

**The Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, 1962–2002:
A Study of the Issues and Policies that have Shaped the Independent
Church**

A Thesis
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CERTIFICATE OF AUTHORSHIP

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AT

2012

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the major issues and policies of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa (CCCS) in the first forty years of independence, from 1962 to 2002. The study is more-or-less arranged chronologically in order to identify the progression of key issues such as education within the Church. Much of the study draws upon CCCS archives and therefore the thesis takes a distinctive and unavoidable institutional perspective. The thesis gives particular attention to the impact of the Samoan village upon the organisation of the Church.

There are six chapters in this thesis. Chapter One deals with the cultural, ecclesiastical and political factors that contributed to the independence of the CCCS from the London Missionary Society in 1962. Chapters Two to Six cover a forty-year period in approximately ten year intervals. Chapters Two and Three cover the evolution of the structure of the CCCS and the major challenges it faced from 1962 to 1971. Chapter Four deals with a pivotal period from 1972 to 1980 when the optimism of the Church was bolstered by increasing overseas remittances, leading to ambitious building projects such as the University of Samoa and the six storey John Williams Building. The chapter concludes in 1980 when the American Samoa district split away from Western Samoa. Chapter Five covers the financial crisis of the 1980s brought about by the debt on the John Williams Building. The continual demand to pay off the loan on the John Williams Building led to the closure of the University of Samoa and seriously affected the academic standards of CCCS schools. Even after the John Williams loan was paid off, there was further demand for finances which, ironically, resulted in a surplus at the end of the third decade. Chapter Six covers the fourth decade, a period marked by greater financial accountability, financial assistance from overseas thereby strengthening the financial state of the Church. Yet, paradoxically, it was also a period characterised by a sharp decline in membership.

ABBREVIATIONS

AT	<i>Au Toeaina</i> (Elders Committee)
CCCAS	Congregational Christian Church of American Samoa
CCCS	Congregational Christian Church of Samoa
CCCSA	Congregational Christian Church of Samoa Archives
CCWM	Congregational Council of World Mission
CWM	Council of World Mission
EC	Elders Committee
EFKS	<i>Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa</i> (Congregational Christian Church in Samoa)
FT	<i>Fono Tele</i> (General Assembly)
FTF	<i>Fono Tele Faafuasei</i> (Emergency General Assembly)
GA	General Assembly
KA	<i>Komiti A'oga</i> (Education Committee)
KAT	<i>Komiti Au Toeaina</i> (Elders Committee)
KFE	<i>Komiti Feau Eseese</i> (General Purpose Committee)
KFET	<i>Komiti Feau Eseese & Tupe</i> (General Purpose and Finance Committee)
KNE	<i>Komiti Nuu Ese</i> (Overseas Committee or Missionary Committee)
KT	<i>Komiti Tupe</i> (Finance Committee)
LMS	London Missionary Society
MEKS	<i>Mafutaga Ekalesia Kerisiano Samoa</i> (Fellowship of Christian Churches in Samoa)
PAC	Pacific and Caribbean
PCC	Pacific Conference of Churches
PTC	Pacific Theological College (in Suva)
SMM	Samoa Missionary Meeting
UNO	United Nations Organisation

WARC	World Alliance of Reformed Churches
WCC	World Council of Churches

GLOSSARY OF SAMOAN TERMS

<i>aiga</i>	A family; a relative
<i>alii</i>	High Chief, Lord. One of the two orders of <i>matai</i> , a 'high chief' as opposed to an 'orator chief, also a polite word for men —'gentleman/men'
<i>aualuma</i>	Fellowship of unmarried/widowed/separated girls and women of the village dedicated to the maintenance of the village and led by the wives of chiefs.
<i>aumaga</i>	Society of untitled men in the village, an institution in every <i>nu'u</i>
<i>Au Taumafai</i>	Christian Endeavour
<i>Au Leoleo</i>	Prayer Watchers
<i>aganuu</i>	culture
<i>Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano Samoa</i>	Congregational Christian Church Samoa
<i>Fa'alupega</i>	A formal expression of recognition associated with a <i>matai</i> title. Each village and district has a set of <i>fa'alupega</i> which acts as a constitution by expressing the rank of the chiefly titles.
<i>faaleagaga</i>	spiritual
<i>Fono</i>	meeting; confer with; meet
<i>Fono Tele</i>	General Assembly
<i>Komiti A'oga</i>	Education Committee
<i>Komiti Feau Eseese</i>	General Purpose Committee
<i>Komiti Tupe</i>	Finance Committee
<i>Mafutaga Tina</i>	Mothers Fellowship
<i>mana</i>	power
<i>matai</i>	chief
<i>nuu</i>	village
<i>taulaga</i>	annual church donations
<i>Tulāfale</i>	Orator Chief

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Introduction

This thesis is an institutional study of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa (CCCS). The CCCS is the largest church in Samoa with a long and proud tradition reaching back to its London Missionary Society origins in the early nineteenth century. The 2006 census recorded that the Church had a membership of 52,664 members, some 33.8 percent of the total population.¹ It has approximately 200 ordained ministers and 202 churches in Samoa proper. It has six districts outside Samoa—three in New Zealand and one each in Australia, Hawaii and North America. The CCCS is a recognised leader in education in Samoa. It was once described by the London Missionary Society historian, Richard Lovett, as ‘famous among nineteenth-century missions for educational work’.² This thirst for educational excellence continues to the present. It administers the second oldest theological college in the South Pacific, Malua Theological College, with a current staff of 17, and seven secondary schools which employ approximately 125 teachers.³ The CCCS is prosperous in comparison to other mainline churches in Samoa. It receives generous offerings from its people. It has large land holdings valued at \$2.5 million, real estate worth \$15.2 million, and in 2002 accumulated funds of \$22.2 million.⁴ The CCCS has been a pioneer in ecumenism. In 1961 the CCCS hosted the first ecumenical meeting in the South Pacific at Malua and was instrumental in the creation of the Pacific Theological College (PTC), the Pacific Conference of Churches (PCC) and the South Pacific Association of Theological Schools (SPATS). Many leaders of the CCCS have gained international prominence: most notably, Faitala Talapusi and Elia Taase. Talapusi was a prominent theological educationalist, who was principal of PTC from 1991 to 1994 and who later was the academic dean at Bossey Ecumenical Institute in Switzerland from 2000 until 2005.⁵ Taase, a lecturer from Malua College, was appointed Deputy General Secretary of the Council of World Mission in 1977. Such has been the impact of the CCCS in the Pacific that the Pacific Church historian, Charles Forman, observed:

¹ Reupena Muagututia, ed., *Samoa Population and Housing Census Report 2006*. Apia: Samoa Bureau of Statistics, 2008, 14 Table 3.3a.

² Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society 1795–1895* London: Oxford University Press, 1899, 389.

³ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi l'ugafono Fono Tele Fale Senetenari Malua 21–25 Me 2002*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 2002, 42–80.

⁴ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi l'ugafono Fono Tele Fale Senetenari Malua 21–25 Me 2002*, 24–30.

⁵ “Obituaries January 2005–August 2006”. *Ecumenical Review* 58, no. 3-4 (2006): 396.

The Samoan church has been the largest and most vigorous in all Polynesia. It has been part of a most powerful and resilient social structure, quite the opposite, say, of that of the Marquesas. The Samoans are astute politicians and have been masters in handling the politics of church life.⁶

There have been very few studies by Samoans published on the history of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa. Those that do exist are relatively slight, selective, and mostly celebratory in nature. Siolo Tauati's *The History of the Christian Endeavour in the World and the Islands of Samoa* (1995) is typical; Tauati's main focus is to show how the Christian Endeavour sub-committee elevated Bible study and the role of the laity in worship.⁷ In a similar manner, Oka Fauolo's *The Miracle of the Saving Love. A History of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa* (2005) is anecdotal and focuses almost exclusively on the missionary accomplishments of the Church. There are also significant gaps in Fauolo's reflections on the Samoan Church, such as the massive investment in Leulumoega Fou High School, the revision of the Samoan New Testament and the impact of the John Williams Building upon the Church.⁸ A third publication which does have some value for the historian is the two-volume compilation of the resolutions by the Elders' Committee from 1952 to 1994, but even this work has its shortcomings because it gives the impression that its major purpose is to bolster the status of the Elders.⁹ Perhaps the most scholarly and useful for this study is Elia Taase's recent history of the Congregational Christian Church of American Samoa (CCCAS), *Ina ia tatou iloa: O le Talafaasolopito o le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Amerika Samoa mai le amataga o le LMS e oo i le 2005*, which includes several sections on the former American Samoan district of the CCCS from 1962 to 1980.¹⁰

Apart from these specific studies by Samoan scholars on the CCCS, there are also several general works on Christianity in the Pacific that devote whole chapters or sections to the Church in Samoa. Most important among these are Manfred Ernst's

⁶ Charles Forman, *The Island Churches of the South Pacific Emergence in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Orbis 1982, 23.

⁷ Siolo Tauati, *O le Tala Faasolopito o le Au Taumafai Kerisiano i le Lalolagi ma le Atu Samoa*. Apia: Malua Printing Press (nd).

⁸ Oka Fauolo, *O Vavega O Le Alofa Laveai: O Le Tala Faasolopito O Le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano Samoa*. Apia, Samoa: Malua Printing Press, 2005. 739–741.

⁹ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano Samoa, *Tusi O l'ugafono a Le Au Toeaina 1952–1978*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1979; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano Samoa, *Tusi O l'ugafono a Le Au Toeaina 1979–1994*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1996.

¹⁰ Elia Taase, *Ina ia tatou iloa: O le Talafaasolopito o le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Amerika Samoa mai le amataga o le LMS e oo i le 2005*. Apia, Samoa: Malua Printing Press, 2006. Taase had previously written the history of the CCCS from 1830 to 1961 for his PhD thesis at Fuller in 1995.

Winds of Change (1994) which highlights the declining membership of the CCCS and the increasing numbers of non-mainline churches in Samoa. His subsequent work *Globalization and the Re-Shaping of Christianity in the Pacific Islands* (2006) provides relatively up-to-date statistics on the membership of the CCCS.¹¹ John Garrett's *Where Nets were Cast. Christianity in Oceania Since World War II* (1997), though somewhat dated, is indispensable for the student of Pacific history. He traces the major events of the 1960s and 1970s and the impact of the ecumenical movement on the Samoan Church and the separation of the American Samoan district from the CCCS. Charles Forman's *The Island Churches of the South Pacific. Emergence in the Twentieth Century* (1982) is particularly helpful for the way it illustrates the impact of village culture on the church in the Pacific. Derek Freeman's *Margaret Mead and Samoa: the Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth* (1983) strengthens Forman's view of the impact of the village on the Church by identifying the competitive nature between villages which contributed to villages attempting to out perform their rivals in financial contributions to the Church.¹² Forman's subsequent publication, *The Voice of Many Waters* (1986) also gives a brief though insightful account of the influence of the CCCS on the ecumenical movement in the South Pacific.¹³ The ecumenical contribution of the CCCS is also highlighted in Bernard Thorogood's *Gales of Change. Responding to a Shifting Missionary Context* (1994) and Ian Breward's *A History of the Churches in Australasia* (2001).¹⁴

There are several unpublished works on the CCCS that cover parts of the period under investigation. The most substantial work is Danny Ioka's 1995 PhD thesis on the history of the CCCS in New Zealand for the period 1962 to 1995.¹⁵ Ioka draws attention to the eagerness of CCCS congregations to maintain their links and support the home Church in Samoa. His detailed study also helps to explain how each CCCS parish began

¹¹ Manfred Ernst, *Winds of Change. Rapidly Growing Religious Groups in the Pacific Islands*. Suva, Fiji: Pacific Theological College, 1994, 168–169; Manfred Ernst, ed. *Globalization and the Re-Shaping of Christianity in the Pacific Islands*. Suva: The Pacific Theological College, 2006, 547–550.

¹² Derek Freeman, *Margaret Mead and Samoa the Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1983, 153–154.

¹³ John Garrett, *Where Nets Were Cast Christianity in Oceania since World War II*. Vol.3. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies University of the South Pacific 1997; Charles Forman, *The Island Churches of the South Pacific Emergence in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Orbis 1982; Charles Forman, *The Voice of Many Waters*. Suva, Fiji: Lotu Pasifika Productions, 1986.

¹⁴ Bernard Thorogood, ed., *Gales of Change. Responding to a Shifting Missionary Context. The Story of the London Missionary Society 1945-1977*. Geneva: WCC, 1994; Ian Breward, *A History of the Churches in Australasia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

¹⁵ Danny Ioka, "Origin and Beginning of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa in Aotearoa New Zealand". PhD, University of Otago, 1995.

in New Zealand. Other important unpublished sources utilised in this research include several Bachelor of Divinity theses by CCCS students studying at Pacific Theological College (PTC) in Suva, Fiji. Written in an environment away from the constraining authority of the Church, these theses, many of which are available on microfiche at the National Library in Canberra, Australia, are somewhat frank in their judgements on the home church and often offer penetrating insights into the Church's life and mission.¹⁶

There are three pressing reasons for a study of the history of the CCCS. Firstly, a history of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa by a Samoan, or, at least a Samoan-speaker, is long overdue. As already indicated, this study is the first time that reports, letters, committee resolutions and other relevant primary source materials written in Samoan have been drawn upon for a history of the church. Secondly, after forty years, it is now a suitable time for the church to assess its history and learn where it has come from so that it can shape better policies and make better decisions. This task is particularly critical because throughout the second part of the twentieth century the CCCS has been experiencing a slow decline in its membership from 55.2 percent of Western Samoa's population in 1956 to 35 percent in 2001.¹⁷ Thirdly, a scholarly, comprehensive and up-to-date study based on primary sources is urgently needed for theological students and historians of Pacific Church history. It came as a shock to the author to discover that there has been so little research on the history of the CCCS in the post-independence period.

A unique feature of this study is that it draws heavily upon Samoan (and some English) archives housed in the church's head office in Apia. These records have remained virtually untapped until now, especially records from the first decade after independence. The archives consists of folders arranged into periods under committees or sub-committees (e.g. 1963–1967 Education Committee). These folders contain correspondence and resolutions relating to the Church's various committees or sub-committees. They also include priceless records relating to post-independence

¹⁶ Sarasopa Enari (Jr). "A Christian Reflection on the Customary Land Tenure System and Modern Development in Samoa". B.D. thesis, Pacific Theological College, 1982; Salu Epati, "Unemployment. Looking at Unemployment in Western Samoa in the Samoan Way of Life (Faa-Samoa) and the Role of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa". B. D. thesis, Pacific Theological College, 1982; Amosa Malo, "A Study of the Church and Its Concept of Education and How Effective It Is in the Life and Attention of the People. With Special References to the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa". B. D. thesis, Pacific Theological College, 1980.

¹⁷ Reupena Muagututia, ed., *Report of the Census of Population and Housing 2001*. Apia: Statistical Services Division, 2001, 22.

correspondence by London Missionary Society missionaries. The collection also contains the records of the annual General Assembly. During my research I discovered that the archives are not properly catalogued. In 1986, after the departure of the archive coordinator, Milo Faaleava, to become a lecturer at Malua Theological College, the archives were not catalogued at all.¹⁸ Like so many archives in the Pacific, they were simply ‘stored’, a euphemism for being dumped in a small out-of-the way room. Because there has been little or no cataloguing, the records used for this study are listed in detail in the Bibliography. A related problem with the Church’s archives in Apia is that they have not been housed properly in a controlled environment and are deteriorating rapidly. Many records prior show signs of decay and are in need of urgent repair.

The sources for this study largely portray the institutional nature of the Church, depicting mostly matters to do with finance, management and much less to do with worship, mission and community life. The nature and character of the primary sources has shaped the content and perspective of this study. It has meant that this thesis is primarily a study of the corporate nature of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa with a particular focus on the Church’s polity and structure.

Both the National Library in Canberra and the Mitchell Library in Sydney have valuable archival material for this study. I was able to access the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau (PMB) in both places. Both libraries have extensive collections of the major Samoan newspapers. The National Library holds *The Samoan Observer* from the early 1990s and the Mitchell Library has earlier Samoan newspapers from the 1960s such as the *Samoan Bulletin*. The Nelson Memorial Library in Apia Samoa, which functions as the ‘National’ library in Samoa, has some helpful archival material though most relates to the period before independence. The Camden Theological Library at North Parramatta, Sydney, has a growing Pacific collection. Malua Theological Library also has a growing collection of historical theses which have been helpful for this study.

This thesis also draws upon interviews with four key leaders in the CCCS concluded in April 2009. I was able to interview Rev. Elder Oka Fauolo, an elder statesman of the CCCS. He is an academic, and was General Secretary of the CCCS from 1973 to 1979 before becoming the principal of Malua Theological College from 1979 to 1995. He

¹⁸ Milo Faaleava, “Teutupe”. Apia: CCCS, 1986 (CCCSA).

provided me with valuable insight into the ecumenical movement in the 1970s. The Rev. Elder Siolo Tauti, a former teacher at Leulumoega Fou College also offered valuable information on the Church's development in the post-independence period. He offered insights into the decline of the Church's membership and the academic standards in Church schools. The Rev. Elder Lale Ieremia, one of the first graduates of the Pacific Theological College, provided me with information on the impact of the ecumenical movement on his village, American Samoa and Malua Theological College. The Rev. Elder Situfu Tanielu, the then current General Secretary, confirmed my growing suspicion of just how much the traditional village structure has impacted upon the organisation of the Church.

This thesis covers the last four decades of the twentieth century and will focus on the Congregational Christian Church *in* Samoa. I have chosen 1962 as the starting date because it was in that year that the CCCS gained its independence from the London Missionary Society. It was also the year in which Western Samoa became the first independent Pacific nation. Even though my starting date is 1962 I have examined the previous two years in order to set this year in context. The closing date of 2002 is more arbitrary. It has been chosen because it neatly marks the fourth decade of the Church's history and yet provides the historian with some distance from his subject matter.

This thesis argues that since independence the CCCS has modelled itself on the Samoan village with its associated dynamics. This thesis will explore and identify how the village model has influenced the CCCS. The village model has been beneficial, especially when the competitive spirit between villages created a self-sustaining financial church. However, the thesis will show that the Church's ministry and mission has to a large extent been distorted by village culture. For example the creation of the John Williams Building has more in common with village pride than with spiritual enterprise.

As this thesis is a history of church growth (and decline) the missiologist Allan Tippet's thesis on the development of the church bears mention. Since Tippet has drawn from the Pacific Churches as the basis of his thesis on church growth, it is relevant for this study. He described church growth in three parameters—quantitative, qualitative and structural. All three aspects are required for church growth. A church grows quantitatively when it grows in numbers, whereas it grows qualitative when it

focuses on the inner life of the believer, such as the development of faith and the practice of prayer.¹⁹ Structural growth represents the physical or structural development of the church such as places of worship, schools, offices and the Christian - committee.²⁰ Tippet's definition is a helpful way of viewing the growth and decline within the CCCS.

The six chapters in this thesis are arranged chronologically. Chapter One deals with the cultural, ecclesiastical and political factors that contributed to the independence of the CCCS from the London Missionary Society. Chapter Two covers the first ten years of independence from 1962 to 1971 and traces the evolution of the Church's organisation. Chapter Three covers the same period as Chapter Two but investigates the challenges posed by the American Samoan district which was seeking greater autonomy from the CCCS. Chapter Four investigates a pivotal period from 1972 to 1980, when the Church was involved in the construction of the University of Samoa and the six-storey John Williams Building. Chapter Five examines the economic crisis of the 1980s, largely brought about by the debt incurred by the John Williams Building. Chapter Six highlights a financially rich church, investing in the clergy yet losing the laity to the new religious movements in the 1990s.

There is extensive use of Samoan terminology in this thesis. Samoan words are written in italics and their English meanings are listed in the Glossary.

It is hoped that this study will provide the impetus for future research on the history of the CCCS in Samoa.

¹⁹ Alan Tippet, *The Deep Sea Canoe. The Story of Third World Missionaries in The South Pacific*. South Pasadena, California: William Carey Library, 1977, 63-64.

²⁰ Alan Tippet, *The Deep Sea Canoe. The Story of Third World Missionaries in The South Pacific*, 63-64.

Chapter One

Factors Contributing to Independence

The formation of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa was the result of a combination of cultural, ecclesiastical and political factors. Samoan village dynamics contributed to a financially independent Congregational Church. Village dynamics complemented the Venn model of mission actively espoused by the London Missionary Society.¹ Furthermore the International Missionary Council (IMC) of which the London Missionary Society was a part, actively promoted independent indigenous churches. Political factors outside and within the nation reinforced this sense of independence. This chapter looks at the cultural, ecclesiastical and political factors that contributed to bringing about the independence of the CCCS from the London Missionary Society.

Background

The Samoan archipelago consists of nine islands divided into two political entities: the independent Western islands of Samoa (formerly Western Samoa before 1997)² and American Samoa, an ‘unincorporated’ American territory.³ Samoa comprises the two major islands of Upolu and Savaii in addition to the smaller islands of Manono and Apolima which lie between these two islands. American Samoa is dominated by the island of Tutuila. In addition there are the islands of Aunuu and the three islands of the Manu’a group: Ofu, Tau and Olesaga. The population is classified as Polynesian, a people of Southern Mongoloid origins with significant intermarriage with Melanesians.⁴

¹ Wilbert Shenk ed., *Henry Venn–Missionary Statesman*. New York: Orbis, 1983, 121. Venn’s model of mission is based on the three ‘principles of self-support, self-governing and self-extension...on which depend the breath of life of the native church’. It is the goal of missionaries to create a self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating indigenous church; Norman Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society 1895 – 1945*. London: Oxford University Press, 1954, 7. According to Goodall ‘...the creation of churches bearing these characteristics was accepted as one of the chief ends of all missionary endeavour, and this objective affected almost every phase of missionary policy.’

² Manfred Ernst, ed., *Globalization and the Re-Shaping of Christianity in the Pacific Islands*. Suva: The Pacific Theological College, 2006, 539.

³ Manfred Ernst, ed., *Globalization and the Re-Shaping of Christianity in the Pacific Islands*, 584; David Stanley, *Tonga–Samoa*. Emeryville, California: Moon Publications 1999, 164. According to David Stanley this means the US Constitution and certain other US laws don’t apply in American Samoa. American Samoa was keen to keep its system of chiefly control and land ownership to prevent open immigration to the islands.

⁴ Peter Bellwood, *The Polynesians Prehistory of an Island People* Revised ed. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd, 1987, 23–24.

The London Missionary Society (LMS) first arrived at the island of Savaii in Western Samoa near the village of Sapapalii on August 1830.⁵ A few weeks earlier the paramount chief Tamafaigā, a noted opponent of Christianity, was assassinated.⁶ Tamafaigā was accused of ‘raping’ the village virgin of a rival village in the A’ana district. This triggered war between A’ana district and the districts of Savaii and their allies led by Malietoa Vai’inupo, a kinsman of Tamafaigā. Malietoa emerged victorious to avenge the assassination of Tamafaigā in 1830.⁷

Malietoa had viewed the arrival of the missionaries as a fulfilment of the prophecies of the prophetess Nafanua. According to Samoan legend the goddess Nafanua united Western Savaii and Eastern Savaii. The people in Upolu asked her for a share in the government. Nafanua had given the head of the new government to the village of Leulumoega on the island of Upolu and only a ‘tail’ was left. Nafanua urged the Malietoa clan to accept the ‘tail’ and to wait for a ‘head’ to come from the heavens. Malietoa Vainu’upo saw the arrival of John Williams as the fulfillment of Nafanua’s prophecy.⁸ This combination of favourable circumstances in addition to protection by the paramount chief Malietoa Vai’inupo enabled the LMS to establish a firm foothold in Samoa.

Cultural Factors that Contributed to Independence

The Village

It is important to understand the context in which the missionaries of the LMS worked. The social system of Samoa is often described in terms of family lineages centred on the village.⁹ The Samoan word associated for culture is *aganuu* which is made up of two

⁵ John Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Pacific Islands*. London: John Snow, 1837,85; Ronald Crawford, “The Lotu and the *Faa-Samoa*: Church and Society in Samoa 1830–1880”. Ph.D Otago University, 1977,81.

⁶ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 71; For Gilson Tamafaigā was also a religious leader and he may have seen Christianity as threatening his leadership; Malama Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa*. Suva, Fiji: University of the South Pacific, 1987, 23–24.

⁷ Malama Meleisea, ed., *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*. Suva: University of the South Pacific, 1987, 56.

⁸ Malama Meleisea, ed., *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*, 57–59.

⁹ Kerry Howe, *Where the Waves Fall. A New South Seas Islands History from First Settlements to Colonial Rule*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1991, 230; Malama Meleisea, ed., *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*, 28. Meleisea calls the village ‘a group of extended families with a shared history which is summarized in the fa’alupega which gives the village its identity.’; Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 9; Charles Forman, *The Island Churches of the South Pacific Emergence in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Orbis, 1982, 71–88.

words *aga* and *nuu*.¹⁰ The word *aga* is defined as ‘to do, to act, to go’ and ‘*nuu*’ usually refers to ‘village’.¹¹ Therefore *aganuu* could be defined as the ‘way of the village’ and points to the significance of the village in the identity of a person. The Samoan archipelago has been characterised by village ‘independence’.¹²

An essential part of village control are the chiefs or *matai*. A typical Samoan village consists of extended families each under the guidance of a *matai*.¹³ The choice of *matai* is based on demonstrated service to the family and is subject to a meeting of the extended family for bestowal of a *matai* title.¹⁴ The *matai* title gives him authority over the lands pertaining to the title. The *matai*’s duties are essentially to maintain the prestige of the extended family in the efficient use and administration of the extended family’s lands and resources.¹⁵

The fact that the extended family resides in a local area with other extended families necessitates the need for a village council or *fono*.¹⁶ The *fono* is an integral part of village dynamics. Suffice it to say that if *matai*s of extended families are concerned with family prestige, the village *fono* would likewise be concerned with village prestige. The *fono* coordinates the activities of the extended families in order to efficiently utilise resources and to maintain order within the village.¹⁷

¹⁰ George Pratt, *Pratt’s Grammar & Dictionary of the Samoan Language*, 4th ed. Apia, Western Samoa: Malua Printing Press, 1911, 22.

¹¹ Derek Freeman, *Margaret Mead and Samoa the Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1983, 120-122. Freeman writes that the ‘population of Samoa is organised into discrete local polities, known as *nuu*, each with its own clearly demarcated territory, and each with its own *fono* or governing council of chiefs’; George Pratt, *Pratt’s Grammar & Dictionary of the Samoan Language*, 236. Even though Pratt defined *nuu* as a district or a town and secondly a country or an island, *nuu* is often associated with village in Samoa.

¹² Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 9.

¹³ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 19-20; Derek Freeman, *Margaret Mead and Samoa the Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*, 121. For Freeman ‘...Each of these families ...lives and works under the direct authority of the individual (almost always male) whose succession to its chiefly title has been both approved by its members and ratified by the village *fono*’.

¹⁴ Peter Bellwood, *The Polynesians Prehistory of an Island People*, 73. Unlike Tonga, chiefly titles were available to ‘commoners’ in Samoan society; George Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago and Long Before*. Third Reprint 1989 ed., London: London Missionary Society, 1884, 173-74. Turner noted that the way to achieve a chiefly title depended on the individual’s service to the family.

¹⁵ Lowell Holmes, *Quest for the Real Samoa the Mead/Freeman Controversy & Beyond*. South Hadley, Massachusetts: Bergin & Garvey Publishers, 1987, 39-41; Ioane Sefulu, ‘Turmoil in Paradise: A View of the Sociopolitical Upheavals in Western Samoa, Consequent of the Marriage-of-Convenience between the Fa’a-Samoa and Western-Oriented Democratic Ideologies’. *Journal of Polynesian Society* 92, no. 4 (1983):525. http://www.jps.auckland.ac.nz/document/Volume_92_1983/ (accessed November 10, 2009).

¹⁶ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 17-18.

¹⁷ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 19. ‘In other words, the household, under its chief, enjoys considerable independence in matters which primarily concern its own members; but in many ways it is dependent upon the village and therefore has community

The *fono* developed into an elaborate ceremony of rank involving two types of *matais*, the *alii* (high chief) and the *tulāfale* (the talking chief).¹⁸ The difference is often a matter of function with *tulāfale* speaking on behalf of the *alii*, however the *alii* makes the final decision. *Alii* hold titles that are considered sacred with great *mana*. The older the title the closer its origin to the sacred ancestors, the greater the rank. On the other hand *tulāfales* titles are ‘executive’ titles that carry with them special duties. These duties are often associated with service to an *alii* but this varies from village to village.¹⁹ To further acknowledge the status and rank of *matais* in the village, the village meeting house designated seating arrangements according to rank.²⁰ The front and the back of the meeting house is reserved for the *tulāfales* and the side are reserved for the *aliis*.

The *tulāfales*’ status is due largely to their oratory skills and in some villages they are considered as ‘high chiefs’.²¹ It is ‘beneath the dignity’ of the high chief to address these public ceremonies, therefore leaving the public speaking to the *tulāfale*. The *alii* and *tulāfale* relationship reinforces the Samoan saying ‘to rule you must serve first’. The *tulāfale* speaks on behalf of the *alii* and mirrors the village service to their *matais*. The *alii* title gives the *fono* an aura of power from the ‘gods’ (*alii*) and thus sanctifies the decision makers of the village.

Oratory also became the medium to institutionalise this rank through the *fa’alupega* of the village. The *fa’alupega* is ‘the village’s honorific phrases of address’ which refer to ‘descent groups, titles, place names, famous events, and traditional privileges and relationships’.²² The ‘*fa’alupega*’ is often recited in the *fono* and it also identifies ‘related’ villages and their relationships with each other.²³ It unified neighbouring villages the way a written law would unify a community. At a time when there was no

responsibilities which limit its freedom. Unless these responsibilities are fulfilled, the household, or some of its members, may be ostracized by the community or even expelled from it.’

¹⁸ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 24–25; Derek Freeman, *Margaret Mead and Samoa the Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*, 125.

¹⁹ Malama Meleisea, ed., *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*, 27.

²⁰ Derek Freeman, *Margaret Mead and Samoa the Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*, 126.

²¹ Derek Freeman, *Margaret Mead and Samoa the Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*, 126.

²² Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 19; Malama Meleisea, ed., *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*, 28.

²³ Faamatuainu Tui, *Lauga: Samoan Oratory*. Suva, Fiji: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 1987, 7–8.

written mode of communication, the *fa'alupega* also served as the premiere mode of transmitting rank and order. According Derek Freeman:

A *fa'alupega*...is thus an institution of quite fundamental importance, for, with the formal reiteration of the relative rank of titles on every significant social occasion, a chiefly hierarchy becomes so firmly established as to make it exceedingly difficult to effect any fundamental change...²⁴

The importance of the *fono* highlights the significance of oratory in the Samoan culture. Oratory is important in Polynesia generally, and not just in Samoa.²⁵ The prominence of oratory is further accentuated by the development of two levels of Samoan language, the 'chiefly language' and the 'common language'. Pratt calls the 'chiefly language' a language of 'politeness' but originally it was a language used in the presence of chiefs.²⁶ In addition to the '*mana*' of the chief's title, the 'chiefly language' became another mechanism by which to respect the decisions of the *matais*.

Oratory in Samoa was often associated with formal ceremonies involving exchange of gifts (often involving the prized fine mats or '*ie toga*') and lavish feasts.²⁷ The exchange of gifts would channel village productivity for visiting parties (*malaga*).²⁸ Any surplus that was produced was channelled into maintaining family alliances and strengthening new alliances between villages.²⁹ The extent of this productivity is recorded by the German administration (1900–1914) when the Governor Wilhelm Solf '...considered the ceremonies in which feasts were given and '*ie toga*' (fine mats) were exchanged a wasteful extravagance.'³⁰ Lowell Holmes supports Solf's observations:

Social organization in Samoa is a principal preoccupation. It has been so important in everyday life that one observer maintained that while other Polynesians worshipped deities, the Samoans worshipped their own social and political system.³¹

²⁴ Derek Freeman, *Margaret Mead and Samoa the Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*, 122–123.

²⁵ Charles Forman, *The Island Churches of the South Pacific Emergence in the Twentieth Century*, 79. Charles Forman noted that oratory was generally an important part of Polynesian culture, and not just confined to Samoan culture. 'Sermons, for islanders are commonly eloquent and many of their cultures emphasized oratory.'

²⁶ George Pratt, *Pratt's Grammar & Dictionary of the Samoan Language*, 85.

²⁷ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 18. Faamatuainu Tui, *Lauga: Samoan Oratory*, 109.

²⁸ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 18. Part of a household's productive capacity was geared not only to the making of goods for ceremonial exchange, for example, *siapo* and fine mats ('*ie toga*'), but to providing for the entertainment of guests'.

²⁹ Albert Moore, *Arts in the Religions of the South Pacific. Symbols of Life*, London: Printer Publisher, 1995, 133. Albert Moore wrote, 'in general, the energy of Samoans has been directed into other arts such as oratory, singing, architecture, weaving and tattooing.'

³⁰ Malama Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa*. Suva, Fiji: University of the South Pacific, 1987, 51.

³¹ Lowell Holmes, *Quest for the Real Samoa the Mead/Freeman Controversy & Beyond*, 37.

These observations suggest that one way to prevent civil conflict was to promote 'peace' through extravagant gift exchanges and alliances. Such a scenario required the village to maintain or attain a high level of self-sufficiency.

Self Sufficiency

There were three factors that contributed to the self-sufficiency of a village. Firstly, there was the Samoan natural environment which yielded 'abundance in return for comparatively little work' which meant it was relatively easy to become self-sufficient.³² Indeed self-sufficiency gave prestige to the village and was a positive reflection upon the extended families within the village. It became the role of the chiefs to maintain a state of self-sufficiency within the family and ultimately in the village.³³

The second factor that contributed to self-sufficiency involved villagers who very early in their lives were nurtured to give their time and support for the benefit of the village.³⁴ It began firstly within the family under the leadership of the *matai* and ultimately within the village under the laws of the *fono*. As a consequence women and men were arranged into distinct work groups such as the *auluma* and *aumaga* respectively. The *auluma* involved village women in the general maintenance of the village. The *aumaga* involved the men in heavier manual work and in the protection of the village.

A third factor that contributed to the self-sufficiency of villages was the pride and competitive nature of Samoans, not only between families but also between villages. This competitive nature pervades Samoan culture.³⁵ According to Derek Freeman when a certain Chief Su'a addressed the U.S Congressional Investigation in 1930 he:

... described the Samoans as people steeped in family pride who considers [sic] feasts and ceremonies that are not elaborate as a disgrace to the family This pride in family is paralleled by a comparable pride in one's local polity and paramount chief.³⁶

³² Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 18; Malama Meleisea, ed., *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*, 26.

³³ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 16.

³⁴ Elia Taase, "The Congregational Christian Church in Samoa: The Origin and Development of an Indigenous Church, 1830–1961", PhD, Fuller Theological Seminary 1995, 215.

³⁵ Derek Freeman, *Margaret Mead and Samoa the Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*, 154

³⁶ Derek Freeman, *Margaret Mead and Samoa the Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*, 151; Lowell Holmes, *Quest for the Real Samoa the Mead/Freeman Controversy & Beyond*, 36.

The competitiveness between villages enabled the LMS in Samoa to attain a high level of self-sufficiency very early in its history.³⁷ The LMS initially used this competitive spirit to counter the proselytizing threat from the Wesleyan missionaries.³⁸ Families and eventually villages would seek to outdo their rivals in their monetary contributions to the Church. Such was the interest in how much each family and village donated that the public announcement of contributions in the General Assembly became the ‘main public activities of the church and one of its principal attractions’.³⁹ Some villages would even borrow money so their annual church donations would be greater than their rival village.⁴⁰ Gilson made the observation that the reason for this is ‘not so much to support the mission as to seek the favour of God and the respect of men in the volume of their sacrifices.’⁴¹

Holmes made a similar observation of the ‘generosity’ of the church:

Generosity in gift exchange had always been an admired quality among Samoans, and Christianity provided the opportunity of acquiring additional respect from one’s fellows by lavish giving to the church.⁴²

This generosity illustrates pride in the family, extended family, village and sub-districts. Gilson recalls an anecdote by the missionary Drummond of a young chief’s public display of giving:

. . . dressed in a suit of warm clothing, . . . with boots and a blue cap adorned with gold lace. He first shook hands with me across the table, then stood bolt upright and rifled every pocket, beginning at his trouser ones and ending at the left breast of his pea-jacket. He had hard work getting his hands into his pockets, but he brought some dollars out of each and threw them one by one into the plate as if he liked to hear the ring of the silver departing from him. I think I hear you, saying, ‘That looks like vanity’. Yes, rather much so: but people do not get wise in a day.⁴³

³⁷ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 132; Derek Freeman, *Margaret Mead and Samoa the Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*, 153–154.

³⁸ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 116.

³⁹ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 133. Indeed, the appeal for funds, once regarded by its critics as a dying system was so perfected by the London Missionary Society that it became one of the main public activities of the *lotu* and one of its principal attractions.

⁴⁰ Derek Freeman, *Margaret Mead and Samoa the Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*, 154

⁴¹ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 133.

⁴² Lowell Holmes. *Quest for the Real Samoa the Mead/Freeman Controversy & Beyond*, 60.

⁴³ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 133.

A Village-based Church

The focus on the extended family in a defined area, united under village rules means that the Samoan society is intrinsically community based and therefore not individualistic. With constant rivalry and the threat of intervillage conflict, individuality was not an option for survival. According to Lovett:

The chief hindrance in Samoa to the progress of the Gospel... has been the native practice and love of warfare. Inter-tribal wars were almost incessant in heathen days, and even Christianity has only partially succeeded in restraining the excesses and the frequency of these conflicts.⁴⁴

Between 1830 and 1899, there were at least ten years of war in Samoa.⁴⁵ Holmes notes that such wars were more territorial and not based on family conflicts.⁴⁶ The individual's identity was defined by the extended family and the village. He further made the observation:

Regardless of whether we are observing household interaction or the deliberations of the village council (fono), it can be seen that individualism has little significance in this culture. An individual is regarded as a necessary, but minor, component of the family.⁴⁷

The emphasis on community counters the pietistic origins of the LMS. The LMS in its attempts to be involved in Samoan society eventually developed a church-based on the village organisation and dynamics. In order for the church to establish a foothold in Samoan society, it would have to be a village church. In the words of Gilson:

...the church was oriented more towards the community than the individual. Church membership grew rapidly, soon reaching a level near six thousand, at which it remained during the rest of the century. The missionaries were, of course, grieved to witness such deviations from their original objectives, but they could rejoice in the fact that, while some Samoan rivalries would continue to be expressed in sectarianism, independence further entrenched the *Lotu Taiti* among the large majority of the people.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society 1795–1895 Volume 1*. London: Oxford University Press, 1899, 381.

⁴⁵ Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society 1795–1895 Volume 1*, 383. 'Of these inter-tribal wars no less than ten, according to the native reckoning, have taken place since 1830'.

⁴⁶ Lowell Holmes, *Quest for the Real Samoa the Mead/Freeman Controversy & Beyond*, 38. According to Holmes, often relatives would fight amongst each other.

⁴⁷ Lowell Holmes, *Quest for the Real Samoa the Mead/Freeman Controversy & Beyond*, 37.

⁴⁸ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 137.

Adaptation of LMS to Village Setting

The success of the LMS in Samoa can be attributed to the LMS conforming to village dynamics. The most obvious example is the elevated status of the pastor in the village. Since oratory is important in the culture, the pastor's sermons assume cultural significance. The pastor's sermon espouses the will of God and thus the words are more sacrosanct than the *tulāfale*. Since the pastor is a representative of God his position has more *mana* than the *alii*. The *tulāfales* and *aliis* responded to this change in village dynamics in the capacity of lay preacher and deacons.⁴⁹ The subsequent involvement of *aliis* and *tulāfales* in church affairs would inevitably raise the importance of the church in village life. Gilson observed that the incorporation of the church did not lead to '... any disintegration of their traditional social structure and way of life':

For while the Samoans now surpass all others (in Polynesia) in the number, size and grandeur of their religious structures, they have been able to adopt Christianity, and adapt it, with greater resilience, experiencing scarcely any disintegration of their traditional social structure and way of life.⁵⁰

Noted Methodist clergyman and scholar, Lalomilo Kamu, observed that the loyalty and commitment to the *matai* and village is paralleled by the obligation to the pastor and church.⁵¹

The second example of the way the LMS conformed to village dynamics is demonstrated in the significance of the church building in the villages.⁵² Kamu observed that the church is a symbol of prestige for the village:

To some the *falesa* (church) has become the symbol of material wealth, prosperity and prestige. Such a perception of the house of God can only result in a costly display of church buildings... Accordingly, having a prestigious *falesa* reflects the village's sense of commitment and stewardship to God's Church.⁵³

Samoa was renowned as a culture which never built temples yet the Samoans began constructing 'churches' soon after the arrival of missionaries.

⁴⁹ Lowell Holmes, *Quest for the Real Samoa the Mead/Freeman Controversy & Beyond*, 60.

⁵⁰ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 14–15.

⁵¹ Lalomilo Kamu, *The Samoan Culture and the Christian Gospel*. Suva, Fiji: Donna Lou Kamu, 1996, 140.

⁵² Charles Forman, *The Island Churches of the South Pacific Emergence in the Twentieth Century*, 71–72.

⁵³ Lalomilo Kamu, *The Samoan Culture and the Christian Gospel*, 108.

The Rarotongans referred to the Samoans as ‘godless’ and considered the introduction of Christianity to be the first experience the Samoans had of religion. The reason they thought the Samoans ‘godless’ was the absence of large temples, statues or idols, special places of worship, and an institutionalised priesthood or religious specialists.⁵⁴

The church replaced the traditional buildings that gave prominence to the village and the chiefs. One such building was the great meeting house (*fale tele*) which gave status to the village.⁵⁵ Great expenditure and time went into the construction of such a building. Even the elevation of such a building is indicative of rank of the chief. The *fale tele* would be replaced as a symbol of village prestige by the church and even the pastor’s residence.⁵⁶ Village competitiveness and ‘relative prosperity’ combined to accentuate the church building boom in Samoa.

Independence.

An important characteristic of the Samoan village was its relative autonomy from higher authority.⁵⁷ Each village held their own *fono* and eventually developed their own laws and their own traditions.⁵⁸ Gilson writes:

Samoan society, like most others of Polynesia, had no central political authority or government exercising control over all its members. Rather, political organization rested largely upon the ramified lineage and the local extended family, and also upon the village, in which members of several families joined in dealing with common local problems.

As early as 1836, the LMS recognised that Malietoa’s ‘power’ in Samoa was limited. In times of peace the Samoans reverted to the power of the local village or village groups.⁵⁹ In 1834 when the missionary Aaron Barff visited areas where the London Missionary Society was established he found that *Malietoa* could not remove the various sects, such was the power of the villages.⁶⁰ A year later in 1835 the Methodist missionary Peter Turner landed on the island of Manono which had previously made a

⁵⁴ Malama Meleisea, ed., *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*, 35.

⁵⁵ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 11.

⁵⁶ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 14.

⁵⁷ Elia Taase, “The Congregational Christian Church in Samoa: The Origin and Development of an Indigenous Church, 1830–1961”, 174–175.

⁵⁸ Malama Meleisea, ed., *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*, 29; Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 9. These village communities remained independent of one another; George Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago and Long Before*, 180.

⁵⁹ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 90–91. According to Gilson, ‘...it appeared that ‘every village [had] its king or chief not subject to any other’ except in war, the policy of courting high chiefs for purposes of political advantage stood condemned.’

⁶⁰ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 83.

pact with Malietoa to remain Congregational. The presence of Methodist missionaries at a time when missionaries were scarce, led to a disregard of the previous agreement with Malietoa and Manono followed the Methodist denomination.⁶¹ This event has been recorded as a ‘new morning’ or *taeao* which is a historically significant moment in the history of Methodist Christianity in Samoa.

The autonomy of the villages illustrates that true power in Samoa was localised at the village level and at subdistrict level where village alliances were forged to protect each other in times of war.⁶² The sub-districts would often join to form distinct districts. Turner identified three districts in Upolu and three in Savaii as well as the island of Manono.⁶³ Each of the districts was dominated by a paramount chief.⁶⁴

Samoa developed a district government concerned with high title matters, rarely becoming involved in the day-to-day affairs of villages. However in the nineteenth century there were four leading titles which involved district consideration. The *Tuia’ana* title came from the A’ana district in western ‘Upolu while the *Tuiatua* title was from eastern ‘Upolu’s Atua district. Tuamasaga in central ‘Upolu and parts of Savaii were represented by the *Tamasoali’i* title, while the remaining parts of Savaii were represented by the *Gatoaitale* title. The island of Tutuila in American Samoa was regarded as a sub-district of the Atua district on the island of Upolu, while remote Manu’a islands to the east of Tutuila was rarely involved and had its own title, *Tuimanu’a*.

A natural environment which supports village self-sufficiency, pride in the extended family and village and competition among villages resulted in the prevalence of independent villages in Samoa. Gilson noted that such a prevalence of independent villages curbed tyranny.⁶⁵ A village would find it was to its advantage to maintain alliances within the sub-district to protect its independence and interests. The

⁶¹ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 83–84.

⁶² George Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia : Missionary Life, Travels and Researches in the Islands of the Pacific*. London: John Snow, Paternoster Row 1861, 193; George Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago and Long Before*, 180; Malama Meleisea, ed., *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*, 29

⁶³ George Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago and Long Before*, 232–266.

⁶⁴ Michael Field, *Mau: Samoa’s Struggle for Freedom*. Revised Edition, Auckland, New Zealand: Polynesian Press, 1991, 21–22.

⁶⁵ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 80.

independence of the village was later mirrored in the existence of various sects and denominations in nineteenth-century Samoa.⁶⁶

The situation of various independent sub-districts was exploited by powerful foreigners. The paramount chief *Mataafa* was backed by the ruling German administration at the beginning of the twentieth century. One could also speculate that this division would explain the manner in which Tonga dominated the Samoan islands of Upolu and Savaii. The Tongans would simply back one or the other of the clans and slowly dominate the Samoan islands.⁶⁷ It can be seen then that the independence of villages contributed to the sense of independence of the Samoan Church from the LMS.

The Ecclesiastical Factors that Contributed to Independence.

The Influence of Henry Venn and Rufus Anderson

The mission models of Henry Venn and Rufus Anderson's provided a guiding principle for Protestant-world mission.⁶⁸ Their models emphasised the establishment of the 'church' as the goal of mission.⁶⁹

The latter half of the nineteenth century and the first half of twentieth were dominated by this church-centred goal for what was then called foreign missions.⁷⁰ Venn's model of mission is based on 'the principles of self-support, self-governing and self-extension...on which depend the breath of life of the native church'.⁷¹ Once the church was self sufficient it should then be self-governing and then able to 'evangelize and extend itself'.⁷² Self-sufficiency was a pre-requisite to self-governing and, eventually, a self-propagating Christianity.

⁶⁶ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 94.

⁶⁷ Malama Meleisea, ed., *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*, 31–32. According to Meleisea, 'The new order in the west (Western Samoa) may have begun as a result of Tongan rule in Samoa. Samoan oral traditions describe how the brothers Tuna and Fata with the assistance of their sister's son Ulumasui, who had sacred power, drove the Tongans from the shores of Samoa. This event led to the creation of a new high title 'Malietoa'. Meleisea seems to be suggesting that the new high chief title Malietoa came as a revolt from the Tongan dominance in Western Samoa.

⁶⁸ Gerald Anderson, ed., *Mission Legacies: biographical studies of leaders of the modern missionary movement*. New York: Orbis 1994, 551.

⁶⁹ Gerald Anderson, ed., *Mission Legacies: biographical studies of leaders of the modern missionary movement*, 157.

⁷⁰ Charles Van Engen ed., *The Good News of the Kingdom. Mission Theology for the Third Millennium*. New York: Orbis Books, 1993, 82.

⁷¹ Wilbert Shenk ed., *Henry Venn—Missionary Statesman*, 121.

⁷² Gerald Anderson ed., *Mission Legacies: biographical studies of leaders of the modern missionary movement*, 545.

Venn viewed the relationship of the native church and missionaries as that of ‘edifice and scaffolding’.⁷³ The church was the edifice and the mission was the scaffolding. It was in this light, that the oft-quoted phrase, ‘*the euthanasia of a mission*’ was created.⁷⁴ This model assumed that the goal of mission was a missionary-minded church and that the mission structure should be removed as soon as possible to allow the new church to freely express its own sense of mission.

According to Peter Beyerhaus and Henry Lefever, Henry Venn saw the establishment of an ‘indigenous church’ independent of missionary influence as a ‘spiritual stage superior to that where Christians are the objects of missionary rule’.⁷⁵ The premise of this model was that a church reliant on missionary assistance could not be a responsible church.

The LMS stressed the importance of self-government as a Fundamental Principle.⁷⁶ The Principle espoused that the local church should decide church polity.

Our design is not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of Church Order and Government (about which there may be difference of opinion among serious Persons), but the Glorious Gospel of the blessed God to the Heathen.⁷⁷

According to Norman Goodall in his history of the London Missionary Society from 1895 to 1945, the Venn model of mission was used by the LMS in Samoa to develop an indigenous ministry as ‘the chief end of all missionary endeavour and this objective affected almost every phase of missionary policy’.⁷⁸

⁷³ Gerald Anderson ed., *Mission Legacies: biographical studies of leaders of the modern missionary movement*, 545.

⁷⁴ Gerald Anderson ed., *Mission Legacies: biographical studies of leaders of the modern missionary movement*, 545.

⁷⁵ Peter Beyerhaus and Henry Lefever, *The Responsible Church and the Foreign Mission*. London: World Dominion Press, 1964, 29. Venn is associated with the ‘indigenous church’ principle (self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating)

⁷⁶ Frank Lenwood, “The Effect of Modern Developments on Mission Policy”. *International Review of Missions* 12, October (1923): 525.

⁷⁷ Andrew Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History. Studies in the Transmission of Faith* Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996, 248. Quote from David Bogue. The sermon is summarized and quoted in Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society 1795–1895* Volume 1, 55f.

⁷⁸ Norman Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society 1895–1945*, 7.

A Self-sustaining Church

It is not surprising that a self-sustaining church developed very early in the Samoan environment. Village pride and competition between villages and sub-districts created a culture of self sustainment. The ability of the Samoan church to achieve self-support may be attributed to the nature of the Samoan society.⁷⁹ Within twenty-five years of John Williams landing in 1830, a self-supporting village ministry was at work.⁸⁰ Even with the introduction of additional donations for the Samoans teachers at the end of 1856 the Samoan Church was still able to support the LMS mission.⁸¹

These cultural factors contributed to the rapid attainment of self-sufficiency within the Samoan Church and thereby satisfied this goal of the Venn model of mission. In fact Ta'ase reports that:

After 1900, the self-supporting mechanism of the Samoan Church had worked exceedingly well. By 1905, the annual contribution to the LMS had reached the two thousand pound mark. In 1910, it rose to three thousand pounds. This was over and above the funds raised for the maintenance of local churches as well as the support of the local ministry. By 1915, it was envisaged that the Samoan Church could meet the entire cost of the Church and Mission within five years.⁸²

The fact that the Samoan Church had attained a self-sustaining status meant that the church was on the way to independence.

Self-government

It might be expected that with self sufficiency, self government would soon follow. However, the Samoan church rejected two offers by the London headquarters of LMS for more autonomy. Both times the Samoan leaders of the Church rejected the proposals.⁸³

⁷⁹ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 133.

⁸⁰ Norman Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society 1895–1945*, 353. According to Goodall, ‘...within a quarter of a century of John William’s landing a self-supporting village ministry was at work and native Samoan missionaries had already laid down their lives in ‘foreign’ service.’

⁸¹ Elia Taase, “The Congregational Christian Church in Samoa: The Origin and Development of an Indigenous Church, 1830–1961”, 212.

⁸² Elia Taase, “The Congregational Christian Church in Samoa: The Origin and Development of an Indigenous Church, 1830–1961”, 214; Norman Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society 1895–1945*, 372.

⁸³ Elia Taase, *Ina ia tatou iloa: o le talafaasolopito o le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Amerika Samoa Mai Amataga i le LMS e o'o i le 2005*. Apia, Samoa: Malua Printing Press, 1995, 244.

The first offer occurred in 1906 as a result of financial pressure to relieve missionary control at the district level.⁸⁴ This was rejected by the Samoans and the missionaries. Samoa with a history of corporate decision making at a subdistrict or district level would find it hard to accept individual leadership at a subdistrict level.⁸⁵ A Samoan leader tended to favour his own extended family or village, purely because of the obligation he had to his family and village.

The second offer occurred nine years later in 1915 when a deputation visited Samoa and proposed more self-government within the Samoan Church.⁸⁶ The Samoans said the missionaries would not lead the church because of:

...customs and habits peculiar to this country which have not altogether passed away which make it difficult to leave the administration to a few.⁸⁷

One must remember that pride and competition is still prevalent and is intrinsic to Samoan culture. There was concern that Samoan control would destabilise the LMS church through village or subdistrict rivalries. Ta'ase asserts correctly that the type of leadership offered by the LMS was really just a figurehead for the real power—the missionaries.⁸⁸ The missionaries who were well versed in Samoan culture had been aware of rivalries inherent in Samoa and were suspicious of Samoans controlling the church. However five years later in 1920 the Samoan church had a change of heart.⁸⁹ It was at the time of the Mau movement, a movement for more political freedom from New Zealand control.

Self-propagation

The church without evangelism is frail, since as a consequence of self-sufficiency it must be able to 'reproduce itself'. When both self-sufficiency and self-propagation are present, there is a vital, growing church.⁹⁰ The Samoan church was able to develop a missionary spirit because by 1820 the LMS was already sending native missionaries to

⁸⁴ Norman Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society 1895–1945*, 369.

⁸⁵ Norman Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society 1895–1945*, 369.

⁸⁶ Norman Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society 1895–1945*, 252.

⁸⁷ Norman Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society 1895–1945*, 370.

⁸⁸ Elia Taase, "The Congregational Christian Church in Samoa: The Origin and Development of an Indigenous Church, 1830–1961", 246. 'A good example was the way the LMS used Malietoa Laupepa. Throughout the latter part of the 19th century, the LMS eventually supported him and made him king. Around the 1870s, the LMS used their power over the king to break up the Samoan government which was working well under Colonel Steinberger.'

⁸⁹ Norman Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society 1895–1945*, 371.

⁹⁰ Charles Van Engen ed., *The Good News of the Kingdom. Mission Theology for the Third Millennium*, 157.

other island groups.⁹¹ Since the islands of Polynesia had similar languages, this method was an attempt to overcome language barriers and, secondly, the cultural barriers in new mission fields. In 1839 only nine years after landing in Samoa, John Williams had taken with him nine Samoan teachers on his mission to the New Hebrides.⁹² Since that time Samoans have been missionaries to Rotuma, New Hebrides (Vanuatu), New Caledonia and Loyalty Islands, Niue, Ellice Islands (Tuvalu), the Gilbert Islands (Kiribati), and Papua New Guinea.⁹³

According to Ta'ase the missionary spirit of the Samoan 'missionaries' can also be attributed to the migratory spirit of Polynesians. However compared to the Tongans, the Samoans rarely travelled beyond the Samoan archipelago. Ta'ase considers that the communal nature of the Samoan culture enabled relatives of missionaries to continue the missionary legacy of their elders.⁹⁴

The church-centric Venn model replaced the earlier individualistic mission theories derived from pietism and evangelical revivalism that focused on personal conversion.⁹⁵ Such a model reinforced the community emphasis of Samoan society. The 'church' as a corporate entity became associated with the village community. The emphasis on community rather than individual 'conversion' would result in the quantitative focus on church members rather than the qualitative or spiritual life of the congregation.

The International Missionary Council (IMC) policies of independence

A brief history of the International Missionary Council (IMC) indicates the major policies and trends of Protestant missionary societies in the world from 1921 to 1962.

The IMC was formed in 1921 at Lake Mohank, New York, as a result of the continuation committee of the Edinburgh Missionary Meeting of 1910. The London

⁹¹ Neil Gunson, *Messengers of Grace Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas 1797–1860*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1978, 319–20. 'The work of the native missionaries was twofold. Those whom the LMS called 'pioneers' were expected to use their influence to break down the traditional religious teams... Besides this work of a negative character, the native missionaries were expected to adopt similar procedures to the European missionaries'.

⁹² Elia Taase, "The Congregational Christian Church in Samoa: The Origin and Development of an Indigenous Church, 1830–1961", 220.

⁹³ Elia Taase, "The Congregational Christian Church in Samoa: The Origin and Development of an Indigenous Church, 1830–1961", 221–238; Neil Gunson, *Messengers of Grace Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas 1797–1860*, 21–24.

⁹⁴ Elia Taase, "The Congregational Christian Church in Samoa: The Origin and Development of an Indigenous Church, 1830–1961", 240.

⁹⁵ Lothar Bauerochse, *Learning to Live Together. Interchurch Partnerships as Ecumenical Communities of Learning*. Geneva: WCC Publications, 2001, 3–4.

Missionary Society became an important member of the IMC.⁹⁶ The meeting admitted to an 'overlong paternalism' between the 'younger churches' and the 'older churches'. It was a sign of the growing recognition for younger churches to become independent.

As a result of vigorous discussion in light of these facts, the Council sent a series of questions to many missionary societies, asking: (1) whether the time had not come for missionaries to work under the authority of nationals and with the same ecclesiastical status as their national colleagues? (2) Whether matters affecting the program of a younger churches ought not to be discussed by missionaries and nationals together as representatives of the church rather than by a predominantly missionary group? (3) Whether all funds from abroad ought not be administered jointly by the national church and the contributing agency? (4) And how best to encourage and train indigenous leadership for the different kinds of work in each country?⁹⁷

According to Anne Wind the IMC's tasks were to:

stimulate missiological reflection, to coordinate mission activities, to seek common perspectives on freedom of religion and conscience and on the freedom to do mission work, to combine Christian forces for justice in international and interracial relations, and to organize world mission conferences.⁹⁸

At Edinburgh in 1910 it was recognised that, the 'goal of this native Church should be self-support, self-government, self propagation.'⁹⁹ The recognition of the younger churches in the 1910 conference can be gauged by the appointment of three members of the younger churches to the Continuation Committee.¹⁰⁰

The 1928 IMC meeting in Jerusalem widely acknowledged that the First World War had shattered the myth of Western 'moral prestige and superiority'.¹⁰¹ This served only to strengthen the cause for independent 'younger churches'. Jerusalem acknowledged partnerships between both the younger and the older churches. Gort writes,

⁹⁶ Samoa Church (London Missionary Society), "The Commission". Apia: London Missionary Society, 1959, 4.

⁹⁷ William Hogg, *Ecumenical Foundations a History of the International Missionary Council and Its Nineteenth-Century Background*. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1952, 207.

⁹⁸ A Camps, L. A. Hoedemaker, M.R. Spindler *Missiology. An Ecumenical Introduction Texts and Contexts of Global Christianity* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995, 246–47.

⁹⁹ World Missionary Conference, 'Report of Commission I. Carrying the Gospel to All the Non-Christian World.' Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1910, 312.

¹⁰⁰ Ruth Rouse, & Neill Stephen, ed., *A History of The Ecumenical Movement 1517–1948* 4th ed., Geneva: WCC Publication, 1993, 359. Bishop Honda of Japan, Rev. Cheng Ching-yi of China, and Rev. Chatterjee of India

¹⁰¹ Jerald Gort, "Jerusalem 1928: Mission, Kingdom and Church". *International Review of Mission* 67, no. 267 (1978): 275.

It was not a euthanasia of mission that was needed but a mercy killing of missionary imperialism, paternalism, superiority complexes, mission itself, however—church-centric mission—must remain everywhere.¹⁰²

The third IMC meeting in Tambaram, India in 1938 stressed the growing recognition of the younger churches as equals of the older churches. Thus the theme of the meeting was ‘the strengthening of the younger Churches as a part of the historic universal Christian community’.¹⁰³ The representatives of the younger churches became the majority and the younger churches became the focus of the conference.¹⁰⁴

Tambaram believed that mission was to be done by the church rather than by gifted persons or special campaigns.¹⁰⁵ This eventually linked the young churches with mission. The young churches were encouraged to take responsibility for mission in their lands. At the same time financial and material support from the outside continued to be reduced in order to strengthen the financial independence of the local church.¹⁰⁶ Hence, discussion about the moratorium on outside aid was again voiced at Tambaram. In the development of the world mission conferences from Edinburgh to Tambaram, there was a growing recognition of the younger churches by the older churches that led to and developed into partnerships.

After the war the fourth meeting of the IMC took place in Whitby Ontario in Canada in 1947. The older churches were financially weakened by the Second World War. As a result the Northern missionary societies were unable to carry out evangelisation on their own.¹⁰⁷ The theme of the meeting ‘Partnership in Obedience’ expressed the idea that the task of mission was a global task and was to be undertaken in partnership. This co-operation with mission was necessary in the post war era.

¹⁰² Jerald Gort, “Jerusalem 1928: Mission, Kingdom and Church”, 282.

¹⁰³ Lothar Bauerochse, *Learning to Live Together Interchurch Partnerships as Ecumenical Communities of Learning*, 19.

¹⁰⁴ Lothar Bauerochse, *Learning to Live Together Interchurch Partnerships as Ecumenical Communities of Learning*, 19.

¹⁰⁵ Lothar Bauerochse, *Learning to Live Together Interchurch Partnerships as Ecumenical Communities of Learning*, 22.

¹⁰⁶ Lothar Bauerochse, *Learning to Live Together Interchurch Partnerships as Ecumenical Communities of Learning*, 26.

¹⁰⁷ Lothar Bauerochse, *Learning to Live Together Interchurch Partnerships as Ecumenical Communities of Learning*, 28.

With the younger churches being cut off from North Atlantic resources, they were forced to develop their own national and ecclesiastical identities.¹⁰⁸ At the same time there was a rising tide of political independence movements. As the great colonial empires fractured and the new nations grew stronger, ‘partnership in obedience’ was one way in which missions could avoid being identified as ‘organs of European and American imperialism’.¹⁰⁹

Several factors contributed to the rising independence movement. It was quite clear that the IMC was keen to give indigenous churches their independence. The depression and the subsequent Second World War highlighted the benefits of a self-supporting young church. In any case missionary societies did not have the financial strength to fund the younger churches at this time. The First and Second World Wars created a negative image of the ‘older’ churches. How could the older churches preach the gospel when these same nations had become involved in war? Furthermore, there was a growing equality between the North and the South. Delegates from the North were encouraged to travel to the countries in the South. Likewise the leaders of younger churches travelled to the North to work as pastors in local congregations or as missionary society workers.

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The Structure of the CCCS

The Congregational Christian Church of Samoa (CCCS) adopted a Presbyterian model of government.¹¹¹ The only remnant of ‘congregationalism’ was the ability of the village to choose their pastor, unlike the Methodist church in Samoa where the pastor was appointed by the Conference of Elders.¹¹² Gilson suggests that because of the ‘factional’ elements in Samoan culture a ‘hierarchy’ had to be established to control the Samoan tendency to factionalism.

The present structure of the CCCS is the culmination of several events. Firstly in 1854 native teachers were paid by the villages in which they served, instead of relying upon

¹⁰⁸ A Camps, L. A. Hoedemaker, M.R. Spindler *Missiology. An Ecumenical Introduction Texts and Contexts of Global Christianity*, 251.

¹⁰⁹ Lothar Bauerochse, *Learning to Live Together Interchurch Partnerships as Ecumenical Communities of Learning*. 30.

¹¹⁰ Lothar Bauerochse, *Learning to Live Together Interchurch Partnerships as Ecumenical Communities of Learning*. 33.

¹¹¹ Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society 1795–1895 Volume 1*, 401.

¹¹² Raeburn Lange, *Island Ministers. Indigenous Leadership in Nineteenth Century Pacific Islands Christianity*. Sydney: Pandanus Books, 2005, 98; Lalomilo Kamu, *The Samoan Culture and the Christian Gospel*, 139.

handouts. Since the operations of the entire village contributed to the salary of the native teacher it elevated their status within the village.¹¹³ Their recognition by the village transformed the status of the Samoan ‘teachers’ to ‘pastors’ in the 1860s.¹¹⁴ A select few were ordained by the Church and took over the duties of the missionaries such as presiding over meetings and performing sacraments.¹¹⁵

A further factor that contributed to the present structure of the Church was the shift from a ‘mission station’ strategy to a village-based Christianity. Initially the missionaries decided to set up mission stations as a base to spread the gospel to neighbouring villages.¹¹⁶ The missionaries expected to have a large resident population on the mission station as a pool to spread the gospel. However the missionaries discovered that Samoans would return to their villages rather than stay on or near the mission station. As a consequence the LMS were forced to abandon the ‘mission station’ strategy and focus on the village as a springboard for mission in what Forman called ‘village Christianity’.¹¹⁷ The focus of the LMS on the village was no doubt helped when the salaries of the ‘native teachers’ became the responsibility of the village. Being trained in Malua Theological College by the missionaries these ‘native teachers’ became the most educated people within the village. It became a source of pride for the village to have an ‘educated’ pastor who proclaimed the message of God. Such pride led to a close relationship between village and pastor.¹¹⁸

In early November 1875 the Samoan District Committee inaugurated the first Annual General Assembly.¹¹⁹ The Annual General Assembly created an opportunity for native leaders to deliberate with the missionaries on matters concerning the direction of the

¹¹³ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 130. A first move was made in 1854, the London Missionary Society altered its system of annual Samoan contributions, retaining the mission collections but providing that separate collections should be taken up at the same time for the benefit of the teachers alone; Raeburn Lange, *Island Ministers. Indigenous Leadership in Nineteenth Century Pacific Islands Christianity*, 99.

¹¹⁴ Wilbert Shenk ed., *Henry Venn—Missionary Statesman*, 118.

¹¹⁵ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 131.

¹¹⁶ Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society 1795–1895 Volume 1*, 379. According to Lovett ‘By 1840 the three main islands, Upolu, Savaii, and Tutuila, had been covered with a network of mission stations. At the chief point in each district a European missionary resided, and from that centre he itinerated and sought to evangelize the different villages and groups of natives—often very numerous in his district.

¹¹⁷ Charles Forman, *The Island Churches of the South Pacific Emergence in the Twentieth Century*, 70–78.

¹¹⁸ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 137.

¹¹⁹ Elia Taase, “The Congregational Christian Church in Samoa: The Origin and Development of an Indigenous Church, 1830–1961”, 198. The first *Fono Tele* convened at Malua on November 8–9, 1875; Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 135.

Samoan church. Previously, authority belonged to the Committee of Missionaries (known as the Samoan District Committee before 1928) or the *Au Matutua*. The word *Matutua* means ‘Elder’, and refers to a long experience of the missionaries in Christian faith. The Samoan delegates used this opportunity to press for ordination of all Samoan teachers.¹²⁰ According to Gilson the Samoan District Committee complied with their wishes.¹²¹

The Annual General Assembly or the ‘*Fono Tele*’ (Big Meeting) had become the key event in the calendar of the CCCS. It became a way to gather all the finances of the church. According to Charles Forman:

The May or some festival like it was at the centre of the financial operations of the church. The commonest way of raising money for the churches was not to take up a collection at the Sunday service, but to hold a great annual festival for which the people would save up their funds or their produce through the year and at which they would come forward individually or as families and make their contributions.¹²²

The Annual General Assembly would be the culmination of earlier efforts by the LMS since 1860 to incorporate a public announcement of village donations in the May Meeting. This led to an increase in donations.

The first innovation, tried in 1860 at the time of the May meetings, was the recording of total contributions by villages and of individual contributions exceeding ten pence. The final lists were posted or read out so that their contents became general knowledge. Approximately doubling the previous year’s revenue at the stations where it was first introduced, this system soon became universal.¹²³

By the late 1860s the statistics were so promising that the directors in London decided to give the Samoans more control of their church affairs.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ Elia Taase, “The Congregational Christian Church in Samoa: The Origin and Development of an Indigenous Church, 1830–1961”, 199.

¹²¹ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 135. Apparently fearing a boycott or breakaway movement, the missionaries gave in, leaving themselves little with which to bargain in future.

¹²² Charles Forman, *The Island Churches of the South Pacific Emergence in the Twentieth Century*, 82.

¹²³ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 131.

¹²⁴ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 134.

It would only be a matter of time that a committee of senior pastors would be set up. James Newell is credited with the introduction of the 'Elders Committee' in 1907. According to Goodall:

He brought these same qualities of wisdom and insight to the nurture of the Church, and it was due to his suggestion that there was incorporated in the structure of the Samoan Church the *Au Toeaina* or Council of Elders a device which successfully adapted a distinctive feature of Samoan society to the synodical needs of the Church.¹²⁵

Newell was an acknowledged expert in Samoan custom and protocol. He quickly developed an interest in the history and customs of Samoa.

Few missionaries reached his facility in the use of the Samoan language, both as a common tongue and in ceremonial speech; he combined a meticulous knowledge of Samoan lore with a rare instinct for the right word and the right behaviour in all his dealings with the 'aristocrats of the Pacific'—as the Samoans have been called.¹²⁶

Newell was well aware of the village meetings of chiefs. The Elders Committee or as Newell called it an 'advisory council' or 'presbytery', was simply an extension of village dynamics. The Committee was made up of Samoan pastors that helped coordinate administration of the church.¹²⁷ Newell acknowledged that by giving responsibility to the Samoans, it was a prerequisite for future leadership. Immediately the Samoan church responded with 'an increased desire to help the general work of the Society and the contributions rose at once from £1500 to £4000.'¹²⁸

Newell realised by adopting this church polity, it was no longer a strict Congregational Church:

The Church is perhaps not strictly Congregational, still it is sufficiently well expressed in the name which has been adopted:- The Church of the Congregation of Believers (*O le Ekalesia a le Faapotopotoga o le Au faatuatua*) to be briefly spoken of as The Congregational Lotu (Church) of Samoa (*O le Lotu O le Faapotopotoga*).¹²⁹

¹²⁵ Norman Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society 1895–1945*, 358.

¹²⁶ Norman Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society 1895–1945*, 357.

¹²⁷ James Newell, "L.M.S., Samoan District Out Letters to L.M.S., 1907", London, 1900–46, Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, 3.

¹²⁸ World Missionary Conference, *Report of Commission II. The Church in the Mission Field*. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier 1910, 357.

¹²⁹ James Newell, "L.M.S., Samoan District Out Letters to L.M.S., 1907", 3.

The Presbyterian model conformed to an established Samoan system of *matai* meetings in traditional village organisation. Just as the village decisions are made by the various village chiefs the major decisions of the Church are made by the Elders Committee. According to Goodall the Elders Committee was another example of how the LMS has copied and incorporated existing village structures in the operation of the Church.

...the nature of Samoan village life made it almost impossible to give reality to the separated church meeting in the Congregational sense. This fact, together with the prevailing influence of the chiefs in village life, led in 1907 to a constitutional development in the Church of some importance. A number of responsibilities, including the calling of a pastor to a village, were transferred from the local congregation to a meeting composed of representatives (pastors and deacons) from several adjacent villages. This District Meeting or Presbytery was henceforth an acknowledged centre of ecclesiastical authority.¹³⁰

The authority of the Elders Committee is reminiscent of the authority of the *matai* of the village meetings (*fono*). It also served as a pre-requisite for a self-governing Church.¹³¹

Political Factors That Led to Independence

The German and New Zealand administration of Samoa gave impetus to the political independence of Samoa. Both administrations attempted to weaken the traditional leadership structures of the *matai*. The German administration weakened the power of the *tulāfales*. The subsequent New Zealand administration weakened the power of the *aliis* and the *tulāfales*.

Tulāfales have traditionally become heavily involved in politics, especially in their nomination and support of the high chiefs. The real power in the politics of Samoa belonged to the alliance of *Tumua and Pule* orator groups. According to Michael Field:

.... Samoa's real national power was held by an alliance of Tumua, which was the orator groups from A'ana, Atua and Tuamasaga;¹ and Pule, the orators from Savaii. The Tumua ma Pule manipulated elections of the high chiefly titles and were the acknowledged authorities on the genealogy, history and traditions of Samoa. Their political influence, always strong, constantly checked Tafa'ifa

¹³²
...

¹³⁰ Norman Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society 1895–1945*, 367.

¹³¹ John Garrett, *Where Nets Were Cast Christianity in Oceania since World War II*. 3. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies University of the South Pacific, 1997, 247.

¹³² Michael Field, *Mau: Samoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 22. The Taifafa represents the 4 titles a chief must have to be recognized as the dominant chief in Samoa. It is purely a ceremonial position with no real authoritative power.

The association of the Methodist missionary Peter Turner with the *tulāfales* was an ingenious way to spread Methodism in Samoa.¹³³

The German Governor Wilhelm Solf tried to limit the powers of the orator group *Tumua* and *Pule*.¹³⁴ The *tulāfale* were viewed by Solf as opponents who undermined his authority. This was evident in the support of the German administration of the high chief *Mataafa*. According to Meleisea:

Mataafa's deferential and at times abjectly submissive attitude to Solf seems to indicate that he understood that the security and safety of his position relied more upon the support of the Governor than upon backers among *Tumua* and *Pule*, who had given him his original eminence.¹³⁵

The German governor Solf wanted the Samoans to know that the Kaiser was to be the source of all honour and no other and that he was the representative of the Kaiser.¹³⁶ Solf challenged the authority of *Tumua* and *Pule*, when the high chief *Mataafa* was involved in an important fine mat (*ie toga*) ceremony. Such fine mat ceremonies gave due recognition to the orators that elected *Mataafa*. Solf specifically ordered *Mataafa* to give each orator an equal portion of *ie toga*. This was against Samoan protocol and the custom of reciprocity. Certain chiefs would be given more *ie toga* based on their rank.

Although the *tulāfales*' powers were reduced at the national level they were still influential in district issues. By contrast the political power of high ranking *alii* was increasing. J. W. Davidson noted that during the twentieth century that 'increasing political authority was held by high ranking *alii* rather than by *tulāfale*' though '*tulāfale* groups such as *Tumua* and *Pule* continued to be influential in the selection of district representatives, who in turn appointed national representatives.'¹³⁷ German administration had severely reduced the power of the orators. This is illustrated by the

¹³³ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*, 85.

¹³⁴ Malama Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa*, 50. Solf's dislike of the orator groups *Tumua* and *Pule* was purely their influence in regards to the high chiefs. According to Meleisea, 'Solf was determined that his administration would be the source of recognition of the high rank and chiefly authority, and not *Tumua* and *Pule*, to whom he referred as 'that body of indolent intriguers'.

¹³⁵ Malama Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa*, 51.

¹³⁶ Malama Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa*, 50–51.

¹³⁷ Malama Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa*, 152.

deportation of the influential orator Lauaki, when his influence was deemed disruptive by the German administration.¹³⁸

At the start of World War I New Zealand took over Samoa from the Germans who had colonised Samoa since 1900. Political independence became a very strong issue in the 1920s after the aftermath of the epidemic of 1918 in which 22 per cent of the population died.

A commission was appointed to investigate the causes of the epidemic. Figures presented to the inquiry put the death toll at 7,542 people, or nineteen percent of the country's population...the commission said the final death toll was more likely to be in the area of 8,500 or twenty-two percent of the population, and in addition many people suffered the after-effects of the disease being totally or partially incapacitated.¹³⁹ The epidemic was a watershed in Samoan history. 'Politically', Field noted 'the epidemic exposed New Zealanders as bumbleres and people not fit to run somebody else's nation.'¹⁴⁰

The New Zealand authorities failed to take the proper precautions to prevent influenza entering Samoa. The Congregational Church suffered horrendous losses. Out of 220 pastors in active service, 103 died and twenty nine out of thirty members of the Elders committee died.¹⁴¹ It seemed that the indigenous ministry so carefully built up by the missionaries in the late nineteenth century was destroyed just as it began to exercise more authority in the early twentieth century.

In contrast, the American Navy who administered American Samoa, was aware of the presence of the influenza and successfully quarantined ships suspected of carrying passengers with the influenza. However, under the leadership of Colonel Robert Logan, the New Zealand Administration compounded the issue by its refusal to accept help from the American Navy in American Samoa. The American Navy, upon hearing reports of the pandemic in Samoa, had offered to send three medical doctors and staff to

¹³⁸ John Davidson and Deryck Scarr, *Pacific Islands Portraits*. Canberra: Australian National University, 1970, 267–299.

¹³⁹ Michael Field, *Mau: Samoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 49.

¹⁴⁰ Michael Field, *Mau: Samoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 50.

¹⁴¹ Norman Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society 1895–1945*, 361; Alfred H Wood, *Overseas Missions of the Australian Methodist Church. 1. Tonga Samoa*. Melbourne: Aldersgate Press, 1975. 320.

Western Samoa's aid.¹⁴² The impact of this negligence was reported in Colonel Logan's final telegram before being replaced in 1920:

...very considerable unrest and passive resistance among the Samoans, and bitter resentment due to feeling that proper precautions were not taken to prevent the introduction of the influenza into Samoa.¹⁴³

Succeeding administrators in the 1920s, and new laws passed by the New Zealand parliament, would aggravate feelings between Samoans and the New Zealand administration. For example, the New Zealand parliament passed the Samoan *Constitution Order* on 1 May 1920. This gave the Administrator almost unlimited power with little Samoan representation.¹⁴⁴ A legislative representative *Toelupe* with twenty eight other legislative representatives protested to the New Zealand government concerning the lack of consultation with Samoans.¹⁴⁵ This petition, however, was ignored. The *Constitution Order* was replaced by the *Samoa Act*, and again it, 'covered everything a state like Samoa could need—except democratic representation for Samoans.'¹⁴⁶

The second Administrator, Colonel Robert Tate, made the situation even worse with the *Samoa Offenders Ordinance 1922* which gave power to the Administrator to remove the titles of chiefs and banish them from their hereditary villages. The ordinance essentially gave dictatorial powers to the Administrator and those close to him.¹⁴⁷

Richardson, the *faipule* [mayor] and district councils all ordered people about. *Toelupe*, the senior *faipule* removed the *matai* title from *Muagatu* of *Malie* because *Muagatu* refused to comply with an inspections of knives, forks and spoons.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴² Alfred H Wood, *Overseas Missions of the Australian Methodist Church. 1. Tonga Samoa*, 320; Michael Field, *Mau: Samoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 45.

¹⁴³ Michael Field, *Mau: Samoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 48.

¹⁴⁴ Michael Field, *Mau: Samoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 53. "Significantly, the order gave Samoans no voice in the running of their nation: Under the order, the Administrator would share legislative power with a legislative council whose majority of member would be drawn from the administration staff, while the Administrator himself would nominate the unofficial members, none of whom would be full Samoans."

¹⁴⁵ Michael Field, *Mau: Samoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 57–58.

¹⁴⁶ Michael Field, *Mau: Samoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 57.

¹⁴⁷ Elia Taase, "The Congregational Christian Church in Samoa: The Origin and Development of an Indigenous Church, 1830–1961", 273.

¹⁴⁸ Michael Field, *Mau: Samoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 58–59.

Furthermore, Tate granted special privileges to Europeans. Only children with European last names were accepted in government schools in Apia.¹⁴⁹ The image of the LMS was tarnished with the revelation that one of the most prominent advisors to the New Zealand administrators was a printer employed by the LMS, Harry Griffin.¹⁵⁰ Griffin was a missionary for the LMS from 1905 to 1921 when he accepted a government appointment as Resident Commissioner of Savaii. In the following year he became Government Secretary for Native Affairs and was credited with the formulation of the dreaded *Samoa Offenders Ordinance* of 1922.¹⁵¹ It was a post which he held until his death in 1927 at the age of fifty.¹⁵²

The next Administrator to succeed Tate in 1923 was Brigadier General George Spafford Richardson. Richardson had a low regard for Samoans and their culture. He thought of Samoans as backward children who would, under New Zealand's benevolent influence, gradually advance until they could live and act like Europeans.¹⁵³ He provoked the ire of the Samoans when he used the *Samoa Offenders Ordinance* law to remove the title of one of the four paramount chiefs in Samoa, Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III, of the Atua district.¹⁵⁴ This action showed how little the Richardson administration respected Samoan culture.

The incident that sparked the removal of Tamasese's title was a complaint by Griffin to remove a hedge that was planted by the High Chief. Tamasese refused Griffin's request and the High Chief was subsequently exiled to Savaii island and his title removed.¹⁵⁵ Ironically Griffin was chosen as an advisor to the New Zealand administration because of his LMS affiliation, knowledge and experience of Samoan custom. Yet he failed to

¹⁴⁹ Elia Taase, "The Congregational Christian Church in Samoa: The Origin and Development of an Indigenous Church, 1830–1961", 272.

¹⁵⁰ Norman Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society 1895–1945*, 363.

¹⁵¹ Elia Taase, "The Congregational Christian Church in Samoa: The Origin and Development of an Indigenous Church, 1830–1961", 273; Norman Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society 1895–1945*, 363.

¹⁵² Norman Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society 1895–1945*, 363.

¹⁵³ Malama Meleisea, ed., *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*, 134; Michael Field, *Mau: Samoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 82; Alfred H Wood, *Overseas Missions of the Australian Methodist Church. 1. Tonga Samoa*, 322. He was described by Wood as outstanding in the first three years making advancement in public health and commerce. However his autocratic style without concern of Samoan culture made him unpopular.

¹⁵⁴ Derek Freeman, *Margaret Mead and Samoa the Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*. 272; Michael Field, *Mau: Samoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 64.

¹⁵⁵ Elia Taase, "The Congregational Christian Church in Samoa: The Origin and Development of an Indigenous Church, 1830–1961", 274; Derek Freeman, *Margaret Mead and Samoa the Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*. 272; Michael Field, *Mau: Samoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 64.

see the implications of his actions.¹⁵⁶ To remove a chiefly title from a paramount chief was a grave disregard of cultural protocol and an insult to the extended family of Tamasese and even the Samoan nation. Between 1921 and 1926, fifty three Samoan chiefly titles were removed and the chiefs subsequently banished from their villages.¹⁵⁷ Griffin's association with the New Zealand administration and his ties with the LMS created a negative image of the LMS in Samoa.

Samoan discontent led to the formation of a Citizens Committee made up of prominent Samoans, eager to voice their displeasure at the Richardson administration. More importantly it was to give Samoans a greater say in the running of their government. Richardson tried to halt the influence of the Citizen Committee.¹⁵⁸ When a second Citizens Committee meeting was set up on the 19 March 1927 Richardson had the police record all the names of those who attended these meetings. He stopped all fundraising for representatives of the Citizens Committee to New Zealand and blocked delegates of this Committee from going to New Zealand to voice their complaints to the Minister of Native Affairs. It became a new group known as the Samoan League or in Samoan the *Mau*, meaning a firm opinion or agreement and a movement of organised opposition'.¹⁵⁹ The motto of the *Mau* was 'Samoa for the Samoans' and would represent the Samoan people's grievances against not only the Richardson administration, but the New Zealand administration as a whole.¹⁶⁰ The *Mau* organised boycotts of trade, refusing to cut copra, refusing to buy imported food and even refusing to pay taxes.¹⁶¹

The *Mau* met the visiting New Zealand Minister of Native Affairs to voice their concerns on the 11 June 1927.¹⁶² The minister sided with the Richardson Administration and announced that the Administration would be further empowered to deport local Europeans, including part-Samoans, who stirred up trouble. Such an announcement was a blow to the *Mau* as the minister was referring to the leaders of the *Mau*.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁶ Elia Taase, "The Congregational Christian Church in Samoa: The Origin and Development of an Indigenous Church, 1830–1961", 273.

¹⁵⁷ Malama Meleisea, ed., *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*, 133.

¹⁵⁸ Michael Field, *Mau: Samoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 75–81.

¹⁵⁹ Alfred H Wood, *Overseas Missions of the Australian Methodist Church. 1. Tonga Samoa*, 84–85.

¹⁶⁰ Alfred H Wood, *Overseas Missions of the Australian Methodist Church. 1. Tonga Samoa*, 322.

¹⁶¹ Alfred H Wood, *Overseas Missions of the Australian Methodist Church. 1. Tonga Samoa*, 322; Elia Taase, "The Congregational Christian Church in Samoa: The Origin and Development of an Indigenous Church, 1830–1961", 275.

¹⁶² Michael Field, *Mau: Samoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 87.

¹⁶³ Malama Meleisea, ed., *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*, 135.

Richardson quickly seized the opportunity to use his new-found administrative powers and issued an order for the banishment of fifty-nine suspected leaders of the *Mau*.¹⁶⁴ He urged the New Zealand leaders to pass a law which would give the Administrator power to deport without trial. This became the *Samoa Amendment Bill* and he promptly used this to deport six European members of the Committee and a lawyer for siding with the *Mau*.¹⁶⁵ Having deported the leadership of the *Mau* to New Zealand, Richardson rapidly imprisoned 400 *Mau* supporters.

Such was the devastation to the *Mau* in this turbulent period that the leadership of the *Mau* ironically fell to the paramount chief, Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III.¹⁶⁶ Richardson offered a seat in the Samoan parliament for Tupua but the *Mau* was uncompromising in its stand; they now demanded New Zealand's withdrawal from Samoa and self-government.¹⁶⁷ Richardson was forced to release the prisoners as the prison was filled to overcrowding. He was unable to force *Mau* supporters to pay taxes and the followers began wearing a *Mau* uniform in the capital of Apia. Richardson's time as administrator was over and on 8 April 1928 he returned to New Zealand where he died ten years later.¹⁶⁸

Richardson was replaced by Colonel Stephen Allen. It was under his leadership that the leader of the *Mau*, Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III, was arrested and sentenced to imprisonment in New Zealand for six months. In June 1929 he was released and returned home immediately. The same year in December he was shot while leading a *Mau* march to welcome back exiled members of the movement.¹⁶⁹ The thought of revenge was swiftly abated by Tupua Tamasese's *mavaega* (dying wish).

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 price¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁴ Michael Field, *Mau: Samoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 92–93.

¹⁶⁵ Michael Field, *Mau: Samoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 100.

¹⁶⁶ Alfred H Wood, *Overseas Missions of the Australian Methodist Church. 1. Tonga Samoa*, 323; Michael Field, *Mau: Samoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 116.

¹⁶⁷ Michael Field, *Mau: Samoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 117.

¹⁶⁸ Michael Field, *Mau: Samoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 123.

¹⁶⁹ Derek Freeman, *Margaret Mead and Samoa the Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*. 273; Elia Taase, "The Congregational Christian Church in Samoa: The Origin and Development of an Indigenous Church, 1830–1961", 275.

¹⁷⁰ Derek Freeman, *Margaret Mead and Samoa the Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*. 273; Michael Field, *Mau: Samoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 157.

It was a testimony of the reverence Samoans had for their paramount chief. This also highlights the deep impact of Christianity on Samoa culture. As Field wrote, 'The Mau, with its overwhelming numbers, could have made life impossible for the Administration but its members were above all, dedicated Christians.'¹⁷¹

Colonel Stephen Allen was replaced in 1931 by General Herbert Hart who more or less followed the same policies as previous administrators. Allen had contempt for the Samoans, whom he considered as children.¹⁷² On his departure Allen wrote an extensive briefing paper for his successor:

The main thing to remember is that the Samoan never grows up, but always retains the mind and intellect of a child, reasons like a child, and behaves like a spoilt child – as he actually is. The Samoan has never had to think for himself.... The Samoan is consequently destitute of reasoning power and incapable of connecting cause and effect...¹⁷³

It was not until the election of the Labour Party in New Zealand that a change of policy occurred under the leadership of Michael Savage in 1935. The Labour administration was more sympathetic to the issues of the *Mau*, and consequently the *Mau*'s demands declined.¹⁷⁴ The Labour Administration soon announced the repeal of all anti-*Mau* legislation and the return of one of the prominent leaders of the *Mau*, Olaf Frederick Nelson, who was in exile in New Zealand.¹⁷⁵ The Labour administration organised elections for September 1936. Of the 39 elected, 33 were supporters of the *Mau*, two were *Mau* officials and four were men who had supported the government against the *Mau*.¹⁷⁶

At the end of World War II the United Nations Organisation (UNO) replaced the League of Nations. This organisation was given responsibility for territories under mandate in the period of 1918–1920. Samoa was one such territory under the mandate of New Zealand.¹⁷⁷ New Zealand was a member of the Trusteeship Council of the UNO

¹⁷¹ Michael Field, *Mau: Samoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 192.

¹⁷² Michael Field, *Mau: Samoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 200–201.

¹⁷³ Michael Field, *Mau: Samoa's Struggle for Freedom*, 200–201.

¹⁷⁴ Malama Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa*, 149.

¹⁷⁵ Alfred H Wood, *Overseas Missions of the Australian Methodist Church. 1. Tonga Samoa*, 322. Olaf Nelson is credited with forming the *Mau*; Malama Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa*, 149.

¹⁷⁶ Malama Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa*, 149.

¹⁷⁷ Malama Meleisea, ed., *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*, 147.

which had a declared objective of preparing Trust territories for self-government.¹⁷⁸ In 1947 a commission of the UNO visited Samoa from the 4 July until 28 August.¹⁷⁹ They were met by a huge crowd of Samoans demanding freedom and self-government. To add to the occasion many marched in the *Mau* uniform of 1920 which only confirmed that Samoans had not forgotten the way the pre-Labour New Zealand administration attempted to remove the *matai* system in the Samoan culture.

On 1 June 1948 a new flag flew alongside the New Zealand national flag to mark the establishment of a new government. The new flag adopted by an independent Western Samoa was based on the red, blue and white colours of the Samoan flags used before German colonisation. Blue stood for loyalty and the Pacific Ocean while red symbolised the ‘blood of Christ, thus reflecting the deeply religious character of the Samoans’.¹⁸⁰ The flag also incorporated on the upper left hand corner in white, the Southern Cross which is a popular symbol used by Southern Hemisphere nations.

The next step towards self-government of Western Samoa occurred in 1960 when a Constitutional Convention was set up, whose duty it was to devise the Constitution of the new State by the end of the year.¹⁸¹ Two of the key personnel of the Constitution was Etene Saaga and Aorae Petaia, both of the Congregational Church, who were requested by the Samoan government as interpreters and translators of the Samoan Constitution.¹⁸² Petaia and Saaga were both trained in Malua but had worked extensively in government roles. Etene was employed as a teacher at Leulumoega Fou High School at the time and later became the General Secretary of the independent Church. The government needed Saaga:

¹⁷⁸ Malama Meleisea, ed., *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*, 148; Featunai Liuaana, *Samoa Tula’i. Ecclesiastical and Political Face of Samoa’s Independence 1900–1962*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 2004, 279.

¹⁷⁹ Featunai Liuaana, *Samoa Tula’i. Ecclesiastical and Political Face of Samoa’s Independence 1900–1962*, 281.

¹⁸⁰ John Hurley, “Vexillology in the South Seas”, *Pacific Islands Monthly*, 37 September 1966, 81.

¹⁸¹ “There’s Confusion Over West Samoan Citizenship”. *Pacific Islands Monthly*, 31 June 1960, 23. Membership will comprise the *Fautua*, members of the present Legislative Assembly, the high chief Afioga Tuimaleali’ifano, three members for each Samoan constituency in addition to the elected member of the Assembly for that constituency, and ten European members in addition to the five elected members of the Assembly; Doug Munro, “J.W. Davidson and Western Samoa”. *The Journal of Pacific History* 35 no.2 (2000): 202–203.

¹⁸² Vavae Toma to H Levestam, 5 February 1960. (from Congregational Christian Church of Samoa Archives henceforth known as CCCSA); H. Levestam to Vavae Toma, 9 February 1960. (CCCSA); John Garrett, *Where Nets Were Cast Christianity in Oceania since World War II*, 99; Featunai Liuaana, *Samoa Tula’i. Ecclesiastical and Political Face of Samoa’s Independence 1900–1962*, 283.

...because of Etene's experience already gained with the Committee, and because of his personal qualifications, he is the only person who can give the Committee and its Advisers the assistance they require. The purpose of this letter, therefore is to ask if the Church is willing to release Etene from his commitments so that he can work full-time for the Government at least for the rest of 1960.¹⁸³

Such was the influence of the prominent Congregational Church members in the independence process that even the first Prime Minister of Samoa, Mataafa Faumuina Fiaame Mulinu'u II was also an Elder deacon of the Congregational Church. His wife Fetaui *Mataafa* was also prominent in the ecumenical movement in the 1960s.¹⁸⁴ Western Samoa became independent from New Zealand administration on the 1 January 1962. A few months later in May 1962 the Congregational Church of Samoa became independent from the LMS.

Conclusion

The independence of the Samoan Congregational church was a result of cultural, ecclesiastical and political factors. The cultural factors revolved around the institution of the village, which traditionally has a reputation of independence. The ecclesiastical factors involved the policies of the LMS which actively promoted independence through the use of the Venn strategy of mission. The political factors occurred at a time when both the German and New Zealand administrations attempted to weaken the village institution by challenging the authority of the *matai*. This created resentment amongst Samoans resulting in a political drive for independence. The combination of these three factors all contributed to the emergence of an independent church.

The success of the LMS may be attributed to the way the church conformed to the village context of Samoa. The key to this success lay in the incorporation of the pastor in traditional village dynamics. The pastor had become an honorary *matai* in the village. Since oratory is significant in Samoan culture, closely associated with the development of a chiefly language, the sermon made the pastor a *tulāfale* for God. As a representative of God, the pastor status was more ancient and therefore higher than *alii* titles. In this way the pastor's status not only paralleled but exceeded the status of the *alii* and *tulāfale* of the village. The *alii* and *tulāfale* in their turn became involved with the church by becoming lay preachers and deacons of the church. The incorporation of

¹⁸³ H Levestam to Vavae Toma, 28 January 1960 (CCCSA).

¹⁸⁴ "CCWM Panorama". *CCWM World Mission*, July 1966, 11.

the *pastor* in village dynamics with the support of the *alii* and *tulāfale* ensured that the church would play a prominent part in village life.

In a culture where materialism and cash donations are viewed as a sign of family and village prestige, the LMS cleverly tapped into this inherent pride and inter-village competitiveness to create a financially self-sufficient church in Samoa. It was also fortunate that the emphasis of the Venn model for a self-sustaining church utilised this inter-village competitiveness. Derek Freeman correctly identified village pride and competitiveness as a driving force in maintaining the honour of the village. Church building, as we shall see, became a testimony to village pride and competitiveness.

The Venn strategy of mission also encouraged the native church to be self-governing. A self-governing church was also an important part of the Fundamental Principle of the LMS. Both these church strategies which encouraged self-government in the church fitted perfectly with village culture. Samoa, as a nation of relatively independent villages and independent village alliances, readily identified with this church strategy. Furthermore, the independence of villages and village alliances was promulgated via the *Faalupega*, which recognised these various independent institutions. Church independence became concomitant with village independence.

Church independence was also espoused by the IMC through the recognition of the younger churches. This recognition initially stemmed from the failure of the churches in Europe to prevent two World Wars. European missionary societies responded to such issues by gradually giving recognition and eventually independence to indigenous churches. It was a painful admission of the fact that if the European churches could not stop these conflicts in Europe how could they govern new emerging churches. Thus the 'younger churches' were seen as partners with the 'older church' in a world challenged by anti-church rhetoric from the communists and the messianic status of Adolf Hitler for Germany. Gradually this partnership would lead to independence after the Second World War.

The significance of the church identifying with the village is that the emergent CCCS was itself regarded as a 'village'. Village dynamics would unconsciously be incorporated in the operation and structure of the CCCS. Features of the village such as the emphasis on community rather than the individual were also copied by the CCCS.

Respect for the *matai* and the significance of the *fono* also found corresponding parallels in the reverence for the pastor and the prominence of committee meetings.

On the political front both German and New Zealand mis-administration led to calls for independence. New Zealand's failure to quarantine a boat suspected of carrying influenza resulting in the death of a quarter of Samoa's population marked a turning point. Both Germany and New Zealand tried to weaken the power of the chiefs. The removal of chiefly titles, even of a paramount chief, was considered sacrilege in Samoan custom. Titles were conferred through consensus between *tulāfales* who represented several extended families. Removal of chiefly titles dishonoured whole sub-districts and in the case of a paramount chief a whole district. The lack of respect for a paramount chief was further fuelled with the shooting of Tamasese, during a *Mau* rally. It was something Samoans never forgot and further fuelled calls for independence.

In 1962 political, ecclesiastical and cultural factors came together resulting in the creation of an independent nation and an independent church. With the call for political independence involving prominent members of the Congregational Church such as the Prime Minister, *Mataafa* Fiame II and Etene Saaga, it was not surprising that the Congregational Church would follow suit. Political independence paralleled the emergence of a self-sufficient Congregational Church which incorporated many village characteristics. The drive for independence was reinforced by London Missionary Society policies and those espoused by the International Missionary Council.

Chapter Two

Challenges of Educational Growth and Church Polity

1962–71

In 1962 the Samoan Church (LMS) became independent from the London Missionary Society after decades as a self-sustaining indigenous Church.¹ As a sign of independence, the Church in its first decade sought to achieve two primary goals: firstly, it incorporated elements of the village structure and dynamics in order to establish a secure financial basis for the Church; secondly it sought to improve the standard of education in Church schools. Indeed, education proved to be an all-consuming passion for the Church in the 1960s, focussing in particular on the development of Leulumoega Fou High School.

The Congregational Christian Church in Samoa

Two years prior to 1962 the Samoan Church (LMS) was involved in discussions concerning the changes to the Church that might take place once independence had been achieved. One of the first issues to arise was the name of the Church. In anticipation of their independent status the Samoan Church did not seek advice from the seven resident missionaries.² Rather, it invited the secretary of the Island Committee of the LMS, the Rev. Stuart Craig, to act in an advisory role on this matter.³ Craig was an experienced and respected missionary who had a long association with the Samoan Church.⁴ It was Craig's suggestion that the independent Church be called 'The Congregational Church

¹ "Survey-Pacific Area". *International Review of Missions* 17, January (1928): 70; Norman Goodall, "The Church in the South Seas: Looking Towards Reconstruction". *International Review of Missions* 32, October (1943): 396–403.

² John Bradshaw to Hugh Neems and Stuart Craig, 26 November 1961. (from Congregational Christian Church of Samoa Archives henceforth known as CCCSA).

³ John Cohen to Vavae Toma, 22 September 1960 (CCCSA). Cohen complained to Toma that the Samoan members of the GPFC only wanted to see Stuart Craig without the resident missionaries; Etene Saaga to Stuart Craig, 17 August 1962 (CCCSA). Stuart Craig always wanted an update of the revised Constitution; "O le Komiti o le Iloiloga o le Faavae o le Ekalesia Samoa (LMS) 22 Novema 1960". Malua: Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), 1960, 1. 60KIF4. In the first Constitution Review Committee Stuart Craig suggested a spiritual element to the constitution of the church. Consequently in the second Constitutional Review Committee on 21 February 1961 it was decided to incorporate elements of the 1908 Constitution, as the 'spiritual' element in the constitution; "O le Komiti o le Iloiloga o le Faavae o le Ekalesia Samoa (LMS) 21 Fepuari 1961". Malua: Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), 1961, 1. 61KIF2; Bernard Thorogood to members of Congregational Council for World Mission, 4 July 1973 (CCCSA); Oka Fauolo to Audrey Stuart Craig, 23 July 1973 (CCCSA).

⁴ Samoa Church (LMS), "The Commission". Apia: London Missionary Society, 1959. See Introduction. Stuart Craig was credited with the initiation of 'The Commission', a six year investigation to review 'every aspect of the Church' from 1953 to 1959; Ernest Edwards to Etene Saaga, 11 March 1968, 1 (CCCSA).

in Samoa'.⁵ Later, the Samoan Church added 'Christian' to the name and then in 1961, the General Assembly of the Samoan Church officially adopted the 'Congregational Christian Church in Samoa' (CCCS) as the new name.⁶

The Structure of the Church

The CCCS also changed the structure of the Church partly on the encouragement of Craig. However in order to understand the changes to the structure of the Church it is first necessary to give a brief outline of the structure of the Church as it was before independence in 1962.

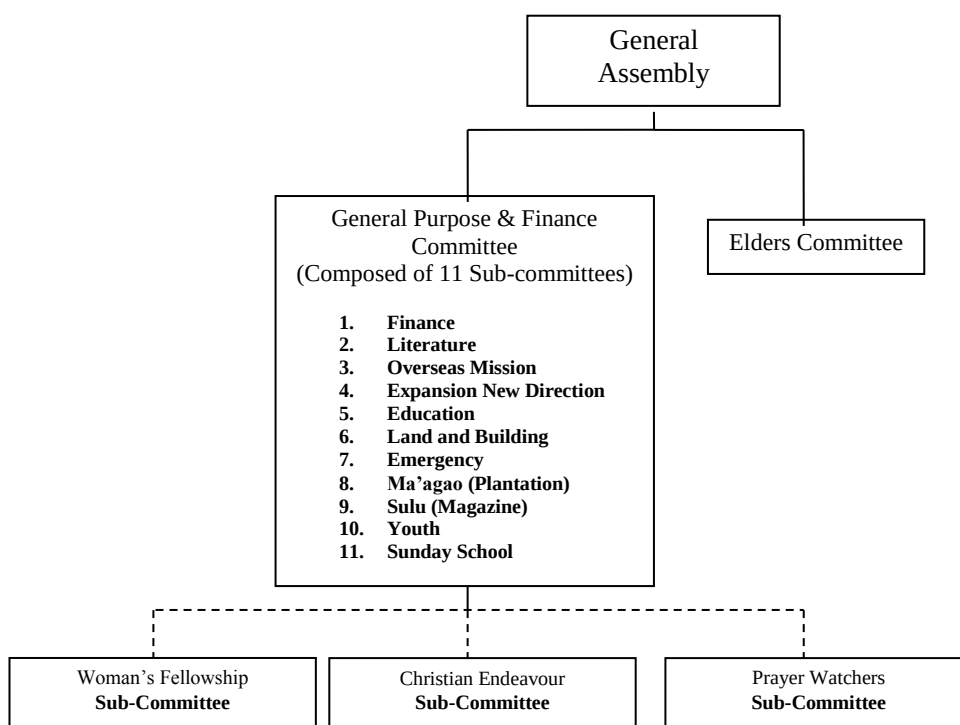


Fig 1. Structure of the CCCS in 1961

The governing body of the CCCS is the General Assembly, the supreme Council of the Church which decides on matters for all the districts of the Church.⁷ The General

⁵ "O le Komiti o le Iloiloga o le Faavae o le Ekalesia Samoa (LMS) 22 Novema 1960", 2. 60KIF3. The next year the government request the official name of the newly independent church; "O le Komiti o le Iloiloga o le Faavae o le Ekalesia Samoa (LMS) 21 Fepuari 1961", 1. 61KIF3.

⁶ Samoa Church (LMS), *The General Assembly of the Samoan Church (LMS) 5–22 June 1961*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1961, 3–4. 61GA5; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa. "Tala Otooto o le Fonotaga a le Komiti o Feau Eeseese ma mea tau Tupe 7–12 Me 1962". Malua: Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, 1962, 4. 62KFET47; Stuart Craig to John Reuling, 21 February 1962, 2 (CCCSA).

⁷ "The Rules of the Samoan Church (London Missionary Society) Incorporated". Apia: Samoa Church (LMS), 1959, 2; "Notes Regarding Revision of the Constitution of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa 2006". Apia: Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, 2006, 19.

Assembly is usually held at Malua Theological College in the month of May to coincide with the season of Pentecost. In 1961 the CCCS was organised into eight districts. There were six districts in Western Samoa, four on the island of Upolu, and two on the island of Savaii, with 186 ministers serving in villages.⁸ There was one district in American Samoa and one in the United States—the first overseas district outside of the Samoan archipelago.⁹ Later in 1967 the General Assembly incorporated Hawaii as the ninth district and two years later New Zealand became the tenth district of the CCCS.¹⁰

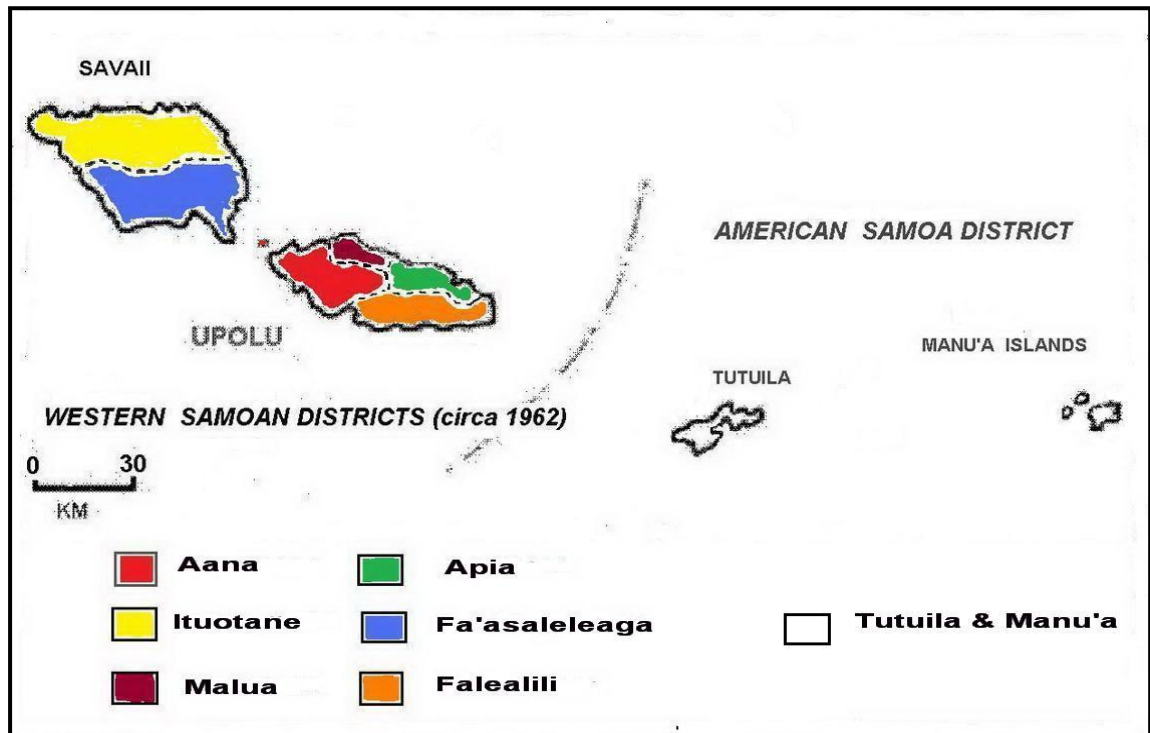


Fig 2. The seven districts of the CCCS in 1962

In 1961 the implementation of the various decisions of the Church was determined by two major committees, the Elders' Committee and the combined General Purpose and

⁸ Vavae Toma to E. Stehlin, 1 November 1960 (CCCSA).

⁹ On the island of Upolu there are four districts, Apia, Malua, A'ana, and Falealili. In Savaii there are two districts Ituotane and Fa'asaleleaga. In American Samoa or 'Tutuila and Manu'a' district comprised the main island of Tutuila and Manu'a island groups; Samoa Church (LMS), *The General Assembly of the Samoan Church (LMS) 5–22 June 1961*, 13–14. 61GA27; Danny Ioka, "Origin and Beginning of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa in Aotearoa New Zealand". PhD, University of Otago, 1995, 135.

¹⁰ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, Malua Western Samoa 15-26 May 1967*. Malua: Malua Printing Press, 1967, 9. 67GA15; Danny Ioka, "Origin and Beginning of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa in Aotearoa New Zealand", 498.

Finance Committee (GPFC).¹¹ Hugh Neems the LMS missionary in American Samoa defined the function of both the Elders' and GPFC committees as:

...responsible for carrying out General Assembly decisions and will be responsible for initiating action in accordance with the general policy of the Church agreed by the General Assembly.¹²

The Elders' Committee's primary duty was to ensure that rules and decisions of the General Assembly as well as ordinances of the Constitution were carried out.¹³ They were also responsible for ministry including matters related to Malua Theological College as well as disciplinary action when ordinances of the Constitution were not observed.¹⁴ Delegates to the Committee included all the seven LMS missionaries, Geoffrey Tuberville, Miss Marjorie King, John Bradshaw, John Cohen, Bruce Deverell, Clarence Norwood, and Hugh Neems.¹⁵ The Committee also included the chair of the General Assembly, senior ministers and deacons from each sub-district.¹⁶ Non-ministerial duties of the Church were the responsibility of the General Purpose and Finance Committee (GPFC).

The GPFC was the most influential committee. In addition to the missionaries some of the most prominent people in the government were members of the GPFC, including Mataafa Fiaame II the first Prime Minister of the independent Western Samoa.¹⁷ It encompassed eleven subcommittees which controlled the major functions of the Church such as education, aspects of spirituality, overseas mission and finance.¹⁸ The Education sub-committee was primarily involved with the academic standards of the eight Church

¹¹ Samoa Church (LMS), "The Commission", 49. The General Purpose combined with the Finance Committee in 1956 in an effort to make a smooth operation of the General Assembly.

¹² 'Synopsis of the Report Prepared For The District of The Congregational Christian Church in American Samoa' accompanied Open Letter of Rev. Hugh Neems to CCCS, 1 January 1962, 2 (CCCSA).

¹³ "The Rules of the Samoan Church (London Missionary Society) Incorporated", 9.

¹⁴ Samoa Church (LMS), "The Commission", 49; "The Rules of the Samoan Church (London Missionary Society) Incorporated", 9.

¹⁵ "Samoa Missionary Meeting 11 & 24 November 1960". Apia: Samoa Missionary Committee, 1960.

¹⁶ "The Rules of the Samoan Church (London Missionary Society) Incorporated", 8.

¹⁷ Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), "Komiti o Feau Eese ma mea tau Tupe 5-10 Iuni 1961". Apia: Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), 1961, 6-7, 16. 61KFET82. Missionaries were involved in seven of the eleven sub-committees, including finance and education; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi o Iugafono a le Au Toeaina 1952-1978*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1979, 53-54. 62KAT58. The Elder deacon Mataafa Fiaame M II CBE, replaced the minister Galea'i who passed away.

¹⁸ Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), "Komiti o Feau Eese ma mea tau Tupe 5-10 Iuni 1961", 16. 61KFET 82. The eleven sub-committees were 1.Finance Sub-Committee 2.Literature / Book Sub-committee. 3. Overseas Mission Sub-committee. 4. Expansion New Direction Sub-committee. 5. Education Sub-committee. 6. Land and Buildings Sub-committee. 7. Emergency Sub-committee. 8. Ma'agao (Plantation) Sub-committee. 9. 'Sulu' (Church Magazine) Sub-committee. 10. Youth Sub-committee. 11. Sunday School Union. Three sub-committees the Christian Endeavour, Prayer Watchers and *Mafutaga Tina* were semi-autonomous and not under the direct control of the GPFC.

schools.¹⁹ Issues concerning spirituality were dealt with by the Sunday School, Youth and the Literature Sub-committees. The Sunday School and Youth Sub-committee dealt with religious instruction within the village confines.²⁰ A literature sub-committee was added by the LMS missionaries to inform Church members of important issues including the unorthodox doctrines of Christian sects such as Mormons and Seventh Day Adventists in Samoa.²¹ Issues dealing with land and the Church buildings, including school buildings, were handled by the Land and Building Sub-committee. A Mission Sub-committee was devoted to mission work, particularly the financial support of LMS and Samoan missionaries in Papua New Guinea.

Basis of the Financial System of the CCCS

One of the first changes to the structure of the newly independent Church was to establish an independent Finance Committee that would strengthen the financial accountability and stability of the Church.²² Six years prior to independence the Finance Committee had amalgamated with the General Purpose Committee, with the result that most attempts by the Finance Subcommittee to reduce costs were overturned by the GPFC. For example, the GPFC rejected the resolution to stop allowances to theological students involved in youth fellowships and committee meetings.²³ The GPFC also rejected calls to remove funds associated with running sub-committee meetings which had cost £300 annually and ‘declined to act’ when the missionaries proposed that debts be paid quickly.²⁴ An independent Finance Committee eased these restrictions.²⁵

¹⁹ Amosa Malo, “A Study of the Church and Its Concept of Education and How Effective It Is in the Life and Attention of the People. With Special References to the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa”. Bachelor of Divinity, Pacific Theological College, 1980, 35.

²⁰ Samoa Church (LMS), “The Commission”, 21. The Youth sub-committee focussed on the post Sunday School church members in particular the teenagers or young adults. Usually it involved the organisation into Boys and Girls Brigade to ‘instil discipline’ amongst the youth; “Minutes of Meeting of Youth Committee 11 May”. Malua: Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), 1960, 1. Sunday School was for children up to 12 years. Boys and Girls Brigade for children from 12 to 18 years. Youth Clubs are for youth from 18 to 30 years.

²¹ Samoa Church (LMS), “The Commission”, 28.

²² “O le Komiti o le Iloiloga o le Faavae o le Ekalesia Samoa (LMS) 21 Fepuari 1961”, 1. 61KIF5 and 61KIF6; “O le Komiti o le Iloiloga o le Faavae o le Ekalesia Samoa (LMS) 17–18 Iulai 1961”. Malua: Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), 1961, 61KIF1. The structure of the GPFC would be changed by the decisions of the Constitutional Review Committee from 1960 to 1961. The Constitution Review Committee proposed a separate Finance Committee and Educational Committee; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa. “Tala 'Ootoo o le Fonotaga a le Komiti o Feau Eeseese ma mea tau Tupe 7–12 Me 1962”, 6. (e) The Sub-Committee wished to use a part of the church donations. This was not accepted by the GPFC.

²³ Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), “Komiti o Feau Eeseese ma mea tau Tupe 9–13 Ianuari 1961”. Apia: Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), 1961, 2. 61KFET3 part 1 section b.

²⁴ Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), “Komiti o Feau Eeseese ma mea tau Tupe 9–13 Ianuari 1961”, 2. 61KFET3 part 1 section c; Clarence Norwood, “Samoa Missionary Meeting 6 October 1961”. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1961, 61SMM98. As a member of the Churches Financial Sub-Committee Clarence Norwood had asked the Church Treasurer to approach the bank to allow more time to pay the debt but the GPFC Emergency Sub-Committee declined to act.

In order to understand the significance of finances to the CCCS it is necessary to examine the complex dynamics of the Church's financial system. It is centred around the village. All village congregations are committed to three financial obligations. Their immediate obligation is to the welfare of the pastor and his family.²⁶ Their next obligation is to the maintenance of the Church building and to the associated functions of the Church such as the Sunday School. The third obligation is the *taulaga* a levy made to a central fund for Church development.

There is a great deal of village pride associated with these offerings especially with the *taulaga*. As mentioned in Chapter One, there is a competitive spirit that is integral to 'traditional' village relationships which encourages villagers to donate as much as possible to the *taulaga*. Such a scenario makes the village offerings generous.²⁷ Every village is expected to contribute to the *taulaga* each year. There were eight separate donations which funded the various sub-committees.²⁸ Three of these are particularly important. The most important *taulaga* is the *taulaga mo Samoa*, or offerings for Church development in Samoa. The second is the *taulaga Nuu Ese* or offering to the mission activities of the Church which included donations to the LMS and also to support Samoan missionaries in Papua.²⁹ The third is the *taulaga Au Taumafai* or

²⁵ Samoa Church (LMS), *The General Assembly of the Samoan Church (LMS) 5–22 June 1961*, 7. 61GA11.

²⁶ The village gives a regular fortnightly offertory (*alofa*) for the pastor's use which is not taxed., In addition the village provides a residence to the pastor and land on which the pastor can grow food crops. The village provides auxiliary services to the pastor, such as house keepers to maintain the pastor's house, payment of electricity bills, and additional gifts for services such as birthday celebrations, funerals, etc...

²⁷ Cluny Macpherson and La'avasa Macpherson, "Churches and the National Economy of Samoa: Preliminary Analysis" in *Proceedings of the 4th DevNet Conference: Development on the Edge*. Auckland: Auckland Centre of Development Studies, 2004, 14. Cluny MacPherson wrote that 'Competition between families and villages to demonstrate their commitment ensures that families and congregations typically exceed the basic level.'

²⁸ Hugh Neems, "O le Ekalesia i Totonu o le Nu'u". Pago Pago: Samoa Church (LMS), 1961, 4. *Alofa Faifeau* (Donations for Pastor): *Taulaga i le Ekalesia* or *Taulaga mo Samoa* (Donations for the Church): *Taulaga Vaa lotu*, (Donations for Missionary Boat): *Taulaga Nuu Ese* (Donations for Overseas Mission): *Taulaga mo le Siitaga o Aoga* (Donations for Education): *Faifeau Falema'i* (Donations for Hospital Pastor): *Taulaga Auleoleo* (Donations for Prayer Watchers); Faulalo Sagapolutele, "Taulaga Au Taumafai". *O le Sulu Samoa*, Novema 1963, 18; Elisara Tia, "Mo le Au Taumafai". *O le Sulu Samoa*, Iuni 1964, 106–107; Faulalo Sagapolutele, "O Taulaga a le Matagaluega a Apia mo le Au Taumafai Tausaga 1962". *O le Sulu Samoa*, Aukuso 1964, 149. Throughout the 1960s the *taulaga Au Taumafai* (Christian Endeavour) was published in the Sulu to encourage other villages to donate to the Christian Endeavour.

²⁹ Etene Saaga to David Ure, 9 November 1964, (CCCSA). The Missionary Boat *taulaga* is collected for the running costs of the *John Williams* boat, which is a LMS boat that is used to visit the various islands of the South Pacific.

offering for Christian Endeavour, a semi-autonomous sub-committee representing the spiritual arm of the Church.³⁰

The Impact of Financial Debt

The decision to create an independent Finance Committee received further impetus from a growing debt crisis that occurred shortly after independence. At the beginning of 1961 the Church was nearly £2000 in arrears which worsened in June when the budgeted deficit jumped to nearly £11,000.³¹ Such a scenario highlighted the need for greater accountability in monitoring the budget. There were also problems with the flow of capital. A great part of the *taulaga* was received in December and for the period June to September, the Church's bank account was 'heavily overdrawn'.³² This unsatisfactory situation was compounded by the Church's slow repayment of debts.³³ The missionaries were alarmed at the debt and felt that the 'Society's good name was being compromised'.³⁴ They wanted the rapid repayments of debts made as a priority if there was any surplus from the *taulaga*.³⁵

Origins of the Education Committee

The 1961 financial crisis had drastic repercussions for Church schools. As a result the education budget was cut by £4000 forcing the Education Sub-Committee to propose the closure of three schools—Nuuausala and Vaisigano in Western Samoa and Atauloma in American Samoa.³⁶ The proposal was rejected by the GPFC which

³⁰ Harry Betham, "O le faamatalaga o le Tupe Aperila 1 1961–Mati 31, 1962". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1962, 1. In 1961/1962 the White Sunday *taulaga* was added. The White Sunday *taulaga* is an annual offering for the children usually on the second Sunday of October.

³¹ Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), "Komiti o Feau Eseese ma mea tau Tupe 9–13 Ianuari 1961", 3. 61KFET3 part 2; Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), "Komiti o Feau Eseese ma mea tau Tupe 5–10 Iuni 1961", 15. 61KFET78 Most of this expected income came from annual district donations (*Taulaga*) of £32,000, and church school fees £2,500. By June 1961 the GPFC estimated the yearly income for the 1961/62 financial year at £39,650; Samoa Church (LMS), *The General Assembly of the Samoan Church (LMS) 5–22 June 1961*, 15. 61GA32 The June General Assembly predicted a budget expenditure of £50,000 debt resulting in a net loss of nearly £11,000.

³² Clarence Norwood, "Samoa Missionary Meeting 6 October 1961", 61SMM98.

³³ Clarence Norwood, "Samoa Missionary Meeting 6 October 1961", 61SMM98. For example the salaries of two Overseas Teachers employed by the Church had been almost as much as three months in arrear.

³⁴ Clarence Norwood, "Samoa Missionary Meeting 6 October 1961", 61SMM98; "Samoa Missionary Minutes 6 January 1962". Apia: Samoa Missionary Committee, 1962, 1. 62SMM3.

³⁵ Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), "Komiti o Feau Eseese ma mea tau Tupe 9–13 Ianuari 1961", 1. 'It is very difficult for the [GPFC] Committee to make plans for the church because of the treasurer's report has revealed the bad financial situation of the church in this time.' (author's translation)

³⁶ "Komiti o Feau Eseese ma mea tau Tupe 9–13 Ianuari 1961", 1. 61KFET4; 3. 61KFET3 part 2.

regarded education as a hallmark of the LMS mission and the newly-established Church.³⁷ According to Forman:

Schools were an important part of the work of all the missions. Particularly the LMS central schools—Malua for theological students, Leulumoega for youths, and Papauta for girls, and their smaller counterparts in American Samoa—became leading centres of education and the way to social prestige. Each of the other churches also had central schools at post primary level. The lower schools, conducted by the pastors in the villages, were less satisfactory and were gradually replaced by government schooling. At first the pastors supplemented the government's instruction by giving lessons, particularly on religion, after school hours. But gradually the practice died out and the churches concentrated their efforts on post primary education.³⁸

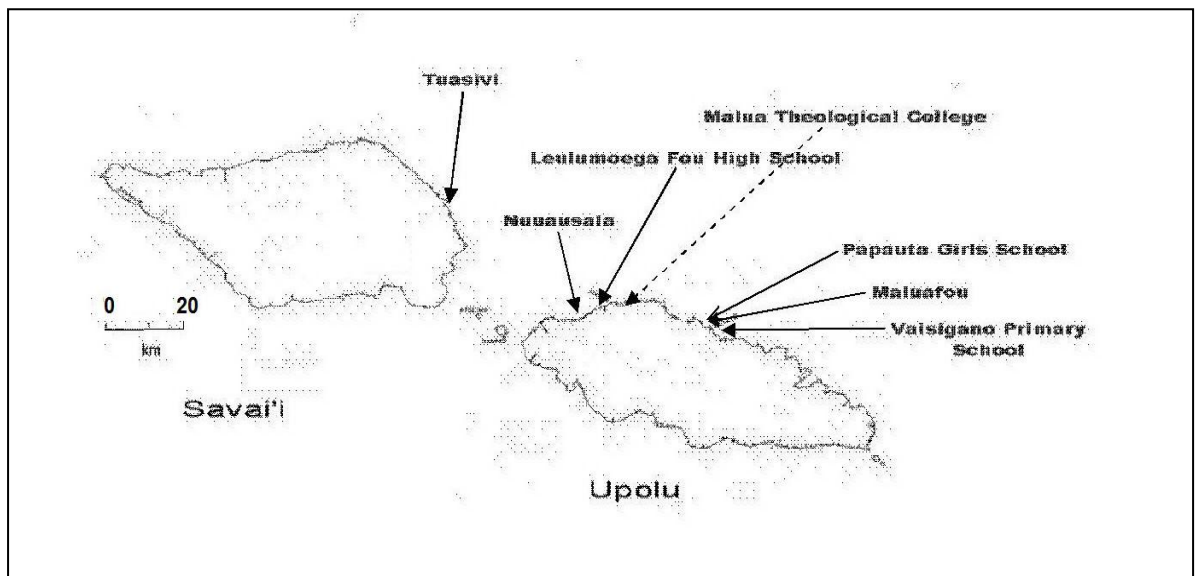


Fig. 3 Location of the seven main CCCS schools in Western Samoa

An alternative proposal by the Education sub-committee to retain the schools was later accepted by the GPFC, which involved the removal of primary levels from the schools at Tuasivi, Maluafof and Nuuausala.³⁹ There was only one CCCS school focussed on primary education at Vaisigano.⁴⁰ Unfortunately these three schools were increasingly

³⁷ "The Samoa Church (London Missionary Society). Delegation to the United Nations Organisation Visiting Mission". Apia: Samoa Church (LMS), 1959, 2; "The Rules of the Samoan Church (London Missionary Society) Incorporated", 1.

³⁸ Charles Forman, *The Island Churches of the South Pacific Emergence in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Orbis, 1982, 26.

³⁹ Samoa Church (LMS), *The General Assembly of the Samoan Church (LMS) 5–22 June 1961*, 9. 61GA18. This was passed by the 1961 General Assembly in June.

⁴⁰ Etene Saaga, "O le Ripoti a le Komiti o Aoga e uiga i Aoga uma a le Ekalesia Samoa ma le faamatalaga mo lona agai i luma atoa ma lona atinae 18 Iulai 1969". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1969, 4.

looked upon as an alternative for weaker students who could not reach the academic standard of the main secondary school of the CCCS, Leulumoega Fou High School.⁴¹

This decision would have a profound impact on the future direction of education in the CCCS. From 1961 the Church was committed to transforming all schools, except Vaisigano to an intermediate and eventually secondary level.⁴² As there was no secondary teachers training institution established in Samoa until 1978 there was a lack of trained secondary teachers and the Church struggled to attract overseas trained secondary school teachers.⁴³ It was complicated by the Government restriction on foreign teachers because of missionary complaints about the influx of Mormon teachers to the Mormon intermediate school in Pesega.⁴⁴

The £4,000 cut in 1961 forced the Education Sub-Committee to reduce expenditure and investigate other sources of revenue. The annual White Sunday donations which contributed £1,308 in the 1961/1962 financial year was used by the Education sub-committee to boost finances for Church schools.⁴⁵ New scholarship 'funding' by the Church was put on hold but existing scholarships were continued.⁴⁶ School fees were raised £1-10 per term.⁴⁷ Students at Malua and Leulumoega Fou participated in work schemes to reduce the cost of maintaining the school grounds as well as plantations for

⁴¹ Etene Saaga, "O le Ripoti a le Komiti o Aoga e uiga i Aoga uma a le Ekalesia Samoa ma le faamatalaga mo lona agai i luma atoa ma lona atinae 18 Iulai 1969", 4.

⁴² Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), "Komiti o Feau Eseese ma mea tau Tupe 5–10 Iuni 1961", 9. 61KFET56; Samoa Church (LMS), *The General Assembly of the Samoan Church (LMS) 5–22 June 1961*, 9. 61GA18; "Iugafono Komiti Aoga". Malua: Komiti Aoga 1969, 2 69KA10. The school of Tuasivi, Nuuausala and Maluafofua were raised to Form 4; Etene Saaga, "O le Ripoti a le Komiti o Aoga e uiga i Aoga uma a le Ekalesia Samoa ma le faamatalaga mo lona agai i luma atoa ma lona atinae 18 Iulai 1969", 2. This school had been limited to Form i and 2 but this has been raised to Form 4 as it was the hope of the Committee that students would get a certificate for employment.

⁴³ "Leulumoega Fou High School Annual Report for Year 1965/66". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1966, 2. For example in January 1966 the high school was fortunate to obtain the services of two New Zealand graduate volunteers, Glenys Edgar and Beryl Whitehead. Both volunteers helped to develop the science, music and sports department; "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 14 Me 1964". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1964, 5. In May 1964 the Committee decided to employ four overseas teachers; "Talanoga a le Komiti mo le Atina'e o le Aoga i Leulumoega Fou 16 Novema 1966". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1966, 1. See Issue 1. £3,000 was allocated so that two qualified teachers would be engaged to prepare students for the School Certificate exams; "Fono a le Komiti o Aoga, 18 Ianuari 1963". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1963, 1. 63KA1 and 63KA2.

⁴⁴ "The West Samoan Scene Money Shortages Still Plagues Samoa". *Pacific Islands Monthly* 33 March 1962, 49–53; John Garrett, *Where Nets Were Cast Christianity in Oceania since World War II*. 3. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies University of the South Pacific, 1997, 252.

⁴⁵ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa. "Tala Otooto o le Fonotaga a le Komiti o Feau Eseese ma mea tau Tupe 7–12 Me 1962", 6. 62KFET52; Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), "O le faamatalaga o le Tupe Aperila 1 1961–Mati 31 1962". Malua: Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), 1962.

⁴⁶ Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), "Komiti o Feau Eseese ma mea tau Tupe 5–10 Iuni 1961", 18. 61KFET85

⁴⁷ Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), "Komiti o Feau Eseese ma mea tau Tupe 9–13 Ianuari 1961", 4. 61KFET 4; Samoa Church (LMS), *The General Assembly of the Samoan Church (LMS) 5–22 June 1961*, 9. 61GA18.

food.⁴⁸ The groundsmen for their part were obliged to become ‘multi-skilled’, taking on other jobs such as assisting in the printing press in Malua.⁴⁹

So desperate was the need for finances in 1961 that the Church treasurer Tapeni Ioelu and his assistant ‘used’ £4,000 for building new classrooms in Vaisigano, without the approval of the GPFC. In May 1963 the Elders’ Committee reproved both of them for the unauthorised withdrawal of funds.⁵⁰ In a strange twist of fate Ioelu’s assistant died in April 1964⁵¹

One effective strategy the Church used to reduce education costs was to give financial responsibility for the schools to the local district. In 1962 the district of Fa’asaleleaga took over Tuasivi School, even taking responsibility for salaries as well as the general costs in running the school.⁵² The A’ana district helped out with the building of the school in Nuuausala in 1964.⁵³ In May 1964 the Education Committee also encouraged the Malua district to assist with the improvement of Leulumoega Fou.⁵⁴ Two years later the Education Committee persuaded the district of Apia to assist with the school in Maluafofou and Papauta.⁵⁵ Since there was no school in the Falealili district it assisted the Apia district to build two new classrooms at Maluafofou in 1969 to accommodate increased numbers.⁵⁶

In January 1962 the financial situation of the Church improved with the reception of the 1961 *taulaga*. It had increased £13,470 from the previous year.⁵⁷ Instead of a deficit of

⁴⁸ Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), “Komiti o Feau Eeseese ma mea tau Tupe 9–13 Ianuari 1961”, 4; Peter Elliott, ‘Progress in Western Samoa’, in *CCWM World Mission*, April 1967, 105.

⁴⁹ Samoa Church (LMS), “Komiti o Feau Eeseese ma mea tau Tupe 9–13 Ianuari 1961”. 4. 61KFET4.

⁵⁰ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi o Iugafono a le Au Toeaina 1952–1978*, 63–64. 63KAT37. The money used for the building of a school at Vaisigano was above four thousand pounds

⁵¹ “Tala o le Fono Komiti o Feau Eeseese 15–17 Ianuari”. Apia: Komiti Feau Eeseese, 1964, 4. 64KFE28; Tapeni Ioelu, “O e ua Maliliu, Komisi Faraimo”. *O le Sulu Samoa*, Aukuso 1964, 159.

⁵² Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Iugafono o le Fono Tele i Malua Me 24-28 1962*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1962, 6. 62FT25. The district of Fa’asaleleaga built primary classrooms without the approval of the church. The 1962 General Assembly not only reprimanded the district Elder but handed responsibility of Tuasivi to the district of Fa’asaleleaga. In addition the church halted financial assistance to the school; Tapeni Ioelu, “O e ua Maliliu, Komisi Faraimo”, 159.

⁵³ “Tala o le Fono Komiti o Feau Eeseese 15–17 Ianuari”, 1. 64KFE2.

⁵⁴ “Iugafono Komiti Aoga 14 Me 1964”, 5.

⁵⁵ “Fono Komiti Aoga 15 Aperila 1966”. Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1966; Tapeni Ioelu, “Tala Otooto mo Aoga a le Ekalesia i le Fono Tele 1968”. Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1968, 9. 68KA19. The Committee also requested the district of Apia to assist in building a house for the principal of Papauta.

⁵⁶ Etene Saaga, “O le Ripoti a le Komiti o Aoga e uiga i Aoga uma a le Ekalesia Samoa ma le faamatalaga mo lona agai i luma atoa ma lona atinae 18 Iulai 1969”, 2. The total school population was 520 students.

⁵⁷ Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), “O le faamatalaga o le Tupe Aperila 1, 1961–Mati 31, 1962”. Apia: Komiti Feau Eeseese & Tupe, 1962.

£11,000 the Church now had a surplus of £2,000.⁵⁸ Immediately the LMS missionary Clarence Norwood, on behalf of the LMS missionaries, saw this as an opportunity to persuade the Church to pay its debts.⁵⁹ Norwood even contacted the LMS in London to put pressure on the Samoan Church to do so. However the LMS were reluctant to interfere and left the decision of the Samoan debt to the GPFC.⁶⁰ When Norwood's proposal was rejected by the GPFC in favour of increasing salaries of Church employees, it only fuelled elements for the creation of a separate Finance Committee.⁶¹

Origins of a Separate Education Committee

During 1960 and 1961 Craig had recommended to the Church that a separate Education Committee was needed. Such an arrangement he believed would enable the committee to focus on academic matters in schools while the GPFC would handle issues concerning school buildings, infrastructure and staffing.⁶² Craig believed that the members of the Education Committee should be experienced educators.⁶³ The Church responded positively to his advice and made all school Principals members of the Education Committee.⁶⁴ The Church also wanted the Education Committee to monitor budgets allocated to schools.⁶⁵ Furthermore, it was expected that the Committee would maintain closer relations with the Government which increasingly was insisting that the latest developments in child and teacher education be adopted.⁶⁶

⁵⁸ Clarence Norwood to Stuart Craig, 17 January 1962, 3(CCCSA). According to Clarence Norwood, 'That is not a large enough reserve to carry the church over the lean months, but nevertheless the situation is very much better than it has been within recent years'

⁵⁹ Clarence Norwood to Stuart Craig, 17 January 1962, 3. (CCCSA); "Samoa Missionary Meeting 2 June 1961". Malua: Samoa Missionary Committee, 1961.

⁶⁰ Stuart Craig to Clarence Norwood, 21 February 1962, 2 (CCCSA); "Samoa Missionary Meeting 2 March 1962". Malua: Samoa Missionary Committee, 1962, 3 62SMM43.

⁶¹ Clarence Norwood to Stuart Craig, 17 January 1962, 3 (CCCSA); Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa. "Tala Ootoo o le Fonotaga a le Komiti o Feau Esee ma mea tau Tupe 7-12 Me 1962", 3. 62KFET37; Clarence Norwood to Stuart Craig 6 April 1962, 2 (CCCSA). According to Clarence Norwood, '... The last information I had was that the Church was likely to have ended the Financial Year with a very decent credit balance—may be £11,000. If that is so, I hope something will be done about their ... Teachers' Salaries which are very much too far below Government rates. I have passed on a hint to John Cohen who is Chairman of the Salaries Revision Committee, appointed last January.'

⁶² "Tala o le Fono Komiti o Feau Esee 15-17 Ianuari", 1.64KFE2. The General Purpose Committee was still consulted about school buildings.

⁶³ "O le Komiti o le Iloiloga o le Faavae o le Ekalesia Samoa (LMS) 21 Fepuari 1961", 1. 61KIF5 and 61KIF6; "O le Komiti o le Iloiloga o le Faavae o le Ekalesia Samoa (LMS) 17-18 Iulai 1961", 61KIF1. The Constitution Review Committee proposed a separate Finance Committee and Educational Committee; "O le Komiti o le Iloiloga o le Faavae o le Ekalesia Samoa (LMS) 17-19 Aperila 1961". Malua: Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), 1961; "O le Komiti o le Iloiloga o le Faavae o le Ekalesia Samoa (LMS) 17-18 Iulai 1961", 1. 60KFET119.

⁶⁴ "O le Komiti o le Iloiloga o le Faavae o le Ekalesia Samoa (LMS) 17-18 Iulai 1961", 2. 61KIF2

⁶⁵ "O le Komiti o le Iloiloga o le Faavae o le Ekalesia Samoa (LMS) 17-18 Iulai 1961", 2. 61KIF2.

⁶⁶ "O le Komiti o le Iloiloga o le Faavae o le Ekalesia Samoa (LMS) 17-18 Iulai 1961", 2. 61KIF2; N Webb to Secretary LMS Mission, 8 August 1960 (CCCSA). Webb invited teachers to 'refresher courses' during the government school holidays; J Leggat to Secretary LMS Mission, 4 July 1961 (CCCSA).

Significance of Education in the Samoan Church (LMS)

Theological and secular education had always been an important commitment for LMS missionaries.⁶⁷ An educated ministry developed very early with the establishment of Malua Theological College in 1844.⁶⁸ The ministry served the twin purposes of producing missionaries for overseas mission and providing every village in Samoa with an educated pastor/teacher.⁶⁹ Eventually this pastor-teacher system of education evolved into secular education ‘beyond that provide(d) in individual villages’.⁷⁰ This resulted in the establishment of Papauta Girls School and Leulumoega Fou School in 1892 and 1890 respectively.⁷¹ Papauta was set up by two female LMS missionaries—Valesca Schultz, a German, and Elizabeth Moore, an Englishwoman. Schultz was described as a ‘sound educationalist’ and Moore devoted twenty-nine years of her life to Papauta and a similar school in American Samoa, Atauloma Girls School.⁷² The LMS missionary, William Hills, was appointed to educational work in Apia in 1887. Three years later he helped establish Leulumoega Fou near Malua Theological College.⁷³ The establishment of Papauta and Leulumoega Fou High School would be followed by six similar schools. Four of the schools were based in Western Samoa: Maluafou (1912), Vaisigano (1955),

Leggat invited Papauta to use vacant government schools for holiday study; L.R. Silcock to Secretary LMS Mission, 15 August 1961 (CCCSA). Silcock invited pastors and teachers in the new methods of arithmetic.

⁶⁷ “The Rules of the Samoan Church (London Missionary Society) Incorporated”, 1. To promote and advance in the Samoa Islands and elsewhere the cause of education generally; Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society 1795 - 1895 Volume 1*. London: Oxford University Press, 1899, 389. According to Lovett Samoa ‘is famous among nineteenth century missions for educational work’.

⁶⁸ Samoa Church (LMS), “The Samoan Church (London Missionary Society) Delegation to the United Organisation Visiting Mission”, 2.

⁶⁹ Featunai Liuaana, “For Jesus and His Church: Malua Theological College—a Historical Survey of 150 Years of Theological Education, 1844–1994”. *The Pacific Journal of Theology*. no.14 (1995): 53. According to Liuaana “Rev. George Turner felt there was a strong need for an educational institution that would provide every village in Samoa with an educated pastor/teacher’.

⁷⁰ Samoa Church (LMS), “The Samoan Church (London Missionary Society) Delegation to the United Organisation Visiting Mission”, 2.

⁷¹ Samoa Church (LMS), “The Samoan Church (London Missionary Society) Delegation to the United Organisation Visiting Mission”, 2; Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society 1795 - 1895 Volume 1*, 395. According to Lovett Papauta was officially opened on 29 August 1892; Oka Fauolo, *O Vavega o le Alofa Laveai: O Le Tala Faasolopito o le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano Samoa*. Apia, Samoa: Malua Printing Press, 2005, 697–703. According to Fauolo the Church considers 1891 as the year the school first opened.

⁷² Norman Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society 1895–1945*, 359–60.

⁷³ Norman Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society 1895–1945*, 358. Leulumoega Fou was primarily intended for the sons of chiefs, but latter designed to provide pre-theological education for youths intending to enter Malua. William Hills curriculum included agricultural instruction, and courses in tropical agriculture won the commendation and subsidy of the German Government.

Nuuausala and Tuasivi (1948).⁷⁴ Two were based in American Samoa—Atauloma Girls School (1900) and Fagalele Junior Boys School (1855).⁷⁵

The number and geographical distribution of CCCS schools reveal the importance of education to the London Missionary Society and reflects those areas where the CCCS was and remains dominant. Three of the CCCS schools, Vaisigano primary school, Maluafofou intermediate school and Papauta Girls School are based in the capital city of Apia, on the island of Upolu. Another three schools, Malua Theological College, Leulumoega Fou High School and Nuuausala are located in Western Upolu, a traditionally strong Congregationalist area. On the island of Savaii, in the Fa'asaleleaga district where the LMS missionaries first landed is Tuasivi intermediate school.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the Church was fortunate to have LMS missionaries who were also educationalists. John Morley and James Sibree both gave more than twenty years service to developing education in Samoa. Morley began his work in 1896 and served until 1917, returning in 1920 for another four years. His time was divided almost equally between the islands of Upolu and Savaii, where, as pastor and educationalist, he contributed greatly to the building up of the Church.⁷⁶ Similarly Sibree served from 1898 to 1921, also on Upolu and Savaii. A former missionary of the Berlin Mission, Carl A. Muller, served the LMS as an educationalist in Apia and Fa'asaleleaga from 1914 to 1920, when he returned to Germany.⁷⁷ Alexander Hough was appointed in 1905 and spent the next seven years in Apia in educational work, administration and chaplaincy with the Apia Protestant Church. From 1912 to 1918 he was in American Samoa and returned to work at Malua Theological College. Evelyn Downs joined the staff of Papauta School in 1922 until her retirement from Samoa in 1943. She brought new equipment and new educational methods to Papauta.⁷⁸ It was the contribution of these missionaries that maintained the educational tradition of the LMS in Samoa.

⁷⁴ “Faavaeina o le Faleaoga i Maluafofou Iulai 1910”. *O le Sulu Samoa*, Novema 1965, 209; Oka Fauolo, *O Vavega o le Alofa Laveai: O Le Tala Faasolopito o le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano Samoa*, 704–705.

⁷⁵ Norman Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society 1895–1945*, 360; Harry Betham, “O le faamatalaga o le Tupe Aperila 1 1961–Mati 31, 1962”, 1962.

⁷⁶ Norman Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society 1895–1945*, 360.

⁷⁷ Norman Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society 1895–1945*, 361.

⁷⁸ Norman Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society 1895–1945*, 362.

At an Emergency General Assembly meeting held in July 1962 the Finance Committee and the Education Committee were created.⁷⁹ The two committees signalled the end of the GPFC resulting in the General Purpose Committee, the Finance Committee and the Education Committee. The Education and Finance Committees indicated the Church's commitment to developing education and financial stability.⁸⁰ Ian Fairburn in *National Income and Western Samoa* argued that education and finance were a legacy of the missionaries and as a sign of their independence the CCCS continued this legacy, albeit improved on what the LMS had established.⁸¹

In March 1962 Norwood wrote to Craig of the importance Church schools played in the education system of Samoa:

The future of education in Western Samoa is rather bleak at the moment, I fear. It is difficult to believe that the Government has any real policy. But one always comes back to this point: boys and girls here are crying out for education. That is the real justification of our share in the work.⁸²

Funding for Educational Development 1965–67

The haphazard attempts to reduce costs between 1961 and 1964 compelled the Church to adopt more rigorous efforts in order to increase funds for school development. In the period from 1965 to 1967 the Church adopted various policies to raise the funds for the Education Committee.⁸³ Firstly, it drew on resources held by various sub-committees of the Church.⁸⁴ Secondly, it approved the use of the entire annual Palm Sunday donations for the development of CCCS schools.⁸⁵ Thirdly, the General Assembly legislated that 40% of the Church's annual income should go to schools.⁸⁶ However by March 1967

⁷⁹ "Fono Tele Faafuasei Aso 4–5 Iulai 1962". Malua: Komiti Feau Eseese & Tupe, 1962, 1. 62 FTF 1.

⁸⁰ Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), "Komiti o Feau Eseese ma mea tau Tupe 5–10 Iuni 1961", 61KFET79.

⁸¹ Ian Fairbairn, *National Income of Western Samoa*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1973, 51.

⁸² Clarence Norwood to Stuart Craig, 8 March 1962 (CCCSA), 2.

⁸³ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa. *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, Malua Western Samoa 25–29 May 1965*. Malua: Malua Printing Press, 1965, 5. 65GA14.

⁸⁴ "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 18 Mati 1966", 8 66KA34. In 1966 as a sign of financial accountability the Church demanded that schools were to give a tri-monthly report of funds received from student fees.

⁸⁵ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa. *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, Malua Western Samoa 25–29 May 1965*, 8. 65GA30; "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 7 Setema 1965". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1965, 65KA42. This was further affirmed on 7 September 1965 meeting.

⁸⁶ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, Malua Western Samoa 25–29 May 1966*. Malua: Malua Printing Press, 1966. 66GA32, 66GA33. The General Assembly decided:

Taulaga 40%, Bookshop in Tutuila 40%, Watchers Prayers Union 40%, Plantation in Tufaele 40%, Christian Endeavour 40%, Plantation in Ma'agao 40%, Mother's Fellowship 40%, Other listings 40%, Printing Press 40%, and Palm Sunday donations 100%; "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 18 Mati 1966", 7.

not even the 40% contribution was sufficient so in May that year the General Assembly resolved that each district contribute an additional £90,000.⁸⁷

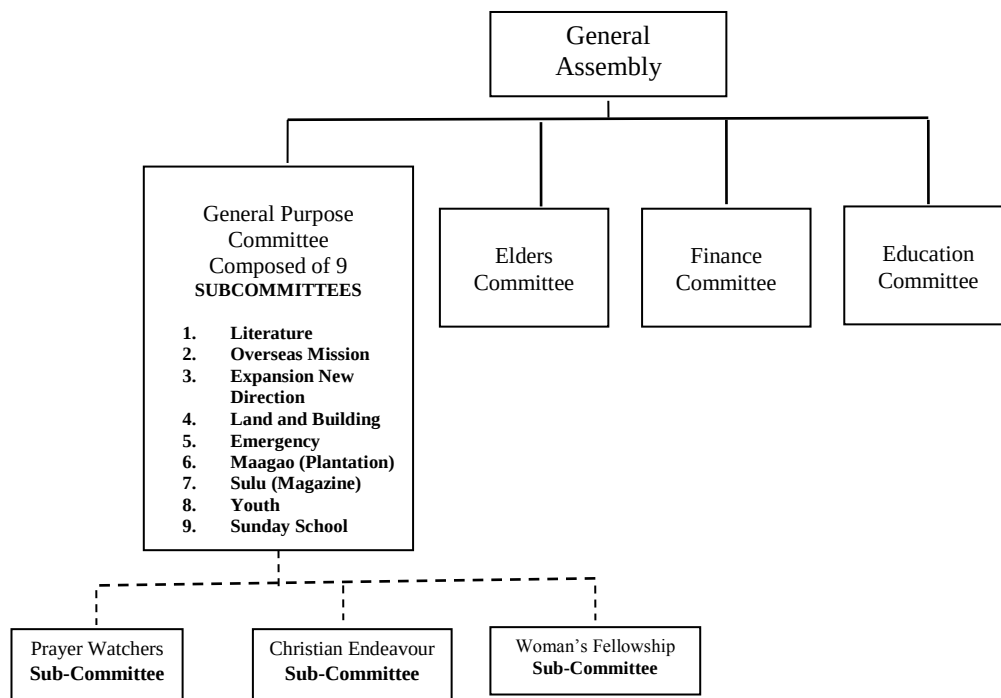


Fig 4 Structure of the CCCS in July 1962.

The increase in funding for schools enabled the Church to assist those districts that had responsibility for managing the schools. Since the Fa'asaleleaga district was the first district authorised to look after a CCCS school, it received £1,500 in May 1966 and £2000 in 1967.⁸⁸ Furthermore, in 1967, districts were allocated to look after Maluafou, Vaisigano and Nuuausala schools.⁸⁹ In 1968, however, funds to the districts decreased

66KA30. In March 1966 the Education Committee advised the General Assembly that the planned development of the church schools would start in 1967.

⁸⁷ Harry Betham, "O le Tala o le Tupe Aperila 1 1966–Mati 31 1967". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1967; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, Malua Western Samoa 15–26 May 1967*, 19.67GA25. The General Assembly required that half of the allocated money should be in by the end of 1967. The Education Committee estimated it would take £90,000 to finance improvements to the schools.

American Samoa (£12,500): Apia (£12,500): Fa'asaleleaga (£10,500): Falealili (£10,500): Aana (£10,500): Ituotane (£9,000): Malua (£7,500): America (£6,250): New Zealand (£6,250): Hawaii (£4,500) TOTAL (£90,000). Tokelau (Free to contribute what they can)

⁸⁸ "Tugafono Komiti Aoga 13 Me 1966". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1966, 12 66KA68; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, Malua Western Samoa 15–26 May 1967*, 10. 67GA21.

⁸⁹ "Tugafono a le Komiti Filifilia a le Komiti Fa'avae mo mea tau A'oga a le Ekalesia. 18 Ianuari 1967". Apia: Komiti Fa'avae, 1967. Maluafou and Vaisigano school would be supported by three districts, Apia, Malua and Falealili. Nuuausala would be supported by Aana district. Papauta, Leulumoega Fou and Malua was supported by the Church.

markedly with money being diverted to renovate Leulumoega Fou High School.⁹⁰ The following year Tiresa Malietoa, an experienced educator of the *Mafutaga Tina*, [Mothers Fellowship] wanted to increase financial assistance to the districts but the Education Committee only allocated \$200.⁹¹ It was only after the completion of the new buildings in Leulumoega Fou in 1971 that the Education Committee again increased donations to the districts for schools—\$1,000 for both Apia and Falealili Districts for Maluafou School, \$1,000 to Ituotane and Fa’asaleleaga Districts for Tuasivi School, and \$700 to Malua and Aana Districts for Nuuausala school.⁹²

The Development Committee

The next change in Church structure was the creation of the Development Committee at the 1966 General Assembly.⁹³ It came after a devastating hurricane on 29 January 1966 which killed ten people, made 52,000 homeless, and cost the country an estimated £3 million in damages and loss of earnings.⁹⁴ Such was the devastation, unlike previous hurricanes, that it caused damage throughout the length and breadth of Savaii and Upolu.⁹⁵ By May, when the Government had undergone an extensive banana replanting program with foreign aid, the Church saw its plantations as an opportunity for raising funds.⁹⁶ The Ma’agao Committee, renamed in 1967 the Committee of the Development of CCCS Land, or more commonly known as the Development Committee, had the job of generating finances from plantations on the arable land belonging to the Church.⁹⁷ The delegates on this committee were some of the most influential people in the Church: the treasurer Iona Levi, the General Secretary Etene Saaga, the chairman of the

⁹⁰ Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa 26–30 May 1969 Minutes of General Assembly* Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1969, 12–13

69FT37 in 1969 the General Assembly donated only \$100 to those districts helping Tuasivi, Nuuausala and Maluafou schools.

⁹¹ “Iugafono Fonotaga Komiti Aoga 11 Mati 1970”. Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1970, 8,69KA57; Sunia Savali and Sagapolutele Faulalo. “Felafolafoaiga o le Fono Tele Me 27 1970”. Malua: Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, 1970, 11. The *Mafutaga Tina* in 1970 thought the assistance for the districts was too small. It wanted \$1000 for Maluafou, \$800 for Tuasivi and \$500 for Nuuausala. This was not accepted by the General Assembly.

⁹² Luamanuvae Eti, “Ripoti a le Komiti Aoga a le Ekalesia Me 1970–1971”. Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1971.

⁹³ Laufili Moenoa, “Ripoti a le Komiti o le Ma’agao, Komiti Laititi a le Komiti o Fea’u Eseeese, Me 1966–Me 1967”. Apia: Komiti Feau Eseeese, 1967, 1; “Ripoti Faaletausaga a le Komiti Laititi a le Komiti o Feau Eseeese Komiti o le Atina’e a le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa”. Apia: Komiti Atina’e, 1968, 1.

⁹⁴ “Four Territories Devastated in Worst South Seas Hurricane for 75 Years”. *Pacific Islands Monthly* 37 March 1966, 45; “Unpleasant Measures Ahead For Western Samoa”. *Pacific Islands Monthly* 37 April 1966, 15; “Help Begins To Arrive For Devastated Samoa”. *Pacific Islands Monthly* 37 June 1966, 21.

⁹⁵ “Four Territories Devastated in Worst South Seas Hurricane for 75 Years”, 45.

⁹⁶ “Samoa’s Hurricane Puts New Life Into Banana Industry”. *Pacific Islands Monthly* 37 May 1966, 59.

⁹⁷ Laufili Moenoa, “Ripoti a le Komiti o le Ma’agao, Komiti Laititi a le Komiti o Fea’u Eseeese, Me 1966–Me 1967”, 1. Unlike other committees the Development Committee had only five district representatives from within Samoa and American Samoa as these were districts in which there were plantations.

CCCS Ioelu Tapeni, and Moenoa Laufili the first Chairman and Secretary of the sub-committee.⁹⁸ All the arable land belonging to the CCCS was allocated for generating finance for the Church.⁹⁹

If the Church thought that the Development Committee could produce funds to supplement the *taulaga*, it was soon brought back to reality in 1968. In that year another hurricane struck Samoa on 10 February and undid the good work of the previous years.¹⁰⁰ Thirty acres of profitable banana plantation were badly damaged.¹⁰¹ It was not only the banana plantations that were susceptible; hardy root crops such as taro, a staple in Samoa, were also affected.¹⁰²

The Missionary Committee

The Samoan Church has a long tradition of missionary work. When the LMS first arrived in Samoa in 1830 they enlisted local people to assist them in evangelism.¹⁰³ Furthermore the Venn Model of Mission advocated by the LMS strongly promoted mission once a 'Church' had achieved self-sufficiency and self-government.¹⁰⁴ Only nine years after landing in Samoa, the LMS missionary John Williams took with him nine Samoan teachers to the New Hebrides.¹⁰⁵ Since 1844 with the establishment of Malua Theological College, there was a tradition of training Samoan missionaries for Rotuma, the New Hebrides (Vanuatu), New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands, Niue, Ellice Islands (Tuvalu), the Gilbert Islands (Kiribati), and Papua New Guinea.¹⁰⁶ Once

⁹⁸ Laufili Moenoa, "Ripoti a le Komiti o le Ma'agao, Komiti Laititi a le Komiti o Fea'u Eeseese, Me 1966 – Me 1967", 1.

⁹⁹ Laufili Moenoa, "Ripoti a le Komiti o le Ma'agao, Komiti Laititi a le Komiti o Fea'u Eeseese, Me 1966 – Me 1967", 4.

¹⁰⁰ "Ripoti Faaletausaga a le Komiti o le Atina'e a le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa". Apia: Komiti Atina'e, 1968, 1. "New Hurricane is Setback For Western Samoa". *Pacific Islands Monthly* 39 March 1968, 21.

¹⁰¹ "Ripoti Faaletausaga a le Komiti Laititi a le Komiti o Feau Eeseese Komiti o le Atina'e a le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga a Kerisiano i Samoa", 3.

¹⁰² "Ripoti Faaletausaga a le Komiti Laititi a le Komiti o Feau Eeseese Komiti o le Atina'e a le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga a Kerisiano i Samoa", 3. Consequently sturdier crops like koko and coconut were grown, eventually leading to cattle plots at Solomona Fou land. It was hoped to have 20 cattle from a starting herd of 3 cattle. The plan in 1968 was to have at least between 40-50 cattle in Solomona Fou.

¹⁰³ Neil Gunson, *Messengers of Grace Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas 1797–1860*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1978, 319–20

¹⁰⁴ Henry Venn, "The Native Pastorate and Organisation of Native Churches Second Paper July 1861" in *Henry Venn—Missionary Statesman*, edited by Wilbert R Shenk. New York: Orbis, 1861, 121. Wilbert Shenk, 'Henry Venn 1796–1873 'Champion of Indigenous Church Principles,' 545

¹⁰⁵ Elia Taase, "The Congregational Christian Church in Samoa: The Origin and Development of an Indigenous Church, 1830–1961". PhD, Fuller Theological Seminary 1995, 220

¹⁰⁶ Elia Taase, "The Congregational Christian Church in Samoa: The Origin and Development of an Indigenous Church, 1830–1961", 221–238; Neil Gunson. *Messengers of Grace Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas 1797–1860*, 21–24; Bernard Thorogood, ed., *Gales of Change. Responding to a Shifting Missionary Context. The Story of the London Missionary Society 1945–1977*. Geneva: WCC, 1994, 182.

the CCCS had achieved self-sufficiency and self-government, it seemed only natural that it would continue the missionary work.

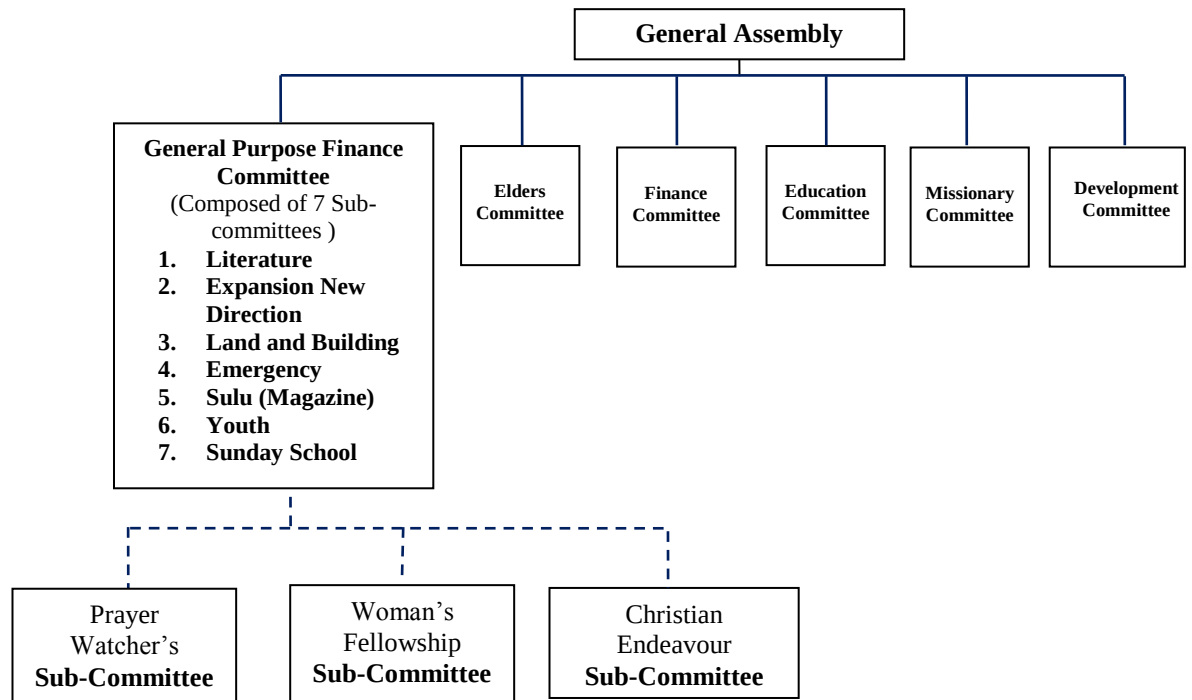


Fig 5. Structure of the CCCS in 1968

The cost of sending Samoan missionaries to Papua had been borne by the London Missionary Society.¹⁰⁷ Likewise the cost for housing the missionaries had been the responsibility of the Papuan Church.¹⁰⁸ In August 1964 the secretary of the Papua Ekalesia, David Ure, requested the CCCS to take financial responsibility for its missionaries.¹⁰⁹ He argued that Presbyterian mission societies from New Zealand and Methodists from Australia were already taking financial responsibility for their missionaries.¹¹⁰ Likewise the LMS requested the CCCS to assume financial responsibility for the travelling costs. The CCCS agreed to both requests at the 1966

¹⁰⁷ Bernard Thorogood, ed., *Gales of Change. Responding to a Shifting Missionary Context. The Story of the London Missionary Society 1945-1977*, 182; "Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Schedule of South Seas Staff in Papua. 22 May 1962". Port Moresby: Papua Ekalesia, 1962. There were 11 pastors working in Papua in May 1962; Stuart Craig to Etene Saaga, 26 March 1965.(CCCSA)

¹⁰⁸ Bernard Thorogood, ed., *Gales of Change. Responding to a Shifting Missionary Context. The Story of the London Missionary Society 1945-1977*, 182.

¹⁰⁹ David Ure to Etene Saaga, 9 August 1964 (CCCSA).

¹¹⁰ Etene Saaga to Rev. David Ure, 9 November 1964 (CCCSA).

General Assembly,¹¹¹ and subsequently assumed full financial responsibility for all its missionaries in Papua in 1968.¹¹²

As a result of accepting financial responsibility for its missionary work a Mission Committee was created in 1968. The first meeting of the Mission Committee occurred on 23 September 1968. Tapeni Ioelu became the first chairman and Etene Saaga, the General Secretary, became its secretary.¹¹³ The first meeting was completely dominated by issues concerning the Samoan missionaries in Papua.¹¹⁴

The *Mafutaga Tina*

Another significant change made by the CCCS during the early 1960s was the renaming of the ‘Women’s Fellowship’ to the ‘Mothers’ Fellowship’, or more commonly known as the *Mafutaga Tina*.¹¹⁵ The name change was significant because *Mafutaga Tina* literally means the ‘Fellowship of Mothers’ suggesting a fellowship of mature women devoted to family values. It was made up of the wives of pastors, lay preachers, deacons and the laity. Technically it was a sub-committee of the General Purpose Committee. In practice it served as a committee in its own right, having considerable influence on how and where its funds were distributed.

The *Mafutaga Tina* is an example of how the Church has incorporated elements of village life into its structure. Its role in the CCCS resembles the *auluma*—a fellowship of unmarried women dedicated to village maintenance who are taught by the wives of the chiefs within the villages about their responsibilities to the village.¹¹⁶ Similarly the *Mafutaga Tina* is led by the wives of senior pastors or senior deacons.¹¹⁷ It is actively involved in fundraising for Church projects.¹¹⁸ Unlike the *auluma* the *Mafutaga Tina* is elitist. Early evidence of this elitism is provided by Craig in a letter to Norwood in 1962:

¹¹¹ Etene Saaga to Rev. Norman Cocks, 25 February 1964 (CCCSA); ‘Survey of Samoan Missionary Endeavour in Papua’ Apia: Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, 1966, 1.(CCCSA).

¹¹² “Survey of Samoan Missionary Endeavour in Papua”, 2.

¹¹³ “Iugafono Komiti o Galuega Faa-Misionare a le Ekalesia Samoa 23 Setema 1968”. Apia: Komiti Faa-misionare, 1968. 68KNE1.

¹¹⁴ Arthur Thurston to Etene Saaga, 5 January 1966. (CCCSA); Norman Cocks to Etene Saaga, 14 February 1966 (CCCSA); “Iugafono Komiti o Galuega Faa-Misionare a le Ekalesia Samoa 23 Setema 1968”, 68KNE2 to 68KNE10.

¹¹⁵ “O le Komiti o le Iloiloga o le Faavae o le Ekalesia Samoa (LMS) 21 Fepuari 1961”, 61KIF10.

¹¹⁶ Elia Taase, “The Congregational Christian Church in Samoa: The Origin and Development of an Indigenous Church, 1830–1961”, 187.

¹¹⁷ Samoa Church (LMS), “The Commission”, 26; “O le Komiti o le Iloiloga o le Faavae o le Ekalesia Samoa (LMS) 17–18 Iulai 1961”, 61KIF5.

¹¹⁸ “O le Komiti o le Iloiloga o le Faavae o le Ekalesia Samoa (LMS) 17–18 Iulai 1961”, 61KIF5.

These Samoan pastors' wives are rather queenly personages and used to having lots of young girls running around after them!¹¹⁹

The considerable influence of the *Mafutaga Tina* is evident by its involvement in the membership of major Church committees, such as the Finance and Education Committees. In 1962 the newly formed Finance and Education Committees had two delegates from the *Mafutaga Tina*.¹²⁰ Many members of the *Mafutaga Tina* were also former students of the once prestigious Papauta Girls School and maintained a close association with the school, where students were taught the traditional 'village' role of women, such as handicrafts, home duties, maintaining plantations, and other activities encouraged by the *Mafutaga Tina*.¹²¹

Papauta Girls School

Thorogood has described the running of Papauta as plagued by 'bickering' and 'cantankerous relationships' which developed between the *Mafutaga Tina* and the LMS Principal of the school, Miss Marjorie King.¹²² Such was the influence of the *Mafutaga Tina* on Papauta Girls School that it sought to replace Marjorie King as Principal.¹²³ Conservative elements in the *Mafutaga Tina* opposed King's attempts to improve its academic and general standards.¹²⁴ For example, her organisational skills created a surplus from Papauta's plantation. By 1965, King was able to declare:

... the girls' food supply...for the first time in my records has not been supplemented with bought bananas. Indeed, we have been able to export surplus bananas even during term time, much to the satisfaction of the 10 Form III girls who have managed the plantation this year, and of the Agricultural Department for they continue to give help and oversight there.¹²⁵

¹¹⁹ Clarence Norwood to Stuart Craig, 23 July 1962 (CCCSA).

¹²⁰ "O le Komiti o le Iloiloga o le Faavae o le Ekalesia Samoa (LMS) 17–18 Iulai 1961", 61KIF5.

¹²¹ Bernard Thorogood, ed., *Gales of Change. Responding to a Shifting Missionary Context. The Story of the London Missionary Society 1945–1977*, 181.

¹²² Bernard Thorogood, ed., *Gales of Change. Responding to a Shifting Missionary Context. The Story of the London Missionary Society 1945–1977*, 181; Stuart Craig to Bradshaw, 25 July 1963, 2. (CCCSA).

¹²³ Stuart Craig to Etene Saaga, 14 Jun 1962 (CCCSA); "Samoa Missionary Meeting 14 May 1962". Malua: Samoa Missionary Committee, 1962, 2. 62SMM70.

¹²⁴ "Samoa Missionary Meeting 4 Aug 1961". Apia: Samoa Missionary Committee, 1961, 70. Marjorie King felt that she needed more support in the control of the Plantation workers and that the Church was not really supporting her in the avowed object of raising the educational standards of the School; "Samoa Missionary Meeting 14 May 1962", 2. 62SMM70. '...as there may have been in the past, and we believe that much of the difficulty may have been caused by strong elements in the Women's Fellowship desiring to have control over the affairs of Papauta'.

¹²⁵ Marjorie King, "Report for Prize Day 1965". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1965.1.

The *Mafutaga Tina*'s interference led to a lack of cooperation between the Principal and the teachers causing a rift between King and the Deputy Principal, Salamasina Malietoa.¹²⁶ King wrote at the time that she:

had known for a long time that she was not wanted by the Women of the Church, that they were a powerful body and that they want control over the affairs of Papauta. She believed that they had magnified out of all proportion rumours that had come to them about the affairs of the school.¹²⁷

Craig was also concerned about the *Mafutaga Tina*'s interference. He wrote to the General Secretary of the CCCS, Etene Saaga, complaining that the *Mafutaga Tina* had no authority to determine policy in Papauta Girls School, and if the Principal were to leave the academic standard of Papauta would suffer.¹²⁸ Furthermore, he warned that the London Missionary Society would not seek a replacement for King unless a proper investigation warranted a replacement.¹²⁹

The [LMS Pacific] Committee recognise that this is not a simple question of Miss King's suitability for the post she holds. Matters of policy and authority are involved...¹³⁰

Eventually, an advisory group was set up by the Education Committee to act as a mediating group between the *Mafutaga Tina* and King.¹³¹ The advisory group sought to prolong King's principalship at Papauta by slowing her reforms to the school.¹³² By early August 1962 the Education Committee reasserted their authority over Papauta and rejected the *Mafutaga Tina*'s request to replace Marjorie King.¹³³

Nevertheless the *Mafutaga Tina* was not to be deterred. It continued to exert its influence on Papauta in more subtle ways, particularly through offering to pay for the

¹²⁶ "Samoa Missionary Meeting 14 May 1962", 1; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa. "Tala 'Otooto o le Fonotaga a le Komiti o Feau Eeseese ma mea tau Tupe 7-12 Me 1962", 4. 62KFET42; Marjorie King, "O le Tala o le Aoga i Papauta i le Aso Faamanuia 1966". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1966, 1.

¹²⁷ "Samoa Missionary Meeting 14 May 1962", 2.

¹²⁸ Letter to Stuart Craig (no date) (CCCSA). According to this letter "I do believe however that if Marjorie (King) does leave under these circumstances there is little future for Papauta".

¹²⁹ Stuart Craig to Etene Saaga, 14 June 1962, 2. (CCCSA).

¹³⁰ Stuart Craig to Etene Saaga, 14 June 1962, 2. (CCCSA).

¹³¹ "Iugafono a le Komiti o Aoga 5 Iulai 1962". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1962, 62KA3. This consisted of Rev. Clarence Norwood, Rev. Elder Malele, Asi Leavasa, and Vaifou Faraimo the secretary of the group.

¹³² Etene Saaga to Stuart Craig, 17 August 1962. (CCCSA).

¹³³ Clarence Norwood, "Samoa Missionary Meeting, 3 August 1962". Apia: Samoa Church (LMS), 1962, 2.

salary of an extra teacher.¹³⁴ However, the Educational Committee was wary of the *Mafutaga Tina*'s influence and in May 1965 rejected its representatives on the interview panel set up to appoint a new teachers.¹³⁵ To its credit the *Mafutaga Tina* kept its promise to pay for an extra teacher until they ran out of money in 1968.¹³⁶

At the 1967 General Assembly, Marjorie King resigned from Papauta and was replaced in February the following year by Salamasina Malietoa, who had been a teacher for twenty years in the school and was also the sister of the Head of State, Malietoa Tanumafili.¹³⁷ King's replacement found out how efficient the former principal had been. Within less than a month of her appointment, Salamasina notified the Education Committee that the school could not maintain the banana plantations.¹³⁸ In order to reduce costs for the student's food bill the major CCCS schools such as Papauta and Leulumoega Fou ran plantations. Malietoa's decision effectively lent support to King's overall strategy for the school, that the first priority was to raise the academic standards of Papauta so that the children could handle the challenges of modern life.

Up-grading Leulumoega Fou High School 1964–1971

In the period from 1965 to 1971 the Education Committee's plans were particularly focussed on Leulumoega Fou High School.¹³⁹ The school received 42 percent of the budget allocated to the seven schools for the 1966 – 69 period because it was the only secondary school in the CCCS accredited to offer the New Zealand School Certificate.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁴ "Fono Komiti Aoga 4 Iulai 1964". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1964, 1 Issue 4; "Fono Komiti Aoga 30 Iulai 1964". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1964, 1 Issue 2; "Fono Komiti Aoga 22 Ianuari 1965". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1965; "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 19 Me 1965". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1965, 5 Issue 3; "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 29 Iuni 1965". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1965, 1. 65KA31.

¹³⁵ "Iugafono Aoga Komiti 19 May 1965". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1965, 5 Issue 3; "Fono Komiti Aoga 15 Me 1965". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1965, 4 Issue 4; "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 29 Iuni 1965", 1.

¹³⁶ "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 27 Ianuari 1966". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1966, 6 66KA18; Tapeni Ioelu, "Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa Komiti Aoga 15 Iuni –17 Me 1968". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1968, 2 See resolution 7.

¹³⁷ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, Malua Western Samoa 15–26 May 1967*, 67GA41; Tapeni Ioelu, "Tala Otooto mo Aoga a le Ekalesia i le Fono Tele 1968", 8. 68KA10.

¹³⁸ Tapeni Ioelu, "Tala Otooto mo Aoga a le Ekalesia i le Fono Tele 1968", 9. 68KA18.

¹³⁹ John Garrett, *To Live among the Stars: Christian Origins in Oceania*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific 1982, 128–129.

¹⁴⁰ "Fautuaga a le Komiti Aoga a le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa". Malua: Komiti Aoga 1966. The budget of \$107,714 allocated for the seven schools Leulumoega Fou High School received the largest percentage of \$45,000 dollars or 42% This was followed by the Maluafofou \$12,846 and then Papauta at \$13,140; "Fono Komiti Aoga 22 Ianuari 1965", 3, 3 (b). In January 1965 the General Secretary advertised in New Zealand and America for teachers.

The sudden resignation in May 1966 of the Principal Peter Elliot also highlighted the inability of Leulumoega Fou to continue the reforms he introduced.¹⁴¹ In his short period as Principal he changed the direction of the school. He revised the curriculum in order to give it academic rigour, encouraged greater teacher participation in the meetings of the Education Committee, and actively sought out better qualified secondary teachers.¹⁴² Elliot's resignation was a great loss. A missionary since December 1963, Elliot was specifically chosen by the LMS for work in Leulumoega Fou High School.¹⁴³ He had studied Geography at Cambridge and Theology at Cheshunt College in London.¹⁴⁴

Yet despite the Church's allocation of funds, Elliot was still frustrated by the lack of finances. For example after the hurricane in January 1966 he was forced to:

...buy most of our food for the whole of the first term and the first half of the second term. With what little money was left I brought materials for rebuilding two staff houses and our copra drier, repairing classrooms and dormitories and other staff houses. All this in the afternoons and evenings so no money was wasted on labour costs outside.¹⁴⁵

A report proposed by the Education Committee in 1967 gives an indication of some of the frustration Elliot found.¹⁴⁶ The Report stated:

In order to teach full classes up to School Cert. level we need more overseas staff. Our Samoan staff are only able to teach up to Form IV and then not in all subjects. We need to think ahead and to think realistically therefore I [vice principal of Leulumoega Fou] suggest two graduates be sought from overseas this year (accommodation must be provided); scholarships be sought for selected Samoan teachers of high standing for special training overseas; plans for employing two more graduates from overseas in 1968...' ¹⁴⁷

¹⁴¹ "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 13 Me 1966", 12. 66KA69; "Fono Komiti Aoga 18 Novema 1966". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1966, 1 Issue 1. On November 1966 the Education Committee proposed that Rev. Cohens would replace Elliot. Such a selection would mean that Rev. Cohens will no longer assist in Malua if chosen as principal of the school.

¹⁴² "Fono Komiti Aoga 15 Me 1965", 5; "Fono Komiti Aoga 22 Novema 1965". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1965, 4 65KA60.

¹⁴³ Stuart Craig to John Bradshaw, 17 December 1963 (CCCSA). Stuart Craig was also consulted when the church was looking for a principal for Leulumoega Fou in 1962. In December 1963 the LMS approved a 24 year old missionary Mr Peter Elliot for work with the Leulumoega Fou High School.

¹⁴⁴ Stuart Craig to John Bradshaw, 17 December 1963 (CCCSA); Stuart Craig to Cohen, 29 November 1963 (CCCSA); "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 29 Iuni 1965", 1. 65KA35. He was officially elected as principal on the 29 June 1965.

¹⁴⁵ Peter Elliot, "Progress in Western Samoa", 105.

¹⁴⁶ "Leulumoega Fou High School 1967". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1967, 1.

¹⁴⁷ "Leulumoega Fou High School 1967", 1.

The shortage of secondary teachers forced the Education Committee to employ Malua theological graduates, scholarship students and fortunately the American Peace Corp volunteers.¹⁴⁸ For example Rev. Uilelea, a former principal of Nuuausala school and pastor of the village of Vailuutai since October 1963, was employed by Leulumoega Fou in 1967.¹⁴⁹ By March 1968 Uilelea became deputy principal.¹⁵⁰ The situation improved markedly in 1968 when the Education Committee was able to secure the services of American Peace Corps Volunteer teachers.¹⁵¹ The American Peace Corps volunteers first arrived in Samoa in October 1967.¹⁵² Originally proposed by the American senator Hubert Humphrey and implemented by the then President John Kennedy in 1962,- they were university-educated volunteers that improved education immensely. According to former Peace Corp volunteer Rob Shaffer:

Five volunteers taught in Savaii, five in and or around Apia...The Savaii students achieved higher scores than ever before in competing with the students in Apia. The Apian students [Peace Corp] devised and expanded new programmes in scheduling, science, maths and coaching. Six out of the 11 volunteers signed on to stay for a third year, five in Western Samoa...Two returned to Western Samoa as Peace Corps training staff...¹⁵³

Shifting Leulumoega Fou to Apia

One of the most unsettling issues for Leulumoega Fou occurred in 1967 when it was mooted that the school be relocated to Apia the capital and amalgamated with Papauta Girls School. The proposed relocation had the advantage that the Church would have one less school to fund, something the Principal of Papauta, Marjorie King, had admitted was highly desirable.¹⁵⁴ The successor to the London Missionary Society, the Congregational Council for World Mission (CCWM) also supported the proposed amalgamation seeing it as a way to reduce costs.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁸ Tapeni Ioelu, "Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa Komiti Aoga 15 Iuni-17 Me 1968". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1968, 1. 67KA1 in addition to Rev. Uilelea the church employed Rev. Tapu and the wife of the Malua theological graduate as teachers for Leulumoega Fou; Glenn Wright, "Samoan privy is (somewhat hesitantly) on the way out". *Pacific Islands Monthly* 39 September 1968, 28.

¹⁴⁹ "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 16 Novema 1963". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1963, 2. Tapeni Ioelu, "Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa Komiti Aoga 15 Iuni-17 Me 1968", 3-4. 67KA20. This required representatives of the Education Committee to explain to the parish of Vailuutai of the church's need for their pastor's assistance.

¹⁵⁰ Tapeni Ioelu, "Tala Otooto mo Aoga a le Ekalesia i le Fono Tele 1968", 10. 68KA28.

¹⁵¹ Tapeni Ioelu, "Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa Komiti Aoga 15 Iuni -17 Me 1968", 2. 67KA10; Rob Shaffer, "Achievements of the Peace Corps", 59. The American Peace Corp arrived in 1967 and made great contributions in the field of education.

¹⁵² Glenn Wright, 'Samoan privy is (somewhat hesitantly) on the way out', 28.

¹⁵³ Rob Shaffer, "Achievements of the Peace Corps", 59.

¹⁵⁴ "Fautuaga mo se Aoga Mauauga e Tuufaatasi i Leulumoega ma Papauta". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1967, 2; Letter to Stuart Craig (no date) (CCCSA).

¹⁵⁵ Ernest Edwards to Etene Saaga, 5 January 1968 (CCCSA).

Two years later Andrew Barton of the Education Office in American Samoa confirmed the wisdom of combining Papauta and Leulumoega Fou into a single institution when he inspected Papauta, Maluafofou, Vaisigano, Nuuausala and Tuasivi. He noted that Papauta's development was being hindered by having Maluafofou and Vaisigano in close proximity.¹⁵⁶ He also noted that both schools had much larger enrolments than the 120 students attending Papauta. Simple economies of scale demanded that Papauta combine with Leulumoega Fou to form a single institution.

Despite the sound arguments for combining the two institutions, the General Assembly in 1967 rejected the proposed amalgamation. It was unwilling to abandon the massive investment it had put into Leulumoega Fou and it considered the facilities at Papauta inadequate for a combined school.¹⁵⁷ Moreover it was already in the midst of constructing a new block of classrooms capable of holding 200 to 300 students at Leulumoega Fou.¹⁵⁸ Furthermore the impact of the hurricane had reduced funds to raise the standard of Maluafofou and Nuuausala to that of a secondary school.¹⁵⁹ Undoubtedly Leulumoega Fou's status as the only recognised secondary school in the CCCS saved it from moving.¹⁶⁰ Furthermore, unlike Tuasivi, Nuuausala, Vaisigano and Maluafofou, and Papauta, Leulumoega Fou would be supported financially by the Church.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁶ Andrew Barton, "Ripoti a Mr Andrew Barton 13 Aokuso 1969". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1969,1

¹⁵⁷ "Fautuaga mo se Aoga Mauafula e Tuufaataasi i Leulumoega ma Papauta", 2; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa. *Tusi o Iugafono a le Au Toeaina 1952–1978*, 128, 68KAT63. The elders upheld the resolution of the General Assembly in 1967: The high school of Leulumoega Fou will still be situated at Leulumoega Fou.

¹⁵⁸ "Talanoaga a le Komiti mo le atinae o le Aoga i Leulumoega Fou 16 Novema 1966". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1966, 1 Issue 1 and 3. In 1967 the Society for the Poor donated £500 to Leulumoega Fou High School building project.

¹⁵⁹ "Fono Komiti Aoga 15 Aperila 1966", 66KA44, 66KA47. Since there was not enough finance to raise teachers salaries Nuuausala and Maluafofou schools were forced to postpone the establishment of their respective Form 3 and Form 4 classes; "Fono Komiti Aoga 28 Oketopa 1966". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1966, 1 Issue 4.

¹⁶⁰ "Fono Komiti Aoga 15 Me 1965", 4. One sub-committee was set up which involved the vice principal Cohen, the General Secretary Etene Saaga and the Church Treasurer Iona Levi to research the issue of teachers for Leulumoega Fou High; "Fono Komiti Aoga 28 Oketopa 1966", 1 Issue 6 In October 1966 a subcommittee which dealt with the development of the high school. They were the chairman of the Education Committee Luamanuvae Eti, the secretary Vaifou Faraimo, Iona Levi (Treasurer); Peter Elliot, (former Principal) Rev. Cohen (Vice Principal) and Uala Evagalia. Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, Malua Western Samoa 15–26 May 1967*, 11. 67GA24.

¹⁶¹ "Iugafono a le Komiti Filifilia a le Komiti Fa'avae mo mea tau A'oga a le Ekalesia. 18 Ianuari 1967". Maluafofou and Vaisigano was supported by three districts, Apia, Malua and Falealili. Nuuausala was supported by Aana district. Papauta, Leulumoega Fou and Malua were supported by the Church.

The Leulumoega Fou Renovations 1969–71

In May 1968 the Education Committee decided to go ahead with the development of Leulumoega Fou High School and approved the architectural plans by Peace Corp volunteer, Walter Romberg.¹⁶² Romberg's design involved the building of five new classroom blocks and a new hall at an estimated cost of \$300,000.¹⁶³ The CCCS requested \$180,000 from its ten districts and by May 1969 \$153,748 had been collected.¹⁶⁴ A year later the Education Committee requested a further \$18,000 to complete the renovations.¹⁶⁵ Work commenced in March 1969 and the project took two years to complete.¹⁶⁶

On 15 May 1971 the renovated Leulumoega Fou High School was officially opened by the chairman of the Elders' Committee, Rev. Poasa Te'o.¹⁶⁷ It was an important occasion for the school. A large feast highlighted its significance. Each sub-district of Western Samoa provided one pig, two suckling roasted pigs, 200 taro, 100 fish, 100 chickens, 5 bowls of chow mein, 5 bowls of salad, 100 luau, 100 coconuts, and 10 bunches of bananas.¹⁶⁸ One interesting feature of the opening was a 'declaration' in the form of a prayer expressing the Church's hopes and aspirations for Leulumoega Fou:

We offer this school to praise God. The school will prepare our children for the future of the Good News in Samoa and overseas. Our sons will be like a bud

¹⁶² Tapeni Ioelu, "Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa. Iugafono Komiti Aoga 4 Mati 1968", 10.68KA26; Tapeni Ioelu, "Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa. Iugafono Komiti Aoga 15 Iuni –17 Me 1968", 11. 68KA39; Luamanuvae Eti, "Fono Komiti La'ititi 20 Me 1969". Malua: Komiti La'ititi, 1969.

¹⁶³ Walter Romberg to Chairman Education Development Committee, 12 August 1969 (CCCSA); Luamanuvae Eti, "Fono Komiti Laitiiti 20 Me 1969", 3 See 'Faamaumauga.'

¹⁶⁴ Luamanuvae Eti, "Fono Komiti Laitiiti 20 Me 1969", 2–4. There were many donations from overseas churches and within Samoa towards Leulumoega Fou building project; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, Malua Western Samoa 15–26 May 1967*, 67GA33; Tapeni Ioelu, "Tala Ootoo mo Aoga a le Ekalesia i le Fono Tele 1968", 12. 68KA41. A year later, Rev. Leautea Sio on behalf of the Pacific Island Congregational Church in Auckland, donated \$1670 to Leulumoega Fou.

¹⁶⁵ Sunia Savali and Sagapolutele Faulalo, "Felafolafoaiga o le Fono Tele Me 27 1970", 1.

¹⁶⁶ Congregational Council for World Mission, "Caribbean and Pacific Committee 3 December 1968". London: Congregational Council for World Mission, 1968. 68CP87; Walter Romberg to Chairman Education Development Committee, 12 August 1969 (CCCSA); Luamanuvae Eti, "Fono Komiti Laitiiti 20 Me 1969", 1–3. Two had their foundations set and one is yet to be done. The first stage involved the construction of three classroom units at \$135,000 (WS); See also Congregational Council for World Mission, "Caribbean and Pacific Committee 3 December 1968", 68CP87. The second stage involved a 'hall' at the cost of \$60,000. The third and last stage involved 2 more classroom units built in mid–October 1969 at the cost of \$150,000.

¹⁶⁷ "Umusaga Leulumoega Fou". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1971, 1; "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 29 Iulai 1970". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1970, 3. 70KA46 and 70KA47; "Fono Tele 25–29 Me 1970". Malua: Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, 1970, 3. 70FT17.

¹⁶⁸ "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 29 Iulai 1970". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1970, 4. See 70KA49.

sprouting out of the soil and our daughters as the cornerstone of a house in which the spirit of wisdom can enter and bless us forever. Amen¹⁶⁹

The declaration drew attention to the enormous hopes the Church had for Leulumoega Fou. It had invested enormous resources in it. It was the cornerstone of its education system. It symbolised the Church's independence and the Church's commitment to secondary education and the future of Samoa.

The 1966 Maluafou Investigation

In stark contrast to Leulumoega Fou, Maluafou school in the capital of Apia represented the general challenges facing all the other CCCS schools. Maluafou should not have experienced difficulties as it was close to all the amenities needed by a school.¹⁷⁰ It was an intermediate school and therefore was spared the difficulties of seeking secondary school teachers.¹⁷¹ Yet in January 1966 there were complaints about this school. There were reports of teachers leaving during school hours and criticism of the low standard in English and Mathematics taught in the school.¹⁷² The classrooms were very overcrowded; in one class alone there were 77 students, well above the approved teacher to student ratio of 37.¹⁷³ In addition to the over-crowded classrooms, there was a lack of chairs and tables for the students which indirectly led to restlessness and lack of discipline. The teachers too were restless but for a different reason. Their complaints centred on the Principal: there was never sufficient time to meet with him to discuss the problems in the school.¹⁷⁴

The chairman of the Education Committee, Luamanuvae Eti, and Church treasurer, Iona Levi, investigated the complaints made against Maluafou in late February 1966.¹⁷⁵ As a result of their investigations the Church responded quickly. Two extra teachers and

¹⁶⁹ "Umusaga Leulumoega Fou", 1. Author's translation of the following prayer.

Matou to ofoina atu lenei Aoga mo lou viiga. Ia saunia a matou fanau mo le lumanai o lau Talalelei i Samoa nei ma Nu'u Ese e mamao, ia avea a matou atalii e pei o laau toto, ma a matou afafine ia pei o tulimanu ua togitogiina e pei o se maota, e susulu pea i ai le agaga o le poto ma le mafaufau mai lau Afio, ma ia e faamanuiaina e faavavau lava. AMENE.

¹⁷⁰ Harry Betham, "O le Tala o le Tupe Aperila 1 1966–Mati 31 1967". It was close to power and water supplies of the capital. The school bills contributed £1,785 to the church in 1965 and £2033 in 1966 which was the largest of any of the schools.

¹⁷¹ Luamanuvae Eti, "Ripoti a le Komiti tofia e asiasi i le Aoga i Maluafou 28 Fepuari 1966". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1966, 1.

¹⁷² "Fono Komiti Aoga 22 Novema 1965", 3. 65KA55; "Fono Komiti Aoga 1 Iulai 1966". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1966, 3. 67KA18. One teacher broke into the carpentry room without authority from the Principal; Luamanuvae Eti, "Ripoti a le Komiti tofia e asiasi i le Aoga i Maluafou 28 Fepuari 1966".1.

¹⁷³ Luamanuvae Eti, "Ripoti a le Komiti tofia e asiasi i le Aoga i Maluafou 28 Fepuari 1966",1; "Iugafono a le Komiti Aoga 11 Me 1963". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1963, 8.

¹⁷⁴ Luamanuvae Eti, "Ripoti a le Komiti tofia e asiasi i le Aoga i Maluafou 28 Fepuari 1966", 2.

¹⁷⁵ "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 27 Ianuari 1966", 6. 66KA17.

three past graduates were recruited to supplement the teaching staff.¹⁷⁶ Chairs and tables were purchased, class sizes were limited to 40 students. Even schools fees, normally sent to the central office in Apia, contributed to the building of a science block and procuring beds for the health clinic.¹⁷⁷ A fortnightly meeting between the Principal and teachers was recommended.¹⁷⁸ The Education Committee also reproved the Principal about school discipline and he was replaced by a former teacher in Leulumoega Fou.¹⁷⁹ After the Maluafofou investigation, the Education Committee proposed that the position of a School Director should be created so that there were regular inspections of Church schools.¹⁸⁰

A further need for a Director of Education occurred after the 1966 hurricane, when there were no candidates for the primary teachers training college in Samoa.¹⁸¹ From 1963 to 1965 the Church made use of government assisted sponsorship of trainee primary teachers for Vaisigano.¹⁸² When there was no candidate for the primary teachers training college in Samoa in 1966, the Education Committee resolved to appoint someone to maintain regular contact between the Education Committee and the Government Education department.¹⁸³

The appointment of the School Director was slow in coming. The position of Director came as a result of two major investigations of the Church schools that occurred on the 18 and 28 July 1969. The Education Committee inspection on 18 July was the first investigation of all the Church schools since the formation of the Education Committee in 1962.¹⁸⁴ It was followed by an independent investigation on 28 July by Andrew Barton from the American Samoa Education Department. The Church hoped that these

¹⁷⁶ "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 18 Mati 1966", 7. 66KA23; "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 27 Ianuari 1966", 5. 66KA10.

¹⁷⁷ Luamanuvae Eti, "Ripoti a le Komiti tofia e asiasi i le Aoga i Maluafofou 28 Fepuari 1966". 2; "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 18 Mati 1966", 7. 66KA24, 25, 26.

¹⁷⁸ Luamanuvae Eti, "Ripoti a le Komiti tofia e asiasi i le Aoga i Maluafofou 28 Fepuari 1966". 2; "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 18 Mati 1966", 7. 66KA27.

¹⁷⁹ "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 18 Mati 1966", 7. 66KA28; Tapeni Ioelu, "Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa Komiti Aoga 15 Iuni–17 Me 1968", 3–5. 67KA15, 16, 26.

¹⁸⁰ "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 1 Iulai 1966". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1966, 1 Issue 2

¹⁸¹ "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 27 Ianuari 1966", 6. 66KA19.

¹⁸² "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 13 Iuni 1963". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1963, 2; "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 14 Fepuari 1964". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1964, 3; "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 18 Oketopa 1963". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1963, 3; "Fono a le Komiti o Aoga 18 Ianuari 1963", 2. 63KA10. In January 1963 Fofoaivaese Amosa was sponsored by the CCCS to the teacher's training college and another student sponsored by the church had graduated and was employed in Vaisigano; "Fono Komiti Aoga 22 Novema 1965", 3. 65KA53. In 1965 two further teachers sponsored by the CCCS were also employed by Vaisigano.

¹⁸³ "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 18 Mati 1966", 8. 66KA33.

¹⁸⁴ Etene Saaga, "O le Ripoti a le Komiti o Aoga e uiga i Aoga uma a le Ekalesia Samoa ma le faamatalaga mo lona agai i luma atoa ma lona atinae 18 Iulai 1969", 1.

inspections would provide a clear indication of the standard of the Church schools and offer some recommendations as to what should be done at Maluafofou.¹⁸⁵

Both investigations revealed that, despite employing a new Principal in 1966, the standard of Maluafofou remained disappointing. No initiatives had been taken to renovate or improve the school. There had been very little thought given to school maintenance.¹⁸⁶ There were no chairs in many of the classrooms and blackboards needed replacing.¹⁸⁷ The standard of teaching in Maluafofou was deplorable; the teachers were negligent in up-holding school rules, they did not carefully correct student work books, nor were their 'log' books checked regularly by the Principal.¹⁸⁸

Barton's plea for a School Director in 1969 was not immediately welcomed.¹⁸⁹ The Education Committee initially opposed a School Director preferring to inspect the schools as a group.¹⁹⁰ Later the Committee changed their minds. However, the first choice as Director the former Principal of Leulumoega Fou, John Cohen, became a sticking point between the Church and the Congregational Council for World Mission.¹⁹¹ Cohen was dismissed as Principal by the Education Committee because:

It has been found that better qualified teachers with Education degrees employed from overseas by the Church should assume Principalship for the Leulumoega Fou High School.¹⁹²

Cohen was subsequently appointed as 'Education Officer,' in effect the Director of CCCS Education. The CCWM was angered as they felt that Cohen had the credentials to fulfil the position of Principal.¹⁹³ When the CCWM requested the Education Committee to elaborate more on the reasons for the dismissal, the Education Committee replied with the following reasons:

¹⁸⁵ Etene Saaga, "O le Ripoti a le Komiti o Aoga e uiga i Aoga uma a le Ekalesia Samoa ma le faamatalaga mo lona agai i luma atoa ma lona atinae 18 Iulai 1969", 1.

¹⁸⁶ Andrew Barton, "Ripoti a Mr Andrew Barton 13 Aokuso 1969", 1.

¹⁸⁷ Andrew Barton, "Ripoti a Mr Andrew Barton 13 Aokuso 1969", 2.

¹⁸⁸ Etene Saaga, "O le Ripoti a le Komiti o Aoga e uiga i Aoga uma a le Ekalesia Samoa ma le faamatalaga mo lona agai i luma atoa ma lona atinae 18 Iulai 1969", 2; "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 17 Iuni 1970". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1970, 1. 70KA19; Andrew Barton, "Ripoti a Mr Andrew Barton 13 Aokuso 1969", 2.

¹⁸⁹ Andrew Barton, "Ripoti a Mr Andrew Barton 13 Aokuso 1969", 5.

¹⁹⁰ Andrew Barton, "Ripoti a Mr Andrew Barton 13 Aokuso 1969", 5.

¹⁹¹ Etene Saaga to Ernest Edwards, 17 October 1969 (CCCSA).

¹⁹² Etene Saaga to Ernest Edwards, 17 October 1969 (CCCSA).

¹⁹³ Ernest Edwards to Etene Saaga, 6 November 1969 (CCCSA).

1. That sound administration and proper control of Leulumoega Fou High School seem to be lacking.
2. That there does not seem to materialise in the anticipated period of time an appropriate personality as expected from the Principal in relation to the school and students.
3. That time and again, lack of punctuality in the affairs of the school was obvious where immediate attention as should be was required.¹⁹⁴

These reasons further inflamed the CCWM as well as Cohen who was on furlough at the time of dismissal.¹⁹⁵ As a result of the dismissal of Cohen, the CCWM did not approve the Education Committee's decision to appoint him as Director. Cohen's decided not to return to Samoa after his furlough and sought work in the United Kingdom.¹⁹⁶ It was not until December 1970 that the Education Committee, with an ironic twist, chose the Principal of Leulumoega Fou, Hector Green, to become the first Director of Education of the CCCS.¹⁹⁷

Criticisms of the Direction of Financial Investment of the Schools

There was much criticism concerning the development program of the schools even in 1967. The 'Advice for Amalgamation of Leulumoega Fou and Papauta' report prepared for the 1967 General Assembly criticised the use of finances for the construction of buildings, arguing that it was better to give priority to training good teachers.¹⁹⁸ Expensive buildings without properly qualified teachers, it stated, was like 'throwing our money in the sea'.¹⁹⁹

With the appointment of Tapeni Ioelu as Chairman of the Education Committee in May 1968, the state of the schools took a turn for the better.²⁰⁰ Ioelu's first report expressed

¹⁹⁴ "Iugafono Fonotaga Komiti o Aoga. 27 Novema 1969". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1970, 5 69KA31.

¹⁹⁵ "Caribbean and Pacific Committee-2 December 1969". London: CCWM, 1969. 69CP87; Ernest Edwards to Etene Saaga, 13 April 1970 (CCCSA).

¹⁹⁶ "Caribbean and Pacific Committee-25 February 1970", 70CP19.

¹⁹⁷ "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 1-3 Tesema 1970". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1970, 6. 70KA87; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa. *General Assembly Minutes 17-24 May 1971*, 2. 71FT5 in the 1971 General Assembly, Hector Green was officially elected as the Director of Education.

¹⁹⁸ "Fautuaga mo se Aoga Maua luga e Tuufaatasi i Leulumoega ma Papauta", 1.

¹⁹⁹ "Fautuaga mo se Aoga Maua luga e Tuufaatasi i Leulumoega ma Papauta", 1.

²⁰⁰ Tapeni Ioelu, "Tala Ootoo mo Aoga a le Ekalesia i le Fono Tele 1968", 12 68KA42; Vavae Toma to Secretary of Government of Western Samoa, 9 June 1960 (CCCSA). Tapeni Ioelu was chairman and treasurer of the Church from May 1960 to May 1961; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa. *O le Fono Tele a le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa 20-24 Me 1963*". Malua: Malua Printing Press, 1963, 13, 63FT44. Ioelu was also the vice chairman of the General Assembly of 1963/64; Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), "Komiti o Feau Eseese ma mea tau Tupe 5-10 Iuni 1961", 4. 61KFET34. He was involved in various committees including as treasurer. In June 1961 he was asked to reduce his involvement in the Church.

his disappointment with the abject standards of the schools.²⁰¹ He compared his own response to the low educational standards of the CCCS with that of the prophet Nehemiah's lamentations:

When I heard these things I sat down and wept. For some days I mourned and fasted and prayed before the God of heaven.²⁰²

Ioelu interpreted the poor standard of the schools as either the fault of the Church or as punishment from God. If these problems were the fault of the Church it could be remedied by a more concerted effort on the part of the teachers. However, if these problems had occurred because it was a punishment from God we 'should be ashamed'.²⁰³ He blamed the teachers for not being true to their calling.²⁰⁴

For Ioelu the key issue was a problem 'of the heart'—of loyalty and commitment to the Church.²⁰⁵ He hoped that a new generation of leaders with true love for the Church might return from overseas to serve the Church. For example in 1963 a senior Leulumoega Fou teacher, was sponsored by the Church to study in New Zealand in order to improve English in the schools.²⁰⁶ However three years later he accepted a lucrative call to be a pastor in a village in American Samoa, therefore abandoning his skills in teaching English.²⁰⁷ Ioelu's criticisms were also justified when the schools were inspected in July 1969. Maluafofua was again held up as an example of poor leadership. The behaviour of the teachers and Principal was described as 'heartless'.²⁰⁸ The school building and grounds were poorly maintained. The Principal and teachers were so uncooperative that the Education Committee recommended that they be discharged.²⁰⁹

Ioelu was sceptical about the Church's efforts to lift the standard of Leulumoega Fou. Academically Ioelu did not see much change in Leulumoega Fou. Only one student in 1966 passed all his subjects in the School Certificate examination and one had passed

²⁰¹ Tapeni Ioelu, "Tala Otooto mo A'oga a le Ekalesia i le Fono Tele 1968", 1.

²⁰² Tapeni Ioelu, "Tala Otooto mo A'oga a le Ekalesia i le Fono Tele 1968", 1 Quote from Nehemiah 1: 4 (NIV).

²⁰³ Tapeni Ioelu, "Tala Otooto mo A'oga a le Ekalesia i le Fono Tele 1968", 1.

²⁰⁴ Tapeni Ioelu, "Tala Otooto mo A'oga a le Ekalesia i le Fono Tele 1968", 1.

²⁰⁵ Tapeni Ioelu, "Tala Otooto mo A'oga a le Ekalesia i le Fono Tele 1968", 1.

²⁰⁶ "London Missionary Society Pacific Committee Monday 14 October 1963". London: London Missionary Society, 1963, 1. 63PAC90; "Iugafono a le Komiti Aoga 11 Me 1963", 6–7.

²⁰⁷ Etene Saaga to Panama Mutu, 21 March 1966 (CCCSA).

²⁰⁸ Etene Saaga, "O le Ripoti a le Komiti o Aoga e uiga i Aoga uma a le Ekalesia Samoa ma le faamatalaga mo lona agai i luma atoa ma lona atinae 18 Iulai 1969", 2.

²⁰⁹ Etene Saaga, "O le Ripoti a le Komiti o Aoga e uiga i Aoga uma a le Ekalesia Samoa ma le faamatalaga mo lona agai i luma atoa ma lona Atina'e 18 Iulai 1969", 2.

half his exams. He also emphasised that despite the best efforts of the teachers to raise the standard of education, it was hindered by the woeful standard of English.²¹⁰

The declining standards of the schools seemed to mirror the declining influence of the missionaries. When Peter Elliot and David Bowen resigned in 1966, they were followed by Marjorie King a year later. Hugh Neems' failure in 1968 to get more American Congregational help for American Samoa was a further example of the declining influence of the missionaries.²¹¹ It was expected that Rev. John Cohen would remain as Principal for some time after Elliot's resignation.²¹² As was mention earlier, the Church did not want the services of Cohen. The CCWM had already acknowledged in 1968 that:

it was strongly felt that with the rapid development of the Pacific Churches the day of the district missionary in the area is passing. It may call for some reappraisal of the function of responsibility carried by given church officers, there are islanders of adequate training and competence to carry the many responsibilities formerly carried by missionaries, and district oversight we feel, is one such responsibility. There are less advanced areas—Africa for instance—where this kind of service is still necessary, but even there, the need is passing. In addition, we are at a point where our resources in men and money are considerably strained.²¹³

Theological Training Opportunities

Opportunities for further theological training became available in the early 1960s. Former students of Malua Theological College in New Zealand donated money for scholarships from 1964.²¹⁴ The General Secretary, Etene Saaga, in his overseas trips to the United States kept an eye out for theological training opportunities, especially ecumenical ones. He was able to secure study opportunities at the Union Theological Seminary in New York for promising students.²¹⁵ In 1963, Rīsatisone Ete, a recent Malua graduate, was offered a scholarship from the World Council of Churches to study in Japan.²¹⁶ Peti Williams, a Malua teacher, pursued his doctoral studies in America.²¹⁷

²¹⁰ Tapeni Ioelu, "Tala Otooto mo A'oga a le Ekalesia i le Fono Tele 1968", 2.

²¹¹ Congregational Council for World Mission, "Caribbean and Pacific Committee—Minutes 5 March 1968". London: CCWM, 1968, 1.

²¹² Ernest Edwards to Etene Saaga, 11 December 1969 (CCCSA).

²¹³ Ernest Edwards to Etene Saaga, 11 March 1968 (CCCSA).

²¹⁴ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa. *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, Malua Western Samoa 25–29 May 1964*, 64FT10

²¹⁵ Rev. Oswald Warford to Stuart Anderson, 12 August 1963 (CCCSA); Ralph Hyslop to Etene Saaga, 20 November 1963 (CCCSA).

²¹⁶ "Iugafono a le Komiti Aoga 11 May 1963", 6. 63KA25.

²¹⁷ "Iugafono a le Komiti Aoga 11 May 1963", 6. 63KA 24.

In 1966, the Malua Principal David Bowen, advised the Committee that Malua teachers should also have the opportunities for further training.²¹⁸

Whereas secular education suffered from the lack of teachers, theological education would receive a major boost with the commencement of classes in the Pacific Theological College (PTC) in Fiji in the second term of 1966. The CCCS was quick to utilise this opportunity. Malua has maintained a close relationship with PTC. After all the original idea of a central theological institution for all Pacific institutions was first debated in Malua, during the 1961 CWM missionary meeting. Eventually Fiji became the site, because of its central location to all the islands of the region.²¹⁹

There were three theological graduates from Malua sent to PTC in 1966. They were Lale Ieremia and Masalosalo Fiu Sopoaga both had earlier studied in New Zealand.²²⁰ The third was Ioritana Tanielu, the first Malua graduate to study at the Pacific Theological College.²²¹ These three students were part of more than twenty students to go the Pacific Theological College.²²² Included among this group were Robert Tiatia, in 1967, Elia Inu (Elia Taase) and Oka Fauolo in 1969, and Soti Enari.

On 14 January 1969 the atmosphere of the Education Committee was joyous as the three graduates from PTC, Ieremia, Ioritana and Masalosalo returned to Samoa. Such was the significance of these three graduates that the chairman of Education Committee, Tapeni Ioelu attended the first PTC graduation ceremony in December 1968.²²³ Masalosalo Fiu Sopoaga, Ioritana Tanielu and Lale Ieremia graduated with a Bachelor of Divinity degrees.²²⁴ Sopoaga also received an award for being the best Old Testament student in his year²²⁵ Tapeni wrote glowingly of their achievements:

It is nothing to be boastful about, but their achievements should humble us. Whoever thought that our theological students would achieve such success.²²⁶

²¹⁸ “Iugafono Komiti Aoga 27 Ianuari 1966”, 4. 66KA3.

²¹⁹ Tapeni Ioelu, “Kolisi Faafaifeau i Suva”. *O le Sulu Samoa*, Fepuari 1969, 25.

²²⁰ “Fono Komiti Aoga 15 Me 1965”, 5; “Fono Komiti Aoga 22 Novema 1965”, 2. 65KA44.

²²¹ “Fono Komiti Aoga 22 Novema 1965”, 2. 65KA45.

²²² George Knight, “Tala Otooto. Kolisi Faafaifeau i Suva”. *O le Sulu Samoa*, Iuni 1966, 105.

²²³ Tapeni Ioelu, “Kolisi Faafaifeau i Suva”, 25; “Iugafono Komiti Aoga 14 Ianuari 1969”. Malua: Komiti Aoga 1969, 2.

²²⁴ Tapeni Ioelu, “Kolisi Faafaifeau i Suva”, 25; “Iugafono Komiti Aoga 14 Ianuari 1969”, 1. 69KA3.

²²⁵ Tapeni Ioelu, “Kolisi Faafaifeau i Suva”, 25.

²²⁶ Tapeni Ioelu, “Kolisi Faafaifeau i Suva”, 25.

The Education Committee organised a special function to welcome them back.²²⁷ The Rev. Luamanu and Rev. Sofara on behalf of the Church thanked the Committee for the support it had given the three graduates.²²⁸ Lale and Ioritana also thanked the Committee and Church for their support. Masalosalo was not present as he was overseas, seeking further opportunities for further study at Presbyterian theological seminary in Chicago.²²⁹ The chairman Ioelu gave a speech to encourage Lale and Ioritana in the ministry.²³⁰

The success of the PTC graduates prompted further scholarships for Malua graduates to study overseas. In 1971 five Malua graduates received scholarships.²³¹ The Education Committee cleared Peniamina Vai to study in Canada, Oka Fauolo to Yale Divinity College, Masalosalo to Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Chicago, Risati Ete and Otele Perelini to PTC.²³² In the same year Elia Taase and Enari Soti graduated from PTC with Bachelor of Divinity. The following year three more Malua graduates were approved by the Church, Poka Maua, Akerei Alapati and Liki Tiatia.²³³

Conclusion

A study of the formation of committees of the Church reflects those issues that were important to the Church. It became a Church characterised by institutional focus, with the creation of education, finance, development and mission committees. At the same time the Church was influenced by the main institution in Samoa—the village. The dynamics that operate in the village increasingly became part of the CCCS. Even before independence the Elders' Committee which resembled the Council of Chiefs in the village, exercised authority over the Church.

One of the most significant utilisations of village institutions in Church structure involved raising the profile of the Women's Fellowship to a Mothers Fellowship or the *Mafutaga Tina*. Such was the importance of the *Mafutaga Tina* that a delegate from the *Mafutaga Tina* was present on the major committees. The function of the *Mafutaga*

²²⁷ "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 14 Ianuari 1969", 1. 69KA2.

²²⁸ "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 14 Ianuari 1969", 1. 69KA4.

²²⁹ *Affirming Our Ecumenical Journey*. Suva: Pacific Conference of Churches, 2002, 70.

²³⁰ "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 14 Ianuari 1969", 2. 69KA5.

²³¹ "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 29 Iulai 1970". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1970, 2. 70KA29.

²³² "Iugafono Komiti Aoga 29 Iulai 1970", 2–3. 70KA29 and 70KA43.

²³³ "Sikolasipi". *O le Sulu Samoa*, Ianuari 1972, 15.

Tina paralleled the village *auluma* in many ways. Firstly, just as the *auluma* involved the village women in the duties of the village, the *Mafutaga Tina* incorporated women of the Church to support Church policies. Secondly, the wives of Elder pastors or deacons that led the *Mafutaga Tina* paralleled the leadership structure of the *auluma* which was led by wives of the chiefs of the village. Lastly the *Mafutaga Tina*, like the *auluma*, was ‘relatively’ autonomous and independent from control of the General Purposes Committee. As a consequence its policies influenced other sub-committees as was evident in their interference in Papauta’s leadership.

Another village institution utilised within the Church structure was modelled on the village plantation. In 1966 the Church established the Development Committee to use arable Church land to set up plantations. Like the village plantation, Church land planted banana and taro for food to generate funds for the Church. Its creation occurred at a time of massive government replanting after the devastating hurricane in January 1966. Even after the plantations were severely damaged in the 1968 hurricane, the Church embarked on growing cocoa and coconut plantations as they were less prone to hurricane damage.

The Church also continued the emphasis on finance, education and mission developed by the LMS missionaries. A Finance Committee was essential to monitor and control the *taulaga*. The *taulaga* was the basis of a self-sustaining Church which utilised the endemic competitive spirit between villages. The ability of the Church to be financially self-sustaining enabled it to fund the Samoan missionaries in Papua, which were previously funded by the LMS and the Papua Church. The formation of a separate Mission Committee and Development Committee is indicative of the independent status of the Church. A separate Education Committee was also set up to improve the academic standards of the Church Schools.

The focus on secular education revolved around the three oldest schools of Leulumoega Fou, Maluafou and Papauta. Since Leulumoega Fou was the only CCCS school accredited with granting New Zealand School Certificate, it received the bulk of the Church’s investment which led to \$300,000 in renovations from the 1971 General Assembly. Leulumoega Fou also received priority in teacher availability to the detriment of schools such as Papauta and Maluafou. As a consequence Maluafou

teachers lacked motivation even with the change in principalship and Papauta reflecting the influence of the *Mafutaga Tina* continuing its 'non-academic' tradition.

The emphasis on secondary education created many challenges for the Church. Since Samoa had no secondary teachers training college, it was costly for the Church to sponsor students and foreign teachers. In the period 1961 to 1964 there was no clear source of funding to cater for the change from primary to secondary education. As a result districts such as Fa'asaleleaga took over the responsibility of the schools. Attempts to cut expenditure resulted in students assisting with ground maintenance. However with the devastating hurricane of 1966, the Church began to draw 40 percent of sub-committee funds towards the Education Committee. Even this was not enough so in May 1967 £90,000 was demanded from the districts of the Church.

At the same time the controversial decision not to move Leulumoega Fou to Apia and combine with Papauta Girls School could have reduced costs for the Church. The amalgamation of the two schools was eagerly supported by the Principal of Papauta, the LMS missionary Marjorie King, who had seen it as a way to raise the academic standard of Papauta. However the General Assembly's reluctance to abandon the heavy investment in Leulumoega Fou High contributed to the decision to keep the school on its present site. It seems clear that the Church wanted to prove that they were capable of running these two schools, just as the LMS missionaries had. However the decision preserved the non-academic status of Papauta and vital Church funds were also diverted away from the much larger coeducational Maluafofua School. Furthermore the Church hoped that the investment in Leulumoega Fou would set a benchmark for all the other CCCS schools to follow.

Theological education improved immensely once the classes in the Pacific Theological College (PTC) commenced in 1966. The College offered a diploma and Bachelor of Divinity programme for the brightest students in the South Pacific. By 1969 there were already three CCCS graduates from PTC intending to further their studies or becoming lecturers in Malua Theological College. Theological education received a boost with the availability of scholarships for the top students and even teachers to study overseas.

As the first decade of independence came to a close the future of Church's committees looked uncertain. The Development Committee instead of generating funds was

operating at a loss. Financially, the Church was stable, but in 1968 it had to bear the costs of the Samoan missionaries in Papua. Heavy investment in education had also drawn a lot of finance from the Church. Yet despite the difficulties it was hoped that things would brighten up in the new decade.

Chapter Three: Preserving Church Unity: Promoting Pacific Ecumenism 1961–1972

The American Samoan district and the congregations in California became a problem for the CCCS at a time when both were agitating for more autonomy.¹ The American Samoan district was disturbed that a disproportionate amount of money was being invested in Western Samoa to the neglect of American Samoa; the Californian districts, for their part, were looking elsewhere, particularly to American Congregationalists for financial assistance. Ironically, these rumblings occurred when the CCCS was trying with mixed results to pool its resources with Methodists and Catholics to benefit each other and to overcome their differences.²

American Samoa is an ‘unincorporated’ American territory consisting of the main island of Tutuila, the island of Aunuu and the three small islands of the Manua group: Ofu, Tau and Olesaga.³ The total area of American Samoa is only 199 square kilometres compared to 2,930 square kilometres in Western Samoa.⁴ The small area of American Samoa had a population of 20,051 in 1960 compared to 114,427 in Western Samoa.⁵ In that same year there were about 53 CCCS congregations in American Samoa compared to the 183 in Western Samoa.⁶

The main island Tutuila is about 100km by sea from Upolu in Western Samoa. In the past it was regarded as a ‘dependency’ of the Atua district in Western Samoa.⁷ However

¹ John Garrett, *Where Nets Were Cast Christianity in Oceania since World War II*. 3. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies University of the South Pacific, 1997, 408; Menise Sasa, “One People One Church Two States. A contemporary study of relations between Western Samoa Church and American Samoa, and how political, economic and social factors affect the work of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, with special reference to the Church in American Samoa”. Bachelor of Divinity, Pacific Theological College, 1980, 39.

² Sometimes the interdenominational cooperation was successful as when they revised the Bible. Other times like in the joint high school between the CCCS and Methodists it only reinforced the divisions.

³ Manfred Ernst, ed., *Globalization and the Re-Shaping of Christianity in the Pacific Islands*. Suva: The Pacific Theological College, 2006, 548.

⁴ Manfred Ernst, ed., *Globalization and the Re-Shaping of Christianity in the Pacific Islands*, 578; Teo Fairbairn, “Samoa mo Samoa: A Less Troubled Present?” *Journal of Pacific History* 28, no.3 (1993): 234.

⁵ Norma McArthur, “Commentary Contemporary Polynesian Emigration from Samoa and the Cook Islands”. *Journal of Polynesian Society* 73, no.3 (1964): 336; John Wendt, ed., *Population Census 1966*. Apia: Prime Minister's Office, 1968, 133.

⁶ Tepa Faletese, “Ripoti o le Galuega Faa-le-Tausaga Na Faaiuina-Aperila 31 1967”. Apia: Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, 1967, 3; Panama Mutu to Vavae Toma, July 21 1960 (CCCCSA).

⁷ Menise Sasa, “One People One Church Two States. A contemporary study of relations between Western Samoa Church and American Samoa, and how political, economic and social factors affect the work of

the inhabitants of Tutuila did not regard themselves as related to Atua, because there was a long tradition of tension between Tutuila and Atua.⁸ This tension flared up again in 1872 resulting in the leading chief, Mauga, seeking protection from the United States. Mauga was fortunate that the United States was looking for a harbour in the Pacific for its commercial and military interests and Tutuila had a protected, deep sea harbour in Pago Pago to offer them. Under Commander Meade of the USS *Narragansett* an agreement was signed with Mauga in 1872 for permission to use Tutuila's harbour in exchange for protection.⁹

Twenty-seven years later Tutuila and the Manu'a islands became American Samoa when they were annexed as a 'naval colony' by the United States under the control of the American Navy.¹⁰ As a naval colony in the Pacific there was little interest shown by the Navy in a government for Samoans which meant that there was a reluctance on behalf of the Navy to interfere in the Samoan community.¹¹ As a consequence American Samoa did not suffer the blunders of the New Zealand administration that plagued Western Samoa. The Navy's passive attitude towards government led to a reputation for little social development other than as the major source of employment for local Samoans, which increased dramatically during World War II.¹² The Navy's greatest contribution was the prevention of the destructive flu epidemic in 1918 from devastating the American Samoa population. After the War, in July 1951, there was a wave of migration of American Samoans to Hawaii when its naval base moved there.¹³

the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, with special reference to the Church in American Samoa", 39.

⁸ Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1970, 52.

⁹ William Morrell, *Britain in the Pacific* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960, 214; Richard Gilson, *Samoa 1830 to 1900 the Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1970, 279.

¹⁰ John Garrett, *Where Nets Were Cast Christianity in Oceania since World War II*, 248; Steven Fischer, *A History of the Pacific Islands*. New York: Palgrave, 2002, 145.

¹¹ Ian Christopher Campbell, "Chiefs, Agitators and the Navy". *The Journal of Pacific History* 44, no.1 (2009): 44–45.

¹² Elia Taase, *Ina ia tatou iloa: O le Talafaasolopito o le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Amerika Samoa mai le amataga o le LMS e oo i le 2005*. Apia, Samoa: Malua Printing Press, 2006, 95–96; Steven Fischer, *A History of the Pacific Islands*, 182.

¹³ Elia Taase, *Ina ia tatou iloa: O le Talafaasolopito o le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Amerika Samoa mai le amataga o le LMS e oo i le 2005*, 106; Gordon Lewthwaite, Christiane Mainzer, and Patrick Holland, "From Polynesia to California: Samoan Migration and Its Sequel". *Journal of Pacific History* 8, (1973): 135; David B. Eyde, *A Preliminary Study of a Group of Samoan Migrants in Hawaii*. Undergraduate Research, University of Hawaii, 1954, 3.

In the early 1960s American Samoa's fortunes improved dramatically under the capable administration of the Governor Rex Lee in May 1961.¹⁴ Lee introduced changes almost immediately. He improved infrastructure, built a new hospital and made education a priority: new schools were built and television educational programmes introduced into every village school.¹⁵ From 1962 to 1968 the value of American Samoan exports rose from 7.3 million to 25 million dollars.¹⁶ By contrast Western Samoa's export earnings in the same period declined from 6 million to 4.7 million dollars.¹⁷ Hugh Neems, the resident LMS missionary in American Samoa, witnessing how the growing prosperity of American Samoa had seeped into the Church observed:

Some pastors' stipends this year exceeded the \$3,500 (£1,350) mark: this not including "perks" (weekly collections for electricity, food house maintenance, etc). It may seem to you that I have been carried away by the material changes in the life of the people. I only mention these facts and figures so that you share the strong impression that I have, that a social revolution is now well under way here in American Samoa.¹⁸

From 1962 to 1971 the American Samoan District contribution to the *taulaga* rose from 16 percent to a high of 51 percent in 1968 and then fell to 28 percent in 1971.¹⁹ From 1966 to 1971 it consistently contributed the largest *taulaga* of all the districts, from £14,304 to \$31,907 per annum.²⁰ Inevitably, the Church in American Samoa began to flex its economic muscle and seek a greater voice within the Church. It begrudged transmitting money to Apia for Western Samoan institutions and for meeting the debt on the central office there.²¹

¹⁴ Ralph Craib, "American Samoa Is Booming at Last". *Pacific Islands Monthly* 33 May 1962, 51–52. The March issue reported that the 1961–62 fiscal budget was 14 million dollars; Ralph Craib, "American Samoa Has Hopes of TV Station". *Pacific Islands Monthly* 33 February 1962, 37; Clarence Norwood, "Samoa Missionary Meeting 6 October 1961". Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1961, 61SMM103; Hugh Neems to CCCS, 1 January 1962, 1–2 (CCCSA). Neems estimated the annual budget to be in excess of this amount, from 2 to 9 million dollars.

¹⁵ "American Samoan Building Boom". *Pacific Islands Monthly* 33 May 1962, 18; Suitonu Suitonu to Etene Saaga, 12 April 1962 (CCCSA); Hugh Neems to CCCS, 1 January 1962, 1 (CCCSA); Ralph Craib, "American Samoa Is Booming at Last", 51; Hugh Neems to CCCS, 1 January 1962, 1 (CCCSA).

¹⁶ Ian Fairbairn, "Pacific Island Economies". *Journal of Polynesian Society* 80, no.1 (1971): 89.

¹⁷ Ian Fairbairn, "Pacific Island Economies", 89.

¹⁸ Hugh Neems to CCCS, 1 January 1962, 1–2 (CCCSA).

¹⁹ Harry Betham, "O le faamatalaga o le Tupe Aperila 1 1961–Mati 31, 1962". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1962; Harry Betham, "O le Tala o le Tupe Aperila 1 1967–Mati 31 1968". Apia: Komiti Tupe 1968; Harry Betham, "O le Tala o le Tupe Ianuari 1– Tesema 31, 1971". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1971.

²⁰ Harry Betham, "O le Tala o le Tupe Aperila 1 1966–Mati 31 1967". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1967. All currency is in Western Samoan currency.

²¹ Clarence Norwood, "Samoa Missionary Meeting 6 October 1961", 61SMM103.

As early as 1961, LMS missionaries witnessed with alarm the growing tension between Eastern and Western Samoa. American Samoa was looking increasingly at the United States for support rather than Western Samoa. There were differences between the American and British missions. According to Bernard Thorogood the Second World War had seriously depleted the finances of the British and European Churches in reconstruction. In contrast, the American Churches were relatively wealthy and could finance new enterprises. For example, a major ecumenical initiative such as the Theological Education Fund was largely financed from America.²² Those missions affiliated with British mission societies, on the other hand, received much less financial support.²³ Clarence Norwood, the chairman of the LMS missionaries in Samoa, noted that in American Samoa:

Changes were rapidly taking place, and people were looking to the mainland and Hawaii rather than to Western Samoa. While there was not a breakaway movement within the Church... There was a desire to put more power in the hands of the Tutuila [American Samoa] District, and have less control by the GPFC and Assembly, meeting in Western Samoa.²⁴

The LMS General Secretary, Stuart Craig, was also concerned that the American Samoan call for more autonomy was ‘leading to a separate Church’:

I would say that that is quite clear where the matter is now tending, the financial issues had caused the American Samoan District to seek more autonomy from Western Samoan control.²⁵

The Malua Principal and the most distinguished academic among the LMS missionaries, the Rev. John Bradshaw, saw the American Samoa district’s call for more autonomy as a voice for ‘reform’ in the Samoan Church, one which the Church in Western Samoa should listen to or else suffer division.²⁶ He believed that the ‘autonomy’ requested by American Samoa rested on economic and constitutional reforms:

²² Bernard Thorogood ed., *Gales of Change. Responding to A Shifting Missionary Context. The Story of the London Missionary Society 1945–1977*. Geneva: WCC, 1994, 15; John Garrett, *Where Nets Were Cast Christianity in Oceania since World War II*, 246; John Bradshaw, “O le Ekalesia Samoa (LMS)”, Malua: Samoa Church (LMS), 1960.

²³ Bernard Thorogood ed., *Gales of Change. Responding to A Shifting Missionary Context. The Story of the London Missionary Society 1945–1977*, 15.

²⁴ Clarence Norwood, “Samoa Missionary Meeting 6 October 1961”, 61SMM103.

²⁵ Stuart Craig to Hugh Neems, 17 November 1961, 2 (CCCSA).

²⁶ John Garrett, *Where Nets Were Cast Christianity in Oceania since World War II*, 246–47. Bradshaw had an Oxford doctorate and was committed to improving the academic standard of Malua Theological College.

So long as the Western-dominated Assembly can completely control the use of the fairly large contributions from American Samoa, it is going to be difficult for the Church in the east to develop a pattern of working appropriate to its different circumstances.²⁷

Economic reform for Bradshaw involved giving more authority to the American Samoa district over its own finances. However the reforms he suggested favoured Western Samoa's development. For example, if American Samoa were given financial control it might have encouraged the district to donate more to the work of the wider Church!²⁸ He also believed that to give the District authority to use its finances was also an opportunity to offer scholarships for candidates to attend Malua Theological College because the growing wealth in American Samoa was pulling potential candidates away from the ministry.²⁹

Bradshaw was convinced that American Samoa should be given a clear practical plan for the next few years.³⁰ His suggestions confirmed the lack of investment in American Samoa by the CCCS. He stated that previous attempts to put matters right 'always seems[ed] to founder on the rocks' because it often resulted in giving up control of the Church's schools.³¹ He was referring to the two CCCS schools in American Samoa, Fagalele and Atauloma, which were leased out to the government rather than developed by the Church.³² A Bible School had also been planned by the Church in 1959, but nothing came of it in the early 1960s.³³ Bradshaw also supported the idea that the General Assembly should give more consideration to American Samoan District issues:

I do not think that the Assembly should have power to veto decisions by the eastern assembly (or district meeting), but I think it ought to have and very rarely to use a power to refer back a decision for further consideration, once only. That would mean that the General Assembly would be able to hold up decisions from the east for a maximum of one year, but not to prevent their

²⁷ John Bradshaw to Hugh Neems and Stuart Craig, 26 November 1961 (CCCSA).

²⁸ John Bradshaw to Hugh Neems and Stuart Craig, 26 November 1961 (CCCSA).

²⁹ John Bradshaw to Hugh Neems and Stuart Craig, 26 November 1961 (CCCSA).

³⁰ John Bradshaw to Hugh Neems and Stuart Craig, 26 November 1961 (CCCSA).

³¹ John Bradshaw to Hugh Neems and Stuart Craig, 26 November 1961 (CCCSA).

³² "Minutes of Missionaries' Committee 12 January 1957". Apia: Samoa Missionary Committee, 1957, 1. 57SMC3; Stuart Craig to Hugh Neems, 17 November 1961 (CCCSA); Panama Mutu, "Mataupu mo le Fono Tele a le Ekalesia Samoa (LMS) Iuni 19–22 1961". Apia: Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), 1961; John Bradshaw, "Samoa Missionary Meeting 15 March 1963". Malua: Samoa Missionary Committee, 1963, 3. 63SMM36.

³³ "Samoa Missionary Committee Minutes 28 February 1959". Apia: Samoa Missionary Committee, 1959, 1. 59SMC4; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa. *Tusi o Iugafono a le Au Toeaina 1952–1978*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1979, 35–36. 61KAT3. Districts were encouraged to form their own Bible study classes in a time that American Samoa Bible Classes were popular; Elia Taase, *Ina ia tatou iloa: O le Talafaasolopito o le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Amerika Samoa mai le amataga o le LMS e oo i le 2005*, 142–143.

implementation if they were represented a year later. I should think that might give Tutuila and Manu'a (American Samoa) the freedom it wants, and yet preserve the unity of the Church.³⁴

Hugh Neems, an ardent supporter of American Samoan autonomy, knew that Western Samoa did not want American Samoa to be involved with American Congregationalists because it threatened the unity of the independent CCCS.

It is easy to understand why a newly independent state will not encourage the kind of drastic action which I believe the situation in American Samoa calls for. Only a Church in American Samoa could set in motion the machinery required for such a binding association.³⁵

The basis for Western Samoan concerns was the assistance Samoan congregations were receiving from American Congregationalists. There were already Samoan congregations supported by American Congregationalists in Hawaii and a little later in California as well.³⁶ As early as 1953 Craig had approved the first Samoa Church (LMS) congregation in Honolulu, which was assisted by the Hawaiian Evangelical Association (HEA).³⁷ Even though the assistance of the HEA did not terminate the Samoan Church's (LMS) control over the congregation in Honolulu, the Western Samoa Church felt threatened by the influence of the HEA.³⁸ The HEA donated \$10,000 (US) and offered a \$8,000 (US) loan at 5.5 percent interest to complete the renovations of the Church in Honolulu.³⁹ For Neems the financial assistance to the Honolulu Church strengthened his belief that the American Samoan District should seek closer relations with American Congregationalists. Furthermore, he believed that the society in American Samoa which had become Americanised made such association possible and desirable.⁴⁰

³⁴ John Bradshaw to Hugh Neems and Stuart Craig, 26 November 1961, 5 (CCCSA).

³⁵ Hugh Neems to CCCS, 1 January 1962, 4 (CCCSA).

³⁶ Hugh Neems, "Synopsis of the Report Prepared for the District the Congregational Christian Church in American Samoa". Pago Pago, American Samoa: Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, 1962, 1.

³⁷ Filo Tauaivale, "To Sing the Lords Song in a Foreign Land: A Brief History of the Samoan (LMS) Church in Hawaii 1950–1970". Bachelor of Divinity, Malua Theological College, 2005, 30. The Hawaiian Evangelical Association was a church organization which included Congregationalists merging with Evangelical and Reformed Churches to become the United Church of Christ (UCC); John Garrett, *Where Nets Were Cast Christianity in Oceania since World War II*, 248.

³⁸ Tapeni Ioelu to Vavae Toma, 2 September 1953 (CCCSA).

³⁹ Filo Tauaivale, "To Sing the Lords Song in a Foreign Land: A Brief History of the Samoan (LMS) Church in Hawaii 1950–1970", 45.

⁴⁰ Stuart Craig to Reuling, 21 February 1962, 2 (CCCSA); Hugh Neems, "Synopsis of the Report Prepared for the District the Congregational Christian Church in American Samoa", 1.

Neems observed that the existence of ‘separate Samoan congregations’ in the United States was further evidence that the American Samoa District should be allied with the Congregationalists in the United States:

Most of us deplore the growth of separate Samoan congregations in the U.S.A. We [in American Samoa] should like them integrated into the life of the Congregational Churches in the States. Why not get to the root of the whole problem by getting the Church here [American Samoa] to become fully integrated with American Congregationalism?⁴¹

Neems called the move for a more autonomous American Samoa ‘interdependence’ rather than ‘independence’.⁴² He did not see a more autonomous American Samoa as denying the unity of the Church. Rather American Samoa’s ‘interdependence’ suggested that the district could still work together with Western Samoa, and American Congregationalists to develop the Church in American Samoa. Western Samoa benefited from the financial donations from American Samoa; while American Samoa benefited from education opportunities from Malua Theological College and the six schools in Western Samoa. Both American and Western Samoa benefited from the financial and material assistance from American Congregationalists. In a time of ‘ecumenism’ this is an ideal case study of ‘unity’ between Western Samoa, American Samoa and American Congregationalism.⁴³ To a certain extent, there was no denial of unity when both Churches were known as the Congregational Christian Church. Subsequent relationships with American Congregationalists had contributed to the establishment of Samoan congregations in America, and this was further evidence of unity.⁴⁴

In February 1962 the American Samoan District annual meeting put the following proposals before the General Assembly meeting in May. They proposed that they be allowed to form their own General Assembly, have more control over financial matters, closer fellowship with American Congregationalists, and the use of its own *taulaga*.⁴⁵ Although relinquishing its membership on the General Purposes Committee, the American Samoan district retained its membership on the Elders’ Committee. The

⁴¹ Hugh Neems to Samoa Church (LMS), 1 January 1962, 4 (CCCSA).

⁴² Hugh Neems to CCCS, 1 January 1962, 4 (CCCSA).

⁴³ Hugh Neems to CCCS, 1 January 1962, 3–4 (CCCSA).

⁴⁴ Hugh Neems to CCCS, 1 January 1962, 4 (CCCSA).

⁴⁵ Clarence Norwood, “Samoa Missionary Meeting 4 May 1962”. Malua: Samoa Missionary Committee, 1962, 2. 62SMM66; Panama Mutu, “Mau mai le Matagaluega a Tutuila ma Manu’a i lana Tofiga Tele. Feb 19–23 1962”. Pago Pago, American Samoa: Ekalesia Faapopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, 1962, 3.

proposal for greater autonomy alarmed the newly-formed CCCS, not least because American Samoans were important contributors to the finances of the CCCS. Craig saw the irony of a potential split at the height of the then ecumenical movement:

I personally am much disturbed at the thought that the Church in Samoa now entering properly and appropriately into wider Church relationships might split up. It would create wide and serious confusion, and do so just at a time when the Pacific Churches are drawing together and the Church in Samoa might be looked to take a leading part. It would break something which ties the Samoan people together.⁴⁶

The question of autonomy was so serious that a delegation of Western Samoan senior ministers and even the General Secretary, Vavae Toma, attended a week-long Bible study session led by Neems in the capital of American Samoa, Pago Pago.⁴⁷ Such a high profile delegation from Western Samoa was an attempt to establish closer relations with the American Samoan District. The fear of losing American Samoa at a time of dire financial stress forced the CCCS to 'listen' to the concerns of the American Samoan District. Interestingly, one of the topics of the Bible Study was the proposal for a more autonomous Congregational Christian Church of American Samoa: after two days of deliberation the American Samoan participants voted unanimously for autonomy.⁴⁸

Certainly, less than three months after the vote for independence, it became increasingly clear to the CCCS that American Samoa might break away. The situation was so troublesome that the General Secretary of the CCCS attended the March missionary meeting to hear their views. If the situation warranted, Bradshaw was prepared to go to American Samoa to consult with Neems about the secession.⁴⁹ However Clarence Norwood reassured his colleagues that Bradshaw need not go to American Samoa as it was not 'secession' the Church there wanted, but rather a request for autonomy.⁵⁰ It was thus left in the hands of the General Assembly to decide the future of the American Samoan District.

⁴⁶ Stuart Craig to John Reuling, 21 February 1962, 3 (CCCSA).

⁴⁷ Hugh Neems to Clarence Norwood, 26 February 1962, 2 (CCCSA).

⁴⁸ Hugh Neems to Clarence Norwood, 26 February 1962, 2 (CCCSA).

⁴⁹ Clarence Norwood, "Samoa Missionary Meeting 2 March 1962". Malua: Samoa Missionary Committee, 1962. 62SMM46.

⁵⁰ Clarence Norwood to Stuart Craig, 8 March 1962, 3 (CCCSA).

The form of autonomy that American Samoa was seeking was again discussed in the missionary meeting in May 1962 and later at the General Assembly that year.⁵¹ At the missionary meeting:

Hugh Neems gave an account of the recent meeting of the Tutuila District, and subsequent discussions, and stated that the Tutuila District was asking the church that it might have its own Assembly, and control its own affairs, especially in matters of finance. They would ask to be represented on the Committee of Elders but not on the General Purposes Committee. They further wished to explore the possibility of their having closer relations with American Congregationalists.⁵²

The General Assembly requested that the district think deeply on how their aspirations might impact upon the Church's independence.⁵³ Despite the ambiguous response of the General Assembly to calls for a semi-autonomous American Samoa, the issue took a serious turn in September 1962 when the American Samoa district adopted and registered under the name of 'Congregational Christian Church of American Samoa'.⁵⁴

Rev. Suitonu Suitonu and the American District

The call for more autonomy in American Samoa reflected a similar call for independence among the congregations in California from 1959 to 1961. The way the Church responded to that event set a precedent for the new challenge posed by American Samoa.⁵⁵ In 1959 Mile Lili'o, the Chairman of the Samoan congregations in the United States, reported to Vavae Toma about people eager to align with American Congregationalists in California and to form separate congregations.⁵⁶

The Church's response to these reports focussed increasingly on the former lay preacher Suitonu Suitonu. Born on 22 December 1906 in the village of Fiti-i-uta on Manu'a Island, his only claim to theological education was a one month course at La Forae in the state of Colorado in the United States.⁵⁷ An ambitious person, he had created

⁵¹ Clarence Norwood, "Samoa Missionary Meeting 4 May 1962". Malua: Samoa Missionary Committee, 1962, 2. 62SMM66; Panama Mutu, "Mau mai le Matagaluega a Tutuila ma Manu'a i lana Tofiga Tele. Feb 19-23 1962", 3.

⁵² Clarence Norwood, "Samoa Missionary Meeting 4 May 1962", 2. 62SMM66.

⁵³ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Iugafono o le Fono Tele i Malua Me 24-28 1962*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1962, 5. 62FT18.

⁵⁴ Elia Taase, *Ina ia tatou iloa: O le Talafaasolopito o le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Amerika Samoa mai le amataga o le LMS e oo i le 2005*, 141.

⁵⁵ Hugh Neems to CCCS, 1 January 1962, 4 (CCCSA); Gordon Lewthwaite, Christiane Mainzer, and Patrick Holland, "From Polynesia to California: Samoan Migration and Its Sequel", 152.

⁵⁶ Mile Lili'o to Vavae Toma, 22 December 1959, 1 (CCCSA).

⁵⁷ "O agavaa o le Faifeau o loo galue ai i San Diego, California". *O le Sulu Samoa*, Iulai 1964, 127.

controversy in Hawaii in 1953 when he put his name forward as a pastor of the first Samoan congregation in Honolulu, Hawaii.⁵⁸ It caused such a commotion that a lay preacher would consider putting himself forward as a pastor that it forced Suitonu to migrate to California.⁵⁹ In California he became responsible for the first Samoan Church service on the 23 January 1955 in San Diego.⁶⁰ To assist in the formation of the first Samoan Church (LMS) in California, the CCCS Church officially ordained him a year later and appointed him pastor of the San Diego parish in February 1956.⁶¹ His promotion from a lay preacher to a pastor was one which suited both the Samoan Church and Suitonu's aspirations, although it was unprecedented for the Church to ordain a lay preacher as a pastor, without formal theological training. His ordination created controversy when other lay preachers also wanted to be ordained.⁶² However the Samoan Church needed a clergyman loyal to the church with a strong personality to enforce the authority of the Samoan Church in California. Suitonu proved to be that man, totally devoted to the authority of the Samoan Church, and he made sure that any newly-formed congregation that he helped set up came under the control of the CCCS.

Suitonu's appointment was based upon his success in establishing the congregation in San Diego.⁶³ Between 1956 and March 1959 he established four more Samoan Churches in California: Oceanside, Long Beach, San Francisco and Los Angeles.⁶⁴ His reputation as a senior clergyman of the Samoa Church (LMS) grew and he soon became recognised by the Congregational Conference of Southern California in 1959.⁶⁵ By 1962, another three congregations were established under his direction—Santa Ana,

⁵⁸ Tikeri Tauoa to Vavae Toma, 23 April 1960 (CCCSA).

⁵⁹ Filo Tauaivale, "To Sing the Lords Song in a Foreign Land: A Brief History of the Samoan (LMS) Church in Hawaii 1950–1970", 30.

⁶⁰ Suitonu Suitonu, "Galuega i Amerika". San Diego: Samoa Church (LMS), 1959, 1. The sacraments were performed by a navy chaplain Rev. Shackelford; "O le Tusi Valaau mai le 'O le Malamalama o Samoa o le Satauro Paia". San Diego: CCCS (San Diego), 1964; Suitonu Suitonu to John Bradshaw, 29 December 1959 (CCCSA); Gordon Lewthwaite, Christiane Mainzer, and Patrick Holland, "From Polynesia to California: Samoan Migration and Its Sequel", 141. Suitonu's account counters the claim by Lewthwaite et. al. that the first Samoan Congregational Church in the United States was formed in San Francisco in 1957.

⁶¹ Suitonu Suitonu, "Galuega i Amerika", 1; Vavae Toma to Suitonu Suitonu, 24 June 1960 (CCCSA); Osovale Maloata, "O le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i San Diego". *O le Sulu Samoa*, Iulai 1964, 127. In the 1964 July report Suitonu was ordained in 1959. This contradicts Suitonu's account. However one can be acknowledged as a pastor by the Samoan Church in 'exceptional circumstances' and be officially ordained after a two year service. In this case the 1959 ordination of Suitonu makes sense.

⁶² Suitonu Suitonu to Vavae Toma, 8 September 1959, 1 (CCCSA); Suitonu Suitonu to Vavae Toma, 16 September 1959, 2 (CCCSA); Suitonu Suitonu to John Bradshaw, 29 December 1959 (CCCSA).

⁶³ Suitonu Suitonu to John Bradshaw, 29 December 1959, 1 (CCCSA); Mile Lili'o to Vavae Toma, 19 September 1959, 1 (CCCSA). Mile Lili'o the chairman of the American District requested the Samoan Church to officially make it known that Suitonu was the designated leader of the District.

⁶⁴ Jesse Perrin to General Assembly of Samoa Church (LMS), 24 March 1959 (CCCSA); Kuresa Eseroma to CCCS, 10 March 1960 (CCCSA).

⁶⁵ Jesse Perrin to General Assembly of Samoa Church (LMS), 24 March 1959 (CCCSA).

Palm Beach, and a second Long Beach congregation.⁶⁶ The CCCS for their part gave Suitonu free reign in most of his decisions.⁶⁷

As the leading Samoan clergyman, Suitonu appointed lay preachers to establish and look after congregations. However a few of them rebelled against his authority and became ordained ministers recognised by the American Congregationalists. Suitonu described these defections as being caused by ‘petty jealousy’, fuelled by selfishness, family and village rivalry.⁶⁸ Suitonu, who sought to keep the Church in Samoa up-to-date with events in California, described the separated congregations as making a mockery of the Church:

people here—both Samoans and Americans—are making fun of our Church, inasmuch as every Tom, Dick, and Harry, who wants to preach for personal reasons, after I have refused him or his desire, has only to go to some American pastor to be ordained. Unfortunately, however, for reasons afore mentioned aggrandized by instigation by members of the clergy from Samoa who came to the United States for reasons undoubtedly known to you and members of the LMS Church in Samoa, such as Tuli’au, Tauoa, Lavatai, Iofi and Tufele, these appointees desire to deprive me of the authority given me by authorities (at Malua). In addition, it is quite apparent that they resent my withholding the privilege of performing wedding, baptismal and communion ceremonies,⁶⁹

Suitonu sought to curb the trend of LMS lay preachers from becoming pastors and aligning themselves with American Congregationalists. He saw these ‘rebel’ pastors as using their position for monetary benefit.⁷⁰ Pastors officially recognised by American Congregationalists were usually generously paid by the Samoan congregation for their sermons which he viewed as a misuse of the position of pastor. He wanted the authority to bring these congregations and lay preachers under the guidance of the parent Church in Samoa and asserted:

For the dignity of the Church and the office of pastor I appeal to you and to all concerned that something be done to remedy the situation. It seems that the only solution to this problem is to instruct these so-called self-made pastors and laymen not to conduct any more services or ceremonies without being duly appointed by me after going through official channelling.⁷¹

⁶⁶ Suitonu Suitonu to Etene Saaga, 12 April 1962, 1 (CCCCSA); Setoga Jr to CCCS, 13 April 1963 (CCCCSA).

⁶⁷ Vavae Toma to Suitonu Suitonu, 24 June 1960 (CCCCSA). The Church would not support Suitonu’s insistence on ordaining lay preachers as pastors. His case was an exception because the Church in Samoa was eager to establish its first congregation in California.

⁶⁸ Suitonu Suitonu to John Bradshaw, 29 December 1959, 1 (CCCCSA).

⁶⁹ Suitonu Suitonu to John Bradshaw, 29 December 1959, 1–2 (CCCCSA).

⁷⁰ Suitonu Suitonu to John Bradshaw, 29 December 1959, 2 (CCCCSA).

⁷¹ Suitonu Suitonu to John Bradshaw, 29 December 1959, 2 (CCCCSA).

Suitonu's plea was exactly what the Church needed to counter challenges to its authority. In 1959 the Church gave him official authority over those Samoan congregations that were affiliated with other Congregationalists, be it the London Missionary Society or the American Congregationalists.⁷² Only through his approval would the Church recognise lay preachers and pastors.

Suitonu's authoritarian nature helped the Church to control pastors and prevented lay preachers from leaving the authority of the Church in Samoa and placing themselves under the control of the American Congregationalists, and more particularly, the Congregational Conference of Southern California. He was committed whole-heartedly to the Samoan Church. He reassured Toma, the General Secretary of the CCCS:

do not worry about the work of the Church here [California]. I am committed to 1. keeping the congregations here under the Samoan Church. 2. use Samoan language. 3. to use congregations in America as a base to educate future ministers. 4. to have highly qualified ministers with Rev. or Dr. for the future of our Church.⁷³

In 1959 Suitonu was forced to exercise his authority when he excommunicated four prominent members of the Churches and made their names known to all Protestant Churches in California.⁷⁴ One of those excommunicated was a member of his own congregation, an Elder and lay preacher, who was also treasurer of Suitonu's San Diego parish. He challenged Suitonu's authority when he criticised his domineering attitude and questioned his use of the parish finances.⁷⁵ When this lay preacher attempted to set up his own congregation, American Congregationalists were reluctant to support him, thereby confirming the authority of Suitonu.⁷⁶

⁷² Suitonu Suitonu to John Bradshaw, 29 December 1959, 1 (CCCSA): (ii) If a group in America wishes to form a new congregation in association with the Samoan Church (LMS), application shall be made through Suitonu to the General Purposes and Finance Committee, and the matter shall be referred to the Church Extension Committee.

⁷³ Suitonu Suitonu to Vavae Toma, 16 September 1959 (CCCSA).

⁷⁴ Suitonu Suitonu to All pastors and Rectors of Protestant Churches throughout California, 1 September 1959 (CCCSA).

⁷⁵ Misi Lavatai to Vavae Toma, 25 June 1959 (CCCSA);+++++ Misi Lavatai to Jesse Perrin, 29 June 1959 (CCCSA); Suitonu Suitonu to Vavae Toma, 8 September 1959, 1 (CCCSA).; Suitonu Suitonu to Vavae Toma, 16 September 1959, 2 (CCCSA); Suitonu Suitonu to John Bradshaw, 29 December 1959 (CCCSA).

⁷⁶ Suitonu Suitonu to Vavae Toma, 8 September 1959, 1 (CCCSA); Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa. *Tusi o Iugafono a le Au Toeaina 1952–1978*, 60–61. 63KAT28.

Suitonu also excommunicated a congregation in San Francisco that had been established by a Samoan minister who had become a member of the Northern California Congregational Conference (NCCC), an amalgamation of the Congregational, Evangelical and Reformed Churches in Northern California.⁷⁷ The Samoan Church (LMS) saw this Samoan minister's close association with Northern California Congregational Conference (NCCC) as undermining the authority of the Church in Samoa. In early February 1960 the General Purpose and Finance Committee, resolved that this minister place himself under Suitonu's leadership.⁷⁸

To further emphasise the Church's support for Suitonu, the General Secretary of the Church, Vavae Toma, wrote to the Samoan minister of the San Francisco church encouraging him to accept Suitonu's authority.⁷⁹ The Samoan minister was forced to cut his links with the NCCC and, reluctantly, returned to the Samoan Church but never quite accepting Suitonu's authority.

For some time afterwards the secretary of the Samoan congregations in California, refused to give this returning Samoan minister an opportunity to explain his return because of his former alliance with the NCCC.⁸⁰ Furthermore the San Francisco minister wrote to the General Secretary, Vavae Toma, and complained of the authoritarian nature of Suitonu. He complained that, Suitonu was a lay preacher with no formal theological training, yet any Malua student or graduate in the United States, had to be approved by Suitonu before they could preach.⁸¹ As a result of his reluctance to accept Suitonu's authority, this returning minister was refused an opportunity to attend the International Missionary Council (IMC) meeting in Malua in 1961.⁸² The whole issue quietened down when this elderly minister retired from his San Francisco congregation in 1963.⁸³

⁷⁷ Suitonu Suitonu to Vavae Toma, 17 November 1959 (CCCSA); Richard Norberg to John Bradshaw, 22 December 1960 (CCCSA); Ralph Craib, "It's Still Samoa—If Far from Home". *Pacific Islands Monthly* 34 May 1960, 87. Tauoa was a former LMS missionary in Papua in the 1920s.

⁷⁸ Vavae Toma to Suitonu Suitonu, 3 February 1960 (CCCSA).

⁷⁹ Vavae Toma to Tikeri Tauoa, 3 February 1960 (CCCSA).

⁸⁰ Tikeri Tauoa to Suitonu Suitonu, 14 March 1960 (CCCSA); Mile Lili'o to Tikeri Tauoa, 15 March 1960 (CCCSA).

⁸¹ Tikeri Tauoa to Vavae Toma, 23 April 1960, 2 (CCCSA); Suitonu Suitonu to Etene Saaga, 12 April 1962 (CCCSA).

⁸² Vavae Toma to Richard Norberg, 1 January 1961 (CCCSA).

⁸³ Tikeri Tauoa to Etene Saaga, 10 September 1963 (CCCSA).

Two years earlier a senior deacon from San Francisco, persuaded his congregation to have a closer relationship with the Northern California Conference.⁸⁴ The deacon's reasons for the decision were:

that some 75 of the Samoan Churches are now free and independent of the L.M.S. as a result of recent political realignments. These Churches are located in the part of Samoa under American jurisdiction by United Nations decree. They therefore look to us for fellowship, ties and guidance. Moreover, in recent years a great many Samoans have left the Islands and are now settled [in] Hawaii and some 600 in California. The latter are primarily in San Francisco and San Diego areas.⁸⁵

The deacon from San Francisco sought assistance from Josef Bevilacqua of the Evangelical Congregational Church in Hawaii, a decision which effectively weakened ties with the home Church in Samoa.⁸⁶ Both Bevilacqua and Richard Norberg, the Superintendent of the Northern California Congregational Conference (NCCC), sought Craig's advice on Samoan congregations desiring to link with Congregationalists in the United States.

Unlike Craig's decision in 1953, when he allowed the Samoan Congregations to seek assistance from the American Congregationalists, this time he informed John Reuling of the United Board for World Mission, that the CCCS was trying to make 'Samoan Congregations outside Samoa into a District of the Samoan Church' and advised against any action that might challenge the CCCS authority.⁸⁷ Reuling supported Craig's suggestion not to interfere with the 'unity of the Samoan Church' and replied:

I have sent copies of your letter in its entirety to the Superintendents of the two Conferences and have added my personal plea that they do not allow the interest which some of their members may have in American Samoa to in any way have the effect of splitting the total Church of Samoa as a whole. I have suggested that if they want to have friendly and fraternal relations with the Samoan Church, it should be with the whole Samoan Church and not just with that section which happens to be under the political control of the United States.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Stuart Craig to Clarence Norwood, 21 February 1962, 2. 62PAC22 (CCCSA).

⁸⁵ Stuart Craig to Hugh Neems, 21 February 1962, 1–2 (CCCSA).

⁸⁶ Stuart Craig to Clarence Norwood, 21 February 1962, 2. 62PAC22 (CCCSA). According to Craig, 'A similar enquiry seems also to have been made of Joe Bevilacqua of Hawaii. The request for clarification reaches me through the Executive Vice President of the United Church Board for World Ministries. This is the Board which operates on behalf of the now united Congregational Christian Churches and the Evangelical and Reformed Church. It is clear that our brethren there find the suggestion a very strange one. We shall probably do best to keep this information within our missionary circle at the moment'.

⁸⁷ Stuart Craig to John Reuling, 21 February 1962, 1–3 (CCCSA).

⁸⁸ John Reuling to Stuart Craig, 27 February 1962 (CCCSA).

The reluctance of the United Board of World Mission not to invite or even entice CCCS congregations to be part of their organisation gave some assurance to Church leaders in Samoa with their plans for an American district. Suitonu's authority was further enhanced when the Samoan Church appointed him as the first Elder of the American district in 1962.⁸⁹ His position was strengthened by the CCCS's rejection of lay preachers who were not trained at approved theological colleges in the United States.⁹⁰ The end result of this action meant that lay preachers who wanted to become pastors of the CCCS had to attend Malua Theological College for four years.

With his authority confirmed by the Samoan Church and his status recognised by American Congregationalists, Suitonu intended to show his new-found power in an ambitious building program for his congregation. In July 1961 Suitonu and his congregation embarked on an expensive rebuilding and expansion of the San Diego parish.⁹¹ Suitonu was fortunate that his congregation practically owned their land and church located at 3605 National Avenue in San Diego.⁹² Ironically Suitonu had received assistance from the Congregational Conference of Southern California to set up the San Diego congregation.⁹³ On 13 June 1962 the church in National Avenue was sold to the Church of the Nazarene for \$30,000.⁹⁴ Part of the proceeds of the sale was used in the purchase of a four acre site which cost the congregation \$35,000.⁹⁵ On the 12 November 1963 work began on a new Church at a cost of \$68,000.⁹⁶ The four acres also had two houses and even a burial ground.⁹⁷ Suitonu's wanted the San Diego congregation to become the centre of the CCCS in California and he referred to the other Churches as 'mission Churches' under his authority.⁹⁸

⁸⁹ Suitonu Suitonu to Etene Saaga, 12 April 1962 (CCCSA); Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa. *Tusi o Iugafono a le Au Toeaina 1952–1978*, 59. 63KAT24; Osovale Maloata, "O le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i San Diego", 127. Suitonu was officially ordained as elder in May 1963.

⁹⁰ Vavae Toma to Suitonu Suitonu, 24 June 1960 (CCCSA).

⁹¹ Osovale Maloata, "O le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i San Diego", 125; Suitonu Suitonu to General Purpose Committee, Elders' Committee, 22 December 1964 (CCCSA). Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa. *Tusi o Iugafono a le Au Toeaina 1952–1978*, 67–68. 64KAT11.

⁹² Suitonu Suitonu to Vavae Toma, 3 December 1960, 1 (CCCSA). The church cost the parish \$21,000 of which only \$8,000 was left to pay off by 1960. Osovale Maloata, "O le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i San Diego", 125.

⁹³ Jesse Perrin to General Assembly of Samoa Church (LMS), 24 March 1959 (CCCSA).

⁹⁴ Osovale Maloata, "O le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i San Diego", 125.

⁹⁵ Suitonu Suitonu to General Purpose Committee, Elders' Committee, 22 December 1964 (CCCSA).

⁹⁶ Suitonu Suitonu to General Purpose Committee, Elders' Committee, 22 December 1964 (CCCSA).

⁹⁷ Suitonu Suitonu to General Purpose Committee, Elders' Committee, 22 December 1964 (CCCSA).

⁹⁸ Suitonu Suitonu to Etene Saaga, 12 April 1962 (CCCSA).

The CCCS's experience in California undoubtedly influenced their response to American Samoa's request for autonomy in three ways. Firstly, Suitoanu's success in establishing Samoan control over the Californian congregations strengthened the church's conviction not to give away its authority. Secondly, and more crucially to the Church's perception of its own authority, major American Congregationalist organisations in the United States, such as the Northern California Congregational Conference (NCCC) and the United Board for World Mission were reluctant to interfere in the CCCS internal affairs. In other words, the NCCC and the United Board of World Mission recognised the authority of Samoa over the Samoan congregations in California. Thirdly, in 1961 the Samoan Church formed the first district of the CCCS outside of Samoa, out of the Californian Samoan congregations. The first overseas district of the CCCS was called the 'American District'; it not only demonstrated but also symbolically represented Samoan Church's authority over American Samoan Congregationalism. Suitoanu's legacy was that all the Samoan congregations in the United States were firmly aligned with the CCCS.

The Response to the American Samoan District calls for Independence

With control over the Californian churches secured by the end of 1961, the CCCS was confident that the American Congregational organisations were no longer in a position to influence the American Samoa district. Whatever the argument proposed by Neems for American Samoa to have closer relations with the American Congregationalists, the influence of Suitoanu in California reassured the CCCS that it was unlikely the American Congregationalists would interfere in American Samoa. The Californian experience gave the CCCS confidence that no pressure would come from American Congregationalists for concessions for the American Samoans.

Despite the CCCS's optimism concerning the American Congregationalists, pressure did come from the London Missionary Society to make concessions to the American Samoan district. In 1963 the London Missionary Society made several recommendations to the Samoan Church to help prevent the Churches in American Samoa splitting off. One recommendation was that a modern Church centre be built in the Tafuna area. Another more controversial suggestion was 'the provision of a block grant' for the District and, generally, 'more autonomy' for Tutuila (American Samoa).⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Stuart Craig to Etene Saaga, 25 July 1963 (CCCSA).

However, the 1964 General Assembly flatly refused to entertain any requests for financial autonomy for American Samoa, stating that it was ‘contrary to the Constitution because the Constitution did not permit a district to use its own funds for its own development.’¹⁰⁰ The General Assembly played for time. It seemed that if such a decision were to be made, the Constitution would have to be changed first, and as far as it was concerned this was unlikely to happen. However, the General Assembly did offer a sweetener. It approved finance for the purchase of a church and land for the Congregation at Tafuna.¹⁰¹ The land in Tafuna was planned as a permanent site to house the popular Bible studies led by Neems.¹⁰² Moreover finance was approved for land and church offices at Fagatogo, and building renovations at Fagalele.¹⁰³ Furthermore, the Church brought land in Pago Pago and had it registered under the American District thereby giving the district effective control over how it was used.

In order to appease American Samoa, the General Assembly and the Elders’ Committee made concessions to showcase the American Samoan District involvement in the CCCS. In 1964, for example, the Elders’ Committee granted the Rev. Panama Mutu of American Samoa a one-year scholarship to New Zealand.¹⁰⁴ In the same year, after considerable controversy the General Assembly finally approved an assistant treasurer for the Tutuila District.¹⁰⁵ The ‘first’ assistant treasurer in American Samoa was the Rev. Tulafono Faagau of Tutuila who served from 1964 to 1967.¹⁰⁶ Also, after much controversy, the 1965 General Assembly appointed a delegate from American Samoa

¹⁰⁰ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, Malua Western Samoa 25–29 May 1964*. Malua: Malua Printing Press, 1964, 7. 64GA23.

¹⁰¹ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, Malua Western Samoa 25–29 May 1964*, 7. 64GA23.

¹⁰² Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, Malua Western Samoa 25–29 May 1964*, 6–7. 64GA23; Elia Taase, *Ina ia tatou iloa: O le Talafaasolopito o le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Amerika Samoa mai amataga i le LMS e oo i le 2005*, 141–143. According to Taase no permanent site was developed into a Bible School.

¹⁰³ “London Missionary Society, Pacific Committee. Tuesday 5 May 1964”. London: London Missionary Society, 1964, 1. 64PAC4. The Fagalele houses were planned to be renovated for Hugh Neems and a Mr. Reynolds; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, Malua Western Samoa 25–29 May 1964*, 7. 64GA23.

¹⁰⁴ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa. *Tusi O Iugafono a le Au Toeaina 1952–1978*, 74.64KAT37; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, Malua Western Samoa 25–29 May 1964*, 3. 64GA10. This scholarship had been offered by the Old Pupils of the LMS schools residing in New Zealand.

¹⁰⁵ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, Malua Western Samoa 25–29 May 1964*, 3. 64GA8.

¹⁰⁶ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, Malua Western Samoa 25–29 May 1964*, 12. 64GA40.

onto the Education Committee.¹⁰⁷ Even if it had been prompted by fears of secession, the CCCS was prepared to hold the 1970 General Assembly in the major village of Fagatogo on the island of Tutuila.¹⁰⁸ The decision to hold the General Assembly there was an important concession on the part of the Church.¹⁰⁹ Etene Saaga, the General Secretary of the CCCS explained to the governor of American Samoa, John Haydon the significance of holding the General Assembly in American Samoa:

You are aware of the part played by the Church in the two Samoas, and indeed that it is one of the factors which bind our two countries. Being mindful of course of your visit on behalf of the Government of American Samoa to receive the new Samoan translation of the Bible, the Chairman and Committee are certainly aware of your interest in the work of God. As this is the first time in years that this Session has been held in American Samoa, the Congregational Christian Church is hopeful that you will find it possible to address the opening session.¹¹⁰

The CCCS was also proactive in highlighting the success and contributions of American Samoa to the Church. From 1966 to 1969 the Elders' Committee eagerly published in their minutes the increasing number of American candidates sitting the Malua Theological Exams, from two candidates in 1966 to nineteen candidates in 1969.¹¹¹ In 1968 American Samoa had the most candidates of any district preparing to be lay preachers.¹¹² American Samoa's financial contributions were also regularly published in the Church magazine, *O Le Sulu*. The district consistently contributed towards the various annual donations of the Church, such as the Christian Endeavour donations.¹¹³

A major compromise for the CCCS was not to obstruct American Christian groups from assisting the Church in American Samoa. In 1963 there was a possibility that American

¹⁰⁷ Vaifou Faraimo, "Fono Komiti A'oga 4 Iulai 1964–26 Me 1965". Malua: Komiti A'oga, 1965, 4; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa. *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, Malua Western Samoa 25–29 May 1965*. Malua: Malua Printing Press, 1965, 8. 65FT21.

¹⁰⁸ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa. *Tusi o Iugafono a le Au Toeaina 1952–1978*, 50. 62KAT43; Etene Saaga to John M Haydon, 6 April 1970 (CCCSA).

¹⁰⁹ "Upu Tomua. O le Fono Tele a le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa". Apia: Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, 1973, 1.

¹¹⁰ Etene Saaga to John M Haydon, 6 April 1970. (CCCSA).

¹¹¹ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa. *Tusi o Iugafono a le Au Toeaina 1952–1978*, 97. 66KAT47. In the 1966 Elders' Committee two candidates from American Samoan District elected to sit for the Malua Theological Exam; 115–116. 68KAT2. In 1968 nine candidates sat the exam; 144–145. 69KAT67. In 1969 eighteen candidates from American Samoa sat for the Malua exam which was the most of any district in that year.

¹¹² Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa. *Tusi o Iugafono a le Au Toeaina 1952–1978*, 68–69. 69KAT5.

¹¹³ Faulalo Sagapolutele, "Au Taumafai". *O le Sulu Samoa*, Ianuari 1969, 17–18; Tapeni Ioelu, "Fale Lomitusi". *O le Sulu Samoa*, Iuni 1969, 112; Lauifi Siva, "Au Taumafai". *O le Sulu Samoa*, Me 1967, 92. In 1967 they contributed a massive \$2,235 towards the Christian Endeavour.

Samoa was able to get a missionary from the National Council of Churches in the United States to assist an English-speaking congregation in Tafuna.¹¹⁴ Tafuna was also the site approved by the CCCS for a Bible School. When this did not eventuate Neems became active in searching for assistance from the American Board of World Mission to provide teachers for his Bible classes.¹¹⁵ For example, in 1965, he asked Alfred Carleston of the Board of World Mission for a missionary to work with him in youth and religious education.¹¹⁶ In 1966 the General Assembly also permitted an American ministry group to assist with Sunday School and youth work in American Samoa.¹¹⁷ Even in his last year in Samoa (1968), Neems was still active in looking for ministerial help for American Samoa.¹¹⁸ Securing assistance from America was hampered by the Church's attempts in California to convince American Congregationalists of its authority over Samoan congregations.

A High School for American Samoa

Before the American Samoan District had begun to agitate for autonomy, the Samoan Church had shown little interest in developing the two schools, Fagalele Boys Junior High and Atauloma Girls School in American Samoa. Twice, in 1960 and 1962, the American Samoa district requested assistance to rebuild Atauloma school but the Church failed to respond.¹¹⁹ Instead, it decided to lease both schools to the government—Atauloma in 1963 and Fagalele Junior Boys High as early as 1957.¹²⁰

¹¹⁴ John Bradshaw, "Samoa Missionary Meeting, 15 March 1963", 3. 63SMM37.

¹¹⁵ Elia Taase, *Ina ia tatou iloa: O le Talafaasolopito o le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Amerika Samoa mai le amataga o le LMS e oo i le 2005*, 142–143.

¹¹⁶ "London Missionary Society. Pacific Committee. 12 January 1965". London: London Missionary Society, 1965, 2. 65PAC11.

¹¹⁷ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa. *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, Malua Western Samoa 25–29 May 1966*. Malua: Malua Printing Press, 1966, 8. See 66GA12.

¹¹⁸ "London Missionary Society Pacific Committee, Tuesday 12 January 1965". London: London Missionary Society, 1965, 2. See 65PAC11; "Caribbean and Pacific Committee Minutes 5 March 1968". London: Congregational Council for World Mission, 1968, 1. 68CP12. Neems was scheduled by the Church to discuss with Rev. Paul Gregory the Pacific Regional Secretary of the United Board of World Mission with the possibility of NCCC of the United States sending a ministerial help for American Samoa; See also Ernest Edwards to Etene Saaga, 11 March 1968 (CCCSA).

¹¹⁹ Panama Mutu, "Mataupu mai le Matagaluega a Tutuila ma Manu'a Iuni 5 1962". Malua: Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), 1962; Panama Mutu, "Mataupu a Tutuila ma Manu'a mo le Fono Tele a le Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), Malua Fono Tele ia Me 1960". Malua: Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), 1960.

¹²⁰ John Bradshaw, "Samoa Missionary Meeting 15 March 1963", 3. 63SMM 36; Panama Mutu, "Mataupu Matagaluega Tutuila ma Manu'a. Fonotaga a Komiti ia Ianuari 1960". Malua: Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), 1960; "Fono Tele 25–29 Me 1970" Malua: Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, 1970, 5. 70FT28. In 1970 Atauloma was leased out to the government of American Samoa for \$1,800 (US) per year for five years until further renewal was required; "Minutes of Missionaries' Committee 12 January 1957", 1. 57SMC3. In January 1957 the American Samoan government offered to lease Fagalele as an extension of Leone Junior High School.

Later when the American Samoan district requested permission to use the money from the lease to develop the district, it was rejected.¹²¹

With both Fagalele and Atauloma leased to the government, the American Samoan District asked the Church to build a high school in their district.¹²² It received in principle approval by the 1967 General Assembly however the Church did not begin building immediately because it was committed to renovating Leulumoega Fou.¹²³ Two years later however, the General Assembly permitted the American Samoan District to use their annual donations to finance the building of a school in their district.¹²⁴ Ioelu, the chairman of the Education Committee, was not optimistic about the request from American Samoa for developing a high school.¹²⁵ In his report on the state of the schools to the 1968 General Assembly, he made no mention of American Samoan attempts to establish a high school. Ioelu, a former treasurer of the CCCS, knew that the Church could not afford to build a high school in American Samoa at that time.

With the completion of the Leulumoega Fou renovations in 1971, the General Assembly approved the plans for a new high school in Tutuila. The cost of \$56,000 was paid by all the ten districts. The school was built on ten acres of land donated by chief Fuimaono Tu'inaanu.¹²⁶ It was a modest structure with only four rooms—a science room, a teachers' room, a library and a hall.¹²⁷ Compared to this school, Leulumoega Fou seemed a palace. It cost considerably less than even the renovations at Leulumoega Fou. In addition to the approval given by the Education Committee for a high school to be built in American Samoa, similar permission was given for a high school in Savaii.¹²⁸ It

¹²¹ "Mataupu a Matagaluega mo le Fono Tele 1966". Apia: Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, 1966, 3; "Komiti Feau Eseese 14 Aperila 1966". Apia: Komiti Feau Eseese 1966, 66KFE51. The Committee confirmed that the lease continue and the amount banked under the CCCS.

¹²² Panama Mutu, "Matagaluega a Tutuila ma Manu'a. Mataupu mo le Fono Tele ia Me. 1967". Tutuila: Matagaluega America Samoa, 1967, 2.

¹²³ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, Malua Western Samoa 15–26 May 1967*. Malua: Malua Printing Press, 1967, 13. 67GA28.

¹²⁴ Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa 26–30 May 1969 Minutes of General Assembly*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1969, 3. 69GA4 discussed that church donations of Tutuila District should be used to finance the building of a school in this district; Tapeni Ioelu, "Tala Otooto mo A'oga a le Ekalesia i le Fono Tele 1968". Apia: Komiti A'oga, 1968, 12. 68KA43.

¹²⁵ Tapeni Ioelu, "Tala Otooto mo A'oga a le Ekalesia i le Fono Tele 1968", 1

¹²⁶ Luamanuvae Eti, "Ripoti a le Komiti A'oga a le Ekalesia Me 1970–1971". Malua: Komiti A'oga, 1971, 1. Congregational Christian Church of Samoa. *General Assembly Minutes 17–24 May 1971*, 2. 71FT7. Work on the high school began once a site for the high school was found

¹²⁷ "Fuafuaga mo le fausia o le A'oga i Tutuila" Malua: Komiti A'oga, 1971; Luamanuvae Eti, "Ripoti a le Komiti A'oga a le Ekalesia Me 1970–1971", 1.

¹²⁸ "Tugafono Komiti A'oga 1–3 Tesema 1970". Malua: Komiti A'oga, 1970, 5. 70KA69.

was a smack in the face for the American Samoa District. It only confirmed their suspicion that the Church was not committed to education in American Samoa.

Ecumenism

In an odd turn of events, at a time when American Samoa was challenging the unity of the newly independent CCCS, the Congregational Church of Samoa became involved in the ecumenical movement. The inaugural ecumenical meeting was held at Malua Theological College in April 1961. It was sponsored by the International Missionary Council (IMC) after it was assured by the LMS that church unity was widely supported by the Pacific Churches.¹²⁹ In a letter to Rev. Richard Norberg, Superintendent of the Northern California Congregational Conference (NCCC), Vavae Toma, the General Secretary of the CCCS at the time, explained the purpose of this meeting:

The Conference also is for the Churches and Missions in the South Pacific area. Its purpose is to enable the Churches and missions in the Pacific area to meet together through their representatives, to share together their thought and information about their situation, its opportunities and problems, and particularly about their own life as Churches and their relationship to their environment. The programme has been planned with this aim in view.¹³⁰

The chairman of the Samoan Church in his welcome speech summed up the meaning of the Conference, ‘God has brought us together and we will never be separated again’.¹³¹

Ecumenism was not ‘intrinsic’ to the Pacific region but came via ‘their parent missionary societies in Europe, Australia or New Zealand’.¹³² Therefore, unlike Europe, where ecumenism was a response of the crisis on by the First World War, there was no similar reason for ecumenism in the Pacific.¹³³ The London Missionary Society, however, was itself an ‘ecumenical missionary society’ involving Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Methodists. Samoa’s reputation as a self-sufficient Church under the LMS made it an ideal site for the inaugural ecumenical meeting in 1961.¹³⁴ Malua Theological College, in Samoa was chosen as the location of the first ecumenical

¹²⁹ Stuart Craig, “Who Is My Neighbour in ...The Pacific”. *CCWM World Mission*, November (1966): 118.

¹³⁰ Vavae Toma to Richard Norberg, 1 January 1961 (CCCSA).

¹³¹ Stuart Craig, “Who Is My Neighbour in ...The Pacific”, 118.

¹³² Charles Forman, *The Voice of Many Waters*. Suva: Lotu Pasifika, 1986, 1.

¹³³ John Mott, “International Missionary Cooperation”. *International Review of Missions* 11, January (1922):44–47. According to Mott missionary societies were keen to join forces because of the decline in finances and to battle nationalism.

¹³⁴ Norman Goodall, “The Church in the South Seas: Looking Towards Reconstruction”. *International Review of Missions* 32. October (1943): 396–399.

meeting because of its large grounds. Largely arising out of the 1961 meeting, ecumenism became an important concern for the Samoan Congregational Church in the 1960s and an opportunity to participate in the world-wide ecclesiastical movement.

It is ironic that the Pacific Ecumenical Movement began in a Church that was facing division. Historically, Samoa had no central government and was characterised by division into districts each headed by a paramount chief. Such districts were fiercely maintained by the paramount chiefs and their allies, thereby maintaining a divided Samoa. Malama Meleisea, a Samoan historian, described Samoa's inherent division well:

There is a proverb which says that “*E tala tau Toga ae Tala tofi Samoa*” which means that Tongan stories (traditions) are those of war whereas those of Samoa are about divisions.¹³⁵

In an independent Samoa there was a danger that traditional divisions might resurface. Maybe this was the hope of ecumenism in Samoa that it would heal the divisions that were prevalent in Samoan culture.

The Ecumenical Movement influenced the CCCS in several ways. Firstly, through individual leaders the CCCS became directly involved when Toma, the General Secretary of the CCCS, was requested by the IMC after the inaugural ecumenical meeting in Malua in 1961, to be the secretary of the Continuing Committee of the Pacific Council of Churches for a period of five years.¹³⁶ Toma was based in Apia, with an office at Church headquarters.¹³⁷ From 1961 to 1966 Toma was involved in gathering support for a central theological college in the Pacific and a Pacific Council of Churches.¹³⁸ He was commonly thought of as the ‘Linking Secretary’. He visited the local Pacific Churches to inform them of the life and work of ecumenism.¹³⁹ The Church's direct involvement with the Ecumenical Movement was further enhanced when Fetaui Mataafa, the wife of the Prime Minister and an Elder deacon of the Church, was also elected to the Ecumenical Continuation Committee. She was a

¹³⁵ Malama Meleisea, ed., *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*, 29.

¹³⁶ Samoa Church (LMS), “Komiti o Feau Esee ma mea tau Tupe 5–10 Iuni 1961”. Apia: Samoa Church (LMS), 1961, 2. 61GPFC27. See also Samoa Church (LMS), *The General Assembly of the Samoa Church (LMS) 5–22 June 1961*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1961, 5.61GA8; Charles Forman, *The Island Churches of the South Pacific Emergence in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Orbis, 1982, 5.

¹³⁷ Samoa Church (LMS), *The General Assembly of the Samoa Church (LMS) 5–22 June 1961*, 5.61GA8.

¹³⁸ “Quiet Revolution in South Pacific Churches”. *Pacific Islands Monthly* 38 August 1964, 61.

¹³⁹ “Affirming Our Ecumenical Journey. A Report of a Consultation of the Pacific Conference of Churches”. Suva, Fiji: Pacific Conference of Churches, 2002, 14.

powerful advocate for women's involvement in the ecumenical movement and she chaired the second Assembly of the Pacific Council of Churches (PCC) at Davuilevu, Fiji in 1971. According to Pacific historian Charles Forman,

She had impressed everyone with her clear thinking and her skill in handling people, and she had recently been named Pro-Chancellor of the University of the South Pacific, the first islander to hold that position.¹⁴⁰

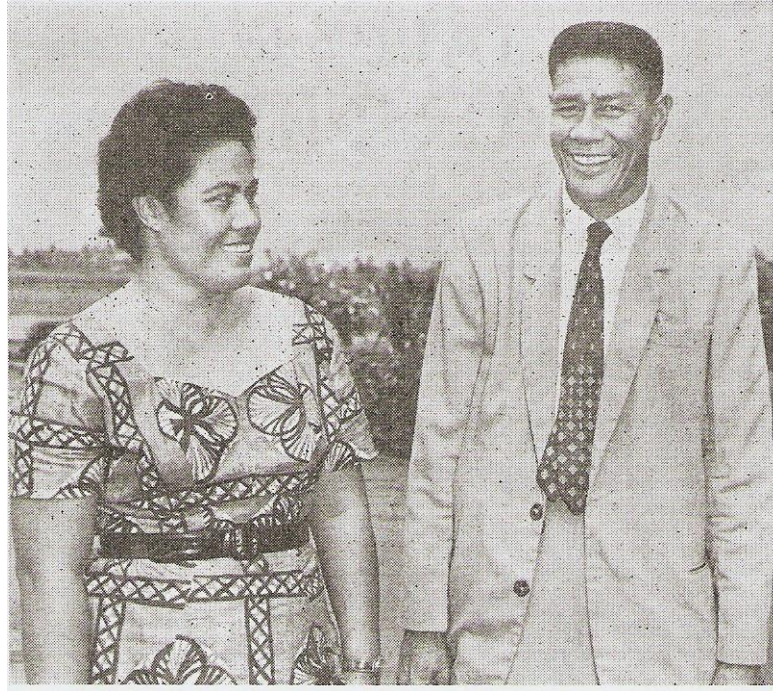


Fig 6. Prime Minister's wife Fetaui Mataafa and Vavae Toma (circa 1962)

Another effect of the ecumenical movement on the CCCS occurred immediately after the 1961 Malua Conference. The Roman Catholic Theological Seminary joined with the Methodist Theological College and Malua Theological College in fellowship.¹⁴¹ One of the positive outcomes of this fellowship was the revision of the Samoan Bible from 1963 until its launch in 1970 General Assembly.

Revision of the Bible

In 1962 the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) was present in Samoa to investigate the reprinting of the Samoan Bible, as letters in the original version of the Bible were unclear.¹⁴² At the same time they met with representatives of the three major

¹⁴⁰ Charles Forman, *The Voice of Many Waters*, 55; "Affirming Our Ecumenical Journey. A Report of a Consultation of the Pacific Conference of Churches", 75; "Quiet Revolution in South Pacific Churches", 61.

¹⁴¹ "Affirming Our Ecumenical Journey. A Report of a Consultation of the Pacific Conference of Churches", 70.

¹⁴² Sarasopa Enari, "O le Tusi Paia Samoa". *O le Sulu Samoa*, Oketopa 1969, 187.

denominations to see if a revision of the Bible was necessary. Those involved in this meeting were John Bradshaw and Tapeni Ioelu of the CCCS, Father L. Ross representing the Catholic Church, two representatives of the BFBS, Harold Moulton from London, and the Rev. P. Thomas from New Zealand. The Methodist Church representative, Russell Maddox, was unable to attend the meeting but he supported the motion to revise the Samoan Bible.¹⁴³ The consensus reached at the meeting was that a revision of the Bible was indeed required. However, because of the need to quickly publish the updated version, the committee decided that it could only revise the New Testament. A committee involving the three denominations was then formed. This committee consisted of eight representatives, four from the CCCS, two from the Catholic Church and two from the Methodists. John Bradshaw became the first chairman of the committee and Kenape Faletose its secretary.¹⁴⁴

The first meeting of this committee was held in Malua on the 4 February 1963.¹⁴⁵ Each member of the Committee was given a book of the New Testament to review as well as a copy of the Revised Standard Version of the Bible as a reference.¹⁴⁶ There were thirteen subsequent meetings at various venues of the Congregational, Methodist and Catholic Churches until the last meeting on 21 September 1963 at the Catholic Church in Vaea. The various locations illustrated the ecumenical spirit of the venture, with each Church sharing the cost of hosting the meetings. In addition, the delegates shared in the worship of the host church.¹⁴⁷

There were many changes to this committee over the years. Bradshaw returned to the United Kingdom and his place was taken over by Kenape Faletose.¹⁴⁸ Bradshaw continued to work on the revision of the Bible in the United Kingdom, while partially funded by the BFBS.¹⁴⁹ When Kenape Faletose accepted a call to be a pastor in Christchurch, New Zealand, the chairmanship passed to Russell Maddox, President of

¹⁴³ Sarasopa Enari, "O le Tusi Paia Samoa", 187.

¹⁴⁴ Sarasopa Enari, "O le Tusi Paia Samoa", 188. The four CCCS members were Rev. Dr. John Bradshaw of the CCCS who was the chairman, Kenape Faletose the secretary, Sarasopa Enari and Tiresa Malietoa. The two Catholic delegates were Father L. Beauchemin and Father L. Ross. The two Methodist representatives were Rev. Russell Maddox and Rev. Lene Milo; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa. *Tusi o Iugafono a le Au Toeaina 1952–1978*, 69. 64KAT16.

¹⁴⁵ Sarasopa Enari, "O le Tusi Paia Samoa", 188.

¹⁴⁶ Sarasopa Enari, "O le Tusi Paia Samoa", 190.

¹⁴⁷ Sarasopa Enari, "O le Tusi Paia Samoa", 189.

¹⁴⁸ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa. *Tusi o Iugafono a le Au Toeaina 1952–1978*, 56. 63KAT6.

¹⁴⁹ "London Missionary Society. Pacific Committee. Monday 22 June 1964". London: LMS, 1964, 2-3. 64PAC31.

the Methodist Church.¹⁵⁰ When Maddox returned to Australia, the chairmanship was again handed to a CCCS member, Rev. Elder Sarasopa Enari.¹⁵¹ By the end Sarasopa Enari the chairman. Father Leamy, the only Catholic on the committee, was the secretary, four CCCS members and two Methodists.

There were several reasons for the revision of the Samoan Bible other than to make the printing clearer. The main was to use everyday language that was easy to understand. Greek and Roman units of measurements were translated into more familiar measurements. For example Matthew 20:5 which reads, 'He went out again about the sixth hour and the ninth hour and did the same thing', the committee translated as, 'He went out again about 12 and 3 in the afternoon.'¹⁵² The revision also simplified the numbering system of the older Samoan version replacing the cumbersome Roman numerals with Arabic numerals throughout the Bible. In light of the growing presence of the Jehovah's Witnesses in Samoa, the committee also decided to replace references to 'Jehovah' with 'Lord'.¹⁵³

By 1969 the revised version of the Samoan Bible was already printed and ready for distribution. The Elders' Committee, however, wanted a special service to commemorate the completion of the work.¹⁵⁴ The Assembly, therefore, decided to launch the revised Samoan Bible at the 1970 General Assembly held in American Samoa.

The third impact of the ecumenical movement upon the CCCS occurred when the Elders Committee endorsed a proposal for a CCCS Ecumenical Committee to be established in order to promote co-operation between the denominations in Samoa,

¹⁵⁰ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa. *Tusi o Iugafono a le Au Toeaina 1952–1978*, 68. 64KAT12.

¹⁵¹ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa. *Tusi o Iugafono a le Au Toeaina 1952–1978*, 69. 64KAT16; Sarasopa Enari, "O le Tusi Paia Samoa", 188.

¹⁵² Sarasopa Enari, "O le Tusi Paia Samoa", 190. Another word of Greek origin is 'choenix' The older Samoan translation uses 'choenix' in Revelation 6:6 "I heard a voice in the midst of the four living creatures saying, "A choenix of wheat for a denarius, and three choenix of barley for a denarius! Don't damage the oil and the wine". In the revised Samoan version 'choenix' is replaced by 'quart' resulting in the following translation, 'Then I heard what sounded like a voice among the four living creatures, saying, "A quart of wheat for a day's wages, and three quarts of barley for a day's wages and do not damage the oil and the wine"'.
¹⁵³ Sarasopa Enari, "O le Tusi Paia Samoa", 190.

¹⁵⁴ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa. *Tusi o Iugafono a le Au Toeaina 1952–1978*, 142–143. 69KAT59; Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa 26–30 May 1969 Minutes of General Assembly*, 9. 69FT20.

especially with the Methodists.¹⁵⁵ The committee included the missionary Bradshaw, Mila Sapolu, Papalii Pouman, the Rev. Elder Luavasa, and the Rev. Elder Mulu.¹⁵⁶

Competitiveness had created much antagonism between the denominations. It was most evident when there were attempts at combined services. For example, an Elders' Meeting in 1961 reported on one such service:

It seems that there is a competition on who should conduct the service. Those who conduct are considered superior to the other denominations. The committee resolution is that such action by a congregation is not Christian. This denigrates and makes a mockery of God's name and displays to the world a negative image of the Church.¹⁵⁷

Deep division were also evident in one of the first ecumenical projects attempted by the CCCS for both boys and girls. Discussions began on 4 June 1961 when the vice chairman of the Education Sub-committee met with the Methodist Education Committee to building a high school on the Methodist compound at Faleula. However the report of the meeting did mention 'problems' which soon became apparent.¹⁵⁸

Soon after that meeting, events moved rapidly. The General Assembly approved the joint high school, but the Education Sub-committee proposed Leulumoega Fou as the proposed site for the 'combined school' rather than the Methodist one at Faleula.¹⁵⁹ The teachers would be supplied by both the Congregational and Methodist schools.¹⁶⁰ What were the reasons for the change of location are not clear, the minutes of the 1961 General Assembly simply state:

that the High School was to be established in Leulumoega Fou, that Samoan Church (LMS) should offer as its share towards that project the land and houses plus the present teachers, but for the Methodists it has to provide teachers.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁵ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa. *Tusi o Iugafono a le Au Toeaina 1952–1978*, 38. 61KAT9; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, Malua Western Samoa 25–29 May 1966*, 8. 66GA14.

¹⁵⁶ Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), *O le Fono Tele a le Ekalesia Samoa (LMS) 5–22 Iuni 1961*. Apia: Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), 1961, 10–11. 61FT24.

¹⁵⁷ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa. *Tusi o Iugafono a le Au Toeaina 1952–1978*, 37. 61KAT5.

¹⁵⁸ Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), "Komiti o Feau Esee ma mea tau Tupe 5–10 Iuni 1961". Apia: Samoa Church (LMS), 1961, 2–3. 61GPFC27.

¹⁵⁹ Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), "Komiti o Feau Esee ma mea tau Tupe 5–10 Iuni 1961", 3i.

¹⁶⁰ Ekalesia Samoa (LMS), "Komiti o Feau Esee ma mea tau Tupe 5–10 Iuni 1961", 3.

¹⁶¹ Samoa Church (LMS), *The General Assembly of the Samoan Church (LMS) 5–22 June 1961*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1961, 6–7. 61GA10

The fate of the joint high school, however, remained uncertain when it was rocked by the Gordon Cook scandal which created ill feelings between the missionaries and Samoan Methodists.¹⁶² It must be remembered that both Methodist and LMS missionaries were actively involved in promoting ecumenical issues, such as the Pacific Theological College in Fiji.¹⁶³ Gordon Cook, a Methodist missionary, was accused of adultery although he claimed he was framed.¹⁶⁴ The LMS and Methodist missionaries were close associates and naturally sided with Gordon Cook.¹⁶⁵ There was a strong Samoan Methodist backlash to this missionary, no doubt fuelled by nationalist feeling at the time.¹⁶⁶ The autocratic rule of the Methodist chairman, Russell Maddox, contributed to this anti-missionary feeling. Disagreement between Samoan Methodists and European missionaries of the LMS and Methodism created a barrier to inter-Church relations.¹⁶⁷ LMS and Methodist missionaries intent on creating a joint high school were now opposed by the Samoan Methodists. Maddox, in an attempt to appease Samoan Methodists, did not support Gordon Cook, much to the ire of the LMS missionaries. Norwood wrote to Craig lamenting the situation:

It is difficult to see how we could advocate any closer relationships with that Church. It is further difficult to see how we could co-operate in the setting up of a Joint High School. We could not, in conscience, encourage men or women to serve in a school where the Methodist Chairman had some measure of control seeing that he has been unwilling and unable to protect one of his own fellow missionaries from a wicked attack on his reputation and his home life.¹⁶⁸

The LMS missionaries were also critical of the qualifications of the Methodist school leadership. In their eyes the senior educational leaders in the Methodist Church were equivalent to the 'status of a lay worker in the Methodist circuit',

We are still waiting to hear what, if anything was the official decision of the Methodist Synod about the proposed Joint High School. The real stumbling block is the question of control. The Methodist system of control at their own schools is hopelessly antiquated. The Chairman is really the Headmaster, and the so called Headmaster or Headmistress has about the status of a lay-worker in a

¹⁶² Congregational Christian Church of Samoa. *Iugafono o le Fono Tele i Malua Me 24–28 1962*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1962, 3. 62FT11. 6. 62FT26.

¹⁶³ John Garrett, *Where Nets Were Cast Christianity in Oceania since World War II*, 246.

¹⁶⁴ Clarence Norwood to Stuart Craig, 20 July 1962, 1.

¹⁶⁵ Clarence Norwood to Stuart Craig, 20 July 1962, 2.

¹⁶⁶ Clarence Norwood to Stuart Craig, 6 August 1962, 1.

¹⁶⁷ Clarence Norwood to Stuart Craig, 20 July 1962, 1.

¹⁶⁸ Clarence Norwood to Stuart Craig, 5 Aug 1962, 1–2; Clarence Norwood to Stuart Craig, 9 August 1962, 2.

Methodist circuit. Naturally we could not tolerate that kind of control in a Joint High School.¹⁶⁹

By September 1962 the Methodist and LMS discussions about the joint high school were again stalled. In another letter to Craig in September 1962, Norwood noted that certain elements of the Methodist Church ‘want to go it alone and it seems that the Chairman has no mandate for continuing talks’.¹⁷⁰

The criticism of Methodists teachers by the Congregationalists further divided Methodists and Congregationalists. By January 1963 there was still no meeting between the Methodists and the ‘Ecumenical Committee of the CCCS’.¹⁷¹ Bradshaw tried valiantly to bring the two parties together, still proposing Leulumoega Fou high school as the site of the school.¹⁷² The Methodists did not reply to his overtures. According to Oka Fauolo the Methodists were obdurate.¹⁷³ Bradshaw, himself, reluctantly came to the conclusion that the Methodists wanted to go it alone and form their own high school.¹⁷⁴ By 1964 there ‘was no hope of a Joint High School’ when the Methodists started to build their own school at Faleula at a cost of £15,000.¹⁷⁵ By the time of the 1965 General Assembly, the CCCS had gone cool on the idea of a joint high school.¹⁷⁶

The proposed joint high school project had proved costly for the CCCS. Its failure was an example of the difficulties ecumenism faced in overcoming denominational divisions inherent in Samoan Christianity. Neither denomination wanted to see their schools submit to the domination of the other. It had cost the Church £9,800 to prepare Leulumoega Fou as the joint high school, depriving the adjacent intermediate school at Nuuausala of much-needed funds.¹⁷⁷

¹⁶⁹ Clarence Norwood to Stuart Craig, 10 September 1962, 1.

¹⁷⁰ Clarence Norwood to Stuart Craig, 28 September 1962, 2. Norwood wrote, ‘I am afraid you will not have anything very official to take to Pacific Committee; but things move slowly here; and it is an illusion to suppose that the only slow people are Samoans’.

¹⁷¹ Etene Saaga, “Fono a le Komiti o Feau Eeese 14–17 Ianuari 1963”. Apia: Komiti Feau Eeese, 1963, 4. 63KFE 13.

¹⁷² John Bradshaw to Russell Maddox, 17 February 1963.

¹⁷³ Interview Oka Fauolo, 18 May 2009.

¹⁷⁴ John Bradshaw, “O le Tala mai le Komiti A’oga i le Komiti Tupe e tusa ma le Tupe ua fia maua i le Tausaga Faaletupe 1/4/63–31/3/64”. Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1963, 3.

¹⁷⁵ “London Missionary Society Pacific Committee, Monday 12 October 1964”. London: London Missionary Society, 1964, 1. 64PAC59.

¹⁷⁶ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, Malua Western Samoa 25–29 May 1965*. Malua: Malua Printing Press, 1965, 7. 65FT25 and 65FT26.

¹⁷⁷ John Bradshaw, “O le Tala mai le Komiti A’oga i le Komiti Tupe e tusa ma le Tupe ua fia maua i le Tausaga Faa-Letupe 1/4/63–31/3/64”. Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1963, 3. That money would be used for

On 1 November 1967 the ‘first’ ecumenical meeting between the CCCS, Methodists, Catholics and Anglicans was held at CCCS headquarters in Apia.¹⁷⁸ There were fifteen representatives from these four denominations, six of which came from the CCCS, including Vavae Toma and the General Secretary Etene Saaga.¹⁷⁹ The Rev. Elder Luamanuvae Eti of the CCCS was elected as the first chairman of the meeting. Little was achieved other than a discussion of a proposed constitution which outlined the name and aims of the fellowship. Ecumenism moved slowly in the islands. It was decided to ‘think about’ these issues until they meet again in another four to five years, though there—the ‘Fellowship of Christian Churches in Samoa’.¹⁸⁰

Four years later, a second meeting was held. Twenty-six delegates met at the Catholic compound of Monsignor Pio Taufinuu at Vailele.¹⁸¹ He also chaired the meeting and for a brief time the ecumenical gathering was initially known as the ‘National Council of Churches in Samoa’ but later reverted back to the ‘Fellowship of Christian Churches in Samoa’.¹⁸²

In September 1971, the Fellowship of Christian Churches in Samoa was officially recognised by the CCCS.¹⁸³ According to Oka Fauolo the work of the Fellowship was carried out on a voluntary basis, with no permanent office and paid staff.¹⁸⁴ It was not until 2000 that a full time paid secretary was employed.¹⁸⁵ The lack of permanent paid staff in the Fellowship of Christian Churches was indicative of the failure of commitment to local ecumenical partnerships.

Although ecumenical relations were not strong between the denominations, there were some important international initiatives. John Bradshaw, for example, had long

shower, toilet (in one building): dining and cooking building, a nurses room and two additional classrooms.

¹⁷⁸ “Mafutaga O Ekalesia Kerisiano i Samoa i Tamaligi Apia 1 Novema 1967”. Apia: Mafutaga Ekalesia Kerisiano i Samoa, 1967, 1.

¹⁷⁹ “Mafutaga O Ekalesia Kerisiano i Samoa i Tamaligi Apia 1 Novema 1967”, 1. The CCCS representatives were Rev. Elder Luamanuvae Eti, Sarasopa Enari, Vavae Toma, Etene Saaga, Iona Levi and Tapeni Ioelu.

¹⁸⁰ “Mafutaga O Ekalesia Kerisiano i Samoa i Tamaligi Apia 1 Novema 1967”, 1.

¹⁸¹ “Mafutaga O Ekalesia Kerisiano i Samoa. Fonotaga II Mapuifagalele 22 Iune 1971”. Apia: Mafutaga Ekalesia Kerisiano i Samoa, 1971, 1-2.

¹⁸² “Mafutaga O Ekalesia Kerisiano i Samoa. Fonotaga II Mapuifagalele 22 Iune 1971”, 2.

¹⁸³ “Iugafono Komiti Feau Eseese 11 Me 1972”. Apia: Komiti Feau Eseese, 1972, 6. 72KFE60 (CCCSA).

¹⁸⁴ Interview Oka Fauolo, 18 May 2009.

¹⁸⁵ Interview Oka Fauolo, 18 May 2009.

campaigned to improve theological education at Malua Theological College.¹⁸⁶ He was continually frustrated by the ‘excuses’ of the Church for not financially supporting theological students study there. In the late 1950s Bradshaw suggested that the Church should provide assistance for students. He proposed £1,000 per year. If the Church could not afford this, then Bradshaw pleaded for an allowance of £600 per year.¹⁸⁷ The Church, however, refused to grant any such allowance because traditionally students were supported by their own villages.¹⁸⁸ Bradshaw voiced his displeasure to the Church:

there are thousands and tens of thousands of pounds spent each year on buildings ... we must not emphasis building and neglect the real reason we are here to build up the spirituality for the benefit of the people. Are things we don't see less important than things we see? Remember the meaning of the parable of the person who gathered worldly riches but was not rich in the eyes of God.¹⁸⁹

Bradshaw's observation of the Church's concern for material and physical things echoed Charles Forman's later observation:

The building itself is not a bad place to begin an examination of the village church, for it has always meant much to the island people, who are more inclined to look on the concrete than the abstract side of things. Where the building was impressive, they found the religion impressive.¹⁹⁰

Bradshaw's frustration was caused by the reluctance of the Church to invest in their theological students while at the same time pouring money into buildings and eventually led to his resignation as principal of Malua at the end of 1963.¹⁹¹

Not to be deterred, Bradshaw found another way to promote theological education. He became a leading figure in the formation of the Pacific Theological College (PTC) in Suva, Fiji.¹⁹² Although he turned down an offer to become the first principal of PTC, he was satisfied that his dream of a high-quality theological training college in the Pacific

¹⁸⁶ John Bradshaw to the Komiti Feau Eseese tau Tupe, 24 Fepuari 1960 (CCCSA).

¹⁸⁷ John Bradshaw to the Komiti Feau Eseese tau Tupe, 24 Fepuari 1960 (CCCSA).

¹⁸⁸ John Bradshaw, 'Statement of Accounts from 1 April 1959 to 31 March 1960'. Malua: Malua Theological College, 1960; Interview Oka Fauolo, 18 May 2009.

¹⁸⁹ John Bradshaw to the Komiti Feau Eseese tau Tupe, 24 Fepuari 1960, 2 (CCCSA). Author's translation.

¹⁹⁰ Charles Forman, *The Island Churches of the South Pacific. Emergence in the Twentieth Century*, 70.

¹⁹¹ "Samoa Missionary Meeting 4 May 1962". Malua: Samoa Missionary Committee, 1962, 1. 62SMM59; Interview Oka Fauolo, 18 May 2009.

¹⁹² "Samoa Missionary Meeting 4 March 1961". Papauta: Samoa Missionary Committee, 1961, 3; Stuart Craig to Etene Saaga, 25 July 1963, 2. 63PAC57 (CCCSA)

had been realised. PTC became the first tertiary institution in the South Pacific to offer Bachelor Degrees—two years before the University of the South Pacific.¹⁹³

Conclusion

The American Samoan District had accused the Church of lack of investment in their district. Although the CCCS had prided ‘education was the hallmark’ of the Church, sadly Fagalele and Atauloma were leased out to the American Samoan government, rather than developed by the Church. It is possible that the Church thought that the strong educational investment by Lee’s administration in American Samoa was sufficient justification for the ‘abandonment’ of these two schools. But even when the American Samoan district requested the Church to build a high school, its approval was delayed until renovations at Leulumoega Fou were complete. American Samoa was understandably justified in thinking that they were playing second fiddle to those in Western Samoa.

It was Neems’ insistence on an autonomous American Samoa which worried the authorities of the Church. Neems had been in American Samoa for six years prior to the formation of the CCCS and he understood American Samoan society and the people well. He advocated what he called ‘interdependence’ rather than independence. This meant that American Samoa would control its finances and material development yet remained part of the CCCS ‘in spirit’. Neems’ vision reflected what is an essential part of Samoan culture: autonomous villages joining to form a district. The American Samoan district, just like a typical Samoan village, was simply exercising its cultural right to independence, yet remaining part of the CCCS. Neems’ insistence for more autonomy in American Samoa involved closer relations with the financially rich American Congregationalists. No doubt the news that the first Samoan congregation in Hawaii and in California was made possible from American Congregationalist financial aid convinced Neems that closer relations with American Congregationalists were beneficial to the American Samoa district. Furthermore, the arrival of the new governor, Rex Lee, had introduced many American institutions and cultural practices such as fast food, modern health facilities and western housing, which were changing American Samoan society.

¹⁹³ Congregational Council for World Mission. “Caribbean and Pacific Committee Minutes, 5 March 1968”. London: CCWM, 1968, 68CP3. The University of the South Pacific was opened 1 February 1968; Charles Forman, “Finding Our Own Voice: The Reinterpreting of Christianity by Oceanian Theologians”. *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 29, no.3 (2005): 115–118.

Both the Church and the LMS in London interpreted Neems' rhetoric as the American Samoan district wanting to join the American Congregationalists rather than form a 'newly' independent church. The reason for the Church and the LMS fear of cessation by the American Samoan district was the growing trend by newly-established Samoan congregations in the United States seeking assistance from American Congregationalists. The Church responded to the issue by giving authority to a former lay preacher turned ordained pastor, Suitonu Suitonu. Suitonu, a fierce advocate of the authority of the Samoan Church, was an astute and ambitious clergyman—not afraid to excommunicate anyone who challenged the Church's decisions. He was the ideal candidate to bring rebel congregations back to the fold. His reputation as the leading 'Samoan' clergyman was enhanced when the American Congregationalists acknowledged his influence. The LMS had informed the American Congregationalists that the various Samoan Congregations in California came under the Samoan Church, of which Suitonu was their representative in the United States. Suitonu's authority was cemented when he became the first Elder of the newly formed American District in 1961 which became the first district of the CCCS established overseas. It was also a symbol of the CCCS's control over any congregations under 'American' influence.

The LMS requested the CCCS to make concessions and invest more in American Samoa. The CCCS promptly purchased land and set aside funds to construct churches and buildings. From 1962 to 1971 the Church took more notice of American Samoa. The district was appointed an assistant treasurer to give it more say in financial matters. An American Samoan delegate was appointed to the Educational Committee, perhaps as appeasement for its neglect of the two CCCS schools in American Samoa, Fagalele and Atauloma Girls School. It did eventually respond to the need for a new high school in 1971. And increasing numbers of American Samoans benefited from scholarships for the ministry, with more students entering Malua from American Samoa.

The CCCS was for a time in the 1960s at the forefront of the ecumenical movement in the South Pacific, and to have a split amongst its ranks was counter to the unity that it was espousing. The ecumenical movement in the South Pacific ironically began in a nation that was characterised by division. This became evident in the failure of the Joint Methodist and Congregational Churches to establish a joint high school. Disagreements between missionaries and Samoan Methodists aggravated the differences between

Methodists and Congregationalists. Nevertheless failure in the local field was not carried on to the international stage. The CCCS was instrumental in the formation of the Pacific Theological College in Fiji, the first academic institution in the South Pacific that conferred degrees.

By the end of the first decade after independence, the CCCS had successfully overcome the challenge posed by the American Samoan District. It seemed that it would not suffer the embarrassment of a divided Church at a time when the Church was heavily involved in the ecumenical movement. The Church's concessions and investments stalled the threat of division. For the time the ecumenical spirit of decade helped the newly independent CCCS to remain united.

Chapter Four
An Independent Church Finding Its Feet:
1972–1980

The Congregational Church in the early 1970s was marked by optimism, ambition, and an eagerness to demonstrate its newly-found status as an independent and ecumenically-minded Church. The optimism of the Church was fuelled by the increasing remittances coming mainly from workers in New Zealand. The improved financial situation led to general improvements in the Church, especially in its schools where an unprecedented program of building projects was initiated. In addition to the school building projects the Church established a university, the University of Samoa, the first university in the country and constructed a large six-storey administrative centre, the John Williams Building, the largest building in Apia at the time. However by the end of the decade the Church had begun to overreach itself. Its building projects aroused resentment in the American Samoan District and became a major factor in that District breaking away and forming its own independent church.

The Impact of Remittances

The *taulaga* which lay at the heart of the CCCS financial self-sufficiency was heavily supplemented by the contributions from the Development Committee and overseas remittances. In the late 1960s and early 1970s migrants to New Zealand, the United States, and Hawaii became Samoa's most 'valuable export' and made increasingly significant contributions to the Church's *taulaga* through remittances.¹

When the damage caused by the 1968 hurricane demonstrated the susceptibility of banana and taro plantations to the vagaries of natural disasters, it became abundantly clear that these cash crops were an unreliable source of income for the Church.² Funding, however, from migration was a totally different matter. The rate of migration, especially to New Zealand, had resulted in dramatically increased remittances in the late 1960s and early 1970s.³ According to Evelyn Kallen, Samoan emigration was seen as a

¹ Paul Shankman, *Migration and Underdevelopment: The Case of Western Samoa*. Colorado: Westview Press, 1976, 28.

² R. F. Rankin, "New Hurricane Is Setback for Western Samoa". *Pacific Islands Monthly* 40 March 1968, 21.

³ Evelyn Kallen, *The Western Samoan Kinship Bridge. A Study in Migration, Social Change and the New Ethnicity*. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 1982, 53. Evelyn Kallen noted there was an 87.4 percent increase in the total Samoan population in New Zealand in this period.

secure way to support the family (*aiga*) and the village through remittances.⁴ Paul Shankman has estimated that in 1966, remittances provided about 30 percent of the national income.⁵ Four years later the figure increased to 42.6 percent.⁶ Remittances from New Zealand alone to Western Samoa in 1970 amounted to nearly \$1 million.⁷ By 1974 approximately 20 percent of Samoa's population were living overseas and remitting more than 50 percent of the national income.⁸ A year later total remittances even surpassed the total income from exports.⁹

Migration not only benefitted the national income, it also complemented the *taulaga*. As the remittances increased over this period there was a corresponding boost in the *taulaga*.¹⁰ The impact of remittances on the *taulaga* was particularly noticeable at the start of the 1970s when the *taulaga* of the Apia and Fa'asaleleaga districts was beginning to match that of the American Samoan district. The American Samoan district had consistently been the major contributor to the Church's *taulaga* between 1962 to 1972, contributing at times as much as 51 percent of the total.¹¹ In 1973 the Fa'asaleleaga district recorded the highest *taulaga* surpassing even that of American Samoa.¹²

The majority of the remittances as already mentioned came from New Zealand. As a former New Zealand protectorate, Western Samoan migration to New Zealand was

⁴ Evelyn Kallen, *The Western Samoan Kinship Bridge. A Study in Migration, Social Change and the New Ethnicity*, 56.

⁵ Paul Shankman, *Migration and Underdevelopment: The Case of Western Samoa*, 28.

⁶ Dennis Ahlburg, *Remittances and Their Impact: A Study of Tonga and Western Samoa*. Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, 1991, 18. Table 3.10.

⁷ Evelyn Kallen, *The Western Samoan Kinship Bridge. A Study in Migration, Social Change and the New Ethnicity*, 58; Dennis Ahlburg, *Remittances and Their Impact: A Study of Tonga and Western Samoa*, 18. According to Ahlburg an estimated \$1.5 million entered Western Samoa. This estimate would include remittances from other countries. See Table 3.10.

⁸ Paul Shankman, *Migration and Underdevelopment: The Case of Western Samoa*, 28.

⁹ Dennis Ahlburg, *Remittances and Their Impact: A Study of Tonga and Western Samoa*, 18. Ahlburg calculated that remittances were 115.2 percent of export earnings of 1975. See table 3.10.

¹⁰ Paul Shankman, *Migration and Underdevelopment: The Case of Western Samoa*, 68. Shankman observed that, 'remittances also passed through another village institution - the church'; Charles Forman, *The Island Churches of the South Pacific. Emergence in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Orbis Books, 1982, 71-72.

¹¹ Harry Betham, "Tala o le Tupe Ianuari 1-31 Tesema 1971". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1971; Harry Betham, "Tala o le Tupe Ianuari 1-31 Tesema 1970". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1970; Iona Levi, "O le Tala o le Tupe Aperila 1 1968 - 31 Tesema 1968". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1968. In 1968 American Samoan District contribution reached \$43,749.00 or 50.98 percent of the total church contributions of \$83,973. It would be the highest percentage ever that the American Samoan district would contribute to the total CCCS *taulaga*; See also Iona Levi, "O le Tala o le Tupe Aperila 1, 1966-Mati 31, 1967". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1967; Harry Betham, "O le Faamatalaga o le Tupe Aperila 1 1961-Mati 31, 1962". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1962.

¹² Tufuga Pule, "Tala o le Faiga Taulaga mo le Ekalesia i le tausaga e 1973". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1973, 5.

relatively easy in the 1950s and 1960s, especially when New Zealand was looking for cheap unskilled labour. For many Samoans New Zealand was a paradise that offered an opportunity to assist their families in Samoa.¹³ In Shankman's case study of the Samoan village of Sa'asi (pseudonym), he observed:

Of 45 active remitters permanently abroad in 1969, there were 37 in New Zealand, but only 6 were in American Samoa and 2 were in the United States...In 1969, remittances comprised 58 percent of Sa'asi's total cash income, with 82 percent of the remittances coming from New Zealand.¹⁴

From 1971 to 1973 the total *taulaga* from the Western Samoan districts more than doubled from \$73,700 to \$163,500.¹⁵ The pattern of remittances being diverted to the Church is consistent with what happened in American Samoa nearly fifteen years later, when it is estimated that approximately 26 percent of each additional dollar of remitted was given to the Church.¹⁶

Improving the Schools

The unexpected increase in the *taulaga* in the early 1970s created opportunities for the Church's Education Committee to expand its work and to improve school facilities. In 1972, the Education Committee requested the General Assembly to finance schools directly from the *taulaga*.¹⁷ It proposed that since the *taulaga* had increased in the past two years to approximately \$100,000, 75 percent of the *taulaga* should be used for financing the schools.¹⁸ The request was approved at the 1973 General Assembly which eased the financial uncertainty the Education Committee had previously faced and it placed it now in a position to continue the educational tradition which the Congregational Church was renown for.¹⁹

The CCCS, which had previously restricted the construction of new buildings because of lack of finances, was now intent on constructing and renovating teachers' residences

¹³ William Coppel, "Problems of Polynesia's Biggest City". *Pacific Islands Monthly* 45 November 1974, 37. In the present economic environment the Islander is fortunate in Auckland, there has been no unemployment in the city throughout 1974, a man reporting himself as out of a job in the morning is suitably placed by afternoon.

¹⁴ Paul Shankman, *Migration and Underdevelopment: The Case of Western Samoa*, 58.

¹⁵ Harry Betham, "Tala o Tupe 1 Ianuari 1-31 Tesema 1971"; Tufuga Pule, "Tala o le Faiga Taulaga mo le Ekalesia i le tausaga e 1973"; "Income and Expenditure A/c". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1973.

¹⁶ Dennis Ahlburg, *Remittances and Their Impact: A Study of Tonga and Western Samoa*, 35.

¹⁷ "Iugafono Komiti Aoga", 9. 72KA35.

¹⁸ "Iugafono Komiti Aoga", 8. 72KA31. In 1970 the Samoan *taulaga*, was \$100,143 making the Education request equal to \$75,107.

¹⁹ "Iugafono Komiti Aoga", 9. 72KA35; "Iugafono o le Fono Tele 1973, Fale Iupeli 21-25 Me", 1. See 73FT6

and classrooms. Having already heavily invested in Leulumoega Fou High School the Committee seized the opportunity to raise the standard of the other five schools in Western Samoa and to build a new high school in American Samoa.

One of the first projects of the Education Committee was to develop Maluafofou School, the largest school in the CCCS. Maluafofou Junior High School is located in Apia and in the 1970s had approximately 700 students.²⁰ It was poorly resourced. It had very little equipment, no textbooks and no proper library facilities.²¹ Its staff were not highly trained. In 1973 the Director of Education, Hector Green, described the staff of Maluafofou as largely untrained with only a few having been partly educated in New Zealand.²² In 1974 the Church began to develop Maluafofou as a secondary school officially recognised by the government as meeting New Zealand School Certificate standards.²³ Considerable resources were poured into improving the school. The Education Committee employed two 'specialist secondary' teachers from India, Pylee (Philip) Abraham and T. P. Varghese; both had Masters degrees in Education and Science respectively.²⁴ Houses which had been previously rented by Church employees were vacated and renovated for teachers.²⁵ Other houses were constructed with funds released from the *taulaga*.²⁶ An impressive two story school block was built at a cost of \$50,000.²⁷ Then the Education Committee removed Form I and II in Maluafofou to the nearby Vaisigano primary/intermediate school so that Maluafofou became exclusively a secondary school. By September 1974 Maluafofou became the second school in the CCCS accredited to prepare students for the New Zealand School Certificate.²⁸

²⁰ "Report of the Education Committee May 1972". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1972, 1.

²¹ Hector Green, "The Congregational Schools of Western Samoa". Apia: Education Committee, 1973.

²² Hector Green, "The Congregational Schools of Western Samoa".

²³ "Fono a le Komiti Aoga Me 17 1974". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1974, 2.

²⁴ "Fono a le Komiti Aoga Me 17 1974", 2. Abraham's qualifications were MA, MEd and his salary was \$3,200. Varghese's qualifications were a M.Sc, B.Ed and his salary was \$2800; "Fonotaga Komiti Tupe. Ioane Viliamu 17 Fepuari 1984". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1984, 1.84KT23. Varghese had become principal of Maluafofou and in 1984 Leulumoega Fou.

²⁵ "Fono a le Komiti Aoga Me 17 1974", 1. The Treasurer resided in Maluafofou. In 1974 the Falealili district which was designated to look after Maluafofou school, requested \$2000 for renovations of Maluafofou school.

²⁶ "Fono a le Komiti o Tupe Novema 11 1974, Tamaligi". Malua: Komiti Tupe, 1974, 1, 74KT32, 74KT34; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa. *O le Fono Tele a le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa 1974*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1974, 5. 74FT18; See also Oka Fauolo, "Komiti o Fanua ma Fale 14 Iuni 1974". Apia: Komiti Fanua ma Fale, 1974. In the same year the General Assembly approved \$13,000 for the building of three extra residences for teachers and one for a Peace Corp Volunteer. The three houses were for three Indian teachers employed by the CCCS.

²⁷ "Mataupu a le Komiti o Aoga e fai i ai se finagalo o le Fono Tele 1975". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1975, 3. no.20.

²⁸ Oka Fauolo to Ernest Edwards, 20 September 1974 (CCCSA).

Two other schools demanded urgent attention by the Church—Nuuausala Intermediate School and Tuasivi Junior High School on the island of Savaii. Nuuausala had often missed out on significant funding because it was only an intermediate school and located 20 kilometres from Apia. Tuasivi the only CCCS school on Savaii also suffered from its isolation. Nevertheless in 1975 the Church allocated \$27,000 to Nuuausala and \$17,000 to Tuasivi to upgrade libraries, classrooms, science laboratories and teachers residences.²⁹ In 1979 Tuasivi became the third CCCS school accredited to prepare students for the New Zealand School Certificate examinations after a delegation from New Zealand inspected the school in August of that year.³⁰

In 1974 the General Secretary, Fauolo, on behalf of the CCCS, made a request to the CCWM for a suitable candidate as Vice Principal of Papauta Girls School.³¹ Fauolo wanted a qualified European teacher to eventually replace Principal Salamasina Malietoa. Malietoa had become Principal in 1967 after the resignation of the LMS missionary Marjorie King. Although Malietoa had shown:

no problem in organising and administering the school activities... its great failure lies in the fact that academic standards seems hopeless. This is why we feel we really need your helping hand in raising the school's [academic] level.³²

The 1976 General Assembly had also endorsed a resolution that the most promising students in Papauta's Form Five would be transferred to Maluafofou and Leulumoeaga Fou College to sit the School Certificate examinations.³³

By 1975 the Education Committee's expenditure on schools (including Malua Theological College) made up 70 percent of the Church's annual budget.³⁴ This enormous expenditure highlighted the commitment of the Church to education, but also

²⁹ "Tala Faatatau o Tupe Faaoga 1975. Nuuausala". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1975; "Tala Faatatau o Tupe Faaoga 1975. Tuasivi". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1975.

³⁰ "Fono Komiti Aoga – Tamaligi 19 Iulai 1979". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1979, 3. 79KA20; "Ripoti o Aoga". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1979, 2.

³¹ Ernest Edwards to Oka Fauolo, 26 March 1974 (CCCSA); Oka Fauolo to Ernest Edwards, 9 April 1974 (CCCSA).

³² Oka Fauolo to Ernest Edwards, 9 April 1974, 1–2 (CCCSA).

³³ "O le Aoga i Papauta". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1979, 1.

³⁴ "Summary 1975 Tuufaatasiga". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1975; "Budgets 1973". Apia: Finance Committee, 1973, 5; "Tala Faatatau o Tupe Faaoga 1975. Leulumoeaga Fou". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1975. Not surprisingly the second largest expense for the Church was Leulumoeaga Fou College at \$52,000 of which \$44,000 were teachers' salaries alone; "Tala Faatatau o Tupe Faaoga 1975. Maluafofou". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1975. Nuuausala and Maluafofou together cost the Church \$39,192 and \$35,350 respectively. The budget for the schools increased from \$114,102 (1973) to \$336,821 in 1975; "Summary 1975 Tuufaatasiga". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1975.

the ready availability of money. Besides improving school facilities, the Church made a concerted effort to raise academic standards.

In December 1975 the Education Committee engaged Aiono Fanaafi Larkin as Director of Education to improve educational standards. It was a significant appointment.³⁵ Larkin who was more commonly known as Fanaafi, had been the former Director of Education in Western Samoa and was one of Samoa's most prominent educationalists.³⁶ When Fanaafi took over the Director's chair she promised to give the school system a shake up.³⁷ She actively promoted the Church's 'threefold philosophy' of education'.³⁸ The threefold philosophy involved the establishment of one main academic institution, the promulgation of the Church's tenets, and the promotion of the Samoan language in education.³⁹ In this new configuration, the other schools would serve as 'feeder schools' to the main academic institution.⁴⁰ Fanaafi elaborated further on her threefold philosophy in the 1976 *Sulu*;

There shall be one institution of learning established by CCCS, and promoted to the highest level, at any one time. All other schools and institutions are to be structured to feed this institution of higher learning. The "feeder" schools shall include the pastorate, primary, secondary and specialized school levels...The life, history, system, structure, principles and practices of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa must be incorporated in the Curriculum at all levels of the Church Schools.⁴¹

An integral part of the Church's goal for the schools at this time was the use of the Samoan language. Fanaafi actively promoted in-service training courses in Samoan culture and language for primary, intermediate and secondary teachers.⁴² Samoan became the main language of instruction and English was used only in subjects such as

³⁵ Tufuga Pule to Aiono Fanaafi Larkin, 10 December 1975 (CCCSA).

³⁶ "Samoa Sacking". *Pacific Islands Monthly* 46 August 1975, 16.

³⁷ Aiono Fanaafi Larkin to Tom Kennedy, 3 March 1976 (CCCSA); Aiono Fanaafi Larkin to Dennis Mann, 21 June 1976, 1 (CCCSA); Aiono Fanaafi Larkin to Fr Milne, 6 February 1976 (CCCSA) As an indication of the state of the Education Committee's administration, she had to request from the Principal of the Catholic Chanel College, the course prescriptions for School Certificate and University Entrance, as well as their recommended readings.; Aiono Fanaafi Larkin to Director of Western Samoa Education, 24 January 1976 (CCCSA). Fanaafi also requested syllabi used by government high schools from the Government Education Department.

³⁸ Aiono Fanaafi Larkin to Dennis Mann, 21 June 1976, 1 (CCCSA). Larkin informed the Principal of Leulumoea Fou of the proposals of the Church for this school.

³⁹ Aiono Fanaafi Larkin to Dennis Mann, 21 June 1976, 1 (CCCSA).

⁴⁰ "Miti a le Faatonu o Aoga a le EFKS". *O le Sulu Samoa*, Iuni 1976, 106, 109.

⁴¹ "Miti a le Faatonu o Aoga a le EFKS", 106.

⁴² Aiono Fanaafi to Chief Inspector of Schools, 26 February 1976 (CCCSA).

science and foreign culture where Samoan resources were limited.⁴³ The emphasis on using Samoan as the teaching medium received further impetus when the Education Committee discovered that the New Zealand English curriculum that was adopted by all schools in Samoa was too difficult.⁴⁴ Leulumoega Fou became the ‘testing’ ground for incorporation of Samoan and Samoan customs in the curriculum.⁴⁵

As Leulumoega Fou was the premier school of the CCCS, Fanaafi increasingly focussed her efforts on improving its administration. In an attempt to solve the financial mismanagement that had plagued the school she centralised all funds under her control. Previously it had been too easy to withdraw funds from the school bank account without the knowledge of the principal.⁴⁶ Her action allowed for clear monitoring and greater accountability.

In another effort to improve educational standards, efforts were made to train Samoan teachers better. As most teachers did not have appropriate teaching qualifications, the Church began to sponsor more candidates (for primary and intermediate levels) to Malifa Teacher Training College in Samoa and overseas.⁴⁷ Rather optimistically the Church in 1975 set a goal where at least 80% of its teachers would have a degree in education in the next four to five years.⁴⁸ Promising students were offered scholarships by the Church to pursue studies in education overseas.⁴⁹

Fanaafi also tried to raise the academic standards of Papauta.⁵⁰ The foundation of Papauta by the German missionary, Valesca Shulze, and the English missionary, Elizabeth Moore, was patterned on the European ‘Finishing Schools’ where:

⁴³ “Miti a le Faatonu o Aoga a le EFKS”, 106.

⁴⁴ “Ripoti–Fepuari 1976”. Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1976, 2. The 1976 Education Committee highlighted that the government curriculum was ‘too academic’ for most students enrolling in Church schools.

⁴⁵ “Iugafono Komiti Aoga”. Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1972, 11. 72 KA 53

⁴⁶ “Aoga Maua luga i Leulumoega Fou–1976”, 2. For example the new principal was shocked to find that the school had only \$16 in its bank account and there was at least \$2,000 in unpaid bills.

⁴⁷ “Ripoti–Fepuari 1976”, 3; “Fono o le Komiti Aoga Me 17 1974”, 1. The Church offered \$395 each to students attending Malifa.

⁴⁸ “Miti a le Faatonu o Aoga a le EFKS”, 107; Oka Fauolo to Secretary of Finance Committee, 29 January 1975 (CCCSA). Fauolo notified the Finance Committee that the Education Committee approved to send Otele Perelini and Akerei Sanerivi to Fiji for teacher training at a cost of \$1661.20(Fiji) each.

⁴⁹ Oka Fauolo to Dennis Mann, 26 March 1976 (CCCSA); Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *O le Fono Tele a le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa 1976.Fale Iupeli Me 17–21*, Apia: Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, 1976, 7, 76FT22. Travel allowances were also given to those students already sponsored by the Church.

⁵⁰ “O le Aoga i Papauta”. Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1979, 1.

nineteenth century German and European women were educated in the proper etiquette and conversation of a woman from a noble or aristocratic family...⁵¹

The daughters of chiefs were taught the traditional skills of weaving and cooking as well as skills brought by the missionaries such as sewing, reading and Christian behaviour. In the same way Fanaafi wanted to make Papauta a finishing school where students would learn skills for the workforce such as typing or stenography.⁵² In addition to office skills the students were taught Fine Arts and Drama. Between 1975 and 1979 the idea of a Papauta College of Technology was taken seriously by the Church. It was strongly supported by the principal of Papauta, Salamasina Malietoa, and the *Mafutaga Tina*.

Besides raising the academic standards of the schools, there was another reason why the CCCS wanted to educate its teachers better. Since most teachers did not have degrees they were poorly prepared to contribute to policy development in the Church's educational system. Inadequate training and poor professional development had a detrimental effect on their development of educational policy. Without adequate education, teachers were unable to influence or even improve their own working conditions let alone those of their students. Many felt they were being taken for granted by the Church.⁵³ In the 1976 Education Report it was noted that;

The Samoan teachers would be happy if they know that their advice to the Church is put into practice. None of the teachers would want to work if they find they are neglected because they do not have a degree.⁵⁴

When the Church proposed to set up a teacher training institution at Leulumoega Fou, many teachers supported it and saw it as providing an opportunity to improve their qualifications. With a degree teachers had the 'qualification' to have a greater say in the Education Committee's policies. As many members of the Education Committee did not have educational qualifications, they were more inclined to listen to the advice of qualified teachers.

⁵¹ "O le Aoga i Papauta", 1.

⁵² "O le Aoga i Papauta", 2.

⁵³ "Ripoti-Fepuari 1976", 2.

⁵⁴ "Ripoti-Fepuari 1976", 2.

The University of Samoa

The most ambitious of the Education Committee's proposals in the 1970s was the idea for a university based at Leulumoega Fou College.⁵⁵ It was ambitious because the university was an initiative by the Church to train new and current secondary teachers.⁵⁶ The idea of establishing a university was prompted by recommendations in a 1972 Education Report written by the former principal of Leulumoega Fou, Bruce Thorpe, an experienced secondary teacher sponsored by Australian Volunteers Abroad. He had conducted surveys of CCCS schools and recommended in-service training for teachers:

...it may be wise to introduce a small teacher training programme for teachers of Forms III and IV in our schools. This could be done at Leulumoega Fou...⁵⁷

The Report recommended discontinuing building classrooms, restricting classes to a workable size, with 45 the absolute maximum and, instead, concentrating on 'improving facilities and staff':⁵⁸

Many of our teachers are not trained as teachers at all and those who are graduates from Teachers' Training College have not in fact been trained to teach at Form III and above. The result is that most teachers are poorly equipped in training, as well as in facilities, to handle the classes they are called upon to teach.⁵⁹

The Report reaffirmed the provision of overseas scholarships to New Zealand and Fiji and in-service teacher training for teachers.⁶⁰ Thorpe's report was not implemented by the Church at the time as there were not enough funds for the Education Committee in 1972. With access to the *taulaga* approved the following year the Education Committee immediately began renovating and upgrading Maluafofou, Tuasivi and Nuuausala.

⁵⁵ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *O le Fono Tele a le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa 1976.Fale Iupeli Me 17–21*, 10–11. 76FT35 & 76FT38; Amosa Malo, "A Study of the Church and its Concept of Education and How Effective it is in the Life and Attention of the People. With Special References to the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa". Bachelor of Divinity, Pacific Theological College, 1980,41.

⁵⁶ Gaugau Va'afuti Tavana, "Cultural Values Relating to Education in Western Samoa: A Conceptual Analysis of the Perspectives of Samoan Social Leaders". PhD, Brigham Young University, 1994, 42; "Ripoti o le Iunivesite o Samoa". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1979, 2.

⁵⁷ "Report of the Education Committee May 1972", 3–4.

⁵⁸ "Report of the Education Committee May 1972", 2–4; "Iugafono Komiti Aoga", 7. 72KA27; "Iugafono Komiti Aoga", 8. 72KA30. In 1972 the Education Committee had set aside funds for overseas trained teachers to eventually become principals for Maluafofou and Nuuausala; "Iugafono Komiti Aoga", 8. 72KA29. The Education Committee also were prepared to fund two students a year at a cost of \$2,000 per year for teacher training at either Fiji or New Zealand.

⁵⁹ "Report of the Education Committee May 1972", 1.

⁶⁰ "Report of the Education Committee May 1972", 2; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 15–19 May Apia*: Malua Printing Press, 1972,10. 72FT53.

It was not until Fanaafi became the director in 1975, that Thorpe's suggestions began to be taken seriously. By this time the Education Committee had completed the renovations to Maluafofou, Tuasivi and Nuuausala. In 1976 four years after Thorpe's report, Fanaafi had forewarned the new principal of Leulumoega Fou Dennis Mann, of the transformation of Leulumoega Fou College was the most likely site for a teacher training institution and, eventually, a fully-fledged university:

Leulumoega Fou ... will be developed to the highest level possible. The highest level possible ... means the development of a College of Further Education and on to a University proper.⁶¹

The inspection of Leulumoega Fou and Tuasivi in the early months of 1976 convinced the Education Committee and the Church of the need for an institution to train teachers.⁶² Leulumoega Fou was found to have too many 'untrained' Samoan teaching staff and was forced to resort to Peace Corp Volunteer teachers for the higher classes.⁶³ At Tuasivi the situation was no different. There it was discovered that there was a shortage of teachers generally, let alone qualified ones.⁶⁴ One of the Indian teachers on the staff, George Varghese, informed the inspection committee that a mathematics teacher was urgently required, thus prompting the Education Committee to quickly transfer an Indian teacher from Maluafofou to the school.⁶⁵

The establishment of the university was consistent with the Church's policy outlined in 1976 by Fanaafi which stated: 'There shall be one institution of learning established by CCCS, and promoted to the highest level, at any one time'.⁶⁶ The University of Samoa, as it would later be called, became the 'one institution of learning' and, as a consequence, the university that developed out of Leulumoega Fou eventually took precedence over its host.⁶⁷ There were several advantages locating the university at Leulumoega Fou. There was a convenient site already available whose facilities had only recently received a \$300,000 extensive upgrading. It had sophisticated equipment

⁶¹ Aiono Fanaafi Larkin to Dennis Mann 21 June 1976, 2 (CCCSA).

⁶² "Aoga Maua'uga i Leulumoega Fou-1976", 3. In January of that year an inspection of Leulumoega Fou highlighted a need to provide in-service training for the teachers.

⁶³ Aiono Fanaafi Larkin to Dennis Mann 21 June 1976, 2 (CCCSA).

⁶⁴ "Ripoti-Fepuari 1976", 2. There were two Form Three classes, two Form Four classes and three Form Five classes.

⁶⁵ "Ripoti-Fepuari 1976", 1.

⁶⁶ "Miti a le Faatonu o Aoga a le EFKS", 106.

⁶⁷ "Ripoti o Aoga 1980-81". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1981, 1; "Miti a le Faatonu o Aoga a le EFKS", 103-112.

such as a language laboratory, not usually available in secondary schools.⁶⁸ The creation of the University was thus a natural extension of the investment the Church had made in Leulumoega Fou.

Even before the University of Samoa opened, Fanaafi had her reservations about it. She was worried that the university lacked a library. She even recommended that the first classes should be based at Papauta, in the city where the majority of prospective students resided.⁶⁹ Only later when the roads were much better, she surmised, should the university be transferred to Leulumoega Fou.⁷⁰

Despite Fanaafi's concerns the first semester of the University of Samoa began on the 24 August 1978 at Leulumoega Fou College.⁷¹ Amongst the first permanent staff at the university were lecturers in English and Mathematics. (Both of these subjects were urgently required by the Church schools.⁷²) The university eventually offered eight degrees: Education, English, English Literature, Economics, Mathematics, Science, Home Science and Humanities.⁷³ The Church now had a tertiary institution which it hoped would improve the professional qualifications and standards of its secondary school teachers.

There is no doubt that Fanaafi was instrumental in the formation of the University of Samoa. She was determined to make sure the university was a success and, not surprisingly, became its Vice-Chancellor in 1981. Sadly, the great promise of the university was not realised. It was seriously affected by the Church's other ambitious building projects, especially the John Williams Building.

⁶⁸ "Aoga Maua luga i Leulumoega Fou-1976", 3.

⁶⁹ "Ripoti o le Iunivesite o Samoa", 2.

⁷⁰ "Ripoti o le Iunivesite o Samoa", 2.

⁷¹ Menise Sasa, "One People One Church Two States. A contemporary study of relations between Western Samoa Church and American Samoa, and how political, economic and social factors affect the work of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, with special reference to the Church in American Samoa". BD. Thesis, Pacific Theological College, 1980, 31; Amosa Malo, "A Study of the Church and Its Concept of Education and How Effective It Is in the Life and Attention of the People. With Special References to the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa", 41.

⁷² "Ripoti o le Iunivesite o Samoa", 2; Aiono Fanaafi to Secretary of Education Committee, 10 April 1978 (CCCSA).

⁷³ Amosa Malo, "A Study of the Church and Its Concept of Education and How Effective It Is in the Life and Attention of the People. With Special References to the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa", 42.

The John Williams Building

The original plans for the John Williams Building had been quite modest. It was planned to commemorate the 150 years since John Williams brought the gospel to Samoa. The land for the building was purchased from the Western Samoa Trust Estates Corporation for \$40,000 in June 1976.⁷⁴ Initially the Church had sought permission to build a three-story building at an estimated cost of \$800,000. Later the plans were altered to a six-storey building by a rather circuitous set of events.⁷⁵

When the initial building approval was rejected by the government on the grounds that the building should be a maximum height of four-storeys, a revised plan for a four-storey building was later submitted.⁷⁶ However, when the Church found out that the government itself was planning a five-storey building for the National Provident Fund, a government building, the plans for the six-storey building were resubmitted and subsequently approved by the Government in 1978. It was hoped that by leasing out some of the additional floors, the John Williams Building would generate additional finance for the Church.⁷⁷ The Church then decided to build while the cost of building materials was cheap and the value of the Samoan dollar (*Tala*) was low.

The General Purpose meeting of 14 July 1978 set up the Committee for Major Works to propose a draft plan for the building. This Committee, given oversight for the building, was chaired by the Elder deacon, Tofilau Alesana, who became the Prime Minister of Western Samoa in 1983.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Oka Fauolo to Chairman of Western Samoa Trust Estates Corporation, 16 March 1976 (CCCSA); Oka Fauolo to Chairman of Finance Committee, 17 March 1976 (CCCSA); Oka Fauolo to Bernard Thorogood, 17 June 1976 (CCCSA).

⁷⁵ Tufuga Pule, "Lipoti Fanua & Fale ma isi mea totino 11 May 1977". Apia: Komiti Fanua & Fale, 1977, 2; "Komiti Feau Eseese 17 Aokuso 1977". Apia Komiti Feau Eseese, 1977.77KFE5.

⁷⁶ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 14–25 May*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1984, 36. See Ripoti o le Fogafaleono Ioane Viliamu e ui atu i le Komiti Feau Eseese.

⁷⁷ Galuefa Aseta "Mo le Aufaitau Nusipepa". *O le Sulu Samoa*, Aperila 1980, 549;. Galuefa Aseta to Bernard Thorogood, 29 October 1979 (CCCSA).

⁷⁸ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 14–25 May*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1984, 36; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 14–25 May*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1979, 4. 79FT56. Eti estimated that the project required a loan of 20 million Western Samoan tala.



Fig. 7 The original design of the three storey John Williams Building.

The company M.B. and M. Pacific Construction Ltd was offered the contract to build the John Williams Building.⁷⁹ The foundation stone was laid on the 16 January 1980 in a special morning service.⁸⁰ All the delegates of the six committees of the Church, including those from overseas were present. The ceremony was led by the chairman of the General Assembly, Rev. Elder Tuuao Sao. In his prayer Sao acknowledged that the John Williams Building represented the Light of God first coming to Samoa:

Oh great and mighty God may You forever receive the highest praise in the heart and spirit of your Church. Thank you for your hidden works of love in which we have the opportunity to possess this small land because of your supremacy and power, so we are able to work together to build up this grand building to improve your Church in its various duties, as well as serve as a permanent reminder of the three jubilees (50 years) since the arrival of John Williams with the Good News of the salvation that first brought the light to Samoa. Pour out your Holy Spirit in our hearts so that we can worship You, in the true Spirit. Amen.⁸¹

Throughout the ceremony the chairman ‘challenged’ the delegates to work hard to make the project possible. His ‘challenge’ contained many phrases from the Bible which had the desired effect of highlighting the significance of the John Williams Building for the Church:

⁷⁹ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa. *General Assembly Minutes 18–29 August Apia*: Malua Printing Press, 1980, 21. 80 FTF 1, 24, It was expected to take 78 weeks at the earliest to complete this building.

⁸⁰ Galuefa Aseta, “Tala o le Fono Tele Faafuase’i”. *O le Sulu Samoa*, Ianuari 1980, 490.

⁸¹ Galuefa Aseta, “Tala o le Fono Tele Faafuase’i”, 491.

Sao: We worship You [Lord] because you answered me.

Delegates: The stone that the stonemason has ignored has become the cornerstone [Psalm 118:22] of the Building.

Sao: If God has built this building then let those who build it do it for free!

Delegates: Who ever hears my words and does it is like a wise person who built his house upon the rock. [Matthew 7:24]

The laying of the foundation stone involved the three people most closely associated with the John Williams Building: the treasurer (Tufuga Pule), the General Secretary (Galuefa Aseta) and the chairman of the Building Committee (Tofilau Eti).⁸² During the ceremony, the following words were recited by all present:

We have placed this Foundation Stone to be a foundation of blessing for the six-story building of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, who have built on this land. The cornerstone is Jesus Christ, the beginning of our work of which we will continue to work for peace for the glory of our mighty God, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen.⁸³

This short ‘prayer’ reaffirmed the view that the Church leaders present saw the John Williams Building as a blessing from God. Throughout the ceremony, Sao continually called upon the delegates to give up their free time to help fund the John Williams Building. “If God has built this building then let those who build it do it for free!”⁸⁴, a phrase that would be repeated many times over.

In attempting to justify the huge expense of the John Williams Building, the new General Secretary of the CCCS, Galuefa Aseta, explained that the building was not only ‘a permanent monument’ to the Church’s 150 years history, but also a splendid headquarters for the Congregational Church.⁸⁵ At the back of Aseta’s mind, he was aware that other denominations in Samoa had central offices and it was only fitting that the CCCS should have one as well: ‘Nearly every other denomination in the country has a central modern office building in the Town Area whereas the CCCS is still operating from scattered locations’.⁸⁶

⁸² Galuefa Aseta, “Tala o le Fono Tele Faafuase’i”, 490.

⁸³ Galuefa Aseta, “Tala o le Fono Tele Faafuase’i”, 491.

⁸⁴ Galuefa Aseta, “Tala o le Fono Tele Faafuase’i”, 490.

⁸⁵ Galuefa Aseta “Mo le Aufaitau Nusipepa”. *O le Sulu Samoa*, Aperila 1980, 549.

⁸⁶ Galuefa Aseta to Bernard Thorogood, 29 October 1979 (CCCSA).

Aseta's remark is an example of the competitive nature deeply embedded in Samoan culture that often surfaced between denominations. Derek Freeman has made a similar observation of the competitiveness characteristic of Samoan culture;

Competitiveness was truly the principal feature of Samoan life, long intrinsic to the age-old rank system of Samoa, and therefore a much more potent force than the ethics of Christianity, of which Samoans has been adherents for only a relatively short time.⁸⁷

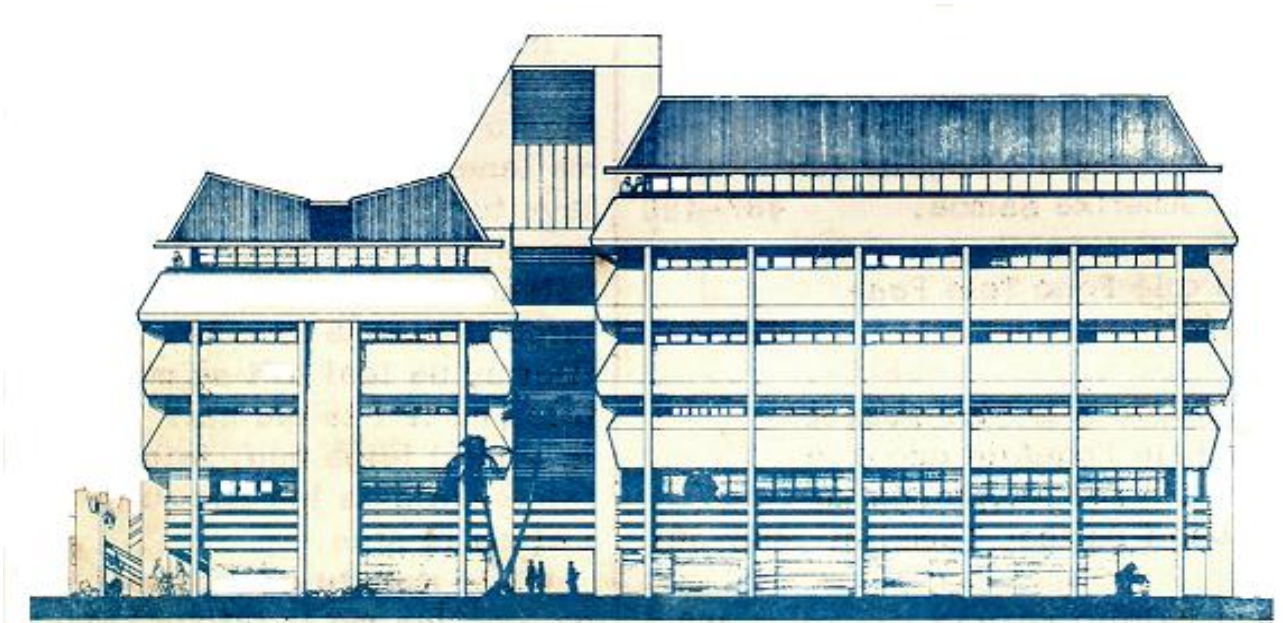


Fig 8. The six-storey John Williams Building which was eventually built.

Charles Forman cites another example of this competitiveness in Samoan culture when the Catholics built a large cathedral in Apia, 'its dimensions were known in every corner of the country and others set out to equal or to surpass it'.⁸⁸ Similarly when the Methodists opened the Wesley Church in Apia in 1953, Alfred Wood's description of the Church concentrated on its cost and size:

One of the most striking evidences of progress in Samoan Methodism was the building of the Wesley Church in Apia. Standing on the waterfront with its prominent tower, it is one of the most beautiful churches of any denomination in the South Pacific...The structure was completed at a cost of £45,000 and was opened without debt. Its dimension are 108 × 54 feet, with walls 30 feet and the tower 65 feet. The accommodation is 800. The communion table, rail, and pulpit were memorials to O.F. Nelson [Olaf Frederick Nelson]. The magnificent

⁸⁷ Derek Freeman, *Margaret Mead and Samoa the Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1983, 143.

⁸⁸ Charles Forman, *The Island Churches of the South Pacific. Emergence in the Twentieth Century*, 71.

window, cost £1,100, showing the ascending Christ and the worshipping disciples, was given by the Woman's Society.⁸⁹

With such impressive buildings in the heart of Apia, there was a certain predictability that the CCCS would seek to build an edifice that would surpass the Catholic cathedral and the Methodist Church. At the time of its completion, the John Williams Building was the tallest building in Samoa and a powerful statement to the other denominations that the Congregational Church was still the dominant denomination in Samoa.⁹⁰

As impressive as the John Williams Building was, it did not impress the American Samoans. The building symbolised what they always felt—that the Church was indeed intent on developing Western Samoa at the expense of American Samoa. The Church's grandiose building schemes, as will be discussed later, would eventually place intolerable strain on relations between Western Samoa and the church in American Samoa.

The Samoan Church on the International Scene

The CCCS continued to enjoy international recognition in the ecumenical field in the latter half of the 1970s. Posenai Musu, chairman of the Christian Education Committee of the CCCS, was chosen by the Pacific Conference of Churches to be their General Secretary in January 1975.⁹¹ The General Secretary of the CCCS, Galuefa Aseta, was also a former Assistant General Secretary of the PCC until May 1979.⁹² In the same year, the Malua lecturer, Laau Ioritana Tanielu, was appointed to the faculty of the Pacific Theological College.⁹³

One indication of the Church's growing maturity was its intimate involvement in the evolution of the Congregational Council of World Mission (CCWM) to the Council of World Mission (CWM) in 1974.⁹⁴ Of the 16 members on the international group

⁸⁹ Alfred Harold Wood, *Overseas Missions of the Australian Methodist Church 1 Tonga Samoa*. Melbourne: Aldersgate Press, 1975. 325.

⁹⁰ Yvette Rabemila, "A Visit to the Pacific May–June 1982". London: Council for World Mission, 1982, 10.

⁹¹ "Iugafono Komiti o Feau Eseese mo le Fono Tele 1974". Apia: Komiti Feau Eseese, 1974, 1; Charles Forman, *The Voice of Many Waters*. Suva, Fiji: Lotu Pasifika Productions, 1986, 61–62.

⁹² Galuefa Aseta to Minister of Agriculture, 24 September 1974 (CCCSA).

⁹³ "Tala o Fonotaga ma Iugafono a le Komiti o Feau Eseese, 31 Aukuso 1978". Apia: Komiti Feau Eseese, 1979, 78KFE58; Oka Fauolo to Taitaifono Komiti Aoga, 25 Setema 1978 (CCCSA).

⁹⁴ Bernard Thorogood to Oka Fauolo, 4 January 1974 (CCCSA).

responsible for bringing the CWM into being, one was allocated to the General Secretary of the Samoan Church.⁹⁵

Bernard Thorogood, General Secretary of the CWM, played an important part in the CCCS's developing international reputation. After Stuart Craig's retirement as General Secretary of the CCWM in 1970, Thorogood took over the position. Five years later he was also appointed the Overseas Secretary for the Pacific, the Caribbean and Africa.⁹⁶ Thorogood's appointment was instrumental in the growing recognition of the Samoan Congregational Church and the resources that the CWM invested in the Pacific.⁹⁷

Thorogood was keen to involve the 'younger' Churches in the new CWM.⁹⁸ He did not want to see a British-dominated mission society and encouraged the CWM to relinquish its authority in regional matters to the Samoan Church.⁹⁹ One sign of this change of policy took place when, in 1975, authority to appoint delegates to the Pacific Theological College Council was handed over to the CCCS.¹⁰⁰ Another sign was the handing over to the Church greater responsibility for the housing and welfare of the CWM missionaries in Samoa. The Church was asked to provide the accommodation and 10 per cent of their salaries; the CWM provided the balance 'in the form of a grant to the church'.¹⁰¹

Shortly after Thorogood's visit to Samoa in January 1976, the Rev Elia Taase was appointed Assistant General Secretary of the CWM.¹⁰² Despite Taase's lack of

⁹⁵ Bernard Thorogood to Oka Fauolo, 18 September 1975 (CCCSA); Bernard Thorogood, *Council for World Mission (Congregational and Reformed) General Secretary's*. London: Council for World Mission, 1974, 228–9. In 1966 the London Missionary Society amalgamated with the Commonwealth Missionary Society to form the Congregational Council of World Mission (CCWM). In 1974 the United Reformed Churches (URC) amalgamated with the Congregational Council of World Mission; Phillip Wade to CWM members 1973 (CCCSA). The official name was Council for World Mission (Congregational and Reformed). With the incorporation of the URC a name change was required as not all the Churches in the Council were from the 'congregational' tradition.

⁹⁶ Bernard Thorogood ed., *Gales of Change. Responding to a Shifting Missionary Context. The Story of the London Missionary Society 1945–1977*. Geneva: WCC, 1994, 322. Rev Ernest J Edwards was Overseas Secretary for Pacific, Caribbean and Africa of the CCWM from 1968 to 1975; Ernest Edwards to CCWM members, 17 March 1975, (CCCSA).

⁹⁷ Bernard Thorogood to Oka Fauolo, 23 September 1977 (CCCSA).

⁹⁸ Bernard Thorogood, *General Secretary's Letter*. London: Council for World Mission, 1976, 1.

⁹⁹ Bernard Thorogood, *General Secretary's Letter*, 2.

¹⁰⁰ Bernard Thorogood to Oka Fauolo, 30 Jan 1975 (CCCSA).

¹⁰¹ Bernard Thorogood, *General Secretary's Letter*, 3; Thorogood to Oka Fauolo, 16 June 1976 (CCCSA); Elia Taase to Oka Fauolo, 12 October 1978 (CCCSA).

¹⁰² Bernard Thorogood to Oka Fauolo, 6 November 1975 (CCCSA). Thorogood also wanted to see any developments in Church life which would help the two churches mission together; Bernard Thorogood to Oka Fauolo, 2 March 1977 (CCCSA) On 2 March 1977 Taase was offered the position of Assistant

ecumenical and missionary experience, he proved to be a willing learner with a good grasp of the essentials of Christian mission. Thorogood thought that he would 'not set the world on fire at the start' but would grow into the job. Indeed, he hoped that Taase would bring a 'Polynesian view' of faith to the Churches.¹⁰³ Taase's appointment proved not only to be a personal achievement but also a great honour for the CCCS to have one of its own in such a position of authority.

New directions in Overseas Mission

According to Forman the Pacific Island missionaries' movement to other areas of the world underscored the growing maturity of the 'younger' Church.¹⁰⁴ Thorogood and Taase were instrumental in the shift of focus in the young Church's overseas mission work. During the late 1970s, as the Papua New Guinea Church became increasingly closed to overseas missionaries, opportunities opened up for Samoans to help Churches in other parts of the world.¹⁰⁵ In March 1978, Oka Fauolo endorsed two Malua graduates Nuuausala Siutaia and Setu Sami to fill two missionary vacancies.¹⁰⁶ Setu Sami was posted to the Marshall Islands and Nuuausala Siutaia was offered a position in Africa. Shortly afterwards, Lemana Puleitu and the Rev. Suafai Patu. were sent to Zambia in May 1979.¹⁰⁷ So impressed was Yvette Rabemila with the missionary work of the Samoan Church that she suggested that Malua ought to be considered as a suitable place for 'pre.-service training for missionaries in the Pacific'.¹⁰⁸

The American Samoa District becomes Independent

At a time when there was so much success and recognition, problems began to arise. By the mid-1970s the rift between American Samoa and Western Samoa began to widen. The precipitating factor came from an unusual quarter. In December 1975 the high

Secretary.; See also Bernard Thorogood to Hong Kong Preparatory Committee and General Secretaries not at Hong Kong, March 1977 (CCCSA).

¹⁰³ Bernard Thorogood to Oka Fauolo, 2 March 1977 (CCCSA).

¹⁰⁴ Charles Forman, *The Island Churches of the South Pacific Emergence in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Orbis, 1982, 227.

¹⁰⁵ Charles Forman, *The Island Churches of the South Pacific Emergence in the Twentieth Century*, 226–27.

¹⁰⁶ Oka Fauolo to Elia Taase, 20 March 1978 (CCCSA); Setu Sami to Elia Taase, 21 February 1978 (CCCSA); Elia Taase to Oka Fauolo, 7 March 1978 (CCCSA).

¹⁰⁷ Elia Taase to Oka Fauolo, 25 October 1978 (CCCSA). In a letter to Oka Fauolo on October 1978 Taase had notified that both Lafi and Nuū would be paid by the CWM to attend Selly Oak mission school in the UK to prepare themselves for the Zambian mission; Bernard Thorogood to Oka Fauolo, 12 October 1978 (CCCSA). Both had spent some time at St Andrews Hall in Birmingham; Wade to Tufuga Pule, 4 January 1979 (CCCSA); See also Oka Fauolo to Elia Taase, 5 April 1979 (CCCSA).

¹⁰⁸ Yvette Rabemila, "A Visit to the Pacific May-June 1982", 9.

chief and senator, Lualemaga Faoliu, was shot by a Western Samoan orator chief,¹⁰⁹ The reason for the shooting originated at an incident at a kava ceremony. Apparently the American senator had not been acknowledged by the orator at the kava ceremony which was seen as an insult to the American senator under Samoan kava etiquette. According to the journalist Felise Vaa,

He (Lualemaga Faoliu) thereupon scolded the master-of-ceremonies...[and] used some strong words and made a fool of [the] ...Samoan orator ...[and] to be made a fool of is considered the highest of indignities. It means he does not know his Samoan etiquette and that he is not fitted to express any opinion on such matter in future.¹¹⁰

The reaction in American Samoa to the shooting was one of retribution and revenge. When the Roman Catholic Cardinal Pio returned to Western Samoa from his visit to the deceased senator's village, he described his reception in American Samoa in the following words:

I could feel the anger and hatred in the hundreds of people that awaited us at Tafuna Airport...The armed police escort that met me at the airport took me to the village of the dead senator, and the villagers were all prepared for trouble ... But a *matai* (high chief) came out and said that even though they had felt that sting of what had happened and that they wanted an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, it was hard for them because Christ had come through the messenger of peace and that it was time for them to drop their guns...and those that had guns dropped them.¹¹¹

Lualemaga was replaced as Senator by the former Chairman of the General Assembly, Elder deacon Asuemu Fuimaono. The Western Samoan orator was sentenced to death by the Western Samoan courts but American Samoa requested a pardon for the accused. What this incident highlighted was the simmering feelings of discontent and growing tension between Western and American Samoa.

The American Samoan district was also unhappy about decisions made by the CCCS that seemed to favour development in Western Samoa rather than in American Samoa even when it seemed as though American Samoa was the only one fulfilling its financial obligations to the Church. For years the American Samoan district felt that the CCCS had turned a deaf ear to its requests. As early as 1971 it had requested a high school in Tafuna

¹⁰⁹ Felise Va'a, "Death in a Samoan Dawn—a Matter of Etiquette?" *Pacific Islands Monthly* 47 March 1976, 14.

¹¹⁰ Felise Va'a, "Death in a Samoan Dawn—a Matter of Etiquette?", 14.

¹¹¹ Felise Va'a, "Death in a Samoan Dawn—a Matter of Etiquette?", 14.

on Tutuila Island, but the Education Committee decided to renovate classrooms at Maluafofou in Western Samoa instead.¹¹² Likewise, in 1972, when Papauta requested financial assistance for teachers' salaries, it was American Samoa that contributed the required \$5,000, whereas the Western Samoan districts contributed very little.¹¹³ Four years later American Samoa contributed most of the money for the purchase of land on which the John Williams Building was built.¹¹⁴ In the year the University of Samoa opened, funds approved by the 1978 General Assembly for a Youth Building in American Samoa were delayed, forcing the American Samoa District to seriously consider commencing the building without waiting for funding from the CCCS.¹¹⁵ With their request ignored it was not surprising that the American Samoa district vehemently opposed the establishment of the University of Samoa.¹¹⁶ The Church historian Elia Taase noted that resentment grew as the Church developed expensive institutions in Western Samoa and neglected American Samoa:

As the American Samoan district were preparing for the General Assembly (1980) there were voices of discontent about the resolutions of the previous General Assembly, which approved the University of Samoa and the John Williams Building. Where does the money come from to finance these big projects? The decision of the General Assembly confirmed the original suspicions of the American Samoan district that the Church was investing in big projects in Western Samoa and neglecting American Samoa. Many of the American Samoan delegates to the General Assembly in Western Samoa wanted to build their own church.¹¹⁷

The changing fortunes of remittances justified American Samoa's concern. Migration to New Zealand was restricted when the National government in New Zealand took power in

¹¹² "Mataupu mai Matagaluega mo le Fono Tele i Malua 1979". Apia: Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, 1979, 1; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 17–24 May*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1971, 2.71FT 7; "Mataupu a le Komiti o Aoga e fai i ai se finagalo o le Fono Tele 1975", 3.

¹¹³ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 21–25 May* Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1973. 73FT3.

¹¹⁴ Tufuga Pule to Tulafono Faagau, 29 April 1976 (CCCSA); Oka Fauolo to Bernard Thorogood, 17 June 1976 (CCCSA); Oka Fauolo to Board of Directors of Western Samoa Trust Estates Corporation, 16 March 1976 (CCCSA); Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *O le Fono Tele a le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa 1976.Fale Iupeli Me 17–21*, 13.76FT44; "Tusaga o Matagaluega mo le faatauina o le G.R.I. Ua o'o mai i le 31 Tesema 1976". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1976. The American districts were allocated \$6,500 but contributed \$6,787.57 towards the land price.

¹¹⁵ "Mataupu mai Matagaluega mo le Fono Tele i Malua 1979", 1. This had been approved in the 1978 General Assembly.

¹¹⁶ Oka Fauolo, "Tugafono O le Fono Tele 1978". Apia: Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, 1978, 1. 78FT4; "Mataupu mai Matagaluega mo le Fono Tele i Malua 1979", 1. The Apia district also objected to the planning for such a University; Elia Taase, *Ina Ia Tatou Iloa: O le Talafaasolopito o le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Amerika Samoa mai le amataga o le LMS e o'o i le 2005*. Apia, Samoa: Malua Printing Press, 2006, 152.

¹¹⁷ Elia Taase, *Ina Ia Tatou Iloa: O le Talafaasolopito o le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Amerika Samoa mai le amataga o le LMS e o'o i le 2005*, 152.

1976.¹¹⁸ During the elections the National government had campaigned strongly to restrict migrants from the Pacific, as many had overstayed their visas so as to reap social benefits and this was becoming a financial burden to the New Zealand government. With restricted migration the remittances subsequently declined. Despite the restrictions on migration, the University nevertheless opened in August 1978. With the likely increase in the financial burden upon the Church, relations between the Western Samoan districts and the American Samoan district went from bad to worse.¹¹⁹

Emotions in the American Samoa district eventually boiled over when the American Samoan Elder deacon, Fuimaono Asuemu, was not elected as Vice Chairman at the 1979 General Assembly.¹²⁰ Asuemu had been elected as Vice-Chairman of the General Assembly in 1971 and 1976 and Chairman in 1972 and 1977. His non-election was interpreted by the American Samoan district not only as a snub but as a Western Samoan tactic to silence complaints.¹²¹ Asuemu was the most powerful voice for the American Samoan case against the John Williams building. He was a respected politician/deacon and he would most likely have reminded the CCCS that since independence the American Samoan district had threatened to break away and form their own church. Certainly, the American Samoan district had the financial resources to set up their own church.

Events reached a climax in March 1980 when five deacons from American Samoa visited the headquarters of the Congregational Church where the annual Elders Committee meeting was being held and delivered the resolutions of the American Samoa District that they would develop independently from the CCCS. When the delegation left, the American Samoan elders present in the Elders Committee left and joined the deacons.¹²² An issue of the *Sulu* in that month simply reported that the American Samoan District was “going to develop the Church in Tutuila and Manua

¹¹⁸ Mike Field, “All is Calm at Least on the Surface”. *Pacific Islands Monthly* 50 June 1979, 64.

¹¹⁹ Amosa Malo, “A Study of the Church and Its Concept of Education and How Effective It Is in the Life and Attention of the People. With Special References to the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa”, 41. Compare with Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa. *O le Fono Tele a le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa 1978. Fale Iupeli Me 15–19*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1978, 3.78FT20; Salu Epati, “Unemployment. Looking at Unemployment in Western Samoa in the Samoan Way of Life (Faa-Samoa) and the Role of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa”. Bachelor of Divinity, Pacific Theological College, 1982, 32; Amosa Malo, “A Study of the Church and Its Concept of Education and How Effective It Is in the Life and Attention of the People. With Special References to the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa”, 42. The overseas lecturers were paid \$5,000 per semester.

¹²⁰ Elia Taase, *Ina Ia Tatou Iloa: O le Talafaasolopito o le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Amerika Samoa mai le amataga o le LMS e o'o i le 2005*, 153.

¹²¹ Elia Taase, *Ina Ia Tatou Iloa: O le Talafaasolopito o le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Amerika Samoa mai le amataga o le LMS e o'o i le 2005*, 146.

¹²² “Matagaluega Tutuila ma Manu'a”. *O le Sulu Samoa*, Mati 1980, 539.

(American Samoa)”.¹²³ The CCCS was at first reluctant to publish the reasons behind the split, fearing that that other districts would side with the American Samoans. Ostensibly, the reason for American Samoa District wanting to sever ties with Western Samoa was its opposition to the development of the University of Samoa and the plans to build the John Williams Building.¹²⁴ Both of these buildings, especially the John Williams Building, confirmed American Samoan suspicion that Western Samoa was being developed at its expense.¹²⁵ Of the 54 congregations in the American Samoa district only four American Samoan congregations remained allied with Western Samoa by the end of 1980.¹²⁶

Further Criticism of the University of Samoa

Criticisms of the university were not restricted to the American Samoa district. Outside of Samoa, as well, criticism of the Church’s involvement in tertiary education was just as vocal. For example, three gifted Malua students—Sarasopa Enari, Salu Epati, Amosa Malo—studying theology at the Pacific Theological College voiced their concerns. For Sarasopa Enari, the university did not meet the real need of the Church which, in his opinion, was the high failure rate of high school students in CCCS schools. According to Enari:

At the high school level there is a great number who drop out. If they cannot achieve the requirements of the high school or college level, they cannot manage the University level...The establishment of the University will only be for the sake of the few. The gap between the educated and the underprivileged will widen.¹²⁷

¹²³ “Matagaluega Tutuila ma Manu’a”, 539. These five deacons were Galea’i Pomele, Pele Tamote, Sisifo Pagofie, Misa, and Leiato Tuli.; Elia Taase *Ina Ia Tatou Iloa: O le Talafaasolopito o le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Amerika Samoa mai le amataga o le LMS e o’o i le 2005*, 152.

¹²⁴ “Mataupu mai Matagaluega mo le Fono Tele i Malua 1979”, 1. The Apia district also objected to the establishment of the university; Elia Taase, *Ina Ia Tatou Iloa: O le Talafaasolopito o le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Amerika Samoa mai le amataga i le LMS e o’o i le 2005*, 152; Interview Rev. Elder Lale Ieremia, 28 April 2009.

¹²⁵ Elia Taase, *Ina Ia Tatou Iloa: O le Talafaasolopito o le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Amerika Samoa mai le amataga i le LMS e o’o i le 2005*, 152.

¹²⁶ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa. *General Assembly Minutes 18–29*, 39–41; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 23–28 May*, 38. These were the congregations of Fagaitua, Sailele, Petesa and Auasi. See “Tufaatasiga Faiga Taulaga Ekalesia 1981”. Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1981; Elia Taase, *Ina Ia Tatou Iloa: O le Talafaasolopito o le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Amerika Samoa mai le amataga o le LMS e o’o i le 2005*, 159–160. This was known as the ‘New Jerusalem’ congregation. In 1987 the parish of New Jerusalem requested from the CCCS assistance to purchase one acre of land at a cost of \$48,000 (US); Congregational Christian Church of Samoa. *Minutes of the General Assembly 18–29 May*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1987, ix. See 87FT23.

¹²⁷ Sarasopa Enari, “A Christian Reflection on the Customary Land Tenure System and Modern Development in Samoa”. Bachelor of Divinity, Pacific Theological College, 1982, 71.

Enari's assessment had some validity because Church's schools were renowned for their low standards of English and because English was a compulsory requirement for entrance into the University this was a serious drawback.¹²⁸ Amosa Malo had another criticism of the Church's involvement in tertiary education. He argued that the Church should leave tertiary education to the government and let the Church concentrate on primary and secondary education instead.¹²⁹ All three students were particularly concerned about the heavy financial burden that would be placed on Church members.¹³⁰

The students' concerns in this regard were real. Although there was an air of confidence even arrogance in the early and mid-1970s, the bulging *taulaga* was not a magic pudding that would endlessly replace itself.¹³¹ In fact by the 1976 budget there was already cause for concern.¹³² In other words with the addition of the university 87 percent of the Church's budget was allocated to education.¹³³ This figure was clearly not sustainable, a fact perceived by Fauolo in a letter to Thorogood in June of that year:

The total amount required to cover our budget for this year will be no less than \$431,500. For this we mainly rely on the individual members annual contributions to the Church. These however have never, so far, amounted to anything near \$400,000. But still, we walk by faith. And we hope very much that our giving will miraculously increase this year.¹³⁴

¹²⁸ American Peace Corp, "Summary of Group 19 and Extendee Conference. The Hideaway Hotel, April 16, 1977". Apia: American Peace Corp, 1977; Aiono Sia Malietoa, "Lipoti o Aoga". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1984, 1. "Ripoti o le Iunivesite o Samoa", 3.

¹²⁹ Amosa Malo, "A Study of the Church and Its Concept of Education and How Effective It Is in the Life and Attention of the People. With Special References to the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa", 71-72.

¹³⁰ Sarasopa Enari, "A Christian Reflection on the Customary Land Tenure System and Modern Development in Samoa", 71; Amosa Malo, "A Study of the Church and Its Concept of Education and How Effective It Is in the Life and Attention of the People. With Special References to the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa", 43; "Ripoti o le Iunivesite o Samoa", 4. \$12,000 plus \$3,000 travelling allowance. Remarkably with only \$40,000 allocated for permanent lecturers in the first year, the church could only afford two full time lecturers; "Ripoti o le Iunivesite o Samoa", 5. Even when the budget was raised to \$74,000 in 1980 the University could only afford another two lecturers; "Iugafono o Fonotaga a le Komiti Aoga 8 Mati 1979". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1979. 79KA98. It was also more costly when professors began to take a few classes in the Church schools; Salu Epati, "Unemployment. Looking at Unemployment in Western Samoa in the Samoan Way of Life (Faa-Samoa) and the Role of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa", 33. According to Epati, 'I believe the most crucial fact is that the church is demanding more and depending solely upon the people's charity for its survival economically, but little is done to help people becoming more economically active themselves and be able to meet the church's demands and personal ambitions.'

¹³¹ "Ua fautuaina le \$900,000 (Iva selau afe tala Samoa i Sisifo) ma faamoemoe e tuu mai luma". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1977.

¹³² "Summary 1976 Tuufaatasiga".

¹³³ "Summary 1976 Tuufaatasiga".

¹³⁴ Oka Fauolo to Bernard Thorogood, 17 June 1976 (CCCSA).

The urgency of the situation caused the General Assembly to pressure all districts to aim for a target of \$900,000 in the 1977 *taulaga*, a target which was later revised down to a more realistic figure of \$735,000.¹³⁵ Even this reduced target was not reached.¹³⁶ Despite the great effort of the congregations, the shortfall of at least ninety thousand dollars was a sign that the Church was struggling to fund the university.¹³⁷ Despite the pressure on funds, for two years the Church was determined to establish the first university in Samoa.¹³⁸

The Communal Image of the Church

The 1970s represented a significant period in the history of the Church. It was a time when the Church began to emphasise the ‘communal’ approach to Church growth and development, which was encouraged by the CWM. Thorogood was adamant to avoid any ‘paternalistic tendency in the Council’.¹³⁹ When he wrote of the need to learn the ‘corporate faithfulness’ of the Pacific compared to the individual nature of western Protestant mission, he justified the communal nature of the Church in Samoa.

The western European religion has emphasised individual response to the Gospel. We have to learn corporate faithfulness from the people of Africa, Asia and the Pacific. One aspect of that learning will be to take the Church with seriousness as a community within a community, a national Church within a nation, a local Church within a village, called by God to be a light in the space God has given it.¹⁴⁰

This encouragement by the CWM for the Samoan Church to follow traditional ‘corporate faithfulness’ helped to reinforce the ‘village mentality’ of the CCCS. Individuality gave way to community and the dynamics of Samoan village life

¹³⁵ Saena Tuapa'i, "Tugafono Komiti o Tupe 15 Me 1977". Apia: Komiti Tupe 1977, 33. See 77KT47; "Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa Fono Tele 15 Me 1977". Apia: Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, 1977. 5,77FT37; Tufuga Pule, "Tuufatasiga Faiga Taulaga 1984". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1984. Such a total was only achieved seven years later in 1984. In 1984 the *taulaga* reached \$1,179,274 million compared to \$880,759 in 1983; "Fuafuaga faataitai o le faigataulaga mo Ekalesia i le tausaga e 1977". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1977. This paper lists the contribution each district is expected to donate to reach the required \$900,000.

¹³⁶ Tufuga Pule, "Tuufaatasiga Faiga-taulaga mo le Ekalesia Samoa i le tausaga na faaiuina aso 31 Tesema 1977 ma nisi faatoa oo mai e oo i le Aso 13 Me 1978". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1978. In 1977 the Church *taulaga* reached \$669,921.43

¹³⁷ "Fuafuaga Faataitai o le Faitaulaga mo Ekalesia i le tausaga e 1977"; Mike Field, "All Is Calm at Least on the Surface", 64.

¹³⁸ Oka Fauolo to Taitaifono Komiti Tupe, 18 Me 1979 (CCCSA). In 1979 to further highlight the financial demands of the schools, all seven schools requested funds for classroom renovations and new classroom blocks totalling \$250,000.

¹³⁹ Bernard Thorogood, "After One Year Report and Reflections by Bernard Thorogood". London: Council for World Mission, 1978, 12.

¹⁴⁰ Bernard Thorogood, "After One Year Report and Reflections by Bernard Thorogood", 5.

continued to infiltrate the Church policies. In an era which acknowledged and even approved the ‘younger churches’ form of Christianity, the CCCS was drawn ever more closely to the village model. The individual voices against the setting up of the University of Samoa and the John Williams Building were drowned out by those clamouring for communal symbols of prestige which these building represented. Both buildings were examples of what Alan Tippet calls the ‘organic growth’ of the Church in the areas of education and administration.¹⁴¹ Just as buildings gave prestige to a village, the two buildings, in similar fashion, reflected the growth, development and the maturity of the CCCS.

It is interesting to compare Thorogood’s statement above with the aspirations of early LMS missionaries like James Cote who emphasised one’s individual response to God:

...included in the colonial missionary agenda was the goal of diminishing the Samoan concern for collective welfare, and replacing it with Western individualism. In this way, we can see how the (largely Protestant) missionaries functioned as the “shocktroops” for the onslaught of Western economic practices based on the profit motive, such as wage labor, “middle class individualism” Samoans were told that initiative and individual striving were what pleased God, and they were told that their primary concern for the collective welfare was misguided, although it was acceptable as a subsidiary social concern.¹⁴²

With the active encouragement of the CWM there was a marked change in the Church from the 1960s to the 1970s. One of Samoa’s longest serving missionaries, Bruce Deverell, commented on this change in the priorities of the Samoan Church on the occasion of his retirement in 1972.¹⁴³ He expressed his concern that the General Assembly was increasingly interested in issues such as buildings and finance. Deverell was concerned that ‘the belief in money and improper use of money’ dominated the General Assembly discussions.¹⁴⁴ Money had become so much of a focal point of the General Assembly’s deliberations. He was alarmed that money had become such an important issue in enhancing the image of the Church. The Church’s concerns were most focussed on new buildings and less on new programmes to educate the people. Long discussions on finance may have brought some prestige to the Church but they

¹⁴¹ Alan Tippet, *The Deep Sea Canoe. The Story of Third World Missionaries in the South Pacific*. South Pasadena, California: William Carey Library, 1977, 63–64.

¹⁴² James Cote, “A Social History of Youth in Samoa. Religion, Capitalism, and Cultural Disenfranchisement”. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 38. no.3–4 (1997): 223.

¹⁴³ Bruce Deverell, “Maimoaga i le Ekalesia ma le Atunu’u. Maimoaga i le Fono Tele”. *O le Sulu Samoa*, Iuni 1972, 106.

¹⁴⁴ Bruce Deverell, “Maimoaga i le Ekalesia ma le Atunu’u. Maimoaga i le Fono Tele”, 106.

were in stark contrast to the concerns of the individual seeking the Kingdom of God.¹⁴⁵ Deverell feared that the General Assemblies were being dominated by the demands of the institution.

The situation at Papauta illustrated this communal or village mentality. In an effort to raise the academic standards, the CCCS, sought out a qualified teacher to be vice principal of Papauta in 1974. The request did not surprise the CCWM who six years earlier had recommended to the Samoan Church that Papauta merge with Leulumoega Fou. Ernest Edwards, the Pacific Committee secretary of the Congregational Council of World Mission, proposed that the two schools be combined in order to reduce administrative costs and to raise the academic standard of the school.¹⁴⁶ The merger was then rejected by the Congregational Church, a decision which irritated the CCWM. Hence, when the request came to the CCWM for a person to replace Malietoa as principal of Papauta, it vindicated its earlier recommendations.¹⁴⁷

Fauolo's attempt to defend the Church's earlier decision to maintain Papauta as a separate institution failed to convince the CCWM. According to Fauolo Papauta should be kept as a separate school because it was ideally located at the centre of a fast-growing region.¹⁴⁸ However, he ignored the fact that the school only enrolled girls, thereby limiting enrolments. As a result there were just over a hundred students on the school roll compared to the 700 at the co-educational Maluafof Junior High only 200 metres away. Fauolo did not want to admit that the CCWM was right and the Church had missed an opportunity to raise the standard of Papauta.

It was difficult for the CCWM to attract applicants to Papauta where the teaching was in the vernacular, the Government's curriculum not followed, and academic standards generally poor.¹⁴⁹ Edwards was not optimistic about finding a suitable candidate:

After having discussed this with our Personnel Secretary it seems it will not be at all easy to find the kind of person you have in mind and that in asking anyone to undertake such service we would be involving them in considerable sacrifice.

¹⁴⁵ Bruce Deverell, "Maimoaga i le Ekalesia ma le Atunu'u. Maimoaga i le Fono Tele", 106.

¹⁴⁶ Ernest Edwards to Etene Saaga, 5 January 1968, 2 (CCCSA).

¹⁴⁷ Ernest Edwards to Oka Fauolo, 19 April 1974 (CCCSA). Edwards suggest that being the case it was better for a Samoan principal to continue the 'tradition' or legacy that Salamasina has left.

¹⁴⁸ Oka Fauolo to Ernest Edwards, 9 April 1974 (CCCSA); Magele Crawley ed., *Report of the Census of Population and Housing 1981*. Apia: Department of Statistics, 1983, 6. From 1961 to 1971 the population of Western Samoa had increased by thirty thousand from 114,427 to 146,627.

¹⁴⁹ Ernest Edwards to Oka Fauolo, 19 April 1974 (CCCSA).

They would find, serious difficulty in finding a post on return to the United Kingdom after serving in a school where standards are low, where teaching is in the vernacular and where the school is not recognised by Government. I am not saying it is impossible but it would not be easy and we would be asking a lot.¹⁵⁰

It was fortunate for the CCCS that Thorogood was also responsible for the CCWM's Pacific work. He eventually managed to obtain the services of a very experienced 57-year old British teacher who had taught in Australia from 1954 to 1973 before she returned to England.¹⁵¹ Thorogood was a little concerned that her age may pose a problem, but Fauolo, probably out of desperation, replied immediately, 'This is really good news to us. And I have no hesitation in suggesting to you that you go ahead and make the appointment'.¹⁵²

Stevenson arrived in Samoa on the 21 July 1975.¹⁵³ She did not stay long, however, because she contracted a serious stomach ailment almost immediately on her arrival.¹⁵⁴ Equally troubling was the resistance she experienced to any reform within the school. Just as Marjorie King had experienced eight years earlier, Stevenson found an intolerable wastage of Church funds. The nature of the abuse was so serious that Stevenson risked her job in order to expose it. She wrote to Thorogood saying:

I am exposing the corruption to such an extent that Sala (Salamasina Malietoa) will be forced to ask for my dismissal or face utter disgrace herself...¹⁵⁵

Stevenson's concerns with the school were also echoed by the American Peace Corp assessment of Papauta a year later. Its assessment found that at Papauta there was:

lack of teaching material—textbooks, workbooks, etc. for students. Library and reference books are also short and not up-to-date. Instruction is also handicapped by the lack of curriculum and syllabus guides...

Another difficulty ... is the need to teach at a generally lower level of academic expectation here, since the school sets up no examination or certificate barriers to admission of students. The schools philosophy of promoting the Samoan way

¹⁵⁰ Ernest Edwards to Oka Fauolo, 19 April 1974 (CCCSA). Bernard Thorogood, ed., *Gales of Change. Responding to a Shifting Missionary Context. The Story of the London Missionary Society 1945–1977*. Geneva: WCC, 1994, 322. Rev Ernest J Edwards was Overseas Secretary for Pacific, Caribbean and Africa of the CCWM from 1968 to 1975; Ernest Edwards to CWM members, 17 March 1975 (CCCSA).

¹⁵¹ Bernard Thorogood to Oka Fauolo, 5 June 1975 (CCCSA).

¹⁵² Oka Fauolo to Bernard Thorogood, 28 April 1975 (CCCSA); Bernard Thorogood to Oka Fauolo, 16 April 1975 (CCCSA).

¹⁵³ Bernard Thorogood to Oka Fauolo, 10 July 1975 (CCCSA).

¹⁵⁴ Bernard Thorogood to Oka Fauolo, 16 June 1976 (CCCSA).

¹⁵⁵ Bernard Thorogood to Oka Fauolo, 15 December 1975 (CCCSA).

of life, which goes far beyond the merely academic (in areas such as home-making, gardening, handicrafts, health, religion, Samoan history and culture, etc). This stress on things Samoan naturally leads to the preponderant use of the Samoan language by native teachers, to the detriment of learning English. English is pretty much one subject (with maths) in the curriculum.¹⁵⁶

Stevenson's observations highlighted the poor academic standards of Papauta. The efforts of the CWM, and especially Thorogood's struggle to secure a teacher for Papauta were wasted.¹⁵⁷ Stevenson left Samoa for London on the 4 March 1976. She lasted less than nine months on the job. It was a lost opportunity for Papauta and the Church.¹⁵⁸

Papauta was an example of an institution that was run like a village. It was led by Salamasina Malietoa with students learning traditional handicrafts and cooking!¹⁵⁹ As the sister of the Head of State and the paramount chief, students and even teachers were expected to comply with her decisions. Malietoa was also given the honorific title of 'Princess' thereby confirming her link to chiefly status. Her support from the *Mafutaga Tina* also mirrors the *auluma* in the village model. The job of the *auluma* or the village fellowship of women was to enforce the chiefly orders in the day to day maintenance of the village. Similarly, the *Mafutaga Tina* supported Papauta financially. Since many within the *Mafutaga Tina* were former pupils, they were fiercely protective and proud of the way the school was run. Whatever academic improvements were attempted, if it challenged the status quo or the authority of Malietoa, it was immediately rejected. As a result Papauta did not reach the academic standard of Leulumoega Fou College and most other secondary schools in Samoa.

Declining Membership

By the end of the second decade the percentage of Congregationalists in Western Samoa had dropped considerably. In 1971 the CCCS made up 51 percent of the population; in the 1981 census it had dropped to 47 percent.¹⁶⁰ The four percent decline can partly be attributed to increasing migration to New Zealand, which according to Danny Ioka, led

¹⁵⁶ American Peace Corp, "Summary of Group 19 and Extender Conference. The Hideaway Hotel, April 16, 1977".

¹⁵⁷ Bernard Thorogood to Oka Fauolo, 15 December 1975 (CCCSA).

¹⁵⁸ Bernard Thorogood to Oka Fauolo, 16 June 1976 (CCCSA).

¹⁵⁹ Ernest Edwards to Oka Fauolo, 19 April 1974 (CCCSA).

¹⁶⁰ Magele Crawley, ed. *Report of the Census of Population and Housing 1981*, 35.

to the rapid growth of the CCCS Churches there.¹⁶¹ But there were other reasons for the decline and there is evidence that the financial demands made on the CCCS members forced some to leave.¹⁶²

Of particular concern for the CCCS was the threat posed by Mormonism. Whereas the communal or village model was beginning to dominate CCCS development in the 1970s, Mormonism was totally against any form of village dynamics that interfered with their 'faith'. As early as 1955 the president of the Latter Day Saints told an assembly of Mormon chiefs in Samoa, "Be sure to honour your native titles but do not put them before the Holy Priesthood of God."¹⁶³ In 1972 a similar conflict between Samoan culture and Mormon faith occurred in Hawaii. The high chief, Lilomaiaava Galea'i, who was residing on the island of Oahu was told by Wayne Allison, the state president of the Mormon Church on Oahu, to stop the Samoan custom of giving and trading gifts at funerals and weddings.¹⁶⁴ Allison wrote to Galea'i:

I urge you to stop promoting such activities and to use your energies and talents more constructively in being a good member of the Church.¹⁶⁵

The CCCS had adopted the village model and during occasions such as weddings or funerals it was customary for pastors to receive the best. It was a social obligation expected of members of the CCCS and a financial burden to families. As a result of the Mormon refusal to incorporate village dynamics such trading of gifts was discouraged. As a result, financially struggling families were attracted to Mormonism and even received assistance from them. Consequently, the number of Mormon adherents increased.¹⁶⁶ By 1976 Mormonism was becoming a threat to the CCCS, partly because of their growth, and partly because of the material and financial support they received from the United States and their 'high standard of personal integrity'.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶¹ Danny Ioka, "Origin and Beginning of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa in Aotearoa New Zealand". PhD, University of Otago, 1995, 407–08.

¹⁶² Tofilau Alesana, ed., "Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Lands Development Committee". Apia: Development Committee, 1982.

¹⁶³ John Garrett, *Where Nets Were Cast. Christianity in Oceania since World War II*, 252

¹⁶⁴ "Mormons' Ban Upsets Samoans". *Pacific Islands Monthly* 44 August 1972, 27.

¹⁶⁵ "Mormons' Ban Upsets Samoans", 27.

¹⁶⁶ Magele Crawley, ed., *Report of the Census of Population and Housing 1981*, 35. The Mormons had increased from 8 to 9 per cent or 11,400 to 13,000.

¹⁶⁷ Richard Hambly, "Contrasting Ministeries". *O le Sulu Samoa*, Fepuari 1976, 30.

The Fellowship of the Christian Churches in Samoa or the *Mafutaga Ekalesia Kerisiano i Samoa* (MEKS) were also concerned. In 1978 Cardinal Pio, who had served as chairman of the Fellowship, noted that since the first Fellowship of Churches meeting in 1967 there had been an increase in new denominations that had drawn away many people from the mainline churches.¹⁶⁸ Of particular concern was the profusion of missionaries from such denominations as the Baha'i and Jehovah's Witnesses.¹⁶⁹ In order to counter missionary numbers, the Fellowship requested the government for a law to limit the number of missionaries in Samoa. They suggested that there should be one missionary for every one hundred members of these new religious orders.¹⁷⁰ More importantly they urged the mainline churches to look carefully into their own life and 'revive the state of their faith and beliefs'.¹⁷¹

Ecumenism

To a limited extent ecumenism in Samoa countered the competitive spirit that pervades Samoan society and religion. Through its involvement in the Fellowship of Christian Churches in Samoa or the *Mafutaga Ekalesia Kerisiano i Samoa* (MEKS), the CCCS was able to initiate programmes that encouraged greater interdenominational cooperation. The most successful of these programmes was the very popular Christian education programme involving Bible studies, Samoan language and culture studies and Christian ethics.¹⁷²

The MEKS's most ambitious programme was the proposal for a Joint Theological College for the three main denominations in Samoa.¹⁷³ From the beginning, however, there were disagreements between the Catholics and CCCS over the structure of the college. The Catholics wanted 'to have the three Colleges remain where they are, but to have them furnish teachers for an ecumenical Institute in Apia'.¹⁷⁴ Malua Theological College's Principal, Masalosalo Sopoaga, supported the rather expensive option of a

¹⁶⁸ "Fono Tele Faale-tausaga 1978. Apia 13 Aperila 1978". Apia: Mafutaga o Ekalesia Kerisiano i Samoa, 1978, 1.78MEKS1.

¹⁶⁹ "Fono Tele Faale-tausaga 1978. Apia 13 Aperila 1978", 2.78MEKS5.

¹⁷⁰ "Fono Tele Faale-tausaga 1978. Apia 13 Aperila 1978", 2.78MEKS5.

¹⁷¹ "Fono Tele Faale-tausaga 1978. Apia, 13 Aperila 1978", 1. 78MEKS1.

¹⁷² "Mafutaga O Ekalesia Kerisiano i Samoa Nai Tala o Fonotaga. Fonotaga III Lalovaea 30 Setema 1971. Fonotaga IV Lalaovaea 10 Fepuari 1972", 1.

¹⁷³ Mila Sapolu to Mataafa Fiaame, 20 May 1975 (CCCSA); Lawrence Bender to Oka Fauolo, 11 October 1976 (CCCSA).

¹⁷⁴ Lawrence Bender to Oka Fauolo, 11 October 1976 (CCCSA).

new site. He believed that bringing all three colleges onto one area would improve interdenominational dialogue and cooperation.¹⁷⁵

The Methodists, for their part, supported Malua and initially agreed that a combined theological college should be built at Malua because the grounds and facilities were in good condition having been recently renovated.¹⁷⁶ However, it did not take long for the Methodists to change their minds and to search out another site for school.¹⁷⁷ When a new site was found by the Methodists the question of financing became a problem. Neither Malua nor the Methodists had the funds to finance such a project by themselves. Consequently, the prospects of a joint theological college faded.¹⁷⁸ Oka Fauolo, long-time chairman and former secretary of the Fellowship of Churches, pointed to the competitive nature between the Methodists and CCCS.¹⁷⁹

It is very difficult. It is not difficult theologically but it is difficult personally.... It is not easy for Methodists to set up a theological college in Malua. Just as it is not easy for the Congregationalists to set up a theological college in Piula (Methodist Theological College).¹⁸⁰

By 1979 it was becoming most unlikely that the Joint Theological College would become a reality.¹⁸¹ The CCCS was already heavily committed to the university and the commencement of the John Williams Building.¹⁸² According to Fauolo interdenominational competition was the main reason that there was no joint theological school between the Methodists and Congregationalists.¹⁸³

Even though there was no joint theological college, there was some interdenominational fellowships between the three theological schools. The Protestant denominations generally led the way. For many years afterwards, the Methodist Theological College

¹⁷⁵ Masalosalo Sopoaga to President of Fellowship of Christian Churches in Samoa, 12 April 1977 (CCCSA).

¹⁷⁶ Interview with Oka Fauolo 30 April 2009.

¹⁷⁷ Interview with Oka Fauolo 30 April 2009.

¹⁷⁸ Interview with Oka Fauolo 30 April 2009.

¹⁷⁹ "Komiti a Sui o Lotu i Samoa Apia 31 Me 1976". Apia: Mafutaga o Ekalesia Kerisiano i Samoa, 1976,1.

¹⁸⁰ Interview with Oka Fauolo 30 April 2009.

¹⁸¹ "Iugafono o le Fono Tele a le Mafutaga 1979. Apia 27/4/79". Apia: Mafutaga o Ekalesia Kerisiano i Samoa, 1979, 2. 79MEKS8.

¹⁸² "Iugafono o le Fono Tele 1978". Apia: EFKS, 1978,3. FT7820, FT7821.

¹⁸³ Interview with Oka Fauolo 30 April 2009.

and Malua Theological College established a pattern of hosting the other in alternative years.¹⁸⁴

Conclusion

As the second decade drew to a close, the CCCS was faced with the ‘loss’ of the American Samoa district. It was ironic that the nation in which the ecumenical movement had its beginning in the South Pacific was unable to heal the rift with American Samoa. However, from a cultural point of view, the American Samoan district reaction was not surprising. The American Samoan district behaved like a self-sustaining and independent Samoan village. It had good cause to the work of the CCCS, yet there had been very little investment in the district. The neglect of a proposed American Samoan high school in favour of developing Western Samoan schools soured relations. Its prompt payment of its financial obligations while other districts were slow or did not pay at all, created resentment; and the establishment of the University of Samoa and building the John Williams Building was sufficient in its eyes that investment was clearly weighted on the Western Samoa side.

The creation of the University of Samoa was a major issue in the second decade after independence. When it was opened in 1978 there was much criticism that the Church had rushed into creating a tertiary institution without first completing the long-needed improvements to its secondary schools. While it is true that there is considerable evidence that the university’s main aim was to improve the overall standard of education in its schools, what is puzzling is that the government also set up a secondary teachers college in the same year. It would appear that there was an element of pride in the CCCS’s desire to continue with the project, seemingly to show to other denominations in Samoa and, even the government, that it had established the first tertiary institution in the country.

What is even more perplexing was the approval of the John Williams Building so soon after the approval of the University of Samoa. Did the Church think it could afford these two institutions? The failure of the 1977 *taulaga* to reach the expected \$900,000 showed that the Church could not fund one let alone two institutions. With the departure of the financially rich American Samoa district in 1980, it was clear that at least one of these two institutions would have to close.

¹⁸⁴ Interview with Oka Fauolo 30 April 2009

The Church at the beginning of the 1970s was led into a false sense of financial security. Certainly the impact of remittances from New Zealand boosted confidence and the church coffers. The considerable remittances from New Zealand boosted the *taulaga* of all the Western Samoan districts with districts such as Fa'asaleleaga and Apia matching the American Samoa *taulaga*. However, the Church found itself exposed when the newly-elected National Party of New Zealand took steps in 1975 to restrict migration from the Pacific and in particular from Samoa. By this time the plans for the university had been proposed and already implemented. The subsequent construction of the John Williams Building supports the view that the Church had not anticipated that remittances might decline and the *taulaga* fall accordingly.

Another reason for the Church's false sense of security was its involvement with the Council of World Mission. While on the one hand the Church's involvement in the CWM was an acknowledgment of its maturity and significance on the world stage, on the other hand there was the constant danger of overreaching itself. The university and the John Williams Building had become symbols to illustrate the new found status of the CCCS on the world stage.

The second decade of independence which had begun with so much hope now faced an uncertain future. The Church, now faced the prospect of unfulfilled potential. The University and John Williams Building received the lion's share of the *taulaga*.

Even more disturbing was the decline in Church membership and the disturbing realisation that this decline is related to the demands imposed by the *taulaga*. As discussed earlier, an essential part of village dynamics is the obligation of villagers to contribute financially to enhancing the image of the village. Both the university and the John Williams Building enhanced the image of the CCCS, but at what cost? The people would ultimately have to contribute more through the *taulaga* to pay for these projects. Secure in the knowledge that remittances from New Zealand had strengthened the Western Samoan *taulaga*, the CCCS turned a deaf ear to the pleas from the American Samoan district for restraint with such expensive building projects. When the American Samoan district left the CCCS, it set a precedent for the Church for what happens when heavy financial demands are placed upon its members. Not only did a whole district

leave, people everywhere left. It is hardly surprising that there were fewer people attending the CCCS at the end of the 1970s than there were at the beginning.

It was also a decade when new religious movements, such as Mormonism, became an attractive alternative and a threat to the CCCS. The Mormons, in particular, vehemently opposed any form of village dynamics interfering with their faith. They believed that village culture impeded the people's ability to become good members of the 'church'.¹⁸⁵ One consequence of this attitude to culture was that they did not make the same financial demands on the people as the CCCS did, and by the end of the 1970s their numbers were rapidly growing.

By the end of the 1970s the village model had been firmly embraced by the Church. It was a move that was encouraged by the CWM. Unfortunately, it resulted in ambitious plans that contributed to the split with the American Samoan district and to a marked decline in numbers.

¹⁸⁵ "Mormons' Ban Upsets Samoans". *Pacific Islands Monthly* 44 August 1972, 27.

Chapter Five

Crises in the Church

1981–1992

The third decade of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa was a time beset with crises, three of which placed a heavy financial burden on the Church. First there was the pressing issue of the funding of the six-storey John Williams Building. Secondly, the Church finally severed ties with American Samoa resulting in the loss of land, property and finances that were registered under the CCCS. Next came the task of funding the Church's own university, the University of Samoa. The responsibility for funding these institutions adversely affected the development of the CCCS schools. Towards the end of the period under discussion, the Church witnessed an unprecedented level of finance which enabled the Church to survive two successive hurricanes but it also created a crisis in church governance.

Funding the John Williams Building

The dominant issue of the third decade was the enormous financial burden that the construction of the John Williams Building placed on the Church.¹ The foundation stone was laid on 16 January 1980 but by the time of the General Assembly in August only half the building had been completed.² Two years later it was opened on 24 August 1982 at a cost of \$3.7 million, almost half of which came from a loan from the National Provident Fund and \$280,000 from the National Bank of New Zealand.³ This left \$864,000 to be raised by the Church. However, three years later the cost jumped to

¹ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 18–29 August* Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1980, 24; See Report of Committee of Major Works of the Church, John Williams Building no. 8; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 14–25 May 1984*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1984, 4; It was at the General Purpose meeting of 14 July 1978 that this committee was set up. The chairman of this committee was the Elder deacon Tofilau Alesana who became the Prime Minister of Western Samoa in 1983. He proposed to this Committee that the project required a loan of \$20 million tala; Galuefa Aseta, "Tala O Le Fono Tele Faafuase'i". *O Le Sulu Samoa*, Ianuari 1980, 489. An emergency General Purpose Committee meeting on the 16 January 1980 decided that the name of the new building would be John Williams; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 14–25 May 1984*, 36. 84FT56; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 18–29 August*, 25.

² Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 18–29 August*, 26.

³ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 23–28 May*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1982, 3. 82FT3. See also 18. 82FTFIV (1); "Tala O Le Tupe Mo Le Fausiaina O Le Ioane Viliamu E Oo Mai I Le Aso 7 Aukuso 1981". Apia: Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, 1981, 1. The New Zealand loan was \$176,000 (NZ). All currency will be in Western Samoan tala unless specified; Barry Scopes, "General Secretary's Report on Executive Committee". Trefeca: Council for World Mission, 1982. See 67.4c

around \$4.8 million.⁴ Part of the increase was attributed to the interest (\$232,900) on the loans, insurance consultancy fees (\$200,000), new offices on the fifth level (\$154,000), and other miscellaneous expenses.⁵ With these extra costs, it was imperative for the Church to repay the loan as soon as possible. Difficulties over financing the debt on the John Williams Building became a pressing issue throughout the 1980s.⁶ The CWM missionary, the Rev. Yvette Rabemila, who was responsible for all CWM teachers posted overseas, witnessed the stress the John Williams Building placed on the Church when she visited Samoa in June 1982. Her report on the effects of fund-raising by a minister in the Fagaloa sub-district was typical:

The six storey building of CCCS—it is an achievement of CCCS, but it seems to give a real headache to those responsible for making possible its opening in August. In the village I went to, the minister told me how difficult the congregations are now finding the fund raising.⁷

With the construction of the six-storey John Williams Building, the Church was faced with the daunting prospect of financing it.⁸ The General Secretary, Galuefa Aseta, had the unenviable task of finding the money for it during his term of office. Although this task was strictly the responsibility of the Committee for Major Works, Aseta nevertheless explored every possible avenue for overseas aid. His request for a loan of \$500,000 was described as a ‘forbidding total’ by the United Church Board for World Ministries.⁹ Even the Council for World Mission (CWM), a long-time supporter of the Samoan Church, could only offer £10,000 in 1980 which was considered by the CWM to be a very large amount at the time.¹⁰ The CWM had warned the Samoan Church as early as 1976 that they were unable to financially support major projects.¹¹ Even after Aseta’s dogged persistence in obtaining donations from the Hong Kong Council of the

⁴ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 1985*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1985, 47. The cost of the John Williams building was rose from \$4,600,967 (4.6 million) in the 1984 General Assembly report to \$4,882,801 (4.8 million) in the 1985 General Assembly. In 1982 the estimated cost was \$3.7 million (WS); Council of World Mission. “Church or Agency Submitting Request 30 September 1982”. London: Council for World Mission, 1982.

⁵ “Komiti O Galuega Tetele A Le Ekalesia: Fono Aso 18 Ianuari 1983”. Apia: Komiti O Galuega Tetele A Le Ekalesia, 1983, 2. According to the minutes the costs to furnish the fifth level in which the CCCS offices were based was \$153,447.50; Tufuga Pule, “Lipoti O Le Fogafaleono – Ioane Viliamu, E Ui Atu I Le Komiti Feau Eseeese, 21 Me 1984”. Apia: Komiti Feau Eseeese, 1984, 2.

⁶ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 18–29 August*, 25.

⁷ Yvette Rabemila, “A Visit to the Pacific May–June 1982”. London: Council for World Mission, 1982, 9.

⁸ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 18–29 August*, 25.

⁹ Paul R Gregory to Galuefa Aseta, 22 August 1979 (CCCSA). The request was in United States currency.

¹⁰ Bernard Thorogood to Galuefa Aseta, 7 December 1979 (CCCSA).

¹¹ Bernard Thorogood to Oka Fauolo, 28 May 1976 (CCCSA).

Church of Christ in China of £13,636 and an additional £20,000 from the CWM in 1982, it was clear that it was not going to be enough.

Throughout this time, members of the Church were continually reminded, even badgered about the parlous state of the finances. In 1981 the Church doubled the publication of the monthly Church magazine *O Le Sulu* so that they were able to produce lists showing the total amounts for each village and the amounts each parishioner contributed.¹² It was a clever strategy which utilised the competitive nature between villages and sub-districts, usually leading to increased donations listed in subsequent publications.

Faced with a financial crisis the Church was forced to resort to two controversial ways of repaying the loan. One method was to sell off Church lands in two areas, Tuese and Tiapapata, which had an estimated value of approximately \$4.6 million.¹³ In May 1981 land sales had produced \$73,000 which increased to \$596,492 three years later.¹⁴ By April 1985, a further 17 quarter acre blocks at Tuese each costing \$4,000 and 66 one acre lots of land at Tiapapata at \$12,000 each—raising a total of \$603,789.¹⁵

The second and more conventional approach was to invite special appeals from congregational members and the various committees. In 1980 the Church had requested that all congregations in Samoa each raise \$2000. A year later it raised \$288,644 which prompted the 1982 General Assembly to decide to continue with these donations each year until the loan for the building was paid off.¹⁶ By 1984 the \$2000 donations from

¹² “Taulaga mo le Ioane Viliamu (Fogafale Ono) E Tusa Ai Ma Tusaga Ta'i \$2000 Aulotu I Vaiala, Pulega Vaimauga, Matagaluega Apia”. *O Le Sulu Samoa*, 30 Aperila–15 Me 1981, 11–15; “Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano Samoa – Apia. E Tusa Ai Ma Le Iuga Fono \$2,000 a Le Faifeau Tausi Nu'u Mo Le Ioane Viliamu, Ma O Lona Faatinoia E Faapea”. *O Le Sulu Samoa*, 30 Me–15 Iuni 1981, 10–11. In the previous year's Assembly the Church requested that each congregation contribute \$2,000 for the John Williams building; “Tusaga Aufaigaluega Mo Le Ioane Viliamu Matagaluega Apia”. *O Le Sulu Samoa*, Mati 1983, 22–23.

¹³ Tofilau Eti Alesana ed., “Preliminary Programme for Lands Development November 1982”. Apia: Development Committee, 1982, 12.

¹⁴ “Fale O Ioane Viliamu, 25/5/1981”. Apia: Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano Samoa, 1981, 183; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 1985*, 47.

¹⁵ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 1985*, 46. \$744,863.11 was collected. This amount was reduced by \$174,454.58 being costs in construction of roads, water pipes, and land surveying which left a net profit of \$570,403.53. The amount still waiting to be received by the church was \$139,736.89. Later the price rose from \$16,000 – \$20,000 per acre. The increase of prices incorporated additional interest and late payment fees; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 1985*, 45. At Tuese \$40,380 was received leaving \$27,620 left to pay. Of the \$40,380 received, \$7,000 was used for road construction and land surveying.

¹⁶ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 23–28 May*, 7. 82FT8.

each congregation had accumulated to \$539,132.¹⁷ A special *taulaga* was launched in April and November 1982 for the John Williams Building which raised \$534,608 in 1984 and \$668,446 the following year.¹⁸ Even a Church raffle scheme, a common fundraising method amongst congregations, was set up in 1984 and contributed \$48,000 to the building project.¹⁹ The Committee for Major Works of the Church also urged the various committees and sub-committees to contribute generously for the project.²⁰ Sub-committees such as the Elder's *Mafutaga Tina* and the Donations for the Poor sub-committee contributed \$166,341 in 1984.²¹ Likewise the *Mafutaga Tina* contributed \$61,759 and donated a further \$100,000 in 1985.²²

These figures represented an astonishing response on the part of the Church. Furthermore, the opening of the John Williams Building in August 1982 became an incentive for congregations to contribute even more and for the Church to seek additional overseas aid. People could see the results of their donations. By the end of 1984 all the CCCS congregations and various sub-committees managed to raise \$3.1 million which reduced the loan to \$1.7 million.²³ By the beginning of January 1986 the

¹⁷ "Tusaga Tai \$2000 Aufaigaluega Mo Le Fale O Ioane Viliamu. Aukuso 4 1981". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1981; Tofilau Eti Alesana to Manager of NPF, 14 January 1981(CCCSA). Tofilau imposed \$2,000 from all parishes to guarantee a loan from the National Provident Fund in Samoa; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 18–29 August*, 25. In resolution 19 the General Assembly wished to thank those parish ministers who have contributed the required \$2,000 that was required by the 1980 General Assembly for the John Williams building; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 25–29 May*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1981, 5–7. 81FT11. 81FT19; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 14–25 May*, 35.

¹⁸ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 25–29 May*, 5. 81FT11. This resolution endorsed two annual *taulaga*'s due in the last week of April and November for the John Williams Building which commenced in November 1982 until the loan for the John Williams Building was paid off; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 23–28 May*, 7. 82FT8; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 1985*, 36–37.

¹⁹ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 18–29 August*, 25; Galuefa Aseta, "Tala O Le Fono Tele Faafuase'i", 489–90; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 14–25 May*, 35; Galuefa Aseta to Elders & District Secretaries, 4 July 1980 (CCCSA).

²⁰ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 25–29 May*, 3. 81FT 3. In the 1981 General Assembly the Missionary Committee donated \$150,000 to the John Williams building. This donation was in addition to the annual contributions of \$6000 (US) to the CWM for 1981; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 18–29 August*, 5. 80FT7.

²¹ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 14–25 May*, 35.

²² Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 18–29 August*, 5. 80FT7; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 14–25 May*, 36; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 1985*, 15. 85FT62.

²³ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 1985*, 47. This was made up of sub-committee and congregational donations \$2,536,884 and land sales (\$596,492). The total was \$3,133,376. In the 1984 General Assembly report the church was able to raise \$2,599,626.06, from parish and committee donations. In addition the 1984 the April and November donations contributed \$446,183.41 which left \$2,153,442.65 to be paid off; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 14–25 May*, 35.

loan was further reduced to \$1.2 million.²⁴ In the same year the combined annual special appeal (\$753,069) and the *Mafutaga Tina* (\$150,000) donations further reduced the loan to \$316,398.²⁵ With the repayment of the loan now in sight the Church redoubled its efforts.²⁶ By the end of the 1987 General Assembly the loan was paid off and the Church was left with a substantial \$859,703 surplus!²⁷

This remarkable fundraising effort stems from the Samoan competitive spirit that exists between Samoan villages and families. During Church services the donations by church members are read out at the end of the sermon. According to Thornton et al:

Excessive giving, typically through a tithe, can also elevate the status of a household, their *aiga* [family] and their *matai* [chief]... For many households, including the very poor, it is a 'source of pride to give more...[believing that] God will give more' ... A member's pride is often satiated during a church service, when a pastor will announce the collections, or *folafola*. In the mainline churches, the practice of *folafola* involves revealing the name of the giver of the donation...²⁸

It is considered embarrassing for the Church if it cannot pay its debt, especially on such an impressive structure as the John Williams Building. Even during the construction of the John Williams Building the Elder Rev. Faulalo Sagapolutele of the Apia congregation wrote of his pride in the achievements of the Church:

...we now have everything in our Church. We have a Theological College, a school system that reaches university level, land in Upolu, Savaii and Tutuila (American Samoa). We have a printing press, two book stores, one in Tutuila (American Samoa), one in Upolu and soon the six-storey John Williams.²⁹

²⁴ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 18–29 May*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1987, xxii. The debt by this time was \$1,219,467.

²⁵ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 18–29 May*, xxii. \$753,069 was raised by April donations. In addition to the 150,000 from the Mother's Fellowship resulted in \$903,069.

²⁶ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 18–29 May*, xxii. The largest was the April donation which contributed \$831,731. Land sales from Tiapapata and Tuese brought in \$31,830, interest from investments in January (\$1,922.81) and in May a general collection brought in \$310,617 resulted in \$1,176,101. The efforts of the church to repay the loan resulted in an astounding \$1.2 million raised before the May General Assembly of 1987.

²⁷ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 18–29 May*, xxii. The new treasurer Aiatia Paleai announced that the loan on the John Williams was officially paid off.

²⁸ Alec Thornton, Maria Kerslake and Tony Binns, "Alienation and Obligation: Religion and Social Change in Samoa". *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 51, no. 1 (2010), 8. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com>. (accessed 26 September 2011).

²⁹ Faulalo Sagapolutele, "Fautuaga". *O Le Sulu Samoa*, 1981, 13. Author's translation.

American Samoa

Faulalo's remark is an example of how much the Church valued its land, property and 'academic development'. More significantly the CCCS still owned land and property in American Samoa even after the American Samoan Church declared its independence. American Samoa had persistently accused the CCCS of being materialistic.³⁰ Not surprisingly land, property and finances dominated the relationship between the CCCS and American Samoa throughout the 1980s. Despite the resolution of the General Assembly of 1982 to maintain contact with American Samoa it was not until the 1984 General Assembly that the CCCS officially recognised the American Samoa Church.³¹ Between 1984 and 1988 American Samoan land and property held under the name of the Congregational Church in Western Samoa was passed over to the American Samoan Congregational Church.³² Later the five churches of the remnant American Samoan District were dissolved and became part of the Congregational Christian Church of American Samoa (CCCAS).³³ The dissolution of the American Samoan District followed after all assets to the American Samoa church had been returned.³⁴

At the 1989 CCCS General Assembly the American Samoan Church received outstanding monetary assets in controversial circumstances. The American Samoan Church successfully retrieved \$29,607 withdrawn from American Samoa in 1980.³⁵ The circumstances were thus: in 1980 \$29,607 (US) was removed from the American Samoan District and deposited in Hawaii by the assistant Treasurer of Hawaii. It was withdrawn from Hawaii by the Treasurer of the Congregational Church in Western

³⁰ Faafouina Iofi, "Matagaluega Amerika. Taumamafa Tutuila Ma Manu'a i Le Mu Ae Onana Ai Fua Le Matagaluega Amerika". *O Le Sulu Samoa*, Ianuari–15 Fepuari 1981, 17.

³¹ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 23–28 May*, 10. 82FT14.

³² Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 14–25 May*, 9. 84FT34; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 18–29 May*, xiii. 87FT39. The church property at Fagalele which was originally owned by the Congregational church in Western Samoa was returned to the independent American Samoan Congregational church; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1988*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1988, 16. 88FT61. In 1987 an agreement was signed between Mila Sapolu and the long serving American Samoan Rev. Elder Tulafono Faagau in which all American Samoan property under the Congregational Church of Western Samoa would be given to 'our brothers in American Samoa to develop their church.'

³³ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1989*, 1; Elia Taase, *Ina ia Tatou Iloa: O le Talafaasolopito o le Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Amerika Samoa Mai Amataga i le LMS e o'o i le 2005*, 159–160; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1989*, 10–11. 89FT39. The five American Samoan churches donated a gift of \$15,000 Samoan dollars to the Congregational Church in Western Samoa for the assistance they received from the CCCS.

³⁴ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1989*, 10–11.

³⁵ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1989*, 9. 89FT35.

Samoa and used to finance the John Williams Building.³⁶ The American Samoan Church claimed that this money should be returned to them as all assets in American Samoa formerly under the Congregational Church of Samoa had been returned to them. In addition this money would be useful in building up the American Samoan Church. When the issue was taken to court in 1988 it was decided that the ‘bank in Hawaii’ should pay the American Samoan Church \$54,530 which represented the original loan plus the interest owing on it. Because the funds had been withdrawn by the Western Samoan Church, it was obliged to pay this amount to the Bank of Hawaii. The 1989 General Assembly approved the court decision and the Congregational Church in Western Samoa paid \$54,529.61 to the bank of Hawaii.³⁷ Two years previously the Church Treasurer, Tufuga Pule, who was embroiled in financial controversy, had been imprisoned and subsequently stripped of his position as a lay preacher for three years.³⁸

At the end of the 1980s, the return of land, property and financial assets to American Samoa finalised the complete separation of the American Samoan Church from the CCCS. Financially, the CCCS in one sense benefitted from the separation as it was no longer responsible for the maintenance of the five congregations that formed the remnant American Samoa district.³⁹ As evidence of their newly-found independence, the Congregational Christian Church in American Samoa applied to and was accepted as a member of the Pacific Conference of Churches (PCC) on 15 September 1986.⁴⁰ During the deliberations of the PCC, the General Secretary of the CCCS, Lale Ieremia, appealed to the Assembly to reconsider the application of American Samoa because ‘it was the hope of the Church (CCCS) that by prayers and reconciliation, a reunion would be made possible’.⁴¹ The Assembly rejected Ieremia’s pleas and accepted the American Samoan Church as a member. A further indication of the gulf between the two Churches occurred when American Samoa established its own theological college and placed

³⁶ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1989*, 9.

³⁷ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1989*, 9–10.

³⁸ “Komiti a le Au Toeaina 1987”. Apia: Komiti Au Toeaina, 1987, 3. 87KAT14.

³⁹ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 18–29 May*, ix. 53 In 1987 the Western Samoan Church was prepared to purchase one acre of land at a cost of \$48,000(US) for the parish of *Ierusalem Fou*.

⁴⁰ *Pacific Conference of Churches. Report of the Fifth Assembly, 14-24 September 1986. Wesley College, Levaula Campus. Apia, Western Samoa*. Suva: Pacific Conference of Churches, 1986, 38-39.

⁴¹ *Pacific Conference of Churches. Report of the Fifth Assembly, 14-24 September 1986. Wesley College, Levaula Campus. Apia, Western Samoa*, 38.

restrictions upon American Samoan graduates from preaching in Western Samoan congregations.⁴²

In response to the loss of the American Samoa the CCCS was keen to show to its members that the Church was growing. There were three additional districts added at the 1985 General Assembly.⁴³ The Australian District was officially recognised as a district of the CCCS.⁴⁴ The New Zealand District was divided into two: the Northern New Zealand and Southern New Zealand districts.⁴⁵ Similarly, the large Apia District was divided into two districts, Western and Eastern Apia.⁴⁶ In the American District, the South San Francisco parish which had originally joined the American Samoan Church, returned to the CCCS in May 1985.⁴⁷ A year later the three small atolls of Tokelau achieved the status of a district.⁴⁸ The new districts and congregations returning to the CCCS were clearly strategic to the Church's intention to demonstrate that the CCCS was flourishing despite the loss of the American Samoan district.

The University of Samoa

The third crisis facing the Samoan Church in the 1980s was how to justify its decision of establishing a university at Leulumoega Fou College.⁴⁹ The university was a logical step for the Church after its heavy investment in secondary education in the late 1960s and early 1970s, particularly following the upgrading of Leulumoega Fou. Moreover, the Church had been keen to promote the 'Congregational tradition' of creating educational institutions ultimately leading to universities. For example, in a paper written by the former Malua lecturer, the Rev Niusila Niusila, he had noted of the impact of Congregationalism on tertiary education in Britain and the United States:

⁴² "Mataupu Mo Le Au Toeaina". Apia: Komiti Au Toeaina, 1985, 2. 85KAT67; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 18–29 May*, xxi. 87FT84.

⁴³ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 1985*, 2.

⁴⁴ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 1985*, 3. 85FT3; "O Iugafono A Le Au Toeaina 1985". Apia: Komiti Au Toeaina, 1985, 1. 85KAT1, 6, 85KAT52.

⁴⁵ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 1985*, 8. 85FT25; "O Iugafono A Le Au Toeaina 1985", 4. 85KAT36.

⁴⁶ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 1985*, 8.

⁴⁷ "Komiti A le Au Toeaina. Mau (Faaopoopo) Mai Matagaluega 1985". Apia: Komiti Au Toeaina, 1985, 1–3.

⁴⁸ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 12–23 May*, 18. 86FT72, 19. 86FT79.

⁴⁹ Amosa Malo, "A Study of the Church and Its Concept of Education and How Effective It Is in the Life and Attention of the People. With Special References to the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa". Bachelor of Divinity, Pacific Theological College, 1980, 41.

In the eighteenth century the (Congregationalists) were forbidden and banned from attending British Universities such as Cambridge and Oxford. They built their own schools and universities such as London University. Those in America started their own universities such as Harvard, Princeton and Yale Universities.⁵⁰

Fanaafi was even more emphatic about the Church's involvement in tertiary education. In a 1981 Education Report she wrote:

In these times, there is no country, no government, no church which can retain their authority, language, and beliefs without a university. Even though it is expensive, if it is well planned the benefits outweighs the costs. There is no other educational institution that ... gives the true identity to a Samoan. In the same way the behaviour, the mind, the heart and language of the Europeans, Russians and Japanese is dependent on their universities...This is an important historical event since the 150 years the gospel arrived in Samoa.⁵¹

As has been noted in the previous chapter, the University of Samoa was approved in 1976 by the General Assembly and classes commenced in August 1978. However, from the beginning, there were many problems. When the first classes commenced, the library had no new books and the books it had were well out of date, despite persistent requests by the Principal Derek Thornley.⁵² Leulumoega Fou College was also out of the way, 20 km from the capital city of Apia where the majority of students resided. Public transport to Leulumoega Fou was unreliable and the main road was prone to potholes.⁵³ It would have made more sense to locate the university closer to Apia, preferably in the larger school grounds of Papauta Girls College.⁵⁴ What was even more controversial was the *raison d'être* for the university. It had been established primarily to train secondary teachers and yet a secondary teachers college was being established by the Samoan government in Apia at about the same time.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Niusila Niusila, "Ekalesia Faapotopotoga". *O Le Sulu Samoa*, Iulai 1981, 11. Author's translation; Tepa Faletose, "Rev. Lambert Carter". *O Le Sulu Samoa*, Mati 1981, 19–22

⁵¹ "Ripoti O Aoga 1980–81". Apia; Komiti Aoga, 1981, 4.

⁵² Amosa Malo, "A Study of the Church and Its Concept of Education and How Effective It Is in the Life and Attention of the People. With Special References to the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa", 41; Compare with Oka Fauolo ed., "Iugafono O Le Fono Tele 1978". Apia: Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, 1978, 3.78FT20; "Tala O Le Asiasiga O Mea Totino. Aso Tofi 26 Aperila 1979". Apia: Komiti Feau Eseese, 1979, 4; Salu Epati, "Unemployment. Looking at Unemployment in Western Samoa in the Samoan Way of Life (Faa-Samoa) and the Role of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa". Bachelor of Divinity, Pacific Theological College, 1982, 32; "Ripoti O Le Iunivesite O Samoa". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1979, 5.

⁵³ "Ripoti O Le Iunivesite O Samoa", 5.

⁵⁴ "Ripoti O Le Iunivesite O Samoa", 5.

⁵⁵ Gaugau Va'afuti Tavana, "Cultural Values Relating to Education in Western Samoa: A Conceptual Analysis of the Perspectives of Samoan Social Leaders". PhD, Brigham Young University 1994, 42; "Ripoti O Le Iunivesite O Samoa", 2.

Somewhat surprisingly there was little criticism within the Church when the idea of a university was first raised. A major reason for this is that the decision was made by the Education Committee which was dominated by senior pastors and therefore it was considered impolite to criticise its decisions. Moreover, many people within the Church took pride in the idea of Samoa having its own university and training its own teachers.⁵⁶ The Education Committee even approved a cash bonus incentive of \$70 for each subject a student teacher passed in the university.⁵⁷ Admittedly, the location of the campus presented a problem but the facilities at Leulumoega Fou were superior. As for the inadequate library, the Church implemented resolution 46 from the 1977 General Assembly which required all pastors to donate \$10, deacons and lay preachers \$5, wives \$3 and even children \$1 over a five year period.⁵⁸ The *Mafutaga Tina*, the Christian Endeavour Committee and the Prayer Watchers Committee were also expected to contribute to the library.⁵⁹

The university had other benefits for the Church. Besides training teachers, the university was seen as an opportunity for training suitably qualified people for business and government public service.⁶⁰ It was an opportune time to raise the standard of Church schools by using overseas professors to provide assistance in difficult subjects such as Maths, Science and English.⁶¹ For example, in 1982, Roberta Lavelle-Williams, a senior lecturer in English and Education at the University of Samoa, actively sought funding from Australia for a library/resource centre at a cost of \$8,000 (Aus).⁶² The library/resources centre was able to assist Papauta's students with English. These students, she said, had:

no concepts of sheep, seals, snakes, a rocket, a camel and so forth, So my job is doubly hard. I sometimes feel like a Marcel Marceau miming and gesturing

⁵⁶ "Iunivesite O Samoa". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1979.1; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 25–29 May*, 19; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 1985*, 54 and 70.

⁵⁷ "Fonotaga Komiti Tupe. Tamaligi 20/8/81". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1981, 2.81KT8.

⁵⁸ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa. *General Assembly Minutes 16–20 May*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1977,

7, 15. 77FT46 ; "Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano I Samoa Fono Tele 16 Me 1977". Apia: Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano I Samoa, 1977, 3. 77FT18; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 25–29 May*, 3. 81FT5.

⁵⁹ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 16–20 May*, 15. 77FT46.

⁶⁰ "Ripoti O Le Iunivesite O Samoa", 2.

⁶¹ "Iugafono O Fonotaga a Le Komiti Aoga 18 Mati 1979". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1979. 79KA98. In Maluafou two professors Dr Whitney for maths and Dr Fielding for science for the first quarter were paid \$1500 each. In addition Dr Pearce in English and Dr Halpern in Science were paid \$1500 each for their assistance at Leulumoega Fou College.

⁶² Roberta Lavelle-Williams to Ms Skiller, 13 May 1982 (CCCSA).

away at concepts. They find me quite a laugh by the way. They clap enthusiastically over my antics. But it is still hard for them and me.⁶³

Lavelle-Williams also saw the library/resource centre as providing simple visual aids that could be used by other Church schools. She also planned that 'the library/resource centre will be the teaching laboratory for the secondary school student teachers who are in the *Iunivesite O Samoa* [University of Samoa]'.⁶⁴

Despite the optimism of Lavelle-William's proposals for Papauta, her plans were thwarted by continuing financial problems facing the university. Not unexpectedly, the university's financial situation was dire as the Church diverted more resources to the John Williams Building. In 1981, before the John Williams Building was completed, the university requested \$60,000 from the Church which was rejected.⁶⁵ The request was to cover growing expenses, such as the travel allowances for five university lecturers from overseas, which amounted to \$25,500.⁶⁶ The lack of financial support forced the university to reduce its expenditure in the number of courses it offered and to the operating costs of the library, from \$27,000 to \$22,800.⁶⁷

In an attempt to solve the university's financial problems, the Church was again forced to resort to resolution 46 of the 1977 General Assembly which was originally intended to fund the university library in Leulumoega Fou College.⁶⁸ Renowned anthropologist Derek Freeman even contributed proceeds of sales of his book to assist towards the costs of the university in 1983.⁶⁹ However, since most of the finances were redirected to the John Williams Building there was very little left over for the university. The situation for the University of Samoa slowly deteriorated.⁷⁰

Even with all its difficulties the university made some progress. In 1984 it held its first graduation ceremony when six students graduated with a Bachelor of Arts.⁷¹ One of

⁶³ Roberta Lavelle-Williams to Ms Skiller, 13 May 1982 (CCCSA).

⁶⁴ Roberta Lavelle-Williams to Ms Skiller, 13 May 1982 (CCCSA).

⁶⁵ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 25-29 May*, 7. 81FT23, 81FT24.

⁶⁶ "Fono Aso 24 Ianuari 1980". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1980, 80KT12.

⁶⁷ "Fonotaga Komiti Tupe, Tamaligi 20/8/81", 3.81KT12.

⁶⁸ "Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano I Samoa Fono Tele 16 Me 1977", 77FT18, 15. 77FT46; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 25-29 May*, 3. 81FT5.

⁶⁹ "Faatupega Ma Le Faaaogaina O Le Fogafalefa O Le Ioane Viliamu E Le Iunivesite O Samoa". Apia: Komiti O Le Galuega Tetele EFKS, 1983, 2.

⁷⁰ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, Fono Tele 1983, Malua: Malua Printing Press, 1983, 4-5.

⁷¹ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 14-25 May*, 26. See Ripoti Aoga. Six graduated with a Bachelor of Arts, three males and three females.

these graduates Leulu Felisi, went on to win a government scholarship to the Australian National University in Canberra, Australia where he completed a Master of Arts.⁷² However, in the same year the death knell for the university was sounded; the government established the National University of Samoa in Apia which posed a serious competition to the University of Samoa.⁷³ A year later the Vice-Chancellor Dr Fanaafi resigned after only three years in the position.⁷⁴ Her departure caused irreparable damage to the university's reputation and credibility.

When the National University was first opened in 1984 there was a possibility of combining with the University of Samoa.⁷⁵ Districts such as the Ituotane and Western Apia encouraged the University of Samoa to work with the government in order to keep the university viable.⁷⁶ However a further indication of the decline of the University of Samoa became evident when the Church sent their teachers to the government Teacher's Training College, instead of the University of Samoa.⁷⁷ As a result of the decline in standards and the distance of the University of Samoa from Apia, the government was determined to run the National University without the University of Samoa. The government also feared that an alliance with the University of Samoa would invite unnecessary interference from prominent CCCS leaders who were also important members of the government.⁷⁸ The Church's neglect of the University of Samoa to train its student teachers signalled the end of the university as an institution.⁷⁹

⁷² Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 14–25 May*, 27–28.

⁷³ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 14–25 May*, 28.

⁷⁴ "Fono A le Komiti 28 Oketopa 1982". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1982, 82KA27. Fanaafi was offered the position in 1982; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Fono Tele* 1983, 3; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 13–24 May 1985*, 13, 85FT46.

⁷⁵ Maiava Iulai Toma to CCCS, 23 December 1983. (CCCSA) "The Iunivesite o Samoa (University of Samoa) has applied for recognition by the Government of Western Samoa as one of the national projects in the development of Education generally, in the making of university education and training more accessible within Western Samoa through the medium of the Samoan language. The application has been carefully considered by Cabinet and has been approved"; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 14–25 May*, 8, 84FT27.

⁷⁶ "Matagaluega Apia Sisifo15/4/1986". Apia: CCCS, 1986, 3; "Mataupu Mo Le Fono Tele 1986. Matagaluega Ituotane". Apia: CCCS, 1986, 2.

⁷⁷ "Lipoti Faatasiga A Pule Aoga. Aso Faraile, 9 Novema 1984 I Le Ioane Viliamu". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1984, 2–3.

⁷⁸ Alec Thornton, Maria Kerslake and Tony Binns, "Alienation and Obligation: Religion and Social Change in Samoa", 6. Alec Thornton et al, in their study of the mainline Churches in Samoa noted, 'The close relationship between church and state is reflected in the practice of government leaders, who are exclusively *matai*, [chiefs] performing dual roles as church leaders....Hence, the church is embedded in the *matai* [chiefly] system, and, in this regard, the church is well positioned to influence all aspects of village life and broader public policy-making'.

⁷⁹ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 12–23 May*, 10, 86FT34.

In 1986 the inevitable demise occurred when the General Assembly resolved to close the University of Samoa.⁸⁰ Any money left over after the ‘closure’ of the University of Samoa was sent to the central offices of the John Williams Building.⁸¹ All the books of the university library were stored in a room on the second floor of the John Williams Building.⁸² With the wisdom of hindsight, an Education Report written in 1986 stated that the University of Samoa was beset with major problems from the start.⁸³ Its chief problem, the report stated, was the Church’s inability to finance the university.⁸⁴ However the lack of a permanent site, either at Leulumoega Fou College or Vaisigano Primary School, had contributed to low enrolments.⁸⁵ It had been a mistake for the Church to assume sole responsibility for tertiary education and it would have been wiser to have collaborated with the government.⁸⁶

The Effects of Financial Stress on the Schools

During the on-going financial problems of the John Williams Building and the University of Samoa it was not surprising that the educational standards of the Church schools suffered in this period, especially between 1982 to 1987. For example in 1984 the top two schools of the CCCS, Leulumoega Fou and Maluafofou had poor University Entrance exams results. Only one out of 26 Leulumoega Fou students passed the University Entrance exam.⁸⁷ It was worse for Maluafofou where no student passed the University Entrance exam in that year.⁸⁸ A year later there were no passes in the University Entrance exam for both schools.⁸⁹ Under such conditions subdistrict and district meetings of the Congregational Church were often embarrassed at the poor School Certificate and University Entrance results of the Church schools.⁹⁰ Parents

⁸⁰ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 12–23 May*, 10. 86FT34.

⁸¹ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 18–29 May*, xxii. 87FT90.

⁸² “Komiti Aoga Fonotaga 13/01/1987”. Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1987. 87KA62.

⁸³ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 12–23 May*, 33. See Lipoti Aoga.

⁸⁴ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 12–23 May*, 33. See Lipoti Aoga.

⁸⁵ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 12–23 May*, 33; Yvette Rabemila, “A Visit to the Pacific May–June 1982”, 8. Rabemila had noted the distance of the University of Samoa when she wrote ‘Even though it was based in Leulumoega Fou College it seemed too far away from Apia’.

⁸⁶ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 12–23 May*, 10. 86FT34. See also page 16. 86FT60 and page 33 Ripoti Aoga; Kerisiano Soti, “Komiti Aoga Fonotaga 19/06/1987”. Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1987. 87KA82. The National University of Samoa requested for books and a thesis on Samoan culture held by the University of Samoa.

⁸⁷ “Leulumoega Fou UE Results 1984”. Leulumoega Fou: Leulumoega Fou College, 1984.

⁸⁸ “Iuga Suega School Certificate ma le University Entrance -1984”. Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1984.

⁸⁹ Aiono Sia Malietoa, “Lipoti O Aoga”. Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1986, 1.

⁹⁰ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 25–29 May*, 20.

generally preferred to send their children to the government Samoa College or the Catholic schools with their large number of overseas trained teaching clergy.⁹¹

Both the university and John Williams Building drew funds away from the schools.⁹² At a meeting on 8 December 1982 the Education Committee outlined the financial problem facing the schools:

It must be remembered that up to 80% of the annual *taulaga* had been used in educational programmes, which is the responsibility of the Education Committee. Every year the Church has been dependant on the *taulaga*, especially the schools. However the situation now has changed dramatically this year with less funds from the *taulaga*... There should be a standing amount between \$120,000–\$150,000...⁹³

The report's pessimistic outlook of the Church's ability to finance the educational policies was confirmed in succeeding years. At Maluafofua, which was the largest Church school because of its location in the capital city of Apia, no new building had been constructed since the approval to build 30 new classrooms in 1978 and 1979.⁹⁴ The high cost of university professors providing tutorial classes on a part-time basis prevented the Church from gaining more permanent teaching staff at Leulumoega Fou.⁹⁵ In spite of the Education Committee increasing school fees to improve the financial situation, the staff of Nuuausala was forced to use school fees for school improvements, instead of sending these fees to the head offices.⁹⁶ Likewise the lack of funds meant that the Church could not afford to sponsor more student teachers or provide in-service training to update teachers of new trends in teaching.⁹⁷ Aiono Sia Malietoa, the new Education

⁹¹ "Ripoti O Aoga 1980–81", 2–3.

⁹² Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 18–29 August*, 24–25; "Fono A Le Komiti Aoga– 8 Tesema 1982". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1982. 82KA42; "Fono A le Komiti Aoga, 18 Me 1983 Malua". Malua: Komiti Aoga, 1983, 83KA57. The Aana district requested that the Church improve the salaries to prevent teachers leaving CCCS schools; "Fonotaga Komiti O Aoga Ioane Viliamu 10 September 1984". Apia: Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, 1984, 3. 84KA20; "Komiti O Aoga Fonotaga 21 Aokuso 1984". Apia: Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, 1984, 1–2 84KA3; Aiono Sia Malietoa to Paul Stevenson, 24 October 1984 (CCCSA); "Komiti Aoga Fonotaga 22 Ianuari 1985". Apia: Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, 1985, 85KA9.

⁹³ "Fono A Le Komiti Aoga 8 Tesema 1982", 82KA42.

⁹⁴ "Ripoti o Aoga 17 Aukuso 1982". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1982, 3; "Mataupu Mo Le Fono Tele 1987 Mai Le Nofa a Matagaluega". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1987, 4. See Apia i Sisifo.

⁹⁵ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 12–23 May*, 31.

⁹⁶ "Fono A Le Komiti Aoga 22 December 1982". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1983. 82KA44. Kindergarten to Form 2 \$10, Form 2 to Form 5 \$12 and Upper Form 5 to Form 6 \$15; "Fono A le Komiti Aoga, 18 Me 1983 Malua", 83KA57. The Faasaleleaga district in which Tuasivi High School was located lodged a complaint to the Church about Nuuausala; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 1985*, 54.

⁹⁷ "Galuega Komiti Laititi i ana Fonotaga 2/3/81, 7/3/81, 9/3/81". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1981, 1. 81KAL80, 3. 81KAL96, 4. 81KAL101.

Director for the CCCS, observed that inadequately trained teachers was a major factor contributing to the low educational standards.⁹⁸

The low salaries of teachers was the main cause of resignations, despite an annual increase from \$50 to \$120 after the first year of employment.⁹⁹ All five secondary Church schools and the one primary school suffered from constant teacher resignations.¹⁰⁰ In some cases teachers who received Church scholarships either did not return to work for the Church or worked only one or two years then resigned.¹⁰¹ Schools that were faced with a large turnover of teachers created instability in the classroom environment.¹⁰² For example, in one of the classes in Nu'uausala there were 60 students because of the shortage of teachers.¹⁰³

The Church was fortunate to acquire the services of qualified Indian teachers who were prepared initially to take substantially lower wages at Church schools. Unlike American Peace Corp volunteers who stayed for only two years, Indian teachers often brought their families and made considerable improvements to the Church schools.¹⁰⁴ For example the academic results of Tuasivi in Savaii improved significantly with School Certificate results matching the results achieved at Leulumoega Fou in 1985.¹⁰⁵ Eventually when they settled down, the Indian teachers left for better-paying jobs in

⁹⁸ "Lipoti Faatasiga A Pule Aoga. Aso Faraile, 28 Setema 1984 I Le Ioane Viliamu". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1984, 2; "Fonotaga Komiti O Aoga. Ioane Viliamu 10 September 1984", 3. 84KA22. In 1984 the 43 year old former teacher at Samoa College took over Aiono Fanaafi Larkin. He gained a teachers certificate in 1960 at Dunedin in New Zealand. In 1964 he gained a BA in history from Auckland University. From 1965 to 1976 he was a teacher at Samoa College.

⁹⁹ "Fono Aso 27 Fepuari 1981". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1981, 1. 81KT30.

¹⁰⁰ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 18–29 August*, 29–31; Aiono Sia, "Lipoti O Aoga", 1; "Komiti O Aoga Fonotaga 21 Aokuso 1984", 84KA3; "Fonotaga Komiti O Aoga Ioane Viliamu 10 September 1984", 3. 84KA20; "Komiti Aoga Fonotaga 22 Ianuari 1985", 85KA9; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 12–23 May*, 31–34. There were teachers needed for the following subjects and schools, Accounting at Maluafofou, English for Tuasivi in Savaii, and Mathematics for Leulumoega Fou. The big problem with Tuasivi and Maluafofou were lack of qualified teachers.

¹⁰¹ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 25–29 May*, 20; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 18–29 August*, 29. The resignation of Iulai Ah Sam after being sponsored by the Old Malua Students in New Zealand for his Auckland University studies; "Ripoti O Aoga 1980–81", 1. Marie Ropeti Nuualiitia and Tialuga Seloti did not return from New Zealand. See also 81KA12 and 81KA32; "Fono A Le Komiti 28 Oketopa 1982 I Tamaligi". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1982, 2. 82KA12.

¹⁰² Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 1985*, 69.

¹⁰³ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 12–23 May*, 33.

¹⁰⁴ Aiono Sia Malietoa, "Lipoti O Aoga". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1989, 6.

¹⁰⁵ "Tuasivi". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1979; Aiono Sia Malietoa, "Lipoti O Aoga". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1986, 1; Aiono Sia Malietoa, "Lipoti O Aoga", 2.

government schools, American Samoan schools, or overseas.¹⁰⁶ Consequently the Church restricted Indian teachers' employment and renewal of contracts.¹⁰⁷

Another symptom of the decline in the schools was the increasing use of Samoan as the language of teaching. Since 1976 Samoan was increasingly used as the teaching medium when the Education Committee decided that the government curriculum was 'too academic' for the students enrolled in Church schools.¹⁰⁸ Samoan became the main teaching medium so that students had a better chance of understanding their subjects. Moreover under Fanaafi's tenure as Education Director she actively promoted the use of Samoan language and culture as a key component of the Church school curriculum.¹⁰⁹ The Church even blamed the poor exam results of CCCS schools on the failure of overseas teachers to use the Samoan language.¹¹⁰ Overseas teachers usually took two to three years before understanding the language.¹¹¹ Even pastors with teaching experience were encouraged to become teachers because of their proficiency in the Samoan language.¹¹² As a result of the emphasis on Samoan, the standard of English declined in CCCS schools. Academic standards fell to the point that the once prestigious school of Papauta was described as a school not designed for students to pass or attain university

¹⁰⁶ "Galuega Komiti Laititi i Ana Fonotaga. 13/1/81, 14/1/81, 15/1/81, & 25/2/82". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1981, 3-4. 81KAL57. Mr and Mrs O.V. Varghese both had BSc and BEd degrees and taught in Leulumoega Fou College; "Fonotaga Komiti O Aoga Ioane Viliamu 10 September 1984", 3. 84KA20; Aiono Sia Malietoa to Dr Paul Stevenson, 24 October 1984 (CCCSA); "Komiti Aoga Fonotaga 22 Ianuari 1985". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1985,. 85KA9; Kerisiano Soti, "Komiti Aoga Fonotaga 25/03/1987". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1987, 87KA71. One of the teachers Mubarak Khan had ran a debt of \$8,000 before he returned to Pakistan.

¹⁰⁷ "Tala O Fonotaga A le Komiti Aoga". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1983, 13.83KA70. Mr and Mrs Varghese in Leulumoega Fou and Tuasivi contracts were not renewed; Kerisiano Soti, "Komiti Aoga Fonotaga 19/06/1987", 87KA80. Mr & Mrs O V Mathews and Mr Mohammad Khan requests for extension of their services was declined.

¹⁰⁸ "Ripoti - Fepuari 1976". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1976, 2; Tololima Leifi Auva'a, "Continuity and Change: Education Policy and Historiography of Education in Western Samoa". MA (Honours), James Cook University 1995, 77-78; "Miti a Le Faatonu O Aoga a Le EFKS". *O Le Sulu Samoa*, Iuni 1976, 106; American Peace Corp, "Summary of Group 15 Recommendations for Education November 27 1976". Paper presented at the Close of Service Conference for Group 15 Peace Corp Volunteers, Tusitala Hotel 1976; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1988*, 56.

¹⁰⁹ Aiono Fanaafi to Dennis Mann, 21 June 1976, 1.(CCCSA)

¹¹⁰ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1988*, 56.

¹¹¹ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1988*, 56.

¹¹² Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1988*, 7.

entrance but to create good role models for wives and mothers for the benefit of the nation.¹¹³

It was not until the closure of the University of Samoa in 1986 that the Church was able to refocus on secondary education, and revive neglected education policies.¹¹⁴ In that year the Education Director Aiono Sia Malietoa, reminded the Church of its duty to develop the schools which had been deprived of funds because of the university and John Williams Building projects.¹¹⁵ By 1988 the Church sponsored 27 teachers taking courses at the Secondary Teachers College.¹¹⁶ Four teachers in that year graduated with Bachelor of Education degrees at the National University of Samoa. In addition two student teachers were studying at the University of Otago and a further two places were planned for 1990.¹¹⁷ In a momentous decision, the Education Committee closed down Vaisigano primary school in 1988 in order to begin construction of the new classrooms at Maluafofua High School, which had been approved ten years previously.¹¹⁸

The Western Apia district in which Vaisigano was located, strongly objected to the decision to close the school. It endorsed the vital contribution the school made in primary education, especially for those who could not make it to the government primary schools.¹¹⁹ The district requested the Church to open a new primary/intermediate school to cater for primary students in the Apia area.¹²⁰ However Malietoa was adamant that Vaisigano was struggling to teach primary school students and it was better to leave primary education to well-funded government schools.¹²¹ The closure of Vaisigano signalled the end of primary education in the Congregational

¹¹³ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 12–23 May*, 33–34; Galuefa Aseta to Jean Skuse, 19 March 1983 (CCCSA); Roberta Lavelle-Williams to Ms Skiller, 13 May 1982 (CCCSA).

¹¹⁴ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 12–23 May*, 33.

¹¹⁵ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 12–23 May*, 34.

¹¹⁶ Aiono Sia Malietoa, “Lipoti O Aoga”. Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1989, 2.

¹¹⁷ Aiono Sia Malietoa, “Lipoti O Aoga”. Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1989, 2.

¹¹⁸ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1988*, 6, 88FT13; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1989*, 10; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, “Fono Tele 1989 Mataupu Mo Le Fono Tele Mai Le Nofu A Matagaluega”. Apia: Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, 1989, 5.

¹¹⁹ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, “Fono Tele 1989 Mataupu Mo Le Fono Tele Mai Le Nofu A Matagaluega”, 5.

¹²⁰ “Lipoti O Aoga”. Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1989, 5.

¹²¹ “Fono Komiti Aoga 9 Novema 1989”. Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1990, 89KA153; Aiono Sia Malietoa, “Lipoti Aoga”. Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1989, 5. Vaisigano was struggling to teach primary students who could not make it to the government primary school. Malietoa suggests that the government primary education was better off; Tololima Leifi Auvaa, “Continuity and Change: Education Policy and Historiography of Education in Western Samoa”, 82.

Church school system. An emphasis and a commitment to secondary education was seen as the way forward by the Education Committee, after years of complaints from the districts about low academic standards.¹²²

A Sixth Secondary School – Congregational Senior College

Vaisigano underwent a transformation when the Church used the grounds and facilities for a sixth secondary institution, the Congregational Senior College.¹²³ In the 1990 General Assembly \$200,000 was allocated for the establishment of the college.¹²⁴ The Congregational Senior College, which opened on 8 February 1991, was a selective school which combined all eligible Form 6 students from CCCS schools (except Tuasivi on the island of Savaii) and non-CCCS schools in order to prepare them for the Samoan University Entrance exams.¹²⁵ Originally, first preference was given to Congregational Church members with an average of 69 in the top four subjects from the Western Samoan School Certificate exams.¹²⁶ The initial intake was 157 students, 79 boys and 78 girls.¹²⁷

The reason for a combined sixth college goes back to 1986. Poor University Entrance exam results in 1984 and 1985 prompted the Education Committee to combine the Form Six classes of all the CCCS schools into one institution.¹²⁸ At first the combined class was based at Leulumoega Fou and commenced in 1987. Leulumoega Fou was chosen because there were not enough qualified teachers to teach at Sixth Form level. When the university closed and the John Williams Building loan was paid, Vaisigano was chosen as the site for the Combined College.

In 1991 the Church invested in employing the best teachers and the brightest students for the Congregational Senior College. There were twelve teaching staff, of which only

¹²² “Mataupu Mo Le Fono Tele Mai Le Nofo a Matagaluega. 17 Me 1989”. Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1989, 1-2. Malua and Aana districts both complained to the Education Committee at the low academic standards of the CCCS schools.

¹²³ “Fono Komiti Aoga 9 Novema 1989”, 89KA153; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1990*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1990, 5. See 90FT22, page 8 90FT51; “Iugafono Fonotaga Komiti Aoga 17 Ianuari 1991”. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 15. 91KA14.

¹²⁴ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1990*, 5. 90FT22, 8, 90FT51; “Iugafono Fonotaga Komiti Aoga 17 Ianuari 1991”, 15, 91KA14.

¹²⁵ Fuifui Teevale, “Lipoti Mo Aoga EFKS”. Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1991, 24, 27.

¹²⁶ Fuifui Teevale, “Lipoti Mo Aoga EFKS”, 24; “Ripoti Mo Aoga 1995”. Apia: Malua. Printing Press, 1995, 6. Grade 1 is 85–100, Grade 2 is 75–84, Grade 3 is 65–74, Grade 4 is 55–64, and Grade 5 is 45–55.

¹²⁷ Fuifui Teevale, “Lipoti Mo Aoga EFKS”, 24.

¹²⁸ Aiono Sia Malietoa, “Lipoti O Aoga”. Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1986, 1.

four were fulltime.¹²⁹ The Finance Committee approved generous salaries to attract highly qualified teachers to the college.¹³⁰ Two of the part-time teachers had doctorates, Faale Tumaalii who taught chemistry, and Donald M Brit who taught history.¹³¹ The principal Vui Leavasa also had an MSc from the University of Hawaii. In an attempt to attract and retain good students in the Senior College, the General Assembly approved scholarships for students who had gained an average of 80 percent in the top four subjects in the School Certificate exam.¹³² Atapana Alama, the minister of the large Magiagi village in Apia, offered to pay a scholarship for the top student.¹³³

Criticisms of the Congregational Senior College

The establishment of the Congregational Senior College was not popular with the principals of Leulumoega Fou, Maluafou, and Nuuausala.¹³⁴ These three secondary schools saw the Church decision to remove their Sixth Form as simply following what the Methodist and Catholic Churches were doing with their schools. Both the Methodists and Catholics subsequently reviewed, this system and their findings revealed that the arrangement was expensive and impractical.¹³⁵ The principal of Leulumoega Fou College, Leaula Amosa, compared the Methodist and Catholic findings to the University of Samoa debacle.¹³⁶ Like the University of Samoa, claimed Amosa, the Congregational Senior College was an ambitious project by the Church and would end in closure because the Church could not afford to finance it. In the 1991 financial report, the suspicions of the three high school principals were confirmed when the report underscored the high cost of running the Congregational Senior College.¹³⁷

¹²⁹ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano I Samoa Fale Senetenari Malua, 13–24 Me 1991* Malua: Malua Printing Press, 1991, 47.

¹³⁰ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano I Samoa Fale Senetenari Malua, 13–24 Me 1991*, 13. 91FT41.

¹³¹ Fuifui Teevale, “Lipoti Mo Aoga EFKS”, 23.

¹³² Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano I Samoa Fale Senetenari Malua, 13–24 Me 1991*, 12. See 91FT36; Fuifui Teevale, “Lipoti Mo Aoga EFKS”, 25.

¹³³ “Fono Komiti Aoga 14 Me 1991”. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1991, 2, 91KA45.

¹³⁴ Leaula Amosa to Faatonusili O Aoga EFKS, 1989, 3 (CCCSA); “Fono Komiti Aoga. Ioane Viliamu, 7 Setema 1989”. Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1. 89KA122. Leaula Amosa was elected principal of Leulumoega Fou College on the 7 September 1989.

¹³⁵ Leaula Amosa to Faatonusili O Aoga EFKS, 1989, 3 (CCCSA).

¹³⁶ Leaula Amosa to Faatonusili O Aoga EFKS, 1989, 4 (CCCSA).

¹³⁷ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Ioane Viliamu, Apia Me 18–29 1992*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1992, 70. The Senior College had the highest budget of all the CCCS schools at \$638,661.

Amosa also complained that to deprive schools of Sixth Form was to downgrade the 'academic' emphasis the Church was trying to achieve for its school.¹³⁸ Sixth formers brought discipline and assisted fifth formers academically with their work.¹³⁹ In addition both Form Five and Form Six were taught by the same teacher. The teacher would be familiar with a particular student's ability in the transition from Form Five to Form Six.¹⁴⁰ Many Sixth Form students were from neighbouring districts and would now be required to travel further to attend school in the city.¹⁴¹ As a consequence of these changes, the status of Leulumoega Fou College as the predominant school since 1967 declined substantially.¹⁴² Amosa's concerns were supported in the case of Tuasivi High School on the island of Savaii. Tuasivi's Sixth Form classes did not become part of the Congregational Senior College, yet their University Entrance exam results supported Amosa's argument of a school retaining Form Six. The 1989 Education Report drew attention to the achievements of the sixth Form in Tuasivi:

In 1988 a great step for Tuasivi that brought much happiness since the formation of the school was when four of their students were accepted into the National University of Samoa...This shows that the commitment of the school that it does not go backwards and its effort to accomplish the necessary tasks for the sake of the children of the Church in Savaii.¹⁴³

In reply to Amosa's letter the Education Committee rejected his concerns. The Education Committee was well into their preparations for the Combined Senior College.¹⁴⁴ Furthermore, the decision about the Senior College had already been decided upon by the General Assembly.

The transformation of Vaisigano primary school into the Congregational Senior College continued to be a controversial issue. According to Siolo Tauti, a former teacher of Leulumoega Fou College, the closure of Vaisigano primary removed the opportunity of the CCCS to improve the standard of students entering Church secondary schools.

¹³⁸ Leaula Amosa to Faatonusili O Aoga EFKS, 1989, 4 (CCCSA). Ironically the sixth form in Tuasivi was allowed to continue yet it had no passes in university entrance exams in 1989 compared to 8 passes from Leulumoega Fou.

¹³⁹ Leaula Amosa to Faatonusili O Aoga EFKS, 1989, 1 (CCCSA).

¹⁴⁰ Leaula Amosa to Faatonusili O Aoga EFKS, 1989, 1 (CCCSA).

¹⁴¹ Leaula Amosa to Faatonusili O Aoga EFKS, 1989, 5 (CCCSA).

¹⁴² Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, Malua Western Samoa 15–26 May 1967*. Malua: Malua Printing Press, 1967, 11. 67GA24.

¹⁴³ Aiono Sia Malietoa, "Lipoti O Aoga". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1989, 2.

¹⁴⁴ "Iugafono Fonotaga Komiti Aoga. Tamaligi Aso Tofi 17 Ianuari, 1991", 91KA01.

I was a teacher in Leulumoega Fou College and I know the ... difference between CCCS schools and government schools. Government schools and other Church schools have primary level schools. These primary schools feed their colleges...However the CCCS do not have primary schools...so even if we spend so many million in schools we cannot raise the standard of schools except if we follow the (example) of Robert Louis school (which has a primary school to feed the Robert Louis secondary school)...¹⁴⁵

Tauti's concerns were echoed in the report of the new Director of Education, Fuifui Teevale.¹⁴⁶ In 1992 Teevale reported on his inspection of the schools. He commented on the poor state of the Church schools and gave them a grade of 49 out of 100.¹⁴⁷ The report highlighted the low standard of English for those entering CCCS secondary schools. He found that in one Form Three class (grade 9) he asked students to read half a page in English and to mark words that they were not familiar with. Students on average marked 20–25 per cent of words they were not familiar with. Teevale concluded that the students needed extra tuition in English and so a preparatory course was needed for students entering college.¹⁴⁸ The report highlighted that the poor quality of students attending the CCCS schools and how this placed additional demands on the teachers.¹⁴⁹

The ambitious plan behind the establishment of the Congregational College occurred at a time of a massive improvement in the financial situation of the Church. The repayment of the John Williams Building loan in 1987 did not lead to a relaxation of fund raising but initiated a further drive to pay off all debts of the Church. In 1987 the Assembly endorsed a set annual contribution from all Elders, pastors, lay preachers and deacons towards paying off all remaining debt.¹⁵⁰ The Church's debt in December 1987 was \$1.3 million; a year later it was reduced to \$716,000.¹⁵¹ Yet, between December 1989 to December 1990 the Church's accumulated finances increased from \$12.1

¹⁴⁵ Interview with Rev. Elder Siolo Tauti 28 April 2009.

¹⁴⁶ "Fono Komiti Aoga. Ioane Viliamu. 7 Setema 1989", 1. 89KA122. Teevale was elected by the Education Committee as Director of Education on the 7 September 1989.

¹⁴⁷ Fuifui Teevale, "Lipoti Mo Aoga EFKS", 42.

¹⁴⁸ Fuifui Teevale, "Lipoti Mo Aoga EFKS", 42.

¹⁴⁹ Kerisiano Soti, "Ripoti O Aoga Me 1992–Me 1993". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1993, 11.

¹⁵⁰ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly* 18–29 May, xvi–xvii.87FT60.

¹⁵¹ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1989*, 73; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1990*, 64.

million to \$15.3 million.¹⁵² According to the 1990 auditor's report the increased annual parish offerings had led to this surplus.¹⁵³ What is most perplexing about these figures is why the Church did not use this financial surplus to pay its debt.

The impact of the financial burden is evident in the decline in CCCS membership in Samoa from 47 percent in 1981 to 43 percent ten years later.¹⁵⁴ It was the same percentage decline in the 1970s, from 51 percent in 1971 to 47 percent in 1981.¹⁵⁵ Of more significance was the decline from 47 percent to 43 percent which occurred after 1986, around the time when the payments on the loan on the John Williams Building was complete.¹⁵⁶ Instead of the Church reducing the burden on its members it demanded even more money. According to Alec Thornton et al., every Church service on Sunday had a part in which donations were:

declared publicly and ... It has negative implications; those giving a lot feel good, but those giving less and announced [as such] feel embarrassed; mainline churches are losing members; mostly the Congregational (CCCS) and Methodist members are picked up by the Assemblies of God and Seventh Day Adventists...¹⁵⁷

and

I read an article [in the newspaper] where [a senior government official] said that there are parents with expelled [school] children, due to non-payment of school fees, who still find there is money in pockets to give to the Church. If I am that parent, I'll pay my school fees. People must start prioritising: first, take care of the family and extended family, next priority is village responsibilities and then the Church.¹⁵⁸

At the 1985 General Assembly the districts of Aana and Ituotane requested that the donations be removed for that year. The request was rejected because the General Assembly had taken out another large loan.¹⁵⁹ A year earlier the remnant American

¹⁵² Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1990*, 13; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Ioane Viliamu, Apia Me 18–29 1992*, 63.

¹⁵³ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1990*, 56. For example the yearly parish donations for 1989/90 was \$1,213,792.30 more than what was expected.

¹⁵⁴ Magele Crawley, ed., "Report of the Census of Population and Housing 1981". Apia: Department of Statistics, 1981, 35; Magele Crawley, ed., "Report of the Census of Population and Housing 1991". Apia: Department of Statistics, 1991. 29.

¹⁵⁵ Magele Crawley, ed., "Report of the Census of Population and Housing 1981", 35.

¹⁵⁶ Magele Crawley, ed., "Report of the Census of Population and Housing 1991", 29. Statistics show that between 1981 and 1986 the percentage of CCCS in Samoa was 47 percent.

¹⁵⁷ Alec Thornton, Maria Kerslake and Tony Binns, "Alienation and Obligation: Religion and Social Change in Samoa", 9.

¹⁵⁸ Alec Thornton, Maria Kerslake and Tony Binns, "Alienation and Obligation: Religion and Social Change in Samoa", 7.

¹⁵⁹ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 1985*, 4.85FT7.

Samoa district made the same request to the General Assembly but it was also rejected for the same reason.¹⁶⁰ It appears that the Church was steadily accumulating funds for emergencies. It did not have to wait long when, within a space of two years, two massive hurricanes struck Samoa.

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Hurricanes Ofa and Val

In the midst of financial stability, the Church was rocked in early February 1990 by Hurricane Ofa which passed over Western Samoa with wind speeds at a peak intensity of 180km per hour.¹⁶¹ Fortunately the loss of life was relatively small but the damage to crops and infrastructure was enormous.¹⁶² The hurricane disrupted local food supplies by destroying plantations on which the urban population depended, such as breadfruit and bananas.¹⁶³ Seven lives were lost in Samoa. Overall the cyclone was estimated to have caused \$130 (US) million in Western Samoa and \$32 (US) million in American Samoa.¹⁶⁴

In December 1991 Samoa was hit by a second even stronger hurricane, hurricane Val which raged for four days.¹⁶⁵ The Australian International Development Assistance Bureau (AIDAB) in Fiji estimated the destruction by Val at \$662 million.¹⁶⁶ Twelve people lost their lives by the 240 km per hour winds that smashed through Western Samoa and one died in American Samoa before the hurricane headed for the Cook Islands.¹⁶⁷ Western Samoa was worst hit with extensive damage to roads, bridges and buildings. Almost 90 per cent of the vegetation on Savaii was reportedly destroyed.¹⁶⁸ Val caused a further \$300 million damage, leaving many Samoans without electricity

¹⁶⁰ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *General Assembly Minutes 14-25 May*, 6, 84FT16

¹⁶¹ S Ready and Frank Woodcock, "The South Pacific and Southeast Indian Ocean Tropical Cyclone Season 1989–1990". *Australian Meteorological Magazine* 40 (1992): 117. Ofa was reported to be the most devastating tropical cyclone to have affected Samoa in about 100 years.

¹⁶² Helen Fraser, "Samoa after Ofa. The rehabilitation begins". *Pacific Islands Monthly* 60 July 1990, 16-17. Almost all schools were destroyed, with increased flooding due to the destruction of vegetation.

¹⁶³ Deborah Paulson, "Hurricane Hazard in Western Samoa". *Geographical Review* 83 no.1 (1993): 45. 100 percent of all breadfruit and bananas was destroyed by Hurricane Ofa.

¹⁶⁴ S Ready and Frank Woodcock, "The South Pacific and Southeast Indian Ocean Tropical Cyclone Season 1989–1990", 111–21; Martin Tiffany, "Cultural centre controversy erupts". *Pacific Islands Monthly* 62 December 1992, 42. Tiffany estimates it to be equivalent to 306 million Samoa tala.

¹⁶⁵ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Ioane Viliamu, Apia Me 18–29 1992*, 1, 91FTF5; Martin Tiffany, "After the cyclone, a storm brews...". *Pacific Islands Monthly* 62 January 1992, 38; "Cyclone Val devastates Samoa Islands groups". *Pacific Report* 12 December 1991.

¹⁶⁶ Martin Tiffany, "After the cyclone, a storm brews...", 36.

¹⁶⁷ Martin Tiffany, "After the cyclone, a storm brews...", 38.

¹⁶⁸ "Cyclone Val devastates Samoa Islands groups". *Pacific Report* 12 December 1991.

for five weeks and without water for seven. For three months after the hurricane 80 per cent of the population was left dependent on emergency food aid. On Savai'i, 95 per cent of buildings were destroyed or severely damaged, on Upolu 80 per cent.¹⁶⁹

It was fortunate that before and during this period of unprecedented natural disasters the Church was in a strong financial state. Before Hurricane Ofa struck in 1990 the Church was approaching a debt free status.¹⁷⁰ After Hurricane Val accumulated funds were still near fifteen million Samoan Tala.¹⁷¹

As a result of Hurricane Ofa the Church's insurance premiums increased four-fold, from \$13,042 in 1988 to \$52,391 in 1990.¹⁷² Important assets such as the John Williams Building were insured for \$19 million, the Congregational Senior College for \$855,000, the Bookshop for \$846,000, and the Printing Press for \$350,000.¹⁷³ Malua, Papauta, and Maluafofua schools were also partially covered by insurance. Fortunately the Church was well prepared when Hurricane Val struck.

After Hurricane Val hit Samoa, the estimated damage caused to the schools was \$465,000. The most severely damaged was Papauta \$150,000, followed by Nuuausala \$100,000.¹⁷⁴ The 1992 General Assembly allocated \$600,000 to rebuild all Church schools, especially those not adequately covered by insurance.¹⁷⁵ Fortunately the Congregational Senior College was covered by insurance, whereas Malua and Papauta

¹⁶⁹ Martin Tiffany, "After the cyclone, a storm brews...", 37; "Islanders count the cost of climatic change". *Financial Times*, 5 January 1994.

¹⁷⁰ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1990*, 60 and 64; "Iugafono Komiti Tupe 27 Mati 1990". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1990, 90KT96.

¹⁷¹ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 17-28 1993*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1993, 67-68; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Ioane Viliamu, Apia Me 18-29 1992*, 66. In 1991 it was \$15,773,351 and in 1992 \$15,983,456; "Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa Tala O Le Tupe Mo Le Tausaga Faai'uina ia Tesema 31 1992". Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1993, 7.

¹⁷² "Faamatalaga O Tupe Maua Ma Tupe Fa'aaoga Mo Le Tausaga Faai'uina I Le Aso 31 Tesema 1989". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1989, 147; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1990*, 61.

¹⁷³ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1990*, 61.

¹⁷⁴ "Fono Komiti Aoga 19 Tesema 1991". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1992, 4. The estimated damage to Leulumoeaga Fou College was \$80,000 and the Combined Congregational College at an estimated \$50,000.

¹⁷⁵ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Ioane Viliamu, Apia Me 18-29 1992*, 4 92FT3; "Fono Komiti Aoga. Falesa O Apia, 19 Me 1992". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1992, 2. 92KA60. Schools received priority as approximately 65 - 75 % of the yearly church expenses went into the schools.

were only partly covered.¹⁷⁶ The Prayer Watchers' sub-committee came to the rescue and assisted with funds to fix the damage. to Papauta Girls School.¹⁷⁷ The Church also received \$79,081 from the government of Canada which was used to rebuild the school at Nuuausala.¹⁷⁸ The New Zealand government as part of the Government's South Pacific 'good neighbour' policy, made a significant contribution with an approved \$5 million for reconstruction.¹⁷⁹ Again, the Church was a beneficiary.

The Church assisted parishes by providing loans and guaranteeing loans. Before Hurricane Ofa there was a \$100,000 limit on parish loans.¹⁸⁰ After Hurricane Ofa it lifted the restriction.¹⁸¹ And after Hurricane Val the Church authorized an additional one million dollars to help parishes in the final stages of rebuilding their Churches.¹⁸² As a result of the impact of Hurricanes Ofa and Val, several districts requested a 'Disaster Fund' be established. The General Assembly agreed to this proposal.¹⁸³ However, to date little has been made of this fund as Samoa was not seriously damaged by any serious hurricane since Hurricanes Ofa and Val.

Crisis in Church Governance

Just when it looked promising for the Church at the beginning of 1990, several events in 1991 affected the way finances were monitored in the Church. The Church's auditor, Laumea Matolu, unexpectedly passed away.¹⁸⁴ The Church was reluctant to employ the previous auditor who had become involved in controversy and had been forced to resign

¹⁷⁶ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1990*, 61. The Combined Congregational College, had been insured for \$855,000, Malua for \$45,000, and Papauta was insured for \$35,000.

¹⁷⁷ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Ioane Viliamu, Apia Me 18–29 1992*, 4. 92FT3. 1.

¹⁷⁸ Kerisiano Soti, "Ripoti O Aoga Me 1992–Me 1993", 12.

¹⁷⁹ David Barber, "Heart-warming end to the year". *Pacific Island Monthly* 62 March 1992, 32.

¹⁸⁰ "Fono Tele Faafuase'i Potu Fono Ioane Viliamu 16 Fepuari 1990". Apia: Ekalesia Faapotopotoga I Samoa, 1990, 1. 90FTF1; "Fonotaga Komiti Tupe 27 Mati 1990". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1990, 16, 90KT91.

¹⁸¹ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Ioane Viliamu, Apia Me 18–29 1992*, 4. 92FT3; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano I Samoa Fale Senetenari Malua*, 13–24 Me 1991, 7.

¹⁸² Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 17–28 1993*, 3. 93FT6; Martin Tiffany, "After the cyclone, a storm brews...". *Pacific Islands Monthly* 62 January 1992, 38. This is about the same amount of assistance the American Government gave to American Samoa.

¹⁸³ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Ioane Viliamu, Apia Me 18–29 1992*, 7. 92FT14.

¹⁸⁴ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano I Samoa Fale Senetenari Malua*, 13–24 Me 1991, 17. 91FT60.

the previous year, even though there was no qualified person in the finance department to take over from Matolu.¹⁸⁵ A 1989 financial report noted:

The most worrying aspect is not only there is not enough workers in the finance office in 1988 but there is no one with the appropriate skills in finance.¹⁸⁶

The Assembly subsequently chose the international accounting firm Coopers and Lybrand to audit its books.¹⁸⁷ The choice of Coopers and Lybrand indicated an awareness of the increasing financial complexities of the Church.¹⁸⁸ These involved financial accountability and school development. Despite the financial strength of the Church, there was a growing concern with the lack of financial accountability. Since 1966 the Development Committee, which was created to utilise Church land so as to generate funds, had rarely operated at a profit. The Development Committee's failure to operate at a profit resulted in calls by districts for land under its control to be leased rather than 'developed' by the Committee.¹⁸⁹ However, it was in the 1989 General Assembly that the Church discovered \$212,524 'missing funds' that prompted calls for an audit of the Church's records.¹⁹⁰ The northern New Zealand district reminded the Central Office to be diligent and careful with their funds.¹⁹¹ What was even more worrying was the 1989 Financial Report stated that there were no records of Church employees actual work hours, qualifications, sick days, employment history etc...¹⁹² Two years later the situation had not improved when the auditor discovered that employees were being paid full salary but were working fewer hours. Upon further investigation it was discovered that there were no records of actual hours worked by each employee and that there was no one to check the correct salary unless payment

¹⁸⁵ "Lipoti Mo Le Ekalesia". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1989, 2.

¹⁸⁶ "Lipoti Mo Le Ekalesia", 2. The treasurer's office involved only four employees, a bookkeeper, typist, cashier and an assistant. The cashier and assistant only qualification was reaching form five. The bookkeeper's qualification was a teaching diploma and reaching form six.

¹⁸⁷ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano I Samoa Fale Senetenari Malua*, 13–24 Me 1991, 5.

¹⁸⁸ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano I Samoa Fale Senetenari Malua*, 13–24 Me 1991, 17. 91FT62.

¹⁸⁹ Galuefa Aseta to Sekuini Solomona, 15 Me 1983. (CCCSA)

¹⁹⁰ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Samoa i Samoa, *Tala o le Faiga Taulaga mo le Ekalesia Samoa Ma Nu'u Ese i le Tausaga 1989*, Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1989, 2; "Lipoti Mo Le Ekalesia", 18; "Fonotaga Komiti Tupe Aso Lulu 10 Me 1989". Malua: Komiti Tupe, 1989, 26–27 89KT79; "Fonotaga Komiti Tupe 3 Fepuari 1989". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1989, 89KT25; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, "Fono Tele 1989 Mataupu Mo Le Fono Tele Mai Le Nofo A Matagaluega", 5. In fact the Western Apia district had put forward the accounting firm Price Waterhouse to audit the books after the resignation of the auditor.

¹⁹¹ "Fonotaga Komiti Tupe 27 Mati 1990", 17, 90KT93.

¹⁹² "Lipoti Mo Le Ekalesia", 3.

vouchers were used.¹⁹³ In 1990 the Eastern Apia district requested a Commission to review the Church finances and assets.¹⁹⁴

The General Assembly simply brushed aside the requests, calling on ‘all Church employees to be hardworking, honest and be more responsible in the use of Church property’!¹⁹⁵ Such a statement revealed a lack of awareness in financial accountability. The Church had quite naively placed its trust in ‘God’ with the selection of an ordained minister, as Church treasurer in 1991.¹⁹⁶ The treasurer’s duties involved clearing funds approved by the Finance Committee. Auditing was the responsibility of the auditors Coopers and Lybrand. From 1991 to 1992 there was little evidence of the Church implementing the previous auditors’ suggestions to improve Committee efficiency.¹⁹⁷ Superfluous expenses such as Committee lunches and allowances were still included in the budget.¹⁹⁸ The registration of Church assets which began in 1991 were not completed by 1992.¹⁹⁹ In addition there was no complete list of those leasing Church land.²⁰⁰ The auditors also informed the treasurer of the CCCS that the Church’s procedures as an employer were still inefficient.²⁰¹

The governance crisis in this period affected the position of the General Secretary. Compared to the 1960s and 1970s the position of the General Secretary in the 1980s highlighted the stressful situation of financing the Church’s policies. Both the University of Samoa and the John Williams Building caused much stress for the administrators. The General Secretary in the first three years of the 1980s was Rev. Galuefa Aseta, a noted academic involved with Pacific ecumenism. After graduating

¹⁹³ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 17–28* 1993, 47–48.

¹⁹⁴ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Samoa I Samoa, *Tala o le Faiga Taulaga mo le Ekalesia Samoa Ma Nu'u Ese i le Tausaga 1989*, Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1989, 2.

¹⁹⁵ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1990*, 4, 90FT9.

¹⁹⁶ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1990*, 4; “Iugafono Fonotaga Komiti Aoga Tamaligi Aso Lua 26 Fepuari 1991”. Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1991. 91KA20. Siaki Brown was previously teaching English and Accounting at the Congregational Senior College at Vaisigano.

¹⁹⁷ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 17–28* 1993, 61.

¹⁹⁸ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 17–28* 1993, 42.

¹⁹⁹ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 17–28* 1993, 48–49.

²⁰⁰ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 17–28* 1993, 49.

²⁰¹ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 17–28* 1993, 42–43; Siaki Brown was sponsored by the Church to Victoria University in New Zealand. Oka to Academic Registrar, Victoria University, 17 February 1976 (CCCSA).

from Malua, Aseta went on to further studies at the Pacific Theological College at Suva. Shortly after his graduation he became the Associate Director of the Pacific Islands Christian Education Council and succeeded an Australian, the Rev. John Mavor, as Director in 1974. The CWM offered to sponsor Aseta in a programme to assist him in his vital role in stimulating other indigenous directors of Christian Education across the Pacific.²⁰² Eventually he became the Associate General Secretary for the Pacific Conference of Churches (PCC) which had its headquarters in Suva. One of his responsibilities involved determining ways in which the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa and other established bodies might work together.²⁰³ Such was the reputation of Aseta, that the General Secretary of the PCC, Lorine Tevi asked the CCCS if they could recommend anyone from Samoa to replace him.²⁰⁴

Aseta became General Secretary in May 1979, replacing Oka Fauolo. It was a difficult time for Aseta as General Secretary of a church in a financially stressful situation. Despite his defence of Church policies in April 1980, Aseta eagerly accepted the less complex role of a pastor.²⁰⁵ In July 1980, with just over a year of his term completed, he accepted a request from the large congregation in Moata'a village. His case was rejected by the Elders Committee as he had not completed his first term as the General Secretary.²⁰⁶ At the end of his first term in May 1983, Aseta accepted a call to be a parish pastor of the Apia congregation.²⁰⁷

Aseta was replaced by the Elder Rev. Faafouina Iofi from the San Diego congregation in California. There was an agreement between the Church and Iofi that he would start on the 7 January 1984 as he wanted to complete important duties at his parish first.²⁰⁸ In the meantime Aseta agreed to remain as General Secretary until the end of the year. However by the 13 October 1983 the Church received notice from Iofi that he would remain in San Diego rather than take the office of General Secretary. Iofi was replaced

²⁰² "Overseas Committee 29 February 1972". London: CCWM, 1972, 2. 72OV9.

²⁰³ Galuefa Aseta to Minister of Agriculture, 24 September 1974(CCCSA).

²⁰⁴ Lorine Tevi to Tuuau Sao, 15 October 1979 (CCCSA).

²⁰⁵ Galuefa Aseta, "Mo le Aufaitau Nusipepa". *O Le Sulu Samoa*, Aperila 1980, 549–550. For Aseta the University of Samoa and the construction of the John Williams Building are examples of the faith of the church.

²⁰⁶ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano I Samoa. *Tusi O Iugafono a Le Au Toeaina 1979–1994*. 1. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1996, 29, 38.

²⁰⁷ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano I Samoa. *Tusi O Iugafono a Le Au Toeaina 1979–1994*, 73. 83KAT16.

²⁰⁸ "Fonotele Faafuasei Usuia I Le Ioane Viliamu. Oketopa 27 1983". Apia: Komiti Feau Eeseese, 1983.

by the principal of Leulumoega Fou College, Rev. Lale Ieremia, after an emergency meeting of the General Assembly in October 1983.²⁰⁹

In 1988, in the middle of his second term, Ieremia resigned from the post of General Secretary.²¹⁰ Oka Fauolo, the principal of Malua Theological College, took over the duties as the result of a ballot during the 1988 General Assembly.²¹¹ However, in a subsequent ballot, Laau Ioritana Tanielu was elected as General Secretary of the Church.²¹² In light of the stress on the General Secretary in 1989, a new post of Assistant Secretary was created to assist the General Secretary in the running of the Church.²¹³ The first Assistant Secretary was Rev. Nove Valaau.

Conclusion

If there is one event that defined the CCCS in the 1980s it was the construction and the financing of the John Williams Building. It was an all-encompassing project involving all sectors of the Church; parishioners, the clergy and even committees. The John Williams Building served as a statement to all other denominations that the CCCS was the dominant Church in Samoa. Because of the high costs involved in its construction and the subsequent loans and donations required for the project, it assumed a central importance. Every possible means was utilised to encourage donations from Church members. The *Sulu* was published twice a month, primarily as a polemic to defend the Church's policies, listed contributions of every member of the Church. Even Church land was sold at bargain prices to help. Throughout the decade finances were the central issue of the Church. The John Williams Building had made a statement; it represented an expensive venture which drew away funds from other areas of the Church's work.

If the Church had remained with the original three-storey plan the financial burden definitely would have been reduced. However, the Church decision to build a six-storey building created a massive financial crisis for the Church. As a consequence the

²⁰⁹ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Fono Tele 1983*, 12. 83FT13,

²¹⁰ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1988*, 12. 88FT46.

²¹¹ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1988*, 12.

²¹² Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1988*, 23. 88FT72. In the General Assembly the Western Apia district requested to change the title of 'Vice General Secretary' to the 'Assistant Secretary'.

²¹³ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1989*, 9. 89FT31.

American Samoan district split away, the University of Samoa closed down, and the standards of the Church's schools suffered. Frequent teacher resignations, as a result of low salaries, created an unstable school environment. The personal effect on the General Secretaries was so stressful that in 1989 an Assistant was required to ease the burden.

In hindsight the Church's decision to establish the University of Samoa when it did was a disastrous one. Having made a commitment to build the John Williams Building, the Church did not have the finances to fulfil the potential which the university offered. The Church was just able to fund its schools before the establishment of the university, and clearly did not have the financial resources to run a tertiary institution. Although the primary reason for establishing the university was to train secondary school teachers inexplicably at the same time the government set up a Secondary Teachers Training College. It is clear that the Church wanted to be seen as taking the initiative in education by establishing a university to solve the shortage of secondary teachers. For eight long years the university struggled to find both enough finances and a permanent site. However, expensive university salaries, the establishment of the government-funded Secondary Teachers Training College, and especially the National University of Samoa, further confirmed how impractical the creation of the University of Samoa had become.

With the closure of the University of Samoa in 1986 the Church was able to focus on secondary education. Improvements for schools began earnestly from 1987 to 1989 culminating in the transformation of the Vaisigano Primary School into the Congregational Senior College. The creation of the Congregational Senior College, the sixth CCCS secondary school was an ambitious and costly project for the CCCS eager to regain the initiative in education after the neglect in the early 1980s.

The building of the Congregational Senior College in Apia was controversial for two reasons. Firstly, the removal of primary /intermediate education meant that the Church lost the opportunity to educate students before they entered secondary schools. The low standard of English for students entering CCCS secondary schools could be remedied with the establishment of a primary/intermediate school. Secondly, the transfer of all Sixth Formers to the Congregational Senior College would mean that those Sixth Formers in Leulumoega Fou and Nuuausala College would have to travel an extra twenty kilometres to Apia. More importantly Sixth Formers usually brought discipline to the fifth formers, and assisted fifth formers in their School Certificate exams. Of

more worrying concern was that the Church had abandoned the heavy investment in Leulumoega Fou College since 1967 in favour of a 'new Leulumoega Fou' in the Congregational Senior College.

According to the missiologist Alan Tippett's understanding of church growth:

A Church has to grow in its structure as well as in its number and its quality. And it is important that it should grow in every dimension.²¹⁴

The Church attempted to grow and to develop an administrative structure, centred on the John Williams Building. Educational structures were developed, initially the University of Samoa and then later the Congregational Senior College. Growth in 'numbers' for the CCCS was measured not in the number of people attending Church services but in the ever increasing donations, symbolised by the *taulaga*. The incredible contributions through the *taulaga* paid off the John Williams Building and left the Church with at least \$10 million in the black by 1992. The *taulaga* is testament to the competitive spirit in Samoan culture and also to pride in the Church.

However this vast financial resource did not develop into qualitative growth. Tippett describes qualitative growth as:

a second kind of growth ... one that focuses on the inner life of man. He grows in faith. He develops an ethic. He lives the Christian life. He helps those in need. He witnesses to those who do not know the gospel. As the Bible says, he "grows in grace". So if we have a church that grows in numbers and also grows in quality – in its inner life – that is good growth.²¹⁵

If education is taken as an example of qualitative growth, the Church did invest in promising student teachers, some of which were sent overseas for training. However not enough finance was invested in the current structures, including wages and school equipment to keep these teachers in CCCS schools. The Church in the 1980s, instead of improving working conditions for teachers, preferred to finance the 'new' structure, such as the John Williams Building at the expense of schools and even the University of Samoa. Thornton et al. describes the situation in the village context:

²¹⁴ Alan Tippett, *The Deep Sea Canoe. The Story of Third World Missionaries in the South Pacific*. South Pasadena, California: William Carey Library, 1977.64.

²¹⁵ Alan Tippett, *The Deep Sea Canoe. The Story of Third World Missionaries in the South Pacific*, 64.

However, in Samoa, the practice of seeking contributions from local members largely serves the organisational purpose of church expansionism, which includes construction of new churches..., church halls, building maintenance, housing for the pastor's family, pastor's income, as well as funding for church-run youth group and Sunday school programmes. Ironically, the church may be a victim of its own expansionist agenda, meaning, the 'colossal resources' needed for new church buildings are draining funds away from youth education programmes, deemed to be 'a sacred task, for without it the maintenance and growth of the church are deliberately ignored'.²¹⁶

The John Williams Building 'drain[ed] funds away from youth education', symbolised by the debacle of the University of Samoa. If the standard of the Church schools was questionable in the 1970s, there is no doubt that they were lower in the 1980s. Quality of education had been sacrificed for the sake of quantity of finances.

The irony of this decade is that the Church had at least \$10 million in the bank at the end of the 1980s, a consequence of the donations of its members. The large surplus enabled the Church to survive the twin hurricane disasters in 1990 and 1991. However the Church did not use this large amount to pay off debt; instead it encouraged members to donate more. Regrettably it was avarice on the part of the CCCS which not surprisingly led to a decline in membership.

Furthermore the large *taulaga* brought with it another crisis. Since 1984 the *taulaga* had exceeded one million dollars. With such large amounts there were ample opportunities for corruption. The lack of qualified personnel in this critical period forced the Church to seriously examine its financial practices. But it was too slow to respond. It took the Church up to the late 1980s to employ a recognised auditing firm to review its financial practices. Had these measures been taken in the 1970s the Church may have been less ambitious with its building projects and more aware of the costs involved.

The 1980s were a clear example of the impact of the village model on the Church. The decline in membership and the low educational standards of the schools can be traced to the pride and competitiveness of the Church. As the Church entered its fourth decade it was hoped that similar mistakes would not be repeated.

²¹⁶ Alec Thornton, Maria Kerslake and Tony Binns, "Alienation and Obligation: Religion and Social Change in Samoa", 9.

Chapter Six

Financial Stability and Spiritual Decline

1993–2002

The fourth decade after independence was a period even more concerned with the financial situation of the Church than the previous decade. With ever increasing funds from the *taulaga*, financial accountability became a priority in the first half of the decade. Once a measure of accountability was achieved, the Church became financially stable. In addition, from the beginning of the 1990s there was a marked increase in government and overseas financial aid. Conversely, the period was also characterised by a steeper decline in Church membership than the previous decade. Part of the reason for this was the considerable amount of money spent on the training of ministers, often to the detriment of the laity. As a result the laity became increasingly drawn towards the new religious denominations, in particular the Pentecostal Churches.

The significance of Financial Concerns

The state of the Church's finances became a significant issue from 1993 to 2002. Such was the emphasis on the financial situation that it dominated all the annual General Assembly Reports during this period. At least 70 percent of the content matter of the General Assembly Reports at this time was assigned to financial matters. For example in the 157 page Report of the 1993 General Assembly 112 pages (or 71 percent) were devoted to financial concerns.¹ Four years later, in 1997, ninety-two pages (76 percent) of the General Assembly Reports were devoted to finance.² Similarly, at the 2002 General Assembly, 75 per cent was allocated to finance.³

Of all the financial issues facing the Church the *taulaga* was nearly always the primary focus of the General Assembly deliberations. In the period 1993–2002, approximately 15–18 percent of General Assembly Reports focussed on the *taulaga*.⁴ As the *taulagas*

¹ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 17–28 1993*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1993, i.

² Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 12–23 1997*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1997, i.

³ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Senetenari Malua 21–25 Me 2002*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 2002, 1.

⁴ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Setema 12–23 1994*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1994. See Table of Contents; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 20–31 1996*. Of the 154 pages of the 1996 General Assembly Minutes, 120 pages deal with finances of which 27 pages or 17 percent of the report dealt with the *taulaga*; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale*

increased each year it became increasingly important for the Church to know how its money was being spent. The *taulaga* listed the donations of each congregation, subdistrict and district in Samoa and overseas. Such a list fostered the competitive spirit in Samoa between villages since the reputation of a village was associated with the amount donated to the *taulaga*. It became a keenly awaited list since villages would compare their *taulaga* with other villages, and their sub-district with other sub-districts. If the *taulaga* was less than that of a rival village, or even a sub-district, a greater effort was given the following year. With such a competitive spirit it was not surprising that the annual *taulaga* rose from \$3,036,252 in 1994 to \$5,388,666 in 2001.⁵

Financial Accountability

As the financial situation improved there were increasing cases of fraud and mismanagement.⁶ For example, at the beginning of 1993, large sums of money were neither banked nor accounted for.⁷ Some of the school principals kept inaccurate financial records and used school fees without authorisation.⁸ Even the wife of the former Church treasurer incurred a debt of \$12,237 which resulted in the Church seeking legal advice to recover this amount.⁹ However, it was when it was discovered that the accountant, had received an additional \$2,900 on top of his normal allowance and a further \$6,000 for maintaining the financial records of the Development Committee that questions began to be asked.¹⁰ Even greater suspicion was aroused when the Development Committee incurred debts of \$67,000 at the end of 1992.¹¹ The accountant was subsequently dismissed by the Church in 1994 after further

Senetenari Malua 21–25 Me 2002, 1. In 2002 25 pages out of 142 or 18 percent was dedicated to the *taulaga*.

⁵ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Senetenari Malua Me 17–21 1999*, Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1999, 47. In 1998 the *taulaga* reached \$4,857,612; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 20–31 1996*, 32; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Senetenari Malua 21–25 Me 2002*, 24.

⁶ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Fono Tele 1995 EFKS*.14; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 17–28 1993*, 45.

⁷ Solomona Tuatagaloa, “Fono Komiti Tupe 20 Tesema 1994”. Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1994, 4. 94KT217. \$29,839.54 was never banked nor accounted for.

⁸ Eti Vaaelua, “Fono Komiti O Aoga Aso Lulu 24 Me 1995”. Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1995, 1. 95KA187; Oloipola Betham, “Ripoti Mo Le Malu Puipua Ma Le Faaleleia O Le Tausia O Tupe 31 Tesema 1994”. Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1995, 5.

⁹ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 17–28 1993*, 53. All currency values will be in Western Samoan tala, unless specified.

¹⁰ Solomona Tuatagaloa, “Fono Komiti Tupe 20 Tesema 1994”, 4–5. 94KT217.

¹¹ Oloipola Betham, “Sueina O Tala O Tupe–31 Tesema 1992”. Apia: Komiti Tupe 1993, 9.

investigations by the Finance Committee revealed misappropriation of funds.¹² The following year Elisara Kolia was appointed Church accountant.¹³

The three ‘commercial ventures’ of the Church—the printing press, bookshop and plantations (including cattle farms) were in urgent need of better financial management. The printing press was established in Malua Theological College as early as 1839 and remained there for over a hundred years.¹⁴ In 1965 the General Assembly decided to move the printing press to Apia closer to a regular source of electricity and where maintenance personnel were available if anything went wrong with the printing machines.¹⁵ After 1988, however, the printing press operated at a loss.¹⁶ By 1992 the printing press had incurred a cumulative debt of \$177,373.¹⁷ In the same year the Church provided a \$100,000 assistance package, hoping to stimulate a profit. Nevertheless it was forced to pay off the remaining debt in 1993.¹⁸ As a result of the increasing debts of the printing press, the manager was replaced after just two years into a five year contract by the Rev Faitoaga Ti’a.¹⁹ Initially, the Rev. Faitoaga Ti’a took over as manager while he was still the pastor in the village of Fugalei.²⁰ Later, the Rev. Ti’a was replaced by Esaroma Faamausili in February 1995.²¹

¹² Solomona Tuatagaloa, “Fono Komiti Tupe 20 Tesema 1994”. Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1994, 5. 94KT217.

¹³ Solomona Tuatagaloa, “Fono Komiti Tupe 15 Fepuari 1995”. Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1995, 2. 95KT31. Solomona Tuatagaloa, “Fono Komiti Tupe 20 Ianuari 1995”. Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1995, 6–7. 95KT15. His position was replaced by another accountant Elisaia Kolia in January 1995 who was also studying in Malua Theological College; Solomona Tuatagaloa, “Fono Komiti Tupe 15 Fepuari 1995”, 6. 95KT48. Kolia’s work made such an impression that the Church gave him \$2000 to assist him with his studies in Malua.

¹⁴ Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society 1795–1895 Volume 1*. London: Oxford University Press, 1899, 385; Raymond Rickards, *In Their own Tongues. The Bible in the Pacific*. Canberra: The Bible Society in Australia, 1996, 121.

¹⁵ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, Malua Western Samoa 25–29 May 1965*. Malua: Malua Printing Press, 1965.65FT11; Etene Saaga, “Fono A Le Komiti O Fea’u Esee 14–17 Ianuari 1963 “. Apia: Komiti Feau Esee, 1963, 4. 63KFE14 and 63KFE16.

¹⁶ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1990* Malua: Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, 1990, 57. The printing press last made a profit of \$121,641 in 1988.

¹⁷ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 17–28 1993*, 108.

¹⁸ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Ioane Viliamu, Apia Me 18–29 1992*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1992, 10. 92FT30. Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 17–28 1993*, 14. 93FT56

¹⁹ “Fono Komiti Feau Esee. 3 Novema 1994”. Apia: Komiti Feau Esee, 1994, 2. 94KFE175; “Fono Komiti Feau Esee. 22 Novema 1994”. Apia: Komiti Feau Esee, 1994, 1. 94KFE184. Kuateman was replaced initially by Rev. Faitoaga Ti’a in November 1994 who was still the pastor of the village of Fugalei.

²⁰ “Fono Komiti Feau Esee. 3 Novema 1994”. Apia: Komiti Feau Esee, 1994, 2. 94KFE175; “Fono Komiti Feau Esee. 22 Novema 1994”. Apia: Komiti Feau Esee, 1994, 1. 94KFE184.

²¹ “Fono Komiti Feau Esee. 3 Novema 1994”, 2. 94KFE175; “Fono Komiti Feau Esee. 22 Novema 1994”, 1. 94KFE184. Kuateman was replaced initially by Rev. Faitoaga Ti’a in November 1994 who was still the pastor of the village of Fugalei; “Fono Komiti Feau Esee. 1 Fepuari 1995”. Apia: Komiti Feau

Not long after the printing press was established, a book store was set up in Apia and later, another in American Samoa.²² The Church had hoped that publications from the printing press would generate much-needed revenue. The Apia bookshop made modest profits; however the book store in American Samoa operated at a loss from the early 1970s incurring debts as high as \$28,000(US).²³ Such was the unprofitable reputation of the American Samoan bookshop that the Methodists offered to take it.²⁴ Fortunately for the CCCS the American Samoa bookshop became the responsibility of the newly independent American Samoa Church in the 1980s. Nevertheless, just like the printing press and the American Samoa bookshop, the bookshop in Apia also failed. In 1992 it incurred a debt of \$110,000 which increased to \$113,000 the following year and \$121,000 by February 1995.²⁵

The plantations and cattle farm were an integral part of the Development Committee's activities. The Committee hoped to generate revenue from the sale of taro, bananas and beef.²⁶ However the Committee lacked the most basic farming equipment to efficiently farm the land. Poor profits resulted. In November 1982 the Development Committee reported:

Owing to the lack of adequate funds for the implementation of the previous development programmes, the results have not been satisfactory. Management, production and financial returns have been disappointing. In the month of October 1982, there was not a single item of farm equipment operating in all our plantations.

The plantation worker had only their own bush knives. There was not a truck or tractor, and the only vehicle for use by the plantation manager, a 5-year old pickup truck, was under repair. There was no other equipment and the workers labour under very difficult conditions ... Private vehicles are hired, and costs are high. These factors contributed to difficult and unsatisfactory management, and

Eseese, 1995, 6.95KFE28. Since Rev. Ti'a was still looking after a parish it was later decided by the General Purpose Committee to appoint Esaroma Faamausili as the new manager in February 1995.

²² Hugh Neems, "O le Tatalaina o le Faletusi o le Ekalesia Samoa (LMS)". *O Le Sulu Samoa Novema* 1957, 212–213; Samoa Church (LMS), "The Commission". Apia: London Missionary Society, 1959, 27.

²³ Tufuga Pule, "Fale Tusi i Tutuila, 3 Tesema 1974". Apia: Komiti Eseese, 1974, 2; Pala Lima, "Lipoti A Le Suetusi. 17 Me 1976". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1976. By 1976 the debt was still \$13,000 (US).

²⁴ Robert Holding to Oka Fauolo, 11 October 1973 (CCCSA); "Fono Komiti Feau Eseese. Ianuari 15 1974". Apia: Komiti Feau Eseese, 1974, 2 The CCCS rejected the offer from the Methodists in January 1974;

²⁵ Oloipola Betham, "Sueina O Tala O Tupe–31 Tesema 1992", 9; "Faamatalaga Faaopoopo e Fesoasoani i le Faamalamalama o le Tala o le Tupe sa Faaiuina i le Aso 31 Tesema 1994". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1995, 13; Solomonua Tuatagaloa, "Fono Komiti Tupe 15 Feuari 1995", 2. 95KT32.

²⁶ "Lands Development Committee. Preliminary Programme For Lands Development. November 1982". Apia: Development Committee, 1982, 13.

the returns from the efforts of the past 12 years have been disappointing. Annual accounts for the past years have always recorded losses in the operation, of the plantation.²⁷

Ten years later the situation had not improved for the Development Committee. In April 1993 the Development Committee requested an additional \$40,000 for running operations.²⁸ Part of the high running costs was the result of the damage caused by hurricanes Val and Ofa. Later that year the deadly taro leaf blight (*Phytophthora colocasiae*) which was known to wipe out taro in parts of Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands, devastated taro plantations in Samoa.²⁹ Faced with food shortage throughout Samoa, theft from the Church plantations became a problem.³⁰

The lack of profitability of the Development Committee was a source of concern for all the districts in 1995. The South New Zealand District requested the General Assembly to abandon the Development Committee and concentrate on improving the schools.³¹ The Northern New Zealand District was more insistent and suggested that an appropriate manager and a special committee should be chosen for the Development Committee. If there was no change then it should be closed down altogether.³² The Eastern Apia district was even more emphatic when they suggested that a company or a commercial operation should run the Development Committee.³³ The Eastern Apia District proposed:

The Church should think seriously that it is about time that the Development Committee produce a profit to assist with the development of the Church, instead of the Church relying on the *taulaga*.³⁴

The Western Apia and Malua districts both proposed that the land would be more profitable if it was leased.³⁵

²⁷ "Lands Development Committee. Preliminary Programme For Lands Development. November 1982". Apia: Development Committee, 1982, 14–15.

²⁸ Pala Lima, "Lipoti A Le Suetusi 17 Me 1974". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1974, 3; "Fono Komiti Feau Esee. 30 Aperila 1993 Ioane Viliamu". Apia: Komiti Feau Esee, 1993, 4.93KFE69.

²⁹ "Taro leaf blight". *Samoa Observer*, 21 November 1993, 5.

³⁰ "Fono A Le Komiti Atinae. Ioane Viliamu 12 Oketopa 1994". Apia: Komiti Atinae, 1995, 1. 94KA24; Sarasopa Enari, "A Christian Reflection on the Customary Land Tenure System and Modern Development in Samoa". B.D thesis, Pacific Theological College, 1982, 68.

³¹ "Fono Tele 1993 Malua. Mau Tuu Sao i le Fono Tele. Mai Le Nofo a Matagaluega". Apia: EFKS, 1993, 2.

³² "Fono Tele 1993 Malua. Mau Tuu Sao i le Fono Tele. Mai Le Nofo a Matagaluega", 2.

³³ "Fono Tele 1993 Malua. Mau Tuu Sao i le Fono Tele. Mai Le Nofo a Matagaluega", 3.

³⁴ "Fono Tele 1993 Malua. Mau Tuu Sao i le Fono Tele. Mai Le Nofo a Matagaluega", 3–4.

³⁵ "Fono Tele 1993 Malua. Mau Tuu Sao i le Fono Tele. Mai Le Nofo a Matagaluega", 5–8.

With these examples of fraud and mismanagement, employee accountability became a serious matter for the Church. The problem was identified by the new auditor Coopers and Lybrand in 1993. They produced a report that outlined flaws in the organisation of committees, in particular the Finance Committee. It noted that while the Church had an organisational chart at the committee level there was no job description at the employee level and therefore there was no way to monitor employee performance.³⁶ It also noted that proper book-keeping practices had not been enforced, which led to the sacking of the Pay Clerk and resignation of the Accounts Clerk in 1992.³⁷ There were no job descriptions or holiday entitlements; employees generally were not aware of sick leave, which was mandated by the government.³⁸ A work statement restricted employees against taking the Church to court in the case of unfair dismissals. By January 1995 an organisational chart for employees was adopted by the Finance Committee which introduced ways to monitor financial accountability.³⁹

Improving Finances 1995–2001

The implementation of employee work descriptions in 1995 coincided with a dramatic improvement in the financial situation in the second half of the decade. For example, with better financial management and increasing assistance from outside the Church, by the end of 1996 the Church received \$2.3 million in government and overseas assistance.⁴⁰ School fees contributed an annual average of \$257,000 from 1994 to 2001.⁴¹ Overseas organisations such as the CWM encouraged by the measures taken by the Church, donated an average of \$301,518 annually from 1996 to 1998.⁴² The CWM was especially helpful to the struggling Development Committee, contributing £25,000

³⁶ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 17–28 1993*, 44.

³⁷ “Fono Komiti Tupe. Ioane Viliamu 8 Iulai 1992”. Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1992, 103. 92KT202.

³⁸ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 17–28 1993*, 45; Oloipola Betham, “Sueina O Tala O Tupe–31 Tesema 1992”, 2.

³⁹ Solomona Tuatagaloa, “Fono Komiti Tupe 25 Ianuari 1995”. Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1995, 2–3. 95KT21; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Fono Tele 1995 EFKS*, 53.

⁴⁰ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 12–23 1997*, 32–33; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 20–31 1996*, 13, 96FT26. In 1996 even when the General Assembly paid off the \$67,997 debt from the Development Committee it was still able to make a surplus of \$2,315,844 which more than doubled the surplus made in 1995.

⁴¹ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 20–31 1996*, 32; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 12–23 1997*, 33; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Senetenari Malua Me 17–21 1999*, 47; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Senetenari Malua 21–25 Me 2001*, 36; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Senetenari Malua 21–25 Me 2002*, 24.

⁴² Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 12–23 1997*, 33. Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Senetenari Malua Me 17–21 1999*, 47.

for improvements in the cattle herd in 1995.⁴³ The World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) also contributed \$50,000 towards the cattle farm in the same year.⁴⁴ With increasing accountability, the Church was able to secure \$1.3 million from the CWM in 2000 and \$689,000 the following year.⁴⁵ Even the Japanese government, as part of their assistance to South Pacific islands, donated \$167,000 for Church Schools in 1995.⁴⁶ With greater accountability and consistent financial assistance, the Church was able to maintain a stable bank balance of between \$20 to \$22 million for the next five years.⁴⁷

The Decline in Numbers

In sharp contrast to the improving financial situation, the Church faced a greater decline in membership than it had in the previous decade, from 43 percent of the population in 1991 to 35 percent in 2001.⁴⁸ Former chairman of the General Assembly, the Rev. Elder Situfu Tanielu, attributed the decline to immigration overseas for better paying jobs.⁴⁹ As a consequence the Church lost many of its educated and enterprising members:

... we miss some of those good leaders looking to set a good example and ... we want them to stay for years on end so the younger kids will look up to them to set a good example.⁵⁰

In the 1990s the ecclesiastical landscape changed dramatically. All mainline denominations declined but the CCCS's decline was much greater than either the Catholics (21 to 20 percent) or Methodists (17 to 15 percent).⁵¹ Perhaps of even greater

⁴³ "Ripoti a Su'etusi Atina'e o Faato'aga Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1995, 5.

⁴⁴ "Ripoti a Su'etusi Atina'e o Faato'aga Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa", 5.

⁴⁵ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Senetenari Malua 21–25 Me 2002*, 24.

⁴⁶ Misipati Tuiloma, "Fono Komiti Tupe Faafuasei 30 Mati 1995". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1995, 5. 95KT75; Misipati Tuiloma, "Fono Komiti Tupe 6 Aperila 1995". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1995, 3. 95FT82. It had the money to raise the salaries of teachers in 1995 when the Education Committee wanted a raise.

⁴⁷ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa. *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Senetenari Malua 21–25 Me 2002*, 24; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Senetenari Malua Me 17–21 1999*, 48. The funds continued to improve from \$21,929,840 in 1998. \$23,390,371 in 1999 to a high of \$25,033,021 in 2000.

⁴⁸ Magele Crawley, ed., *Report of the Census of Population and Housing 1991*. Apia: Western Samoa Department of Statistics 1991, 29. Table 5.17(b); Reupena Muagututia, ed., *Samoa Population and Housing Census Report 2006*. Apia: Samoa Bureau of Statistics, 2008. 14. Table 3.3b

⁴⁹ Interview with Rev. Elder Situfu Tanielu 29 April 2009. Rev. Elder Situfu Tanielu is parish minister of the Nofaalii village.

⁵⁰ Interview with Rev. Elder Situfu Tanielu 29 April 2009.

⁵¹ Manfred Ernst, *Winds of Change. Rapidly Growing Religious Groups in the Pacific Islands*. Suva, Fiji: Pacific Theological College, 1994, 545.

concern for the CCCS was the rapid growth of non-mainline denominations such as the Latter Day Saints and especially the Assemblies of God. The Latter Day Saints increased from 10 percent to 13 percent from 1991 to 2001.⁵² Similarly in the same period the pentecostal denomination, the Assemblies of God, more than doubled its numbers from 3 percent to 7 percent by the end of 2001. In certain villages the decision to welcome the Church of the Latter Day Saints or the Assemblies of God was seen as an expression of discontent with the mainline church. Conversions to the Church of Latter Day Saints were more frequent in Apia because, for the most part, Mormon schools had better facilities than CCCS schools.⁵³ The Assemblies of God also attracted many families, partly because they did not make the same excessive financial demands as the CCCS did.

The financial demands made upon members of the CCCS has often been considered a key reason for decline. Manfred Ernst in *Winds of Change* (1994), for example, noted that:

It is a common view even among the leaders of the Church that the expected contributions to the Church are an important factor in the massive numerical decline of the CCCS.⁵⁴

Fuelled by the competitive nature of the village culture, families were continuously pressured for ever increasing donations. The situation became worse when in July 1993 the devastating taro blight destroyed many plantations. Taro was not only a staple food for Samoans but contributed significantly to export earnings.⁵⁵ Consequently, alternative food such as wheat and rice had to be imported causing a massive \$177 million deficit in the government's budget. The government responded by introducing a controversial 10 percent Value Added Goods and Service Tax (VAGST) at the

⁵² Manfred Ernst, *Winds of Change. Rapidly Growing Religious Groups in the Pacific Islands*, 545.

⁵³ John Garrett, *Where Nets Were Cast Christianity in Oceania since World War II*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies University of the South Pacific 1997, 409.

⁵⁴ Interview with Rev. Elder Siolo Tauti 28 April 2009; Manfred Ernst, *Winds of Change. Rapidly Growing Religious Groups in the Pacific Islands*, 169.

⁵⁵ "Time to Pray That Cyclone Won't Strike, Advises Finance Minister". *Samoa Observer*, 12 December 1993, 2; "Heading Towards the Brink". *Samoa Observer*, 26 January 1994, 5. Taro exports made up 63 per cent of revenue in 1993 and earned \$9.1 million in the first ten months of the year; "Remittances Drop 43%, Taro Exports Decline Dramatically". *Samoa Observer*, 24 December 1993, 3; "External Trade". *Samoa Observer*, 9 February 1994, 6. However monthly earnings dropped from \$1.2 million in August to \$0.1 million in December.

beginning of 1994.⁵⁶ The tax resulted in a national protest in March 1994 in which the protest leaders complained that around 150,000 people in a total population of around 170,000 were not earning a regular income and could not afford the 10 percent tax.⁵⁷ The government did not remove the VAGST but instead offered to remove or reduce import duties on 32 essential goods most of which were foodstuffs.⁵⁸ Placed under such economic pressure it is not surprising that church members ‘migrated’ to other denominations where there were fewer financial demands.

In this same period new denominations increased from six percent of the Christian population in 1991 to fourteen percent in 2001.⁵⁹ The majority of these new denominations belonged to the pentecostal churches, such as the Assemblies of God.⁶⁰ According to the veteran Assembly of God pastor and educator, Tavita Pagaialii, the pentecostal movement had an active outreach programme that reached out to the general public and away from the village-controlled Church.⁶¹ Preaching in marketplaces, a twenty-four hour Christian network on local television as well as two Christian radio stations broadcasting mostly pentecostal music and messages were successful strategies employed by the Assemblies of God.⁶² Furthermore, its two Bible schools, the Harvest Bible College and Ierusalema Fou Bible College promulgated pentecostalism.⁶³ The pentecostal movement adopted strategies that focused on the laity rather than on an ecclesiastical elite.

⁵⁶ “The Good News, the Bad and the Solemn”. *Samoa Observer*, 10 December 1993, 4; “Heading Towards the Brink”. *Samoa Observer*, 26 January 1994, 5; “Western Samoa. The Cradle of Polynesia”. *Pacific Islands Monthly* 62 April, 39.

⁵⁷ “We Will Not Accept a 5% VAGST”. *Samoa Observer*, 4 March 1994, 1–2; “Protestors’ Concern and People Support”. *Samoa Observer*, 9 March 1994, 4.

⁵⁸ “Govt Delivers Relief Package, Duties on 32 Items Reduced”. *Samoa Observer*, 16 March 1994, 1–2; Alan Ah Mu, “Protestors Hit Govt”. *Pacific Islands Monthly* 64 April, 9. The Prime Minister Tofilau Eti reminded the country of VAGST exemptions already in place covering school fees, bus and taxi fares and uprocessed goods, fisheries and agricultural produce.

⁵⁹ Reupena Muagututia, ed., *Report of the Census of Population and Housing 2001*. Apia: Statistical Services Division 2001, 22.

⁶⁰ Alec Thornton, Maria Kerslake, Tony Binns, “Alienation and Obligation: Religion and Social Change in Samoa”. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 51 no. 1 (2010): 1–16.

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.ezproxy.csu.edu.au/doi/10.1111/j.1467-373.2010.01410.x/full> (accessed September 26, 2011); Tavita Pagaialii, “The Pentecostal Movement: Reaching the Uttermost”. *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 7, no. 2 (2004): 268–269.

⁶¹ Tavita Pagaialii, “The Pentecostal Movement: Reaching the Uttermost”, 269; Darrin Rodgers, “Book Reviews”. *Pneuma* (2008): 357–58.

⁶² Tavita Pagaialii, “The Pentecostal Movement: Reaching the Uttermost”, 270.

⁶³ Tavita Pagaialii, “The Pentecostal Movement: Reaching the Uttermost”, 270, 273.

The Latter Day Saints also focussed on the laity and were active in providing a 'welfare programme' throughout Samoa.⁶⁴ For example, after hurricane Val and Ofa, the Church of the Latter Day Saints provided vital foodstuff to Samoans. After witnessing such generosity, many Samoans were tempted to convert. They also had an employment centre, that taught computer skills, and assisted farmers with seed.⁶⁵ Other attractions included 'lease hold agreements' for those seeking land in Apia and a 'Perpetual Education Fund' to help Samoans go to university.⁶⁶

By contrast the CCCS neglected the laity. An examination of the Christian Endeavour's use of its funds reveals a reluctance to invest in the laity. The Christian Endeavour is an important institution of the Church which encourages 'Bible study' for the laity.⁶⁷ Each year the sub-committee prepares lectionaries which outline monthly themes for Bible study. On certain Sundays of the year, the laity are organised into groups, and provide biblical passages to support their views on these themes. Since the 1960s members of the Church contributed financially to the Christian Endeavour sub-committee's work but, sadly, in the late 1960s the funds began to be used for the theological education such as a new stone wall for the Malua Theological College.⁶⁸ Also, the fund was used to finance the pensions of retired ministers. Between 1995–2001 an annual average of \$123,215 of the Christian Endeavour funds was drawn down for the pensions of retired ministers.⁶⁹ The Rev. Elder Siolo Tauti, who has written a history of the Christian Endeavour in Samoa, described the situation without irony as the spiritual arm of the Church propping-up our retired 'spiritual fathers'.⁷⁰ This situation seemed totally acceptable to Tauti. Perhaps he was compromised. Even as a student studying theology at Pacific Theological College, his fees were paid from the Christian Endeavour fund.⁷¹

⁶⁴ Alec Thornton, Maria Kerslake, Tony Binns, "Alienation and Obligation: Religion and Social Change in Samoa", 12.

⁶⁵ Alec Thornton, Maria Kerslake, Tony Binns, "Alienation and Obligation: Religion and Social Change in Samoa", 12.

⁶⁶ Alec Thornton, Maria Kerslake, Tony Binns, "Alienation and Obligation: Religion and Social Change in Samoa", 11–12.

⁶⁷ Siolo Tauati, "The Christian Endeavour Movement. A Study of the Christian Endeavour Movement and its Role plays in the Church's Mission. With Special Reference to the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa". BD thesis. Suva, Fiji: Pacific Theological College, (nd), 109–110.

⁶⁸ Faulalo Sagapolutele, "Au Taumafai. Mo Au Taumafai Kerisiano Aoao". *O Le Sulu Samoa* Ianuari (1969), 18.

⁶⁹ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 20–31 1996*, 49 Pensions totalled \$102,563 in 1995; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 12–23 1997*, 63. In 1997 and 1998 the pensions cost the Christian Endeavour \$97,700 and \$125,773 respectively.⁶⁹

⁷⁰ Interview Rev. Elder Siolo Tauati April 2009. Siolo Tauati, *O Le Tala Faasolopito O Le Au Taumafai Kerisiano I Le Lalolagi Ma Le Atu Samoa*. Apia: Malua Printing Press.(nd), 24

⁷¹ Interview Rev. Elder Siolo Tauati 28 April 2009.

Another institution devoted to the ‘spirituality’ of the Church was the Prayer Watcher’s sub-committee whose purpose was to foster the practice of prayer within the Church. The sub-committee was established as far back as 1895 and, as with the Christian Endeavour, it aimed to encourage Christian devotion.⁷² Just as Christian Endeavour received donations for its work, so did Prayer Watchers. Although Prayer Watchers was not as financially powerful as Christian Endeavour, its funds were diverted to other purposes as well. In 1994 when the Western Apia district requested the Prayer Watchers sub-committee to use part of its budget for ‘spiritual literature’ for the laity, no action was taken.⁷³

Another example of the neglect of the laity were the limited opportunities open to for women, apart from serving on the *Mafutaga Tina* or being a pastor’s wife. Mostly their gifts were confined to fund-raising. For a long time the Church had been resistant to the ordination of women. Hambly noted as early as 1976 that, ‘there seems no likelihood of women being ordained in the near future, either to conduct a ministry on their own or with their ordained husbands.’⁷⁴ The Church was even resistant to women sitting the Malua Theological Entrance Examinations. At a 1989 Elders Committee meeting this matter was conveniently deferred:

This is not an easy issue for our Church in this time. It will be given to the chair of each district to think about and search for an appropriate response for the future of the Church.⁷⁵

Giving women the opportunity to sit the Malua Entrance Exam was again brought up in the 1992 General Assembly, but the response was the same as that of the 1989 General Assembly.⁷⁶ When the issue of opening theological classes for women with no intention of being ministers was raised in the 1994 General Assembly, it did not receive the required 2/3 vote for further deliberation.⁷⁷ There seemed to be an unwillingness not only to the ordination of women but also to offering them theological education. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that women were seen by the CCCS as solely financial

⁷² S Vivao, “Au Leoleo”. *O Le Sulu Samoa*, Tesema 1969, 229.

⁷³ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Setema 12–23 1994*, 10. 94FT29; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Fono Tele 1995 EFKS*, 14.

⁷⁴ Richard Hambly, “Contrasting Ministries”. *O le Sulu Samoa*, Fepuari 1976, 31.

⁷⁵ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi O Iugafono a Le Au Toeaina 1979–1994*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1996, 181.

⁷⁶ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi O Iugafono a Le Au Toeaina 1979–1994*, 275.

⁷⁷ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Setema 12–23 1994*, 8. 94FT22.

work horses rather than utilising all their gifts. The CCCS stood in stark contrast to the American Samoan Congregational Church who have ‘invested’ in female pastors.⁷⁸ The attitude to women in the CCCS is another clear example of the incorporation of village dynamics into the operation of the Church.

Instead the role of women in the CCCS was characterized by the activities of the *Mafutaga Tina* and the role of the pastor’s wife. As an autonomous ‘sub-committee’ of the Church, the *Mafutaga Tina* were renowned for organising all the women in the Church in fundraising activities. They contributed substantial financial assistance to major Church projects.

As noted in Chapter One and Two, the *Mafutaga Tina* paralleled the *auluma*’s structure and duties in the village. The *auluma* is an institution of the village, consisting of the women of the village dedicated to the maintenance of the village and led by the wives of chiefs.⁷⁹ A similar structure and responsibility was adopted by the *Mafutaga Tina*. Pastor or elder’s wives led the *Mafutaga Tina*. Rev. Elder Situfu Tanielu noted that the *Mafutaga Tina* mirrored the *auluma*’s reputation of dependability.

If I tell the chiefs or the deacons or some of the youth to do something I always worry. But if you tell the women, you do this, you do this oh you can rest assured they will do it properly.⁸⁰

Right up to the present day, the *Mafutaga Tina* has been such a successful institution of the Church that the role of women in the CCCS is not only defined but also is confined to the *Mafutaga Tina* and the duties of the pastor’s wives.

The CCCS’s rather negative attitude to the laity was further illustrated by another building programme which was conveniently called the Youth Building Project (*Maota Tupulaga*). The *Maota Tupulaga* was in the planning stage for many years. When the old *Maota Tupulaga* burnt down in May 1988, fundraising for the new building began immediately.⁸¹ Squabbles over the location of the new building, the effects of recent

⁷⁸ Interview with Rev. Elder Lale Jeremiah 29 April 2009.

⁷⁹ Elia Taase, “The Congregational Christian Church in Samoa: The Origin and Development of an Indigenous Church, 1830–1961”. PhD, Fuller Theological Seminary 1995, 187.

⁸⁰ Interview with Rev. Elder Situfu Tanielu 29 April 2009.

⁸¹ Vaetoe Amosa, *Ripoti: Matagaluega Aoaoga Kerisiano – Me 1988–Me 1989*, Apia: Aoaoga Kerisiano, 1989; Tufuga Pule, “Ripoti Fanua, Fale ma mea totino a le Ekalesia i Upolu ma Savaii”. Apia: Komiti o

hurricanes on building generally, the difficulties obtaining planning permission, and a reluctance on the part of the General Assembly to release funds for its construction meant that the *Maota Tupulaga* was not constructed until 1998.⁸² As with the John Williams Building, the *Maota Tupulaga* would also be used for generating funds rather than be dedicated to programmes for youth. It is difficult to disagree with Pagaialii's conclusion that the CCCS's emphasis on the material fabric of the Church has had a detrimental effect on the Church's spiritual life.⁸³

Tokelau District becomes independent

The separation in 1997 of the Tokelauan district was another example of spiritual malaise within the Church. Tokelau is a group of three atolls—Atafu, Nukunonu and, Fakaofu to the north of Samoa. After the arrival of the Protestant missionaries in the late 1850s, the relationship between the Tokelauan Protestant Churches and the Samoan Church became very close, resulting in a period of "Samoanization".⁸⁴ Tokelauans were taught to read the Samoan Bible and worship services were conducted in the Samoan language. To a large extent, most of the old people of Tokelau regarded the Samoan language as superior to the Tokelau language.⁸⁵ All of the Tokelauan pastors were graduates of the Malua Theological College and those students that went beyond primary school continued their education in CCCS schools. Throughout the 1960s there were regular visitations from the Samoan Church, thereby strengthening ties with the Tokelauan Church.⁸⁶

Fanua & Fale, 1979, 34. The old Youth Building was built on a 2.5 square metre area which altogether with the cost of the fixed assets was valued at \$5,745 in 1979.

⁸² Laau Tanielu, *Fono Tele Me 1989 Komiti Feau Eseese*, Apia: Komiti Feau Eseese, 1989, 22.

89KFE45, 89KFE48; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Setema 12–23 1994*, 16. 94FT55.

⁸³ Tavita Pagaialii, "The Pentecostal Movement: Reaching the Uttermost", 270; Solomona Tuatagaloa, "Fono Komiti Tupe 15 Fepuari 1995", 2. 95KT30; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Fono Tele 1995 EFKS*, 24, 54.

⁸⁴ Antony Hooper and Judith Huntsman ed., *Matagi Tokelau*, Apia: Office for Tokelau Affairs, 1991, 84–86.

⁸⁵ Iutana Pue, "Doing Theology in the Context of Tokelau. Towards a Te-Vaka Theology". Bachelor of Divinity, Malua Theological College, 2003, 35.

⁸⁶ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi O Iugafono a Le Au Toeaina 1952–1978*. Apia, Samoa: Malua Printing Press, 1979, 50. 62KAT44 concerns the delegation to Tokelau; the missionary Clarence Norwood, the elder deacon Feo from Ituotane. The ministers Tulafono Faagau from Tutuila and the Rev. Elder Sarasopa Enari from Malua; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi O Iugafono a Le Au Toeaina 1952–1978*, 64. 63KAT39 concerns the delegates to Tokelau in 1963: The missionary Cohens, the Elder Alama and his wife Litara from Aana District, the Elder Deacon Tuato from the Fa'asaleleaga District, and the minister Iupeli from Apia District; Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, Malua Western Samoa 25–29 May 1964*. Malua: Malua Printing Press, 1964, 10. 64GA33. The following people have been appointed by the Assembly to visit the Tokelau Islands: Elder Pastor Salesa and wife, Elder Deacon Letuli and Pastor Sili; "Asiasiga i Toelau". *O Le Sulu Samoa*, Tesema 1965, 231. On the 13 November 1965 the missionary Peter Elliot, Elder minister Folau and Elder deacon Laulau visited Tokelau.

Over time the Tokelauans were taken for granted. Often the Church in Tokelau was overlooked in many of its publications such as the *Christian Endeavour* and *Prayer Watcher's*.⁸⁷ At the beginning of the 1990s there were fewer visitations to Tokelau, with the result that in 1994 there was no delegation to the atolls.⁸⁸ Part of the reason for the decline is that Tokelau finally attained the status of a district of the CCCS in 1986 after nearly a hundred years of association with the Samoan Church. It therefore no longer warranted special attention, and so visitations virtually ceased.⁸⁹ In 1988, two years after it became a district, the General Assembly rejected a request from the Church in Tokelau for the construction of a Christian Education office. The Assembly argued that pastors were responsible for spirituality and education within the Church and that the Tokelau district was too small, in any case, to warrant such an office.⁹⁰ Because of its small size and isolation, Tokelau was often dismissed as a nation 'too lonely and forgotten.'⁹¹ Yet despite this indifference, CCCS leaders continued to look upon Tokelau as another source of *taulaga*.⁹²

A political shift towards self-determination and an awareness of Tokelauan culture occurred in the early 1990s. In 1993, a General Meeting was established to manage the ordinary affairs of Tokelauans. When the General Meeting was not in session, a Council of political leaders on each atoll acted on behalf of the General Meeting.⁹³ At about the same time as these political developments, the Church in Tokelau started singing Tokelauan hymns and preaching in Tokelauan.⁹⁴ The combination of political and cultural factors led to changes in the Tokelauans' perceptions of their own culture

⁸⁷ "Mau A Toelau" Apia: Komiti Feau Eeseese, 1977.

⁸⁸ "Fono Komiti Au Toeaina 22–23 Mati 1995". Apia Komiti Au Toeaina, 1995, 4–5. 95KAT94; Lawrence Bracken, "The Tokelaus, where to be almost forgotten could be a blessing". *Pacific Islands Monthly* 45, September 1974, 45.

⁸⁹ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, *Minutes of the General Assembly 12–23 May*, 18. 86FT72, 19. 86FT79. Prior to becoming a district (*matagaluega*) of the CCCS, Tokelau students did not sit the Entrance Exam. However, when they became a district in 1986, Tokelau students were treated as other districts of the church; "Fono Komiti Au Toeaina 22–23 Mati 1995". Apia: Komiti Au Toeaina, 1995, 4–5. 95KAT94; Lawrence Bracken, "The Tokelaus, where to be almost forgotten could be a blessing", 45.

⁹⁰ Congregational Christian Church of Samoa. *The General Assembly of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. Minutes of the General Assembly 1988*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1988, 8. 88FT25.

⁹¹ Lawrence Bracken, "The Tokelaus, where to be almost forgotten could be a blessing", 39; "Mau A Toelau"

⁹² Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Ioane Viliamu, Apia Me 18–29 1992*, 14. 92FT49

⁹³ Antony Hooper and Judith Huntsman ed., *Matagi Tokelau*, Apia: Office for Tokelau Affairs, 1991, 137. Prior to 1925, Tokelau was under the British Protectorate. In 1925, Tokelau was placed under the oversight of the New Zealand Government by the British Government.

⁹⁴ Iutana Pue, "Doing Theology in the Context of Tokelau. Towards a Te-Vaka Theology". Bachelor of Divinity, Malua Theological College, 2003, 35.

and identity. With growing political autonomy and the assertion of Tokelauan identity, it was only a matter of time before the Tokelauan district sought independence.

Independence came in 1997. There were the normal pleasant courtesies, exchanges of greetings, and a generous gift of \$200,000 from the CCCS to the district of Tokelau, but in hindsight, it was too little too late. Another limb, albeit a small one, had broken off from the body.⁹⁵

The Congregational Senior College

Yet another example of the neglect of the laity was the Church's reluctance to invest in the Congregational Senior College. As a result of hurricane Ofa and Val the Western Samoan Government initiated a massive reconstruction programme totalling thirteen million dollars (WS), jointly financed by the Governments of Western Samoa, Australia and New Zealand.⁹⁶ For example, the Government of New Zealand donated \$7.5 million (WS) to rebuild nineteen cyclone resistant standard Junior Secondary Schools, the Teachers Training College, three Government Colleges and the National University of Samoa.⁹⁷ Part of this aid was allocated to the schools of the mainline Churches. With such massive overseas aid, the Church still failed to stop the declining academic standards of the Congregational Senior College.⁹⁸

Despite the aim of the Congregational Senior College to help students gain entry into university, the numbers entering university were not encouraging. Overall there were fewer students going onto university from Church schools than there were from government schools.⁹⁹ For example, in 1991 only four out of 157 students qualified for university, though some continued their studies at technical college.¹⁰⁰ The disappointing examination results prompted the director of Education, Fuifui Teevale, to encourage parents to have faith in the new school, pointing out that the school had

⁹⁵ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 12–23 1997*, 9.

⁹⁶ Fiamē Naomi, "Letter from Minister of Education. Education Department's 1994 Policies". *Samoa Observer* 6 February 1994, 20.

⁹⁷ "New Zealand Completes Aid to Schools". *Samoa Observer* 19 November 1993, 25; "NZ's Education Help Impresses". *Samoa Observer* 22 April 1994, 3.

⁹⁸ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Setema 12–23 1994*, 6. 94FT14.

⁹⁹ Fuifui Teevale, "Lipoti Mo Aoga E.F.K.S". Apia: Komiti Aoga 1991, 25.

¹⁰⁰ Fuifui Teevale, "Lipoti Mo Aoga E.F.K.S", 36.

highly qualified staff.¹⁰¹ The following year, however, the results were no better; only four students out of 223 were eligible to enter university.¹⁰²

A major setback was the resignation of Fuifui Teevale as Director of Education in 1992.¹⁰³ It was the first time since the creation of the Director of Education position in 1976 that it had become vacant so the duties were taken over by the chairman and secretary of the Education Committee.¹⁰⁴ Teevale's resignation meant that for the next three years the Congregational Senior College lost a significant voice for the college. It was not until April 1995, after complaints from districts for a director to raise the standard of Church schools, that the Church elected a new director, the Rev. Niusila Niusila, a former lecturer of Malua Theological College and the pastor of Vailima parish.¹⁰⁵

The third year (1993) precipitated a crisis. As a consequence of the poor results, most CCCS students who passed School Certificate preferred to continue their studies at Samoa College, a government school, rather than at the Senior College.¹⁰⁶ With declining numbers, the Senior College was forced to take all eligible sixth form students.¹⁰⁷ In the same year, two highly-qualified teachers left leaving just four full-time teachers and eight part-time teachers on the staff.¹⁰⁸ The grim situation was compounded by the fact that there were no scholarships offered by the Education Committee in that year.¹⁰⁹

During the following year the school was further hindered by the availability of teachers and the higher standards required by the university. There was no science teacher until April when the school was forced to employ a part-time teacher.¹¹⁰ The Mathematics teacher resigned to take up a position at the National University of Samoa during the

¹⁰¹ Fuifui Teevale, "Lipoti Mo Aoga E.F.K.S", 25.

¹⁰² Kerisiano Soti, "Ripoti O Aoga Me 1992–Me 1993", Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1993, 4.

¹⁰³ Kerisiano Soti, "Ripoti O Aoga Me 1992–Me 1993", 1.

¹⁰⁴ Kerisiano Soti, "Ripoti O Aoga Me 1992–Me 1993", 1.

¹⁰⁵ Misipati Tuiloma, "Fono Komiti Tupe 6 Aperila 1995". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1995, 3. 95KT80. Kerisiano Soti, "Ripoti Mo Aoga 1995". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1995, 1; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Setema 12–23 1994*, 6. 94FT14. North New Zealand district wanted a qualified person to be director of Education. 12, 94FT36 Malua district also requested a director.

¹⁰⁶ Kerisiano Soti, "Ripoti O Aoga Me 1992–Me 1993". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1993, 11.

¹⁰⁷ "Fono Komiti Aoga 18 Me 1993". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1993, 3, 93KA140.

¹⁰⁸ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Ioane Viliamu, Apia Me 18–29 1992*, 89; Kerisiano Soti, "Ripoti O Aoga Me 1992–Me 1993". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1993, 3.

¹⁰⁹ "Fono Komiti Aoga 17 Mati 1993". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1993, 2. 93FT52.

¹¹⁰ Kerisiano Soti, "Ripoti Mo Aoga 1995". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1995, 10.

examination period.¹¹¹ The English teacher was ill for half of the year.¹¹² Again in 1995, university standards were raised, making it harder for students from Senior College to gain entry.¹¹³ The former principal of Leulumoega Fou, Leaula Amosa, who had complained about the wisdom of sending Form Six students from Leulumoega Fou and Maluafof College to Senior College was finally justified when in 2001 the General Assembly reintroduced Form 6 back into Leulumoega Fou and Maluafof Colleges.¹¹⁴ The reintroduction of Form Six to these two schools confirmed that the Combined Senior College was not working out for those students who lived far from the Apia city area.

The poor results of CCCS schools has sometimes been blamed on the Church's policy of removing primary schools. For Tauti, the closure of the Church's primary/intermediate school at Vaisigano meant that the Church could not monitor students entering its secondary schools.¹¹⁵ In 1997, eight years after the closure of Vaisigano primary school, the Eastern Falealili district requested the Church to build a primary/intermediate school by 2000.¹¹⁶ The General Assembly rejected the request because primary/intermediate education was not only expensive but there were already many such schools in the district.¹¹⁷ The Church's emphasis on secondary education at the expense of primary education proved to be counter-productive.

The Church realised by 1993 that its educational institutions were catering for disadvantaged students, both academically and economically.¹¹⁸ In an interview with Lale Ieremia in 2009, he noted that by the beginning of the 1990s CCCS schools were increasingly attracting families unable to afford government school fees.¹¹⁹ Eventually, according to Tauti, this became the Church's 'new' mission; rather than its elitist vision in the 1960s, it was now dealing with:

¹¹¹ Kerisiano Soti, "Ripoti Mo Aoga 1995", 11.

¹¹² Kerisiano Soti, "Ripoti Mo Aoga 1995", 11.

¹¹³ Kerisiano Soti, "Ripoti Mo Aoga 1995", 10. 1 is 80–100, 2 is 70–79, 3 is 60–69.

¹¹⁴ Leaula Amosa to Faatonusili O Aoga EFKS, 4 (CCCSA); Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Senetenari Malua 21–25 Me 2001*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 2001, 19–20. 2001FT53

¹¹⁵ Interview with Rev. Elder Siolo Tauti 28 April 2009.

¹¹⁶ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 12–23 1997*, 6. 97FT19.

¹¹⁷ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 12–23 1997*, 7.

¹¹⁸ Kerisiano Soti, "Ripoti O Aoga Me 1992–Me 1993". Apia: Komiti Aoga, 1993, 11.

¹¹⁹ Interview with Rev. Elder Lale Ieremia 28 April 2009.

those who are ‘under-developed’ those who ... have little hope academically. That is where the Church comes in. It is a big work for the Church. So I am proud in our mission.¹²⁰

Ironically it was in this period of increasing financial assistance from the government that the Congregational Senior College’s academic standard declined. The loss of highly qualified teachers after the first two years was indicative of a Church not prepared to use its considerable resources to retain teachers. In fact with such resources at its disposal the Church could have improved the salaries of those employed by the Church. Instead, it wasted an opportunity to further improve not only the Congregational Senior College but the Church schools in general.

Generous Government assistance to the Church highlighted the long and close association between the Church and the government. This close association was exemplified in the first Prime Minister of Samoa, Mataafa Fiame, who was also an elder deacon of the Church. Other founding members of the governing party, the Human Rights Protection Party, such as Le Mamea Ropati and Le Tagaloa Pita, were also deacons in the Church. Prime Minister, Tofilau Eti was also an elder deacon from the Fa’asaleleaga district. It is instructive to note that when the Prime Minister Eti was hospitalised in New Zealand in 1995, the Church donated \$2,000 for his medical expenses.¹²¹ According to the former General Secretary, Lale Ieremia, the relationship between the CCCS and government was:

Very close, very close ... if you want to get into parliament you have to work hard in the Church because people of the Church will vote him in. If you don’t go to Church you will find it difficult to get into parliament¹²²

It was because of this close association with the government that protestors against the Valued Goods and Services Tax (VAGST) hoped that the Church would influence the government to remove the controversial tax in 1994.¹²³ Even when Eti said that the

¹²⁰ Interview with Rev. Elder Siolo Tauti 28 April 2009.

¹²¹ Atapana Alama, “Fonotaga Komiti Tupe 20 Aperila 1995”. Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1995, 1–2. 95KT91.

¹²² Interview with Rev. Elder Lale Ieremia, 28 April 2009. Rev. Elder Lale Ieremia was a former lecturer in Malua Theological College, the former principal of Leulumoea Fou College from 1979–1983, and the former General Secretary of the CCCS from 1983–89.

¹²³ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Setema 12–23 1994*, 9. 94FT24. For example the Eastern Apia district requested the church to join the Council of Churches petition to the government to remove the VGST.

VAGST also taxed those whose salaries were exempt from tax such as the pastors, the Church remained 'passive'.¹²⁴ According to Tauti:

... we [the Church] rarely cause strikes or rarely complain to the government. We believe that whoever is appointed to rule, that appointment is from God. So the only function of the Church is to pray for the government...¹²⁵

The emphasis on Clergy

In contrast to the Pentecostals and the Church of the Latter Day Saints the CCCS policies focussed increasingly on the clergy and neglected opportunities to develop the spiritual life of the laity. As early as 1976 the Reverend Richard Hambly, one of the last Congregational Council of World Mission missionaries working in Samoa, had noted that the Church had deliberately ignored the training of the laity. He had observed that the Church was reluctant to give the laity the same level of biblical training as pastors. Apparently, the pastors feared that their authority would be challenged if the laity were educated:

[CCCS] Pastors have become too professional in the sense that [they] do not encourage our lay people to learn as much about the Bible and theology as some of them would wish. There is always the danger with an educated class that they will resent any outsider trying to obtain knowledge of their particular profession. It is certainly not a good thing if we could train others to be at least as knowledgeable as ourselves. We answered the call to preach the Gospel so that others would be led to answer the same call of God. I believe that there is a great thirst for Bible knowledge and theological discussion amongst the lay people of Samoa and if individual Pastors feel unable to meet this demand the Church should consider using the facilities of Malua College for those interested.¹²⁶

Church funds were increasingly diverted to benefit the clergy at the expense of the laity. For example, in 1994, when \$20,000 was approved by the Church to purchase teaching aides (charts, maps, etc...) for Sunday schools, there was no enthusiasm to procure these resources.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ "Feutagaiga a le Malo ma le Fono Aoao a Ekalesia i Samoa". *Samoa Observer*, 24 November 1993, 30.

¹²⁵ Interview Rev. Elder Siolo Tauti, 29 April 2009. Rev. Siolo Tauti is a long serving teacher for Leulumoega Fou College. He was also the author of the history of the Christian Endeavour in Samoa.

¹²⁶ Richard Hambly, "Contrasting Ministeries". *O le Sulu Samoa*, Fepuari 1976, 32.

¹²⁷ Tuiloma, Misipati. "Fono Komiti Tupe Faafuasei 30 Mati 1995". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1995, 2. 95KT59. Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Setema 12-23 1994*, 1994, 10.94FT29; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Fono Tele 1995EFKS*, Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1995, 15.

Another example of the Church's commitment to clerical and material development occurred when the 1996 General Assembly approved \$200,000 for loans at reduced interest to develop congregations.¹²⁸ (In 1997 a further one million was added to this programme.¹²⁹) The loan programme became so popular that by the end of 1998 2 million had been loaned thus forcing the Church in 1999 to restrict parish loans to \$100,000 per congregation.¹³⁰ The majority of the loans were used to renovate Churches or pastors' residences. According to Thornton, such development resulted in a 'massive misuse of the Church's colossal resources' leading Church members to detach themselves from the Church completely. The situation of the Church was exemplified in an editorial in the *Samoa Observer* in 1994:

We cannot rely on the Churches now as we see them interested in amassing money and wealth, in building huge Churches and houses for their ministers ... with the ministers themselves encouraging their congregations in these matters. It has and is resulting in hardship for individual families and even stealing is increasing to assist in making up individual family levees/contributions.¹³¹

In the *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* Pagaialii criticised the mainline church's emphasis on the material aspects of the Church and ignoring the laity.¹³²

There are several reasons for the CCCS giving priority to the clergy over the laity. In 1976 Hambly had not only written of the reluctance of the Church to educate the laity, but also wrote of the need to prepare theological students for a society that was more educated:

In Samoa the Pastor is a respected person partly because of his education and also because of function in society. But I doubt the education a Pastor received 20 or more years ago is intellectually adequate for the late 1970s.¹³³

Unfortunately during the late 1970s and throughout 1980s the Church was committed to the John Williams Building and the University of Samoa rather than focussed on the clergy. In 1989 two years after the payment of the John Williams Building loan, the

¹²⁸ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me* 20–31 1996, 14, 96FT32.

¹²⁹ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me* 12–23 1997, 8, 97FT25.

¹³⁰ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Senetenari Malua Me* 17–21 1999, 10, 99FT18, 42.

¹³¹ "Support for the PM". *Samoa Observer*, 11 February 1994, 6.

¹³² Tavita Pagaialii, "The Pentecostal Movement: Reaching the Uttermost", 270.

¹³³ Richard Hambly, "Contrasting Ministries". *O le Sulu Samoa*, Fepuari 1976, 32.

Elders Committee approved a Bachelor's programme in Malua.¹³⁴ However it was not until the early to mid-1990's that the Church was able to focus on clerical education.

In 1994, the General Assembly was held in September rather than May in recognition of the 150 years of the founding of Malua Theological College.¹³⁵ It was a significant time as it was the end of the principalship of Oka Fauolo who was replaced by Otele Perelini. Under Perelini the college underwent radical transformation and attempted to bring clerical education up to date in Malua. It had also suffered from the John Williams Building financial drain in the 1980s.

Perelini was an academic who had a great love for the college and was keen to improve the academic life of the college.¹³⁶ He initiated changes to ensure that students spent more time in their studies. Perelini removed the maintenance of plantations which was a legacy of the college's attempt at self-sufficiency. He gradually limited the time students spent on maintaining the college grounds. In a long-standing Malua tradition, he abolished the 11.00pm curfew when all lights were turned off and study and all other activities were expected to cease. Perelini exempted desk lamps in order for students to continue their studies. Consonant with his emphasis on academic life, Otele was fortunate to obtain financial assistance from the Evangelical Church in Germany, of 30,000 Deutschmarks, specifically for the computers and books for the library.¹³⁷ He extended the library so that there was more shelf and extra study space. The renovations also included a computer room with ten computers for word processing. Under his principalship, the Bachelor of Divinity programme was implemented in 1997 and accredited in 2000 by the South Pacific Association of Theological Schools (SPATS). The Bachelor of Divinity programme had taken eleven years to be accredited since the approval by the Elders Committee in Malua in 1989.¹³⁸ Malua lecturers were now

¹³⁴ "Fono A Le Komiti A Le Au Toeaina 1989". Malua: Komiti Au Toeaina, 1989, 15, 89KAT77. It was hoped that such a programme would begin in 1992–1993.

¹³⁵ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Setema 12–23 1994*, 1.

¹³⁶ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi O Iugafono a Le Au Toeaina 1979 –1994*. Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1996, 377. A Bachelor of Divinity graduate from Pacific Theological College in Fiji in 1970 Perelini continued his studies to Yale Theological Seminary for his Masters in Sacred Theology and returned to teach in Malua in 1977. In 1978–79 he continued his studies in Master of Philosophy from St Andrews University in Edinburgh and returned to work in Malua from 1980 to 1988. In 1989 to 1992 he studied for his Doctor of Philosophy at St. Andrews in Edinburgh and returned to Malua in 1993.

¹³⁷ *Malua Theological College Handbook 1998*, Apia: Malua Printing Press, 1998, 8–9.

¹³⁸ "Fono A Le Komiti A Le Au Toeaina 1989". Malua: Komiti Au Toeaina, 1989, 15, 89KAT77. It was hoped that such a programme would begin in 1992–1993.

encouraged to study towards a PhD after completing their Masters degree. As a result of the financial revival in 1996, funds for further theological training doubled.¹³⁹

Probably the most important reason for the Church's emphasis on the clergy is the pastor's privileged position in the village hierarchy. It is one of unique authority. A common designation of the pastor in Samoan society is the '*aofa'alupega*'.¹⁴⁰ The prefix '*ao*' means 'to collect or gather together'.¹⁴¹ As discussed in Chapter One the *fa'alupega* is the 'villages' honourific phrases of address' that lists the rank of all the chiefs within a village, subdistrict and even district.¹⁴² Since the status of a chief is outlined in the *fa'alupega*, by calling the pastor the '*aofa'alupega*' the overall chiefly status is now transferred to the pastor. The consequence of such a designation means that the pastor is entitled to receive the best service and ultimate respect in the village. According to Ioka 'what the village does to the pastor is done to God...as the visible ambassador of the Divine Will'.¹⁴³

The comparison between pastor and *matai* was also highlighted by Lalomilo Kamu, who observed the elevated status of the pastor in his study on *Samoan Culture and the Christian Gospel*:

Although the pastor is not a *matai* in the traditional sense...he is provided with the honorary status of a chief as distinct from an orator. His honorary status as chief does not afford him a seat in the village council. However, a number of *matai* are elected to liaise between him and the council and if he wishes to address the council, he is permitted to do so at the invitation of the council...Often the pastor perceives himself as having the image or roles of a chief, assuming authority and prestige comparable to that of a titleholder.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁹ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 12-23 1997*, 41. The Missionary Committee which is responsible for scholarship funds increased from \$1,030,438.00 in 1995 to \$2,072,196.50 in 1996.

¹⁴⁰ Danny Ioka, *Origin and Beginning of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa in Aotearoa New Zealand*, 33.

¹⁴¹ George Pratt, *Pratt's Grammar & Dictionary of the Samoan Language*. 4 ed. Apia, Western Samoa: Malua Printing Press, 1911, 8.

¹⁴² Danny Ioka, *Origin and Beginning of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa in Aotearoa New Zealand*, 33; Derek Freeman, *Margaret Mead and Samoa the Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1983, 129. As described in Chapter One the *mana* of the chief comes from God. Freeman wrote that the 'sanctity that once surrounded the sacred chiefs as the early descendants of Polynesian gods was gradually transferred to chiefs in general as the elect of Jehovah'

¹⁴³ Danny Ioka, *Origin and Beginning of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa in Aotearoa New Zealand*, 33.

¹⁴⁴ Lalomilo Kamu, *The Samoan Culture and the Christian Gospel*. Suva, Fiji: Donna Lou Kamu, 1996, 140.

As an ‘honorary chief’ the pastor’s decisions are rarely challenged or questioned by the congregation. Within the village obedience to the *matai* is ‘greatly lauded’ especially by the untitled men (*aumaga*). According to Freeman, when the *aumaga* are summoned before their chiefs it is common for a senior orator chief to remind them of “the supreme importance of obedience,” marked by proper submissiveness.¹⁴⁵ The same degree of obedience is also given to the pastor by the congregation and the village.

Freeman, Ioka and Kamu confirm the growing status of the pastor to the detriment of the laity. Freeman noted that the pastor’s ‘honorary chiefly status’ meant that the pastor’s decisions were rarely challenged or even questioned by the congregation. Ioka and Kamu’s interpretation of the status of the pastor in the village highlights the unique social standing of clergy in Samoan society and the subsequent respect given to them. The ‘inclusion’ of the pastor amongst the village hierarchy firmly embedded the Church in the very heart of the ruling elite of Samoan society. With the pastor’s unique status in society it was natural for the Church to support any policy that maintained the privileged position of the pastor.

However the privileged position of the pastor was open to abuse. Often the pastor exhorted his congregation to fund the construction of a church and even the pastor’s residence. Since the church building is often a symbol of village status it will inevitably be an impressive and expensive building. Here lies the perennial problem that has plagued the CCCS when the decisions of the pastor did not take into account economic and social situation of families. The funding of the church placed additional financial burden on many families already struggling to donate to the annual *taulaga*.

In the opinion of Bruce Deverell, the former LMS missionary who had worked in Samoa between 1958 to 1972, the pastor cannot neglect the economic situation of the people at the expense of building a church for God.¹⁴⁶ Throughout his long service within the Church, he was disturbed by the sharp division that had emerged between the spiritual and the secular within the Church:

The pastor is charged with spiritual duties but the deacons are in charge of the secular aspects of the Church; committees are also associated with secular process of the Church whereas the Elders Committee is responsible for

¹⁴⁵ Derek Freeman, *Margaret Mead and Samoa the Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*, 192.

¹⁴⁶ Bruce Deverell, “Maimoaga i le Ekalesia ma le Atunuu” *O le Sulu Samoa* Fepuari 1972, 24.

spirituality; likewise the Church service is associated with spirituality whereas the life of a person such as work, play and even culture are secular and worldly.¹⁴⁷

Deverell was concerned that this sharp distinction would distort the life of the Church and that the Church had almost abrogated its responsibility for the secular life of its members. What is significant in his observation is that the secular life of the Church members is not the responsibility of the pastor. Deverell rightly discerned that this was spiritually dangerous for the Church. It was also apparent to Deverell that the work of the deacons and the various committees responsible for developing the Christian life of its members had ignored the personal needs of the people.¹⁴⁸ His concerns were confirmed thirty years later in the studies of Alec Thornton et al., which pointed out that the mainline churches of Samoa had neglected financially struggling families:

The mainline churches, as it stands, offer limited concerted programmes for social or community development, beyond those which serve the direct interests of the church itself. This is a role that the church does not recognise as its responsibility. The mainline churches interpret community development as ensuring that the spiritual needs of the congregation are met, while it is the role of the *aiga* [families] to look after its own family members who are struggling.¹⁴⁹

Too much emphasis had been placed on erecting buildings rather than building up people. As a consequence of the clergy being given priority over the laity, many laymen and women gradually drifted to other denominations.

Ecumenism

A further example of the Church's commitment to the clergy is underlined in its membership of six international bodies: the Council for World Mission, the Pacific Theological College, the Pacific Conference of Churches, the World Council of Churches, the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and the South Pacific Association of Theological Schools. Four of these were explicitly ecumenical in nature and purpose.¹⁵⁰ Perhaps the most important of them for the Samoan Church was, and is, the Pacific Theological College (PTC), an ecumenical theological college in Fiji. Since 1966 the brightest Maluan graduates have been sent to PTC to do further studies at a

¹⁴⁷ Bruce Deverell, "Maimoaga i le Ekalesia ma le Atunuu", 24.

¹⁴⁸ Bruce Deverell, "Maimoaga i le Ekalesia ma le Atunuu", 24.

¹⁴⁹ Alec Thornton, Maria Kerslake, Tony Binns, "Alienation and Obligation: Religion and Social Change in Samoa", 9.

¹⁵⁰ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 12-23 1997*, 42. In 1997 the Missionary Committee contributed \$66,014 to six institutions; the CWM \$20,567.39, the PTC \$ 17,951.48, the PCC \$13,960.91, the WCC \$11,169.84, WARC \$2000, and SPATS \$364.42.

Bachelor of Divinity level. Since 1988 Maluan graduates have also been encouraged to take Master's degrees there. Some of these have gone on to doctoral studies elsewhere. For example, Faitala Talapusi, completed a PhD from Monetepillier University in France in 1990.¹⁵¹

Between 1994 and 1997 there was a gradual reduction of theological scholarships to New Zealand in favour of PTC, because most New Zealand graduates stayed on in New Zealand to find better job opportunities.¹⁵² In 1994, of the sixteen theological students sponsored by the Church, eight attended Knox College in New Zealand and eight attended PTC.¹⁵³ It was also very expensive for students to live in New Zealand and although the Church had the finances to build flats to accommodate some students there, the numbers sent to New Zealand still declined.¹⁵⁴ In 1996 the Church sponsored eight theological students to PTC but just five students to Knox College.¹⁵⁵ In 1997 there were only two students, Danny Ioka and Afereti Uili, studying at Knox.¹⁵⁶

Despite the formation of *Mafutaga Ekalesia Kerisiano i Samoa* (Samoan Council of Churches) in 1971, the impact of ecumenism on the village level has been limited. At first, there was no permanent staff appointed and the operations of the Council were carried out on a purely voluntary basis. It was not until the year 2001 that a full-time paid secretary was appointed.¹⁵⁷ Part of the reason for shortage of paid staff was the financial stress of the 1980s and a general suspicion of the CCCS by other mainline churches in Samoa. Interdominational tension was still prevalent within villages. For example, Ieremia witnessed inter-denominational tension in his first year as parish pastor in the village of Fasitoo in 1990:

¹⁵¹ Laau Ioritana Tanielu, "Feiloaiga Ma Faitala Talapusi Ma Lona Aiga". *O Le Sulu Samoa* Tesema 1990,17.

¹⁵² Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Setema* 12–23 1994, 5. 94FT5 and 94FT9.

¹⁵³ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi O Iugafono a Le Au Toeaina 1979 –1994*, 350–351 KAT94/12. These were Auatama Esera, Enefatu Lesa, Fuamai Samuelu, Taipisia Leilua, Maoge Leausa, Levesi Afutiti, Featuanai Liuaana and Ailani Tanielu.

¹⁵⁴ "Fono Tele 1993 Malua. Mau Tuu Sao i le Fono Tele. Mai Le Nofo a Matagaluega". Apia: EFKS, 1993, 3.

¹⁵⁵ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me* 20–31 1996,47

¹⁵⁶ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me* 12–23 1997,42

¹⁵⁷ Interview with Rev. Elder Oka Fauolo 30 April 2009.

There was a lot of infighting among the groups before I came; everyone was working against the other.¹⁵⁸

Similarly Tanielu recalled the reluctance of other denominations to be seen as being dominated by the Congregationalists in his village of Nofoalii.

[The] Church of the Latter Day Saints complain. There is always this problem they don't want to be seen to be under the [control of the] Congregational Church. It is always a problem.¹⁵⁹

Ieremia was fortunate at Fasitoo to receive respect from the other clergy in his village. He was the oldest pastor and had been a former General Secretary of the Church. His senior position in the Church helped him to bring together the Roman Catholics, Methodists and Church of the Latter Day Saints in an annual worship service;

When I came here I started something new in my village. I brought together the minsters of other congregations, Methodists, Roman Catholic, Mormon to come and talk about worshipping together on one Sunday of the year—all our Churches have been doing this ever since I came here in 1990.¹⁶⁰

However, despite such gatherings the great theological differences between mainline Churches and Church of the Latter Day Saints meant that members of the Church of the Latter Day Saints were not allowed to preach or pray in these inter-denominational gatherings.¹⁶¹ Nevertheless such a gathering of denominations emphasised the spirit of village unity and was a key to village harmony.

When issues of national importance were at stake, the *Mafutaga Ekalesia Kerisiano i Samoa* had a powerful voice since it represented all the Churches in Samoa. In June 1993 the Samoan Council of Churches met with government officials to discuss issues affecting the Churches in Samoa.¹⁶² One matter was particularly pressing. It concerned Sunday observance which for decades had been a day of rest, but increasingly was becoming a day for people to go on outings or even to work. Eti reminded the Council that the first Prime Minister of Samoa, Mataafa Mulinu II, had upheld Sunday

¹⁵⁸ Interview with Rev. Elder Lale Ieremia 28 April 2009.

¹⁵⁹ Interview with Rev. Elder Situfu Tanielu 29 April 2009; Rev. Elder Situfu Tanielu is a former chairman of the General Assembly.

¹⁶⁰ Interview with Rev. Elder Lale Ieremia 28 April 2009.

¹⁶¹ Interview with Rev. Elder Lale Ieremia 28 April 2009.

¹⁶² "Feutagaiga a le Malo ma le Fono Aoao a Ekalesia i Samoa". *Samoa Observer* 24 November 1993, 30.

observance and likewise he would do the same.¹⁶³ A second issue on which the Council of Churches voiced their opinion to the government was the VAGST or the 10 per cent tax on goods and services. The Prime Minister explained to the Council that the VAGST tax was for those who avoided paying tax or those like the clergy who were exempt from paying taxes. The VAGST was a broad-based tax guaranteeing that all people would pay taxes whereas previously very few apart from highly-paid lawyers and doctors paid income tax.¹⁶⁴ Whether it was at the Church's bidding is uncertain, but not long after the meeting, the government reduced the VAGST on thirty-two items.¹⁶⁵

The History of the Church

A further example of the Church's emphasis on the clergy was the history of the CCCS. As early as May 1989 there were renewed calls for a history of the Church.¹⁶⁶ Interest in the history of the Church occurred at a time when there were a number of centenary celebrations at the beginning of the decade. For example, in 1990–91 there were the centenary celebrations of Leulumoega Fou College and Papauta.¹⁶⁷ The Christian Endeavour sub-committee also celebrated its centenary in 1990 leading to a history of the Christian Endeavour movement by Siolo Tauti.¹⁶⁸ In 1994 Malua Theological College also celebrated its 150th anniversary.

The American Samoan Church had made a head start on writing its history when Elia Taase, a former Malua lecturer and member of the American Samoa Church, completed his PhD thesis in 1995 on the history of the CCCS from 1830 to 1962. Possibly spurred on by Taase's history, the CCCS wanted someone from the CCCS to write its history. In September 1994, the Malua district 'enquired' about setting up an office for the project. In response, the General Assembly noted that there were already plans by the Missionary Committee to choose a minister with a historical background to write such a history. Oka Fauolo was then chosen by the Assembly because of his long experience in the CCCS and also because he taught history part-time at Malua Theological College.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶³ "Feutagaiga a le Malo ma le Fono Aoao a Ekalesia i Samoa", 30.

¹⁶⁴ "Feutagaiga a Le Malo Ma Le Fono Aoao a Ekalesia I Samoa", 30.

¹⁶⁵ "Govt Delivers Relief Package, Duties on 32 Items Reduced". *Samoa Observer*, 16 March 1994.

¹⁶⁶ Laau Tanielu, "Fono Komiti Feau Eeseese 11 Me 1989". Malua: Komiti Feau Eeseese, 1989, 1.

¹⁶⁷ Sina Tuua, "O Le Tala Ootoo O Papauta". *O Le Sulu Samoa* Mati 1991, 9–11.

¹⁶⁸ Interview with Rev. Elder Siolo Tauti 28 April 2009

¹⁶⁹ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Setema* 12–23 1994, 11, 94FT35, 94FT53; 17, 94FT59, 21, 94FT86.

Fauolo certainly had the credentials to write a history of the CCCS. When the principal of Malua, Masalosalo Sopoaga, accepted the call to be a pastor at the village of Solosolo in 1979, Fauolo was the most appropriate person to replace him. Had it not been for the untimely death of Etene Saaga, the first General Secretary since independence, Fauolo would have become the principal of Malua. Fauolo had been a lecturer at Malua from 1963, and even taught Sopoaga as a student.¹⁷⁰ After six years teaching in Malua he was offered a scholarship through the Theological Education Fund to study for his Bachelor of Divinity at Pacific Theological College in Fiji. He completed the three year course in just two years, with distinction in Old Testament studies.¹⁷¹ He returned to teach in Malua from January to August 1971 and then did a Masters degree at Union Seminary in New York.¹⁷² When Saaga passed away in 1973, Fauolo was appointed General Secretary of the CCCS, a position he held for six years from 1973 to May 1979.

As General Secretary, Fauolo developed an interest in the history of the Church. In a letter to Bernard Thorogood, he wrote:

It is my hope at the moment that if God spares my time, I will try and write something on the growth and development of Christianity in the South Pacific, with particular concentration on the Samoa area. And I am sure the LMS correspondence from the early days of Christianity in Samoa, can offer most valuable help in this kind of work. Anyway, we will see.¹⁷³

In 1979, as principal of Malua Theological College, Fauolo wrote to the Congregationalist/Uniting Church historian in Australia, Lindsay Lockley, for assistance in gaining access to historical records.

The Overseas Mission Committee of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa has asked me to write a history of the Mission of the Samoan Church in Papua New Guinea and other Islands of the South Pacific. The main problem that I am facing in this work is the lack of source material and the absence of particular references to Samoan missionaries, even to a few more prominent figures in the mission fields.¹⁷⁴

Once Fauolo was chosen as the Church's historian, the Church decided to utilise its considerable finances to assist him in this project. The Assembly requested that the Finance Committee work out an appropriate salary for Fauolo to complete this work.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁰ Oka Fauolo to George Jackson, 14 April 1976 (CCCSA).

¹⁷¹ Oka Fauolo to George Jackson, 14 April 1976 (CCCSA).

¹⁷² Oka Fauolo to George Jackson, 14 April 1976 (CCCSA).

¹⁷³ Oka Fauolo to Bernard Thorogood, 15 March 1974 (CCCSA).

¹⁷⁴ Oka Fauolo to Lindsay Lockley, 23 April 1979 (CCCSA).

¹⁷⁵ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Setema 12–23 1994*, 21. 94FT86.

In 1995, the Finance Committee approved a starting budget of \$40,000 for the project, with an annual salary of \$20,000 and \$3,000 for travelling expenses.¹⁷⁶ The budget was reviewed each year and also included funds for a typist on a basic salary of \$4,856.¹⁷⁷ The project began officially in 1995 with costs escalating in subsequent years. It cost the Church \$69,576 in 1995 and almost doubled for the next two years: \$131,757 in 1996 and \$126,213 in 1997. The cost dropped in 1998 to \$14,614 but remained reasonably constant at over \$25,000 up to 2001.¹⁷⁸

Conclusion

The fourth decade was marked by the financial stability of the Church. Unlike the 1980s when the increasing *taulaga* was one of the defining characteristics of the period, the 1990s was defined by greater financial accountability; generally greater financial awareness resulted in a more efficient use of finances. Had these measures been taken earlier the Church would not have embarked on its controversial sixth-form secondary schooling at the Congregational Senior College.

The Congregational Senior College failed to live up to expectations. In many ways it was a knee-jerk reaction to the neglect of the schools during the 1980s. There was no reason for the Church to combine the Sixth Formers of four schools (except for Tuasivi) into the Senior College when these schools were perfectly capable of teaching their own Sixth formers. Once again the village-model was responsible for trying to create this positive image, as it was the image that the Congregational Senior College conveyed to the church members that was important. The Church was insufficiently committed to improving the academic standards of senior students. It was more important to be seen doing something different about the neglect of the schools in the 1980s, than to bring about actual meaningful change.

The Church however did little to retain the College's highly qualified staff who often left in the first two years. Yet the Church in the 1990s was blessed with abundant funds

¹⁷⁶ Solomona Tuatagaloa, "Fono Komiti Tupe 15 Tesema 1994". Apia: Komiti Tupe, 1994, 3. 94KT204. In 1995 the Finance Committee passed a starting budget of \$40,000 for the writing of the history of the Church; Solomona Tuatagaloa, "Fono Komiti Tupe 15 Fepuari 1995", 4. 95KT36.

¹⁷⁷ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Fono Tele 1995 EFKS*, 60. The Church had little awareness and acknowledgement of Elia Taase's thesis of the history of the Church from 1830–1962 at Fuller University in California in 1995.

¹⁷⁸ Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Iupeli Malua Me 20–31 1996*, 33–34; Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa, *Tusi Iugafono Fono Tele Fale Senetenari Malua 21–25 Me 2002*, 25.

accumulated from the 1980s, in addition to generous aid from government and overseas churches. Academic results suffered with teachers opting for higher paid positions elsewhere. Frustration with the Church's neglect of the teachers contributed to the resignation of the Education Director in 1992. During this period, it became even more difficult for students when the entry standards to university were raised. After ten years Maluafou, Papauta, Nuuausala and Leulumoega Fou started accepting sixth formers again.

Another defining characteristic of the 1990s was the heavy investment and priority to the clergy and to theological education, often at the expense of funds set aside for lay education. Since the clergy held an important place in the village hierarchy, it was not unnatural for the Church to use its considerable finances to support them. Not only were funds from the Christian Endeavour sub-committee used for the pastors' pensions, increasingly after 1994, funds were expended on sending Malua students to Pacific Theological College in Suva.

The commissioning of the history of the CCCS by Oka Fauolo is another example of the priority given to clergy. Interestingly, the Church was reluctant to acknowledge the contribution of Elia Taase's history of the CCCS. Coming from a rival American Samoan Church, the CCCS wanted Fauolo, a recognised elder clergyman in both American and Western Samoa, to write a history of the Church. It was a massive project costing the Church close to \$500,000 between 1995 and 2002. By 2005 the work was finally published nearly ten years after it was first commissioned by the CCCS.

One of the Church's most significant investments was in theological education at Malua Theological College. In 1995, under the new Principal Otele Perelini, Malua attempted to reform theological education. In many ways his reforms returned the college to the days when John Bradshaw led it in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Perelini saw the need for an educated clergy because they now ministered to a more educated and critical laity. Richard Hambly made the same observation in the mid 1970s and also questioned the standard of theological education at Malua. In the 1970s to the 1980s the Church was unable to improve the academic standard of the College because of the financial burden left by the John Williams Building. It was fortunate for Perelini that he became Principal at a time of greater financial stability with the Church adopting better financial practices. Perelini was the ideal person to implement reforms at Malua. He had hoped

his reforms might benefit the laity. Unfortunately his reforms came too late to stem the alarming decline in numbers in the Church during the 1990s.

Paradoxically, as the *taulaga* increased with greater accountability of its usage, and with the improvement to Malua, church membership still declined. The end result of the competitive spirit and increasing the target for the annual *taulaga* was that more was demanded from even fewer families. There was growing discontent with the Church's reluctance to offer adequate lay education, especially its reluctance to purchase suitable Sunday School resources. The education of women, too, was neglected which meant that the Church missed out on their gifts and talents. Finally, the reluctance to adequately resource the Tokelau district spiritually and materially was yet another example of the Church ignoring the legitimate desires of the laity.

The Pentecostals exploited the CCCS' abandonment of the laity. They established not one but two Bible schools open to the public. Furthermore, the Pentecostals used television to broadcast 24 hour programmes which enabled it to enter the living rooms of most Samoan families. More significantly, the Pentecostals did not make the same financial demands as those by the CCCS. Much of the finance to set up their institutions came from organisations overseas. All these factors led to growth in the Pentecostals churches and a decline in CCCS membership in this period.

Earlier in Chapter One, it was argued that the village model prioritises the community at the expense of the individual. The lack of job descriptions for employees is just one simple example among many of how the communal dominates. Unfortunately the Church was hamstrung by its excessive emphasis on communal traditions over the spiritual needs of the individual. The lopsided emphasis on the clergy 'brotherhood' resulted in a diminishment of the laity. The pressure to contribute financially to the 'priesthood' became a burden too much to bear. The Church's reputation was treated as paramount and the status of the clergy was not challenged. Anticlericalism undoubtedly festered where the village model of church was allowed to continue unchecked.

Conclusion

Fundamental to an understanding of the history of the CCCS was the early incorporation of the traditional village structure into the life of the Church. The early adoption of the village model by the CCCS began with the introduction of Henry Venn's "three-self" principles—self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating—by the London Missionary Society (LMS). All three missionary principles tended to focus on the Church as an institution. A fundamental principle of the LMS missionary work was to give indigenous people the authority to determine the way the Church should be governed. It was only natural, then, that the newly-independent Church would choose a form of Church that was modelled on the institution that they were most familiar with—the village. This emphasis on the village model of Church was reinforced in the early to mid-twentieth century when the International Missionary Conference (IMC) encouraged the so-called 'younger' Churches to follow their traditional ways. Even after indigenous churches had achieved independence, the Council for World Mission in the 1970s continued the IMC's call for them to honour their traditions. Both of these factors contributed to the CCCS embracing and incorporating traditional village institutions as part of the Church. The significance of the village is illustrated by the Samoan word for culture, *aganuu*. It is made up of two words meaning *aga* (the way) and *nuu* (the village) or, the way of the village. When Samoan culture is viewed as the 'way of the village', then the history of the CCCS may also be viewed in terms of the impact of the village institutions on the policies of the CCCS.

The adoption of the village model was also testament to the early London Missionary Society's strategy of focussing on the village to spread the gospel. The failure of the mission station policy forced the LMS to focus on the village as the basis for spreading Christianity. Once the village became the focus of the LMS mission, traditional village institutions became incorporated in subsequent Church structures. The creation of the General Assembly, the Elders Committee, the Development Committee and even the *Mafutaga Tina*, are examples of what is found in the traditional village's organisation. The General Assembly and the Elders Committee both adopted the village council or *fono*. The *fono* is an integral part of village dynamics which involves the chiefs coordinating the activities of the extended families in order to efficiently utilise

resources and to maintain order within the village. Many of the decisions of the *fono* are concerned with the village's image; the village is shown off to other villages through its status symbols such as the meeting house, the church and even the pastor's residence. The General Assembly and the Elders Committee decisions are also intent on improving the image of the Church such as shown earlier with the construction of the John Williams Building in the 1980s.

The *Mafutaga Tina* was one of the most obvious incorporations of village organisation within the Church. In many ways the role of the *Mafutaga Tina* paralleled the *aualuma's* responsibility for the maintenance of the village. Similarly the *Mafutaga Tina* was renowned for its support of Church policies and major projects, mainly through the fund-raising activities of the women of each parish. As such it held an influential place in the organisation of the CCCS and at the same time were a conservative force. A prime example of the *Mafutaga Tina's* conservative nature was its persistent attempts in the 1960s to prevent the LMS missionary Marjorie King from improving the academic standards of Papauta. The *Mafutaga Tina* wanted to keep Papauta's nineteenth-century reputation as a finishing school for producing good wives and citizens of Samoa, even to the detriment of academic excellence!

Another example of the conservative impact of the *Mafutaga Tina* was the reluctance of the Church to see the contributions of the women of the CCCS in any other way than as part of the *Mafutaga Tina*. When the issue of women pastors was raised in the late 1980s and early 1990s, Church authorities were fearful of the impact upon the *Mafutaga Tina's* role on the Church. The concept of women pastors stood against the 'traditional' role of women in the CCCS who were thought of primarily as fundraisers. Therefore, the issue of women pastors was quietly swept under the carpet.

However, one of the most significant impacts of the village model occurred within the village itself, when the pastor became part of the village hierarchy. The pastor's unique position in the village is a result of the significance of hierarchy and oratory in the village. In a culture with no written language, oratory played a major part in maintaining village hierarchy. Moreover, a 'chiefly' language or language of respect developed when speaking in the presence of chiefs, as opposed to the everyday common language. Furthermore, an oral constitution of chiefly rank in a village or a subdistrict known as the *fa'alupega* was created. These chiefly titles that are said to be derived from divine

origins. Since the pastor was not only a spokesman for God through his sermons, but also a representative for God, his status amongst the village hierarchy placed him 'above' that of the chiefs of the village. Since chiefly titles are based on the *fa'alupega*, the pastor's designation as the *aofa'alupega* further reinforced his position in the upper echelons of Samoan society

The LMS further strengthened the status of the pastor in the nineteenth century by teaching the pastors literacy and basic numeracy. George Pratt and John Newell were instrumental in introducing the written language as both were linguists. Critical to this strategy was the establishment of Malua Theological College in 1844. When graduates became village pastors, they contributed enormously to literacy in Samoa. Pastors became not only preachers but also teachers which further enhanced their status in the village. Not surprisingly every village was eager to obtain an LMS pastor as it contributed to the status of the village.

It did not take long for the LMS to establish schools in Samoa such as Papauta Girls' boarding school and Leulumoega Fou Boys school in the late nineteenth century. In the first thirty years of the twentieth century the majority of the LMS missionaries were educationalists who placed a strong emphasis on education. From the Second World War until the late 1960s, LMS missionaries such as John Bradshaw and Marjorie King continued this strong educational tradition at Malua and Papauta respectively.

Ten years after independence, the Church was committed to continuing the LMS emphasis on education. The formation of a separate Education Committee in the first year of independence is indicative of the CCCS commitment to the LMS legacy. Even when it was hampered by a lack of finances, the Church with the assistance of the local districts, persisted in operating six CCCS schools. What was even more crucial to the future direction of education in the CCCS was the decision by the Education Committee to give precedence to secondary education over primary education. Since the LMS were pioneers and leaders in education in Samoa, the emphasis on secondary education was indicative of the Church's desire for excellence in education. However, the reality was that limited financial resources were ploughed into secondary education and primary education was left to the government.

The irony is that the shift from primary to secondary education demanded more financial investment from the Church. The Church was forced to pay higher salaries to keep overseas trained teachers within its schools and since there was no secondary teachers college in Samoa, the Church had to send people overseas to train. The lack of funds and qualified secondary school teachers forced the Church to focus its attention on Leulumoega Fou high school in the mid-1960s. Leulumoega Fou became the premier school of the Church. Overseas trained secondary school teachers were given positions there and the school received extensive renovations.

The first decade after independence was also a time when ecumenism was given particular priority. Most notably, the CCCS was an active participant in the creation of the Pacific Theological College (PTC) in Fiji and sponsored promising students to study theology there. Furthermore, the CCCS took a lead with the Methodists and Catholics in the revision of the Samoan New Testament.

Ecumenism within Samoa, however, had mixed fortunes. It proved difficult to overcome denominational rivalry. When all denominations benefited then ecumenism was beneficial. However, when one denomination appeared to dominate the others, then the ecumenical spirit faltered. For example, the combined high school of the Methodists and Congregationalists failed to materialise when the Samoan Methodists refused to use Leulumoega Fou High School as the site for the school. Another example of the failure of ecumenism occurred in the 1970s when the Methodists and the Catholics disagreed on how a joint theological college should be organised. Malua wanted to set up a new institution with all three theological schools based there. The Catholics, quite rightly, argued that establishing a new institution on a new site would be extremely costly. The Methodists, for their part, initially supported Malua but then backed off, preferring to establish a college on a 'neutral' site. When the Methodists did eventually find a site, the CCCS refused to contribute to the cost of building the new institution.

A further characteristic of the 1960s was the decline in the influence of the missionaries. In a period of intense nationalism the missionaries found themselves facing a Samoan Church determined in taking control of their own destiny. As mentioned earlier the *Mafutaga Tina* was resistant to the LMS missionary Marjorie King's attempts to improve Papauta. Even the Methodist Samoans wanted to get rid of a Methodist

missionary accused but never charged with adultery. The former principal of Malua Theological College in the late 1950s and early 1960s, John Bradshaw, also found a profound reluctance on the part of the Church to invest in theological students overseas. In American Samoa, despite Hugh Neems' pleading with the Church to give the American Samoan district more autonomy, the Church refused to take his advice. All these are examples of a Samoan Church confident in their own way of doing things and a reluctance to kowtow to missionary influence. Such an attitude was exemplified best when the LMS wanted to combine Leulumoea Fou and Papauta to save costs and the CCCS, confident in their own ability, opposed the suggestion.

During the 1960s and early 1970s when the Church invested heavily in education, it was not without significance that the American Samoan schools of Fagalele and Atauloma were simply leased out. This neglect of education in American Samoa signalled, perhaps, one of the first signs of the split between the Church and the American Samoan district. While it is true that the American Samoa district was relatively prosperous and the need there was not as pressing as it was in the West, the Church rather naively assumed that the district had the resources to go it alone and misjudged the political significance of its neglect. In the early 1960s when the American Samoan district had requested more autonomy over its finances, the CCCS also responded defensively, mistakenly interpreting it as a call for independence, when, in reality, it was an affront to the Church's ecumenical bona fides and a threat to its economic control. How could the CCCS promote ecumenism in the Pacific when the CCCS itself was seen to be in danger of splitting? The CCCS did succeed in keeping the American Samoa district in the Church throughout the 1960s by persuading the Congregational Church in the United States not to provide any assistance to the American Samoan district and, reluctantly, by offering some concessions such as the promise to build a new high school and greater representation on powerful committees within the Church.

At the beginning of the second decade after independence remittances from New Zealand, substantially improved the Church's *taulaga* and the Western Samoan districts were able to match the *taulaga* of American Samoa. The improving financial situation was an opportunity for the Church to showcase their maturity as an independent church and also its numerical dominance in Samoan Christianity. It was also a golden chance to improve the academic standards of the schools. In 1972 the Education Committee was able to access around seventy percent of the *taulaga*. Almost immediately building

improvements on the Maluafou, Papauta, Nuuasala and Tuasivi schools began. Further investment in education occurred in 1978 when the University of Samoa was established to improve the academic standards of the senior secondary school teachers. In the same year plans for the six-storey John Williams Building were approved. Inevitably, finance was slowly diverted away from education to fund the John Williams Building project.

Ostensibly, the John Williams Building was built to mark the sequicentenary of the LMS in Samoa. The truth, however, is that its real purpose was to showcase the dominance of the CCCS in Samoan Christianity. At the time of its construction, the six-storey building was the tallest building in Apia and surpassed similar buildings by the Methodists and Catholics in the city. In the light of its impact on the rest of the Church, it was a monument to hubris.

The 1970s were a confusing period for the direction of the Church. Firstly, the LMS, now morphed into the Council for World Mission (CWM), encouraged indigenous churches to follow their traditions. Secondly, there was a movement in Samoa to incorporate Samoan language and culture into the Church school curriculum. Both of these factors helped to reinforce the village model and village dynamics—symbolised in the construction of John Williams Building—in the life of the Church. Just as certain buildings gave status to a village, the John Williams Building was a status symbol for the Church. Village ‘pride’ and competitiveness seems to have dictated the scale of the John Williams Building rather than economic prudence and practical necessity.

With the construction of the John Williams Building, the CCCS had over-reached itself. With escalating interest on loans, the Church was plunged into a financial crisis which affected other sectors of the Church throughout the 1980s. The Church failed to anticipate the impact of restricted migration to New Zealand in the late 1970s, which reduced remittances to Samoa. Furthermore, the significant contribution of remittances towards the *taulaga* in the first half of the 1970s promoted a false sense of financial security which caused the Church to ignore the pleas from the American Samoan district. The American Samoans protested vehemently against the John Williams Building as it was not only an expensive project but further evidence that the Church was investing in Western Samoa and neglecting American Samoa. When the American Samoans became independent, the CCCS lost a major financial contributor at a time

when remittances were declining. As a consequence the John Williams Building siphoned off resources necessary for operating the University of Samoa and for the maintenance and development of Church schools. The impact of the John Williams Building undid the substantial investment in education by the CCCS in the 1960s.

The costs of the John Williams Building also dictated the major issues of the third decade of independence. From 1980 until 1987 when the debt was finally paid, Church business was dominated by financial issues concerning it. Although there were other issues such as the progress of the University of Samoa, the pride of the Church was at stake with its successful completion. One unfortunate result of the Church's attempt to pay off the debt on the John Williams Building was the closure of the University of Samoa and a downgrading of academic standards and funding for the Church's schools. One of the few, if not the only positive result of the John Williams Building, was the continuing flow of donations that came in for it in the 1980s, leaving the Church in a much stronger financial situation by the end of the decade. Only then was the Church able to refocus its attention on education, particularly with the building of the Congregational Senior College.

By 2001 the Senior College had made little headway. It did not make any significant improvement in the number of students gaining university entrance. Those students who did reach sixth form preferred to attend the government-run Samoa College. In that same year the Church finally decided to reinstate sixth form back into the four CCCS schools in Upolu. The return of sixth formers to these schools validated the earlier concerns of their principals who had complained that the Congregational Senior College led to a decline in academic standards. Throughout the 1990s the academic standards of the CCCS schools suffered with the removal of sixth form.

The decline in academic standards was also matched by a decline in numbers. By the end of the 1990s the CCCS showed a steep decline in numbers. Indeed, the failure of educational policies to improve the academic standard of the schools and the reluctance of the Church to use its considerable financial resources to retain highly qualified teachers are examples of the neglect of the laity. This neglect combined with continuing demands upon the laity to contribute towards the *taulaga* resulted in many leaving the Church.

By contrast, Pentecostal Churches and the Latter Day Saints showed greater concern for the laity. These organisations did not make the same financial demands as the CCCS. The Mormons distanced themselves from traditional village practices such as the extravagant use of money and time for funerals and weddings. The Pentecostals, for their part, provided suitable Bible classes for the laity. In contrast to the CCCS, both the Mormons and the Pentecostals made extensive outreach to the laity; the Mormons through their missionaries and the Pentecostals through television and radio programmes to the public.

According to Tippet's understanding of church growth, the CCCS had grown 'organically' but not 'qualitatively'. In the four decades after independence, the Church concentrated on developing its institutions at the expense of the spiritual needs of the laity. The John Williams Building symbolised this neglect. It diverted much-needed funds away from education. For example by the end of the 1970s the Education Committee was no longer able to access seventy percent of the *taulaga* to upgrade schools as it did at the start of the decade. As a consequence the University of Samoa which was primarily established by the Church to train secondary teachers was closed down. Even with the establishment of the Congregational Senior College, the Church was reluctant to use its considerable financial resources to employ and retain qualified teachers. Similarly, the clergy fuelled by intervillage rivalry began building bigger churches and opulent pastors residences as symbols of 'their commitment to God'. In all these projects the laity bore the brunt of the costs and were required to donate even more to the *taulaga*. As a result the laity was increasingly drawn to those denominations where financial demands were less and their spiritual needs were met. The decline in CCCS membership is clear evidence of the impact of the village model upon the Church. With the adoption of village institutions and associated dynamics, the Church pursued a policy that concentrated on communal pride to the detriment of the spiritual needs of individuals. The Church's neglect of the laity, in particular, opened the door for the Pentecostal and the Mormon missionaries to attract CCCS laity to their churches. It is clear that what is required by the Church is less focus on material growth and a return to qualitative growth for the laity. At the beginning of the LMS mission in Samoa, the missionaries educated pastors to provide literacy for the laity which benefited the laity and resulted in an increase in numbers. In the first fifteen years of the independent CCCS, the Church endeavoured to continue the LMS legacy by focussing on education. However the hopes of the Church for education were seriously

thwarted by the costs of the John Williams Building in the 1980s. Unfortunately further building projects such as the Congregational Senior College and the *Maota Tupulaga* in the 1990s indicated that the Church had not appreciated the extent of the impact of the John Williams Building on the qualitative growth of the Church. The Church must break the legacy of the John Williams Building and return to qualitative growth by concentrating on the spiritual needs of the people. In contrast with the CCCS, Pentecostal Churches have established two Bible Schools which is testament to a thirst for biblical knowledge which CCCS pastors have not provided. Almost too late, the Church responded to the challenges posed by the Pentecostals by improving the academic standards of Malua Theological College in the mid 1990s. The new principal, Otele Perelini, who replaced Oka Fauolo in 1995, was determined to improve the standards by removing traditional manual and gardening work in Malua so that students could spend more time on their studies. Perelini's reforms came too late to stem the decline. Nevertheless, his reforms did result in the establishment of the Malua Bible School in 2007 which was opened to the public.

The author believes that the Church can return to the qualitative growth espoused by Tippett. It will be a difficult journey as the village model is very resistant to change and new ideas. He hopes that future leaders of the Church in Samoa will come to appreciate the devastating impact of the village model upon the qualitative life of the Church. The Church needs to address the spiritual and intellectual needs of its people, particularly the laity, rather than being entrapped by the dynamics of the village. Only then can the Church fulfil the dreams and realise the promise that the missionaries and the founding fathers had for the CCCS.

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APPENDIX

Part of the Constitution of the CCCS (2011) outlining the CCCS vision and mission.

PREAMBLE

This Constitution has been prepared in the hope that it will guide the whole Church in villages, Sub-Districts, and Districts. There is belief and faith in the truth and integrity of offering for the work of God as led by Jesus Christ the Head of the Church.

I

THE NAME OF THE CHURCH AND THOSE WHO ARE INCLUDED IN IT

1 THE NAME: “THE CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCH OF SAMOA”(CCCS)

Since the arrival in Samoa of John Williams, the first missionary to bring us the Gospel, the Church has been known by the name of the London Missionary Society or the Samoan Church (L.M.S.). Such has been the position since the year 1830. In May 1961, the General Assembly decided to change the name to that which is given above.

2 THOSE WHO ARE INCLUDED IN IT:

The congregations of CCCS members in Samoa (Upolu, Savaii, Manono and Apolima) and other countries namely, America (U.S.A.), Hawaii, New Zealand, Australia, Fiji and American Samoa.

II

THE CHURCH AND ITS MEMBERS

1 THE CHURCH:

This is the name given to the company of those who are gathered together in Jesus, who believe in Jesus and who celebrate the sacraments ordained by Jesus for His Church.

Our belief arises from the promise of Jesus which has become the hope of His people, namely, “Again I say to you that if two of you agree on earth concerning anything that they ask it will be done for them by My Father in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in My name, I am there in the midst of them” (Mat.18:19-20).

These words assure us of the presence of Jesus whenever there is a true gathering of those who meet in His Name. Thus, the true Church consists of Jesus meeting together with His people. Jesus cited parables to express that the Church cannot be considered as separate from Himself, and that they are not trees each with its own roots but are branches of the True Vine; it is by His Life that they live; they have no life in themselves separate from the life of the vine, but the life of the vine is the life of the branches. The same message is often quoted by Paul, as in, “You are the Body of Christ” (1 Cor.12:27). Christ is here seen as the Head and the Church as His Body which includes many different members. The Church is also described as the “Household of God...”(Eph.2:19). Christ is the Head and the Church is His Household; all people of various villages are members of this great Household which embraces the Faithful both in heaven and on earth.

2 MEMBERSHIP:

In Samoa there is a well-defined congregation of the Church in every village; and the place of the Church Congregation in the whole country is also well established. There are two parts; those who are communicant members, and those who are able to take part

in most acts of worship, except the Sacraments or special Church meetings, and give material assistance to the Church.

3 PREPARATION FOR CHURCH MEMBERSHIP:

Communicant or Church members are those who are offered in accordance with the Will of God, and have been baptized in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. These members accept in faith their call by God in accordance with His Grace and they remain steadfast through the blessing of His Grace which He gives to His Church. They also accept and honour the rules and procedures of the Congregational Christian Church *of* Samoa.

The reception of new Church members takes place at a service of worship called the “POTOPOTOGA A LE EKALESIA” attended by the village congregation or congregations of a Sub-District of the Church. After one has been received one may immediately join in the Holy Communion of the Lord’s Supper.

Every Church member should know that one is a member of the Family of God, and should rejoice in the blessing of one’s salvation. One’s obligation for this salvation involves dedication to praying individually, or with other members of the family, to our Heavenly Father, together with the reading of the Lord’s Holy Bible, joining in public worship and partaking in Holy Communion at the Lord’s Table. One is required to work whole-heartedly in accordance with the guidance of God for the welfare of others, bear witness to others and encourage them so that they too may be redeemed by Jesus Christ. One should work and cooperate with all the brethren in charitable work and render assistance to the downcast, the weak, the sick and the deserted.

4 COMMUNICANT MEMBERS:

There are various ways, lessons to learn and Church Instructions that should be adhered to. All relevant details on this matter may be found in the book entitled, *O Iloiloga o Iugafono Tumaui*.

The village Minister and his Church are responsible for helping those who are preparing for Church membership. They should be instructed in the books entitled. “The Catechism” and “The Disciple of Jesus,” together with other useful books, and especially the reading of the Holy Bible. They should also be taught about the Triune God, and also God’s Love for men, the fall of the first man due to his sin, the salvation of all men through Jesus Who is our Saviour, and about God’s Plan through the ages. One should also be taught how to pray in accordance with the teaching of Jesus on that subject. The condemnation brought about by sin should be made clear, and the magnificence of the Blessings of God which one will receive through repentance and faith in He Who died upon the Cross, and who rose again in triumph.

III

CHURCH ORDER

Jesus Christ is the Lord who rules over His people, and the Shepherd who cares for them. The overseeing of the Church by its officers is an endeavour to manifest that rule and care. This effort is also reflected in the supervision of people by the Elder-Minister, the Minister, Lay-Preacher and the Deacon, and in the spirit of the village Church meeting, the Sub-District Meeting, the District Meeting and the General Assembly.

1 THE SERVANT OF GOD:

The Servant of God is appointed to work in this special role when he has received blessings which are befitting for such work. He who is thus appointed receives his authority from our Lord in accordance with his obedience to Him, the Head of the Church. The extent of his authority shall be dependent upon the views of those under his care, and in accordance with his integrity in fulfilling the Will of God. This means that a Christian cannot exercise authority as the representative of Jesus Christ in respect of other men unless his authority is that of the servant, and that his integrity is clearly evident to the people.

2 MEETINGS:

Similarly, a meeting or a committee has no authority in itself unless Christ is present. Our Lord had said "where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them." Now those who gather in His Name are those who believe in Him, who have a deep understanding of the matters concerned, and a profound knowledge of the Holy Bible. Then, if they seek the Will of God in earnest prayer they should understand that they are being led by the Holy Spirit.

3 THE CHURCH IN THE VILLAGE:

The Congregational Christian Church in each village, in Samoa and overseas countries, is the fellowship of Church members who have covenanted to live together in Christ. The basis of that covenant is that their faith is one. They profess that God is their Father, Jesus Christ is their Lord and Saviour, and the Holy Spirit is their Guide. Furthermore they depend upon the Grace of God for the replenishment of their lives and they receive this through the preaching of the Word and the celebration of the Sacraments.

They have also covenanted together that individually, they shall be servants of God and it is their practise to be led in their work as servants by one who has been called by the Lord to be their leader. This means that the person who is ordained to be the servant of the Word and Sacraments, is the Minister.

The Minister, Lay Preachers and Deacons work together in the pastoral care of the congregation and likewise in leading the congregation in evangelical work and in other activities of the Church in the village. However, the discerning of the Will of God and His Church in the village is the responsibility of the Church meeting consisting of all those Church members who are in the congregation. The subjects to be discussed in the village Church meeting should include the reception as well as excommunication of Church members, the appointment of Deacons and the acceptance of Lay Preacher applicants, and the calling of new Ministers. The deliberations and decisions of this meeting may be implemented after approval has been given by the Sub-District concerned. These deliberations are made in accordance with instructions and rules of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa as resolved by the General Assembly.

4 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHURCHES IN VILLAGES AND CHURCHES IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES:

Just as Church members in the village covenant together to serve one another, village Churches also covenant with one another to share their gifts and to help carry each other's burdens; to cooperate in the building of new Churches within the country and outside it; and also appoint, educate, ordain, discipline, and support Ministers. Village Churches also join together in improving and consolidating the work of the Societies,

schools, and other agencies of the Church. They also deal with problems concerning the general social life of the country and the world, and endeavour to join other denominations in the work of the World Church towards the fulfilment of the Will of our Lord that His Church be one.

These joint efforts have been achieved through the meeting of the Sub-District, the meeting of the District, the General Assembly and the World Council of Churches. Each of these meetings has its own constitution, but it is not the intention in this foreword to explain these in detail.

THE ELDER MINISTERS:

We believe that it was the Will of our Lord to give to the Apostles the oversight of the Churches, and particularly the leaders of their congregations. We believe also that they used and are still using those who succeeded the Apostles in the oversight of Churches, and that God has blessed His whole Church through them. As recited in the Letters to Timothy and to Titus, those who oversee the Churches must be exemplary in their conduct through watchfulness and prudence, uprightness, patience and love, and they must also be able to instruct others.

We have called these servants Elder-Ministers. They are elected from Ordained Ministers of the Sub-Districts of the Church, presented to the District and then confirmed by the Elders' Committee and the General Assembly. The Elder-Minister oversees his Sub-District and his first duty to be carried out is as the spiritual father to Lay Preachers and Ministers who are resident in that part of the District.

IV

THE MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH

We believe that the ministry is the gift of God, through Christ for His Church, given to us for the betterment of life and the service of all who are in it.

All members of the Church are equally free to approach God, and everyone is called to continue this work of Christ in the World. It must be shown in their words and lives the glorious redemptive Power of God which was revealed in the Resurrected Christ. Also, there is no person or way which can separate any member of the Church from this true calling as it is the work of the Saints of the whole Church comprising all the Faithful. (Eph. 4:11-14; 1 Pet. 2:9-10).

There are two aspects of this important work of the Church in the world:

(1) The Church represents God to men in its testimony and loving service to people, and may all its words and actions be a way to draw God's Holy Love to people.

(2) The Church also represents the world before God through its prayers of confession, intercession and thanksgiving.

1 THE ORDAINED MINISTRY:

The Church in every generation includes those who are appointed and specially called within the Church. They are those who are ordained to be servants of the Word and Sacraments to serve the Church through Jesus Christ the great Minister. His true work is to bring sinners to repentance; lead the people of God in worship, prayer, the preaching of the Gospel and the celebration of the Sacraments (all these things should be done with faith); assist people so that they may receive truly all the blessings of salvation and sanctification in Christ; to prepare them to serve others.

We believe that it is God who ordains and sanctifies. His response to the prayers of His Church is to appoint and uphold those who are chosen for service. It must be remembered that it was God alone who created heaven and earth; it was Christ alone who provided salvation; and the Holy Spirit, our Helper, who alone chooses and empowers His ministers.

2. OTHER POSITIONS TO ASSIST MINISTRIES WITHIN THE CHURCH:

There are those called to become Elders, Ministers, Lay Preachers and Deacons. Their wise counsel is recognized and valued during difficult issues between the villages and the Church. (See Part III 'CHURCH ORDER' and the explanation.

The Ministry in the New Testament not only consists of proclamation and preaching but also involves teaching. Thus, the leaders of Youth Groups and teachers of Sunday Schools is the other responsibility of the Minister, to ensure that they will be filled with the Holy Spirit of God to guide them so that they can explain with clarity in accordance with the revelation of God in Jesus Christ, so that the young people will know Him and be redeemed by Him. All classes of persons should be involved in the ministry of the Church. The Christian Education work provided for the Young People is another indication of the advancement of the life of the Church.

- (a) Lay Preachers: These are members who have good reputations in the Church for their godliness; have some knowledge of the Holy Bible; have been given the gift of prophecy; are able to teach and give instruction, and bear witness to Jesus Christ who came to the World to save sinners; they also preach and assist the work of Youth Groups and Sunday Schools, and the general development of the Church in the village; they have also been reviewed under the relevant rules and have passed the subjects set for their examination.
- (b) Deacons: Deacons are those who are appointed to assist the Minister in the service and care of the flock and to also serve at the celebration of the Sacraments. They care for the sick, the distressed and the poor, as well as the material development of the Church.

It must be remembered that all these positions will be of value for furthering the Will of God only if the Holy Spirit works in them and the special duties to which they have been appointed. However the most important matter is that the Church and all its members should carry out as a personal obligation the true proclamation of the Good News about the Kingdom of God and the message of salvation through Jesus Christ.

The ministry is all inclusive, as in "the HEAD IS CHRIST and the BODY is HIS CHURCH."

3 SOCIETIES ASSISTING THE MINISTRY:

These are some segments of the Church which are strongly supporting the Ministry not only in the material side but also spiritually. They have also made major contributions from one generation to another to the Church, as in the Women's Fellowship, the Christian Endeavour, and the Watchers' Prayer Union.

(a) THE WOMEN'S FELLOWSHIP:

This is one of the active segments which is working strongly within the Church circle to promote Christian conduct in families, Congregations and the whole Church. They have become strong supporters of the Church's mission in areas

of worship, promotion of moral life, and carrying out of good service for others. The Women themselves shall continue to administer their own affairs through consolidating the appointments of personnel for the Fellowship as is the case within the Districts, Sub-Districts and each Congregation.

(b) CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOUR:

This is another recognised segment within the Church which is strongly contributing to the development, enhancement, and enrichment of the spiritual life of its people. They promote continuously the importance of reading and studying the Holy Bible, and seeking the Will of God for the Church through the useful themes set for each Sunday.

(c) THE WATCHERS' PRAYER UNION:

This segment has served as a reliable staff upon which the Minister and all the members of the Church rest during good times as well as bad. This organisation has continued to awaken the prayer life of the Church, for both its own work as well as the whole world. The Church believes that when the life of prayer weakens, then the life of the Christian diminishes.