', and they would forget their poor families in Samoa.[513] The evil of too much social freedom in the mind of elder migrants was the reasoning that such a form of freedom is only satisfied with much spending and extravagant life style. Memory would therefore become short, migrant vision blurred, and the Samoan migrant would become rootless in heart, heartless in mind, and he or she is no longer Samoan.[514] This reinforced in the minds of some conservative elder migrants the 'danger' of the twenty first birthday celebration in the Palagi culture which Fuimaono Ta'ala rejected, and related to the E.F.K.S. as an example of the unwelcome influence of

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[510] Fuimaono Ta'ala to Secretary of the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, April 23, 1963.

[511] Fuimaono Ta'ala to Secretary of the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, April 23, 1963.

[512] Fuimaono Ta'ala to Secretary of the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, April 23, 1963.

[513] This was a basic concern among the migrant Samoans in the early stages of living in New Zealand. The author has personal memories of this as my family migrated to New Zealand to live permanently in 1963.

[514] Among the earliest Samoan migrants in Church communities, it was generally believed that the measure of a true Samoan was to be known to send money to Samoa, and to be able to bring parents and relatives to visit New Zealand, or to stay. Fuimaono Ta'ala was a typical elder migrant of this belief according to personal interviews with his family.

Palagi culture which necessitated the establishment of the C.C.C.S.[515] In this sense the need for Samoan Church communities was that it would preserve the social and cultural basis of Samoan Christianity which maintains the cultural understanding of freedom not as a license for absolute independence or absolute freedom, but as essentially relational, and bounded by duties in all spheres of communal living, in particular within the family.

(b) The Religious Context of the New Zealand Roots and the Self-Understanding of the Founders.

Two important aspects of the religious context of the 'New Zealand Roots' of the C.C.C.S. are to be noted. One is the general religious freedom of the New Zealand society[516] which was a crucial aspect of the founding vision of the C.C.C.S. as a 'Settler Church'.[517] The other is what was perceived as the idealism of the multicultural basis of the P.I.C.C., and relatedly its narrow, limiting, and constraining multicultural religious framework.[518] An important aspect of the founding vision of the C.C.C.S. predicated on

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[515] Fuimaono is emphatic about this. He writes to the Secretary of the E.F.K.S. - 'The only source and guarantee of peace and well being of Samoans in New Zealand is in this new Samoan Church [C.C.C.S.]. Because it preserves and treats Samoans according to the etiquette of the Fa'asamoa - The respect for elders and older people; This ensures the throwing away of this thing called Twenty First Celebration which prescribes that the authority of parents over children is over. In these countries there is a need to protect the children of the Church from other cultures that oppose our useful way of life...'
Fuimaono Ta'ala to the Secretary of the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, March 13, 1963.

[516] The migrant experience of the political guarantee of religious freedom in New Zealand is largely highlighted above in relation to the political climate of the beginning of the C.C.C.S. For an introduction into the reality of this phenomenon in New Zealand and the plurality of religions it reflects, see Davidson, Christianity in Aotearoa..., at the relevant Chapters. It also refers to other relevant sources on Religions in New Zealand. See also, Donovan, Peter .ed. Religions of New Zealanders...

[517] There are interesting parallels, in particular in relation to the concept 'Settler Church', with the formation of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand as a Scottish Settler Church in 1840. See Matheson, Peter. "1840-1870 : The Settler Church ." In Presbyterians in Aotearoa 1840-1990, pp.14-42. Edited by D. McEldowney. Director of Communication for the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand : Wellington. 1990.

[518] The Secretarial Report by Rev. C. Stuart Craig to the L.M.S. Directors had clearly articulated and identified the merits and possible demerits of the policy and vision which underlied the formation of the P.I.C.C. While it recommends the soundness of the policy for the sake of migrant adjustment to the New Zealand society, it also warns of the inappropriateness of the multicultural framework of the P.I.C.C. About the former the Report relates :- '...The policy which has been followed has been carefully thought out, and has its basis in the consideration of the Islanders and of their needs in their New Zealand environment. I think the policy is sound. It is in essence a policy of withdrawal and that positively. The Islander coming

taking advantage of the former to escape the delimiting effects of the latter. There are numerous references to the danger and inadequacies of the P.I.C.C.'s multicultural basis because of the differences in cultural values, and their ethical expressions in terms of right manners to develop peace and unity in human relationship in Fuimaono's letters.[519] The following is typical of what was perceived to be an unavoidable source of cultural disharmony in the P.I.C.C. :-

> This huge congregation, the P.I.C.C.; there is an innate divergence of beliefs and preferences everyday which will never guarantee peace. These three countries [Niue, Cook Islands, New Zealand] do not have customs of respect like our treasured and dignified customs we apply in our relationship with them. Are these conducive to good and peaceful co-existence, when someone comes and stand and eat or talk with food in his mouth, while Samoans are seated with respect and with reverence to the pastor and chiefly leaders ? And when you tell such person, s/he goes out and swears in his/her own language. It is not good when you understand

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into New Zealand has a most difficult adjustment to make, and to make at so many points. The whole tempo of life is so different from what he has been used to, there are strains on every hand; he must meet Europeans in employment on equal terms, he must suffer colour prejudice even if not in its blatant form. In the midst of all the confusion and uncertainty he needs some point of security, some point of familiarity where he withdraws from the struggle of adjustment, and is upheld by relationships which are sure, and worship in his own language and form. This is the heart of the policy. The Islanders are perfectly free to join in the fellowship of the other Churches...'. About the latter the Report relates :- '...There are things to be learned from it. One is certainly the differences between the Islanders from the different groups; that some of those differences are significant and that warning is to be taken against a too-easy assumption that the Islanders can be thought of and planned for together. This does not mean that they do not, or can not, come together in worship and work - they do, but this does not appear to lessen their need for preserving their own national group, with its own language and cultural stamp.' Source :- L.M.S. Report, 1952-1953, pp.119-120. Nokise recognises the cultural and religious differences of the Island Groups and the potential difficulties that were likely to result from such. He merely describes them and simply notes the resultant formation of the P.I.C.C. as 'a very bold one' [attempt] which may reflect the founders' belief 'that what they were doing was right'. Nokise, " A History...", pp.40-42. Interestingly, Chambers is emphatic that the formation of the P.I.C.C. was 'an act of Faith' which proved wrong the "experts" who were widely agreed that 'it was impossible to have three groups of such different cultures, meeting in harmony together'. Chambers, A Peculiar People, p.128. For a sharper engagement with the issue of Multicultural Church with the E.F.K.S.'s migrant Churches in view, see Holland, Richard.D. "The Multicultural Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, Fact or Fiction : Realistic Expectation or Wishful Thinking." B.Theo. Dissertation, University of Otago,

[519] For example, see Appendix IV (viii),(x); and Appendix V (xv).

> what was said [swear word], for it results in discord and other uncouth behaviour.[520]

In most cases, the inadequacies of the P.I.C.C.'s multicultural basis is associated with the tendency to syncretistic and unholy multicultural worship it tended to encourage because of the differences in language and cultural attitude to worship. In his first letter which requested the recognition of their already separated Church, Fuimaono writes to the E.F.K.S. as follows :-

> This new Church is separated from the mixed-church of Pacific Islanders because there are too many languages, Niuean, Rarotongan, English, and Samoan. It is true that it is worship to God. But how can one praise (worship) if one can not understand these languages ? It is not good. But when one hears one's own language, WOW ! One feels good wind in one's body.[521]

The corruption of meaningful worship resulted from not understanding other languages used in worship is stressed further for the way it robs a sense of personal joy and active participation in worship, but most importantly their disrespectful implications for a proper, holy worship of God. Fuimaono emphatically laments :-

> Bible and Hymns - Papalagi, Niuean, Rarotongan and Samoan. What Samoan can understand all these four languages ? What can you make of it while listening in times of worship to God when these four languages are used in the same service ? Our ears go deaf. We use foul languages of others [in our worship]. Others use our foul language in theirs.[522] A Samoan is taken aback to say certain words. There is absolutely no reverence and holiness in such kinds of worship. Sometimes there is laughing during worship. One does not criticise. But the words and language used are not good and pleasant for the worship of God. It is difficult to familiarise oneself with such kind of worship. When it is over one cannot feel anything

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[520] Appendix IV (v).

[521] Appendix III (iv).

[522] (Add later.)

> that might to oneself give a sense of meaningful worship. Where then is the freedom and reality of true worship we really need...?...You will understand and feel the whole spirit of worship when you worship in your own native language, read the Bible and sing the hymns you were nurtured with in your whole life in the Church and since birth.[523]

(c) Two Perspectives by Samoans in the P.I.C.C.

Throughout the 1950s, the Samoans generally thought of themselves in terms of religious identity as belonging to the Ekalesia Samoa [Samoan Church] in Samoa even while worshipping in the P.I.C.C. This self understanding was expressed in the term 'tama fanau a le Ekalesia Samoa' [born children of the Samoan Church]. In most cases they could experience no inconsistency with this self understanding and in being P.I.C.C. members. Their enthusiasm and commitment in worship in the P.I.C.C. were engendered by the knowledge that they had the assurance and blessings from the Fathers of their Samoan Church. Equally important, despite certain inadequacies of the P.I.C.C.'s multicultural framework referred to already, it nevertheless catered for some of their religious needs[524] and especially their social adjustment in New Zealand.[525]

But the self understanding of the Samoans as 'born children of the Samoan Church' was developed differently by Samoans in the P.I.C.C. For some and in particular those that decided later to remain in the P.I.C.C. and opposed the beginning of the separate Samoan Church, being 'born children of the Samoan Church' in the P.I.C.C. was a source of religious pride. It was often drawn upon as the well spring of committed discipleship and Christian testimony to demonstrate the strength of their Samoan spiritual heritage. Their willingness to remain in the P.I.C.C. was partly resulted from their growing conviction

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[523] Appendix V (vii).

[524] One hour every Sunday was allocated for purely Samoan Services. But for Samoans that eventually left the P.I.C.C., this was not enough. The most fundamental issue was that for Samoans religious needs tend to encompass all human needs.

[525] This was the most successful role by the P.I.C.C. for most Islanders. For the Samoans, the service by Rev. Challis was superb and was generally applauded. The 'O Le Sulu Samoa' issues of the 1950's include several notices by Rev. Challis to remind the Samoan Church that there was already a Church in New Zealand for Samoan migrants. It is also well remembered by migrants Rev. Challis' untiring services like meeting Samoan migrants on arrival in New Zealand and helping with accommodation.

that they were mostly responsible for uniting the various ethnic groups in the P.I.C.C. in the spirit of unity and ecumenism.[526] By the beginning of the 1960s the numerical growth of Samoan Church membership, their financial contributions to the P.I.C.C. ministry, and their proven ability if also their aspiration to leadership positions were well known to the C.U.N.Z.[527] All these naturally had made these Samoans find inconceivable the necessity for a separate Samoan Church. Especially when there was also a tendency in their thinking to arrogate to themselves the major cause for the continuing cooperation of Islanders in the P.I.C.C., and also the leadership role in the P.I.C.C.

For the C.U.N.Z. the unity of the Samoans within the P.I.C.C. was important in two ways. One was the concern to maintain the unity of all the Island 'children' or family churches of the L.M.S. missionary work in the Pacific. The other was the ecumenical concern to which the C.U.N.Z. was committed, and to which the union of all Congregational Churches was envisaged both as an end in itself, but also as an example and a witness to other Churches in New Zealand to the need for 'unity' of Christian churches.[528]

The integrationist religious policy of the C.U.N.Z.[529] and its ecumenical concerns were generally shared by the leading Samoan pastors in the P.I.C.C. and also Samoan

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[526] This is according to Pastor Ned Ripley who was a Pastor leader in the Newton P.I.C.C. during the split and the beginning of the C.C.C.S.
Ned Ripley, Current Pastor of Fagatogo E.F.K.A.S., 1996. Personal Story of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S. Fagatogo, American Samoa; 25 June, 1993. Transcribed recording of interview in author's possession.

[527] Chambers, A Peculiar People, pp.128-140.

[528] For this vision in the historical growth and development of the C.U.N.Z., see Chambers, A Peculiar People, Chapters 13,14.

[529] The basic limitation of this policy, conceptually and in practice, is closely linked to that of the multicultural religious framework of the P.I.C.C. It is part of the central contention in this work to suggest that this was crucial in the eventual split among the Samoans in the P.I.C.C., as demonstrated already. One of its specific limitations in the experience of the Samoans who left the P.I.C.C. is recognised by Davidson in relation to the approach by the Presbyterian Church for Dutch migrants in the 1940's and 1950's - 'While this was a creative approach to migrant ministry in the short term, the church adopted an integrationist model based on the view "that migrants ought to assimilate and accept New Zealand ways as soon as possible in order to become proper 'kiwis' "...The establishment of the Reformed Churches in 1952

theological students who were all trained in the Congregational Theological College in Mt Eden.[530] Together with the half-caste Samoans[531] who were the earliest Samoans in the P.I.C.C., they were the 'core' group who were determined to remain 'tama fanau a le Ekalesia Samoa' in the P.I.C.C. Their theological training and the influence of half caste Samoans gave them the cultural courage and the theological determination to pursue with the C.U.N.Z. the vision for religious integration, unity and ecumenism. And it must also be noted that the pursuit of this religious vision was not in any way, for them, an indication of being less patriotic both in the sense of love of country and loyalty to spiritual roots.

For the Samoans that eventually left the P.I.C.C., being born children of the Samoan Church could only be properly realised in a separate Samoan Church. And this involved large issues of preserving true Samoan worship, social and cultural forms of Samoan Christianity, migrant loyalty to poor families, poor villages, a newly independent Samoan Church and Samoan government in need of assistance, and other issues relating to the future of Samoans migrating to New Zealand to settle. Furthermore, their vision for a separate Samoan Church in New Zealand was not meant to be construed as in any way rejecting the vision for Church cooperation and Christian ecumenism in New Zealand, the Pacific and world wide.[532] But ironically this was not the way their perspective and vision

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was an indication that Presbyterians were not able to meet the needs of some migrants from the conservative Dutch Reformed Church.'
Davidson, Christianity in Aotearoa..., p.162.

[530] Good examples are Revs. Leuatea Sio, Ned Ripley , and Kenape Faletoese.

[531] The role of half-caste Samoans was crucial. In terms of cultural identity these Samoans tend to thrive in their ability to blend their Samoan culture with changes and benefits from other cultures. They are less conservative and more adventurous which enables easier accommodation into different cultural contexts. For them, the P.I.C.C. multicultural framework was good enough. For a thorough understanding of the historical importance of this 'class' of Samoans in the historical evolution of modern Samoa, see the following books - Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa, pp.68-69 and Meleisea, The Making of Modern Samoa, Chapter 7.
This is important because it would show why they had found it unnecessary to leave the P.I.C.C. whether for cultural or religious considerations.

[532] Fuimaono Ta'ala was well aware of the failure of various attempts for church union in the Assemblies of the C.U.N.Z. he attended; [See Appendix V (xix) for example]. But it cannot be said that his reference to

appeared to the P.I.C.C. fellowship. And it only resulted in the strange anger by Samoan leaders who remained in the P.I.C.C.,[533] and the seeming madness of the C.U.N.Z. when they could not conceive of any justifiable reasons or necessity for a separate Samoan Church in New Zealand.[534]

(d) Critical Influences on the Mind of the Main Founder, Chief and Deacon Fuimaono Ta'ala.

The germ of the vision for a separate Samoan Church was already laid in a variety of ways throughout the 1950's ever since the growth and affiliation of Samoan Church communities in the P.I.C.C. in 1949. The most important according to the general witness of the earliest leaders of C.C.C.S. and the Samoan Church communities in the P.I.C.C. was the frequent visits by Elder Pastors who were leaders of the Samoan Church in Samoa. Some of the purposes of these visits included official invitations by the C.U.N.Z., part of their journeys for visitations to Samoan missionaries in other Islands of the Pacific, or simply family visits to relatives in New Zealand. Also important was the continuing influx of Samoans who were already aware of the links between the Samoan Church in Samoa and other migrant Churches by Samoans in Hawaii and U.S.A. Vital amongst these migrants were ordained pastors who left the Church ministry in Samoa to join the migrant vision for a better and more advanced life,[535] retired pastors brought by

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such failure which he related to the E.F.K.S. indicated a personal rejection of the spirit of unity and ecumenism. It is truer to say that as far as the founding vision of the C.C.C.S. is concerned, in relation to Fuimaono's role and hope, Christian vision for unity and ecumenism was thought to be equally maintained while being part and branch of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa.

[533] Pastor Ned Ripley puts the founding vision of the C.C.C.S. in the most extreme manner. 'The beginning of the C.C.C.S. [in the vision by Samoans that left the P.I.C.C.] had no theological purpose...It was a shameful incident'.

[534] The position of the C.U.N.Z. on this matter was clearly expressed in their letters of disapproval to the E.F.K.S. after its recognition of the C.C.C.S. These letters are referred to later in Chapter 5; and in Appendices IX & XI.

[535] For example, Pastor Siaosi Ieriko who left the E.F.K.S.'s village ministry in Samoa and migrated to New Zealand for his children's education. This group was significant in an ironic way. Their presence in the P.I.C.C. evoked the sympathy of some Samoans because their ordained status were not adequately recognised in the P.I.C.C.

their migrant children for holidays and eventually decided to stay,[536] and theological graduates of the Samoan Church from its Malua Theological College who migrated on the migrant's vision for the search for paradise and later became first pastors of the earliest parishes of the C.C.C.S.[537] In spite of the mutual cooperation between the Samoan Church and the C.U.N.Z. in relation to the Samoan Church communities in the P.I.C.C., there were also undercurrents of convictions by some influential leaders on both sides which influenced some of the most influential Samoan Church leaders in the P.I.C.C., mainly chiefs and deacons, into the direction of a separate Samoan Church. All these had bearings on the resolve by Fuimaono Ta'ala, the leading founder of the C.C.C.S.

It was the Missionary Hilda E.A. Small[538] who made the greatest impression and influence on Fuimaono, the main founder of the C.C.C.S., for the necessity to establish a Samoan Church by Samoans for Samoans in New Zealand.[539] Small suggested this need to Fuimaono, firstly when Fuimaono visited her in her 'Samoana house'[540] in Onehunga,

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[536] For example retired Pastor Peteru who helped in conducting worship of the C.C.C.S. before it was officially confirmed by the E.F.K.S. Peteru eventually returned to Samoa. Also, Pastor Ekepati Leilua who was the first non-covenanted pastor of the C.C.C.S. There is further mention of Pastor Ekepati later in connection with the Otahuhu Parish.

[537] For example Pastor Fareti Timaloa who became the first Pastor of the Onehunga Parish. The influence of this group was not unlike that in Note 581.

[538] Miss. Hilda E.A. Small was a L.M.S. Missionary in Samoa. She served from 1917 until 1927. She served as a teacher for the Church School for girls at Papauta (Western Samoa) and Atauloma (American Samoa). At one time the editor and writer for the O Le Sulu Samoa. She returned to serve the Samoan Church in 1952 at Papauta School until 1954, when she again returned to New Zealand and became the Chairwoman for the C.U.N.Z. in 1956. She was known to be an ardent supporter of the Samoan way of worship and some of its cultural expressions.

[539] This is the 'confidential secret' Elder Pastor Fareti Timaloa disclosed to the Author in his story of the beginning of the C.C.C.S. According to Timaloa, Fuimaono was emphatic on Small's influence on him. Source :- Timaloa, Fareti, Elder Pastor of Onehunga C.C.C.S. Parish, 1994. Personal Story of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S. Onehunga Church Office, January 1994. Transcribed recording of interview in author's possession.

[540] According to Elder Timaloa, this was the sign which was put above the front door of Small's house in Onehunga. This may indicate how much love Small had for Samoa. And it means that it is not impossible for a Palagi Missionary to suggest to Fuimaono the need for a separate Samoan Church in New Zealand, even if it meant being separated from her own church.

and secondly when Small was present in Fuimaono's house when Fuimaono was hosting an official visit by Samoan Parliamentarians from Samoa. In the first time, Small is remembered to have said the following to Fuimaono :-

> Why do you worship in such kinds of worship ? [Multicultural setting in P.I.C.C.] Why isn't a Samoan Church established ? Samoan worship is the most holy worship, than any other worship. I can never forget the Samoan worship during my stay in Samoa. The holiness of Samoan worship is not found anywhere else. Also in Samoa, the whole of Sunday is holy... [541]

The same suggestion was made by Small in the presence of visiting Samoan Parliamentarians :- 'Samoans in New Zealand should start their own Samoan worship. In my mind, Samoan worship is the most holy...'.[542] According to Elder Pastor Timaloa, Fuimaono told him that Small had successfully planted the seed for the growth of a separated Samoan Church in New Zealand in his mind.[543] This 'seed' had grown into a real vision as a result of Fuimaono's regular contacts with the Samoan Church Father, Elder Pastor Ioelu, and from a long-held sadness and disappointment with the way the ordained pastors of the Samoan Church were treated in the P.I.C.C. particularly by Rev. Challis.

The relationship with Elder Pastor Ioelu refers to two important events. One was the participation by Elder Pastor Ioelu as an invited observer in the General Assembly of the C.U.N.Z. in 1953. In his report of this Assembly[544] he mentioned his request to the C.U.N.Z. for a special time and opportunity in Church for Samoans only for their worship and other related activities. This may have been the first contact between Fuimaono and Elder Pastor Ioelu especially when it is well known that Fuimaono was a regular attender

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[541] Elder Pastor Fareti Timaloa; 'Personal Story of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S...'.

[542] Elder Pastor Fareti Timaloa. Personal Story of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S.

[543] Elder Pastor Fareti Timaloa. Personal Story of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S.

[544] This Report is found in the 'File for the Secretary, Tapeni' ; E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.

in General Assemblies of the C.U.N.Z. The report does not specifically entertain any idea of a separate Samoan Church. Rather it praises the connection between the C.U.N.Z. and the Samoan Church which was beneficial for the Samoan Church in Samoa and for the Samoan Church communities which were growing within the P.I.C.C. Nevertheless the request made by Elder Pastor Ioelu on behalf of the Samoan community, and the fact that it came from the Church Father who was centrally involved with the growth of independent Samoan Churches in Hawaii and the United States of America at the time[545] would suggest that such a meeting with these Samoans may have impressed something of the vision for separate Samoan Churches.

The second contact during a stop over visit by Elder Pastor Ioelu from a visitation to the mission field in Papua is most significant. It was this meeting that Fuimaono had raised with Elder Pastor Ioelu the necessity for a separate Samoan Church in New Zealand.[546] The specific cause was Rev. Challis' lack of courtesy by not letting Elder Pastor Ioelu who was the Chairman of the Samoan Church conduct the combined morning service of the P.I.C.C. where he could also administer the Holy Communion. Rather, Elder Pastor Ioelu was invited to preach during the Samoan worship in the evening. Fuimaono thought Rev. Challis' decision was lacking respect for the Chairman of the Samoan Church;[547] and it was further shown when Elder Pastor Ioelu was only invited to the front during the morning service after the Holy Communion, 'as if he was an intended confessor to be admitted to Church fellowship'.[548] In Fuimaono's mind, the suggestion by Small became almost an unbearable burden that needs fulfilment,[549] more so when Rev. Challis' decision had continued his same treatment of Samoan ordained ministers who had

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[545] This is clear in Chapter Two above.

[546] This is the emphatic belief by Fuimaono Nasau, the brother of Fuimaono Ta'ala who was a leading founder of the C.C.C.S. Parish in Christchurch in 1966.
Chief Nasau, Fuimaono. Previous lay preacher of C.C.C.S. Personal Story of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S. His place, Auckland; January, 1994. Transcribed recording of interview in author's possession.

[547] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala.

[548] According to Elder Pastor Fareti Timaloa; 'Personal Story of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S...'.

[549] According to Elder Pastor Fareti Timaloa; 'Personal Story of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S...'.

previously visited New Zealand and attended P.I.C.C. services, and others who were at the time treated as deacons in the P.I.C.C.[550] After this event which was probably in the mid 1950's, Fuimaono had resolved to set his mind on starting a separate church for Samoans.[551] According to a member of Fuimaono's family, Fuimaono had long studied the possibility for the right time to start a separate Samoan Church.[552] It was the reason for his various journeys to Samoa, in particular his journey in 1961 which finally confirmed in his mind that there was widespread support for the idea.[553]

There were other aspects of this visit in 1961 which had given Fuimaono more assurance about a separate Samoan Church. He had heard at first hand the great need by his poor Church for financial assistance as the Church was now granted independence by the L.M.S. in this same year, 1961. When participating in the General Assembly in Samoa, he had observed with 'wonder' the proceedings of the Assembly and was impressed by the way issues were discussed and resolutions were made with proper results. A particular feature he related with exhilaration in his correspondence to the E.F.K.S. was the ability to restore unity and harmony in Assembly discussions even after heated and controversial

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[550] According to Elder Pastor Fareti Timaloa; 'Personal Story of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S...'. This incident is referred to by Fuimaono in his letter to the E.F.K.S. in Appendix III (xi). [Quote] :- 'Just a brief story. Reverend Elder Tapeni Ioelu came but was not given proper respect and recognition. Samoans in Auckland thought he would administer the Holy Communion, but he was not given the chance. It clearly shows the status of a Samoan Pastor is not recognised here [New Zealand]. If it was our own Church, as like now, all the respect would have been given to Ioelu; Peteru Leaupepe; Ekeloma; Siave Teofilo; Siaosi Kuluku; Sinapati Perelini; Elisara Tia; Enoka Alesana; Faulalo Sagapolutele; Sofara Aiono; Ailagi Tanielu; Vavae Toma; and others. One of these at least could have been given the chance to conduct Holy Communion according to the understanding of Samoans, but none was given a chance. They would have all the freedom had we truly owned churches and administered by ourselves because such will be one and the same with those in Samoa.'

[551] This was before 1956 because Fuimaono had started sending his family's offerings to the E.F.K.S. in 1956.

[552] According to Taulapapa Lami, who was a founding member of the C.C.C.S. and a 'member' of the Fuimaono family.
Taulapapa Lami, Lay Preacher in Grey Lynn Parish. Personal Story of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S.. His home, Auckland; January 1994. Transcribed recording of interview in author's possession.

[553] This is generally supported by most earliest leaders of the Samoans both in the P.I.C.C. and in the C.C.C.S.

exchanges which would normally result in deeper estrangements.[554] The relevance of this to Fuimaono's resolve relates to his experience in Assemblies by the C.U.N.Z. he attended where he observed greater difficulties in resolving conflicting views especially with the issue of Church Union.[555] Fuimaono was re-impressed with some of the virtues of his spiritual heritage. The most influential aspect of Fuimaono's visit to his mind was the opportunity he was given '...to preach at the Iupeli, Malua College Church, the highest very important pulpit in the whole of the Samoan Group, the pulpit of the spring of life and the light of the Samoan Group.'[556] For a deacon and a chief who knows the pulpit is the domain of the pastor only, the opportunity he was given was a demonstration of the highest respect. It was the Church showing respect for Samoan culture, and Samoan pastor showing respect and recognition for the Samoan chief - '...I was shocked by their welcoming me. Everyone I met was wonderful.'[557] Leading Samoan Church leaders in the P.I.C.C. at the time, [Rev. Leuatea Sio and Student Pastor Ned Ripley] believe that it was this 'event in this journey' by Fuimaono to Samoa which strongly impressed on Fuimaono the need to start a separate Samoan Church without further delay.[558] But it is also important to stress that the demonstration of respect by the Church to this loyal son of the Samoan Church and also a true Samoan patriot [chief], would have pushed Fuimaono further back to his cultural and spiritual roots, especially also when one considers Fuimaono's dissatisfaction with the way Rev. Challis had dealt with Samoan pastors coming to New Zealand.

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[554] See especially Appendix V (xvi).

[555] See especially Appendix V (xix).

[556] Appendix II (c).

[557] Appendix II (c).

[558] According to the Personal Stories of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S. by both Ned Ripley and Leuatea Sio.

(iv) The Return to Spiritual Roots.

The resignation by the founding group and the beginning of separated worship on December 30, 1962 were events which constituted the first stirring of the beginning of the C.C.C.S. in Aotearoa New Zealand. It is almost certain that after these events there was no likelihood of a possible return to the P.I.C.C. The two most important considerations that delayed an earlier beginning of the separate Samoan Church were Fuimaono's concern [love and respect] for Rev. Leuatea Sio who was the leading Samoan pastor in the Newton P.I.C.C.,[559] and an equal concern for the communal efforts by the Newton P.I.C.C. to fundraise for a new church.[560] The most appropriate time[561] had arrived when the Newton P.I.C.C. had completed and consecrated its Church in 1962 and Rev. Leuatea Sio and his wife were away in Samoa at the end of 1962. With certainty and

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[559] Rev. Leuatea Sio stressed this in his story of the beginning of the C.C.C.S.
Rev. Sio; 'Personal Story...'.

[560] According to Joe Fuimaono, the son of founder Fuimaono, and now the lawyer for the C.C.C.S. and also known as chief Fuimaono after his father, his father had long waited for the right time according to Samoan etiquette to start the C.C.C.S. He says :- ' We were always reminded by our father that the proper time will come to leave the P.I.C.C. and start the Samoan Church. We were encouraged to work hard in our fundraising dances for the P.I.C.C. Church because we were a large family and was one of the earliest in the P.I.C.C., and was also looked up to by others to be a leading example in developing the Church. And that it is not right according to the Fa'asamoa to leave while there is unfinished work...'
Source :- Joe Fuimaono; Lawyer and deacon of the C.C.C.S. Personal Story of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S. His office, K. Road Auckland; January, 1994.
Fuimaono, the founder is most clear and emphatic :- 'The utmost thing that delayed the beginning of this Samoan Church is - That the P.I.C.C. Church to be dedicated first, in case it becomes a "shameful disrespect" when someone leaves before the dedication of the church according to the culture and customs of Samoa.'
Appendix V (xxvii).

[561] Nokise offers a contrary explanation in this respect :- 'Into this climate of relaxation and anticipation. especially with the New Year looming just over the horizon, Mr. K. Fuimaono dropped his bomb. The fact that he knew that the leader of the Samoan group was away in Samoa, seems to support the possibility that his timing was pre-meditated. Perhaps he was aware of the psychological advantage he would gain in his choice of time. Without its shepherd, the Samoan group lacked cohesion and authority.'
Nokise, "A History..., p.219.
Nokise's explanation clearly shows the fallacy of 'hermeneutic of suspicion' which results from the lack of relevant sources and also from interpretation that misinterprets cultural spirit encoded in cultural practices. The three letters of resignation [Appendix II (a) (b) (c)] and others by Fuimaono in Appendices III, IV, V. clearly contradict Nokise's interpretation of the timing of the resignation, and the unwarranted suspicions on motives as expressed in such negative ways as 'pre-meditated timing' and 'psychological advantage...in his choice of time'. Had Nokise gotten access to these letters, he would not have missed [as a Samoan !] the greatest demonstration of Samoan culture of respect by Fuimaono and the separated Samoans shown to all Samoans that remained in the P.I.C.C., and the P.I.C.C. fellowship.

self-assurance that they had done their best for the P.I.C.C., and had made no enemies with the P.IC.C. membership, Fuimaono Ta'ala and his family 'returned' to their 'Dear Samoan Church' they had never left even when they were members of the P.I.C.C. Their most immediate intention was according to Fuimaono Ta'ala :-

> ...to spend whatever is left of our strength for the beloved Church in Samoa, and channelling the fruits of the sweat and labour of the sons and daughters of the [Samoan] Church which are now drunk [that is, undeservedly used and exploited] by other Churches...[and with the sincere belief that]...There was no controversial matter which caused our resignation and departure to establish this Church...None, none at all. We felt it is high time we set up our own Samoan Church in New Zealand...[562]

The letter of resignation addressed to the Samoan Choir of the Newton P.I.C.C.[563] is unequivocal. Farewelling fellow Samoans with assurance of goodwill, giving them exclusive control of all their shared property, and asking for forgiveness for any wrong done, the letter relates their full commitment for separate worship :-

> This is our letter of resignation [I am giving] on behalf of us who have turned to this side of our ministry. You worship on that side of the coconut leaf and we worship on this side of the river. May the two things remain independently two...or may they both grow as in the parable of our Lord while we wait for the day of harvest.[564]

The letter of resignation addressed to the whole P.I.C.C. congregation[565] had the rest of the Samoans in mind. It makes clear the reason for separate worship - it is to fulfil a long cherished hope :-

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[562] Appendix III (xiii).

[563] Appendix II (a).

[564] Appendix II (a).

[565] Appendix II (b).

> There is no torn green banana leaf in our fellowship; but it is because of a hope that was long in the making, a canoe that was built day and night, a wave that appeared to break but did not, a journey that was not without anxiety, and thus had to wait for calm water to make its entrance. I myself will now return to worship in our own Ekalesia Fa'apotopotoga Kerisiano Samoa, [that is, E.F.K.S.].[566]

The third letter of resignation written in English[567] is emphatic on the deeper reason and cause for the resignation. Fuimaono's words are self explanatory:-

> It is not a hope for one or two minutes; hours; days; weeks; months; and year, but a matter of 12 years and 6 months...These years in New Zealand, I am still a member of the Samoan Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. My subscriptions for them are right through...[568] I am now returned to my very dear Church, the Samoan Congregational Christian Church. I am still a member for 28 years continuously.[569]

The three letters of resignation clearly show how far back Fuimaono had entertained the possibility for a separate Samoan Church in New Zealand. Simultaneously they also show the characteristic self-understanding of Samoans, as already mentioned above, as **born children** of the Samoan Church in the P.I.C.C. The letter of resignation which is written in English and was addressed to the whole congregation of the Newton P.I.C.C. makes this most evident :-

> I refused to be a lay preacher when I was asked by Rev. Challis on Sunday 25th of June 1950. I declined to sign as a Trustee for that 4250 pound section behind the Hall on Tuesday the 9th of October

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[566] Appendix II (b).

[567] Appendix II (c).

[568] This refers to the 'offerings' Fuimaono had 'started' sending to the E.F.K.S. in 1956 as mentioned above in Note 551.

[569] Appendix II (c).

> 1956...Because I am not a member of this Pacific Islanders' Congregational Church of New Zealand.[570]

When one notes further that Fuimaono and his family came to New Zealand in 1950, then it can not be doubted that to Fuimaono and his family, and to many other Samoans who gradually left to join the separated lotu Fa'asamoa, worship in the P.I.C.C. was only temporary.[571]

The founders farewelled their Christian comrades[572] in the Newton P.I.C.C. in a dignified way which accorded well with some of the most valued traditions of the 'Samoan Chiefly Culture',[573] and the 'Samoan Christian heritage'.[574] As expected of ***'good and obedient'***

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[570] Appendix II (c).

[571] Nokise fails to discern this most probably because of the inaccessibility of the relevant sources; or it could be the result of the limited perspective he chooses to discuss the causes of the split.

[572] This spirit is very clear in the letters of resignation [Appendix II (a) (b) (c)]. It must be emphasised that the founders' move to begin a separate Samoan Church was not 'racist'. There may have been an element of 'arrogant disgust', but it related more to differences in cultures in particular, to different cultural expressions of Christianity. What Fuimaono found distasteful was the disrespectful aspects of other cultures in the 'context of worship' and in the 'worship environment'. Thus Fuimaono clearly refers to other cultures of Niue, Cook Island, and Palagi which do not have 'customs of respect' like the Samoan Culture [See Appendix IV (v), (viii), (x),(xi); V (xiv)]. Most Samoans shared Fuimaono's sentiment. But this cannot be exaggerated because other Samoans believed that 'time' would iron out distasteful cultural aspects with the growth in mutual understanding. Nevertheless the dominant tone of Fuimaono's mind on the appropriateness of a separate Samoan Church is generally clear in the letters of resignation [Appendix II (a) (b) (c)] and in his correspondence to the E.F.K.S. in Western Samoa. It reflects a mind who is able to distinguish between a cultural accommodation of other cultures in a multicultural blend, and the relation of human culture to the divine, especially in the context of worship [Appendix III (iv), (xiv); IV (xiv)]. Fuimaono was known to be a friend to all ethnic groups in the Newton P.I.C.C., according to personal interviews with Rev. Leuatea Sio and Fuimaono's second wife, Vaipuese. But in worship, he prefers to listen and hear the 'God' he's known through his language and his Samoan Christian culture. The decision to begin a separate Samoan Church fulfils this spiritual need. [See Appendix III (iv), (xiv); and V (xiv) mainly]. In this sense, the 'separatist' nature of the beginning of the C.C.C.S. was a pursuit of the freedom to exercise cultural or contextual Christianity. Attached to this was the unspoken belief in the legitimacy of diverse cultural and social forms of Christianity.

[573] The specific reference here is to a customary practice of village chiefs when participating as builders of another chief's house or as worship spectators [au tapu'ai]. One must stay right through to show respect and support and good manners which make up a communal society. To leave without good reasons or without the knowledge of others may occasion all sorts of suspicions, besides being unchristian and unchiefly. This custom is generally applicable for all villagers. See Appendix V (xxvii) or, as quoted in Note 560 for Fuimaono's emphatic words in this regard. Also, the use of Samoan proverbial sayings in the letters intend to ensure, as is generally the custom, that there is mutual understanding between the departing

sons and daughters of the Samoan Church [E.F.K.S.], and as a gesture of gospel commitment to one of the most treasured ethical expressions of Christian discipleship according to Samoan Christianity, they freely chose to leave empty-handed[575] to begin a new Church all over again, leaving behind a confident, growing and multicultural Pacific Island Congregational Church.

(v) The Immediate Impact and Significance of Founders' Resignation and Departure on the P.I.C.C. Fellowship Especially for the Samoan Membership.

The resignation and departure by the Fuimaono family was a real concern for the Samoan membership of the Newton P.I.C.C.[576] mainly because of their popularity and usefulness

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Samoans and all the P.I.C.C. fellowship. For example - 'There is no torn green banana leaf in our fellowship...'; 'Let the past year be gone with the old person'; [Appendix II (a) (b)].
As already noted above, the lack of relevant sources led Nokise to serious misinterpretations of the motives of Fuimaono in relation to the resignation. Hence, Nokise's dwelling on possible motives behind the resignation and its controversial significance to the P.I.C.C. fellowship in Nokise, " A History...", pp.219-222.

[574] Refer to Note 573. This is because of the mutual relationship between the 'chiefly culture' and the 'pastoral ministry' of the E.F.K.S. [or Samoa in general] in the wider context of the Gospel-Culture relationship in the Fa'asamoa [the Samoan way of doing things]. That is, what Fuimaono says as an example of 'Samoan chiefly culture' in Note 560 or in Appendix V (xxvii), is also an example of Samoan cultural Christianity in 'Samoan Christian heritage'.

[575] It is one of the most treasured beliefs of Samoan Christians to work for others without expectations for payment. This allies with the Samoan cultural attitude to give service freely without expectation of payment, but as a duty which, in the context of communal living where all are related in various ways, will be surely rewarded. Reciprocal giving in truly Samoan communities arise out of the sense of duty, not out of any obligations in the sense of right. The mixture or alliance of Samoan Christian beliefs and Samoan cultural ethics is usually behind the usual practice within the Samoan Church where individuals, families, and village churches make 'huge sacrifices' for the sake of the Gospel. When founders of C.C.C.S. chose to leave 'empty-handed', that is, not wanting to claim any rights to their shared properties in the P.I.C.C., they were following Samoan chiefly and Christian culture. See especially Appendix II (a), (c), and III (xiii). For example, II (a) :- '...all the requirements for the ministry are fully provided; our choir is even more in order and existing in greater unity. Now all the things we have done together for the development and success of the choir shall be left for the good and the future of the choir - money, organ, and everything else. We shall not (never) claim any right on them. The sole control is yours with the sovereign freedom to their use. You do not need to consult us [with respect to their use] for we are on this side of our ministry. Yours, the sole authority for all those things...'.

[576] The reaction of other ethnic groups according to Nokise (p.244) was silence which could mean as, '...saying more or less that there was nothing they could do about it because it did not concern them.'

to the Samoan growing community and for the P.I.C.C. community in general. Fuimaono was a 'father figure' to the Samoan migrant community.[577] His family was one of the first and most established Samoan migrant families in Auckland, and was also among the most prominent in the earliest stage [1950's] of the growth and development of the Newton P.I.C.C.[578] Fuimaono was the ideal Samoan chief working to unify the Samoan community, and also the ideal Samoan deacon with a reputation for exemplary service for the P.I.C.C. community.[579]

But though the resignation and departure took almost everyone by surprise, and the immediate reaction by the P.I.C.C. leaders, especially the Samoan pastors, was a stern condemnation of Fuimaono's attempt to begin a separate Samoan Church.[580] The reality,

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Another possibility is that such silence reflects the non-committal and the precarious nature of the multicultural vision as a concept, and in reality.

[577] Fuimaono's family was always playing host to visits by Samoan government officials or by the Samoan Church. It was generally known that, 'Fuimaono's family was everyone's family'. For the E.F.K.S.'s pastor students from Samoa, and for born-children of the E.F.K.S. who were sponsored for theological training by the P.I.C.C., Fuimaono's family was the place for their favourite food and for playing cards in the weekends and during holidays. According to Pastor Oka Fauolo :- "Fuimaono and Faititili were beloved friends of all the Samoan people." The hospitality by Faititilipatasi is specially highlighted by Pastor Vavae Toma :- " Faititili knows well what we always want. Mine was the boiled egg...Every weekend we would got to her place because it was our family, all of us scholarship students in the College...People [that is, Samoans] liked Fuimaono and Faititili because Faititili is good...We would be laughing while at the same time be properly fed by Faititili." Fuimaono's family was also the arrival place for many Samoan migrants, and Fuimaono was an active sponsor for Samoan migrants.

[578] As Nokise and the P.I.C.C. had also acknowledged.
Nokise, "A History...", p.221. C.U.N.Z. to the Chairman of the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, November 11, 1963. 'Secretary's File'; E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.

[579] This is generally shared by Samoan Church leaders in both the C.C.C.S. and the P.I.C.C. In P.I.C.C. activities he was a popular friend to other Islanders. He is also known for his habit of sleeping in a worn down shack behind his house to make available his house for visitors especially Church members, and family of pastors from Samoa.

[580] The spirited opposition by the P.I.C.C. especially amongst the Samoans was shown in designating the separated Samoan Church as - 'O le Lotu a Fuimaono' [Fuimaono's Church]. This was in itself a carricature which likened Fuimaono's attempt to similar efforts by separated groups in Samoa which was not recognised by the E.F.K.S. at the time. It was also a caricature of the unwelcome influence that was typical of some village chiefs and families in Samoa which often led to controversies in village churches or to the beginning of new religious sects in villages. Branding Fuimaono's attempt in this way was most successful in stirring up opposition to the attempts by Fuimaono's family. As will be shown later, in the beginning of the earliest C.C.C.S. Parishes, this went on for a few years. For Fuimaono and the separated

as far as the Samoan members of the P.I.C.C. was concerned was a silent acceptance that somehow a separate Church by Samoans was inevitable. The stern condemnation was more a reflection of the initial shock in relation to the existing unity and harmony in the P.I.C.C. fellowship than a heart felt conviction of the falseness of a separate Church for Samoans. This is because of various reasons. A number of Samoan chiefs and deacons in the Newton P.I.C.C. were known to have shared Fuimaono's attempt.[581] There was indeed considerable support for the vision among many Samoans in other P.I.C.C. Churches in Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin.[582] Fuimaono mentions in one of his correspondence the readiness of some Samoans in Wellington to start separate Churches if the Samoan Church would approve the request by the separated Samoans from the Newton P.I.C.C.;[583] Also the abortive efforts by Samoans in Dunedin in 1961 because of the intervention by some Papalagis;[584] And the Samoans in Christchurch who were reluctantly attending the P.I.C.C. in Christchurch, and had already started separate worship on most Sundays except for the Sunday of the Holy Communion.[585]

Samoans, the carricature was the 'devil unleashed by the P.I.C.C.' to be-devil the beginning of the Samoan Church which was widely supported and long overdue.

[581] In a letter to the Secretary of the E.F.K.S. Rev. Sio relates that if the E.F.K.S. were to accept Fuimaono's request, it would undoubtedly receive at least eight more requests from other Samoan chiefs for separate Churches. It further relates that what was holding them back was 'to wait and see' the response from the E.F.K.S.
Rev. Sio to Etene [Secretary of the E.F.K.S.] Letter dated, April 19, 1963. 'Secretary's File on New Zealand Correspondence'; E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.

[582] Appendix V, (xxi), (xxii), (xxiii).

[583] According to Fuimaono :- 'In Wellington, there is a great number of Samoans who are now prepared to return to our Church if the request by Auckland is successful .' Appendix V (xxiii). Founders of Wellington Parish of C.C.C.S. confirm Fuimaono's report.

[584] According to Fuimaono :- 'A Samoan Church was started in Dunedin two years ago, out of the same need as we now have. But there was disagreement between the Samoans because of the involvement of Papalagis who foresaw a great part of the offering that will be gone if the Samoans were to have their own Church. It was this which interfered and nullified the endeavour by Samoans with hearts for their country and their Church. These Samoans are now refusing and rejecting Rev. Challis' Church.
Appendix V, (xxii). This is confirmed by personal acquaintances and interviews with some of the earliest Samoan migrants now worshipping in the C.C.C.S. Parish in Dunedin. The author worships here at present.

[585] According to Fuimaono :- 'The great congregation of Samoans in Christchurch refuses to join with Challis' Church. They only turned up when Challis or one of his pastors was sent to conduct the Holy Communion. Only the offering of such particular Sundays is given to Challis or the officiating pastor.

What restrained some of them initially was the fear that the Samoan Church might disapprove, and the shame the eventuality of such would bring on them in the eyes of other Samoans.[586] Others in the same mode of thought but who initially opposed Fuimaono's attempt felt disappointed that they were not consulted yet they had long entertained the same vision. For example, the Samoan ordained pastor [Siaosi Ieriko] who led the P.I.C.C. delegation to inquire into Fuimaono's reasons for departure, and who condemned the whole episode as a 'foolish thing' was later to become the first pastor of the C.C.C.S. Parish [Grey Lynn Parish] he had opposed. For other chiefs and deacons who turned out in response to the first invitation for the beginning of the separate Samoan Church, and who were repulsed by Fuimaono's authoritarian manner in the first meeting,[587] most of them eventually joined after the separate Church was recognised by the E.F.K.S. Deputation in 1963. Others became founders of new parishes for the C.C.C.S. after 1964 when the C.C.C.S. was finally approved by the E.F.K.S. in 1964.

Furthermore, a number of considerations account for the manner in which Fuimaono had decided for a quiet withdrawal from the P.I.C.C. One was to avoid making their departure a public spectacle which would be easily misconstrued as a general opposition to the

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Samoans collect and save their offerings for themselves. Samoans rejected Hymnary Books of Challis' Church that were given to them. This Church Hymnary includes more than one hundred English Hymns, but there are fewer than ten Palagi members; but only a hundred Samoan hymns with Niuean and Rarotongan put together. It means Samoans have no joy in mixing languages because they do not understand them. So they conduct their services in Samoan, and also the children's services.'
Appendix V, (xxi). Founders of the C.C.C.S. Parish of Christchurch confirm Fuimaono's report in his letter.

[586] As indicated in Note 581. This belief is generally shared among earliest Samoans in P.I.C.C. and C.C.C.S. Churches. This is also mentioned by Nokise in Nokise, "A History...", p.243.

[587] Fuimaono's authoritarian manner was the way he conducted the first meeting of the founders. As he records in his Diary, others attended with the impression that there should be a discussion whether to pursue Fuimaono's hope or not. Fuimaono was emphatic that the purpose of the meeting was the beginning of the Samoan Church, not to discuss whether there should be one. Also in selecting positions, Fuimaono made himself Chairman, his wife the Treasurer, and the first man [Mafola Timaloa] who rang Fuimaono to include himself in the new church as soon as he learned of the invitation for the beginning of the Samoan Church as Secretary. This also infuriated others and it gave them the impression that the new church was **'Fuimaono's Church'** These are parts of the story of the beginning of the C.C.C.S. which are generally known and are always referred to in popular conversations by C.C.C.S. earliest members and pastors as 'funny stories of the beginning'.

P.I.C.C., or as an indication of a deliberate attempt to break up the P.I.C.C. fellowship.[588] Another was a matter of cultural strategy in relation to finding the proper approach and timing for the realisation of what Fuimaono had personally felt to be a spiritual truth apprehended through cultural spirituality.[589] According to Vaipuese,[590] Fuimaono did not want to discuss his hope for a separate Samoan Church with Rev. Sio because he might either make it difficult or oppose it.[591] It was also part of the reason that Fuimaono did not discuss it with most other leading Samoans in the Newton P.I.C.C. The third consideration is closely related to the latter. Fuimaono believed that the vision for a separate Samoan Church was a spiritual calling from God.[592] His certainty for such required that he should not force Samoans to leave but let them decide according to the

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[588] There are several indications of this spirit of Fuimaono and founding members of the C.C.C.S. in Fuimaono's letters in Appendices III and V. See for example V (xxvii), but mostly the Resignation Letters in Appendix II.

[589] See especially Resignation Letter in Appendix II (b) particularly the first paragraph - 'There is no torn green banana leaf in our fellowship, but it was because of a...journey that was not without anxiety, and thus had to wait for calm water to make its entrance.' This is an example of cultural prudence in Samoan etiquette which an outsider may see as an outright rejection of consensus decision making, but in reality, it is a prudent concern for the feelings of others. Refer also to Note 560.

[590] Vaipuese is the widow and second wife of Fuimaono Ta'ala.
Vaipuese Fuimaono, a current deaconness in the Grey Lynn Parish of the C.C.C.S., 1994. Family Story, in particular biographical information about Fuimaono Ta'ala. Interview by the author. Auckland, January 1994. Transcribed Personal Story in author's possession.

[591] Vaipuese Fuimaono; 'Family Story...', 1994. Interestingly, Rev. Sio was reasonably clear-headed during the controversial beginning of the C.C.C.S. He opposed the attempt for a separated Samoan Church **only** because he did not like what he believed as the **'breakaway manner'** of the beginning of the Samoan Church.
Rev. Leuatea Sio; 'Personal Story of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S', 1994.

[592] Fuimaono records this in his Diary. Nokise (p.235) relates that Rev. Elder Poasa, leader of the E.F.K.S. Delegation, told Rev. Sio about this belief of Fuimaono, but Rev. Sio retorted it could not be ' because people have split'. Rev. Sio said the same thing to the author in my interview of him. The relevant point is, that once Fuimaono became personally convinced that it was the will of God, it was impossible to persuade him and his family to return to the P.I.C.C., even by the Delegation from the E.F.K.S. later. Looking back to the controversial beginning of the C.C.C.S. after thirty four years of growth, Fuimaono's belief seems to have turned out true. He believed it was the will of God. In giving official recognition to the beginning of the C.C.C.S., the Delegation told the founders of the C.C.C.S. and Samoans that congregated to witness that if the attempt by Fuimaono was the will of God it will grow, but if it wasn't, it will die. The C.C.C.S. had grown considerably in its first thirty years, but as Rev. Ripley (who did not share the beginning of the C.C.C.S.) warns in relation to the growth of the C.C.C.S., God's Grace can even turn wrong and shameful beginnings into instruments of God's glory.

dictate of their conscience.[593] Equally important is the element of ***'charisma'***[594] in the courage of Samoan chiefs as leaders to lead families and societies to adventures of victory and success. This is important. The Samoan reference to this leadership quality of chiefs is expressed in the statement - 'O le Tofa Tasi a le Tamali'i, O le Tofa Saili Malo' [The Once-Made decision by the chiefly Lord is the binding decision for victory and success]. Fuimaono was a Samoan chiefly Lord [Tamali'i Samoa]. His quiet withdrawal was for the pursuit of what he thought was the best way for the future of Samoans in New Zealand, and the Samoan Church in Samoa, after years of serious thoughts and familiarity with the New Zealand society.[595] Strategically, this was an ingenious application of cultural common sense to fulfil a vision that was not purely cultural. And, in this sense, Fuimaono did not need to seek the opinion of other Samoan chiefs in the P.I.C.C. It was enough for his family and anyone who may wish to join in the attempt to realise the transplantation of authentic Samoan Christianity in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The crucial point to note is, that the various considerations behind the quiet departure by Fuimaono and his family was a common sense application of cultural-theological jurisprudence for the pursuit of a spiritual truth. And such spiritual truth was apprehended through cultural spirituality in what was also personally felt through the prompting of human conscience to be a calling from God.[596]

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[593] Vaipuese Fuimaono; ' Family Story...', 1994.

[594] This does not mean having miraculous powers of persuasion in any way. I refer strictly to the meaning given by, 'The Collins Dictionary and Thesaurus' : 2. a quality inherent in a thing,...,which inspires great enthusiasm and devotion.

[595] See the emphatic references by Fuimaono for this in Appendix V (xxiv), (xxvii). For example, Appendix V (xxiv) :- ' The Samoan Church which is now begun in Auckland, I testify that It is a Church pure of any dirt in its founding vision, and there is a clear recognition that there is absolutely no future for the Samoan Church in any other way, except for Samoans to 'dig deep' and to rely upon themselves to develop themselves in New Zealand.'

[596] The negative implication of the beginning of the C.C.C.S. portrayed in Nokise's discussion of the split in the P.I.C.C. results from Nokise's failure to appreciate this vital aspect of Samoan thinking and spirit, especially among the cultural leaders, the Christian chiefs.

The ambivalent attitude of most Samoans towards the attempted beginning of the separate Samoan Church can be further illustrated by the attitude of Samoan ordained pastors who were at the time worshipping in the P.I.C.C. Some keen observers among the founding members of the C.C.C.S. believe that some ordained pastors were mostly half-hearted and non-committal because of an unhealthy mixture of clerical fear bordering on hypocrisy, and personal preference to support the Church [P.I.C.C.] their migrant children and families were attending.[597] The former refers to the fear of being known by the E.F.K.S. in Samoa to be involved in anything that might disrupt the fellowship of Samoans in their Church communities in New Zealand, and of being seen in New Zealand to be involved in a 'separatist movement' which was at the time mostly unpopular and much hated.[598] But it must also be realised that for these pastors, and quite understandably, the P.I.C.C. was the Church of the first Samoan migrants, and also where their families and children were amongst the most able leaders.[599]

On the other hand, sociological issues were involved especially in relation to the aspect of churchmanship. Fuimaono's attempt replicated the reality of the village Church ministry of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. That is, village chiefs in the village Church are the originating authorities in the sense that they create and begin the village Church and then request an ordained pastor. It is never a role of a Samoan pastor to begin a village Church. This partly explains the 'silent acceptance' of Fuimaono's attempt by Samoan

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[597] This is generally shared by most founding members of the C.C.C.S. who were also founding leaders of the earliest C.C.C.S. Parishes. For example, lay preacher Sola Brown, a founding member of the C.C.C.S.; lay preacher Timai Uele, founding leader of the New Lynn Parish of the C.C.C.S.; Fuimaono Nasau, leading founder of the Christchurch Parish; and Fuimaono Feleti, a founding member of various C.C.C.S. Parishes like Blockhouse Bay and Otara. All have ' Personal Stories for the Beginning of the C.C.C.S.' the author has in possession in transcribed form.

[598] A typical example is a visiting pastor from Samoa who was on leave and was staying in Christchurch in 1966. According to the founders of the Christchurch Parish, he was helpful in encouraging them after they started separated worship from the P.I.C.C. in Christchurch. But when he was invited to officiate in the founding service of the Parish, he declined though the reason was not stated. But there were many pastors who had no difficulties in accepting and recognising the P.I.C.C. and the newly established C.C.C.S. like, Rev. Ekepati Leilua and retired Pastor Peteru who were worshipping in the Newton P.I.C.C. and helped to conduct worship for the separated Samoans.

[599] The author's family was in this category. And they still worship in the P.I.C.C. at present (1996).

Church leaders in the P.I.C.C. It would also explain part of the reason for the ambivalent attitude by ordained pastors to the beginning of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand. They had only two realistic alternatives in the event of the attempted beginning of the separated Samoan Church. Either to support it because Fuimaono was fulfilling his traditional chiefly duty according to the cultural foundation of Samoan Christianity; or to remain loyal to the P.I.C.C. fellowship for other reasons mentioned above. In a very real sense, this reflects the two fundamental visions which the Samoans in the P.I.C.C. had always held in tension since the beginning of their Church communities in the P.I.C.C., but had now erupted in a manner which seemed impossible to hold together. One was to return to the cultural foundation of the Samoan Church which Fuimaono and others were committed to replicate in New Zealand as Samoan migrants in Fiji, Hawaii and U.S.A. had already done. The other was to remain in the experiment for a multicultural worship on a multicultural foundation which the P.I.C.C. represented. For the founders of the C.C.C.S., their departure from the P.I.C.C. signalled more than a vision for the transplantation of Samoan Christianity in Aotearoa New Zealand. It was also the emphatic return to support the direction their mother church [E.F.K.S.] was pursuing as an independent indigenous Church of the Pacific. Fuimaono perceived this clearly :-

> The Ekalesia Fa'apotopotoga Kerisiano Samoa [E.F.K.S.] has accepted and included the Samoan Churches from Honolulu and the United States of America,...Why should there be a possibility of rejecting our request for inclusion ? Who do we go to when you have the Word of Life ? Which son do you embrace, and which one do you throw away ?[600]

The final solution was left to the E.F.K.S. which will be a major subject in Chapter Five.

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[600] Appendix V (xxv).

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FOUNDING VISION of the C.C.C.S : O le Aomamala i Aotearoa [The Holy Cloud in the Long White Cloud][601]

> *" Only a Samoan Church can incorporate all that Samoans include in their Church life and worship of God."*
>
> **[Chief Fuimaono Nasau].**

The C.C.C.S. in Aotearoa New Zealand began as a Settler Church which was also 'part and branch'[602] of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa like the Samoan Churches in Hawaii and the United States of America. The two-fold identity of the C.C.C.S. embodied the most central and foundational aspects of the founders' vision for a transplanted Samoan Christianity.

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[601] This designation and understanding of the Founding Vision captures the basic Samoan spirit behind the beginning of the C.C.C.S., and also the self understanding that maintains the cultural foundation of the C.C.C.S. throughout the last thirty years of growth. The **Aomamala** [Holy Cloud] is the central self understanding of Samoans about the holy origin and beginning of Samoa, and the respectful way any engagement with Samoa must be conducted because of such self understanding. The complete self-identification is, **'O Samoa o le Aomamala'** [Samoa is the Holy Cloud] which I have already referred to in Note 3. The title to this Chapter may also be called, O Samoa le Aomamala i Niu Sila le Ao Umi Pa'epa'e [Samoa the Holy Cloud in New Zealand the Long White Cloud]. The Long White Cloud means Aotearoa, which is the Maori name for New Zealand. Most crucial for our purpose is the fact that because the founding vision was the initiative of the Samoan Christian chiefs, the cultural authorities of Samoa in the Samoan Church, it is therefore important to maintain the inseparability of cultural spirituality and theological understanding in the founding vision of the C.C.C.S. This is also vital because it maintains and reflects the Polynesian spirit about the Natural History of movements and migration in Polynesia which is important in the study of anthropological history of Polynesian people and their cultures. For the idea of the 'Holy Cloud in the Long White Cloud' has clear historical and conceptual connections with respect to cultural spiritualities of Samoans and Maori in New Zealand. See for example the book by Peter Crawford, Nomads of the Wind. [B.B.C. Books, London 1993] for an enthusiastic and captivating account of the Natural History of Polynesia.

[602] The designation is strictly to emphasise the extent of wanting to maintain the sense of identity with belonging and involvement in the language and expressions the founders of the C.C.C.S. expressed the hope to maintain links with the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. For example, in Appendix V (I), the leading founder Fuimaono Ta`ala reiterates their request as '...to be part of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa, like the Churches of Honolulu and United States of America who are participating with joy in the fellowship of the brothers in Samoa [the whole Christian brethren] in the General Assembly in Malua; and also to meet the Church ministers from Manu'a all the way to Falealupo [the full stretch of Samoa, East and West]. Because these are the only days where all brothers [and sisters] in Christ can meet.'
This is the sense which will be maintained throughout though it will be shortened to 'part'.

As a Settler Church, the C.C.C.S. was envisaged to provide the most congenial worship and community environment necessary to ensure holy worship, and accommodate Samoan indigenous Christianity in all its social and cultural forms and expressions. The cultural concern for worship which was meaningful to the worshippers while simultaneously honouring the transcendent holiness of God is already referred to in connection with the constraining and syncretistic tendencies of the multicultural worship context of the P.I.C.C.[603] About the need to accommodate cultural foundation and expressions of Samoan Christianity, the fundamental understanding was, that only a Samoan Church can incorporate all that Samoans include in their church life and their worship of God.[604] Fuimaono relates one example of the lamentable failure in the P.I.C.C. which would have been avoided if Samoans had their own separate church understood as such :-

> That is our main hope - for the Samoan Church [C.C.C.S.] to have and to own its own church. So that when [Samoan] pastors are here, they will have control over the Church. They will also feel free as if they are visiting another village [church] in Samoa. That is, there is nothing to worry about with regards to acceptance and the respect he should be accorded by such village [church]. In years past, many pastors [from Samoa] were not given the chance to preach up here in Auckland. It pierced my heart. But one can only grieve because others have the control of the pulpit. If only there was a Samoan Church for Samoans only, the New Zealand pastor would give way to the returning Samoan pastor. For it would be the chance for the returning pastor to farewell the Samoans and to offer good advice for the sons and daughters of the Church.[605]

As part of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa, the C.C.C.S. would preserve and maintain the links to the mother Church [E.F.K.S.] which would benefit both Churches [E.F.K.S. and

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[603] Refer to Chapter 3, Part (iii) (b).

[604] This will be clearly evident throughout this section, especially in reference towards the end to quotes from Pastor Ieriko, Chief Fuimaono Nasau, and by founding leader Fuimaono Ta'ala.

[605] Appendix V (x), (xi).

C.C.C.S.], especially in view of the future. This was repeatedly stressed by Fuimaono on behalf of the founders in his correspondence to the E.F.K.S.[606] The following is typical and highly representative :-

> Written with great respect and reverence. A Lotu Fou-Fa'asamoa [New Samoan Church] is established in Auckland using the Samoan Bible and the Hymnary Book of the Samoan Church L.M.S. The Church is yet to be named but its essential vision is the same as our Churches in Hawaii and the United States of America. We are requesting that our Church in New Zealand be made a branch of the Christian Church in Samoa,[607]...; That is the real focus in our request- that we have mutual love and a wonderful fellowship and connection, because we are now separated in great oceans. We will forget you and our treasured customs if our connections are severed. But if our Church is still one there will be an assured mutual care among all the Samoans of the Christian Church [E.F.K.S.].[608]

The concern for the future of the E.F.K.S. which, as mentioned above, as a vital aspect of the need to maintain links, was crucial. The language and spirit of the founders reflects the idealism of the mind of the Samoan migrants which was bent to channel the 'blessings of Paradise' [New Zealand] for the development of the poor families, villages, and their poor 'Holy land', Samoa. This had occasioned the founders' emphatic preference for the E.F.K.S. to be the deserving beneficiary of the fruits of the 'sweat and blood' of its sons and daughters in the P.I.C.C. According to Fuimaono:-

> Why start this new Lotu Fa'asamoa ?...Well, consider these five offerings : Offering for various purposes of the Church; Offering for Christian Endeavour; Offering for Watchtowers; Offering for Overseas Mission; Offering for L.M.S. It is now sixteen years since the P.I.C.C. had started in New Zealand. Have you ever received a penny of the blood-sweat of the Samoans they offer in these Churches

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[606] For example, Appendix II (b); III (vii); V (i), (xvi).

[607] Appendix III, (i), (ii).

[608] Appendix V, (xvi).

> in New Zealand ? Nothing, None at all. One saying you will always hear [in New Zealand] - 'Samoans are a church going people and great givers of money offerings'. What waste and misdirection of the sweat of your sons and daughters, when the bunch of coconuts should rest on its own supporting stem. These [offerings] should be directed to Samoa for the future of our Church and our country...[609] This is the money that is now poured elsewhere, but not rightfully to Samoa - that is, the Samoan Church.[610]

This is an innate feeling to a people whose migration from their homeland to New Zealand was to seek a hopeful future not only for themselves, but also for their families, villages, Church, and their country. And it would explain the characteristic fervour of religious loyalty to the Church of origin, and the emotional attachment to the country of birth.[611] So the C.C.C.S. was thus envisaged to be the eternal source of finance,[612] intellectual expertise,[613] and most future needs of the E.F.K.S., especially for further and higher developments in its education.[614] There was also a strong conviction that the future of the E.F.K.S. and even the Independent State of Samoa was in the C.C.C.S., and in

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[609] Appendix V, (v).

[610] Appendix III, (ix).

[611] Fuimaono was typical of this class of Samoan migrants according to the 'Family Story' related to the author by his son, Joe Fuimaono. In a tearful recollection of his father, he says :- ' Fuimaono belongs to that class of Samoan cultural elders. They had little English, and they always look back to Samoa, and to their poor villages and families. They are true patriots of Samoa who left Samoa but always look back...Like he used to tell me - " I wish there was a way we could help our country , our church, and our people in general...".

[612] The relevant references in Fuimaono's correspondence to this is already mentioned in Chapter 3, (iii) (a). Most of these are found in Appendices III, (ix), (x), and V, (ix), (xii).

[613] According to Fuimaono :- 'Members of this new Church will include lawyers, auditors, B.A. Graduates and a lot of Samoans in high positions in the New Zealand Government and private companies. These highly qualified Samoans can be our representations to the annual General Assemblies of the Church in Malua and will no doubt make valuable contributions for the future development of the Samoan Church in many aspects [external relations and foreign missions].'
Appendix III. (v).

[614] According to Fuimaono :- ' Our Church will be able to establish Universities in the future if finance is abundant [enough] to pay good teachers; Good school buildings will be built if the help from the sons and daughters of the Church overseas is maintained...'
Appendix V (vi).

New Zealand, but not in the Samoan Churches in Hawaii and the United States of America.[615]

At the heart of the founding vision was the issue of authority which was related to a variety of cultural and theological concerns, aspirations, and motivations. These were undoubtedly influenced by developments in the founders' homeland, in particular the granting of Church independence for the Samoan Church by the L.M.S. in 1961, and the achievement of political independence in 1962. As Fuimaono puts it :-

> We have established our Christian Church [E.F.K.S.] in Samoa. Fully confirmed is our political independence. Secure is the Church [Samoan] in Honolulu. Attractive and promising is the Church in the United States. Be prepared to witness that the Samoan Churches in New Zealand will be the living spring of life in one or two years because there is a lot of money available for their developments.[616]

For the founders of the C.C.C.S. the achievements of political and Church independence were historic testimonies to the faith and determination of their ancestors and parents in Samoa.[617] So part of the determination to actualise the vision for a separated Samoan Church in New Zealand was to make themselves worthy sons and daughters of their ancestors and their noble heritage.[618] The deeper aspiration was for self-determination which was understood as a right and a virtue which guarantees freedom and avoids corruptive rule by others. According to Fuimaono :-

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[615] According to Fuimaono :- ' The Church is now growing with life and in strength. It is becoming strong and well established. Within two or three years you will see the Church strong and progressing in its ministry in New Zealand. And it will be far better than the Samoan Churches in the States of America and Honolulu...;(1) Here [in New Zealand] is its [E.F.K.S.] only future if its foundation is solid and its existence secured.(2)'
(1) Appendix IV (ii); (2) Appendix V (vi).

[616] Appendix III (x).

[617] This was a dominant belief among the Samoans overseas which founders of the C.C.C.S. clearly shared.

[618] This belief was predominant in the minds of the founders of the Christchurch Parish, though it is equally true to say that it was a typical Samoan mentality, and was also shared by most Samoan migrants in New Zealand during the 1950's and 1960's.

> One of the old jokes which is still true to date is - The wise drinks the sweat of the fool [fruits of labour]. This was the main reason Samoans agitated to have an independent State. For freedom, and to stop the wise from drinking the revenue from the Crown Estates and wharfs...[that is, corrupt and personal use of government revenues in Samoa]. We want the Samoans to control their own Church.[619]

The emphatic assertion of authority for self-determination was utmost in the mind of another leading founder, Chief and lay preacher, Tafaoimalo Simanu.[620] According to Simanu :-

> Although the Lotu [Christianity] was brought to Samoa by Papalagi, their time is long gone. New generations of Samoa have grown and have become well educated. And they have sensed the wrong things that will happen. For example, they have suspected that Samoan people will be 'rolled like mats' under the rule of Papalagi. Samoan migrants in New Zealand are well educated by their parents and ancestors. They have decided right to educate their children in Samoan customs and Samoan language to preserve them. In those days, it was only in the Church that children could learn such from their parents and pastors; and it was also the only place children would willingly listen to parents and pastors. That is why we wanted to develop separate Samoan Churches.[621]

The need to hold and exercise authority for self determination was, as partly shown above, inseparable from the aspiration for true religious freedom, and an assured religious future. Regarding the former, true religious freedom according to the founders exist only

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[619] Appendix V, (xv).

[620] Chief and lay preacher Tafaoimalo Simanu was a co-founder of the C.C.C.S. He was leading the beginnings of C.C.C.S. Parishes in the South Island, in Christchurch and Invercargill, and many others. He will be referred to again in the Chapter on 'Parish Origins and Beginnings.'
Source :- Tafaoimalo Simanu, retired worker and now lay preacher in the C.C.C.S. Parish in Hamilton, 1996. 'Personal Story of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S. and Various Parishes'. Interviewed by the author at the Meeting of the Auckland District, January, 1994. Transcribed recording in author's possession. Also Personal Papers in author's possession.

[621] Tafaoimalo Simanu; 'Personal Story of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S. and Various Parishes'. Also Personal Papers.

when Samoans own and control all aspects of their worship life and worship environment. Several aspirations were therefore envisaged as part of this, and which was hoped to be fulfilled in their separated Church. One was to provide the worship environment where the sons and daughters of the E.F.K.S. would be reminded of what to do in countries of migration.[622] It was also the avenue, according to Fuimaono, the sons and daughters of the E.F.K.S. and Samoa have always wanted to channel their help and gifts for their families, village Churches, and their country.[623] But it was denied and made impossible because of the lack of true Church patriotism and vision among the Samoan Church leaders,[624] and the misguided counsel by the Papalagi Church leaders, of the P.I.C.C.[625] Regarding the latter, the founders were emphatic that the future of Samoan worship and Samoan people would be secured only by having an independent and self-

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[622] Years of inter-migration between New Zealand and Western Samoa, mainly since Post WW II even up to the 1990's, had given Samoans a general impression of the two countries - New Zealand is paradise for its economic prosperity, job opportunities and social advancement with great freedom. Samoa is still the Holy land for being birth place spiritually and culturally. So when a Samoan prepares to leave the 'Holy land' for 'Paradise', s/he is carefully warned of its potential danger, and well advised of what to do with its great blessings. Four basic commands seem characteristic of the 'departing advice and warning' an intending migrant would hear from the village pastor and the chief of the family, during a family farewell service and feast on the last night before departure :- (1) Ia e manatua le Atua [Remember God]; (2) Ia e manatua o oe o le Kerisiano mai i le aiga Kerisiano, ma le atunuu Kerisiano [Remember you are a Christian from a Christian family and a Christian country]; (3) Ia e to'aga i le lotu [Always go to Church]; (4) Ia e manatua mai ou matua ma lou aiga [Remember your parents and your family].
Refer also to the poem by Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu in Chapter One; Note 263, for the same concern. This would have been part of what Fuimaono had in mind in Appendix V, (xi).

[623] According to Fuimaono :- 'The wild duck flies but always wishes to roost in the pond.' Except for a few Samoans, most Samoans in New Zealand are dedicated to help their parents, families, and village pastors in Samoa. Their "giving love" and their willingness to help in anything their families in Samoa write for, is to be added their joy to bring their parents to New Zealand to visit. If Samoans in New Zealand have this caring love for such less important things as their parents and families, how can they forget what they treasure most [in their hearts] - the Church that christianised them in Samoa ?...'
Appendix V (ii), (iv).

[624] According to Fuimaono:- 'This is the essential reason for establishing this Church [C.C.C.S.]. It is the calculation [perception] that there is in New Zealand the blessings of the Church in Samoa, but it is denied and hidden because there is no good leader as in the journey of the Israelites.'
Appendix V, (vi).

[625] According to Fuimaono :- 'They have longed for opportunities to help their Samoan Church, but such opportunities were denied them by the deceiving strength of the words of the supposedly wise people they [the Samoans] were supposed to trust and depend on.' [This would surely refer to Pastor Challis, for one].
Appendix V, (iii).

reliant Samoan Church in New Zealand.[626] Part of what was feared most was the sense of relative deprivation which was a sense of anxiety about what they might lose in the future. The need to avoid this 'bleak future' is often the reason for Fuimaono's constant questioning in his letters of the shared ownership of properties in the P.I.C.C. by several ethnic groups, with the ultimate control by the Papalagis. According to Fuimaono :-

> Land, houses, and Churches Samoans now attend in New Zealand. Is there a future for the Samoan Church in these [properties] they are now working and suffer for ? The answer is clearly nought. It is clear and proven there is absolutely nothing and no future for the Samoan Church in these things, because such houses and land are not their sole possessions...; Which of the two is better ? (1) Houses and properties of the Samoan Church by itself; or (2) Houses and properties which four churches have equal rights to control and ownership ? It does appear that too many cooks spoil the broth...[627]

Fuimaono further refers to the proven ability of Samoans to own expensive houses as not only proof of their secular skills and preparation for the future, but a reflection of their ability to 'carve out' their religious future in New Zealand :-

> Look at the character of the Samoans now living in New Zealand. They refuse to live in flats and boarding houses where others lord over them. Despite being poor, a Samoan would save whatever little s/he could afford to start buying a private house for him/herself to avoid tenantship and suffering. The deeper meaning of this spirit is - there is absolutely no future for himself by living in boarding houses; it is only when he buys his own house that he feels joy in his heart and also for the sake of his wife and children....As shown by their decision to buy their own houses and live in them as theirs solely, they also have the

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[626] According to Fuimaono :- 'The Fa'asamoa Church which is now started in Auckland, I testify that it is a Church pure of any dirt in its founding vision. There is a clear recognition that there is absolutely no future for the Samoan Church in any other way [thing or place] except for Samoans to dig deep and rely upon themselves to develop themselves in New Zealand...As shown by their decisions to buy their own houses..., they also have the same delight to establish this Samoan Church [C.C.C.S.] in order to guarantee good and peaceful living for them in New Zealand...'
Appendix V. (xxiv)

[627] Appendix V. (viii). See also V. (xiv), (xx), (xxvii), for variations of the same concern.

> same delight to establish this Samoan Church [C.C.C.S.] in order to guarantee good and peaceful living for them in New Zealand.[628]

And it was a future to be achieved at the pace affordable and consistent with the intellectual calibre and achievement of the Samoans. According to Fuimaono :-

> Samoa has not reached the stage to work together with the Papalagis in church development in these countries. This will be proper only when the Samoan and the Palagi are both M.A., lawyers, and auditors. Remember the fool can not argue with the wise. The fool can only go to a certain distance and become angry because he runs out of answers. But the wise can master any distance...Look at the P.I.C.C., the Palagi is the Treasurer and Lawyer. The Palagi pastor holds a B.A. How can there be a justified match between these big brains and the multitude of the 'No School Before',[629] the uneducated. This is not a fitting match.[630]

The concern for the future suggests quite clearly the belief that the future is only guaranteed by owning the means of creating it. This was a deeper hope in the founding vision of the C.C.C.S. which was associated with the need for self determination. Chief and lay preacher, Tafaoimalo Simanu expresses it best :-

> I was leading the separation of Samoans from the P.I.C.C. Churches in the South Island. The reason was the properties of the P.I.C.C. We worked and bought land and houses but none of us [Samoans] was a signator in the ownership papers of these properties. That was the real reason. Although it was not a spiritual reason, it was important for members of the Samoan Church and other Samoans who were continually migrating to New Zealand. We thought hard and long, and realised that we have New Zealand born children. So we concluded to establish our own Samoan Church to be controlled by our own families. We realised it was not fair that we bought houses and church lands but owned by other people. This was the injustice that made us leave. This was a major reason for the beginning and the growth of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand. We met with Samoans in Auckland and in Wellington and found out that we all shared this same concern.

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[628] Apendix v, (viii) and (xxiv).

[629] This is a colloquial phrase Samoans use [in English] to refer to Samoans who have little, or insufficient, or no formal education.

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> We thought about the Church in general, and realised that Papalagi had the sole control, but we were actually doing the hard work of building the Church and securing properties. Then we decided to leave. We made a plan. Fuimaono will lead in Auckland; Lemauga Lene in Wellington; but myself in Christchurch.[631]

Very clearly, the need for a proper and adequate theological space in which to realise the ideals of a transplanted Samoan Christianity was linked to the assertion of the right to own and exercise the ultimate control of Religious Life, Religious Development, and Religious Future in Aotearoa New Zealand. A selection from Fuimaono's correspondence is highly informative and typical of founders' concern in these regards :-

> There can not be any peaceful living and mutual respect when there is a mixture of races and languages as in the Church of the Pacific Islanders [P.I.C.C.]. Things now look good and respectable because Samoans worship by themselves. There is a full understanding of everything that is happening in the whole service. You should look at the joy among the Samoans as they once again read the Ten Commandments in the afternoon service, and the Sermon on the Mountain in the evening service...;[632] There can never be any freedom and peace if the Samoans do not control and manage their own affairs. This is because Samoans have their own customs of respect to solve and to take care of whatever problems and difficulties that may arise...;[633] The best prospect and only future for the Samoans themselves is for them to have their own Church. This only will prevent the implicit danger in the innate divergence of beliefs and preferences [in the P.I.C.C.].[634]

Equally emphatic was the preference for the E.F.K.S. in Samoa to be the sole authority to exercise jurisdiction in all manners of the C.C.C.S.'s development in the same way the Hawaii and U.S.A. branches of the E.F.K.S. had envisaged in their beginnings and their request for links.[635] Again, a selection from Fuimaono's correspondence is illuminating :-

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[631] Tafaoimalo Simanu: 'Personal Story of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S. and Various Parishes', 1994.

[632] Appendix IV, (ii).

[633] Appendix IV, (viii).

[634] Appendix IV, (vi).

[635] Refer to Chapter Two, Parts (ii), (iv), (c).

> That Rev. Challis be consulted whether he is aware of this matter. We need to think far, deep , and wide in relation to this. Who is he? [Rev. Challis]. Does Challis consider and comply with the Resolutions of the General Assembly in Malua ? Have we ever made a covenant [agreement] with Challis ? Have we seen a glimpse of a future for us from Challis ?...[636] Can we [E.F.K.S.] ever be one with the P.I.C.C. ? Is it possible to put together our [Assembly] Resolutions ? Can we put together our offerings ? Can we ever truly know and understand the Niueans, Rarotongans, and Papalagis, and speak their languages ?[637] ...The Ekalesia Fa'apotopotoga Kerisiano Samoa [E.F.K.S.] has accepted and included the [Samoan] Churches from Honolulu and the United States of America;...Why then should there be a possibility of rejecting our request for inclusion ? Who do we go to when you have the word of life ? Which son do you embrace and which to throw away ? It is good if we work together in unity;...Dear Samoan Church, how I wish to hear you say - "Enter now the Fellowship, your request for inclusion into Samoa [the E.F.K.S.] is now accepted."[638]...We also wish for our Church to be controlled and ruled from Samoa.[639]

The founding vision was largely the initiative of Samoan Christian chiefs though with the support of other cultural elders who were not chiefs. This simple fact has a twofold significance. It reflects the central place of the Church to the Samoan culture and its custodians,[640] in particular the chiefs, which is based on the general understanding of

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[636] Appendix V, (xvii).

[637] Appendix V, (xx).

[638] Appendix V, (xxv) and (xxvi).

[639] Appendix III, (ii).

[640] I have referred to this in depth in Chapter One. Section A and B, (i), (ii). The following is a distilled re-emphasis necessary to emphasise the continuing importance of this in the founding vision of the C.C.C.S. For the Samoans, the Church is the 'soul' of the nation and the culture. This is mainly because the 'Church' embodies Samoans acceptance of the Gospel in 1830. Since then, the Church came to embody for the Samoans the 'sovereignty of God' at all levels of Samoan life - individual, family, village, district and national. At the same time, the 'Church' stands for 'God's space' within the Samoan Culture. Because it is God's space it is thus holy space. And Samoan culture reveres the Church for its being the holy space of God in Culture. This would explain the migrants priority to build the 'Church' in foreign land before any other institution. The Church in the Samoan mainstream understanding is God's Holy space which is the foundation of divine blessing and earthly well-being. For the migrant Samoans in New Zealand, as was the same for migrant Samoans in Fiji, Hawaii, and in the U.S.A., the Samoan Church was 'the Church' of a Samoan Christian culture.

modern Samoa about the vital role of Samoan culture to the Samoan Church and its witness to Samoan Christianity.[641]

An important aspect of the founding initiative of Samoan chiefs relates to their customary characteristic to think communally, but not individualistically in terms of the common good.[642] Even more important is the fact that it largely accounted for the strong sense of cultural identity and cultural preservation which pervaded the founding vision. These refer to that 'Fa'asamoa' in its most inclusive sense[643] which has proved its worth by being supportive of, and a populariser of the biblical Gospel in a uniquely Samoan way. In other words, the cultural spirit and cultural practices that have become the expressive medium of Samoa's appropriation of the Christian faith. Part of the hope embodied in the vision for the C.C.C.S. is the preservation of this Fa'asamoa. Its most vital part is language as the expressive medium of a person's being, a people's culture, and, for the religious Samoans, the holy medium of God's speech to Samoans through the Bible in the Samoan language. Closely linked with language are the cultural practices which have become part of Samoan Church traditions. This reflects a contextual cultural expression of theology and worship which is based on the centrality of people's original language

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[641] This is discussed in depth in Chapter One, Sections A, B and C, (ii). The following is a brief re-emphasis relevant to this part of the Thesis. Samoans generally understand their culture as a divine gift specially and uniquely for Samoa. For example, Samoan language is a divine gift. The status [*tofi*] of being chief is a status from God, and the 'rule of chiefs' is a share in God's rule. It is obvious that to preserve culture is to preserve a divine gift. God can be comprehended within the elements and spirituality of culture especially when appropriated to serve God, and to recognise the kinds of service that are pleasing to God. In the Samoan Church, the role of the Samoan culture is foundational and indispensable to the unique and distinctive witness by the Samoan Church to the Biblical Gospel. It is always the issue of 'power' and 'authority' and occasions of conflicts in Church affairs that pastors tend to downplay the role and contribution of culture to the work of the Church. In normal times, the role and contribution of culture is the unspoken truth and natural necessity.

[642] Thinking communally reflects the cultural mentality of Samoan cultural chiefs who are used to 'think big' as stewards and custodians of extended families, and also for the sake of the honour of their villages in relation to a national culture, which both unites villages and families and accords them different status and responsibility in the context of 'Samoa Potopoto' - that is, when the whole of Samoa congregates culturally. As shown in the various aspirations associated with the founding vision for the C.C.C.S., they envisage a Church for Samoans, the preservation of Samoan culture, the future of the C.C.C.S. for the future of the E.F.K.S., and even of the independent State of Western Samoa. The deeper aspect is the way in which this typical chiefly mentality reflects how the individual spirit carries with it the communal spirit of families, society, Churches and the national spirit of nations.

[643] The inclusive sense of the Fa'asamoa as already explained in Chapter One, is the spirit and its expressions in customs and practices of the Samoan culture which seeks to place and defend the placement of the biblical God in the heart of the total life of Samoan society.

and culture as particular expressions of a particular speech and a way of being of the one universal God of worship. It means that the existence of various Christian worship communities is not necessarily motivated by a concern for 'denominational sovereignty', or a romantic attachment to one's church of one's culture. Rather, they reflect the legitimate diversity of Christianities inherent in the interface between biblically based Christian faith and certain non-negotiable cultural determinatives in different civilised cultures. The crucial point is, that the integral place of this inclusive Fa'asamoa in the Samoan concept of the Church was foundational in the founding vision of the C.C.C.S. According to Fuimaono :-

> But if we develop our own churches using our culture, the relational concern, and the customs of respect, there should not be any problem. This is because everyone understands what is going on, what is being said, and members of one's own race have instinctive love of their own people.[644]

This understanding was best expressed by Pastor Ieriko, the first covenanted pastor of the first parish of the C.C.C.S. at Grey Lynn, and Chief Fuimaono Nasau, a leading founder of the C.C.C.S. Parish in Christchurch. According to Pastor Ieriko :-

> I am personally thankful to God that Samoans have brought to New Zealand their culture and their Church [and worship]. That is the complete thing - the essential unity. Samoan culture is one hundred percent better than any culture in the world. Samoa excels in respect. With Samoan worship these are the two things Samoan people have brought with them...I am not sure about other Samoan denominations, but for us [E.F.K.S.] we carry and exercise these two things...[645]

According to Chief Fuimaono Nasau :-

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[644] Appendix V. (xv).

[645] I received this information from a tape recording of an interview of Elder Pastor Ieriko [who died in 1993] by Fa'alepo Tuisuga, who is now, in 1996, a student in Malua Theological College. He was working on a biographical work on Pastor Ieriko for a project in St. Johns College. I was privileged to be given the tape by Fa'alepo for my work. A transcribed version of this interview is in author's possession - that is, some of the biographical information about Elder Pastor Ieriko, and his views on the beginning of the C.C.C.S.

> With many other Samoans, we felt in our hearts and minds and souls, it is the worship of, and for my true country Samoa...Many Samoans could speak and understand the simple English, but the language [in English] of the Bible, it is extremely difficult. In most hymns and sermons we hardly understand anything. We could only know the selected text, perhaps a few words of the verse selected, but the whole sermon we feel lost throughout because we hardly understand it, and we hardly feel it...Only a Samoan Church can incorporate all that Samoans include in their church life and worship of God.[646]

The three quotes from these earliest leaders of the C.C.C.S. reflect the traditional understanding of the operation of the Pastor-Chief partnership in the control of the independent village Churches in Samoa. They also capture the essential mutuality of Samoan culture and the Gospel, and the culture-theological understanding at the basis of village Churches and Samoan Christianity in general.

It is also clear that for the founders of the C.C.C.S., the twofold identity in the founding vision of their Church could not be accommodated within the P.I.C.C.'s multicultural and multi-worship framework. The complex interface between faith and culture at the basis of the C.C.C.S. as the transplanted Samoan Church involved larger issues and aspects which would prove too much for what the P.I.C.C. could accommodate. They involved time and space needed for Samoan worship and activities, ownership of Church properties, expectations relating to visiting pastors from Samoa, authority over finance, and jurisdiction over various aspects of worship and Church activities, and many others.

Furthermore, the vision was clearly based on the spirit of self-determination and the courage for self-reliance which utilised cultural and religious heritage of the founders from their homeland, Samoa, in conjunction with the economic blessings of paradise, New Zealand. Such spirit and courage found great encouragement and consolidation in New Zealand where the founders, as for Samoan migrants in general, had felt real guarantees for social, political, cultural, and religious freedom, and a spirit of adventure.

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[646] Fuimaono Nasau; 'Personal Story of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S. and Various Parishes', 1994.

Overall, the founding vision for the C.C.C.S. reflects a holistic concern for Samoa's total identity. Most central is the Samoan understanding that the existential death of a people occurs when there is a loss of language, of culture, and a corruption of worship. The genuine cultural concern which manifested in the urgent need to preserve language as a vital aspect of the cultural foundation of the Samoan Church was inseparable from the sincere religious need which manifested in the genuine hunger for meaningful worship. The inseparability of these two needs in the founding vision was perceived to be necessary not only to maintain proper and holy worship, but for the general well-being of Samoans and their various communities in New Zealand.

The holistic concern for total identity was also inclusive of all that was most dear to the hearts of Samoan migrants, who were mostly Christian, of the Post World War II era. At its heart was the hope that Samoan Churches overseas, hence the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand, would preserve a way of life which is a functional symbiosis of Samoan culture and Samoan Christianity, and one which would always be life giving to Samoans outside Samoa, and for Samoa, their homeland. This hope is already shown above to have been foundational in the beginnings of the branches of the E.F.K.S. in Hawaii and U.S.A., and in their requests for links to the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. Its centrality in the founding vision of the C.C.C.S. is adequately demonstrated already. But its further significances as a counter-culture necessity in the New Zealand society is even more emphatic in the founding vision of the C.C.C.S. In view of the growing reality of Samoan migration to New Zealand, the C.C.C.S. was also envisaged to cater for this necessity by becoming the fortress to preserve Samoan migrants, especially the young, and also the New Zealand born children of the C.C.C.S. from the corrosive acid of other uncouth cultures. According to Fuimaono :- 'In these countries there is a need to protect the sons and daughters of the Church from other bad customs and cultures, and also our treasured customs which seem fading in these countries of the white people'.[647]

[647] Appendix IV, (xi).

Relating the Founding Vision to the Major Concerns of Previous Chapters - Chapters One, Two and Three

The significance of the founding vision in the development of the Thesis and in the connection with Chapters One, Two, and Three is self evident and needs to be stated at this stage. It is most conspicuous in the movement of a basic Samoan spirit. The fundamental Samoan spirit behind the founding vision was to preserve and perpetuate the Christian heritage of modern Samoa which is shown in Chapter One, to have evolved historically within the larger historical process of the mutual interpenetration between the biblical World and the Samoan cultural World. The concept 'Biblical Culture and Christian Society' embodies this Samoan Christian heritage which Samoan migrants took with them, hence the concept 'Movement and Migration of a Biblical Culture and a Christian Society' of Chapter Two which became foundational in the founding visions of Samoan Churches in Fiji, Hawaii, U.S.A., and Samoan Churches in the P.I.C.C. in New Zealand. The New Zealand Roots of the C.C.C.S. in Chapter Three have shown the difficulties involved in accommodating the complex hope and the various cultural and religious expressions of this Samoan spirit in the P.I.C.C. This is essentially because the movement of this Samoan spirit with Samoan migrants is embodied in a vital Samoan saying - 'O le Atunuu o Samoa, e Maota Tauave' [Samoans take with them their house]. The idea is that Samoans wherever they go take with them what truly make them Samoans, in particular the essential embodiments of their 'total identity' [the combination of their cultural-Christian heritage]. This explains the prescriptive force of the designation for the Founding Vision - 'O le Aomamala i Aotearoa' [The Holy Cloud (Samoa) in the Long White Cloud (Aotearoa)]. The founding vision of the C.C.C.S. therefore clearly mirrors the migration not only of Samoan people, Samoan Church, and a Samoan culture, but of a 'ready made' Samoan World in which these aspects of Samoan life operate. When people migrate, their world migrates with them. The human spirit by nature, as history clearly witnesses to, always transcends physical limitations of earthly realities. Testimonies of founders exemplify the predominance of this Samoan spirit behind the founding vision of the C.C.C.S.[648] Chief, lay preacher, and Elder deacon,

[648] Appendix V, (xxi), (xxii), (xxiii).

Aiono Tofi [649] expresses it best. According to Aiono Tofi, the beginning of the C.C.C.S. in the Grey Lynn Parish was the fulfilment of vital questions Samoan immigrants to New Zealand had been asking ever since they worshipped in the P.I.C.C. throughout the 1950's. The basic questions were - 'Is it something bad if we Samoans start our own Lotu Fa'asamoa in New Zealand ? Would there be some people who may be offended by it necessarily ? Is it illegal with respect to New Zealand laws?'[650]

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[649] He will be referred to again in some detail in Chapter 6, "Historical Narratives of the Origins and Beginnings of C.C.C.S. Parishes", in connection with the Wellington and the Porirua Parishes.

[650] Aiono Tofi, Current member of the Porirua Parish, 1996. 'Personal Story of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S. and Various Parishes'. Interviewed in his home, Porirua, January 1994. Transcribed Personal Story in author's possession.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE STRUGGLE FOR BIRTH, FOR ACCEPTANCE and FOR RECOGNITION.

" Afai o se mea mai i le Atua, e ola. Ae afai e leai tou te fiu lava ae tou te toe foi lava." [If this (vision) is from God, it will grow. If it is not, you may try as hard as you can, but you will eventually return (to the P.I.C.C.)].

[Elder Pastor Poasa Te'o, 1963].

(i) Introductory Note

This chapter follows a chronological narrative exposition of the events and developments in the crucial period, from 1962 to 1965, of the beginning of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand. The main objective is to illustrate the complex nature of the beginning in the sense conveyed by the title of the chapter - The Struggle for Birth, for Acceptance, and for Recognition. The role and influence of several individuals, churches, and various factors which were of direct relevance to the eventual beginning of the C.C.C.S. are brought into sharper focus. Four vital decisions are foundational in the 'chronological narrative exposition' of the events and developments of this crucial period. One is the decision by the founders of the C.C.C.S. to resign from the P.I.C.C. and immediately start a separate Samoan Church in December 1962. Second is the decision by the Delegation by the E.F.K.S. in November 1963 to recognise the separated Church by Samoans. Third is the decision by the General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. in May 1964 to uphold the decision by its Delegation. And fourth is the decision by the C.U.N.Z. in 1964 against the final resolution by the E.F.K.S. These four decisions also provide the parameters for the complex events and developments in this period. Part (vi), acts as a conclusion which includes a summary reflection that links the main observations of the chapter to main positions reached in previous chapters.

(ii) Between the Departure from the P.I.C.C. and the Coming of the E.F.K.S. Delegation : December 1962 to October 1963

Towards the end of December 1962, the separated Samoans wrote to the E.F.K.S. to request its approval for their effort to begin a separated Samoan Church.[651] On December 29, 1962, the founders of the C.C.C.S. had their first meeting at the family residence of chief and deacon Fuimaono Ta'ala at 169 Nelson Street, Grey Lynn, Auckland.[652] The meeting opened with a short service by Fuimaono Ta'ala[653] and the two main outcomes of this meeting were the appointment of temporary officials as a working committee. and the decision to begin separate services for the new Lotu Fa'asamoa on the following day.[654] The first public service of the C.C.C.S. was held therefore on December 30, 1962, at Fuimaono's place, and was conducted by Pastor Ekepati Leilua, an ordained pastor of the E.F.K.S.[655] On the same day after the 11 a.m. service, a Delegation of three Samoan deacons from the Newton P.I.C.C. were at Fuimaono's place to enquire about the reason for their resignation.[656] The Delegation asked Fuimaono whether there was anything they were disagreeing about as this was the 'usually bad nature of the beginnings of separated Churches in Samoa.'[657] Fuimaono records in his Diary his unhappiness about the Delegation's question, in particular what he thought was the false suspicion and the '***taufa'aleaga***' [false condemnation] which may have motivated the Delegation's inquiry. He writes :- '...they do not know we have turned away because of the offerings we want

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[651] The letter of request was written on December 27, 1962. See Appendix III.

[652] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala. The particular place where this house was is now covered by the Motorway. Public invitation for this meeting was advertised in the New Zealand Herald, 29 December, 1962.

[653] The Hymns [255 and 356 of the Samoan Church Hymnary], and the Bible reading [St Matthew 18 : 18-20] seem well chosen for encouragement and reassurance to a commitment which they thought was self evident. Hymn 255 is in the section, 'The Ministry and Mission Overseas', and is popularly used by the Samoan Church to encourage faith. Hymn 356 is the classic one of the Samoan Church for religious patriotism and for praise in gratitude for the homeland, Samoa. This is the Lords Song of Samoans overseas.

[654] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala.

[655] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala.

[656] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala.

[657] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala.

to send to Samoa which the P.I.C.C. wouldn't.'[658] Fuimaono assured the Delegation that 'There is really no foolish thing as such. The Church is established so that all offerings are sent to Samoa to help the Samoan Church.'[659] The concern to help the Samoan Church financially was paramount in Fuimaono's mind. Besides stressing this in his letters and correspondence as previously referred to in the Founding Vision, he mentions it on two other occasions in his Diary. Following his records of the first meeting of the founding members of the Samoan Church on December 29, 1962, he writes about the main reason for starting the Samoan Church :-

> The ultimate cause and hope for establishing the Church is the need to maintain links and attachment with the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, because there is no proper relationship with the Pacific Island Congregational Church. And especially because of these things [offerings] that can not be sent to the E.F.K.S. to help in its development : (1) Offering for Overseas Mission; (2) Offering for Christian Endeavour; (3) Offering for Watchtower; (4) Offering for L.M.S.; (5) Offering for the Samoan Church.[660]

In February 1963, when seeing the gradual growth of the new Samoan Church and the many signs of its increasing importance in the hearts and minds of Samoans in Auckland, Fuimaono refers again to the reason for the Samoan Church as he records his gratitude to God in a manner of a written prayer :- 'Thank you the living God for your Love. You know the ultimate cause and reason for this Samoan Church, "It is the wish to help the poor Samoan Church with regards to the difficulty with finance."'[661] Increased membership led to the decision by the separated Samoans to move their worship from Fuimaono's converted living room to Druids Hall in Karangahape Road in Auckland, on January 6, 1963.[662]

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[658] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala.

[659] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala.

[660] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala.

[661] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala.

[662] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala.

On January 19, 1963, the meeting of the P.I.C.C. diaconate accepted Fuimaono's resignation.[663] But the Samoan membership of the diaconate postponed their decision until the leading Samoan Pastor, Rev. Leuatea Sio returned from Samoa.[664] It was in the same meeting [January 19, 1963] of the P.I.C.C. diaconate the Delegation of three Samoan deacons to Fuimaono on December 30, 1962 had given their report. The diaconate was informed of Fuimaono's explanation for their departure, and the Samoans advised Rev. Challis that he should attempt to bring back Fuimaono. Rev. Challis did not accept the advice by the Samoans but only replied :- ' Don't go to them again because we don't know whether they are sheep or goats.'[665] Another leading official of the P.I.C.C., S.C. Ennor, a lawyer and deacon, agreed with Rev. Challis. On learning about Rev. Challis' response, Fuimaono wrote in his Diary :- 'O lona uiga e musu a le papalagi e toilalo i le Samoa'[666][So it means Papalagis will never want to be **defeated** (that is, to be doing something which suggests a humble status) by a Samoan]. One other decision made in this meeting is important in showing the relationship between the separated Samoans and the P.I.C.C. fellowship at this stage. In Fuimaono's Diary he records that three Samoan preachers in the P.I.C.C. refused his invitation to help in conducting their worship. But the invitation to a Samoan Methodist preacher, Iosua Sefuiva, was sincerely accepted. The meeting agreed to allow the P.I.C.C. preachers to accept invitations from Fuimaono, though as Fuimaono notes in his Diary, it was a general agreement but was not yet an official resolution by the P.I.C.C. diaconate.[667] Clearly there was a divided response with a sense of uncertainty from the P.I.C.C. about the issues arising out of the

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[663] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala. Also mentioned in Nokise, " A History...", pp.219-222. Nokise includes a description of difficulties faced by the P.I.C.C. diaconate in deciding whether to accept Fuimaono's resignation.

[664] According to Rev. Leuatea Sio; 'Personal Story...', 1994.

[665] Rev. Sio; 'Personal Story..., 1994'. Rev. Challis' answer may reflect his disappointment at what the C.U.N.Z. believed was a breach of trust by Fuimaono. This is because Rev. Challis was in Fuimaono's place on December 28, 1962, the day before the first meeting of founders, but Fuimaono said nothing of his intention to begin a separate Samoan Church [C.U.N.Z. to E.F.K.S. Letter dated November 11, 1963 . 'Correspondence File for Secretary'; E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia]. Indeed according to Rev. Sio, Challis also referred to Fuimaono's actions as a 'stab in the back' from the point of view of Papalagis.

[666] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala.

[667] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala.

proposed Samoan Church by the separated Samoans. This was particularly evident in the Samoan membership of the P.I.C.C. While they generally favoured all possible attempts to reconcile the separated Samoans, Samoan preachers seemed unwilling to accept invitations to preach. The Palagi leaders in particular Rev. Challis and S.C. Ennor preferred to ignore the separated Samoans in the belief that their hopes would eventually die out.[668]

Within official circles the Samoans knew best how to reconcile the separated Samoans, hence their advice to Rev. Challis to fulfil his pastoral duty, and their support to allow P.I.C.C. preachers to accept invitations to preach from the separated Samoans. Outside, and in their general relationship and encounters with the separated Samoans, they could not resist criticising and ridiculing the separated Samoans about the folly of separation and their hope for a new Church. Fuimaono records that the greatest ***'vevesi'*** [that is, unnecessary chaos and differences] were the criticism and ridicule hurled at them, the separated Samoans. But he adds that they would not take any notice because ' o le lotu mama lava la matou lotu' [our Church is a pure church(that is, conceived out of a pure heart)].[669] As was his habit, there is always a biblical proof-text cited in connection to what he records. He refers to the criticism and ridicule against them as unfounded and an example of the opposition Jesus himself encountered. Matthew 5:11, 'Blessed are you when men revile you and persecute you and utter all kinds of evil against you falsely on my account', is quoted as Jesus' encouragement to his contemporary disciples and also for them, the separated Samoans.[670] Fuimaono was eventually sent a letter, written on January 30, 1963, to acknowledge P.I.C.C.'s recognition of his resignation.[671] But in

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[668] Rev. Sio; 'Personal Story...', 1994.

[669] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala.

[670] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala. Fuimaono also notes a gift of 25 pounds for their new Church from a certain Mr. Dimitry Obblensky, and an encouraging sermon by a returning Samoan deacon to Samoa which "the congregation will never forget".

[671] This letter is in Appendix II (d). On this same day, January 30, 1963, the separated Samoans received eighty nine 'Tusi Autaumafai' [pamphlets for the Christian Endeavour's service] from the Secretary of the Christian Endeavour Committee of the E.F.K.S. It is crucial to note that this arrived before there was any word from the E.F.K.S. about the request by the founders of the C.C.C.S. Understandably, the Secretary was a champion supporter of the C.C.C.S., who, according to Rev. Sio was mostly responsible in spreading the view, that because of the lack of respect the P.I.C.C. showed to Samoan pastors, especially by not

reality the Samoans in the P.I.C.C. had never accepted Fuimaono's resignation. There was still hope for reconciliation which the return of Rev. Sio from Samoa was believed should help to bring about.

The first official response from the E.F.K.S. in Samoa to the request by the separated Samoans for recognition of their separate Samoan Church was received in a letter dated January 21, 1963.[672] The letter informed the separated Samoans that their request was to be referred to the meeting of the Komiti Feau Eseese [General Purpose Committee] of the E.F.K.S. on January 14, 1963. The second official letter from the E.F.K.S. to the separated Samoans was read before the congregation on February 24, 1963.[673] It informed them of the thorough discussion of their request by the General Purposes Committee [K.F.E.], the resultant decision by the committee, and ended with the advice on the proper Christian attitude necessary for the time being. Relevant parts of this letter are quoted, which is necessary to clarify some of the issues Nokise's discussion clearly misrepresented :-

> The matter [request] has now been thoroughly discussed together with insight received from other various witnesses. We give thanks because there is no other reason for your request to establish a separate Church for you other than the desire to worship God in your own language - Fa'asamoa, and your desire to participate in the development [of the Samoan Church], as other branches of the Samoan Church in other countries...This is the resolution by the committee : "That a final decision for the matter be deferred [not to be done in haste]. That Missionary Challis be firstly consulted if he is aware of the matter. More advice is needed before the Church even

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giving the opportunity to administer Holy Communion the C.C.C.S. must be started in New Zealand. The founders were greatly encouraged and their 'Autaumafai' services started on February 6, 1963. Another E.F.K.S service, Lotu Fa'afouina [Renewal Service] soon followed.

[672] This letter from the E.F.K.S. is mentioned in Fuimaono's Diary. In response to this letter which required more information from the separated Samoans, Fuimaono on behalf of the separated Samoans wrote the letter included in Appendix IV. The official letter of request by the separated Samoans is included in Appendix III. It was written on December 27, 1962.

[673] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala. Fuimaono responded to this letter from the Secretary of the E.F.K.S. in the long letter in Appendix V. As the letter indicates it was designed for the whole Church [E.F.K.S.] and committees, and included most of the information necessary for an understanding of various aspects related to the founding vision of the C.C.C.S.

> begins to move a step concerning the matter...". There will be a delay for a final answer to your request because we need to think deep and long about what is good for you and the future. And if your request is in accordance with the will of God, we must believe that no power can obstruct the fulfilment of the Truth, and that which must be done. For the time being : ***Ia seu le manu ae tagai i le galu*** [Catch the bird and be aware of the wave]. [674] Whichever step [that is, eventual decision] that shall prove lasting, blessed, and conducive of true harmony for all brothers in Christ, that step must be taken in the hope that it is for the glory of Jesus"... [675]

The decision by the General Purpose Committee of the E.F.K.S. to consult Rev. Challis was the occasion for the official letter from the E.F.K.S. which the Newton P.I.C.C. met to discuss on February 23, 1963.[676] Nokise notes that this letter ended the 'guessing game' among the P.I.C.C., and justified the fear by the P.I.C.C. diaconate about the implications of Fuimaono's resignation.[677] Unfortunately some of Nokise's claims and assertions about certain issues associated with the letter can not be sustained. For example, while he guessed rightly '...that Mr. Fuimaono applied for official recognition of his already established breakaway church as a branch of the Samoan Congregational Church in Samoa',[678] his claim that the reason for Fuimaono's application was '...a way to legitimise his actions'[679] in view of the uncertain success of their attempts, and the stigma of future shame for a failed breakaway movement,[680] is rather superficial. Equally superficial is the claim that the request to be part of the E.F.K.S. resulted from Fuimaono's awareness of the possibility of being accepted by the E.F.K.S., which was worth exploiting.[681] These are typical examples of the basic weakness of the whole

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[674] This Samoan proverb simply exhorts the need to exercise prudence and caution.

[675] Secretary of E.F.K.S. to Fuimaono Ta'ala. Letter undated, but undoubtedly after the meeting by G.P.C. of E.F.K.S. on January 14, 1963, as contents show.

[676] Nokise, " A History...", p.222.

[677] Nokise, "A History...", p.222.

[678] Nokise, "A History...", p.223.

[679] Nokise, "A History...", p.224.

[680] Nokise, "A History...", p.224.

[681] Nokise, "A History...", pp.224-225.

discussion by Nokise of the relationship between the 'split among the Samoans in the P.I.C.C.' and the beginning of the C.C.C.S. which result from the lack of relevant sources.[682] The reality and the truth of issues associated with Fuimaono's request to the E.F.K.S. are more complex and are generally the opposite of how Nokise understood them, as I have already delineated above in the part on the Founding Vision of the C.C.C.S. The combination of this lack of relevant sources with the fallacious recourse to hermeneutic of suspicion perspective result in his other unreasonable claims and unfounded suspicion on the position and motives of the Samoan Church. For example, the conjecture that the letter to the P.I.C.C. diaconate was merely to satisfy the E.F.K.S.'s curiosity about possible developments at the time and their effects on the P.I.C.C.[683] is simply nonsensical in the light of the prudent and respectable manner the E.F.K.S.'s committee [G.P.C.] was dealing with the whole issue[684] as shown in parts of the E.F.K.S.'s letter quoted above. The same judgement is applicable to the unreasonable claim that '...the Home Church [E.F.K.S.] saw in Fuimaono's application a golden opportunity to expand its sphere of influence as it had in California and Hawaii';[685] and equally to the assertion that 'Mr. Sa'aga's letter undoubtedly saddened the diaconate, for it indicated that the Home Church was not handling the case of the breakaway group. Furthermore the diaconate was committed to send a reply.'[686]

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[682] As noted in Chapter 3, Part (i).

[683] Nokise, "A History...", p.225.

[684] As shown in parts of the letter quoted in the text. Also, in responding to the request from the E.F.K.S. for Rev. Challis' opinion, Rev. Challis acknowledges the courtesy shown to him by consulting him for his opinion. See letter by P.I.C.C. to E.F.K.S., dated March 1, 1963 as cited in Note 686 below.

[685] Nokise, "A History...", p.225.

[686] The latter claim by Nokise reflects a serious misunderstanding on the part of the P.I.C.C. which was unhelpful in subsequent efforts to solve the issues related to the attempts by founders of the C.C.C.S. The basic issue involves the status of Mr. Sa'aga's letter, and the authority of the E.F.K.S. Nokise's concern is less on the status of Mr. Sa'aga's letter than what the letter implies on the manner the E.F.K.S. was approaching to deal with the issue. In pages 226-227, Nokise gives a diagrammatic illustration of the E.F.K.S.'s assumption of 'the role of the Court of Appeal' with an implicit indication of his reservation as to its credibility. On the contrary, Rev. Challis rightly recognised the authority of the E.F.K.S. on matters relating to Samoans worshipping in the P.I.C.C. But Challis' serious misunderstanding was in his failure to recognise that Mr. Sa'aga's letter was the official letter from the E.F.K.S. as Secretary of the E.F.K.S. For example, see letter from P.I.C.C. to E.F.K.S., dated March 1, 1963, in Appendix VI, first paragraph. According to Rev. Challis, 'May I suggest that this is a matter that involves the Samoan Congregational

In this meeting by the P.I.C.C. diaconate [February 23, 1963] the Samoan Pastor Leuatea Sio was now present, and he agreed with the Samoan membership of the P.I.C.C. not to accept Fuimaono's resignation but to try to bring him back to the P.I.C.C. fellowship.[687] The response to the letter from the E.F.K.S. was prepared by Rev. Challis with a Samoan translation by Rev. Sio.[688] This letter, written in March 1, 1963, is included in Appendix VI .[689] The long letter has extensive coverage of various issues and vital concerns. Briefly, it rehearses the origin, development and various significances of the P.I.C.C. within the world wide family of L.M.S. related Churches, for the 'total welfare' of Islanders in New Zealand. The previous cooperation of the Samoan Church in this achievement and the cordial relationship which resulted with the C.U.N.Z. and the P.I.C.C. in various matters is recounted for its congeniality with the 'mind' of Congregational Churches world wide. It is related that the P.I.C.C. had always fulfilled its duties in regards to such in its relations to the Samoan Church. The E.F.K.S. is reminded of its noble heritage in leading and supporting religious developments in the Pacific and its good name it earned from such which must be protected. What is of direct relevance to our concern at this stage is the emphatic disapproval by the P.I.C.C. of the attempt for a separated Samoan Church and their urgent advice against it. These are based on their concern for the good name of the Samoan Church and also on the ecumenical concerns of world wide Congregational Churches in which the Samoan Church was a member. According to the letter :-

> The time for deciding whether or not to have a separate Samoan Church was at the beginning in 1947 when the Congregational Union

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Christian Church and the Congregational Union of New Zealand, rather than you and the Pacific Islanders' Congregational Church.' According to E.F.K.S. Constitution, the General Secretary was the authority to deal with external matters of the E.F.K.S. This was the status on which Mr. Sa'aga wrote, besides his being the Secretary of the G.P.C. which was directly dealing with the issue. Part of the reasons for the eventual failure of efforts to reconcile Samoans in the P.I.C.C. and those that eventually left for the C.C.C.S. was the result of misunderstandings like this, which reflect different perspectives and the failure to recognise proper channels and authorities to consider in negotiations. This problem will be more evident later in this chapter.

[687] Rev. Sio to Etene Sa'aga, Secretary of the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, March 8, 1963.

[688] According to Sio's personal letter to Etene Sa'aga [March 8, 1963], he prepared the Samoan translation, and the letter generally captures the feeling among the Diaconate of the P.I.C.C.

[689] Also included in Appendix K, of Nokise's Thesis.

> of New Zealand decided to set up this special church to care for the sons and daughters of L.M.S. families who were coming to New Zealand...This breakaway group of Fuimaono can only damage the good name and Christian prestige of the Church of Samoa if any support is given to it and it is allowed to use the name of the Samoan Church. Out of the Pacific Islanders' Church has come one man and his family. With no justification, to start a separate group. It is surely significant that although many attempts have been made no other Deacon or Office Holder of the Pacific Islanders' Church has followed Mr. Fuimaono. Indeed there is considerable feeling against this attempt to break up the unity of the Samoan people after the magnificent united effort in building the new church. It would be sad to see the name of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa used in such a way. We believe that the Fathers and Brethren in Samoa will be careful of their good name and standing with their brethren in all parts of the world and will not give encouragement to this man in his efforts to take over the name of the Church in Samoa. Finally, we understand in faith upon the dignity and mature Christian statesmanship of our brethren in Samoa, believing that you will not allow yourselves to be used in this way, nor encourage this attempt to form a break away church. An attempt which can only lower the prestige and high standing of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa as it has taken its place among the Congregational Churches of the world...[690]

One obvious result of the E.F.K.S.'s decision to consult Rev. Challis. and the P.I.C.C.. was that it shifted the major concern and interest of the P.I.C.C.'s ministerial leadership to how the E.F.K.S. would deal with the whole question. And to a large extent it also influenced the nature of the relationship between the separated Samoans and the P.I.C.C. fellowship, in particular the Samoan members, and also the developments within each side. The latter aspect will be dealt with in some detail after a consideration of the developments in the Samoan Church at this stage in the negotiation process.[691]

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[690] Rev. Challis [P.I.C.C.] to Etene Sa'aga. Letter dated, March 1, 1963. Appendix VI.

[691] Another example of the limited sources available to Nokise is shown by his **emphatic** but wrong statement that, 'It took eight months before a reply from the Samoan Church was received' [Nokise. "A History...', p.228]. Quite the contrary, the E.F.K.S. was in constant correspondence with Rev. Challis and Rev. Sio during this whole period.

The letter from the E.F.K.S. to the separate Samoan Church, dated March 28, 1963, revealed how the E.F.K.S. had dealt with the whole issue by the end of March.[692] The letter relates the E.F.K.S. - has not yet made an official decision because the General Purpose Committee has not yet met since its meeting in January 14. But an emergency meeting[693] by the Emergency Committee of the General Purpose Committee was called by Elder Pastor Poasa, the chairman of both committees and also of the General Assembly, to consider the possibility of an urgent Delegation to 'visit and to see into' the problem in New Zealand. The result was the consensus agreement to postpone a final decision on Elder Pastor Poasa's suggestion for an urgent Delegation to the imminent meetings of the whole committee [G.P.C.], other committees of the Church, and the General Assembly in May. But the Emergency Committee resolved to propose to the G.P.C., '...that a Delegation must be sent to visit and to see into the situation, and to meet [for further enlightenment] all the brethren in New Zealand'.[694] As in all official correspondence from the E.F.K.S. a word of advice for prudence and patient waiting with prayer upon the Will of God is appended.[695] This is important for it reflects the predominant religious spirit the E.F.K.S. had always dealt with the complex beginning of the C.C.C.S. especially in relation to all the parties concerned in New Zealand. In March

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[692] E.F.K.S. to Fuimaono. Letter dated, March 28, 1963.

[693] This emergency meeting was no doubt resulted from the letters from the P.I.C.C. [March 1, 1963] and from Fuimaono and the separated Samoans [in Appendices IV and V]. For they included extensive and important information on which to base a decision by the Samoan Church.

[694] The Samoan version is too general to be absolutely certain on whether it refers to all Samoans in New Zealand only, or to them and P.I.C.C. and the C.U.N.Z. The contents of the letter seems to suggest the former because it also relates the need to be cautious about the Christian inclinations of other Samoans in New Zealand. This is also confirmed in Nokise's reference to the letter from the E.F.K.S. to the P.I.C.C. about the purpose of the Delegation - that is, '...concern for the unity and welfare of Samoans in New Zealand'. Nokise, "A History...", p.228.

[695] The letter cautions the 'Separated Samoans' in the following manner :- 'You may be critical on the delay in the manner the Church is dealing with the whole issue...It is well for you to remember that what you are requesting for the Church to do for you is extremely difficult. You must know that the Church needs to make a decision in the light of all future implication and effects on all its members especially its 'born children' outside Samoa. There is a careful consideration on the need to avoid hurting all Christian fellowships of all people. Be assured that the Church now understands your request and everything related to it. And the Church empathises with you. But at the same time you should not pressure your Church in order to avoid making a decision it might regret in the future. We hope this may give you peace...while we all pray for the spiritual guidance of the Spirit of Christ into the blessed way which is conducive to Christ's glory forever...'.

the attitude of the P.I.C.C. continued the two basic approaches in relation to the separated Samoans. The Palagi side of the ministerial leadership continued to advocate ignoring the separated Samoans,[696] and the Samoan membership continued attempts to persuade the separated Samoans to return to the P.I.C.C. Both approaches were based on the strong conviction which the return of Rev. Sio from Samoa may have reinforced, that there was no way the E.F.K.S. in Samoa would accept the aspirations of the separated Samoans.

In relation to the former, Rev. Challis tried to dissuade Fareti Timaloa, a Malua graduate student who was a member preacher in the Newton P.I.C.C., from preaching in the separate Samoan Church. Rev. Challis was unsuccessful because of the student's strong theological conviction and also the influence of the student's family.[697] An example of the latter is the attempt by Rev. Sio in March 3, 1963 to persuade Fuimaono to return to the P.I.C.C. This was the first pastoral attempt, and even the first time, Rev. Sio met Fuimaono, since the controversial beginning of separated worship, and since Rev. Sio returned from Samoa.

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[696] Some Samoans also concurred with this approach. For example Pastor Setu Masina who was the Samoan Pastor for the P.I.C.C. in Porirua at the time. According to Elder Pastor Fareti Timaloa. Setu Masina told him, 'that the reason for the increasing growth of the separated Samoan Church was because Samoans were going to it'. He meant specifically the Samoan pastors who were accepting invitations to conduct their worship.

[697] The following is Elder Pastor Timaloa's account of the attempt by Rev. Challis and the P.I.C.C.'s diaconate to stop him from preaching in the Samoan Church :- 'I stayed with Vaomu who was chief and deacon in the Newton P.I.C.C. and who was my brother-in-law. I was still worshipping in the P.I.C.C. and accepted invitations from Fuimaono to conduct their worship. Vaomu told me Rev. Challis and the diaconate had resolved to stop me from preaching in the worship of the separated Samoans. Vaomu advised me not to listen to Rev. Challis and the P.I.C.C. They had asked him to stop me because it was not good for a family to attend different worship, and it did not look good on him as a chief of the family. But he told them that chiefs do not interfere in matters of worship, and they had no business in interfering with his family, which was hundred percent good in spite of the fact that other members were attending the Samoan Church. Vaomu advised me not to worry about the family but I should do what I think is right. Also I should not worry about the P.I.C.C.'s criticisms because none of them was qualified from Malua Theological College...I met Rev. Challis and he told me about the resolution by the diaconate...I asked him why, and he replied - "If it is the will of Christ that the sons of God should make peace we should lead in making peace." I said to Rev. Challis he was right. But I asked him - "Who is that deacon who proposed that I should not preach in the Samoan Church ? You may be the Pastor, but I am an ordained preacher of the Samoan Church. I have a duty to proclaim the gospel to anyone who may need it. You have authority on whether I can preach in the P.I.C.C. or not; but for my **duty to preach** in the Samoan Church, I can not reject the invitation from them...' Elder Pastor Fareti Timaloa, 'Personal Story of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S. and Other Parishes', 1994.

Rev. Leuatea Sio approached Fuimaono as a typical Samoan pastor with a typical Samoan sense of a pastor's justified anger, yet with a recognition of a chief's right to disagree. According to Elder Pastor Timaloa,[698] Rev. Sio said to Fuimaono :-

> What is **THIS** that you have done ? You have no caring-concern for me. I have just returned from Samoa. I was summoned by the Elders to their meeting and was asked what had happened that Fuimaono had resigned and decided to start another church. I replied nothing had happened. Now the Elders decided not to accept the new Church started by Fuimaono. Can you return if there was a reply from Samoa that your Church is not accepted?[699]

In response to Rev. Sio's approach to Fuimaono above, Fuimaono said the following, according to Rev. Sio's account :-

> Be contented [you both Rev. Sio and wife]. This is the one thing we have longed to fulfil...It is a long way back since we wanted to do this, but we couldn't while "you're looking"[700]...The chance appeared when you were away from Auckland. It is something we have always wanted, always in mind, always in heart. We want to be a part of the Church in Samoa...not a Church in New Zealand.....We do not want to attract or to force anyone to join...we do not want too many...[701]

Fuimaono records that the reason for Rev. Sio's suggestion to stop the new Church was his understanding of the general feeling amongst the Elders in the meeting he was summoned to in Samoa. His answer to Rev. Sio's mission was to await a decision from

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[698] Elder Pastor Timaloa was present in this meeting. Rev. Sio's account of this meeting agrees with Elder Pastor Timaloa's account of what Rev. Sio's statement referred to.

[699] Elder Pastor Timaloa, 'Personal Story of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S. and Other Parishes'.

[700] This is the literal translation of the Samoan phrase - 'a'o fepulafi mai o oulua mata' - in Rev. Sio's account. The meaning is simply that the separated beginning of the Samoan Church could not be done while Rev. Sio was present. It was because of too much respect for Rev. Sio as the Samoan Pastor that Fuimaono seized the opportunity to fulfil his vision when Rev. Sio was away in Samoa. To the contrary, Nokise (p.219) understands this as reflecting possible unwelcome motives on the part of Fuimaono, and a disrespect for Rev. Sio as the Samoan pastor.

[701] The account by Elder Pastor Timaloa of Fuimaono's response is agreeable to Rev. Sio's :- 'Leua, be contented [it includes feeling sorry on the part of the speaker] because of what has been done. You have spoken right that nothing had happened. But it is what we truly feel with my family and my children...I can not give an answer until we receive a reply from the Samoan Church'. Elder Pastor Timaloa, 'Personal Story of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S. and Other Parishes', 1994.

the E.F.K.S. because he had already requested for a delegation by the Chairman and the Secretary to officially recognise the Samoan Church in New Zealand.[702] To Rev. Sio's question whether they would return to the P.I.C.C. if their request was not granted, Fuimaono did not answer.[703] An exchange between Rev. Sio and Pastor Timaloa, two Samoan pastors, in this meeting is significant in showing the different attitudes of Samoan pastors about the best pastoral approach to achieve reconciliation.[704] Pastor Timaloa told Rev. Sio that he was one of the preachers of the separated Samoan Church and he asked for his opinion. Rev. Sio's answer was to liken the separated Samoan Church to a breakaway church in Samoa the E.F.K.S. was not recognising, and about which there was a ruling to disallow any pastor from accepting an invitation to preach.[705] Pastor Timaloa replied with a challenge for the proper pastoral approach Sio should be considering:-

> Leua [Rev. Sio], I have been thinking that this is your time. This is your time to extend your embrace to these people and give them warmth. But I can see it is not the case. You are asking them if they could return. Fuimaono replied they will wait for a reply from Samoa. If the reply comes, and they are 'warm under your hands', then it will be easy. If not, it will be difficult.[706]

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[702] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala. This is confirmed by Rev. Sio's letter to the E.F.K.S., dated - December 5, 1963. Personal Copy from Pastor Ioritana Taniela.

[703] According to the Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala. To the contrary, Nokise claims in the light of his interview with Rev. Sio that Fuimaono told Sio if the Samoan Church refused their request he will stop the Church. This is unlikely because according to 'Personal Stories...' by Rev. Sio and Rev. Ripley, both are emphatic that they found Fuimaono unmoved and showed no inclination to return to the P.I.C.C. whatever the response from the Samoan Church may be. Nokise is right that Fuimaono may have said something to the effect that 'he was too ashamed to stop what he had already begun'. (Nokise, p.227). For Rev. Ripley confirms this. But if Nokise's expression is the translation of Ripley's account of Fuimaono's statement, then it must be added that it was more than the shame of the possibility of a failed attempt that Fuimaono had in mind. It was also a way, typical of Samoan elders, of silencing superficial youthful criticism by elders in a cunning way, which is a way of affirming the wisdom of the experienced elders. Rev. Ripley puts Fuimaono's words in this way - 'Malilie ia, o a'u foi ua matua, ua ou mao luma foi i le mea.' [Be contented. I am old in years; and I am ahead and committed to the vision regardless of its consequences].

[704] The following account is based on Elder Pastor Timaloa's 'Personal Story...', in conjunction with Rev. Sio's 'Personal Story...'.

[705] This was the church by the Pouesi family which was called 'Lotu Pouesi'. A very large family who was well known for their talents in music - that is, church music, and within the Protestant faith.

[706] Elder Pastor Timaloa; 'Personal Story...', 1994.

Rev. Sio was not unsympathetic to the idea of a separate Samoan Church as an expression of legitimate diversity in religious affiliation. What he did not accept were several negative implications of a separated Samoan Church which had cultural, theological and moral significances.[707] Culturally, a separated Samoan Church was threatening the unity of Samoans in the P.I.C.C. Theologically there was the divisive effect on the ecumenical unity which was biblically based on St John 17, and was already achieved among the Pacific Islanders in the P.I.C.C. The moral dimension relates to the beginning of the separate Samoan Church by an act of 'a breakaway' which seemed to confirm Rev. Challis' belief that Fuimaono's resignation was a 'stab in the back' for the P.I.C.C. according to the Papalagi understanding. Rev. Sio was equally aware of one of the strong characteristics of his fellow Samoans - that once the mind is set on something it is full commitment to the end regardless of the difficulties and consequences.[708] But in his pastoral mission to Fuimaono as mentioned above, he was less than prudent, and it did not make a positive impact on Fuimaono. There was a gross underestimation of Fuimaono's determination and resolve. Neither a subtly confrontationist pastoral approach nor proving something wrong by recourse to the failure of its equivalent [Sio to Timaloa] could open a window of empathy into the human heart that is captive to an alternative vision of Truth. Rev. Challis' confidence in solving heartaches and spiritual problems by recourse to agreed policies and rules may unite institutions but not necessarily human hearts and minds.

There were significant developments and steady growth within the camp of the separated Samoans in spite of the growing opposition from the P.I.C.C. and some minor problems within the family of the founder Fuimaono.[709] Unlike the unwillingness of the P.I.C.C.

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[707] Rev. Sio; 'Personal Story...', 1994. Also his letter to the E.F.K.S. of December 5,1963.

[708] According to Rev. Sio, he said the same thing to the committees of Elders who summoned him in Samoa. This was to clear himself from the suspicion that he was behind Fuimaono's attempts, and that he had knowledge of Fuimaono's attempts. To Rev. Sio, he knew nothing of Fuimaono's hopes.
Rev. Sio, 'Personal Story...', 1994.

[709] Rev. Leuatea Sio relates in his letter, dated March 8, 1963, to the Secretary of the E.F.K.S. that only a few Samoans in the P.I.C.C. were still 'calm' about the whole situation; the majority were much opposed to the separated church. In the same letter he relates that two couples in the P.I.C.C. have left to join the separated church. Two young Samoan ladies have left Fuimaono's family, and Fuimaono's son left for his

ministerial leadership to help in conducting Sunday worship of the separated Samoans,[710] the Papalagi pastors of the Methodist Church in Pitt Street, Auckland, offered to help but against the wishes of some Samoans in the same Methodist Church.[711] There is no doubt that much of the confidence among the separated Samoans throughout March derived

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Law studies in Victoria University in tears (when meeting him and Rev. Challis) because of his father's decision to start a separate Samoan Church.

[710] According to Rev. Sio, he suggested to Rev. Challis that they should provide preachers for the separated Samoans, but Rev. Challis refused. Rev. Sio further relates that he was powerless to influence Rev. Challis and other Papalagi pastors in the P.I.C.C. because they were senior pastors and were his teachers in the Congregational Theological College. Interestingly, Fuimaono believed that Rev. Sio was supporting Rev. Challis in this. What Fuimaono disliked about the Samoan preachers in the P.I.C.C., and other Samoans in general, was what he perceived to be their tendency to think they were intellectually inferior to their Papalagi counterparts. Fuimaono writes in his Diary accordingly :- ' Rev. Sio and Rev. Challis are still stopping their preachers. And it continues to make the weakly under-educated Samoans less confident about themselves; except for Fareti Timaloa who comes to preach when it is his turn to preach according to our invitation...'.

[711] The following is recorded in Fuimaono's Diary. That after meeting three times, the Samoans twice submitted their advice against allowing Samoan Methodist Preachers to accept invitations from Fuimaono and the separated Samoans. The Papalagis in the ministerial committee declined their submissions. Rev. Clement informed Fuimaono about what the Methodist Samoans were told in response to their submissions. In the first time they were told :- ' Those Fuimaono invited and declined, it is up to them. But those invited to preach and accepted the invitation, there should not be any obstruction to that while the separated Samoans are awaiting an official decision from their Church in Samoa.' In their second attempt the Samoans were told that the decision had already been made by the Papalagi committee, and that 'the separated Samoans were worshipping the same True God as they, in the Methodist Church, were worshipping.' Fuimaono records in his Diary his gratitude for Rev. Clement for his love, and to God for opening such opportunities. In silent thought he records his view of the Samoan opposition in the Methodist Church :- 'The Holy Will of the Living God can not be stopped [interfered with]...The enemy is crushed by the Power of God.'

from the encouraging sermons by preachers,[712] and their increasing membership in their traditional worship they were now able to have.[713]

Events throughout April continued the intense nature of the relationship between the P.I.C.C. and the separated Samoans. Kinship and village ties in Samoa began to loosen the predominant attraction of the P.I.C.C. for some Samoans who were now moving between the two Churches - some to see who were already in the separate Samoan Church, and others were more inclined to join but were held back by fear of a decision by the E.F.K.S. against the separate Samoan Church.[714] Within each camp, P.I.C.C. and the separated Samoans, the 'count down' to the General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. in May was the main focus which influenced the nature of events undertaken.

A general appreciation of vital events on both sides can be gleaned from Fuimaono's letter, dated April 23, 1963, and Rev. Sio's letter, dated April 19, 1963. Both were

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[712] The brief yet conscious effort by Fuimaono to record the preachers, their sermon themes, and the impact of sermons throughout March clearly suggest the positive influence of preachers and their sermons for the separate Samoan Church. For example: On March 3, a Methodist preacher preached on the Gospel of St John, 15, with the theme - 'O le Upu Moni, O Iesu o le Upu Moni' [The Truth is, Jesus is the True Word]. Fuimaono's comment on this sermon was - 'Very good indeed. Thankyou Vaoiva.' The Preacher on March 10, was a returning preacher to Samoa. The message was - 'Be called a One and United Family in Courage.' The preacher promised he would expose in Samoa the lie [perpetuated] amongst the P.I.C.C. Samoans, which was also used to discourage Samoans from joining the Samoan Church - that the new church was Fuimaono's Church. He added he would give encouragement in Samoa for the real necessity of the newly established Samoan Church. His 2 pound gift for the new church may have given his sermon larger space in Fuimaono's Diary, unlike the evening service by Pastor Ekepati about which Fuimaono recorded a 'pathetic number' of people attended with a 'mere' offering of 1.15.6 pound. There is no comment on another Methodist Preacher's sermon on Mark 6:21-29, in the evening service on March 31. But the sermon theme - 'Aua le talia leo mai fafo' [Do not listen and accept the voice from outside] would have helped encourage internal confidence among the separated Samoans.

[713] According to Fuimaono [in Appendix V (xxviii)], membership had grown to 138 from the sixteen founding members in December 1962 who were mostly of Fuimaono's family. Worship began to become more enjoyable as it tended to recreate the solemn atmosphere of the service and the usual contents of worship service in the homeland. A proper choir was enjoying their new organ. Members delighted in hearing again the Ten Commandments in the morning service and Jesus' Sermon on the Mount in the afternoon service. The non- English speaking Samoan showed their joy in worship by their joyful giving to offerings which was greatly encouraged in the knowledge that offerings were now to be sent to the Samoan Church in Samoa.

[714] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala.

addressed to the Secretary of the E.F.K.S.[715] Fuimaono's report on the state of their separated Church showed a mixture of impatience because of the mocking attitude from Samoans in the P.I.C.C., and of anxiety and fearful anticipation of what the E.F.K.S. will eventually decide concerning the status of their separate Church. According to Fuimaono:

> The atmosphere, and in the village [area] we live is like a ghost town. A mere noise to break the silence scares a person. It is like the journeys of the Israelites...like the times they shout and murmur at Moses when facing difficulties [This is because] of what they see their fellow Samoans in the P.I.C.C. are doing to them...mocking attitude and ill-remarks. That is why when a letter is received...everyone automatically thinks it is the official resolution to our request. That is the cause of the unnecessary chaos in our Church.[716]

At the same time Fuimaono, as leader, appears more determined and encouraged by progress in their separated Church. With great exhilaration he relates his being granted by the government his legal licence on April 1, to conduct marriages in their Church and all around New Zealand. He relates this purposely to show how he achieved this independently, and against the strong belief of S.C. Ennor, a P.I.C.C. Palagi, lawyer and deacon, who was closely working with Rev. Challis.[717] The report about the progress in their financial situation, the ways it was administered for different activities, part of which was already sent to Samoa as their offering, is related with joy and confidence.[718] It seems to be a chiefly way to persuade and to put on a brave face. At the end of the letter this confidence tends to become over-confident and thus slides into a tendency to be dismissive. Fuimaono clearly states that whatever the E.F.K.S. in Samoa may decide, the truth is, that the new Samoan Church can not be stopped, for it has progressed in all ways

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[715] Both letters are found in the 'Secretary's File on New Zealand Correspondence', in E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.

[716] Fuimaono Ta'ala to Secretary of the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, April 23, 1963.

[717] Fuimaono to Secretary of the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, April 23, 1963.

[718] According to Fuimaono's letter :- '108.18.0 pounds is already collected from morning service only, and is set aside for the church building. The offering collected in evening services were the source for offerings sent to Samoa and for general expenditure of the Church. The Church has already started to administer Baptism. 13.15.0 for offerings has already been sent in April 9, 1963.'
Source :- Fuimaono to Secretary of the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, April 23, 1963.

under the guidance of the One Lord of the Church. The footnote added at the bottom of the letter is even more emphatic and with a clear intention to persuade :- 'So many words have been said but [who knows] which side you belong. Remember if our request is accepted there will surely be a visit because of our cry [request]. Anyway please yourself for our Church is o.k.'[719]

Furthermore, Fuimaono refers to what he thought were suspicious movements by the P.I.C.C. ministerial leadership which did not dim their confidence. P.I.C.C. Samoans were now everywhere, entering houses of the separated Samoans to persuade them to return. Samoan ministers were travelling around New Zealand to warn other Samoans. Rev. Sio was now making rounds in Wellington and Christchurch. Rev. Nokise[720] was in Auckland. And Rev. Challis was to leave New Zealand for the General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. in May. It is not impossible to agree with Fuimaono's impression of why the P.I.C.C. ministers were seen travelling around New Zealand. But prudence warns against mis-representing the motives of such behaviour and activities. What is certain is that Rev. Sio was in Wellington in April as shown in his letter to the Secretary of the E.F.K.S. in April 19.[721] Why he was in Wellington is not mentioned in the letter. But Rev. Sio's opinion on the prevailing situation is informative particularly on the general inclination of other Samoan chiefs not only in the Newton P.I.C.C., but in other P.I.C.C. Churches in Wellington and Christchurch. According to Rev. Sio :- 'The only thing I know, if it is allowed from Samoa [that is, if the E.F.K.S. accepts the request by the separated Samoans] then you will be receiving many more requests which may not be less than eight...'[722] With particular reference to the Newton P.I.C.C., Rev. Sio goes on to state that it is mainly the opposition by other chiefs against Fuimaono which was holding them back from leaving the P.I.C.C. in order to start more separate Samoan Churches.[723] In the

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[719] Fuimaono Ta'ala to Secretary of the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, April 23, 1963.

[720] Rev. Nokise was the leading Samoan pastor in the Wellington P.I.C.C. at the time.

[721] The letter clearly shows it was written and posted from Wellington.

[722] Rev. Sio to Secretary of the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, April 19, 1963.

[723] Rev. Sio to Secretary of the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, April 19, 1963.

light of movements by the P.I.C.C. ministers mentioned above, Fuimaono records the attitude of Samoans in the separated Church :- 'We keep our peace in order to maintain peace and love between us.'[724]

When the General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. gathered in May 1963, it seemed that what was left to be done was merely to secure the Assembly's formal recognition of the decision already made by the General Purpose Committee. This is because the resolution by the General Assembly regarding the new Samoan Church in New Zealand is noticeably similar to the resolution by the Emergency Committee of the G.P.C. in March.[725] The only addition by the General Assembly was the appointment of Delegate members who were the leading participants in the whole discussion of the issue through its five months passage in the General Purpose Committee.[726]

The E.F.K.S.'s decision to send a Delegation brought back an atmosphere of normalcy for the situation in New Zealand. The whole period from June to October can be briefly looked at. For the P.I.C.C. it was business as usual. Rev. Challis continued his indefatigable service and help for the E.F.K.S.'s scholarship students particularly the female scholarships in New Zealand High Schools. His unofficial presence during the General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. in May had given him some confidence, and made him await the Delegation with great expectancy. For he was told by many Elder Pastors not to be over anxious about the situation in New Zealand because it was now in the hands of

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[724] Fuimaono Ta'ala to Secretary of the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, April 23, 1963.

[725] See pages 281-282 for the resolution by the Emergency Committee of the G.P.C. which was related by the General Secretary of the E.F.K.S. to Fuimaono. This resolution was endorsed by the G.P.C. in its meeting in May, before the General Assembly. The resolution by the General Assembly regarding the Samoan Church in New Zealand is as follows :-
Special Church for the Samoans, established in Auckland, New Zealand :
The Assembly heard of the correspondence with those concerned in this matter. The Assembly also discussed the matter resolving thus :
(1) That a delegation be sent to New Zealand to visit and look into this question.
(2) That the Minister Elder Poasa and General Secretary Etene Sa'aga be appointed to that Delegation.
Source :- 'Minutes of the General Assembly, 1963'; E.F.K.S. Official Publication.

[726] Elder Pastor Poasa was Chairman of the G.P.C. and the General Assembly throughout the whole time the issue was discussed by the E.F.K.S. Lay Preacher Etene Sa'aga was the General Secretary of the E.F.K.S. and was also Secretary of the G.P.C. at the same time. In the General Assembly of 1963, Elder Poasa lost Chairmanship of the Assembly, but remained the Chairman of the Elders' Committee.

the Church, E.F.K.S.[727] The only correspondence from the P.I.C.C. to the E.F.K.S. of immediate relevance to the Samoan Church situation in New Zealand were the letters by Rev. Challis (October 2) and Rev. Sio (October 2).[728] They mainly concern arrangements for the Delegation's mission in New Zealand.

Within the camp of the separated Samoan Church the period between June and October was one of accelerated development. It was partly the result of the excitement about the Samoan Church's decision to send a Delegation, and the concern to prove to the Samoan Church the practicability of their request. Our only sources are, Fuimaono's Diary, and letters by the separated Samoans written by Fuimaono to the E.F.K.S. dated, June 23, 1963; August 20, 1963; and September 25, 1963.[729] The letter of June 23, is a joyful letter written before the separated Samoans even received an official notification about the Delegation;[730] and it portrays an over enthusiastic Fuimaono writing on behalf of a greatly relieved Samoan Church to promise their willingness to host the Delegation at whatever time the Delegation was intended to come to New Zealand. The letter relates progress in worship and related activities in the Church in such a way that it could not fail to have received the most considered attention by Samoan Church Elders for whom worship was not only their 'food and play', but, like the British evangelicals of the early nineteenth century, it opens the day and closes the night.[731] The report on achievements

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[727] This participation of Rev. Challis in the General Assembly and the assurance he received from the E.F.K.S. is mentioned in the letter by the C.U.N.Z. to the E.F.K.S. dated, November 11, 1963.

[728] These letters are found in the 'Secretary's File on New Zealand Correspondence'; E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.

[729] To be found in, 'Secretary's File on New Zealand Correspondence'; E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.

[730] This shows not only the over enthusiasm of the separated Samoans, but the way some of the negotiations and communications were made through extra-official channels.

[731] According to the letter, worship was still held in the Hall and were always well attended both in the morning service at 11a.m and in the evening service at 4p.m. A well organised choir by three well known choir masters previously in Samoa were providing good hymns using a new organ. These contributed to members' joyful participation in worship. Sunday School is divided into three classes - Primary, Standards, Forms. A fourth class for the youth was sometimes joined by adults who came early for worship. The main purpose for the Sunday School was to enable children to read the Bible in Samoan rather than in English, and to enable them to recite their Bible verses and prepare their Bible dramas for White Sunday in October. Also Methodist Preachers were still helping in their pulpit, while the P.I.C.C. was still stopping their

already made and promising prospects for the separated Samoan Church is related not only with joy,[732] but as part of the evident proof of divine favour on the whole situation concerning the Delegation's intended visit, and the future of the separated Samoan Church for itself and as part of the E.F.K.S. in its world wide witness to the Christian Faith :-

> The Truth is, God has opened all doors for those who have faith in His Kingdom, and for those whose hearts are for their country and for their Church...Noble and beautiful things are happening in times of Elder Pastor Poasa's chairmanship. And these things will become cornerstones to make conspicuous the Samoan Church in the world, and the rising of its 'tama fanau' [born children] everywhere in the world to witness to the 'Way, the Truth and the Life'.[733]

The letter did not forget to remind about the many achievements they witnessed in New Zealand because of wealth, which is important to 'build up' good things for the future. In August, the Samoan Church bought a house and property worth 3500 pounds at 56 Sussex Street, Grey Lynn, Auckland. By September the house was converted to hold worship, Holy Communion and White Sunday. Wednesday service [Lotu Aso Lulu] was already started. The basic requirements for the beginning of a self reliant church were already prepared before the arrival of the Delegation from the E.F.K.S. in Samoa.

(iii) The E.F.K.S. Delegation in Aotearoa New Zealand : Three Weeks Mission - October 21 - November 12, 1963.

On October 21, 1963, the Delegation from the E.F.K.S. in Samoa arrived in New Zealand. Samoans in the P.I.C.C. and in the separated Samoan Church greeted the

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preachers from coming, and continued to liken their separate Samoan Church to the 'breakaway Church by Sumeo in Apia'.

[732] In the letter, the language, what is reported, and manner of expression illustrate clearly how a 'faithful son of Samoa or of the Samoan Church' would present himself before his cultural and Church Elders if there is hope to be given a serious hearing. Specifically, the letter relates that Fuimaono has secured government guarantee that there was no legal obstacle against establishment of new Churches because 'New Zealand is a nation of freedom'. Also the Bank has promised its assistance in cases of remittances to Samoa. And the new Samoan Church is further advantageous because their Treasurer works in the relevant section of the Bank.

[733] New Samoan Church [Fuimaono] to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, June 23, 1963.

Delegation at the Whenuapai Airport each with its own proposal to host the Delegation. In the Delegation's Report submitted to the General Assembly in May, 1964, it states that on arrival the Delegation received instruction from Rev. Sio to reside at Fuimaono's side [that is, with the separated Samoans] but to meet the P.I.C.C. on Wednesday.[734] The Delegation eventually stayed with the separated Samoans throughout its three weeks mission. This unfortunately caused considerable suspicion among the P.I.C.C. Samoans about the Delegation's whole mission as the heated exchange between the Delegation and the P.I.C.C. Samoans on the following Sunday [October 27] was to prove.[735] Also, a letter from the C.U.N.Z. to welcome the Delegation stated what it believed was the purpose of the Delegation - '...the reconciling of a breakaway group from one of the Churches of our denominations...', and reminding of its '...concern at any suggestion of the recognition of Mr. Fuimaono's group by our sister denomination the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa...' [736] Already the Delegation was met with the clear position by the C.U.N.Z. in relation to the separated Samoan Church and with its own understanding of the Delegation's mission.

Monday October 21, 1963.

A traditional welcome by the separated Samoans at 56 Sussex Street, Grey Lynn, concluded with a prayer by a retired E.F.K.S. Pastor, Peteru, and the Delegation rested at Fuimaono's place at 3 Leighton Street, Grey Lynn. The Delegation's request to meet all the separated Samoans was held in the evening when most returned from work. Approximately two hundred (200) gathered and the meeting started with a service led by the Delegation.[737] The Delegation's initial inquiry into the reasons for leaving the

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[734] 'Tala i le Savali a le Ekalesia i Niu Sila' [Report by the Delegation of the Church to New Zealand], p.1. Personal Copy from Litia Nu'uali'itia, widow of Elder Pastor Nu'uali'itia.

[735] I will deal with this aspect of the Delegation's mission later in connection with events on Sunday, October 27, when this issue became controversial.

[736] C.U.N.Z. to the E.F.K.S. Delegation. Letter undated. But written by B.J.Shearer for Secretary of the C.U.N.Z. 'Secretary's File on New Zealand Correspondence'; E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.

[737] According to the 'Report by the Delegation...' and also in Fuimaono's Diary. The three hymns used were 244, 255 and 168 in the E.F.K.S. Hymnary. The first celebrates God's Grace in fulfilling hopes of the community of worshippers. The second encourages mission in foreign countries. The third encourages Christians in the spiritual warfare they are called for as Christians. The Bible Reading was from Romans 8: 1-37, and the selected text was verse 37. The Theme by Elder Pastor Poasa was, 'O le Manumalo Aiai'

P.I.C.C. was given various responses which reflected the manifold causes, concerns, hopes, and aspirations already mentioned in the founding vision. According to leading founder Fuimaono Ta'ala :-

> We did not leave because of any differences [disagreements].[738] We did not escape like fishes of the night. We resigned and departed in the proper manner. All our shared property for worship, the Church, the money collected from the consecration of the Church and from gifts we have left for our brothers. We told them we were leaving to fulfil what in conscience we truly felt.[739]

Other respondents [Deacons, Chiefs, and Pastors] responded as follows: [740]

(i) We came for three months and worshipped at the P.I.C.C. Then we left to join the Samoan Church so that my deacon status can be recognised and used to good service.[741]
(ii) The money collected is buried under the feet of Rev. Sio and Rev. Challis.[742]
(iii) The Samoan Church must be recognised because in the P.I.C.C. those unable to speak English do not go to Church. Also one does not feel the sense of worship and participation when listening to prayers spoken in many languages.

[The Thoroughly Complete Victory]. [These are recorded in Fuimaono's Diary]. The hymns, the Bible reading, the text, and the theme of Elder Pastor Poasa's exhortation seem united by a sense of gratitude to God for the Delegation's safe arrival, and for their historic gathering as proof of the victory of the Gospel. The separated Samoans would have been impressed with self -assurance for a hopeful victory for their cause. In the 'Delegation's Report...', Elder Pastor Poasa relates that, 'They bowed to God in prayers and asked for God's spirit to guide them to the Truth.'

[738] Rev. Sio confirms this in his letter to the E.F.K.S. dated, December 5, 1963. This is important as I also refer to it elsewhere. It is important to acknowledge the sincere spirit the founders of the C.C.C.S. departed, for the sake of understanding the human spirit. The various negative comments related too several aspects of the P.I.C.C. and its pastoral leaders, and some unfounded allegations by the C.C.C.S. founders. were expressed only in the contexts of the failure of the P.I.C.C. to recognise the sincere hopes of C.C.C.S. founders, and also in the context of the ensuing mutual recriminations which resulted. The theological question one must engage with in the light of the C.C.C.S. beginning is - How can one counsel against a sincere departure motivated by a sincere expression of the human spirit that is captive to the Divine Spirit ?

[739] 'Report of the Delegation of the Church to New Zealand'.

[740] Research Notes by Pastor Tautia'ga Senara. Senara attempted a research on the beginning of the C.C.C.S., but could not finish because of his call to teach at Malua Theological College. I am fortunate that Senara gave me all his research notes for my work. They are in my possession now.

[741] This was a common reason for many Deacons who left the P.I.C.C. Churches to join C.C.C.S. Parishes or to be founding members of Parishes in the 1960's.

[742] This essentially means that all the offerings were under the sole control of Rev. Challis and Rev. Sio. What was questionable was not personal misappropriation, but that for the founders of the C.C.C.S., some of the offerings should have been sent to help the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. Any allegations of misappropriation can not be sustained as also recognised by Nokise, (pp.233-234).

(iv) The Samoan Church is now independent of the L.M.S. There is no need to be under the umbrella of the Palagis.
(v) We now have our own property, land and houses. We will look after them for the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. They will be useful for our Church scholarships.
(vi) There is nothing wrong with having a separate Samoan Church as long as one worships in Spirit and in Truth.

What is remembered by some who were present during this gathering was Elder Pastor Poasa's response which showed at least his inclination to take seriously the reasons given. Elder Pastor Poasa asked about the size of the property already bought and the number of families in the congregation. The latter question was repeated after the vague answer given first.[743] The Delegation was most thankful for the effort to secure property because Rev. Sio had informed the Elders in Samoa that securing property [land and houses] was the greatest difficulty facing the Samoans in New Zealand.[744] According to the Delegation Report no official decision was reached in this first meeting. The separated Samoans were given 'fatherly advice as would be done in Samoa', and were also advised to think carefully if what they felt was good and proper.[745] The first meeting concluded with prayer, and a traditional- welcome recognition by Samoan chiefs closed the first night.[746]

Tuesday October 22, 1963.

The refusal by Rev. Challis of the Delegation's request for an early combined meeting of all Samoans with the Delegation, gave another opportunity for formal discussion between

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[743] This episode is recorded in Fuimaono's Diary. Also confirmed by 'Personal Stories...' of other C.C.C.S. founding members like Lay Preacher Sola Brown.

[744] According to Rev. Sio in his 'Personal Story...'. It must also be noted that Fuimaono had already informed the E.F.K.S. about the property already secured in his letter of August 16, 1963; And the Secretary of the E.F.K.S. who was in the Delegation had already responded to thank Fuimaono for their efforts before the Delegation arrived in New Zealand. The reference to the secured property suggests a hint of the Delegation's perspective on its mission which would explain some of its controversial aspects when seen from the perspective of the P.I.C.C. According to the Secretary's letter dated, September 6, 1963 :- 'We are very glad to know that we now have our own house and piece of land. We are thankful for your efforts and also wish to extend our appreciation for your hearts-for-the-Church, and for your homeland.'

[745] 'Report by the Delegation...', p.1.

[746] Fuimaono's Diary, and 'Report by the Delegation...',p.1.

the Delegation and the separated Samoans.[747] The Delegation enquired again emphasising the need not to hide anything for there must be a reason for their departure.[748] The answer re-emphasised what the group had told the Delegation in their previous meeting, 'None, none at all.'[749] This apparently puzzling response means two things : One, it emphasises there were no problems or differences which made them resign, and their departure was a sincere hope they wished to fulfil. Secondly, it involves their understanding that they could not imagine any possible reasons why their resignation and their hope to start a separate Samoan Church would be a problem or a concern for the P.I.C.C., or the C.U.N.Z. for that matter. The group finally gave the Delegation their heart-felt reasons which clearly reflect some of the major aspects of the founding vision already noted above :-

> These are the reasons. The need to have all parts of our worship fully in the Samoan language. It is true there is an hour allocated for the Samoans in the P.I.C.C., but that is not enough for all other worship-and-Sunday related activities proper to the Samoan Church. It is enough only for the service but not for other important activities. Even in these activities, the Rarotongans and Niueans must be all present...It is like that with regards to the question of Finance...And when we think [and want to help] about the Samoan Church, we can't do anything. That is why we thought with purity of heart it is better to establish a Church for the E.F.K.S. in New Zealand, which will be the "arriving place" for our pastors, and will accommodate them in the ways we are used to in the Samoan Church. Furthermore, it gives us a free opportunity to send our financial help to our own Church in Samoa. Those are the reasons for our Hope...[750]

The Delegation Report also includes Fuimaono's confession of his family's total commitment and support while in the P.I.C.C. That the extent of their sacrifice and

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[747] According to Rev. Sio, the P.I.C.C.'s programme was that on Wednesday [October 23] they will host the Delegation, with their hope that the Delegation would then stay with the P.I.C.C., and then attempt their 'reconciling mission' from the P.I.C.C. because the majority of Samoans were in the P.I.C.C. Rev. Sio to the E.F.K.S. December 5, 1963. Fuimaono's Diary records that the Delegation requested for an early meeting with all Samoans but it seems that the P.I.C.C. could not accommodate the request until Wednesday.

[748] 'Report by the Delegation...' , p.2.

[749] 'Report by the Delegation...', p.2.

[750] 'Report by the Delegation...', p.2.

contribution should have stopped them from leaving. But in his mind, such things were nothing compared to their hope and vision for the Samoan Church, so dear in heart. In Fuimaono's words :-

> I am Fuimaono; I do not count what I have given [in sacrifice and in contribution in which I therefore can have rightful claims on them]. I should not leave the P.I.C.C. with my family because we donated so much in building the Church and for its other developments in general. But I do not consider those things more worthy than of the things I mentioned above for my Ekalesia Fa'apotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa.[751]

On behalf of the separated group, Fuimaono expressed their determination **never** to return to the P.I.C.C. :-

> On the question of returning there [ie. P.I.C.C.], please, our confession before the Delegation is that we will never return to the P.I.C.C. If the Delegation may decide not to recognise our request, there will be something else [another possibility] for us, because the Methodists[752] are looking after us.[753]

The Delegation's response to the above confessions was mainly to give them **warmth** [fa'amafanafana] and advice for calmness. Before this meeting concluded as it started, with prayer, the separated Samoans were told of two critical concerns the Delegation felt about the recognition of 'their already started and separated Samoan Church' :-

> (i) It is not a good and right reason to start a separate Samoan Church so that they can send money to the Church in Samoa. (ii) The greatest fear is to have this separate Samoan Church as a way of dividing and a cause of disharmony among the children of Samoa and the Samoan Church in New Zealand. [754]

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[751] 'Report by the Delegation...', p.2.

[752] This refers to Samoan Methodist Preachers who were helping to conduct Sunday Services of the separated Samoans. It may also refer to the Palagi Methodist Church in Pitt Street who was also helping, as noted above.

[753] 'Report by the Delegation...', p.2.

[754] Research Notes by Pastor Tautiaga Senara. Confirmed by 'Personal Stories...', of Elder Pastor Timaloa, and by Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala.

In the same evening the Methodist Samoans gave 7 pounds as part of their [Inu] traditional-welcome recognition for the Delegation.

Wednesday October 23, 1963.

The Delegation met with the P.I.C.C. as 'instructed'[755] by Rev. Sio on the day of the arrival, and with the hope for discussion with Samoans in the P.I.C.C.[756] The Delegation Report notes that in this meeting between the Delegation and Samoans in the P.I.C.C., Elder Pastor Poasa had twice requested[757] that the two sides of Samoans were to meet together with the Delegation on the next day [Thursday], but Rev. Challis refused.[758] Other Samoans in the P.I.C.C. shared Rev. Challis' refusal but most probably out of different reasons.[759] But the E.F.K.S. ordained pastor, Siaosi Ieriko and one other chief, both in the P.I.C.C., openly disagreed with Rev. Challis.[760] According to Rev. Sio, this had occasioned the invitation from the 'Samoana Moni' [Society of Chiefs] for a separate meeting with the Delegation which was held on Saturday of the same week.[761] Whatever

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[755] The Delegation report gives the sense that they were following Rev. Sio's instruction. But in Rev. Sio's reference to this aspect in his letter to the E.F.K.S. [December 5, 1963], he requested the Delegation for their participation in the P.I.C.C.'s welcome on seeing the Delegation's inclination to stay with the separated Samoans. This problematic aspect will be referred to later in the text.

[756] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala records that the Delegation had this hope for the meeting on Wednesday. The Delegation Report suggests this occurred though mostly between the Delegation and Rev. Sio and Rev. Challis. The result was the request by the Delegation for a meeting with all the Samoans on both sides on the next day, Thursday, which was not accepted.

[757] The Delegation Report clearly suggests that Rev. Poasa was requesting in the Delegation's status as the representative of the E.F.K.S. Hence his instruction and request for a meeting with all the born children of the E.F.K.S. According to the Delegation Report :- 'I instructed Missionary Challis and Leua [Rev Sio] for both sides to be before us tomorrow morning. Missionary Challis responded - "That can not be done." I requested again, but to no avail, and we ended with a prayer by Leua'.

[758] Rev. Sio refers to their reply to Rev. Poasa's request in this way - '...we responded with Rev. Challis it was alright. but it was impossible on that night [Wednesday] because most of the members were not present. But their request will be fulfilled on Sunday night when all church members will be present'. Rev. Sio to the E.F.K.S. December 5, 1963.

[759] One major reason was the anger by some Samoans because the Delegation was hosted first by the separated Samoans, and by themselves only who were also in the minority. According to Timai Uele; 'Personal Story...' Uele was a Lay Preacher who was in the P.I.C.C., and only left after the Delegation recognised the separated Samoan Church.

[760] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala.

[761] Rev. Sio. 'Personal Story...' This connection is confirmed in Fuimaono's Diary.

the real reasons for Rev. Challis' refusal, and what the Delegation had made out of it, it is difficult to be certain. But it can be said that the failure to bring about a combined meeting of both sides of the Samoans and the Delegation reflects deeper divisions between the Samoans, and the insensitivity of Rev. Challis to the Delegation's pastoral approach into solving the difficulties arising out of the established Samoan Church in New Zealand. The P.I.C.C.'s refusal of the Delegation's request was a 'lost opportunity' seriously missed. On the Delegation's side it did not help with the known character of Elder Pastor Poasa who was well known for his authoritative personality, and for his evident belief that missionary authority in the Samoan Church was long time ended. Not surprisingly, when Rev. Challis offered for Elder Pastor Poasa to preach in both the morning and evening services in the Newton P.I.C.C. on the following Sunday 27th, Elder Pastor Poasa accepted only the evening service.[762]

Thursday October 24, 1963.

The most important event of this day was the meeting between the Delegation and representatives of the C.U.N.Z. at the Congregational residential Theological College at Mt Eden.[763] Nothing substantial came out of this meeting except the exchange of mutual appreciation for the long existent relationship between the C.U.N.Z. and the Samoan Church as symbolised in their cooperation in the previous fifteen years since P.I.C.C.'s beginning, and in the previous twelve years since the Congregational Theological College received students of the Samoan Church for theological training. The Delegation made known they had not yet made a decision until they visited other groups of Samoans around New Zealand, after which they would meet again with representatives of the

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[762] 'Report by the Delegation...', p.2. One can see in Rev. Challis' invitation for Elder Pastor Poasa to preach in the morning and in the evening services of the P.I.C.C. as either testing Elder Pastor Poasa's inclination or as showing Rev. Challis' non-recognition of the separated Samoans.

[763] C.U.N.Z. to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated November 11, 1963. Nokise has the date wrong for this meeting. He locates it on Monday night [Nokise, p.229]. But this was the first night of the Delegation and was meeting the separated Samoans as I noted above.

C.U.N.Z. The Delegation Report briefly mentions this meeting as being good and orderly- 'Everything was good in meeting with this fellow'.[764]

Friday October 25, 1963.

During sightseeing the Delegation was taken to meet officials of the Ponsonby Post Office where Fuimaono worked, and also the Zoo in the afternoon. As Chairman of the Committee of Elders of the E.F.K.S., Elder Pastor Poasa spoke on the air for the Samoan radio broadcast [2AP] from New Zealand. The last event of the day was the Delegation accepting an invitation by a chief from the village in Samoa where Elder Pastor Poasa was the pastor, and who was also a prominent deacon in the Newton P.I.C.C. It was a disappointment to the Delegation as Fuimaono's Diary relates briefly to a long disrespectful speech by the chief to the Delegation.[765] Suspicion about the Delegation was mounting amongst some Samoans in the P.I.C.C., in contrast to the 'close family relationship' already developed between the Delegation and the separated Samoans.

Saturday October 26, 1963.

This day may be the Sabbath of sovereign rest for Yahweh according to the Old Testament and the Jews. For the Delegation from the Samoan Church it was a day of sightseeing to the Freezing Works, attending to families' invitations, and to a treat at a night movie by a Chief and his wife who were at the time still in the Newton P.I.C.C. The important but less publicised event was the Delegation's attendance to the invitation from the Society of Samoan Chiefs, the Samoana Moni [True Samoans].[766] Attending this

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[764] 'Report by the Delegation...', p.3.

[765] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala. It is understandable why Chief Toleafoa was disappointed at the Delegation. This is because the P.I.C.C.'s programme in hosting the Delegation was that Elder Pastor Poasa was to stay with Chief Toleafoa, and will be hosted by families from the village of Elder Pastor Poasa's pastoral ministry in Samoa [Vaigaga village]. Rev. Sio wrote to the Delegation before leaving Samoa about this arrangement which was an offer by the Vaigaga villagers in the P.I.C.C., and which he and Rev. Challis accepted. It will be shown later that this was a critical mistake of the P.I.C.C.'s programme in hosting the Delegation. This episode nevertheless shows the kind of tension and disappointments felt by Samoans during the controversial mission by the Delegation.

[766] This meeting was held at Pastor Ieriko's place. Pastor Ieriko was one of the leaders of this Society of Chiefs [Samoana Moni]. Rev. Sio relates his suspicion for this separate meeting between the Delegation and this Society of Samoan Chiefs, especially in relation to Pastor Ieriko who was using his chiefly status [Title Fonoti] at the time, while being a preacher in the P.I.C.C. The implication is that it was Pastor Ieriko's political machination of his way back to the E.F.K.S. after his leaving the E.F.K.S.'s pastoral

invitation had given the Delegation wider scope to help in their assessment of the request by the separate Samoans in the light of the opinion of Samoan cultural leaders [the Chiefs] in other Samoan Churches in New Zealand. This Society included chiefs who were Catholic and Methodist in religious affiliation.

Sunday October 27, 1963.

Some of the most controversial events during the Delegation's mission occurred on this day.[767] They need to be looked at more closely because of their immediate significance in the turn of events, and for their wider significance in the proper understanding of the critical role of the E.F.K.S. Delegation in the controversial beginning of the C.C.C.S. Elder Pastor Poasa preached in the morning service of the separate Samoan Church on the text- 'Think not that I have come to abolish the law and the prophets' [St Matthew 5:17].[768] He also preached, using the same text, in the Newton P.I.C.C. for the worship service of the Samoan membership in the evening. The Delegation Report relates the essence of Elder Pastor Poasa's sermon in the P.I.C.C. :-

> In that sermon, I was saying to them the following - Do not let your minds be troubled in thinking that what is likely to happen should necessarily destroy the mutual fellowship and love among you. Where you are [in worship and in religious affiliation], be steadfast and be honestly committed, because the physician is of no use to the strong, only for the sick.[769]

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ministry in Samoa to come to New Zealand. Nokise is equally suspicious of this meeting, holding the possibility that, '...the Delegation had given its game away beforehand by attending the Matai [Chiefs] Association meeting'.(Nokise, p.230.). This seems exaggerated as Nokise himself later recognises when he alludes rightly that the Delegation perhaps '...attended in order to ascertain for itself the feeling of the Matais [Chiefs] concerning the issue [Nokise, pp.230-231]. It was one of the main requirements for the Delegation by the E.F.K.S. and the G.P.C. to ascertain the general feelings of Samoans in New Zealand about the whole issue. The Delegation had written to Fuimaono about this requirement in the letter on September 6, 1963. Rev. Sio wrote advising the Secretary of the E.F.K.S. that it would be easy for the Delegation to meet all Samoans in the P.I.C.C. Churches around New Zealand if the Delegation were to stay with the Newton P.I.C.C. [Rev. Sio to Secretary of the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, October 2, 1963].

[767] Nokise refers to this meeting having occurred on the second Sunday of November, 1963.[Nokise, p.229]. This is wrong. The Delegation returned to Samoa before this day.

[768] According to Chief and Lay Preacher, Sola Brown; 'Personal Story...'. Brown was a founding member of the C.C.C.S. in the Grey Lynn Parish.

[769] 'Report by the Delegation...', p.3.

Hearing such message then or now can not fail to deny the obvious conclusion that Elder Pastor Poasa was indicating the Delegation's inclination to support the separated Samoans. Indeed in the long awaited meeting between the Delegation and the P.I.C.C. Samoans which was held after the service,[770] this conclusion was clearly, if already made by some.[771] This may have caused the direct question by one member to the Delegation whether they had already approved the separate Samoan Church, to which Elder Pastor Poasa's affirmative retort became the unbearable moment for the P.I.C.C. opposition, and also ignited the controversial exchange between the Delegation and the P.I.C.C. Samoans which characterised this meeting.[772]

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[770] Nokise's reference to this meeting as the long awaited meeting between the Delegation and Samoans on both sides [Nokise, p.231], is a misunderstanding. This meeting as Rev. Sio rightly refers to was the meeting between the Delegation and Samoans in the P.I.C.C. [Rev. Sio to the E.F.K.S., December 5, 1963]. Nokise's misunderstanding may reflect the understanding of some P.I.C.C. Samoans. But this was already a dead option as shown in the 'clash of perspectives' between the Delegation and Rev. Challis and Rev. Sio, during the meeting on the previous Wednesday. This is confirmed in the light of the reasons why the separated Samoans attended this meeting. According to Sola Brown, they attended the evening worship in the P.I.C.C. because they wanted to hear Elder Pastor Poasa's sermon, and also what the Delegation would say in its meeting with the P.I.C.C. Fuimaono's Diary supports this. Though his understanding of the meeting as not intended for further examination of issues is to be understood in connection with the impolite behaviour of some P.I.C.C. Samoans, but not a belief that there should not be a meeting between the Delegation and the P.I.C.C. Samoans after the service. According to Fuimaono :- ' After the service...then the many disrespectful questions hurled at the Delegation. Some of these questions were instigated by Rev, Challis and Rev. Sio. The children are too impolite. The purpose of the day is Elder Pastor Poasa's preaching [as invited], but not an examination of issues for further understanding...'. Nokise's misunderstanding nonetheless betrays the fundamental failure in the official level, that is between the Delegation and the P.I.C.C. ministerial leadership to agree on a common strategy from which to start the negotiation process towards a proper settlement.

[771] This is a certainty because according to Rev. Ripley who was a participant in the meeting, the story was passed around that the Delegation had already stated its recognition of the separate Samoan Church in its meeting with the Society of Chiefs on Saturday, and it would be confirmed on Sunday [27 October]. It means that some attended the meeting on Sunday with such understanding and Elder Pastor Poasa's sermon would seem only to confirm it.

[772] Nokise is right that Elder Pastor Poasa's affirmative reply was the turning point in the mood of the meeting. What seems unlikely is the extent to which Nokise associates this response by the Delegation and its authoritative style in the meeting with the ensuing controversies, especially in relation to the eventuality of the latter to provide a contrast to a supposedly relaxed atmosphere in the activities of the previous week. [Nokise, p.231]. The suggestion of a 'relaxed atmosphere' is a misreading of the reality of the nature and sequence of events in the previous week as demonstrated above. A great deal of the controversial exchanges in the meeting resulted from the events of the previous week, particularly the refusal by Rev. Challis of the Delegation's request for an early meeting between the Delegation and both sides of Samoans. The separate meetings between the Delegation and the separated Samoans on Monday and Tuesday and with the P.I.C.C. Samoans on Wednesday, which partly occasioned the meeting with the 'Samoana Moni' on Saturday were not likely to create an atmosphere of possible reconciliation among the Samoans. As it turned out, they only encouraged mutual suspicion and mutual indifference. In this respect, the

An important aspect that needs clarification is whether the Delegation had made its final decision to approve the separate Samoan Church in this meeting. This is vital because the credibility of Nokise's challenge to the whole manner the Delegation conducted its mission presupposes the view that the Delegation made its final decision in this meeting.[773] And furthermore, according to Nokise, the decision not only reflected the bias of the Delegation towards the separated Samoans,[774] but '...seems to suggest that it [the Delegation] was more interested in what the Home Church would gain from the controversy than its claims [that it was] concerned for the unity of Samoans in New Zealand.'[775] Another critical issue raised by Nokise is whether the Delegation had the authority to make the final decision during its mission.[776]

There is a strong case to support the claim that the Delegation made its final decision during this meeting. Rev. Sio spelled this out clearly in his letter to the E.F.K.S. of December 5, 1963 :-

> After our Samoan worship which was led by Elder Poasa, our Church [P.I.C.C.] met the Delegation. It was in that meeting that Poasa explicitly declared that they had approved the Church which was established by Fuimaono. And such Church will be consecrated and recognised as part of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. About six hundred Samoans in the meeting felt deeply hurt and sad to see that the decision by the Delegation was effectually destroying the unity of our fellowship...[777]

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controversies which characterised the meeting between the Delegation and the P.I.C.C. Samoans on Sunday was one of the ugly manifestations and unnecessary outcomes of such failure in negotiation.

[773] Nokise, "A History...", pp.234-236.

[774] Nokise, "A History...", pp.233-234.

[775] Nokise, "A History...", p.236. This claim can not be substantiated in the light of further developments after this controversial meeting. But it clearly reflects real suspicions on the part of Samoans in the P.I.C.C. who were against the Delegation's association with the separated Samoans.

[776] Nokise, "A History...", p.232.

[777] Rev. Sio to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, December 5, 1963.

This is supported by Rev. Ripley,[778] a participant on the P.I.C.C. Samoans' side, and also by the C.U.N.Z. as shown in its letter to the E.F.K.S. of November 11, 1963.[779]

But there is equally a strong case to support a different interpretation of what the Delegation essentially meant when it declared its approval of the separate Samoan Church. There are substantial proofs of this. Fuimaono's reference to this aspect in his Diary suggests that it was Elder Pastor Poasa's affirmative retort to a 'testing question' by a member as mentioned above in the 'heat' of impolite remarks and criticisms of the Delegation.[780] When these criticisms of the Delegation went as far as to challenge the authority of the Delegation to make binding decisions, the Delegation therefore was forced to explain and to justify what it could do in its mission.[781] Also, recollection by a participant[782] in this meeting relates Elder Pastor Poasa's anger about the way the separated Samoans were branded as black sheep by Rev. Challis according to the explanations given by P.I.C.C. Samoans to the Delegation.[783] The relevant point is Elder Pastor Poasa's final response which showed how serious such branding of the separated Samoans meant to him. It also shows what the Delegation understood about its mission, and how the P.I.C.C.'s ministerial leadership was carelessly handling the relationship between the two sides of Samoans in the hearing of the Delegation. According to Uele, Elder Pastor Poasa responded as follows :-

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[778] Rev. Ripley; 'Personal Story...'

[779] C.U.N.Z. to E.F.K.S.; November 11, 1963.

[780] This 'testing question' by a P.I.C.C. Samoan is already mentioned above. The Delegation Report refers to the impolite manner some P.I.C.C. Samoans were asking questions as follows :- 'We deeply felt the weight and burden of the children's derogatory remarks against us. But with much patience we calmly guided them into understanding'. 'Report by the Delegation...', p.3.

[781] Rev. Sio relates four claims by Rev. Poasa about the authority of their Delegation in relation to its mission in his letter to the E.F.K.S. of December 5, 1963. These will be referred to later. At this stage, the vital point is the Delegation's explanation that they had the authority to make a final decision which was concomitant and also binding on the E.F.K.S. in Samoa.

[782] This is Lay Preacher Timai Uele who was on the side of the P.I.C.C. at this stage, and only joined the C.C.C.S. after it was approved by the Delegation on November 9, 1963.
Timai Uele; 'Personal Story...'.

[783] 'Report by the Delegation...', p.3.

> Rev. Sio and the P.I.C.C., we have come to see if it is appropriate to accept the beginning of the E.F.K.S. As things stand, if that is your belief that you call all these people of the country, or members of the Church who want to begin the Samoan Church, **black sheep**, let it be as such. But let me tell you Leua [Rev. Sio] and Fathers of Samoa in the P.I.C.C...we will withdraw to think seriously about this...The Samoan Church will begin in New Zealand...We will try to do it...[784]

The last two phrases in Elder Pastor Poasa's response do not suggest a final decision in their Samoan versions, either by themselves or in the context of the whole response quoted. The whole point made in the response is this. It is not that the Delegation was making a final decision, but it was merely reminding the P.I.C.C., in particular the Samoan membership, that it had the delegated authority of the E.F.K.S. to make the final decision on the controversial problems relating to the separated Samoan Church. In other words, the P.I.C.C. was 'served notice' because as things appeared to the Delegation, there was little prospect of reconciliation due to the intransigence on both sides, and also to the obvious lack of a sincere inclination by the P.I.C.C.'s ministerial leadership to achieve reconciliation. From this perspective, the Delegation's recognition of 'Fuimaono's Church' was not a final decision but one that was negotiable depending on the willingness of both sides to achieve reconciliation among themselves. There was moreover a tendency on the part of the Delegation to reserve any final decision until it was proved impossible to reconcile the two sides by their own efforts. The most evident proof is the Delegation Report which suggests clearly that at the end of the meeting, Rev. Sio asked for another chance for another attempt for reconciliation which the Delegation had given.[785] Events in the next two weeks of the Delegation's mission would further support the claim that the Delegation did not make its final decision during this meeting with the P.I.C.C. Samoans on Sunday October 27, 1963.

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[784] Uele, Timai. 'Personal Story...'

[785] 'Report by Delegation...', p.3. According to Nokise (p.235) on the basis of his interview with Rev. Sio, it was on the next day, Monday, that Rev. Sio had asked the Delegation for this further attempt. Whatever the truth is about this, the main point remains that whatever decision the Delegation made in the Sunday meeting, it was negotiable from the perspective of the Delegation.

Some of the most vividly remembered and widely shared memories of this meeting were the derogatory remarks, criticisms, and challenging questions made to the Delegation. Sparks were added by the Delegation's responses. A most severe criticism was the 'decision' to stay with the separated Samoans which the P.I.C.C. Samoans thought unwise, and a reflection of the Delegation's bias towards the separated Samoans to the neglect of the majority of the children of the Samoan Church and of Samoa in the P.I.C.C. A woman[786] is popularly remembered to have remarked that the Delegation was a waste of the Samoan Church's money. And they should not have come because Rev. Sio could have handled the whole situation better. The general suspicion about the bias of the Delegation was so strong that it was even pointed out that neutrality would have been better served if the Delegation had stayed in a hotel.[787] Elder Pastor Timaloa's recollection of the Delegation's answer [that is, by Mr. Etene Sa'aga] is illuminating :-

> On arrival at the airport the first person we met was Rev. Sio. Fuimaono and others were outside. Our first question to Rev. Sio was - How is the ministry ? The answer - everything is alright. Then we asked about plans and arrangements. Rev. Sio's instructions were - Elder Pastor Poasa will stay with Afoa the deacon from Vaigaga. Etene [Delegate] will stay with another deacon...We were to stay with deacons!!! When we met Fuimaono outside and asked where we were to stay, Fuimaono replied - At Fuimaono's place. Now, why are you asking about not staying in the Hotel ? But why did not you pay for a Hotel if that was what you wanted ? Have you ever sent a brown cent for the Samoan Church ? We asked Rev. Sio and the reply was, Elder Pastor Poasa stays with the deacon from Vaigaga. It is not a Delegation for Vaigaga people!! How can we stay in different places when we are of the same Delegation ? But where is Rev. Challis ? Why isn't Elder Pastor Poasa assigned to stay with Rev. Challis since he is your Pastor ? And myself [Etene] with Leua if there was a plan for us to stay in different places ? Who is beyond Fuimaono who has invited us to his place, and which enabled us the one Delegation to stay together ?[788]

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[786] According to Hine in her 'Personal Story of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S. and Other Parishes'. Nokise refers to this person as Mr. Moevao [Nokise, p.233], hence, a man. I am inclined to accept Hine's story in that she was present in this meeting, and there is a woman named Moevao [wife of a Pastor] who was in the Newton P.I.C.C., and was known for such daring behaviour.

[787] Elder Pastor Timaloa, 'Personal Story...'

[788] Elder Pastor Timaloa; 'Personal Story...' This quote must be read in the speaking mode of a person replying with authority.

The heated exchange made Elder Pastor Poasa add to the defence of the Delegation's decision to stay at Fuimaono's place. His response is equally illuminating on the Delegation's understanding of the existing situation in which the Delegation's mission was operating, as well as the Delegation's preferential concern for the cause of the separated Samoans. It further reflects the characteristic familial nature of the piety of Samoan Church Fathers which is a strong element in their paternalistic leadership of the Samoan Church, and in the way they exercise Church authority. According to Elder Pastor Timaloa's recollection of Elder Pastor Poasa's response :-

> Do not let yourselves be troubled by false suspicions. It is not true that we are biased to Fuimaono and the separated Samoans in any way. Etene [Mr. Sa'aga] has already said it. We did not start the separated Samoan Church. It was already established before we came...The only thing they requested is the name of the Church [E.F.K.S.] to be given to call their Church...We did not come to establish a church. The only thing is...the Church has extended its arm to the children of the Church who have cried in request. There is nothing wrong with your situation according to Rev. Sio. But for these born children [tama fanau] of the Church who have cried to the Church in Samoa, the Church must extend its arm to embrace them. How can they be ignored ? If we say there is no Church, where would they go ? Your situation is good. Why do you interfere with the Samoan Church and wrongly accuse its Delegation in the way it carries out its mission ? Who ever wishes to be in the Samoan Church, let them be. If the separated Samoans want to return to the Samoan Church...You worship here. You are alright. But please calm down because the bad odour of jealousy is beginning to come...[789]

The controversial association of the Delegation's stay with the separated Samoans as reflecting its possible bias needs clarification. Rev. Challis wrote to Mr. Sa'aga and offered hospitality for the Delegation when it would come on its mission.[790] Rev. Sio also wrote[791] suggesting it would be better for the Delegation to stay with the P.I.C.C. for its mission towards the separated Samoans. That such was most advisable because the

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[789] Elder Pastor Timaloa; 'Personal Story...'

[790] Rev. Challis to Secretary of the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, October 2, 1963.

[791] Rev. Sio to Secretary of the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, October 2, 1963.

majority of Samoans were in the Newton P.I.C.C. and it would make easier the Delegation's wish to visit all Samoans in other centres or in the P.I.C.C. Churches in New Zealand. In this same letter Rev. Sio relates that there was some commotion in the P.I.C.C. because Fuimaono had [jokingly] told them that the Delegation will come to them [the separated Samoans] and approve their Church. In Rev. Sio's letter to the E.F.K.S. on December 5, 1963, he states clearly that according to their conversation with Fuimaono before the Delegation arrived, Fuimaono told him that Elder Pastor Poasa had already written and confirmed that the Delegation will stay with the separated Samoans. If this was the truth, then it can be asserted that the Delegation's decision to stay with the separated Samoans was not so much an indication of bias as an indication of an inclination which was not going to be helpful in finding a solution to the problem which necessitated the Delegation's mission. But there are other aspects to consider. Mr. Sa'aga as Secretary of the E.F.K.S. wrote back to Rev. Challis[792] saying that according to Elder Pastor Poasa, the decision of where to stay would be made when they arrive in New Zealand. A caution is added regarding the issue because of some complications the letter did not specify. But they most probably related to a concern on the cultural aspects in relation to the already tense relationship among the Samoans in New Zealand. This was the state of negotiations on the issue when the Delegation arrived in New Zealand. The Delegation Report states that it was Rev. Sio's instruction for the Delegation to stay at Fuimaono's place. This seems to be the truth though it must be clarified as to how it came to be as such. The determinant clue is provided in Mr. Sa'aga's response quoted above. It relates to the Delegation's disappointment with the P.I.C.C.'s intended programme in hosting the Delegation. Its basic shortcomings is that it did not allow the Delegation to stay together in view of the requirements of its mission. Also cultural and Samoan Church expectations would require that the Delegation must be accommodated by the P.I.C.C.'s leading pastors, either Rev. Sio or Rev. Challis. When this was not offered, the Delegation then chose to stay with Chief Fuimaono whose side was best prepared to welcome the Delegation.[793] So that on seeing the Delegation's inclination to

[792] Secretary of E.F.K.S. to Rev. Challis. Letter dated, October 7, 1963.

[793] According to Fuimaono's Diary, their side went prepared to the airport to welcome the Delegation with four taxis, and with women of their side with special uniform for the occasion. Because of this, it is most

want to stay with Fuimaono's side, Rev. Sio therefore agreed reluctantly and then **instructed** the Delegation as mentioned in the Delegation's Report to stay with Fuimaono until Wednesday. This is important because the Delegation's Report gives the sense that the Delegation was merely obeying Rev. Sio's instruction on where to stay. But in the reference to this aspect in Rev. Sio's letter [December 5, 1963],[794] it clearly suggests that he had to request the Delegation for their participation in the welcome by the P.I.C.C. on Wednesday. Given these considerations the most likely explanation seems to be as follows. The Delegation's inclination to stay with the separated Samoans is most evident. But the failure in the programme prepared by the P.I.C.C. to host the Delegation as shown in the response by Mr. Sa'aga above clearly suited Elder Pastor Poasa's inclination, as noted above, to want to stay with the separated Samoans. Events may have taken a different course if the P.I.C.C. ministerial leadership insisted on hosting the Delegation by having them stay with Rev. Sio and Rev. Challis. This would have given the Delegation a good challenge for their inclinations, because such was the expected way according to Samoan Church and cultural expression of proper respect. Unfortunately this was not the case as shown in the vehement response from Mr. Sa'aga as quoted in response above. [795] But it is not absolutely evident that the Delegation's decision to stay with the separated Samoans indicated its bias in favour of the separated Samoans as strongly claimed by Nokise. Although Elder Pastor Poasa is known to make

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likely that Elder Pastor Poasa had written to Fuimaono that the Delegation would stay with the separated Samoans. But in the nature of such issues in Samoan Elders, there is always an open-ended aspect in thinking which allows room for changes according to unforeseen circumstances.

[794] The relevant part of the letter reads :- 'I was at the airport with our Secretary and some members of our Church to wait for the Delegation. And we reminded the Delegation of our humble request to our 'welcome of respect' on Wednesday, and the hope that they would then stay with us. But it was not accepted, that is, the latter part of the request...' [Rev. Sio to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, December 5, 1963]. It is not likely that the Delegation refused the latter part of the request on the meeting at the airport. It is most likely that this occurred on Wednesday night when the Delegation attended the 'welcome of respect' by the P.I.C.C. This is because there were differences on this night as noted in the Text. And that Rev. Sio's letter was written much later after these events.

[795] The relevant part of Mr. Sa'aga's response is :- 'We asked Rev. Sio and the reply was, Elder Pastor Poasa stays with the deacon from Vaigaga. It is not a Delegation for Vaigaga people !!! How can we stay in different places when we are the same Delegation ? But where is Rev. Challis ? Why isn't Elder Pastor Poasa assigned to stay with Rev. Challis since he is your pastor ? And myself [Etene Sa'aga] with Leua [Rev. Sio] if there was a plan for us to stay in different places ? Who is beyond Fuimaono who has invited us to his place, and which enabled us the one Delegation to stay together ?

clear to the separated Samoans that it was right for the Delegation to stay with them because the Delegation's mission was for them,[796] this does not necessarily indicate bias; rather it relates to the way the Delegation understood the cause and purpose of its mission which in some ways is explicit in the response by Elder Pastor Poasa quoted above. This relates particularly to the evident 'preferential concern' on the part of the Delegation for the separated Samoans because of their vulnerable situation.[797]

Other dramatic exchanges involved theological issues like ecumenical cooperation, church unity, and the concern for the integrity of the Gospel which the P.I.C.C. Samoans felt were already threatened by the separate existence of a Samoan Church. The deeper concern behind these was the integrity of the Samoan Christian understanding and witness to Christian churchmanship. For the Samoan pastoral leaders in the P.I.C.C. the 'separatist nature' of a 'separated Samoan Church for Samoans' implied not only a culture-bound churchmanship but a culturally subverted form of Christianity. These critical concerns on the part of the P.I.C.C. Samoans are well expressed by its leaders, Rev. Ripley and Rev. Sio. According to Rev. Ripley :-

> This was the sad beginning of the C.C.C.S. There was no theological purpose but the result of sudden eruptions in national pride and religious emotionalism. There was nothing for the sake of the Gospel, but it seems like it was the opportunity for the Samoan Church to fly

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[796]Sola Brown; 'Personal Story...'

[797] The vitality of the personal aspect of historical interpretation is evident here. The 'preferential concern' by the Delegation in the light of the 'vulnerable situation' of the separated Samoans is similar in the manner the Father of the 'Parable about the Father and his two sons' in St Luke 15:25-32 adjudicates on the conflicting inclinations by his two sons. The elder son who never left home suspects his father's love for him because he readily accepts the prodigal son who returned in repentance after squandering the family's properties. And that the father had never given a kid for him to party with his friends. But the father's explanation shows his preferential concern for the 'vulnerable son' who was lost in sin but now returned with repentance. According to the Father : 'Son you are always with me, and all that is mine is yours. It was fitting to make merry and be glad, for this your brother was dead, and is alive, he was lost and is found.' This 'preferential concern' reflects 'familial piety' which may seem biased and divisive, but its essential thrust is reconciliatory and liberating. This was a strong element in the various decisions by the Delegation. Its particular relevance in relation to the Delegation's decision to stay with the separated Samoans is evident in Elder Pastor Poasa's response as quoted in the Text. The following is exemplary :- 'There is nothing wrong with your situation according to Rev. Sio. But for these born children [tama fanau] of the Church who have cried to the Church in Samoa, the Church must extend its arm to embrace them. How can they be ignored ? If we say there is no Church, where would they go?...'

> its flag in New Zealand.[798] Many people think it is a natural development but for me, the beginning was a shameful incidence...a complete misunderstanding and misinterpretation of Theology. It reveals our cultural-bound churchmanship. There is a tendency in our people to concentrate on themselves but disinclined to relate to other kinds of people. The result is the failure to express the Gospel in ways that may be meaningful to others from our perspectives...[799]

According to Rev. Sio :-

> Samoans in the P.I.C.C. are now uncertain about their discipleship for Jesus and His Gospel. The present uncertainty is the direction to which we should direct our ultimate discipleship for the will of God - whether for the Samoan Church. or for the Christian witness we should engage in in our side of the world. As Pastors we now find it difficult to preach the Christian understanding of the unity of all people and all races in Christ alone...We also find it difficult to harmonise the present state in our ministry[800] and Jesus' prayer in St John 17, that His family may be one...This is my cry of concern to my Fathers and the brethren in the ministry...[801]

Unfortunately, the controversial atmosphere of the meeting did not allow for a calm and serious consideration of such theological issues. Also, it is generally remembered that the authoritative yet entertaining manner Elder Pastor Poasa responded during exchanges tended to drown constructive criticisms and serious expressions of concern by some. For example a theological scholarship student of the E.F.K.S. in the P.I.C.C. commented that they had thought the Samoan Church would have seriously considered the ecumenical trend towards religious unity among Churches. And that it should have been thankful because of the leading role by Samoans to unite Islanders to worship together on such basis. Elder Pastor Poasa's response subdued the scholarship student into a humble reply

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[798] Nokise (p.225) reflects this same understanding in his suspicions about the essential implication of the E.F.K.S.'s final decision to accept the decision made by its Delegation. Perhaps it reflects the fact that Rev. Ripley was one of his major sources. But even if it was not the case, such interpretation was shared by a number of Samoans in the P.I.C.C.

[799] Rev. Ripley: 'Personal Story...'

[800] It refers to the divided nature of the Christian witness which was caused by the existence of the separated Samoan Church. This concern was natural to Samoan Pastors in view of the fact that it was the Samoan members of the P.I.C.C. who were causing the division.

[801] Rev. Sio to E.F.K.S. December 5, 1963.

that he still has the Samoan Church in his heart.[802] The subdued atmosphere which followed gave the opportunity to a New Zealand trained Samoan pastor to request the continuing prayers by the Samoan Church [E.F.K.S.] for the Samoans in the P.I.C.C.[803] With the characteristic paternalism of Samoan Church Fathers, Elder Pastor Poasa replied - 'The Church [E.F.K.S.] is praying for you. Who has told you that the Church is not praying for you ?....'[804]

Second Week :- October 28 to November 2, 1963.[805]

Most of the week, from Monday to Friday, was occupied by Delegation's visits to other concentrations of Samoans around New Zealand, particularly in Tokoroa, Wellington, and Christchurch. As noted above, this was in accordance with the Delegation's request and was part of the official requirement of its mission. This undoubtedly was not only advantageous, but encouraged the cause of the separated Samoans. As tour guide Fuimaono had the opportunity to persuade Samoans in other centres to their cause. And his association with the Delegation was to give their cause a 'sense of importance'. On

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[802] According to Hine in her 'Personal Story...', the theological student was Ned Ripley. Ripley was trying to reason with the Delegation, but Elder Pastor Poasa was evasive by becoming personal, stating that the Samoan Church was still waiting for Ripley who was the Church scholarship for the Samoan Church. With respect for an Elder Pastor, Ripley decided to be silent.

[803] This was Pastor Setu Solomona who was the Samoan pastor of the P.I.C.C. in Porirua, according to Elder Pastor Timaloa.

[804] According to Elder Pastor Timaloa in his 'Personal Story...'

[805] Nokise refers to only one event in this week which is Rev. Sio's request to the Delegation on Monday, October 28, for another pastoral attempt for reconciliation. Had Nokise considered continuing efforts by the Delegation for the separated Samoans to reconsider their position, as the Delegation also did in the third week, his too negative assessment of the role of the Delegation may have been largely avoided. From this point onwards, Nokise only registers his assessment of the Delegation's mission and goes straight to a brief discussion and assessment of the subsequent negotiations between the P.I.C.C. and the E.F.K.S. Here, Nokise highlights what he discerns as an 'indifferent attitude' (p.239) by the E.F.K.S. in the negotiation process which can not be sustained (Nokise pp.238-239). Similarly, his speculations on the final decision by the E.F.K.S. which he does not consider can not be sustained either. For example, to claim that the failure by the E.F.K.S. to reply to a letter by the P.I.C.C. as a safe way it chose to avoid the embarrassment of having supported a breakaway church it could control, is obviously an unfounded allegation. It is wrong because there was continuing negotiations between the P.I.C.C. and the E.F.K.S. in relation to the 'problem' until after the E.F.K.S. had made its final decision, and also made it known to the P.I.C.C. The claim related to a move to avoid embarrassment is equally wrong. The basic problem is clearly the inaccessibility of E.F.K.S. documents to Nokise, if not Nokise's tendency to over-emphasise the perspective of the Samoans in the P.I.C.C. which was only part of the larger picture [truth].

the side of the Delegation it was the opportunity to learn of the inclinations of Samoans in such centres which was found to be similar to the general situation in Auckland.[806] For example, the need to maintain links with the E.F.K.S. was paramount. How to achieve such was largely dependent on the advice by the Delegation and the inclination of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. Back in Auckland on Friday, the Delegation visited the Head of State of Samoa, His Highness Malietoa Tanumafili II, in the Greenlane Hospital on Saturday. 'It was a happy meeting...'[807] which added to the very Samoan atmosphere of the week's engagement. Pastor, Chief, Head of State and the majority of E.F.K.S.'s migrant adherents, were now in touch. There was now a wider scope by which the Delegation could make its final decision.

Sometime towards the end of this week [second week] the Delegation had once again advised the separated Samoans on the possibility of returning to the P.I.C.C. The answer was an emphatic **NO**.[808] As the Delegation's Report states, it was time for the utmost prudence before making their official decision.[809] With prayer and in thinking about the advice the Delegation received from the Elders and the General Assembly - 'If you see that it is appropriate, do it' - the Delegation narrowed down the options by giving the last opportunity for the separated Samoans to reconsider their position.[810] This according to the Delegation was deemed appropriate just the same to give Rev. Sio the opportunity he requested on Sunday 27, for another approach to the separated Samoans towards reconciliation.[811]

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[806] Refer to Fuimaono's letter to the E.F.K.S. which he reported about Samoans in other centres who were already starting to begin separate Samoan Churches in Dunedin, Christchurch and Wellington. Relevant examples are already noted above in Chapter 3, (v).

[807] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala.

[808] 'Report by the Delegation...', p.3. According to the Report :- 'We deliberated with Fuimaono and the separated Samoans once again. We requested them if they could return to the Church they had left. The answer was the same. If our request will not be accepted by the Samoan Church, we will think of other alternatives'.

[809] 'Report by the Delegation...', p.3.

[810] 'Report by the Delegation...', p.3.

[811] 'Report by the Delegation...', p.3.

Third Week :- November 3 to November 9.

On Sunday, November 3, Elder Pastor Poasa preached at the separated Samoan Church in the morning service and at the P.I.C.C. in New Lynn in the evening service.[812] Another 'show down', though less dramatic and at a smaller scale, occurred between Elder Pastor Poasa and P.I.C.C. Samoans opposing the separated Samoan Church and unhappy about the Delegation. Fuimaono notes in his Diary that most of the leading Samoans from the Newton P.I.C.C. were also present and asking impolite questions.[813] Fuimaono comments on the opposition's behaviour and their questions - 'Talofa i le valea o tagata Samoa' [How pitiful is the foolishness of the Samoan people].[814]

Tuesday, November 5, 1963.

Monday and Wednesday were rather quiet days occupied mainly by the Delegation's attending to invitations from Samoan families both of the separated Church and of the P.I.C.C., and the never ending enthusiasm of Fuimaono to show the Delegation around Auckland and to meet some of his important Palagi friends, in particular the Chief Justice in Whangarei.[815] The significant event on this day, Tuesday, was, according to Fuimaono's Diary, when '...[Rev.] Sio came to his house and confessed that he was no longer opposing what has already happened. He made two long speeches which were all lies...'[816]

Thursday, November 7, 1963.

The almost daily invitations from Samoan families, and city rides continued. Of particular importance was the invitation from the fellowship of the village people of Elder Pastor Poasa's pastoral ministry in Samoa. The chief [and his family] who made the impolite speech to the Delegation on Friday, October 25, was ignored by the fellowship, perhaps out of disappointment for his impoliteness to the pastor of their

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[812] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala.

[813] Diary of Fuimaono. Fuimaono records that Rev. Sio was also present with leading Samoan deacons and committee members of the Newton P.I.C.C.

[814] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala.

[815] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala.

[816] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala.

village in Samoa.[817] According to the Delegation Report this was the day they made their official decision.[818] It was made after they visited all the Samoans around New Zealand, and after giving all the opportunities to the respective leaders of the separated Samoans and the P.I.C.C. Samoans to achieve reconciliation. According to the Delegation Report :

> ...We returned on Thursday, met Fuimaono's side, and asked what they had decided. Their answer - "We have made no decision." The Delegation asked - "Has Rev. Sio come [in his pastoral attempt for reconciliation]?" Their answer - "No." Then we made our official decision. Our decision was made with prayer. We said to them as follows - "On Saturday, November 9, we will gather to confirm the Samoan Church - the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa in New Zealand...".[819]

An important point is worth considering at this stage in relation to Rev. Sio's confession on Tuesday and the Delegation's question on Thursday whether Rev. Sio had come for his pastoral attempt for reconciliation. Why would the Delegation ask Fuimaono's side on Thursday concerning Rev. Sio's promised pastoral attempt, when the Delegation was aware of Rev. Sio's confession on Tuesday ? The most likely explanation has to do with the basic approach the Delegation had consistently used during its mission. That is, they would give all the possible opportunities for the two sides to settle their differences among themselves. And the Delegation would only make its final decision in view of what the two sides may accomplish. It means that for the Delegation, Rev. Sio's visit and confession on Tuesday was his personal decision in view of the whole problem. What the Delegation wished to know if he had made his pastoral attempt as previously requested for the reconciliation of the two sides of Samoans which was quite a different matter. In one sense, Rev. Sio did not need a further pastoral attempt because his confession was essentially his decision as the pastoral leader of the Samoans in the P.I.C.C. to accept the reality of a separate Samoan Church. And it may have also been a 'gesture of respect' by

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[817] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala. As recorded by Fuimaono, the fellowship gave a full envelope of money for Elder Pastor Poasa, 10 pounds for Mr. Sa'aga, and 1 pound for him.

[818] 'Report by the Delegation...', p.3.

[819] 'Report by the Delegation...', p.3.

a junior Samoan pastor for the senior Elder Pastor of his dear Samoan Church [that is, Elder Pastor Poasa] whose inclination was evidently on the side of the separated Samoans. The essential point is worth clarifying that the E.F.K.S.'s Delegation was not biased.

Friday, November 8, 1963.

On this day the Delegation met representatives of the C.U.N.Z. as promised by the Delegation on their previous meeting on October 24. The Delegation Report includes a brief mention of this meeting :-

> On Friday we met again Missionary Nicholas,[820] Lawyer Ennor,[821] and Leua [Rev. Sio]. We talked about our hope to confirm the request by this group [the separated Samoans]. It was difficult in some ways, but in his last speech, Nicholas finally agreed.[822]

What were the difficulties in the meeting ? Basically, the C.U.N.Z. representatives strongly opposed the recognition by the Delegation of the separated Samoan Church because of their claim that they have never yet been given any real reason for the breakaway beyond what they understood as Fuimaono's desire to establish a Samoan Church.[823] They also advised against the Delegation's explanation that their decision was a temporary measure to keep the separated Samoans from becoming 'Methodists, Roman Catholics, or one of the sects.'[824] The advice by the C.U.N.Z. representatives is logical. The '...act of recognising him [Fuimaono] the next day on Saturday 9th November was not consistent with this [the Delegation's explanation], and would make the future return more difficult.'[825] Furthermore, the Delegation was reminded of its 'breach of trust'. That

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[820] Rev. Nicholas was the Principal of the Congregational Theological College in Mt Eden, a previous Moderator of the C.U.N.Z., and an L.M.S. Director.

[821] Lawyer Ennor was the Chairman-elect of the C.U.N.Z., and an L.M.S. Director.

[822] 'Report by the Delegation...', p.3.

[823] C.U.N.Z. to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, November 11, 1963.

[824] The letter by the C.U.N.Z., November 11, 1963, refers to this explanation by the Delegation in their meeting.

[825] C.U.N.Z. to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, November 11, 1963.

it promised the C.U.N.Z. on their meeting on October 24, it would meet the C.U.N.Z. after its visit to all Samoans in New Zealand, and before it makes its final decision.[826] About the latter claim, the C.U.N.Z. is right, though as would be evident by now, it seems unlikely that the Delegation had any real consideration to seek the advice of the C.U.N.Z. regarding its mission. On the C.U.N.Z.'s reservation about the logic of the Delegation's explanation of its hope, it is clear that the Delegation had a different logic. For the Delegation the return was already a dead option. This is partly because of their impression that the P.I.C.C. pastors had failed to reconcile the two sides of Samoans. And as the Delegation had also stressed to the C.U.N.Z. representatives, they wished for Fuimaono to return to the P.I.C.C., but he refused them, and they had failed to persuade him.[827] Elder Pastor Poasa is remembered to have been quite upset by the way the C.U.N.Z. representatives challenged their decision,[828] and therefore responded in a way which shows some of the factors which may have strongly influenced the Delegation's final decision. According to Elder Pastor Timaloa's recollection of Elder Pastor Poasa's response :-

> We thank you for making good use of the children of the Samoan Church. This [the whole vision that led up to the request] did not just come up without reason. It is the opinion of the Delegation and the Samoan Church[E.F.K.S.] in my view, that the 'request from the vision' of the children of the Samoan Church is born at the right time ...

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[826] C.U.N.Z. to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, November 11, 1963.

[827] Letter by C.U.N.Z. to the E.F.K.S. November 11, 1963, refers to these explanations by the Delegation in their meeting.

[828] Rev. Sio, and Taulapapa Lami in their 'Personal Stories...' refer to this moment when Elder Pastor Poasa was upset, in different ways. According to Rev. Sio, Elder Pastor Poasa was just talking aimlessly [alu moeiini - literally translated, going with closed eyes] to the shame of his partner Mr. Sa'aga. To Taulapapa Lami, Elder Pastor Poasa commanded Mr. Sa'aga in an emphatic tone to translate his speech well [Nanu mea ia]. The crucial point seems to favour the Delegation's decision. Knowing the character of Samoans better, the Delegation feared the most likely possibility that the separated Samoans would join other denominations because, as noted above, this was the usual 'threat' Fuimaono gave the Delegation whenever he was asked to consider the possibility of returning to the P.I.C.C. The deepest problem is whether even the E.F.K.S. in Samoa could persuade the separated Samoans to return in the light of the 'shame aspect' in the Samoan mentality. The greatest difficulty was that though Samoans were united in New Zealand on the basis of their common religious affiliation in Samoa as shown in the P.I.C.C., the breakaway by Fuimaono and others showed that Samoans were equally conscious of their primary loyalties to their independent village Churches in Samoa.

> when the Samoan Church has become independent. Perhaps if the request had come while the Samoan Church was called 'Samoan Church L.M.S.' under the L.M.S., it would not be accepted since you have made clear your opposition to this[request and the decision made by the Delegation]...But you are Directors of the L.M.S. And it was the L.M.S. who had granted to the Samoan Church their independence...So we can not stop the Samoan Church whose time has come, and which was already existed when we came. What our Delegation is merely doing is to give the name of the Samoan Church in Samoa[E.F.K.S.] to call and to give formal recognition to the Samoan Church which is already established.[829]

It is clear that the Delegation thought of its mission as having the authority to make decisions on behalf of the E.F.K.S. This further explains why Elder Pastor Poasa would have been upset by the C.U.N.Z.'s opposition to the Delegation's decision. Elder Pastor Poasa reflects the general mentality of Samoan Church Elders who tend to believe that while some things may be negotiable, the aspects of worship and religious beliefs which are spiritual matters are non-negotiable; and especially when the Church Elder's decision is already made regarding them. It is also clear that the Delegation shared the belief by the separate Samoans[830] that the E.F.K.S. was already independent from the L.M.S.; and it means that for the Delegation, as it was also for the separated Samoans, it could not conceive of any justifiable reason why the C.U.N.Z. or the P.I.C.C. would interfere with the Delegation's mission and its decisions. In other words, Elder Pastor Poasa's response clearly reflects the increasing assertion of the leadership authority of emerging indigenous Churches in the Pacific against the paternalistic authority of missionary leadership. This aspect will be referred to again later in this chapter.

Also, difficulties with communication could not be avoided as Elder Pastor Poasa [the leader] had to use Mr. Sa'aga [his partner] as translator. The letter from the C.U.N.Z. to the E.F.K.S. dated November 11, 1963, identifies one issue for which the problem with communication during the November 8th meeting was undoubtedly responsible.[831] This

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[829] Elder Pastor Timaloa; 'Personal Story...'

[830] As noted above in the first meeting between the Delegation and the separated Samoans on October 21, 1963.

[831] According to the C.U.N.Z.'s letter :- 'We were not clear that the Deputation was agreed between themselves concerning who should be responsible for Fuimaono's Church in the immediate future. They

important meeting ended with prayer by Elder Pastor Poasa 'as we stood in reverence to God', according to the Delegation Report.[832]

Saturday, November 9, 1963.

This day was the historic and controversial beginning of the C.C.C.S. in Aotearoa New Zealand. The Delegation from the E.F.K.S. in Samoa had decided against the determined opposition by the P.I.C.C., in particular the Newton P.I.C.C. in Auckland, and against much reservation by the C.U.N.Z. For the separated Samoans, this day was given by Yahweh for joy and celebration both in thoughts and in cultural expression. In his Diary Fuimaono records his impression of the day which would have been the shared feeling of the separated Samoans, and in the language and piety of the biblical Psalmist and sage :-

> This is the day Yahweh has made for our joy and celebration.[833] Because hope fulfilled is the Tree of Life.[834] This is the day of days - the granting of the name Ekalesia Fa'apotopotoga Kerisiano Samoa [E.F.K.S.] to call our established Church in New Zealand...[835]

It is also remembered how Fuimaono made a public and symbolic demonstration of this sense of victory and fulfilment. According to Chief and Lay Preacher Taulapapa Lami :-

> One of the most vivid memories of the greatness of Fuimaono...when the Church [C.C.C.S.] was approved, he walked along Karangahape Road with his white suit, his ulafala [necklace], his hair combed in a V-shape...And when he was asked about it, he replied, V for victory...[836]

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asked us to care for Fuimaono, but were vague in their answers to the question who should exercise discipline concerning the Gospel preached and the good estate of the Church.'
C.U.N.Z. to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, November 11, 1963.

[832] 'Report by the Delegation...', p.4.

[833] Psalm

[834] Proverbs 13:12

[835] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala.

[836] Taulapapa Lami. 'Personal Story...'. The same story was related to the author by Faletua Vaipuese Fuimaono, the widow of Fuimaono Ta'ala.

The controversial nature of the historic **'day of days'** was shown by the conspicuous absence of some notable invited guests - the P.I.C.C. Ministers, Rev. Challis and Rev. Sio. and the Committees and Deacons - but **Methodist Samoans** as far away as Tokoroa attended with a gift of 64 pounds.[837] As usual it was a day of festivities, lavish feasts, of gifts. dances. celebrations, of speeches from which the more than two hundred attendants gathered would each have had something to take home.[838]

This day needs to be mostly remembered for its spiritual importance, and spiritual significance. The Delegation's official decision made on the previous Thursday [November 7] was given to the separated Samoans with the clear intention for the gathering on Saturday [November 9] to be ultimately a worship gathering.[839]Giving the decision in the context of worship was both an act of faith, and the continuation of the prayerful manner through which the Delegation had sought to fulfil its mission in the three weeks of dialogue, meetings, visitations, preaching, and benefiting from gifts and invitations by Samoans in New Zealand. The significance of the spirit of worship of the historic day is to be added the faith-aspect of the service and what the Delegation had proclaimed in the hearing of the gathered Samoans. The whole service was conducted by Elder Pastor Poasa. His sermon on Philipians 3:16 [Only let us hold true to what we have attained] emphasised '...the need to give the ultimate attention and commitment to what has been achieved'.[840] What has been achieved was, according to the Delegation, the granting to the separated Samoans of the recognition of their vision for a transplanted Samoan cultural and contextualised Christianity. Elder Pastor Poasa's sermon emphasised the proper Samoan understanding of the divine role and purpose of the Church that must be maintained in its transplantations in Aotearoa New Zealand :-

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[837] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala.

[838] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala, and 'Report by the Delegation...'.

[839] 'Report by the Delegation...', p.3.

[840] 'Report by the Delegation...', p.3. The Samoan version reads, 'A'o le mea ua tatou o`o i ai...'

> Fuimaono, there is no Church for you to be established in New Zealand or in Salani.[841] Today, I witness the gathering of the dignitaries of Samoa - Kings and Chiefs...The Samoan Church is now established in New Zealand. with the hope that you will be of help to the Samoan Church in Samoa...[842]

The reminder about this understanding of the Samoan Church was inseparable from the reminder of the Samoan understanding of Christian worship. It was the Samoan Christian worship that evolved out of the cultural transforming and counter-culture role of the Samoan Church in the historical evolution of modern Samoa, and as believed and cherished by the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. It was that which, since the beginning of the twentieth century. the Samoan Christian Culture [and society] had understood to be the sovereign domain of the Christian Church to impart and to defend. Amongst the founders and early supporters of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand, this worship was called - 'O le Tapuaiga a lo'u Atunu'u pele o Samoa' [The worship of my beloved country Samoa]. It was neither a 'worship of culture' nor a worship designed to preserve culture.[843] Rather it was worship in Truth and in the Spirit the Samoan migrants of the 1950's and 1960's brought with them with their Bibles and Church Hymnaries in their suitcases.[844] On Sunday November 10, 1963, the Delegation showed the separated Samoans what it meant to achieve a full transplantation of Samoan Christianity in relation to worship. In spite of his failing voice, Elder Pastor Poasa conducted four services of the newly

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[841] Salani is the village of Chief Fuimaono in Western Samoa. The crucial point in Elder Pastor Poasa's reference to this is to emphasise the distinctively divine significance of the Church as against cultural subversion. It is not to suggest that Chief Fuimaono was doing this in his attempt to establish the Samoan Church. But Elder Pastor Poasa had to emphasise the point because it was one of the major claims by the P.I.C.C. Samoans against Fuimaono's attempts.

[842] Timai Uele: 'Personal Story...'

[843] In Davidson's Christianity in Aotearoa, p.162, Davidson quotes from Donovan. ed.. Beliefs and Practices in New Zealand, p.60., the purpose for establishing the C.C.C.S. :- 'The Church was established in order to meet the needs of the Samoans living in New Zealand, in terms of worshipping God in their own tongue and to continue their close ties with the Church in Samoa: and also as a means to foster and maintain their customs and culture.'
While this is largely true, the last part needs to be qualified in the light of the argument of this Thesis. See especially the section on the Founding Vision. The concern for culture was always secondary, unless it is seen from the mainstream perspective of Samoans who find it difficult to think of the Church apart from its cultural rootedness.

[844] See Fuimaono Ta'ala's reference to these possessions Samoan migrants brought with them in Appendix V (ii).

established C.C.C.S. in its worship place, a converted house, in 56 Sussex Street, Grey Lynn.[845] It shows the religious commitment of the Samoan Church Elders which their counterparts in the modern C.C.C.S. would find difficult to maintain. The 'Lotu Fa'asamoa' Fuimaono and the separated Samoans had struggled to begin in the previous eleven months [that is, since December 1962] was now officially started. As noted above, some of the most vehement rivals and opponents during the earlier stages of the separated worship by the separated Samoans now joined.[846] What they wanted was not a 'Fuimaono Church', which I have shown above to be a false suspicion on the part of the P.I.C.C. Samoans, but a Samoan Church like the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. This was the only Church they felt would justify leaving the P.I.C.C. And the Delegation had given them this Church on Saturday.

On Monday the old pattern of sightseeing around the suburbs of Auckland, and hospital visits to Samoan friends and relatives were the main events for the Delegation in the morning.[847] In the evening, the farewell feast prepared by the previously separated Samoans now becoming the first members of the first Parish of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand was held in 56 Sussex Street, Grey Lynn, Auckland. This was the first property of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand and was also the site of its first church building built in 1968.

Tuesday, November 12, 1963 was the last day of the Delegation's three weeks mission in New Zealand. In the evening at the Whenuapai Airport in Whangarei, a farewell service was held before the Delegation returned to Samoa. The Delegation Report refers to their farewell with the founders of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand as a moment 'of hearts

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[845] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala. The four services referred to are, Watchtower Service [Lotu Auleoleo] at 9 a.m., the Morning Service at 11.00am, the Evening Service at 4.00pm, and the Endeavour Service [Lotu Autaumafai] after the Evening Service.

[846] Part of the discussion in Chapter Three, Part V, is equally relevant at this stage of the development of the Thesis. This is because it is a thematic discussion of most of the events which actually occurred in the whole period covered in this Chapter.

[847] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala.

overflown with the hurt of love' [o loto ua tutumu i le tiga i le alofa].[848] Why ? Perhaps it was the shared feeling between the Delegation and the founders of the C.C.C.S. that they had given each other what each needs in order to survive. The Delegation had given the 'Church' for the Samoans in New Zealand, and in return it received from the Samoans the foretaste of the earthly riches of paradise [New Zealand] for the E.F.K.S. in Samoa.

(iv) Between the Delegation's Mission in Aotearoa New Zealand and the Final Decision by the E.F.K.S. in Western Samoa : November 1963 to May 1964.

The opposition by the C.U.N.Z., the P.I.C.C., and Rev. Sio to the formal recognition by the E.F.K.S. Delegation of the separate Samoan Church was shown in their 'letters of protest' to the E.F.K.S.[849]

On November 11, 1963, only a day after the historic beginning of the C.C.C.S., and even before the Delegation's return to Samoa on November 12, 1963, the C.U.N.Z. wrote to the E.F.K.S. in Samoa in relation to the whole mission of the E.F.K.S. Delegation.[850] The C.U.N.Z. states clearly its official position, part of which is already shown above in the events of Friday, November 8. It is unequivocal on its disapproval of the controversial decision by the Delegation and likewise the controversial manner in which the decision was made.[851] The basic reason for the disapproval by the C.U.N.Z. related to its understanding of the main purpose of the Delegation's mission,[852] and its opposition to the 'separatist' nature and effect of the efforts by the separated Samoans to start a separate Samoan Church in New Zealand. The C.U.N.Z. clarified various grounds on which the Delegation's decision was considered wrong. It broke the history of mutual cooperation and partnership between the C.U.N.Z. and the E.F.K.S. in the family of

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[848] 'Report by the Delegation...', p.4.

[849] Dates of the three letters - C.U.N.Z., November 11, 1963; P.I.C.C., November 28, 1963; Rev. Sio, December 5, 1963. All have been referred to already, and are included in Appendices VII, IX, and X.

[850] C.U.N.Z. to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, November 11, 1963.

[851] C.U.N.Z. to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, November 11, 1963.

[852] This is referred to above in Note 736.

Churches rooted in the parent body of the L.M.S. in London, which was symbolised in cooperation in theological training, in support of the P.I.C.C. since its beginning, and in missionary work in the Pacific.[853] It supported a 'movement which separated Samoan people from other members of the L.M.S. in New Zealand.'[854] And it would tarnish 'the glory of the Samoan people who have set an example to many throughout the world by uniting in New Zealand with other members of the L.M.S. Family in a Wider Church to the glory of Her Head Jesus Christ who prayed "that they be one".'[855] At the same time, the Delegation's decision had 'caused great unhappiness amongst the great majority of the Samoan people who are loyal to the P.I.C.C...'[856] and 'has caused misunderstanding among the Niue Island and Cook Island people.'[857] Furthermore, the letter clarified several contentious issues to do with worship in Samoan language and P.I.C.C.'s failure in its pastoral attempts for reconciliation, which the C.U.N.Z. thought would prove unjustified the recognition of a separate Samoan Church, and thus the Delegation's recognition of it.[858] The letter extended a plea to be prudent - 'We beg you to look clearly into the present and the future' - and urged to remember their shared identity in the L.M.S. and the International Congregational Council - 'You are the Lotu Fa'apotopotoga in Samoa. We are the Lotu Fa'apotopotoga in New Zealand. We have great ties...'[859] The letter ends with a suggestion that the E.F.K.S. should do its utmost to impress on the separated Samoans their [E.F.K.S.] firm wish to ensure the unity of the children of the

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[853] C.U.N.Z. to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, November 11, 1963.

[854] C.U.N.Z. to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, November 11, 1963.

[855] C.U.N.Z. to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, November 11, 1963.

[856] C.U.N.Z. to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, November 11, 1963.

[857] C.U.N.Z. to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, November 11, 1963.

[858] According to the C.U.N.Z. :- 'Your Deputation said that the pastors of the P.I.C.C. had failed to go after Fuimaono as **lost sheep** and bring him back. We were able to tell the Deputation that both pastors concerned had acted as good shepherds. One of them even pleaded with Fuimaono until three o'clock in the morning (a).. It can not be said in truth that Samoan people in New Zealand can not worship God in the Samoan language...In the Congregational Union of New Zealand we are providing a church home for all your people, old and young, whatever their language needs are in worship...'
(a) Some Samoans believe that what really happened was that they were playing cards.

[859] C.U.N.Z. to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, November 11, 1963.

L.M.S. And such could be achieved by either making the separated group regard the C.U.N.Z. as the equivalent of the E.F.K.S. in New Zealand, or preferably to encourage them to return.[860]

On November 28, 1963 and in the same spirit as the letter by the C.U.N.Z., the P.I.C.C. wrote to the E.F.K.S. '...in sorrow and deep concern because of what has been done in the name of the C.C.C.S. by the Savali [Delegation] in New Zealand.'[861] Like the letter by the C.U.N.Z., it emphasised the history of the close relationship between the E.F.K.S. in Samoa with the P.I.C.C. and the C.U.N.Z.[862] It also relates 'the dismay and strong feelings amongst several thousands of Samoans under our care in many parts of New Zealand', reminding them of the active participation by the P.I.C.C. in the C.U.N.Z., the impatience for not being given an explanation about the reasons for the 'breakaway', and the concern at the continued attempt of leaders in the separated Samoan Church to persuade other Samoans in the P.I.C.C. to join them.[863] The controversial manner in which the Delegation had made its decision is also highlighted by the P.I.C.C., noting that, 'They recognised the breakaway group of Fuimaono without any consultation with our people.'[864] If 'our people' refers to P.I.C.C. Samoans, this claim can not be sustained.[865] But if it refers to the C.U.N.Z. officials, it is not altogether right because the Delegation met them the day before the official recognition on November 9, 1963.[866] The underlying truth was the failure to achieve proper discussion and consultation between the Delegation and the P.I.C.C. as shown above in the first week, in which the P.I.C.C.

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[860] C.U.N.Z. to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, November 11, 1963.

[861] P.I.C.C. to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, November 28, 1963.

[862] P.I.C.C. to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, November 28, 1963.

[863] P.I.C.C. to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, November 28, 1963.

[864] P.I.C.C. to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, November 28, 1963.

[865] This is because as shown above, there were various opportunities where the Delegation had controversial discussions with the P.I.C.C. Samoans.

[866] As shown above: though it is still a valid claim that contrary to the promise by the Delegation to the C.U.N.Z. that they would meet again before it makes its final decision, the Delegation made its final decision the day before the meeting with the C.U.N.Z.

ministerial leadership was mostly responsible.[867] The letter emphatically stresses that the Delegation's decision was contrary to the world-wide Christian emphasis on integration - '...this breakaway is an act of segregation, helping the people of Christ apart because of racial or national association.'[868] Therefore the P.I.C.C. expresses its hope that the E.F.K.S. would use its authoritative lead and influence to make the separated Samoans return, so 'that the glorious missionary tradition of the Samoan Church may be maintained in the midst of this European community of New Zealand.'[869]

The letter of protest by Rev. Sio shows a critical voice of a loyal son of the E.F.K.S. and of Samoa who wishes to understand a variety of things connected with the whole mission by the Delegation. The desperate need for understanding is related to have resulted from a sense of disbelief that the Delegation's approval of the separated Samoan Church was, as the Delegation claimed, concomitant with the wish of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa :-

> We find it impossible to understand how the Delegation was able to accept and approve the breakaway attempts by Fuimaono and others. And by the same token how is it possible for our beloved Church to ignore the many thousands of the children of the Samoan Church in New Zealand and to embrace and to consecrate the Church that was established in a manner that conflicts with the Christian Gospel...[870]

The letter wishes to understand whether the claims by the Delegation that it was given the mandate to make final decisions on behalf of the E.F.K.S. and on the advice by the Committees of Elders was true, and also whether what it promised it could do on its other official capacities in the Samoan Church were substantiated.[871] The letter also relates the

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[867] Refer to discussion of events in the first week of the Delegation's mission.

[868] P.I.C.C. to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, November 28, 1963.

[869] P.I.C.C. to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, November 28, 1963.

[870] Rev. Sio to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, December 5, 1963.

[871] (1) Is it true as declared by the Delegation that their decision will be sustained by the Samoan Church because they [as the Delegation] were the Samoan Church ? And that if we were to write concerning any aspect related to the Delegation and its mission, they were the only one channel through which any correspondence would have to go in order to be considered by the Church ? (2) Is it true as Elder Pastor Poasa claimed, that the resolution by the General Assembly, 63 F.T.9, in 1963 about the Delegation's mission to 'examine and to see into' the problem in New Zealand does not include all that the General Assembly had instructed the Delegation to do ? (3) Is it true as the Delegation said that the Committee of

sadness felt by the P.I.C.C. Samoans because of the 'divisive effect' of the Delegation's final decision on the unity of Samoans, and also the shame amongst the Samoans because they were seen as destroying the unity of the witness by the Pacific Islanders to the Christian faith.[872] Equally sad was the increasing attempts by the separated Samoans in the unwelcome manner of the Mormon evangelists to persuade Samoans in the P.I.C.C. to join what they proclaimed as 'the real Samoan Church which was approved by the Delegation'.[873] The unfortunate effects were, that some Samoans in the P.I.C.C. were beginning to doubt their loyalty to the Samoan Church in Samoa and their willingness to help, and others were upset that the Samoan Church was wrongfully blamed for what the Delegation had done in its name.[874]

Rev. Sio's letter also challenged and clarified the four main considerations Elder Pastor Poasa had suggested to be the reasons for the resignation by the separated Samoans. And that according to Elder Pastor Poasa, such were the major considerations behind the positive response by the Samoan Church to the request by the separated Samoans. One, the letter successfully challenges the claim that Samoan worship in the Samoan language as done in Samoa was not found in the P.I.C.C. by relating there was a Samoan service for Samoans in the evening.[875] It adds rightly the unavoidability of speaking the English language because of New Zealand born Samoans, and as a necessity if one was to advance in New Zealand society.[876] Against the claim that the Samoan Church was sad by reports of the continuous ignoring of Samoan pastors in the P.I.C.C., the letter relates that all Samoan pastors were given the opportunity to preach in the Samoan service in the

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Elders had advised them that they must eventually approve the Church by Fuimaono ? (4) Is it true as Elder Pastor Poasa declared that when they return to Samoa they will send a Malua Graduate to be the pastor of the Samoan Church Fuimaono had established ?
Rev. Sio to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, December 5, 1963.

[872] Rev. Sio to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, December 5, 1963.

[873] Rev. Sio to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, December 5, 1963.

[874] Rev. Sio to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, December 5, 1963.

[875] Rev. Sio to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, December 5, 1963. This is also clarified in the letter by the C.U.N.Z. to the E.F.K.S. of November 11, 1963 noted above.

[876] Rev. Sio to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, December 5, 1963.

evening.[877] Those who could conduct English services were given opportunities to lead combined services in the morning.[878] Except for services which involved the Holy Communion, Rev. Sio admits he had never invited a Samoan pastor or any other pastor from any country, '...because there are four languages used in such services.'[879]

The third claim is that Fuimaono wrote to the E.F.K.S. that Samoans were contributing a lot for Church offering but they were misused by Rev. Challis and Rev. Sio instead of channelling them for the Samoan Church.[880] Rev. Sio relates that he had already explained to the General Purpose Committee of the E.F.K.S. while in Samoa that the P.I.C.C. was not yet financially able to provide all that was required for the pastoral ministry. And that it was government help given to the P.I.C.C. for their social work for Island migrants that was helping their pastoral ministry and was greatly benefiting the Samoans.[881]

The fourth claim is related to the third. That the Samoan Church was sad to see that only Samoan Churches in Hawaii and U.S.A. were willing to maintain links with the E.F.K.S. but not the Samoans in the P.I.C.C.[882] To this, Rev. Sio confesses that their primary concern was to help the Samoan Church in anything within their capacity.[883] His other

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[877] Rev. Sio to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, December 5, 1963.

[878] Rev. Sio to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, December 5, 1963.

[879] Rev. Sio to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, December 5, 1963.

[880] Rev. Sio to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, December 5, 1963.

[881] Rev. Sio to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, December 5, 1963.

[882] Rev. Sio to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, December 5, 1963. Rev. Ripley also refers to this claim in a different way. That for Samoans who left the P.I.C.C., they tended to caricature the Samoans in the P.I.C.C. as wanting to become Papalagis [Europeans]. Rev. Ripley; 'Personal Story...'
This is an example of the presence of 'inferiority complex' in the Samoan mentality which pendulums between human jealousy and natural competitiveness in spirit. In the context of the complex beginning of the C.C.C.S., it was mainly expressed in the form of patriotism for love of cultural and spiritual roots. Part of this is reflected in Taimalelagi's point that one of the purposes for the beginning of the C.C.C.S. was the feeling amongst its founders that the 'P.I.C.C. has become too Europeanised...'
Refer above to Chapter Three, Part (i) for a brief reference to Taimalelagi's Thesis.

[883] Rev. Sio to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, December 5,1963.

statements elaborate their abiding loyalty, with the acknowledgment of the spiritual maturity and richness in the Samoan Church and its Elders.[884] The letter ends with assurance that despite the Delegation's decision which seemed to exclude the P.I.C.C. Samoans from being born children of the Samoan Church, they will still continue to seek ways to help the Samoan Church.[885]

The first official response from the E.F.K.S. to the official letter by the C.U.N.Z. was the letter dated December 5, 1963 by the Chairman of the E.F.K.S.[886] It briefly acknowledged the 'very interesting and very informative letter of November 11, 1963', with a strange reference to a supposedly premature departure by the Delegation before being properly briefed by the 'proper Authority' - 'I regret that there has not been prior information from our Church headquarters before they came over to New Zealand.'[887] Because the Delegation has not yet submitted a report of their mission, the letter promised the C.U.N.Z. they would be informed of the decision by the General Assembly of the Church in May. For the time being, 'May the Lord help us see that which is right.'[888]

In the beginning of 1964 the events and developments of direct importance to the beginning of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand shifted to Samoa, in particular to the E.F.K.S. for its decision on the Delegation's mission. The E.F.K.S. had now received the three official letters of opposition to the Delegation from the C.U.N.Z., the P.I.C.C., and Rev.

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[884] Rev. Sio to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, December 5, 1963.

[885] Rev. Sio to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, December 5, 1963.

[886] Chairman of the E.F.K.S. to C.U.N.Z. Letter dated, December 5, 1963. In 'Secretary's File on New Zealand Correspondence'; E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.

[887] Chairman of the E.F.K.S. to C.U.N.Z. December 5, 1963. The reference suggesting a premature departure by the Delegation reflects the prevailing differences in opinions within the E.F.K.S. about the Delegation and the true purpose of its mission, and also the impact of its decision made in New Zealand. Chairman of the E.F.K.S. was Deacon Sotoa who was not involved in the Committee of Elders where Elder Pastor Poasa was the chairman. Hence the ignorance of Sotoa about the events before the Delegation departed for its mission. The C.U.N.Z. letter of November 11, was addressed to Sotoa, hence the reply by Sotoa under view. This is significant in relation to the decision by the General Purpose Committee [G.P.C.] on the Delegation in which Deacon Sotoa was the Chairman.

[888] Chairman of the E.F.K.S. to C.U.N.Z. December 5, 1963.

Sio as mentioned above.[889] The letter by Rev. Sio caused great unrest within the E.F.K.S., not surprisingly since copies were distributed to many pastors by a pastor relative of Rev. Sio who was recently returning from a three months visit in New Zealand.[890] Personal letters from the Delegation members Elder Pastor Poasa and Mr. Sa'aga to Fuimaono afford a glimpse into this unrest. The letter by Mr. Sa'aga on January 9,[891] simply refers to the fact of the great unrest in the Church because of the letter by Rev. Sio which was widely distributed to pastors of village churches. Also that Elder Pastor Poasa was already aware of this and was 'surprised about the understanding of such kind of human being and young pastor as Rev. Sio.'[892] Mr. Sa'aga's letter also includes his reaction to Rev. Sio's letter against the Delegation, and his assessment of the merit of the P.I.C.C. opposition to the decision made by the Delegation. This is important because it shows how the purpose of the Delegation's mission was understood differently by the various parties concerned. And it therefore shows one root cause of the controversy that has plagued the various meetings and efforts during the Delegation's mission in New Zealand. Hence the resultant unrest in the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. According to Mr. Sa'aga :-

> There is one thing that is evidently misunderstood by Samoan people in New Zealand. The mission we came for was not intended for everyone, but was specifically for those who had separated. And about this separation, if there had been steps and efforts by Rev. Challis and Rev. Sio with a genuine attempt to reconcile the Samoan people, there would not have been unnecessary commotion. What puzzles my mind is this - Why is there so much talk and words[893] by

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[889] The C.U.N.Z. letter [November 11, 1963] does not appear to have been considered by the Elders' Committee as shown in Elder Pastor Poasa's letter to Fuimaono which will be referred to later [that is, letter of April 28, 1964]. Since it was addressed to Chairman Sotoa, it may have only been considered by the G.P.C., which may explain the emphatic acknowledgment by the G.P.C. of the over-stepping by the Delegation of its commission, but not by the Elders' Committee.

[890] As referred to by letters by Mr. Sa'aga and Elder Pastor Poasa to Fuimaono of respectively, January 9, 1964, and April 26, 1964. In 'Secretary's File on New Zealand Correspondence'; 'E.F.K.S. Archive', Apia.

[891] Mr. Sa'aga to Fuimaono. Letter dated, January 9, 1964.

[892] Mr. Sa'aga to Fuimaono. January 9, 1964.

[893] This refers mostly to the controversial letter by Rev. Sio of December 5, 1963.

> Rev. Sio when there was enough time for him to work and to try to reconcile all of you back to the P.I.C.C. ? Why ? I find it difficult to understand such logic as Rev. Sio is trying to suggest that our delegation was utterly wrong and so foolish. Anyone would find weak and naive the supposition Rev. Sio seems to suggest that the Delegation from the Church [E.F.K.S.] would have to instruct Rev. Challis and Rev. Sio on how to conduct their pastoral ministry. Anyway it does not cause us any harm except to show how much of the heartaches Rev. Sio is experiencing stems from his foolish jealousy and lack of courage.[894] Leave it as it is...Just be courageous to develop your congregation for the eternal glory of Christ.[895]

Elder Pastor Poasa's letter to Fuimaono on April 26, is equally illuminating on the impact of Rev. Sio's letter on the Samoan Church :-

> ...Leua [Rev. Sio] is very jealous. Leiloa's distribution of Leua's letter has reached Samoa. It is none else but the attempt to disqualify and prove wrong our Delegation and the decision we made. Leiloa is now ousted from his village ministry. What a devouring and an insatiable thing Jealousy is ! Why this interference with the Church Delegation ? Quite a number in the Church have shown disapproval [of the Delegation]. They are angry because of their jealousy that we [Elder Pastor Poasa and Mr. Sa'aga] will go down in history as founders of the Samoan Church in New Zealand. That is the devil that has caused the unrest in the Samoan Church. Some are saying that it is my obstinacy that I made the decision but was not in accordance with the Resolution by the General Assembly. I feel sorry for Leua who is dominated by Rev. Challis who is himself writhing in pain because of the 'uncovering of his freedom in the use' [mate'ia lana mea] of the Samoan offering, which had blinded Leua for a long time...Leave it to God to deal with these many revilements on our Delegation. And also the unwarranted criticism by Leua and Rev. Challis. Let us be hopeful. Whatever decision the Church will eventually make, what is done with truth and from the purity of heart will be shown God's pleasure...Just be courageous. God is on the side of those with big hearts and with honest intentions...[896]

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[894] Mr. Sa'aga refers here to Rev. Sio's lack of influence on Rev. Challis and other Palagi Pastors in the P.I.C.C. and the C.U.N.Z. But according to Rev. Sio ['Personal Story...'] he had little influence at this stage because most of the Palagi Pastors referred to were not only his seniors in the P.I.C.C., but were also his teachers in the Congregational Union's Theological College. It needs also to be noted that Rev. Sio was broad-minded on the problematic issues at the time - a traditionalist who was also an ecumenist.

[895] Mr. Sa'aga to Fuimaono Ta'ala. January 9, 1964.

[896] Elder Pastor Poasa to Fuimaono. April 26, 1964.

The whole issue concerning the Delegation's mission, the opposition it stirred, and the unrest it caused within the E.F.K.S. had begun to be considered by the various committees of the E.F.K.S. as early as January of 1964. In its meeting on January 15-17, the General Purpose Committee resolved as a matter of principle to acknowledge the Delegation's mistake in making a decision which was unwarranted in the light of the General Assembly's resolution about the Delegation's Commission.[897] The main resolution by the G.P.C. concerning the whole issue nevertheless built on the Delegation's decision in spite of its acknowledgment of the unwarranted authority by which the Delegation had made its decision :-

> In the light of the decision made by the Delegation which is inconsistent with the Resolution mentioned above,[898] the General Purpose Committee has decided to submit before the General Assembly for its consideration, the following :- (1) To request the C.U.N.Z. to recognise and to affiliate the new Samoan Church in a formal manner as a branch of the C.C.C.S. in Samoa. The E.F.K.S. in Samoa will be thankful if there be a caring assistance [fa'amalumaluga] by the General Union of the Congregational Churches in New Zealand. (2) That copies of this resolution be sent to the C.U.N.Z., the P.I.C.C., and the new Congregation of the Samoan Church. (3) To make clear the expressed hope of this Church [E.F.K.S.] to maintain the true peace and harmony of the Samoan people in New Zealand because of Jesus Christ and His Church. [899]

In the meeting of the 'Komiti Fa'atonu' of the 'Komiti a le Au Toeaina' [Directors' Committee of the Elders' Committee] on January 21-22, 1964, the Samoan Church Elders emphatically rejected the letters by Rev. Sio and Rev. Challis against the whole

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[897] 'Resolutions of the General Purpose Committee, 15-17 January, 1964'. 64, KFE, 36. In 'Folder for G.P.C. Resolutions'; E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.
Resolution by the General Assembly regarding the Delegation :- (a) Ina ia alu se savali i Niu Sila e asia ma vaai i lenei mataupu. [That a Delegation be sent to New Zealand to see and to look into this matter. (b) Ia tofia le Susuga a F. Poasa F.T. ma le Failautusi Aoao o E. Sa'aga i lea savali. [That Elder Pastor Poasa F.T. and the General Secretary E. Sa'aga be appointed for this Delegation].
[63 F.T. 9] 'Resolutions of the General Assembly of the E.F.K.S., 1963'. Official Publication of the E.F.K.S.

[898] Resolution by the General Assembly of 1963 concerning the Delegation's commission mentioned above in Note 897.

[899] 'Resolution of the General Purpose Committee, 15-17 January, 1964'.

mission of the E.F.K.S. Delegation.[900] The personal letter by Elder Pastor Poasa to Fuimaono gives an inside view of the treatment by the Directors' Committee of the issue of the Samoan Church in New Zealand, in particular the rough treatment of Rev. Challis' and Rev. Sio's letters :-

> When our meeting commenced, I stood up and said, I will read out the two letters from Misi Salesa and Leua. The Elder from Falealili [Solomona] responded - "Poasa, discard those letters, throw them away. The reasons for my opinion are (1) We have no connection with the P.I.C.C. (2) Who is Leua ? What is his position in the Samoan Church that he **writes against** the Delegation from the Church ?" Likewise were the opinions by Luavasa from Tutuila and Manu'a, Samasoni F.T. from the Itu-o-Tane, Petaia F.T. of Malua District, and Lemuelu F.T. of A'ana. Kirisome F.T. from Fa'asalele'aga was absent. Of the Papalagi, Nouata (Norwood), Teveli (Deverell), Nimase (Neems) were united to destroy this thing [C.C.C.S.] in New Zealand. Only this fellow in Malua Pouena (Rev. Dr. Bowen), the replacement for Peretiso (Bradshaw) thought different, and agreed to the beginning of the Samoan Church in New Zealand in their own language. The Komiti Fa'aonu has decided by majority to discard the letters as useless, then I stood up and gave the final decision. Be contented, the letters will be given to the Elders [Committee of Elders] for the [real] decision. And that is how the matter now stands.[901]

The formal resolution by the Directors' Committee is as follows :-

> The Committee has heard the two letters from Misi Salesa and from Rev. Leuatea Sio about the Delegation that was sent to New Zealand. The Committee has decided to submit the whole subject (issue) to the Elders, but the two letters be responded to, saying - the issue has not been discussed but it is left to the Elders and the coming General Assembly.[902]

The opposition by the missionaries in the Directors' Committee mentioned in part of Elder Pastor Poasa's letter just quoted is vital, because it represented much the same concerns behind the opposition by the C.U.N.Z. and the P.I.C.C. to the final decision

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[900] According to the letter by Elder Pastor Poasa to Fuimaono Ta'ala, April 26, 1964.

[901] Elder Pastor Poasa to Fuimaono Ta'ala, April 26, 1964.

[902] 'Resolution by the Directors' Committee, January 21-22, 1964'. In 'File for Resolutions by the Directors' Committee': E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.

made by the E.F.K.S. Delegation in its mission. Recollection by a participant missionary, Rev. Dr. Bowen[903] gives an inside view of the nature of this missionary opposition in this meeting, and also during the whole time the controversial beginning of the C.C.C.S. was awaiting a final decision by the E.F.K.S. in its General Assembly in May. According to Rev. Dr. Bowen :-

> ...This kind of discussion made a deep impression on me. It was very clearly a major issue. Perhaps one reason why it did make a big impression on me was that I was so new to Samoa, therefore things did register quite sharply...Now, I remember it as a kind of battle...not in a nasty way but...feelings were intense. I think the missionaries felt they were the representatives of a sort of outpost of a wider interest, a sort of deep insight...that they, in a way, represented the interest of wider Christianity, the world-wide Church; where as those that were interested in fostering Samoan congregations in New Zealand were moved by nationalistic motives, or possibly a desire for benefits to accrue for the Samoan Church from the developments in New Zealand. The feeling amongst the missionaries was that they were fighting nationalism in the interest of ecumenism...When the Fono Tele [General Assembly] made the crucial decision, I don't remember it as a time of bitterness. I remember it as a time of deep argument and disputing...strong feelings...among the missionaries certainly the feeling that wider interests have been betrayed or left out in the course of a narrow perception of a national identity and virtually of a national Church moving out into the Diaspora...[904]

An important part of the ecumenical concerns behind the missionary opposition related to the increasing realisation of reunion in Christian denominations worldwide, as was later

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[903] Rev. Dr. Bowen was the last missionary Principal of the Malua Theological College of the E.F.K.S. He was a Welsh man who is known to have strongly supported the view for a Samoan to be the Principal of the College. He served from 1964 to 1967 when he was replaced by the first Samoan Principal of Malua College, Elder Pastor Sapolu.

[904] Rev. Dr. Bowen. L.M.S. Missionary and Principal of Malua Theological College 1964 - 1967. 'About his Recollections of the Controversial Issue of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S. for the E.F.K.S. and its Committees.' Malua Theological College, May, 1994. Tape recording of his Personal Story in author's possession. Interview was possible because of the invitation for Bowen to attend the 150 Years Celebration of the Malua Theological College in 1994.

crystallised in the reunion of Presbyterian and Congregational Churches to form the United Reformed Churches [U.R.C.]. According to Rev. Dr. Bradshaw :-[905]

> ...We felt we did not want to add any more denominations anywhere in the world; but if there was to be any development...it should be through an existing Church. For New Zealand it should be the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand. Our hope was ecumenical - thinking Samoans in New Zealand would be part of the body of the Presbyterian Church in New Zealand. Because already in England we were prepared for the reunion of Presbyterian Churches and Congregational Churches...So it is not a proliferation of Churches, but of Churches coming together.[906]

Besides the opposition by the Missionaries, the eventual resolutions by the G.P.C. and the Directors' Committee gave the clearest indication of the general feeling within the official circle of the E.F.K.S. in the beginning of 1964. It was unlikely that a decision by the Elders' Committee later in May would be radically different from the 'sharp reaction' in its sub-committee the Directors' Committee as shown above. For while all the Samoan Elders in the Directors' Committee were members of the Elders' Committee, Elder Pastor Poasa was the Chairman of both.

In this atmosphere the P.I.C.C. had stepped up its efforts for more influence while the issue was going through the E.F.K.S.'s committees, as the countdown towards the final decision in the General Assembly in May continued. In a more convincing way the 'Fellowship of Old Students of L.M.S. Church Schools in Samoa' offered the E.F.K.S. a one year scholarship opportunity for a village pastor or a theological student for further pastoral training and experience or theological education in New Zealand.[907] The

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[905] Rev. Dr. Bradshaw was an L.M.S. missionary who became the Principal of Malua Theological College during his nine years service in Samoa, from 1954 to 1963. Well known for upgrading the academic standard of the Malua College.

[906] Rev. Dr. Bradshaw, L.M.S. Missionary in Samoa, 1954-1963. 'About his Recollections of his service in Samoa and the Beginning of the C.C.C.S. from the perspective of the Missionaries.' Malua Theological College. May, 1994. Tape recording of his Personal Story in author's possession. Interview was held fortunately because of the invitation of Bradshaw to the 150 Years Celebration of Malua Theological College in 1994.

[907] P.I.C.C. to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, January 8, 1964. The Samoan name of the fellowship is. 'O le Mafutaga a Tagata Tuai o Aoga a le L.M.S. i Samoa.' According to the letter, this offer was agreed to by the fellowship in December of 1963. Thus it is likely that this offer may have been partly made in response

E.F.K.S. responded with the greatest gratitude to the offer in a thankful letter on February 6, 1964.[908] The letter stresses the perfect timing of the 'miraculous offer' which fulfilled one of the greatest needs of the Samoan Church, and which came at the most appropriate time the Samoan Church was facing financial difficulties. At the same time a problematic request by the P.I.C.C. to participate in the General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. in May was instigated by Rev. Challis and other Samoans, but was not shared by Rev. Sio. In a letter on February 10, 1964, to the Chairman of the E.F.K.S., a request was made for an opportunity for Samoan representatives from the P.I.C.C. to participate in the General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. in May. [909] The requested participation was deemed 'the opportunity to convey the great love of the P.I.C.C. to the E.F.K.S., and was also the chance for Samoan pastors in the P.I.C.C. to participate in the General Assembly where they will help, if required, to explain, to help, and to enlighten more the committees, and the General Assembly about the whole issue concerning the Samoan Church in New Zealand.'[910] The language and expression of the letter shows an unmistakable sense of urgency and desperation. The official response by the E.F.K.S. was made in the letter by

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to the controversial decision by the Delegation. Though this can not be stressed because the Fellowship was established in 1961 for the purpose of helping the E.F.K.S. and the P.I.C.C.

[908] E.F.K.S. to P.I.C.C. Letter dated, February 6, 1964. 'Secretary's File on New Zealand Correspondence'. E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.

[909] Rev. Sio states his reservations about the P.I.C.C.'s efforts in his letter to Mr. Sa'aga [undated letter]. He writes :- 'Those letters [by Rev. Challis] "are creating problems and unnecessary difficulties" [fa'asoesa] and are not helping the real desire of the Samoans in the P.I.C.C. No one has ever consulted me for my opinion, but they have selected me and Moala to attend as observers in the General Assembly. I have explained to them that as observers they only observe but not participate. That seems to be what they wanted. though I am not sure whether there are ulterior motives. I do not share everything they are attempting in relation to such. I will be contented with whatever decision the General Assembly will make. I am still trying to fulfil your advice to me to find a way to solve the problems now besetting us...'
This is a different voice from Rev. Challis and other P.I.C.C. Samoans. Like Fuimaono, leader of separate Samoans, he was concerned to help the E.F.K.S. in Samoa in any way possible. This occasioned his concern about the Delegation's decision to recognise the separated Samoan Church. For he notes that the Delegation's decision led some Samoans to lose interest in their 'corporate efforts' to think of ways to help the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. It is in this context of Rev. Sio's basic loyalty to the E.F.K.S. that his 'controversial letter' about the Delegation must be understood. As he states in his letter, he only wished to make known to as many pastors as possible what he saw and knew about the Delegation's mission. Concerning the claim that he had 'spoken ill and falsely accused' the Delegation, Rev. Sio advised the Secretary to read his letter [December 5, 1963] if he or Elder Pastor Poasa was telling the truth. The letter ends with Rev. Sio's request to extend his kindest regards to Elder Pastor Poasa.

[910] Rev. Challis to the Chairman of the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, February 10, 1964.

the Secretary of the E.F.K.S. on February 28, 1964.[911] It informed the P.I.C.C. that their request was impossible in the light of the Constitution of the E.F.K.S., though future participation was possible after relevant constitutional amendment. In the meantime, there was freedom to witness and to observe but not as official participants.[912] Rev. Challis responded in his letter on April 4, 1964, not to the Secretary of the E.F.K.S. but to the Chairman.[913] The letter acknowledged the receipt of the Secretary's letter, February 28, 1964, and extended his thanks for the explanation of the constitutional status of a participant from the P.I.C.C. to which he fully shared. The astute Challis probes more to achieve even the slightest opportunity for a P.I.C.C. voice in the General Assembly. While thanking the opportunity for 'listening members', he persists in suggesting that it may be the chance that their chosen representatives 'would be able to help, if required by the Samoan Church, concerning the issue that was causing tension in their ministry in New Zealand.[914] This was still their initial request [letter of January 8] which he had just received a satisfying response from the Secretary of the E.F.K.S. [letter February 28]. The official response by the Chairman of the E.F.K.S. to Rev. Challis' letter of April 4, 1964, was an 'expository exegesis' of Rev. Challis' letter with a discernible 'sense of anger'. This was the letter on April 10, 1964.[915] It clarifies two points. It refers to the third paragraph of Rev. Challis' letter which suggests the possibility that P.I.C.C. representatives 'will be able to help if Samoa requires help.' To this, the Chairman questioned such implicit intent and gave his opinion :-

> Do you mean by asking [further] that you need more witnesses and representations about an issue which is causing tension in your Church, when the Delegation from the Church [E.F.K.S.] had already been sent to deal with such ? If that is the case, then leave to us any

[911] Secretary of the E.F.K.S. to Rev. Challis. Letter dated, February 28, 1964.

[912] Secretary of the E.F.K.S. to Rev. Challis. February 28, 1964.

[913] Rev. Challis to the Chairman of the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, April 4, 1964.

[914] Rev. Challis to the Chairman of the E.F.K.S. April 4, 1964.

[915] Chairman of the E.F.K.S. to Rev. Challis. Letter dated, April 10, 1964.

> issue or issues you may be disagreeing about, together with your prayer that the will of God, which will be revealed, may be done.[916]

Referring to the fourth paragraph of Rev. Challis' letter which requested reconfirmation of the Secretary's explanation of the 'status' of 'Usufono Fa'alogologo' [Listening Participants], the Chairman understood this to mean that Rev. Challis was asking for a 'special privilege' for P.I.C.C. representatives. Rev. Challis was clearly aware in his letter that his further request was suggesting a possibility which was approaching a request for 'special privilege'.[917] The response by the Chairman to this is unequivocal:-

> ...My answer is, if this is the intention of the request mentioned, that to listen and to be "speaking witnesses" for an issue, it would be an "unimaginably unique" kind of listening participants. And I am sad to say that that is disallowed according to the usual procedures in the General Assemblies of this [E.F.K.S.] Church; except those who may be specially invited about issues we may require further explanations...[918]

There was no official response or correspondence by the P.I.C.C. to pursue this request further. The Chairman of the E.F.K.S. had closed the door in his correspondence with Rev. Challis. This was one issue which showed the basic difference between the Samoan pastor Rev. Sio and the English pastor Rev. Challis. Rev. Sio's understanding of Samoan Elders featured 'occasionally' in the prudent manner he relates to the E.F.K.S. Rev. Challis sometimes over-estimated his influence, and perhaps his importance.

Events and Developments Within the Separated Samoan Church, and the Relationship with the E.F.K.S. in Samoa.

The Delegation left the newly recognised and separate Samoan Church with great hope for its growth and vitality. In return the Delegation took the 'first fruit' of the first achievement by the new Samoan Church as a gift for the mother Church in Samoa. In a

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[916] Chairman of the E.F.K.S. to Rev. Challis. April 10, 1964.

[917] In this respect Rev. Challis writes in apology in his letter of April April 4, 1964 :- 'I apologise if what we are asking is beyond what the Constitution allows regarding the status of a 'listening participant', as the General Secretary explained in his letter. If that is the case can you confirm that ?
Rev. Challis to the Chairman of the E.F.K.S. April 4, 1964.

[918] Chairman of the E.F.K.S. to Rev. Challis. April 10, 1964.

written statement signed by all the adults before the Delegation, the first converted building for its worship and piece of land possessed by the Samoan Church in 56 Sussex Street. Grey Lynn, Auckland, was given as a property of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa.[919] The Samoan Church in New Zealand [C.C.C.S.] had now settled and begun to actualise the hope for transplanted Christianity. Internal differences delayed a decision on their choice for an ordained Pastor from November 18, 1963. until December 8, 1963, when they finally decided for Pastor Siaosi Ieriko, an ordained Samoan pastor in the Newton P.I.C.C.[920] On December 14, 1963, Pastor Siaosi Ieriko became the first **covenanted pastor** [921] of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand. It is interesting to note that the decision by the Delegation had loosened a little the extreme polarity between Samoans who favoured Fuimaono and the separated Church, and the majority who were loyal to the P.I.C.C. Some Samoan ordained pastors in the P.I.C.C. who previously rejected invitations to preach at the separated Samoan Church before the Delegation's arrival in New Zealand now accepted invitations.[922] A more significant example was in the choice for pastor candidates put up for deciding the congregation's pastor.[923] The increasing assertion of pastoral authority by a retired ordained pastor of the E.F.K.S., Pastor Peteru,[924] and the addition of more chiefs to the separated Samoan Church since the official recognition by the Delegation, presented a formidable force the initial founders of the separated Church found increasingly difficult to ignore. The newly recognised C.C.C.S. was fast becoming

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[919] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala.

[920] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala. Pastor Ieriko resigned with his family from the Newton P.I.C.C. on the third week of November, 1963. According to Nokise, p.237. Pastor Ieriko's letter of resignation was read in the Diaconate meeting of the P.I.C.C. of November 23, 1963.

[921] This transliterates the Samoan term for the E.F.K.S. pastor, Fa'afeagaiga. Refer to Chapter One, Section B (ii) for an explanation of this. Here it simply refers to the fact of Pastor Ieriko as the first official pastor of the C.C.C.S. because he won the Parish ballot and he was inducted through the usual service and cultural ceremonies.

[922] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala.

[923] Rev. Sio was nominated with other E.F.K.S. Pastors who were in the P.I.C.C. at the time. But it was Fuimaono's request which withdrew the nomination for Rev. Sio. This was because Fuimaono had already asked Rev. Sio of this possibility but Rev. Sio was reluctant, and told Fuimaono he did not like the **breakaway manner** the C.C.C.S. was established.

[924] As mentioned above, Pastor Peteru was in the P.I.C.C. but he was helping in the Sunday worship of the separated Samoans since the beginning of their separated worship.

in the midst of continuing internal difficulties, a typical village Church in Samoa in many ways. Most representative in this respect was the pastor-chief partnership which holds the twin-authority in the most important issues and aspects of the life of a village Church.

1964 began like all churches of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa with the week-long 'Lotu Talosaga o le Tausaga Fou' [Intercessory Service of the New Year]. Membership of close to three hundred (300) created the need for more Samoan Bibles, Hymnaries, and other necessities for the pastoral ministry which Pastor Ieriko requested from the Printing Press of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa.[925] In the same letter, Pastor Ieriko related that all government related matters have been cleared, and the Samoan Church Sunday School has joined the Sunday School Union in Auckland.[926]

It is a widely shared view among Samoans in the C.C.C.S. and in the P.I.P.C. [Pacific Island Presbyterian Church] that the resilient growth of the C.C.C.S. in the beginning, and its popularity among the continuing inflow of Samoan migrants to New Zealand were due largely to the leadership of Pastor Ieriko as the leading Elder Pastor. This may well be true.[927] But in this way also he was unhelpful, indeed the greatest obstacle once he became pastor of the C.C.C.S., to efforts to reconcile the Samoans into the P.I.C.C.[928] Pastor Ieriko was determined to lead the C.C.C.S. in an independent line of growth and development and associated with other Christian churches in New Zealand on that basis. For example, he wrote to the E.F.K.S. on the possibility for the C.C.C.S. to join the National Council of Churches [N.C.C.]. On March 1, 1964, the second parish of the C.C.C.S. was established in Otara largely by the instigation of Fuimaono's family, and with great encouragement by Pastor Ieriko. In March 8, 1964, Pastor Ieriko accepted the

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[925] Pastor Ieriko to Secretary of the E.F.K.S. Undated letter. In 'Secretary's File on New Zealand Correspondence'; E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.

[926] Pastor Ieriko to the Secretary of the E.F.K.S. Undated letter.

[927] This is a widely shared view by Samoans in both the C.C.C.S. and the P.I.P.C. for the whole period of Pastor Ieriko's leadership as Elder Pastor as covered in this Thesis - 1960's to 1990's.

[928] This is the emphatic view of Rev. Sio which is also widely shared by Samoans in both Churches. Rev. Sio. 'Personal Story...'

invitation from some Methodist Samoans to start the Samoan Methodist Church which opened in Druids Hall, in Karangahape Road in Auckland.[929] The obvious impact of Pastor Ieriko's influence on the initial growth of the C.C.C.S. was felt early in 1964, though as a threat to the C.U.N.Z. It prompted the C.U.N.Z. to write to the E.F.K.S. [letter dated, March 12, 1964] on the supposition that perhaps the C.U.N.Z.'s official position regarding the Delegation's mission in New Zealand was not made clear.[930] The letter states two current issues which had occasioned their urgent correspondence. One, they had noticed that the separated group had 'now called themselves the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa.'[931] And, secondly, they also heard 'with grave concern some talk of this group wishing to start in other parts of New Zealand...'[932] Appealing to the fact of the common identity of the E.F.K.S. and C.U.N.Z. as members of the International Congregational Council, which should mean mutual respect for each-others sphere of work, the C.U.N.Z. re-emphasised its official position in relation to the separate Samoan Church with the advice to discourage its spread :- 'The Deputation was clearly told we considered they were wrong in recognising this group, and we state again that we have not recognised this group...we would request that you do all you can to discourage this.'[933]

To a large extent Pastor Ieriko's character and pastoral credentials suited the circumstances. Both members of the Delegation [Elder Pastor Poasa and Mr. Sa'aga] wrote to Fuimaono that their choice of Pastor Ieriko was the wisest because of his

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[929] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala. Also, taped interview of Pastor Ieriko by Fa'alepo.

[930] C.U.N.Z. to the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, March 12, 1964. This was probably caused by the brief report of the first anniversary celebration of the C.C.C.S. in December 29, 1963, which appeared in the New Zealand Herald of December 30, 1963. The report is headed - 'Church Marks First Year.' The Samoan Church is designated the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa with a membership of more than three hundred, and with a plan to open Churches in Wellington, Christchurch, and other suburbs of Auckland.

[931] C.U.N.Z. to the E.F.K.S. March 12, 1964.

[932] C.U.N.Z. to the E.F.K.S. March 12, 1964.

[933] C.U.N.Z. to the E.F.K.S. March 12, 1964.

pastoral experience in the village Church ministry in Samoa.[934] Though Mr. Sa'aga [Secretary of the E.F.K.S.] added his advice that Pastor Ieriko needed 'some checking' too.[935] Pastor Ieriko was a tried 'coconut pastor' who could weather any storm with a joke and could survive rough seas of criticism by evasive replies.[936] Hardly a confrontationist in pastoral approach, but always a lone rider who does what is right in his own mind. Pastor Ieriko was determined to enhance the public integrity of the Samoan Church in New Zealand, which was part of his more important concern to impress on the E.F.K.S. in Samoa the promising prospects of the Samoan Church in New Zealand that must no longer be ignored. In the 'count down' towards the General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. in May, Pastor Ieriko was leading the campaign for influence in the General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa.[937] Or more appropriately, under Pastor Ieriko's pastoral leadership, there were all the indications that the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand was firmly established and was to continue regardless of what the General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. was to decide later in its annual meeting in May. In his letter on March 22, 1964, Pastor Ieriko had written to the E.F.K.S. that the second property bought by the Samoan Church was also registered under the name of the E.F.K.S.[938] This was acknowledged with great gratitude by the General Assembly in May, at the same time the Delegation's decision on the request by the Samoan Church in New Zealand was discussed. Also in his letter to Elder Pastor Ioelu of May 1, 1964, Pastor Ieriko requested

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[934] These letters are mentioned above. Elder Pastor Poasa to Fuimaono, April 26, 1964. Mr. Sa'aga to Fuimaono, January 9, 1964.

[935] Mr. Sa'aga to Fuimaono. January 9, 1964.

[936] Rev. Sio relates numerous examples of this particular characteristic of Pastor Ieriko which is widely known to Samoans. A typical example relates to the attempts by Pastor Ieriko to encourage the growth of the C.C.C.S. in all the main centres of New Zealand and particularly in Auckland. According to Rev. Sio, who himself was doing the same not only to protect Samoans from leaving the P.I.C.C. but to encourage new Samoan immigrants to join P.I.C.C. Churches, whenever they meet Pastor Ieriko and would ask about his efforts, or even criticise his overt attempts to lure Samoans to the C.C.C.S., Pastor Ieriko's usual reply was - 'Do not talk about those things, let's eat.' And always with a smile.
Rev. Sio, 'Personal Story...' Many Samoans have comparable stories about Pastor Ieriko.

[937] For example his letter to the E.F.K.S. of March 22, May 1, and May 22, are full of encouraging reports of the growth of the C.C.C.S. in membership and in the spirit of worship by Samoans as shown by their demands for Bibles and Church Hymnaries.

[938] Pastor Ieriko to the Secretary of the E.F.K.S. Letter dated. March 22, 1964.

more Bibles and Church Hymnaries because, 'so many are in need of Bibles...', and he also re-emphasised 'the promising growth of the Samoan Church with no conceivable obstacles in sight.'[939] Pastor Ieriko was corresponding with one of the most respected and influential Elder Pastor and leader of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa at the time - Elder Pastor Ioelu.[940] The constant correspondence between Pastor Ieriko and Elder Pastor Ioelu even up to the week of the General Assembly was an advantage to the cause of the Samoan Church in New Zealand. Pastor Ieriko's reports and requests in relation to the Samoan Church could not fail to make a positive impression on Elder Pastor Ioelu, one of the classic religious nationalists in the E.F.K.S., who had only recently returned from representing the E.F.K.S. in the Centennial Celebration of the independence of the Church of Tahiti in Tahiti. At the end of his letter, May 22, 1964, to Elder Pastor Ioelu, Pastor Ieriko refers to the continuing tension in New Zealand because of the decision by the Delegation, with a sense of confidence and pastoral experience to which Elder Pastor Ioelu would equally share. According to Pastor Ieriko :-

> There is no doubt there is soon a final decision by the General Assembly which involves this new Church [Samoan Church in New Zealand]. I am sure you have heard so many stories from this side of the world, because of the Church that was recognised by the Delegation. It is the nature and habit of the world. When something new happens, there is tension and unnecessary chaos. But there is no careful and deep thinking to see what is good in it.[941]

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[939] Pastor Ieriko to Elder Pastor Ioelu. May 1, 1964.

[940] He was a previous Chairman of the E.F.K.S. more than once in the 1950's. He led several delegations from the E.F.K.S. in Samoa which dealt with the beginnings of branches of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa, Hawaii, and the United States of America in the 1950's. In 1964, he was the Vice Chairman of the General Assembly besides being one of the most senior Elders in several committees, and also the General Manager of the Printing Press of the E.F.K.S. In a report from the Missionaries in Samoa to the L.M.S. Headquarter in London about the proceedings and other issues discussed in the General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. in May, Elder Pastor Ioelu is specially mentioned as the champion for the recognition of the separated Samoan Church in New Zealand.
This Report [dated June 22, 1964] is found in the Folder - 'Correspondence Between the L.M.S. and the Samoan Church. 1961'; E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.

[941] Pastor Ieriko to Elder Pastor Ioelu; May 22. 1964.

Internal strife was incessant within the separated Samoan Church. Recurrent causes were clashes between the founding group and others who later joined during the Delegation's mission and after. Personality differences, status anxieties, frantic activism were equally responsible.[942] But despite these internal problems, unity was maintained in other ways by their opposition to the P.I.C.C., and by their common concern not to convey a divisive image to the E.F.K.S. in Samoa, while their **request** and the result of the Delegation's mission was yet to be given the final decision by the General Assembly of the Samoan Church.

Towards the Final Decision by the E.F.K.S., the Mother Church.

The last committee to make a decision on the Delegation's mission was the Komiti a le Au Toeaiina [Elders' Committee]. In its meeting on May 19-20, 1964, in the first week of the two-week gathering of the E.F.K.S. in its annual Assembly, the Elders' Committee resolved to accept the Delegation's Report.[943] The resolution by the Elders' Committee was essentially of the same substance as the resolution by the G.P.C. in January, as mentioned above. The only significant difference was that the Elders' Committee, unlike the G.P.C., did not recognise that the Delegation had over-stepped its commission as prescribed by the resolution of the General Assembly in 1963. The main explanation for this involves the Elders' Committee's self-understanding of its constitutional role, function and status which was clearly reflected in the authoritative way Elder Pastor Poasa conducted the Delegation's mission.[944] And this must be added the dominating

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[942] Fuimaono's Diary records numerous examples of these.

[943] The Resolution by the Elders' Committee is as follows :- (1) The Elders accept the Report by the Delegation; (2) The Elders resolve that this new Church must be put under the care and protection of the Congregational Union of New Zealand; (3) That three letters be sent to :- (a) Congregational Union of New Zealand. (b) P.I.C.C. (c) The new Church. Let them know our sorrow because of what has happened. But we hope that they will still be in the fellowship of the children of God, for that will maintain their unity and mutual love especially between the children of Samoa in New Zealand.
64 : KAT : 31. 'About the Delegation to New Zealand in 1963'.
Source :- 'File for Official Resolutions by Elders' Committee'; E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.

[944] The Elders' Committee is basically the ruling body of the Samoan Church in practice. Its constitutional role is to oversee the pastoral ministry and spiritual life of the Church, and the discipline of the Pastors and their wives. Traditionally, the Resolutions by the Elders' Committee are binding and can not be discussed in the General Assembly, mainly because of the traditional understanding that they deal with spiritual matters. This is still the situation at present although it is now more flexible because of the lead by some

influence of Elders like Poasa and Ioelu in the Elders' Committee. The clearest indication of such influence is to be found in the Delegation's Report submitted before the General Assembly. Quite in contrast with the General Assembly's resolution in 1963 which only states the two members of the Delegation party and its commission. 'That a Delegation be sent to New Zealand to visit and look into this question',[945] the Delegation Report is introduced with the statement of what it states as its commission received from the General Assembly and the advice of the Elders :-

> Before the trip, advice was received from the Church :- (a) According to the General Assembly, come and be set to go. if you see that it is appropriate (or that it must be approved) then do it. If you see that it is not appropriate then do not do it. (b) This was the same advice from the Elders.[946]

There were opposing voices in the Elders' Committee as there were also, later, in the General Assembly, which included both Elders and general participants of the Assembly.[947] But the non-recognition of these opposing voices in the resolution by the Elders' Committee, and also later in the final resolution by the General Assembly, is clear indication of the predominance of the 'Agaga Fa'asamoa o Tama o le Ekalesia' [the indigenous Samoan Spirit of the Fathers of the Church] in the whole process and the general direction of the E.F.K.S.'s Church leadership.[948]

Elders to question their own Resolutions in the General Assembly and the audacity of the Assembly to challenge the Elders' Committee on some of their Resolutions. The crucial point relevant here is that Elder Pastor Poasa was leading the Delegation at the time the Elders were most strict and authoritative in their leadership of the Samoan Church, and reflecting the patriarchal spirituality of the Samoan Culture on Samoan Church piety.

[945] 63 FT 9 - 'Special Church for the Samoans, Established in Auckland New Zealand'. 'Minutes of the General Assembly, 1963'. E.F.K.S. Official Publication.

[946] 'Report of the Delegation...', p.1.

[947] According to Elder Pastor Sapolu in his 'Personal Story...'. It is also clear in the Report by the Missionaries in Samoa of the General Assembly proceedings to the L.M.S. Headquarter in London, as noted already.

[948] I have already referred to the strict and authoritative characteristic of Elders. But part of their leadership mentality is the tendency to adjudicate on Church matters in a familial and personal manner. While it has flaws, its value is the highest consideration given to the **personal** element in church affairs and politics. In other words, taking more seriously **Theology of the Heart** that attends to the vulnerability of people, than the **Theology of the Head** that tends to be mostly impersonal and other-worldly. A glimpse into this aspect

It would be difficult to imagine that the General Assembly would decide in relation to the question of the Samoan Church in New Zealand in a radically different way from the general consensus of its committees [G.P.C., Directors' Committee, Elders' Committee] as mentioned already. Minutes of the General Assembly were not recorded. But interviews with several Elders who participated,[949] and correspondence from the E.F.K.S. to the Samoan Church in New Zealand after the Assembly[950] make it clear that supporters and opponents of the issue concerning the Samoan Church in New Zealand were well represented in the Assembly. The Assembly likewise devoted serious consideration to the whole issue which was facilitated by the fact that the Delegation Report was distributed to the whole Assembly.[951]

The final resolution by the General Assembly essentially confirmed the resolutions previously reached by its committees, especially the G.P.C. and the Elders' Committee.[952] And it must be noted that the Assembly's resolution highlights the desire to worship wholly in the Samoan language as emphasised in the Delegation's Report. This was the governing consideration in the perspective of the Church Elders. Their deep sense of worship was reflected in their inclination to honour the agitation in the request

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is found in Elder Pastor Poasa's response in the meeting with the P.I.C.C. Samoans on Sunday, October 27, 1963, as quoted above in the Text.

[949] For example, Elders Sapolu, Vavae Toma, Oka Fauolo, Fa'afouina Iofi, Fa'amatala Aseta, Fuata'i Toeutu and many others I personally interviewed. Their 'Personal Stories...' are in the author's possession.

[950] For example, the letters by Elder Pastor Poasa and Mr. Sa'aga to Fuimaono as mentioned above.

[951] As clearly reported in the Report by the Missionaries in Samoa to the L.M.S. Headquarter in London, as mentioned already. Dated, June 22, 1964. And also in the final Resolution by the E.F.K.S. in relation to Samoan Church problem in New Zealand as quoted below in Note 952.

[952] The Resolution by the General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. is as follows :-
64 : GA :16. 'Church Deputation to New Zealand'.
The Assembly was fully informed of the Report of the Church Deputation to New Zealand, as it was distributed to individual members. The Assembly confirmed said Report where it is desired that worship in the new Church should be conducted wholly in the Samoan language. Assembly also resolved : (a) That the new Church should seek to be affiliated to the Congregational Union of New Zealand, whilst officially recognised as a branch of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. (b) That a letter be written to the Congregational Union of New Zealand advising the Union of the above wish of the Church in Samoa. Copies of the same be sent to the P.I.C.C. and the newly formed Church of the Samoans.
This is taken from the letter by the Secretary of the E.F.K.S. to the C.U.N.Z. Letter dated, July 7, 1964. According to the letter, the above resolution is the English translation of the Samoan version of the Resolution. Confirmed in official Publication of the E.F.K.S. - Minutes of the General Assembly, 1964.

by the separated Samoans in New Zealand for separated worship. The single-minded emphasis for the preservation of the purity, holiness, and the centrality of the worship life of the Samoan Church is a perennial element in the piety of the Samoan Church Elders.

But the influence of other considerations apart from the predominance of worship is well-attested to by the report from the Missionaries in Samoa to the L.M.S. Headquarters in London. The Report includes first hand observations by a Missionary of the proceedings of the 1964 General Assembly, and giving an outsider's view of certain ironies in the Assembly's manner of proceeding, the influence of Elders and personalities, and a bit of traditional missionary bias in understanding the mind of the Samoan Church:-

> In the matter of the breakaway group from the P.I.C.C. in Auckland, the Assembly endorsed the breaking of its own Minute and recognised the formation of a new branch of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand ! The Elders did try to give rather a better lead to the Assembly but Ioelu persisted in appealing to the nationalist feeling of the unenlightened and, of course, they were only too happy to oblige. There were some good speeches on the other side but they did not have the emotional appeal of the schismatics.[953]

Before the Secretary of the E.F.K.S. despatched official correspondence to the C.U.N.Z. and P.I.C.C. notifying them about the Resolution by the General Assembly of the E.F.K.S., he firstly notified the pastor and the main founder of the separated Samoans in his letters of June 23, and 25, 1964.[954] Most relevant to our purpose is the advice to both leaders to be humble about the decision by the E.F.K.S. and to be foremost in seeking peaceful relationship with a forgiving heart with the P.I.C.C. membership. He further relates that separated worship is not in itself a sin, though the temptations involved at the initial stages of separate development and as the consequence of the decision by the E.F.K.S. would be great, which necessitated the utmost watchfulness. The only cure is

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[953] Report by Missionaries in Samoa to L.M.S. Headquarter in London: June 22, 1964.

[954] The Secretary's Letter to Pastor Ieriko is dated, June 23. 1964. The letter to Fuimaono is dated, June 25, 1964. In 'Secretary's File on New Zealand Correspondence'; E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.

what Jesus had taught - the need to activate the forgiving heart and the pursuit of peace and mutual love. The official notification by the E.F.K.S. of the C.U.N.Z. was in the Secretary's letter on July 7, 1964, which included the English version of the E.F.K.S.'s Assembly Resolution and the request by the E.F.K.S. based on its Resolution.[955] The relevant Resolution stipulates, 'That the new Samoan Church should seek to be affiliated to the C.U.N.Z., whilst officially recognised as a branch of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa.' On this Resolution the request by the E.F.K.S. was related by the Secretary in the following way :-

> ...your Congregational Union of Churches is hereby most respectfully requested that you kindly receive in your Union this new Church of the Samoans in New Zealand. You may understand from this minute also, that one of the prime reasons of the people in this new Church wishing to separate from their brethren in the P.I.C.C. was to put up a Church of their own, in their own language, where they can worship God with the fullest understanding. We should be most grateful if you and your fellow officers in the Congregational Union would do all in your power to bring about a reconciliation between the P.I.C.C. and the new Church and help them to find ways of working together...[956]

The letter included the request for assistance in the formal registration of the properties already possessed by the separated Church about which they had sought advice from the E.F.K.S. in Samoa.[957]

(v) Failure of Cooperation at the Official Level : Clash Between Two Versions of Christianities or Christian Ecumenism - Indigenous Christianity on a Mono-Cultural Basis, and Missionary Christianity on a Multi-Cultural Basis.

The official response by the C.U.N.Z. to the above letter by the E.F.K.S. was in the letter on August 7, 1964.[958] The letter clearly relates the C.U.N.Z.'s firm opposition to the

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[955] Secretary of the E.F.K.S. to C.U.N.Z. Letter dated, July 7, 1964.

[956] Secretary of the E.F.K.S. to C.U.N.Z. July 7, 1964.

[957] As requested in Pastor Ieriko's letter to the Secretary of the E.F.K.S. dated, March 23, 1964.

Resolution by the General Assembly of the E.F.K.S., and also its refusal of the request appended to it as related in the letter [July 7, 1964] by the Secretary of the E.F.K.S. The letter includes six points which specifies the various considerations involved in the C.U.N.Z.'s response to the E.F.K.S. The feeling of being 'very grieved at the decision of the General Assembly [Fono Tele] in Malua in May'[959] is related mainly because 'worship conducted wholly in the Samoan language'[960] was already taking place in all P.I.C.C. Churches around New Zealand. The breakaway from the P.I.C.C. is also emphasised as wrong,[961] and which was encouraged by the recognition by the E.F.K.S.'s Delegation.[962] So the C.U.N.Z. can not affiliate 'a group which broke fellowship with one of the Churches of the Union.'[963] The refusal to be responsible for anything to do with the separated Samoan Church is made clear, though there is at the same time the willingness to pursue reconciliation if the separated Samoans were to return to the P.I.C.C.[964] Before the E.F.K.S. considered this negative response from the C.U.N.Z., events in New Zealand between the C.U.N.Z. and the C.C.C.S. towards the end of 1964 show the commitment by the C.U.N.Z. to its opposition. This time, it was largely evoked by the misinformed statement authorised by Pastor Ieriko which stated in the New Zealand Herald of September 17, 1964, that the C.U.N.Z. had approved the separate development of Samoan Churches in New Zealand.[965] Coincidently, a statement on the same day in the 'Auckland Star', probably authorised by the C.U.N.Z., clearly falsified such claim.[966] The C.U.N.Z. was quick to respond in the New Zealand Herald on the next

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[958] C.U.N.Z. to E.F.K.S. Letter dated, August 7, 1964.

[959] C.U.N.Z. to E.F.K.S. August 7, 1964.

[960] C.U.N.Z. to E.F.K.S. August 7, 1964.

[961] C.U.N.Z. to E.F.K.S. August 7, 1964.

[962] C.U.N.Z. to E.F.K.S. August 7, 1964.

[963] C.U.N.Z. to E.F.K.S. August 7, 1964.

[964] C.U.N.Z. to E.F.K.S. August 7, 1964.

[965] This public statement was headed - 'Samoans to Form Own Church. Move Approved by Union'. New Zealand Herald, September 17, 1964.

[966] This public statement was headed - 'Opposed to Samoan Church Move'. Auckland Star, September 17, 1964.

day, September 18, 1964, to re-emphasise its official opposition to the separate development of Samoan Churches in New Zealand.[967] The C.C.C.S. prepared an article to counter certain claims by the C.U.N.Z., but it was unpublished.[968] The two claims by the C.U.N.Z. the C.C.C.S. intended to challenge were included in both statements by the C.U.N.Z. mentioned above. The statement in the 'Herald' put it as follows:-

> The Secretary of the Congregational Union Mr. B.J. Shearer, said yesterday that there had been an agreed policy for the last 15 years whereby Islanders from Niue Island, Cook Islands and Samoan Churches were united with New Zealanders in one Church, with the aim of integrating immigrants into both the Church and the New Zealand community .[969]

This was the major claim. The minor claim was a quote by Rev. Sio in the article in the Auckland Star of September 17, 1964, which expressed the continuing hope by the P.I.C.C. for the return of the separated Samoans to the P.I.C.C. - 'We hope that this other group will in time return to our Church.'[970] The unpublished counter-claim by the C.C.C.S. is as follows :-

> <u>The Congregational Christian Church in Auckland Confirmed.</u>
> The C.C.C.S. in Auckland disagreed with the Secretary of the C.U.N.Z., Mr. B.J. Shearer, on the statement he made, that the policy had been agreed by Island peoples to be united under one Church. The Congregational Christian Church in Samoa did not approve that policy. Samoan people come to New Zealand without any policy to bind them on religions. Most of the Samoans were under the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa; Others belong to the Catholic, Methodist, Seventh-Day Adventist and the Latter Day

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[967] This public statement was headed - 'Union Opposes Separation of Island Church'. New Zealand Herald, September 18, 1964.

[968] According to Fuimaono's Diary, he phoned Pastor Ieriko and asked why he made such a foolish thing [statement in the 'Herald'] which was causing unnecessary chaos. He also told Pastor Ieriko he should respond to misinformed claims by the Union, but Pastor Ieriko did not answer which to Fuimaono was indicating a lack of courage. Fuimaono also records that he wrote to Elder Pastor Poasa and Mr. Sa'aga in Samoa about the situation, and they indicated their unhappiness about Pastor Ieriko's carelessness.

[969] New Zealand Herald (Auckland) September 18, 1964.

[970] Auckland Star (Auckland) September 17, 1964.

> Saints; few joined the Jehovah's Witness. If the C.U.N.Z. really opposed a move from the C.C.C.S. in Samoa, then Samoans in New Zealand would realise the attitude between the C.U.N.Z. and the C.C.C.S. in Samoa.[971] There was no intention of this group to return to the P.I.C.C., because this branch has been confirmed by the C.C.C.S. in Samoa, and can stand on its own feet without any help from any other source.[972]

The crucial claim in the unpublished article by the C.C.C.S. is the reference to the absence of a binding policy by the E.F.K.S. on religious affiliations of its Samoan adherents who migrated to New Zealand. This is important.[973]This is the basic truth which underlied the intransigence of the separated Samoans during their struggle to realise their vision for a separate Samoan Church. As noted above, the E.F.K.S. Delegation gave crucial consideration to this aspect as shown in its final decision to

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[971] This means that because it was clear that there was disagreement between the C.U.N.Z. and the E.F.K.S., that does not necessarily bind or obligate the C.C.C.S. in any way, or to any side. But as the quote in the Text further states, for the C.C.C.S., it really amounted to pursuing its independent development in association with the E.F.K.S.

[972] This is recorded in Fuimaono's Diary. Fuimaono comments about this article that it was not published perhaps because of Pastor Ieriko's lack of courage. But the article should have been published in the Auckland Star of September 18, 1964, or the New Zealand Herald of the same date.

[973] This was the critical aspect in the whole relationship between the E.F.K.S. and its outside branches as previously shown in respect to its branches in Fiji, Hawaii, and U.S.A. This specifically relates to the connection between the 'accommodative approach' by the E.F.K.S. which was largely determined by the initiative by migrant churches to maintain links. The following reiterates a great deal of what has already been stated in Chapter Two. The E.F.K.S. had no vision that it would grow outside Samoa in the manner it was brought about by its Samoan migrant adherents. It did not have a binding policy on religious affiliation because its migrant adherents left Samoa as independent village Christians, and primarily to pursue a higher civilised life, but not as E.F.K.S.'s missionaries. The establishment of Church communities in countries of migration by migrants primarily illustrated the effect and strength of their religious culture rather than a purely missionary concern. Although as equally evident in the central contention of this Thesis, the interface between the aspects of religious culture and missionary concern were inseparable in the founding vision of the C.C.C.S., as was the same for the beginnings of the E.F.K.S. branches in Hawaii and U.S.A. And it reflects the central characteristic of the mind of modern Samoa, as demonstrated in Chapter One, in the Samoan understanding of the mutual alliance of Gospel and Culture or Christianity and Fa'asamoa. The point is that it would have been presumptuous for the E.F.K.S. to make a binding policy on the religious affiliation of its migrant adherents. This is important to note because it explains the basic difference, at least in the initial stage, in the religious situations of Samoans in Hawaii and U.S.A. from Samoans in New Zealand. The C.U.N.Z. was able to provide the E.F.K.S. migrant adherents in their freedom and choice for religious affiliation in New Zealand through the P.I.C.C. The E.F.K.S. migrant adherents in other countries, in particular Hawaii and U.S.A. began by establishing purely Samoan Churches and sought links with the E.F.K.S. on such basis. They therefore did not have to confront such difficulties as in New Zealand when the C.C.C.S. founders decided to separate themselves from the P.I.C.C.

approve the separate Samoan Church.[974] This was equally the underlying consideration behind the final decision by the E.F.K.S. to approve the 'controversial decision' by its Delegation in the General Assembly in May, 1964. It was inconceivably impossible for the E.F.K.S. as its Delegation had found difficult, not to approve the already established Samoan Church in New Zealand after the E.F.K.S. had accepted its other branches in Fiji, Hawaii and U.S.A. And the major reason had less to do with considerations of accrued benefits for the E.F.K.S. which outside branches had promised. Rather it was the vital concern to keep migrant adherents of the E.F.K.S. in the Christian faith, especially when the initiative to maintain links came from outside branches, and not a result of an E.F.K.S. policy. At the time when Samoan Church Fathers held the unchallenged leadership of the Samoan Church, any request from the born children of Samoa or of the E.F.K.S. for links would be seen as spiritual blessings and answers to the Church's prayers for born children of Samoa and the E.F.K.S. to remain in the Faith. This was the non-negotiable foundation of the piety of Samoan Church Fathers. The C.U.N.Z. and the P.I.C.C. failed to appreciate this because they did not understand certain characteristics of Samoan people and also the plurality of their religious inclinations and religious understanding as migrants. The relevant point at this stage is the evident failure to solve such difficult issues because of the failure of cooperation at the official level. Its ominous forecast for the subsequent developments of separate Samoan Churches in New Zealand, in the P.I.C.C. and the C.C.C.S., is already indicated in the brief events mentioned above which followed the emphatic rejection by the C.U.N.Z. of the E.F.K.S.'s final resolution on the problem. While this demonstrates the determined opposition by the C.U.N.Z., it also indicated clearly to the E.F.K.S. the limited nature of what it could do to influence religious developments overseas, even if they related to the Churches of its migrant adherents. The reaction by the E.F.K.S. was therefore a resigned acceptance of such perceived limitation on its overseas influences while at the same time making explicit its authority as an independent indigenous Pacific Church. The meeting by its committee,

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[974] This was the rationale behind the explanation by the E.F.K.S. Delegation to the C.U.N.Z. of the reasons for its final decision to approve the separate Samoan Church which the C.U.N.Z. reluctantly agreed to. This is related in the 'protest letter' by the C.U.N.Z. of November 11, 1964 :- 'At the same time we were glad to have them say to us most strongly that they regarded this recognition as only a temporary means of keeping Fuimaono's group from becoming Methodists, Roman Catholics or one of the sects.'

the G.P.C., on January 12-14, 1965, was unable to make a final decision in relation to the negative response from the C.U.N.Z. in its letter of August 7, 1964, and also in relation to subsequent events in New Zealand towards the end of 1964 as shown above.[975] It deferred a final decision to its meeting in May 'having in mind the further developments that had come to the attention of the Samoan Church, and the current understanding they had caused.'[976] The final decision by the E.F.K.S. in its General Assembly in May, 1965, was merely to accept the recommended Resolution by the G.P.C. in its meeting in May. It decided to let it be as such, for God and time will eventually show the true course to follow. Following is the recommendation by the G.P.C. the General Assembly endorsed :

> The Fono Tele accepted the recommendations on this matter by the General Purpose Committee as follows : (a) The Committee believes that because of the letter from the Congregational Union of New Zealand which rejected our application, there should be nothing much wrong with that, but we should try on our own to do our best for the children of this Church. (b) Nothing more must be said regarding the relationship between the two Samoan Churches. Let us pray with true faith that God would answer in a manner witnessed by all. [977]

The explicit assertion of the E.F.K.S.'s independent status is shown in a further resolution by the G.P.C. which was made as follows :-

> Independent Freedom to Conduct External Relations.
> The Committee resolved to re-emphasise and to clarify the present status of the Samoan Church in relation to the L.M.S., the mother - source. Missionaries who are still working with us are our friends to advise us for the future direction of the Church. But we are completely independent from the L.M.S. in all areas involving our external relations. [978]

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[975] 65 K.F.E. 3. Resolution by the General Purpose Committee of its meeting on January 12-14, 1965. 'Minutes of the G.P.C. Meeting'; E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.

[976] 65 K.F.E. 3. Resolutions by the General Purpose Committee...January 12-14, 1965.

[977] 'Minutes of the General Assembly, 1965'. E.F.K.S. Official Publication.

[978] 65 K.F.E. 3. 'Resolutions by the General Purpose Committee...January 12-14, 1965'.

(vi) Summary Reflections on the Complex Beginning of the C.C.C.S., and Concluding Observations Linking Situation Reached to Overall Development of the Thesis.

The negative response from the C.U.N.Z. was critical for the relationship between Samoans in the P.I.C.C. and those in the newly established C.C.C.S. It was most unhelpful in terms of achieving unity and mutual understanding between the Samoans. The basic problem was the inflexibility on the side of the C.U.N.Z., which seemed to have been fixated on achieving reconciliation on its own terms. Although this inflexibility was partly influenced by Samoan Church leaders in the P.I.C.C. which the Elders in Samoa had rightly recognised.[979] This claim against the C.U.N.Z.'s inflexibility has considerable truth because Samoans were inclined to accept whatever decision the E.F.K.S. was to make in relation to the problem relating to the separated Samoan Church in New Zealand.[980] For according to Pastor Siaosi Ieriko, there was a dawning change in the relationship amongst the Samoans after they learned of the final decision by the E.F.K.S. :- 'The foolishness and the darkness of Samoans is now beginning to fade, for they have now received the light and enlightenment...'[981] Furthermore, it was also the main intention by the P.I.C.C. and especially the Samoan pastor leaders that the final decision was best left to be made at the official level - that is, between the E.F.K.S. and the C.U.N.Z.[982] But obviously as shown above, there was failure of cooperation at this level because of the rejection by the C.U.N.Z. of the practical approach from the E.F.K.S.

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[979] According to the E.F.K.S., the fault of the C.U.N.Z. in this respect was that of their 'listening too much' to the Samoan Church leaders in the P.I.C.C. The release of Pastor Kenape Faletoese by the E.F.K.S. to become the pastor of the P.I.C.C. in Christchurch in 1964 clearly strengthened the resistance by the P.I.C.C. against the C.C.C.S., as shown in his attempts against the beginning of the C.C.C.S. Parish in Christchurch. The release of Pastor Faletoese by the E.F.K.S. is a typical example of the broad-minded approach by the E.F.K.S. which recognised both Churches by Samoans in the P.I.C.C. and the C.C.C.S., unlike the short-sighted vision by the C.U.N.Z. as shown in its opposition to the C.C.C.S. Pastor Faletoese was loyal to the E.F.K.S. though his inclinations were to support the ecumenical concerns of the C.U.N.Z. and P.I.C.C. But the crucial point here is the failure by the C.U.N.Z. to recognise the primary importance of dialogue and decisions made in the official level between national Churches.

[980] For example, Rev. Sio the leading Samoan pastor in the P.I.C.C. as noted above in his letter to Mr. Sa'aga, was prepared to accept whatever decision the E.F.K.S. would make in the General Assembly in May, 1964.

[981] Pastor Ieriko to Secretary of the E.F.K.S. Letter dated, August 7, 1964. 'Secretary's File on New Zealand Correspondence'; E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.

[982] According to Rev. Sio in his 'Personal Story...'

for a hopeful solution. The critical problem was therefore the failure by the C.U.N.Z. to discern the potential for reconciliation between the Samoans in the Resolution by the E.F.K.S. and its request for assistance. This was compounded by the C.U.N.Z.'s disrespect for the E.F.K.S.'s approach as expressed in its Resolution, which was clearly predicated on the need for unity and hopeful reconciliation which the C.U.N.Z. was also pursuing. The **sad story** [983] of the relationship between Samoans in the beginning of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand and in the subsequent development of Samoan Churches separately in the P.I.C.C. and in the C.C.C.S. may have been different had the C.U.N.Z. shown some respect and trust in the decision by the E.F.K.S. in 1964.

But there were deeper realities in religious developments in the Pacific which were influenced by religious developments world-wide which required sophisticated considerations. In this respect, the claims and concerns behind the negative response by the C.U.N.Z. are understandable and had merits. Though inadequate, there was goodwill and genuine efforts to provide for the religious needs of Samoans in the P.I.C.C. which the C.U.N.Z. had reminded the E.F.K.S. in its 'letter of protest' against the E.F.K.S.'s Delegation

> We have a loving concern for all the Samoan people over this...In the Congregational Union of New Zealand we are providing a Church home for all your people, old and young, whatever their language needs are in worship...Europeans among us show their love for your people by attending Samoan language services which they don't understand...[984]

The opposition by the missionaries in the E.F.K.S. also resulted from sharing the same concerns and goodwill though not without some influences of less worthy considerations. According to Rev. Dr. Bowen :-

> I remember amongst the missionaries a strong feeling of loyalty towards Bob Challis and the formation of the P.I.C.C....and the considerable hope surrounding the P.I.C.C. in New Zealand. There

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[983] Refer especially to Chapter Six, 'Historical Narratives of the Origins and Beginnings of C.C.C.S. Parishes', in particular the parishes for the 1960's.

[984] C.U.N.Z. to the E.F.K.S. November 11, 1963.

> may be several reasons. Perhaps Challis was a personal friend of missionaries here in Samoa. Perhaps, because there were almost no Congregational Churches in New Zealand...not very strong...[But] Challis symbolised significant hopes and had crystallised particular possibilities for mutual fellowship of Island Congregationalists in New Zealand in a body which could bring together Islanders and experienced White missionaries...There was a real element of goodwill and proper Christian concern in the minds of the missionaries because they felt with some reasons that given the New Zealand context, P.I.C.C. was offering a way of preserving the distinctive Christian and cultural heritage of Islanders and social forms of Island Christianity; and at the same time because English would be used to bridge the linguistic gap between Islanders, it would also be a kind of bridgehead in the English speaking world of New Zealand. So there were worthy motives and perhaps some less worthy ones in terms of loyalty to Challis and feelings of friendship...[985]

The most vital concern was the theological insistence on Church unity and cooperation of Pacific Churches which grew out of the missionary work by the L.M.S. in the Pacific. This was pursued as part of the increasing world-wide attempts towards Church reunion in Protestant denominations of the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches. As noted above, this fundamental concern was the non-negotiable perspective from which the L.M.S. Missionaries in the E.F.K.S., L.M.S. Directors in the C.U.N.Z., and the L.M.S. Missionaries and Samoan leading pastors in the P.I.C.C. opposed the beginning of the C.C.C.S. and its approval by the E.F.K.S. But the E.F.K.S. was equally ecumenical in its approaches and its vision as it was a founding member church of the Pacific Conference of Churches [P.C.C.] in 1961, and also became a member of the World Council of Churches [W.C.C.] in the same year. Its final resolution which was rejected by the C.U.N.Z. was clearly consistent with its ecumenical vision, and its traditional recognition of the importance of collaboration with Christian Churches in countries where Samoan migrant Churches were established. The 'basic theological divide' between the two sides which found expression in the failure of cooperation on the problem related to the beginning of the C.C.C.S. was the differing emphasis and perspective from which both sides approached negotiations in their shared commitment to Christian ecumenism. The C.U.N.Z. [and the P.I.C.C.] operated mainly on the basis of traditional missionary

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[985] Rev. Dr. Bowen: 'Personal Story...'

authority and leadership which, at the time and as far as the Samoan Church [E.F.K.S.] was concerned, was largely replaced by the emerging authority and leadership of indigenous and independent Pacific Churches. This reflects the fundamental paradigm shift in world-wide Christian approach to Christian witness and evangelism which achieved symbolic fulfilment in the reluctant integration of the International Missionary Council (I.M.C.), the epitomy of traditional approach to mission, and the World Council of Churches (W.C.C.), the symbol for the transition into mission through indigenous and national Churches, in 1961.[986] Here, the new mood and emphasis was mission by Church of nations as aptly expressed in a dictum by Stephen Neill in 1964 : 'the age of missions is at an end; the age of mission has begun.'[987] As Max Warren also had it - 'We have to be ready to see the day of missions, as we have known them. as having already come to an end.'[988] As shown already, the E.F.K.S. was led into this since as far back as the beginning of the century but mostly from the 1950s, by the secular migration of its adherents overseas who established migrant Church communities out of the vision and self-understanding depicted in Chapter Two - The Movement and Migration of a 'Biblical Culture and a Christian Society.' The E.F.K.S. approached Christian ecumenism from this 'new' standpoint. While it gave the lead into this development for the Pacific, it also exemplified its essential implication and characteristic. That when mission was seen to be the responsibility of the indigenous Church rather than of 'missions', the forms in which the Gospel was commended became inseparable. The same applied to the question of authority to which the indigenous Church was accountable. The issue of Christian authority and leadership in the transition from traditional missionary authority and leadership of missionary agencies to independent national Churches in the Pacific was therefore a crucial factor which was largely implicated in the complex beginning of the C.C.C.S. This Chapter has shown the basic

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[986] For a good introduction into the reluctant mergence of the I.M.C. and the W.C.C. including background developments and complex issues and debates involved until the mergence eventuated in 1961, see these two books. Timothy Yates. Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century. (Great Britain : Cambridge University Press, 1994). See especially Chapters 5 and 6. Also Lesslie Newbigin. Unfinished Agenda..., Chapters 15 and 16.

[987] Quoted in Timothy Yates. Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century, p.166.

[988] Lesslie Newbiggin. Unfinished Agenda...,p.168.

tensions between these two perspectives in the struggle by the C.C.C.S. for birth, acceptance, and recognition, against the determined opposition by the C.U.N.Z. and the P.I.C.C. The three foundational decisions which propelled and eventually fulfilled the 'staggered beginning' of the C.C.C.S. clearly reflect the assertion of authority and leadership by the emerging independent Churches of the Pacific. These were the decisions by the founders of the C.C.C.S. to resign from the P.I.C.C. to begin the C.C.C.S., the decision by the E.F.K.S. Delegation to approve the separated development of the C.C.C.S., and the final decision by the E.F.K.S. to endorse the decision by its Delegation. And as also evident in the founding vision of the C.C.C.S. and its struggle for birth, acceptance, and recognition, this assertion of indigenous authority and leadership in Church was inseparable from the motivations of its cultural rootedness and significance in the light of Samoan Christianity. Nokise attributes as possible causes for the split in the P.I.C.C. which resulted in the beginning of the C.C.C.S. the influence of personal factors, problems of discipline, and nationalistic pride enclosed in the Fa'asamoa.[989] I have challenged these above mainly because of their excessively negative significance in Nokise's understanding. In some cases, I stressed the evident mis-reading by Nokise of events in which these factors were involved especially in relation to the motives of the founders of the C.C.C.S. The basic failure was the failure to appreciate the Christian spirit of the Samoan culture on which Samoan Christianity is rooted and is founded on. Nokise's discussion, while has merits, is therefore limited and too simplistic which also over-estimates the 'innocence and merits' of the theological perspective of the C.U.N.Z. and the P.I.C.C. Close to the heart of the controversial beginning of the C.C.C.S. were the vital and perennial questions involving the true nature of the Church, of worship, of theology, and of piety in 'a true' Christian understanding. The formation of the P.I.C.C. within the C.U.N.Z. shows at least a wonderful appreciation by the C.U.N.Z. of how these aspects of the 'Christian Life' were given contextual expressions by the various Christianities of different Pacific Churches. But the determined opposition by the C.U.N.Z. to the separate development of the C.C.C.S. shows at the same time its narrow conception of the essential plurality and dynamics of

[989] Nokise, "A History...", p.244.

cultural forms and expressions, that had always been a fact and historical feature of the Christian understanding of its faith and Christian unity. It was still overtly denominational in ethos, and also partly influenced by the historical hangover of the fear of excessive cultural authority at the helm of the Church. While history is largely on the side of the C.U.N.Z. in relation to the latter aspect, it was wrongly applied against the attempts by the C.C.C.S. to actualise its vision and hope during its complex beginning. Looking back after thirty years since the opposition by missionaries in the E.F.K.S. to the beginning of the C.C.C.S., Rev. Dr. Bradshaw admits to this mistake, which he further adds as caused by their lack of proper appreciation of the cultural rootedness of Samoan Christianity especially as represented by the E.F.K.S. According to Rev. Dr. Bradshaw :-

> ...We underestimated the strength of Samoan Culture...the fact that the Samoan Church and Samoan Culture were locked like that[990]...and you couldn't just unlock them and say, well, you become part of the Presbyterian Church or...The strength of the E.F.K.S., the Samoan Church is very great. It goes beyond just being the Church, but it includes the whole way of life, the island way of life...We all hoped we would have no more denominations. But I think we were wrong...We were not living the same world as Samoan people. And they were right in my opinion. They were right in making their own Church in New Zealand; otherwise they would not have been able to preserve their way of life, and stood against the temptations and difficulties in a foreign country...[991]

Rev. Dr. Bowen shares the same belief by wisdom of hindsight :-

> Probably at the time, the missionaries did not give enough weight to the needs of ethnic groups in migration...the need of ethnicity and identity...when communities previously under colonial rule feel the need for solidarity and self esteem,...these become important to people...I understand it better now than when I came in 1964. Looking back I can appreciate it in a different way what motivated Samoans to cling together and to hold together and want not to be part of the P.I.C.C....but to have a religious identity in New Zealand which is a clear signal of links with the Church in the homeland...[992]

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[990] Rev. Dr. Bradshaw demonstrated this with his clasped hands when he made this statement.
[991] Rev. Dr. Bradshaw; 'Personal Story...'

[992] Rev. Dr. Bowen: 'Personal Story...'

What these previous missionaries in the Samoan Church are saying is this. That the Christian Church can unconsciously fall into a limited perspective of Christian ecumenism if it fixates on an excessive suspicion of the role of culture, more properly of redeemed culture in the profession of faith. For the C.C.C.S. began, as shown above, on the vision of Samoans who believed in their modern Fa'asamoa, their redeemed culture, as the proper foundation and carrier of their version of Christianity wherever they migrate.

CHAPTER 6

HISTORICAL NARRATIVES OF THE ORIGINS AND BEGINNINGS OF C.C.C.S. PARISHES : LAYING THE FOUNDATION OF THE CHURCH

Introduction

This chapter provides a chronological narrative of the 'origins and beginnings' of the parishes of the C.C.C.S. throughout the whole period covered in the Thesis. The primary objective is to illustrate the growth of the C.C.C.S. through the growth of its institutional foundation - its Parish System. This is important because it is the self understanding of the Samoan Church that its Parish System - the conglomeration of independent local Parish Churches [village Churches in Samoa] - is the foundation of the Church as an institution and as a worshipping community. This is based on the theological understanding that the 'true' Church exists at the place, and at the moment, where the worshipping community gathers to worship and in fellowship.

A closely related objective is to account for the 'whole story' of Church origins and beginnings - in particular, to identify the main church builders, the church making events, and church making decisions. In other words there was a 'foundation before the founding' in Church parishes which the term 'origin' strictly refers to. In this period - of the foundation before the founding - the role of various members of parish communities, in particular the lay Christians, is central. This is usually less recognised or even unknown because of the tendency in history writing, and in the habits of polite society, to concentrate on the 'official history' or the 'official story' of Church origins and beginnings. In Church History this is often seen in the tendency to understand and to explain the parish ministry as the pastoral ministry of the parish pastor only. This is sometimes seen in the 'often one-sided tendency' to account for the origins and beginnings of Parishes or Church communities as starting 'only' when the parish pastor begins his pastoral ministry. The perspective adopted in this chapter is therefore a modest attempt to remedy this problem by letting the Parish Story - the community voice of the parish fellowship - relate the history of parish origins and beginnings.

In line with this, the dates assigned for the origins and beginnings of parishes are the dates when founders of parishes first met. Where these dates could not be found, the dates of the founding services are used. The 'cut off' point in the period of origins and beginnings vary in parishes. For some parishes it is mostly determined by the nature and relationship of issues and events of the foundational period which have significant bearing on the beginnings of other parishes. At most times, it is largely determined by the need to provide the whole account of events that constituted the origins and beginnings of parishes. The first parish - the Aukilani Parish - is not included because its origin and beginning is more or less the story of the beginning of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand. And it is covered in Chapters Three and Five. Summaries of various periods are provided, and also concluding observations which link the major findings of the Chapter to the overall development of the Thesis.

[1] THE OTARA PARISH. MARCH 1, 1964.

The beginning of the Otara Parish came directly from the initiative of a resident family in Otara whose request led to the first practical extension of the founding vision of the C.C.C.S. which was realised in the Aukilani Parish in Grey Lynn. Three reasons are stated for the beginning of the parish:-[993](1) The problem with distance and the difficulty of transport.

(2) Because Otara was a new area of settlement which was increasingly settled by the children of Samoa. (3) The need for another branch [parish] to work together with the founding parish of the C.C.C.S. - the Aukilani Parish.

The founding family of the Otara Parish[994] was part of the extended family – the Fuimaono Family – which founded the C.C.C.S. in the Aukilani Parish, Grey Lynn According to the family

[993] 'Parish Report of the History of the Otara Parish for the Anniversary Service, 1970.'
Papers of Pastor Nu'uali'itia [the first pastor of the Otara Parish] in Family Holdings. Photocopies in Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[994] The founding family of the Otara Parish was Fianiusila, the niece of Fuimaono Ta'ala, and her husband Galu.

story.[995] it was the frustration of joining worship without understanding, and the spiritual emptiness which resulted, leading to a casual attitude in church attendance that made the family leave the Otara P.I.C.C.:-

> I am a foolish person...not knowing about No and Yes...even having the greatest difficulty in trying to decide when to say No or Yes. The Samoan Church is most dear to me because I can fully understand God in the Samoan language...I know my God in my language...the Samoan language through which I first knew God...and God who is like a Father to me and has given me the ability to make sense of anything...We were frustrated in useless worship without understanding in the Otara PI.C.C. We used to sit on one long chair in the Church. The only thing we could understand about Salesa's [Pastor Challis] sermon was – Jesus is...Jesus is ...Sometimes we went to Church and said to ourselves jokingly...Let us go anyway because Salesa will only get a Bloody[996] out of us...[At times on our way to church, my sister will just turn back and joined the Methodist Church.[997] [998]

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[995] The family story was related by Fianiusila with great emotion and countless tears as she recollected the difficulties of the controversial beginning of the Otara Parish. Parts of the family story relevant here is related with the maximum effort to maintain the narrative style in which it was told, and with the greatest care to translate the story so as to retain the force and spirit of its telling by Fianiusila in the Samoan language. An important aspect of the role of this founding family was the prominent role of Fianiusila who was known to be the most outspoken in contrast to the quiet manner and support of her husband Galu. It was known to be the same in their family and also in the earliest stage of the parish. Various advices by earliest parish members and C.C.C.S. pastors to see Fianiusila for the story of the Otara Parish, confirms the prominent role of this woman in the origin and beginning of the Otara Parish.
Fianiusila Galu: 'Personal Story of the origin and beginning of the C.C.C.S. and the Otara Parish'.
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[996] This is one of the first English swear words most commonly known by Samoans from frequent association with Palagis or half castes in Samoa. Samoan usage is frequently without a specific meaning though they are well aware of its negative and obscene sense. It is sometimes used to tease or because it is the only English word known to express either a negative or a fun emotion. The usage by Fianiusila in the family story may reflect the influence of what Samoan immigrants had frequently heard in work places. In the text it is only to suggest the waste of time in going to listen to the English sermons by Pastor Challis. It is meant for a laugh .

[997] The sense is that going to church was becoming a way of casual attending to anything that may attract the attention on the way to church
[998] Fianiusila Galu: 'Personal Story...'

Such family experience led to the decision to travel 15 miles to worship in the newly established Aukilani Parish of the C.C.C.S. in Grey Lynn where worship and everything were in the Samoan language. But as mentioned above, the problem of distance and difficulty in transport eventually occasioned their request to begin another C.C.C.S. parish in Otara. The family story continues :-

> We then attended worship in Grey Lynn. But we had to catch the city bus at Papatoetoe. It was too far. We had enough of catching buses at such distances. When we travelled on buses my husband and our children used to sleep. Eventually we asked Pastor Ieriko to begin a Church in Otara. We must build the work of God in Otara.[999]

The request by the family was enthusiastically endorsed by Pastor Ieriko and the leading members of the Grey Lynn Parish for the reasons mentioned above in the Parish Report of the sixth anniversary service of the Otara Parish in 1970.[1000]

The founding service of the Otara Parish was held on March 1, 1964 at the Council Hall at East Tamaki. One other family had joined by this date which meant there were only two founding families and comprised eight members in the beginning of the parish. Between this date and the beginning of the ministry of the covenanted pastor and wife on January 9, 1965, a period of nine months, Sunday worship and the administration of church sacraments were looked after by Pastor Siaosi Ieriko and lay preachers from the Grey Lynn Parish, and visiting pastors from Samoa. Samoan Methodist pastors also assisted which may explain the active support by two Samoan Methodist families residing in Otara during the foundational period of the Otara Parish. Certain aspects in the foundational period show the 'delicate' beginning of the Otara Parish. Often there were uncertainties about the future of the parish for a number of reasons. One was the obvious fact that the parish began before the beginning of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand as part of the E.F.K.S. was formally approved later in May of the same year. Most

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[999] Fianiusila Galu: 'Personal Story...'

[1000] Both the three reasons for the parish beginning and the jubilant manner Pastor Ieriko and the Aukilani Parish accepted the family request are included in the 'Parish Report of 1970' as mentioned above.

critical was the difficulty in securing an ordained pastor for the parish which was urgently needed for a number of reasons . One was to maintain the commitment of the founding family which was at times wearing thin because of Pastor Ieriko's many broken promises about finding a pastor for the parish. At other times it was simply the assertion of family authority[1001] against Pastor Ieriko, at times only in the sense of playful distrust.[1002] Another was to ensure the proper conduct of Sunday worship which was at times only a casual fellowship of talk and sharing news when it was the turn of lay preachers from the Grey Lynn Parish to conduct parish worship. Securing an ordained parish pastor was also felt to be most urgent to withstand the mounting derision from Samoan opposition in the growing Otara P.I.C.C. which was becoming unbearable, and was working successfully to stifle membership growth of the parish. According to the family story :-

> Sometimes we [Fianiusila and her father] chased Pastor Ieriko away and told him in the face, 'You are a liar Siaosi'. My father is a hard, strict and authoritative man. But we always end up apologising to Ieriko. At times Pastor Ieriko does not appear for three months. He used to send lay preachers and deacons to conduct our Sunday worship which was on some Sundays only talk and talk and sharing news. This was because there were not many people. When we felt close to giving up I would tell Mafola Timaloa [the Secretary of the Grey Lynn Parish], 'There will be no more Church'...The ridicule and derision from the P.I.C.C. was really bad. They would advise Samoans who contemplated joining us by saying, 'It is a waste of time to join them. Their Church will not grow'. For those who would be seen coming to us they would ask in a scornful manner, 'Are you going to the church of Fuimaono and Mafola?'.[1003] There was real evil

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[1001] This relates to part of the family story which mentions Fianiusila's father as a hard, strict and authoritarian man. This characterisation is referred to in the Family Story as , ' o le tama saua'. According to Fianiusila , her father was at times willing to stop the formation of Otara Parish. He was later to threaten the same thing in relation to the beginning of the Blockhouse Bay Parish [see relevant note on the beginning of this parish]. It was simply the assertion of chiefly authority, added by the fact of being older than Pastor Ieriko.

[1002] This is related to Note 1001. It specifically relates to the family's challenge to Pastor Ieriko's depth of commitment to the growth of the Otara Parish. For example, when they called Pastor Ieriko a liar, the real intention is to challenge Ieriko to quicken his effort to find a pastor for the parish. It does not mean they totally distrusted Pastor Ieriko.

[1003] This was one of the expressions of the caricature of the beginning of the C.C.C.S. by P.I.C.C. Samoans- by referring to it as the church of Fuimaono and Mafola, the first Secretary of the Aukilani Parish.

> jealousy. It was a miracle that we had the strength to endure and to hold on, because when we met Samoans at the Shopping Centre it was as if we did not know each other. We felt at times that it would be better to fight than to engage in words we hurled at each other.[1004]

Contrary to the expectations of parish members, the beginning of the ministry of their covenanted pastor Ofisa Nu'uali'itia and wife Litia did not lessen the determined opposition from the P.I.C.C.. The Otara Parish confronted the similar opposition the Aukilani Parish was receiving from the P.I.C.C. and they came from all sectors, the lay members, and the leading pastors both Samoan and Palagi. Litia's story[1005] relates the scornful criticism of Pastor Nu'uali'itia's character and pastoral status, and also the mission by Pastor Challis to the E.F.K.S. in Western Samoa to thwart the ordination of Nu'uali'itia into the full pastor status required to fulfil all the aspects of pastoral duties in the C.C.C.S. pastoral m[inistry.1006] According to Faletua Litia's story:-

> ... Of the days of the beginning of the Samoan Church...it is difficult not to cry. They were trying times whose only rest was to shed tears. It is hard to express the feelings in words.It was difficult because you sort of knew that you were hated all the time. Some of the things they said about Ofisa Nu'uali'itia, 'What can he do after being a drunkard, and a horse gambler? What pastoral ministry can he offer after being a womaniser! About Pastor Challis's attempt to stop Nu'uali'itia's ordination in 1966...The Church in Samoa had written for Nu'uali'itia to come over to be ordained. When he was with two deacons of our Church at Whenuapai Airport, some P.I.C.C. Samoans told them that Nu'uali'itia's ordination was cancelled. And Pastor Challis had already left for Samoa to make sure that it was cancelled. Already the news had blazed like fire that Nu'uali'itia would never be ordained because Pastor Challis was already in Samoa. Our Church members felt ashamed and they advised Nu'uali'tia to wait until later. His answer was, 'It does not matter. If I go and will not be ordained, I will come back.' The interesting story about the ordination relates to a white missionary. Chairman Elder Pastor Poasa Te'o appointed him to

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[1004] Fianiusila Galu: 'Personal Story...'

[1005] Faletua [Pastor's Wife] Litia Nu'ualiitia; 'Personal Story of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S., their Ministry in the Otara and Papatoetoe Parishes.'

[1006] In the C.C.C.S. a pastor is only fully ordained in its Parish Ministry after two years of full time ministry in a parish or in any other ministry of the Church. This full ordination will only qualify the pastor to administer Church Sacraments. The most probable reason for Pastor Challis's attempt to thwart Pastor Nu'uali'itia's ordination may have been his knowledge of Nu'uali'itia's 'known behaviour' mentioned in part of Litia's personal story in the Text.

> pray for the ordination ceremony. But he refused after his failed attempts to thwart Nu'uali'tia's ordination. Then Poasa told him that if he refused to pray then he was to leave the ceremony and go outside. The ordination was done, and an Elder from American Samoa took the place of the white missionary.[1007]

One of the usual ways Samoan leading pastors in the P.I.C.C. had tried to frustrate the beginning of the C.C.C.S. was to convince the mainstream Churches, particularly the Presbyterian and the Anglican Churches, to refuse the requests by the C.C.C.S. to use their Churches and Halls.[1008] The irony was that such kind of opposition only encouraged the growth and consolidation of the Otara Parish. And it was largely the result of Pastor Nu'uali'itia and his wife Litia's dedication and sacrificial leadership.[1009] The unwavering commitment of the Otara Parish for growth may be clearly seen in its achievements in its first eight years. It was the duration of Pastor Nu'uali'itia and Litia's only term in the Otara Parish. This was the period of consolidated growth and development in relation to the external necessities of the parish ministry.[1010] In 1966 the first land property, costing 1500 pounds, was bought. The parish house for the pastor, costing 4600 pounds, was bought in 1967. In 1968, the first land property bought in 1966 was resold for a larger one which was more level and closer to the Otara Shopping Centre. It costed 3800 pounds. The main objective was to secure a parish location closest to the main Shopping Centre while land property was available . The parish Church called 'Peteli Fou' [New

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[1007] Faletua Litia Nu'uali'itia; 'Personal Story...'

[1008] This was to be a recurring form of P.I.C.C. opposition in the beginnings of later parishes of the C.C.C.S. in the rest of the 1960's. For the Otara Parish, the Samoan pastor of the Otara P.I.C.C., Ned Ripley, was able to do such with the Presbyterian Church in Papatoetoe. It led the Otara Parish to request the Apostolic Church for the use of their premises which was accepted. The Council Hall in Tamaki the parish had previously used was burnt !

[1009] Faletua Litia's story relates numerous times Nu'uali'itia had to bring all his families and friends to support fundraising activities of the parish. At one time, it led to their car being crashed while making rounds to take family members to their places after a night dance. Also in the first two years of their ministry, they had to live at their own place in Henderson [about 30miles from Otara] and then later rented in Otahuhu [a place next to Otara] before the parish could afford a place for the pastor's family in Otara.

[1010] The C.C.C.S. refers to all requirements of the parish ministries like houses, churches, project developments,..etc, as external necessities of the ministry - [itu i fafo o le galuega]. The internal necessities are everything to do with spiritual life of people. It is a form of dualism of the spiritual and the earthly though in a relational way.
All examples of parish developments that follow are from the 'Otara Parish Book'.

Bethel] which cost $24000 was consecrated in 1971. Such developments are most remarkable when one considers that within this period membership growth was only from 5 in 1964 to 137 in 1971. And fundraising activities were mostly free offerings and the 'Envelope System' every Sunday, supplemented by dances, concerts and fundraising census among the Samoans.

(2) THE WELLINGTON PARISH. JUNE 27, 1965.

The Wellington Parish was the first to be established after the beginning of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand was formally approved by the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. Its founding vision shared the manifold hopes of the Aukilani Parish. The two examples below are highly representative of the hopes and concerns of the parish's leading founders and earliest members according to Faletua Lagisi Puni Leota, the wife of the first pastor of the parish:

> (1) We have longed to return and to begin the Samoan Church, but it was difficult for us and we did not know how...We can listen and under- stand rather vaguely English conducted worship. But that was all. (2)Another reason was our parents from Samoa. When they come we feel sorry for them because they do not understand English. Our parents would even ask why we do not have our own lotu Fa'asamoa...They criticise us for having to worship in such mixed worship as in the P.I.C.C.[1011]

Testimonies of Chief Aiono Tofi[1012] and Chief Aiono Samoa[1013], two of the earliest members who later became founding leaders of the Porirua Parish, highlight the role of visiting leaders of the E.F.K.S. to New Zealand. That their beliefs and reassurances had answered some of the Samoans' fundamental questions while in the P.I.C.C. Churches - about the possibility to begin a Samoan Church in New Zealand which was part of the

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[1011] Faletua Lagisi Puni Leota; 'Personal Story of the Origin and Beginning of the C.C.C.S., and the Wellington Parish.'

[1012] Chief and Elder Deacon Aiono Tofi; 'Personal story of the origin and beginning of both the C.C.C.S. , and various parishes.'
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1013] Chief and Deacon Aiono Samoa; 'Personal story of the Origin and Beginning of the C.C.C.S., the Wellington and Porirua Parishes'.
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

E.F.K.S. in Samoa.[1014] Chief Aiono Tofi refers to Elder Pastor Poasa during the visit by the Christian Endeavour group from the E.F.K.S. in the late 1950's. In the parting fellowship with the Samoans in the Wellington P.I.C.C., he mentioned in his farewell speech 'a thought which Samoans could not put out of their minds for a long time.'[1015] According to Chief Aiono Tofi's recollection of the relevant part of Elder Pastor Poasa's speech :-

> ...Besides his joy and gratitude in finding the children of Samoa attending Church, he related his personal thought which was evoked in witnessing the worshipful life of Samoans in New Zealand. He expressed something of a personal wish which he thought the children of the E.F.K.S. in New Zealand should deserve...Talofa e, [My loving concern], when will you be given a to'oto'o [voice and representation] in the General Assembly of the Church in Samoa...It is up to you. The main thing is that you may be blessed by God...[1016]

Chief Aiono Samoa refers to a visit by Elder Pastor Mila Sapolu in 1963.[1017] According to Chief Aiono Samoa, 'Nothing had happened in the Wellington P.I.C.C. which made his family leave.'[1018] But they asked Elder Pastor Sapolu if it was possible to begin a

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[1014] These questions are included in Chapter Four on the Founding Vision, page

[1015] Chief Aiono Tofi; 'Personal Story...'

[1016] Chief Aiono Tofi; 'Personal Story...'

[1017] This visit by Elder Pastor Mila Sapolu is mentioned in the Assembly Digest of the C.U.N.Z. for 1963, pp.13,16. He is a well known Elder Pastor who was Chairman of the E.F.K.S. several times between 1961 and 1990, an intellectual and spiritual mentor to the E.F.K.S. and to Samoa in general. He officiated in the services for Western Samoa's celebration of its political independence in 1962, and also in the 25th Celebration of Independence in 1987.

[1018] According to Chief Aiono Samoa he left the Wellington P.I.C.C. in 1966 with his family. And there was no ill-feeling against the P.I.C.C., nor was there a controversy which caused them to leave. It was simply the decision to return to the Samoan Church. The notion of a 'Breakaway' was therefore irrelevant. This point is vital because it explains a fundamental spirit in the motivations of many founders of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand and most of its parishes. It was the same manner Fuimaono Ta'ala had understood his family decision to leave the Newton P.I.C.C. to begin the C.C.C.S. [see Chapter Three on 'Roots in New Zealand', and relevant Appendices]. This is not to suggest there were no negative reasons, like dissatisfaction within the P.I.C.C., which led to separation. The central point is to recognise the most fundamental nature of the human spirit of Samoan founders of the C.C.C.S. which was mainly positive, and was not necessarily against other people and other Churches. See especially the 'Farewell Letters by Fuimaono Ta'ala' in Appendices. The main thrusts of Chapter One and Chapter Two further highlight this perspective.
Chief Aiono Samoa; 'Personal Story...'

Samoan Church in New Zealand. His answer gave them the reassurance, apart from their wish to be useful to the Samoan Church in Samoa - 'Nothing is impossible if you are thinking of helping the E.F.K.S. in Samoa.'[1019]

The beginning of the Wellington Parish came directly from the decision by a Samoan chief and deacon, Lemauga Lene Leilua, who left the Wellington P.I.C.C. in 1964 to fulfil his plan with the main founder of the Aukilani Parish and one of the leading founders of the Christchurch Parish.[1020] These three founders had resolved during the nation-wide visit by the E.F.K.S. delegation in 1963[1021] to encourage the growth of the C.C.C.S. in the three main cities of New Zealand, where each of them was residing - Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch. The opportunity arose for Lemauga Lene Leilua when he left with his family at the end of 1964 partly out of 'anger' against a disrespectful remark by the Chairman of the Deacons Court,[1022] but mostly out of dissatisfaction with a decision by the Deacon's Board of the Wellington P.I.C.C. According to Nokise,[1023] the decision was to put priority on fundraising to pay off the loan for the house of the Niuean pastor of the Wellington P.I.C.C., rather than on the agitation by Samoan deacons of Porirua to build a church for the growing P.I.C.C. in Porirua.

The following is the interesting story of the 'birth pangs' of the beginning of the Wellington Parish.[1024] On leaving Wellington P.I.C.C. to start the Wellington Parish of

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[1019] Chief Aiono Samoa; 'Personal Story...'

[1020] This plan is mentioned in Chief Simanu's statement quoted in Chapter 4 on the Founding Vision.

[1021] This 'nation-wide' visit by the E.F.K.S. Delegation is mentioned in Chapter 5.

[1022] Nokise, "A History of the Pacific Islanders' Congregational Church in New Zealand, 1943 - 1969"; pp.199 - 201.

[1023] Nokise, "A History...", pp.199-201.

[1024] Elder Pastor Timaloa; ' Personal Story...'. This story is well known amongst the founding members of the Aukilani Parish. I have used the version by Elder Pastor Timaloa whose brother Mafola Timaloa was in the C.C.C.S. delegation referred to in the story. Elder Pastor Timaloa's version was from his brother. The part related to the Newton P.I.C.C. ia also Elder Pastor Timaloa's eye witness account. He was still in the Newton P.I.C.C. at the time and was present in the Deacons gathering during the phone call incident. The same story is found in the diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala, though in abreviated form. Timaloa's version is the

the C.C.C.S., Lemauga Lene Leilua rang Fuimaono Ta'ala in Auckland that a group of Samoans were ready to begin the C.C.C.S. Parish. Six months later, on June 25, 1965, a delegation from the Aukilani Parish led by Pastor Siaosi Ieriko left Auckland for Wellington by train on a Friday night to make official the beginning of the Wellington Parish. On learning about this journey the Samoan membership of the Deacons Court of the Newton P.I.C.C. sent Student Pastor Setu Solomona to stop the founding of the C.C.C.S. parish in Wellington. The plan was to send someone to try and thwart the mission of the C.C.C.S. delegation. Their first choice was Rev. Sio. But a better choice was found in Setu Solomona who they thought was sure to accomplish the mission because it was a family related to Setu Solomona from which the call had come to begin the C.C.C.S. in Wellington. Equally important, Setu was a Samoan from the Porirua P.I.C.C. and was well known to most Samoans in the Wellington area.

Before the C.C.C.S. Delegation arrived on Saturday morning, Setu Solomona who had arrived by plane the previous day, Friday, had already successfully persuaded Lemauga Leilua and others to cancel their hope to begin the C.C.C.S. in Wellington.[1025] Setu Solomona was not against the beginning of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand, but he was not

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same as Sola Brown's version who was one of the members of the C.C.C.S.'s Delegation to Wellington. Part of this story from the perspective of founding members of the Wellington Parish is provided by the Family Story of the beginning of the parish by Lay Preacher, Afoa Alipa Elisara and wife Evo. They were founding members.
All these versions are in written form in the Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1025] Lay Preacher Afoa Alipa Elisara relates the story of how **others,** in particular Chief Aiono Tofi changed their minds because of Setu Solomona's mission :- 'Lemauga Lene Leilua and Chief Aiono Tofi had already decided to begin the Samoan Church in Wellington. They have set the date, booked the Hall, and have also contacted Pastor Ieriko...But on Friday night [June 23, 1965] a Samoan Pastor of the P.I.C.C. had successfully persuaded Chief Aiono Tofi and his wife not to begin the Samoan Church. My wife and I did not understand why. On Saturday morning we were told about it by the brother of Chief Aiono Tofi's wife. We were also told Lene had agreed to the cancellation. We were sad because we just learned of the hope for the Samoan Church in Wellington on Friday night, and we were looking forward to participate in the beginning of the Samoan Church. I told him I would see Lene to encourage him to start the Samoan Church...Lene was at work when we got to his place at Titahi Bay. We were told of the cancellation by his wife. I rang Lene and encouraged him on the phone, and he asked me to wait he was coming right away...We learned of Setu's mission, and he had already returned to Auckland. We encouraged Lene again with Pastor Ieriko and he agreed after he thanked me for my encouragement, and also blamed me for not having come to see him earlier; "Where have you been all this time ?"...'
Chief and Lay Preacher Afoa Elisara and Faletua Evo; 'Family Story of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S., and the Wellington Parish.'
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources of the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

prepared to let the C.C.C.S. grow at the expense of the P.I.C.C. especially in relation to the Samoan membership of the P.I.C.C. In confronting Pastor Ieriko and his Delegation, Setu Solomona emphatically told them that no C.C.C.S. Church would begin in Wellington :-

> Why are you here ? There will be no Samoan Church to begin here in Wellington. You have hurt [fa'amanu'a] people...We have cancelled the Hall that was booked for the founding service. Siaosi, who has told you to go to the C.C.C.S. ? Remember you refused and rejected the beginning of the C.C.C.S. and said it was a foolish thing and was founded out of Fuimaono's jealousy [loto palapala]. It was I. I have told you to join the C.C.C.S. because you are the only ordained pastor of the E.F.K.S. And that you are wasting your time in the P.I.C.C. because they were not recognising your pastor status. That was why you left. But now you are trying to attract Samoans to come to the Samoan Church. There will be no Samoan Church here in Wellington.[1026]

For a while family loyalties proved stronger than pride in one's church of origin. Lemauga Lene accepted Setu Solomona's mission out of respect to a plea from a student pastor who was related to the family, and out of empathy for having to travel such a distance for his mission. Pastor Ieriko is remembered to have been speechless all the time Setu Solomona was challenging him about their Delegation's mission. And their hope seemed evaporated. But an unlikely series of events occurred which to the Samoans are normal expressions of divine daily miracles. Setu Solomona was to fly back to Auckland on the same day because he unlawfully left the Theological School's boarding compound to fulfil the mission. Lene's drivers licence was confiscated. So he rang his friend the Samoan Catholic Priest to drive Setu to the airport in his [Lemauga Leilua's] car. It was impossible to start the car but time was running out if Setu was to catch the plane. Setu had to take a taxi to the airport. And it gave the opportunity to the Catholic Priest to learn of the outcome of the meeting of the two missions at Lene's family. With Setu now gone, Lemauga Leilua apologised to Pastor Ieriko's delegation for the aborted beginning of the Samoan Church. On hearing Lene's apology and his change of mind, the Catholic Priest counselled Lene successfully against his change of mind with the result that Lene had

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[1026] Elder Pastor Timaloa; 'Personal Story...'

once again committed his family to the beginning of the C.C.C.S. in Wellington. The prophetic counsel by the Catholic Priest is remembered by Elder Pastor Timaloa in the following manner :-

> Lene, let me tell you. 'Religion and Church'[1027] is a thing of God and something that pertains to God. It is beyond human authority and control. Your accepting the 'lotu' is your accepting of God. And it is indeed your accepting of blessings for your family from God. If you refuse the 'lotu' you are refusing God. And you are indeed refusing blessings for your family from God. It is for such reasons that I advise you Lene, accept and begin the 'lotu'. No human has authority and control over the 'lotu'. It is a thing of God and something that pertains to God.[1028]

The daring chief and deacon Lene has shown that at times, the whisper of religious truth can at times prove most irresistible and much stronger than family and blood ties. The founding service of the Wellington Parish was held at the Church Hall of the Christian Revival Centre in Wellington city. It was led by Pastor Ieriko and the delegation from the Aukilani Parish. Twenty two founding members signed their names on the day.[1029]

On this very day, Samoan membership of Newton's Board of Deacons gathered at Rev. Sio's to hear Setu Solomona's 'accomplished mission' which he related to Rev. Sio when he arrived the previous day [Saturday]. While deacons laughed and congratulated Setu for his success, Setu's wife in Wellington rang to tell that the founding service for the

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[1027] The Samoan version has the word 'Lotu'. I include both terms 'Religion and Church' because 'lotu' in the Catholic priest's speech refers to the holistic sense which is mostly common in the understanding of Samoans. Other variations of the meaning of the word 'lotu' include a limited sense of simply going to church. For example, 'Ou te alu i le lotu', meaning, 'I am going to church'. Another limited sense of usage refers to a specific denomination. For example, 'Ou te lotu Pope,' meaning, 'I belong to the Catholic Church'. The holistic sense in the Catholic Priest's speech includes the church, pastor, religious beliefs and everything related to the life and requirement of the Church.

[1028] Elder Pastor Timaloa; 'Personal Story...' The critical interference by the Samoan Roman Catholic priest shows the prominent role of ethnic identity amongst Samoans in New Zealand during this stage. Being Samoans for these migrants transcended their denominational adherence. Indeed it is also a vital feature of religious adherents in Samoan society because of the more unifying role of cultural extended families which often transcends religious affiliation.

[1029] "Booklet of the History of the Wellington Parish prepared for the dedication of the Parish Church in 1984".
In Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

Samoan Church had just finished. According to Elder Pastor Timaloa, there was an instant silence, as if someone had died. Everyone slowly departed, and he walked with his other pastor friend towards their homes in total confusion. And asking why such things were happening to them, as Samoans. Sometimes the silence of God is better than human speech and human ingenious manoeuvrings. A Samoan saying includes a warning to those who underestimate the foolishness of the fools - ' E fasa le vale ae taunu'u' [The foolishness of the fool can bear fulfilment].

The major part of the foundational period of the Parish extended fifteen months from the date of its founding service (June 27, 1965), to the beginning of the ministry of its ordained pastor in September, 1966. There was a less vigorous opposition from the P.I.C.C. mainly because it was widely felt since the successful beginning of the C.C.C.S. in Auckland that the Samoan Church (C.C.C.S.) would eventually begin in Wellington. Right up to the mid-1970's relationships between the Samoans in the Wellington P.I.C.C. and the Wellington Parish of the C.C.C.S. were largely of mutual indifference. But internal developments in the parish reflect a steady progress. Sunday worship was looked after by deacons, and by a lay preacher, Fiu Samuela, who had recently migrated from Samoa. Monthly administration of Church sacraments, in particular the Holy Communion, was looked after by Pastor Ieriko in the early stages until he was relieved by a Samoan pastor who was on leave from Samoa for three months and was residing in Wellington. Despite occasional differences and controversies usually in meetings after morning services, by the end of 1965 parish membership grew to fifty eight adults and fourteen children. The determination for success and commitment to development are clearly shown in their two letters to the E.F.K.S. on November 2, 1965,[1030] and November 30, 1965,[1031] and also in the parish request for a loan from the E.F.K.S. at the

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[1030] Wellington Parish to E.F.K.S. November 2, 1965. 'Secretary's File on New Zealand Correspondence'; E.F.K.S. Achive, Apia Western Samoa.

[1031] Wellington Parish to E.F.K.S. November 30, 1965.

end of 1965.[1032] In the former letter, their request for a pastor from Samoa and their descriptions of the required pastor show how they urgently sought a Samoan pastor of a certain sort :- ' a young pastor with courage, fearless, and the determination to go forward without withdrawal.' Furthermore, it is stated that because there was not yet a house for the pastor, and they had little church finance, and their monthly charity giving [Alofa] was inadequate, they were hoping that the pastor would be able to seek employment to provide for his family. The only encouragement for the E.F.K.S. was their offer to pay the pastor's fare to New Zealand and the promise to provide a house for him and his family.

The E.F.K.S. responded in a letter dated November 16, 1965.[1033] The letter required clarifications of three aspects - the number of parish members; whether there was a house already prepared for the pastor, and their hope for starting their parish. The letter by the parish on November 30, 1965, related their hope to consolidate the growth of the Wellington Parish of the C.C.C.S. and to help in the development of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. Seventy two members were declared. And it 'respectfully lied' that there was already a house for the pastor ![1034] Before the E.F.K.S. responded to the above letter, the parish wrote again on January 2, 1966[1035] to request Pastor Puni Leota and wife Lagisi

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[1032] The parish request for a loan from the E.F.K.S. is significant in two ways. While it further shows the determination to develop the parish ministry, its explanations of the reason to request the loan from the E.F.K.S. in Samoa clearly shows the single-minded concern for the good of the Samoan Church. The parish would loan money from the E.F.K.S. and the interest accrued would benefit the E.F.K.S. instead of other Banking Societies in New Zealand. The urgency of the request was to buy a Church and a land property that was available for sale. The added explanation was the need to develop the Wellington Parish because it was more or less the presence of the E.F.K.S. in the capital city of New Zealand, where other Churches had already made conspicuous developments.
Wellington Parish to E.F.K.S. November 30, 1965

[1033] E.F.K.S. to Wellington Parish. November 16, 1965.

[1034] According to the "Booklet of the History of the Wellington Parish". referred to above, the parish bought the house for the pastor in 1971. The first pastor when he arrived had to live with one family of the parish. The inclusion in the letter of the **'respectful lie'** is usually the Samoan way to reassure that everything will be alright.

[1035] Wellington Parish to E.F.K.S. January 2, 1966.

who were at the time looking after the parish while on leave in New Zealand. The pastor and his wife returned to resume their ministry in Samoa. But eventually, they were released from their ministry in Samoa to become the first ordained pastor of the C.C.C.S. Parish in Wellington. It seemed a wise choice because Pastor Leota and Faletua Lagisi were previous missionaries to Papua New Guinea and had the needed experience for pioneering ministries.

(3) THE ONEHUNGA PARISH JULY 11, 1965.

The origin of the Onehunga Parish was at the initiative of two women [sisters] Pona Tauiliili and Faletua Lia'i Faulalo[1036], in collaboration with Pastor Fareti Timaloa[1037] of the E.F.K.S. It was therefore the first C.C.C.S. parish without a direct influence of the Fuimaono Family[1038] apart from its active support for the parish beginning and in its early stage of development.[1039] The founding seed was the wish of Pona Tauiliili who

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[1036] Faletua Lia'i Faulalo was Pona's sister, and wife of an E.F.K.S. pastor in Samoa, Pastor Faulalo. She was in New Zealand on a visit in the beginning of 1965. Her influence could not have been minimal because Pastor Faulalo was a well-known supporter of the beginning of the C.C.C.S. For example, as Secretary of the Christian Endeavour Committee of the E.F.K.S., he sent pamphlets for the Christian Endeavour Services of the 'Aukilani Parish' in the beginning of 1963 well before the E.F.K.S. had approved the beginning of the C.C.C.S. Also according to Rev. Sio, Faulalo was another influential pastor in Samoa whose support of the C.C.C.S. was in the way of spreading various faults in the P.I.C.C. - in particular, the non-recognition of E.F.K.S. pastors in the P.I.C.C., and their exclusion from opportunities to administer Holy Sacraments.

[1037] Elder Pastor Fareti Timaloa was still in the Newton P.I.C.C. when he collaborated with the two women to begin the Onehunga Parish. This point is vital to understanding the complex relationship between Samoans in the P.I.C.C. and C.C.C.S. throughout the 1960's. Elder Pastor Timaloa's case typifies the stance of many E.F.K.S. pastors and Samoans. They were able to identify with both Churches. They were still in the P.I.C.C. but were in full support of the beginning of the C.C.C.S. According to Elder Pastor Timaloa's story, the two women had firstly decided to attempt a beginning, and they were able to attract a few others which promised their support. The casual meeting mentioned in the text was a later stage of various efforts by the two women to gather support for their hope.
Elder Pastor Timaloa; 'Personal Story...'.

1038 This point is strongly emphasised in the Onehunga Parish Book and also by its present pastor, Elder Pastor Timaloa. One obvious reason was to highlight the sole initiative of the two women founders of the parish. Another was a conscious effort by most parish members in the beginning to free the Onehunga Parish from the anti - C.C.C.S. slogan by the P.I.C.C. to refer to the C.C.C.S. as 'O le lotu a Fuimaono' [The Church of Fuimaono]. It finally led to the withdrawal of the 'matafale' [a contributing family] of Fuimaono's daughter from the Onehunga Parish. So a vital concern was involved. It was, to free the parish from the carricature from the P.I.C.C. in view of attracting Samoan membership.

[1039]Chief Fuimaono Ta'ala participated in the founding service and offered encouragement. Active support was the reason for registration of his daughter's 'matafale' in the parish as mentioned in Note 1038 above.

lived in Onehunga to begin a parish of the C.C.C.S. in Onehunga so that she and her children could go to Church.[1040] Pona's husband was a pastor of the Seventh Day Adventist Church, and this was not helpful to fulfilling Pona's wish as a faithful adherent of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. A casual meeting between Pona and her sister Lia'i Faulalo , and 'a few others'[1041] in Karangahape Road in Auckland City ended in their agreement to attempt a beginning of a Samoan Church in Onehunga. The link was the initiative of Faletua Lia'i Faulalo to relate Pona's wish and their hope from their above meeting to Pastor Fareti Timaloa who was still in the Newton P.I.C.C. The result was a series of meetings between the two sisters and Pastor Fareti Timaloa to plan the beginning of Onehunga Parish. By the end of June, 1965, they had decided on July 7, 1965.[1042]

A most memorable part of the story of the foundational period of the Onehunga Parish was the attempt by Samoan pastors in the Newton P.I.C.C. to frustrate its beginning. Pastor Timaloa had secured the use of the Church Hall of the Anglican Church of St. Peter's in Onehunga for their founding service. But it was later revoked as a result of the mission by Rev. Sio and Rev. Ripley. On seeing the Anglican Pastor, Pastor Timaloa was told as follows:

> Rev. Leuatea Sio and Ned Ripley had informed him that you [the founders of the Onehunga Parish] should not be accepted because you are a breakaway group. And that to accept such a breakaway group was in itself a perpetuation of the wrong thing [or falsehood] done by these people.[1043]

Pastor Timaloa replied to the Anglican Pastor in a manner which expresses one of the central aspects of the self understanding of the founders of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand, and one which explains the later decisions by Samoans to leave the P.I.C.C. and P.I.P.C.

[1040] Elder Pastor Timaloa; 'Personal Strory...'

[1041] Elder Pastor Timaloa mentions 'a few others' but not their names or the number involved. In Elder Pastor Timaloa; 'Personal Story...'.

[1042] Elder Pastor Timaloa; 'Personal Story...'.

[1043] Elder Pastor Timaloa: 'Personal Story...'

to start new parishes for the C.C.C.S. throughout the thirty year period of the history of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

> We are not **breakaways**. We are people of the Samoan Church [E.F.K.S.] and believers in God through the Samoan Church. That is where we have grown and have been nurtured from. We came to New Zealand and worshipped in the P.I.C.C. because there was no Samoan Church. Now we have felt that we should begin and develop the Church from which we were born into and from which we have been spiritually nurtured. If that is the situation with your hall, we should not insist. We will look for another hall.[1044]

The Onehunga Parish had its founding service at the Foresters Hall [a school hall] in Grey Street in Onehunga.[1045] Two services were held on the founding Sunday July 11th, 1965. The morning service was for the founding of the parish, and the evening service was for the 'covenant making' between the parish and its first pastor, Fareti Timaloa. Both services were led by Pastor Siaosi Ieriko, and a visiting preacher from Samoa was the preacher in both services. Founding members numbered seventeen which comprised ten adults and seven children from five families including the pastor's family. Except for the pastor's family and the leading woman founder, Pona Tauiliili, most of the parish members were not attending any Church since migrating to New Zealand. The parish faced a challenging beginning. Having Sunday worship in Public Halls was at times becoming a burden and a temptation for conflicts.[1046] The particular difficulty for the pastor was that he had to work full time for a number of years in the early stages of the parish growth to provide for his family and for church related requirements. This is a clear departure from the traditional operation of the village ministry of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. And it reflects one of the main ways of sacrificial leadership by C.C.C.S. pastors

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[1044] Elder Pastor Timaloa; 'Personal Story...'

[1045] Advertisement for the beginning of the Onehunga Parish appeared in the Auckland Star (Auckland) Saturday July 10, 1965. Information about the Founding Service may be found in these sources :- (1) Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District. (2) Fuimaono's Diary in Family Holdings. (3) Onehunga Parish Book.

[1046] The Pastor and his wife had to be early to clean the part of the Hall they were using for their worship every Sunday. The cleaners who normally cleaned the Halls on Sunday mornings would be noisy and disturbing for worship which worshippers resisted at times. Serious conflicts were always avoided by the Pastor's advice 'to be very, very patient, for the cleaner's job will eventually finish...'
Elder Pastor Timaloa; 'Personal Story...'

not only in the earliest parishes in the 1960's.[1047] It had become one of the major challenges of the C.C.C.S. pastoral ministry in its thirty years of growth. Mainly because of the different context of the C.C.C.S. pastoral ministry in New Zealand, and also the result of the growth of parishes as a result of disruptions and breakaways.

(4) BLOCKHOUSE BAY PARISH JANUARY 29, 1966.

Two families[1048] were responsible for the origin and beginning of the Blockhouse Bay Parish. One was the same family[1049] of the Fuimaono extended family which founded the Otara Parish. The other was the family of the two daughters[1050] of Elder Pastor Poasa Te'o. Both families resided in Blockhouse Bay. The prominent role of the Fuimaono family is one of the many illustrations of their contribution and commitment in the early years of the growth of the C.C.C.S.

The beginning of this parish was not as straightforward as one may assume, given the identity of the two founding families and their pioneering role in the beginning of the

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[1047] In the Minutes of the Auckland Sub-District meeting in February, 19~2, the matter concerning pastors working full time [in paid employment] was discussed with the view to stop it because it was not in accordance with E.F.K.S. policy. The matter was referred to the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. The relevant point is that it shows how many years C.C.C.S. pastors of the earliest parishes had worked full time because of the difficulties in the beginnings of parish development. Four parish pastors of Otara, Otahuhu, Mangere and Onehunga (Fareti) were involved.
Source :- Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District.

[1048] Chief Fuimaono Feleti; 'Written Personal Story of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S., and various parishes of Otara, Blockhouse Bay, and Otahuhu Parishes.'
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1049] The role of this 'same family' in the beginnings of the Otara and Blockhouse Bay Parishes needs clarification. The 'same family' is the sister of Fuimaono Ta'ala, the main founder of the C.C.C.S., whose name is Puti and her husband Faleauto. They lived both in Otara and Blockhouse Bay. In Otara, their daughter Fianiusila and husband Galu lived and they were practically the founding family of Otara . But because of Samoan customs, the authority resides with parents, and the beginnings of Otara Parish were usually arranged between Pastor Ieriko and Faleauto and Puti. But Puti and Faleauto lived in Blockhouse Bay most of the time which explains their leading role as 'partner founder' with Poasa Teo's family of the Blockhouse Bay Parish.

[1050] They were Salote and Fa'au'uga, according to the 'Written Story by Fuimaono Feleti' .

C.C.C.S. in New Zealand. The following is a brief account[1051] of the nearly aborted beginning of the parish because of a brief but intense controversy between the leading Samoan Chiefs of the Fuimaono family - Chief Fuimaono Ta'ala and Chief Faleauto.[1052] In a brief moment before pastors arrived to start the founding service at 2.00 p.m., Chief Faleauto complained against Chief Fuimaono about certain faults concerning preparations for the beginning of the parish. The main complaint was Chief Fuimaono's neglect of chiefly duties. He did not consult and invite the pastors, especially Pastor Ieriko, personally, but had left it to the Secretary of the Aukilani Parish. To Chief Faleauto such failure was negligence of the proper duty of a Samoan chief and as a chiefly leader of the family.[1053] There was also a growing anxiety at the time whether the leading Pastor Ieriko was truly aware of the intended beginning of the parish.

Chief Fuimaono's reply shows the differing views within the family about certain aspects of the beginning of the parish. According to Chief Fuimaono, the meeting on the day was intended to invite founding members to prepare everything necessary for a proper beginning of the parish. It means it was not necessary to invite pastors who should not

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[1051] This story is found in Chief Fuimaono Ta'ala's Diary in the Family Holdings. Other minor aspects of the story were filled in by interviews with Chief Fuimaono Feleti and Fianiusila as mentioned in other notes (above) relating to the origin and beginning of the Otara Parish.

[1052] See Note 1049 above for other information on Chief Faleauto. Chief Faleauto's status did not belong to the Fuimaono family in Samoan customs and traditions. It partly explains his occassional challenges and independent authority within the activities of the Fuimaono family. In the ultimate beginning of the C.C.C.S. he was most reluctant to support Fuimaono mainly on grounds of chiefly authority though related to chiefly understanding of the Samoan Church. For example, Fianiusila [Faleauto's daughter] relates her father's reply to Fuimaono Ta'ala when he approached her parents on Christmas night in 1962 about his hope to begin the C.C.C.S. :- 'O ai lenei Puki ? E fa'atu ni lotu a Fuimaono ?' [Who is this Puki ? Who says a Fuimaono Church can be established ?]. According to Fianiusila, Faleauto did not accept Fuimaono's first approach through his sister Puti [the wife of Faleauto]. In his second approach, now referred to, Fianiusila suggests that maybe her father, Faleauto, was jealous of Fuimaono's hope.
Fianiusila Galu: 'Personal Story...'

[1053] This relates to a vital aspect of Samoan customary etiquette. In important occasions at the family and societal level. especially when involving worship or the participation of the village pastor, the family leader. the Chief or the father, must '**personally**' invite the pastor. It applies also in the case of inviting another chief. Heads must meet heads. It is most impolite to send anyone else, particularly young children, to invite pastors or chiefs. Even an invitation through letter is a 'little less polite' than personal acquaintance in invitation.

even be present when parish members meet for such a purpose.[1054] Chief Fuimaono also referred to the fact that C.C.C.S. parish Churches do not have founding services on Saturdays as shown in the cases of the parishes of Otara, Wellington, and Onehunga. Chief Faleauto was enraged and replied no Church would begin in Blockhouse Bay. Before Chief Fuimaono could reply, Pastor Ieriko and other C.C.C.S. pastors arrived, and the escalating family feud suddenly disappeared. It is vital to include what Chief Fuimaono was prevented from saying in reply to Chief Faleauto because it clarifies further other important aspects of this particular meeting, and they also reflect aspects of Samoan understanding related to them. Chief Fuimaono records in his diary his prevented reply to Chief Faleauto:-

> ...that it will not be bad if the parish was cancelled...But if pastors were expected to participate and to conduct the founding service for the parish, where are the 'fa'aaloaloga' [practical expressions of respect and duty mainly through money, gifts and food,...etc.] for the servants of God ? [1055]

In this sense, according to Fuimaono's chiefly reasoning, Chief Faleauto was most negligent. And its disgrace / shame on the family was worse than his [Fuimaono] failure to personally invite the pastors. The relevant point is the way this family feud illustrates how a good Samoan family and a well-prepared parish must prepare in their expected duties in events of this nature according to Samoan understanding. The bottom line is for the honour and good name of the family, or a village parish, in relation to the etiquette of modern Samoan Christian culture and society.

The founding service[1056] was held in the family residence at 19 Margate Road in Blockhouse Bay. The Blockhouse Bay Church was called 'O le Taeao Fou' [The New Morning]. Chief Fuimaono had a part in the founding service, which was to comment on

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[1054] This reflects, and is based on the traditional beginning of a village church in Samoa. It was the way earliest C.C.C.S. Parishes were started mainly because of the chiefly influence of Fuimaono.

[1055] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala in Family Holding.

[1056] Advertisement for the parish beginning appeared in the Auckland Star (Auckland), on January 29, 1966.

the hopes of the founding members and to offer encouragement. Chief Fuimaono's comment may have been aimed at Chief Faleauto in view of their bitter exchanges, in particular to Chief Faleauto's remark that there would be no Church in Blockhouse Bay. The interesting point is that Chief Fuimaono Ta'ala reiterated the main theme of the advice by the Catholic Priest in Wellington which rescued the almost aborted beginning of the Wellington Parish through Lemauga Leilua's family.[1057] The words of the Catholic Priest are recorded in Fuimaono's Diary in this way :- '...Words by the Catholic Priest. Accept the lotu, that is the invitation of God into one's home. Reject the lotu, it is rejecting God from one's family.'[1058] To help in the growth and development of the parish Fuimaono registered a 'matafale' [contributing unit, or family] for his twelve year old daughter in the parish. The first two pastors of the Blockhouse Bay Parish were returning Samoan missionaries from Papua New Guinea and Tokelau - Pastor Tone Tuia'i and Pastor Kaio Afoa, respectively.

(5) THE CHRISTCHURCH PARISH April 17, 1966.

The major reasons for the beginning of the Christchurch Parish are already mentioned in the quoted statements by its two leading founders, Chief Tafaoimalo Simanu and Chief Fuimaono Nasau, which are included in the chapter on the Founding Vision.[1059] The role of Chief Fuimaono Nasau shows the continuing contribution by the Fuimaono family in the growth of the C.C.C.S. parishes at this stage.[1060]

[1057] Refer to relevant page on the origin and beginning of the Wellington Parish.

[1058] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala in Family Holding.

[1059] Refer to Chapter 4 , Founding Vision.

[1060] Chief Fuimaono Nasau was the nephew of Chief Fuimaono Ta'ala, and was one of the leading Samoans in the Christchurch P.I.C.C.. It must be noted that Chief Fuimaono Nasau did not automatically support the beginning of the C.C.C.S. through family ties. He was reluctant at first, seeing the possibility of a Samoan Church within the P.I.C.C. multicultural framework. He was also reluctant because he was Secretary of the P.I.C.C. But constant appeals from Chief Fuimaono Ta'ala and the determination of other founders gradually won him over.
Chief Fuimaono Nasau; 'Personal Story...'.

The foundational period of the Christchurch Parish stretches from December, 1964, when the first and leading founding family left the Christchurch P.I.C.C., to October, 1967, when the parish covenanted with its first pastor, Pastor Sekone Ioane and wife Avae'e from Samoa. Two important dates (or events) within this period subdivide three important stages of the parish's foundational period. The first was January, 1966, when the founding families began public worship in a public hall. By this time the four founding families had already left the P.I.C.C. in stages,[1061] and had started separate worship and meetings in the family resident of Chief Tafaoimalo Simanu.[1062] The second was April 17, 1966, the date the parish held its founding service[1063] at the Hastings Hall in Sydenham. Especially throughout the period after the four founding families left the P.I.C.C. - from the middle of 1965 until the coming of the parish pastor, the parish underwent the most heartbreaking period of its origin and beginning. The following account[1064] emphasises the immediate cause(s) for the beginning of the parish and the attendant difficulties encountered.

The immediate cause(s) of the 'trickling exodus' by the founding families from the P.I.C.C. was, according to Chief Tafaoimalo Simanu, '...a series of revealings and developments within the Church body of the P.I.C.C. which had discouraged our spirits...'.[1065] While this refers to some of the issues already mentioned in the founders' statements quoted in the Founding Vision, it directly relates to the issue of Sunday offering which the Samoans had always withheld from the P.I.C.C. in the hope to develop their Samoan Church later.[1066] This hope was entertained at the time when

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[1061] Chief Tafaoimalo and family left in December, 1964. Chief Fuimaono Nasau in March, 1965. The families of Chief and Deacon Soisoi Ioane and Chief and Deacon Feaunati in June, 1965.

[1062] At 5 Wesley Place, Christchurch 5.

[1063] 'O Le Sulu Samoa', July, 1966.

[1064] Sources for this story are mainly Personal Stories of the four founding leaders and other earliest members of the parish. Also Chief Leulu'ai Tulia and wife Faoa; Faletua Avae'e Sekone, and Pastor Kenape Faletoese, the P.I.C.C. pastor at the time.
All these are in the Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand

[1065] Chief Tafaoimalo Simanu; 'Personal Story...'

[1066] Chief Tafaoimalo Simanu; 'Personal Story...'. Also Appendix V, (xxi).

membership of the Christchurch P.I.C.C. were almost all Samoans.[1067] The crucial turn occurred in a meeting between Pastor Challis and Samoans when, on learning that their offering will be given to the P.I.C.C., the Samoans generally emphasised the fulfilment of their hope to begin their separate Samoan Church.[1068] Pastor Challis' reply was most insensitive, saying - 'No Samoan can lead or control other Samoans except by someone else or by a Papalagi.'[1069] This was the unforgivable affront to the pride and integrity of the Samoan chiefs and sons of Samoan pastors who were leading Samoans in the P.I.C.C.[1070] It was a most careless and naive remark to a people who were at the very time in a celebrating mood about what they believed was a double achievement of their country, their Church and their ancestors - the Religious Independence of the E.F.K.S. from the L.M.S. in 1961, and the Political Independence of Western Samoa in 1962.[1071] The great revulsion the Samoans felt at Pastor Challis' remarks is graphically illustrated by Chief Tafaoimalo Simanu :-

> The greatest and most dangerous lie perpetuated by Papalagi, in particular Rev. Challis, was to say that no Samoan can lead or control other Samoans except by someone else or by a Papalagi. It was even most dangerous because some Samoans were beginning to take it seriously...But that had caused our jealousy and revulsion in our hearts because it is not true.['And that word was the wedge and the fender that levered us away from the connection with the P.I.C.C...'[1072]][1073]

[1067] Chief Tafaoimalo Simanu; 'Personal Story...'

[1068] Chief Tafaoimalo Simanu; 'Personal Story...'

[1069] Chief Tafaoimalo Simanu; 'Personal Story...'

[1070] As shown in Note 1061 above. Chief Tafaoimalo and Chief Tonumailau Soisoi were sons of pastors.

[1071] The celebrating mood for the double achievement of Samoa was a strong impetus on the cultural-religious spirit that was central in the founding vision of the C.C.C.S., and was influential in its fast growth and development.

[1072] The translation in Chief Tafaoimalo's story is - 'O le upu lena na fai ma tina me te'e na liva ese ai matou mai feso'ota'iga ma le P.I.C.C.' '***Tina***', which is translated wedge refers to the piece of wood which is used to tighten an axe, that is, the axe handle through the hole of the iron part of the axe. The '***te'e***' has various references in Samoan usage. It refers to a long stick that supports a clothes line by raising the line high so as to avoid the clothes from touching the ground, or to straighten the wire. It also refers to the stick that holds the mast of the boat, and also the rugby act of fending the opponent away with the hand. So, '***tina***' and '***te'e***' in Chief Tafaoimalo's usage simply means that Rev. Challis' remark was the death knell to any more connection with the P.I.C.C.

But Rev. Challis had already made some political manoeuvre[1074] to placate the rising determination of the Samoans for separate worship which was widely expected since the beginning in Auckland. Rev. Challis was able to convince Pastor Kenape Faletoese who was a teacher at Malua Theological College in Samoa to resign to become pastor of the Christchurch P.I.C.C. in 1964.[1075] Unfortunately, the Samoans felt they had been cheated not only because they were not aware of this arrangement, but of Rev. Challis' paternalism which the Samoans saw as a way of 'treating them as difficult children but not as matured adults.'[1076] Despite these developments which caused anguish amongst the Samoans, Pastor Faletoese was received by the Samoans with great enthusiasm because he was an 'important and wise person, and that helped to ease our pain.'[1077] But the enthusiasm at Pastor Faletoese's arrival could not erase the long held commitment leading Samoans had already set their minds and hearts towards. Once it was known that Pastor Faletoese did not share their vision - that is, to have sole authority over their offerings, finances, and to be trustees over their properties, the exodus began though with continuing love and sympathy for parting fellowship with Pastor Faletoese.[1078] But

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[1073] Chief Tafaoimalo Simanu; 'Personal Story...'

[1074] Elder Pastor Timaloa is clear on this point, especially in his first hand knowledge and association with Rev. Challis in the Newton P.I.C.C. His close association with Pastor Kenape Faletoese was another way he learnt of this. To Elder Pastor Timaloa, Challis had done all his best to bring Pastor Faletoese to the Christchurch Parish.
Elder Pastor Timaloa; 'Personal Story...'.

[1075] Pastor Kenape Faletoese resigned from Malua Theological College in 1964, and began ministry at the Christchurch P.I.C.C. at the end of 1964. According to a personal interview with him, he got his call for Christchurch two years earlier from 1964 which can be either 1961 or 1962.
Pastor Kenape Faletoese; 'Personal Story of various aspects of the church life of Samoans in New Zealand and the Beginning of the C.C.C.S. and the Christchurch Parish'.
In Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1076] This is how Chief Tafaoimalo puts their understanding of Rev. Challis' political manoeuvre to bring Pastor Faletoese. He also adds in relation to this :- 'The Papalagi does not believe that we have just come from Samoa and we are full of Samoan mannerism.' He refers to comparable habits of Samoans to make tricks, etc...and also their clear understanding of cunning behaviours or political machinations in human behaviour.

[1077] Chief Tafaoimalo Simanu: ' Personal Story...'

[1078] All four leading founders of the Christchurch Parish share this point. That it was one of the most difficult things in their minds to leave the P.I.C.C. during Pastor Faletoese's ministry, especially when they personally admired him.

Pastor Faletoese was able to convince [many] Samoans to remain in the P.I.C.C. and to 'carve out' the Samoan Church within the Ecumenical Agenda on which the P.I.C.C. was modelled. The result was to avoid a 'mass breakaway' from the P.I.C.C.

If the origin of the Christchurch Parish was due to the cultural-religious patriotism of the Samoans which Rev. Challis' combination of paternalism and ecumenism only helped to strengthen, then its beginning is most remembered in relation to the relentless efforts by Pastor Faletoese to frustrate it.'Kenape was the obstacle, not Challis' is the consensus opinion by founders and earliest members of the parish.[1079] And he was the obstacle in two ways according to the founding members of the Christchurch Parish. One was in being the righteous Samoan pastor who resisted the separatist cause of the C.C.C.S. as theologically unecumenical. This they granted to Pastor Faletoese, though not his pastoral concern to protect his pastoral ministry in the P.I.C.C. from what was clearly evident as the growth of the C.C.C.S. parishes at the expense of the P.I.C.C., in relation to Samoan membership. Pastor Faletoese was also the obstacle in a most lamentable sense. He was most successful in persuading most Churches, except the Baptist Church, to reject requests by the separated Samoans for opportunities to use their premises (Churches and Halls). This was achieved simultaneously with the most ignoble stigmatisation (branding) of the separated Samoans as a **breakaway group** with various unpleasant meanings - as trouble-makers, bad people, liars, and heretics attempting a fallacious and wrong thing.[1080] The result was that the founders of the Christchurch Parish had to start their public worship and later their founding service in a Hall.[1081] Furthermore, because of these efforts by Pastor Faletoese, two of the leading founders refer to the beginning of the Christchurch Parish as a 'beginning of continual chasing

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[1079] All leading founders and earliest members of the Christchurch Parish testify to this.Elder Pastor Timaloa relates the story of Pastor Faletoese's appeal to him to try and stop in Auckland the growing separation of Samoans from the P.I.C.C. That it was already felt in Wellington he also feared its early signs in Christchurch through the separation of leading founders of the Christchurch C.C.C.S. Parish.

[1080] Chief Tafaoimalo Simanu; 'Personal Story...'

[1081] According to Chief Tafaoimalo, one of his most hurtful experiences was to find all Churches closed against them because of Pastor Faletoese.

away'[1082], and a 'long story of heartache and heartbreak.'[1083] According to Pastor Faletoese's own personal experience - 'I found it difficult...the beginning of the Samoan Church...the great hurt and pain...even my brother became the second pastor of the Christchurch Parish.'[1084]

The founding service on April 17, 1966[1085] brought relief to the main founders who had found Pastor Faletoese's exterminating efforts almost unbearable. Recollection by Chief Tafaoimalo Simanu of their feelings on the founding day relates their 'weakening spirits and uncertainties, and individual heartbreaks in the face of the approaching dark clouds of the weather and the difficulties of the work [the effort to start the Samoan Church] which then entered the doors of our lives.'[1086] But the overall atmosphere of the founding service was most encouraging for the founding members.[1087] Throughout the whole service, Chief Tafaoimalo Simanu could not stop the 'slow and continuous stream of tears when he thought about the beginning and the earliest stages of their efforts to pursue their vision.'[1088]

[1082] As told by Chief Fuimaono Nasau - 'O se amataga fetulitulia'i.'

[1083] As told by Chief Tonumailau Samuelu - "o se tala umi fa'amomoi loto.'

[1084] Pastor Faletoese; 'Personal Story...'. Elder Pastor Timaloa and many others, even Pastor Faletoese himself, told of the great controversy within Pastor Faletoese's family when his brother Pastor Tepa Faletoese decided to become the second pastor of the Christchurch Parish of the C.C.C.S. in 1974.

[1085] 'O le Sulu Samoa', July, 1966.

[1086] Chief Tafaoimalo Simanu; 'Personal Story...'

[1087] Forty nine people participated, twenty eight from the five founding families and the rest were founding pastors and other lay leaders of the C.C.C.s. parishes already established in the North Island. Extra warmth was added by the participation of the Samoan Methodist preacher who had conducted the first public worship of the founding group in January 1966 in a Hall; and a visiting pastor from Samoa who was silently encouraging the founders since their separation from the P.I.C.C. He was the inspirational preacher for the founding service. Other aspects of the founding service had kindled more hope, especially the preacher's sermon on the Apostle Paul's words - 'E le se nu'u fa'atauva'a lo'u nu'u' [My village is not insignificant] and the flag of the Independent State of Western Samoa which covered the table from which the preacher was delivering his sermon. These, together with singing the well-known 'nation-building' church hymns of the Samoan Church [Hymns 353 and 356], had energised and evoked cultural and religious patriotism.
'O Le Sulu Samoa'; July, 1966.

[1088] Chief Tafaoimalo's personal testimony about himself during the service. Chief Tafaoimalo Simanu; 'Personal Story...'.

The hope for the new parish rested on the four founding leaders, three of whom were ordained deacons on the day to look after its worship and its development. Between April, 1966, and October, 1967, the period from the founding service to the beginning of the ministry of the covenanted pastor, relations between Samoans did not improve. P.I.C.C. Samoans who advised against the practicality of developing a Samoan Church and thought it an utter impossibility,[1089] now added other accusations. Their main charges were, that they [the new C.C.C.S. Parish] would never find a Samoan ordained pastor, that not many Samoans would join them because the Parish was started by deacons and chiefs and not by a properly educated pastor from Malua Theological College. Also, they conducted worship which made the parish unattractive to Samoans. Worse still, they acted like ordained pastors and it was a clear transgression of holy offices beyond their chiefly and deacon status. Such accusations magnified internal problems already faced by the leaders of the parish because of the absence of a properly ordained and educated pastor to conduct proper worship. For example, some Sunday services did not include sermons but only singing and prayer because of the difficulty of sermon preparation. The limitation of theological education made one leader[1090] preach more often on the story of the Exodus which was boring and predictable and was making listeners laugh most of the time he was about to begin preaching when it came to his turn to lead worship. But at other times, this preacher had his turn in getting back at the laughing congregation by emphasising the incident of Moses hitting the rock in the Exodus story, as the proper approach to cure the members' obstinacy and slackness in development. This sometimes resulted in differences between members which was not helpful in maintaining the unity of the small group. But the often disruptive results of this preacher's preaching were mostly forgiven because of his contributions to the parish development. He offered his house to be the parish centre to entertain parish visiting preachers and guests. To rescue parish hope from the discouraging legal advice against

[1089] Their claim was - 'How can they afford and do such a thing of great magnitude ?' [E fa'apefea ona o fai lenei mea tele ?]. According to Chief Tafaoimalo, they were advised by some Samoans who remained in the P.I.C.C. against their intention because of their understanding of what is involved and required in a Samoan Pastoral Ministry - Not only to build a church and pastor's house, but to provide for the pastor's family.

[1090] Chief Fuimaono Nasau's story about his difficulties. Chief Fuimaono Nasau; 'Personal Story...'.

bringing a Samoan pastor because he had no place to stay, he offered his house to guarantee the parish loan to buy a house for the pastor.[1091] In reality these were some of the examples of the difficulties in the foundational period of the Christchurch Parish. And part of the survival strategy was dependence on family sacrifices in many ways. A source of hope was always their gratitude to the Baptist Church for allowing them opportunities to hold their worship in its premises. The opposition from P.I.C.C. Samoans and Pastor Faletoese was ironically a source of hope and determination, though at times in a competitive way.

An important aspect of the piety of the Samoan Christians is that without a pastor, there is no Church, but a mere village fellowship. This piety was vividly manifested in Pastor Ieriko's urgency in finding pastors for new parishes, and in his characteristic approach to start a parish with very few members, or families as long as they have a pastor.[1092] The beginning of the Christchurch Parish was no different in this respect. Its particular relevance were the descriptions and their preferred choice of the required pastor which clearly reflected the various concerns, and hopes, and problems which were currently being faced by the parish. In the parish letter dated March 23, 1967, to the Chairman of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa, it requested for Pastor Faulalo Sagapolu who was a champion of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand,[1093] and an accomplished intellectual pastor with a good command of English. This was their choice which they thought was meeting the criteria they included for the most needed pastor for their parish and for the C.C.C.S. ministry in New Zealand. According to the letter :-

> (1) Capability to encourage and to further the growth of the Samoan Church in New Zealand. (2) Ability to deal with all challenges against the ministry while also able to maintain the peace and unity of Samoans.(3) Has knowledge into the spiritual depths of the ministry and also in its external aspects. (4) Well-versed in English to relate to palagis because it is a necessity in New Zealand. [1094]

[1091] Chief Fuimaono Nasau; 'Personal Story...'

[1092] As mentioned in connection with the Origin and Beginning of the Mangere East Parish.

[1093] Refer to relevant Note in connection with the Beginning of the Onehunga Parish.

[1094] Christchurch Parish to E.F.K.S. March 23, 1967.

The preferred choice, Pastor Faulalo Sagapolu, could not be released by the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. But the kind of pastor they requested from Samoa was largely found in their second choice, Pastor Sekone Ioane and wife Avae'e, whose previous ministry involvements included high school teaching at Church Schools, missionary work in the Ellice Islands, and village pastoral ministry in Western Samoa. The arrival of Pastor Sekone Ioane and Avae'e was the first step to reconciliation between the separated Samoans and the Christchurch Congregational Church,[1095] and also with Pastor Faletoese.[1096] It began with several fellowship gatherings between all Samoan pastors in various religious denominations. The breakthrough was made in the combined service in 1969 which celebrated the first revision of the Samoan version of the Bible in which Pastor Faletoese was previously involved in Samoa while teaching in the Malua Theological College. According to Faletua Avae'e, 'it was a reconciliation of streams

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[1095] A letter from the pastor of the Christchurch Parish to the E.F.K.S. in August, 1970 relates his successful effort to resume working together with the Congregational Church in Christchurch. The reference to the apology by the pastor of the Congregational Church is most relevant in that it shows an example of the support the Congregational Church gave to Pastor Faletoese's 'exterminating efforts' against the C.C.C.S. Part of the letter is quoted below :- 'Concerning the relationship between the Pastor of the Congregational Church here in Christchurch, he has already preached in our Church. I have already preached in his Palagi Church. The Pastor's name is Peter Bennett. He has confessed before our church members the disgraceful things they have done to our church before. That they were not merely wrong things, but sins before God. And he was thankful that I have made the initiative to make reconciliation with them. For though that they had felt joyful and also felt forgiven by God for the misunderstandings before...The problem in Christchurch is now resolved. And we are now working together with the pastor of the Congregational Church.Pastor Kenape has gone Presbyterian.'

[1096] According to Faletua Avae'e, relationships between Pastor Faletoese and some founders were very bad. She relates two incidents as examples. One was Pastor Faletoese's visit to one founder's house where it ended up in a sad way. This founder chased Pastor Faletoese outside his place and nearly hit the pastor with a chair. Another involved the earliest days of their arrival as pastor. This situation was very dangerous. Parish leaders had to guard the place for the pastor from Pastor Faletoese's visitation. Knowing this situation, on one day, Pastor Faletoese parked his car quite a distance from the pastor's place and walked to the house for his welcome visit, and to offer some food, etc..Some of the parish leaders learned about this visitation later when they saw the food brought by Pastor Faletoese. And they told Faletua Avae'e it was lucky they were not around when Pastor Faletoese visited. The relationship between Samoan lay membership in the P.I.C.C. and the founding members of the C.C.C.S. Parish was not at most times in the 'danger zone'. Cultural ties helped to lessen the extreme polarity caused by hatred based on theological beliefs which were differently appropriated by theologically educated pastors, and lay Christians with only a common sense and cultural appreciation of theology. When the pastor's family of the Samoan Church Parish arrived, most Samoans in the P.I.C.C. made their customary welcoming fellowship [alalafaga]. Faletua Avae'e Sekone; 'Personal Story...'

and streams of tears as Samoans united once more in honour of the Holy Bible that has become part of the cultural heritage of modern Samoa.'[1097]

(6) THE OTAHUHU PARISH JULY 9, 1967.

The Otahuhu Parish grew out of the collaboration between the founding family and the founding pastor[1098] of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand. Most relevant to the origin and beginning of this parish were three related considerations - to establish a parish at any place where there were Samoans; and where there was both an anticipation and a clear trend of increasing Samoan settlement. The third consideration gave added significance to the first two - to begin a parish for Pastor Ekepati to honour his seemingly underestimated but crucial role in the controversial beginning of the C.C.C.S. in the Aukilani Parish.[1099] The story of the origin and beginning of the Otahuhu Parish was

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[1097] Faletua Avae'e Sekone; 'Personal Story...'

[1098] This work takes the view which is also held by the Fuimaono family and all the surviving earliest members of the C.C.C.S. in the Aukilani Parish and in other earliest parishes of the C.C.C.S. This view sees Pastor Ekepati as the founding pastor of the C.C.C.S. It is also firmly believed by the Ekepati family. This view is 'true' in view of the actual makers of historical events in the most common sense understanding of history. To emphasise this crucial reference to Pastor Ekepati is vital to understanding the history of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand. For equally strong is the view held by other C.C.C.S members that Pastor Siaosi Ieriko is the founding and first pastor of the C.C.C.S. There are reasons for this view. One is simply ignorance of the story of the origin and beginning of the C.C.C.S. [See Chapter 5]. The stronger reason relates to Pastor Ieriko as the founding pastor because he won the vote after the C.C.C.S. was officially approved. And the popularity of Pastor Ieriko in the historical growth of the C.C.C.S. had tended to overshadow the crucial role of Pastor Ekepati in the most crucial and controversial stage of the C.C.C.S. struggle to birth. A latest example of the revelation of the differing views of C.C.C.S. pastors about the founding pastor of the C.C.C.S. occurred in the last service of the death of Elder Pastor Siaosi Ieriko in 1993. Elder Pastor Arielu who started his pastoral ministry in 1970 and was making a testimony on the pastoral ministry of Elder Pastor Ieriko declared in the service that Elder Pastor Ieriko was the pioneer pastor of the E.F.K.S. or C.C.C.S. in New Zealand. After his testimony, Elder Pastor Timaloa who was amongst the founding preachers of the C.C.C.S. in the Aukilani Parish gave his testimony, and emphasised by way of correcting the previous testimony that Pastor Ekepati, and not Elder Pastor Ieriko, was the first and pioneer pastor for the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1099] This point must not be understood to mean that the main motive for beginning the Otahuhu Parish was a way of **payment** for Pastor Ekepati. Rather it needs to be understood in the light of the tendency amongst some pastors, especially Pastor Ieriko to ignore and under-estimate the pastoral skills and capacity of Pastor Ekepati. It is the truth in the beginning of the C.C.C.S. that Pastor Ieriko was solely responsible to find pastors for the earliest parishes [See Notes on the beginning of Otara Parish, etc.]. And in the light of this, it was clear that Pastor Ekepati was deliberately ignored as the controversial beginning of the Otahuhu Parish mentioned in the Text clearly shows. Other informants remember Pastor Ekepati for his repetitious sermons; and Ekepati's eldest daughter referred to his weakness in English speaking, which may explain his unpopularity.

marked by controversies and divisions. These involved two basic authorities which pioneered the beginnings and determined the foundation and authority structure of C.C.C.S. parishes in New Zealand. One is the family through which a parish makes its beginning, or from which a prominent founder of a parish belongs. The other is the Church authority represented by the Elder Pastor and pastors of the Church District or Sub-District. The following story of the origin and beginning of the Otahuhu Parish will illustrate the mutual operation of these two 'basic authorities'.[1100]

The Ekepati Family story.

The possibility of a successful beginning of the Otahuhu Parish largely depended on the full commitment of Pastor Ekepati's family. Yet, the eventual beginning was won through bitter divisions in the family with roots going back to the controversial beginning of the C.C.C.S. in the Aukilani Parish. In this respect, the role of the 'divided Ekepati family' in the origin of the Otahuhu Parish is a mirror reflection of the 'longest hatred' if not the continuing estrangement which divided families and strained social relationships among the Samoans in the P.I.C.C. and C.C.C.S. [Churches] since 1962.

Pastor Ekepati came to New Zealand to visit at the end of 1962, at the very time the Fuimaono family left the Newton P.I.C.C. to begin the C.C.C.S. He accepted Fuimaono's request to conduct the first separate Sunday service of the group,[1101] and eventually became the first non-covenanted pastor of the C.C.C.S. to conduct worship and to administer Church sacraments during most of its foundational period - that is, from December, 1962, to December, 1963.[1102] Because of this relationship Fuimaono had secured for Pastor Ekepati his permanent citizenship status in New Zealand. Pastor

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[1100] Three major sources for this story :- (1) Ekepati's Family Story about the origin of the C.C.C.S. and the Otahuhu Parish. It also includes family background and their earliest years when migrating to New Zealand. Told by eldest daughter, Taunese Va and husband Chief and Deacon Togia Va.
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.
(2) Otahuhu Parish Book.
(3) Diary of Fuimaono.

[1101] As mentioned in Chapter 5.

[1102] The foundational period of the C.C.C.S. was from December 29, 1962 to May, 1964. The crucial role of Pastor Ekepati ended in December, 1963, when, after the parish vote, Pastor Ieriko won to become the parish pastor.

Ekepati's children were prominent members of the P.I.C.C. and ardent supporters of the vision of the Samoans remaining in the P.I.C.C. Church.[1103] They were convinced there was a true Samoan Church in the P.I.C.C.; that it was growing, and it was therefore clearly vindicating Pastor Challis' usual anti-C.C.C.S. reminder to the P.I.C.C. - 'No other church must be established in New Zealand. All Pacific Islanders should worship in the P.I.C.C. It will be the Church they shall worship in if I am gone.'[1104] Like most Samoans in the P.I.C.C. at the time, they also truly believed that the C.C.C.S. had no hope of growth. Pastor Ekepati was broadminded, part of which derived from his realisation that his status as an E.F.K.S. pastor was not recognised in the P.I.C.C. Church.[1105] He was able to move freely between the Newton P.I.C.C. and the developing C.C.C.S. in Grey Lynn. And this may have avoided a serious confrontation within his family in the beginning. But the 'final divide' between the C.C.C.S. and the P.I.C.C. at the end of 1963 when the E.F.K.S. delegation had approved the beginning of the C.C.C.S. was to have a comparable effect within Ekepati's family. Ekepati's children could not stomach the shame they thought their father was bringing on the family by associating with a much ridiculed and criticised Church [C.C.C.S.]. And they dared break the fifth commandment by saying to their father, ' A na iloa lava e le aumaia oe'[1106] [Had we known, we would not have brought you (to New Zealand)]. Religious politics[1107] in

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[1103] See Chapter 3. Part (c).

[1104] According to Ekepati's eldest daughter, her father had often referred to this belief of Rev. Challis as one of Challis' most deepest held beliefs he could vividly remember.
Deaconness Taunese and Togia Va; 'Ekepati Family Story...'.

[1105] This was one of the major concerns in the Founding Vision of the C.C.C.S. It reflected the inadequacy of the P.I.C.C. religious framework to accommodate an important aspect of the religious beliefs of the Samoans. Most Samoan leaders who remained in the P.I.C.C. were aware of this 'inadequacy' as shown in Setu Solomona's speech against the C.C.C.S. Delegation involved in the beginning of the Wellington Parish of the C.C.C.S. See Origin and Beginning of the Wellington Parish.

[1106] Taunese Va and Togia Va; 'Ekepati Family Story...'.

[1107] This refers specifically to the parish vote which favoured Pastor Ieriko other than Pastor Ekepati many had thought should become the first ordained pastor of the Aukilani Parish. According to Elder Pastor Timaloa, Pastor Ieriko and wife tried to convince Chief Fuimaono Ta'ala, using family connections to become the first pastor. Chief Fuimaono Ta'ala was clearly unconvinced and refused. Then Pastor Ieriko and wife tried through the E.F.K.S. Delegation which was inclined to support Pastor Ieriko. But Chief Fuimaono Ta'ala was opposed. He preferred to hold a parish vote to avoid the influence of family politics. It was widely known Chief Fuimaono Ta'ala was not impressed with Pastor Ieriko, despite family relations, because of his previous opposition to the beginning of the C.C.C.S. But being aware of this

the Grey Lynn Parish did not help the increasing dissatisfaction of Pastor Ekepati's children. The parish voted in favour of Pastor Ieriko who was widely known to have voiced the loudest and even most severe opposition against the founder of the C.C.C.S. and also the whole idea of a C.C.C.S. beginning. Two more of Pastor Ekepati's children migrated from Samoa to New Zealand, and the family left Ponsonby, a place next to Grey Lynn, to settle in Otara. Pastor Ekepati's children became founding members of the Otara P.I.C.C., but Pastor Ekepati continued to travel by bus to attend worship in Grey Lynn. And this became a further cause of dissatisfaction for his children. Their reasoning was now to protect the good name of their father. They thought that because Pastor Ieriko was now the covenanted pastor, there was no reason for their father to travel such distance to worship in the Grey Lynn Parish. It could only mean, as far as the Samoans were concerned, that he was campaigning ['fa'atosina'] for a parish to be a pastor of.[1108] But Pastor Ekepati continued to worship at Grey Lynn Parish until he was tired of catching buses every Sunday. When Pastor Ekepati and Chief Fuimaono collaborated to begin the Otahuhu Parish in the beginning of 1967, Pastor Ekepati's children were mostly non-cooperative, seeing such a design as a 'rebounce' from the failure to become the pastor in Grey Lynn, and also a way of a 'shameful campaign' for a Church [C.C.C.S.] that had no hope to grow. The migration of Pastor Ekepati's eldest daughter and her family from Samoa to New Zealand in June of 1967 became the deciding factor in the eventual beginning of the Otahuhu Parish. A meeting of four founding families of the Otahuhu Parish and supporters from the Grey Lynn Parish at the end of June for a final decision is most memorable for the controversial exchanges between Pastor Ekepati's children. While most of Pastor Ekepati's children were undeterred in their opposition, the eldest daughter, as was expected, supported her father and declared

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family relation, Ieriko's wife campaigned amongst other family relations for Ieriko. According to Elder Pastor Timaloa, Ieriko won because of strong family support, though not from Chief Fuimaono Ta'ala.

[1108] For the Samoans in the E.F.K.S. or C.C.C.S., it is a family honour and an expression of great achievement for the work of God to have a family member becoming a pastor of a parish. But it is totally different, and even an expression of corruptive political campaign(s) and unworthy in Church activities for a pastor to be seen to want to be a pastor of a parish. Samoan Church piety in this respect holds that the calling comes from God. And a pastor needs not try to show himself in any way in a campaigning manner. Pastor Ekepati's children were trying to protect their father from their suspicion that he was doing such campaigning [fa'atosina].

against her brothers and sisters - 'Wherever our father is, that is where we will be.'[1109] This was enough to commit Pastor Ekepati's family to lead the beginning of the Otahuhu Parish with three other families.

The founding service[1110] of the Otahuhu Parish was held on July 9, 1967 at the Otahuhu Town Hall, and was led by Pastor Ekepati. After the service, Chief Fuimaono Ta'ala chaired the meeting to decide the parish pastor, and Pastor Ekepati was elected. The absence of the leading Pastor Ieriko and other pastors who had been officiating in the founding services of previous parishes had given the beginning of the Otahuhu Parish another controversial episode. And it involved what the Otahuhu Parish Book records as the 'unblessed beginning of the parish because of the differences in the beliefs and temperament of the pastors concerning the new parish.'[1111] In reality this was the clearest illustration[1112] of the assertion of the leadership authority of pastors over the Samoan chiefs in relation to the growth of C.C.C.S. parishes. But to a greater extent, it illustrates more the temperament of Pastor Ieriko and his personal approach as the leading pastor, rather than an example of a chief's overstepping any limits in relation to the founding and operation of the C.C.C.S. Parish System.

Pastor Ieriko and four other C.C.C.S. pastors held a meeting on July 14th and decided to deny the validity of the founding service of the Otahuhu Parish.[1113] The parish was informed of the decision and another service was held 'to sanctify [fa'apaia] the parish and to receive recognition as a parish of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.'[1114] While this incident shows the assertion of pastor's authority and control over the growth of the

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[1109] She means with her husband and her children. But in a Samoan family understanding the decision by the eldest daughter could not be ignored by her other brothers and sisters.

[1110] 'O le Sulu Samoa', July 1967.

[1111] 'Otahuhu Parish Book'.

[1112] The first one was in the beginning of the Blockhouse Bay Parish where the escalating family feud was dissolved by the arrival of Pastor Ieriko and others. Respect was another factor.

[1113] 'Otahuhu Parish Book'. Also in Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala.

[1114] 'Otahuhu Parish Book'.

C.C.C.S., it also shows their underestimation of Pastor Ekepati who was qualified to begin and officiate in the founding service of the Otahuhu Parish. The ultimate founder of the C.C.C.S., Chief Fuimaono Ta'ala, was unimpressed and thought of such incidents as pastors', in particular Pastor Ieriko's 'jealousy that he [Fuimaono Ta'ala] was also seen to be the founder of the Otahuhu Parish.'[1115] But it must be conceded that the absence of Pastor Ieriko and other pastors in the first founding service may have been a careless omission on the part of Chief Fuimaono and Pastor Ekepati. Two extra difficulties plagued the beginning of the Otahuhu Parish. One was the difficulty to attract members. And it was mainly the result of the same anti-C.C.C.S. slogan amongst the P.I.C.C. members which bedevilled the beginning of the Grey Lynn Parish - spreading the accusation, 'O le lotu a Fuimaono'[1116] [It was Fuimaono's Church]. In Otahuhu, the accusation was 'O le lotu a le fanau a Ekepati'[1117] [It is the Church of the children of Ekepati]. Because of this, it resulted in the other difficulty of Pastor Ekepati's family having to bear tremendous sacrifices to nurture the beginning of the Otahuhu Parish, and to encourage the half hearted participation of some of its founding members.

(7) THE PORIRUA PARISH FEBRUARY 18, 1968.

The Porirua Parish began as an offshoot of the Wellington Parish in continuation of the founding vision of the C.C.C.S. The initiative[1118] belonged to seven resident families of Porirua who, while worshipping in the Wellington Parish, had decided on February 3, 1968 to begin a second parish of the C.C.C.S. in the Wellington area in Porirua for two

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[1115] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala.

[1116] See also the Origin and Beginning of the Onehunga Parish for a different way this anti-C.C.C.S. slogan was affecting the Onehunga Parish.

[1117] An interesting example of the P.I.C.C. opposition in the second Sunday of the parish is the story of 'the Missing Key of the Hall'. When the members went to get the key to the Hall from the caretaker, they were told that a Samoan had already taken the key on their behalf. It was a Samoan from the P.I.C.C. Members ended up having their Holy Communion Service at Ekepati's house. Members remember this incident in the phrase - 'The Devil has taken the key.'
Deaconness Taunese and Togia Va; 'Ekepati Family Story...'.

[1118] 'Porirua Parish Book'. Also according to Personal Stories by Chief Aiono Tofi and Chief Aiono Samoa about the Origin and Beginning of the C.C.C.S. and other Parishes.

reasons.[1119] One was the difficulty of transport and the distance between Porirua and Wellington. Secondly, they felt that another strong and assured parish of the C.C.C.S. would grow up in Porirua because of the increasing settlement of the area by Samoans. With great encouragement by Elder Pastor Puni Leota of the Wellington Parish and other families who had now left the Porirua P.I.C.C. to join in the beginning of the Porirua Parish of the C.C.C.S., the founding service[1120] was held in the Ngatitoa Lodge Hall in the Porirua Shopping Centre on February 18, 1968. Founding members numbered sixty one which included children and comprised eleven families. Among the founding members were six deacons which gave the parish a steady beginning. A very committed lay preacher, Fiu Samuela, who looked after the Wellington Parish before covenanting with its first pastor was appointed for the same role for the Porirua Parish. And his service endured four years from 1968 to 1972, which was the foundational period for the parish.

The Porirua Parish was most emphatic in reasserting the cultural religious identity of Samoans which they believed to have included their most authentic Christian witness to the true spiritual Church and the true worship it entails. A declaration by the congregation and founding members in the founding service runs :-

> We are worshipping children and adherents of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa in New Zealand. We are now dedicating our whole lives for the founding and establishment of our true Church and its true worship in whatever place we may be.[1121]

The report of the parish's founding service, emphasizes the ultimacy of people's original language which illustrates the latter point :-

> It is because thoughts of the sacred chiefs and born-children of the Church[E.F.K.S.] to begin their Lotu Samoa, so that they can worship

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[1119] 'Porirua Parish Book'.

[1120] Report of the Founding Service is in the 'O le Sulu Samoa', April, 1968.

[1121] From the Programme of the Founding Service entitled :- 'The Founding and Establishment of the Church of the E.F.K.S. in Porirua in Wellington, New Zealand...18th February, 1968.
Source :- Papers of Elder Pastor Ofisa Nu'uali'itia in Family Holdings.

> God with full understanding. This is fundamental to comprehending the true light that worship gives. Hence the necessity to worship in the true language of Samoa God has given as a gift, as God has given different languages to different people and nations of the world to worship and to conduct their lives. As was done in the past by our fore fathers even up to our generation, our worship to God in our true and original language give us the light and understanding than to worship in any other language we do not understand. [1122]

The parish beginning was not exempt from the continual rejection by Churches. According to its first Secretary, 'When we requested for opportunity to hold our worship, they would ask if we were breakaways. And once they could figure out that we were as such, we would be rejected.'[1123] This was the reason why the parish held its founding service in the Town Hall of the Porirua Centre. For quite a period of time the parish had its Sunday Services in the same Hall, and it gave the foundational period an interesting story of uncertainties and frustrations, but also of hope. Certain events related to the fact of having disrupted worship in the Hall for a length of time had made the group's worship a caricature of their professed intention to begin Samoan worship which was holy and dignified. While it did not help to attract other Samoans, internally it caused much anger and frustration that it was difficult at times to maintain the confidence and participation of some impatient and easily ashamed Samoans. A constant burden and frustration was to clean the hall of beer bottles and rubbish, every Sunday morning because of Saturday night parties and other functions.[1124] Anger would flare up at times when the group's pulpit was found damaged from such night parties. Another common source of frustration was the various times Sunday morning services were delayed[1125]

[1122] 'O Le Sulu Samoa'; April, 1968.

[1123] The first Secretary was Chief Aiono Tofi who left Porirua P.I.C.C. while he was the Secretary to be a founding member of the Porirua Parish of the C.C.C.S. Perhaps this was one reason why the parish encountered the continuing rejection, especially because at the time Rev. Setu Solomona was the Samoan pastor of the Porirua P.I.C.C.

[1124] This was one of the typical burdens faced by many C.C.C.S. parishes who started in Halls like Onehunga, Christchurch, etc.

[1125] Parish Book records frequent occurrences of such problems which led to delays in worship for sometimes up to three hours. Stories by some of the founding members relate these problems as some of the reasons for members' impatience and feelings of shame. The major explanation relates to a Samoan understanding of worship. To be delayed because of such activities like bicycle race, and added by the fact of having such on Sundays would be 'morally shocking' to a people who were used to Sunday worship

because the officer keeping the key to the Hall would be out fishing. Likewise, evening worship was occasionally delayed until bicycle races in the Centre were finished. But the hope of the founding members was many times rekindled by visiting Samoan Elder Pastors who helped in conducting worship.[1126] The most important sources of hope were the close working together with the Wellington Parish; their occasional combined worship, and also national gatherings of the C.C.C.S. parishes in Grey Lynn. In these gatherings, the fellowship of other established parishes and the constant presence of Samoan pastors [mainly Elders] from Samoa were of great inspirational value, and especially to a people who are inclined to go forward to the future - culturally and spiritually - in the footsteps of their parents, ancestors, and traditions.

Despite difficulties, the steady development within the parish shows the determination of the founding members. And it partly explains the unsurprising duration of the ministry of the lay preacher, something which most C.C.C.S. parishes and also a strong aspect of C.C.C.S.'s pastoral tradition would try to minimise because of its attendant dangers.[1127] Fundraising efforts and financial commitments exemplify this steady beginning.[1128] In

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which was understood as the only sacred activity on Sundays, and which no one activity can substitute or compete with in relation to time.

[1126] In the founding service two Elder Pastors from Samoa took parts in leading the service. One was preaching, the other saying the prayer. Despite difficulties later faced by parishioners , for the Samoans it would be 'in the nature of a sin' to give up on things whose beginning was given a blessing by cultural and Church Elders.

[1127] The constant and recurrent danger of a lay preacher [A'oa'o Fesoasoani] is his influence in creating divisions in parishes which always leads to two results - either of parish division, or a previous pastor is rejected from continuation of ministry in a particular parish. These have been the recurrent realities in many C.C.C.S. parishes when a pastor is on leave for 3 months after 6 years of ministry. For example, it divided parishes and led to changing of pastors in Porirua in 1979, Mangere in 1981, Petone in 1990, etc.

[1128] The first fundraising source was the free offering envelope system of the P.I.C.C. which was started in May but dropped in November because it was 'a poor and unsuccessful way of raising church finance.' A healthy increase in parish funds was gained from adopting some of the usual fundraising ways of the E.F.K.S. and its flexible application, and other ways C.C.C.S. parishes raise their funds within its member fellowships. Monthly offerings on the basis of free offering by family, began in 1969. The first anniversary service for the parish in February earned $512.54. As usual, in most C.C.C.S. parishes, especially in its initial development or to begin large development projects, the Womens' Fellowship offered $400 as downpayment for church land. At the end of 1969, the monthly offerings per family was changed to become monthly offerings alternating between fathers and young men, and mothers and young ladies. This was a better way to ensure larger offerings. A fundraising census in 1971 earned $1827.00. And on December 9, 1972, the day the parish had covenanted with its first ordained pastor, the parish also bought its first land property for the church and hall for $4160.00. Plans for the church building started in the same

1973, the parish had 206 members including children. The Porirua Parish developed to become one of the many successful parishes of the C.C.C.S. in terms of membership growth, project development including acquiring Church properties, and for its quality of worship and piety.

(8) THE MANGERE EAST PARISH AUGUST 8, 1968.

Twelve families[1129] who resided in Mangere and constituted seventy two members had founded the Mangere East Parish on August 8, 1968.[1130] Some of these twelve families had previously attended worship in the Onehunga Parish where Pastor Timaloa had encouraged them to begin a parish in Mangere because of distance.[1131] The report[1132] of the founding service on September 8, 1968 relates the members' founding spirit to be their '...commitment to serve God through the **dearest** Church in their hearts, from which they were born, and were fed with the pure milk [suasusu le suia] of the Truth.' [1133] The brief foundational period of the Mangere Parish was the result of the quick founding of its parish pastor. Its founding service in the Presbyterian Church in West Mangere was

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month, and work began in February, 1973 with the Foundation Stone laid by the Mayor of Porirua on February 17, 1973.
This information is from the Porirua Parish Book.

[1129] One, included in this number, was a Tokelauan family who believed Tokelauan people should remain in the Samoan Church that has given Tokelau the Gospel, that was still looking after Tokelauan spiritual life through its missionaries [still in the 1960's], and has shown them the Saviour Jesus Christ the way to eternal life.
'O le Sulu Samoa', November, 1968.

[1130] The date September 25, 1967 is suggested for the beginning in the research by Pastor Tautiaga Senara. Tautiaga conducted a research on the history of the C.C.C.S. but he could not continue because of his calling to teach at Malua Theological College in 1989. He kindly gave much of his research findings for my work.
It would mean that the foudational period of the Mangere Parish started from this date like the foundational period of the other C.C.C.S. parishes. Because I could not substantiate this period, I therefore uphold the date August 8, 1968 as recorded in the Mangere Parish Book for the parish beginning. This is most likely to refer to the date founders gathered in view of beginning the Mangere Parish.

[1131] Elder Pastor Timaloa; 'Personal Story...'.

[1132] Report of the Founding Service in 'O le Sulu Samoa', November ,1968.

[1133] This is one of the characteristic ways Samoans outside Samoa refers to their home Church, the E.F.K.S. in Samoa - 'The Church from which they were born.' The expression refers to religious identity mainly of one's family, and also of one's village. It includes both the physical and spiritual aspects.

attended by Pastor Manase [and wife Tuputala] who was appointed on the same day to look after parish worship. He was voted to be the parish pastor on October 10th, a month later, and had covenanted with the parish two weeks later on October 24th. The quick and the seemingly orderly succession of events was largely the influence of the leading Pastor Siaosi Ieriko. His characteristic approach into encouraging the growth of C.C.C.S. parishes and the consolidation of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand is widely known to all Samoans in both the C.C.C.S. and P.I.C.C. in the following way[1134]- 'Pastor Ieriko is most likely to support any request by a group to begin a parish. He will bring a pastor to the parish and would say, here's your pastor, develop your Church. Whenever there is a division in a parish. Pastor Ieriko will be inclined to solve it in the following manner - he will accept the division and would say to both sides, develop your own Churches. For the side without a pastor he will tell them, I will find a pastor for you.' Pastor Ieriko's approach combined his determination to encourage the growth of the C.C.C.S. with a pragmatic recontextualising of the E.F.K.S.'s customary system of parish beginning in Samoa to fit the New Zealand context. Furthermore, the relatively calm beginning of the Mangere East Parish was due partly to the freer climate available because of the decline in direct opposition from the P.I.C.C. Samoans. A further positive nature was the support of the established parishes of the C.C.C.S. closer to Mangere namely, Otara, Otahuhu and Onehunga.

(9) THE PALMERSTON NORTH PARISH AUGUST 31, 1968.

The origin and beginning of the Palmerston North Parish is significant because of the role of two women. One was Mauga Vaotu'ua, a resident in Palmerston North who was

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[1134] I have expressed this well-known characteristic of Pastor Ieriko's policy approach in this way to capture its wide ranging expressions held by numerous Samoans, both pastors and lay members in both the C.C.C.S. and P.I.C.C. It does not mean that Pastor Ieriko's approach was unprincipled. As shown in his various decisions concerning divisions in parishes, he was also the main opponent to divisions when he applied certain policy directions of the Samoan Church. Some notable thinkers of the Samoan Church refer to Pastor Ieriko's approach as the best expression of his 'fatherly concern and form of fatherly leadership'. It means that the best way to solve divisions is to have separate developments for the sake of human conscience. The Samoan sense of this is not to accommodate extreme individualism but to capitalise on the community building nature of Samoans as 'communal individualists' for the growth of the Church. It is also based on a realistic understanding of the different socio-cultural framework of New Zealand society from the Samoan society.

responsible for '...bringing her Church, the C.C.C.S., to Palmerston North';[1135] And the other was Faletua Moevao Talamaivao, the wife of the first pastor of Palmerston North, who accepted the call of Mauga Vaotu'ua ' as the calling of her pastor husband into the church ministry he was educated for.'[1136]

Mauga Vaotu'ua :- The First Woman Who Called.

The unusual circumstances which originated the Palmerston North Parish relate to the paradoxical character of this woman and her involvement within a religious fellowship of some Samoans in Palmerston North. Mauga Vaotu'ua's husband was a Catholic Samoan and they were members of this Samoan religious fellowship called, the 'Samoan Christian Society'. It comprised Samoans from four religious denominations in Samoa - the E.F.K.S., Methodist, Catholic , and Seventh Day Adventists, and was founded in 1966. It included some notorious well-to-do and intellectual Samoans. But the strength of the group's religious commitment may be shown by the fact the they refused several attempts by Rev. Challis and Rev. Sio to make their fellowship the foundation of a P.I.C.C. Church in Palmerston North.[1137] It was also shown by their request to the E.F.K.S. in 1966 for a supply of Bibles and Church Hymnaries.[1138] Mauga Vaotu'ua's troublesome behaviour in the fellowship and her constant challenges against the group's unworthy religious pretensions were the major reasons which eventually led her to request Pastor Ieriko for a C.C.C.S. pastor to begin the C.C.C.S. in Palmerston North. Faletua Moevao's graphic description of Mauga's character and her manner of

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[1135] This is how Faletua Moevao Talamaivao understands and expresses the pivotal role of Mauga in the beginning of the Palmerston North Parish.
Faletua Moevao Talamaivao ; 'Brief Written History and Personal about the Origin and Beginning of the Palmerston North Parish'.
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1136] This is Faletua Moevao's expression of her advice to her husband, Pastor Tavita Talamaivao which influenced him to accept the calling for the ministry in Palmerston North.
Faletua Moevao Talamaivao ; 'Brief Written History and Personal Story....'.

[1137] Faletua Moevao Talamaivao; 'Brief Written History and Personal Story...'

[1138] Letter by the 'Samoan Christian Society' to the E.F.K.S. dated June, 1966. E.F.K.S. Achive, Apia Western Samoa.

involvement in the fellowship would show why she was much hated and therefore became crucial in the origin of the Palmerston North Parish :-

> ...She was known as a bad woman [tina leaga] - proud, arrogant, strong- mouthed, a liar and fearless. She was mostly hated by leaders of the Fellowship because she would fight anyone, woman or man...It became her weapon against her oppositions to threaten them by saying - You wait. I will bring a pastor of my Church to start a true Church here...What you are doing is not a church at all. You are not pastors but you administer holy sacraments...[1139]

Faletua Moevao Talamaivao[1140] :- The Second Woman Who Responded.

Moevao's advice and her strong-willed character were the decisive factors for their decision [with her husband Pastor Tavita Talamaivao] to accept the call to begin the C.C.C.S. ministry in Palmerston North.[1141] They were advised against accepting the call by their friends in Newton P.I.C.C. and by Pastor Talamaivao's family - the former because it was known that the call was from only one woman, and the latter stressing the fact that they had just bought a large new house in Auckland. But the call came at the very time they were prepared to serve in the pastoral ministry. Their appointment to the mission work of the E.F.K.S. in Papua New Guinea had just been cancelled by Faletua Moevao's family in Samoa because of a recent death of a family member in the mission work in Papua.[1142] They had just unsuccessfully convinced Rev. Challis with their offer to serve in the P.I.C.C. in New Lynn. According to Faletua Moevao's story, Rev. Challis was most reluctant to accept their offer to serve because of his concern about inadequate

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[1139] Faletua Moevao Talamaivao; 'Brief Written History and Personal Story...'

[1140] Faletua Moevao is a good example of the unique ways in which a woman exercises authority in the Samoan Church, especially as being a wife of a pastor. She is equally well-known in the wider activities of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand, and also in relation to the E.F.K.S. in Samoa.

[1141] According to a personal interview with Elder Pastor Tavita and Faletua Moevao. Rev. Sio equally shares this thought. Faletua Moevao remembers Rev. Sio's reluctant farewell to them when they left the Newton P.I.C.C. for their call - 'O lou loto lava ua oulua o ai' [It is your will (Moevao) that you have decided to go]. Further interview with Elder Pastor Talamaivao and Faletua Moevao during the retreat by New Zealand District South in Christchurch, July 1994.

[1142] According to Faletua Moevao's story, she was not happy with her family's interference with their appointment to Papua. So they stayed in the Newton P.I.C.C. to await another call to serve.

finance for a pastor's salary.[1143] And there was the related problem that the New Lynn P.I.C.C. was rather 'shaky' in terms of actual membership. There was at the time a tendency to concentrate at the Newton P.I.C.C. in the city. Rev. Challis' anxiety over finance for the pastor's salary was crucial in relation to the acceptance of the call from Palmerston North by Pastor Talamaivao and Faletua Moevao. What Rev. Challis considered essential in relation to the welfare of the pastor and his family was exactly what Pastor Talamaivao and Faletua Moevao considered unimportant as a criterion for entrance to serve in the pastoral ministry. The issue involved differences in the philosophy of pastoral ministry. According to Pastor Talamaivao and Faletua Moevao, they told Rev. Challis they will serve according to the Samoan way - 'Ma te galulue fa'asamoa.' It means that whatever call a pastor receives in the Church ministry, and wherever it comes, a pastor must consider it as his divine calling. Any disadvantages are part of the sacrificial life of the true servant of God. The welfare of the pastor and his family is dependent entirely upon the village or the parish that calls.This was the 'missionary aspect' of the pastoral orientation of the theological training of students in the Malua Theological College in which Pastor Talamaivao and Faletua Moevao were schooled. And it explains why they accepted the call from Palmerston North against the advice of their families and friends. But the element of a **missionary explorer** was not lost in Moevao's determination to accept the call. She saw the opportunity as also a way 'to see that other part of New Zealand.'[1144]

The delegation of Church representatives from C.C.C.S. parishes in the Auckland and Wellington regions arrived by train with Pastor Talamaivao and his family and Faletua Moevao. On arrival they received the first hint of Mauga Vaotu'ua's non-caring character. In a very un-Samoan manner the delegation was told to pay for their own taxis from the Railway Station to the Congregational Church in which the founding service was held. In contrast, Mauga Vaotu'ua's husband who was a Catholic member, and had

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[1143] Pastor Tavita Talamaivao and Faletua Moevao did look after the New Lynn P.I.C.C. on an 'on call' basis. Some Samoans requested them to be their pastor but as mentioned in the Text, Rev. Challis was reluctant.

[1144] Faletua Moevao Talamaivao: 'Brief Written History and Personal Story...'

never joined the Palmerston North Parish, though an active supporter, gave the delegation a dignified hospitality. He spoke on behalf of the two women and a baby, the only founding members of the parish, to welcome the delegation and to promise his support for the parish.[1145]

The C.C.C.S. Parish in Palmerston North began, obviously, with the major difficulty of having a small membership. A gradual increase later was always attended by fluctuating participation because of members' mobility. A very serious problem was the corruptive influences of some leading members involving church finance. And these problems on top of the fact of a minimal settlement of Samoans in the Palmerston North area resulted in the slow and restrained nature of parish development. But these were the difficulties Faletua Moevao had anticipated. They were not unique to the Palmerston North Parish of the C.C.C.S. But the challenges they posed for the beginning of the parish were the very 'stuff' of which the well-known story and role of this woman, Faletua Moevao Talamaivao, had been associated. The most significant is the way she sacrificed her family in various notable ways for the sake of the parish church development, and even for the Samoan Church at large in Western Samoa.[1146] As far as the story of the origin and beginning of the parish is concerned, the roles of Mauga Vaotu'ua [the woman who called] and Faletua Moevao Talamaivao [the woman who responded] were paramount. But in relation to endurance and commitment to the development of the parish ministry, the former faltered out of human weaknesses, and the latter endured because of vocation and church calling.[1147]

[1145] The last part of the interesting story of the parish beginning involved Pastor Talamaivao's proud sisters. When they got to the house that was prepared for the pastor's family and found it 'to be very old with rats running all over', they cried in disbelief an advised Pastor Talamaivao to leave to return to Auckland. Pastor Talamaivao is known for his quiet nature. And that is always the opportunity and reason for his wife Moevao's assertion of her authoritative and courageous personality. She told the crying sisters that the condition of the house and the rats running all over had shown them where to begin their ministry in Palmerston North - 'They have to chase away the rats first.'

[1146] For example, she offered the money her son received as compensation from a sports injury to build a church hall for the church youth. She also sold their family house for finance to renovate the Jubilee Church of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa.

[1147] Faletua Moevao's personal assessment of Mauga's paradoxical character is interesting :- 'While she was the chosen vessel of God to bring the Gospel of Jesus Christ to Palmerston North, she did nothing good for the development of the parish before she left again...'
Moevao Talamaivao: 'Brief Written and Personal Story...'

(10) THE KINGSLAND PARISH. AUGUST 17, 1969.

Eleven families under the leadership of Chief Finau Leleisiuao[1148] and Chief Tofilau founded the Kingsland Parish out of their own initiative and a plan to establish more C.C.C.S. parishes. Some of the considerations behind their initiative, the manner of their approach in establishing the parish, the utilisation of family and village connections, and the vital role of lay Christians in the growth of Church parishes are shown in the account by Chief Tofilau :-

> About the beginning of the Kingsland Parish, it was the result of our plan with Finau Lokesi to establish more parishes. It was not because we were directed by Elder Pastor Ieriko. That could not be possible because no pastor would want members of his parish to leave the parish...I do not know what Church Lokesi was attending then; but I attended the Grey Lynn Parish...We told Ieriko about our plan and got his permission...One of our main hopes was to create parishes for E.F.K.S. pastors who were continually migrating to New Zealand...In our approach to create the parish, we were like Mormon evangelists, even better than them...We would go in our cars every day and every night to inform and attract Samoans to the parish...Lokesi had a barber shop and a fruit shop. And that was another way we were able to meet Samoans and attract them. I was able to attract Samoans of our village in Samoa and a lot of my relatives...and friends...Lokesi did the same...[1149]

The background of the families is significant in showing their multi-denominational identities, but mostly in the way it reflects the freedom of Samoans to change religious denominations in New Zealand. Some were Catholic and Methodist by nurture and background in Samoa.[1150] Four were previously in the Newton P.I.C.C.[1151] and had left

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[1148] The role of Chief Leleisiuao is important in the growth of C.C.C.S. parishes throughout the 1970's and early 1980's as will become obvious in the references to the beginnings of various parishes. His religious background is the E.F.K.S. in Samoa, and his wife a Methodist, which explains the family's free association with these two Samoan denominations in New Zealand.

[1149] Tofilau Tevaga: 'Personal Story...'

[1150] This is according to the brief written history of the Sandringham Parish given to me by the present pastor of the Sandringham Parish. It records that the Catholic and Methodist families who were amongst the founding families of the Kingsland Parish before the division in 1970 are still in the Sandringham Parish (in 1994).

because of their refusal of the merger of the P.I.C.C. with the Presbyterian Church in 1969.[1152] Others had not attended any church since migrating to New Zealand.[1153]

The Parish had its founding service[1154] on August 17, 1969 and was attended by all the parish pastors of the Auckland Sub-District. Barely a year had passed since the beginning of the Kingsland Parish, and a bitter controversy occurred at the end of 1970 which ravaged the parish and led to the breakaway[1155] of seven families, leaving four families with the pastor. The majority which left were led by the leading founder, Chief Leleisiuao, and they eventually became the founding families of the Sandringham Parish. Other aspects relating to this division will be dealt with in the story of the origin of the Sandringham Parish. Only the aspects which are directly relevant to the beginning of the Kingsland Parish may be dealt with here.

Pastor Seuga Pula: 'Brief written history of Sandringham Parish', 1995.
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1152] According to Chief Leleisiuao's Personal Story of his role in the history of the C.C.C.S., these four families were the main ones who initiated the beginning of the Kingsland Parish, and they were all in the P.I.C.C. previously. Further details in connection to these four families were provided by the personal story of one of these families who is related to the author (Hine's family). Accordingly, she relates their refusal to join in the merger between the P.I.C.C. and the Presbyterian Church in 1969 even though Rev. Sio had clearly explained to them the reasons. So some families joined the Onehunga Parish of the C.C.C.S., and their family (Hine's family) joined the Kingsland Parish.
Deaconness Hinemoa: 'Personal Story...'. Also Chief Leleisiuao Finau; 'Personal Story of the Beginning of various parishes of the C.C.C.S.
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1153] Deaconness Hine: 'Personal Story...'

[1154] Chief Leleisiuao Finau: 'Personal Story...'

[1155] Report of the Founding Service in the Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-district.

[1155] A vital difficulty involves this term in relation to the 'irreconcilable division' in the Kingsland Parish which led to the beginning of the Sandringham Parish. Both current pastors understand their respective parishes as the original one from which the other was a breakaway. Both are equally right. The present Kingsland Parish is situated in Kingsland the founding place. And the C.C.C.S.'s perspective in relation to divisions of this nature under the leadership of Elder Pastor Ieriko is, that where the pastor is, that's the parish. It means those leaving the pastor are the breakaways. The Sandringham pastor believes the founding families of the Kingsland Parish are in Sandringham and were amongst the seven families who left Kingsland. And in the early stages of the separation, they were also in Kingsland and were hence called Kingsland 2 in the Sub-district gatherings.

The main cause of the disruption was the irreconcilable differences between the parish pastor, Talalelei Poasa, and Chief Leleisiuao. At the heart was the clash of authority between a pastor wielding an authoritative pastoral approach in the parish ministry, and a prominent lay leader or parish founder who was equally authority-conscious.[1156] Chief Leleisiuao's story emphasises two aspects about the pastor which was at the root of a series of controversies, and had eventually led to the irreconcilable division. One was the influence of Elder Pastor Ieriko in the choice of the parish pastor. Although the pastor won the vote, according to Chief Leleisiuao, it was Elder Pastor Ieriko's unwarranted personal propaganda amongst families which had influenced people's decisions.[1157] Chief Leleisiuao's claim is half right and needs modification. This is because it has always been Elder Pastor Ieriko's approach since the first parishes of the C.C.C.S. to look for pastors at the time when there were not many Samoan pastors to be found in New Zealand.[1158] Elder Pastor Ieriko may have influenced people's decisions in their vote, but four families in the Kingsland Parish had family connections with their first pastor.[1159] Also, according to Chief Tofilau Tevaga, Pastor Poasa was the choice of the majority of families related to him. And that Chief Leleisiuao had a different pastor candidate which did not win in the parish vote.[1160] So Chief Leleisiuao's explanation of the root of the controversy is right if it also recognises the influence of family relations and his unfulfilled personal wish in the choice of the pastor.

[1156] The latter in the history of the C.C.C.S. would relate to the authority of a Samoan chief who may also be the leading founder of a parish or, quite independently, related to a lay preacher, or a deacon, who is self-consciously aware of his role and personal sacrifice in beginning a parish, but which a pastor (who maybe both young or new to the parish), would seem to undervalue.

[1157] Chief Leleisiuao's expression of Elder Pastor Ieriko's 'campaigning' expresses the typical Samoan reference to political campaigns by politicians in influencing people's behaviour :- 'E fai ane le palota ua uma ona tafale e Siaosi tagata' [Siaosi had already been in people's houses before the vote was actually done].
Chief Leleisiuao; 'Personal Story...'.

[1158] As in the cases of Otara, Blockhouse Bay, Palmerston North, etc.

[1159] These were the four who remained with the pastor after the disruption.

[1160] Chief Tofilau Tevaga; 'Personal Story...'

The second aspect was the authoritarian approach of the pastor which always tended to ignore the wishes and sensitivities of parishioners. Pastor Talalelei earned disfavour for his initiative for quick developments and his attempts to make quick and comprehensive changes. On the other hand, Chief Leleisiuao was widely known for his dominating assertion of his leadership abilities and his status as a parish founder which was many times seen as intruding into the domain and prerogatives of the pastor, according to the traditions and conventions in the C.C.C.S. parish ministry.[1161] A glimpse into this aspect of Chief Leleisiuao's domineering attitude is the often heard criticism against him that he wanted to rule the parish pastor and the [parish ministry. One of his habitual charges against the pastor in some of the controversial meetings of the parish is the typical belief and weapon of chiefs and lay leaders against pastors in cases of controversies in the pastoral ministry of the Samoan Church whether in New Zealand or in Samoa :- 'Pau lava le mea na e sau ai o le Tusi Paia ma le pulela'a '[1162] [The only reason you are here (in the Ministry) is the Bible, and your only domain is the Pulpit]. The most relevant aspect of this 'authority clash' in relation to the beginning of the Kingsland Parish is the fact that this was the ominous beginning of one of the most recurrent causes responsible

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[1161] Hine's 'Personal Story...' emphasises this character of Chief Leleisiuao, and confirmed by many pastors in their recollections of gatherings of the Auckland Sub-District. The insight by Chief Tofilau Tevaga into Chief Leleisiuao's character provides another perspective. According to Chief Tofilau :- 'I know Leleisiuao well because we are family related and he told me everything about his frustrations in the Church. He eventually became Methodist because he was frustrated by the jealousy of people and the strength of pastors' resistance against him. He was frustrated in his many efforts to become the Elder Deacon of the District. He said it was because of the jealousy of people. I knew he was the person for the Elder Deacon's office. Also, he was frustrated by the tendency of people and pastors in District getherings to argue against him. I know he was a person who thinks he is right all the time, and he argues to the end. He told me he had enough of pastors' resistance, and it seemed best for him to go elsewhere where he would feel spiritually free from pastors...So he left and began the Samoan Methodist Church in Manukau... Chief Tofilau Tevaga: 'Personal Story...'

[1162] Hine: 'Personal Story...'
This 'belief and weapon' by Samoan chiefs and lay leaders is 'only' wielded in occasions of extreme controversies within the pastoral ministry of the Samoan Church, and only in village or local contexts. It rarely occurs at the national level mainly because of the deepest historical root of the role of the Church and Bible in the historical evolution of Modern Samoa [See Chapter I on 'Roots in Samoa']. Interestingly, it echoes one of the perennial tensions between the Church and State, and Gospel and Culture in the history of the Christian Church throughout the world since Biblical times. At most times, it involves the question of 'Legitimate Authority' and its true source (mostly spiritual) as applied to various aspects of church involvement in society in general. In the Samoan Church, it clearly shows the strong presupposition of the overall understanding of Modern Samoa about Samoa as **The Biblical Culture and a Christian Society**, as mentioned in Chapter I. It specifically means that the Church has its abiding sacred role, and the Samoan culture has its secular role in the overall sacred framework of Samoan society.

for the growth of C.C.C.S. parishes later. At the same time it was the first glimpse of the nature of the complex religious politics of the C.C.C.S. Church leadership which included pastors and lay leaders who were mostly Samoan chiefs.

SUMMARY OF ORIGINS AND BEGINNINGS OF PARISHES OF THE 1960S.

The ten parishes established in the 1960's - that is between 1964 and 1969, resulted from the outgrowth of the founding spirit of the ultimate beginning of the C.C.C.S. in its founding parish, Aukilani [or Greylynn], in Auckland. In this period, the **pioneer spirit** of the founders of the C.C.C.S., a fusion of religious resolve and cultural enthusiasm, was more determined to found new parishes wherever there were concentrations of Samoans in New Zealand. The Samoan Christian culture, the Fa'asamoa, was awoken and alive to its spiritual calling and responsibility as would be done in the development of village Churches in Samoa. This was shown in the leading influence of the **pastor-chief partnership** in creating parishes and the originating role of the basic cultural unit of Samoan communal life, the extended family, and its cultural leader, the chief, to provide the parish foundation. In other words, a clear pattern in the origins and beginnings of parishes and also in their multiplication was in operation. It may be called, **'an extended family growth strategy'**. For example, members of the Fuimaono family who figured prominently in the ultimate beginning of the C.C.C.S. in the Aukilani Parish became founders of the Parishes of Otara and Blockhouse Bay, and in cooperation with others in the beginnings of the Parishes of Otahuhu, Christchurch, and Onehunga. This 'pattern' may also explain the central roles of founding parishes in the main cities of New Zealand for the growth of other parishes as illustrated in Figure 3.

Another important feature was the relationship between the C.C.C.S. and the P.I.C.C. There was determined opposition by the P.I.C.C. because the P.I.C.C. Churches were well established in areas where the C.C.C.S. had its strong beginnings, mainly in the main cities and areas like Otara, Mangere, and Porirua. They were mostly led by leading Samoan pastors and most of the Samoan membership, and the main objective was to

contain and frustrate the beginning and growth of C.C.C.S. parishes. Also, most of the prominent founders and early supporters of the C.C.C.S. were previous members of P.I.C.C. Churches. So where the beginnings and growth of C.C.C.S. parishes were by Samoans who left the P.I.C.C. Churches, relationships between Samoans in both these Churches were on most occasions a **sad tale** of hate and antagonism. There was an intense struggle for the **souls** of the Samoans, on the one side the C.C.C.S., and on the other, the Samoan leading ministers in the P.I.C.C. with their Palagi counterpart, their willing accomplice. The support by other Christian Churches in the efforts by the P.I.C.C. was motivated by the shared abhorrence of the divisive and separatist nature of a **'breakaway spirit'**, which was generally perceived to be contrary to the Christian vision for church unity and cooperation. Evidently, the C.C.C.S. parishes grew at the expense of P.I.C.C. Churches with respect to Samoan membership; but such growth was welcomed by many Samoans who were not attending any church since migrating to New Zealand, because of several constraints of the **strange new world** of New Zealand society like distance, transport, and mainly the language problem.

The role of Elder Pastor Ieriko was significant. All his foes and friends in the P.I.C.C. and the C.C.C.S. agree that he made it his **'mission priority'** and **'pastoral commitment'** to extend, to accelerate, and to consolidate the growth and influence of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand particularly among the Samoans. This explains one of Elder Pastor Ieriko's main aim throughout the whole period covered in the Thesis. But it is also clear that in the 1960's, he was also beginning to control the founding initiative of lay leaders under his leadership as pastor.

Another significant feature was the role of women in various capacities as wife of pastor, deaconness, or as lay Christians, who were leading founders of parishes as in the Parishes of Otara, Onehunga, and Palmerston North.

Equally significant was the cooperation by Samoans of other denominations as supporters in the founding visions of parishes as in the Parishes of Wellington, Christchurch, and Onehunga, and also as founding members as in the Parishes of Otara,

Palmerston North and Kingsland. This shows the mutual alliance of the aspects of ethnic and cultural identity and religious affiliation in the mentality of Samoan migrants. The role of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa was to provide pastors and to encourage the growth of the C.C.C.S. by prayers and by constant visitations mainly by Elder Pastors.

(11) THE INVERCARGILL PARISH. MARCH 29,1970.

The founding vision for the Invercargill Parish come from the initiative of three families[1163] who met on February 8, 1970 and decided to begin their Samoan Church on March 29, 1970. Among the three families was one of the leading founders of the Christchurch Parish, Chief Tafaoimalo Simanu, and his family who left Christchurch for Invercargill for better paid employment in the Post Office service where he was working. The Parish Book records the founding of the parish as the actualisation of 'The hope by Samoans ever since they settled in Invercargill to think of a way to start their Samoan Church.'[1164] The testimony by the founding families in the founding service shows the widespread support by Samoans around New Zealand of the various concerns that had sparked the founding vision of the C.C.C.S. in the Aukilani Parish in Auckland. [1165]

> (1) We want to live in Truth, and in a religious atmosphere of pure things that are honestly explained and clearly understood.[1166] (2) We want to worship with joyful hearts in the language God has purposefully given to us, Samoans, to worship Him. (3) We want to worship God through the E.F.K.S. from which we were born[1167], and

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[1163] The three families met at a very small cottage, numbered 9, at Avarua Radio Station, and situated 7 miles from Invercargill City Centre. According to Chief Tafaoimalo Simanu, it was the cottage they dwelled in while looking for a proper place to stay.
The first part is recorded in the Parish Book of the Invercargill Parish. The second in the Personal Story by Chief Tafaoimalo Simanu.

[1164] Invercargill Parish Book.

[1165] 'O le Sulu Samoa', May, 1970.

[1166] This concern clearly shows Chief Tafaoimalo's influence because this was one of his main dissatisfactions within the P.I.C.C. Church at large and also in its Christchurch branch.

[1167] Samoans usually refer to their Church denominations in this way, 'the Church from which we were born'. It basically relates the idea of personal religious identity because of family association. At other times it relates to the aspect of cultural loyalty. To refer, 'to the Church from which I was born', is to

> the Church of our parents.(4) We wish to help our Samoan Church [E.F.K.S.] in whatever way we can, which is also the proper end to channel our 'Malosi' [literally meaning strength, but it refers to all the fruits and achievements of their life endeavour].

The leading influence of Chief Tafaoimalo Simanu is undoubted. He had planned with one of the four leading founders of the Christchurch Parish, Chief Tonumailau Samuelu, who later became the leading founder of the C.C.C.S. Parish in Napier to begin the Samoan Church at every part of New Zealand where they were likely to find work, or to stay, or even to find Samoan settlers.[1168] An interesting aspect of this plan was the conscious application of a Samoan communal saying whose intent would mean that the spread of the Samoan Church [C.C.C.S.] must cover the whole of New Zealand.[1169] Two more families joined on the day of the founding service which was held at the Central Baptist Church. Another two, one of them had just moved from Wellington to settle in

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emphasise 'the Church' as the 'face of the society' one was born into, especially at the village level. It reflects the church dominated society of modern Samoa.

[1168] Both Chief Tafaoimalo Simanu and Chief Tonumailau Samuelu refer to this plan in their personal stories of the Origin and Beginning of the C.C.C.S., of the Christchurch Parish, and other C.C.C.S. Parishes. According to Soisoi's Personal Story - 'We had a conversation with my brother-colleague, Tafaoimalo Simanu, when he was ready to shift to Invercargill with the intention to begin another C.C.C.S. Church there. I told him it was a good intention because. [O le siui lena o Niu Sila, O Saua i Falealupo. Ae fa'apefea le Vaifagaloa...Ona 'ou asa mai lea o le vaofilifili I le Vaifagaloa nei i Hawkes Bay i Napier].
According to Chief Tafaoimalo's Story - '...I was in Christchurch, then I shifted to Invercargill because of my job. Wherever I shifted because of my job I would always try to begin a Samoan Church if there was not one already established. I was forever angry with the 'lie' that no Samoan can lead other Sāmōans, and it was a Palagi that looked after us in New Zealand. If I failed to convince other Samoans to begin a Church, I would start with just my family...'
Chief Tafaoimalo Simanu; 'Written Account and transcribed Personal Story of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S. and various parishes'. Also Chief Tonumailau Samuelu; 'Written Personal Story...'.
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1169] This refers to part of the story by Chief Tonumailau Samuelu Note 1211 above. The relevant part is contextualised to include analogous examples in New Zealand. Full reference is bracketed in Note 1211. Only applicable parts are explained below to illustrate the point :-
'O le siui lena o Niu Sila' means, that is the very end of New Zealand. 'Ae fa'apefea le Vaifagaloa?' means, what about the 'middle and distant' parts of Fagaloa ? The word Vaifagaloa refers to the middle section of the region named Fagaloa in Samoa which is a Bay. In Chief Tonumailau's usage which is also a common usage in Samoa, it designates the middle section of something which is also especially very far with reference to location. Hence the reference to Hawkes Bay and Napier, as not only in midway between Auckland and Invercargill (though it is not exact, geographically), but at the other distant end of New Zealand. The point is simple in reference to the two founders' conversation. One will begin a Samoan Church at Invercargill which is the other end of New Zealand. And the other will begin a Samoan Church in the Hawkes Bay region at the other distant middle part of New Zealand. For the other end, the Auckland region, already had the Samoan Church established.

Invercargill, joined before the end of April which had then given the parish seven families in its foundational period.

Foundational Period :- March 1970 - September 1972.

The isolation of this C.C.C.S. Parish geographically at the southern most region of New Zealand, and in relationship to other C.C.C.S. parishes, the nearest being Christchurch miles away, was not a major disadvantage during its foundational period. Although only two families were added, and permanent membership was thirty two which was equally divided between adults (17) and children (15),[1170] other aspects ensured the steady growth, solidarity and commitment of members. An important factor was the close relationship with the Baptist Church. It is known that the Baptist Church Minister, Rev. R. Browning, had encouraged the beginning of the Invercargill Parish. This was shown by his presence in the founding service where he related the joy of the established friendship between the Baptist Church and the Samoan Church, and also offered their support and willingness to work together. The seal of this close friendship was the arrangement that Rev. R. Browning was to look after 'the general life'[1171] of Samoans, except for the Holy Communion which was left to the C.C.C.S. pastor of the Christchurch Parish. The greatest need of the Invercargill Parish was a Church for worship and a Hall for church related activities. The Baptist Church had secured this until 1974 when Samoan church activities required more space, which they found in the Central Methodist Church.[1172] An equally important aspect was the active enthusiasm of members whose ages ranged between thirty and forty,[1173] and who were greatly

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[1170] Parish Record for the end of 1972 records the uncertain nature of Parish membership growth in the following manner :- 'It is difficult to be certain whether the Parish has been growing numerically because most families were not permanent settlers, some will leave, and others live far away from the Church. Invercargill Parish Book

[1171] As in the Parish Book, the Samoan expression 'O le olaga lautele', refers to anything Samoans might need in relation to their being members of society, hence Invercargill.

[1172] The Parish Book records two reasons for leaving the Central Baptist Church for the Central Methodist Church. Firstly, there was not enough time available for Samoan fellowship on Saturday nights because of many other functions held in the Hall. Secondly, none of the family houses of members could accommodate these Samoan fellowships.

[1173] Parish Book records birth dates of members in this period to range between the early 1930's and early 1940's.

encouraged by the availability of work, which was the major reason for settling in the area. A major relief was found in March 1972 when a newly arrived C.C.C.S. pastor took up the worship responsibilities for the parish from deacons and visiting Samoan pastors. The parish had voted him for their pastor in April and he became the covenanted pastor in September, 1972. In the beginning of 1973, parish membership was thirty six , twenty one were children.[1174]

(12) THE MANUREWA PARISH. APRIL 18, 1970.

The Manurewa Parish originated largely by the initiative of two resident families in Manurewa with great encouragement by a visiting pastor[1175] of the E.F.K.S. from Samoa who was on three months leave and was residing in the area. One of the two families was a large extended family[1176] who were previously in the P.I.C.C., and the other was previously in the Otara Parish. Their stated reasons for the beginning of the Manurewa Parish was purely a return '...to worship and serve God through their Church [E.F.K.S.] they were spiritually nurtured and born from, and from which they got the **milk of the truth** and the **Word of God'**, and also 'the need for a new C.C.C.S Church parish in Manurewa.'[1177] The request by the founding families to begin the Manurewa Parish was granted with jubilation by pastors of the Auckland Sub-District of the C.C.C.S.[1178]

[1174] This information is all recorded in the Invercargill Parish Book.

[1175] Pastor Apisaloma Apisaloma.

[1176] This was the family of Pita Aupa'au. It included three couples, each became a distinct 'matafale' [contributing family or unit] of the Parish. It gave the Parish four founding families.

[1177] Report of the Founding Service of the Parish in the 'O le Sulu Samoa', June, 1970, p.109. The Manurewa Parish Book includes this information about other aspects of the beginning. Founders first met on April 12, 1970 with the hope to begin the E.F.K.S. (C.C.C.S.) in Manurewa. They decided to inform all Samoans in Manurewa for a meeting on April 15, 1970 about their hope. Letters were sent to all families and they also contacted them. Only eight adults were present in the meeting. And they decided to begin the parish the next Saturday, April 18, 1970.

[1178] According to the Manurewa Parish Book, the pastor secretary of the Auckland Sub-District, Pastor Manase, was informed of the decision by the founding group on April 15, 1970. He joined the meeting and gave the official approval on the same night. This may explain the fact that it took only a week to prepare for the founding of the parish.

The founding service was held at the 'Homai Methodist Church' in Manurewa and was led by Elder Pastor Poasa.[1179] The Samoan pastor on leave was appointed to look after the parish during his three months leave in New Zealand.[1180] The good result of this appointment was to add the fifth family to the four founding families of the parish. This was the family of the brother of the wife of the appointed pastor from Samoa. Towards the end of 1970, a pastor graduate, Arielu Tipelu, from the Malua Theological College in the Aukilani (Grey Lynn) Parish was appointed to look after the parish, and he became the covenanted pastor for the parish in 1971.[1181] In terms of membership, the Manurewa Parish had a slow growth. After its first year it had only twenty four members from the same five families.[1182]

(13) THE SANDRINGHAM PARISH 1970.

The Sandringham Parish was founded by seven families following the disruption in the Kingsland Parish at the end of 1970 as referred to above in the beginning of the Kingsland Parish.[1183] Its foundational period covered a period of almost two years from the end of 1970 until the beginning of 1972 when the parish covenanted with its ordained pastor. This manner of the parish origin constitutes a story which may be best related for the way it reflects larger issues in the historical evolution of the C.C.C.S. during this stage of growth and development.

[1179] Elder Pastor Poasa was in New Zealand unofficially in relation to the controversial beginning of the Kingsland Parish, because his son was the pastor of the Kingsland Parish. According to the Manurewa Parish Book, Elder Pastor Poasa's sermon was on I Corinthians 3:10 - 'A ia ta'itasi ma fa'aeteete pe fa'apefea ona atia'e.' [Let each man take care how he builds upon it].

[1180] Even when on three months leave after six years of ministry in a village, Samoan pastors are always inclined to offer their services especially in villages without pastors. This is purely voluntary. Samoan pastors who visit New Zealand or other countries where E.F.K.S. Churches are present tend to take such opportunities as a priviledge. Part of the reason involves a kind of Samoan church piety usually expressed in this way - The bell that signals the end of one job is the call to the start of another job. That is, one actually never rests until death.

[1181] Manurewa Parish Book.

[1182] As shown in the 'Parish Report' for its first anniversary service in April 1971, in the 'O Le Sulu Samoa', June 1971.

[1183] Refer to Section on the Kingsland Parish.

The foundational period was marked by a series of failed attempts to reconcile the two groups. It involved reasons which went far deeper than the immediate causes of disruption in the Kingsland Parish. It involved religious authorities of the C.C.C.S. in its District level [nation-wide][1184] and also its governing authority the E.F.K.S. in Western Samoa. Elder Pastor Ieriko then offered a mediating solution to the separated group - not to begin a new parish but to join his Grey Lynn Parish. This was the continuing application of the hope for eventual reconciliation, for at stake was the true measure of Elder Pastor Ieriko's leadership authority and effectiveness.[1185] There were two inherent difficulties with this solution. The first was the group's true claim that they were the founding members of the Kingsland Parish; and that to rejoin the Grey Lynn Parish from which some of the founding members, especially the leading founder, had left to begin the Kingsland Parish was an absurd proposition.[1186] A related difficulty was that some of the families in the seven separated families were Catholic and Methodist families who were mainly attracted by the leading founder Chief Leleisiuao, who was himself both supporting the Independent Samoan Methodist Church in New Zealand and the C.C.C.S.[1187] The result was Elder Pastor Ieriko's decision to penalise the group by excluding them from all gatherings of the Sub-District starting from the beginning of 1971,[1188] and also stopping pastors and lay preachers from accepting requests from the

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[1184] This relates to the C.C.C.S. as a District [Matagaluega] of the E.F.K.S. which is also the way it is called in New Zealand. At this stage the C.C.C.S. was only one District in both aspects, and it comprised all the C.C.C.S. parishes in New Zealand. See Chapter 7.

[1185] Pastor Ieriko had just been voted Elder Pastor of the Auckland Sub-District and the Komiti Fa'atonu [Directors' Committee] of the whole C.C.C.S. District in 1969. Being the Elder Pastor, Ieriko participated in the most authoritative 'Committee of Elders' of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. Becoming also the Komiti Fa'atonu of the C.C.C.S. District, Pastor Ieriko also participates in the Directors' Committee of the 'Committee of Elders'. So Pastor Ieriko was at the earliest stage of endeavouring to stamp his authority on the C.C.C.S.

[1186] According to Chief Leleisiuao in his, 'Personal Story...' According to Chief Tofilau Tevaga, Elder Pastor Ieriko approached them several times in relation to this solution but they disagreed.

[1187] This was the time of mutual cooperation between the C.C.C.S. and the Independent Samoan Methodist Church as the career of Chief Leleisiuao clearly reflects. This point was highlighted by Chief Leota Tupua, one of the founder leaders of the North Shore Parish of the C.C.C.S. later in 1975.

[1188] See Minutes of the Meeting [Tofiga] of the Auckland Sub-District for January 30, 1971, in the 'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District'.

group to lead their worship.[1189] These decisions were not supported by some pastors who continued to accept requests to lead Sunday services, and also challenged Elder Pastor Ieriko's decisions in gatherings of the Sub-District. More complications were added with the role of main founder of the C.C.C.S., Chief Fuimaono Ta'ala, who was granted the status of the Elder Deacon of the whole C.C.C.S. District in New Zealand in 1969. By the middle of 1971, the separated group was more or less beginning a separate parish with the encouragement by other pastors and the Elder Deacon. For example, they collected the yearly offering [the offering for the Mission] which was rejected by Elder Pastor Ieriko, but accepted by Chief Fuimaono Ta'ala who sent it straight to the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. In many respects, this reflected the continuing 'authority clash' between these two leaders not only in relation to the internal affairs of the Grey Lynn Parish itself,[1190] but in the public life and growth of the C.C.C.S. as was shown in the controversial beginning of the Otahuhu Parish. Elder Pastor Ieriko was determined to control the growth of the C.C.C.S. solely through its legitimate channels which primarily meant the leadership of the Elder Pastor who was also the Executive Director.[1191] But Chief Fuimaono Ta'ala was the Elder Deacon who was included in the 'Committee of Elders', and had encouraged the separated group out of his main concern for their revealed loyalty to the E.F.K.S. and also as a way to keep them within the C.C.C.S.[1192] The increasing polarisation in the Auckland Sub-District caused by differences of approaches by its church leadership was made worse by occasional reports of fights between the two

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[1189] This point is not found in the Source in Note 1229 above, but was related by Elder Pastor Arielu. According to Elder Pastor Arielu, he tried to avoid invitations from the 'separated group' only because he did not want to be seen disobeying Elder Pastor Ieriko's resolution. Pastor Secretary of the Sub-District, Manase, continued to support the 'separated group' and tried to find a pastor for them. It reflects part of the disharmonious relationship within the religious authorities of the Sub-District as mentioned in the Text. It may have been the beginning of the 'long feud' between Elder Pastor Ieriko and Elder Pastor Manase which later surfaced in the early 1980's in one of the controversial periods involving the C.C.C.S.'s Pastor leadership.

[1190] Conflicts between Elder Pastor Ieriko and Chief Fuimaono Ta'ala pepper Fuimaono's Diary, and are well-known aspects of the earliest stages of the growth of the Aukilani Parish.

[1191] This point is confirmed by Chief Tofilau Tevaga. He notes that Elder Pastor Ieriko was not against the idea of growth of new parishes, but he was to a certain extent suspicious of their intentions - that is, Chief Tofilau Tevaga and Chief Leleisiuao as leaders of the separated group.

[1192] Faletua Vaipuese. F. Ta`ala; 'Personal, and Fuimaono Family Story...'.

rival groups both having separate worship in Kingsland.[1193] Another attempt for reconciliation was unsuccessful because of two difficulties. The separated group which founded the Sandringham Parish was committed to its claims for either a change of pastor or, if this was not granted, their commitment to begin a new parish. And the governing authority of the Auckland Sub-District, the parish pastors, and the one Elder Deacon of the whole New Zealand District under the leadership of Elder Pastor Ieriko, was divided on the most appropriate resolution. The decision from the E.F.K.S. in Samoa regarding the whole problem supported Elder Pastor Ieriko's handling of the whole situation and therefore consolidated his leadership authority as the Elder Pastor and Executive Director.[1194] But it did not shake the commitment of the separated group to continue separate development. Towards the end of 1971, the majority opinion of the C.C.C.S. supported the separated group. The Elder Pastor Puni Leota of the Wellington Sub-District, resolved the problem in a District meeting of the C.C.C.S. with the decision to recognise two separate parishes each with its own pastor.[1195] This was the general opinion of the majority against Elder Pastor Ieriko and the Directors' Committee of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. The presence of the Chairman and Secretary of the Elders' Committee of the E.F.K.S.[1196] in the consecration of the new Church of the Otara Parish in December 1971 was an advantage to the separated group. Their first hand meeting with the group, and their observation of its promising development and zealous commitment had an impact on the second resolution by the Directors' Committee

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[1193] Pastor Maligi Evile (Present pastor of Kingsland Parish); 'Personal Story of the Origin and Beginning of the C.C.C.S., its other Parishes, and particularly the Kingsland Parish.'
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1194] **The Resolution by the Komiti Fa'atonu [Directors Committee] :-**
' About the Church in Kingsland :- There is to be one Church in Kingsland, the Church under the pastoral ministry of Pastor Talalelei Poasa. No other pastor shall begin another church different from the one now existing before or without the authority and direction from the Elder Pastor.'
'Minutes of the Meeting of the Directors' Committee of the Committee of Elders, 22-23 September, 1971. Found in 'File of Elders Committee's Meeting Resolutions', 1968 - 1974; E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.

[1195] Chief Maka; 'Personal Story of the Origin of the C.C.C.S. and the Parishes of Wellington, Porirua, and Ketesemane'. Chief Maka is currently a member of the Canons Creek Parish.
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1196] They were the same standing office for the Directors' Committee of the E.F.K.S.

concerning the 'Kingsland Problem', on January 28, 1972.[1197] Although Elder Pastor Ieriko's overall leadership is further emphasized, the implication for the recognition of the separate development by the separated group is also explicit.[1198] The formal recognition of the separated group was made in the meeting of the Auckland Sub-District on February 26, 1972, by way of announcing the formal recognition of the beginning of the ministry of the pastor for the new parish.[1199] The last problem to solve was over parish names. Both sides claimed to be called Kingsland Parish. This was resolved by calling the new parish Kingsland 2,[1200] and better still when the Kingsland 2 Parish eventually moved to Sandringham where it secured its first land property for development; it was then called Sandringham Parish.

(14) THE PETONE PARISH. SEPTEMBER 20, 1970.

The Petone Parish was founded by four families comprising eleven adults, on the advice of Elder Pastor Puni Leota, the pastor of the Wellington parish and Elder leader of the

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[1197] According to Chief Tofilau Tevaga, the Chairman and the Secretary of the Elders' Committee were impressed by their commitment, and they were given assurrance of recognition which was shown in the second resolution from the E.F.K.S. Chief Tevaga also refers to the vital role of the pastor of the Otara Parish Ofisa Nu'uali'itia, who invited them to participate in the consecration of the Otara Church, against the standing decision by the Auckland Sub-District, particularly by Elder Pastor Ieriko who was not recognising their group.
Chief Tofilau Tevaga: 'Personal Story...'

[1198] The Resolution by the Komiti Fa'atonu [Directors' Committee] :-
'About the Church in Kingsland :- The Committee has resolved to leave it to Elder Pastor Ieriko to further examine with a view to making amendments concerning the problem in Kingsland. It must be out of his authority and direction that the Church (Parish) by the separated group must be established. All the pastors who had publicly challenged and disagreed with him (Ieriko) must be informed to repent of their disobedience, and to work together with the Elder according to his leadership directions for the success of the Ministry.'
Minutes of the Meeting of the Directors' Committee on January 28, 1972; E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.

[1199] 'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District'. By this time the separated group had already secured their pastor, Seuga Pula, who was a returning missionary of the E.F.K.S. from Papua New Guinea and was undertaking further studies at the Bible School in Henderson.

[1200] In the Sub-District Meeting on February 26, 1972, the covenanted pastor of the separated group informed the Meeting that their parish had not yet decided on a name for the parish. In the Meeting later in June 26, 1972, the separated group was referred to as 'Kingsland 2'.

Wellington Sub-District.[1201] Chief and deacon Vasa Su'a,[1202] the leader of the founding families relates how his meeting with Elder Pastor Leota led to the beginning of the parish :-

> ...According to Elder Pastor Puni Leota, he had long wanted to begin a Samoan Church in Petone, but he did not know anyone who was able and trustworthy to do it...After leaving P.I.C.C....I did not go to church for about ten months. P.I.C.C. Church leaders tried to persuade me to return, but I refused...Then Elder Pastor Leota approached me to help to begin the Samoan Church in Petone, but I told him if he wanted that, then he should do it himself...; And what more, there were deacons of his parish who lived in Petone...I also told him I wanted to rest because I had established enough churches...Elder Pastor Leota approached me again after some months and asked whether I did not feel that I had rested for too long...I eventually agreed after a few more approaches...[1203]

The four founding families left the Petone P.I.C.C. because, like some of the founding families of the Kingsland Parish, they were unwilling to participate in the merger of the P.I.C.C. with the Presbyterian Church. [1204] The major reason was the anticipation of future constraints on their authority and control over their financial contributions and future religious developments which they perceived to be implicated in the merger. The

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[1201] Chief and deacon Vasa Su'a; 'Personal Story of the Beginning of the Parishes of Petone and Wainuiomata Parishes'. Confirmed by written account by Pastor Seu Leleimalemaga of the Wanganui C.C.C.S. Parish.
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1202] Some background information on Chief Vasa Su'a may explain his ability in leading efforts to form church parishes. The P.I.C.C. Church in Porirua was founded by Vasa Su'a's family in 1963, and it began worship services in his family's house. With advice by Rev. Setu Solomona the pastor of the Porirua P.I.C.C., Chief Vasa Su'a became the founding leader of the P.I.C.C. in Petone.

[1203] Chief Vasa Su'a; 'Personal Story...'.

[1204]Some background information about the identities of three of the four families may be important to suggest other possible factors in their decision to leave. The three were from the same village in Samoa [Lefaga]. Two families were related because the husbands were brothers - Vasa Su'a and Fenika Su'a. The wife of Fenika was a daughter of a pastor in Samoa. This is important because in many C.C.C.S. parishes, most of their founders and earliest members were either children of pastors, or those closely related to pastors or pastors' families in Samoa. For example, a brother of Fenika's wife was amongst the founders of the Napier Parish. The influence of these children, or closely related relatives, of pastors in Samoa would explain the group's expectation of financial request from the E.F.K.S. The element of belonging to the same village in Samoa may have been applicable in this case, but it was not a major explanation of the background identities of most founders of C.C.C.S. Parishes.
Vasa Su'a; 'Personal Story...'. Also refer to section and relevant notes on the beginning of the Kingsland Parish in 1969.

group had already experienced a foretaste of this problem in the P.I.C.C. because according to Chief Vasa Su'a, they 'were unhappy about the control and administration of church finance for some time.'[1205] The anxiety over the control of finance was most vital to the group, and other Samoans, in relation to their expectations of future requests from their Church in Samoa [E.F.K.S.] for financial assistance. The Samoans had enquired about this and the answer forecasted a burdensome future for the Samoans in view of fulfilling their two fold religious duties as members of the P.I.C.C., and as religious immigrants with the hope to help their Church back in Samoa. It was partly to avoid this that led to their decision to leave.[1206] According to Chief Vasa Su'a :-

> ...It started from the preparation of the amalgamation between the P.I.C.C./C.U.N.Z. and the Presbyterian Church. The Samoan membership had a meeting and decided against participating in the amalgamation...In the combined meeting of both Churches chaired by the Presbyterian moderator, I raised the question on behalf of the Samoans - "In the eventuality of the amalgamation, and if the Samoan Church in the future requests financial assistance from us, the **born children** of the Samoan Church, what will be the answer by the combined Churches ?" The moderator replied - "If that happens, we, the Samoans, have the freedom to do what we wanted." Then I asked again - "What about the offering we contribute as members of the P.I.C.C. ? or as members of the combined Church ?" The answer was - "We Samoans have no authority over such. The offering collected will be used for development of Churches in New Zealand."...The P.I.C.C. minister, Rev. Evans, agreed to the amalgamation, but we did not share it; we could not do anything because Evans had already accepted the move to amalgamation...We were dissatisfied because we always believed that our ***afu*** [strength], in particular financial contributions, in these New Zealand Churches would be useful also for Samoan Churches in Samoa in the future. But it looked to be the contrary...after such meetings we had... I then resigned, as Treasurer

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[1205] Chief Vasa Su'a; 'Personal Story...'

[1206] Chief Vasa Su'a relates other reasons behind their eventual departure from the P.I.C.C. :- '...Another strong feeling amongst the Samoans related to language. We had our worship in Samoan. But gradually most of the activities in the Church were done in English. Rev. Evans tried his best to preach in Samoan, but Samoans hardly understood him. Part of my duties was to translate Evan's sermons, and other things that needed Samoan translations...Another strong reason for leaving the P.I.C.C. was the desire to worship in our own Church...The P.I.C.C. was the church of Islanders but controlled by Palagi...'
Chief Vasa Su'a; 'Personal Story...'

> and as a member of the P.I.C.C., with my family at the end of 1968...Other Samoans followed...[1207]

The founding service of the Petone Parish was held in the Church of the Salvation Army. Two buses full of members from the Wellington Parish, and one bus full of members from the Porirua Parish participated in the founding service which gave the eleven founding members much encouragement.[1208] Not much is known about the foundational period of the parish which stretched almost more than three years from its beginning in September 1970 to June 1974 when it covenanted with its first ordained pastor. What is evident is the promising progress of the parish in this period because of the personal leadership of a lay preacher who had looked after the parish.[1209] This is shown in the request by the New Zealand District to the E.F.K.S. to ordain him into the full ministry of the ordained pastors in Church parishes.[1210] The request was eventually accepted, but after the parish had covenanted with a different pastor on June 22, 1974.[1211]

(15) THE WAINUIOMATA PARISH 1972.

Nokise attributes the origin of the Wainuiomata Parish to a Samoan Elder who resigned from the Wellington P.I.C.C. because of personal difference with the P.I.C.C. Minister, and therefore started the C.C.C.S. parish at Wainuiomata where he lived.[1212] According to the seven founding families of Wainuiomata Parish, their reasons for starting the parish were - 'That it was too far to travel from Wainuiomata to attend church in

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[1207] Included in 'Other Samoans' were three of the four founding families of the parish.
Chief Vasa Su'a: 'Personal Story...'

[1208] Petone Parish Book.

[1209] Members increased from 40 in 1970, to 113 in 1974. Petone Parish Book.

[1210] The District request was worded as follows :- Matter concerning the Lay Preacher Reupena Leasuasu :- He has looked after Petone Parish for more than two years. His ministry is bearing success and is progressing well in this church parish. Therefore we request your ***Susuga*** the Chairman , the Secretary and the Directors Committee if it may please you to ordain this brother colleague into the status of a full qualified pastor.
Source :- Correspondence from New Zealand District.

[1211] Minutes of the Meeting [Tofiga] of the Wellington Sub-District on December 23, 1974.
Source :- 'Minute Book of the Wellington Sub-District'.

[1212] Nokise: "A History...", pp.241-242.

Wellington, and they decided that they have had enough service for the P.I.C.C. They were now returning to be of some use to the Samoan Church [E.F.K.S.].'[1213] How can these two different attributions for the origin and beginning of the parish be both right ? The answer is straightforward when other evidence is included to provide the larger picture of the story of the origin of the parish. It is well known that Elder Pastor Leota had advised and encouraged Samoans who worshipped in his parish, but lived in Wainuiomata, to start another C.C.C.S. parish in Wainuiomata because of the distance.[1214] It is also known that of the seven founding families of the parish, one was previously attending the C.C.C.S. parish of Wellington. And the others were all in the Wellington P.I.C.C.[1215] Nokise does not mention the others who left with the Samoan Elder who resigned. But only his brother in the P.I.C.C. who failed to join him because of his wife's refusal.[1216] The easiest short-cut solution is to grant that the Elder Nokise refers to was among the seven founding families of the parish. But this necessarily weakens Nokise's claim which unnecessarily emphasises the role of this 'breakaway Elder' for the origin of the Wainuiomata Parish.[1217] Yet Nokise needed to stress this in order to illustrate several unfortunate effects of the existence of the C.C.C.S. for the unity of Samoan families even at the basic level of relationship of couples, and also on the

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[1213] This is the quoted expression of the reasons by Pastor Seu Leleimalefaga of the C.C.C.S. parish of Wanganui.He was a member of the Wainuiomata Parish and his family was among the founding families of the parish. These reasons were confirmed in a personal interview with the present pastor (1993) of the Wainuiomata Parish, Pastor Tasi Matagi.
Pastor Seu Leleimalefaga; 'Written Account of the Beginnings of Petone, Wainuiomata and Wanganui Parishes'. Also, Pastor Tasi Matagi; 'Personal Story of the Beginning of the Wainuiomata Parish'.
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1214] This point was strongly emphasised by Chief and deacon Maka who was a founding member of the Wellington Parish of the C.C.C.S. and later became a founding leader of the Canons Creek Parish.
Chief Maka; 'Personal Story...'. Also emphasised by Pastors Leleimalefaga and Tasi Matagi.
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1215] Pastor Seu Leleimalefaga; 'Written Account of the Beginnings of Petone, Wainuiomata and Wanganui Parishes'.

[1216] Nokise; "A History...", p.242.

[1217] Nokise; "A History...", pp.239-242.

pastoral ministry of the Samoan pastors in the P.I.C.C. , and for the P.I.C.C. in general.[1218]

The whole story of the origin and beginning of the parish includes all the above aspects. The resignation of the 'breakaway Elder' gave the opportunity to the other families who may have already contemplated leaving the Wellington P. I.C.C. 'to be of some use to their Samoan Church [the E.F.K.S.]'. They therefore joined the C.C.C.S. parish of Wellington but were advised by Elder Pastor Leota to begin another C.C.C.S. parish in Wainuiomata where they all lived. This as to avoid the distance of having to travel to Wellington to attend Sunday worship. It is less convincing to attribute the origin of the Wainuiomata Parish solely to the personal difference between the 'breakaway Elder' and the P.I.C.C. pastor. For the former could have easily joined the Petone P.I.C.C. which was next to Wainuiomata. Also, why did he not start another P.I.C.C. parish in Wainuiomata instead of the C.C.C.S. parish ? The whole story affirms the reasons given by the seven founding families which need not exclude the leading initiative by the 'breakaway Elder' referred to by Nokise, or his being a member of the seven founding families of the Wainuiomata Parish.

The parish covenanted with its first pastor, Pouvi Su'a, on December 22, 1973. Once the parish received its pastor, it gradually developed to become one of the most successful C.C.C.S. parishes in terms of membership growth, development in church facilities and financial contribution to the C.C.C.S. at large.

(16) THE PAPAKURA PARISH DECEMBER 10, 1972.

Important aspects in the story of the origin and beginning of the Papakura Parish are aptly captured in the way Chief Tafaoimalo Simanuexpresses its origin - 'It was Pastor Kalati Perese and his family and many others who were not attending any church, when he left the Methodist Church because his family were people of the E.F.K.S.' [1219] The

[1218] Nokise; "A History...", pp.240-243.

[1219] Chief Tafaoimalo Simanu; 'Personal Story, written and transcribed story...'. Chief Tafaoimalo Simanu is a trusted source of various aspects of the history of the C.C.C.S. mainly because of his role in the

leading role of Pastor Perese is important in various ways in particular, the politics of pastor recruits in the C.C.C.S. It shows the initial operation of Elder Pastor Ieriko's individual initiative to provide the growing parishes of the C.C.C.S. with pastors who were not trained at Malua Theological College. The most critical aspect of this part of Elder Pastor Ieriko's leadership direction of the C.C.C.S. is that this was to become one of the major causes of later controversies which had plagued the C.C.C.S. pastoral ministry in the late 1980's and the early 1990's.

The conversion of Pastor Perese from the Samoan Methodist Church to the C.C.C.S. is a continuing illustration of the close connection and alliance between these two Samoan Churches since their beginnings in New Zealand, as was also shown in the religious background of some of the founding families of the parishes of Otara and Kingsland. This connection may have endeared Pastor Perese more to Elder Pastor Ieriko who was himself a strong supporter of the Samoan Methodist Church in New Zealand. In the founding service[1220] of the Papakura Parish on December 10, 1972, Pastor Perese spoke on behalf of the founding members thereby showing his leading role in the beginning of the parish. He was appointed on the day to look after the parish until a properly ordained pastor was found. Elder Pastor Ieriko requested the Elders' Committee of the E.F.K.S. to accept Pastor Perese as an E.F.K.S. ordained pastor because he was a graduate of the Methodist Theological College of Piula in Western Samoa, and had also completed further training at Trinity College in Auckland.[1221] He was accepted by the Elders' Committee in 1973 'to make use of his pastor calling and achievements in our Church',[1222] and possibly for the further fact that his family belonged to the E.F.K.S. in

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beginning of many parishes, his participation in Committees of the C.C.C.S., and also his being a lay preacher, which enabled him to be involved in nearly all important meetings and gatherings of the C.C.C.S.

[1220] To be found in the 'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District'.

[1221] Correspondence from the New Zealand District.

[1222] Minute Book of the Resolutions of the Elders. 1952-1978, p.198. Malua Printing Press, Tamaligi, 1979. The usual E.F.K.S. Church policy in terms of pastoral recruits was that any Samoan who completes a theological and pastoral training from a theological college that was equal or more advanced than Malua Theological College may be accepted in the E.F.K.S.'s pastoral ministry. This was changed in 1989 to include only theological graduates who receive theological and

Samoa. The acceptance by the E.F.K.S. of Elder Pastor Ieriko's request nevertheless reflected how the E.F.K.S. was always flexible in its decisions regarding its overseas branches. with the customary inclination to accommodate the pragmatic needs and changes appropriate to their outside developments.

The Papakura Parish was slow in attracting membership. Its earliest members were mostly Samoan migrant workers brought to New Zealand under the Government subsidised immigration scheme because of the labour shortages in the manufacturing industries in the early 1970's. They were household members of Pastor Perese. A controversy involving a Samoan pastor from Samoa at the end of the 1970's, after the death of Pastor Perese. was to result in splits and divisions which accounted for the origin of another C.C.C.S. parish in Weymouth.

(17) THE DUNEDIN PARISH MARCH 4, 1973.

The Dunedin Parish took twelve years (from 1961 to 1973) in its struggle to birth. Within these years the major obstacle was the seemingly endless disagreements among the Samoans which in the initial stage was partly caused by Palagis' involvement. But for most of the period the 'Samoan problem' generally involved various efforts to recontextualise their cultural and religious lives as new migrant settlers in the Dunedin region. which was already peppered with Christian churches.

Samoans in Dunedin were nearly to become the founders of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand in 1961 according to Chief Fuimaono Ta'ala :-

> ....A Samoan Church was started in Dunedin two years ago, out of the same need as we now have. But there was disagreement between the Samoans because of the involvement of the Papalagis who foresaw a great part of the offering (that would be gone if the Samoans were to have their own Church). It was this which interfered and nullified the endeavour of such Samoans with hearts for their country and their

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pastoral training from Malua Theological College because of pressure from the New Zealand Districts of the E.F.K.S.

> Church. These Samoans are now refusing and rejecting Challis' Church..[1223]

These Samoans firstly had their worship in the Methodist Church, and comprised a few permanent settlers and government sponsored scholarship students. Among the former was Samitioata Lemalu who later became the first pastor of the Dunedin Parish. There were occasional divisions between this early group of Samoans. But according to one of these earliest members :-

> In those days, we worshipped joyfully with Papalagi because there were not many Samoans. Also, no Samoan would force another to go to church because life in New Zealand was different; and that most of us were from different denominations in Samoa.[1224]

Nevertheless, occasional differences always resulted in cancelled worship.[1225] Another beginning was made at the end of 1963 but now in the Congregational Church at Moray Place.[1226] In 1967, the sale of the Congregational Church led Samoans, now constituting thirteen families, to worship in the First Church in Moray Place. The shift was not to join the P.I.C.C. in its merger into the Presbyterian Church but simply because of the availability of a church for worship.[1227] It was during their worship in the First Church that Samoans became more conscious of the need to decide with great seriousness the true direction of their religious affiliations and loyalty in the context of their new home in Dunedin. At first, all members were generally satisfied that they could worship freely and in the ways they were used to in Samoa. Then gradually, some became convinced that there was no need to begin a separate Samoan Church. Others were only content to

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[1223] Letter by Chief Fuimaono Ta'ala to the E.F.K.S. in 1963, as in Appendix V.

[1224] Chief Iputau Pega and wife Irasa; 'Family Story of the Origin and Beginning of the Dunedin Parish'. Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1225] Chief Iputau Pega and wife Irasa; 'Family Story...'

[1226] According to Chief Iputau Pega, this was the fellowship of the Samoans which may be rightly called the first beginning of the worshipping community of the Samoans in a formal sense.

[1227] According to Chief Iputau Pega, the Palagi pastor clearly explained to them everything connected with this shift. The Palagi pastor of the Congregational Church was to join the First Church and the Samoans were asked if they wanted to join. They agreed to join out of respect and after being clearly explained that it was not an assimilation into the First Church, but simply because of the opportunity to use the church for their worship.

remain in the Samoan fellowship because of the sense and security of group consciousness and racial identification. There were deeper causes of personal dissatisfaction and grievances associated with cultural but mostly religious concerns which eventually led to the 'trickling exodus' away from the First Church, but not necessarily to begin a separate Samoan Church. The experience of some who left and later became earliest members of the Dunedin Parish of the C.C.C.S. between 1970 and 1978 may illustrate the variegated nature of these cultural and religious concerns.[1228]

> ...When deacons preached there was no holiness and awe, except when proper pastors and Knox students preached. It was like we were on a picnic journey in the First Church. They got drunk and came and led our worship. People really played games (ta'alo) with the Bible...[1229]

> ...I remember one bad incident in the First Church. One Sunday we all had to wait for our preacher because he was playing League. Then he turned up with an injured mouth and conducted our worship with all the 'uncaring abuse and untruthfulness' (fai pepelo) in thirty minutes ! Samoans usually engaged in verbal fights mainly after worship and over cups of tea. Sometimes we would be chased away by Palagis because of our long meetings....[1230]

> ...In those times, Samoans were really bad...They hardly attended church for the right reasons. Women would come and knit in cars to wait for the time of meetings after worship...where there would be fights and disagreements...[1231]

[1228] This time period includes all of the families who left the First Church and either became founding families of the Dunedin Parish or joined later.

[1229] Chief Malae Tusani and wife Asa; 'Family Story of the Origin and Beginning of the Dunedin Parish'. This is according to Asa Tusani.
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1230] Chief Malae and Asa Tusani; 'Family Story...'.This is particularly by Chief Tusani.

[1231] Samata. U. Nafatali; 'Personal Story of the Origin and Beginning of the Dunedin Parish'.
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

Samoan families who became founding families of the Dunedin Parish left the First Church in 1971. The first family[1232] left because they found the financial burden unbearable, especially the $100 bill Samoans had to pay for the use of the church, and also payments to repair church property damaged by Samoan children's misbehaviour. The second was Pastor Samitioata Lemalu's family. Their reason for leaving is referred to in some detail because it is associated with the major incident which directly caused the disruption in the Samoan fellowship in the First Church.[1233] The third family[1234] left

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[1232] This was Chief Togia's family. According to Chief Togia, his family left before Pastor Samitioata. About the beginning of the Dunedin Parish, Pastor Samitioata approached him after his 'negotiation' with the elders from the E.F.K.S. in Samoa.
Chief Togia Farani; 'Personal Story of the Origin and Beginning of the Dunedin Parish'.
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1233] **The False Telegram and Pastor Samitioata's Collar.**
It is generally known (a) that Pastor Lemalu left the First Church because of a verbal argument over a cup of tea after a worship fellowship in 1972. This specifically relates to a 'false telegram' made by some Samoans which required Pastor Lemalu not to use his 'collar' because he was not a proper pastor. This was purely intended to be humorous. But it was the latest incident of the continual caricature by Samoans of Pastor Lemalu's pastor status. Some genuinely believed he was not a proper pastor because he was not trained in Malua Theological College in Samoa.(b) Some were simply jealous and would not recognise his pastoral qualifications. (c) Others were purely in the habit of 'having him on'.(d) While some lay leaders of worship 'played games' with the Bible, others 'made fun' of church pastors. Pastor Lemalu (e) was a licensed, ordained pastor of the Presbyterian Church in First Church in 1971. He had also received theological training in Trinity College in Auckland. He was influential in convincing the First Church that there should be a Samoan pastor for Samoans. (f) Ironically, Samoans voted for Tepa Faletoese who was a Malua graduate instead of Pastor Lemalu. This may have been another reason associated with his leaving the First Church. (g) But it was the heated verbal arguments associated with the false telegram and Pastor Lemalu's collar that finally led his family to leave the First Church. This incident is also memorable to the Samoans because of Pastor Lemalu's reply to the constant caricature of his collar - 'Tu'u pea le kola a le vale' (h) [Just leave the fool's collar]. For the Samoans who chose to remain in the First Church and later joined Saint Stephens' Church, Pastor Lemalu did not think highly of their piety and character - 'The problem with these people was that they preferred to worship with Papalagi's, but they hardly helped and even disobeyed Palagis decisions and instructions. They are dishonest with the envelope offering. These Samoans just do not want the hard work of self-sacrifice necessary in church development.'(i)
(a) This is a well known story to all earliest members of the Dunedin Parish, and others who chose to remain in the First Church, and later joined the St Stevens' Church.
(b) According to Chief Iputau Pega; 'Family Story...'
(c) According to Chief Malae and Asa Tusani; 'Family Story...'
(d) According to Vaitosina Lelaulusa; 'Personal Story...'
(e) All this biographical information of Pastor Lemalu is found in the 'Dunedin Parish Book'.
(f) In relation to this, Pastor Lemalu related that the Palagi Pastor that was closely associated with the Samoans tended to 'look down on them', and tended to believe that Samoans knew close to nothing of Christianity. He also tended not to let Samoans talk. So he advised him that he needed a Samoan translator because Samoans knew most of what he thought they did not know, but it was the problem with the English language that they could not speak out. The result was the decision to vote for a Samoan pastor.
(g) Samata. U. Nafatali attributes this for the reason Pastor Lemalu left the First Church. And in this sense, she understands the beginning of the Dunedin Parish as a 'shameful beginning'.
Samata. U: Nafatali; 'Personal Story...'.
(h) According to Vaitosina Lelaulusa; 'Personal Story...'.

because they had had enough of Samoans' 'divisive fellowship', and in support of Pastor Lemalu. None of these three families left with any intention of beginning the Samoan Church. So Nokise's suggestion to explain the origin of the Dunedin Parish as the result of differences between the Samoans[1235] is only partially relevant in so far as it was the expressed opinions of the three families mentioned above, that it was not against the Palagis that they left but because of differences among Samoans. But Pastor Lemalu is emphatic that the beginning of the C.C.C.S. Parish in Dunedin was the initiative of visiting Elder Pastors from Samoa, but not by Samoans in Dunedin. According to Pastor Lemalu :-

> 'It was not by the thoughts or initiatives of Samoans in Dunedin. It was the initiative of three Samoan Elders who were also the Office holders of the Elders' Committee of the E.F.K.S., who came on the visit by the Christian Endeavour of the E.F.K.S. in December, 1972. They emphasised the need for a Samoan Church in Dunedin so that Samoans could worship in their own language and in ways they were used to. It will be the only way they could directly relate to their church in Samoa.'[1236]

Pastor Lemalu also relates how this initiative by Samoan Elders had given the C.C.C.S. parish in Christchurch and its pastor a leading role in the beginning of the Dunedin Parish. The plan was made in Christchurch with Pastor Sekone Ioane of the Christchurch Parish. The 'Elders' negotiated with Pastor Lemalu over the telephone. But he was reluctant because of the difficulties he explained to them. The Elders were insistent but Pastor Lemalu could only promise that perhaps it would be possible some day in the future. In February 1973, Pastor Ioane fulfilled the plan by coming to Dunedin and arranging for the beginning of the Dunedin Parish. Three families were found willing

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(i) Pastor Lemalu; 'Personal Story...'.

[1234] This was Vaitosina Lelaulusa's family. According to Vaitosina, when Pastor Lemalu left the First Church, she left also to 'nofonofo' (have a rest from worship).
Vaitosina Lelaulusa; 'Personal Story of the Origin and Beginning of the Dunedin Parish'.
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1235] Nokise; "A History..."; p.240.

[1236] Pastor Samitioata Lemalu. Present Pastor of Avondame Parish; 'Personal Story of the Beginning of the Dunedin and Avondale Parishes'.
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

during Pastor Ioane's preparatory mission, and the founding service for the Dunedin Parish was decided to be held on March 4, 1973.[1237]

The founding service was held in the Anglican Church of Saint Matthew in Stafford Street whose Minister, Wallace Marriot, 'was most kind and helpful in everything we needed.'[1238] The hymns for the founding service were sung by the Church choir of the Christchurch Parish, and Pastor Lemalu was appointed to look after the parish. After four months, in August 1973, Pastor Lemalu became the covenanted pastor of the Dunedin Parish against the wishes of some of his family relatives, the same ones who were also against the beginning of the C.C.C.S. in Dunedin.[1239] Together with the fact that the origin of the Dunedin Parish was directly due to the initiative of Elder Pastors from the E.F.K.S. in Samoa, and the reasons stated as mentioned above, the declarations of the reasons for the beginning of the parish by its founding members clearly show how the nascent beginning of the Dunedin Parish was rooted in its earliest manifestation referred to by Chief Fuimaono Ta'ala above. According to the Parish Book:-

> ...it was their loyalty to the Church they were born from, and in whom they knew the sovereign God of the Heavens and the Earth...Our real belief and hope in beginning this parish...it is not for us, nor for anyone in particular, but a Church for all Samoans who may come to settle in Dunedin in the future...[1240]

Other vital considerations related by the founding family of Chief Togia are the freedom for worship and cultural activities related to space, and the freer climate related to the

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[1237] Pastor Lemalu: 'Personal Story...'.

[1238] 'Dunedin Parish Book'.

[1239] According to Vaitosina, family relatives and other Samoans from the same village of Pastor Lemalu in Samoa were against Pastor Lemalu becoming the pastor of the Dunedin Parish. There were family reasons involved. But a major reason was their claim that he was a Presbyterian pastor, not of the E.F.K.S. For those who supported Pastor Lemalu, one of their main reasons was that he was the only one with a proper house which was helpful in the beginning of the parish. Vaitosina was fully supportive of the Dunedin Parish for it was the chance to teach her children in the proper Fa'asamoa and the Christian upbringing involved.
Vaitosina Lelaulusa: 'Personal Story...'

[1240] 'Dunedin Parish Book'.

abundance of time.[1241] The Dunedin Parish faced a difficult beginning. The pastor worked full time in the first three years to provide for his family. Sunday worship was cancelled a number of times because none of the four founding families turned up. By 1978, there were eleven families in the parish which included some of the families related to Pastor Lemalu as mentioned above. A new problem resulted which is one of the usual 'dangers' and 'weaknesses' in some of the parish ministries of the C.C.C.S. This is the predominance of families related to the pastor and his wife in the pastoral ministry, which, at times, is beyond the control of the pastor, and at other times consciously encouraged by the pastor himself. In the Dunedin Parish in its beginning, the problem involved mismanagement of parish finance by one of the families related to pastor Lemalu. The failure by Pastor Lemalu to make this 'related family' accountable led some founding families to leave the parish, and others to stay away from the Church for a considerable period of time. This has been one of the recurrent problems in the Dunedin Parish in its development even up to the 1990's. But despite such difficulties, the Dunedin Parish had shown by the end of the 1970's that it was capable of great progress and development.[1242]

(18) THE PAPATOETOE PARISH SEPTEMBER 22, 1973.

Eight families founded the Papatoetoe Parish. 'Some were registered matafales (or families) of the Otara Parish who left out of dissatisfaction with the parish vote which led to the change of the parish pastor; some were residents of Papatoetoe who previously attended the Otara Parish but were not registered families; and others had never joined any church since migrating to New Zealand.'[1243] The origin and beginning of the

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[1241] Chief Togia Farani; 'Personal Story...'

[1242] For example, in 1979 in January, the parish had bought the Church of the Gospel Church in King Edwards Street for $34,000. In August, the church was completely renovated with $11,000 and was consecrated for worship. Only eleven families with a few 'singles' (unmarried persons) were involved. Their fundraising to fund the $11,000 for renovation gives a good example of their dedication in the beginning. Even families were allocated to contribute $500 each; unmarried persons to contribute $250. They collected $8,420 because some contributions exceeded the allotted amount. Most of the avenues for fundraising in the beginning were from member families of the parish.
'Dunedin Parish Book' and in the 'Brief History of the Parish' for its Church Dedication in 1991.

[1243] According to Faletua Litia Nu'uali'itia in her Personal Story about the Origin and Beginning of their ministries in the Otara and Papatoetoe Parishes.

Papatoetoe Parish was therefore associated with politics of the Otara Parish. And it directly involved Pastor Ofisa Nu'uali'itia who was defeated in the parish vote against resumption of a second term, and some families who, according to Faletua Litia Nu'uali'itia, '...had left the Otara Parish because they rejected the parish decision to hold the vote to decide the parish pastor when some families of the parish were not present. And they started the Papatoetoe Parish...'[1244] A brief review of the relevant aspects of the Otara Parish politics is necessary. Pastor Nu'uali'itia and wife Litia was the first pastor of the Otara Parish from 1965 to 1973. After their first term of consolidated growth and development,[1245] they had a three months' 'malologa' (leave) in June 1973, according to church policy.[1246] During this interim period, a Samoan pastor from Samoa who was attending the Mangere P.I.P.C. and at times worshipping in the Otara Parish was appointed to look after the Otara Parish. The appointment was made by Elder Pastor Ieriko on the advice of Pastor Nu'uali'itia. And the advice was based on a show of pastoral respect for this pastor's frequent attendance of Sunday worship in the Otara Parish, together with consideration of 'cultural respect' for the fact that this Samoan pastor belonged to the same village as Faletua Litia, in Samoa.[1247] It turned out that the Samoan pastor, Aneterea Polataivao, used the opportunity to 'fa'aleaga' (speak ill of and arousing negative feelings) Pastor Nu'uali'itia and Litia before parish members according to Faletua Litia's suspicion.[1248] The Otara Parish was clearly faulted to hold its vote without some families, as mentioned above. But the popularity of Pastor Polataivao

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Faletua Litia Nu'uali'itia; 'Personal Story...'

[1244] Faletua Litia Nu'uali'itia; 'Personal Story...'

[1245] Refer to Section on the Otara Parish above.

[1246] According to church policy, a parish pastor has full time ministry in a parish for six years after which he has three months rest (or malologa). During this time a lay preacher in the parish may look after the parish. If there is none, the Elder Pastor of the Sub-District will appoint either a pastor who may be available within the Sub-District or a lay preacher also within the Sub-District. Usually, the parish pastor prior to his fa'amalologa' (or rest) would recommend to the Elder Pastor his choice for a lay preacher or an ordained pastor, as in the case with the Otara Parish related in the Text. Refer to Note for a further aspect related to this, in particular the potential danger in the role of the lay preacher during this period.

[1247] Faletua Litia Nu'uali'itia; ' Personal Story...'

[1248] Faletua Litia Nu'uali'itia; 'Personal Story...'

cannot be doubted as shown in the minutes concerning this parish vote in the parish meeting on August 5, 1973.[1249] About the consideration by the parish whether the pastor is to be recalled or not, the Parish Book records :-

> The meeting had a thorough and lengthy consideration of the matter because the two sides were equally forceful, convincing and strong in their testimonies. The matter was therefore put to the vote, and it was decided that the pastor will not be recalled. It meant the covenant between the parish and Pastor Nu'uali'itia and Litia would need to be ended...[1250]

The 'dissatisfied families' from Otara invited Pastor Nu'uali'itia to be their pastor even before the formal ceremony to end the covenant between the Otara Parish and Pastor Nu'uali'itia and Litia in August, 1973. Pastor Nu'uali'itia was reluctant mostly out of disbelief about his defeat in the Otara Parish.[1251] When the founding families approached Elder Pastor Ieriko about their request, he refused and appointed a returning Samoan Missionary, Kaio Afoa, to look after the new parish with the view to eventually become the parish pastor. Elder Pastor Ieriko's reasoning was that Pastor Nu'uali'itia could not be a pastor of the Papatoetoe Parish because this area, Papatoetoe, was next to Otara, and he feared further divisions in the Otara Parish because of the proximity of these two areas.[1252] The parish vote rejected Elder Pastor Ieriko's appointment in favour of Pastor Nu'uali'itia. The founding service was held in the Presbyterian Church on September 22, 1973, and the Presbyterian Minister who was present in the founding service offered the new parish the use of his Church until they could find a proper place to hold their worship.[1253] Experience in their first ministry at the Otara Parish gave Pastor Nu'uali'itia and Litia a clear vision of where to begin their new ministry. They decided to secure a house for the pastor's family which was quickly achieved. And from this new beginning,

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[1249] 'Otara Parish Book', p.30.

[1250] 'Otara Parish Book', p.30.

[1251] Faletua Litia Nu'uali'itia; ' Personal Story...'

[1252] Faletua Litia Nu'uali'itia; 'Personal Story...'

[1253] Report of the Founding Service is found in the 'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District'.

the Papatoetoe Parish gradually developed to become one of the strongest C.C.C.S. parishes in terms of membership and developments.

(19) THE HENDERSON PARISH MARCH 2, 1974.

The Henderson Parish originated out of the concern to cater for a growing community of Samoan families in the area, some of whom had to travel more than twenty miles to worship in the Aukilani Parish in Grey Lynn.[1254] The leading initiative is generally attributed to Chief Leleisiuao who was a leading founder of the Kingsland and Sandringham Parishes.[1255] Also prominent was the cooperation of one founding member of the Aukilani Parish [lay preacher, Timai Uele] who was tired of hearing Chief Fuimaono Ta'ala's constant challenge to them 'to go and begin their own parishes, during occasional controversies in the Aukilani Parish.[1256] Eighteen members of five families and including children met to decide the day of the founding service which was held on March 2, 1974.[1257] On its founding day two families were added,[1258] and a 'founding fund'[1259] of $1056 was collected amongst the participants in the founding

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[1254] This is the consensus opinion of three of the main founders of the Parish - Chief Leleisiuao, Lay preacher Timai Uele, and Lealali Leilua. It is also confirmed by the parish's first pastor, Pastor Fa'amalua Peteru.
Pastor Fa'amalua Peteru; 'Personal Story of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S. and the Henderson Parish'. Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1255] Chief Leleisiuao stressed his leading role, and is confirmed in personal stories of many informants for this work. For example by Chief Lealali Leilua of the Henderson Parish, Deaconness Hine of the Kingsland Parish, Chief Leota Tupua of North Shore Parish, etc. Personal Stories of these informants are already mentioned above in relation to the various parishes they were associated with.

[1256] According to Lay preacher Timai Uele, one of the usual remarks by Chief Fuimaono Ta'ala in cases of controversies is to challenge them to leave the Aukilani Parish and to begin new parishes as he did for the C.C.C.S. in the Aukilani Parish. The remark was a test for courage and proof of proper achievement and discipleship set by a Samoan chief to lay leader like deacons and lay preachers, instead of talking too much and stirring problems in a parish.
Lay Preacher Timai Uele; 'Personal Story...'.

[1257] Henderson Parish Book. And also Pastor Peteru; 'Personal Story...'.

[1258] According to Report of the Founding Service of the parish included in the 'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District'.

[1259] The 'founding fund' is the 'Tupe Fa'avae' which is the free offerings or gifts collected during the founding service or on the day of covenant making between the pastor and the parish. It is purely voluntary. Most often, the contributors are the pastors participating, or the families of the pastor and his wife, or visitors and friends who attended these two occasions.

service for the development of the parish. Two aspects are important about the nature of the parish's internal developments in its beginning - the choice of the parish pastor, and the controversy over fundraising activities. The former in particular had a wider significance in relation to Elder Pastor Ieriko's 'Elderly Leadership' of the C.C.C.S. For it became a crucial element in the controversial politics of the C.C.C.S. in the early 1990's. The significance at this stage relates to the parish's first pastor, Fa'amalua Peteru, who, like the first pastor of the Papakura Parish mentioned above,[1260] was the second non-Malua trained pastor to serve in the C.C.C.S. parish ministry mainly because of Elder Pastor Ieriko's direction of leadership. Pastor Fa'amalua Peteru completed his theological training in the New Zealand Bible College in Henderson in 1973, and his qualification was acknowledged and accepted by the Elders' Committee of the E.F.K.S. in 1974.[1261] In this respect Elder Pastor Ieriko was following conventional channels as far as the E.F.K.S. was concerned. Indeed Elder Pastor Ieriko started to send Samoan students (of which Pastor Peteru was the first one) to be trained in Theological Colleges in New Zealand after formal negotiation between the Elders' Committee of the E.F.K.S. and the authorities of the New Zealand Bible College in 1970.[1262] The problem only surfaced later when some C.C.C.S. Elder Pastors challenged the quality of theological training at such New Zealand theological schools, in particular the New Zealand Bible College and St John College.[1263] For these Elder Pastors, Elder Pastor Ieriko had skilfully

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[1260] Refer to Section on the Papakura Parish.

[1261] Book of Resolutions by the Elders, 1952-1978, p.211. Printed by the Malua Printing Press for the E.F.K.S.,1979.

[1262] Correspondence between the New Zealand Bible College and the E.F.K.S's Elders' Committee is found in the Correspondence from the New Zealand District 1968 - 1985.: E.F.K.S. Achive, Apia, Western Samoa. Nothing came out of these correspondence. So Elder Pastor Ieriko was more or less free to do what he wanted in this aspect.

[1263] A glimpse of this thinking in the E.F.K.S. was related to me by pastor and Principal of Malua Theological College, Oka Fauolo in 1994. Accordingly, he refers to Ieriko's following of the proper channels by having the issue related to New Zealand trained pastors for the C.C.C.S. ministry discussed in the Elders' Committee. Some Elders initially accepted Elder Pastor Ieriko's defence of the quality of theological training in the New Zealand Bible College. But pressure from C.C.C.S. Elders, like Elder Pastor Faigame, tended to win majority thinking that New Zealand Bible College was only a Bible School and was inferior to Malua. St John was completely inappropriate because its students were attending part-time, but not full-time boarding students like Malua.

misled the Elders' Committee of the E.F.K.S. about the true academic status and quality of theological training of the above theological colleges. This issue will be dealt with later in some detail in Chapter Seven. Suffice for the moment in relation to the beginning of the Henderson Parish to note that Elder Pastor Ieriko's appointment[1264] of his New Zealand trained pastors for the C.C.C.S. was a potential root of controversies in the C.C.C.S. in the early 1990's, which also involved the E.F.K.S. in Samoa in great depth.

The second important aspect was the controversial issue of legitimate fundraising activities which are theologically acceptable in the Church and for Church development. In 1977 five families left the parish during a Church meeting which brought to a head several differences over this issue.[1265] Leading the separated families were the younger brother, and uncle (Timai Uele) of Pastor Peteru. Several times, they led a group of families in preparing concerts for fundraising in the Church and for the Church, but Pastor Peteru refused them all the time.[1266] Pastor Peteru was adamant against any form of gambling (like Bingo, Raffles, Concerts,) to be done in the Church, and as ways of fundraising for Church development.[1267] He would not compromise his belief in the singularity of free offering. All the time opposing members suggested the need for fundraising concerts for the Church, Pastor Peteru's usual reply was , 'It does not matter if we have our worship under the trees. The main thing is for us to concentrate first on

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Pastor Oka Fauolo; 'Personal Story of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S., and aspects of the History of the E.F.K.S.'
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1264] According to Chief Leleisiuao, he advised Elder Pastor Ieriko to appoint Pastor Peteru to the Henderson Parish. This is possible in the light of oppositions from other pastors and also lay members of the C.C.C.S. who later became the strongest opposition against non-Malua trained pastors for the C.C.C.S. ministry. But it cannot be true that Chief Leleisiuao's advice was prominent in Elder Pastor Ieriko's appointment, because the whole thing began in 1970 when Elder Pastor Ieriko arranged for the training of pastors for the C.C.C.S. in the New Zealand Bible College in Henderson.

[1265] 'Henderson Parish Book'. Also in Personal Story by Pastor Fa'amalua Peteru.

[1266] Pastor Peteru; 'Personal Story...'

[1267] In a personal conversation with Pastor Peteru in 1993, he reaffirmed that he has not changed his stance on the issue. Indeed he attributed the 'exodus' of C.C.C.S. members to the new Churches, in particular the Assembly of God, to the prevalence of gambling activities in the C.C.C.S., especially the game of 'Housie'.

'churching-our-hearts'[1268]][1269] To prove Pastor Peteru wrong, the opposition became conspicuous in giving either one or two dollars for their offerings, while those supporting the pastor or, because of their own free conscience, generally offered about five dollars on average every Sunday.[1270] Three years since the beginning of the parish did not lessen the differences over the issue of fundraising activities. In 1977 in the meeting of the parish mentioned above, the parish made a resolution, after a heated debate, to ban any form of gambling in fundraising activities of the Church until eternity.[1271] Feeling dissatisfied and robbed of their sincere service and belief to build the Church through fundraising such as Bingo, Raffles, and mostly Samoan Concerts, five families left the Church while its meeting was not yet finished.[1272] According to the leading member Lay preacher Timai Uele:-

> I left because I personally felt that my sincere service for God's work was suppressed. There was an unconscious need for freedom for joyful service for God and the Church. There was a family reason connected with my desire for honest service for God. Fa'amalua was my nephew. But we were in constant conflicts; and I was tended to be blamed for being unsupportive while the deacons were supportive of the pastor. I was also thought to be in the opposition and was becoming an obstacle...[1273]

The Henderson Parish, despite initial difficulties, became a classic example of the most successful parishes of the C.C.C.S. in almost every way. Most responsible in this was the ability of Pastor Peteru to build the parish as a true community of Samoan worshippers while accommodating needed changes necessary in the New Zealand way of life and

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[1268] Pastor Peteru's Personal Story includes the Samoan phrase - 'fa'afalesa muamua loto'. In the context of his belief in his story, this expression is meant to suggest that it does not matter if it takes a long time to fundraise for a Church. The English translation in the text is precisely as he intended - that if people's hearts truly become the temple of the Lord, that would be the greatest initiative for people to offer more for building the Church.

[1269] Pastor Peteru; 'Personal Story...'

[1270] 'Henderson Parish Book'. And in Pastor Peteru's 'Personal Story...'

[1271] 'Henderson Parish Book'. Also in Pastor Peteru's 'Personal Story...'

[1272] 'Henderson Parish Book'. And in Pastor Peteru's 'Personal Story...'

[1273] Lay Preacher, Timai Uele; 'Personal Story...'

society. The same approach was applied also to his theological beliefs and pastoral approach and leadership.

(20) THE NORTH SHORE PARISH MAY 31, 1975.

It was Elder Pastor Ieriko's hope to begin a Church in North Shore to avoid the distance some families had to travel to attend worship in the Aukilani Parish in Grey Lynn.[1274] Included in Elder Pastor Ieriko's hope was the intention that in such a beginning, it might attract other Samoans in the area to attend church.[1275] By this time in the historical growth of the C.C.C.S., the concern was equally to encourage growth and to ensure that there was a C.C.C.S. parish in areas where a number of Samoan families were living but had to travel great distances in order to attend Sunday worship. And it was a concern which originated from the broad spectrum of the C.C.C.S. religious community - the leading pastors, leading lay leaders including deacons and lay preachers who were either chiefs or not, and also groups of families requesting beginnings of parishes in areas where they resided. The latest example of the origin of the Henderson Parish illustrated this concern through the instigation of the Chief Leleisiuao. For the North Shore Parish Chief Leleisiuao featured mostly in approaching families in the North Shore area to begin the Church of Elder Pastor Ieriko's hope.[1276] The founding service[1277] of the parish was held on May 31, 1975, and Pastor Sekone Ioane who had left the Christchurch Parish due to sickness was appointed by Elder Pastor Ieriko to look after the North Shore Parish until the parish vote to decide their pastor. Four founding families of the parish voted for Pastor Ioane to be their covenanted pastor, until December, 1976 when Pastor Ioane became the ordained pastor of another parish of the C.C.C.S. in Westmere. The short

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[1274] According to two founding members Chief and Elder Deacon Tonumailau Pouniu, and Chief Leota Tupua.
Source :- In their Personal Stories of the origin and Beginning of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand and the North Shore Parish.
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1275] Chief Leota Tupua; 'Personal Story...'. Also according to Chief Leleisiuao; 'Personal Story...'.

[1276] Chief Leota Tupua; 'Personal Story...'. This was confirmed by Chief Leleisiuao himself who stressed his efforts to gather families to begin the North Shore Parish.

[1277] Report of the founding service is found in the 'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District'.

duration of Pastor Ioane's ministry is part of an interesting story which, among other vital aspects, relates the beginning of the North Shore Parish with the origin of the Westmere Parish. Pastor Ioane conducted his ministry for the North Shore Parish from Westmere, on the other side of the Harbour Bridge, where his family resided.[1278] A few other resident families in Westmere joined Pastor Ioane's family in their ministry because of their growing fellowship in Westmere, and also to help in the development of the North Shore Parish. Gradually, distance became a problem. And these resident families in Westmere with a growing number of other families decided to start their own Church in Westmere. And out of their request, Pastor Ioane became the pastor for these two ministries. The North Shore Parish members did not like their pastor's partial commitment to their parish because of the Westmere Parish. There was a bit of jealousy because Pastor Ioane conducted the worship of the Westmere Parish first and North Shore later in the afternoon. Nor was Elder Pastor Ieriko favourable to such a new development because it was not prescribed in Church policy.[1279] But according to Faletua Avae'e Ioane,[1280] Elder Pastor Ieriko was most concerned to ensure the singularity of his Elderly authority. This seemed to be the case. For Pastor Ioane was able to provide the Westmere Parish with their ordained pastor, Tone Tuiai, who had completed a six year term in the Blockhouse Bay Parish, and who was attending Elder Pastor Ieriko's parish and was available. But Elder Pastor Ieriko had other plans. With the pressure of the Church policy which forbids any pastor from working in two parish ministries simultaneously, Pastor Ioane was made to choose between North Shore and Westmere. Pastor Ioane would have continued in North Shore if Elder Pastor Ieriko had accepted Pastor Ioane's arrangement with Pastor Tone Tuiai to become the pastor of Westmere.[1281] Bowing to the authority of the Elder Pastor and the stipulation of Church policy, Pastor Ioane reluctantly chose Westmere. And a formal ceremony to end his

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[1278] This and the following information are all in the Personal Story by Faletua Avae'e Ioane about the Origin and Beginning of the C.C.C.S. and its other Parishes.

[1279] According to Chief Tonumailau Pouniu in his Personal Story.

[1280] Faletua Avae'e Ioane; 'Personal Story...'

[1281] Faletua Avae'e Ioane; 'Personal Story...'

covenant with the North Shore Parish was held in December, 1976.[1282] Elder Pastor Ieriko immediately appointed Pastor Reupena Leasuasu[1283] for North Shore. A formal ceremony for covenant making between Pastor Leasuasu and the North Shore Parish was held on April 2, 1977.[1284]

A characteristic feature of the beginning was the fluctuating nature of church membership.[1285] Pastor Leasuasu began his ministry with ten families. In 1978 it increased to thirteen. But two families Elder Pastor Ieriko put in the parish to help in its beginning had already left because they lived more than twenty miles from North Shore.[1286] Four more families left in 1980, leaving six. The reasons recorded in the Parish Book were the change of residents because of the constant changes in jobs, and to follow movements of family relatives. Stability factors in the parish were the presence of three elderly women and the constant visitations by preachers mainly from Samoa. Seventeen visiting preachers are recorded between 1977 and 1980. In 1982, there were one hundred and fifteen members from eleven families, sixty were children of the Sunday School. The summary comments by the pastor recorded in the Parish Book for the years from 1975 to 1982 may best express the true nature of parish growth and developments in its beginning :- 'The Church has still not settled. The major difficulties were the fact that the Church is poor, and families tended to keep on leaving the Church. But it does not matter, God will never leave us unaided...'[1287]

[1282] 'North Shore Parish Book'.

[1283] Pastor Leasuasu is mentioned in relation to the Origin of the Petone Parish. He was the lay preacher who was ordained to the full pastor status by the E.F.K.S. on the request of the New Zealand District [C.C.C.S.] because of his exemplary service in the foundational period of the Petone Parish. His availability gave Elder Pastor Ieriko more leeverage in his attempt to control Pastor Ioane's rising leadership initiative in the growth of new parishes in the Auckland region.

[1284] 'North Shore Parish Book'.

[1285] 'North Shore Parish Book'.

[1286] One was part of Chief Leleisiuao's family who lived at Te Atatu North. Another was the family of Chief Tonumailau Pouniu who lived in Henderson. The latter family attended the Aukilani Parish where they were told by Elder Pastor Ieriko to join the North Shore Parish to help its beginning, before they joined the Henderson Parish which was already started.

[1287] Pastor Leasuasu's comments as recorded in the 'North Shore Parish Book'.

(21) THE HAMILTON PARISH FEBRUARY 1, 1976.

The origin of the Hamilton Parish is associated with the vision and activities of the Chief Tafaoimalo Simanu, who figured prominently in the origins and beginnings of the parishes of Christchurch and Invercargill as mentioned above. It was the combination of his personal pursuit of job offers with higher salaries in the Post Office service around New Zealand which he had constantly 'preyed upon' to utilise for his vision for the Samoan Church.[1288] Hamilton had a further significance for Chief Tafaoimalo because he had planned to retire in this area.[1289] In 1975 Chief Tafaoimalo's family left Invercargill for a higher paid job in the Post Office Service in Hamilton.[1290] The opportunity for the beginning of the Hamilton Parish was found in the close relationship between Chief Tafaoimalo and the Samoan Students' Association of Waikato University. According to Chief Tafaoimalo,[1291] the student leaders of the Association had known him because they worked together in the Freezing Works at Invercargill, and he had looked after these students by bringing them to church in Invercargill. They requested that he become their 'fa'atama' [Patron] and he accepted it with a dawning suspicion 'that this might very well be the opportunity from God.' He explained to the students his hope for a Samoan Church and they supported it. Chief Tafaoimalo's family therefore left the Hamilton P.I.P.C. where a Malua graduate Lerisiano Soti was the pastor, after two weeks of attendance. The first worship fellowship of the nascent parish included Chief Tafaoimalo's family, Samoan University students, and one other family. In less than a month, three more families joined and the Hamilton Parish began with its founding

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[1288] See relevant Notes in relation to the Invercargill and Christchurch Parishes.

[1289] Chief Tafaoimalo relates that he was constantly asked by Samoan pastors why he did not build churches [buildings],as seemed to show in his previous involvements with the Christchurch and Invercargill Parishes. And he always told them that his job is to congregate people into worshipping fellowships, not to build churches. But his commitment to build the Hamilton Church was because it was his plan to retire in this area and therefore it was part of the work of building worshipping communities.

[1290] This is recorded in the 'Invercargill Parish Book' though it mentions only the fact of Chief Tafaoimalo's family moving to Hamilton because of a change in jobs in the Post Office.

[1291] According to Chief Tafaoimalo, they joined the P.I.P.C. in Hamilton on arrival. After two weeks, the Students' Association approached him to become their Patron.

service on February 29, 1976.[1292] Samoan Methodist and Catholic families sometimes attended parish worship, together with many other Samoans temporarily residing in Hamilton.[1293] Initially, worship was mainly led by Chief Tafaoimalo alternating with Samoan University students until later, when the parish received frequent preachers, on appointments by the South Auckland Sub-District. On September 11, 1976 the parish covenanted with its first ordained pastor.[1294]

The Hamilton Parish was slow in attracting members. Membership grew from thirty eight in 1977 to seventy in 1982, and to seventy five in 1983.[1295] This may have had direct bearing on one other problem that had beset the parish in its beginning. In four years from 1976 to 1980, two covenanted pastors of the parish resigned. The first one in 1978 for reasons neither the parish nor the South Auckland Sub-District had clearly understood.[1296] The second one resigned in 1980 because the Pastor's wife was not quite prepared to pursue a ministry in the Hamilton Parish.[1297] The lay perspective by the ever observant Chief Tafaoimalo seems relevant to the 'truth explanation' of the reasons for the resignation of the two Malua-trained pastors above. According to Chief Tafaoimalo - 'they only served for two years each and resigned after receiving full ordination.'[1298] The parish covenanted with its third pastor in 1982 who had received his theological training in New Zealand. He diligently led the parish into greater stability and growth, with the retired Chief Tafaoimalo who was determined to complete his vision for the Samoan

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[1292] Founding Service is included in the 'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District'.

[1293] Chief Tafaoimalo Simanu; 'Personal Story...'

[1294] 'Minute Book of the South Auckland Sub-District'.

[1295] 'Minute Book of the South Auckland Sub-District'.

[1296] This explanation can be deduced from the mention of this issue in the 'Minute Book of the South Auckland Sub-District'. This was Pastor Samuelu Tuiai who lived in Auckland and commuted to Hamilton for his ministry. He left because he accepted the calling to be the second pastor of the Kingsland Parish.

[1297] This is clearly recorded in the 'Minute Book of the South Auckland Sub-District'. It is recorded as the pastor's own explanation of the reason for 'their' decision to leave the Hamilton Parish. Also confirmed in a personal conversation with the present (1994) Elder Pastor of the South Auckland Sub-District, Elder Pastor Arielu.

[1298] This refers to Church Policy where a pastor is to be fully ordained after two years of full-time service in any part of the Church Ministry. Only then can the pastor administer church sacraments.

Church - to gather Samoans into worshipping communities under the leadership of Samoan leaders who are both pastors and Samoan chiefs.

(22) THE NAPIER PARISH APRIL 4, 1976.

The origin of the Napier Parish is generally attributed[1299] to the leading initiative of Chief Tonumailau Samuelu, who was amongst the four founding leaders of the Christchurch Parish in 1966. But it must be added that the role of other families, one of which was related to him, who had lived in Napier before Chief Tonumailau, was also crucial. This is because the detailed Report of the parish's Founding Service[1300] clearly shows that some of the founding families had long entertained the hope to begin a Samoan Church in the area because of the isolated nature of this community of Samoans in this region of New Zealand- Hawkes Bay. The point is that the leading initiative of Chief Tonumailau Samuelu merged into the already existent collective concern of certain Samoans already residing in Napier. But the predominant influence of Chief Tonumailau Samuelu nevertheless needs special recognition.[1301]

Founding members numbered sixty nine - twenty men, nineteen women, and thirty children.[1302] One of the reasons stated for the beginning of the parish shows the importance of the parish for Samoans returning from other Churches. Other two reasons

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[1299] This is generally well known to parish members and to pastors of the Southern Sub-District of the Southern District of the C.C.C.S.

[1300] Report of the Founding Service is found in, 'O le Sulu Samoa', October, 1976.

[1301] **Chief and Lay Preacher Tonumailau Samuelu.**
He has already been referred to in reference to the Christchurch Parish, in particular his plan with Chief Tafaoimalo Simanu which required him to attempt a beginning of the Samoan Church in Napier. The significant aspects which relate the origin of the Napier Parish with Chief Tonumailau's family involves his aspirations and reasons for moving to settle in Napier. The family left Chirstchurch on medical advice to consider moving to settle in a warmer area on account of a cold-related sickness of Chief Tonumailau's wife. According to Chief Tonumailau, these were revealings which further encouraged the still burning vision to spread and extend the missionary witness of the E.F.K.S. in New Zealand. On arriving in Napier, Chief Tonumailau found his family relatives, especially those related to his wife, already in the area willing to begin the Samoan Church, together with a Samoan deaconess, Pepe Fesili who had recently migrated from Samoa.

[1302] 'Report of the Founding Service' in the 'O Le Sulu Samoa'; October, 1976.

highlight the continuing importance of the cultural-religious concern and motivation as in the founding vision of the C.C.C.S., and most of its established parishes.[1303] The baptism of twelve children during the founding service further elevated the spirit of homecoming of the ingathering Samoans to their true Church. Adding to the encouraging atmosphere was the offer by the participating Presbyterian Minister, Rev. Tom Somerville (and his wife) of his Church for parish worship. Chief Tonumailau was appointed to look after the parish until it covenanted with its first pastor on February 12, 1977. The promising beginning of the parish did not last for long. The ingathering of Samoans in the founding service in 1976 had barely settled before the exodus began again mainly because of Chief Tonumailau's authoritative leadership.[1304] Parish membership figures clearly show this reverse of fortunes.[1305] Sixty nine founding members in 1976 dropped to thirty four in 1977, the year the parish pastor began his ministry. It means half of the members left the parish in the ten months Chief Tonumailau was looking after the parish. They returned to join the Catholic Church, the Mormon Church, and the Assembly of God.[1306] Parish members dropped further to twenty seven in 1980, the year the parish pastor resigned not in the best of manners[1307] because of constant conflicts with Chief Tonumailau. A new

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[1303] **The Three Reasons for the Beginning of the Parish.**
(1) To continue and to remain loyal to the Church denomination through which Samoa had known God who firstly revealed to our ancestors in 1830. (2) The need by the children of Samoa to worship in their own language. This is because it is the only and easy way that the Proclamation, the Renewal, and the Comfort found in the 'Word of the Kingdom of God of the children of Samoa' will be sunk deep in hearts. (3) For the hope to provide a Church for the unity and fellowship of the children of Samoa, which will end their participation in other faiths, and under other religious leadership they were not used to.
'Report of the Founding Service', in the 'O Le Sulu Samoa'; October, 1976.

[1304] Chief Tonumailau was also a son of a Samoan pastor in Samoa. This may have added to his authoritative leadership. In C.C.C.S. Church communities, some of the outspoken and, at times, unhelpful people are children of pastors or those who have close ties to a pastoral family.

[1305] Parish membership figures for the years 1977 to 1987 is found in the 'Minute Book of the Wellington Sub-District'. Figures show a clear stagnation of members throughout these years. For example, the figure for 1981 is 31, and for 1987, 50.

[1306] According to the Personal Story of Ariu Niulevaea Samuelu of the Origin and Beginning of the Napier Parish. She is a founding member of the parish.
Ariu. N. Samuelu. Present member of the Napier Parish; 'Written Personal Story of the Beginning of the Napier Parish'.
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1307] It is well known that the final conflict which led to the pastor's resignation was 'close to a physical fight'. The most popular story goes that the pastor had rolled up his long sleeved shirt to begin the fight only to be stopped by parishioners, with the pastor's sudden realisation of his over reaction.

pastor, a returning Samoan missionary from Papua New Guinea, and who was unwanted by the Blockhouse Bay Parish after six years of ministry, began his ministry in 1982; and he, again, had to bear the continuing 'chiefly challenge' from the chief Tonumailau for the next ten years.

(23) THE WESTMERE PARISH OCTOBER 24, 1976.

The origin of the Westmere Parish is already referred to above in some detail because of its inextricable links with the North Shore Parish through the ministry of Pastor Ioane.[1308] It began and had its worship in the Anglican Church without a founding service because of the manner of its beginning. According to Faletua Avae'e (Pastor Ioane's wife) the parish began without the blessed support of Elder Pastor Ieriko[1309] which, as also already mentioned in connection with the North Shore Parish, made Pastor Ioane leave North Shore with great reluctance,yet by a personal decision which was deemed beneficial to both parishes. North Shore was already established and developing, but Westmere was only a month old.[1310] Elder Pastor Ieriko's 'trump-card' was Pastor Tuia'i whom he dissuaded from his arrangement with Pastor Ioane to look after Westmere with the view to becoming its pastor.[1311] Elder Pastor Ieriko placed Pastor Tuia'i in the New Lynn Parish which began later in 1977.[1312] In spite of the 'seemingly invisible tug-of-war in pastors' politics, the Westmere Parish quickly became settled and showed remarkable growth in membership. Eighty members are recorded for 1978, and grew to one hundred

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[1308] Refer to section on North Shore Parish.

[1309] Faletua Avae'e Ioane; 'Personal Story...'

[1310] Faletua Avae'e Ioane; 'Personal Story...'

[1311] Faletua Avae'e Ioane; 'Personal Story...'

[1312] The point is not that Elder Pastor Ieriko had dissuaded Pastor Tuia'i away from Westmere in order to post him for the New Lynn Parish. There was no knowledge at this stage of a new parish in New Lynn. Rather it is to suggest how in this episode, Elder Pastor Ieriko was clearly restricting the rising leadership initiative of Pastor Ioane. And Faletua Avae'e does not think highly of Elder Pastor Ieriko in this regard - 'Ieriko was against the Westmere beginning because of jealousy, wanting sole authority by himself, craving for praise...he wanted a lot of people in his parish for numbers' sake and in order to secure a 'Big Alofa' (charity giving by members for the pastor)'.
Faletua Avae'e Ioane: 'Personal Story...'.

and twenty six in 1981. It continually increased to two hundred and sixty one in 1993.[1313] The major factor in the continual increase in membership over the years has been the concentration of Samoans in the Ponsonby and Grey Lynn areas of the Metropolitan Auckland City in which Westmere is closely situated.

(24) THE NEW LYNN PARISH JULY 10,1977.

The origin and beginning of the New Lynn Parish tells the story of the search for religious truth, passion and commitment to Christian discipleship and usefulness in alternative Christian fellowship. Its unique manifestation is the expression of the cry and agony of Christian conscience in need of freedom and liberation from imprudent and dogmatic Church pastors. These theological expressions depict the spiritual concerns at the heart of the personal stories of two of the four leading founders of the New Lynn Parish.[1314] One was Tautiaga who left the Samoan Methodist Church; the other was the lay preacher, Timai Uele, who is already mentioned in relation to the Henderson Parish. As already mentioned, he was among the founders who left (with four other families) on account of the controversy over legitimate ways of fundraising for church development, and also out of Samoan customary concern for cultural jurisprudence for the sake of the Church pastoral ministry.[1315] The personal story by Deacon Tautiaga[1316] is included to

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[1313] To be found in the 'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District'.

[1314] The 'Parish Story' mentions four founding leaders. Two are mentioned in the Text. Two others were Afoa and Sinave who were amongst the five families (or members) who left Henderson in mid-1977. It means three of the founding leaders were of the five who separated from Henderson.
The designation 'Parish Story' needs explanation. This refers to the way the story of this parish was gained. With the help of Pastor Ma'aola (the current Pastor) two of the founding leaders, Tautiaga Epati and lay preacher Timai Uele with six other earliest members were called together to tell the story of the beginning of the parish. It was done in the pastor's house in 1993. I asked the questions and their responses were taped. And I transcribed them afterwards. The usage of the term 'Parish Story' in the Text both refers to the belief of the selected group in general and also to specific stories by individual members, especially Timai Uele, Toeleapai, and Tautiaga Epati. At this time Sinave had died, and Afoa had resided in Australia.
The 'Parish Story' is in the Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1315] Lay Preacher Timai Uele clearly refers to his relation to the Henderson Pastor, as his nephew, as one of the major reasons for leaving Henderson. The pastor believed he was an 'obstacle' in Church meetings and was unsupportive to him as a relative. How does the Samoan customary concern for cultural jurisprudence for the sake of the church pastoral ministry relate to Timai's leaving ? It reflects in two related ways :-
(1) Church policy of the E.F.K.S.(hence also for C.C.C.S.) disallows a pastor to serve in his own village to avoid the distractions of family relations but mostly the danger of village chiefly politics. Around this

illustrate various related aspects of the origin and beginning of the New Lynn Parish. It is indeed most appropriate for the further fact that Uele himself emphasised Deacon Tautiaga as the 'insistent mover' who successfully moved him towards the vision to begin the New Lynn Parish.[1317] The relevant part of Deacon Tautiaga's personal story is quoted below :-

> ...Our pastor did something wrong during his participation in the Church Conference in Samoa. He offered $50,000 to complete the payment of the new building of the Church in Samoa. He returned to New Zealand and demanded from our Church $50,000; but we had thought his offer was his own and he would pay himself. That was the wrong thing which made a number of us (members) leave our parish...There was no thought of beginning a Church Parish.But the dawning guilt of not attending worship was heavy in mind...Timai and I were strangers to each other. But we became acquainted through the continual search for a 'fofo' [natural healing] for my sick wife. My wife worked together with Timai's wife, and that was how we learned of Timai as a 'Taulasea' [a Samoan healer], and the cause of our acquaintance...We talked seriously about the things that were happening in our respective Churches...I shared my personal problems and frustrations about my Church, and Timai shared his about his Church. From there we came to share the need to begin a Church. Some of our members who left have gone for good. For me, I shared my true wish to Timai because I still had the passion to continue to be useful for the Church. Timai told me to wait for the Spirit of God, and

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Church policy, there has long been an unwritten tradition among pastors to ensure their ministries in villages are not distracted in any way by family relations or family concerns. Timai Uele chose to leave Henderson in the light of this strong unwritten tradition he was well acquainted with. He himself inherits a tradition of belonging to a family of pastors.
(2) The relation to Samoan Culture is in the way that what is mentioned in (1) has also long become a cultural expectation which has grown to become a kind of cultural sanction and cultural service for the sake of the Church ministry in Samoan society. It aims to preserve and to ensure the holy and unblemished identity of the pastoral ministry of the Church in Samoan villages. Timai Uele could have stayed in the Henderson Parish despite the controversies he was involved in. For in New Zealand C.C.C.S. parishes are not situated in village closed communities as it is in Samoa. But the strength of the cultural concern for the shame he would bring to his nephew pastor could not be ignored. For it is part of family pride in Samoan culture to support a family member in the pastoral ministry into success. So Timai Uele had to leave for the sake of family reputation and for the cultural concern for the pastoral ministry of the Church.

[1316] Tautiaga's religious background in Samoa is the E.F.K.S. His parents and grandparents were pastors of the E.F.K.S. It may explain the easy transition from the Methodist Church to the C.C.C.S.

[1317] According to Lay preacher Timai Uele in 'Parish Story' of the New Lynn Parish.

> with prayer...It was surprising to learn how a human wish became 'in tuned' (moving in union) with the spirit of God.[1318]

The cooperation between Uele (belonging to the C.C.C.S. or E.F.K.S.) and Tautiaga (a Methodist) to begin a C.C.C.S. parish further illustrates[1319] the freer associations and the freedom of movements between Samoans in these two denominations in New Zealand. A critical aspect involves the notion of 'breakaway' or disruption in fellowship to begin alternative worshipping communities. A vital question involves the delicate balance between the health of the worshipping community and the integrity of personal/individual sincerity of service which involves a rejection of appointed leaders of the worshipping community. The 'Parish Story' justifies the beginning of their parish from leaving other worshipping communities as follows :-

> (i) Human differences can become the way the true will of God may be made to shine to both parties in contention. (ii) It is true that new churches and parishes result from disruptions and differences. But always at work in these disruptions and differences is the 'guiding direction' by God.[1320]

It is difficult to deny the reasonableness of such claims when they express Christian believer's sincere testimonies of their human ways of endeavouring to serve God, and out of a sincere love for God's purpose in which the true origin of the Christian Church is rooted.

The 'Parish Story' of the founding events of its beginning reflects the founders' urgent sense of discipleship. According to one of the founding members,[1321] it only took ten days for the founding members to decide and prepare for the beginning of the parish. Church Secretary and the Treasurer were elected before they covenanted with their pastor. Some founding members obviously disagreed with certain aspects of the swift

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[1318] New Lynn 'Parish Story.' [Deacon Tautiaga]

[1319] As previously noted in the founding families of the Parishes of Kingsland, Sandringham, Otara, Wellington.

[1320] New Lynn 'Parish Story'.

[1321] According to Deacon Toeleapai, the current (1993) Secretary of the parish, and one of the founding members who was in the group which narrated the Parish Story.

beginning of the parish because some left[1322] even before the founding service in the Council Hall of New Lynn on July 10, 1977.[1323] There was little problem in finding a pastor because Elder Pastor Ieriko was swift to appoint Pastor Tuia'i whom he successfully dissuaded from the Westmere Parish against Pastor Ioane's intention.[1324] After three years (1977-1980) the parish had achieved tremendous developments which featured the importance of individual gifts and the united dedication of various group fellowships within the Church community.[1325] The Parish Story of its beginning emphasises the unique contributions of a sick young boy named Samuel whose gifts and help had given the parish the urge to develop and the vision for hopeful perseverance.[1326] Samuel donated a piano to help the Church Choir, and $5,000 which 'stirred the thought amongst the members to endeavour to secure properties for the Church.'[1327] "The explanation for the gifts was to show gratitude by this sick person who had felt the restoration of his well being and health by God."[1328] Samuel further accepted the parish request to loan $20,000 to pay for the first land property.[1329] It is because of such developments in the first three years, and the manner they were achieved that the Parish

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[1322] According to Deacon Toeleapai. New Lynn 'Parish Story'.

[1323] Report of the Founding Service is found in the 'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District'.

[1324] The Parish covenanted with its pastor in September, 1977, two months after the founding service, according to the 'Parish Story'.

[1325] 'New Lynn Parish Book'. By 1979 two pieces of land property (both cost $44,000) were secured which enabled the beginning of the Parish Church and Hall. These were completed and dedicated in June of the following year (1980). Both projects cost $199,000 (unfurnished) and they started from a founding fund of $1260, part of which was collected ($408) in the founding service in 1979. Major sources of funds were Bingo, Dances, Flea Market, Fundraising Census, concerts and the development offering (voluntary) collected every Sunday. Internal furnishing of the Church were provide by allotted contributions of various fellowships and individual offers.

[1326] New Lynn 'Parish Story'; and also in 'New Lynn Parish Book'.

[1327] According to Timai Uele and Tautiaga in the 'Parish Story'.

[1328] Uele's expression of the explanation of the gifts when presented to the parish. ['Parish Story'].

[1329] 'New Lynn Parish Book'. Also in 'Parish Story'.

Story refers to its foundational period as 'a peaceful beginning in a nature of a miracle.'[1330]

(XXV) THE TE ATATU NORTH PARISH AUGUST 6,1977.

The origin of this parish stemmed largely from the 'apostolic activities' of Chief Leleisiuao.[1331] His family left the North Shore Parish after one year with the purpose to begin another C.C.C.S. Parish in Te Atatu North where his family were really living at the time.[1332] The family joined the Henderson Parish from where Chief Leleisiuao was further encouraged by the Henderson pastor and other members[1333] about the need to begin another parish in Te Atatu North.[1334] Two further considerations gave this need the utmost necessity. It was known that a number of Samoan families resided in the area without attending any church. And another parish would also add regional strength to the growing Sub-District of Auckland.[1335]

[1330] 'New Lynn Parish Book'. Also in 'Parish Story'. The ways such an experience was felt by the parish members, and the parish joy in wanting to share such an experience are reflected in the names given to the Parish Church, and the Hall, including the land they are built on. The Church is called, 'Vavega o le Ola' [Miracle of Life], 'which is meant to commemorate and to reveal the 'lagona' (feeling and experience) about the beginning of the parish, (inclusive of the members and all developments)... It was as if everything started with a miracle.' The latter is called, 'Mapusaga o le Filemu' [The Rest of Peace]. The parish explanation of the name includes two aspects - 'It is to signify rest because everything is now in Peace. It is also like an invitation for all who are weary in work to come to this Rest.' The Parish also achieved remarkable growth in membership in its early years. From thirty four in its founding service in July to fifty four at the end of the year, 1977, it grew to one hundred and twelve in 1980. And it continued to increase throughout its sixteen years of growth. For example, in 1985 it reached two hundred and sixty. In 1994 the number sky-rocketed to four hundred and two.
Figures in 'New Lynn Parish Book'.

[1331] This refers simply to Chief Leleisiuao's movements and intentions to establish parish communities. Some refer to him as like St Paul the Apostle in the Bible. The vital point about Chief Leleisiuao is that by this stage, he was already one of the leading founders of various C.C.C.S. parishes like Kingsland, Sandringham, Henderson, North Shore, and now Te Atatu North.

[1332] According to Chief Leota Tupua - a founding member of the North Shore Parish.
Chief Leota Tupua; 'Personal Story...'.

[1333] According to Chief Lealali Leilua, a founding member of the Henderson Parish.
Chief Lealali; 'Personal Story...'.

[1334] Lealali Leilua states that it was Chief Leleisuao's initiative and idea to begin a parish in Te Atatu North.
Chief Lealali; 'Personal Story...'.

[1335] According to Chief Lealali, these two considerations were also by Chief Leleisiuao.

The parish's founding service[1336] was held in the Anglican Church. Ten founding families covenanted on the same day with their pastor whose family donated five hundred dollars for the parish 'founding fund', and a book to record the history of the parish. Eight hundred and sixty five dollars (S865) was collected in total from gifts. The pastor's ministry and parish development began at an unusually fast note. It was probably due to the great sense of excitement of the pastor who had recently migrated from Samoa. There was clearly an exalted sense of spiritual homecoming[1337] to New Zealand the land of economic promise, if also materialistic paradise. There was therefore a hopeful expectation that a transplanted pastoral ministry from an ordered and closed village atmosphere in Samoa would thrive in New Zealand. In the parish meeting on the very first Sunday (August 7, 1977), the day after its founding service, important offices and other requirements for the ministry were decided - the Secretary, Treasurer, Sunday School Teachers, and a way to secure an organ for the choir.[1338] But in the following month (September), sixteen members are recorded to have withdrawn from active participation in worship and most parish activities.[1339] Parish membership fell from the original fifty four to thirty eight. In 1978 membership rose to forty eight, but major surprises involved Chief Leleisiuao's family who left the parish in January, after four months, and also the parish Secretary with his family in April.[1340] Parish membership in terms of families and numbers gradually increased between 1978 and 1983. In 1983, there were ninety eight members from sixteen families.[1341] Yet, in the same period, five families are recorded to have withdrawn from active participation and then returned.[1342]

[1336] As recorded in the 'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District', and the 'Te Atatu Parish Book'.

[1337] This sense is clearly expressed in the pastor's introductory writings in the 'Parish Book'. For example, he refers to the activities of the founding service and covenant making as a day of fulfilment of hopes and dreams realised. This is his sense of the Samoan expression he used, 'O le aso 'ula lenei i tagata o Iesu' [This is the day of celebration for the people of Jesus].

[1338] 'Te Atatu North Parish Book'.

[1339] 'Te Atatu North Parish Book'.

[1340] In the 'Parish Book', Chief Leleisiuao is referred to in this respect as 'fa'avaivaia' ie. tending to lose interest and spiritual vigour. It is possible he was 'fa'avaivaia' because he did not win the vote for the parish Secretary. The Secretary is also referred to in the same way as Chief Leleisiuao - 'fa'avaivaia'.

[1341] 'Te Atatu North Parish Book'.

Other families left the parish for good. A very conspicuous feature of the beginning of the parish was clearly the fluctuating commitment of several families, but mostly the founding families. One of the major reasons was the pastor's success in circumscribing what he perceived was the abusive and the absolutist manner in which the office of the parish secretary was exercised by its holders. The first secretary whose family left the parish after eight months 'tended to conduct the secretary's office in the absolutist manner of the P.I.P.C. Secretary', and also 'tended to behave as if the office was a personal belonging and a family property.'[1343] In 1982, the family of the second secretary did not attend worship for a period of time because of their disapproval with the pastor's emphatic declaration in the parish meeting which subordinated the authority of the secretary to the overall authority of the parish fellowship.[1344] Another reason for the fluctuating commitment by members was the burden of parish development. The pastor's family had undoubtedly made tremendous sacrifices in the hope to develop the parish and its ministry. For example,[1345] in 1978, the parish bought the pastor's house for $27,500. $10,000 was paid by loan and $15,000 was raised by a fundraising census of which $8,000 was contributed by the pastor's family. Also in 1983, the parish needed $3,000 for a deposit payment for a new land property. The pastor donated $988 to help towards the $2,012 the parish could only afford. These were exemplary efforts in the expected pastoral leadership typical of C.C.C.S. parish development. The problem is that not all families could afford and could cope. For the Te Atatu North Parish, some families were newly settled migrants from Samoa and other parts of New Zealand.Some even told the pastor during his visitations that they simply could not afford to contribute

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[1342] 'Te Atatu North Parish Book'.

[1343] Reference to this behaviour is interesting for it shows the pastor's preference for a parish secretary based on commitment to contribute to church offerings but not necessarily on ability to speak English, or the skills necessary to relate to New Zealand at large, as the first Secretary believed. The 'absolutist manner of the P.I.P.C. Secretary' referred to was his habit of not attending worship occasionally, but tended to require strict obedience to his instructions. The worst aspect was the tendency to make parish instructions from his home instead of within the Church meetings. The pastor refers to this as a display of the false belief that the 'office' is a personal property.
'Te Atatu North Parish Book'.

[1344] 'Te Atatu North Parish Book'.

[1345] 'Te Atatu North Parish Book'.

at certain times.[1346] But the pastor's determination for development made him inclined to understand people's failure to contribute as excuses for half-hearted discipleship or lapse to worldly pursuits.[1347] Yet the pastor's concern for the corruptive influence of some members' piety on the spiritual health and well-being of the parish community seems justified.[1348]

Over-zealous discipleship can sometimes fall prey to frantic activism. The logical offshoot of this when in operation in a person in authority is the inclination to authoritarian leadership. In the pastoral ministry of the C.C.C.S. which is culturally recognised as a legitimate source of authority, this has also been one of its characteristic marks. For the Te Atatu North Parish this proved fatal for the career of the pastor in spite of his noble concern to encourage parish development. And it gave the story of the beginning of the parish one of its greatest ironies.

At the end of 1983, the parish requested the Sub-District religious authority to revoke their covenant with their pastor. It stunned the pastor into disbelief and it exposed the helplessness of the Sub-District religious authority. One of the strong charges by the parish against their pastor in their request for his dismissal was his 'ote so'o' [constant scolding of parish members].[1349] They further claimed that it sometimes exceeded to the use of stronger and abusive language. The pastor records in the Parish Book his admission of such charges. And that they always [him and his wife] apologised for their 'ote so'o' with the explanation that it was unavoidable in their duty and in their concern for the good of the parish.[1350] Other charges by the parish against the pastor were the

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[1346] 'Te Atatu North Parish Book'.

[1347] 'Te Atatu North Parish Book'.

[1348] Parish records refer to numerous occasions of members' lapse in spiritual character - broken promises, borrowings from Church funds though it was disallowed, bounced cheques used for church offerings and charity giving (Alofa) for the pastor, etc.

[1349] 'Te Atatu North Parish Book'.

[1350] One of the most strongly entrenched beliefs of E.F.K.S. Pastors refers to parishioners as their 'children in the spirit' [fanau fa'aleagaga]. This reflects one of the direct influences of biblical piety, if also the literalistic assumption of the piety and thought forms of biblical communities of faith. One of its usual

misuse and mismanagement of parish funds, and the fact that the pastor's house was registered under the pastor's name instead of the parish name. These charges were found unsubstantiated by Elder Pastor Ieriko and the Sub-District.[1351] But appeals by Elder Pastor Ieriko and the whole Sub-District to the parish to withdraw their request to dismiss their pastor came to no avail. Fourteen of the sixteen families of the parish in 1983 decided to stand their ground. Why was the parish adamant to dismiss their pastor whose self-sacrificial commitment to the parish was well recognised ? It is clear that except for the charge against authoritative leadership, other parish charges against the pastor were unjustified.[1352] The parish's refusal to accept two appeals to withdraw their request is therefore surprising and objectionable, and for the further fact that Church policy would not allow a parish to end a pastor's service, except if proven guilty of adultery or misuse of Church finance.[1353] But it cannot be ascertained either why Elder Pastor Ieriko eventually accepted the parish's refusal. What is certain is that none of the fourteen families against the pastor were amongst the ten founding families of the parish in 1977.[1354] All had left the parish except for two who sided with the pastor.[1355] It can be suggested that the parish decision against the pastor was mainly determined on their dislike of the character of the pastor and his wife, their authoritarian leadership, and their inclination to be overly judgmental in relation to a parishioner's lapse of piety. Records

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effects is to justify pastor's authoritative leadership of parish communities. The pastor of Te Atatu North clearly subscribed to this entrenched belief of the Samoan pastors for he records in the Parish Book - 'In all churches, the pastor and his wife are called the Father and Mother of the Ministry. So there are times in the ministry that it is unavoidable to scold and to set right with 'unnecessary words' (strong, tending to be abusive) the children of the Church'.
'Te Atatu North Parish Book'.

[1351] 'Te Atatu North Parish Book'.

[1352] The charge against registering the house under the pastor's name was proved unfounded because the house was bought in 1978 before the parish had a Trust Board, and it was the advice by the lawyer. The charge against misuse of parish funds was equally found to be false. It only vindicated the pastor in his charge that he and his family contributed the most funds for parish development. It is difficult to substantiate the charge on slackness in spiritual life of the parish because if it was true, parish records clearly would hold parishioners responsible.

[1353] These are the two most vital criteria in dismissing a pastor from he Church ministry according to the long held tradition of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. The same applied to the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1354] 'Te Atatu North Parish Book'.

[1355] 'Te Atatu North Parish Book'.

of parish history include a great deal of the pastor's negative judgments of parishioners' characters. This does not necessarily exonerate the parish from possible errors in their judgments and decisions. For there must be a great deal of truth in the pastor's farewell testament in the Parish Book about the parishioners, and concerning his personal reflection on the truth of their dismissal - 'The truth is they refuse to serve God. They show no inkling of a spirit to develop the parish ministry...'[1356] About the truth of their dismissal, the pastor records - 'Refused and rejected because of their heart and spirit for the ministry.'[1357] The next pastor of the parish proved to be more at home in the complexities of New Zealand society and also more 'diplomatic' in his pastoral approach to members' lapse of character. Two promising results were the continual growth of parish membership and a great commitment and solidarity by members for the well-being of the parish.[1358] This seemed to be a more prudent and better beginning for a pastoral ministry to a newly settled people from a different culture who were trying to settle in a totally new environment.

(26) THE NEW BRIGHTON PARISH JANUARY 15, 1978.

The New Brighton Parish was started by eight families who left the Christchurch Parish because of 'differences among members of the Church'[1359] and 'disagreement against the pastor in relation to the fundraising census and the Church Dedication held by the parish.'[1360] Seven of them were deacons and wives, with their children numbered thirty

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[1356] 'Te Atatu North Parish Book'.

[1357] 'Te Atatu North Parish Book'.

[1358] According to personal conversation with the second pastor - Pastor Lucky Slade.

[1359] This is how the manner of the separation is recorded in the 'Christcurch Parish Book'.

[1360] This is how two of the earliest members of the Christchurch Parish expressed the reasons for the group's separation. One is Chief and deacon Leulu'ai of the Christchurch Parish; the other is Chief and lay preacher Muagututi'a of St. Albans Parish of the C.C.C.S.
Chief Leulua'i Tulia and wife Faoa. Present members of the Christchurch Parish; 'Family Story of the Beginning of the Christchurch Parish'.
Also Chief Muagututi'a. Present member of the St Albans Parish; 'Personal Story of the Beginnings of the Parishes of Christchurch, St Albans and New Brighton'.

three. The group was led by a lay preacher who was much suspected to have encouraged the separation out of his self-made pretension to be a pastor.[1361] He propagated 'the group's desire to worship in a church that satisfies the heart'[1362] and they left with the intention to build such a church and to be called the 'True E.F.K.S.'[1363] The group had its founding service on January 1, 1978, in the Baptist Church in Opawa. In five months their worship was looked after by the lay preacher who was among them, and the pastor of the Christchurch Parish administered their monthly Holy Communion.[1364] They covenanted with their first pastor[1365] on June 17, 1978, and moved to worship in another Baptist Church at Wainoni in July 2, 1978. This Church was closest to where most members lived. After calling their parish the 'C.C.C.S. in Opawa' initially, now it was changed to the 'C.C.C.S. in Wainoni'. The group was later called the New Brighton Parish in 1983 when they bought a house for the pastor in New Brighton. Parish membership did not change dramatically within the first five years (1978-1983) mainly because of the constant leaving of families from the parish which cancelled the addition of new ones.[1366] Parish figures for the number of families and overall membership show

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[1361] This is a general belief amongst leading pastors and lay leaders of C.C.C.S. Parishes in the Southern Sub-District of the C.C.C.S. I have been involved with these Churches in the last six years, and I personally accept this belief to be true. This lay preacher has now (in 1994) left the C.C.C.S. to become a 'Pastor' in the new Independent E.F.K.S. which he started with the second pastor of the Christchurch Parish, Tepa Faletoese, in Christchurch and in Australia.

[1362] According to Chief and deacon Leulua'i. Chief Leulua'i and wife Faoa; 'Family Story...'.

[1363] As written in the 'Christchurch Parish Book'.

[1364] The fact that the pastor of the Christchurch Parish was closely associated with the separated group seems to suggest that the separation from the Christchurch Parish was mostly against church members as referred to in the Parish Book (Note 1402). It is most probable that the pastor, being the Elder Pastor, did not regard the separation in a totally negative manner because of an element of strong religious conviction. This is because this Elder Pastor, Tepa Faletoese, left the Christchurch Parish, and began the E.F.K.S. in Australia. He later left to begin the 'Independent E.F.K.S.' and included the lay preacher in the New Brighton Church as one of his pastors for the new Church as noted above.

[1365] This was Pastor Amosa Amosa who completed his six year term in the Invercargil Parish and decided not to begin a second term. Some believe he wanted to leave Invercargill because it was too cold.

[1366] 'New Brighton Parish Book'. For example, in 1979 three families left - two are recorded to have lost interest and spiritual vigour (fa'avaivai), and one did not accept the pastor's tendency to be dominant in parish meetings, but preferring him to concentrate in his appointed role of leading worship. The five new families included a deacon's family from the Invercargill Parish moving to settle in Christchurch; two families from Wellington who were on Christmas holidays and decided not to return; and two others from the Christchurch area.

the stagnant growth within the first five years of the parish beginning.[1367] By the end of 1982, an atmosphere of doom hovered over the parish. Members were embroiled in a bitter division after their meeting in November 1982 to exclude the pastor from parish meetings.[1368] Division escalated in the beginning of 1983 as a result of the decision to buy the house for the pastor.[1369] The stagnation in parish growth in most respects was blamed on the pastor. On January 9, 1983, the parish decided to end their covenant with the pastor.[1370] The covenant was officially ended in February because of three charges against the pastor's ministry :- Firstly, that the parish had not grown in numbers and in vitality. Secondly, members' thirst for spiritual nurture. Thirdly, members were continually leaving the parish. [1371] There was a strong belief by pastors and lay leaders that the parish decision to end their covenant with their pastor was machinated by the lay preacher in his continual efforts to be a pastor.[1372] Because of that, the acceptance by the Elder Pastor Sekati Masina of the parish request was less an acceptance of the validity of the parish request than a way of releasing the pastor from an unstable parish.

In the sixteen months (from April, 1983, to August 4, 1984) the lay preacher had looked after the parish before the second ordained pastor was invited, nine more families left the

[1367] For Example :-

	Family Composition	Overall Number of Members.
1978	8	49
1979	10	61
1980	10	59
1981	8	73
1982	10	77
1983	12	52
1984	3	

Source :- 'New Brighton Parish Book'.

[1368] 'New Brighton Parish Book'.

[1369] 'New Brighton Parish Book'.

[1370] 'New Brighton Parish Book'.

[1371] 'New Brighton Parish Book'.

[1372] Personal association with these Churches from 1990-1995. and in conversion with the Elder Pastor concerned, Sekati Masina of Invercargill Parish.

parish.[1373] The new pastor started his ministry in August 4, 1984, with only three families.[1374] Six new families joined the parish.[1375] Some were part of the nine that left previously, others were new families who left the Christchurch Parish with the new pastor, who himself had just ended his covenant with the Christchurch Parish as the latter's third pastor. In 1991, the New Brighton Parish was finally dissolved by the Southern Sub-District.

(27) THE WIRI PARISH FEBRUARY 18, 1978.

This was the last parish of the C.C.C.S. which was originated by the initiative of Chief Leleisiuao before he rejoined the Samoan Methodist Church as a result of differences with the Elder Pastor Manase.[1376] The parish began in an atmosphere of unity and cooperation among the pastors and Church communities of the Auckland, and the South Auckland Sub-Districts of the C.C.C.S.[1377] A clear sense of spiritual victory was paramount for the fact of beginning a new parish for the C.C.C.S. 'in this great, populous, and newly settled area of Wiri.'[1378] There was nothing new in the main concern to begin the parish by twelve founding families. It was simply 'to begin another Church parish to worship God through God's Samoan Church'.[1379] The paramount sense of spiritual victory was reflected most in the role of the Elder Pastor Manase who was recently elected the Elder Pastor of the newly formed Sub-District of the C.C.C.S. in 1976 - the South Auckland Sub-District. He 'respectfully accepted' the request by the founding families on February 5, 1978 and instructed the founding service for the parish

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[1373] 'New Brighton Parish Book'.

[1374] 'New Brighton Parish Book'.

[1375] 'New Brighton Parish Book'.

[1376] Chief Leleisiuao; 'Personal Story...' Another leading founder was Chief Sagapolutele who later returned to Samoa, according to the present pastor of the parish, Pastor Tipeni.

[1377] This sense is vividly described in the Report of the Founding Service of the Parish. This Report is to be found in the 'O le Sulu Samoa', February, 1978.

[1378] 'Report of the Founding Service'. 'O Le Sulu Samoa', February 1978.

[1379] 'O le Sulu Samoa'. February, 1978 .

to be held two weeks later on February 18, 1978.[1380] Moreover, the parish had its founding service and other preparations for its beginning, like the big feast, in the Church and hall of the Mangere Parish of Elder Pastor Manase. It covenanted with its pastor, Pastor Tipeni, who was on leave from the ministry in Samoa, in the same year.

SUMMARY OF THE ORIGIN AND BEGINNINGS OF PARISHES OF THE 1970S.

The 1970's was clearly a period of tremendous growth in which the seventeen parishes that were established demonstrate the commitment by the 'whole church' to actualise the vision of the C.C.C.S. as a settler church. The leading role and initiative of the two leading Elder Pastors, Elder Siaosi Ieriko in Auckland and Elder Puni Leota in Wellington were as important as the 'apostolic activities' of individuals like Chief and deacon Leleisiuao and Chief and lay preacher Tafaoimalo Simanu. In many cases, the initiative of lay leaders - chiefs, deacons and lay preachers was more prominent. New parishes were created because of their movements (with their families) in the search for better job opportunities, for new areas to live due to certain considerations like health, closeness to kin, and mainly as a result of acclimatising into the mobile lifestyle of New Zealand. In such situations their inspired leadership merged with the wishes of Samoans scattered around New Zealand. In this period, parishes were now established throughout New Zealand.

Also important but to a lesser degree was the influence of pastors from Samoa as most evident in the beginning of the Manurewa and Dunedin parishes, and the continuing cooperation of Methodist and Catholic Samoans who became founders of parishes as in Papakura and New Lynn, and as founding families of other parishes like North Shore and Sandringham.

Emerging in this period also was the creation of new parishes out of disruption in established parishes which led to breakaways as shown in the beginnings of several

[1380] 'Report of the Founding Service'. 'O Le Sulu Samoa', February 1978.

parishes like, Sandringham, Papatoetoe, New Lynn and New Brighton. This resulted from the complex relationship of factors within the internal dynamics of pastoral ministry in local parishes. Specific causes of disruption were clashes between the parish pastor and a leading parishoner who may be the leading founder of the parish, or a prominent member of the founding group of a parish. Not unusual were cases of clashes between the pastor and a group within the parish led by lay preachers. And similarly were the irreconcilable differences between members or groups within a parish over issues like the choice of a pastor or certain aspects of parish development.

The origins of the parishes of Petone, Wainuiomata, Manurewa, and Dunedin continued the departure by Samoans from the P.I.P.C. for the pursuit of the founding vision of the C.C.C.S. Indeed, during the 1970's, the growth of P.I.P.C. Churches was constrained by the policy of the Presbyterian Church. And Samoan pastors in the P.I.P.C. were supporting the growth of the C.C.C.S. as it catered for the continuing migration of Samoans to New Zealand.

(28) THE KETESEMANE PARISH January 5, 1980.

The Ketesemane Parish originated in a major disruption in the Porirua Parish which extended from January 1979 to January 1980.[1381] Its direct cause was the controversial return of the parish pastor from his 'supposed three months malologa (rest)'[1382] in Samoa to his divided parish in Porirua in New Zealand. Because of the involvement by leading Elder Pastors of the C.C.C.S., the divisions within the parish escalated into a series of controversies towards the end of 1979, until it eventuated in a major disruption in the beginning of 1980. Following is a brief narrative of the major events in the 'thirteen months disruptive period' which constituted the origin of the Ketesemane Parish.

[1381] The major outline of this story of disruption is carefully recorded in the 'Porirua Parish Book'. Other details were gained from Personal Stories of various Elders particularly Elder Pastor Talamaivao, and Elder Deacon Aiono Tofi.

[1382] C.C.C.S. Church Policy allows only three months 'malologa' (rest) to pastors after six years of full-time ministry. This phrase is footnoted to signal at this stage the special significance of this aspect in the rest of the story in the Text. For it is possible that the extension of the pastor's 'malologa' had partly influenced the parish decision not to pay his return fare with his family.

The parish pastor, Popo Su'a, left in December, 1978, for three month's malologa (rest) in Samoa, and the lay preacher (a parish member) was appointed to look after the parish. In February, 1979, the parish voted in favour of the pastor's resumption of his ministry for a second term.[1383] The parish decision was related by the Pastor Secretary of the Wellington Sub-District to Pastor Su'a in Samoa who accepted it.[1384] The problem was that the Pastor Sua's wife was reluctant to resume their ministry in New Zealand because of 'her caring concern for her elderly father (76 years) who was being looked after by her family of only children.'[1385] Pastor Su'a shared their problem with Elder Pastor Tavita Talamaivao[1386] who was in Samoa attending the final meeting of the Elders' Committee in March before the General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. in May. Elder Pastor Talamaivao counselled Pastor Su'a to return to resume their ministry.[1387] Pastor Su'a was willing and had secured permission from Elder Pastor Talamaivao to stay in Samoa until the General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. was finished at the end of May.[1388] It was hoped that his wife might have changed her mind by then.[1389] Pastor Su'a then wrote to inform the Porirua Parish about the delay in their return and requested to pay their return fare.[1390] The parish refused the request and did not reply to inform Pastor Su'a of their refusal.[1391] After consultation with Elder Pastor Talamaivao, Pastor Su'a then returned to end his covenant

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[1383] 'Porirua Parish Book'.

[1384] 'Porirua Parish Book'.

[1385] Pastor Su'a. Present pastor of Ketesemane Parish; 'Personal Story of the Beginning of the Porirua, Ketesemane, and Canon's Creek Parishes'.
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1386] Elder Pastor Tavita Talamaivao was the leading Elder Pastor of the Wellington Sub-District since 1975. He succeeded Elder Pastor Leota who died in 1974.

[1387] 'Porirua Parish Book'.

[1388] 'Porirua Parish Book'.

[1389] Pastor Su'a; 'Personal Story...'

[1390] 'Porirua Parish Book'. Also in Personal Story by Pastor Su'a.

[1391] 'Porirua Parish Book'. Even the two deacon representatives from the Porirua Parish who attended the General Assembly did not inform Pastor Su'a of the parish's decision. Instead Pastor Su'a learned of the parish decision from other pastors from New Zealand who had come for the E.F.K.S's General Assembly. This was enough to indicate which side the two representatives from the Porirua Parish were on.

with the parish on June 9, 1979.[1392] Pastor Su'a left the Porirua Parish but not his close association with Elder Pastor Talamaivao. What was responsible for the parish's change of decision and, in particular the refusal to pay the return fare for the pastor and his family ? Pastor Su'a attributed it squarely on the lay preacher 'who was perverted by false praise'[1393] and 'who fell prey and company with members who are strong in the Fa'asamoa and wordly life'.[1394] On September 16, the parish had its vote for a pastor and the majority voted in favour of Pastor Su'a.[1395] But the meeting by all Elder Pastors of the C.C.C.S. on November, 11, did not recognise this and decided that the parish would have to find another pastor.[1396] Two of the known reasons for this decision were the reported influence of Elder Pastor Talamaivao in the parish vote, and the Elders' prudential consideration that the slim majority in favour of Pastor Su'a was not a comfortable constituency to ensure a smooth ministry by Pastor Su'a or any pastor for that matter.[1397] Elder Pastor Talamaivao did not feel that there was any need for Elders of other Sub-Districts to dictate religious activities of the Wellington Sub-District under his Elderly leadership.[1398] And in direct refutation of the previous decision by Elder Pastors

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[1392] 'Porirua Parish Book'.

[1393] In the Parish Book, Pastor Su'a refers to the lay preacher as a trustworthy person during his first term and when he left. But he blames the lay preacher because he was in charge of the parish, and therefore his failure to be the responsible leader is recorded 'to be the worst cause' of all problems in the parish during the pastor's malologa.

[1394] This is related to Note 1436 above. Pastor Su'a records examples of the shared responsibilities by the lay preacher and some chiefs and deacons who were able to influence the lay preacher to make unconstitutional changes in relation to parish agreed policies.
(1) The lay preacher and the Parish Treasurer cancelled the pastor's signature from the Parish Bank Account, and substituted it with the lay preacher's signature. This was wrong and suspicious because the Secretary of the parish was present who could have signed with the Treasurer in the absence of the pastor for any financial withdrawals of the parish. (2) Parish funds were appropriated in ways inconsistent with agreed policies of the parish. (3) Sunday School funds were found missing.

[1395] 'Porirua Parish Book'.

[1396] 'Porirua Parish Book'.

[1397] Chief and Elder Deacon Aiono Tofi; 'Personal Story...'

[1398] Elder Pastor Talamaivao. Present pastor of Palmerston North Parish; 'Personal Story of the Origin and Beginning of the C.C.C.S. and Other Parishes.' Correspondence with the Author.
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

of the C.C.C.S. on November 11, Elder Pastor Talamaivao instructed the Porirua Parish on December 2, 1979 to make covenant with Pastor Su'a the following Saturday.[1399] The parish was reluctant in the knowledge that this was the sole decision of Elder Pastor Talamaivao, but not the whole Wellington Sub-District.[1400] The Elder Deacon was able to convince Elder Pastor Talamaivao and all pastors of the Sub-District to meet on December 6th where it was decided to postpone the invitation of Pastor Su'a until the New Year.[1401] On December 15, Elder Pastor Talamaivao and the Pastor Secretary of the Sub-District with the pastor of Napier Parish brought Pastor Su'a and his wife to the Porirua Parish Church to fulfil a slightly different course of action.[1402] It was to make covenant between Pastor Su'a and the majority of members of the parish who were supporters, with the idea that it was a totally new parish.[1403] On the same day parish members who were not in favour of Pastor Su'a, and who remained in the parish were on a picnic with the Sunday School.[1404] When they returned, Elder Pastor Talamaivao had already conducted the service to seal the covenant between Pastor Su'a and other parish members.[1405] Confusion and physical fights resulted which led to the involvement of Police, and some members were taken to the hospital.[1406] Anger spilled into hatred which was partly caused by Elder Pastor Talamaivao's instructions that those who were against Pastor Su'a may as well go to their own homes.[1407] The Elder Deacon who was not a fond supporter of Pastor Su'a rang Elder Pastor Ieriko in Auckland about Elder Pastor Talamaivao's course of actions and the further hostility they caused for the parish

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[1399] 'Porirua Parish Book'.

[1400] Chief and Elder Deacon Aiono Tofi; 'Personal Story...'

[1401] 'Porirua Parish Book'.

[1402] 'Porirua Parish Book'.

[1403] Chief and Elder Deacon Aiono Tofi; 'Personal Story...'

[1404] Chief and Elder Deacon Aiono Tofi; 'Personal Story...'

[1405] Chief and Elder Deacon Aiono Tofi; 'Personal Story...'. Also, 'Porirua Parish Book'.

[1406] Chief and Elder Deacon Aiono Tofi; 'Personal Story...'

[1407] Chief and Elder Deacon Aiono Tofi; 'Personal Story...'

members.[1408] The next day, Sunday, Elder Pastor Ieriko arrived with a firm solution for Porirua's problem. He judged that Elder Pastor Talamaivao's mistake was to begin a new parish for some members in the midst of a divided parish fellowship - '...That Elder did a fatal mistake. How could he begin a new parish while the parish fellowship is divided ? He should have reconciled members first...'[1409] But Elder Pastor Ieriko seemed less prudent when he refused the Elder Deacon's advice to advise Elder Pastor Talamaivao in Palmerston North of his arrival to solve the Porirua Problem.[1410] According to Elder Pastor Ieriko, 'Elder Pastor Talamaivao is not needed. This may be his Sub-District, but not his parish.'[1411] Elder Pastor Ieriko's solution was to cancel the morning service by Pastor Su'a and his supporters which was about to begin with the following declaration :- 'There is no new parish to begin here in this Church. The Constitution of the Church stipulates that those who leave would have to leave (ie.,disown any claim to parish property). Those who remain own parish property.'[1412]

Like the consequences of Elder Pastor Talamaivao's solution, more hostility resulted. The battle of Elderly authority of the C.C.C.S. proved futile and divisive because of the lack of a holistic vision to cultivate a bond of peace in the unity of love. The 'Porirua Problem' was referred to the Elders in Samoa who decided to return it to the Elders (of the C.C.C.S.) in New Zealand to find a solution.[1413] On January 2, 1980, all Elders of the C.C.C.S. assembled with the Porirua Parish in the Porirua Church to deliver their final solution.[1414] It was simply to relieve Pastor Su'a and wife from the Porirua Parish, and to attempt to reconcile the parish fellowship.[1415] The final solution was never disclosed

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[1408] Chief and Elder Deacon Aiono Tofi; 'Personal Story...'

[1409] Chief and Elder Deacon Aiono Tofi; 'Personal Story...'

[1410] Chief and Elder Deacon Aiono Tofi; 'Personal Story...'

[1411] Chief and Elder Deacon Aiono Tofi; 'Personal Story...'

[1412] Chief and Elder Deacon Aiono Tofi; 'Personal Story...'

[1413] 'Porirua Parish book'. Also according to Personal Story by Chief and Elder Deacon Aiono Tofi.

[1414] 'Porirua Parish Book'. Also according to Personal Story by Chief and Elder Deacon Aiono Tofi.

[1415] 'Porirua Parish Book'. Also according to Personal Story by Chief and Elder Deacon Aiono Tofi.

because the supporters of Pastor Su'a opened the gathering with a proposal and a request which provided the best solution.[1416] They agreed to surrender all their shares of rights to parts of parish property, and to request the Elders for permission to begin a separate parish with Pastor Su'a as their pastor.[1417] The proposal was accepted and the request was granted. The new parish of Ketesemane held its founding service three days later on January 5, 1980 in the Porirua Town Hall.[1418] The following day, January 6, 1980, it was officially welcomed as a parish of the Wellington Sub-District.[1419] The Ketesemane Parish began in great optimism because of its numerous membership. The actual number of members who left the Porirua Parish, which was the majority, cannot be ascertained. But by the end of 1980, parish membership figures recorded two hundred and fifty four.[1420] It gradually increased to two hundred and ninety eight in 1986, before it dropped to one hundred and ninety six in 1987.[1421] This was because about one hundred members separated again to begin the Canons Creek Parish in the Porirua area, later in 1986.

(29) THE WEYMOUTH PARISH JULY 13, 1980.

The origin of the Weymouth Parish was rooted in a religious atmosphere of 'prolonged controversies' between 1979 and 1981[1422] in the Papakura Parish from which founding

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[1416] 'Porirua Parish Book'. Also according to Personal Story by Chief and Elder Deacon Aiono Tofi.

[1417] 'Porirua Parish Book'. Also according to Personal Story by Chief and Elder Deacon Aiono Tofi. Members who left with Pastor Su'a included most of the Samoans from Pastor Su'a's village in Samoa. Those that left were dominated by chiefs from one village in Samoa. It is generally believed, and true, that the controversy was mainly between members of these two villages.

[1418] 'Ketesemane Parish Book'.

[1419] 'Ketesemane Parish Book'.

[1420] 'Minute Book of the Wellington Sub-District'.

[1421] 'Minute Book of the Wellington Sub-District'.

[1422] Major sources for the story of the origin and beginning of this Parish are the Personal Stories of the Origin and Beginning of the C.C.C.S. and Other Parishes Elder Pastor Arielu of Manurewa Parish, Pastor Malu Petaia of Mangere West Parish, and Faletua Lologa of Weymouth Parish, and the 'Minute_Books' of both the Auckland and South Auckland Sub-Districts.

members of the Weymouth Parish came. Its later dimension was a bitter division between two leading Elders of the Auckland and South Auckland Sub-Districts over the appropriateness of beginning another C.C.C.S. parish.

The disruption in the Papakura Parish at the end of 1979 related to the parish division over its choice of pastor which Elder Pastor Manase, of the South Auckland Sub-District did not accept. A brief narrative will explain the situation. The pastor of the Papakura Parish appointed[1423] a lay preacher from Samoa to look after the parish during his three months rest (malologa) at the beginning of 1978.[1424] The lay preacher got along well with the parish, and the return of the parish pastor was delayed because he became sick and eventually died in his home at the end of 1979.[1425] Elder Pastor Manase had warned the lay preacher a few times about his pretensions to be the parish pastor but without good effect.[1426] Division ensued because some members wanted the lay preacher to be the parish pastor. But this was rejected by the Sub-District which dismissed him from the parish and suspended his lay preacher's status for three years.[1427] The major reason, besides his continual disobedience of Elder Pastor Manase's leadership, involved his overstayer status and court cases related to it which had brought disgrace both on the parish and the Sub-District.[1428] The lay preacher eventually returned to Samoa but after his supporters in the Papakura Parish had left in December, 1979[1429] to begin a separate parish.

[1423] Essentially, Elder Pastor Manase appointed the lay preacher. But as recorded in the 'Minute Book of the South Auckland Sub-District', it was the recommendation by the Papakura Parish Pastor, Kalati, which was merely confirmed by Elder Pastor Manase.

[1424] 'Minute Book of the South Auckland Sub-District'.

[1425] Elder Pastor Arielu was emphatic that the lay preacher was involved in various activities as if he was the pastor of the parish. And it led to his 'overstayer status'.

[1426] Elder Pastor Arielu; 'Personal Story...'

[1427] 'Minute Book of the South Auckland Sub-District', p.42.

[1428] 'Minute Book of the South Auckland Sub-District', p.54.

[1429] 'Minute Book of the South Auckland Sub-District', p.52. Among the leading families of Weymouth was the family of the lay preacher. His daughter was the wife of the pastor in Hamilton who left to become pastor of the Weymouth Parish. This may explain why they left the ministry in Hamilton after two years, as mentioned in the section on the Hamilton Parish. Also most of the activities in the initial development of

Now the second dimension of the controversial beginning of the Weymouth Parish unfolds. Elder Pastor Manase refused to accept a new parish in the South Auckland Sub-District mainly because there were nearby parishes of Wiri and Manurewa the separated group could join.[1430] Elder Pastor Manase advised the group to join the Manurewa Parish which was mostly slow in membership growth.[1431] But the group refused and decided to approach Elder Pastor Ieriko of the Auckland Sub-District with their request to begin a separate parish. Elder Pastor Ieriko accepted the request and instructed the founding service of the Weymouth Parish to be held on July 13, 1980 amidst the sustained opposition from Elder Pastor Manase and some pastors of the South Auckland Sub-District.[1432] The group was much encouraged by Elder Pastor Ieriko's acceptance of their participation in the Auckland Sub-District from which the initial stages of the development of their new parish were all planned.[1433] The founding service was held at the Baptist Church in Weymouth and was conducted by Elder Pastor Ieriko and pastors of his Sub-District.[1434] In February, 1981, the Weymouth Parish covenanted with its first pastor who himself had just left the Hamilton Parish in 1980 after only two years ministry.[1435] By this time, parish members had grown to one hundred and forty five [1436]

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the Weymouth Parish were held in the house of the lay preacher and his children. So the influence of family connections and initiative was part of the founding story of the Weymouth Parish.

[1430] Elder Pastor Arielu; 'Personal Story...'

[1431] Manurewa had only eighty (80) members at this time (1980) since its beginning in 1970. Figures for the Manurewa Parish in the 'Manurewa Parish Book'.

[1432] According to Elder Pastor Arielu; 'Personal Story...'

[1433] Several references to the 'founding members' of the Weymouth Parish during their participation in the Auckland Sub-District are found in the 'Minute Book' of the Sub-District. They clearly show Elder Pastor Ieriko's role in the nascent beginning of the Weymouth Parish.

[1434] 'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District'.
Elder Pastor Arielu relates the bitter differences between Elder Pastor Ieriko and Elder Pastor Manase on the day of the founding service. Despite Elder Pastor Manase's opposition, Elder Pastor Ieriko was unrelenting in spite of the 'justified' charge that he should not interfere with the South Auckland Sub-District where Elder Pastor Manase was the leading Elder. Elder Pastor Ieriko's reply was that he was fulfilling his duty as the 'Komiti Fa'atonu' [Executive Director] of the Elders' Committee. It meant such status was the overall leader of all Elders.

[1435] Refer to the Section on Hamilton and relevant Notes.

[1436] 'Minute Book of the South Auckland Sub-District'.

which pre-figured the eventual development of the Weymouth Parish into becoming a successful parish in terms of membership growth and development.

(30) THE PANMURE PARISH AUGUST 15, 1981.

The origin of the Panmure Parish was rooted in the 'pastor acquaintance'[1437] between Elder Pastor Manase and an E.F.K.S. Pastor, Peleti Toailoa, who migrated from Samoa to live with his children in New Zealand. Rooted in this 'pastor acquaintance', the Panmure Parish was eventually begun by Pastor Peleti's family[1438] with much encouragement by the South Auckland Sub-District.

Since arrival in New Zealand at the beginning of 1980, Pastor Toailoa lived mostly in Mangere with his daughter who attended the P.I.P.C. in Mangere. At times he stayed with his son who lived in Panmure. He attended both the Mangere P.I.P.C. and the Mangere Parish of the C.C.C.S. where he became closely acquainted with Elder Pastor Manase, and began to participate in worship and meeting gatherings of the South Auckland Sub-District.[1439] This became the seed of the beginning of the Panmure Parish in the imagination of the Sub-District. In the meeting by the Sub-District on June 28, 1980,[1440] Elder Pastor Manase raised the issue of a possible beginning of a parish in the Mount Wellington area (where Panmure is situated) as only 'food for thought'.[1441] A

[1437] This translates the Samoan expression 'O le masaniga fa'afaifeau'. The idea expresses the natural acquaintance between E.F.K.S. Pastors which always leads to new ventures of all sorts in the pastoral ministry. In the growth of the C.C.C.S. parishes in New Zealand, this 'pastoral acquaintance' has been a vital factor in the origins of other parishes for good and not so good reasons. The former is associated with parishes whose beginnings were mostly the initiative of general lay believers. The latter for parishes which started mostly out of the presence of a pastor who may consciously or unconsciously 'tempt the beginning of a division in a parish into a breakaway'. This is an unpleasant part of the Clerical Culture in the manner of a professional competition for jobs. But these are not relevant to the beginning of the Panmure Parish.

[1438] This is generally well known. It was confirmed by the present pastor of Panmure, Pouniu Fa'amausili, and is recorded with clear emphasis in the 'Otara Parish Book' by Pastor Uala who was the preacher in the founding service of Panmure Parish. According to the 'Family Story', 26 members of their family started the parish in the Baptist Church in Panmure on June 12, 1981.

[1439] This information was gained from a personal conversation with the present pastor of Panmure. Also found in the 'Mangere Parish Book' and the 'Minute Book of the South Auckland Sub-District'.

[1440] 'Minute Book of the South Auckland Sub-District', p.11.

[1441] 'Minute Book of the South Auckland Sub-District', p.11.

whole year had passed without another mention of the issue in the meetings of the Sub-District. But it cannot be doubted that during this period, Pastor Toailoa's family had attempted to congregate interested Samoans in the Panmure area to begin a parish. For in the Sub-District meeting on July 25, 1981, the issue re-appeared, but now as a request from a group of Samoans in Panmure to begin a parish in Panmure.[1442] The Sub-District accepted the request and decided to hold the parish's founding service on August 15, 1981.[1443] Sixteen founding members, including children, began the parish.[1444] According to the preacher[1445] in the founding service - 'Despite the small number of this parish there was a feeling of goodness because of the felt-presence of the Head of the Church. He was right (Jesus) that 'wherever two or three may gather in my name, there I will be also'[1446].][1447] The parish voted in November in favour of Pastor Toailoa[1448] who made covenant with the parish in December, 1981.[1449]

(31) THE GLENFIELD PARISH SEPTEMBER 13, 1981.

Much is uncertain about the origin and beginning of this parish because of the lack of the most relevant sources. The only sources that could be ascertained lacked specificity as to the motives and main reasons behind the beginning of the parish. The only certainty is that the leading founder of the Glenfield Parish, Chief Leota Tupua, was one of the leading founders of the North Shore Parish.[1450] His family was among the four families

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[1442] Minute Book of the South Auckland Sub-District, p.11.

[1443] 'Minute Book of the South Auckland Sub-District', p.11. Also mentioned in the 'Otara Parish Book', p.75.

[1444] According to Pastor Pouniu Fa'amausili, the present pastor (1994) of Panmure Parish.

[1445] Pastor Uala, the third pastor of Otara Parish.

[1446] Preacher's expression of Jesus' words.

[1447] 'Otara Parish Book', p.75.

[1448] 'Mangere Parish Book'.

[1449] 'Mangere Parish Book'.

[1450] 'North Shore Parish Book'.

who left the North Shore Parish in 1980.[1451] It is mentioned in the North Shore Parish Book that some of these wrote farewell letters to the pastor and they were accepted, but others did not.[1452] It cannot be established to which category the leading founder of the Glenfield Parish belonged. Though the sense of what is recorded is of a farewell in 'good manner'. The parish had its founding service in the City Council Hall in Glenfield on September 13, 1981.[1453] A founding fund of $469.49 was collected from gifts. Pastor Leasuasu of the North Shore Parish took part in the service and Chief Leota Tupua spoke on behalf of the new parish to return their gratitude for the encouraging service and the participation of many pastors and members of the Auckland Sub-District.[1454] These may suggest for the origin of the Glenfield Parish that whatever the true motives of its founders were, it was enough for the religious community of the Auckland Sub-District to celebrate the beginning of a new parish for the C.C.C.S.

(32) THE MANGERE WEST PARISH NOVEMBER 22, 1981.

The Mangere West Parish resulted from a major disruption in the Mangere East Parish in 1981. It represents another classic story of a major disruption within the parish system of the C.C.C.S. in the beginning of the 1980's, and was of a magnitude which paralleled the disruptions in the Kingsland Parish in 1970 which originated the Sandringham Parish, and in the Porirua Parish in 1980 which originated the Ketesemane Parish in 1980.

(1) The Beginning of the Controversy in the Mangere East Parish.

The beginning of the controversy was the decision by the parish for major changes and readjustments in the parish ministry which were included in 'Eleven Proposals'.[1455] In

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[1451] 'North Shore Parish Book'.

[1452] 'North Shore Parish Book'.

[1453] 'Report of the Founding Service' in the 'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District'.

[1454] 'Report of the Founding Service' in the 'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District'.

[1455] The Eleven Proposals as recorded in the Parish Book. Their Resolutions are also recorded which were really the pastor's way of recording the Resolutions arrived at in the parish meeting :-

essence, it required nothing less than a major Parish Reformation which required the delegation and apportionment of certain duties, roles and decision making authorities to elected officials, appropriate committees, and the whole parish fellowship. The unmistakable assertion of the authority of the parish fellowship over the seemingly predominant authority of the pastor is clearly evident especially, when viewed in the light of the required changes and modifications in the way the pastor, Elder Manase, was conducting his pastoral ministry.[1456]

Chronology of Vital Events.

During the absence of Elder Pastor Manase and his wife to attend the General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. in May, 1981, the parish held three meetings[1457] which decided for the 'Parish Reformation' mentioned above, and the possibility of dismissing Elder Pastor

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(1) That the house now run by mothers (Womens' Fellowship) shall be given to the whole parish to run - It is good; Accepted.
(2) That the signature of the pastor is to be taken away from all the invested funds of the parish - Rejected; It is wrong.
(3) All the bookings for the Hall shall be given to the Secretary to deal with - It is good, for it unnecessarily adds more load to the pastor.
(4) It is necessary to formally appoint someone to look after the parish ministry should the pastor be absent on a journey - Rejected; None of your concern.
(5) There shall be no more toll calls through the phone in the church - Rejected; Pastor continues to use it for his pastoral duties.
(6) The money for the Hall to be left to Masi. Miti's name to be added too - Very well; Accepted.
(7) Gifts for Visiting Preachers - Let families decide what they want to provide, food or money - This is the way it is presently done.
(8) The paper which is carried during worship must be stopped - It shall continue.
(9) All offices of the Parish Fellowship and Committee members must be selected through the vote - No, the pastor will appoint them.
(10) The matter concerning the Church you are known to have sold - There is no such thing.
(11) The money gifts for the visiting preachers that are collected at the back must change to be collected in the front - The Committee shall decide the best way to do that.

[1456] See the Eleven Proposals above.

[1457] Having a parish meeting of this nature at this particular time in the parish ministry is not only unconventional, but constitutes a betrayal of the pastor according to established policies and conventions in the pastoral ministry of the E.F.K.S. or C.C.C.S. Church Policy and tradition does not allow the parish to hold a meeting relating to the parish ministry in the absence of the parish pastor. It is always believed that if such a thing happens, it is essentially an expression of hatred, challenge, and betrayal of the pastor, who is the covenanted leader of the parish ministry. The unconventional aspect is also part of it. It was mostly objectionable when the parish held such meetings while the pastor was attending the General Assembly of the Church. The only expectation during such time is for all church adherents to 'wish well' and pray for the success of the General Assembly.

Manase and his wife if they should refuse the request for reforms.[1458] Elder Pastor Manase and wife returned from the General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa on the first week of June, and confronted a divided and confused parish with an urgent request for an emergency meeting of the parish on Saturday, June 6, 1981.[1459] The request was refused for a needed rest after the meeting and travel from Samoa, and the parish was advised to wait until the usual general meeting of the parish at the end of the month. Some members, led by the parish secretary, were enraged, and resulted in a series of unpleasant events in the parish the very next Sunday, June 7, 1981.[1460] Constant pressure from members eventually resulted in the parish meeting the following Sunday, June 15, 1981 in which the 'Eleven Proposals' were discussed. The meeting was successful in the sense that all the matters raised were resolved.[1461] But it was equally evident that the issues which directly related to the prerogatives and authority of the pastor were not accepted by Elder Pastor Manase.[1462] The real 'reformation' envisaged by members behind the needed 'Parish Reformation' was clearly thwarted.

On September 6, 1981, a little less than three months later, another parish meeting was held at the instigation of the parish secretary.[1463] The reason was - 'It is absolutely

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[1458] The crucial issue was the requirement to exclude Elder Pastor Manase's signature from all bank accounts of the parish. The concern arose partly from the suspicion of misuse of parish funds. But the main aim was to curb the predominant influence of Elder Pastor Manase in the control and expenditure of parish funds. As recorded in the Parish Book - 'One of their resolutions was, when the pastor returns, they will submit their proposals; all the Bank Books must be given to the parish, and never to be touched again by the pastor. If he refuses then they would retreat to discuss the possibility of dismissing the pastor.'

[1459] 'Mangere Parish Book', p.86.

[1460] The pianist did not turn up for worship and hymns were sung without the piano. A further request for a parish meeting after the service was also refused, and members hurled abuses and negative judgments against Elder Pastor Manase and also against the state of the parish ministry. The parish fellowship returned to the Church for its meeting at 3.00pm hoping Elder Pastor Manase would participate, but for the third time Elder Pastor Manase refused with the same answer to leave everything until the proper meeting at the end of the month.
'Mangere Parish Book'.

[1461] See resolutions to Proposals as recorded alongside each Proposal.

[1462] See especially Proposals (2), (4), (5), (8), (9).

[1463] 'Mangere Parish Book'; p.204'

evident that the parish ministry has increasingly diminished in its public vitality.'[1464] It was a long and most difficult meeting which clearly showed the equal division of the parish between those with a negative assessment of Elder Pastor Manase and the 'state of the ministry', and others with positive appreciation.[1465] The vote was held to decide whether to hold a vote to end the covenant with Elder Pastor Manase, and the result was equally divided - twenty three on both sides. The parish secretary determined the outcome by his decision against holding a vote, but for the whole parish fellowship to meet again with the pastor to 'patch up everything' into a complete unity and reconciliation. This meeting was held on September 15, 1981.[1466]

(2) The Involvement of the District Elders.

Some members were determined to pursue the need for change and reform to the end. On this very day, September 15, 1981, after the reconciliation meeting on September 14, 1981, eight members requested Elder Pastor Ieriko to dismiss Elder Pastor Manase and his wife from the parish on the charge of misuse of parish funds.[1467] Elder Pastor Ieriko accepted the request even before he attempted to talk with Elder Pastor Manase. Because of this surprising omission,[1468] the two Elders of the Wellington Sub-District and the Southern Sub-District declined to accept Elder Pastor Ieriko's phone call to participate in the formal dismissal of Elder Pastor Manase. The Elder of the Wellington Sub-District was able to persuade Elder Pastor Ieriko to a change of approach. A letter from the pastor secretary of the Auckland Sub-District informed Elder Pastor Manase of Elder Pastor Ieriko's advice to await their mission with the Elder Deacon of the District from the Porirua Parish on October 4, 1981.[1469] The main purpose was to meet the whole parish and to try to resolve the problem in the parish. Elder Pastor Manase rang Elder Pastor

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[1464] 'Mangere Parish Book'; p.204.

[1465] 'Mangere Parish Book'; p. 206.

[1466] 'Mangere Parish Book'; p.206.

[1467] 'Mangere Parish Book'; p.207.

[1468] 'Mangere Parish Book'; p.207.

[1469] 'Mangere Parish Book'; p.207.

Ieriko that he was prepared to meet their delegation, but not with the parish. This eventuated, and Elder Pastor Manase was able to convince the delegation that the parish had returned to normalcy after three parish meetings. Most importantly, Elder Pastor Manase was able to clear the charges against him regarding the misuse of parish funds because all the Bank Books of the parish were held by the Treasurer and the parish Committee. The 'District Delegation' left enlightened and satisfied.[1470]

(3) Another Eruption and the Involvement of the South Auckland Sub- District.

On November 1, 1981, the parish met at the instigation of the parish secretary to request an explanation from Elder Pastor Manase of his decision to withdraw the lay preacher's family from their usual duty of preparing the monthly celebration of the Holy Communion. Elder Pastor Manase's explanation ignited a heated exchange.[1471] According to Elder Pastor Manase, his decision was based on clear evidence of the lay preacher's continual opposition to the pastor, which involved destructive effects to the ministry. A member issued the challenge that Elder Pastor Manase had neither the right nor an acceptable justification for his decision because the lay preacher's status as a communion member was not invalidated, and that the decision could not be binding because it was not made by the parish 'Church Fellowship'. Elder Pastor Manase replied that the pastor alone has the right to make such decision as part of his duty and authority as the pastor of the parish ministry. With great anger, the parish secretary and a woman yelled at Elder Pastor Manase that a pastor had no such right and authority, only Jesus is the Head of the parish ministry. In return Elder Pastor Manase 'shut up' the woman and re-emphasised that his decision had nothing to do with the issue of the 'headship' of the ministry, but only a fulfilment of duty. The meeting ended in chaos.[1472] And straight away, and in the night, the opposition went to the place of the pastor secretary of the South Auckland Sub-District with the proposal that the Sub-District should revoke the

[1470] 'Mangere Parish Book'; p.209.

[1471] 'Mangere Parish Book'; p.209.

[1472] 'Mangere Parish Book'; p.209.

covenant between the parish and Elder Pastor Manase.[1473] The meeting of the pastors of the Sub-District was called and decided for a reconciliation mission to the Mangere East Parish. This was undertaken a day later, on November 3, 1981, but without success.[1474] The division in the parish fellowship reached its most crucial phase on November 15, 1981, when the opposition held their separate worship in the Church without Elder Pastor Manase's knowledge.[1475] It was conducted by the lay preacher who was the focus of the latest uproar, and whose status as a lay preacher was already suspended by Elder Pastor Manase. This was therefore the clearest expression of the opposition's contemptuous disregard of Elder Pastor Manase's Elderly authority, and also their rejection of him as their parish pastor.

(4) The Real Involvement by the District Elders.

Elder Manase had now felt it to be appropriate to seek a solution from the Elders of the District. For the reconciling mission by his Sub-District on November 3, was proven unsuccessful. On November 18,[1476] four leading Elders of the C.C.C.S. met in the Mangere Parish to attempt to restore unity in the parish fellowship. Their first attempt was met by 'long speeches from the opposition which amounted to a refusal of the reconciling attempts by the Elders.'[1477] Elder Pastor Ieriko was suspected by other Elders for cutting the meeting shorter than was seemed necessary. The Elders met again and decided to attempt the same reconciliation approach the next day. In this second meeting the Elders' speeches of hope and reconciliation only received from the opposition the courtesy of 'telling more lies and showing great rudeness' against Elder Pastor Manase.[1478] The 'Writing was on the wall' against the prospects of restoring unity for the parish fellowship. And Elder Pastor Ieriko called the Elders to the front for a further

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[1473] 'Mangere Parish Book'; p.210.

[1474] 'Mangere Parish Book'; p.210.

[1475] 'Mangere Parish Book'; p.210.

[1476] 'Mangere Parish Book', p.210.

[1477] 'Mangere Parish Book'; p.211.

[1478] 'Otara Parish Book'; p.91.

deliberation while the whole parish fellowship was silent with great expectations. It did not take long before Elder Pastor Ieriko declared the Elders' final decision. That Manase must leave the parish and attempts be made to achieve unity and reconciliation in the parish. If the parish shall decide in favour of Manase then he shall resume ministry in Mangere. If Manase does not win, the parish shall seek another pastor[1479].Elder Pastor Manase found the decision objectionable because of his suspicion of Elder Pastor Ieriko's presumed influence.[1480] And he had good reason to think as such.[1481] He therefore objected to the Elders' decision and requested that their decision be submitted to the Elders' Committee of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. And that he was willing to accept whatever the Elders in Samoa may decide.[1482]

(5) <u>One Last Attempt for Reconciliation Amongst the Parishioners Themselves</u>.

There was a real possibility of reconciliation among the parishioners themselves if it was not for the sustained pressure from Elder Pastor Ieriko to ensure Elder Pastor Manase's obedience to their decision, and a few hard line opponents of Elder Pastor Manase led by the parish secretary. On November 21, a Saturday morning, and a day later after the 'grand failure' of the Elders' attempt for reconciliation and unity, the majority of the parish fellowship met and decided to 'honour and preserve their covenant with Elder Pastor Manase.'[1483] With gratitude, Elder Pastor Manase thanked them with the advice to have faith in God. But in the late afternoon, the parish secretary rang Elder Pastor

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[1479] 'Ia tula'i ese Manase ma le Aulotu ae teuteu le Ekalesia i Mangere. A toe fai le Palota e malo Manase, ona toe foi mai lea i Mangere ae afai e le malo ona saili lea o so latou faifeau.'
'Otara Parish Book', p.91

[1480] 'Otara Parish Book'; p.91.

[1481] 'Mangere Parish Book'; pp.211-212. Elder Pastor Manase recorded his impression in the Parish Book, stating that this was Ieriko's decision he gave the members who went to see him the first time. And that everyone knew that Ieriko was willing to see his decision fulfilled. Refer Also to Section on Weymouth about the conflicts between Elder Pastor Ieriko and Elder Pastor Manase in 1980. It sheds some light on this present controversy.

[1482] 'Mangere Parish Book'; p.211.

[1483] 'Mangere Parish Book'; p.211.

Manase and insisted that he 'preach farewell' on Sunday because Elder Pastor Ieriko had rung him to ensure that their decision was obeyed by Elder Pastor Manase. Elder Pastor Manase refused but proposed another meeting by the parish on Sunday evening. The parish secretary replied, 'he will have no one to meet if he should fail to preach farewell'. On learning about this exchange, the supporters of Elder Pastor Manase then decided, after consulting Elder Pastor Manase, to make a 'farewell reconciliation' with the minority opposition, which was again attracting more supporters since Elder Pastor Ieriko's latest phone call to the parish secretary.[1484] The proposition for the 'farewell reconciliation' is quoted below :-

> We have come so that we can make the true reconciliation to ensure our unity in mutual love. Our covenant with our pastor will not be revoked. We will continue it. We shall look after them (pastor and wife). We will retreat to begin our 'lotu' (Church) with the 'Toeaina' (Elder - in both the sense of Pastor Elder and Father in age). All our properties, Church Hall and our licences for our fundraising Bingo and Housie and everything you have, we will leave for you.[1485]

There was that rarest moment of 'subdued humility amongst the hard line opponents with the sudden change in their eyes'. The problem was that the opposition desperately wanted unity and reconciliation without the pastor, Elder Pastor Manase. But as evident in the propositions for the 'Farewell Reconciliation' the other side cared both for the pastor and the 'sealed covenant' between the pastor and the parish. And for this 'unsolved problem' the two sides farewelled all in tears.[1486] All possible efforts and attempts to achieve reconciliation and restore unity had now failed. 'Everyone did what was right in his own eyes'. There was one source of 'pastoral power' in Elder Pastor Manase's possession which the Elders' decision had left untouched - the fact of being the leading Elder Pastor of the South Auckland Sub-District. And it became crucial in the beginning of the Mangere West Parish.

[1484] 'Mangere Parish Book'; p.211.

[1485] 'Mangere Parish Book'; p.212.

[1486] 'Mangere Parish Book'; p.212.

(6) November 22, 1981 to December, 1982.

The conclusion of the tearful 'Farewell Reconciliation' by the two sides of the Mangere East Parish was the nascent beginning of the parish of Mangere West. Manase the pastor was effectually exiled from the 'proper Parish' by the Elders' decision. But Manase the leading Elder continued to lead from exile. Elder Pastor Manase did not 'preach farewell' as required, but he instructed the pastor secretary of 'his' South Auckland Sub-District to conduct the worship of the opposition in the parish church.[1487] With half of the parish members who supported him, Elder Pastor Manase, with them, began separate worship in Manase's house on Sunday, November 22, 1981.[1488] This was the first act of the beginning of the parish of Mangere West. Two important aspects which dominated the parish's beginning (first year) were the obvious one of parish development from scratch, and further controversies related to the Elder status of Elder Pastor Manase and the new parish of Mangere West. Parish development followed the usual routine that was typical of other C.C.C.S. parishes, and therefore does not need detailed explanation.[1489] Elder Pastor Ieriko took it upon himself to resolve the two problematic issues related to Elder Pastor Manase's Elder status and his separated parish. On November 29, he conducted Sunday worship for the opposition which to Elder Pastor Manase was 'most unbelievable' in the light of the unsolved problems.[1490] The result was the eruption of another controversy between the two sides concerning church property. As mentioned above, supporters of Elder Pastor Manase had relinquished all their rightful claims to parish property. This was sincere,[1491] but in reality it lacked much substance because

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[1487] 'Mangere Parish Book'; p.212.

[1488] 'Mangere Parish Book', p.212.

[1489] 'Mangere Parish Book'. The following information related to examples of parish developments are found in the Parish Book, especially in pp.213-215. Worship was held in Elder Pastor Manase's house in the first few weeks and later in public halls until the parish completed its new Church in 1990. Fundraising activities were mainly public concerts and dances by the most active Fellowships by women and the parish choir. Individual and family gifts became regular sources of Church funds and properties especially through celebrations of individual birthdays, children's achievements in secular schools, and various family occasions in the context of the parish fellowship. Parish support for their pastor is evident in their 'Alofa' [charity giving] for the pastor's family - the monthly 'Alofa' increased from $109.00 in December, 1981 to $735 in September, 1982.

[1490] 'Mangere Parish Book'; p.212.

[1491] Refer to the 'Farewell Reconciliation' above in text.

most of the members of the Board of Trustees for church property of the Mangere East Parish were on Elder Pastor Manase's side. It was not properly perceived at the time especially with regards to its legal significance. The relevant point here is Elder Pastor Ieriko's influence which encouraged the opposition to demand other parish properties which according to the 'Farewell Reconciliation' was inappropriate.[1492]

In March, 1982, the District Elders met to fulfil the requirements of the decision from the Elders in Samoa about the 'Elder status' of Elder Pastor Manase. The decision from Samoa delegated the responsibility to New Zealand Elders to solve the problem through proper discussion amongst the Elders. Unfortunately this meeting failed to reach a decision and ended in mutual disagreement[1493] because Elder Pastor Ieriko did not lead the meeting in the spirit of the decision from the Elders in Samoa. According to Elder Pastor Manase,

> It was clear that Ieriko did not share the spirit of the decision from Samoa. We met to discuss but Ieriko changed everything. He decided to solve the issue through a vote by the whole District. It was very clear that Ieriko was determined to wrest the office off me, and to disqualify my Elder status before the District...[1494]

By the middle of 1982 the controversy over church property involved numerous legal activities especially when lawyers for both sides became involved. This was most unfortunate for Elder Pastor Manase who had never wished that matters would escalate this far. The most unfortunate effect was to make him appear heretical to the Elders in

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[1492] This can be safely assumed because this was one of Elder Pastor Ieriko's usual way of solving disputes of this nature as was applied in the case of Porirua mentioned above. The relevant part was the understanding that what the opposition had (in possession) they shall keep - hence, the Church, Hall, etc; as mentioned above. On December 1, the parish secretary rang Elder Pastor Manase to return all Bank Books, the Parish Book and Bibles. In accordance with the understanding in the 'Farewell Reconciliation', Elder Pastor Manase replied that 'whatever they had were theirs, and what we may have (ie., Manase's side) we shall keep to begin our new parish'. The telephone exchange ended with threats from the parish secretary. Another week passed and the parish secretary wrote to demand the same things, but Elder Pastor Manase did not reply.

[1493] Elder Pastor Ieriko and Elder Pastor Sekati of the Southern Sub-District engaged in a heated exchange which was unresolved after the meeting. And both reminded each other to watch out in the future.

[1494] 'Mangere Parish Book'; p.213.

Samoa. This is because it has always been one of the main unwritten traditions of the E.F.K.S. never to settle church matters or church disputes in Court or any manner of legal adjudications. In August, the Elders in Samoa made its final decision in the light of further developments in the prolonged controversy associated with the 'Mangere Parish Problem', and the failure of the New Zealand District to achieve a final resolution. The decision was - 'That Manase must leave the parish and his Elder status removed.'[1495] This decision was extremely severe. When put together with the decision by the New Zealand Elders on November 19 which led to the separate worship by Elder Pastor Manase and his supporters in November 22, this was essentially adding 'crucifixion upon exile' as far as Elder Pastor Manase was concerned. But according to one pastor of the South Auckland Sub-District - 'The decision from Samoa has given the solution, once and for all, for the present controversy.'[1496] Yet, in reality, the first part of the decision from Samoa did not have any significance in the sense that Elder Pastor Manase and his supporters had gone far in consolidating their new parish with the support of the South Auckland Sub-District. But the second part was clear victory to Elder Pastor Ieriko who was able to replace Elder Pastor Manase with Elder Pastor Nu'uali'itia with the approval of the District Elders, but against the objections by the majority of pastors of the South Auckland Sub-District who still preferred Elder Pastor Manase. Their major objection was the unconstitutional way the Elder Pastor was appointed; but they gave up reluctantly, only because of their concern for the reputation of pastors before the Samoan religious community. According to their representative :-

> In spite of the failure to use the E.F.K.S.'s way for deciding Elders,[1497] which is compounded by the way the District Elders insist on accepting their decision, we will withdraw our objections for the want and hope for a good Sub-District. Because we, pastors, are now looking ugly before the people.[1498]

[1495] 'Otara Parish Book', p.91.

[1496] 'Otara Parish Book'; p.91.

[1497] The constitutional way to decide the Elder Pastor of a Sub-District of the E.F.K.S. is by pastors of the Sub-District through vote or by consensus based on consideration of seniority and long-term service in the ministry.

[1498] 'Mangere Parish Book'; p.96.

On November 4, the Sub-District led by the new Elder Pastor, Ofisa Nu'uali'itia, held its 'worship meeting'.Pastor Manase was neither informed nor invited. But the Sub-District made a resolution to exclude the new parish started by Pastor Manase.[1499] The reason was that it fulfilled the decision from Samoa. This was wrong because the decision from Samoa required Pastor Manase to leave the parish, not as the Sub-District decided, which was to exclude the new parish from the Sub-District. Manase's judgment on this seems reasonable - 'It must have something to do with the new Elder and pastors who are against me...'.[1500]

(33) THE TOKOROA PARISH FEBRUARY 20, 1982.

The Tokoroa Parish was started as a result of the collaboration between a Samoan Chief Anae who had left the P.I.P.C. in Tokoroa with a 'vague hope' to begin a Samoan Church, and the well known parish founder of the C.C.C.S., Chief and lay preacher Tafaoimalo Simanu, who at this time was a permanent resident in Hamilton, and attending the Hamilton Parish. How this collaboration eventuated into the origin and beginning of the parish is best expressed in the words of Chief Tafaoimalo himself, and the personal account of Chief Anae's story by the first pastor of the Tokoroa Parish - Pastor Mulu.[1501] According to Chief and lay preacher Tafaoimalo Simanu:-

> ...About the origin and the founding of the Tokoroa Parish, I made three secret journeys to Tokoroa when I wanted to begin an E.F.K.S. Church in the area. On these journeys I stayed with the families of my friends and others I knew. These families were all (Samoan) Methodists, and some adherents of the E.F.K.S. and Lotu Pope (Catholics) stayed with them. It was when I heard that Chief Anae had left the P.I.P.C. that I went to his house and we talked. It was the first time we came to know each other. Anae's word to me was that he wanted to start a Samoan Church but he did not know how. There, I advised Anae on how to do it. That he was to work amongst the

[1499] 'Mangere Parish Book'; p.100.

[1500] 'Mangere Parish Book'; p.100.

[1501] According to the Personal Story of the Origin and Beginning of the Tokoroa and Ranui Parishes by Pastor Mulu. Chief Anae could not be reached for an interview and I relied mainly on information given by Pastor Mulu.
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

> Samoans in the P.I.P.C., and I was to work amongst the Methodist families. After two weeks we would meet and start the Samoan Church with whoever we may be able to gather...[1502]

A personal account of Chief Anae's story of his leaving the P.I.P.C. according to Pastor Mulu states that :-

> Chief Anae previously worshipped in the P.I.P.C. in Tokoroa. He was not a regular attendant to Sunday worship because he was busy in his work. He was quite rich. Despite his irregular attendance in worship, Chief Anae was a great contributor to parish developments. He would just turn up on one Sunday and sign a large cheque for any financial needs of the parish. Because of all this, Chief Anae came to suspect a tendency amongst the Samoans to isolate him. Then he left the P.I.P.C...[1503]

The result of the collaboration was the active support and encouragement by the Hamilton Parish for the beginning of the Tokoroa Parish.[1504] The parish held its founding service on February 20, 1982 after its request was accepted by the South Auckland Sub-District in its worship-meeting on February 13, 1982.[1505] A memorable aspect of this service was that only Chief Anae's family - his married children born of a divorced Maori wife - and a few others constituted the twenty founding members.[1506] Seven other families - two Methodists, three Catholics, and two previously in the P.I.P.C., soon joined before the parish covenanted with its first pastor in the beginning of 1983.[1507] In the first six years, parish members never went beyond thirty people or, nine families. The pastor worked full time in the 'Forest Products' to provide for his family because

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[1502] Chief Tafaoimalo Simanu; 'Personal Story...'

[1503] Pastor Mulu; 'Personal Story...'

[1504] According to Pastor Mulu, Chief Tafaoimalo Simanu and Pastor Atimalala of the Hamilton Parish were in constant cooperation with Chief Anae to encourage the beginning of Tokoroa Parish. Part of their motivation was to gather a large number of Samoans in Tokoroa into the C.C.C.S.

[1505] 'Minute Book of the South Auckland Sub-District', p.24.

[1506] Pastor Mulu; 'Personal Story...'

[1507] Chief Tafaoimalo Simanu; 'Personal Story...'

members were poor and small in number.[1508] A very serious problem was members' irregular participation in worship and parish development. For example, Chief Anae's married sons and daughters were not, for most of the time, regular worshippers though they fully supported their father in all activities for parish development. When the first pastor left the parish after six years, only two active families were left with a few newly unregistered couples, related to the leaving pastor,[1509] which continued the parish with a new pastor in 1988 - a Malua-trained Tokelauan.

(34) THE TAKANINI PARISH 1982.

The Takanini Parish was started by seven families who previously worshipped in other C.C.C.S. Parish Churches but decided to begin a Church in Takanini where it was close to where most families lived.[1510] The leading founder was lay preacher Tuitui Tuitasi [and his family] who left Papakura Parish with four other families as a result of differences with the second pastor of the Papakura Parish, Pastor Tavita Taulealo.[1511] Tuitui Tuitasi was appointed to look after the parish since the death of the previous pastor of the parish in 1979. Pastor Tavita Taulealo became the covenanted pastor in 1981 after leaving the Napier Parish in 1979. The basic cause of the irreconcilable difference between Pastor Taulealo and lay preacher Tuitasi was Tuitasi's dissatisfaction with Taulealo's advice in relation to parish property. According to Pastor Taulealo :-

> I asked the lay preacher that we needed to see the lawyer about how much more we needed to pay for the pastor's house. But it made him angry and he told me that he did not like such things as people who come and question him about the things that he does...I tried to

[1508] According to Pastor Mulu, average 'Alofa' (charity giving for the pastor's family) was about $120 weekly.

[1509] According to Pastor Mulu, he did not resume his ministry after his 'malologa' (Rest), after six years, for two reasons. He could not secure his previous full time job; and new couples to the parish were all his relatives. Though he did not explain the significance of the latter, it may well be the strong tradition of the E.F.K.S. Church to avoid distractions and problems in the ministry by the influence of families. See relevant Notes on the Henderson and New Lynn Parishes.

[1510] 'A brief story of the Takanini Parish' prepared by parish secretary Ti'iti'i Sautia. Also, 'Personal Story of the Origin and Beginning of the Parish' by Chief Tafaoialii Meleke. Both are in the Author's possession.

[1511] Chief Tafaoialii; 'Personal Story...'; and Sautia Ti'iti'i; 'A Brief Story of the Takanini Parish.'

> explain and reason with him why I needed to know such things, but it was to no avail...He eventually left with four other families and started the Takanini Parish...[1512]

The founding families of seven started worship in a 'Palagi Church in Takanini' in August 1981.[1513] A major difficulty in the beginning was that Elder Pastor Manase refused to accept the beginning of the Takanini Parish because it was close to the Papakura Parish, but Elder Pastor Ieriko accepted the new parish when approached by founding families.[1514] Elder Pastor Ieriko got his way, much like the beginning of the Weymouth Parish,[1515] and the Takanini Parish began in 1982 with thirty six members, and sharply increased to ninety eight in 1983 when the parish covenanted with its first pastor, Pastor Aneterea Polata'ivao and wife Olita.[1516]

(35) THE MT ROSKILL PARISH NOVEMBER 4, 1984.

The parish was started by lay preacher Afoa Tu'uga, his wife Sarai, and their family of ten children. The family left the Henderson Parish because of the 'disharmonious relationship between Samoans, but mainly the unsettling relationship with the pastor and with the top people.'[1517] The family's initiative to begin a new church coincided with Elder Pastor Ieriko's long held vision for a church to be established in the Mt Roskill area because many Samoan families lived in state houses in the area.[1518] Founding

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[1512] Elder Pastor Tavita Taulealo; 'Personal Story...'

[1513] Sautia Ti'iti'i; 'Personal Story...'

[1514] Elder Pastor Tavita Taulealo; 'Personal Story...'

[1515] Refer to section on Weymouth Parish. Note also that at this time, the controversial beginning of the Mangere West Parish was still not wholly resolved, where Elder Pastor Ieriko and Elder Pastor Manase were in bitter conflicts. It seems to be reflected here too.

[1516] 'Minute Book of the South Auckland Sub-District'.

[1517] This is the reason why Afoa Tu'uga and others left the Henderson Parish according to Faiga Farani and his wife Alofa, who were among the earliest members of the Mt Roskill Parish. The 'top people' refer to the pastor and deacons who were leading Church committees.
Family Story of the Origin and Beginning of the Mt Roskill Parish by Deacon Faiga Farani and wife Alofa.
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1518] Pastor Perelini Tauilo; 'Personal Story...'

members held worship at Afoa Tu'uga's house for three weeks before they moved to St Martin's Anglican Church and held worship there until 1993 when the parish completed a very expensive church worship complex - Church and Hall.[1519] A striking feature of many earliest members of the parish was the distance they had to travel to attend worship in Mt Roskill - from Glen Innes, New Lynn, Kingsland and Grey Lynn. While this reflects the extent to which Samoans had acclimatised into two vital aspects of New Zealand life in general - the ability to own cars, and mobility, it was also the effect of the popularity of the well-known family band, by the lay preacher's sons, to the Samoan community.[1520] But the major spirit in operation was still the religious piety typical of the Samoan religious culture. According to one member of the parish - 'Some feel useful when they have their own church.'[1521] The founding service for the parish was held on November 4, 1984;[1522] and a Samoan graduate from St John's College, Pastor Perelini Tauilo, became its covenanted pastor.[1523]

(36) THE EAST TAMAKI PARISH JUNE 29, 1985.

This was the second parish, after Papatoetoe in 1973, to have started by members who left the Otara Parish as a result of differences within the parish fellowship. Its founding leader was a deacon, Malo Savali Tanoi, who provided the root inspiration by his

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[1519] The parish was fortunate to receive a gift of one million dollars from the parish pastor's mother-in-law which explains the expensive project referred to. It took a while to convince the parish fellowship to accept the gift because some thought it was 'money' from gambling [Lotto] and should not be used to build the Church.

[1520] The family band is the 'Five Stars', one of the well-known Samoan Bands in Auckland.

[1521] Fa'alepo; 'Personal Story...' The family of Deacon Faiga Farani mentioned in Note 543 lived in Mt Roskill but still confirms the general point about the successful acclimatisation of Samoan people in the New Zealand society. This is because according to his story their family had been changing homes and churches for worship between 1980 and 1983.They first lived in Kelston, then Grey Lynn, then Onehunga, then Sandringham from where they moved to Mt Roskill. With such mobility, they worshipped in the Grey Lynn Parish, and the Onehunga Parish.

[1522] Report of the Founding Service is to be found in the 'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District'.

[1523] Report of the Founding Service is to be found in the 'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District'. According to Pastor Perelini Tauilo of the parish, the beginning of the parish was also influenced by Elder Pastor Ieriko's vision for a Samoan Church in the Mt Roskill area.

initiative and persistence after he 'left upset'[1524] with his family the Otara Parish in the beginning of 1985.[1525] In locating the origin of the parish in the circumstances of Deacon Tanoi's separation and his inspirational leadership, one confronts a brief episode in a believer's life which provides a test case to challenge the often superficial assessment of human worth. Deacon Tanoi was a parish and a community builder in the Otara Parish through financial contributions and active participation in parish fellowships.[1526] But the reason given for his separation and the commentary by the pastor on his character make him less attractive : '...he left the parish after he caused controversial differences among choir members in the meeting of the choir in February. He eventually 'left upset'. This person is inconsiderate (not well-mannered) and a trouble-maker.'[1527] Interestingly, the pastor of the East Tamaki Parish was a registered member of the Otara Parish at the time. And he refers to the reason for Deacon Tanoi's separation in a general way which involves also the Otara Parish Pastor - 'Because of differences which involved the pastor and the parish Fellowship.'[1528] After leaving the Otara Parish, Deacon Tanoi's family stayed away from church worship and from the parish fellowship for three months (February to April) without connections with the parish pastor.[1529] He then felt that this was a 'God-given opportunity and direction to begin another church fellowship because he was sure of several families in the east side of Otara who were not attending any

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[1524] The manner of Deacon Tanoi's leaving is referred to in the Samoan expression, 'Ona teva ai lea'. The word 'teva' simply means leaving. But it has shades of meaning in various contexts. In the context it appears as quoted in the Text, it means leaving with dissatisfaction. I use the translation 'left upset' because it captures best the manner of his leaving for two related reasons. It attributes the element of 'justified anger' to Deacon Tanoi which the commentary on his character by the pastor would seem to rule out. This is necessary in relation to his usefulness before leaving the Otara Parish.

[1525] 'Otara Parish Book', p.131.

[1526] Parish records clearly shows his family offerings for Church funds and charity giving (Alofa) for the pastor to be mainly in the top ten of more than forty families of the parish. He was a member of the Deacon Fellowship and the Parish Choir. 'Otara Parish Book'; pp.120-130.

[1527] 'Otara Parish Book';p.131.

[1528] This is included in a brief history prepared by the parish pastor, Pastor A. Afa'aso for the Parish. It is entitled - 'A History of the E.F.K.S. East Tamaki in its First Ten Years'. (1995)
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1529] Pastor Afa'aso; 'A History of the E.F.K.S. East Tamaki...'

worship'.[1530] Through consultations and constant appeals, Deacon Tanoi was able to enlist the cooperation of six families to begin a new church fellowship. He then approached Elder Pastor Nu'uali'itia about their hope but was cautioned to wait until the pastor of the Otara Parish was consulted - 'in order to make sure that he was not involved in some misbehaviour against the pastor and the church fellowship in Otara which may have caused his separation'.[1531] Eventually, Deacon Tanoi's request was declined. The reason was the inappropriateness of beginning another church fellowship in Otara.[1532] Deacon Tanoi did not feel content with the decision in particular, the manner of its expression, and the fact that it was made known to him that the expression actually belonged to the pastor of the Otara Parish - 'E le toe mafai ona fai se i si Au lotu i lalo o lo'u fale'[1533] [It is impossible (and stupid) to begin another church fellowship underneath my house]. He decided to try the Office of the General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa which granted his request with the instruction, 'to find a pastor to begin the Church, for its members will be useful to help the Church (E.F.K.S.).[1534] But consultation between the Office of the Chairman of the E.F.K.S. and Elder Pastor Nu'uali'itia and the pastor of the Otara Parish resulted in a modified decision which Elder Pastor Nu'uali'itia had reluctantly given Deacon Tanoi on behalf of the South Auckland Sub-District. 'That the new church fellowship was to begin, and to be on a probation status for six months. Furthermore, it will not be officially recognised as a parish of the Sub-District in which time it is also not allowed to make covenant with a pastor.'[1535]

[1530] Pastor Afa'aso; 'A History of the E.F.K.S. East Tamaki...'

[1531] Pastor Afa'aso; 'A History of the E.F.K.S. East Tamaki...'

[1532] Pastor Afa'aso; 'A History of the E.F.K.S. East Tamaki...'

[1533] The English translation adds 'and stupid' which is necessary to capture the 'impossibility sense' in the Samoan expression. The expression cannot be received by the receiver without the impact of the implicit question attached - How can there be another C.C.C.S. parish in Otara where there was one already ? Hence the sense of stupidity attached to the request which is implicated in the expression 'underneath my house'. The logical reaction would be a rebellious discontent which would explain Deacon Tanoi's decision to appeal to the E.F.K.S. in Samoa.

[1534] Pastor Afa'aso; 'A History of the E.F.K.S. East Tamaki...'

[1535] Pastor Afa'aso; 'A History of the E.F.K.S. East Tamaki...'

On May 5, six founding families of the parish had their first worship at Deacon Tanoi's house because of the insistence of Elder Pastor Nu'uali'itia, against the caution advised by Deacon Tanoi.[1536] Deacon Tanoi preferred a later date so that the founding service may be properly held in a Hall or a Church.[1537] Elder Pastor Nu'uali'itia's insistence was to give the beginning of the parish a 'sense of holiness' by having it on the Sunday (first Sunday of the month) of the Holy Communion.[1538] The sense of urgency in Elder Pastor Nu'uali'tia's insistence has another significance. When one considers the deferred beginning of the parish because of the suspect character of Deacon Tanoi in relation to his separation from the Otara Parish, Elder Pastor Nu'iali'itia's sense of urgency now suggests as an unspoken assumption, the recognition of merit - hence humanworth - in Deacon Tanoi's role in the founding of the parish.[1539] One marked feature of the beginning of the parish was the promising growth[1540] of its members which necessitated the shortening of its probation status. Three families were added after the founding service which led to the shift of worship to a school hall (of Tangaroa College) the next Sunday, May 12.[1541] Six weeks later on June 29, another ceremony was held to recognize

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[1536] Pastor Afa'aso; 'A History of the E.F.K.S. East Tamaki...'

[1537] Pastor Afa'aso; 'A History of the E.F.K.S. East Tamaki...'

[1538] Pastor Afa'aso: 'A History of the E.F.K.S. East Tamaki...'

[1539] Otherwise put, Deacon Tanoi may have left the Otara Parish as a trouble-maker; but the true measure of his character was yet to be known because it lay hidden in the deepest motivations for his eventual separation from the Otara Parish. The problem is the usual eclipse of the individual challenge when it erupts against the communal sense of communal order and peace. In the Samoan religious mentality, the individual finds his/her well-being and worth in community. The result is not necessarily a suppression of individual rights and initiatives in community, but rather a consolidation of community solidarity and the instillation of this sense in the individual. Deacon Tanoi was not outlawed from the Otara Parish. He 'left upset' with his sense of community which eventually became the root beginning of another religious community - the Parish of East Tamaki.

[1540] Parish statistics show other significant aspects of great membership growth in the first nine years - 1985 to 1994. Overall numbers grew from 98 to 304. Most were members who were newly settled around the Tamaki area from other areas, with a significant addition due to recent migrants from Samoa, and other earlier migrants who were not attending any church. Between 1985 and 1989, thirty three members are recorded to have converted from P.I.P.C. (18), E.F.K.A.S. (7), and the Samoan Roman Catholic Church (4). Women members always exceeded male in every year throughout the whole period; and New Zealand born members (children) constituted about one third (with clear evidence of increase) of the total membership.

[1541] Pastor Afa'aso; 'A History of the E.F.K.S...'

the formal inclusion of the parish into the South Auckland Sub-District.[1542] This was more than four months earlier than allowed in the probation period. Sixteen families now constituted the parish membership. On September 7, the parish made covenant with its pastor, again three months earlier than allowed in the probation period.[1543] There were now seventeen families, comprising ninety eight members, which increased to thirty three families in 1994.[1544] Also significant was the speed of parish development which paralleled membership growth. The first land property was bought in 1986, the pastor's house in 1988, and the second and larger land property in 1992.[1545] Fundraising mainly involved specified allocations to families,[1546] free offerings for development on Sundays, and fundraising activities by various fellowships within the parish and also involving other Samoan religious communities. The two major fellowships were the Womens' Fellowship and the Church Choir. In 1993, the parish began planning to build their Church and hall, and extra financial help was received from the Lottery Grant Board Commission.

(37) THE MASSEY PARISH JULY 7, 1985.

The beginning of the Massey Parish is generally attributed to the first gathering of nine families in July 7, 1985, with the purpose to begin a new Church parish for the C.C.C.S.[1547] The founding initiative belongs to six families who left the Henderson Parish as a result of disapproval with certain decisions by the pastor, and also differences

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[1542] Pastor Afa'aso; 'A History of the E.F.K.S....'

[1543] Pastor Afa'aso; 'A History of the E.F.K.S...'

[1544] Between 1985 and 1995, family component increased from 6 to 43. But 10 left the parish within this period - 5 migrating to Australia and 5 retreating from loss of spiritual vigour due to too many parish work and demands. So the family figure in 1994 was 33.

[1545] Pastor Afa'aso; 'A History of the E.F.K.S....'

[1546] Examples of this usual way of fundraising - $1000 was allotted to each family to find in 3 months. In the second time, $500 was allocated to be found in 2 months. See the comparable example in the Dunedin Section.

[1547] According to the Report of the Church Dedication of the Massey Parish in 1994. The Report includes a brief history of the beginning of the parish, prepared by the parish pastor. The Report may be referred to as the 'E.F.K.S. in Massey Report, 1994' for brevity's sake.

with leading lay leaders.[1548] The Massey Parish became the third C.C.C.S. parish to begin by members who separated from the Henderson Parish after New Lynn in 1977, and Mt Roskill in 1984.[1549]

The founding service[1550] was held at the Council Hall in Massey on August 4, and a lay preacher was appointed to look after the parish. The family component of the parish increased to fourteen by the end of August, and it was decided in the beginning of September to start looking for a pastor.[1551] The parish decided at the end of November in favour of a pastor and wife who were at the time serving in the village ministry of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa.[1552] It was known that they would be on leave for three months starting in the beginning of the following year, 1986. And this became part of an interesting story about the pastor's difficulty to decide whether to resume pastoral ministry in Samoa or to embark on a new one in New Zealand. Also highlighted in this

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[1548] According to the story by the six founding families told by Chief Malaesilia. This is a paraphrase by the author :- The six families were related. Four chiefs were from different villages in Samoa, but wives of three of them were sisters. Others were deacons. They left because one of the families decided not to attend Henderson Parish because of the return of a certain couple to the parish after three years. These two families had major differences from the parish's cricket matches which led the couple who is just returned to leave the parish for three years. The six families then decided to leave Henderson Parish too, some in support, others because of family connections. According to Chief Malaesilia, they decided to begin the Massey Parish, after most of them declared to join different parishes of the C.C.C.S. It was a way to maintain family unity, and a shared feeling that perhaps such decision was the God-given fulfilment of Elder Pastor Ieriko's usual concern in Sub-District gatherings that there must be a Samoan Church in Massey. Another consideration became important when three other families joined which included a lay preacher - that it was not right to join churches already established by others. They must prove themselves by beginning a new church. According to Chief Lealali Leilua, one of the leading lay leaders of the Henderson Parish, founders of the Massey Parish, left the Henderson Parish because of constant clashes with him. He also referred to their tendency to make their influence in parsih activities and decisions felt by **'ganging up'** as a group. It was Chief Leilua's family who was involved in differences with one family of the six families who left.

[1549] This confirms the prevalent element of authority clashes in the Henderson Parish which was to a certain extent inevitable as a result of the fact of many Samoan chiefs from different villages in Samoa worshipping in the same parish in New Zealand. But it was not necessarily true for other parishes in the same respect. And there were other reasons for separations.

[1550] Report of the Founding Service is found in the 'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District'.

[1551] 'E.F.K.S. in Massey Report, 1994'.

[1552] 'E.F.K.S. in Massey Report, 1994'.

difficulty was the influence of the pastor's wife.[1553] Eventually the pastor and his wife who had previously served in Samoa accepted the parish invitation on March 29, and later made covenant with the Massey Parish on June 21, 1986, with some reservations by the Sub-District. Parish development began in an amazingly fast pace, and was helped by the pastor's decision to reside in his own family house to ease the burden on the developing parish.[1554]

(38) THE WANGANUI PARISH 1985.

The Wanganui Parish was founded by eight families who previously worshipped in the P.I.P.C. in Wanganui.[1555] Their basic intention for starting a C.C.C.S. Parish is clearly evident in the personal testimonies of two of their leading members - a Samoan Chief and a Deacon. According to the Samoan Chief, Loisila Tuaoi - 'We left this Church (the P.I.P.C.) because of our shared hope to return to serve our true Church we had previously worked for (ie, in Samoa) and from which we were born.'[1556] According to Deacon Reupena Tialata, 'The only reason we worshipped in the P.I.P.C. was that there was no

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[1553] A brief explanation which includes parts of the stories by Chief Leilua and Pastor Ali'inu'u Apisaloma of the Massey Parish. That among the founding group of the Massey Parish was a chief of the village in Samoa who was aware of the upcoming leave (malologa) or rest of its Pastor Ali'inu'u Apisaloma. He was responsible for the arrangement to try and convince the pastor to serve in the Massey Parish. According to Pastor Apisaloma, it was a difficult decision. But his wife finally convinced him not to resume their ministry in Samoa, but to begin a new one in New Zealand. There were also some difficulties related to their previous ministry in Samoa which Chief Leilua also mentioned. An important aspect was related by Chief Malaesilia. That the reason for the choice for the Samoan pastor on leave was because of the sister of the pastor concerned who was with them in the Henderson Parish, and who always wanted her brother (the pastor concerned) to work in New Zealand.

[1554] The following information about various aspects of parish development is all found in the 'E.F.K.S. Massey Report, 1994'. The first offering for a piece of land was made in the first month of the pastor's ministry. The anniversary service for the parish on August 4, collected more than twenty thousand dollars. In 1990 the property worth one hundred and five thousand dollars ($105,000) was paid off. Between 1990 and 1993 the parish secured more than a quarter of a million dollars (ie. $355,000) to begin their work on the Church and Hall. Twenty eight families were responsible using various ways of fundraising such as; Bingo, Housie, Raffles, dances, Lotto Bonus, Batons-up, and the usual free offering for development on Sundays. Other popular fundraising activities were celebrations of parish achievements in games and other competitions, and Fa'aaliga Tausala (Samoan cultural equivalent of modern beauty pageants).

[1555] 'Written Personal Story of the Origin and Beginning of the Wanganui Parish'. by Chief Loisila Tuaoi. Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1556] Chief Loisila Tuaoi; 'Written Personal Story...'

Samoan Church before. Later we wanted to start a Samoan Church.'[1557] The personal stories of these two leaders further elaborate on other related aspects in their movement from the P.I.P.C. to the C.C.C.S. in much the same spirit. Worship in the P.I.P.C. was useful to cater for their worship needs in the early stage of arrival in New Zealand. But it was temporary in the sense of being a preparatory stage[1558] before achieving all the required needs for Samoan worship in New Zealand. It is further related that Samoans should return to the C.C.C.S. as it was already established. The group submitted their request in the worship-meeting of the Wellington Sub-District on October 26, 1985, [and it was received with great joy as evident in the way its acceptance is recorded in the Sub-District minutes] - 'The Sub-District is surely thankful to God because of this sweet story for the hearing which thunders with great echoes from the West Coast.'[1559] The decision for the date of the founding service was left to the founding members, and was set a month later on November 23.[1560] A lay preacher was appointed to look after the parish on December 7, until the beginning of the ministry of the covenanted pastor in 1986.[1561]

The beginning of the parish relates a story of a failed vision because of a 'careless rush' to secure property.[1562] Between 1986 and 1989 the parish demonstrated great success in parish developments when compared to its membership. Members remained under sixty

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[1557] Deacon Reupena Tialata; 'Written Personal Story of the Origin and Beginning of the Wanganui Parish.'
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1558] Chief Loisila Tuaoi uses the expression 'sa su'e se faigofie', which includes both the senses of worship in the P.I.P.C. as temporary and a preparatory stage. The literal translation of the Samoan expression goes - there was a search for an easy and an assured attempt which would be less burdensome.
Chief Loisila Tuaoi; 'Personal Story...'.

[1559] 'Minute Book of the Wellington Sub-District'.

[1560] 'Minute Book of the Wellington Sub-District'.

[1561] 'Minute Book of the Wellington Sub-District'.

[1562] The 'careless rush' to secure property was the fault of founding members according to Pastor Aofa'iga Levi, the first pastor who resigned. According to Pastor Levi, he advised the founding members not to do anything, in particular securing property, until they (the pastor's family) arrive and after covenant making. But founding members did not heed the advice. The pastor arrived and found five acres of land already secured by loans, and it began the burdensome job of trying to pay three loans.
Pastor Aofaiga Levi. Present pastor of Henderson Parish; 'Personal Story of the Beginning of the Wanganui and Henderson Parishes'.

in this period.[1563] There were nine families, seven of them on social welfare benefits, and only two with members who had jobs. They secured land [five acres], a house for the pastor's family, an extended double-garage for church meetings, Sunday school, and for parish fellowship meals.[1564] Problems struck when loan payments became unbearable and it became impossible to meet payment requirements. Some families restrained from worship because of the shame from the inability to contribute financially.[1565] All parish properties were repossessed and the pastor and his family resigned in 1989.[1566]

(39) THE CANONS CREEK PARISH 1986.

The parish was started by eight deacons and their families who left the Ketesemane Parish in the beginning of 1986 while the pastor's family was on three months 'malologa' (rest).[1567] All of these eight deacons were among the group who left the Porirua Parish in 1980 and became the founding members of the Ketesemane Parish in the same year.[1568] They left as a result of frustrations over their limited influence on the direction of parish progress and development, which was often checked by the pastor's authoritative leadership.[1569] A major reason was their disagreement over the

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[1563] Parish membership figures for 1986, 1987, and 1988 were 51, 58, 56 respectively.
'Minute Book of the Wellington Sub-District'.

[1564] This information is from the 'Personal Story....' of Pastor Aofa'iga Levi.

[1565] Three families were in this situation. According to Pastor Levi, they wanted to worship but they could not because of the inability to contribute. Despite the pastor's assurance the families decided not to attend worship. This is a typical mentality in Samoans which is part of the 'shame' of not being able to contribute as part of worship life. It is most common amongst leaders and heads of families.

[1566] A few families who were determined to rescue the parish continued under the leadership of the lay preacher from 1990 to 1993 until they made covenant with their new pastor on January 15, 1994. A new beginning was made which seemed promising because the new pastor, unlike the first one, had years of experience in New Zealand before attending Malua Theological College for his theological and pastoral training. According to Pastor Leleimalefaga, the present pastor of Wanganui Parish, the speed of parish development was due to the encouragement by the resigned pastor. Also, his vision was sincere but it was too much for the members; and he left admitting he could not continue the ministry.

[1567] According to the Personal Story of the Origin and Beginning of the Canons Creek Parish by Pastor Aufaga Fa'afia (the first and present pastor of the parish, 1994).
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1568] Chief and Elder Deacon Aiono Tofi; 'Personal Story...'

[1569] Chief and Elder Deacon Aiono Tofi; 'Personal Story...'

administration of parish funds with a strong suspicion of mismanagment by the pastor.[1570] Their request to start a new Church parish was accepted by Elder Pastor Talamaivao of the Wellington Sub-District, and the founding service was held in the beginning of 1986.[1571] The parish was formally included into the Sub-District in its worship-meeting on April 4, 1986.[1572] At the end of the year it covenanted with its pastor with a membership of eleven families[1573] comprising seventy three members.[1574]

The beginning of the parish was dominated by issues which were directly related to the relationship between its founding families and the Ketesemane Parish from which they came. The most important related to the control and direction of the parish ministry which dented the beginning of the Canons Creek Parish. The determination by the founding families to exercise some control over the direction of the parish ministry was shown in their presenting the pastor with a prepared constitution for the parish.[1575] The pastor accepted the constitution but had never used it.[1576] The vital point is that in 1988, most of the founding families left the parish again as a result of a major clash with the pastor on issues relating to control and administration of the parish ministry.[1577] Eight

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[1570] The 'strong suspicion' of the personal misuse of parish funds by the pastor which was discussed in the worship-meeting of the Sub-District on April 4, the same day the Canons Creek Parish was formally included in the Sub-District. In this meeting, the pastor of the Ketesemane Parish invited the Sub-District and its leading Elder to investigate their financial activities in the light of '...people's unfounded charges against the misuse of parish funds by the pastor.' The invitation was accepted and the resultant investigation was essentially a 'Christian dialogue of forgive and forget' because members who spread the charge were already starting a new parish (Canons Creek); and the majority who remained in the Ketesemane Parish were not entirely convinced that the charge had any substantial truth.
Chief and Elder Deacon Aiono Tofi; 'Personal Story...'

[1571] The exact date of this could not be found, but it is mentioned in the Personal Story by Chief and Elder Deacon Aiono Tofi who was himself a participant.

[1572] 'Minute Book of the Wellington Sub-District'.

[1573] Pastor Fa'afia; 'Personal Story...'

[1574] Parish figures in the 'Minute Book of the Wellington Sub-District', p.233. And also in the 'Parish Book'.

[1575] Pastor Fa'afia; 'Personal Story...'

[1576] According to Pastor Fa'afia, he just laughed and accepted it out of respect, and also because it was their first formal meeting. But he never used it as he was well aware of the background of the founding families of the parish.

[1577] Pastor Fa'afia; 'Personal Story...'

families left, some because they were already contemplating returning to Samoa, others rejoined the Ketesemane Parish.[1578] According to the pastor, the ironic result of the separation of the above members was the great increase in members which exceeded the number that left within one year.[1579] And he suspects the purifying effect of the 'finger of God' to cleanse the parish in order to grow in worshippers.[1580]

Other aspects[1581] of the parish beginning showed the sheer determination for success, if also to prove heroic discipleship in conformity to certain aspects of Samoan cultural and social forms of Christianity. Between 1986 and 1993, worship was initially held in the Canons Creek Public Hall and later in the school hall. Members grew from seventy three to one hundred and sixty nine, and most were new migrants from Samoa and families who had shifted from other parts of New Zealand. The majority of members were either in low paid part-time jobs, or in receipt of a social welfare benefit. In spite of this modest growth in membership and the low economic status of members, the parish has been fundraising since 1987 for a major project of a parish Church, Hall, and a pastor's house which is planned to exceed one million dollars in cost. The major source of parish funds were the weekly free offerings for development, but mostly the weekly Housie. There was an expected supplement from the Lottery Grants Board. Throughout the whole period from 1986 to 1993, the pastor's family had been living in the house of one of the parish families, both as a mark of respect, and a way of saving parish funds for its planned project.

[1578] Pastor Fa'afia; 'Personal Story...'

[1579] Parish figure for 1988 was 141 members. It dropped to 123 in 1989 after separation. But it increased to 149 in 1990. And it steadily increased from then on.
'Canons Creek Parish Book'.

[1580] According to Pastor Fa'afia, it was good that they left because they were a major obstacle.
Pastor Fa'afia; 'Personal Story...'

[1581] All the following information is found in the Personal Story of the Origin and Beginning of the Canons Creek Parish, by Pastor Fa'afia.

(40) THE PAKURANGA PARISH DECEMBER 13, 1987.

The Pakuranga Parish was started as a result of a disruption in the Panmure Parish at the end of 1987. The main cause of the disruption was the decision by the District Elders[1582] to terminate the pastoral ministry of the parish pastor because of proven physical inability (blindness). The determined opposition by the pastor to this decision eventually divided the Panmure Parish. An important aspect of the parish beginning relates to the role of the District Elders in particular, Elder Pastor Ieriko and Elder Pastor Faigame Tagoilelagi of the Central Auckland Sub-District. While it was partly responsible for the complex circumstances of the parish beginning, it simultaneously reflected the gradual rise and prominence of the new Elder Pastor Faigame to challenge the usual dominant authority of Elder Pastor Ieriko. A proper appreciation of the origin and beginning of the Pakuranga Parish necessitates a detailed account of the most relevant events in the period from January 1987 to the end of 1988.

In the worship-meeting by the Central Auckland Sub-District in January 24, 1987, four pastors of the Sub-District were reminded of the dates and years of their official 'malologa' (rest).[1583] Included was Pastor Toailoa of the Panmure Parish who was to have his 'malologa' (rest) at the end of the year.[1584] But due to reports and allegations of his physical inability for the ministry, he was asked for his opinion in view of the coming meeting by the District Elders.[1585] Pastor Toailoa informed the Sub-District he would surely leave the ministry at the end of the year if there was to be no improvement in his eyes from medical help he had already sought. But he would continue until he was seventy five (75) years, the retirement age, if medical help were to be successful.[1586] Later, the meeting of the District Elders decided to end Pastor Toailoa's ministry because

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[1582] This means Elders of the Northern District of the C.C.C.S. At this time, C.C.C.S. had two Districts, the Northern and the Southern District as a result of the Sub-division in 1985.

[1583] 'Minute Book of the Central Auckland Sub-District', p.40.

[1584] 'Minute Book of the Central Auckland Sub-District', p.40.

[1585] 'Minute Book of the Central Auckland Sub-District', p.40.

[1586] 'Minute Book of the Central Auckland Sub-District', p.40.

he was proven physically incapable - at this stage, it was confirmed that Pastor Toailoa needed assistance to walk, that his daughter had to read the Bible on the pulpit, and he could only preach.[1587] In the meeting of the Sub-District on June 19, 1987,[1588] the decision by the District Elders was made known to Pastor Toailoa who rejected it by saying - 'God alone is the judge of that. Only God can take me away from Panmure.'[1589] The District Elders made a further decision in relation to Pastor Toailoa's opposition to their previous decision, which was made known in the Sub-District worship-meeting in November 7, 1987.[1590] Pastor Toailoa's pastor status was taken away. And he must leave the ministry immediately. It was also decided that any member of the parish in particular, the deacons or a lay preacher, who may support Pastor Toailoa would have their offices stripped from them. Pastor Toailoa was adamant, and the Panmure Parish became divided at the end of November[1591] between members who supported him and others who supported the decision by the District Elders. On December 5, six families met separately and agreed to obey the decision from the Sub-District and the District Elders.[1592] They began their separate services the next day, December 6, with three more families

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[1587] Pastor Pouniu Fa'amausili (the present Pastor of the Parish); 'Personal Story...'.

[1588] 'Minute Book of the Central Auckland Sub-District', p.50.

[1589] Recorded reply by Pastor Toailoa - 'O le Atua ma le mea lena. Ua na o ia lava na te aveesea o ia (Pastor Toailoa) mai Panmure.' Minute Book of the Central Auckland Sub-District, p.50.

[1590] 'Minute Book of the Central Auckland Sub-District', p.58.

[1591] 'Minute Book of the Central Auckland Sub-District', p.61.

[1592] The concern by District Elders for members who supported the decision to terminate Pastor Toailoa's ministry, and which eventually led to the beginning of the Pakuranga Parish is related in the Parish Book :- 'In November, I was asked by the District Elders about the situation in the Panmure Parish. I explained the situation that was reached in all humility before God. The Elders had now learned that a lot of members were unsure about their commitment to worship, because they knew that Pastor Toailoa was stripped of his pastor status by the Elders, but he was still eager and was actually leading parish worship. I was therefore instructed by the Elders to gather together members who were inclined to support the decision by the Elders and to ensure that their religious commitment was maintained. I tried with all humility to explain to the parish membership the concern by the Elders and its implication in relation to the work of the Church...On December 5, 1987, a few members met in the light of the concern by the Elders and decided to fulfil the decision by the Elders.' This account is by Pastor Patu who was a member of the parish during the controversy, and later became the covenanted pastor of the Pakuranga Parish.
'Pakuranga Parish Book'.

added.[1593] Elder Pastor Tagoilelagi recognised this group by conducting the formal founding service for their separate parish on the following Sunday, December 13.[1594] This was essentially the beginning of the Pakuranga Parish. They were included into the Central Auckland Sub-District in January 1988, and was recognised as the Panmure Parish.[1595] On February 6, 1988, they covenanted with their pastor[1596] - a theological graduate of the Malua Theological College who was doing further studies at the University of Auckland.

The Panmure problem now became complex and more controversial. For members who supported Pastor Toailoa began associating with the Auckland Sub-District of Elder Pastor Ieriko. From the perspective of the Central Auckland Sub-District, Pastor Toailoa and his supporters were non-existent. District Elders reaffirmed their decision regarding Pastor Toailoa and his supporters in December 1987;[1597] and Elder Pastor Ieriko was to take the Elders' decision to the meeting of the Directors' Committee of Elders in Samoa for confirmation.[1598] He was also expected to explain the whole 'Panmure Problem' which led to the decision by the District Elders of the C.C.C.S.[1599] But Elder Pastor Ieriko had other plans.[1600] The District Elders were enraged by Elder Pastor Ieriko's

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[1593] 'Pakuranga Parish Book'.

[1594] 'Pakuranga Parish Book'.

[1595] 'Minute Book of the Central Auckland Sub-District', p.69.

[1596] 'Pakuranga Parish Book'. This is Pastor Patu referred to in Note 616.

[1597] 'Minute Book of the Central Auckland Sub-District', p.63.

[1598] 'Minute Book of the Central Auckland Sub-District', p.67.

[1599] 'Minute Book of the Central Auckland Sub-District', p.67.

[1600] The Directors' Committee decided to restore Pastor Toailoa's pastor status and the parish status of his supporters which Elder Pastor Ieriko fulfilled on returning to New Zealand in January. The result was more controversies between the District Elders. It was later discovered that Elder Pastor Ieriko did not submit the 'Panmure Problem' and the decision by the C.C.C.S. Elders, which was the reason for the decision by the Directors' Committee mentioned above. In response, the District Elders reaffirmed their previous decision, even against Pastor Toailoa's request for patience and his promise that he will farewell the parish properly after the General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. in May. The whole 'Panmure Problem' was re-submitted in the meeting of the Elders Committee of the E.F.K.S. in March, 1988. It was decided to refer it back to the Elders in New Zealand to resolve the problem. Also the letter from Pastor Toailoa to the Elders' Committee to request the continuation of his ministry until after the General Assembly in May was accepted. But before the rest of the Elders arrived back to New Zealand, and before they even met to

activities and therefore declared before the gathering of the whole District on April 16, 1988, their loss of faith and confidence in Elder Pastor Ieriko's leadership, and resolved to end his 'sixteen years of doing such things'.[1601] The decision against Pastor Toailoa and his supporters was also reaffirmed. But none of these had any immediate effect on either Elder Pastor Ieriko or Pastor Toailoa. The latter continued his ministry until after the General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. in May, and then finally left the Panmure Parish (the members who supported him) in June.[1602] On August 26, this group covenanted with its new pastor, which was well known to be largely the work of Elder Pastor Ieriko.[1603] Evidently, the District Elders failed to solve the 'Panmure Problem' by way of restoring reconciliation and unity to the 'old Panmure Parish'. The new parish which became the Pakuranga Parish joined the Central Auckland Sub-District of Elder Pastor Faigame, and the remnants of the old Panmure Parish joined the Auckland Sub-District of Elder Pastor Ieriko and continued to be the Panmure Parish. In spite of this division and separated developments, the best reconciliation was made by the new pastors of both these parishes. As a result of separate developments, the Sub-District decided to give the pastor's house for the Pakuranga Parish and the Church for the Panmure Parish. For reasons unknown,[1604] the new pastor of the Panmure Parish ignored the Sub-District's decision, and sold the pastor's house with the purpose of buying a new one.[1605] The Sub-District retaliated by demanding fifty thousand dollars to give to the Pakuranga Parish.[1606] This was again ignored in place of a better resolution by the two pastors of the

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decide on a resolution, Elder Pastor Ieriko arrived first, preached at the Panmure Parish, and resolved the issue by himself. In reality Elder Pastor Ieriko did nothing more than to inform Pastor Toailoa of the acceptance of his request by the Elders' Committee in Samoa.
Sources of these are mainly the 'Minute Book of the Central Auckland Sub-District', and 'Personal Story...' by Pastor Fa'amausili, present pastor of Panmure Parish.

[1601] 'Minute Book of the Central Auckland Sub-District', pp.67-68.

[1602] Pastor Fa'amausili; 'Personal Story...'

[1603] Pastor Fa'amausili; 'Personal Story...'

[1604] It is not hard to detect Elder Pastor Ieriko's usual approach in such cases as previously applied in the parishes of Porirua in 1979 and Mangere in 1981. In brief, whoever leaves the parish forfeit their rights to parish property. Those who remain own the parish property.

[1605] Pastor Fa'amausili; 'Personal Story...'

[1606] Pastor Fa'amausili; 'Personal Story...'

parishes involved. They agreed not to pursue such a course because it was not conducive to real reconciliation between members of the two parishes in the long run. [1607]

(41) THE AVONDALE PARISH AUGUST 28, 1988.

The origin of the Avondale parish had links which related to the influence of families and the chiefly system in Samoa on relatives and chiefly colleagues in New Zealand. This related especially to the role of the leading founder, Chief and Deacon Misa whose initiative led to the first meeting of the four founding families of the parish in his house.[1608] Chief and Deacon Misa clearly emphasises this 'family and chiefly influence' :

> ...It began with the elderly chiefs of our family in Samoa. Whenever they came to New Zealand and I visited them, they would ask, 'What is the P.I.P.C.?' It would be better if you returned to our church (E.F.K.S.)... Some of my immediate families used to challenge me when they come to New Zealand - 'Why do you use our Hymnary in the P.I.P.C.?'...The constant advice from families and the Elderly Chiefs became like a nagging source of sickness...I finally farewelled the P.I.P.C. in 1982...[1609]

The exception among the four founding families or leaders was Chief and Deacon Masaga Tiuga. Although he joined the founding group partly as a result of the convincing advice by Chief Misa, his main motivation was essentially personal. His personal account expresses it best :-

> ...On arrival in New Zealand in 1985, I joined the Methodist Church because my children worshipped there. But my mind was not totally committed because I always thought I truly belonged to the E.F.K.S. ...I gradually felt the whisper of the spirit...Then I met Misa whom I knew, and he asked me where I was worshipping.That made me feel strongly about my deacon status which was not being used in the Methodist Church ...There are many churches, but the difference is

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[1607] Pastor Fa'amausili; 'Personal Story...'

[1608] According to the Personal Story of the Origin and Beginning of the Avondale and Avondale Central Parishes by Chief and Deacon Misa.
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1609] Chief and Deacon Misa; 'Personal Story...'

> what one truly feels especially in relation to duties of the office I held as a deacon...[1610]

This group was able to secure Elder Pastor Ieriko's reluctant permission to start the Avondale Parish. On August 28, 1988, the parish held its founding service at the Congregational Church in New Lynn.[1611] Thirteen families provided the strong foundation of the parish. Five were families of chiefs related to Chief Misa's family and village in Samoa[1612] and it shows the strong influence of this chiefly family in the eventual founding of the parish. But the strong presence of this cultural element in the foundation of the parish was to become a critical factor in the earliest stages of parish growth and development.

The first eight months between the founding date (August 28, 1988) and the beginning of the pastor's ministry in April 15, 1989 was a period of normalcy charaterised by increasing membership.[1613] Parish members showed their commitment to consolidate the parish ministry by accepting the pastor's request for a residence closer to their worship place, though it resulted in inconvenience to a family of the parish.[1614] In August, the

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[1610] Personal Story by Chief and Deacon Masaga Tiuga.

[1611] 'History of the Parish Ministry' in the 'Parish Book of the Avondale Central Parish'. This includes the whole 'historical account' of the beginning of the Avondale Parish until the separation in 1990. It was submitted before the Sub-District during the controversy.

[1612] Among them was the leading Chiefly Elder of Chief Misa's family who lived in Samoa, and was the Elder Deacon of a District of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa at the time. His presence on the founding day of the parish, and his role in playing the piano for the founding serviceis testament to cultural and family pride because a member and chief of the family was leading the beginning of a Church parish. The obvious result was generous giving which collected three thousand dollars ($3000) for the parish founding fund.

[1613] Worship was held in the Salvation Army Hall and was looked after by preachers supplied by the Northern Sub-District. Because of the constant advice from the leading Elder of the Northern Sub-District, Tone Tuiai, 'that it was most essential to find a pastor for the ministry', the parish decided for a pastor the majority were not familiar with and later regretted. In the 'History of the Parish Ministry' several reflections are included which associate the eventual disruption in the parish with the failure of several usual considerations in deciding a pastor. The allusion to the parish mistake in their decision is clear by challenging the usual criteria of looking for an older pastor with supposedly relevant experience. Three new families joined and the parish membership comprised sixteen families (seventy one members comprising thirty four adults and thirty seven children) when the pastor began his pastoral ministry.

[1614] The story included in the 'History of the Parish Ministry' runs like this. It was difficult to find a place with a cheap rent for the pastor. The second time the search was made, the pastor requested the garage belonging to the parish secretary for his family. Eventually, and understandably out of common respect for pastors, the parish secretary and his family ended up staying in the garage, and the pastor's family in the

pastor's family stayed close to the parish place of worship, the Salvation Army in New Lynn. The change of place of worship in the beginning of 1990 occasioned distrust by the parish of its pastor.[1615] Parish worship was held in the Salvation Army since September 1989, and on a good understanding and relationship between the pastor of the Salvation Army and the parish Secretary.[1616] In March, 1990, the parish reluctantly shifted their worship to the Catholic Church in Avondale because of the forceful demand by the parish pastor, and for reasons which was later discovered to be unsubstantiated.[1617] This dented parish trust of its pastor as evident in parish records about this incident - 'The uncomfortable situation now (sadness) is that parish members are beginning to lose trust in the pastor.'[1618] From this point onwards relationships between the pastor and parish members pendulated between mutual distrust and acrimony. A series of controversial events within the parish fellowship towards the end of the year (1990) eventually led to disruption.[1619] The major issues involved conflicts and suspicion over

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secretary's house. $2,000 of parish funds was spent on renovation and refurnishing of the house, but not much later, the pastor left for unknown reasons.

[1615] 'History of the Parish Ministry.'

[1616] 'History of the Parish Ministry'.

[1617] The unsubstantiated reasons were; (1) that the palagi Pastor of the Salvation Army no longer accepted them; (2) Elder Tone Tuiai did not like the Palagi Pastor, and the association with the Salvation Army; (3) The Catholic Church was available to them free. 'History of the Parish Ministry'.

[1618] 'History of the Parish Ministry'.

[1619] The fatal controversy began with the pastor's suspicion of the Treasurer's handling of parish finance. It eventually led to the decision by the parish to dismiss the Treasurer on the insistence of the pastor, and after the pastor's rejection of the financial statement submitted by the Treasurer. The new Treasurer 'was unhappy with certain aspects of the ministry', and on his advice, the parish held a meeting without the pastor. The crucial event later was the parish meeting after worship which parish members submitted the results of their meeting to the pastor, but was rejected. For some members, the atmosphere of the meeting was most unhelpful. Not only did the pastor chair the meeting from the pulpit which was unconventional, but his manner of leading discussions was objectionable - 'Sami (the pastor) does not listen to anybody!'; 'Sami has become stone-difficult, and tended to constant rebuke.' The ominous result was that the leading founder Chief and Deacon Misa left the meeting before it was completed, and others followed. The parish fellowship was now divided, and on the following day, the majority, eleven families which included all the founding families of the parish, met at Chief Misa's place to consider the future. Four other families sided with the pastor. The majority opposing the pastor decided to seek the advice of Elder Pastor Ieriko to avoid members' murmuring to stay away from worship or, to join other churches, and also their emphatic resolve to dismiss their pastor. But Elder Pastor Ieriko's advice, and even his role, was critical in the transition from controversy to the eventual disruption as far as the parish was concerned. In the first consultation, Elder Pastor Ieriko advised the group to leave the matter with him, and they would be advised of the proper solution later. But ironically, it may be asserted that what was said in the consultation almost

parish finance, and members' (the majority) disapproval of the pastor's lack of temperance.

But the resolve by the majority group led by the founding families against reconciliation underlined the subtle resilience of the cultural authority of the leading chiefs in the group.[1620] Perhaps it was in recognition of this aspect that Elder Pastor Ieriko resolved the 'Avondale Problem' by one of his usual ways and in the manner which was mostly predictable - 'Let Sami [pastor] and his side develop the Church. You develop yours. Whichever dies, so be it. Whichever lives, good'.[1621] The group with Pastor Lemalu continued the Avondale Parish, and the separated group worshipped separately and later became the founding families for the Avondale Central Parish in 1991.

(42) THE ST ALBANS PARISH. DECEMBER 26, 1988.

The St Albans Parish was started by five families who separated from the New Brighton Parish towards the end of 1988.[1622] This relates particularly to the unsuccessful attempt by the leading Elder and Pastors of the Southern Sub-District to reconcile divisions in the New Brighton Parish in November 18, 1988.[1623] The occasion on this date was an urgent

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undoubtedly resulted in the resolution of the problem as far as the group was concerned. According to one member, Elder Pastor Ieriko had given them a discourse on the unpleasant history of the Avondale parish pastor in the E.F.K.S. pastoral ministry. Elder Pastor Ieriko further suggested the inevitable possibility of the dismissal of the Avondale pastor from the parish. In the attempt to solve the 'Avondale Problem', the pastor secretary of the Sub-District was sent, but he met only the pastor and four families on the pastor's side. The 'majority group' embarked on a second delegation to Elder Pastor Ieriko, After much discussion, they decided to end their covenant with their pastor. And they were instructed by Elder Pastor Ieriko to submit a formal letter to that effect to the Sub-District for consideration. The letter was submitted on November 15, 1990, and it was accepted.
Sources of this whole account are, the 'Personal Stories...' by Chief Misa, Chief Tiuga, mentioned above, and the 'History of the Parish Ministry' in the 'Avondale Parish Book'.

[1620] This was clearly expressed by the group in the letter which requested the termination of the parish covenant with the pastor, and also in the 'History of the Parish Ministry' which was written by the parish secretary. In the latter, the group refers to the 'numerous charges and countercharges because of anger and arrogant pride. And it affected (in the sense of belittling and disgrace) the cultural authority that preserves and defends the parish ministry'. In the former, the group emphasises before the Sub-District (in a respectful manner) their '...belief that it is no longer possible for us to work together with Pastor Sami Lemalu...'

[1621] Chief Misa; 'Personal Story...'

[1622] 'New Brighton Parish Book'.

[1623] 'New Brighton Parish Book'.

attempt by the Sub-District to restore unity to an already divided parish over issues which went back three years to 1985. The failure of reconciliation led to the decision to accept the expressed intention by the lay preacher, who was looking after the parish, and four other families to start a new church parish.[1624] Six families on the other side continued the New Brighton Parish.[1625]

The New Brighton Parish was never entirely free from controversies which plagued its ministry and caused divisions and mutual antagonism between members since 1985. The most important issues of direct relevance to the historical circumstances of the origin of the St Albans Parish were the case of an adulterous deacon, the resignation of the parish pastor, and the suspicious activities of the lay preacher - all in the New Brighton Parish.[1626]

The case of the "adulterous deacon" was reported to the meeting of the Sub-District in November 25, 1985 as proven.[1627] But a decision was deferred because the parish pastor was not present in the meeting.[1628] In the meeting on April 11, 1986, the issue was raised again when the parish pastor was present.[1629] The Sub-District decided to rest the charge on account of the pastor's explanation that the 'adulterous deacon' denied the charge.[1630] For some unknown reason, the Sub-District had confirmed the charge, and then decided on its meeting in July 18, 1986 to suspend the "adulterous deacon" for one year.[1631] Some members of the parish rejected the decision by the Sub-District and demanded its

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[1624] 'New Brighton Parish Book'.

[1625] 'New Brighton Parish Book'.

[1626] These are the main issues that are commonly identified with the eventual disruption in New Brighton in relation to the origin of St Albans by four main informants whose personal stories I have relied on.

[1627] 'Minute Book of the South Island Sub-District', p.117.

[1628] 'Minute Book of the South Island Sub-District'; p.117.

[1629] 'Minute Book of the South Island Sub-District'; p.118.

[1630] 'Minute Book of the South Island Sub-District; p.118.

[1631] 'Minute Book of the South Island Sub-District; p.121.

revocation.[1632] But it had no effect on the decision by the Sub-District because 'the refusal and the demand remained a mere verbal reaction'. The only unfortunate effect was the worsening of the relations between the parish pastor and the "adulterous deacon" and members who supported him.[1633] This is because the parish pastor had previously refused the approach by the "adulterous deacon" to witness in his support when the case was taken to Court.[1634] The pressure on the parish pastor was compounded by the well-known unsettled state of his relationship with his wife,[1635] which was often a cause of shame on the part of the pastor before the parish fellowship, and simultaneously a constant cause of complaint by the parish fellowship against the pastor's family.[1636] The accumulative effects of 'family problems' and the unsettled relations with some members of the parish led to the resignation by the pastor in December, 1986.[1637] Failed attempts by the Sub-District to persuade the pastor to resume his ministry, and the refusal by the pastor to appear before the District Elders eventually led to the cancellation of the pastor status of the pastor.[1638] The resignation by the pastor added a further complication to the unsettled situation in the parish. It was now looked after by the lay preacher who was a supporter of the resigned pastor, and was known for his insidious efforts to discourage any efforts by the parish to find a new pastor.[1639] The former aspect did not help to

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[1632] Personal Story of the Origin and Beginning of the St Albans Parish by Chief and Deacon Samoa. Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1633] Chief Samoa; 'Personal Story...'

[1634] Chief Samoa; 'Personal Story...'

[1635] The problem was their differences and arguments before the fellowship. This was one of the main reasons which led to their recommended resignation from the Christchurch Parish. And it did not improve since taking up ministry with the New Brighton Parish in 1984.

[1636] According to Personal Story of the Origin and Beginning of St Albans Parish by Chief and Deacon Malae Tusani. Result of second interview in 1995.
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1637] 'New Brighton Parish Book'.

[1638] According to Pastor Saniva Nga Shiu of Napier Parish. Second interview, 1995. Saniva was pastor of the Dunedin Parish from 1987 to 1993, hence his familiarity with events of the Southern Sub-District.

[1639] According to the 'Personal Story' by Chief and Deacon Malae Tusani, and the 'Personal Story' by Pastor Rudolph Stanley of St Albans Parish ,1995.
This was part of his pretension to be a pastor which was finally made obvious when he requested the Sub-District to request the E.F.K.S. to grant his pastor status on the basis of having completed some theological

restore unity in the parish fellowship, and it remained as such in the two years from the beginning of 1987 to the end of 1988.[1640] Occasional pressure from the Sub-District for the parish to find a pastor only amounted to divisions between the lay preacher with some members who remained loyal to the resigned pastor (but in reality a disguise of his true intention against having a parish pastor), and others who were inclined to respond positively to the Sub-District pressure. By the end of 1988, these divisions on issues in the parish ministry magnified personal differences which on a deeper level reflected a clear failure to agree on a definite direction in parish development. They eventually divided the New Brighton Parish, and led to the beginning of the St Albans Parish.

(43) THE HUTT VALLEY PARISH JUNE 17, 1989.

The Hutt Valley Parish was started as a result of a major disruption in the Petone Parish in the beginning of 1989. The direct cause of the controversial disruption was the unwarranted decision by the lay preacher to hold a vote for the parish to decide whether to continue or to terminate their covenant with the parish pastor who was on leave for three months.[1641] The vote was held against the opposition by the leading founder (Chief and deacon, Vasa Su'a) of the Petone Parish and a few others.[1642] They were the 'recognised authority'[1643] of the fellowship because of seniority, age, and for the known

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training in Bible Colleges. It was rejected by the Southern Sub-District and never seriously considered. He eventually left the St Albans Church frustrated. See section on New Brighton for other details on this lay preacher.

[1640] In the meeting by the Sub-District on March 6, 1987, the request by the New Brighton Parish to reinstate the deacon status of the 'adulterous deacon' was not accepted because the one year suspension period was not over, and it was deemed inappropriate also on account of the lay preacher's report that there was little spiritual improvement in character. The 'adulterous deacon' was eventually reinstated in June 19, 1987 by the Sub-District.

[1641] This is clearly shown in the reason stated in the Text for the decision by the Sub-District to suspend the lay preacher from his office (of the lay preacher). The decision by the lay preacher ignored Church policy which forbids a lay preacher from chairing a parish meeting in such cases. It is the role of the leading Elder of the Sub-District. It was also unwarranted because the parish pastor was meant to return to continue his ministry.

[1642] Chief and Deacon Vasa Su'a; 'Personal Story...'.

[1643] The sense here is the cultural recognition of the role and seniority of founding members, especially when they are chiefs or old members. They do not have absolute control, but their views are always considered in major issues in the parish.

fact of being the leading founder of the parish. The lay preacher was appointed by the Sub-District (Wellington) to look after the parish while the pastor was on leave. The result of the vote was that a large majority were against the resumption of the pastoral ministry of the pastor on leave.[1644] But the winning majority could not effectively persuade and exercise control because of the determined resolve by the minority side which was led by the 'recognised authority' of the parish fellowship. It led to a series of controversies which seriously divided the parish. The Sub-District responded by suspending the lay preacher from his office ' because he decided to hold the parish vote while the parish pastor was on leave, and it caused divisions in the parish', and also to 'give comfort' to the divided parish.[1645] It did not restore unity to the parish. This was because there were deeper issues and concerns by members which made them decide against the resumption of the ministry by the pastor on leave. One was the differences of perspectives over the control and direction of the parish ministry especially between the pastor and the 'dissatisfied majority'.[1646] The central issue was the pastor's attempt to purge the parish church of the corrupt practices and influence of lay leaders which had adverse effects on the spiritual growth, unity, integrity, and successful development of the parish church. It was more or less the pastor's attempt to defend and preserve the spiritual authority of the pastor from the encroaching challenge of members' authority which was often characterised by unchristian and secular motivations.[1647] In June 17,

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[1644] Chief Vasa Su'a; 'Personal Story...'

[1645] 'Minute Book of the Wellington Sub-District'; p.98.

[1646] Chief Vasa Su'a; 'Personal Story...' One particular example Chief Vasa Su'a mentions was the differences over the expenditure of parish funds.

[1647] These are examples of several contentious issues which had been developed over some years which eventually led to disruption and the departure by the majority to begin the Hutt Valley Parish. (1) Tendency by lay preachers to treat the parish fellowship as a corporation for social benefits. For example, people loan from funds of various fellowships and the Treasurer thinks it was his right to accept such. Worse still, such practices were done without knowledge of parish fellowship. The 'proper' difference was over differing views on expenditure of parish funds. (2) Tendency by members to take sides or 'gang up' which often results in divisions. Also the dominating effect of the side in the majority that often frustrates the minority. (3) Tendency by influential lay leaders when holding leading offices like Parish Secretary or Treasurer to discuss fellowship matters outside usual fellowship meetings with their supporters, which often reflect in serious arguments during proper meetings of the parish. (4) Usual Samoan weakness that when the pastor does not do what some members want, they then retaliate in ways like wanting to terminate the ministry by the pastor. (5) The disharmonious relationship between the pastor's wife and some women in the parish.

1989, the 'separated majority' from the Petone Parish started the Hutt Valley Parish. And it was recognised by the Sub-District in its worship-meeting in June 24, 1989.[1648]

The Hutt Valley Parish started with a strong founding membership which increased in the first two years, but then declined again when some members returned to the Petone Parish.[1649] They had no real difficulty in finding a pastor. A graduate from Malua Theological College who had completed further studies in the Theological College of Knox[1650] was appointed by the Sub-District to look after the parish since it started. He eventually became the parish's covenanted pastor at the end of 1990.

SUMMARY OF ORIGINS AND BEGINNINGS OF PARISHES OF THE 1980S.

Almost all the sixteen parishes founded in the 1980's had grown out of existing parishes as a result of disruptions and divisions. The various causes for disruptions which created parishes in the 1970's became notoriously common in the 1980's. It became a common occurrence for 'large groups' which were united by reasons of belonging to the same extended family, belonging to the same village in Samoa, or having shared concerns within parishes, to leave well-established parishes to begin new ones. It is notable that these were led by the lay authorities of the Samoan chiefs and lay preachers which demonstrate their strong, if also their divisive influence in the work and life of the parish ministries. Furthermore this is shown to have worked successfully against the authority of the parish pastor as shown in the beginnings of the parishes of Ketesemane,

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According to Pastor Akerei. Present pastor of Petone Parish; 'Personal Story...'. Also Chief Vasa Su'a; 'Personal Story...'.

[1648] 'Minute Book of the Wellington Sub-District', p.98.

[1649] The parish had 171 members in 1990, and increased to 200 in 1991. It dropped to 182 in 1992. This is clear when comparing the figures for the Petone and Hutt Valley Parishes in the relevant years.As a result of the split, Petone lost 114 members. This must have been the number who started Hutt Valley in 1989 because there is no figure recorded for Hutt Valley in this year. In 1990 the figure for Hutt Valley was 171. hence an increase from 114. Between 1991 and 1992 there was a loss of 18 members. For the same period, Petone recorded an increase of 34 members. This must include the members who left Hutt Valley to return to Petone, according to Chief Vasa Su'a.

[1650] Pastor Talolua.

Weymouth, Mangere West, Takanini, Mt Roskill, Massey, Cannons Creek, St Albans and Hutt Valley. In several cases the lead by lay authorities in parishes essentially reflected parish opposition to authoritarian pastors, and motivated by genuine concern for appropriate changes in the pastoral ministry.

The recurring pattern of establishing parishes as a result of schism was encouraged by the absence of a policy to guide church growth. On the one hand, this suited well the leadership approach of leading Elder pastors, Elder Pastor Ieriko and Elder Pastor Talamaivao. Their 'cool acquiescence' in some occasions of disruptions in parishes was a matter of deliberate policy based on the pragmatic recognition of certain realities and difficulties in the New Zealand context of the C.C.C.S.'s pastoral ministry. But on other occasions, it was a result of real failure on the part of the leadership of Elder pastors to control the intransigence of other Elder pastors and parish pastors as shown in the disruptions in the Mangere East Parish which led to the beginning of the Mangere West Parish, in the Panmure Parish which resulted in the formation of the Pakuranga Parish, and to a lesser extent in the New Brighton Parish which resulted in the beginning of the St Albans Parish. The clash of authority in the Elderly leadership in relation to the beginnings of parishes were also shown in the beginnings of the Ketesemane, Weymouth, and Takanini parishes.

On the other hand, the difficulties involved in avoiding schisms reflect the unavoidable influence of the different context of New Zealand society which impose constraints on the official authority of the C.C.C.S. The absence of a policy to guide church growth in relation to parish creation was therefore based on two related considerations. One was the 'resigned recognition' of the freedom of Samoan migrants in New Zealand in terms of religious activities and religious affiliation. The other was the recognition of the essential difference of the 'freer life context' of New Zealand society from the village-bound-structure of Samoan church life in which the village church enjoys the cooperative authority of village councils,

Furthermore, the beginnings of the parishes of Tokoroa, Avondale, and Wanganui, show the continuing return of Samoans from the P.I.P.C. to the C.C.C.S. Also, one of the reasons which encouraged founders of new parishes was the presence of pastors without parishes; and that their presence in certain parishes were potential causes for disruptions in such parishes.

(44) THE MT ALBERT PARISH AUGUST 25, 1990.

The Mt Albert Parish had its origin in the controversial activities of a Samoan Pastor, Uaita Tofilau,[1651] in the P.I.P.C. Church in Newton, Auckland which led to division in the church membership, and resulted in the beginning of the P.I.P.C. in Mt Albert.[1652] The significance of the beginning of the Mt Albert P.I.P.C. is the fact that it was started by members of the Newton P.I.P.C. who left with Pastor Tofilau but refused to join the Mt Albert Parish of the C.C.C.S.[1653] The few who were mostly family-related remained with Pastor Tofilau and became the leading founders of the Mt Albert Parish. According to Pastor Tofilau's father, Pastor Tofilau had, for quite a while, wanted to return to the Samoan Church (C.C.C.S.) The parish held its founding service in August 25, 1990, after three attempts to persuade a very reluctant Elder Pastor Ieriko who warned the

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[1651] Pastor Uaita Tofilau was a graduate from Malua Theological College. He completed further theological training at Knox College as a Presbyterian ordinand of the Newton P.I.P.C. He then worshipped in the Newton P.I.P.C. until he left with others to start the Mt Albert Parish of the C.C.C.S.

[1652] There was a known belief among some Samoans in the Newton P.I.P.C. that Pastor Tofilau was expecting to take over the ministry in the Newton P.I.P.C. when Rev. Sio retired. But the delay of Rev. Sio's retirement gave mixed signals to Pastor Tofilau's expectations. According to Rev. Sio, Pastor Tofilau had long wanted a parish to serve in. He then capitalised on the rift among Samoan membership of the Deacons Fellowship because of differences related to the two golf clubs established in the Newton fellowship. To solve the problem Rev. Sio and Pastor Tofilau agreed that they would be neutral in trying to restore harmony. Pastor Tofilau would work with the lesser group, and Rev. Sio from the majority group. But Pastor Tofilau betrayed Rev. Sio. He conducted several secret meetings with the group he was working with and began to avoid participation when the two groups met. When Rev. Sio was away, Pastor Tofilau and his group left the Newton P.I.P.C.
Rev. Sio; 'Personal Story...';Also through personal involvement with the parish between 1990 and 1995. Author also has many relatives worshipping in the Newton P.I.P.C.

[1653] This is a well known fact amongst the Church communities of Samoans, both C.C.C.S. and P.I.P.C., in Auckland. The majority of P.I.P.C. members who left with Pastor Tofilau did not join the C.C.C.S. Parish in Mt Albert. They only attended the founding service and enjoyed the feast prepared, then left to begin the P.I.P.C. in Mt Albert. According to Rev. Sio, most of the members who left with Pastor Tofilau wanted freedom and rest after years of serving the Church through the Newton P.I.P.C. So they knew the difficulties involved in beginning a C.C.C.S. parish.

founding members that 'the founding of a new Church parish is neither a game nor something to play with.'[1654] Like the Kingsland Parish in 1969, the parish was barely settled before a bitter controversy struck in November and led to a disruption in December in 1991. It eventually led to the beginning of the Hillsborough Parish in 1992. The following narrative of the 'controversial disruption' in the Mt Albert Parish also provides the historical circumstances of the origin of the Hillsborough Parish.

The root cause of the controversy was the alleged suspicion of the pastor's responsibility in relation to parish funds which were discovered lost and unaccounted for.[1655] Chief Mata'utia Maulolo had several private talks with the pastor in which he advised the pastor to concentrate on his pastoral duties and to avoid meddling with parish finance. In the first stage, it was a well-meaning advice to avoid the distractions on other duties of the pastor, though it was also related to the concern for lost funds and his ultimate hope to build a Church.[1656] The result was estrangement between the pastor and the Chief in which the latter came to feel that the pastor was consciously trying to exclude him from the parish fellowship.[1657] By the beginning of November, the parish was divided. One of the prominent founders, Faletua Lanuola, left the parish fellowship out of a deep spiritual concern and dissatisfaction with what she perceived as the weakness of a family-

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[1654] According to the Personal Story of the Origin and Beginning of the Mt Albert and Hillsborough Parishes, by Faletua Lanuola Manu.According to Faletua Lanuola (widow of a Missionary Pastor of the E.F.K.S.) Pastor Tofilau and some of the members were refused twice by Elder Pastor Ieriko in their request to start a C.C.C.S. parish. Then Pastor Tofilau approached her to join them in their third attempt, and also to join the founding group. She said that it was because she was with the group that Elder Pastor Ieriko accepted the request to start the Mt Albert Parish of the C.C.C.S. Faletua Lanuola had just shifted to live in Mt Albert because they had bought a new house but she had been attending the Mangere West Parish. She also became a founding member of the Mt Albert Parish.

[1655]Members who made the discovery were headed by a Chief and Lay Preacher, Mata'utia Maulolo who had worshipped in the 'Palagi Church' for most of the time since they migrated to New Zealand in 1969, but had left to join the Mt Albert Parish to attain two main hopes. One was to enable his children to learn the Samoan language and culture. But his major hope was to be able to build a Church as a mark of heroic discipleship in the footsteps of his Christian parents in Samoa; he had also felt this to be a personal resumption of cultural loyalty and cultural service to the Christian Gospel.
According to the written Personal Story of the Origin and Beginning of the Mt Albert and Hillsborough Parishes, by Chief and Lay Preacher Mata'utia Vaimalae Maulolo.
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

Chief Matautia Maulolo; 'Written Personal Story...'.

[1657] Chief Matautia Maulolo; 'Written Personal Story...'

dominated ministry by the pastor. She said, '...Speaking for myself only, I did not find joy to worship in the ministry... The problem was that the ministry was run as if it was a family thing. And it tended to exclude and ignore the opinions of other parish members...'[1658] On November 17, the opposition group in the parish consulted the pastor secretary of the Sub-District.[1659] Their intention was not to dismiss their pastor, but merely to inform about the proven allegations of the misuse of parish funds by the pastor which they thought should earn him an admonition and correction by the Sub-District.[1660] The Sub-District responded accordingly. The pastor was counselled by Elder Pastor Timaloa,[1661] with the advice to apologise to the parish fellowship. Elder Pastor Timaloa preached at the parish on the next Sunday, November 24, in the hope to provide comfort and unity.[1662] But Chief Mata'utia Maulolo was not impressed by the sermon which he thought was 'vindicating the pastor and lacked a spiritual concern for their hunger for **truth** and **justice**'.[1663] On the following Sunday, December 1, 1991, Pastor Tofilau preached and apologised, but again to Chief Mata'utia Maulolo, it was not a sincere apology.[1664] The reaction seemed reasonable because a fight among the members erupted after the service.[1665] The result was a meeting by the Sub-District on December 11, 1991, to resolve the 'Mt Albert Problem'.[1666] It was unable to restore unity to the parish despite various pleas for peace and reconciliation.[1667] At the end of December, 1991, seventeen

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[1658] Faletua Lanuola Manu; 'Personal Story...'

[1659] 'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District'.

[1660] Chief Mata'utia Maulolo; 'Written Personal Story...'

[1661] Elder Pastor Ieriko had now retired and succeeded by Elder Pastor Fareti Timaloa.

[1662] Chief Mata'utia Maulolo; 'Written Personal Story...'

[1663] Chief Matautia Maulolo; 'Written Personal Story...'

[1664] Chief Matautia Maulolo; 'Written Personal Story...' Chief Tofilau Tevaga adds that opponents of Pastor Tofilau left the parish because of their interpretation of the sermon. That is, they thought the sermon was against them, hence the fight.

[1665] Chief Matautia Maulolo; 'Written Personal Story...'

[1666] 'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District'.

[1667] But it is important in that it further clarifies the contentious issues which eventually turned the parish controversy to disruption. A major revelation was the several unsuccessful attempts by the pastor, even

families led by Chief Matautia Maulolo and other elderly couples, left the Mt Albert Parish and eventually became the founding members of the Hillsborough Parish in 1992.[1668]

(45) THE RANUI PARISH 1990.

Four families of chiefs with a blemished background[1669] founded the Ranui Parish in 1990.[1670] When the parish covenanted with its pastor on September 21, 1991 family component increased to nine, and seven were families of chiefs.[1671] Two important aspects had critical significance in relation to the origin and beginning of the parish. One was its choice of pastor. Another was the strong influence of the chiefs in the initial phase of the development of the parish. The parish made two mistakes in relation to their choice of pastor and in the manner they adopted in deciding its pastor. Against C.C.C.S. policy which requires that the leading Elder of the Sub-District officiates and conducts the parish meeting which decides a parish pastor, the parish decided its pastor and invited him without consulting the leading Elder.[1672] The most problematic aspect was that the

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using lawyers, to exclude the signature of Chief Matautia Maulolo from parish accounts which held major funds of the parish. Chief Matautia Maulolo's explanations clearly show the strong influence of his personal hope to build a Church, allied with the concern to protect parish funds from an untrustworthy pastor. He emphasised the pastor's failure to explain a great deal of parish funds which were discovered lost, and also struck at the heart of the members' discontent by the declaration that parish funds belong to the parish, not to the pastor or, himself. But the other side of the story is that Chief Matautia Maulolo was unnecessarily protecting parish funds which to the pastor was required for parish activities.
'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District'.

[1668] Chief Matautia Maulolo; 'Written Personal Story...'

[1669] According to Pastor Mulu, the four leading founders left the Samoan Methodist Church after a very ignoble incident which involved chiefly abuse of people's trust and misuse of chiefly authority in church fellowship. In brief, they represented the parish to give the parish donation to a fa'alavelave (special occasion, death). In return for parish donation, the family involved with the fa'alavelave returned the gratitude with money and cultural gifts for the parish. The four chiefs distributed these among themselves, and they never returned to the Methodist Church but founded the Ranui Parish of the C.C.C.S. All of them were E.F.K.S. adherents in Samoa.
Personal Story by Pastor Mulu of the Origin and Beginning of the Parishes of Tokoroa and Ranui.
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1670] 'Minute Book of the West Auckland Sub-District', p.61.

[1671] 'Minute Book of the West Auckland Sub-District'; p.61.

[1672] 'Minute Book of the West Auckland Sub-District'; p.61.

parish decided for a theological graduate from St John's Theological College, and not from Malua Theological College as required by the E.F.K.S. Church policy.[1673] The West Auckland Sub-District did not accept the parish choice.[1674] But the parish stood firm on its decision until after it received proper explanations of the relevant policy it failed to consider, and also informed of the non-recognition of its decision by the Elders of the Northern District of the C.C.C.S. and from the E.F.K.S. in Samoa.[1675] The parish then covenanted with a C.C.C.S. pastor who had completed a six year term with the Tokoroa Parish in 1989.[1676]

The predominant influence of the chiefly families was most responsible in the controversial disruption in the parish in February 1992. At the heart was the issue related to the interface between culture and faith at the basis of the C.C.C.S.'s parish foundation, and indeed in the essence of the authority structure of the C.C.C.S. as part of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. Its manifestation in the Ranui Parish provided a notorious example as was evident by the fact that the disruption in the parish occurred only five months after the parish made covenant with its pastor. The specific issue at the heart of the controversy was the pastor's attempt to protect parish funds for parish development from 'the practice and on going attempts'[1677] by the parish members, greatly influenced by the chiefs, to use

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[1673] The policy by the E.F.K.S. referred to was made in 1988. It was the decision by the Elders Committee which forbid non-Malua trained pastors to serve as covenanted pastors in the parish ministry of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa and in all its branches overseas - hence including the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1674] 'Minute Book of the West Auckland Sub-District'; p.61.

[1675] A detailed record of the thorough steps taken with regards to this matter is included. Notably the concern to achieve proper understanding between the parish and the non recognised pastor, and the Sub-District.
'Minute Book of the West Auckland Sub-District'; p.63.

[1676] Pastor Mulu, who is also mentioned in relation to the Tokoroa Parish.

[1677] Pastor Mulu relates one incident as an example. On the day of 'covenant making' his family gave $3,000 to the parish. According to Pastor Mulu he advised his family just to mention the donation but to leave the money with him. This was because to Pastor Mulu, it was the 'founding fund' for the parish. But his family insisted to give the money to the parish members because of a cultural concern and understanding - that is, the family felt their words and promise of $3,000 was nothing if it was not given to the parish during the occasion. 'The goodness in words is in the deeds'. The point is, Pastor Mulu suspected that the chiefs might distribute the money amongst themselves. And that exactly happened. Pastor Mulu had also already learned of the chiefs ignoble activity with the Methodist Church they previously attended. As noted already. Alternatively, some cases of the same nature do not share Pastor

them for culture-related concerns. The negative aspect of the Samoan culture involved was the tendency by the chiefly dominated membership to accommodate chiefly related concerns into the activities of the parish. According to the parish pastor, such a tendency was nothing short of polluting and confusing the Church's essential concern and its faith-related activities by the misuse of cultural authority in the Church.[1678] Its specific outworkings in the parish involved hypocritical behaviour[1679] and unfair treatment of members.[1680] The worst aspect was the misuse of parish funds by the unwarranted assertion of chiefly authority in the exercise of Church offices and related responsibilities.[1681] The pastor's first attempt was to secure parish finance. This was achieved by making it impossible to withdraw parish finance without the pastor's signature.[1682] The attempt to circumscribe the operation of culture-related concerns and activities in the parish proved difficult and it eventually led to disruption. The 'critical event' ironically related to the parish concern for the pastor's involvement in his family's fa'alavelave (a wedding). Briefly put, [1683] the parish borrowed money from a member of the parish for the parish donation to the pastor's family. The idea to make a parish donation was declined by the pastor, especially when it was understood that parish funds were to be used. Without the pastor's knowledge, the parish borrowed money from a parish member on the understanding that it would be repaid by parish funds afterwards.

Mulu's perspective. Especially if it involves a family's offer of respect to a parish, and where it is not given in the Church with the clear explanation that it was meant for a taulaga (sacrificial offering).

[1678] Pastor Mulu: 'Personal Story...'

[1679] Pastor Mulu relates an example which the lay preacher, who looked after the parish before Pastor Mulu, had told Mulu. That in 'fa'alavelave' which had no connection with parish members, the chiefs would use $500 for parish donation. The expected return would be shared by chiefs. Pastor Mulu also relates the Chief's tendency to give little for the free offerings for parish development, but had the habit of demanding large donations by the parish in cases where the parish agreed to make donations.

[1680] According to Pastor Mulu, some members complained of the chiefs tendency to ensure parish donation to 'fa'alavelave' which had connections to their families and friends, but not to 'fa'alavelave' connected with other members of the parish. This was before Pastor Mulu began ministry in the parish.

[1681] For example. the Treasurer used $1500 for parish preparations for the founding service without parish knowledge. There was also suspicion of personal misuse involved.

[1682] Pastor Mulu: 'Personal Story...'

[1683] Pastor Mulu: 'Personal Story...'

In the meeting where members required repayment of the borrowed money from parish funds, the pastor was adamant in refusing the demand by the parish. This eventually led to the decision by the parish in its own meeting without the pastor to terminate their covenant with the pastor. In February 1992, seven families of chiefs left the parish to start a separate church parish, but it was not recognised by the West Auckland Sub-District.[1684] Two families of the nine founding families of the parish which remained joined with three new families to begin the Ranui Parish all over again with the pastor in its second founding service on April 6, 1992.[1685] The pastor's commentary on the separated chiefly families clearly highlights one of the potential dangers of the unchecked influence of Samoan culture on the Samoan cultural basis of the Samoan Church:- 'These people want a peaceful pastor who just preaches, and lets them steal and exercise absolute control in everything.'[1686]

(46) THE LOWER HUTT PARISH DECEMBER 4, 1990.

The Lower Hutt Parish was founded as a result of a major breakaway of three hundred and eleven Samoans from the P.I.P.C. in Petone in 1990.[1687] The overall number was composed of forty five families which included sixteen chiefs, thirty deacons, and five lay preachers.[1688] Only five Samoan families remained in the P.I.P.C. in Petone.[1689] Associated with the breakaway group, but not included, was the Samoan pastor of the Petone Parish, Senetenari Iupeli, who resigned before the breakaway of Samoan families.[1690] It is important to note this distinction because according to Pastor Iupeli, his

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[1684] 'Minute Book of the West Auckland Sub-District', p.79.

[1685] Pastor Mulu: 'Personal Story...'

[1686] Pastor Mulu: 'Personal Story...'

[1687] According to the Personal Story of the Origin and Beginning of the Lower Hutt Parish, by Pastor Senetenari Iupeli.
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1688] Pastor Iupeli: 'Personal Story...'

[1689] Pastor Iupeli: 'Personal Story...'

[1690] This is confirmed by Pastor Seu Leleimalefaga of the Wanganui Parish in his 'Personal Story' mentioned above in relation to the Wanganui Parish.

resignation was a result of a personal decision and had nothing to do with the breakaway by Samoan families from the P.I.P.C. in Petone.[1691] On the other hand, the breakaway group did not leave the P.I.P.C. to found a C.C.C.S. parish.[1692] They understood the reasons for Pastor Iupeli's resignation, and they shared them to a large extent.[1693] But they left simply to follow their pastor out of cultural loyalty.[1694] It was Pastor Iupeli who resigned as a result of a 'personal decision to return to serve the Church (E.F.K.S.) of his spiritual roots.'[1695] It is important to make this distinction in order to appreciate the link

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[1691] An outsider's view would be most likely to claim that Pastor Iupeli had machinated the major breakaway by the Samoans. This is most likely amongst the Samoans as was represented by Rev. Sio in his initial reaction to the occurrence of the breakaway. In a general meeting by the Newton P.I.P.C. in December 1991, the subject was discussed concerning what the Pacific Islanders may have wished done after twenty one years of the merger into the Presbyterian Church. Rev. Sio advocated the creation of Sub-Districts and leading Elders for the P.I.P.C. And one of his main reasons was, it was the best way to avoid breakaway cases like it happened in Petone, where the pastor left and took with him the whole group of Samoans. Rev. Sio was right in the sense that it would have been difficult for Samoans to remain in the Petone P.I.P.C. after their Samoan pastor had resigned. And especially when the reasons for the pastor's resignation was generally shared by Samoans. This possibility cannot be ruled out by anyone with an indepth understanding of the cultural mentality of Samoans. Yet the personal testimony by Pastor Iupeli can still be true.

[1692] Pastor Iupeli: 'Personal Story...'

[1693] Pastor Iupeli; 'Personal Story...'

[1694] Pastor Iupeli: 'Personal Story...'

[1695] Pastor Iupeli's resignation from the P.I.P.C. in Petone largely resulted from a personal frustration about certain aspects of the structure of the parish ministry of the Presbyterian Church, and other aspects. He does not share the concept of 'Eldership' which tends to give equal status to deacons and pastors - the former as ruling Elders, and the latter as teaching Elders. For Pastor Iupeli, it confuses authority and it fails to give proper recognition to the role of the parish pastor. The major cause of frustration involved the related issues of church properties and effective authority and control. These were issues of common concern for Pastor Iupeli and the Samoans who left Petone P.I.P.C. The fundamental issue was their sad recognition of the fact that all Church properties ultimately belong to the Presbyterian Church by virtue of its ownership of deeds of properties. This created a feeling of relative deprivation in relation to the future. Some thought they were wasting their strength in the P.I.P.C. The immediate issue which led to the separation related to the new church hall and its administrative authority - 'The Board of Managers'. Pastor Iupeli did not share the fact that the membership of this 'Board' comprised mainly of 'Palagis' when they constituted the minority of the parish membership. The major cause of frustration in relation to this is the fact that to most Samoans, they believed that they contributed the most finance in the building of the Hall, but they had to get permission from such an unrepresentative Board for its use. Worse still, Samoans in the Board were perceived to be supportive of the Palagis. These Samoans were referred to as 'English Speaking Samoans' who tended to discard the Samoan culture. Frustration therefore centres on the failure to effect influence over the control and direction of the parish ministry. And it shows an inclination amongst the Samoans to arrogate to themselves the 'effective authority' of the parish from the realisation of their being in the majority, and contributing the most finance for parish development, in contrast to a declining Palagi membership and contributing less finance. [Pastor Iupeli; 'Personal Story...'].

between the separation from the P.I.P.C. and becoming founders of the C.C.C.S. parish of Lower Hutt. Pastor Iupeli resigned to return to the E.F.K.S., but there was no guarantee of an automatic acceptance as a C.C.C.S. and E.F.K.S. Pastor because of existing Church policy.[1696] The breakaway group may not have intended to found a C.C.C.S. parish, but it was the only alternative possible to maintain their loyalty to Pastor Iupeli with any meaning and practical usefulness. Significantly, this would also achieve Pastor Iupeli's hope to return 'to serve the Church of his spiritual roots'. The transition from leaving the P.I.P.C. to joining the C.C.C.S. was largely encouraged by Pastor Iupeli's father who was a retired Elder Pastor of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa, and was in new Zealand during this very time.. According to Rev. Sio, the advice by Pastor Iupeli's father had the greatest influence on Pastor Iupeli's commitment to his resignation, which indirectly influenced the breakaway Samoans into the same resolve.[1697] That when he came before to New Zealand, he had always encouraged Pastor Iupeli in his service in the P.I.P.C. parish ministry. This time, he was known to have impressed on his son, Pastor Iupeli, and the separated Samoans that 'such a thing (ie. returning to the C.C.C.S.) should have happened a long time ago.'[1698] The group eventually constituted themselves as founding members of the Lower Hutt Parish and also requested Pastor Iupeli to be their parish pastor.[1699] This was accepted by the Wellington Sub-District without the anticipated difficulties particularly in relation to Pastor Iupeli's status as a pastor.[1700] Furthermore, the thirty deacons from the P.I.P.C. were automatically accepted and

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Secondly, there was a sense of inevitability in Pastor Iupeli's resignation. He declared his hope to return to serve in the E.F.K.S. when he was accepted for theological training at Knox College in 1972 (According to the letter by Rev. Challis to the E.F.K.S. on behalf of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand: letter dated March 23, 1972). The influence of his father as noted in the Text may have ignited this hope again, if not a continuation of fatherly advice to the son.

[1696] E.F.K.S. Church policy forbids non-Malua trained pastors to serve in their pastoral ministry and all its overseas branches in Fiji, Hawaii, U.S.A., New Zealand and Australia. This policy was made in 1988. Pastor Iupeli did not receive his theological training in Malua.

[1697] Rev. Sio; 'Personal Story...'

[1698] Rev. Sio: 'Personal Story...'

[1699] Pastor Iupeli; 'Personal Story...'

[1700] 'Minute Book of the Wellington Sub-District'. See especially Minutes on the Meeting of December 8, 1990.

recognised as such. Only the decision regarding five lay preachers was referred to the Elders in Samoa.[1701] This was largely because of the role of Elder Pastor Talamaivao who was known for his consistent inclination as the leading Elder of the Wellington Sub-District to waive the requirements of Church policies, in favour of a tendency to put people first - in other words, a tendency to be inclusive of people but exclusive of ideas.

(47) THE AVONDALE CENTRAL PARISH APRIL 27, 1991.

The origin of the Avondale Central Parish relates directly to the disruption in the Avondale Parish at the end of 1990 as mentioned above. It particularly relates to the decision by the Auckland Sub-District, specifically by Elder Pastor Ieriko in 1991 to recognise separate developments.[1702] This was essentially the founding moment of the Avondale Central Parish. It is important therefore to understand these two parishes together because of the pertinent role of the cultural influence in their origins, and also in the nature of the early stages of their developments. The parish did not take long to find a pastor. On April 27, 1991, it covenanted with its pastor.[1703] The circumstances of the parish pastor may have diffused an earlier eruption of the strong cultural influence of the founding families. For the parish began 'out of nothing'.[1704] The pastor's private house in Grey Lynn was converted to cater for Church meetings, choir practice and fellowship meals.[1705] At the end of 1991, the pastor exchanged his house in Grey Lynn for a piece of land in Avondale out of a personal concern for the pastoral ministry of the parish. While this was close to the St Ninian Chapel of the Presbyterian Church the group was using for its Sunday worship, it was also deemed appropriate for a future permanent place to build

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[1701] 'Minute Book of the Wellington Sub-District'.

[1702] 'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District'.

[1703] 'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District'.

[1704] The phrase must not be taken literally because the parish already had the central requirement - the gathered people in a worshipping fellowship. It simply refers to the role of the pastor in providing other requirements in the beginning of the parish. Normally, in the E.F.K.S., the parish should provide all requirements of the ministry before they invite a pastor. The failure by the parish in this respect ironically gave the pastor a position of strength to counter any challenges later.

[1705] The author has been personally involved with the beginning of this parish, and also closely acquainted with the pastor.

the parish church and also as a centre for parish fellowship and development.[1706] In reality, the pastor was living on his own property, which was the same situation in 1993.

A major controversy struck the parish early in June 1992.[1707] The issue was a case of reported adultery against a leading chief who was also a leading founder of the parish. In his concern for the chief's age and his chiefly status, the pastor approached him privately for confirmation and for further enlightenment about the reported charge against him. The chief admitted his guilt and offered his resignation from the parish fellowship to the pastor. The pastor informed him that he had fallen from Grace and that this would be confirmed in Church. On the Sunday after this meeting between the pastor and the chief, neither the chief nor other chiefs and families related to him attended worship. But on the next Sunday the whole extended family which comprised the majority of the parish fellowship, and also the majority of the founding families of the parish, attended with a controversial design. The controversy erupted when the pastor was about to begin the worship, and some of the chiefs of the family interrupted and demanded the service be cancelled. Their design was to challenge the pastor's right to exclude the 'guilty chief' from Holy Communion. And it was part of their main objective to assert their exclusive authority over the parish by threatening the pastor. The pastor was irremovable in defending his pastoral duty to preserve the integrity of the Church's sacrament. The mounting threats against the pastor was suddenly reversed when the pastor disclosed that it was the members of the guilty chief's family that actually reported the chief to him. The controversy then turned inwards between the families of the guilty chiefs, and members of the Church now tried to stop a raging family feud. The eventual result of this 'controversial Sunday' was that the guilty chief and all his families including other related chiefs left the parish. The commentary by the parish pastor in relation to the controversy summarises best the deeper significance of the controversial disruption

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[1706] Pastor Samasoni Aiono Ah Dar; 'Written Personal Story of the Origin and Beginning of the C.C.C.S. and the Avondale Central Parish.'
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.'

[1707] The story is related from memory because of personal involvement with the parish, and the details were also confirmed by checking with the parish pastor; Pastor S. Aiono Ah Dar.

which plagued the beginning of the parish. At the heart is the potential danger of the unchecked and abusive cultural authority in the pastoral ministry which is unavoidably founded on a strong cultural foundation :

> They delight in sin and misbehaviour but refused to repent and to show humility. They even refused admonitions from the pastor. Another thing, they had low regards for the pastor. They thought the pastor should have respected them because they are kings and sacred chiefs of Samoa, they have absolute authority, and they own the Church. Their threats were only worldly strength. Because God has God's own ways to humble arrogant people...The ironic result of such controversy and their separation was that more and more people had joined the Church and worship with joy. It confirms the old saying that Power is not necessarily the truth, but there is real Power in Truth.[1708]

(48) THE HILLSBOROUGH PARISH APRIL 4, 1992.

The Hillsborough Parish grew directly out of the 'controversial disruption' in the Mt Albert Parish in 1991.[1709] In reality, the seventeen families which left the Mt Albert Parish in December 1991 had already held separate fundraising activities[1710] before the official recognition by the Auckland Sub-District of the irreconcilable division in December 11, 1991.[1711] Not all seventeen families became founding members of the Hillsborough Parish. The Report of the founding service for the parish which was held at the Hall of the Owairaka Primary School on April 4, 1992 recorded thirteen families as founding members.[1712] Why the other four families had lost interest in beginning another parish can not be ascertained. What is certain about the foundational period of the parish - December 1991 to February 1992 - was the uncertainties among some members

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[1708] 'Avondale Central Parish Book'.

[1709] Refer to Section on Mt Albert especially the part about the controversy and the disruption which led to the separation of seventeen families.

[1710] Chief Matautia Maulolo; 'Personal Story...'

[1711] 'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District'.

[1712] 'Report of the Founding Service of the Hillsborough Parish' is found in the 'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District'.

especially one of its leading founders,[1713] and the reluctant permission granted by the Sub-District for the beginning of the parish.[1714]

There were other significant events of the foundational period of the parish, especially between its founding service in April and the beginning of the ministry of the parish pastor in September 1992. Elder Pastor Timaloa had appointed a Malua trained pastor[1715] who was available and was involved with the activities of the Sub-District to look after the parish until it decided on a pastor. The parish voted for its pastor and decided on a pastor who was in Samoa.[1716] The parish decision was rejected by Elder Pastor Timaloa with the reason that he was not officiating in the parish meeting which decided the pastor according to Church policy.[1717] There was also a general expectation by Elder Pastor Timaloa and the Sub-District that the parish would vote for the pastor who was looking after the parish.[1718] Elder Pastor Timaloa then recommended to the parish to accept the pastor who was looking after the parish for the further reason that his family was already

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[1713] The widowed Faletua Lanuola who was a leading founder of the Mt Albert Parish became a 'reluctant leading founder' of the Hillsborough Parish. It is mentioned in the Section on Mt Albert how she left dissatisfied with worship and the pastoral ministry of the parish pastor, and also separately from the 'sixteen' families who left Mt Albert Parish. She was approached by the 'intact group' to join in founding the Hillsborough Parish, but she counselled them by relating to the difficulties associated with founding a new parish. She finally agreed because she thought it might still be her calling to help in founding a new parish.
Faletua Lanuola Manu; 'Personal Story...'.

[1714] Once Faletua Lanuola agreed to rejoin the group, they then approached Elder Pastor Timaloa about their hope to begin a new Church parish. They had to persuade Elder Pastor Timaloa in the light of several difficulties. By this time, the Sub-District had already decided not to recognise any more new parishes for the Sub-District because it had already included more than ten parishes. Also, the group had to confront Elder Pastor Timaloa whom they disobeyed by their determination to leave Mt Albert. This difficulty was further worsened by Faletua Lanuola's presence with the group. According to Elder Pastor Timaloa, Faletua Lanuola was a wife of a pastor, and should have had enough patience and understanding to remain with the Mt Albert Parish. But according to Faletua Lanuola, she did not move an inch. She was prepared to accept all the criticism but nothing could change her mind from her commitment to find 'worship in Truth and in the Spirit'. Elder Pastor Timaloa eventually agreed to accept the group's request to start a new parish.
Sources :- 'Personal Stories' by Lanuola Manu and Chief Mata'utia Maulolo; the 'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District'; and Personal Story by Elder Pastor Timaloa.

[1715] Pastor Apineru Misipele and wife Lagi

[1716] Chief Matautia Maulolo; 'Personal Story...'

[1717] Faletua Lanuola Manu; 'Personal Story...'

[1718] Faletua Lanuola Manu; 'Personal Story...'

in New Zealand. It would also avoid other complications involving immigration and citizenship matters.[1719] The parish refused the recommendation, but Faletua Lanuola was able to persuade the members of the importance of Elder Pastor Timaloa's recommendation not only for practical considerations, but also for its political necessity. To accept Elder Pastor Timaloa's recommendation was a way of securing his needed support for the parish's easy acceptance into the Auckland Sub-District.[1720]

A very serious problem for the members was the 'lingering hatred' of the Mt Albert Pastor which was exasperated by the difficulty in accepting the fact that they had to renounce their rightful claims to part of the 'finance and property' in the Mt Albert Parish by a self-imposed act of Christian forgiveness and forgetting.[1721] Faletua Lanuola attempted to solve the problem through prayer meetings.[1722] This also became the starting emphasis by the parish pastor when he started his pastoral ministry in September.[1723] This problem gradually disappeared after the bold attempt by the parish at the instigation of the pastor to 'visit and offer gifts'[1724] for the Mt Albert Parish during the building of its Church and Hall in 1993. Other aspects of the beginning of the parish illustrate the extent to which the C.C.C.S. parish ministry has benefited from government-related help through finance and housing.[1725]

[1719] Faletua Lanuola Manu; 'Personal Story...'

[1720] Faletua Lanuola Manu; 'Personal Story...'

[1721] Faletua Lanuola Manu; 'Personal Story...'

[1722] Faletua Lanuola Manu; 'Personal Story...'

[1723] According to Pastor Apineru Misipele in his 'Personal Story of the Origin and Beginning of the Hillsborough Parish.'
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1724] This is a customary practice in Samoan Culture and in Church life. It normally involves gifts of food to help in the care for carpenters and builders. The practice is called '***Asiga***' in Samoan.

[1725] Because the parish could not provide a house for the pastor, the pastor's family lived in a relatively cheaper rented house from the Government. The fortnightly 'charity giving' by the parish for the pastor's family averaged a three hundred and sixty dollars ($360). And the pastor had to rely on a social welfare benefit for extra financial help. This enabled the pastor's family to pay housing rent for the first six months of their ministry until it was taken up by the parish as its responsibility. And the parish could only afford his through its fundraising activities of mainly the weekly 'Housie', 'Bingo', and free offerings for development.
Source :- Pastor Misipele; 'Personal Story...'

(49)THE MASTERTON PARISH SEPTEMBER 9, 1992.

The Masterton Parish was founded by seven families who had previously attended the Union Church, the Methodist and the Presbyterian Church in the Masterton area.[1726] The leading founder was an elderly Samoan, Siaosi Ramese and his wife, whose leading initiative had actualised a family hope that was in the making for some time. This is the definite testimony of the lay preacher Tani Lepaio who was appointed by the Wellington Sub-District North to look after the parish since its beginning in September 9, 1992, to January 1994, when the parish covenanted with its ordained Pastor.[1727] According to Tani Lepaio :-

> The founding of the Church in Masterton was a hope that was long in the thoughts and in preparation by elder Siaosi Ramese and his wife. It was delayed because of being poor. But hopes and thoughts were constantly in prayers to God for help. When Elder Ramese had improved his business, he deliberated with other families about the hope to begin a Samoan Church. The result was their decision to begin the E.F.K.S.[1728]

The family vision which originated the hope for a Samoan Church reflects the basic concern for the survival of language for worship needs and, as constitutive of meaningful personhood. This basic intuition into the importance of language is also related with the concern for other Samoan families in the area who were known to be out of Churches mainly because of the language problem. The leading founder Ramese expresses this succinctly :-

> I am the elderly father (tama matua) who was responsible for the founding of the parish. I previously worshipped in the Presbyterian Church but left to actualise a long cherished hope for a Samoan

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[1726] 'Masterton Parish Book'. Also according to a conversation with the Parish Pastor, 1994. [Pastor Timoe Va'afusuaga]

[1727] 'Masterton Parish Book'.

[1728] Written Personal Story of the Origin and Beginning of the Masterton Parish, by Tani Lepaio. Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

> Church for my own language, and, for other Samoan families who had never attended church...[1729]

In December 1993, the parish submitted the result of its decision for an ordained pastor[1730] which, in itself, showed it was now capable of providing for a covenanted parish pastor. This was only possible by the offer by Ramese's family of their family house for the parish pastor.[1731]

(50) THE HASTINGS PARISH SEPTEMBER 31, 1992

The Hastings Parish grew out of the Napier Parish in pursuit of a pastoral vision for vitality and growth in the C.C.C.S. Church ministry for the Samoans in both these areas of Napier and Hastings. Personal statement by the leading architect of the pastoral vision, Pastor Kaio Afoa,[1732] is explicit on the main objective of the pastoral vision. According to Pastor Kaio Afoa:-

> The reason for the beginning of the Parish of Hastings was a vision resulting from personal experience of twelve years of our pastoral ministry in Napier. I felt that there must be a Samoan Church (E.F.K.S.) in Hastings because most of our people (adherents of the E.F.K.S.) who migrated from Samoa joined other Churches like the Methodist, Mormons, Seventh Day Adventist, and the Assembly of

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[1729] Written Personal Story of the Origin and Beginning of the Masterton Parish, by Siaosi Ramese. Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1730] 'Minute Book of the Wellington Sub-District North'.

[1731] 'Masterton Parish Book'. Also according to personal conversation with the parish pastor, 1994. The central role of Ramese's family in the origin of the parish is in the 'family and cultural based tradition' at the basis of the foundation of C.C.C.S. parishes throughout the whole period covered in this work. An important aspect of the piety of this family may be added to show how a family who had migrated to New Zealand in 1954 had never lost its sense of village identity in Samoa, and also a concern for its welfare after forty years. It is known that Ramese went back to Samoa and cleared a substantial loan by his village for the village church. When he returned to New Zealand, he started to gather Samoan families in Masterton to begin a Samoan Church as noted in the Text. The parish pastor further relates that Siaosi Ramese also stressed that his family's leading role in founding the parish was a way of 'giving the rest of one's life' with the blessings of 'life achievements' for the Church of spiritual roots.

[1732] Pastor Kaio Afoa was an E.F.K.S. missionary to Tokelau who became pastor of the Blockhouse Bay Parish and Napier Parish before the Hastings Parish.

> God. And it is because they live far away from our ministry in Napier.[1733]

The implicit allusion to the declining vitality of the parish ministry in Napier is clear. Indeed the pastor in his personal story refers to the fact that they only managed to build a house for the pastor in their twelve years in the Napier Parish as a lamentable example of this decline in vitality.[1734] But there were other reasons. One has been the growing appeal of the Assembly of God by Samoans in the same area.[1735] It drew some of its earliest members in the beginning of the 1980's from the C.C.C.S. parish in Napier,[1736] and it continued to attract new Samoan settlers in the Napier area by the beginning of the 1990's. Another difficulty has been the uneasy relationship between Pastor Afoa and the lay preacher who was among the leading founders of the parish in 1976.[1737] These had negative impact on the growth and vitality of the parish ministry in the Napier Parish. And they undoubtedly influenced Pastor Afoa's vision to begin the Hastings Parish.[1738] Pastor Afoa discussed with his parish (Napier Parish) the possibility of shifting their ministry either to be situated between Napier and Hastings, or to Hastings towards the end of 1991.[1739] The former location was envisaged as a compromise in relation to the

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[1733] Pastor Afoa; 'Written Account of his pastoral ministry with his wife in Napier and particularly the beginning of the Hastings Parish'.
Author's Personal Collection of Primary Sources for the History of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.

[1734] Pastor Afoa compares the limited achievements of their ministry in Napier to the quick progress in Hastings by referring to the fact that by the end of 1994, the Hastings Parish had already owned a Church and a Hall. But this was largely aided by a loan granted from the E.F.K.S. in Samoa.

[1735] Also according to the Personal Story of the Origin and Beginning of the Hastings Parish, by Pastor Saniva Nga Shiu. He was the next pastor of the Napier Parish when Pastor Afoa left.
I personally visited this Church by the Samoans in 1993, and witnessed its popularity amongst the Samoans.

[1736] Refer to the section on Napier Parish and relevant Notes.

[1737] It is mentioned in the section on the Napier Parish the clash between this lay preacher and the first pastor which led to the resignation of the pastor. The second pastor Afoa relates various stories of the lay preacher's occasional influences mainly in ways to obstruct parish developments. A notable example was his refusal of the parish raffle to fundraise for the pastor's house. Sometimes it involved threats of a physical nature.

[1738] Pastor Afoa's ' Written Personal Account...' and personal conversations with him emphasise the disturbing influence of the lay preacher. The main tendency is the imposition of his chiefly authority which is encouraged by his status of being a lay preacher.

[1739] Pastor Afoa; 'Written Personal Account...'. Also in 'Napier Parish Book'.

family component of the parish fellowship.[1740] Six resided in Napier, and three had to travel from Hastings.[1741] The latter alternative had the merit of being closer to where most of the 'targeted Samoan families' were living.[1742] The parish could neither compromise nor take seriously the pastor's hope to attract Samoans in the Hastings area.[1743] As a result Pastor Afoa sought the advice of the Sub-District which was favourable to his vision and hope.[1744] The result was the division of the Napier Parish. Six families which resided in Napier continued the parish ministry, and Pastor Afoa and three families who resided in Hastings shifted and began the Hastings Parish on September 31, 1992.[1745] On October 31, the parish held its founding service in the Baptist Church with seven founding families.[1746] By the end of 1993, parish membership increased to twelve families which comprised fifty members, twenty three were youth and children.[1747]

SUMMARY OF ORIGINS AND BEGINNINGS OF PARISHES OF THE 1990S.

The seven parishes which were established in the early 1990's - that is, from 1990 to 1993, were founded largely as a result of similar causes, motives, and visions as other parishes since the 1960's. The parishes of Mt Albert and Lower Hutt continued the trend of Samoans, pastors and lay members, returning from the P.I.P.C. to the C.C.C.S. Those of Hillsborough and Avondale Central resulted from disruptions in established parishes.

[1740] Pastor Afoa; 'Written Personal Account...'. Also in 'Napier Parish Book'.

[1741] Pastor Afoa; 'Written Personal Account...'. Also in 'Napier Parish Book'.

[1742] Pastor Afoa; 'Written Personal Account...'. Also in 'Napier Parish Book'.

[1743] Pastor Afoa; 'Written Personal Account...'. Also in 'Napier Parish Book'.

[1744] Pastor Afoa; 'Written Personal Account...'. Also in 'Minute Book of the Northern Wellington Sub-District'.

[1745] Pastor Afoa; 'Written Personal Account...'.

[1746] Pastor Afoa; 'Written Personal Account...'

[1747] Pastor Afoa; 'Written Personal Account...'

And the resons were the irreconcilable conflicts between parish pastors and parishoners. For Avondale Central, it was between the pastor's apparent unruly behaviour inclining to a lack of temperament, against the chief's assertion of their cultural authority. For Hillsborough, it relates to the pastor's ministry having too much influence by his family which led to suspicion of financial mismanagement by some parishoners, and also the tendency to ignore other members of the parish. The beginning of the Ranui Parish and its early disruption shows the critical and precarious role of the strong influence of chiefly authority in parish foundation. The same is applicable to the beginning of the Avondale Central Parish as it also underwent early disruption due to the wilful exercise of chiefly authority. The beginning of the Hastings Parish featured a pastor's vision to seek growth and vitality in parish ministry, though it was also motivated by the unhelpful influence of a lay preacher. And the beginning of the Masterton Parish is reminiscent of the founding vision of the C.C.C.S. especially in its emphasis on the importance of language for worship, and the continuing loyalty to the Church of spiritual roots.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

The historical narratives of the origins and beginnings of parishes have clearly shown the complex nature and variegated manner of the growth of the C.C.C.S. through the historical evolution of its institutional foundation - its Parish System. This was largely the result of the founding vision of the C.C.C.S. which required the transplantation of Samoan Christianity with its strong cultural foundation and cultural component.

A major discovery was the prominent role of lay Christians and lay leadership in building the Church in their role as founders of parish Church communities - This operated particularly in the role of the migrant Samoan chief, the migrant lay preacher, the migrant deacon and deaconness, and the migrant sons and daughters of pastors or of families with strong pastoral tradition in Samoa. Their vital contribution demonstrates the significance of the 'foundation before the founding' period [or concept] in the origins of Church communities. This is a unique feature of the growth of the C.C.C.S. which reflects the

operation of the 'Biblical Culture and Christian Society' of modern Samoa the Samoan migrants brought with them and built their Church communities in New Zealand.

This foundational period occurred in two major ways which reflect the changing nature of the origins of C.C.C.S. parishes throughout the period. It occurred largely in a positive way in the origins of the parishes of the 1960s and 1970s. In this period lay Christians and lay leadership not only played the primary role but was largely in cooperation with the official leadership of the Church - the Elder Pastors, Elder Deacon and pastors. Beginning in the 1970s but mainly in the 1980s and early 1990s, the foundational period occurred in a rather negative way through the 'period and events' associated with disruptions in established parishes which led to the origins of new parishes. In this period the role of lay Christians and lay leadership was occasionally in opposition to the official leadership of the C.C.C.S., and operated through independent initiative. This directly links to what can be said to be a major feature of the growth of the C.C.C.S. as seen in the growth of its parish system.

This is the phenomenon of Church growth through schism which occurred as early as 1970, and gradually became phenomenal throughout the 1980s even up to the early 1990s. The specific causes and issues involved have already been identified in summaries of the different periods offered above. Its deeper significance in relation to the cultural foundation of the C.C.C.S. and its transplantation in New Zealand may be briefly stated.

This phenomenon was shown to have resulted from the difficulties involved in the transplantation of Samoan Christianity, with a strong cultural foundation and component; from a village-closed cultural environment of Samoa to a much freer cultural environment of New Zealand. More specifically, such process of transplantation illustrates that Church growth through schism is both a positive and a negative development - the former in the sense that disruption leads to diversity, and the latter in the sense that disruptions reflect failure in reconciliation. This was particularly evident in relation to the pastor-chief partnership as the leading authority of parish communities,

and the cultural family unit as the basic unit of the parish community. As shown above, the operation of these two aspects was mostly responsible for the successful growth and development of the C.C.C.S. as the transplantation of Samoan Christianity in Aotearoa New Zealand. While they contributed positively in the sense of harmonious and traditional commitment to the establishment and development of Church communities, their negative impact also operated through the disruptive influence of chiefs who led families away from established parishes to start new ones. As also shown, the latter aspect was equally true to breakaway members who were not chiefs, and families who left parishes and not necessarily led by chiefs, but by lay preachers or deacons or general lay members.

The growth of the C.C.C.S. through schism [or disruption] was also shown as an expression of spiritual vigour and charismatic evangelism within the cultural framework of Samoan Christianity. It was shown that new parishes were created on the basic understanding of a liberation movement away from dogmatic and untrustworthy pastors, or from family-dominated or village-dominated ministries. Yet on the other hand it was also shown that some parishes were created by members who left established parishes because of the success of pastors in checking their corrupt influence on parish communities. In this sense the problem is not necessarily, at all times, the cultural foundation of Samoan Christianity [or the Church as a cultural institution in any Christian society for this matter], but the integrity of members' piety, spirituality,and churchmanship, particularly Church leaders both pastoral and lay.

This has a considerable validity because as also shown, schism also resulted from pure church politics. This was shown in the conflicts between Elder Pastors in relation to issues of leadership and authority, and also the difficulties faced by Elder Pastors in disciplining parish pastors and protesting groups within parishes. One of the major examples of the role of church politics is the difficulty to control the divisive influence of lay preachers which was responsible for many cases of disruptions in parishes. Although some lay preachers were also chiefs which may suggest the influence of such cultural status on the assertion of their authority, their conflicts with pastors which led to

disruptions in parishes were mostly on the basis of their status and authority as lay preachers who look after parishes when pastors are on leave or are absent from the parish for a period of time.

The concern which links the formation of new and alternative church fellowships with the need for liberation is a vital challenge to the C.C.C.S. The traditional preference for large parish fellowship is usually seen as indications of growth, success, and vitality in Church communities. It is also associated with the maintenance of the cultural sanctity on communalism with its preservation of order and institutionalised authority within which the parish Church community is believed to be safely located and received the patronage of culture. The Samoan Church encourages these because of the nature of its pastoral ministry and its Christianity. For example, because the pastor is provided with everything for life by the parish community, pastors are most inclined to encourage large fellowships. There are vital considerations that support the need for large parish communities which are associated with other aspects of the pastoral ministry of the C.C.C.S. But the challenge that must be considered may be suggested as the choice between large parish communities which easily leads to authoritative and impersonal pastoral leadership, and small parish communities which allows a personal, down to earth, and realistic way of pastoral leadership, and also allows for a democratic spirit in the control and adiministration of the pastoral ministry. To a certain extent the multiplication of C.C.C.S. parishes shown above reflects the natural axing down of parish fellowships to small and manageable sizes which are necessary for the spiritual growth of members. Chruch growth through schism therefore is a constant reminder that when people leave established churches to form new churches, and to join new fellowship, they are not necessarily turning their backs on God and society. Rather they leave to create alternative fellowships where the role of institutions and authorities, be they cultural or church, still have their value as long as they do not quench the human spirit when it is captive to the movement of the Divine Spirit.

An equally vital discovery was the role of women as individuals and as wives of pastors, of chiefs or of deacons, who were leading founders or co-founders of parishes. This

aspect will be further emphasised in Chapter 7. Also important was the cooperation of Samoans in other denominations which reflect the cooperation and unity of Samoans on the dual basis of culture and gospel. More specifically it reflects how cultural identity was for the Samoan migrants largely indistinguishable if also transcending religious identities in being adherents of different Samoan religious denominations.

Overall it may be concluded that on the basis of the complex nature of the growth of the C.C.C.S. as seen through the growth of its parish system, the whole period covered in the Thesis was the period of the Beginning and Settlement of the C.C.C.S. as a Settler Church - more specifically as a transplantation of Samoan Christianity. This eventuated with considerable success by way of transplantation of the 'Biblical Culture and Christian Society' of modern Samoa which was brought by Samoan migrants. It was continually reinforced by the maintenance of links between Samoa and New Zealand through religious, political and economic relationships made possible by the courtesy of modern means of travel and communication. In this wider network of links, we have seen the vital role and influence of visiting Church pastors and Church leaders, and also visiting Chiefs related to migrant families, and even general lay Christians, in the origins of many parishes. Understandably this whole period as the period of beginning and settlement is further justified by the fact that in 1993 C.C.C.S. Elder Pastors resolved through a policy to control the creation of new parishes.[1748] And this may be further seen as the symbolic end of the predominant leadership influence of Elder Pastor Ieriko who was retired in 1991, but after about thirty years of determination to encourage and consolidate the growth of the C.C.C.S. as a transplantation of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa.

[1748] This policy requires three criteria to be met by any new parish. That it must have at least fifteen families, a house for the pastor's family, and that any attempt to begin a new parish will have to be properly considered by the Sub-District and the Elder Pastor within such Sub-District. [According to Personal Stories by Elder Pastors Tagoilelagi and Risatisone Ete].

CHAPTER 7

CONSOLIDATING THE GROWTH OF THE C.C.C.S.

(i) Consolidating the Beginning : Pre-District Years, 1964 - 1969.

The challenges confronting the C.C.C.S. in this period were crucial in the hope for the full realisation of the two-fold identities envisaged in its founding vision. It was clearly perceived that to achieve the more fundamental aspiration to become part of the E.F.K.S. was dependent on its ability to prove to the E.F.K.S. its successful growth as a settler church - that is, by growth in membership and in parish church communities. Closely related to this were two senses of beginning according to the self-understanding of the C.C.C.S. which must be noted, for they illuminate the significance of events during this period.[1749] The first one refers to the three foundational decisions which founded and propelled the beginning of the C.C.C.S. as a settler church.[1750] The other was the granting by the E.F.K.S. of the District status for the C.C.C.S. in 1969 which made the C.C.C.S. the third official District of the E.F.K.S. outside Samoa. Consolidating the beginning therefore involved the actualisation of these two inseparable aspects of the founding vision.

A major difficulty in this period as shown in the narrative of the origins and beginnings of parishes in the 1960s was the unsettled relationship with the P.I.C.C.[1751] P.I.C.C.

[1749] The two senses of beginning were highlighted in the 'Short History of the C.C.C.S.' which was presented in the combined service of the C.C.C.S. in 1969 in Auckland. It recounts the story of the origin, the beginning, and the institutional growth of the C.C.C.S. up to 1969 in summary form. And it clearly links and subordinates the importance of these events to the achievement of the District Status which is related as the major objective the C.C.C.S. mostly desired. This 'Short History' is included in the 'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District'.

[1750] The three foundational decisions refer to the decision by the founding members of the C.C.C.S. to resign and depart from the P.I.C.C. to begin the C.C.C.S.; the decision made by the E.F.K.S. Delegation in 1963 to recognise such beginning; and the final decision by the E.F.K.S. in 1964 to approve the separate beginning of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand. See Chapter 5.

[1751] Refer to Chapter 6, in section on the 'Origins and Beginnings of Parishes of the 1960's'. As shown at the end of Chapter 5. the worsening relationship between the C.C.C.S. and the P.I.C.C., especially between the Samoans, was an unfortunate result of the failure of cooperation between the E.F.K.S. and the C.U.N.Z.

opposition now concentrated on efforts to contain the growth of the C.C.C.S. partly to preserve its Samoan membership,and also in the continuing hope for reconciliation to be achieved by the return of C.C.C.S. Samoans. Achieving the latter was thought conceivable if the C.C.C.S. could be prevented from becoming an official District of the E.F.K.S. This was indeed a major consideration entertained by the P.I.C.C. Samoans which explains their containment efforts.[1752] But the steady growth of the C.C.C.S. as shown in the establishment of its eleven parishes and the growth in membership in this period clearly frustrated such hopes on the part of the P.I.C.C.[1753] What accounted for the steady growth ? In other words, what contributed in consolidating the beginning of the C.C.C.S. during this period ?

There were several important factors. One was the annual Church gathering of the E.F.K.S. for united worship and meetings in the Sub-District and District levels which the C.C.C.S. was quickly adopting as early as 1965. These were the ***Me*** and the ***Tofiga*** [1754] where all members of the Church from parish communities combine for worship, for collecting parish offerings for the Church, and for meetings to discuss church matters and the future.

[1752] The following examples reflect the belief by some of the P.I.C.C. Samoans that the C.C.C.S. was unlikely to become a District of the E.F.K.S. This is because it was impossible in the sense of the cost and other difficulties involved, and also because it was simply foolish :- (1) You have come to New Zealand because you are poor, but why are you establishing such Churches ? (2) Why have you started such a foolish thing ? (3) They cannot send representatives to the General Assembly in Malua. (4) Some representatives were sent but they could only listen and wasting time. (5) Only the foolish people [Samoans] are in their church.(6) You will be providing for the pastor. How will you be able to live ?
Alipa and Evotia Elisara; 'Family Story...'

[1753] C.C.C.S. parishes increased from four in 1965, to seven in 1967, to ten in 1968. Membership grew from 143 in 1963, to 794 in 1967, and 1293 in 1968.
'Report of the Annual Gathering of the C.C.C.S. in 1968'. Included in the 'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District. The same report is to be found in 'Private Papers' of Elder Pastor Nu'uali'itia.

[1754] The ***Me*** is the annual worship gathering of the Samoan Church at the Sub-District and District levels at the end of the year, usually in November or December. The main purpose is to collect the offerings by parishes which are the only source of the national budget of the Church. The ***Tofiga*** is the worship gathering at the same levels, but it is held at various times during the year. This is the gathering for general meetings which discuss all the issues for the annual General Assembly of the Church. In the period under view, these two gatherings were usually held together mainly because it was the initial stage of the beginning of the C.C.C.S.

Another very important factor was the constant visits and presence of Church Fathers [Elder Pastors and Pastors], visiting groups, Church officials, and Samoan chiefs from Samoa as in the annual national gatherings in 1965, 1967-1968, and 1968-1969.[1755] Brief summary outlines of the latter two gatherings are included in Appendix XI. Their relevant aspects and significances may be briefly identified. These national gatherings occurred in a much larger scale with the increasing growth in overall membership and parish Churches. The participation of the combined youth group from the Apia District of the E.F.K.S. in Western Samoa in the 1967 -1968 gathering was, according to the report of this event, an honour unique in the history of the Samoan Church in New Zealand.[1756] The greatest honour for this momentous gathering according to the report was the presence of Samoan chiefs and orators in the visiting party, and mainly the eight pastors of the Apia District. Three were Elder Pastors among whom was the renowned Elder Pastor Poasa Te'o who led the Delegation in 1963 which started the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.[1757] The 1968-1969 gathering continued the spectacle of the 1967-68 gathering. The greatest event was the dedication of the new Church of the Aukilani Parish which started the programme of this five-day gathering. The Report for this gathering emphasises the dignified presence of invited guests to the dedication of the first Church of the C.C.C.S. [or E.F.K.S.] in New Zealand.[1758] They were the Elder Pastors, other pastors, deacons and all their wives as representatives from the nine Districts of the E.F.K.S. in Western Samoa. According to the Report, such a great gathering was like the usual gatherings in the religious capital of Samoa - Malua. Grey Lynn was the farthest Malua - 'Isn't this the **bringing again to vision** to the children of the Samoan Church their Jerusalem of worship ?'[1759]

[1755] Reports of these annual gatherings are to be found in the 'Secretary's File on New Zealand Correspondence' in the E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia. Also found in the 'Private Papers' of Elder Pastor Nu'uali'itia.

[1756] 'Report for the 1967-68 Annual Gathering of the C.C.C.S.'; E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.

[1757] 'Report for the 1967-68 Annual Gathering of the C.C.C.S.'; E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.

[1758] 'Report for the 1968-69 Annual Gathering of the C.C.C.S.'; E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.

[1759] 'Report for the 1968-69 Annual Gathering of the C.C.C.S.'; E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.

Such concentrated presence especially from Samoa, brought the home atmosphere of spiritual and cultural roots which inspired confidence and pride in the C.C.C.S. members who were immigrants who were still 'finding their feet in New Zealand'. Because as yet, they still found it difficult not to understand their migrant status in the biblical manner of Jews in the Diaspora, and in their exile in Assyria and Babylonia away from their Palestinian homeland. For example the Report of the first annual gathering in 1965 included a request for the Mother Church in Samoa to remember the 'sons and daughters of the Church in **gentile countries** [Nu'u Ese]'.[1760] In the Report of the gathering in 1968, the perceived success in the growth of the C.C.C.S. was celebrated as the testimony to the successful extension and overseas growth of the Church in Jerusalem [Samoa] - 'Aren't these sparks of the fire in Jerusalem [Samoa]. We say yes and Amen that it is so.'[1761] Also sermons by Church Fathers in these church gatherings undoubtedly gave this period of C.C.C.S. growth spiritual encouragement and also proper spiritual direction.[1762]

A crucial point is that if the concentrated presence from the E.F.K.S. in Samoa was the well spring of hope and confidence for the early planters and builders of the C.C.C.S., the dominance of Elder Pastors from Samoa in leading worship services, fellowships, and meetings in these gatherings of many sermons and much singing of the hymn 356 demonstrates the vital role of the E.F.K.S. in the full realisation of the founding vision of the C.C.C.S. An important role by the C.C.C.S. members as settlers of **Paradise** [New Zealand] in these occasions was to give the blessings of Paradise for the visitors from the Holy land, Samoa.[1763]

These national gatherings were also occasions to celebrate growth and progress in parishes which encouraged collective growth and had inspirational value for new parishes. The example of the inspirational growth of the Aukilani Parish in these early

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[1760] 'Report for the first Me in New Zealand'; 'O Le Sulu Samoa' , 1966, p.47.

[1761] 'Report for the 1968-69 Annual Gathering of the C.C.C.S'; E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.

[1762] Refer to Appendix on Summary Outlines of 1967-68, and 1968-69 gatherings, for examples.

[1763] This is an important part of these gatherings as shown in their brief outlines in Appendix XI.

years is a good case in point.[1764] Of particular significance was the dedication of its Church building in 1968 which was understood as the 'effecting of the death blow to the devil'[1765] - the opposition and caricature from the P.I.C.C. The additional significance was the pride felt by members that their church building was the first Church of the E.F.K.S. in New Zealand.

The year 1969 was of great historical significance for the C.C.C.S. particularly because it brought complete fulfilment to its founding vision. This was achieved by being granted full District status by the E.F.K.S. which was constantly requested since 1965.[1766] This was important because by being incorporated into the constitutional structure of the E.F.K.S., it was able to achieve full recognition and full participation in all aspects of the E.F.K.S.'s ministry. Equally important, it was this **status** the C.C.C.S. mostly needed to silence, if also to quench the opposition and relentless challenges from the P.I.C.C. in the aftermath of its controversial beginning.[1767] A national gathering of all C.C.C.S. parishes

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[1764] The leadership and influence exercised by the Aukilani Parish largely associated with its being the founding parish of the C.C.C.S., and its further credentials of having the first pastor and founding members of the C.C.C.S. It was therefore the natural choice for the centre of national gatherings of the C.C.C.S. during this period. Equally important was the growth in membership, development and properties. By 1968, it had secured 3 houses and a new church with a membership of more than 400.

[1765] This understanding was typical, according to Faletua Maria Poasa who was a member of the Aukilani Parish during this period. She refers to such in this way - 'When the Church was completed, we raised the flag and said to the P.I.C.C., the devil is now dead.' It was a major concern by the C.C.C.S. members at this period to build the church. This was crucial to show their ability and commitment, and also as a way to silence the P.I.C.C. At the same time, it is a vital aspect of Samoan religious piety to prove sincere religious commitment by relevant deeds and actions.
Faletua Maria Poasa; 'Personal Story of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S. and Various Parishes'. Taped in Office of Blockhouse Bay Parish Church in 1994. Written transcript of interview in author's possession. Maria Poasa is the wife of Elder Pastor Talalelei Poasa, current pastor of the Blockhouse Bay Parish.

[1766] Correspondence between the C.C.C.S. and the E.F.K.S. between 1964 and 1968 shows this to be an annual request by the C.C.C.S. to the General Meetings of the E.F.K.S. These correspondence are to be found in the 'Secretary's File for New Zealand Correspondence'; in E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.

[1767] In the same year (1969), the Samoan membership in the P.I.C.C. merged with the merger of the C.U.N.Z. with the Presbyterian Church. According to Rev. Sio who was the moderator of the P.I.C.C. at the time, the main reason for his encouraging of the P.I.C.C. into the merger was for the pursuit of the ecumenical vission among Christian Protestant Churches which brought about the 'World Alliance of Reformed Churches' in 1970, and the United Reformed Church' in 1972. This shows the determination of Samoans in the P.I.C.C., particularly by the leadership of Samoan pastors, to pursue the ecumenical vision through the P.I.C.C. vision. Yet it may be suggested that they were pushed further into such direction by the failure of real reconciliation with the Samoans in the C.C.C.S. This is because several reports of

was held in Auckland to celebrate these achievements and also commemorated the original beginning in '1962-1964'.[1768] An aspect of related importance was the election of the central leadership of the C.C.C.S. as a District, paticularly in the two offices of the Elder Pastor and the Elder Deacon.[1769] This provided unifying leadership and shape in the subsequent institutional growth of the C.C.C.S.

(ii)Consolidating the Beginning : The Role of Women.

The role of women in the history of the C.C.C.S. throughout the period covered in the Thesis was paramount in every aspect of the 'itu i fafo o le galuega' [the external side of the Church ministry],[1770] and also in the 'galuega fa'aleagaga' [spiritual ministry][1771] of the Church.[1772] But it is beyond the specific purpose of this section. The specific concern

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disharmony between Samoan pastors in the P.I.C.C. and C.C.C.S. led to the appointment by the E.F.K.S. of a special committee in 1969 to try and resolve such disharmony. The findings by the committee related three observations about the state of the relationship at the time :- (1) There were still differences and the Samoans in the P.I.C.C. still blamed the E.F.K.S. (2) Some on both sides were attempting to find ways of cooperation in areas such was deemed possible. (3) Some on both sides were ashamed of the continuing disharmony between Samoans as born children of the E.F.K.S., and were praying for God's help to bring about reconciliation. The main recommendation by the committee which became the resolution adopted by the E.F.K.S. in relation to the problem is as follows : ' That the General Assembly send a letter in the fatherly spirit of the Church to comfort all of them, and to remind them of the shame now felt by the E.F.K.S. because of their continuing disharmony, and to advise them to create the true spirit for mutual reconciliation'.
['Report of the Committee appointed by the General Assembly' in 'File for General Assembly Minutes of 1969'.]

[1768] A report of this gathering is found in the 'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District'. Some of the relevant aspects are referred to in Note 1792 above.

[1769] The offices of the District Secretary and District Treasurer may be included in this category of District leadership. Once becoming a District, the C.C.C.S. was sub-divided into two Sub-Districts according to the stipulation of the E.F.K.S. Constitution. Pastor Ieriko became the Elder Pastor of the Auckland Sub-District. while Pastor Leota became the Elder Pastor of the Wellington Sub-District which included the Christchurch Parish. Chief Fuimaono Ta'ala, the founder of the C.C.C.S., became the Elder Deacon for the whole District.

[1770] As referred to a few times above, this refers to aspects of the ministry, like the church buildings, church halls, pastor's house and their internal furnishings, and everything one might call the worldly necessities of a parish community.

[1771] This strictly refers to the spiritual aspect of the parish ministry, particularly involving the whole worship life of the parish, and teaching the Bible. In other words this refers to the essential calling and role of the covenanted pastor and his wife in the parish ministry.

[1772] The partnership of the pastor and his wife is the general rule, tradition, and working philosophy of the pastoral ministry of the Samoan Church [the E.F.K.S.]. The role of the pastor's wife is therefore complementary, vital and difficult. In most parish ministries, they tend to look after the Sunday School and

here is to illustrate through the exemplary role of Faletua[1773] Faititilipatasi some aspects of the significant role of women in this crucial period of the history of the C.C.C.S.[1774] In general women played a significant role in consolidating the beginning of the C.C.C.S. Their contribution as leading founders of certain parishes, as main builders in the beginning of parish developments through women's fellowship, and in influencing decisions by their pastor husbands in relation to the call to ministry,[1775] are clearly evident in the narratives of the Origins and Beginnings of Parishes of the 1960's.[1776] As wives of pastors and chiefs who were directly involved in the beginning of the C.C.C.S., they played vital roles and showed significant influence in crucial aspects of the struggle in the beginning. For example at the height of the controversies related to the beginning

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Youth groups, while also leading the Women's Fellowship. Lay women, especially the young, tend to predominate as Sunday School teachers. The older ones tend to become deaconesses. It is a perennial truth in the Samoan Church that the most powerful and most important group among the various groups in a parish community is the Women's Fellowship [Mafutaga Tina]. This is mostly related to its role in the development of the parish in its external side though it equally refers to the spiritual side. Some of the ways the Women's Fellowship are referred to in parish communities indicate their central role in the general life, work, and development of parish communities :- 'Women's Fellowship is the heartbeat of external life of the Church...' (Porirua Parish); 'Women are the money-seekers of the Church. Their fellowship is the richest in parish communities.' (Mangere East Parish); 'Women's Fellowship is the strength of the Church especially in creating wealth in fundraising activities.' (Hillsborough Parish); 'The initiative and leadership of the Women's Fellowship in the development of the parish in the beginning was the most important.' (Christchurch Parish); 'The Women's Fellowship is stronger than the whole parish fellowship in terms of development.' (St Albans Parish).
John Garrett's description of the institutional nature and structure of the Samoan Church recognises the vital role of the Women's Fellowship :- 'the role of the laity, men and women, working through the male diaconate and the powerful women's organizations, gave the Samoan Church an atmosphere of discussion and participation congruous with British Congregational Independency.' John Garrett. Footsteps in the Sea; p.190.

[1773] ***Faletua*** is the respected cultural designation given to the wife of the pastor or the high chief called ***Alii*** [Lord]. Where the pastor is called the '***Faifeau***' [See Chapter One, Section B (ii)], his wife is called '***Faletua***'.

[1774] The leadership roles of certain Faletua's [Pastor's wives] like Faletua o Iolesina F. Tagoilelagi, Faletua o Moevao Talamaivao, Faletua o Fereni R. Ete, are important not only in the parish level, but in the Sub-District and the District levels of the C.C.C.S., and also for the whole period covered in the Thesis. They exemplify the traditional concern for Early Childhood Education as part of the Church ministry, the role and training of 'Faletua' as active partner to the 'Faifeau', and in leading the C.C.C.S. into more involvement with all aspects of New Zealand life.

[1775] Refer to the influence of Faletua Moevao in this aspect in the Section on the Origin and Beginning of the Palmerston North Parish in Chapter 6. Personal Stories of several pastors of the C.C.C.S. relate the influence of their wives in their choice to accept their callings in their present ministries.

[1776] Refer to Chapter 6. on the Section on 1960's parishes.

of the C.C.C.S., Faletua Puti[1777] and Faletua Fuafuaga[1778] were the only unofficial and voluntary representatives for the C.C.C.S. in the General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. in 1965.[1779] This was a daring thing to do at a time when opposition to the C.C.C.S. was as strong among the P.I.C.C. in New Zealand as among the great number of Samoans in the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. But this exemplifies the daring **'Agaga Fa'atina'** [maternal spirit and instincts] which characterises the creative initiative and leadership role of Samoan women in the Samoan Church and the Samoan Culture which operated during the struggle to nurture and consolidate the beginning and growth of the C.C.C.S.

Faletua Faititilipatasi Fuimaono Ta'ala.[1780]

Faletua Faititilipatasi exemplifies various ways of the crucial role of women in the beginning of the C.C.C.S. She died in 1966, but her influence and contribution maintained the vital role of women according to the traditional understanding in the Samoan Church and in Samoan Culture - that is, the woman as the helper fit for the man in the partnership of the Samoan chief and his faletua in culture, and the partnership of the Samoan pastor and his faletua in the ministry of the Church. The C.C.C.S. acknowledged the crucial role of Faletua Faititilipatasi in its historic gathering in 1969 which celebrated the achievement of its District status and to commemorate its original outbreak. This was included in the 'Short History of the C.C.C.S.' which was read in the service and which attributed the initiative for the founding vision and pioneering efforts for the C.C.C.S. to '...Chief Fuimaono and his wife and other fellow Samoans...'.[1781] The recognition of the complementary role of Faletua Faititilipatasi must not be read as a

[1777] Faletua Puti is mentioned in the Origin and Beginning of the Otara Parish.

[1778] Faletua Fuafuaga is the wife of Elder Pastor Ieriko.

[1779] The presence of these two women in the General Assembly is mentioned in the letter from the Secretary of the E.F.K.S. to the C.C.C.S. Letter dated, June 14, 1965.

[1780] The name Faititilipatasi literally means, 'the thunder that thunders once'.

[1781] 'Short History of the C.C.C.S.' was read by Pastor Manase, and is included in the 'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District'.

mere appendage[1782] to the leading role of her husband Chief Fuimaono Ta'ala. There are various reasons for this. The private eulogy by Chief Fuimaono Ta'ala for Faititilipatasi provides more than an insight into the heartbreaking testimony by a husband for the death of a beloved wife. The exemplary leadership role and courage of Faititilipatasi is clearly acknowledged :-

> Se mea a tiga ma mafatia o le alofa ia Faititilipatasi ona o ia o se ta'ita'i loto tele i so'o se atinaae i totonu o nei Ekalesia, P.I.C.C. ma le Ekalesia Samoa.[1783] [What a great feeling of pain and sadness because of the love for Faititilipatasi who was a leader of great heart and courage in all developments in both these Churches, P.I.C.C. and the Samoan Church (C.C.C.S.)].

The personal testimony by Joe Fuimaono, Faititilipatasi's son, is equally illuminating on the leadership role of Faititilipatasi :-

> My belief is that she ranks equal with Fuimaono, not less, in relation to the manufacturing of everything,[1784] and in pushing the whole thing...It is as if Fuimaono is the front row which shows up and in the front, but it is Faititilipatasi who is pushing the whole thing[1785]...I do not think I have seen a woman and a mother like her in all the parishes I have worked with,[1786] when it comes to the question of commitment and determination to strive and to struggle to achieve ends...[1787]

The eulogy for Faletua Faititilipatasi also indicates her role in relation to the beginning of the C.C.C.S. in particular, as it relates to the transition from being a leading family in the P.I.C.C. to becoming the founding family of the C.C.C.S. In the midst of growing

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[1782] It is possible to understand the mention of Faititilipatasi in this way in Samoan thinking, because it is one of the ways to refer to the Chief and his wife while there is not much emphasis on the wife. But in this case as illustrated in the text the mention of Faititilipatasi is significant.

[1783] Diary of Fuimaono Ta'ala.

[1784] That is, responsibility for all activities and preparations for the realisation of the beginning of the C.C.C.S.

[1785] The image of the rugby scrum is referred to.

[1786] Joe Fuimaono is the lawyer for most of the earliest parishes of the C.C.C.S. when he was the only lawyer for the C.C.C.S.

[1787] Joe Fuimaono: 'Family Story...'.

indifference between the Samoans, she cooperated with Fuimaono in attempts to maintain peace and harmony between Samoans.[1788] In focussing her efforts on her families who remained in the P.I.C.C., she was able to persuade them to help in the beginning of the C.C.C.S.[1789] According to the Family Story, Faititilipatasi was held with a sense of **'loving fear'**[1790] by her sisters and families because of her winsome commitment to achieve victory in whatever she decided to pursue.

She also utilised her cultural dignity in sacrificial ways,[1791] and her feminine charm to attract Samoans to the C.C.C.S. whose beginning she was convinced to be an unquestionable truth that must be realised. According to Fuimaono Nasau :-

> She utilised and exploited her worldly dignity and cultural status in the way to win souls and to prove the truthfulness of the cause. It was done in the spirit that because the C.C.C.S. had begun, there was no way of turning back...She was charitable to everyone...She was friendly to everyone in the hope to attract Samoans to pursue the truth, which was the development of the C.C.C.S....[1792]

Another significant contribution by Faletua Faititilipatasi was in maintaining the internal cohesion of the pioneer parish of the C.C.C.S., the Aukilani Parish, which was crucial to the beginning of the C.C.C.S. This refers specifically to the constant divisions and differences among the parish leaders which often involved Pastor Ieriko, Chief Fuimaono Ta'ala, and other chiefs and deacons. Two related examples at the end of 1965 serve to

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[1788] Rev. Sio; 'Personal Story...'. Refer also to Note 620 on the special importance of the Fuimaono Family, in particular the hospitality of Faletua Faititilipatasi.

[1789] Joe Fuimaono; 'Family Story...'.

[1790] This is how Joe Fuimaono explains the way Faititilipatasi was obeyed by her families. It was not out of fear as such, but in the sense of admiring and supporting her courage in her commitment to the beginning of the C.C.C.S.
Joe Fuimaono; 'Family Story...'.

[1791] It is conventional for the Faletua of a high chief [Alii] to maintain her honorary status in several ways like the way she dresses, speaks, etc. Most important she should not be seen doing menial works in the nature of a servant. Faititilipatasi was the opposite. She was known to be a real worker and servant for various developments in the Grey Lynn Parish.

[1792] Fuimaono Nasau; 'Personal Story...'.

illustrate the pivotal role of Faletua Faititilipatasi.[1793] Fuimaono records in his Diary their private meeting with Pastor Ieriko and his wife Fuafuaga in which he told them to resign from the parish.[1794] The reasons were their constant differences, the false accusation by Pastor Ieriko and others of misuse of parish finance by Chief Fuimaono Ta'ala, and the general disunity within the parish which, according to Fuimaono, was caused by chiefs and deacons and also Pastor Ieriko who joined the C.C.C.S. only after the C.C.C.S. was approved by the E.F.K.S. Delegation in 1963. Pastor Ieriko's wife was in tears. But Faititilipatasi attempted to dissuade Fuimaono Ta'ala from his decision in a shrewd way. She made a long speech to Fuimaono Ta'ala with the main intention to reconsider his decision. Then she also criticised Pastor Ieriko for his failure to listen to the advice of his wife Fuafuaga. Fuimaono did not accept Faititili's urge for caution. But the fact that he did not insist on pressing his decision suggests the impact of Faititili's speech. In daring to caution her chiefly husband through her speech, Faititilipatasi's counter-culture role gave the courage to Pastor Ieriko to reply in defiance of the chiefly power of Fuimaono Ta'ala. Breaking the silence after Faititilipatasi's two long speeches, Pastor Ieriko replied to Fuimaono - 'E le tula'i ese i se ala fa'apea, vagana ua fa'atula'i e le Ekalesia' [I will not leave in such a way. I will only leave by a decision by the Church].

The second example was the parish meeting which followed immediately after the above meeting. Chief Fuimaono's reference to this parish meeting suggests there was an open clash between himself and other chiefs, and lay leaders, whom he referred to as 'new comers, but were trouble-makers and had a habit of stirring divisions and problems in parish meetings.' It is clear that in this incident Faititilipatasi was instrumental in preserving the unity of the parish by successfully dissuading Fuimaono Ta'ala from making a decision which would have disrupted the parish. For Chief Fuimaono writes- ' A na leai le osovale o Faititili, ua 'ou tutuli'ina ma le lotu le au paka'. [If it wasn't for the

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[1793] The following examples and their details are recorded in Fuimaono Ta'ala's Diary.

[1794] It is well known to many earliest members of the Aukilani Parish that conflicts between Pastor Ieriko and Chief Fuimaono always ended with Chief Fuimaono telling Pastor Ieriko to resign. This was because they were related which explains the seemingly arrogant attitude of Chief Fuimaono. The point is, it was unlikely that Chief Fuimaono would have said such a thing repeatedly to a pastor unrelated to him.

unwarranted interference by Faititilipatasi, I would have excluded them from the Church'].

A very crucial influence of Faititilipatasi was in the victory of Pastor Ieriko to become the first covenanted pastor of the C.C.C.S. in 1963. The related story is already mentioned in the section on the origin of the Otahuhu Parish.[1795] The relevant point here is the way Faletua Faititilipatasi successfully engineered the victory of Pastor Ieriko to become the parish pastor.[1796] Contemporary and mainstream beliefs in the C.C.C.S. largely attribute the successful beginning, the fast growth, and the remarkable developments of the C.C.C.S. in the last thirty years to the leadership role of the Elder Pastor Ieriko. In this sense, the tribute to Elder Pastor Ieriko may also be to a good extent a tribute to Faletua Faititilipatasi. Furthermore the special acknowledgement of the wise counsel by Faletua Faititilipatasi in the brief 'History of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand in the Grey Lynn Parish'[1797] by Elder Pastor Ieriko and his wife Faletua Fuafuaga, shows her other vital contribution. She is recorded to have counselled Faletua Fuafuaga to the need for personal and family sacrifice for the sake of the Church at the initial stage of the poor beginning in the Grey Lynn Parish. This is recorded in the brief 'History of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S....' referred to above in the following way :-

> Mother Fuafuaga remembers the counsel by her colleague Faititili to her in the beginning of the ministry - "I believe you have enough possessions with which to begin your ministry. The main thing is that the Church must grow."[1798]

[1795] Refer to Section on the Otahuhu Parish in Chapter 6; Note 1150.

[1796] According to Elder Pastor Timaloa, it was Faititilipatasi's successful campaign among her household and earliest members which led to the victory of Pastor Ieriko.
Elder Pastor Timaloa; 'Personal Story...'. And as mentioned in Note 1150.

[1797] This is a brief history of the pastoral ministry by Elder Pastor Ieriko and his wife Faletua Fuafuaga which is intended to be the beginning of the Church ministry of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand. It was prepared by Elder Pastor Ieriko and his wife Fuafuaga. I am grateful to Pastor Ioritana Tanielu, the present pastor of the Grey Lynn Parish, for giving me a copy of this.

[1798] Elder Pastor Ieriko and Faletua Fuafuaga; 'History of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S....', p.6.
The Samoan version is - 'Ua manatua ai e le Tina ia Fuafuaga upu a le uso o Faititili ia te ia, ina ua amata le galuega. "Oute talitonu o lo'o lava mea a oe e amata ai lau galuega. A ia ola le Ekalesia."

The tribute to Faletua Faititilipatasi's wise counsel for costly discipleship for the sake of the Church is added a personal wish which bemoans the unfortunate fact that her early death did not allow her to witness the fulfilment of her concern for the growth of the Church - 'Talofa ua le va'ai i le ola o le Ekalesia ua i ai nei'[1799] [It is a pity that she is not alive to see the present growth of the Church]. The exemplary role of Faititilipatasi offers more than a glimpse of the vital role of women in the beginning of the C.C.C.S. It epitomizes the indispensable role of the Samoan women in Samoan society which powerfully operates in the life and work of the Samoan Church.

(iii) Consolidating the Growth of a Church Institution : The Network of Parishes [Aulotu], Sub-Districts [Pulega], and Districts [Matagaluega].

Introduction

Being a District[1800] of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa is basic to understanding the history of the C.C.C.S. mainly because it is this District status which had largely determined and influenced almost all aspects of the shape, growth, and development of the institutional structure of the C.C.C.S. in its thirty odd years of history, 1962/63 - 1993. The main purpose in this section is to illustrate other aspects of the growth of the C.C.C.S. as an institution on its foundational basis the Parish system. This refers particularly to the structural network of Parishes, Sub-Districts, and the District. Also, some of the main elements and aspects which are associated with the growth and the building of the Church institution are also highlighted.

(a)Constitutional Status and Relationship

Figure 1 gives a diagrammatical model of the network of the Parish, Sub-District, and the District in their constitutional relationship in the local structure and the local government of the E.F.K.S. - hence the C.C.C.S. The foundational unit is the local and independent parish church community [Aulotu] presided over by a resident pastor, his wife and family. At the next level is the Sub-District [Pulega] which comprises varying numbers

[1799] Elder Pastor Ieriko and Faletua Fuafuaga; 'History of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S....', p.6.

[1800] At present [1996] C.C.C.S. forms three Districts of the E.F.K.S. The third District established in 1995 is beyond the period covered by the Thesis.

of parish churches. In Samoa the parish church component of Sub-Districts depend largely on the sizes and divisions of culturally based electoral Districts on which the boundaries and structure of Church Districts and Sub-Districts are based. In New Zealand, it depends largely on where C.C.C.S. parish churches are established. Leadership in this level is vested in the office of the Elder Pastor [Faifeau Toeaina] who is usually the most senior and the longest in service in the Sub-District, the Sub-District Secretary, and the Sub-District Treasurer, who are mostly parish pastors. The next [highest] level is the District [Matagaluega]. Leadership is vested in the Committee of Elder Pastors,[1801] fellowship of parish pastors of the District, Elder Deacon, and the District Secretary and District Treasurer who are mostly parish pastors. In relation to the overall constitutional structure of the E.F.K.S. Table A also illustrates the complete District. A District holds its own general meeting [Tofiga Tele] once or twice a year, which is much like a mini-General Assembly.[1802] Its most important role is to represent the local Churches, in the parish and Sub-District levels, in the Fono Tele or General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. held annually in May. And vice versa, the District ensures that the decisions and resolutions of the General Assembly of the Church are observed at the Sub-District and parish levels. Table B illustrates the 'representative capacity' of the Districts on behalf of the parish Churches at both parish and Sub-District levels, in the constitutional forum of the E.F.K.S. General Assembly [Fono Tele]. In the General Assembly, the only participants are the District representatives of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa and overseas, various standing committees of the Church, and the one independent fellowship in the constitutional structure of the E.F.K.S. which is the **'Mafutaga Aoao a Tina o le Ekalesia'** [The National Fellowship of Women of the Church].

[1801] The Elders' Committee in the District level is usually led by the Komiti Fa'atonu [Directors' Committee] who is one of the Elder Pastors, and who is usually the most senior in years and service as Elder Pastor in the District. The number of Elder Pastors in the committee depends on the number of Sub-Districts in the District.

[1802] C.C.C.S. only started to hold two General Meetings [Tofiga Tele] annually from the early 1980's. This reflects the increasing growth in District activities which partly led to the creation of two Districts in 1985. Before this time one General Meeting was held annually usually in December, in Auckland or in Wellington. The General Meeting in December prepares and finalises all 'Mau mai Matagaluega' [Proposals from the District] for the General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. in May of the following year. The District General Assembly in July considers matters related to the previous General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. in May and also in relation to the next General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. the following year.

(b)The Parish Component

Fifty one local parishes have grown up within the C.C.C.S. in the years between 1962-3 and 1993.[1803] In 1993, forty eight had remained after the defection of the two parishes of Wiri [1989] and Henderson [1993] to the Ekalesia Fa'apotopotoga Kerisiano Amerika Samoa [E.F.K.A.S.] in American Samoa. Disruption, corruption, and declining membership had closed down the New Brighton Parish in the Christchurch area of the South Island.[1804] In the same period [1962/3 - 1993] forty six parishes had grown up in the North Island, and only five in the South Island. Growth and concentration of parishes were mainly in and around the two metropolitan areas of Auckland and Wellington, and especially in the former. The geographic spread and areas of concentrations followed and reflected the demographic pattern of the Samoan people in New Zealand in the same period.[1805] In terms of parish number and parish growth, C.C.C.S. has been clearly a growing church in its thirty odd years of history. And it is a feature which is still evident in the beginning of the 1990's. Table C gives a model illustration of the growth connection of C.C.C.S. parishes from its earliest and central parishes mainly the Aukilani, Wellington and Christchurch parishes. The growth pattern depicted resulted from a variety of reasons which have already been identified in Chapter Six.

(c)The Sub-District Component

From 1962/63 to 1993, the institutional structure of the C.C.C.S. included seven sub-districts which grouped together in varied sizes the fifty one parishes of the C.C.C.S.[1806] The remarkable growth of parishes was responsible for the number of sub-districts. And the widespread geographic location of parishes had mainly determined the various

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[1803] See [Illustration] Maps 1 (a) (b) (c) (d) for Parishes founded in different periods from the 1960s to 1990s.

[1804] As recorded in Minute Books of Sub-Districts these defected parishes belonged to previously. For the Henderson Parish, 'Minute Book of the North Auckland Sub-District'. For Wiri, 'Minute Book of the South Auckland Sub-District'. For New Brighton, 'Minute Book of the South Island Sub-District'.

[1805] See Map 1. The geographical spread of C.C.C.S. parishes clearly reflect the demographic pattern of Samoans in New Zealand. Compare Map 1 and Map 2. Map 1 is also the official report on population distribution of Samoans in New Zealand, as at 1991.

[1806] See Table D - Overall state of C.C.C.S. Church Institution in 1993.

groupings and the number of parishes in each sub-district. But other considerations were at times dominating like the related factors of seniority of the Elder Pastor and traditional conservatism of parish members. For example, the seniority status of Elder Pastor Ieriko largely maintained for the Aukilani Sub-District the greatest number of parishes throughout the whole period.[1807] The need to consider sub-dividing the Sub-District was raised a few times[1808] but it could not shake the tendency by parish churches to associate the seniority status of Elder Ieriko with having a large Sub-District under his leadership. At other times it was merely the reluctance to change, especially when the challenge for changes came from new parish churches or new members in parish churches within the Sub-District.[1809]

In 1969, the first two sub-districts were established - Pulega Niu Sila i Matu, and Pulega Niu Sila i Saute.[1810] The addition of thirteen new parishes between 1970 and 1976 [eight in Auckland and five in Wellington] led to the creation of two new sub-districts in 1976 - one in the Auckland area and another in Wellington. And it neccessitated changes in sub-district names. The reshuffling of parishes in the 'Pulega Niu Sila i Saute' [Wellington area and the South Island] to form two sub-districts resulted in the creation of a separate sub-district for the three parishes in the South Island which was then called, 'Pulega Motu i Saute'.[1811] In 1985, two new sub-districts were added for the parishes in the Auckland area.[1812] This was the result of two related factors. One was the ever-growing number of parishes in the Auckland area [twelve in Auckland compared to three in

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[1807] As clearly shown in Table D, Sub-District Aukilani.

[1808] See the 'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District', especially since the 1980's.

[1809] Reading the minutes for the years from the 1980s in the .Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District' clearly reflect this reluctance to change. It is also a feature that was generally prevalent and encouraged by the predominance of the earliest members of the C.C.C.S. in the Grey Lynn Parish.

[1810] 'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District'. See also Table E for parish compositions of the two Sub-Districts.

[1811] See Table F for illustrations of these immediate points.

[1812] See Table G.

Wellington and in the South Island between 1976 and 1985].[1813] The other was the creation of the second District for the C.C.C.S, in the same year, 1985.

The necessity for two new sub-districts in the Auckland area involved other considerations apart from the numerical growth of parishes. The issue of manageable sizes for sub-districts under the leadership of one Elder Pastor was as vital as the availability of able candidates for the office of the Elder Pastor [Faifeau Toeaina].[1814] Equally important, for a Church which assigns so much power, prestige, privilege, and respect to the pastoral office of the Elder Pastor, the challenge to sub-divide existing sub-districts to create new ones sometimes reflected the concern for vital changes for the sake of the pastoral ministry in general. One was to check the **'complacent conservatism'** and **'absolutist tendencies'** of presiding Elder Pastors. The obverse to this was the need to invigorate the pastoral ministry by putting the more intellectually able, modern, and open-minded pastors in the pastoral office of the Elder Pastor in the sub-district level.[1815] These concerns were clearly reflected in the creation of the seventh sub-district of the C.C.C.S. within the Wellington area of the 'District New Zealand South' [Matagaluega Niu Sila i Saute] in 1990.[1816] So between 1962-63 and 1993, the seven sub-districts in the institutional structure of the C.C.C.S. had grouped together the fifty one parishes which had grown up all round New Zealand. The sub-district unit was also the natural [legal] sub-division of the organisational structure of the C.C.C.S. as part of the E.F.K.S. in Western Samoa. It forms the middle structural level of the church government of the

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[1813] The twelve new parishes in the Auckland region between 1976 and 1985 and those in the Wellington /South Island region can be identified by referring to Chapter 6. See Table G on Sub-District divisions and their parish components reached in 1985.

[1814] This can be discerned from minutes of Sub-District meetings, and in particular reference to Pastor Uala who became pastor of Otara Parish in 1980, and Pastor Risatisone who became pastor of Wellington Parish in 1974.

[1815] This is also applied to the two pastors referred to above, Pastor Uala and Pastor Risatisone Ete. This issue was most relevant in the sub-districts in the Auckland and Wellington regions where so many able pastors belong to parishes which are under one sub-district. It was rarely relevant to the South Island Sub-District where its parish components was usually four, and where there was frequent changes in pastors for most parishes.

[1816] This is the general impression one would gain from reading minutes of the meetings around this period, 1985-1990, of the Wellington Sub-District. See Table D.

E.F.K.S. in the local level. At the top level of the structure is the District [Matagaluega] which is our next concern.

(d)The District Component

In 1969, and in response to the persistent request by the C.C.C.S., the General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. had approved the proposal in the constitutional revision of the E.F.K.S. constitution in 1968 to grant to the C.C.C.S. Churches in New Zealand the **status** of becoming a District of the E.F.K.S. in Western Samoa.[1817] This made the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand the **third District** of the E.F.K.S. to exist outside Samoa. The first District of the E.F.K.S. outside Samoa was by the E.F.K.S. Churches in the United States of America in 1961,[1818] and the second was by the E.F.K.S. Churches in Hawaii in 1967.[1819] In 1985, as a result of growth in parishes, the problem of distance, and the hope that creating new Districts may encourage growth in members and in the Church institution,[1820] the second District[1821] of the C.C.C.S. was granted which made it the fourth District of the E.F.K.S. outside Samoa, and also the twelfth District of the E.F.K.S. overall. The C.C.C.S. had now consituted its thirty nine parishes grouped into six sub-districts under two full Districts.[1822] And both Districts related to the E.F.K.S. in Western Samoa as two separate Districts with full constitutional status. In 1993, both Districts of the C.C.C.S. decided on further sub-divisions of both - which would create two more Districts.[1823] Lack of a clear consensus in the 'District New Zealand South' [Matagaluega Niu Sila i Saute] had given its decision for sub-division a 'prudent

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[1817] 'Minutes of the General Assembly, 1969'. E.F.K.S. Official Publication.

[1818] 'Minutes of the General Assembly, 1961'. E.F.K.S. Official Publication.

[1819] 'Minutes of the General Assembly, 1967'. E.F.K.S. Official Publication.

[1820] The two reasons emphasised in the C.C.C.S. request for the needed addition of Districts was the problem of distance and the calculation that such addition may encourage growth. 'Minute Book of the Auckland Sub-District'.

[1821] Minutes of the General Assembly, 1985. E.F.K.S. Official Publication. The C.C.C.S. requested the sub-division of New Zealand Churches into three Districts, but the E.F.K.S. granted two.

[1822] See Table G, on the 1985 state of C.C.C.S. institutional growth.

[1823] The author was personally present in these meetings.

delay'.[1824] The 'District New Zealand North' [Matagaluega Niu Sila i Matu] was granted its requested sub-division in 1995 after its failed attempt in 1994.[1825] In 1993, the institutional shape of the C.C.C.S. was composed of forty eight parishes grouped into seven sub-districts, disproportionately united into two very unequal districts as shown in Table 1.[1826]

(iv)C.C.C.S. Membership

Throughout thirty years of growth, C.C.C.S. membership consisted exclusively of Samoans. Overall membership in this period increased from 799 in 1966 to 11,294 in 1993.[1827] The two figures suggest the Samoan membership of the C.C.C.S., including migrants and New Zealand born, to have stabilised between ten and twelve percent of the total Samoan population in New Zealand throughout the period, 1960's to 1990's. The majority of Samoans in New Zealand in this same period belonged to various Christian Church denominations of the Catholic, Presbyterian, Methodist, C.C.C.S., Congregational, and Assembly of God. Others joined the Mormon Church.[1828]

[1824] It was widely felt that if there was to be a sub-division in the 'District New Zealand South' into two Districts, then the new one would be for the South Island. But this was also felt to be impossible for a District to have only four parishes. The alternative to include some parishes in the Wellington area with parishes in the South Island to form the District was also found to be difficult because it would not solve the problem of distance.
Author was present in the meetings which discussed these issues.

[1825] The failed attempt in 1994 is a long story in relation to District politics in the District involving mainly the differences between the four Elder Pastors of the District. In brief, the District Tofiga in 1993 passed to request the E.F.K.S. for a new District. This was the result of various attempts by sub-districts since 1991 for such a need. The request was submitted in the General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. in 1994. But when it was discussed, the two Elders of the District New Zealand North who opposed the sub-division of the present District [in the North] for a new District opposed it. The decision by the E.F.K.S. was to return the request to the District because Elder Pastors were divided on the request. The request was re-submitted in 1995 because the general feeling of the whole District favoured the sub-division, and it was accepted. Following are the reasons by the District for a new District :-

[1826] Table 1. 1993 state of C.C.C.S. institutional growth.

[1827] Figure 799 for 1966 is from the 'Short History of the C.C.C.S.' presented in the combined meeting of C.C.C.S. parishes in 1969. Figure 11,294 for 1993 is from questionaires given out to all parishes. Figures for some parishes were taken from Parish Books I had access to, and from Minute Books of certain Sub-Districts. Membership figures for C.C.C.S. parishes throughout most of the years were not properly recorded, except for parishes of the Wellington Sub-District from 1976 to 1993. It means that it was impossible to compare overall membership growth of the C.C.C.S. with the overall Samoan population in New Zealand throughout the period covered in the Thesis.

[1828] Official survey of Samoan religious denominations and percentage of membership in each is to be found in the official publication by the, Statistics New Zealand in 1995. This is a statistical profile of

Intermarriages with other ethnic groups added diversity especially from the 1980's, though this was restricted to a few parishes. Members married to other ethnic groups tend to be more active participants in social and cultural activities of the Church than as regular Sunday worshippers. The source of overall membership throughout the whole period may be generally indentified in three categories :-[1829]

(1) Samoan migrants of Post World War II wave of Samoan migration to New Zealand who were either previous members of the P.I.C.C. Churches, or who had not attended any Church since arrival in New Zealand.

(2) Closely related is the continuing influx of Samoan migrants throughout the whole period from the 1960's to the 1990's. The predominance of the middle aged group of workers,[1830] and the older generation [of parents] brought by families and became permanent New Zealand citizens contributed largely to membership stability and the communal sense of unity in parish communities.[1831] Yet at the same time, the mobility of the middle aged group of workers with their families for job opportunities around New Zealand or overseas, mainly to Australia, account for the continuing fluctuating membership of most parishes.[1832] The overstayers and temporary migrants add to this situation in parish membership.

Samoan population in New Zealand for 1991. See page 19, for the table on Samoan religious denominations. The percentage for C.C.C.S. for 1991 is given as 5 %. If, as suggested above, the C.C.C.S. percentage grew to more than 10 % [10 % - 12 %] in 1993 then this was an increase of about 5 % in two years.

[1829] This is generally understood and also indicated in parish records.

[1830] 1991 official survey indicates that the three leading industries of Samoan employment are - manufacturing; social and personal services; and wholesale and retail trade, and restaurants and hotels. This may be indicative of areas of Samoan employment since the 1970's.
Statistics New Zealand. Samoan People in New Zealand. A Statistical Profile; Wellington, 1995.

[1831] This is generally believed by C.C.C.S. members. Author has personal experience of this vital fact in most C.C.C.S. parishes.

[1832] The situation in the Invercargill Parish is typical for most C.C.C.S. parishes. Nineteen families left the parish between 1973 and 1993. Nine left for job related reasons either in other parts of New Zealand or Australia. Others who were also families of middle aged parents left for various reasons like, conversion to Assembly of God (2 families), differences in parish fellowship (4 families), unstated reasons (2 families), and return to Samoa (2 families). 'Invercargill Parish Book'.
Parish records of numerous parishes show this prevalent phenomenon of mobility especially since the 1980's. Another evident feature is that in several parishes, like Otahuhu, Wellington, Wainuiomata, Invercargill and Christchurch in particular, founding families or founding leaders have left for other countries, or have become members of other parishes.

(3) The New Zealand born Samoans which added a youthful and vibrant element to church membership and parish life especially since the 1980s.[1833]

It needs to be noted that Samoans in the P.I.P.C. still regard themselves as born children of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. Despite being members of the P.I.P.C. they had been working in cooperation with the C.C.C.S. in spite of the initial division caused by the separate beginning of the C.C.C.S. in 1962, and which was maintained by the merger of the P.I.C.C. Samoans with the Presbyterian Church in 1969. The crucial point is, that in terms of membership P.I.P.C. Samoans had always been active supporters for various developments of the C.C.C.S. especially in building Churches and Church Halls, and in helping the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. Unity between the P.I.P.C. Samoans and the C.C.C.S. Samoans in terms of cultural identity and of common origin in the E.F.K.S. in Samoa in still much stronger than the perceivable differences as a result of separate developments. Another vital reality is the continuing attempts by the P.I.P.C. Samoans since the beginning of the 1900s to secure official connections with the E.F.K.S., while simultaneously engaging in attempts to secure a synod for the Pacific Islanders in the Presbyterian Church. This indicates a serious concern to decide on the best way for its future.

(v)The Role of Parish Pastors

In a very real sense, part of the 'success story' of the remarkable growth and development of the C.C.C.S. in all aspects of its ministry had to do with the 'character and calibre' of its pastors. An important trend in pastor-recruits throughout thirty years of history is quite evident. Pastors of parishes founded in the 1960's were either previous missionaries[1834] of the E.F.K.S. in other Pacific Islands, or those who were involved with

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[1833] The emphasis on youth is always a priority in C.C.C.S. parish communities which continues the central tradition of the E.F.K.S. Examples of ways youth participation has been encouraged mainly since the 1980's were the annual combined Youth Sports and Youth Services led by the Youth at the Sub-District level, having a separate choir for youth in many parish Churches, and homework centres in parishes where talents and academic achievements were shared for general benefit. It is evident that the C.C.C.S.'s emphasis on its youth is one of the promising aspects of its present developments.

[1834] Pastor Puni Leota of Wellington was a previous missionary, and had previously worked in the village pastoral ministry in Western Samoa. Pastor Sekone Ioane of Christchurch was a previous missionary, teacher od church schools, and also worked in the village pastoral ministry in Western Samoa. Pastor Tone Tuiai of Blockhouse Bay was a previous missionary also.

the P.I.C.C. ministries in various capacities - as lay preachers and deacons.[1835] Some of them had secular jobs while involved in their various ministries in the P.I.C.C., and even retained their secular jobs when they were already becoming pastors of C.C.C.S. parishes.[1836] Some had also worked in the pastoral ministry in Western Samoa.[1837] The wide ranging experience these pastors had gained from secular involvement, church-related ministries in the mission field, in the P.I.C.C. ministry, and in the pastoral ministry in Samoa enabled them to give a solid beginning to the growth and development of the C.C.C.S. through its early parishes.

Pastor recruits in the 1970's continued and even extended the '1960's kind of pastor'. There was an increase in the number of pastors with previous experience in the pastoral ministry in Samoa and in the mission field.[1838] Their practical pastoral experience had an 'energizing influence' on new parishes founded in the 1970's although their presence may have ignited disruptions in established parishes to create new ones.[1839] Some of the pastors for the new parishes in the 1970's were 'experienced' pastors of parishes founded

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[1835] Pastor Ieriko (Grey Lynn), Pastor Timaloa (Onehunga), Pastor Fa'avesi (Palmerston North), and Pastor Nu'uali'itia (Otara) were preachers in the P.I.C.C. before becoming pastors of the C.C.C.S.

[1836] The point about these C.C.C.S. pastors having previous secular jobs and retained them even after becoming C.C.C.S. pastors has a two-fold significance. Their experience in New Zealand life helped them in the struggle to develop the earliest parishes of the C.C.C.S. They continued to maintain their secular employment because of the need to help financially in the development of parishes. Those involved in this case were Pastor Ieriko, Pastor Timaloa, Pastor Tuiai, Pastor Ofisa, and Pastor Ekepati . As mentioned above, the E.F.K.S. tradition and policy is that the village church provides everything for the ministry before they call a pastor. The relevant point here is the difficulties faced by C.C.C.S. pastors because of the different nature of the beginning of the C.C.C.S. from the traditional way in Samoa.

[1837] For example, Pastor Leota, Pastor Ieriko, Pastor S. Ioane, and Pastor E. Leilua.

[1838] For example, Pastor K. Afoa of Blockhouse Bay and Pastor Seuga Pula of Sandringham were both previous missionaries to Tokelau and Papua New Guinea, respectively. Pastors who previously worked in the pastoral ministry in Samoa were Pastor Afa'aso (of Petone), Pastor Fuafiva (of Te Atatu North), and Pastor Tipeni of Wiri.

[1839] For example, Pastor Aneterea Polataivao who became pastor of Otara in place of Pastor Nu'uali'itia. For relevant story to this change of pastor, see section on the Orign and Beginning of the Otara Parish.

in the 1960's and they were largely instrumental in the consolidation of the growth in the C.C.C.S. parish system through becoming pastors of new parishes.[1840]

The 1980's had witnessed the emergence of what may be called the 'all round' pastor. This new dimension of pastors added a more academic and more intellectual component to the pastoral office in certain parishes and also in the pastoral ministry of the C.C.C.S. in general. Quite a number had theological education beyond Malua, or had further teaching experience in theological education beyond Malua Theological College. Some had previously worked in the pastoral, teaching, and administrative ministries of the E.F.K.S. and even in ecumenical related activities of the W.C.C. centred in Fiji.[1841] The popularity of the 'all round pastor' reflects the widespread tendency in parish communities to have pastors of such accomplishments not only because they added status to a parish, but they suited the combination of the intellectual and the spiritual requirements of parish pastoral ministry in New Zealand. To a large extent it also reflects the increasing sophistication of the religious spirit and concerns in Samoan parish communities.

The significant impact of the 'all round pastor' in providing the 'critical voice' in the general leadership, in particular the leadership by Elder Pastors, and in the general direction of the C.C.C.S.'s pastoral ministry towards the end of the 1980's and in the beginning of the 1990's may be briefly illustrated. One example associated with the

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[1840] For example, Pastor S. Ioane left Christchurch and became the first pastor of Westmere. Pastor O. Nu'uali'itia left Otara and became pastor of Papatoetoe. And Pastor Tone Tuiai left Blockhouse Bay and became pastor of New Lynn.

[1841] Pastor M. Fa'aleava who became pastor of the Porirua Parish in 1989 and Pastor T. Vili who became pastor for Christchurch in 1984 were graduates of the Malua Theological College (M.T.C.) and Pacific Theological College (P.T.C.), and were teachers in M.T.C. Pastor I. Tanielu who became pastor of the Porirua Parish in 1982 was a graduate and teacher both in M.T.C. and P.T.C. He became Secretary for the E.F.K.S. in 1989 and then pastor for the Grey Lynn Parish, after Elder Ieriko, in 1991. Elder Pastor F. Tagoilelagi was a pastor in the village pastoral ministry of the E.F.K.S.; had further theological education in youth ministry in England, and worked in youth related ministry for the C.W.M. in Fiji. Elder U. who became pastor of Otara in 1980 was a pastor in the village pastoral ministry of the E.F.K.S.; headmaster for E.F.K.S. Junior High School, and Director of E.F.K.S. Christian Education. Pastor L. Slade was previously a Director of E.F.K.S. Christian Education before becoming pastor for the Te Atatu North Parish in 1984. Pastor I. Mulu who became pastor for the Tokoroa Parish in 1986 had further theological training in Knox Theological College in Dunedin. Pastor Akerei for the Petone Parish in 1982 was a graduate of both the M.T.C. and P.T.C.

influence of Elder Pastor Tagoilelagi. His first impact was the challenge he posed against the dominating leadership of Elder Pastor Ieriko as shown in the events associated with the disruption in the Panmure Parish in 1987, which led to the beginning of the Pakuranga Parish.[1842] Under his leadership as Elder Pastor of the Central Auckland Sub-District since 1986, there emerged a clear and conscious attempt to lead the C.C.C.S. by way of taking seriously its New Zealand context especially in relation to moral issues in the wider society, and also in relation to the future of the C.C.C.S. For example was the letter of protest by the Auckland Central Sub-District in 1987, through the New Zealand Government, against nuclear tests in the Pacific because of its 'destructive effects on all forms of life'.[1843] Another example was the paper presented by Elder Pastor Tagoilelagi in the General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. in 1989. It is entitled, 'Tafeaga o Tagata Samoa i Niu Sila'[1844] [Migration (and Exile)[1845] of Samoan People in New Zealand]. The paper raised the twofold challenge about the preparation of pastors for the ministry of the C.C.C.S. Church in New Zealand, and also to the future of the C.C.C.S. The former challenge was related with great urgency because of the increasing role by the Church in catering for the social, economic, and political problems faced by Samoans in New Zealand - in particular their disruptive effects in families, in Church communities, and also in relation to Samoan social behaviour in wider society.[1846] Their critical effect on

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[1842] Refer to the Origin and Beginning of the Pakuranga Parish in Chapter 6, especially in relation to District Elders' decision against Elder Ieriko.

[1843] 'Minute Book of the Auckland Central Sub-District', p.52. The issue was raised by the Otara Parish Church in the Sub-District meeting.

[1844] Elder Pastor Tagoilelagi's Paper is found in the 'File for New Zealand Correspondence'; in E.F.K.S. Archive, Apia.

[1845] The Samoan term ***Tafeaga*** includes the two notions of migration and exile. In this particular context, the notion of exile refers to the idea od its being self-imposed - that is, the conscious decision by Samoans to leave Samoa for better life overseas.

[1846] The basic most serious problem of unemployment and overcrowded houses are identified with their unfortunate consequences. Unemployment is related to many living on Social Welfare, the increasing involvement in gambling activities, and also in civil disobedience. The problem of overcrowded houses is related to result in widespread disease and sexual misconduct between two or three couples living in the same house which lead to family breakdown.
Elder Pastor Tagoilelagi; 'Tagfeaga o Tagata Samoa i Niu Sila'.

the integrity and spiritual health of the parish church is expressed with a tone of lamentation and with serious concern in the paper :-

> All the problems associated and derived from migration and exile [of Samoans] have made the parish Church communities their play field. Consequently, the pastor has become either the ball [to play with] or the referee. Other problems resulted like the struggle for power because of the nature of parish membership - the predominance of members of one village in Samoa in a parish, or the predominance of certain families in a parish, or the tendency by members to 'gang up' in a parish. Another serious problem is that they only participate in Sunday worship but not in other services and activities of the Church.[1847]

The question is therefore posed - 'How does the Church prepare the future pastors for the church ministry in New Zealand ?'[1848] The related challenge concerning the future of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand is deemed equally urgent not only because of the associated effects of the problems identified above, but because of the status of the C.C.C.S. as the District (s) of the E.F.K.S. The critical issue involves what is generally perceived as the 'heavy load'[1849] shouldered by C.C.C.S. members because of their religious duties for the C.C.C.S., and also of their 'migrant duties' to help their families in Samoa. Relevant examples are included in Elder Pastor Tagoilelagi's paper - 'Helping families in Samoa. Sending church offerings to Samoa. Catering for fundraising census by church and village groups from Samoa. Looking after overstayers. Paying for houses fitting for the lifestyle in New Zealand. Crucified by the demands and requirements by the Church.'[1850] The question is also posed - 'What is the future of the Church in New Zealand [C.C.C.S.] in the light of such problems and the harder realities of life in New Zealand ?'[1851]

[1847] Elder Pastor Tagoilelagi; 'Tafeaga o Tagata Samoa i Niu Sila'.

[1848] Elder Pastor Tagoilelagi; 'Tafeaga o Tagata Samoa i Niu Sila'.

[1849] Elder Pastor Tagoilelagi's paper raises this issue which is generally known to C.C.C.S. members. But though this is a concern for some pastors, it can be said in general that C.C.C.S. members do not see this as a serious problem as yet. Migrant loyalty to Samoa is still predominant and thus outweighs the felt-burden of having to make much sacrifice for the sake of helping the E.F.K.S. the home church, and Samoa the homeland.

[1850] Elder Pastor Tagoilelagi; 'Tafeaga o Tagata Samoa i Niu Sila'.

[1851] Elder Pastor Tagoilelagi; 'Tafeaga o Tagata Samoa i Niu Sila'.

The clearest impact of the 'all round' pastor was the decision by the District of New Zealand South in 1987 against the recruitment of non-Malua trained pastors for the parish ministry of the E.F.K.S., which became a policy of the E.F.K.S. in 1988.[1852] Although it came from the District of New Zealand South, the concern was widely shared by the District New Zealand North. And to some extent it reflects the declining influence of Elder Pastor Ieriko and the rising influence of Elder Pastor Tagoilelagi.[1853] The major concern behind the decision was the need to preserve the 'relevant' quality of pastors for the parish ministry of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa and overseas which was believed to be most adequately provided in Malua Theological College. This was associated with the belief that such 'relevant quality' of pastors was appropriately provided through the screening system of the E.F.K.S. for intending pastor students, and by the fact that the College was well under the control of the Church Elders.[1854]

[1852] 'Minutes of the General Assembly, 1988'.

[1853] The predominance of the Malua-trained pastor in the C.C.C.S. ministry is a matter of E.F.K.S.Church policy. The five non-Malua trained pastors who served since the 1970's was allowed because it was consistent with E.F.K.S. policy on pastor recruitment. [See section on the origins of Papakura and Ranui parishes and relevant notes on the interpretation of E.F.K.S. policy in relation to this]. Most important was the dominant influence of Elder Pastor Ieriko in the C.C.C.S., and the fact of his being the main voice of the C.C.C.S. in the Elders' Committee of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. According to Pastor Oka Fauolo, a renowned intellectual and spiritual leader of the E.F.K.S., at present, the non-Malua trained pastors were accepted by the Elders' Committee because it was in accordance with E.F.K.S. policy, and that Elder Pastor Ieriko was able to influence the Committee on his decisions to use them in the C.C.C.S. ministry. The point is, Elder Pastor Ieriko used official channels to secure his decisions in this regard. But according to Elder Pastor Tagoilelagi. Elder Pastor Ieriko was able to influence the Elders' Committee by successfully blinding them with the wrong belief that non-Malua trained pastors were trained in Theological Colleges of the same quality in theological education as Malua Theological College. The decision by the E.F.K.S. against non-Malua trained pastors in 1988 reflected the greater influence of the belief advocated by Elder Pastor Faigame Tagoilelagi.

Non-Malua Trained Pastors

(1) Pastor F. Peteru - New Zealand Bible College in Henderson. Pastor of Henderson Parish since 1974.
(2) Pastor M. Evile - St Johns College. Third pastor of Kingsland Parish since 198 .
(3) Pastor P. Tauilo - St Johns College. Pastor of Mt Roskill Parish since 1984.
(4) Pastor M. Atimalala - St Johns College. Pastor of Hamilton Parish since 1981.
(5) Pastor S. Ah Dar - St Johns College. Pastor of Avondale Central Parish since 1992. Pastor Ah Dar is a Malua graduate because he completed the fourth and final year for the need to be granted this status, in 1989.

[1854] Following is the Mau [Proposal] by the District New Zealand South in relation to this issue, to the Elders' Committee in the General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. in 1988 :-
'With due respect, the District requests the Fathers of the Church to stop recruiting non-Malua trained pastors for the parish ministry. but only those who have received and completed their pastoral and theological trainings in Malua Theological College : [Reasons] - (a) It is too easy for some pastors who

The crucial point is that it was the influence of the 'all round' pastors in both the Districts of the C.C.C.S. which was behind this decision.[1855] Yet at the same time there was a substantial belief amongst other senior Elder Pastors especially in the District New Zealand North that non-Malua trained pastors who were already in the parish ministry have proved themselves to be equally successful or even better than some Malua-trained pastors.[1856] Another example of this conscious attempt to take seriously its New Zealand context was the decision by the Wellington Sub-District in 1988 to secure connections with the 'Conference of Churches in Aotearoa'[1857], [N.C.C.]. This was not new because Elder Pastor Ieriko had suggested this possibility to the E.F.K.S. in 1965 but the timing was premature.[1858] And as also mentioned above, the C.C.C.S. under Elder Pastor Ieriko's leadership took seriously its founding vision to be a settler church while also

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were not trained in Malua to become pastors of the Church, and especially in Church Districts outside Samoa. (b) These members of the brethren had not gone through the difficult process necessary for anyone who wishes to enter Malua - through the parish church, the Sub-District, the District, the General Assembly, the Entrance Exam, and the Ta'utinoga [Appearance before the Directors' Committee of the Elders' Committee]. (c) Other Theological Colleges or Seminaries do not have the 'screening process' as such for anyone intending to undertake theological training. (d) A lot of intending students in outside Districts like the C.C.C.S. find it difficult. Despite various difficulties and the problem of distance confronted by the intending students in outside Districts, they still struggle to be able to enter the Malua Theological College because of the desire to serve in the pastoral ministry. (e) It can be made an excuse by some to avoid the difficulty of the Entrance Exam and the difficult life and challenges in Malua Theological College by attending other theological colleges. Also, this is the only Theological College which is carefully controlled and watched over by the Fathers of the Church and the E.F.K.S., with regards to its successful operation and future. And it has the relevant theological training and pastoral preparation for the pastoral ministry of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa and overseas.
Source :- Mau [Proposal] from District New Zealand South for the General Assembly, 1988.

[1855] The leadership of Elder Pastor Risatisone Ete in the Wellington Sub-District South must be seen in the same light as the influence of Elder Pastor Tagoilelagi. Also Elder Pastor R. Ete was perhaps the first academic pastor graduate of M.T.C. and P.T.C., and previous teacher of M.T.C. who became pastor of Wellington in 1974. It must also be noted that all Elder Pastors share the same belief about the status of Malua Theological College.

[1856] According to Elder Pastor Tiperu he had witnessed with Elder Pastor Timaloa the success of non-Malua trained pastors which make them open ended about the issue related to pastoral recruitment. For example, Pastor Evile of Kingsland was able to save the parish from the sale of its church building because of parish inability to keep up with loan payments. The same is true of Pastor M. Atimalala who rescued the Hamilton Parish from the decline in membership and vitality. Other non-Malua trained pastors in the Henderson, Mt Roskill, and Avondale Central Parishes have been proven successful in parish development and in attracting Samoans to church.
Elder Pastor Tiperu: 'Personal Story...'.

[1857] 'Minute Book of the Wellington Sub-District', p.95.

[1858] Elder Pastor Ieriko to E.F.K.S. Letter dated, August 8, 1965.

being part of the E.F.K.S. The significance of the decision by the Wellington Sub-District is two fold. One, it reflects the increasing influence of the 'all round' pastors in articulating and determining the future direction of the C.C.C.S. Closely related, it reflects how the leadership of the C.C.C.S. in the sub-district and the district levels had attempted to influence policy directions of the C.C.C.S. at the national level, on the achieved contextualisation that had already taken place in the parish level.[1859]

Pastor recruits of the 1990's continued in the ways of previous periods. The main point of significance was the continuing influence of the 'all round pastors' in consolidating the general direction and basic concerns that were set in motion in the 1980's. For example, in 1992, Elder Pastor Tagoilelagi successfuly convinced his Sub-District to support the 'Joint Council of Church Ministers and Community Leaders' which was set up to look after the welfare of Samoans especially in relation to the New Zealand Government.[1860] The main example of Elder Pastor Tagoilelagi's commitment to the need to take the New Zealand context of the C.C.C.S. with the utmost seriousness was his attempt to persuade the New Zealand North District in the early 1990's for the need to build a national centre for the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand. There was a great deal of internal opposition to this need mainly because of the widespread suspicion of ulterior motives on the part of Elder Pastor Tagoilelagi. The two main suspicions were, that the national centre indicated a gradual attempt to make the C.C.C.S. independent from the E.F.K.S. in Samoa, and, that for some, it also indicated Elder Pastor Tagoilelagi's attempt to centralise leadership under his authority as Director Committee.[1861] The eventual division of the New Zealand North District in 1995 to form the third District of

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[1859] There are a variety of examples to illustrate this, like the use of lottery grants to supplement building costs for churches and halls, and the greater involvement of parish pastors in government related schemes and offices that deal with Pacific issues; and also in the participation of church youth groups in social activities of their respective localities.

[1860] 'Minute Book of the Auckland Central Sub-District', p.67. The Council comprises Samoan pastors of various Samoan denominations in Auckland and Samoan community leaders of mostly Samoan chiefs. This council is similar in purpose with that of the Samoan Moni Society of Samoan Chiefs in the 1960's mentioned above.

[1861] The author was present in most of the meetings in the New Zealand North District which discussed this need. Another reason why this need was opposed was the cost involved. This was raised by small and newly created parishes which were yet to develop parish churches and houses for their pastors.

the C.C.C.S. was partly encouraged by the underlying resistance by many pastors and parishes to the need for a national centre especially in view of the two main suspicions related to it.[1862] The main point for our purpose is that in spite of the internal opposition to such attempts, these were nevertheless serious attempts to lead the C.C.C.S. in ways that were deemed necessary in view of its New Zealand context.

(vi) Other Builders of the C.C.C.S. Church Institution

Lay Preacher and His Wife

Church policy of the E.F.K.S. stipulates that there can be only three lay preachers in a parish Church community. The office is confined to men though in the traditional understanding of the E.F.K.S./C.C.C.S. as in the offices of the pastor and the deacon, it is the ***partnership*** of the man and his wife. This is because the duties assigned to this office anticipate and prescribe the cooperation of the man and his wife. This is because the duties assigned to this office anticipate and prescribe the cooperation of the man and his wife. Traditionally the office is always encouraged by parish pastors because of its supporting role to the pastor in the pulpit and for its general leadership support in the parish. Candidates also actively sought the office out of a genuine response to a spiritual vocation they would prefer to fulfil as ordained pastors had they passed the entrance exam for pastoral and theological training in Maul Theological College. The history of the C.C.C.S. shows strict adherence to such policy and traditions except that in the beginning, the office tended to be sought by certain leading founders of parishes as the crowning status and the spiritual aspect of their roles as leading founders of parishes.[1863] The relevant point for our purpose is that lay preachers played a crucial role in the

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[1862] This was the unwritten fact in the request by the District to the E.F.K.S. for the need for two Districts. For two Elder Pastors, Tiperu and Timaloa, and many pastors and parishes who advocated the creation of a new District by sub-dividing the New Zealand North District, such was deemed even more necessary as the way to 'make impossible' the vision for a national centre for the C.C.C.S. as championed by Elder Pastor Tagoilelagi.

[1863] For example, seven of the eleven candidates for the entrance exam for this office in 1969 were among leading founders of parishes like Christchurch, Aukilani, Wellington and Otara.
Source: Secretary of C.C.C.S. to E.F.K.S.; January 17, 1969.

institutional growth and development of the C.C.C.S. despite its negative influence in causing schisms as shown in Chapter Six. They provided the interim pastoral leadership in the beginning of many parishes established without pastors as was shown in the beginnings of the parishes of Wellington, Porirua, Petone, New Lynn, Napier, Masterton and various others. In this way, their contribution was vital in the struggle in the beginning, to consolidate growth, and to attract and maintain the interest of members.

Diaconate [Deacon and his Wife]

This office is male dominated in the sense that there are many more deacons than deaconesses. But as a fellowship with a special ministry in the Church it is not a male dominated ministry. Like the understanding in the Pastoral and the Lay Preacher's offices in the pastoral ministry of the C.C.C.S., the functional philosophy is ***partnership*** of the man and his wife. The fulfilment of the ministry of the deacon and his wife [***Tiakono ma lona Faletua***], is a shared responsibility in three main areas of their ministry in the parish church community – in the administration of the Holy Communion, as a ***'Matafale'*** [family unit] of the parish, and in the powerful Womens' Fellowship where the deacons' wives predominate in number and in influence. Throughout the history of the C.C.C.S. this has been the norm – that is, the diaconate as comprised exclusively of married couples.[1864] The major role of the diaconate in the institutional growth of the C.C.C.S. has been in providing leadership in the development of the 'external side' of the C.C.C.S. Church ministry in the three main levels of the parish, sub-district and the district. The following examples of the operation of this role at the parish level are typical and indicative of the diaconate's role in the other two levels. One is the fundraising by the Dunedin Parish in 1979. To renovate an old Church the parish bought, ***'Matafale Tiakono'*** [families of deacons] were allocated contributions of five hundred dollars each.[1865] Another example is the fundraising by the East Tamaki Parish

[1864] Documentation of Deacons' statistics in Parish Books and Sub-District Books of the C.C.C.S. reflect this general understanding clearly. The vast majority are married couples. There are unmarried deacons and deaconesses, and also widowed male deacons and deaconesses. Most of the cases of marries deaconesses in parishes could either mean the husband belongs to a different denomination, or the husband is deceased which means the woman carries on their ministry.

[1865] 'Dunedin Parsih Book'.

in 1988 for parish developments. A thousand dollars was allocated to each family to find in three months. In the second time, it was five hundred dollars to find in two months.[1866] These are typical examples which illustrate not only the essential role of the diaconate in its basic unit of the deacon and his wife in the development of the parish, but also the primary dependence of the C.C.C.S. church ministry on the foundational role of the family unit at the basis of the C.C.C.S. ministry at the parish level.[1867] This explains why the numerical growth of the diaconate membership is always encouraged in the parish ministry of the C.C.C.S. as seen in the never ending ordination of new deacons and deaconesses in almost all sub-district gatherings of the C.C.C.S. throughout its thirty years of growth.

Elder Deacon and his Wife

The Elder Deacon is the leader of the diaconate in the same way the Elder Pastor is the leader of parish pastors. It is a Church office at the District level whose main role is to ensure that parish Church communities provide all the requirements of the external side of the parish ministry. The Elder Deacon is a member of the Elders' Committee. This illustrates clearly one aspect of the cultural component of the Samoan Church because traditionally the Elder Deacon is usually a high chief who may also be a lay preacher. His role and influence in the development of the Church has always been prominent especially in encouraging cultural subordination to the work of the Church. In the history of the C.C.C.S., this office has been largely influential in maintaining the cultural role in growth of the C.C.C.S., not surprisingly because the first Elder Deacon was the leading founder of the C.C.C.S., Chief Fuimaono Ta'ala. Others who followed were Chief Aiono Tofi, Chief Fuimaono Fereti and Chief Tonumailau Pouniu who continued on this same tradition in the role of the Elder Deacon. The explanations of the role and significance of the Elder Deacon above applies equally to the role and significance of his wife in relation to women activities in the Church.

[1866] Pastor Afa'aso Afa'aso, ' A History of the E.F.K.S....'

[1867] In the Parish ministry of the C.C.C.S. as in the E.F.K.S. in general, family units [***Matafale***] are not only families of the 'deacon and wife' but it uncludes other families where the fathers are not deacons bur general lay members or as chiefs. In most cases, the deacons are also chiefs which reflect the marriage of the Fa'asamoa and the Gospel in the concept of the Samoan Church.

(vii) Church Finance and Church Buildings : Some Features of C.C.C.S. Religious Piety

'O le Ekalesia Samoa o le Ekalesia e Tagi I Lima.'

[The Samoan Church is a Church that cries to its own Hands].

The aspects of finance and buildings in the thirty year history of the C.C.C.S. is a classic story of how a Church institution and a Church tradition managed to achieve remarkable growth and ***'living vitally'*** basically on the ***'sweat and blood'*** of its member believers. The phrase quoted above captures this self-understanding of the Samoan Church. It describes the self reliant nature in the religious piety of Samoan indigenous Christianity which in practice means the total dependence on member believers for finance and all requirements of the Church ministry. This is associated with the basic Samoan understanding of the Church as the sacred space of God in the Samoan culture. Some of the most conspicuous expressions of this understanding are the large church buildings, and the well-fed and well-provided pastors' family residing in, many cases, the best house in the village. The influence of this understanding in the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand accounts for the characteristic focus of parish church development on building the Church building, the house for the pastor's family, and the Church Hall as the most important objectives. The over-extension of such developments in the parish level largely reflects the influence of the communal spirit of the Samoan culture on Samoan religious piety. Equally important, it is based on the requirements of the C.C.C.S. annual church activities that link the parish, sub-district, and district levels. For example, the ***Tofiga*** [General Meetings] in the Sub-District level which is held three or four times a year, and other combined worship services, require that parish facilities as a rule must be able to accommodate such large gatherings. The same is applicable for the Church activities in the District level like the ***Tofiga*** which is held twice, and the ***'Me'*** (worship service where parish offerings for the annual budget of the Church is collected), once a year. Table 6 shows how well provided most of the C.C.C.S. parishes are in terms of owning properties for parish worship and activities. It also shows its characteristic self reliant nature in the speed many recent parishes have secured properties which would be partly

influenced by the need to fulfil the requirements of Church activities in the Sub-District and in the District levels.

Church members are the main source of finance in two basic ways :-

(1) Free-will offerings and contributions through special annual collections.

(2) All sorts of fundraising activities and other free-will offerings specifically for parish activities.

As a tradition the free-will offering source of Church finance is the only and main source for the Church's [National] yearly Budget. This is collected through four main collections every year in all parishes of the Church, and on the basis of family units of parishes [***Matafale***]. The four yearly collections are :-

(1) ***Taulaga mo Samoa*** [Offering for Samoa];

(2) ***Taulaga mo Nu'u Ese*** [Offering for Other Countries; that is, for Mission Work;

(3) ***Taulaga mo le Au Taumafai*** [Offering for the Christian Endeavour];

(4) ***Taulaga mo le Au Leoleo*** [Offering for Watchtower].

As policy, sixty per cent (60%) of the total of these offerings is given to the E.F.K.S. in Samoa, and thirty per cent (30%) is kept by its outside Districts though not for their developments, but for activities related to their being Districts of the E.F.K.S.[1868]

The second main source of finance from various fundraising activities and free-will offerings provide for parish requirements like the Church, pastor's house, and a hall. A free-will offering [***Alofa***] is collected, either fortnightly or monthly, in all parishes for the pastor's family. In all parishes an offering for development [***Taulaga Atina'e***] is collected every Sunday. Although most of these offerings are free-will offerings, it is very clear how the C.C.C.S. has grown and developed mainly on the financial strength of its members. Fundraising activities were mostly done amongst the Samoan communities

[1868] Foe example, the main area this 30% is used by outside Districts is to pay for the airfare of District representatives, in the Annual General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. Since the 1980s, another rising area was to pay for E.F.K.S. Church Scholarships in New Zealand and other countries.

until the 1980s when most parishes adopted the ***'Bingo'*** [***Housie***] as a major complementary source of finance. Two other sources of finance had contributed greatly in recent years, like loans and grants from financial corporations and government charity organisations. Especially since the 1980s, grants from charity boards like the Lottery Commission enabled several parishes to undertake church developments worth close to a million dollars or beyond. But not all parishes capitalised on these sources, especially grants from charity boards. Most relied solely on the two traditional sources for reasons of theological belief, cultural pride, and ignorance to a certain extent, but mostly on the confidence that the self reliant tradition of the Church is still proven capable to provide. The latest examples of this for the parishes of Mt Roskill (1994) and Massey (1994) show this cultural expectation or Church tradition to be still very strong.[1869] Parishes that took advantage of governmental financial grants through charity boards were usually the more 'settled ones' where the pastor and leading members had greater involvement in the general life of New Zealand society. Increasingly in the early 1990s, most parish developments seem to be encouraged partly in expectation of available financial grants from outside sources, mainly through charity boards and organisations, and government assistance for community development.

Furthermore, the aspect of Church finance clearly shows the consistent loyalty of the C.C.C.S. to one of the main aspects of its founding vision – to be an important source and hope of the E.F.K.S. for finance and for the future. Tables 7 (a) and (b) clearly demonstrate the great financial contribution of the C.C.C.S. to the E.F.K.S. since the 1980s. Some general conclusions can be drawn in the light of C.C.C.S.'s financial

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[1869] For example, in the Dedication of the Church and Hall of the Mt Roskill Parish in 1994, $161,042.50 was collected from various offerings and donations. Of this amount $91,740.00 was contributed by families of the parish; $6,200.00 from gifts by 26 parish pastors of the C.C.C.S.; $60,682.00 from 47 other Churches most of which were other C.C.C.S. Parishes and P.I.P.C. Churches; $1,520 from individuals, and $900 by traditional presentation by families.
Source : Report of the Dedication of the Church and Hall of Mt Roskill Parish. In Author's possession.

The example of the Dedication of the Church of the Massey Parish. The report on the day gave these figures :- $347,312.00 was raised. $10,550 from gifts by C.C.C.S. Parish Pastors; $20,200.00 from other C.C.C.S. Parishes; $199,352.00 from Po Pese [Competition in taditional song involving various Samoan denominations and groups; and $114,460 by families of Massey Parish.
Author was present at this occasion.

contribution to the financial budget of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. All throughout the 1980s to 1993, C.C.C.S. had been a source of financial strength. The ***'Taulaga mo Samoa'*** shows the C.C.C.S.'s steady and increasing contributions, until its two Districts contributed the most, over half a million in 1993, for the E.F.K.S. The C.C.C.S.'s contribution for overseas mission of the E.F.K.S. through the ***'Taulaga mo Nu'u Ese'*** [Offering for Overseas Mission] is even more remarkable. In the same period, [1980s to 1993] it has been the number one source. The C.C.C.S. has also been a major source of financial help in certain emergency situations for the E.F.K.S. For example, the loan from New Zealand for the six-storeyed John Williams Building of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa in 1980 was guaranteed on the Church properties of several C.C.C.S. Parishes.[1870] To complete loan payments in Samoa for this same building, an extra offering for all E.F.K.S. Churches was added in the years 1985 to 1987. This extra offering was called, the ***'April Offering'***. The figures for the years 1986 and 1987 in Table 7 (a) [Taulaga mo Samoa] show that churches of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand were the main contributors to this emergency offering. It is tempting to go on and show the numerous ways in which the C.C.C.S. has helped the E.F.K.S. in Samoa ever since the beginning of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand. This occurred not only in official ways, but in other ways like fundraising visits by village churches from Samoa to New Zealand, or Samoan Pastors on leave or on visits who preached and received financial gifts from C.C.C.S. parish churches, or families in C.C.C.S. Churches in New Zealand sending money for Church contributions of their relatives in Samoa. The close cooperation and easy communication between the two Churches had encouraged this feature. The main considerations are theology and tradition. At the heart are two related motivating influences on the member believers who continued to maintain such theology and Church traditions. One, for the Samoans [in the E.F.K.S.], the ***'Church is believed'***, hence the highest place of the Church in the lives of its members. Second, is a cultural tradition which had formed the self-understanding of the Samoan Christians as in the expression mentioned above – ***'O le Ekalesia Samoa o le Ekalesia e Tagi I Lima'***. The cultural tradition is the Samoan way of life which sees one's family as one's ***'bank for investment for the future'***. To

[1870] Author has first hand experience and knowledge of this event. Some explanations can be found in the 'Otara Parish Book', and in the Papers of Chief Aiono Samoa, the previous Helper-Treasurer of the

help, and to preserve, and to honour the 'Samoan family' is partly to invest one's future in the family. The family was the ***'Bank'*** of the Samoans before 'commerce' came to Samoa. The popular expression of this belief and cultural tradition in Samoa is – ***'O le Faletupe o le Samoa*** [a'o le'i o'o mai Palagi] o lona Aiga.' [The 'Bank' of the Samoans (before the White Man came) is the Family]. In the self-understanding of the members of the C.C.C.S., the members themselves are the 'Bank' for the Church. The Church invests in its member believers. The relationship is organic and cultural-based. It has been, and still is, a strong Church tradition of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa, which has been maintained by the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand to 'the last iota' and with much exaggeration. When one considers the financial resources and financial expenditures of the C.C.C.S., it is not hard to see how a Church institution and a Church tradition had thrived on the 'sweat and blood' of its Samoan member believers for thirty years. It may explain why other ethnic groups and other Samoans did not find C.C.C.S. Parish Churches attractive because of the considerable extent of personal and family sacrifices involved in its activities. But it explains much of the self-confidence that ignited the founding vision of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand. For the Samoans, particularly those belonging to the E.F.K.S. in Samoa and the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand, the Church for all its distortedness is still the eternal host of God's Power for life. From 1962-63 to 1993, this has proven to be so for the Samoans in C.C.C.S. Churches in New Zealand and for those in E.F.K.S. Churches in villages in Samoa.

E.F.K.S. in New Zealand. These Papers are in the Author's possession.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

This thesis has attempted to understand and to account the history of the origin and beginning of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa in Aotearoa New Zealand. The overall conclusion is made by way of suggesting certain important facts which essentially reiterate various concluding observations made throughout the course of the thesis at the end of certain chapters.

The first central fact about the history of the C.C.C.S. in Aotearoa New Zealand is that it began as a ***Settler Church*** which was also part of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. The founding vision embodies the central hopes and aspirations of founders of the C.C.C.S., and also explains the actual course and manner of the history of the C.C.C.S. in its first thirty years from 1962-63 to 1993 – the period of **Beginning and Settlement**. Three important aspects in the wider historical context of the origin of the C.C.C.S. are encapsulated in this founding vision. One, it exemplifies the transplantation in Aotearoa New Zealand of Samoan Christianity and the world view of modern Samoa in which it was formed. Chapter One has identified the central belief of this Samoan world view as embodied in its self-understanding as a Biblical Culture and a Christian society in their land Samoa. Its national motto, ***'Fa'avae I le Atua Samoa'*** [May Samoa be founded in God] symbolised national affirmation of Samoa's Christian heritage which was at the same time understood as a national confession of future commitment to such heritage. This world view was shown to have resulted from the historical evolution of modern Samoa from 1830 to 1960, and is stressed in this Thesis as essentially the theological evolution of modern Samoa at the interface between Samoan culture and Christianity. This theological evolution went through a historical process which was identified as the mutual interpenetration between the biblical World [with Western Christianity of the Evangelical Missionaries] and the Samoan cultural World. And it was controlled by a cultural-theological hermeneutic which transformed the essential spirit of Samoan culture, and also formed the essence of Samoan Christianity.

The cultural-theological hermeneutic is embodied in three interrelated maxims –

(1) ***Na va'ava'alua mai lava le Talalelei ma le Aganu'u talu le amataga*** [The Gospel and Samoan Culture have always been ***'two boats in mutual operation'*** since the beginning];

(2) ***E mamalu le Talalelei ona o le Aganu'u*** [The Gospel is respected because of the support of Culture and its rootedness in Culture];

(3) ***E mamalu lava le Talalelei ona o le Talalelei a le Atua*** [The Gospel has respect and dignity because of its being the Gospel of God].

The historical operation of this Samoan cultural-theological hermeneutic had given modern Samoa culture its characteristic spirit which is encapsulated in the often used term ***Fa'asamoa*** – the operative and expressive spirit in the Samoan way of doing things. This is the spirit based on the promise in the Samoan Christian heritage to place the biblical God, and to defend such placement at the highest level of Samoan authority and at the heart of the total life of Samoan society. Simultaneously the historical operation of this cultural-theological hermeneutic had given Samoan Christianity a strong cultural foundation and component, and in such a way that it is almost unthinkable to a Samoan to understand Samoan Christianity without its socio-cultural forms, expressions, and contents. The result is that according to the Samoan mind, there is authentic culture and authentic gospel that coexist in mutual alliance in its version of Christianity. Understood in a holistic way, the Samoan mind can not comprehend the gospel without its cultural component nor can it comprehend culture without its theological basis and significance. This understanding explains the mutual relationship between the role of the Church and Samoan culture in Samoan society. The Church is God's space in Samoan culture. And because it is God's space, it is therefore holy space. The cutting edge of this Samoan understanding is the subordination of culture to the work of the Church. As explained in Chapter One, this demonstrates the historical success of the Samoan Church in making the Samoan culture a living sacrifice and an instrument of Gospel proclamation. At the same time, it shows the openness of Samoan culture to change and transformation. Samoan understanding conceives this as the surrender of its God-given culture to its true end. And this is understood as the way to ensure longevity and continuing usefulness of Samoan culture. It is in this respect that explains another Samoan understanding, that

there is Gospel and Grace in a Culture when Culture in all its life giving aspects becomes an instrument of Gospel proclamation, and for the work of the Church for the Kingdom of God on Earth. The mutual alliance between authentic culture and authentic gospel is maintained by the check-and-balance operation of the three maxims of the Samoan cultural-theological hermeneutic. The possibility of cultural subversion of the Gospel [or Church] is checked by the maxim that the Gospel has inherent respect and dignity because it is the Gospel of God. And the tendency to a spiritualist and other worldly Gospel is likewise checked by the maxim that the Gospel is respected because of the support of culture and its rootedness in culture.

Two, Chapter Two has demonstrated the migration of this 'ready made' world view of modern Samoa in the sense of the movement and migration of a biblical culture and a Christian society, and was made foundational in the establishment of Samoan migrant Churches in Fiji, Hawaii, U.S.A. and in the P.I.C.C. in New Zealand. The links between these outside branches and their mother Church in Samoa [E.F.K.S.] followed naturally from this fact. Such links eventuated from the initiative and request by outside branches, and stemmed from two related causes. One was the influence of the fundamental motivation for Samoan migration which was the search for ***Paradise*** for a better future for migrants themselves and for their families in Samoa. Second was the die-hard belief among the migrants that cultural and religious authority resided in their homeland and in their Home Church. This latter belief was reinforced by the difficulties, mostly internal, they encountered in the development of their Church communities and which warranted the involvement of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. The latter aspect was mostly true to E.F.K.S. branches in Fiji, Hawaii, and U.S.A., but less relevant to the Samoan Church communities in the P.I.C.C. in New Zealand. The direct importance of this to the origin and beginning of the C.C.C.S. is that it was the precedent that founders of the C.C.C.S. had appealed to reinforce the founding vision for the C.C.C.S. and to justify its separate development from the P.I.C.C.

The third one relates to the deeper significance in the link between the founding vision of the C.C.C.S. and the migrating world view of modern Samoa in the wider context of

world migration of human civilisation, in particular Christian civilisation. Chapter Two has demonstrated that the migration of 'modern Samoa the biblical culture and a Christian society' which resulted in the establishment of Samoan migrant Church communities in countries of Samoan migration, is Samoa's authentic contribution to the historical movements and migrations of civilised societies and Christian civilisation ever since the formative beginnings during biblical times. In this respect I have referred in Chapter Two to the works of Pastor Vaila'au and Pastor Sala, the latter in particular, for a similar tendency in understanding Samoan migration according to the understanding of Samoan migrants. The chronological link was made by the Christian missions of the Evangelical missionaries towards the end of the eighteenth century but mainly in the beginning of the nineteenth century in the Pacific. In this respect also, the migrant Churches of Samoa, that is, the outside branches of the E.F.K.S. were therefore the Churches of Samoan Christian culture based on Samoan appropriation of the biblical faith. Two further conclusions clearly follow which underlie the chronological and thematic links of the seven chapters of the Thesis.

Firstly, in locating the origin of the C.C.C.S. in this wider historical context, it becomes clear that the beginning of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand had deeper roots beyond the immediate historical circumstances of New Zealand society. And equally important, such beginning may thus be properly viewed as a significant expression of the movement and migration of the Mind of Modern Samoa which, through the courtesy of modern communication and transport, and the push-pull operation characteristic of all migration, had extended its 'home horizon' in countries of Samoan migration.

The second important fact about the history of the C.C.C.S. was its controversial beginning through the departure of its founders from the P.I.C.C. In this connection, the serious limitations of Nokise's discussion of the split among the Samoans in the P.I.C.C. which resulted in the beginning of the C.C.C.S. were identified. Basically, as I suggested above in Chapter Five, Nokise over-estimated the ***'theological innocence and merits'*** of the ecumenical perspective of the P.I.C.C. and the C.U.N.Z. And it resulted from his under-estimation of the Christian spirit in the cultural foundation and component of

Samoan Christianity. This was reflected in his negative assessment of the personal factors, problem of discipline and nationalistic pride enclosed in the Fa'asamoa which he concluded as probable causes of the split. I have challenged these factors largely because of the way they mis-represent, in Nokise's discussion, the roles, motives, positions of the founders of the C.C.C.S., the E.F.K.S. Delegation, and the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. Chapters Three and Four have demonstrated that despite the goodwill and sincere efforts by the P.I.C.C. and the C.U.N.Z. to provide for the religious needs of the Samoans, the departure eventuated largely because the multicultural church framework of the P.I.C.C. was inadequate to accommodate the full significance, impact, and requirements of the transplantation of Samoan Christianity. This relates to three aspects two of which have already been identified in previous points – the strong cultural foundation and component of Samoan Christianity, and the linkages of the C.C.C.S.'s founding vision to the main motivation of Samoan migration, and the cultural-theological understanding of such migration in the wider context of the movement and migration of Christian civilisation. The third one was the theological concern for meaningful worship, and for the holiness of Samoan worship which was believed to have been seriously compromised and undermined in the multicultural worship context of the P.I.C.C. It was stressed in Chapter Four the inseparable vitality of language, culture, and worship not only as major aspects of a peoples' total identity, but in the way these were conceived holistically in the Samoan mind in their understanding of Church and worship. Samoan language was not only a vital medium of Samoan culture, but it was the holy medium of God's speech to Samoans through the Bible in the Samoan language. The same spirit applies to the understanding of cultural practices and traditions which have become important parts of Church practices and traditions. The crucial point behind the theological concern for meaningful worship and for the preservation of the holiness of Samoan worship was twofold. One was the need for a holy worship that honours and reveres the transcendent holiness of God; and secondly was the deeper understanding that the existential death of a people occur when there is a loss of language, culture, and a corruption of worship. Such cultural-theological concerns were aptly expressed by Chief and Lay Preacher Fuimaono Nasau in his phrase that heads Chapter Four – ***"Only a Samoan Church can incorporate all that Samoans include in their Church life and worship of God."***

The central issue at the heart of the controversial beginning of the C.C.C.S. was **Authority**. Chapters Four and Five have demonstrated this clearly. The primary spirit behind the founding vision of the C.C.C.S. according to the perspective of its founders was the emphatic assertion of authority or the right for self determination in relation to religious life, religious development, and religious future in New Zealand. The underlying hope was to achieve true religious freedom which was perceived to exist only when Samoans own and control all aspects of their worship life and worship environment. A crucial part of this assertion of authority was the preference for the E.F.K.S. in Samoa to be the sole authority to exercise jurisdiction in all manners of the life, work, and development of the C.C.C.S. Chapter Five in particular has demonstrated the deeper aspect of this assertion of authority in the ***'struggle by the C.C.C.S. for Birth, for Acceptance and for Recognition'*** which the E.F.K.S. eventually accepted, but not by the P.I.C.C. and the C.U.N.Z. That it exemplified the clash between the emerging authority and leadership of independent indigenous Pacific Churches, and traditional authority and leadership of missionary societies. The crucial aspect is not that the E.F.K.S. and the C.U.N.Z. with the P.I.C.C. were authority-minded as such. But that it involved differing emphasis and perspectives on shared commitment to Christian witness and ecumenism. This was shown to reflect to a large extent similar developments in world wide Christianity in relation to the same issues. The particular example was the reluctant integration of the I.M.C. – the epitomy of traditional approach to mission, and the W.C.C. – the symbol for the transition into mission through indigenous and independent national Churches of Christian countries of the world. In this wider context, it was concluded in Chapter Five that the ***broadminded and accommodative ecumenical approach*** by the E.F.K.S. in solving complex issues arising from the controversial beginning of the C.C.C.S. had more merits than the narrowly construed and culture-dismissive ecumenical approach by the P.I.C.C. and the C.U.N.Z. This was shown by the fact that the E.F.K.S. had no difficulties in accommodating the two directions the Church communities of its born children in the P.I.C.C. and in the C.C.C.S. had taken. The former had chosen to go ecumenically through the multicultural way and in recognition of the authority and leadership of New Zealand established Churches though with the hope of achieving shared authority and leadership. And the latter had chosen to go

ecumenically through the monocultural way and through linkages to the national indigenous Church and under such authority and leadership. For the P.I.C.C. and the C.U.N.Z., their refusal to accept and recognise the separate beginning of the C.C.C.S. had shown the inflexibility of their approach, which unfortunately betrays an unjustified suspicion of the C.C.C.S. as '...helping people of Christ apart because of racial or national association'.

The origin and beginning of the C.C.C.S. in this wider context has another deeper significance. That it resulted from the migration of indigenous Churches of the Pacific who were determined to join the ecumenical movement in the Pacific and world wide on the basis of National Independent Churches, and on the universal mood of ***Independence*** which was not only religious but political. In its most inclusive sense which is reflected in the perspective of this Thesis, ***this universal mood of independence was cultural – theological.***

The third important fact is that in its thirty year period of the Beginning and Settlement, the C.C.C.S. had grown and developed successfully on the basis of its two-fold identity as a Settler Church and as a District of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa. Chapters Six and Seven have generally shown how the C.C.C.S. had maintained growth and unity by the mutual operation of such two-fold identity. Chapter Six in particular has shown this through the growth of the C.C.C.S. parish system on its transplanted cultural foundation and component especially through the role of the Pastor-Chief partnership and the Samoan concept of the Family. Although it was shown that these were also responsible for the growth of the C.C.C.S. through schism, in the final analysis it was shown that such manner of growth reflected the dynamism inherent in the cultural foundation and component of Samoan Christianity. Closely related to this was the role of lay Christians, women, and the cooperation of Methodist and Catholic Samoans in the origin and beginning of C.C.C.S. parishes. This reflects among other things the mutual alliance and the fluidity of the cultural and religious identities of Samoan migrants within the migrating world view of modern Samoa as the biblical culture and a Christian society. It was also shown that the growth of the C.C.C.S. through schism was equally caused by

pure Church politics and the influence of the quality of the piety of C.C.C.S.'s adherents. While this may have exposed some of the limitations and weaknesses of the cultural foundation and component of Samoan Christianity in relation to the issues of Church discipline and Church liberty, it largely resulted from the difficulties involved in the transplantation of Samoan Christianity from the close village context of Samoan society to the freer environment of New Zealand society. The additional difficulty was the fact that the C.C.C.S. had to abide by the ultimate authority of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa in most matters. Chapter Seven has shown that the link to Samoa in its status as a District (s) of the E.F.K.S. and the role of the richer society of New Zealand were able to neutralise the negative impact of such factors. It is true to conclude on the basis of Chapter Six and Seven that the combination of the freer environment of New Zealand with its rich potential for development, and the transplantation of Samoan Christianity with its strong cultural foundation and component, and the E.F.K.S. system of Church structure – the network of Parish, Sub-District, and District, have been important factors in the successful growth and development of the C.C.C.S. as a Settler Church, and as a District of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa throughout the whole period of its Beginning and Settlement in New Zealand.

SOME IMPLICATIONS of the CONCLUSIONS for the FUTURE of the C.C.C.S., for the GENERAL ISSUE of the ROLE of the CHURCH in SOCIETY, and some RECOMMENDATIONS for FURTHER RESEARCH in the HISTORY of the C.C.C.S.

The future of the C.C.C.S. in relation to the period covered in this Thesis is already three years old. So some implications of the conclusions of this Thesis for the future of the C.C.C.S. have already become contemporary developments. There are promising signs which are directly associated with the third fact in the conclusion. The addition of the third District in 1995 showed vibrant institutional growth and consolidated links with the Home Church. The role of the ***all rounder pastor*** referred to in Chapter Seven and who have increasingly taken seriously the New Zealand context of the C.C.C.S. while at the same time consolidating links with the Home Church is crucial. Some of these pastors

are Elder Pastors which greatly enhances their leadership influence. I have also referred in the same way in Chapter Seven to the exemplary roles of wives of Elder Pastors like Faletua Fereni Etc, and Iolesina Tagoilelagi. Particularly significant were their initiatives which started ***Language Nests*** (or ***Preschools***) for the learning of Samoan Language, and the setting up of Diploma Courses linked to Teachers' Training Institutes to train teachers for such Language Nests. An important hope attached to these initiatives was to offer extra training for wives of pastors for their teaching roles in Sunday Schools and Youth Development of the Church.

The emphasis on the Youth is another hopeful sign. I have not dealt with this issue in detail except for a brief mention in Note 1833. But suffice to note that this has always been a major emphasis of the pastoral ministry of the C.C.C.S. since its beginning. It has become a hopeful sign especially because of the ***'returning to roots trend'*** which has been encouraged by the multicultural phenomenon which has become widely accepted in New Zealand society, and which New Zealand born Samoans have tended to equate with participation in Samoan Church communities where they learn culture and enjoy worship. The ***multicultural phenomena*** have permeated important educational and various governmental and non-governmental institutions in New Zealand and have shown conspicuous benefits for Samoans and therefore Samoan Churches. Some examples are the study of Samoan Language and Culture in Universities, governmental help for community development, and financial grants from Lottery Boards some C.C.C.S. Churches have exploited since the 1980s for community development. A crucial benefit of the multicultural spirit in contemporary New Zealand society for the C.C.C.S. has been the re-enforcement of the cultural foundation of the C.C.C.S. It has become obvious in the light of this Thesis that at the root foundation of the Samoan Church is the ***Samoan Family***. The existence and survival of the Church as an institution depends on maintaining the unity and solidarity of the family unit. It was shown how the role of the Samoan family was foundational in the beginning of the C.C.C.S., and its growth both in the sense of natural growth and growth by schism. And behind this was the C.C.C.S.'s wider origin in the migration of the biblical culture and Christian society of Samoa within which the leading advocates of the transplantation of Samoan

Christianity – the Samoan family led by its cultural leader the Samoan Chief and its Christian leader the Samoan Pastor – had migrated to New Zealand. The point is that for the immediate future, the contemporary multicultural spirit in New Zealand is greatly consolidating this cultural foundation of the C.C.C.S., in addition to the ever increasing links to Samoa because of the positive political links between Samoa and New Zealand, and the courtesy of modern means of travel and communication. The prospects for the distant future will be largely determined by the future of the Samoan family unit in New Zealand. There are important implications of the conclusions of this study that may be helpful in the perennial quest to understand the essential character of the Church in Society and, relatedly the true nature of the role of the Church in Society.

The C.C.C.S. has clearly shown its ability for self-reliance while also contributing to the development of its Mother Church in Samoa. This is remarkable because in general, C.C.C.S. members have never been the richest citizens of New Zealand. It thus poses the challenge to some New Zealand Churches who may be more advantageous in material wealth and have the potential to be more effective in the redistribution of life giving resources. For the C.C.C.S. as a Church, it needs to take seriously the gospel challenge in the Parable of a Good Samaritan to be a good neighbour. The E.F.K.S. in Samoa may be the natural neighbour because of the ties of cultural and religious traditions and roots. But good neighbourliness must also start in its New Zealand context. The discomforting challenge is to make sure that New Zealand is not just a mine for the benefit of the distant neighbour. A phrase in the last song of the Beatles' Album, 'Abbey Road', poses a good reminder which may equally be viewed as the challenge from secular holiness in culture and society to the holy Church in its role in secular society :- ***'And in the end. The love you take. Is (must) equal to the love you make.'*** At the same time, the C.C.C.S. must also guard against the danger of materialism which seemed reflected in the over-extension of parish properties and had led to disruptions in some parish fellowships and the disgrace of the repossession of parish properties. In this respect the C.C.C.S. is also faced with the challenge for the redistribution of resources to a certain extent.

A vital fact about the C.C.C.S. as reflecting the true nature of the Samoan Church is that it is the Church of the Samoan Christian culture. Its ability to become the Church of Samoan culture and succeeded in making Samoan culture subservient to its work without being marginalised by the Samoan culture offers a beacon of hope for Christian Churches that may be struggling to resist the relentless influence of the secularisation of Society. The ***'trick'*** as demonstrated in Chapter One is for a holistic view and understanding of reality within which the sacred space of the biblical God is respected by Culture and Society. In reality, the Church occupies that space as ambassador of the Divine will and therefore plays its central role in the creation and recreation of culture in the hope that the creativity and the blessings of culture are challenged through the Gospel vision of the Church for the good of society.

Lastly, an important challenge of the separate development of the C.C.C.S. on a monocultural basis relates to the issue of ***multicultural church*** and the ***multicultural worship*** it entails. The Thesis has demonstrated the complex hopes and factors that brought this about. That they include what sociologists may call the socio-cultural process which characterises the ways newly settled migrants, especially of a minority race in a new country, adopt as adaptive and survival strategies. They also include what anthropologists and other students of human behaviour might see as the resurfacing of the primal spirit of Samoan culture which lies dormant in the Christian spirit of modern Samoan culture which forms the basis of Samoan Christianity. Enveloping these is the abiding influence of the inclusive cultural-theological world view and hermeneutics in the holistic mind of modern Samoa on Samoan migrants. From the perspective of the C.C.C.S., a multicultural Church is appropriate only as a societal vision in the sense that it maintains legitimate differences, freedom, and the plurality of the witness of the Christian Churches from different cultures. As in the example of the Presbyterian Church in New Zealand it holds the promise for increasing mutual understanding between people in a multicultural society. But there are potential dangers. A serious one which the C.C.C.S. escaped by developing separately is the difficulty of ensuring a multicultural leadership/authority which it needs if it is to be truly multicultural. The present difficulty faced by the Pacific Islands' Churches in the P.I.P.C. in achieving synodical unity, and

also in their aspiration for a separate but equal identity as Pacific Island Churches through becoming a proper Synod like the Maori Synod in the Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand is a case in point. There is also the potential danger of syncretistic worship and faith when attempts to accommodate and respect various cultural Christianities which sometimes result from false modesty might succeed at the cost of blunting the counter-cultural role of Gospel preaching. In this respect, a monocultural Church provides a proper check to a cultural subversion of the Gospel and the Church because members understand what happens in Church, in particular because they understand the cultural foundation and component of their Church.

It may be unwise to choose between Churches on the basis of whether they are monocultural or multicultural in foundation. The Bible and History is a great reminder that the true Church of God is adaptable to both these foundations. The crucial issue which is worth pondering in relation to the future of the Church on both these foundations appears in sharp focus when put in this way. As shown above, the C.C.C.S. opted out from the multicultural P.I.C.C. to seek sufficient and proper theological space out of the confidence of having already achieved social power and social possibility. But to a large extent the founding vision of the multicultural P.I.C.C. gave priority concern in providing a theological space [hence the multicultural P.I.C.C.] that was geared more to the pursuit of social power and social possibility for the Island migrants in New Zealand. The crucial difference is the question of priority related to identity. It means that in the final analysis the true test for these two foundations of the Church is which one is more effective in preparing and freeing Church members for the spiritual calling of the Church in Society. It may be suggested that such Church will be one that has a clear understanding of its theological origin and purpose, and is able to maintain its theological existence and theological integrity in society. Such is achieved by being faithful to its being the focus of the incarnational identification between the Divine and the Human, which makes it also the host of such identification's inherent ***Power for Life***. The words of the Lord of the Church to his contemporary disciples is equally relevant to his disciples in the modern Church :-

> "O men of little faith?...do not be anxious, saying, what shall we eat?...For the Gentiles seek all these things; and your heavenly Father knows that you need them all. But seek first His Kingdom and His righteousness, and all these things shall be yours as well." [St Matthew 6:30-34].

Some recommendations on future research on this subject may be helpful. This is the first research specifically on the history of the C.C.C.S. in New Zealand, and it could not cover all aspects necessary. Two general areas that might be useful for further researches are the Pastoral Ministry of the C.C.C.S. and Regional Studies of certain parishes. The former may be approached in historical perspective in relation to the basic issues of worship and piety and the role of various fellowships in the Samoan Church which may show the reasons for the conservative positions of the C.C.C.S. on many issues like the ordination of women, the emphasis on youth, and many others. The latter may be a better way to understand the true nature and true extent of the transplantation, and the recontextualisation of the Samoan Church in New Zealand. Old and settled parishes like Aukilani, Wellington, Christchurch, Otara, and Onehunga may be the most appropriate in this regard.

TABLE. 1.

Overall state of C.C.C.S. Church Institution in 1993. [Two Districts comprising seven Sub-Districts and forty eight Parishes].

1. Matagaluega Niu Sila Matu [New Zealand North District].

(i) Pulega Aukilani. [Auckland Sub-District]	(ii) Pulega Aukilani. Sisifo[West Auckland Sub-District]	(iii) Pulega Aukilani Tutoionu[Auckland Central Sub-District]	(iv) Pulega Aukilani Saute [South Auckland Sub- District]
1. Aukiiani	14. Blockhouse Bay	19. Otara	25. Papatoetoe
2. Onehunga	15. Te Atatu North	20. Mangere East	26. Weymouth
3. Sandringham	16. Massey	21. Mangere West	27. Hamilton
4. Kingsland	17. New Lynn	22. East Tamaki	28. Papakura
5. Panmure	18. Ranui	23. Otahuhu	29. Manurewa
6. Mt Albert		24. Pakuranga	30. Takanini
7. Westmere			31. Tokoroa.
8. Mt Roskill			
9. North Shore			
10. Glenfield			
11. Hillsborough			
12. Avondale			
13. Avondale Central			

2. Matagaluega Niu Sila Saute [New Zealand South District].

(v) Pulega Ueligitone Matu [Wellington North Sub-District]	(vi) Pulega Ueligitone Saute [Wellington South Sub-District]	(vii) Pulega Motu Saute [South Island Sub-District]
32. Palmerston North	40. Wellington	45. Invercargill
33. Napier	41. Petone	46. Dunedin
34. Wanganui	42. Lower Hutt	47. St. Albans
35. Ketesemane	43. Hutt Valley	48. Christchurch
36. Cannons Creek	44. Wainuiomata	
37. Masterton		
38. Hastings		
39. Porirua.		

Source : Report of E.F.K.S. Annual Offering [Taulaga Mo Samoa] by Finance Committee, 1993.

TABLE. 2.

Overall state of C.C.C.S. Church Institution 1969.

MATAGALUEGA NIU SILA [New Zealand District]	
(i) Pulega Niu Sila Matu [New Zealand North Sub-District]	(ii) Pulega Niu Sila Saute [New Zealand South Sub-District]
1. Aukilani (Grey Lynn)	1. Wellington
2. Otara	2. Christchurch
3. Onehunga	3. Porirua
4. Blockhouse Bay	4. Palmerston North
5. Otahuhu	
6. Mangere	
7. Kingsland	

Source : Minute Book of Auckland Sub-District.

TABLE. 3.

Overall state of C.C.C.S. Church Institution 1976.

MATAGALUEGA NIU SILA [New Zealand District]			
(i) Pulega Aukilani [Aukilani Sub-District]	(ii) Pulega Ueligitone [Wellington Sub-District]	(iii) Pulega Aukilani Saute [South Auck. Sub-District]	(iv) Pulega Karaiesetete [Christchurch Sub-District]
1. Aukilani	9. Porirua	15. Otara	22. Christchurch
2. Onehunga	10. Petone	16. Otahuhu	23. Dunedin
3. Henderson	11. Napier	17. Mangere	24. Invercargill
4. Kingsland	12. Wellington	18. Papatoetoe	
5. Sandringham	13. Wainuiomata	19. Papakura	
6. Blockhouse Bay	14. Palmerston North	20. Manurewa	
7. North Shore		21. Hamilton	
8. Westmere			
8 +	6 +	7 +	3 = 24

Source : From Minute Books of Sub-Districts mentioned.

TABLE. 4.

Overall state of C.C.C.S. Church Institution 1985.

1. MATAGALUEGA NIU SILA MATU [New Zealand North District].

(i) Pulega Aukilani [Auckland Sub-District]	(ii) Pulega Aukilani Saute [South Auck. Sub-District]	(iii) Pulega Aukilani Tutotonu [Central Auck.Sub-District]	(iv) Pulega Aukilani Sisifo [West Auckland Sub-District]
1. Aukilani	9. Papatoetoe	17. Otara	23. New Lynn
2. Onehunga	10. Papakura	18. Otahuhu	24. Henderson
3. Westmere	11. Manurewa	19. Mangere East	25. Blockhouse Bay
4. Sandringham	12. Wiri	20. Mangere West	26. Te Atatu North
5. North Shore	13. Hamilton	21. Panmure	27. Massey
6. Glenfield	14. Tokoroa	22. East Tamaki	
7. Mt. Roskill	15. Takanini		
8. Kingsland	16. Weymouth		

2. MATAGALUEGA NIU SILA SAUTE [New Zealand South District]

(v) Pulega Ueligitone [Wellington Sub-District]	(vi) Pulega Motu Saute [South Island Sub-District]
28. Napier	36. Invercargill
29. Palmerston North	37. Dunedin
30. Wanganui	38. New Brighton
31. Petone	39. Christchurch
32. Wakefield [Ketesemane]	
33. Porirua	
34. Wainuiomata	
35. Wellington.	

Source : Minutes of General Assembly E.F.K.S. for 1985 and 1986.

TABLE 5. (a).

Membership of C.C.C.S. Parishes as at 1993 [Parishes are listed in chronological order of beginning].

1960s		1980s	
1. Aukilani	530	29. Ketesemane	327
2. Otara	679	30. Weymouth	318
3. Wellington	391	31. Panmure	276
4. Onehunga	298	32. Glenfield	54
5. Blockhouse Bay	200	33. Mangere West	395
6. Christchurch	400	34. Tokoroa	40
7. Otahuhu	353	35. Takanini	197
8. Porirua	421	36. Mt. Roskill	98
9. Mangere East	310	37. East Tamaki	300
10. Palmerston Nth	115	38. Massey	127
11. Kingsland	275	39. Wanganui	50
	3972	40. Cannons Creek	169
		41. Pakuranga	170
1970s		42. Avondale	68
12. Invercargill	47	43. St. Albans	100
13. Manurewa	263	44. Hutt Valley	163
14. Sandringham	396		2852
15. Petone	180		
16. Papakura	235		
17. Dunedin	150		
18. Wainuiomata	181		
19. Papatoetoe	580	**1990s**	
20. Henderson	460	45. Mt. Albert	162
21. North Shore	120	46. Ranui	50
22. Hamilton	150	47. Lower Hutt	302
23. Napier	41	48. Avondale Central	117
24. Westmere	270	49. Hillsborough	48
25. New Lynn	378	50. Masterton	50
26. Te Atatu North	250	51. Hastings	50
27. Wiri	-		779
28. New Brighton	-		
	3701		

Overall Total = 11,304

Source : Questionnaire and Parish Books.

TABLE. 6.

CHURCH PROPERTIES AS AT 1993.

PARISH	START	CHURCH		PASTOR'S HOUSE		HALL	
		New*	Old**	New	Old	New	Old
1. Grey Lynn	1962	✓		✓		✓	
2. Otara	1964	✓		✓		✓	
3. Wellington	1964	✓		✓		✓	
4. Onehunga	1965	✓		✓		✓	
5. Blockhouse Bay	1966	✓		✓		✓	
6. Christchurch	1966		✓		✓		✓
7. Otahuhu	1967	✓		✓		✓	
8. Porirua	1968	✓		✓		✓	
9. Mangere East	1968	✓		✓		✓	
10 .Palmerston North	1968	✓		✓		✓	
11. Kingsland	1969	✓			✓	✓	
12. Invercargill	1970		✓	✓			✓
13. Manurewa	1970	✓		✓		✓	
14. Sandringham	1970	✓		✓		✓	
15. Petone	1970		✓		✓		✓
16. Papakura	1972	✓		✓		✓	
17. Wainuiomata	1972	✓		✓		✓	
18. Dunedin	1973		✓	✓			✓
19. Papatoetoe	1973	✓			✓	✓	
20. Henderson	1974	✓		✓		✓	
21. North Shore	1975			✓		✓	
22. Hamilton	1975	✓		✓		✓	
23. Napier	1976			✓			
24. Westmere	1976		✓	✓			✓
25. New Lynn	1977	✓		✓		✓	
26. Te Atatu North	1977	✓		✓		✓	
27. Wiri	1978	✓		✓			
28. New Brighton	1978						
29. Ketesemane	1980	✓		✓		✓	
30. Weymouth	1980	✓		✓		✓	
31. Panmure	1981	✓		✓			✓
32. Glenfield	1981		✓	✓			
33. Mangere West	1981	✓		✓		✓	
34. Tokoroa	1982		✓		✓		
35. Takanini	1982		✓	✓		✓	
36. Mt. Roskill	1984	✓		✓		✓	
37. East Tamaki	1985	✓		✓		✓	
38. Massey	1985	✓			✓		
39. Wanganui	1985				✓		
40. Canons Creek	1986				✓		
41. Pakuranga	1987				✓		

CONT NEX PAGE.

42. Avondale [Sami]	1988					✓		
43. St. Albans	1988					✓		
44. Hutt Valley	1989					✓		
45. Mt. Albert	1990	✓			✓		✓	
46. Ranui	1990				✓			
47. Lower Hutt	1990				✓			
48. Avondale Central	1991					✓		✓
49. Hillsborough	1992					✓		
50. Masterton	1992					✓		
51. Hastings***	1992							

Notes

* 'New' is defined as Church building, House, and Hall built by Parish.

** 'Old' is defined as already used Church building, House, and Hall bought by Parish, and then renovated.

*** In 1994 Hastings secured a Church and a Hall.

TABLE. 7 (a).

FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION OF C.C.C.S. TO E.F.K.S. IN 'TAULAGA MO SAMOA' [OFFERING FOR SAMOA], 1978 -1993.

YEAR	C.C.C.S. Contribution	Contribution of all E.F.K.S. Districts Combined	Placing According to Districts' Contribution	C.C.C.S. Contribution as Percentage of E.F.K.S. Overall.
1978	41,124.75	446,264.58	6th	9.2%
1979	48,436.81	650,666.24	8th	7.4%
1980*	58,249.76	510,336.01	4th	11.4%
1981	82,885.47	613,745.03	3rd	13.5%
1982	78,414.69	630,944.54	4th	12.4%
1983	89,596.90	880,759.46	5th	10.2%
1984	95,088.09	1,179,274.57	5th	8.1%
1985**	79,412.53	676,470.95	4th	11.7%
1985***	153,304.13	1,546,152.65	4th	9.9%
1986**	114,759.65	753,635.83	1st	15.2%
1986***	190,922.88	1,637,770.28	4th	11.7%
1987**	144,370.10	831,731.20	1st	17.4%
1987***	253,135.78	1,853,318.29	3rd	13.7%
1988	290,490.13	2,420,945.93	4th	12%
1989	372,080.83	3,051,871.83	4th	12.2%
1990	407,861.62	3,257,876.41	4th	12.5%
1991****				
1992****				
1993	567,988.77	2,908,937.08	1st [3rd in Nth District]	19.5%

Notes

* American Samoa and Manu'a District left E.F.K.S. to begin E.F.K.A.S.

** C.C.C.S. has two Districts in 1985. The offering labelled (**) in 1985, 1986, and 1987 is the Emergency Offering called 'Taulaga mo Aperila' [Offering for April] to finish off paying the loan for the sixth storey building of the E.F.K.S. in Samoa.

*** The offering labelled (***) in these years is the usual Taulaga mo Samoa. The total for years since 1985 are aggregate totals for the two Districts of the C.C.C.S.

**** Figures for Years 1991 & 1992 were not published. Two Districts of the C.C.C.S. made the highest contribution combined. On basis of Districts, North Island District was third.

Source :- Minutes of General Assembly of E.F.K.S. for all years covered in the Table.
E.F.K.S. Official Publication.

TABLE 7. (b).

FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION OF C.C.C.S. TO E.F.K.S. IN TAULAGA MO NU'U ESE [OFFERING FOR MISSION], 1978 -1993.

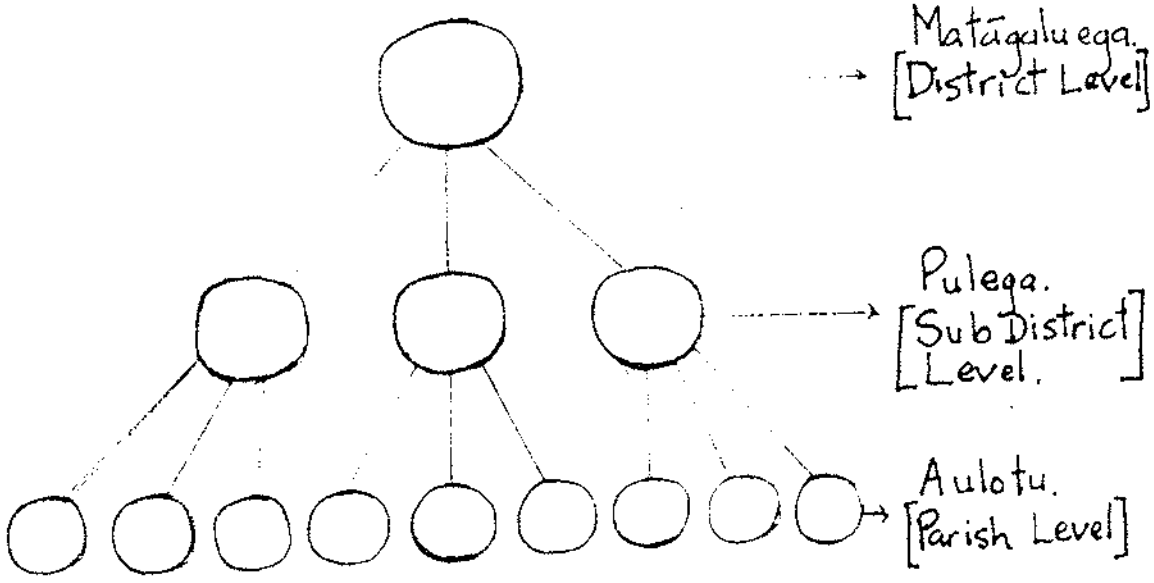
YEAR	C.C.C.S. Contribution	Contribution of all E.F.K.S. Districts Combined.	Placing According to Districts' Contribution	C.C.C.S. Contribution as Percentage of E.F.K.S. Overall
1978	7,294.89	57,812.44	3rd	12.6%
1979	10,515.05	75,069.48	3rd	14%
1980	12,742.26	49,873.57	1st	25.5%
1981	17,420.48	64,880.13	1st	26.9%
1982	18,891.84	70,364.30	1st	26.8%
1983	25,236.84	93,454.43	1st	27%
1984	24,401.06	123,748.28	2nd	19.7%
1985 (2 Districts)	38,292.48	162,934.71	1st** (North Is. & Together)	23.5%
1986	47,426.25	198,411.72	1st	24%
1987	68,035.36	250,807.66	1st	27.1%
1988	76,078.27	316,245.15	1st	24.1%
1989	89,532.00	383,400.16	1st	23.4%
1990	99,987.77	415,045.06	1st	24.1%
1991*				
1992*				
1993	150,017.61	546,722.89	1st	27.4%

Notes

* Figures for years 1991 and 1992 were not published

** This means C.C.C.S. made the highest offering on the basis of one District only, that is by the North Island District, and when its two Districts are combined. This is applied to all the years from 1985 to 1993, except for 1991 and 1992; though it is likely it was the same for these years as well.

Source :- Minutes of the General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. for all years covered in the Table; E.F.K.S. Official Publication.

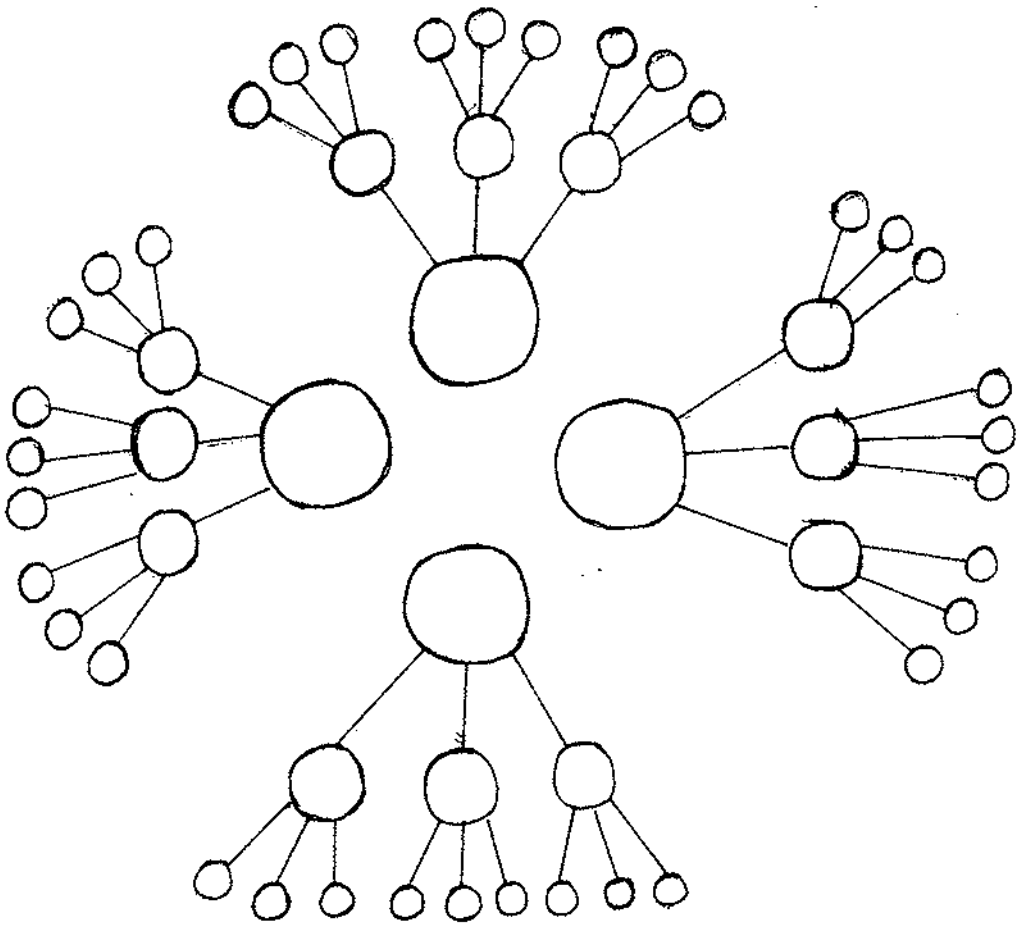


NOTES.

1. Diagram illustrates links between the three levels in terms of structure and government.
2. When referring to a District of the E.F.K.S. it means what the Figure illustrates.
3. Number of circles don't necessarily indicate numbers of parishes in a Sub District, and Sub Districts in a District.

FIGURE 1.

Model Network of Parish, Sub District, and District in local government and structure of E.F.K.S./C.C.C.S

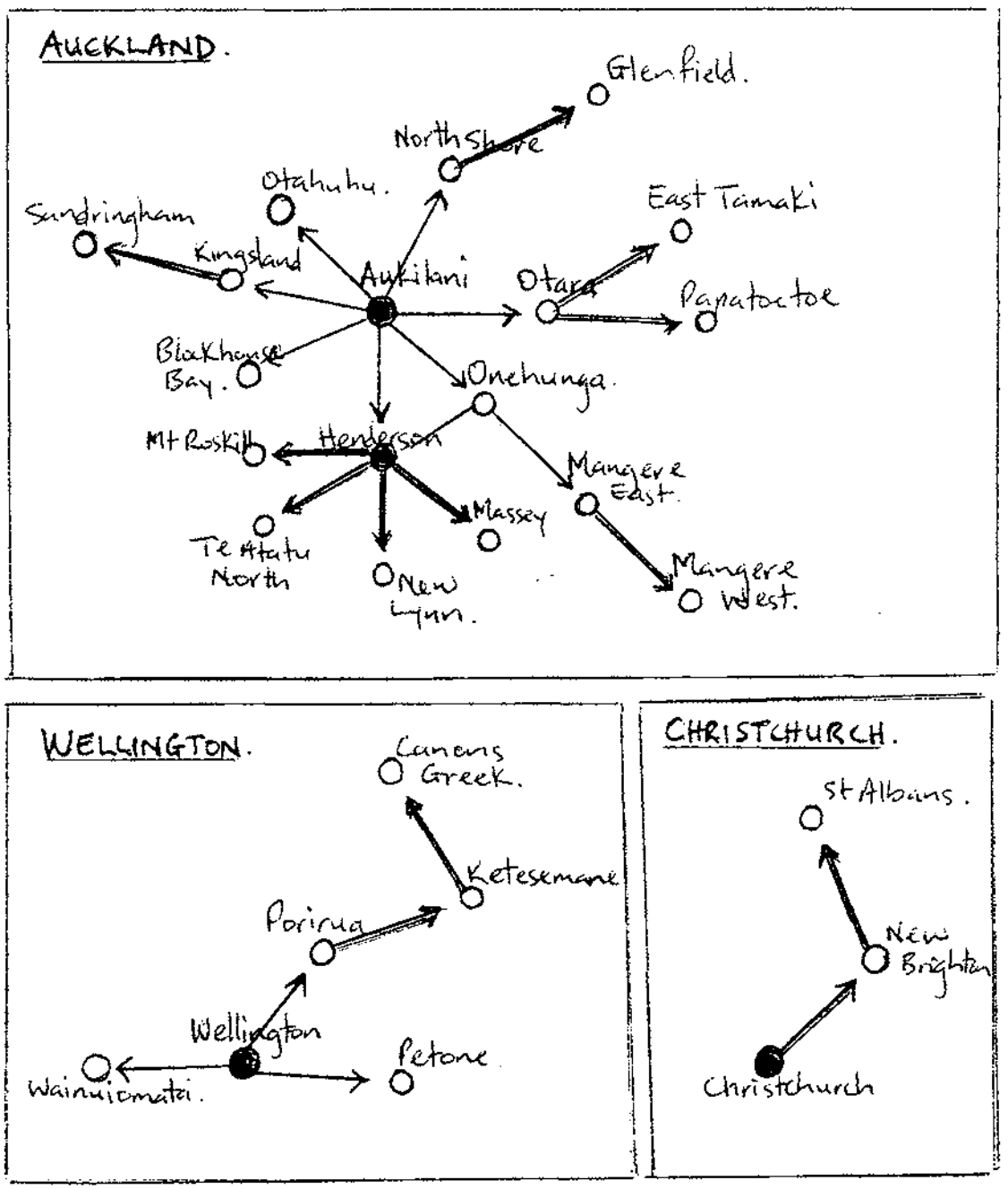


NOTES.

1. Diagram illustrates representative capacity of District for all levels of Church life during General Assembly.
2. In 1993, E.F.K.S had 13 Districts – 7 in Samoa, and 6 outside Samoa. Two (2) in New Zealand, and 4 others in U.S.A., Hawaii, Australia and Tokelau.
3. In 1996, E.F.K.S. has 16 Districts – Two (2) new Districts in Samoa, and one (1) in New Zealand.

FIGURE 2.

District Component Model of E.F.K.S. General Assembly.



NOTES.

1. Black arrows indicate natural growth extension.
2. Red arrows indicate break away beginnings..
3. Not all parishes are included.
4. Figure may also be called - 'Extended Family Growth Pattern.'

FIGURE 3.

Model Illustration of Growth Connection of C.C.C.S. Parishes From Earliest Parishes of Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch

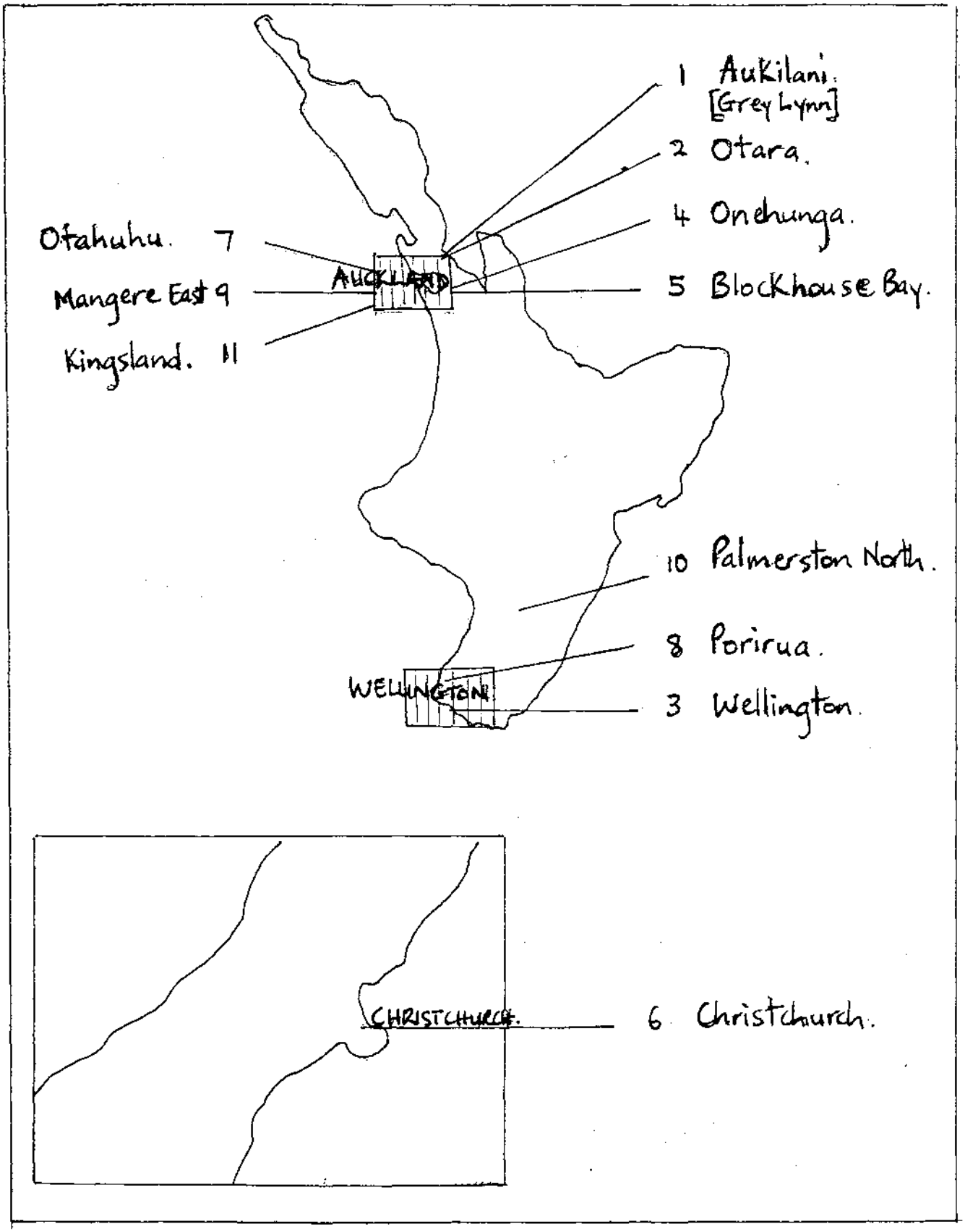


FIGURE 4.a.

C.C.C.S. Parishes Founded in the 1960s

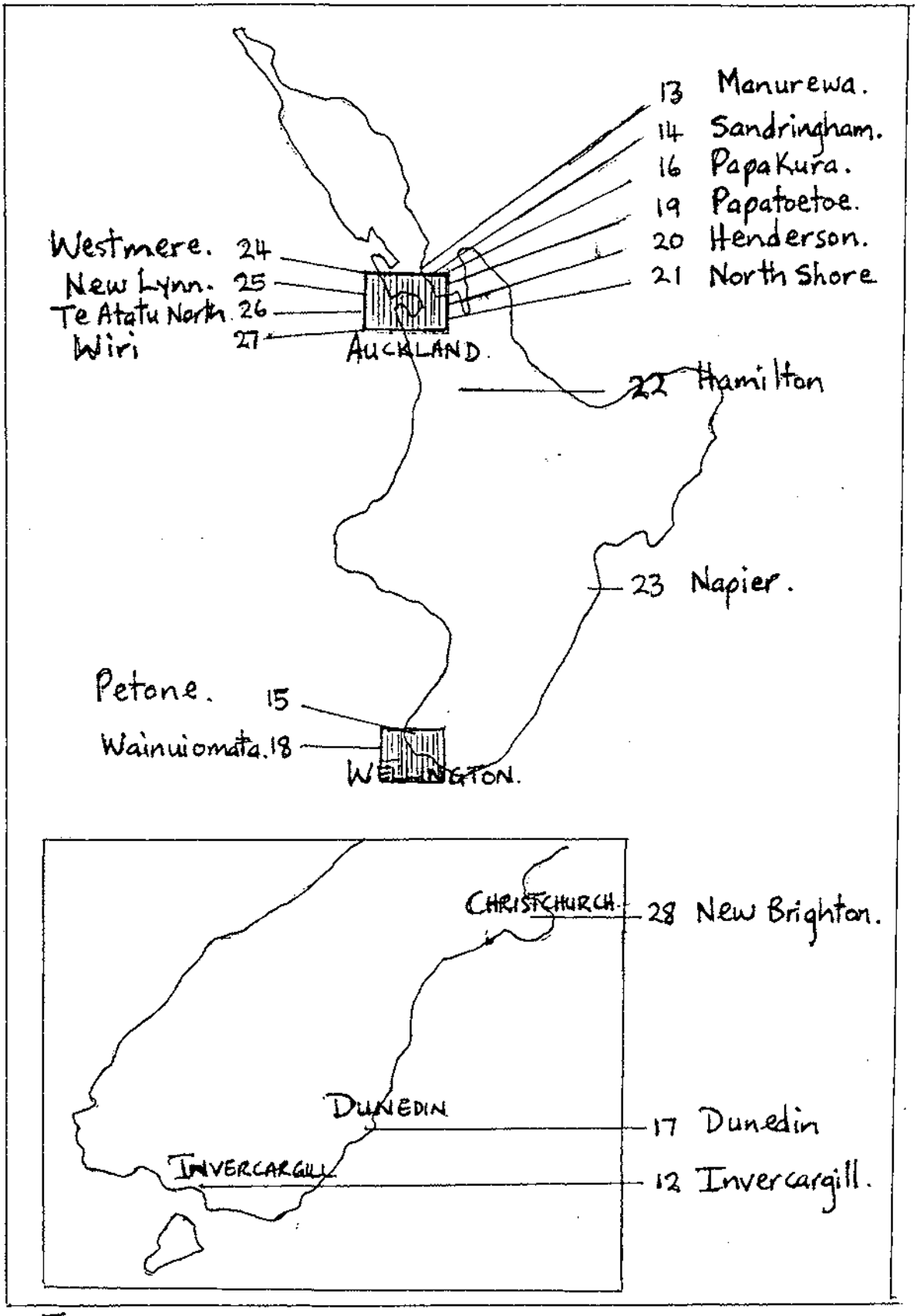


FIGURE 4.b.

C.C.C.S. Parishes Founded in the 1970s.

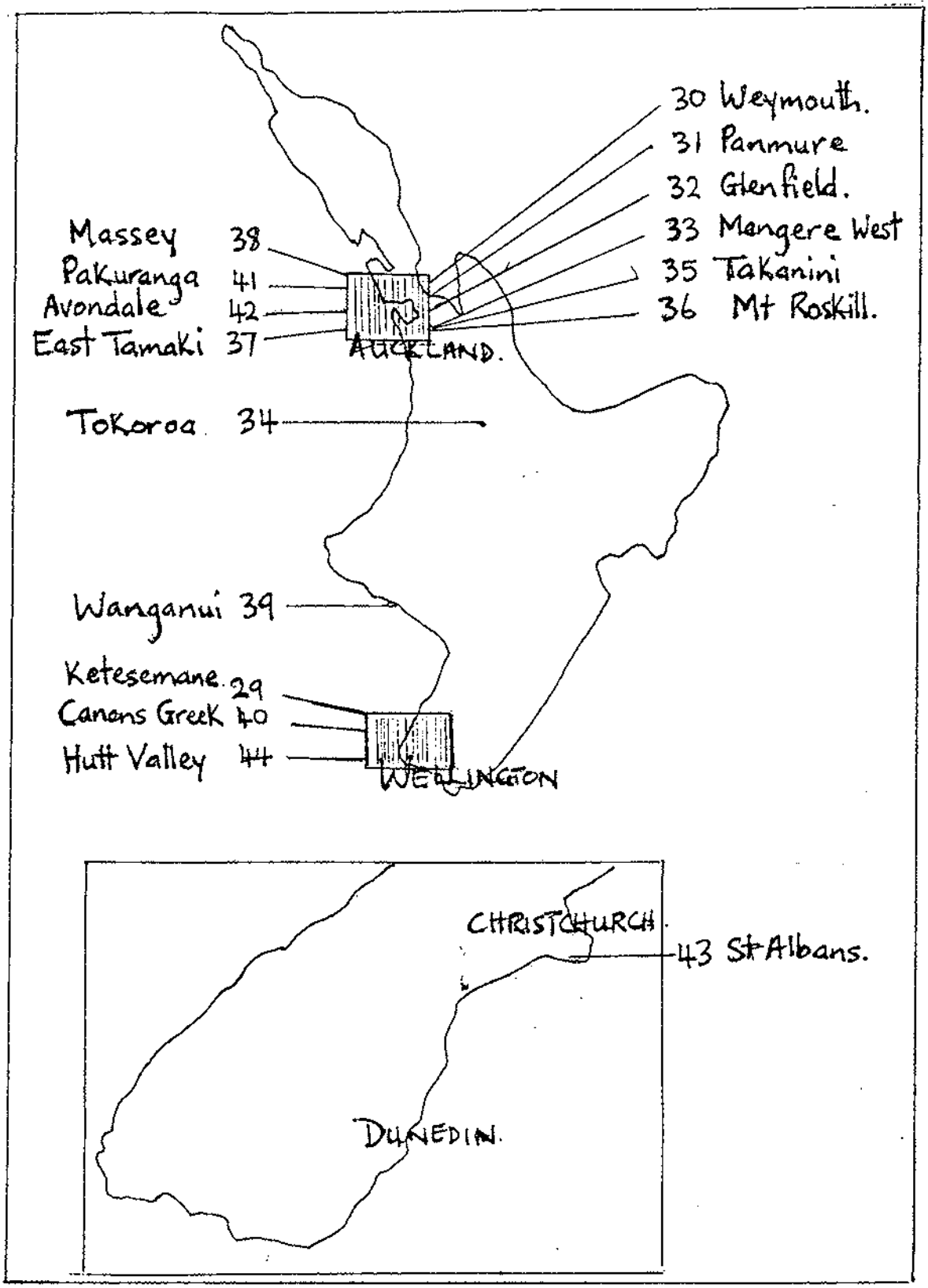


FIGURE 4.C.

C.C.C.S. Parishes Founded in the 1980s

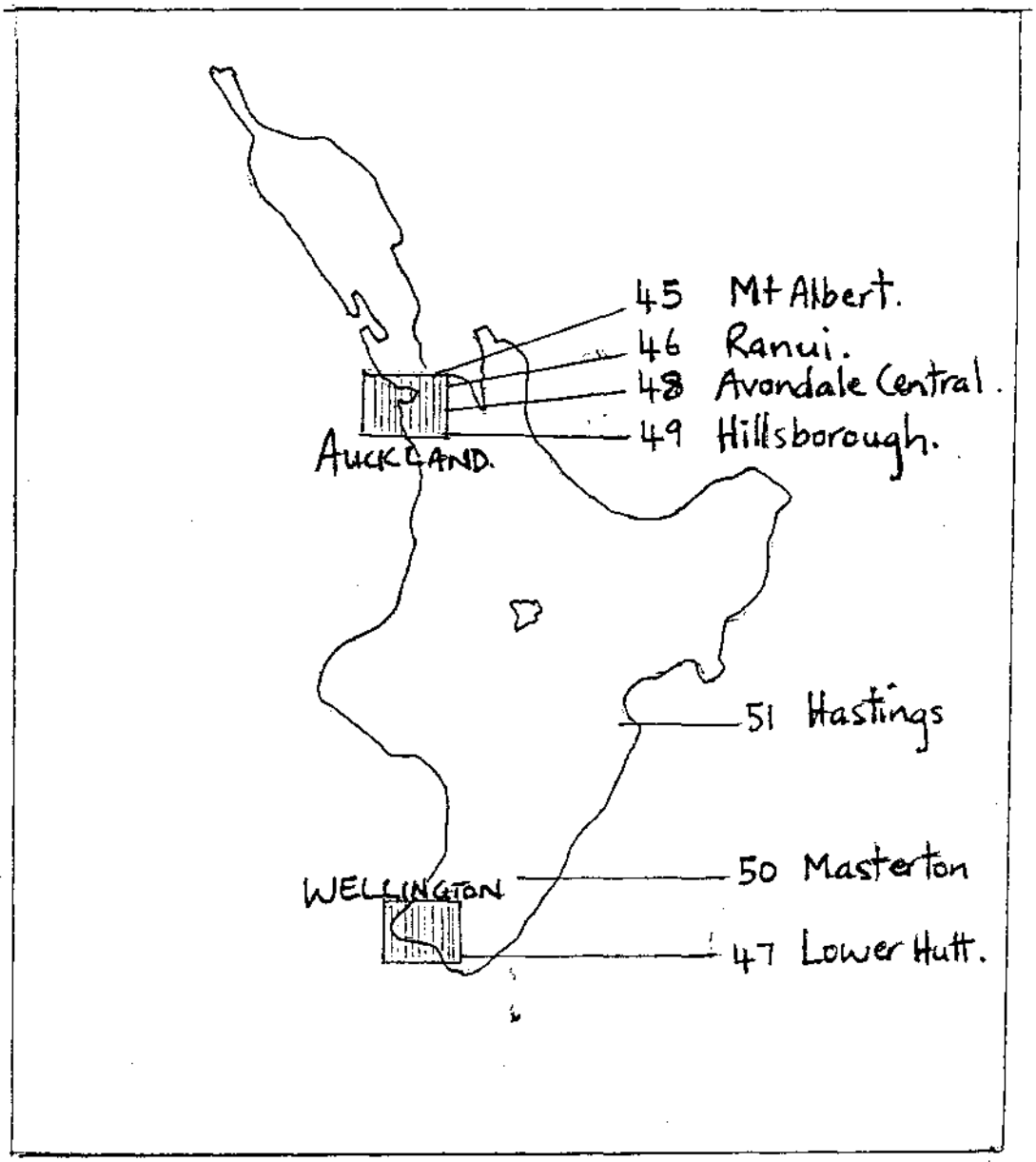
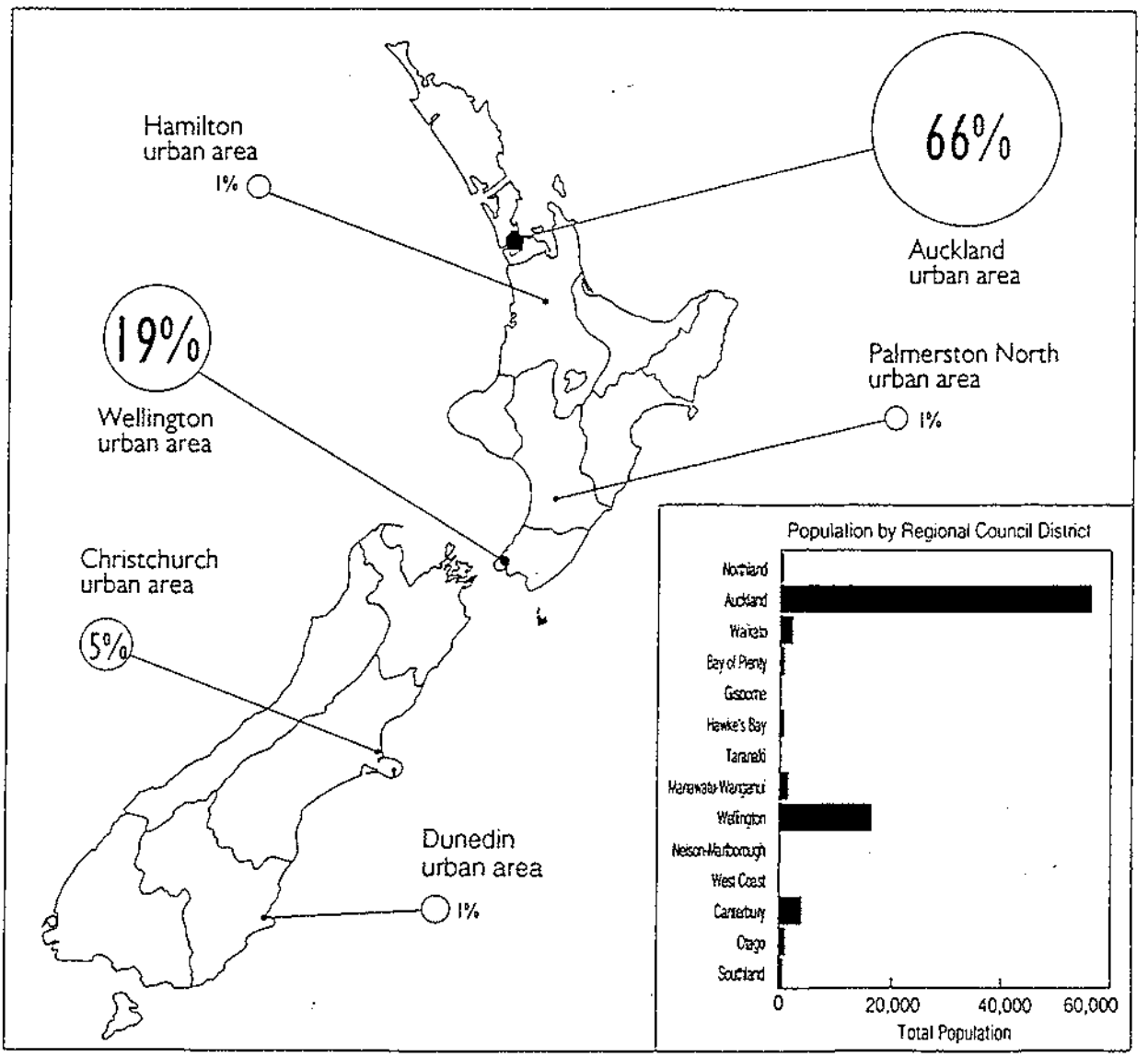


FIGURE 4.d.

C.C.C.S. Parishes Founded in the 1990s

Figure 5

Urban/Regional Distribution Of Samoans 1991



Other centres in the North Island such as Hamilton and Palmerston North had small Samoan communities. In the South Island, the largest Samoan communities were in Christchurch (5 percent) and Dunedin (1 percent).

Adapted from - 'Samoan People in New Zealand.' By Statistics New Zealand.

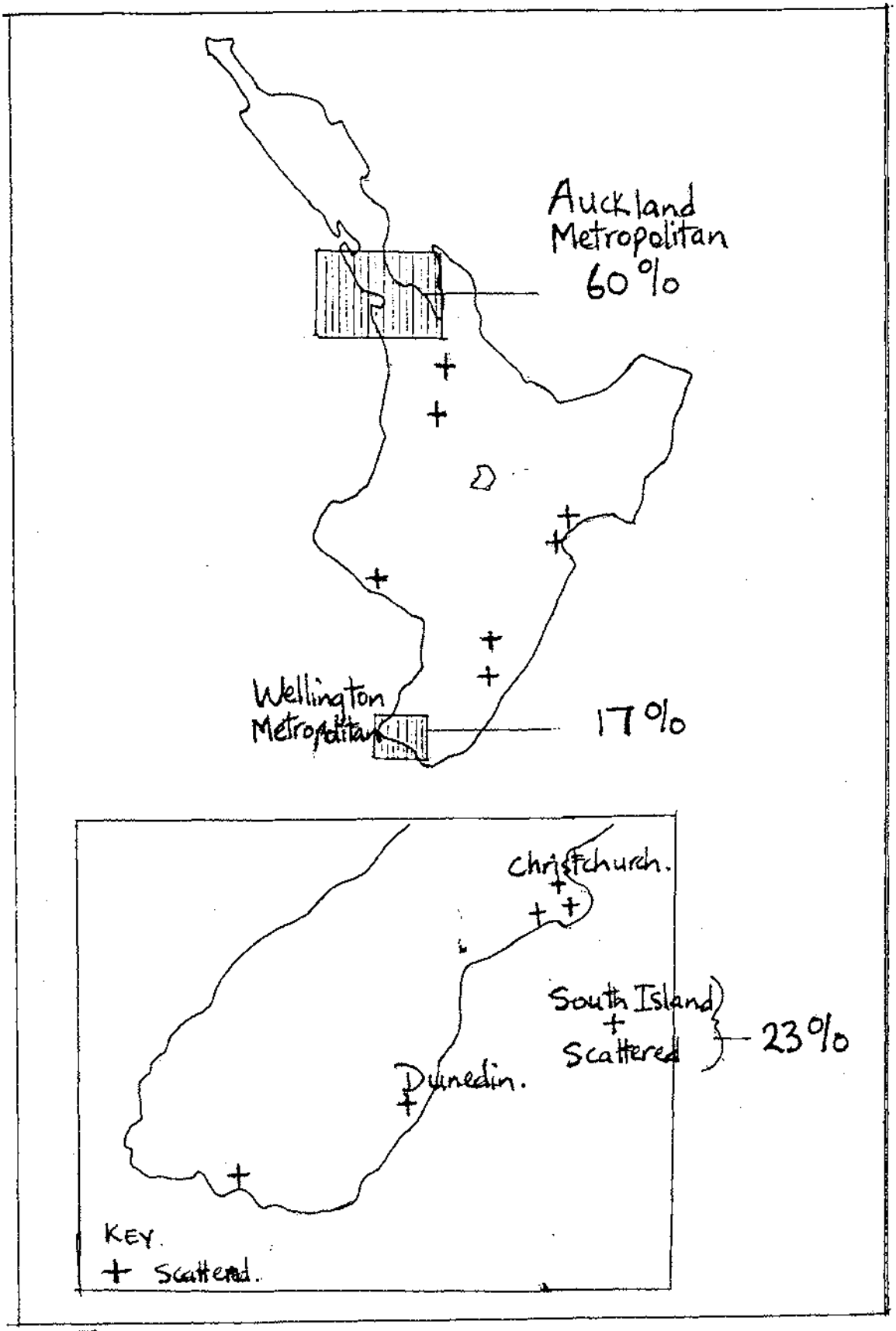


FIGURE 6.

Regional Distribution and Geographical Spread of C.C.C.S. Parishes 1993

APPENDIX I

The Significance of Dying Testaments of Samoan Cultural Leaders.

Samoans attach great importance to dying testaments of their elders, leaders, and any person of significance in cultural understanding, as like the Hebrews in relation to their patriarchal fathers in the biblical community.[a] To the Samoans dying testaments have various significances and are given different appropriations. But one of its most widely shared significances which is most relevant to our concern is its world-making potential and effect through observing a kind of Continuity of Cultural Truth Vision. Because they are dying testaments of leaders of families, villages, districts and national leaders, such declarations are given the highest consideration for the reasons that they embody the experience, maturity, and integrity of the leadership offices they held. As a general rule in Samoan culture, dying testaments have divine significance. They matter especially in providing the future direction of those who are affected by them in whatever way. So an important dimension in Samoan cultural understanding of dying testaments involves the idea of 'continuity of truth vision' earned from life-time experience and to be transmitted through generations of families. Its divine significance is associated with the belief that in a dying situation heaven is open to receive the dying person. So whatever is uttered at this moment is a human word with a divine significance.[b] The habitual tendency of Samoan leaders to advocate peace-making political actions in such times are thus of great cultural significance. They are made in public in the hearing and presence of Samoa. And they are made in vital moments when these respected national leaders are at their most 'sacred importance' to the Samoans.[c] And for a people who value authority, and respect order, and with expansive emotions, dying testaments of their kings, elders, and authorities would be honoured and put to fulfilment. The question of the 'sincerity' or 'integrity' of dying statements is irrelevant to Samoans in near-death moments of their beloved. Emotions take over for good or for ill.

---

[a] Examples in the Bible abound in the community stories as in the Books of Genesis, Deuteronomy, Joshua,...etc.

[b] This is clearly demonstrated in funerals especially of Samoan Chiefs, in particular the compulsory part of orator's oration which include the section called *Lagi* [Heavens]. Its centrality in the orator's oration includes the great respect for the fact of 'death' as it applies to the dead chief, his family, and his village; but it also reflects the divine connection of 'death' in its reality in relation to the human end. Hence the cultural phrase - *'Tulouna le lagi'*.

[c] This is amply demonstrated in the book by Lafai - Sauoaiga, O le Mavaega i le Tai. Note especially pages 139-142 in which he lists the chronology of Cultural appointments [Tofiga] and Testaments by Kings and High Chiefs of Samoa dated back to about 600 A.D. The major point is to underline their world-making impact in the history of Samoa, which is dependent on the fact that they were appointments and testaments by Kings and High Chiefs.

Most appropriately it is a question which involves God's judgement. Yet it does not mean one could suspend judgement about such historic moments of great importance to a peoples' historical development and progress in godly spirituality. Samoans are inclined to explain life mostly from the perspective of the divine. It would thus be congenial to the Samoan mind to suggest a theological explanation of Samoan cultural understanding of dying testaments from a biblical perspective.[d] God may be 'less heard of' during a person's life and in the expression of personal freedom. In this sense, God seems powerless because of God's respect for personal freedom. But in dying moments when the person is powerless before the power of physical death, God appears all the most powerful in such times of human powerlessness. God's power is witnessed to by dying testaments which acknowledge God as the only King of Samoa as in the case of Vainu'upo, and by peace-making political spirituality which is a central requirement of the biblical God, as in the dying testaments of Tupua Tamasese Titimaea, and of Malietoa Laupepa. The same is to be applied to the dying will of Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III later. A further point needs stressing which is related to the operation of the holistic mind of the Samoan. That the recognition of the dual influence of the divine and human in the 'continuity' of noble visions like peace-making political spirituality among the national leaders in the history of Samoa is a central belief underlying the whole chapter. Ultimately, it understands the historical evolution of Samoa's national identity through the political spirituality of Samoan leaders as a progession into a national confession of faith in the Biblical God.

[d] There is correlation here with an authentic theological view of modern biblical understanding. As shown already, there was a sense of continuity in the Samoan cultural mind in some of its traditional beliefs in relation to the Divine world, which made possible the mutual interpenetration between its Cultural world [prior to 1830] and the biblical world since 1830.

APPENDIX II (a)

Translation of Fuimaono's letter of Resignation to the Samoan Choir of the Newton P.I.C.C. It is addressed to the two leaders of the Samoan Choir.

Susuga e,

(i) I am putting this matter before you and before our most distinguished and important choir with reverence and all due respect. Our mutual love and sharing remain unto death.

(ii) There is nothing more to worry us because our new Church is now officially dedicated; all the requirements for the ministry are fully provided; our choir is even more in order and existing in greater unity.

(iii) Now all the things we have done together for the development and success of the choir shall be left for the good and the future of the choir : Money, Organ, and everything else. We shall not (never) claim any right on them. The sole control is yours with sovereign freedom to their use. You do not need to consult us [anymore] for we are on this side of our ministry. Yours, the sole authority for all those things.

(iv) This is Our Letter of Resignation [I am giving] on behalf of us who have turned to this side of our ministry.
You worship on that side of the coconut leaf and we worship on this side of the river.

(v) May the two things remain independently two, like the Suaga ipo in Avalua, or may them both grow as in the Parable of our Lord, while we wait for the day of harvest.

(vi) Forgive any of our misdemeanours and transgressions in the days of our wonderful fellowship and common endeavour in the past years. Let the past year be gone with the old person; and the covenant be renewed as in the Book of Christian Endeavour.

This then is the letter done with great reverence and all due respect it deserves. May Yahweh stand continuously between us day and night until the (our) End.

Here the letter ends.
Goodbye !
K. P. E. Fuimaono Ta'ala,
'and Others'.

Afioga R. S. Toleafoa,
Mrs. L. Reid,
Ta'ita'i Pese Samoan Choir,
Pacific Islanders' Congregational Church,
Edinburgh St., Newton.

Susuga e,

Ua ia te a'u le ava tele ma le faaaloalo, o'u te faailoa atu ai lenei mataupu i ou lua luma ma luma o la tatou Au Faipese mamalu mà le ta E tumau pea lo tatou felagolagoma'i ma lo tatou fealofani e oo lava i lo tatou oti.

Ua uma ona Umusa la tatou galuega (FALE SA)o lona uiga ua le o toe iai se mea o fai ma faalavelave ia te'i tatou, ua mautu mea uma o la tatou galuega, ua silisili atu foi ona maopoopo la tatou Au Faipese. O lenei la o mea uma lava sa tatou galulue faatasi iai mo le manuia o le Au Faipese, o le a tuu atu uma lava mo le lelei ma le aga'i i luma o Le Au Faipese Tupe, Okeni atoa ma nisi mea , o le a le toe iai lavá ma se toe aia atu i a Pule lava outou ma le faitalia atoa ma o latou faaaogaina 'ae 'aua ne'i tō logo maia matou, ua i le nei itu o la tatou galuega. Le pule'aga lena o ea uma.

O le matou TUSI FAAMAVAE ATU LENEI, ua avea ai a'u, ma sui o i matou ua Liliu mai i le nei vaega o la tatou galuega. Tapua'i maia outou i le na itu launiu 'ae matou lolotu atu i lea itu o le vai. Faafualua i pei o le Suaga ipo nai Avalua, pe tupu lua pea ia pei o le Faataoto a lo tatou Alii, 'ae tatou faatali i le aso o le seleselega.

Faamagalo mai ni o matou sese ma ni lavale e tusa i aso o la tatou fegalegalea'ina ma la tatou mafutaga matagofie i ia tausaga ua mavae. Mou atu ia le tausaga tuai ia ma ona tagata tuai, 'ae faafou le feagaina pei o Tusi Au Taumafai.

Ia o le tusi lea ma le ava tele ma le faaaloalo e tatau ai. Ia tu pea Ieova i lo tatou va i ao ma po, se'ia oo mai lo tatou lua.

O le a faaiu le tusi.

T O F A!

K. P. E. FUIMAONO TA'ALA,
MA ISI,
169 Nelson St.,
A U C K L A N D C. I.

26th. of December 1963.

K. P. E. Fuimaono Ta'ala

APPENDIX II (b)

Translation of Fuimaono's letter of resignation addressed to the Chairman, Deacons and the Committee, Secretary and the whole Congregation.

Susuga e,

(i) There is no torn green banana leaf in our fellowship; but it is because of a hope that was long in the making, a canoe that was built day and night, a wave that appeared to break but did not, a journey that was not without anxiety, and thus had to wait for calm water to make its entrance.

The body of the Prince from Savaii is complete. It lays down but it is the fish from the ocean deep. It is now full moon.

(ii) The person who raises the sail is now upstanding. Our work (Church) is now consecrated. We have been out in the sun and the rain because we wanted to dwell and rest in the dry-house. Fishermen are back. The congregation is now bathing in clear streams of water. May the blessings from heaven be upon the whole congregation and the office holders.

(iii) Brothers, I stand but with trembling, afloating in stormy seas. I remember the many occasions of weaknesses and wrong doings...[Sina...lou nu'u]. Forgive my wrong doings and all my transgressions, and blessings be yours in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

I am now resigning from our distinguished Meeting-Group and the Church congregation, and particularly those that voted for me and elected myself to be their representative in our meetings.

I myself will now return to worship in our own Ekalesia Fa'apotopotoga Kerisiano Samoa.

There is an intention to start a Church in Auckland with the hope that the authority to control is vested in the Christian Church of Samoa (ie. E.F.K.S.) as is the case with the Churches (that is, Samoan Churches) in Hawaii and America.

This is my plea, done with reverence and respect.
May God be with us all.

Farewell !

K. P. E. Fuimaono Ta'ala.

Ta'ita'i Fono,
Tiakono ma Komiti,
Failautusi,
ma le Au Lotu Atoa,

Susuga e,

E le'i masae se laufa'i mata i lo tatou va feagai ai, ae ona o le faamoemoe ua leva ona lavasia, o le vaa sa fau po, fau ao, o se galu foi sa faafua ae le fati, o le malaga foi sa nofo ae'olo, sa sema se tai malu e ofi ai.

O le nei la ua soo taiao, ua tau foi lau, ua atoa foi tino o le mamaia nai Salafai. Ua taatia a'o se i'a mai vasa, ua atoa nei tino o le masina ua taele uu le pepe ma le se, ua tu nei le faila, "UA U.SA LE TA GALUEGA" SA ta timuia laina, aua le fia mapu i fale matu. Ua ea le lototai ua taele magavai manino le Au Lotu, ae faaifo ia manu mai lagi i le Au Lotu uma atoa ma ona tofi.

Uso e, ua o'u tu nei a ua lili'a, ua opeopea fo'i i le tai sousou. Ua o'u tu nei ma o'u tepa i ama, i le tele o le pati ma le po sa f a. Sina e, e a ea lou aiga ? Se paga! E tele ina tali tualima ae i..iti i le aloilima. Suga, Ta masiasi e, Ia ui o lea sau ia, ina alu, ae tum le Iliteā lena, ma lou le Toga ma lau Ulafala, " E talo a'i le i'a i uta pe a fia ta'umamafa lou mun ". Ia faamagalo ni ota sese ma ni laavale se tele, a'o mamua mo outou uma i le Suafa o le tatou Alii o Iesu Keriso.

Ua o'u faamavae atu i la tatou Au Fono mamalu ma le Ekalesia, 'ae maise lava e sā palota ma latou filifilia lo'u nei tagata e fai ma o latou tofi ma sui ia tatou fonotaga.

O le a o'u toe foi lava a'u i la tatou Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano Samoa o'u te lotu ai. Ua fia faatuina ae Lotu i Aukilani nei ma le faamoemoe e matua le tumi le Ekalesia Kerisiano Samoa latou te pulea mai, pei lava o Ekalesia i Hawaii ma Amerika.

O la'u talosaga xxxx lea ma le ava tele ma le faaaloalo e tatau ai. Faatasi mai le Atua mo i tatou uma.

S O I F U A!

K. P. E. FUIMAONO TA'ALA
XXXX 169 Nelson St.,
AUCKLAND, C. I.

27th. Tesema 1963.

K.P.E. Fuimaono Ta'ala

APPENDIX II (c)

C.C.C.S. Founder's Resignation Letter to the 'Chairman, Board of Deacons, Secretary, Committees & Everyone.'

Chairman,
Board Of Deacons,
Sectretary,
Committees & Everyone,

DEar Brethren,

It isnot a hope for,one or two minutes; hours; days; weeks; months; and year, but a matter of I2 years and 6 months.

I refused to be a laypreacher when I was asked by Rev. Challis on Sunday 25th. of June I950.

I declined to signed as a Trustee for that £4250 section behind the Hall on Tuesday the 9th. of October I956.

Because I am not a member of this Pacific Islanders' Congregational Church of New Zealand.

These years in New Zealand, I am still a member of the Samoa Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. My subscriptions for them are right through. On my trip to Samoa I96I, The Fono Tele (General Assbly) invited me to preach at the Lupeli, Malua College Church, the highes very important pulpit in the whole of the Samoan Group, the pulpit- of a spring of life and the light of the Samoan Group. I was shocked by the welcoming me. Everyone I met was wonderful.

Now our New Church Building is finished completely and a surplus cash to be used. I worked hard for the full cup and not the drug, an also I am wishing you all for the good and prosperous future of the Church and all its parties.

Forgive me for any mistakes which I made or insulted anyone.

The last of all, I am now resigned ftom all Positions of you Church P. M. C. C.

I am now returned to my very dear Church SAMOA CONGREGATIONA CHRISTIAN CHURCH. I am still a member for 28 years continuosly.

Best wishes for all and xxxxxx hearty thanks to everyone, especially those who voted for me to represent them in the Church Meetings

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

K. P. E. FUIMAONO TA'ALA,
I69 Nelson St.,
AUCKLAND C. I. 27th. of December I962.

K.P.E. Fuimaono Taala

APPENDIX II (d)

Letter by Newton P.I.C.C. Diaconate acknowledging Resignation by Chief & Deacon Fuimaono Ta'ala.

Pacific Islanders' Congregational Church

Ministers: Rev. R. L. Challis, B.A., 14 Novar Place, Pt. Chevalier, Auckland, W.3, Telephones 83-187 Home, 32-777 Office.
Rev. L. I. Sio, 9 Tay Street, Auckland, Telephones 85-571 Home, 32-777 Office.
Rev. Tariu Teaia, 109 Onepu Road, Wellington, E.3, Telephones 79-196 Home, 89-273 Office.
Rev. P. Nokise, 6 Antico St., Melrose, Wellington, Telephones 89-942 Home, 89-273 Office.
Rev. D. C. Evans, B.A., 10 Lomond Ave., Tokoroa, Telephone 8489.
Treasurer: Mr. A. O. Fisher, 2 Edinburgh St., Auckland, C.2.

71 Crummer Road.
Grey Lynn.
30 January, 1963

Dear Mr Fuimaono,

The letter of resignation from you was received and considered by the Deacons at their last meeting.

The Deacons accepted your resignation from all offices as you have requested.

The Deacons have further asked me to express their thanks for help given in the past to the Church.

Yours faithfully,

J. L. Nicholas

pea Ieova i lo tatou va i ao ma po, se'ia oo mai lo tatou iuga.

O le a faaiu le tusi.

T O F A!

APPENDIX III

C.C.C.S. Founder's Official Letter to E.F.K.S. Requesting Recognition of C.C.C.S. Beginning in New Zealand.

Appendix III

(1)

27 Dec. 1962

Jan. 1963.

Susuga (Rev.) Poasa, (Ta'ita'i ~~Tomka~~ Fono.)
'Au Toeaina, Faife'au,
Komiti o Fe'au Eseese,
Tiakono, ma le Failautusi,
Ekalesia Faapotogatoga Kerisiano,
S A M O A,
Susuga e,

Tusi atu ma le ava tele ma le faaaloalo e tatau aie faapea: — O le nei ua amataina se Lotu Fou Faa_- Samoa i Aukilani nei, Tusi Paia Samoa ma Tusi Pese Samoa L. M. S. o loo faaaogaina. E lei iai se igoa o le Lotu; a'o lona uiga tonu ma le faamaoni , o le Lotu lava e tutusa ma a tatou Ekalesia i Hawaii ma le Unaite Setete o Amerika.

O le nei la e talosaga atu ai, ia avea matou i Niu Sila nei ma lala o le Ekalesia Kerisiano i Samoa, matou te manana'o foi ia pulea mai i Samoa lenei Ekalesia Fou.

O le a auina atu le taulaga (tupe)i Samoa mo fe'au a le Ekalesia Kerisiano. A mafai foi ona o atu o ni Usu Fono, o le a faapea lava, ma e totogi lava e i latou o latou pasese, pei lava o le Iuga Fono o le 1961 (Tausaga)

O le a muamua lava ona sasao se tupe, e ese mai ai i lo letau laga, mo se fanua ma faatu ai loa ma se Fale Sa, i ni nai tausaga pe 2, pe 3.

O le nei Au Lotu Fou ua vavae ese mai le Au Lotu fefiloi a tagata o Atu Motu, ona ua tele na'ua o gagana; Niue; Rarotonga; Papalagi ma Samoa. E moni lava o tapuaiga i le Atua; ae faapefea ona e fiafia e VIVI'I, pe afai ete le iloe nei gagana, e le manaia, 'ae se'i sau ia lau gagana moni; A U E ! E tofo i tino matagi lelei!

O le nei Ekalesia Fou, o le a lolotu ai ni alii loia,su'e tusi B. A.,'ae maise le tele o matagaluega maualuluga a le Malo o Niu Sila atoa ma kamupani. O nei la Samoa poto maoa'e o le a mafai ona latou Usu Fono atu i Malua, ma o le a latou fesoasoani tele mo le lagalaga ina o le aga'i i luma o le Ekalesia Samoa, mo le va i fafo.

O lo'o iai le maota o loo fai ai Sauniga, a'o le faamoemoe o a su'e se Fale Kalapu e fai ai Sauniga pe a to'atele na'ua. E le'i iai se tofiga e tasi ua faia, o loo faatali atu i le faapaiaina mai le Ekalesia Samoa.

Le Ekalesia Pele e, i le agaga, tamā ma tinā; " O LE TAGI atu lenei a a outou fanau, ia alofagia mai le faatalauula atu a alo o la tatou Ekalesia; "MATOU TE ~~XXXX~~ MANANA'O IA SUSU MAI REV. POASA (TA'ITA'I FONO) MO LE FAAVAEINA O LE EKALESIA MA LE FAAPAIAINA O NISI TOFI E TATAU AI? AE MAISE LE FAATONUGA UMA MO LE GALUEGA MA LE VA MA SAMOA. MATOU TE ~~XXXXXXX~~ MANANA'O FOI IA SUSU MAI LE ALII FAILAUTUSI? O LE EKALESIA ETENE SA'ANA MO SE TALA O LE FAAVAEINA O LE EKALESIA MA LE GAOIOINA UMA O MATAUPU TAU FETUSIAIGA MA FEFAA TAUAIGA."

Se a malu a i fale ua malu foi i fafo. Le Ekalesia pele e, Aua tou te manatu isi na seleni faatauva'a, o le a totogi a'i pasese o le Ta'ita'i Fono ma lana Failautusi. Ia outou matau i le Upega e e ana i le I'e, vaai i luma. A mautu le faavae ua tali afa foi se maota poo se laoa. Ni nai vaiaso a se lua pe a uma Lotu o le Tausaga Fou e susu mai ai. Tau lava o pasese a'o le gaosa iinei, lafo mai i Aukilani mea uma, ma ua iai foi le faamoemoe e fo'i atu la'ua ma se taulaga, pe tali sikuea ai lava o la'ua pasese. O le a molimau nisi faifeau sa fai malologa i Niu Sila nei i le leva ona tatau ona iai ni a tatou Au Lotu i Niu Sila pei o Hawaii ma Amerika. Ma ose Au Lotu i Niu Sila nei, o le a avea ma poutu tau le tupe e tausi ai le Ekalesia Samoa, aua o le a le mafai lava ona tagi atu o Niu Sila i Samoa i se tupe, pe afai nei o le a faavae mautu le Lotu, auā e tele lava tupe i Niu Sila nei latou. Le Tupe Tele La Lea O Loo Masaea ese nei, ae le liligi tonu e auina atu i Samoa.

Ua faavae lava la tatou Ekalesia Kerisiano i Samoa. Maoti foi lo tatou Malo Tu To'atasi. Mautu le Ekalesia i Honolulu. ~~Manana~~ Mananaia mai Ekalesia i le unaite Setete, ae talitonu outou, o le Punavai ola Ekalesia i Niu Sila i lona tasi pe lua tausaga, auā e tele le tupe o le a galueaiga ai.

Sina tala otooto; sa susu mai le toeaina o Ioelu Tapeni, e le aloaia lona susu mai, sa manatu tagata Samoa iinei(Aukilani) 'ai o le ana faia le Faamanatuga, mea ne , e leai.O lona uiga e le aoga ~~lua~~ lou tofi Faife'au mai Samoa iinei. Pe 'ana o sa tatou Ekalesia to tino, pei o le taimi nei, e ave uma lava le faaaloalo mo Ioelu; Peteru Leaupepe; Ekeloma; Siave Teofilo; Siaosi Kuluku, Sinapati Perelini; Elisara Tia; Enoka Alesana; Faulalo Sagapolutele;

Sofara 'Aiono, 'Ailagi Tanielu, Vavae Toma atoa ma isi. O nei la Faifeau uma lava e iai lava i manatu o Samoa latou, e tatau lava ona iai a se isi o latou e fai se Faamanatuga iinei, ui o lea toe afe. Ana fai la a'o ni a tatou Ekalesia totino e pule a ma le sa'oloto latou au a o le Ekalesia e tasi. Lenei la ua faatu le Lotu Fou lenei, o le a tatou eva i laufau malu ma mategi agi fisaga, o le a taele uu le pepe ma le se, o le a pule lava ma talia lelei o tatou uso a Faifeau e malaga maimoa mai i Niu Sila nei.

E le'i iai se mataupu faafitauli ua alai ona matou liliu mai faatu lenei Lotu, pei fo'i o le tele o le mafua'aga o Lotu i Samoa, e leai, leai lava, ona ua oo lava i le taimi,ma ua Faaulufaleina fo'i le Maota o le Atua sa matou alo atu iai, ona tuu ai loa lea e tapua'i ai nai la uso; a ua matou matau loa e aga'i le malosi o totoe mo le Ekalesia Pele i Samoa, e alu tonu iai le afu o alo o le Ekalesia Samoa o loo inu nei e isi Ekalesa (Pau ia le,fui niu i lona lapalapa) O le ala tonu lea; "A'O LE AANO MONI O LE NEI EKALESIA FOU: O LE EKALESIA MA LE LOTO NUU MONI E FIA FESOASOANI ATU I LE EKALESIA KERISIANO UA FAATUINA FOU I SAMOA." LOTA NUU NA O'U FANAU AI UA LELEI OE ILE VASAetc.

O le tagata faigaluega e to'atasi o lona matai faa-le-Lotu a lena. O lona uiga a 3o pe 4o tagata i,le Au Lotu o matafale a xx na auā e le faamoemoe atu le isi i le tasi,auā ua mafai lava e le teine poo le tama ona,o ana mea uma o le olaga nei. Faigofie mea uma i Niu Sila nei e itiiti i mala ae tele i manu le atunuu nei. O le mea moni i nei atunuu ete ulufale i le Tapuaiga ma lou loto e tumu, tumu pea i le fiafia ma le olioli; auā e leai se mea o e fia maua i le tino nei, vagana le Suafa o le Atua Soifua o loo e fia maua, ete faitaulaga ma lau fo'ai ma lou loto olioli e sili atu,i Tapuaiga uma lava ete Ulufale iai.

E auina atu le talosaga lenei a'o lumana'i le Fono ma le amataina o le Lotu. E leai se faa-le-tonu o iai poo ni masalosaloga o iai ina ne'i faapea ua faa-le-tonu ai le FAATUINA O LE LOTU. O lona uiga o se Ekalesia o le a mata'i mautu atoatoa ma le malosi tele mo le 2 poo le 3 tausaga oi luma pe afai e tusa faufauga ma fuafuaga a tagata ola ma le figagalo o le Atua Soifua. O mea uma e faalagolago atu lava i le faatasi mai o le Tapaau i le lagi, e ui lava i le malosi o soo se mea i le nei lalolagi e faatauvaa, faatauvaa lava i le finagalo o lo,tatou Tama oi le lagi. Ona pau, pau lava lea o le mea e mafai ai ona vaivai soo se mea i le nei olaga. Ui ona o lea tatou tatalo atu,ia mafai ona faatuina leneim LOtu Fou e aunoa ma le alii o le nei lalolagi.

I tua atu o le nei Au Lotu Fou Taufaavaeina o loo, tu mai ai i tua se faalapotopotoga malosi tele ma le faatuatuaina e ta'ua o le " ROSALINA L. L. FUIMAONO AND BROTHERS AND SISTERS " e mafai ona latou paletua toa ma tuu mai se fesoasoani i se mea o le a faaletoun ai lenei Ekalesia Fou Tau-Faavaeina i se fesoasoani e mafaia e tusa ma lona malosi o loo iai.

Ia o le a faaiuina le Talosaga ma le agaga moni ia talia lelei.
(Na'o Afono na mele ai le manuia)

Afai o le a faia le matou Fono muamua o le a fai lava ni nai sui e tauaveina tiute ae le tumau ma le faapaiaina,vagana ua maua mai se tofa mai le EKALESIA KERISIANO SAMOA I ONA TA'ITA'I?

FAAFETAI MO LO TATOU AULIA MANUIA O LE ASO SOIFUA O LE TUPU O TUPU: IA FAAPEA FOI ONA TATOU OO FILEMU ATU MA LE SOIFUA MAUA I LE TAUSAGA FOU MA IA FAATUPUINA LE FIAFIA MA LE FEALOFANI I TOTONU O NAI O TATOU AIGA VAIVAI. FAALAFI LE TAUSAGA TUAI MA ONA LEAGA AE FOTU-A-NUU PULE LE TAUSAGA FOU MA ONA MANUIASILI.

FAASOIFUINA LE EKALESIA KERISIANO SAMOA
MA ONA TA'ITA'I? AE MAISE LE ATUNUU FAAPELEPELEINE
I LE AGAGA.

SOIFUA LELEI SAMOA, AE OLA NIU SILA.

K. P. E. FUIMAONO TA'ALA
MA LE AU LOTU I AUKILAGI.
C/O. PONSONBY POST OFFICE.
AUCKLAND. NEW ZEALAND.

27th. Tesema 1962.

27 December 1962

Susuga Rev.Poasa (Chairman)
The Elders, Pastors,
Committee of Various Missions
Deacons, and the Secretary
Congregational Christian Church in Samoa
S A M O A

Gentlemen,

(i) With respect, we write to inform you as follows:-
We have started a new Samoan Church in Auckland using the Samoan Bible and the Samoan Hymn Book (London Missionary Society). We have not yet on a name for the Church; but its main objects are the same as those of the Samoan Churches in the United States of America and Hawaii.

(ii) In this respect, we hereby request your approval for our church here in New Zealand to become a branch of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. We also wish that our church be administered by the CCCS in Western Samoa.

(iii) We will send our monetary donations to Samoa for the various developmental projects of the church. If permitted, we proposed to send our delegates to the Annual Church Conference at Malua, each delegate will meet the cost of his/her air travel as per resolution of the General Assembly in 1961.

We will first of all raise funds, apart from normal church donations, to acquire a land to construct a church building which should take 2 to 3 years in the making.

(iv) This new Congregation has divorced itself from the Pacific Islands Church because of the many different languages used (i.e, Niue, Rarotonga, Samoan and English). It may be true that the purpose of any church is to worship God but one cannot get the full satisfaction out of worshipping when one has to sing in a language one does not fully understand.

(v) This new church will include some Samoan Barristers and Solicitors, Auditors, Graduates and Senior Officials both government and Private Companies in New Zealand. These well qualified Samoans could be our representations to the Annual Church Conference at Malua and they will no doubt, make valuable contributions to the future progress of the Church and its foreign missions.

(vi) We are using one of the buildings to conduct our church services but we are hoping to hire one of the Halls if the number of our Congregation will increase. We have not made any appointment as yet because we are waiting for the CCCS in Samoa to give its blessings to our new church.

(vii) My dear brethren in Christ, fathers and mothers,

"Your Sons and daughters in New Zealand HAVE REQUESTED THE PRESENCE OF REV.POASA (CHAIRMAN) TO OFFICIATE OUR NEW CHURCH AND TO MAKE APPOINTMENTS WHERE NECESSARY. WE ALSO NEED HIM TO GIVE US SOME GUIDELINES ON HON TO RUN OUR CHURCH AND HOW TO KEEP OUR CONNECTION WITH THE CHURCH IN SAMOA. WE ALSO INVITE THE SECRETARY GENERAL MR ETENE SAAGA TO PRESENT THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH AND TO INFORM US OF ALL MATTERS RELATING TO CORRESPONDENCE AND TRADINGS."

(viii) We ask you not to worry too much on the money which will be spent on the Chairman and the Secretary's airfares. What is more important is for the Church in Samoa to set the foundation for our new Church because we believe that once the foundation is firmed then it will withstand any kind of weather. All we ask is for the Church to spare the time of these two gentlemen to look into our new set-up for perhaps 1 to 2 weeks during Christmas/New Year Period. All it will cost the Church in Samoa for this trip are the airfares for these gentlemen and our Congregation here in New Zealand will take care of the rest of the expenses. It is also our wish that when the two gentlemen return to Samoa, we will give them our first donation to bring with them which no (ix) doubt will be more than the cost of the airfares. I am sure that some of the Pastors that have spent their holidays in New Zealand would agree with me that a CCCS branch should have been established in New Zealand ages ago such as those in Hawaii and the United States of America. The Church in New Zealand could become one of a strong monetary provider to assist our Church in Samoa in its many projects. There is no problem with money is this country and this was one of the reasons we had decided to have our own Church so that whatever money we may collect could be sent direct to our Church in Samoa rather than having it spent in this other Church here in New Zealand.

X Our Church in Samoa is well established and our country is now an independent State. It is our formest hope that our new Church will also be well established within 2 years time.

(xi) A brief comment: When Elder Ioelu Tapeni visited New Zealand, all the Samoans in New Zealand have expected him to conduct the Mass but much to their disappointment, the PICC Church in Auckland did not allow him to do so. Is the Status of our Samoan Pastors not recognised here? Now if we were running our own church here, we would have recognised and respected our own Pastors such as Ioelu, Peteru Leaupepe, Ekeroma, Siave Teofilo, Siaosi Kuluku, Sinapati Perelini, Elisara Tia, Enoka Alesana, Faulalo Sagapolutele, Sofara Aiono, Ailagi Tanielu, Vavae Toma and others who have spent their holidays in Auckland yet none of them have been given the opportunity to conduct any church service in the PICC Church.

(xii) The establishment of our new church was not caused because of any service problem we have with the PICC but it was because we felt it is high time we set up our own Samoan Church in New Zealand.
(xiii) In fact, we had decided not to leave until the new building for PICC was completed. We were all there until the completion of the building and even its decication.

(xiii) We then left the building for our other brethren to use while we set out to do what we believe should have been done long ago. Our main aim is to spend the rest of what is left of our lives to serve our church in Samoa and that the monetary donations by the Samoans in New Zealand should be sent direct to Samoa to assist the Church in its many projects. It is also perhaps through our being patriotic. "MY COUNTRY, THE COUNTRY I WAS BORN, YOU ARE THE FAIREST OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN" etc.

(xiv) Every member of the Congregation will donate for the development of the Church. We have about 30 to 40 families in our Congregation and these families are independently contributing to assist the Church in its financial needs. Material things are very easy to obtain in this country, and this is why people seek spriritual things because this is what is lacking. This is evident by the fact that when they give, they give generously to the Church.

(xv) We sent this petition before the commencement of the Annual Church Conference and before we begin with the establishment of our Church. We see no problem and we are not skeptical in establishing our own Church. We envisage that our Congregation would become one of the strongest branch of the Church within 2 to 3 years time. It is our fervent prayers that God grant us life to see our hopes being fulfilled. We placed all our faith in God because without Him all our efforts will be in vain. We pray that the devil will not be successful in denying us with our wish to establish our new church.

(xvi) The "ROSALINA L.L.FUIMAONO AND BROTHERS AND SISTERS" Corporation is a strong supporter of this new church. This Corporation is willing to assist the Church in anything their financial needs cannot provide.

We end our petition herewith with our sincere hope that you will accept it in good faith. To coin a Samoan famous expression - "Only the village of Afono that resented the trade winds".

We hope that when our first meeting is convened, we will appoint a few officers to conduct the functions of our newly established church pending the decision of the CCCS and its Leaders to this submission.

WE ARE GRATEFUL FOR THE GIFTS OF LIFE AND PRAY WE ALL REACH THE DAY TO CELEBRATE THE BIRTH OF CHRIST: WE WISH YOU ALL A HAPPY NEW YEAR AND WE PRAY THAT PEACE BE PREVAILED WITHIN OUR RESPECTIVE FAMILIES. LET US FORGET THE OLD YEAR AND ITS PROBLEMS AND WELCOME THE NEW YEAR WITH PROSPERITY.

WE SAY GOOD BYE TO THE CCCS ESPECIALLY OUR DEAR BELOVED COUNTRY.

We remained,

K.P.E.Fuimaono Taala & Congregation
c/-Posonby Post Office
Auckland, New Zealand.

Translated by Utumakaiona Nofoa Petana - Chief Transl
of Legislative Assembly of Western Samoa.

APPENDIX IV

Translation of Fuimaono's letter to the General Secretary of the E.F.K.S. acknowledging his receipt of the Secretary's response to the founder's first official letter to the E.F.K.S. [i.e. Letter in Appendix III].

(i) I write with reverence and all due respect to respond to your letter about the decision to refer our request to the Fone Tele [General Assembly] for its deicision. There is nothing more that the dry wood can do to the live wood. You have the sole authority and discretion in all things relevant, but these are some advice and addition to our letter of request, [as in Appendix III].

(ii) There can not be any peaceful living and mutual respect when there is a mixture of races and languages as in the Church of the Pacific Islanders (ie. P.I.C.C.). Things now look good and respectable because Samoans worship by themselves. There is a full understanding of everything that is happening in the whole service. You should look at the joy among the Samoans as they once again read the Ten Commandments in the afternoon service, and the Sermon on the Mountain in the evening service ! The Church is now growing with life and in strength. It is becoming strong and well-established. Within two or three years you will see the Church strong, and progressing in its ministry in New Zealand. And it will be far better than the (Samoan) Churches in the States of America and Honolulu.

(iii) We are doing our best to maintain good relationship with our brothers (P.I.C.C. Samoans).

(iv) The reason we feel the blessings and the goodness of our lives in the Spirit is when we live in the goodness of life in the world. Our real belief about the best way for the Samoans in living in New Zealand is for the Samoans to do their own thing apart from the Papalagi (the white people), Niueans, and the Rarotongans. That is conducive to the success of all things. If you converse with someone with a different language, in a joking manner, it is miles different and it is not good, as when you hear it in your own native language.

(v) In this huge congregation, the P.I.C.C., there is an innate divergence of beliefs and preference every day which will never guarantee peace. These three countries do not have customs of respect like our treasured and dignified customs we apply when we relate to them. Are these conducive to good and peaceful coexistence, when someone comes, and stands and eats or talks with food in one's mouth, while the Samoans are seated in respect and with reverence to the pastor and their chiefly leader ? And when you tell such person s/he goes out and swears in his/her language. It is not good when you understand what was said (swear word), for it results in discord and other uncouth behaviour.

(vi) The best prospect and the only future for the Samoans themselves is for them to have their own Church. This only will prevent the potential danger that is implicit in the innate divergence of beliefs and preferences [in the P.I.C.C.].

(vii) Samoans are now living in peace and in goodness because they now control their own government. It is also for the same reason, and with respect to controlling their own affairs, that the Ekalesia Fa'apotopotoga Kerisiano Samoa (E.F.K.S.) now exists in goodness and in peace.

(viii) There can never be any freedom and peace if the Samoans do not control and manage their own affairs. This is because Samoans have their own customs of respect to solve and to take care of whatever [probelms and difficulties] may arise.

(ix) Our letter shall end with a testimony from the heart that success for the future will depend entirely [as like the going together of the futia and the umere] on the mutual agreement between your will and our hearts in raising up our Church for the future. For I testify this is also the success and blessings for Samoa and its independent State.

(x) The goodness, the blessings, and the peaceful living of the Samoans living in New Zealand rest with this need only - this new lotu Fa'asamoa which is now established. For it will serve and will look after them with the true customs and the true respect of the Samoan Culture, the Respect for Elders and all the grown ups, and to throw away this thing called 21 years which implies an end to the authority of parents [over children].

(xi) In these countries there is a need to protect the sons and daughters of the Church (ie. E.F.K.S.) from other 'bad' customs and culture, and also our treasured customs which seem to be fading in these countries of the white people.

Here ends our letter. Good health be to the Chairman, and all the distinguished officials of the Church and the General Secretary.

Farewell.

K. P. E. Fuimaono Ta'ala,
and the Samoan Church in Auckland. 13. 3. 1963.

GPE May 1963 (2)

Susuga Etene Sa'aga,
Failautusi Aoao,
Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa,
Apia.

Susuga e, ua o'U tusi tali atu ma le ava ma le faaaloalo tele i lau susuga e tusa i lau tusi mai e uiga i le iuga o la matou talosaga o le a tuuina atu i luma o le Fono Tele e fai mai ai se iuga. Ia ua leai nei se mea e mafaia e le laau mago i le laau mata. O le a pule a outou ma le faitalia i soo se mea a'o nisi na o fautuaga ma faaopoopoga o la matou tusi talosaga na ava-tu.

Ua le malilie la matou Au Lotu i lau tusi ona o le tusi alofa le isi vaega, ao le iuga le isi vaega, a ua uma lava ona e silafiaina o le tusi e lau i luma o tagata, ae tusi mai ai lava ma nei alofa. Ia ui o lea ai foi se faiga fou lea mea, o le palu faatasi pe a augata i tusitusi.

E le mafai ona maua le nofo filemu ma le va fealoa'i i le fefiloi faatasi o lanu ma gagana pei o le Ekalesia lea a atu motu. Faato'a manaia lea ma lele le mea ina ua na'o Samoa lava la latou Lotu. Ua iloa uma lava mea la e fai i le Lotu. Faato'a toe oo lea o Samoa i le faitau o tulafono i le Lotu Aoauli, a'o afioga faa-amuia i le afiafi, a e silasila iai i le fiafia o tagata. Ua tupu olaola le Lotu, toe tupu malosi. O le Lotu mautu ma le malosi atoatoa lava i lona lua poo le tolu tausaga ona e iloa lea e malosi ma le alu alu manuia o le galuega i Niu Sila nei, o le a sili mamao atu foi i lotu o loo taua mai i le Setete o Amerika ma Honolulu.

O le nei a e seu le manu ma taga'i i le galu e leai se mea o soona legavale i le va ma nai la uso, o loo tumau pea le fealofani ma le fetausi a'i i aso uma lava e le aunoa.

E ale ona manuia ma nofo lelei o lo tatou olaga faa-le-agaga pe a fai e ~~kaka~~ nofo manuia lo tatou olaga i le tino. O lo matou lagona moni e tusa i lena mataupu poo le fea le mea e manuia ma nofo ~~fiiia~~ ai Samoa i Niu Sila, o le fai lava lea o mea a Samoa latou e aunoa ma le papalagi, Niue ma Rarotonga, ona alu alu manuia lea ma lelei mea uma. E o oulua tausua ma se tasi i se isi gagana, e moni lava e feoloolo, ae le taitai ona tutusa le manaia o lau faalogo i lena gagana ese ma lau faalogo i lau lava gagana moni na e fanau mai ai. O le Au Lotu tele lea a le P.I.C.C. e logo eseese a faameavilivili tagata i aso uma aso uma, e le mafai ona to'afilemu. Ona atunuu e tolu e leai ni a latou tu faaaloalo pei o agannu mamalu ma le taua a Samoa e faa-alia ia te'i latou. O le fea la e manuia ma nofo filemu, o le sau ai tu mai ma tautala ma le mama, ao lea e nofoi lava Samoa latou ma le mamalu, ma le faaaloalo i le faifeau ma o latou matai faa-Samoa, a fai atu iai ona alu le a i fafo ma palau vale mai i lana gagana, ailoga e manaia pe fai o le a ilo a ana upu, o le mea loa o le a tupu mai o le le fealofani loa, ae oso ane isi uiga le mafaufau ma le lelei. O le solo lelei moni ma le lumana'i moni o Samoa lava latou o le fai lava lea o la latou lava Lotu, ona manaia lava lea e aunoa ma se toe logoeseese faa mea vilivili.

Ua ala ona nofo lelei ma nofo manuia Samoa ona ua pulea lava e i latou lo latou lava Malo. Ua ala foi ona nofo-lelei o le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa ona ua pulea lava e i latou a latou mataupu. E le taitai ona maua se sa'olotoga ma le fealofani pe a fai e le faia lava e Samoa a latou lava mataupu, aua e iai lavale aganuu faaaloalo a Samoa lava latou e teu teu a'e a latou mea tutupu.

Ia o le a faaiuina la ma matou tusi ma le agaga ta'utino o le manuia mo aso o luma pe a fai e o gatasi le futia ma le umere i ou tou finagalo ma o matou nei loto i be tauaveina o la tatou Ekalesia i luga mo a taeao, aua o le ta'utino o le manuia lava lea mo Samoa ma lona Malo Tuto'atasi. O le lele ma le manuia ma le nofo fealofani o Samoa o loo opea i le tai i Niu Sila e tasi lava ona pau a lenei, tau lava o le Ekalesia Fou Faa-Samoa lenei ua amataina nei, aua o le a puipuia lelei ai latou i tu ma le faaaloalo moni faa-Samoa, "O le ava i e matutua", ae tia'i mamao ai lea mea o le 21 tausaga ona faapea lea ua uma le pule a matua. I nei atunuu ua ao lava ona puipuia fanau a le Ekalesia mai nisi o aganuu le fetaui ma a tatou agai fa nua matagofie o le a se atu i nei atunuu papalagi.

Ia o le a faaiuina la ma matou tusi. Ia soifua lelei le Susuga i le Ta'ita'i Fono ma le paia ma le mamalu tele i le nofo a tofi, faapea le Failautusi Aoao ma le Ekalesia atoa.

Soifua loa.

K.P.E.Fuimaono Ta'ala,
Ma le Ekalesia Samoa i Aukilani,
C/O. Ponsonby Post Office,
Auckland W. I.

I3rd. o Mati I963.

K.P.E. Fuimaono Ta'ala

APPENDIX V

C.C.C.S. Founder's third official letter to E.F.K.S. in response to E.F.K.S.'s request for more information in relation to founder's request.

Susuga i le Ta'ita'i Fono, Rev. Poasa,
Au Toeaina,
Komiti o Fe'au Eseese,
Komiti-Tupe,
ma le Failautusi o Tupe,
Failautusi o le Fono Tele,
Faife'au, A'oa'o ma Tiakono,
faapea le nofo a Matagaluega,
EKALESIA FAAPOTOPOTOGA KRERISIANO I SAMOA,
A P I A,
W E S T E R N S A M O A.

(3)

Susuga e,

Ua ia te a'u le ava tele ma le faaaloalo e tatau ai, ma ua tonu atoatoa i le matou Au Lotu, o'u te momoli atu le faafetai tele e uiga i tusi e 2 sa auina mai e le Failautusi Aoao, Etene Sa'aga, e uiga lava i la matou mataupu sa auina atu ina ia talia lelei la matou Lotu Samoa e avea ma Ekalesia e tasi ma Samoa, faapei o Honolulu ma Setete o Amerika o loo au ai mai foi latou ma le fiafia i le mafutaga o uso Samoa i le Fono Tele i Malua, ae maise le feiloai ma lana au faigaluega o loo tala faauto i le sau mai Manu'a e oo atu i Falealupo; aua ona pau ia o aso e mafai ona feiloai faatasi uma ai uso ia Keriso.

E lele a le taloa ae ma'au i le vaivai. O tagata Samoa uma i Niu Sila nei; vagana sina vaega to'aitiiti; latou te matua'i loto fesoasoani i nai o latou matua, aiga, ae maise foi i nisi o Faife'au i Samoa, e le gata o lo lato u alofa foa'i, a'o lo latou alofafia fesoasoani i soo se mea e tusi mai ai o latou aiga uma i Samoa, e oo lava i lo latou fiafia faaalia e aumai,nai o latou matua i Niu Sila nei mo se maimoaga. Afai la ua alolofa Samoa i Niu Sila i o latou aiga ma matua o mea faatauvaa, ae a faapefea nei la ona latou faagalo mea aiisili ona pele ia tei latou o le Lotu na Faakerisiano ina ai i latou i Samoa. A o outou silasila i atopa'u a e malaga mai i Samoa, tagata Lotu Ekalesia Kerisiano, sea sea se atopa'u e te le VAAI ai i se TUSI PAIA SAMOA MA SE TUSI PESE SAMOA, o nisi o ia mea taua o MEA)ALOFA A O LATOU FAI)-FE'AU ia te'i latou. Ua leva leva ona latou fia maua se auala e fesoasoani atu ai i le Ekalesia Samoa, ae le maua, auā o loo ufiufitia i le malosi o faamatalaga a tagata popoto latou te faalagolago iai o loo faapea e fai ma o latou faatuatuaga.

O se tasi vaega tele ua latou faia se FAALAPOTOPOTOGA E TA'UA O TAMA TUAI O A'OGA A LE EKALESIA KERISIANO I SAMOA, ina ia mauā ai se tupe e fia-fesoasoani atu ai i le Ekalesia Samoa. O se tasi vaega tele ua latou faia se FAAPOTOPOTOGA E TA'UA O "TAMA TUAI-O MALUAFOU", ona o le agaga a lea e tasi o fia fesoasoani atu mo le Ekalesia pele i o latou agaga. O le a ea le ala o le su'esu'e ala o nei fanau a le Ekalesia i Niu Sila nei? E tasi a le tali lelei ma le manino atoatoa, "IA TAU'AU FAATASI MA TAPUILIMA FAATASI MA NAI ONA MATUA MATUTUA I SAMOA LE FESOASOANI FAITINO MO LE EKALESIA KERISIANO-I SAMOA? I LONA ATILINA A'E: AUA LONA LUMANA'I" O le aano tonu lea o le FESOASOANI ATU.

Ai sea ea ua faatuina ai lenei LOTU FOU FAA-SAMOA? Ia silasila i lalo i mea ia e 5; TAULAGA O FE'AU ESEESE A LE EKALESIA,
TAULAGA 'AU TAUMAFAI,
TAULAGA 'AU LEOLEO,
TAULAGA O NUU ESE,
TAULAGA O LE L. M. S. UA IO ma tausaga talu ona faatuina le Ekalesia a Tagata o Atu Motu i Niu Sila nei. Ua avatu ea se pene o le afutoto o Samoa e lafolafo nei i Fale Sa i Niu Sila nei? E leai, leai lava. Tasi a le upu toe te faafofoga isi, "LEAGA LAVA LE ATUNUU-E LOTU TELE O SAMOA MA LE FAI TAULAGA." Talofa i le afu o nai outou alo,ma a tatou fanau e sasa'a solo nei a ae le pa'u-tonu ia o le fui niu i lona lapalapa, ae auina atu tonu loa i Samoa auā le lumana'i o la ta Ekalesia, ae maise lo ta atunuu. O le a mafai e la tatou Ekalesia ona faatuina Iunivesite i aso o lumana'i pe a malosi le tupe e totogi a'i Faia'oga lelei, ma o le a fausia Fale A'oga lelei pe a tumau le fesoasoani atu a alo o le Ekalesia o i fafo. O le ala tonu lea o le faatuina o le nei Lotu ona ua fuafua atu o loo i Niu-Sila le MANUIA O LE EKALESIA A SAMOA?, a'o loo gatia lava ona ua leai se ta'ita'i lelei pei o le faiga mala-ga a Isaraelu. E leai se lumana'i o le Ekalesia Samoa o i se isi mea, ona pau a lenei o lona lumana'i pe afai e mautu lelei le FAAVAEINA O LE EKALESIA SAMO A I NIU SILA NEI.

O TUSI PAIA MA PESE:- Papalagi; Niue; Rarotonga ma Samoa. O ai a se Samoa e malamalama i nei gagana uma e 4? O le a sau faafofoga'aga i le taimi o le tapuaiga i le Atua a'o loo faaaogaina uma nei gagana i le faiga o le Lotu? E tutuli a o tatou taliga. O upu sa o isi gagana e tatou te faia, o upu sa o la tatou gagana e fai mai e isi atunuu, e mei tagata Samoa i ta'u isi upu. E leai, leai lava se mamalu o iai i tapuaiga faapea, e tali e i isi tai mi ae tun le mea o le Lotu o loo fai, e le faitio se isi aua o upu ma le gagana o loo faaaogaina e leinix lelei mo le matagofie o le tapuaiga i le Atua. E faigata tele ona tau faamasani oe i leuiga o ia ituaiga o tapuaiga ma e

K. P. Efimaano Taala.

a e uma lava ete le iloa sona lagona mo le mamuia o lau tapuaiga. O fea la le sa'olotoga o le tapuaiga moni o loo tatou mana'omia moni? Vagana ona ua tatou faia Lotu i latatou gagana na tatou ola mai a'i. E te maua uma le agaga o le tapuaiga pe a e Lotu a oe i lau Gagana Samoa moni., Faitau o lau Tusi Paia ma e pese i lau Tusi Pese na e ola mai a'i i tausaga o lou olaga faale-Ekalesia na e fanau mai ai. Ete matua'i lagona atoatoa le fiafia ma le olioli pe a tuua le LOTU sa fai i lau lava gagana.

FANUA MA FALE POO FALE SA O LOO LOLOTU AI NEI TAGATA SAMOA I NIU SILA NEI. E iai ea se LUMANA'I o le Ekalesia Samoa o i nei mea (Properties)? O loo latou galulue ai ma tigaina ai. O le tali e FUAMOA. Ua faamaonia e matua'i leai, leai lava se lumana'i o le Ekalesia Samoa i i totonu o ia mea, auā e le ni fale ma ni fanua na'e latou. Silasila i le uiga o tagata Samoa o loo nonofo nei i Niu Sila, e mamsu tele latou i nonofo i fale mautotogi, fale e pule mai iai isi tagata. POO le a le mativa o le Samoa e tau faaputuputu a sina tupe laititi e amata ona faatau a'i, o sona fale tau lava o ia, ina ia 'ana ne'i toe oo mai iai le pule lea sa tigaina ai. I le uiga mamao atu i tua o lona AGAGA, e leai, leai a se lumana'i o ia pe afai e nofonofo pea i le fale mau totogi, vagana ua faatau lava sona fale ona faato'a mana lea e ia le fiafia'aga mori o lona loto, ae maise si to'alua ma le fanau. O le fea la o mea ia e 2 e matagofie? (1) Fale ma fanua tau lava o le Ekalesia Samoa. (2) Fale ma fanua e 4 Ekalesia e pule tutusa iai. (Pei e to'atele ea KUKA ua mamasua le Supo?) A ea? "Ua avatu i le tusi talosaga o le a'auina atu uma le tupe o le taulaga, vagana ai se tupe mo le Fale Sa, o le a tafi iinei, poo le 2 poo le 3 tausaga, ona vaaia lea o se faatamnnnnina o lea foi mea matagofie ia. (O le lafoga i le taeao o le Fale Sa Fou lena. O le taulaga i afiafi o le totogi lena mo le Fale Kalapu (HALL) o loo fai ai Lotu ma le taulaga i Samoa. Ua £65 ua maua ,ae faato'a 8vaiaso talu ona faatu o le Lotu, ae le'i fa ia ua amataina ona lafo o se tupe na patino o le Lafoga mo le Fale Sa. E le'i lilia atu iai i lena itu faigofie i nei atunnu, e tupe vaiaso uma lava, e aunoa ma sou fefe i lafo le £2 i le Aso Sa e tasi. O le tupe a lena ia mo le Fale Sa, le o iai le taulaga afiafi, le £65 a loo i luga, tupe mama lava.) O le agaga mai a lena ia patino lava se Fale Sa mo le Ekalesia Samoa latou, ina ia aoiasi taulaga mai faife'au ma latou pulea loa ma le sa'olotoga le galuega i Niu Sila nei, pei lava o loo malaga ane i se nuu i Samoa lava, e aunoa ma lona popole, ne'i le tali leleia o ia, ma le avatua le faaaloalo a le na Ekalesia mo ia. I tausaga ua mavae i Aukilani nei e to'atele Faife'au e le'i lauga iinei. E tuia lota loto, e mamae le tava'etoto i ona fuln, ae na'o le tagiuu; auā e i lava e pulea lea itu o le Pulelaa. Ana se Fale Sa na'e Samoa, o nofo oē ete nofo pea i Niu Sila, a'o oe o le a foi i le atunnu pele, o lou taimi tonu lea ete faatofa mai ai ma e to matau mai i alo o le Ekalesia. Manatua la e 4 atunnu e 4 foi pule faapitoa (Trustees). O fea la se tatou 'ai, poo le Lumana'i e leai. Afai la na'o Samoa lava latou e tasi a le Pule faapitoa (Trustees), e tunlima mai e ia, ae avatu i isi. oO nisi na itu ma fefe tele iai. E le o se mea faigata le faatau o fanua ma fale i Niu Sila nei. O nisi Samoa Lolotu o loo i Niu Sila nei e silia i le ta'i£10,000 afe pauni fale o loo latou nonofo ai. O le a la le faigata e fale ma fanua iinei.

E le'i oo Samoa i le fai fai Lotu faatasi ma papalagi i nei atumnu ese. Vagana ua MA Le Samoa, MA le Papalagi, Loia le Samoa, Loia le papalagi, Su'etupe le Samoa, Su'etupe le papalagi. Ia manatua lelei e le finau a le poto ma le valea E alu alu a le valea ona ita lea auā ua le ai ni ana tali. A'o le poto e alu lava alu lava e i'u a ina le gata. Ona malaia ai lea o le Fatuvalu auā foi e le'i 'ai, a'o le Ia lava e taaalo le Paia ia auā ua uma ona sauni, ai se Paia poto fua ina muamua a'o le'i faia le Ia tauiviga. Ia vaai i le Lotu lea a Atumotu, Teutupe le papalagi, Loia le papalagi, BA. le Faife'au papalagi, O le a faapefea ona fa fetaui o nei fai'ai tetele ma le anoano o le NO SCHOOL BEFORE, au le a'oa'oina. E le taitai ona fetaui le fagatuaga. Ina ua oti le isi Teutupe papalagi, su'e atu loa e Samoa le tupe o le Fale Sa fou, ua nonofo a le to'atolu lea ma aitalafu i tua le tupe ae le iloa e le Ekalesia. Faato'a ta'u mai ai sa aitalafu ina ia mae mai ai se pasene. Ai se a na le logoina ai pea le Ekalesia mo le faauneina i fafo o le tupe, a ua nonofo lava latou ma faaune le tupe? Ona o le popoto o ulu o Papalagi i lo tagata o atu motu. Sa manana'o le Ekalesia i Tokoroa iaKenape poo Taupu, Rarotonga sa a'oga ma Kenape, fai mai le tali e le mafafai e Ekalesia i Samoa ma Rarotonga, ae le'i faaalia ia Kenape poo Taupu. Ae alu loa i Peretania anmai le Faife'au papalagi, ona 'ave lea i Tokoroa i le Au Lotu e aunoa ma se papa lagi ae na'o Samoa ma Rarotonga. Ia o le na Au Lotu e logo eseese a faamea vilivili e oo mai a i le aso nei. Ia e leai se mea e mafai, e le finau le poto ma le valea. Ae peitai la,a taumafai a nai a tatou Lotu ime aganuu ma le va fealoa'i, ma le tu ma le faaaloaloe,leai a se mea e tupu mai ai; auā o le la e iloa uma lea Lava e tagata tala la e fai, ma e alofa moni atu iai isi ona lanu. I se tasi upu faaulaula a tagata, e inu e le poto le afu o le vale, tatou te iloa ai e le mafai ona sese lea upu faamuagagana e oo mai lava i nei ona po. O le mea moni lea na alai ona manana'o Samoa ia fai a lo latou Malo Tu To'atasi, ina ia sa'olotoga ma le toe inu ai e e popoto le tupe,o le Crown Estates ma le Taulaga etc. Ua tatou manana'o foi tatou e pulea lava e Samoa le latou Ekalesia, e tasi a le uiga o le sa'olotoga ina ia maua auā le nofo filemu o tagata o le atunnu ia maua ma le fealofani. O le tulaga tonu foi lena o loo iai la matou talosaga, ina ia tatou maua le fealofani ma le mafutaga matagofie, auā ua tatou va i le vasa tele. O le a galo outou ma a tatou aganuu matagofie pe a afai o le a motusia lo tatou va, ~~a~~ peita'i a tasi a la tatou Ekalesia ~~o le au~~

K.P.E. Faamaoni Faala.

le a tumau ma mausali le fealofaniga moni o Samoa Lotu Ekalesia Kerisiano. Tatou te fefefe fua faapea ne'i le fealofani Samoa i le nei Ekalesia fou ua matou faatuina, o'u temta'utino e a'u e leai, leai lava se mea e aunoa ma ni finauga ma ni feupuaina. E iai lava le fili i mealelei uma lava. Tatou mafaufau i le Fono Tele ia Iuni 1961 sa vevesi le Fono, na oo lava ina felafoa'i upu a U- fono. O fea ea na i'u iai? A fai o manatua e nisi, na o'u foi mai a a'u i N Sila ma lo'u fiafia ma lo'u olioli ona o le MATAGOFIE na i'u iai lena aso. Sa ota maofa, faapea pe faapefea ona toe teuteu le ipu vai ua masaa, o le malolosi o le gagana sa faaaogaina e tagata, na matua'i tineia ma olopalaina e le Atua ma lona Mana ia upu malolosi, ae tu tu matilatila ae ai le alofa i totonu o na faigata, ma faaiuina ai lena Fonotaga i le manuia tele.

IA MUA'I FESILIGIA REV. Challis PO UA NA SILAFIA LE MATAUPU LENEI " Ia mamao foi la tatou faautaga i lea itu. O ai ea ia nei? E faaaogaina ea e Salesi ni Iuga Fono o le Fono Tele i Malua? E faaaogaina ea e la tatou Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa ni Iuga Fono o Fonotaga a le Ekalesia a Salesi? Ua iai ea ni a tatou OSIGA FEAGAIGA UA FAIA ma Salesi? Ua iai so tatou luamna'i ua vaaia e se isi mai ia Salesi? Ia silasila ane le paia eseese i tusi na e 3;
(a) Tusi Faamavae i Faife'au ma Tiakono, (Deacons Board)
(e) Tusi Faamavae i le Faife'au Samoa, Tiakono ma Komiti, (Committees Board)
(i) Tusi Faamavae i le Faife'au, Ta'ita'i Pese ma le Au Faipese Samoa, (Choir Board)

Afai o iai se finagalo faapea ia tasi le Lotu i le lalolagi, o afea e tasi ai? Ua tofia faafa a'u o'u te Usufono i Fonotaga a le Congregational Church i Niu Sila. O le tausaga e 1951 sa o'u amata ai ona Usufono, a ua leva atu i tua atu o le na tausaga ona latea e nei Ekalesia Kerisiano i Niu Sila lena lava (NATU IA TASI LE EKALESIA I NIU SILA NEI. Fai mai se tasi alii poto lau iloa a faapefea ona tasi o se Ekalesia i Niu Sila, o isi e fai Pisiopo (Bishop), o nisi o Ta'ita'i Fono Sili (Moderator), o nisi o Ta'ita'iau Sili (General), vagana ai la nai isi Itunaiga o Ta'ita'i Fono (Chairman). " E moni lava e tasi lo lou faatuatuaga, O IESU LE ALA MA LE UPU MONI MA LE OLA, ae le taitai ona tutusa a tatou atiina a'e,(Organizations)ae sili pe a taatia ia lena Mataupu i lea tausaga o lumana'i. E oo mai a i le nei aso o lea lava e toe afe maua se tonu o lena faafitauli i Niu Sila nei. E MAFAI EA ONA TASI TATOU MA LE PICC? E mafai ona tuu faatasi a tatou Iuga Fono? E mafai ona tuu faatasi a tatou taulaga? E mafai ona tatou iloa faa-Niue, Rarotonga, Papalagi?

O le Ekalesia Samoa Tele o loo i le nuu o Christchurch, e mumusu a latou i faatasi ma le Ekalesia a Salesi, vagana lava ua alu atu Salesi, poo sana faife'au e fai se Faamanatuga ona faatoa sau lea ma le taulaga o lena Aso Sa. E la i a latou taulaga tupu ma teu e le avea ia Salesi. E avatu tusi pese o le Lotu a Salesi ae tetee mai. (O le TUSI PESE lea ua tuu iai Pese papalagi e100 ma ona tupu ae le atoa le to'a sefulu papalagi, Pese Samoa e 100, faapea Niue ma Rarotonga). O lona uiga e le fiafia latou e faafefiloi gagana, aua e le malamalama ai latou. E fai faa-Samoa lava a latou Lotu a le Fanau ma a latou Lotu uma lava.

Sa amataina le Lotu Samoa i Dunedin i le lua tausaga ua mavae, e tutusa ma lo matou mana'o peita'i sa fetatoa'i le atunuu ona o papalagi foi o loo iai ua fefefe o le a alu ese lea vaega o le taulaga, na alai ona toe moloi'a le taumafai o nai na uso Samoa loto atunuu, loto Ekalesia. O loo matua'i le au ai nei Samoa i le Lotu a Salesi, e mumusu.

I Wellington, ua tele tagata ua iai le manatu ua tatau ona liliu loa la- i la tatou Ekalesia pe afai o le a manuia le Talosaga a Aukilani.

O le Lotu Faa-Samoa la ua faatuina i Aukilani, o'u te matua'i ta'utino atu a e a'u, O LE LOTU MAMA LAVA E AUNOA MA NI ITU ELEELEA NA ALAI ONA FAATUINA ONA UA VAAIA I LE MATUA'I LEAI? LEAI LAVA O SE LUMANA'I O LE EKALESIA SAMOA O I SE ISI LAVA MEA, VAGANA UA PUNONOU LAVA SAMOA LATOU E ATIINA A'E LATOU I NIU SILA NEI. Ona latou maua lea o le fiafiaga moni ma le nofo fealofani moni, atoa ma le nofo filemu ma le mautu lelei, faapei ona faatau o lafou lava fale ma nonofo ai o o latou lava fale totino, ua faapena foi ona fiafia latou e faatuina lenei Lotu Samoa ia maua ai pea le nofo lelei o Samoa o loo alala i Niu Sila nei

Ua talia e le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa ona faaulufale mai o Ekalesia i Honolulu ma Setete o Amerika, faauuina o latou faife'au, faatuina le Lafo mo la latou Matagaluega, "Usu fono Amerika ma Niu Sila pe a totogi e i latou o latou lava pasese" Ae ai sea a teena ai lo matou mana'o (Talosaga) ina ia matou ofi atu foi matou?-O ai a matou o iai o ia te outou upu o le Ola? O ai le tama fanau a tia'i, ao-ai le tama fanau a afisi? E manaia pe a tatou fai fai mea faatasi. Ia o outou vaai mamao i le fegasoloa'i o nai faifeau Samoa i le nei atunuu ma lo latou tulaga, le aloai'a e tusa ma faiga a nei Ekalesia.

Pei lava ona faamatala atu i le tusi muamua e le'i iai lava se Faife'au Samoa ua vaai iai tagata Samoa ua na faia se Faamanatuga iinei. Ia tatou iloa mai ai iina le le tutusa foi o Ekalesia iinei latou ma tatou i Samoa. Ae mafai e e Faife'au i Samoa ona tuu ane lana Faamanatuga e fai e le Faife'au e alu atu i iu Sila nei. Poo le a la le eseesega o ia mea e lua? A'o lea foi tatou te fai mai e tasi a le tapuaiga. Pei lava ona o'u faamatala atu le upu i luga e tasi lava le faatuatuaga ae eseese lava le atiina ae, pei o le manatu faatu o se tasi ua o'u faamatala atuina i luga. Le Ekalesia Samoa, tafia faalogo atu ua e faapa pea mai, "Ulufale maia i le tausama'aga" Ua talia la outou talosaga me le faatasi mai i Samoa nei. Ui ona o lea o le a tuu atu lava se'i saa usi le tofa i le Ekalesia Samoa mo la matou nei mataupu, ae o le a matou nofonofo tapua'i atu ma le mannia, mo la outou iuga ina ia tatou maua le mea silisili mai le Ona Le

T. Fuatagaloa Tuala

Ekalesia tatou te tapua'i nei iai, ma tatou fiafia iai.

Ia o le TALI LENA O TUSI E TOLU O?LOO TA'UA I LE PEPA E 3, parakalafa e 2 mai le Ekalesia a Salesi. O loo ta aofa'i i le Tusi lenei e tasi e le Fono Sili a lena Ekalesia lo latou finagalo mālilie, e tusa i la'u talosaga mo le fia faamia o le tofi tiakono sa ia te a'u, atoa ma la latou faafetai e tusa aso sa matou galulue faatasi ai. O lea ō outou silafia ai fo'i i na tusi e le manino lelei ma le mama o lo matou va ma tagata uma o lena Ekalesi a Atumotu, e pei lava ona faailoa atu i le tusi muamua e leai, leai lava se mataupu eleelea ua alai lo matou vavae ese mai lena Ekalesia; ona ua matou iloa lelei lava e leai, leai lava so tatou LUMANA'I e maua mai ai. O le MEA TUPITO sa tuai ai ona amata o le nei Lotu Faa-Samoa, "O LE FALE SA O LE EKALESIA A ATU MOTU SE'I UMA LONA FAAULUFALEGA" auā i fai foi ma luma o se tasi le tula'i e le'i umusaina le Fale Sa, e tusa foi i le tu ma le aga-faa-Samoa.

Sina tala puupuu lava o le Lotu pei ona talosaga atu. Ua le ofi le fale sa fai ai, ma ua sii nei i le Fale Kalapu, FI. IO. O. le totogi/le Aso Sa e tasi, 9am. to 5pm., auā e fai ai foi le Lotu a le Kalapu latou i le 7pm. Ua matua'i malosi le ulufale o tagata, a'o le isi vaega, o loo fefefe ina ne'i i le talia mai e Samoa le Lotu ona masiasi ai lea o latou, a'o le mea moni ua leva ona fia lotu mai. II na amataina le Lotu, a'o lenei ua I38 le lotu.

Ua fai le Au Faipese ma le Okeni fou, Ua amata le A'Oga Aso Sa, Ua amata le Lotu Au Taumafai, o le mea sili o nei mea uma o le TOAAGA o tagata e omai i sauniga Lotu, ai ona o le manaia o pesega ma lauga faa-Samoa a le au failauga, aitau feauaua'i Tusi Paia, ae maise le faitauina o Tulafono i le taeao ma afioga faa- Amuia i le afiafi. Ua ese lava le lagona a nai tagata le iloa fenanui Ua fiafia lava latou i le nei Lotu fou, ma ua latou lafo lava le peleti ma le fiafia ona ua iloa o le tupe o le a auina i Samoa.

A'o le'i faaiuina la matou tusi,e uiga i le tusi mai ale Failatusi Aoao ina ia toe maua nisi FAUTUAGA, A'o loo iaia le mataupu sa talanoaina e la matou Ekalesia e uiga ini faitioga mo upu o loo tusia i le tusi talosaga muamua a matou, o lea matou te fia faamalamalama atu ai e faapea; o upu o tusitusiga ma gagana o Fontaga o loo alu i le gagana salalau, vagana ai lauga i maliu ma, lauga i Lotu o mea paia la na, ae ao foi ona lafo i fogavaatele; auā e poto a le tautai ae se lava lana atu i ama, ina ne'i vaai i ia upu faatauvaa ae le fanatonu le malama i le Uiga o le talosaga na avatu. O le lava fasi fuaiupu e tasi pe lua o le a avea ai lava le Tusi atoa ma tusi le faaaloalo, a'o le faatomuaga o loo iaia lava, "Tusi atu ma le ava tele ma le faaaloalo e tatafi ai". Ia o le toe mataupu lea e fia faaali atu e uiga i faitioga a na tootoo o le Fono sa le fiafia i nisi upu o loo i le tusi talosaga a matou muamua, ina ia tuu malie o latou finagalo, pe afai e leaga na upu.

Ia o le a faainina le tusi ma le alofa tele atu o le nei Ekalesia Fou i Niu Sila nei, mo la tatou Ekalesia pele i Samoa.

Afai foi la o iai se upu o aleu i lenei foi tusi ia malū pea le vai ma lafo i le paega lago, ae faaeetia i le maa salafa ona o le Atua ma Lana Ekalesia.

Soifua maloloina le alii Ta'ta'i Fono ma le Fono mamalu i ona nofoafono eseese, ae ola matou i Niu Sila.

Tofa Soifua loa.

K.P.E.Fuimaono Ta'ala,
ma le Au Lotu i Aukūlani nei,
C/O. PONSONBY POST OFFICE,
AUCKLAND W. I. ~~XXth~~ I3rd. o Mati I963.

K.P.E. Fuimaono Faala

Mr Chairman, Rev. Poasa
The Council of Elders,
Committee of Various Missions
Financial Committee

The Secretary of the General Assembly
Pastors, Theological Students, Deacons,
and the various
CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN SAMOA
APIA
WESTERN SAMOA

Gentlemen,

(i) With respect and great deference, our Congregation had decided that I should convey their thanks to the General Secretary Etene Sagaga, for the two (2) letters he had sent in reply to our request for the General Assembly to accept our Samoan Church in New Zealand as one of its branch such as the church in Honolulu which has also shown its interests to participate in the Annual Church Conference at Malua. As well it would serve to maintain contact with their fellow brethrew in Samoa and at the same time, meet with the Pastors who have been appointed to administer the Various Congregations Starting from the Manua Islands in American Samoa to the Village of Falealupo at the tailend of the Upolu Group; this annual conference is the only time we could all come together as one body under the fellowship of Christ. A famous
(ii) Samoan Saying "E lele a le toloa ae maau i le vaivai" (The wild duck when took flight, always look for a pond to roost) is very true in all its aspects to the Samoan who are living in New Zealand. The Samoans in New Zealand have always shown their willingness to support their parents and families as well as their Pastors in Samoa whenever they ask for assistance. Some even sent for their parents to visit them in New Zealand and to show their true love for them. If these people could do these things to their parents and families back home, then how could we deny them the church and the christian way of life they were brought up with, in Samoa. One only has to look inside the
(iii) suitcases of the new arrivals in New Zealand to find that there is always room for a SAMOAN BIBLE AND A SAMOAN HYMN BOOK. They always treasured there two articles as these are often given to them as parting gifts from their PASTORS. The Samoans in New Zealand have tried for many years to find a way to directly assist the Church in Samoa, however, they have not been given the opportunity besides, they have been strongly influenced by the words of other wise people whom the Samoans in New Zealand have depended upon as a mean of restoring their faith.

(iv) One group has formed an Organisation called OLD BOYS OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCH SCHOOLS IN WESTERN SAMOA. One of the objects of this organisation, is to raise funds to assist the C.C.C.S in Western Samoa. Another group had formed an Organisation called "MALUAFOU OLD BOYS" with the same aim to assist the Church College which is still very dear to them. These sons of Samoa hava one goal in mind, "To assist their poor relatives in Samoa and to assist their parents with their donations to Church affairs.

(v) Why was this new Samoan Church in New Zealand established? I draw your attention to 5 items lish hereunder:

DONATIONS TO THE GENERAL PROJECTS OF THE CHURCH

DONATIONS BY THE CHURCH Christian Endeavour
DONATIONS BY THE Prayer Fellowship
DONATIONS FOR OVERSEAS MISSIONS
DONATIONS FOR THE LONDON MISSIONARIES SOCIETY

It is now 16 years since the Church for all Pacific Islands was established in New Zealand. Did this church ever sent any penny out of the donations by the Samoan people in New Zealand to assist in the development of the Church in Samoa? None at all. There is no doubt in my mind that you have heard a common phrase often spoken by the New Zealanders that the Samoans in New Zealand were to send directly to Samoa, it would greatly assist in the future development of the Church and the Country as a (vi) whole. These donations would enable the church to establish its own Universities and to employ well qualified teachers for its many Colleges. It would also enable the Church to provide better school facilities for its future generations. This is the main object of establishing our church here in New Zealand because we feel the prosperity of the Mother Church in Samoa lies with its people in New Zealand. All we need is a good Leader to lead our people here in New Zealand.

(vii) BIBLE AND HYMNS - English, Niue, Rarotonga and Samoa. It is very difficult for a Samoan to understand all these four languages, yet, these are the languages which are used when conducting services by the Pacific Islands Church in New Zealand. It is very difficult for a Samoan to get the true feeling of worshipping especially when some of the obscene words in our language are used in hymns and Bible translations by other Pacific Islands, though with different meanings. So, unless the Samoans in New Zealand conduct its own services in their own mother tongue, the true feeling of worship is unfulfilled.

(viii) LAND AND BUILDINGS USED BY THE SAMOANS IN NEW ZEALAND TO HOLD CHURCH SERVICES. It is confirmed that the future of the Samoan Church in New Zealand cannot be consolidated if it has no freehold land to build its own church building. The present building now owned by 4 Trustees is on leasehold and it is very hard to obtain the agreement of the four trustees on any request by the Samoans. It is common knowledge that a Samoan, no matter how poor, would try his best to save to purchase his own house. A Samoan is not satisfied unless he owns his own house so to be free form paying rent to someone else. This is why the majority of the Samoans in New Zealand now owned their own houses and properties. Some are living in houses worth more than $10,000. This is the same attitude they had show in wanting to have a (ix) church and property to call their own. We had indicated in our request that we would send our donations to assist the Mother Church in Western Samoa, except a small portion of these donations which we will set aside for the purchase of a freehold property to construct our church building. It is planned that by

2 to 3 years this project will be materialised. Already, we had saved $65 from $2.00 we had collected from each members since our church was formed 8 weeks ago. Once this is completed, then the Samoan Pastors will be welcomed to preach in our Church whenever they have a chance to visit us. In the past, many requests by the Samoans for our Pastors to preach in the Pacific Islands Church in Auckland were turned down. This was very discouraging and is an insult as far as us Samoans in New Zealand are concerned.

The Samoans back home have not experienced having worship together with the Europeans in this foreign land. It must be borne in mind that a fool cannot argue with a wise man because a fool always ended up being resentful when he ran out of words. This is exactly what is happening with the Samoans in New Zealand. Most of the Samoans in New Zealand, to coin a phrase which is commonly expressed back home, HAVE NO SCHOOL BEFORE, have no proper education. They do not know that they have been deceived by the Europeans. I take as an example the Pacific Islands Church in Auckland. The Treasurer is an European, its solicitor is an European and the Auditor is also an European. When The Treasurer passed away, the Samoans then conducted an investigation in to the funds of the church. To their dismay, they had discovered that the funds were lend but by the three Europeans without the knowledge of the Congregation. The story they told us was, they had lent out the money to earn interests by why did they do this without the prior approval of the congregation? I am sure they did it because they thought they were smarter than the Islanders. Another case I wish wo cite, is the request by the Congregation at Tokoroa for Kenape or Taupu, a Rarotonga who had attended the Theological College together with Kenape to be its Church Minister. Instead of appointing one of these two, the Minister in Auckland had sent for an European from London to head this Mission and yet, the Congregation are mainly Samoans and Rarotonga and no European.

This is why we feel it is best to have our own Samoan churches to run and administer by own people using our own simple culture and customs. I am sure this is also the reason why our forefathers opted to have our country be an independent State so that our people will be face from these colonial rulers. Our ancestors wanted freedom for our people. The freedom to rule its own affairs and to administer its own church function. It is the only way to maintain peace and harmony within our own people. Although we are apart by many oceans, the only thing to keep this bond alive is to maintain the link with our people in New Zealand throught the Church because we believe, it does not matter where we are but keep in our hearts there is only one church.

Christianity is well established in Samoa and we should not be afraid to do what we feel is right. Some of ou may think that the establishment of our churches in New Zealand may cause a division amongst the churches in Samoa. I assure you this is not our intention. Satan is always tempting our faith, especially when we are trying to do what is best for the church. I draw your attention to the uproar which was caused by some delegates during the Church General Assembly at Malua in June 1961. Bitter words

were exchanged by some delegates and I had often wondered how we had ended up in peace and harmony once again. I only know that God's presence was felt that day and I knew in my heart that He had made appease amongst the delegates and had turned this particular conference into a very successful one. I left for New Zealand with a heart full of joy because I knew that whatever happened that day, God had shown us that love can overcome any difficulty we may encounter.

(xvii) REV. CHALLIS SHOULD FIRST BE QUESTIONED ON THE FOLLOWING ISSUES: I would also ask you to consider these issues well. Who is this person? Has he any right to use the resolutions of the Annual Church Assembly at Malua? Is our Congregational Christian Church in Samoa recognise the resolutions made by Mr Challis Church in New Zealand? Were there any agreements made between our Church in Samoa and that of Mr Challis? Were there any physical evidence of any future benefit we may receive from Mr Challis? I refer (xviii) your attention to the 3 letters appended herein;

(a) Letter of Resignation to the Deacons Board;
(b) Letter of Resignation to the Committees Board;
(c) Letter of Resignation to the Choirs Board;

(xix) If there is hope for all churches in the world to be united as one, when will that be? I was appointed four times to attend the Conference of the Congregational Church in New Zealand. I first attended this Conference in 1951 and the issue of teh World Churched to be of one unity was long discussed before then.

On wellknown Minister who attended the Conference said it is impossible to unite all the various religious denominations in New Zealand because some churches have Bishops. some have Moderators, others have Generals except other smaller sects where they have Chairmen. He went on to say it is true that we have one faith that - JESUS IS THE WAY, THE TRUTH AND THE LIFE, but our organisational structures are very different and somewhat complex. He therefore suggested that the issue be deferred until the following year. So up until now, there is still no decision (xx) reached on this issue. IT IS POSSIBLE FOR OUR CHURCH AND THE P.I.C.C. TO BE UNITED? Is it possible to implement both our resolutions and those of the P.I.C.C.? Is it possible for us to speak Niue, Rarotonga and English on top of our own language?

(xxi) The Samoan Church in Christchurch refused to join Mr Challis Church, unless of course Mr Challis or one of his Ministers pay a visit to this Congregation to conduct a monthly mass then the monetary collection for that Sunday will be givent to whoever perform the Mass for that Sunday. This Congregation saved its own fund - they do not give it to Mr Challis. They also refused to use Mr Challis' Hymn Book where it is printed with more than 100 English Hymns, 100 Samoan Hymns and the same with Niue and Rarotonga Hymns. They do not want to conduct their church services wit these mixture of language, rather they prefer to conduct their own services in the Samoan language.

(xxii) A Samoan church had started in Dunedin two years ago, having the

same object as our congregation but because there were europeans involved, the Samoan feared that their monetary donations may be misused and so they withdrawn. Before this had happened, they too refused to have anything to do with Me Challis Church.

xxiii The Samoans in Wellington, also indicated their willingness to change from P.I.C.C if the request by the Congregation in Auckland to the Mother Church in Samoa will be granted.

xxiv The branch of the C.C.C.S now being established in Auckland has no intention to contradict any policy of teh main C.C.C.S in Samoa. It was mainly established because WE, IN NEW ZEALAND BELIEVE THAT THIS IS THE ONLY SOURCE THE MOTHER CHURCH IN SAMOA WILL PROSPER by providing monetary donations to aid its many projects back home. It is also a mean of maintaining good relationship amongst the Samoans living in New Zealand as well as maintaining their faith in the church they were brought up with.

(xxv) We understand that the C.C.C.S. in Samoa had accepted the inclusion of the Samoan churches in Honolulu and the United States to the main Assembly; ordained their Pastors. A motion was also moved for these branches to become a sub-district of the Main Assembly. Delegates from the United States and New Zealand are permitted to attend the Church Annual Conference at Malua if they pay for their own, airfares. But why did the church refuse our request to be part of the church? Why are we not getting the same treatment as these other Samoan churches overseas? It would be nice for us to work co-operately with one another. We must consider the status of our Samoan Pastors who have been shammed by these other denominations such as that of the P.I.C.C. As explained in our first letter, we in New Zealand have never seen a Samoan Ordained Partor evern performed a Mass in New Zealand. But why are we allowing the New Zealand Ministers to perform Mass (xxvi) when visiting Samoa? We feel this is diserinatory. How we longed to hear you say "Welcome to the fold - your request is granted." Be it as it may, we shall leave our request for your reconsideration and we pray that it would be to our favour.

(xxvii) This is in reply to the third letter which was written on Document 3, paragraph 2 from Mr Chalths. This letter conveyed the general agreement of the PICC, to my letter of resignation from the position of Deacon and it also conveyed their appreciation to the services I had given to the PICC church. The three letters will give you a clear picture of my relationship with the PICC and the reasons why we want to divorce from that denomination. We maintained that there is no future for us in continuing with PICC because we knew it never contributed anything worthwhile to our church in Western Samoa. The main delay in the establishment of our church was because we feel we should wait until the new church building for PICC is officially dedicated in case they think we left because we want to avoid making contribution to the occassion which is not in accordance with Samoan customs and usages.

xxviii A brief summary of our congregation as requested. The Member has

been increased and we have to shift to a new Hall to accomodate this increase. The rent is $1-10 (pound) per Sunday from 9.00am - 5.00pm as there is another church service held in the same Hall at 7.00pm. We have a very strong following except sometimes, people are a little hesitant in case our request will turn down by the CCCS in Western Samoa. These people do not want to lose face and they do not want other people making fun of them. Secondly, we started off with a few families now the total number of members stand at 138. We have our own choir and we had purchased a new organ. We started a Sunday School and we also started a Lotu Taumafai but most importantly, is the devotion shown by the Members in attending every church services. Perhaps this is due to nice hymns provided by the choir and the sermons given in the Samoan language by the respective preachers.

Before we conclude, we refer to the letter by the General Secretary for more supportive evidence to our request .

On criticisms raised by some on the words we used in our first letter, we wish to clarify as follows - the words we recorded and the language used in our meetings are of general nature excepting of course, the language normally used in funeral and church services which are of traditional nature. However, we do apologise if the words we used have offended some people. We hope the use of these meaningless words will not misrepresent the main essence of our submission.

Our new church wishes to send its fordest regards to the CCCS in Samoa.
If we had erred in our submission, we do beg for your forgiveness.
We wish good health to the Chairman and members of the Church Council.

Tofa Soifua (we wish you well)

Yours sincerely

Signed: K.P.E Fuimaono Taala
and the Congregation in Auckland

c/o- Ponsonby Post Office
Auckland W.I

Translated by UtumaKaiona Nofoa Petana
Chief Translator of Legislative Assemby of
Western Samoa.

APPENDIX VI

P.I.C.C. to E.F.K.S. - March 1, 1963.

Pacific Islanders' Congregational Church

Ministers: Rev R. L. Challis B.A. 14 Novar Place, Pt Chevalier, Auckland, W3, Telephones 83-187 Home, 32-777 Office
Rev L. I. Sio, 9 Tay Street, Auckland, Telephones 85-571 Home, 32 777 Office
Rev Tariu Teaia, 6 Manly Terrace, Wellington, S1, Telephones 89-679 Home, 89-273 Office
Rev P. Nokise, 6 Antigo St, Melrose, Wellington, Telephones 89-942 Home, 89-273 Office
Treasurer: Mr A. O. Fisher, Church Office 2 Edinburgh Street, Auckland, C2

1st March, 1963.

Dear Etenē,

With regard to the matter of the attempt of Fuimaono to form a church. I would first of all thank you for your courtesy in asking for comments on this very unfortunate happening that has troubled you in Samoa and us in New Zealand. May I suggest that this is a matter that involves the Samoan Congregational Christian Church and the Congregational Union of New Zealand rather than you and the Pacific Islanders' Congregational Church. For the Pacific Islanders' Congregational Church was established by the Congregational Union of New Zealand to care for Island people coming to this country. Any question therefore, that concerns the Pacific Islanders' Church is a matter of concern also for the parent body, the Congregational Union. You will know of course that members of the Pacific Islanders' Church work equally with members of other Congregational Churches in this country in that some of our members are on the Executive Committee of the Congregational Union of New Zealand, another is Assistant Secretary of the London Missionary Society in New Zealand, yet another is District Secretary of the Auckland District, while the Rev. L.I. Siō is a member of the Council of the Congregational College of New Zealand.

The first comment I would make is that Congregational Churches through out the world have always respected the Church Orders of Congregational Churches in other countries. That is they show respect and acceptance of the ministry and members of those churches. Neither will they recognise any break away groups in other countries that would embarrass their brethren.

Logical??

Because of this respect for the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa no encouragement was given to a church in Samoa that approached the minister of the Pacific Islanders Church and wished for his church to be affiliated to the Congregational Union of New Zealand. It was pointed out to this minister from Samoa that he should seek peace first with the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa and the Congregational Church of New Zealand could not recognise his church. We have therefore kept faith with the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa.

Challis mistake - he thought Samoans were bounded to PICC - ignoring realities of Samoan from different villages ...

Moreover when applications are made for entry into the Congregational College for ministerial training by students from Samoa we will not receive such applications unless they are supported by the Church of Samoa. A man must have been in membership with the church in New Zealand for some years before we can consider such an application. A case in point is that of Mr. Iamafana Semisi, now in New Zealand who seeks entry into the College. The New Zealand College, through its secretary, has written to the Principal of Malua to ask his views. We are most careful in all matters that might infringe the good relations between the churches of Samoa and New Zealand.

The Pacific Islanders' Church was founded by the London Missionary Society family in New Zealand, which are the Congregational Churches, at considerable sacrifice. The work has been blessed by the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa and we have been thankful on many occasions for the co-operation of the Samoan Church.

Since its founding the Pacific Islanders' Church has grown considerably. The work is now caring for Island people in many parts of New Zealand. We have large groups in Wellington, Christchurch and Tokoroa and smaller groups in numbers of other places. There are five ordained ministers, two Samoan, two English and one Cook Island, and two pastors, one Cook Island and one Niuean, in the service of the church. This service is very extensive and varied in relations with Government Departments, caring for people in hospitals, helping young people with their studies in special classes, meeting ships and planes, and teaching the Word of God to His children from the Islands. The Church has built up a unique service for the Island people in New Zealand.

The time for deciding whether or not to have a separate Samoan Church was at the beginning in 1947 when the Congregational Union of New Zealand decided to set up this special church to care for the sons and daughters of L.M.S., families who were coming to New Zealand. We received the blessing of the Samoan (L.M.S.) Church as it was then, and the Rev. Tapeni Ioeli when a fraternal member of the Congregational Union of New Zealand at its Assembly in Palmerston North, thanked the Congregational Union for its great service to the children of Samoa. Students from Malua, in training at the Congregational College, have acted as student pastors of the church and given valuable service. This church grew out of the desire of one part of the great family of the L.M.S. to serve another.

The Congregational Christian Church of Samoa in its participation in the Pacific Islanders' Church through Samoan members coming to this country, is sharing in a great experiment in unity among Pacific Island people. As Samoan, Cook Island and Niuean missionaries have worked and are working together in Papua, so they are working together as one family in this church. The other Pacific peoples respect Samoa for her lead in many

... ...

things, the latest the support given by the Church of Samoa to the united college in Suva. This break away group of Fuimaono can only damage the good name and Christian prestige of the Church of Samoa if any support is given to it and it is allowed to use the name of the Samoan Church.

Out of the Pacific Islanders Church has come one man and his family. With no justification, to start a separate group. It is surely significant that although many attempts have been made no other Deacon or Office Holder of the Pacific Islanders' Church has followed Mr. Fuimaono. Indeed there is considerable feeling against this attempt to break up the unity of the Samoan people after the magnificent united effort in building the new church. This effort in unity aroused the admiration of the city of Auckland and indeed Christian people throughout New Zealand and other lands. Letters still come to us speaking of the wonder of this united effort by the Pacific peoples. The International Congregational Council is to feature this united effort in a publication this year.

It would be sad to see the name of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa used in such a way. We believe that the Fathers and Brethren in Samoa will be careful of their good name and standing with their brethren in all parts of the world and will not give encouragement to this man in his efforts to take over the name of the Church in Samoa.

Finally we stand in faith upon the dignity and mature Christian states manship of our brethren in Samoa, believing that you will not allow yourselves to be used in this way, nor encourage this attempt to form a break away church. An attempt which can only lower the prestige and high standing of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa as it has taken its place among the Congregational Churches of the world.

Greetings to the brethren from the Fellowship of Christ's Church in Auckland.

R.L. Challis

R.L. Challis

APPENDIX VII

Rev. Sio to E.F.K.S. - December 5, 1963. [Original in Samoan].

PACIFIC ISLANDERS' CONGREGATIONAL
CHURCH.

5th December, 1963.

usuga e,

I le ava tele ma le faamaulalo lava, ua ou tusia ai lenei tusi i o'u Tamā ma so i le Fe'au ma le Galuega a le Atua o i Samoa. Ona o le puapuaga o i ai la matou aluega ma uso Samoa i Niu Sila nei e pei ona fofoga i ai le Ekalesia i le Fono Tele 1963, a faai'ugafonoina ai ina ia susū mai le Savali, o le Toeaina o Poasa ma le Failautusi ono o Etenā Sā'ega, e asia ma vaai i le faalavelave i lo matou au uso Samoa i Aukilani ai.

Na vavae'ese Fuimaono (o se tasi o Tiakono, ma o se tasi foi o ta'ita'i i la matou galuega) e aunoa lava ma se faalavelave na mafua ai. Na tupu lenei puapuaga a o'u i Samoa i le malologa, sa ou taunuu mai ma sa ou savali loa ia Fuimaono ma taumafai na ia malie lona finagalo ma toe foi mai; peitaī o lana faaaliga ia te a'u. Ia ou alie, ua faigata ua uma ona o'o lana tusi i le Ekalesia i Samoa ina ia susu mai le ta'ita'ifono ma le Failautusi e faatu le Ekalesia Samoa i Niu Sila nei; a o le mea lava finagalo i ai le Ekalesia i Samoa o le mea lava lona o le a fai.

Ona faapena lava lea ona ma fai'uina ma le afioga Fuimaono. Na oo ina matou maua matou i'ugafono o le a susū mai le Savali ona matou fiafia lava lea ma faatalitali i ai ma le manatu: o le evanoa lea o le a mafai ai ona toe faasa'oina le sesē ua uma ona pu.

Sa matou usoa atu ma toe tusi atu fo'i i le Failautusi ina ia fateunu'u mai le vali i la matou itu e to'atele na'ua uso Samoa o i ai; a o le tali mai le Failautusi, le a faato'a maua se tonu e le mea e nonofo ai pē a taunu'u mai i Niu Sila nei. Na ma e talanoa ma Fuimaono a o le'i taunu'u mai le Savali ma ua na ta'uina ma ai: ua maua na tusi mai le Toeaina o Poasa, o le a latou nonofo pe a taunu'u mai.

Sa ma i ai ma la matou Failautusi ma nisi o la matou Au Lotu i le Faataliga o le vali i le Maleo Vaalele, ma sa toe logo i ai si o matou mana'o vaivai, ina ia susu mai la matou faatali faaaloalo i le Aso Lulu ma matou nonofo ai loa; peitaī sa le'i talia a manatu. Sa na ona susū mai i lea lava po faamoemoeina ma toe susu atu ia Fuimaono.

Na o lo la finagalo na faali mai ai i lea feiloaiga ina ia matou fono ma la matou Lotu; sa ma tali i ai ma le Toeaina o Salesi ua lelei, ae le mafai i le po lea ona le o aofaga potopoto le toatele o la matou Au Lotu; a o le a faateunu'u lo la finagalo le po ole Aso Sa e mafai ona potopoto ai la matou au Lotu.

Na mae'a la matou Sauniga faa Samoa na ta'ita'i e le Toeaina o Poasa, ona sosoo i lea ma le Fono ma la matou Au Lotu; ma o lena lava fonotaga na folafolaina ai e isa: Ua la faamaonia le Lotu ua faatuina e Fuimaono. O le a faapūlaina lea lotu aua le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano lava lea i Samoa. Na matua ootia finagalo o le uso Samoa pe tusa ma le to'a 600 na i ai i lea fonotaga i le faaaoanoa, ona ua vaai i lo lā'ua a le Savali, ua la faamaonia le vaaluaina o la matou mafutaga iinei; ma fesili mai ua puna a'o pea i o matou loto ma ua matou fia fesili atu ai i la matou lalesia e pele i manatu.

(1) Po moni (e pei ona folafolaina e le Savali) o le i'uga ua la faia, o le i'uga lava lea o le a uuita'i i ai le Ekalesia i Samoa aua, o i la'ua, ole Ekalesia Samoa lava lea. Afai foi matou to tusi atu, o i la'ua lava lo ala o tasi e ofi ai soo se tusi i totonu o fonotaga a le Ekalesia i Samoa, e uiga i lenei lava mateupu na susū mai ai le Savali ?

(2) Po moni (e pei o le tautinoga a le Toeaina o Poasa), o upu o i le i'ugafono 63 F.T. 9 a le Fono tele 1963, ia sau se Savali " e asia ma vaai " le faalavelave ua tupu i Niu Sila, ua le o maua uma ai i ia upu le Finagalo o le Ekalesia, mo mea e nā ina faia e la le Savali ?

(3) re moni na fautuaina e le Fono a le Au Toeaina le Savali, ina ia faataunu'u lava le faamaonia o le lotu a Fuimaono ? (O saunoaga lava ia a le Savali).

(4) Pe moni (e pei ona folafolaina e Poasa) e taunu'u atu loa i Samoa, ona auina mai lea se a'oa'o mai Malua na te tausia le Ekalesia Samoa lea ua faatuina ia Fuimaono ma nisi ?

O nisi ia o le tele o le mau fesili o loo tuliloaina ai pea a'u e le au uso Samoa iinei, ma ou te lagonaina lava: e le mafaia e ni a'u tali ona faamalieina ia finagalo ma ia fesili; vagana lava o ni tali manino mai i o matou matua o i Samoa; o le Ekalesia lava lea.

Ona o ia tulaga uma ua oo i ai la matou mafutaga, atoa foi ma le taunu'u mai o le Savali, ma i'uga ua la faia: ua aliali mai ai nei ni uiga e le Kerisiano ma lē fealofani i uso Samoa. Ua faasaga nei le vaega to'aitiiti a Fuimaono - e fai le galuega e gata i Mamona etc. o le tala'i atu i aiga taitasi o uso Samoa: Ia lafoa'i la matou galuega ae liliu atu, aua o le Lotu moni lava lea aua ua uma ona faapaiaina e le Savali.

Ua lagona tele ai e i matou le mafatia ae sili atu ai ona masiasi, ona o le galuega ma le molimau Kerisiano ua matou aufaatasi ai ma nisi uso Kerisiano mai nisi atu nu'u, a ua amata nei i le itu Samoa ona fa'amalepelepe.

Ua tupu ai nei le loto tiga o le to'atele o uso Samoa, ma ua tuua'iina ai fua le Ekalesia pele i Samoa, ua fai foi lea ma ala o le faamalepeina o nai a matou fuafuga ua savalia nei le lua tausaga talu ona amata, mo sa matou fesoasoani atu mo le Ekalesia i Samoa.

Ua le mautonu ai nei le au uso Samoa mo le latou taumafai mo Iesu ma Lana galuega, ua faaletonu nei po o fea e tatau ona i ai lo latou faamaoni mo le Atua ma lona finagalo: Po o le Ekalesia i Samoa, po ole molimau Kerisiano e ao ina tatou faia mo lenei itu o le lalolagi. Ua atili faigata ai nei mo le aufaigaluega ona faaofi atu le manatu Kerisiano - na o Iesu Keriso lava e mafai ai ona tasi - ma avea ai ma aiga e tasi ni tagata mai lanu ma gagana eseese.

O le tulaga lena ua i ai nei outou uso Samoa Kerisiano, Niue, Atu Kuki ma Papalagi Kerisiano i le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga i Niu Sila nei. Ua mafai nei ona galulue faatasi ma avea ma aiga e tasi ona o Iesu lava ma lana Tala lelei.

Ua susū mai nei le Savali ma ua faamatala mai mea nei ua mafua ai ona liliu ese Fuimaono, ma ona o nei foi pogai ua mafua ai ona amana'ia mai e le Ekalesia i Samoa le faatagi atu a lenei uso.

(1) Ua le maua i la matou Ekalesia se tapuaiga i la tatou lava Gagana, e ona masani ai ile Atunu'u. (Ua le faamaoni lea faitioga. O le faiga sa sau a'i la matou galuega ina ua taato'a amata, sa faa Samoa lava le Lotu i le Taeao, vagana ona ua ta'ita'i e se uso e le mafai ona lauga i le gagana Samoa. A o la matou Lotu Afiafi, e faa Samoa uma lava. A ona o le toatele o alo o Samoa ua matutua i Niu Sila nei ua faa le lelei la latou gagana Samoa, atoa foi ma Samoa fia maua atili pea ei matou o se avanoa ina ia aga'i ai pea i luma i le gagana o loo soifua a'i lenei atunu'u, i le ma le faaopoopoina mai o uso Niue, Atu Kuki ma Papalagi i le Sauniga lea ile Taeao, ua mafua ai nei ona sui ile Gagana Peretania vagana ai pese o loo faa Samoa pea).

(2) Fai mai le Toeaina o Poasa: Ua faanoanoa tele le Ekalesia i Samoa, ona o lo matou le amana'iaina o le aufaigaluega (Faifeau) Samoa iinei. A o le mea moni ou te fia ta'u atu: Ou te le'i iloaina lava se Faifeau Samoa na matou mafuta iinei e le'i lauga i la matou Au Lotu. E oo fo'i i la matou Sauniga o le Taeao; ua uma ona ta'ita'i ai nisi o Faifeau Samoa o e mafai ona lauga i le Gagana Peretania. Na o le Faamanatuga lava ou te manatuaina ou te le'i valaauina ai se Faifeau Samoa - po o soo se tasi lava o ta'ita'i a le Ekalesia mai [illegible]

O le pogai lenei e mafua ai: Ona e fa gagana o loo faaaoga i la matou sauniga o le Faamanatuga. A na i ai lava se isi o le Aufaigaluega asiasi mai o masani lelei ma ia gagana po ua leva foi ona valaauina faaaloalo na te ta'ita'iina la matou Sauniga Faamanatuga.

(3) Ua faamatala e Poasa: Ua tusi atu Fuimaono i le Ekalesia i Samoa, ua na ona pologa ma afu le au uso Samoa i lafo tupe ae le iloa po o fea o alu i ai lea malosi; ua le alu tonu atu i le Ekalesia i Samoa, a ua 'ai e Salesi ma a'u.

Ua uma ona ou tautala i le Fono a le Komiti o Feau Eseese ia Ianuari talu ai; atoa fo'i ma nisi o le aufaigaluega i Samoa, e uiga lava i le vaivai o la matou galuega i le itu tau le tupe. E le o mafai i se malosi ua i ai matou i le itu tau le tupe - ona fai ni fale e nonofo ai Faifeau; o lea ua taumafai ai lava le faifeau ia e tau faasoasoa lana tupe mai le Ekalesia mo le taugaga atoa; e totogi ai sona fale po o se mea e nofo a atoa ma mea uma lava tau le tausiga o lona ola ma le aiga. Ua o le totogi lava o le Faifeau ona pau lea o le tupe e mafai ona tapa i ai; a o tupe uma lava o loo lafoina ma foa'i atu e le Ekalesia; o lo'o i ai lea i lalo ifo o le tausiga a ali'i Tiakono.

O loo mafai nei ona gaoioi la matou galuega i Aukilani nei, ona o le vaega tupe mai le malō, talu ai galuega a le Malō o lo'o faia e Faifeau mo latou tagata mai Niue ma le Atu Kuki; (ua manuia ai fua ma uso Samoa i ia galuega uma talu ai ona olo'o aufa'atasi i totonu o le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga a Atumotu o le Pasefika).

(4). Fai mai Poasa: Ua fa'anoanoa outou matua i le Ekalesia Samoa, ona ua mai sui usufono mai Amerika, ma Honolulu i le Fono Tele ae leai matou i Niu Sila nei. (O le lagona e ola pea ia i matou i Niu Sila nei; matou te fia fesoasoani tele mo le Ekalesia i Samoa mo ni mea e mafai ona oo i ai lo matou malosi, o le mea muamua lava lea; a tonu foi pe i ai ni aso e tatau ai ona mana'omia mai so matou manatu e le Ekalesia, ona fai fo'i lea o lena tulaga. O le mea moni lava matou te mautinoa, e le taitai ni mafaufauga papa'u, o ia i matou ona faatusatusaina i le oa loloto o loo faatumulia ai Tamā ma le Aufaigaluega i Samoa. Matou te faafetai fo'i i uso o i nisi atunu'u pe afai ua mafai ona fesoasoani atu i ni manatu ma nimafaufauga e pei ona auina mai ai ni o latou sui i le Fono Tele a le Ekalesia. A o le tulaga o iai la matou galuega i Lenei atunu'u, o loo auina pea i tausaga ta'itasi o matou usu fono ile Fono Tele a le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga i Niu Sila nei).

O uiga uma na ua mafua ai nei ona faigata ia i matou ona malamalama, po ua mafai faapefea e le Savali ona talia ma faamaonia le vavae'ese a Fuimaono ma nisi. A ua faapefea foi i la matou Ekalesia pele ona lafoaiina le fia afe o alo o le Ekalesia Samoa i Niu Sila nei, ae faaopoopo atu ma faapaiaina le Lotu ua Faatuina i se ala e le tusa ma le faavae Kerisiano.

Ua faigata tele ona tuufaafeagai le tulaga ua oo iai la matou galuega ma le tatalo a Iesu lava ia, ina ia tasi Lona Aiga (Ioane 17). O loo tatou a'oa'oina atu foi i tagata: " Oe ua ia Keriso, e le toe faailogaina ai - po o ai le Eleni a o ai le Iutaia Po o ai ua talitonu ia Iesu o lona Ali'i ma lona Ōaaola; pe se Samoa, se Niue, se Atu Kuki se Papalagi etc... Ua tasi lo tatou ta'u: O i tatou uma o le Au Kerisiano; o Auauna a le Atua; o le Aiga Paia o le Atua.

O la'u tagi talatala atu lea i le pa'ia o Tamā ma uso i le Galuega, ina ne'i outou faitauina lo outou atali'i ma outou alo ua i ai i lenei Atunu'u - Po o matou ua le toe manatu atu i le Ekalesia i Samoa ? O loo silasila lo tatou Atua i mea uma. E leai se agaga faapea o i ai i uso Samoa iinei. E ui lava u le tulaga ua oo i ai le finagalo o le Savali manalu a le Ekalesia; ae matou te taumafai pea mo a matou fesoasoani ua uma ona mafaufauina mo le Ekalesia e pele pea ia i matou i Samoa.

Ua out tusi atu ai i nei mea uma, ina ia maua sina malamalamaga mo le aufaigaluega i le tulaga o i ai alo o Samoa i lenei atunu'u.

Ia manuia tele le Kerisimasi ma le Tausaga Fou.

Soifua,

APPENDIX VIII

'Tala i le Savali a le Ekalesia i Niu Sila.'[Report by the Delegation of the Church to New Zealand].

TALA I LE SAVALI A LE EKALESIA I NIU - SILA.

O lenei savali na mafua ona o tusi mai Niusila, ia Fuimaono ma ē ua pipi'i i ai. Ia fa'amaonia le lotu Samoa ua fa'atuina mo tagata Samoa o i ai i Niusila.

Ona finagalo ai lea o le Fono Tele i le Tausaga 1963, ia tofia se savali e va'aia lenei mana'o. Ona tofia ai lea o F. Poasa F.T., Vaigaga Apia, male Failautusi a le Ekalesia o Etene Sa'aga, Malua e avea ma Savali i Niusila.

A'o le'i alu le malaga, sa maua ni fautuaga mai le Ekalesia:

(a) Fai mai le Fono Tele, o mai ina ō, afai lua te va'ai e tatau, ia faia. Ae afai lua te va'ai e le tatau ' aua le faia.

(c) O le saunoaga fo'i lea mai le 'au Toeaina.

O le aso 18 Oketopa, 1963 na tu'ua ai Faleolo i le Va'alele ma taunuu i T[illegible]na Tutuila, sa ma api i le fale o Fiti F.S., Fagatogo. I le tacao o le aso 19 Oketopa, 1963 ua ma malaga i le vaalele o le P.A.A. taunu'u i lea lava aso i Fiti a'o le aso 20 lea i Fiti, o le aso Sā lea, malōlō ai iinā ma moe ai, malama le aso 21 o Oketopa 1963 (Aso Gafua), malaga i le 9.00. a.m. taunu'u i Niusila toeitiiti ta le 2.00 p.m. Ua taunu'u manuia nei le malaga, ma te momoli atu le fa'afetai i le mamalu o le Ekalesia, faafetai tatalo mo la outou Savali, o lenei ua taunu'u i Fanuapai i le malae Vaalele i Niusila, ia vi'ia le Atua o faavavau.

Sa faatali ma'ua e itū a Fuimaono ma le itū a Leua. Iinā sa o'o mai ai fa'atonuga mai ia Leua, ia ma api ia Fuimaono ae le [illegible] i le aso Lulu, ona ma o atu lea matou feiloa'i i lo latou itu, ona faapea lea ona fai, ua ma o e api i le itu a Fuimaono, I lea lava aso (Aso Gafua), sa matou fei-l[illegible]i ai ma lea vaega o Samoa. Sa uma le feofoofoa'iga i le aganu'u faa Samoa, ma fa'ai'u ai e Peteru F.T. i le tatalo, ua uma fa'aaloaloga i le taliga o le malaga, ua fai sina malologa. Sa ta'u atu ia i latou le mana o le Savali, ma te fia maua uma Samoa ua ō ese mai le P.I.C.C. fai mai le tali, ia ma onosa'i. Se'i manava galuega nanei ona fai lea o sa matou feiloa'iga. Ina ua te'a le 6 p.m. ona fai lea o la matou feiloa'iga, ua matuā to'atele na'uā lea vaega o Samoa, toetoe ina maua le 200 tagata. Sa ou ta'ita'i le Sauniga. Sa matou punonou i le Atua i Talosaga ma aloi i le Agaga Pa'ia ia afio ifo, o Ia lava e tonu ai. Sa ou fesiligia lea le pogai ua alai ona ō ese i le faapotopotoga o le lotu a Atu-Motu ua ala ai ona tusi mai le Ekalesia i Samoa. O le tali mai e leai se mea ua ala ai. Matou te le'i sosola fa'a i'a o le po, sa matou faamavae lelei i ai, o a matou mea uma tau la matou tapua'iga, o le Falesa, o tupo na maua i le Faaulufalega, ma le tele o mea na maua i le Faaulufalega, ia tu'u uma ma outou o matou uso. A'o le a matou o e fai le mea ua matou lagona. E pei ona i ai le Atunu'u ma mātua i Samoa, sa apoapoa'ina i latou e le Savali i lea pō i upu faa tamā ma ua fai atu i ai. Se'i toe mafaufau i le mea [illegible] latou lagona, po ua lelei, sa leai se i'uga e faia i lea po, sa fa'ai'u i le tatalo e le susuga a le Failautusi o Etene Sa'aga. Ua o'o i le aso Lua (Aso 22 Oketopa, 1963), na matou toe potopoto ma lea vaega i le itula la va lea e pei ona ta'ua i luga, o le fale lava e fai ai lotu sa matou aofia ai. Sa 'ou ta'ita'i fo'i la matou aofia, sa faasili i Talosaga ma le(PTO).

Contd...
aioiga i le Agaga Pa'ia o ia lava le Matai e tonu ai. Sa ou fesili loa foi Atonu ua i ai lava se pogai ua ala ai lenei mea, aua le nanā ne fa'ailoa mai. O le tali, E leai, e leai lava. Sa ou toe fesili. O faapefea o lo outou vā ma la tama ma teine Samoa talu lo outou ō ese mai ? Tali: Olo'o fealofani lelei e leai se mea o leaga ai. E faapefea Misi Salesi ma Leua? O le tali: o Leua e tupu lenei mea oi Samoa. Ua foi mai o loo matou feiloa'i pea, a'o Misi Salesi, ua amata ona fa'alē fiafia ia i matou, e iloa lea mea ona ua matou tagi pea i ai mo le tausiga o i matou i Aso Sa, auā o loo i ai Siaosi, Tavita ma Fareti. E oo ina ua lua oo mai e le mafai Misi Salesi ona sau se tasi e lauga mai. A'o ai la o tausia outou inā aso ? O le tali: o lo'o tausia matou e faife'au Metotisi. A'o nei aso, ua o'o mai le Toeaina o Peteru, o Ekepati, Fogavai ma Ropeti e pei ona l[illegible] taga'i i ai. A'o le a matou fa'aali atu lo matou la ona, o le pogai lenei. O le fia faia i le gagana Samoa o mea uma ō lā matou tapua'iga. E moni e i ai le itu faapitoa mo Samoa lava i le P.I.C.C., ae le lava lenā itulā mo le maopoopoga tau le Ekalesia faa Samoa. Auā na'o le faiga o lotu, a'o nisi taupulega faapitoa e le mafai, vasanā ua i ai Rarotonga ma Niuē, ae maise lava o mea tau tupe, o lo matou manatu atu foi la i le Ekalesia i Samoa i lenā mea, e leai so matou avanoa e mafai ai o lea na a'e ai lo matou manatu i lo matou loto mamā, e sili pe a fa'atū se Lotu o le Fa'apotopotoga Kerisiano a Samoa i Niusila nei, e taunu'u i ai o ā tatou lava faife'au e pei ai lava o Ekalesia i Samoa i ana lava faiga, i le ma lea, o le a maua ai ma se avanoa sa'oloto e avatu ai sa matou fesoasoani tau tupe i la matou lava Ekalesia, o le ala lava lenā o lenei faamoemoe. O a'u fo'i o Fuimaono, ou te le matau mea, ua tatau ona ' aua ou [illegible] alu ese ma lo'u aiga i le P.I.C.C. auā e tele lo'u aoga mo le Falesa ma mea atina'e mo le lotu, a ua le sili lenā i lō mea ia ua ta'ua i luga mo la'u Ekalesia Fa'apotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa. Ou te fai atu ai i luma o le Savali mamalu le ala na mafua ai lenei manatu, o le ala fo'i lea o la matou talosaga atu i Samoa, ina ia fa'aavanoaina i matou, ma ia faamaonia le mea ua matou faia. O le upu fo'i i le toe fo'i i 'o, faamole - mole, o la matou ta'utinoga i ō oulua luma matou te le toe fo'i i ai. Afai lava o le ā se fuafuaga a le Savali mamalu, o le a le faamaonia la matou talosaga, o le a i ai se isi faatatau ia i matou, auā oloo tausia i matou e le Metotisi. Sa faamafanafana i ai le Savali i lea pō, ona fa'ai'u ai lea i le tatalo. Ua o'o i le Aso Lulu ona ma ō loa lea i le i tū a Salesi ma Leua. Sa talia i ma'ua i le fa'aaloalo i se taumafataga lelei ma feofoofoa'iga faa Samoa, sa uma lea, ona matou talanoa lea. Ua oo mai le faatonuga a Misi Salesi, a oo i le Aso Sa, ia ou lauga i le Taeao, ma toe lauga i le afiafi i le Falesa o le P.I.C.C., ae sa na'o le afiafi na ou talia, ae ou te le'i talia le aoauli. Sa matou talanoa pea e uiga i le Savali, sa fai atu la'u faatonuga ia Misi Salesi ma Leua, a o'o taeao i le Aso Tofi, o le a faatasia i ō ma luma itu e lua, o outou ma itu a Fuimaono.Ole tali mai ia Misi Salesi, e lē mafai lena mea. Sa ou toe taumafai atu, a ua le mafai lava, ona faai'u ai lea o lo matou po i le tatalo e Leua. Sa ma tu'umuli i lo ma api, ma malolo ai. Ua o'o i le Aso Tofi na matou feiloa'i lea ma Misi Nikolao. o le pule o le Kolisi faa

CONTD...

Faifeau i Niusila, manaia mea uma i la matou feiloa'iga ma lea 'ali'i, ua uma lea, ua ma toe fo'i i lo ma api. Ua o'o i le Aso Sa (Aso 27 Oketopa 1963) Sa ou lauga i le taeao i le Lotu a Fuimaono, ae ou afiafi i le PICC o la'u matua (Mataio 5, fp 17) " Aua ne'i outou manatu ua ou sau e tatala le tulafono poo le au perofeta ". I lenā lauga, sa ou ta'u atu e fa'apea: - ' Aua nei vevesi ō outou manatu, ne'i outou faapea, o le a faamalepe ai lo outou fealofani i se mea o le a alialī mai, o le mea o lo'o ō outou i ai ia outou faamaoni ma tumau i ai, auā e le aogā le fou'i i ēmalōlō na'o e mama'i. Ua uma le sauniga, ona matou o ifo lea i lalo o le Falesa, e i ai le Hall e fai le tautalaga. O iinā sa matou felafolafo a'i ai, o tama ma teine Samoa, sa ma lagona le mamafa o le faaleaga mai o le fanau ia i ma'ua, ae sa ma onosa'i tele i ai ma a'oa'o filemū i ai. Sa ou fesili, sa alu sa outou galuega ia Fuimaono e tusa o le faiga o lenei galuega sa galulue 'ea o outou matai pe leai, ina ia toe fa'afo'i mai lea vaega o Samoa ua o ese ? Sa tali mai se tama, o le itu i o matou matai, e le'i galulue i ai, sa matou fai i ai ae fai mai ia o i ai i matou o tiakono, ona matou o lea ae le'i talia la matou galuega, ona matou fo'i mai lea ma ta'u ia Misi Salesi, ua fai mai Misi Salesi, ' aua ne'i toe o i ai, auā e le iloa pe ni mamoe pe ni 'oti. Sa ou a'oa'i Leua i lea mea, sa ou fai atu ia te ia, e **le'o** alu se mamoe e su'e se mamoe a'o le aleoleo mamoe lava e alu e su'e ana mamoe pe a leiloa. O le faiga o lenei galuega. Sa faatoese Leua i o ma luma i lea mea, ma lana talosaga. E ā pe a toe tu'u atu le avanoa loa se'i toe galulue ia Fuimaono ma lea vaega o Samoa ? Sa ou tali atu i ai ua leleī, ona fa'ai'u lea o lo matou po i le tatalo e Leua. Ina ua aulia le vaiaso fou, sa matou talatalanoa ma le vaega a Fuimaono, ma ta'u atu i ai lo ma mana'o ne mafai lava ona toe fo'i i le tapua'iga sa i ai. O le tali lava e tasi, afai o le a le talia lo matou mana'o e le Ekalesia o le a latou manatu i se isi faatatau. Sa mafaufau le Savali ma le tatalo i se i'uga e tatau ona fai. Na ona ua manatunatu le Savali i fautuaga a le Au Toeaina ma le Fono Tele ina o le a sau le Savali, sa faapea mai ai: " A oulua va'ai e tatau, fai. I lea lava vaiaso sa ou tautala i le itu a Fuimaono, a o'o i le aso Gafua pe a uma le faamanatuga, o le a ma o e maimoa, a'o le a toe tu'u atu i la outou vaega, ia outou fono ma filifili e tusa i le mea ua tupu, pe i ai lava se tasi lagona tou te mafaufauina, a ma foi mai loa, ona fai lea o se i'uga. ae talafeagai fo'i lea ma le mana'o o Leua ia toe tu'u atu se avanoa e toe galulue ai. Ua ma o loa e maimoa, ua ma fo'i mai i le Aso Tofi, ua toe faapotopoto le itu a Fuimaono ua fesili le Savali, o le a se i'uga ua maua ? O le tali: e leai se i'uga ua maua. Fesili le Savali: Ua sau se galuega a Leua ? O le tali : e leai. Ona fai loa lea o le ma i'uga, o lea i'uga, sa faia ma le tatalo, sa ma tautala atu e faapea, a o'o i le aso 9 o Novema 1963, o le (Aso to'ona'i lea) o le a tatou potopoto e faamaonia le lotu Samoa, o le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano a Samoa i Niusila. Ua o'o i le Aso Faraile, ona matou toe feiloa'i lea ma Misi Nikolao, Loia o Enoa, ma Leua, ma ma'ua. Ua matou Talatalanoa i lo ma faamoemoe i le mana'o o lea vaega o le a faamaoniaPTO

(FINAL).

Sa faigata i nisi itū, ae peitai, o le toe lauga mulimuli a Nikolao ua malie i ai ia faia. Sa fa'ai'u la matou talanoaga i le vi'iga o le Atua, sa tau mai ia ou faai'uina i se tatalo, ona matou laulaututu lea i luga.

O i matou e fo'alima ma ifo atu i le Atua. O ia na amata o ia foi ua fa'ai'uina ai i le manuia. Ua o'o i le Aso To'ona'i, ona matou potopoto lea e faataunu'u le faamoemoe. O se sauniga manaia tele, se silia i le 200 ma ona tupu tagata sa i lea sauniga. Sa ou ta'ita'i le sauniga, o la'u matua i lenā aso (Filipi mataupu 3, fp 16) " A'u le mea ua tatou o'o i ai ".

I lenā lava aso, ina na uma le Sauniga na tu'u ai i ~~lalo~~ luga le laupapa umi fou ua tusia ai le upu " O LE EKALESIA FAAPOTOPOTOGA KERISIANO A SAMOA I NIUSILA ". 9th Nov. '64

Ua oo i le Aso 11 Novema 1963 (Aso Gafua) ua matou fa'amavae ma loto ua tau fai tutumu i tiga i le alofa, ae ui i lea, e lē o tatou loto e faia, a ia fai le finagalo o le Atua, ona ma fo'i mai lea i Samoa, i le mana ma le mamalu o le tapuaiga tatalo o le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa. O le fa'aaliga malamalama lea a le Navali i luma o le Ekalesia.

Ua tusia i le āva ma le fa'aaloalo lenei tala.

Soifua,

F. POASA F.T. (Ta'ita'i Malaga). E. SA'AGA (Failautusi).

REPORT BY THE CCCS MISSION TO NEW ZEALAND

This Mission was carried out because of the letter by Fuimaono and his supporters that the CCCS approves the Church which they established for the Samoans who are living in New Zealand.

The CCCS in its Annual Conference in 1963, resolved that a Mission be appointed to look into the petition as Submitted. Rev.F Poasa, of Vaigaga and the Secretary of the CCCS Etene Saaga of Malua, were appointed to conduct this Mission in New Zealand.

Before the mission left for New Zealand, they were advised by the CCCS:

(a) If the Mission sees that the petition is appropriate and in order, then accept it, if not, refuse it.

(b) This was also the advice given to the Mission by the Elders of the Church.

We left Faleolo Airport on 18 October, 1963 and have arrived at Tafuna Airport, Tutuila the same day. We spent the night with Rev Fiti, Pastor of the village of Fagatogo. On 19th Octover, 1963, we left Tutuila on the PAA Flight and arived in Fiji the same day, although it was the 20th in Fiji and it was a Sunday as we had crossed the datum line. We spent the night in Fiji and left at 9.00am, Monday 21 October 1963, arriving in New Zealand at 2.00pm. We have arrived safely and we extend our appreciation to the Church for the prayers they have offered for our safe arrival at Wheruapai Airport in New Zealand.

God be forever praise.

We were met by Fuimaono and his Party and Leua and his party. It was there that we were given with instructions by Leua that we will stay with Fuimaono but we should meet with him and his party on Wednesday. We then went with Fuimaono that day (Monday) and we met some of the Samoans there. We were welcomed by a traditional ceremony and was concluded by a Prayer offered by Rev.Peteru. We then retired to rest. During the welcoming ceremony, we informed Fuimaono of the purpose of our mission and that we would like to meet with all the Samoans who have left the PICC. Fuimaono then told us to wait until evening as most of the Congregation are at work. At 6.00pm that evening, we met with a crowd of about 200 Samoans. I led the Service. We bowed our heads before God in prayers and asked for His Holy Spirit to be with us and to show us the right path to take. After the prayers, I then asked the Congregation why they left the PICC. The answer they gave was they wanted to do what they felt was right. They went on to say that they did not just left like, to coin a phrase a shoal of fish at night, they resigned properly and all the dues they had earned on the dedication of the PICC new church building, they left them all with the PICC for its future development. They went on to say, that they wanted to worship like their forefathers did and what their brothers and sisters

do in Samoa. I gave them a fatherly advice and I asked them to reconsider if whatthey are doing is what they really want. We did not reach a decision that right and we ended our gathering with a prayer offered by the Secretary, Etene Saaga. On 22nd October, 1963, we again met with the same crowd at the same time on the Hall where they held their church services. I again led they held their church services. I again led the service and we prayed for the Holy Spirit to make the right decision for us. After the prayers, I again asked the Congregation to tell us the real reason why they left the PICC. The answer they gave was none at all. I again asked - How is your relationship with the Samoans in the PICC since you left? The answer they gave was - our relationship is good and we are respecting one another. I asked how is your relationship with Rev Challis and Leua?
Answer: When we left the PICC, Leua was in Samoa. We still kept in contact with him since he returned. However, Rev Challis had started to show signs of disappointment to us. This is evidenced by the fact that he refused our request for a Pastor to conduct our services on Sundays. Our request was based on the understanding that he has Pastors Siaosi, Tavita and Fareti to spare and one of them could easily be appointed to conduct our Sunday Services. Now you have arrived, Rev.Challis has not yet agreed to send someone to conduct our Services. I asked: Who is conducting your Church Services on Sundays? Answer: We have been looked after by the Ministers of the Methodist Church. Now that Rev.Peteru, Ekepati, Fogavai and Ropeti are here, as you can see, they take turns in conducting our Sunday Services.

We would know wish to inform the mission of the real reason we broke away from the PICC. Firstly, we would like our services to be conducted solely in the Samoan language. It is true that an hour is allocated for the Samoans in the PICC for this purpose but we feel this is not enough. This may be enough for just an ordinary service but for any other special service etc, they give no allowances for those. For these reasons, we feel that it would be in our best interests to establish a branch of the CCCS in New Zealand to make use of the services of our own ordained Pastors and at the same time, allow us an opportunity to send our own monetary donations direct to our mother church in Samoa for its development. I, Fuimaono and my family should not have left the PICC because we had donated so much in the development of that Church but that did not stop me from doing what I feel is best for our people in New Zealand. I bear witness before the Mission this was the only reason. This was the reason why we wrote to the Mother Church in Samoa to recognise the Church we have now established. On the question that we should return to the PICC, our testimony before the Mission, we shall not return to the PICC. If the Mission should decide not to approve our petition, we would consider other means as we have been looked after by the Methodist Ministers up to this point in time.

I offered words of encouragement to Fuimaono and his Congregation that night and we concluded our gathering with a prayer. We visited Leua and his party on Wednesday as planned. They put up a reception for us and after that we held a general discussion. I was then told by Rev Challis that he has appointed me to

conduct the service in the morning and the afternoon on Sunday in the PICC. I accepted only the afternoon service. We then only continued our discussions with the purpose of our mission. I then instructed Rev.Challis and Leua that we would like to talk to both parties tomorrow (Thursday). Rev.Challis said - it is not possible. I again persuaded him to change his mind but Rev.Challis would not budge. We closed our discussion with a prayer offered by Leua.

On Thursday, we met Rev.Nikolao, Head of the Theological College in New Zealand. We had a very constructive discussion with Rev.Nikolao, then we left for our accomodations.

On Sunday (27 October, 1963) I conducted the morning service at Fuimaono's Congregation and with the PICC in the afternoon. The theme of my "Sermon was from Mathew 5, Chapter 17:- in that Sermon I said - "Let your minds be at ease, whatever event that may take place, it should not be a mean to disrupt harmony amongst you all. Wherever you are, I ask that you remain faithful in your conviction. A doctor is for the sick but not for the healthy". The service was concluded then we proceeded to the hall where we held a discussion. We met some young Samoan boys and girls who gave us some derogatory views on the issue, however, we had managed to hold on to our patience. I then asked - Did any of you ever tried to persuade Fuimaono and his party to come back? Did any of your Masters ever tried? A male answered - we asked them to, but they sent us deacons to do it. We then went but Fuimaono did not accept our request. We came back and told REv.Challis and Rev.Challis only said - "dont go back again as we do not know whether they are sheep or goats? I advise Leua on this case. I said to him, it is not the duty of a sheep to salvage another sheep. It is the duty of the shepherd to look for his lost sheep. Leua apologised to us for his failure and asked that an opportunity be given to him to have a talk with Fuimaono and his people on the issue. I granted him his request and we concluded the discussion with a prayer offered by Leua. When another new week had begun, we held another talk with Fuimaono and his party and we impressed to them our wish to return to the PICC. We were given with the same answer and reiterated that if their request will not be approved they will think of something else. We then prayed for a right decision to make on the issue. We thought of what the Elders had advised us to do -"if you see that the request is appropriate and in order, accept it, if not, then refuse.'

Before the beginning of the week, we informed Fuimaono that we will be going on a sight-seeing tour and during our absence, we would like him to have another talk with his people to ensure that this is exactly what they want. We also told Fuimaono that we will give our decision on his request when we return. This will also give Leua an opportunity to have a talk with Fuimaono as requested. We then went on a tour and on Thursday we returned. We agains asked Fuimaono and his party if they had changed their minds? The answer was No. The Mission asked Fuimaono - Did you have a talk with Leua? Answer: No. We then gave our decision. The decision was given with our prayers. We informed Fuimaono and his

party that the mission has set the 9 November 1963 (Saturday) to officiate the branch of the Congrational Christian Church of Samoa in New Zealand.

On Friday before the dedication, we met with Rev.Nikolao, solicitor Enoa, and Leua. We informed them of our decision. At first, our meeting turned out to be a very complicated one but when Re.Nikolao gave the last speech, we were relieved to hear his agreement to ur decision. We ended our discussion with a hymn and they asked me to conclude our session with a prayer. We all rise with our hearts full of praise - "God begins God ends".

On Saturday, we all gathered to dedicate the new Church. There were more than 200 people present. It was a very moving gathering and I led the dedication that day. The theme of my sermon was from the Book of (Phlillipians Chapter 3 Verse16).

On that same day, 9 November 1963, after the service, a big signed was uptalled in place with words written on it - "CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCH OF SAMOA IN NEW ZEALAND".

On 11 November, 1963 (Monday) we farewelled the people whose hearts were filled with tears of happiness. we were sure in our hearts that what we had done was the will of God. We returned to Samoa and we thank the CCCS for the prayers for our safe return. That is the true account of our mission submitted for the information of the CCCS.

Submitted with due respect.

Signed: F.Poasa FT (Leader of Mission)

E.SA'AGA (Secretary)

Translation by Utumakaiona Noba Petana. Chief Translator of Legislative Assembly of W. Samoa.

APPENDIX IX

C.U.N.Z. to E.F.K.S. - November 11, 1963.

The Congregational Union of New Zealand

[illegible] Box 374 Auckland C1

Copy to Etene.

7 Te Marama Road, Ellerslie,
Auckland. S.E.6
11th November, 1960.

The Chairman of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa.

Dear Mr. Sotoa,

Greetings in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. We rejoice in the brotherhood of our Churches in Samoa and in New Zealand, especially now that your Church has joined the International Congregational Council of which we have been a member from the beginning.

We heard indirectly that you were sending two representatives to investigate the breakaway of the Fuimaono group from one of our Churches, the Pacific Islanders Congregational Church in Auckland. We wrote a letter to them expressing our concern at this attempt to set up a separate Church. We invited them to meet two members of the Standing Committee, namely the immediate past Chairman and the Chairman-elect of the Union, Mr. S.C. Enmor, LL.B. and the Reverend Principal H.C. Nicholas, M.A., B.D., both of whom are also Directors of the London Missionary Society.

Our first meeting took place at our College on Thursday the 24th October and lasted one and a half hours. Very friendly words of love and appreciation were expressed over the happy relationships which have existed for many years between our Churches, especially during the past fifteen years of the life of the Pacific Islanders Congregational Church and during the past twelve years in which we have received many Samoan students for special training in our residential College.

Your two representatives, Elder Pastor Poasa and the Secretary of the Church, Etene, said that they had made no decision at that time. They committed themselves to meet us again after they had visited groups of the Samoan people in Auckland and other places in New Zealand. We assumed they would discuss the matter with us then before they made a decision.

Agry reply to stupid question by PICC Samoans.

It was with sadness that we heard of their informing the Samoan group of the PICC in Auckland as early as the following Sunday of their decision to recognise the Fuimaono Church as part of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa. This was without further consultation with us and before their visits to other parts of New Zealand. We have been informed that this decision caused great unhappiness among the great majority of the Samoan people who are loyal to the Pacific Islanders Congregational Church, and that it has caused misunderstanding among the Niué Island and Cook Island people. They are perplexed that your deputation should support a movement which separates Samoan people from other members of the family of the London Missionary Society in New Zealand.

The deputation met us again for over two hours on Friday the 8th November in the Beresford Street Congregational Church. This Church has a memorial stone which commemorates two Samoans and one Niué Islander who met a united death in the sea because of their unity as missionaries in Papua. It was sad in such a place which symbolises

our unity in preaching the gospel overseas to hear your deputation reaffirm an action to recognise Fuimaono's withdrawal from worship and witness in New Zealand with Niué Islanders, Cook Islanders, Samoans and Europeans.

At the same time we were glad to have them say to us most strongly that they regarded this recognition as only a temporary means of keeping Fuimaono's group from becoming Methodist, Roman Catholic or one of the sects. They said that their wish was for Fuimaono to return to the PICC, but that he had refused them. We said the door was open, as it is. We have never yet been given any real reason for his breaking away beyond his desire to establish a Samoan Church.

We were not clear that the deputation was agreed between themselves concerning who should be responsible for Fuimaono's Church in the immediate future. They asked us to care for Fuimaono, but were vague in their answers to the question who would exercise discipline concerning the gospel preached and the good estate of the Church.

Your deputation said that the pastors of the PICC had failed to go after Fuimaono as "lost sheep" and bring him back. We were able to tell the deputation that both pastors concerned had acted as good shepherds. One of them even pleaded with Fuimaono until three o'clock in the morning. They are still ready to continue. We understand that the Reverend R.H. Challis some months ago was assured by leaders in your Church not to be over-anxious over this incident, and that the Samoan Church would be advising Fuimaono to return.

We do not agree that it is true to describe Fuimaono as a "lost sheep". For fifteen years, some as a deacon of the PICC he had covenanted "to share with the ministers in the pastoral oversight of the Church, to assist them in all that concerns its life and order, and to serve the whole congregation with comfort and good counsel". This is the meaning of the office of deacon as given in the Book of Public Worship for the use of Congregationalists. Mr. Challis was in his house as his minister for half an hour on the day before Fuimaono's advertisement to hold a separate service appeared in the Auckland newspaper. He told his minister nothing of his intention, and we consider this a breach of trust. It has been put to us that Fuimaono is himself a shepherd who has taken some of the sheep away.

We are ready to receive him back. Your deputation said they wished him to return but that they had failed to persuade him. We said that the act of recognising him the next day on Saturday the 9th November was not consistent with this and would make the future return more difficult.

We have a loving concern for all the Samoan people over this. It cannot be said in truth that Samoan people in New Zealand cannot worship God in the Samoan language. Samoan, Cook Island and Niué Island language services take place in the PICC as well as united services in English with Island hymns. Europeans among us show their love for your people by attending Samoan language services which they do not understand. We have also to look to the future of the children of Island people who will grow up in New Zealand as New Zealanders attending New Zealand schools where all the teaching is in English. This is not of our choosing but many Samoans as well as other Island people have freely decided to live here, some perhaps permanently. Among them is Fuimaono whose own children have not the same understanding of worship in the Samoan language as he. If they remain in New Zealand and marry, then their children will have even less understanding of worship in the Samoan language. New Zealand has not refused to let them settle here in large numbers. In the Congregational Union of New Zealand we are providing a Church Home for all your people, old and young, whatever their language needs are in worship.

We beg you to look clearly into the present and into the future, and continue the glory of the Samoan people who have set an example to many throughout the world by uniting in New Zealand with other members of the LMS family in a Wider Church to the glory of Her Head Jesus Christ Who prayed "that they may be one".

The Pacific Islanders Congregational Church serves many thousands of Samoans in New Zealand and it seems to us that recognition of the Fuimaono group, if it is confirmed, will create great difficulties for all concerned and will stand in the way of a reconciliation which we always hope will be achieved by Fuimaono and his group's returning to the Pacific Islanders Congregational Church. We would certainly have thought that you would have consulted with us before doing anything to recognise a breakaway group in New Zealand. You are the Lotu Faapotopotoga in Samoa. We are the Lotu Faapotopotoga in New Zealand. We have great great ties one with the other through the London Missionary Society and through the International Congregational Council. May we suggest that your official reply to Fuimaono be that in New Zealand you are represented by the Congregational Union of New Zealand and that you are sure that if he or his group needs spiritual guidance orhelp that a reference either to the Pacific Islanders Congregational Church, or to the Standing Committee of the Congregational Union would produce appropriate assistance. It would be helpful too if you would say bro him that it is your firm wish that the children of the London Missionary Society in New Zealand should be united and you would encourage him to return to the Pacific Islanders Congregational Church.

Grace to you and peace.

Bruce Ahearn

Secretary.

CUNZ were willing to help Fiji before May 1964. But when EFICS approved Fuimaono church and wrote to CUNZ to help, they refused. Children of LMS or children of EFICS... hence clash etc

APPENDIX X

P.I.C.C. to E.F.K.S. - November 28, 1963.

Pacific Islanders' Congregational Church

Ministers: Rev. R. L. Challis, B.A., 14 Novar Place, Pt. Chevalier, Auckland, W.3, Telephones 83-187 Home, 32-777 Office.
Rev. L. I. Sio, 9 Tay Street, Auckland, Telephones 85-571 Home, 32-777 Office.
Rev. Tariu Teaia, 109 Onepu Road, Wellington, E.3, Telephones 79-196 Home, 89-273 Office.
Rev. P. Nokise, 6 Antico St., Melrose, Wellington, Telephones 89-942 Home, 89-273 Office.
Rev. D. C. Evans, B.A., P.O. Box 59, Tokoroa, Telephone 8489.
Treasurer: Mr. A. O. Fisher, 2 Edinburgh St., Auckland, C.2.

21/11/63.

28th November, 1963.

To the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa:

We the Pacific Congregational Church gathering in one fellowship, people from the L.M.S. family of the Pacific, write to you in sorrow and deep concern because of what has been done in the name of the Congregational Church of Samoa by the Savali in New Zealand.

1. They recognised the break away group of Fuimaono without any consultation with our people.

2. This has brought dismay and strong feelings amongst the several thousands of Samoan under our care in many parts of New Zealand.

3. It breaks into the close relationship and fellowship over the years between the C.C. of Samoa and the P.I.C.C. and the C.U.N.Z. We recall that the C.U.N.Z. being the family in New Zealand of the L.M.S. founded the P.I.C. in consultation with and approval of C.C. of Samoa.

To-day the Christian emphasis over the whole world is on integration - the working together of Christian people - this break away is an act of segregation - helping the people of Christ apart because of racial or national association.

We remind you that the P.I.C.C. is a member of the C.U.N.Z. and seven of her members serve on the Executive Committee of the C.U.N.Z.

No one has attempted to give any reason for this break away - we emphasise again - what we have said many times - the way into our fellowship is open.

We are concerned at the continued attempt of leaders of the Fuimaono group to persuade our people to leave us. These are people who were shepherds with us, and are attempting to draw away the flock of the Church of Christ.

It has been said that if the Samoan Church gives the lead those who have left will return.

... ...

We appeal to you to give this strong and deeply Christian lead to the Samoan people - that the glorious Missionary tradition of the Samoan Church may be maintained in the midst of this European community of New Zealand.

Yours in Christian fellowship,

R.L. Challis

R.L. Challis

ON BEHALF OF THE WHOLE FELLOWSHIP

APPENDIX XI

C.U.N.Z. to E.F.K.S. - August 7, 1964.

The Congregational Union of New Zealand

~~SECRETARY: MR G. C. ENNOR LL.B. TREASURER: MR F. [illegible] Box 374 Auckland, C4~~

[illegible] ELLERSLIE AUCKLAND SE6

7th August, 1964.

The Secretary,
Congregational Christian Church in Samoa,
P.O. Box 468,
Apia,
Western Samoa.

Dear Mr. Sa'Aga,

Your letter of the 7th July has been discussed by the Standing Committee of the Congregational Union of New Zealand and I have been instructed to reply as follows:-

1. The Standing Committee is very grieved at the decision of the Fono Tele in Malua in May. Why?

2. The Standing Committee reminds the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa that "worship conducted wholly in the Samoan language" already takes place in the Pacific Islanders Congregational Church throughout New Zealand.

3. The Standing Committee repeats its view that the breakaway from the P.I.C.C. by Fuimaono and by Foneti was wrong. This opinion was given by Mr. S. C. Ennor and the Reverend H. G. Nicholas to your Savali, before Poasa and Etene encouraged the breakaway group with an act of recognition.

4. The Standing Committee cannot affiliate into the Congregational Union of New Zealand a group which broke fellowship with one of the Churches of the Union.

5. The Standing Committee declares with happiness that the way of reconciliation has always been open. The P.I.C.C. is ever ready to receive the separators back as loyal covenanted members of the Church.

6. The Standing Committee declares that the Congregational Union of New Zealand in no way accepts any responsibility for this group, and says very simply that any decision over property or any financial difficulty, debt or loss, must be the responsibility of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa.

Yours sincerely,

Bruce Sherrard

SECRETARY

[See Translation]

APPENDIX XII

(a)"THE REPORT OF THE FAIGA ME IN NEW ZEALAND, DECEMBER 28, 1967 - JANUARY 1, 1968."

[A Summary Sketch of the Original Report].

[I] 28 : 12 : 1967 : ME.

(i) Leading Worship - Pastor Va'aimamao [Elder Pastor from Western Samoa].

(ii) Prayer & Bible Reading - Pastor Pa'apa'a; Pastor Nepo [Both from [Western Samoa].

(iii) Three Preachers and three sermons.
(a) Preacher 1 - Pastor Elisara [Elder Pastor from W. Samoa].
Sermon Theme - 'Foai' [Giving]; Giving [Foai] is the shared characteristic of God and the human person. If God had given everything for the human person, it is proper for the human person to 'give in return' everything to God.

(b) Preacher 2 - Pastor Poasa [Elder Pastor from W. Samoa].
Sermon Text - 'Abundant joy you have put in our hearts than in the days of Judah'... 'I desire mercy but not sacrifice'.

(c) Preacher 3 - Pastor Ieriko. Pastor of Grey Lynn Parish. First Elder Pastor of the C.C.C.S., New Zealand.
Sermon Text - "Forget what's gone past and run zealously for the things of the future."

(d) Additional exhortation by worship leader.
'Essence of his words' - "The Kingdom of God is not words or a function of words, but strength expressed in deeds."

(iv) Eight choirs participating, seven from parishes of C.C.C.S. in New Zealand, and one from Western Samoa. The seven were from : Christchurch, Wellington, Otara, Otahuhu, Blockhouse Bay, Onehunga, Grey Lynn.
From Samoa - Vineula of Vaisigano.

(v) Concluding Hymn - No. 356, The hymn of Samoan religious patriotism.

[II] 29 : 12 : 1967 : Tofiga Tele [General Meeting].

(i) Duration - From 9.30am - 8.00pm.

[III] 30 : 12 : 1967 : Fellowship of all C.C.C.S. Parishes and the Visiting Youth Group from 'Apia District' of E.F.K.S. in Western Samoa.
(i) Start 9.00am. Led by Pastor Va'aimamao [Elder Pastor from Samoa].
(ii) Conclude 1.00pm. - Holy Communion led by Pastor Poasa [as in I (iii)b above].

[IV] 31 :12 : 1967 : 'Lotu Aofa'i' - Service for all Parishes of C.C.C.S. in New Zealand.
(i) Worship Leader - Pastor Elisara [as in I (iii)a].
(ii) Bible Reading - By two pastors of the C.C.C.S., Puni Leota and Tone Tuiai.
(iii) Preacher 1 - Pastor Poasa [as in III (ii) above]
Text - "The spirit of God was moving over the face of the waters."

Preacher 2 - Pastor Pa'apa'a [A pastor from Samoa].
Text - "Mercy and Justice shall they meet."
(iv) Secretary's Report of the Churches for 1967.
(v) All choirs participated in joyous praise.
(vi) Concluding exhortation by worship leader;
'Essence of his words' - ... 'The wise person has come to knowledge...he shall fear no more.'
End : Lord's Prayer [Together].

[V] 1 : 1 : 1968 : New Year; Samoan Cricket all day.

[VI] 2 : 1 : 1968 : Farewell.

(b)THE GREAT GATHERING OF THE EKALESIA FA'APOTOPOTOGA KERISIANO SAMOA IN NEW ZEALAND, DECEMBER 30, 1968 - JANUARY 1, 1969.
[A Summary Sketch of the Programme and Proceedings from the Original Report].

[I] 28 : 12 : 1968 : Dedication of New Church of Grey Lynn Parish, called - 'Malamalama' [The Light].

[II] 30 : 12 : 1968 : ME.

(i) Attended by ten C.C.C.S. Parishes :- Christchurch, Porirua, Wellington, Palmerston North, Otara, Mangere, Otahuhu, Onehunga, Blockhouse Bay, Aukilani (or Grey Lynn).

- All had choirs.
- Preaching done by Elder Pastors from Samoa.

(ii) Worship leader - Pastor Samasoni [Elder Pastor from Samoa].
Prayer and Bible Reading - by pastors from Samoa : Lokeni, Nemaia, Tu'uau.

(iii) Three Preachers : Pastor Panapa, Rev. Apineru, Pastor Viliamu.
'Essence of their sermons...Love must be true. Giving to God must be true and sincere as God's giving for us in Jesus Christ.'

(iv) Concluding exhortation by worship leader : 'May the country (New Zealand) be different, but the love for Jesus - it shall never be different.'

(v) Duration - From 9.30am to 2.00pm.

(vi) 5.30pm. - Customary presentation of respect and gifts by ten parishes for invited guests from Samoa.

(vii) 7.00 - 9.30pm : 'Spiritual' fellowship between Elder Pastors and Pastors from Samoa and all ordained pastors of the C.C.C.S.

[III] 31 : 12 : 1968 : General Meeting of C.C.C.S. [or E.F.K.S.] of New Zealand.

(i) Opening Service - By Pastor Poasa.
(ii) Ordination of thirty deacons.
(iii) Duration : From 9.30am. to 6.00pm.
End.
(iv) 'Aiava'. Presentation of gifts by all C.C.C.S. Parishes to visiting guests; 7.00 - 9.00pm.

[IV] 1 : 1 : 1969 : Lotu Aofai o le Tausaga Fou [Unite Worship of all Parishes for the New Year].

(i) 9.00am. - Opening Worship led by Pastor Poasa.

(ii) Prayer and Bible Reading - By pastors from Samoa : Pasese, Valeni, Alama.

(iii) Preachers (3) - Fa'apusa, Va'aimamao, Tu'uau. All Elder Pastors from Samoa.

(iv) Secretary's Report of the Ten Parishes.

1967 - 794, Total membership of C.C.C.S.

1968 - 1293, Total membership of C.C.C.S.; Increase of 499.

(v) Concluding Exhortation by Worship Leader, Pastor Poasa.

According to the Report, the opening words by Pastor Poasa were :.

'We have given all the words. There is nothing more left. We will return to Samoa. Be of great courage. May the Ministry in New Zealand be blessed.'

And Poasa concluded with an exhortation to committed and sacrificial discipleship based on the revelation to the Apostle John by a heavenly Elder about a multiracial multitude clothed in white robes, and were now glorifying God in paradise, as the proper end of martyrs of the Gospel.

(vi) Concluding hymn - No. 317. The usual farewell hymn to departing Samoan migrants from Samoa.

APPENDIX XIII

Questionnaire for Parish Pastors.

APPENDIX XIII. QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PARISH PASTORS.

EKALESIA FAAPOTOPOTOGA KERISIANO SAMOA I NIU SILA
MATAGALUEGA NIU SILA MATŪ
MATAGALUEGA NIU SILA SAUTE
11 FEPUARI 1994

E faatalofa atu i le Suafa Paia o le Atua Tolu Tasi Paia le Tamā, le Alo ma le Agaga Sā. E faatalofa atu foi i le Suafa mamalu o le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano Samoa. O le viiga o le Atua Soifua e le faaitiitia. E augā-tupulagā ma tumau auā o mea o le Faavavau. O ou Paia faale-Ekalesia ma ou mamalu faale-Atunuu ua iloa, ma ua iloga. O Measina e teu mau ma teu fatu e soo se alo o Samoa ma soo se fanau a le Ekalesia. Mālō le Soifua.

O a'u o DANNY IOKA, o le Sikolasipi a le EFKS i le Aoga faafaifeau a Knox Colege i Dunedin. O loo taumafai le faailoga o le PhD (Doctor of Philosophy) i luga o le Mataupu o le Tala'aga o le EFKS i Niu Sila i lona amataga e oo mai i le taimi nei. O loo faapipii atu le copy o le faaupuina ma le faamatalaina o lo'u faamoemoe.

I le ava ma le faaaloalo, o le talosaga, ua fia maua lau fesoasoani. Ona o le Mataupu ua filifilia e fai ai la'u suesuega, o le mafua'aga tonu lea o le saili atu i lo outou mamalu, aemaise Ekalesia uma a le EFKS i Niu Sila.

O le agaga maualuga, e fia faavae la'u Mataupu i luga o tala moni o le Ekalesia (i mea moni sa tutupu, ma lona gasologa mai). E tāua ai tele talitonuga moni o le Aufaigaluega, ma talitonuga foi o loo taofi i ai tagata lotu.

O loo i ai nai a'u fesili faapitoa mo le Aufaigaluega. O le faamoemoe, ia manino pea le taga'i ma le 'finagalo' o le Aufaigaluega i taualumaga eseese o le galuega a le EFKS i Niu Sila. Ua iai nisi o le Aufaigalueg ua uma ona ou fesootai iai ma ua fesoasoani tele mai. Ae ua uia lenei auala, ina ia maua uma le Tamaoaiga o le Tala'aga o le Ekalesia atoa.

O fesili faapitoa mo tagata lotu e faamoemoe ia faaalia ai le lagona lautele o le Ekalesia i Niu Sila i nisi Mataupu. E tāua i le faamoemoe le 'vaai' a tagata uma o le Ekalesia mai i le tulimanu o loo galue, ma vaai mai ai i mea o tutupu i lana Ekalesia. Auā o le Tala i le Ekalesia, o tala uma i ē o loo tapuai ai, galulue ai, ma talitonu pea iai.

A finagalo nisi se toatele e fia maua ni a latou copies e fia fesoasoan ai, ma faaalia ai o latou finagalo, o le mea silisili lava lea.

E mafai ona tele nisi mea tāua o le Tala'aga o le Ekalesia ua lē fesiligia. O la'u Tatalo, afai o ā nisi mea i le tulaga lea, o se fiafiaga tele pe ā mafai ona tusia uma mo lenei faamoemoe. O le mafuaag foi lena ua ou lē faatulagaina ai fesili e tusa o suesuega masani. Ae ua tuuina atu faatasi, ina ia saoloto pea i le telē poo le laitiiti o faamatalaga, ia ma nisi mea tāua e fia faaopoopo. Ua faapipii atu pepa e mafai ona faaaogā.

Faamalie tele atu i le faalavelave atu. Ae ona o le tauiviga o feagai ai, ou te faamoemoe o le ā magalo ai se faale-mafaufau atu o lenei tagata. Na o le talosaga ma le faamaualalo, pe mafai ona vave maua ina ia vave gaoioi ai foi lo'u taumafai.

Afai ae finagalo i ai le Matagaluega, e mafai ona ou faailoa i se taimi o i luma se 'ata vaaia' o le molimau lautele a le lautele o le Ekalesia i Niu Sila, e tusa ma mataupu sa fesiligia ai lo latou finagalo.

O lea le faamoemoe ma le talosaga ua fesootai atu ai. Faafetai tele mo lou fesoasoani mai. O loo ua tuuina atu ma lau tuatusi i Dunedin e lafo atu ai faamolemole. Afai ae faigatã, o loo i ai ma le telefoni e fesootai atu ai. Ae ou te sauni e faataunuu mea uma e ono tutupu ona o la'u saili atu i lo outou mamalu. Faamolemole pe mafai ona faamaopoopo ane pepa a tagata lotu i lau susuga e faigofie ai. E mamao se lagona ia e faaeleelea ma faalavelaveina ona o lenei sailiga. Ae ou te tatalo atu ma le loto, ina ia alofagia, ia lē tuulafoaiina lenei tauiviga. Aua e faalagolago le manuia, vave ma le sologa lelei i lou agalelei mai. Faamagalo ni vaivaiga o le gagana, ma lagona.

Ia manuia galuega uma mo le Mālō o le Atua.

Faafetai

DANNY IOKA 11/2/94

TUATUSI

Danny Christian IOKA
63C Grange Street
DUNEDN

PH - 474 0823

E fia maua se malamalamaaga i fesili ua taua i lalo. Faafetai.

1. Amataga o le EFKS i Niu sila 1962-63.

(i) O le ā sou silafia o le Amataga o le EFKS i Niu Sila?

2. Amataga o le Ekalesia o loo oulua galulue ai.

(i) O anafea na amata ai lā outou Ekalesia?
(ii) O ai na amataina? (Aofai o aiga, aulotu atoa, pe ni matai?).
(iii) Aisea? O nisi mai isi aulotu a le Ekalesia, poo nisi lava e lē i lolotu muamua i se isi lotu?
(iv) Ua fia nei ni Faifeau faau'u o le Ekalesia o loo oulua galulue ai, pe afai e lē o oulua na faavaeina? E mafai ona e taua o latou suafa?

3. O le Tuputupu, Atinae, ma suiga i le Ekalesia.

(i) O a mea totino o loo iai a le Ekalesia?
(ii) O faaopoopo tagata lotu?
(iii) O fea e o mai ai? Isi lotu i Niu Sila? O ē faatoa malaga mai Samoa? O ē faatoa lolotu? etc
(iv) Ua iai nisi o lau aulotu ua faaipoipo atu i nisi tagata a nuu e le o ni Samoa?
(v) O a ni taimi e auai ai nisi tagata e le o ni Samoa i mea e fai a lau Ekalesia?
(vi) O ā auala o faaaogā e saili ai tupe mo le Ekalesia?

4. O le loto Samoa ma le loto Ekalesia o le Kerisiano Samoa.
Afai ua uma se galuega tele, (Falesa, Hall, Maota o le Faifeau)

(i) E fia Aiga poo matāfale na galulue ai?
(ii) E toafia le Aulotu atoa i lea taimi?
(iii) E mafai ona maua le tau-aofai o ia galuega?
(iv) Pe maua sina ata o le sii alofa ma meaalofa a le vala'aulia? (A maua nai copies o Polokalame o ia aso faapitoa ua faafetai).

5. Fesootaiga o le Galuega a le Ekalesia i Niu Sila ma le Ekalesia Tele i Samoa (Relationship).

(i) O ā ni itu o faalavelave ai, pe fesoasoani ai le Ekalesia Tele i Samoa ma lona Faavae, mo le galuega a le Ekalesia i Niu Sila?
(ii) O le ā lava lou finagalo i le tatau, poo le lē tatau ona faaaoga-ina e le Matagaluega i Niu Sila o A'oa'o ua mafai ona iu mai i nisi Aoga Faafaifeau e ese ma Mālua?
(iii) O āmana'ia e le Ekalesia i Samoa Mataupu o finagalo iai le vaega o le Ekalesia Samoa o loo galulue i Niu Sila? Sou finagalo mo le lumanai?
(iv) Ua fia ni Malaga Su'e Tupe mai Samoa ua talia, ma afea la outou Ekalesia?

6. O le Galuega Faafaifeau a le Faifeau (Pastoral Ministry).

(i) O ā faamoemoega tūtotonu, ma pito i taua o lau galuega faa-faifeau? (Pastoral Vision)
(ii) O ā polokalame (activities) tumau ma masani ai, a le Ekalesia i tausaga taitasi?
(ii) I lau mātau, o ai le faamoemoega sili o le Ekalesia i lona atinae, i lona faamaopoopoina, ma le agai i luma? (Faataitaiga-Mafutaga Tina, Autalavou, etc).

(iv) E te faaaogaina tusi o saunia mai i Samoa i le faiga o le galuega e pei o le IBRA, tusi Au Taumafai, Au Leoleo, Aoga Aso Sa, Autalavou?
(v) O ā ni faafitauli patino o le galuega faafaifeau i Niu Sila?
(vi) E lava le sauniuniga i Malua mo le faifeau e galue i Niu Sila?
(vii) E masani foi ona iai talitonuga o tagata-a-lotu i le mea e ta'u o le faifeau, aemaise o le galuega e tatau ona fai e le faifeau. E mafai ona e taua nisi mea? (Expectations).

7. Tapuaiga, Molimau, ma le Olaga tapuai o tagata lotu o le Ekalesia.

(i) O iai ni suiga o faiga o le Tapuaiga ua tatau mo nei aso? Ua iai ni suiga ua e faia? Aisea?
(ii) O faapefea ona auai pe faaaogaina vaega eseese o le aulotu i faiga o Tapuaiga?
(iii) O iai ni fesootaiga ma nisi o lotu Kerisiano i Niu Sila?
(iv) O faapefea le tulaga o le faaaogaina ma le auai o e na fananau i Niu Sila o loo i le aulotu ae le faa-Samoa?

MO LE LUMANAI

1. O le a lou finagalo i le manatu faapea - "O le Ekalesia Samoa i Niu Sila o loo limataitaiina i le agaga lea 'O le Samoa mo Samoa O le uiga o le manatu e le o tele se vaai a le Ekalesia Samoa i Niu Sila i fafo atu o ona lava tagata.

2. Ua tolusefulu (pe ā) tausaga talu ona amata le Ekalesia Samoa i Niu Sila. Ua fesootai atu pea i le Ekalesia Tele i Samoa i ia tausaga e tele ma le filigā, ma le fiafia, ma le alofa. O ā ni lu'i ua tatau ona vaavaai i ai? Pe faapea foi, E faapefea ona tumau le fesootai atu i Samoa, ma faatino le galuega o le Talalelei e talafeagai ma manaomia mo Niu Sila?

3. O nai fesili ia ua fia maua tele iai lou finagalo. Faafetai tele mo lenei avanoa ua e fesoasoani mai ai. O le a faaaogaina ma le faautauta, ma le loto faafetai mea uma o le a e faaalia.

Faafetai

Danny christian IOKA (B.D.)
Knox College
Otago University
DUNEDIN

MO TAGATA LOTU

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR LAY MEMBERS.

EKALESIA FAAPOTOPOTOGA KERISIANO SAMOA I NIU SILA
MATAGALUEGA NIU SILA MĀTŪ
MATAGALUEGA NIU SILA SAUTE
11 FEPUARI 1994

E faatalofa atu i le Suafa Paia o le Atua Soifua. E faatalofa atu foi i le suafa mamalu o le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano Samoa. Ou te fesoota'i atu ma lo'u faaaloalo tele auā o Samoa o le Ao Mamala. O lana Ekalesia foi, o le Aiga Filifilia o le Atua i le lalolagi. O mea ia ua iloa ma ua iloga. Tatou te tausi i ai ma le loto faafetai. Ou te talitonu foi, e te lagolagoina soo se tauiviga aogā ma soo se faamoemoe tāua.

O a'u o DANNY CHRISTIAN IOKA, o le sikolasipi a le Ekalesia i Knox College, i le Iunivesite a Otago, Dunedin. O loo taumafai le faailoga o le PhD (Doctor of Philosophy). Ua faatagisia lau fesoasoani, ona o le mataupu o loo fai ai la'u suesuega i le Tala'aga o le Ekalesia Faapotopotōga Kerisiano Samoa i Niu Sila, mai i lona amataga e oo mai i taimi nei. O le talitonuga, o tala o le Ekalesia, o tala o ē uma sa galulue ai, tapua'i ai, ma talitonu pea i ai. E taua lou finagalo e tusa ma lou silafia, ma lau mātau i le tala'aga o lau Ekalesia. E eseese vaai a tagata. E fia maua lau lava vaai mai i le mea o loo e galue mai ai. O le a faaaogaina mea uma o le a e faaalia ma le faautauta. Ae o le faamoemoe maualuga, ia maua le finagalo lautele o le Ekalesia Samoa i Niu Sila i nisi o mataupu, ina ia faavae ai le faamoemoe ua feagai ai.

A mafai ona faao'o ane i lau faafeagaiga lau fesoasoani, ua faafetai tele. Ae o loo ta'ua i lalo la'u tuatusi i Dunedin pe a e finagalo e lafo sa'o atu. A iai foi nisi o le Ekalesia e fia fesoasoani, e mafai ona fai ni kopi o fesili uma o loo i lau pepa mo latou. A tele le MOLIMAU, ua malosi foi le MAU. Ia manuia.

Faafetai

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O FESILI E FIA MAUA AI SE MALAMALAMA'AGA

O le Ekalesia faapotopotoga Kerisiano Samoa, ma le tagata lotu Samoa.

1. Nai faamatalaga o lou tagata:
   O lou suafa. O ou tausaga. O lou tofi i le Ekalesia. O le aulotu o loo e tapua'i ai nei. Aisea ua e lotu ai iina? (latalata? lolotu uma ai lou aiga? lolotu ai nisi o lou nuu? etc).

2. Tausaga na e taunuu ai i Niu Sila. Faamoemoe o lou malaga mai?

3. O fea se isi tapuaiga/lotu e te lotu ai, pe ana leai se EFKS i Niu Sila?

4. E iai sou silafia i le amataga o le EFKS i le 1962-63 i Niu Sila? (soo se mea lelei pe lē lelei e fesoota'i ma le amataga).

5. E iai sou silafia o le amataga o le Aulotu/Ekalesia o loo e tapua'i ma e galue ai nei? (O ai na faavaeina? O fea na o mai ai? Aisea na o ese ai mai se isi aulotu sa lolotu ai, pe a fai o le tulaga lea?).

6. I se vaaiga aoao, o le a le 'ATA' o le Ekalesia Samoa i Niu Sila o loo i lou mafaufau? (Faataitaiga - E mafai ona faaupuina o se Ekalesia tala'i, Ekalesia fai mea soo, etc).

7. O le ā lou finagalo i le manatu faapea - 'O le EFKS i Niu Sila ma ana mea uma o fai e limata'ita'iina e le agaga, "O le Samoa mo Samoa." O le uiga o le manatu, e galue lava mo na o tagata Samoa, o loo i totonu o lana Ekalesia.

8. O le ā lou finagalo i le Ekalesia PIC?

9. O ā ni vaega o le galuega a le Ekalesia Samoa i Niu Sila o loo aogā tele i ai le faa-Samoa? (e pei o pulega faa-matai, aganuu masani, etc).

Ekalesia ma le Tusi Paia.

10. O faatupuina lou iloa o le Tusi Paia i auala o loo a'oa'oina ai le Tusi Paia e le Ekalesia? (Aufaigaluega).

11. O ā ni tala po o ni mea i le Tusi Paia e te fiafia tele i ai? Aiseā?

12. O le ā le ituaiga olaga ma le ituaiga lalolagi o loo e maua soo mai i lauga a lau faifeau? (Vision of life the Church offers). Pe faapea foi: O ā ni mataupu e mafuli tele i ai lauga a lau faifeau? (faamagalo, ola-galue, etc)

O le Ekalesia ma le tagata lotu

13. E te manatu o lagona lou leo ma ou mo'omo'oga faa-tagata lotu i mea o loo faia ai pulega ma fuafuaga a le Ekalesia? (Amata mafaufau mai i fono a aulotu; Tofiga a Pulega, Matagaluega, se ia oo i le Fono Tele i Malua).

14. O ā tonu ni aogā o le Ekalesia Samoa ma lana galuega faa-faifeau i Niu Sila mo oe ma lou aiga e tusa ma le olaga i Niu Sila ?

O le Ekalesia ma lona faamoemoe

15. I lau vaai faa-tagata Kerisiano, o ā ni mea e tatau ona faamamafa, ma tatau ona amana'ia e le Ekalesia Samoa i Niu Sila e tusa ma lona auaunaga mo le Mālō o le Atua ma Lana Talalelei?

16. O le ā le ituaiga faifeau e te manatu e manaomia mo le galuega a le Ekalesia i Niu Sila?

O le Ekalesia ma lona lumana'i

17. O le ā lou finagalo i le lu'i, "Ua tatau ona faifeau tamaita'i?"

18. A e tepa i tua o le tala'aga o le Ekalesia Samoa i Niu Sila, o a ni mea maoa'e, ma le ogaoga na tutupu o loo tū mai pea i lou mafaufau? Aisea?

19. O ā ni suiga e te manatu e tatau mo le Ekalesia i ona po nei? (e pei o faiga o Tapuaiga; po o le fesoota'i atu foi i le Ekalesia Tele i Samoa?)

20. O le ā se vaai ma ni faaupuga a nisi tagata i lau Ekalesia Samoa i Niu Sila? (e ofo? e fia iloa atili? e le kea? etc)

21. O ā nisi mea e te finagalo e tatau ona faatāua i le tala'aga (1962-63-1993) o lau Ekalesia Samoa i Niu Sila?

E lē afaina pe a le faaalia lou finagalo i ni fesili e te lē manatu i ai. Ae o lau fesoasoani ma lau molimau o le a faalagolago tele i ai le faamoemoe o loo feagai ai. O mea moni ma tala faamaoni o mea ia e tupu ai le ola. Faafetai molimau. Ia faamanuia le Atua i o tatou faiva eseese o loo auauna ai mo lona Mālō ma lana Talalelei.

Faafetai lava.

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(96) TOFI, Aiono. Chief and previous Elder Deacon at Porirua Parish. 'Personal Story of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S., and the Parishes of Wellington, Porirua, Ketesemane and Canons Creek'. Porirua; February 1994. Transcribed interview.

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(104) UELE, Timai. Lay Preacher of New Lynn Parish. 'Personal Story of the Beginning of the C.C.C.S., aspects of the history of the C.C.C.S., and the Parishes of New Lynn, Henderson, Otahuhu, Blockhouse Bay, and Onehunga'. Also written information on various aspects of the history of the C.C.C.S. Auckland; January 1994. Transcribed interview.

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(106) VA, Taunese & Togia. Chief and wife in Mangere East Parish. 'Ekepati Family Story and beginning of Otahuhu Parish'. Auckland; January 1994. Transcribed interview.

(107) VA'AFUSUAGA, Timoe. Previous Pastor of Masterton Parish. Written response to Questionnaire and conversation with Author, 1994.

(108) VILI, Tumama. Present Pastor of Christchurch Parish. 'Personal Story of the Beginning of the Christchurch Parish and various aspects of the history of the C.C.C.S.'. Christchurch; April 1994. Transcribed interview.

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(2) API O LE GALUEGA [PARISH BOOKS]

Otara; Wellington; Christchurch; Onehunga; Otahuhu; Porirua; Mangere East; Mangere West; Invercargill; Manurewa; Petone; Henderson; North Shore; Te Atatu North; New Brighton; Ketesemane; Pakuranga; Avondale Central; Masterton; Napier; Sapapali'i (Savaii, Western Samoa).

(3) OTHER PARISH DOCUMENTS

(i) Booklet of the History of the Wellington Parish prepared for the dedication of the Parish Church in 1984. By Pastor Risatisone Ete.

(ii) 'Parish Report of the History of the Otara Parish for the Anniversary Service, 1970'. By Pastor Nu'uali'itia.

(iii) 'Brief History of Dunedin Parish for the Church dedication, 1991'. A booklet prepared by Pastor Saniva Ng Shiu.

(iv) 'E.F.K.S. in Massey Report presented in Church dedication, 1994. Written by Pastor Apisaloma and included a brief history of the beginning of the parish.

(v) Tala o le Galuega [History of the Parish Ministry] by founders of Avondale Central Parish, led by Chief Misa Aii Salu [Secretary].

(vi) Tala'aga o le Ekalesia Fa'apotopotoga Kerisiano Samoa i Niu Sila [History of the Ekalesia Fa'apotopotoga Kerisiano Samoa in New Zealand]. Prepared by Elder Pastor Ieriko and Faletua Fuafuaga, 1991.

(vii) 'Tala o le E.F.K.S. East Tamaki i lona Ulua'i Sefulu Tausaga' [History of the E.F.K.S. East Tamaki in its First Ten Years]. Prepared by Pastor Afa'aso Afa'aso.

(4) API O LE PULEGA [MINUTE BOOK OF THE SUB-DISTRICT]

* Api Pulega Aukilani [Minute Book of Auckland Sub-District]
* Api Pulega Ueligitone [Minute Book of Wellington Sub-District]
* Api Pulega Aukilani Saute [Minute Book of South Auckland Sub-District]
* Api Pulega Aukilani Tutotonu [Minute Book of Central Auckland Sub-District]
* Api Pulega Aukilani Sisifo [Minute Book of the West Auckland Sub-District].
* Api Pulega o le Motu i Saute [Minute Book of the South Auckland sub-District]

(5) PRIVATE PAPERS AND DIARIES

(i) By Elder Pastor Nu'uali'itia (Family Holdings) :-

(a) 'Parish Report of the History of the Otara Parish' for the Anniversary Service in 1970.

(b) Letters, Reports, and Correspondence between the C.C.C.S. at the District level with the E.F.K.S. between 1965 and 1975.

(ii) Diary of Chief Fuimaono Ta'ala (Family Holdings).

(iii) R. L. Challis. "Our Church." (E.F.K.S. Archives).

(iv) Anae, Meilani. "The Origin of the Newton Church : Historical Invention or Cultural Truth ?". A Paper presented at the IX Pacific History Association Conference in December, 1992.

(v) Research Notes on the C.C.C.S. by Pastor Tautia'ga Senara [in Author's possession].

(6) VIDEO TAPES of SAMOAN CHURCH and CULTURE RELATED CEREMONIES and PARISH OCCASIONS.

(i) Video Tape of the 25th Silver Jubilee of the Grey Lynn Parish celebrated in 1988. In Author's possession.

(ii) Video Tape of the dedication of the Church of Tokoroa Parish. In Author's possession.

(iii) Video Tape of Worship Service and Traditional Ceremony for the meeting between Samoan Prime Minister, Hon. Tofilau Eti Allison and the Samoan Community in Auckland in 1993. Copy by Chief Tavale Tanuvasa.

[B] E.F.K.S. DOCUMENTS, OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS, and ARCHIVAL MATERIALS

[Found in E.F.K.S. Main Office (Strong Room) in Western Samoa].

(1) (i) 'The Constitution of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, 1962'.

(ii) 'Iugafono Komiti Toeaina, 1952-1978' [Resolutions of Elders' Committee 1952-1978] (Official Publication in Samoan Language).

(iii) 'Komiti Au Toeaina, Iugafono, 1968-1974' [Resolutions of Elders' Committee, 1968-1974 - A Folder containing District Proposals (Mau) discussed by Elders' Committee].

(iv) 'Iugafono a le Komiti Fa'atonu' [File of Resolutions by Directors' Committee].

(v) 'Folder of Resolutions by General Purpose Committee'.

(vi) 'Mataupu o le Fono, 1919-1950' [Folder containing Minutes and Resolutions by the General Assembly of the E.F.K.S. of the years mentioned].

(vii) 'Secretary's File on New Zealand Correspondence'. This File contains most of the sources used in Chapters Three, Four and Five - that is, correspondence between E.F.K.S. and Founders of the C.C.C.S., and P.I.C.C., and C.U.N.Z. These include both private and official correspondence, and all sources included in Appendices.

(viii) 'Mo le Failautusi' [For the Secretary]. This file includes all personal letters by individual migrants in New Zealand to the E.F.K.S. in the years between 1950 and 1960. They are mainly requests form 'O le Sulu Samoa' and other E.F.K.S. publications.

(ix) 'Tusi Matagaluega Niu Sila' [Letters and Correspondence from New Zealand Districts - a Folder]. This Folder includes all official correspondence, reports, and proposals (Mau) for the General Assembly for the years, 1968-1985.

(x) 'Honolulu File'. This File includes all letters and correspondence between the E.F.K.S. and its branches in Hawaii and U.S.A. for the years, 1950-1970. These include both private and official correspondence. It includes almost all correspondence used in Chapter Two.

(xi) 'File for Secretary Tapeni'. This File contains all correspondence between Elder Pastor Tapeni Ioelu and Samoan migrants in Hawaii and U.S.A. for the years 1940-1960. These include personal correspondence and others related to Church matters in both Hawaii and U.S.A. It includes a great deal of correspondence used in Chapter Two.

(2) MINUTES OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY [E.F.K.S.]

YEARS - 1946; 1949; 1959; 1961; 1963; 1964; 1965; 1969; 1978; 1979; 1980; 1981; 1982; 1983; 1984; 1985; 1986; 1987; 1988; 1989; 1990; 1991; 1992; 1993.

(3) O LE SULU SAMOA [THE SAMOAN TORCH].

1924 - February
1926 - December
1927 - January
1929 - April, June
1930 - July
1931 - August, October
1932 - January, February, July, August, December
1933 - March, April, August
1934 - August
1937 - July, August
1944 - June, July, November
1946 - July
1947 - February, April, August, September, October, November, December
1950 - February, March, June, July, November
1951 - February, March, June
1952 - January, February, April, May, June, August, September, November
1953 - January, March, June, July, September, November
1954 - June, July, August
1955 - August, October
1956 - January, February
1957 - November
1958 - September, November
1962 - January, February, June, August, November
1963 - June, December
1964 - February
1966 - July
1967 - July
1968 - April, November
1970 - May, June
1971 - April, June
1976 - October
1978 - February.

[C] REPORTS

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[These Reports are found in the Hewitson Library of Knox Theological College in Dunedin].

(1) London Missionary Society. Deputation Report No.16 - Albert Spicer and Joseph King, to the Samoan Islands, Dec 10, 1887 - Jan 10, 1888.

(2) London Missionary Society. Deputation to the South Seas and Papua. Revs. A.J Viner, G.J. Williams, and Rev. Frank Lenwood; June, 1915 - June, 1916.
London : L.M.S., 1916.

(3) London Missionary Society. Deputation to Samoa; April - September, 1919.
Report by Rev. V.A. Barradale, M.A. London : L.M.S., 1919.

(4) London Missionary Society. Deputation to Samoa, August - December, 1928.
By Rev. A. Hough and Rev. G. Parker. London : L.M.S., 1928.

(5) London Missionary Society. Report by Rev. Norman Goodall after a Secretarial Visit to the Pacific. March, 1939 - April, 1940. London : L.M.S., 1940.

(6) London Missionary Society. After a Secretarial Visit to the Pacific; May, 1952 - March, 1953. Rev. Stuart Craig, B.A.
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(7) London Missionary Society. Report on a Secretarial Visit to Samoa and Fiji by Rev. C. Stuart Craig; 16 April to 17 May, 1961.
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2. Assembly Digest [Official Digest of the Congregational Union of New Zealand]. Years Relevant - 1961; 1962; 1963; 1964.

3. ***Western Samoa Official Report of the Proceedings of the Constitutional Conventions - 1954 and 1964.***

4. Pacific Theological College Newsletter; July 1967, No.6.

[E] NEWSPAPERS

* New Zealand Herald; 29 December, 1962.
* New Zealand Herald; 17 September, 1964.
* New Zealand Herald; 18 September, 1964.
* Auckland Star; 17 September, 1964.

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[A] BOOKS

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