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Ato'ese Tuimaleali'ifano
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Contact Address

Permanent Address

PO Box 2377
GB

AS STATED

e-mail: tuimaleali@usp.ac.fj

e-mail: _____

July 2004

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Contact Address
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SMATABUA
FJI

Permanent Address
AS ABOVE

THE SAMOANS IN FIJI
Social and cultural change in a Pacific Island migrant
community from a historical perspective; the case of the
Samoans in Fiji.

Morgan A Tuimaleali'ifano

The University of the South Pacific

November 1987

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for
the degree of Master of Arts.

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For Professor Ronald G Crocombe, I can do no better than Corinthians 13:4; 'Love does not demand its own way. It is not irritable or touchy. It does not hold grudges and will hardly even notice when others do it wrong. It is never glad about injustice, but rejoice whenever truth wins out'.

To my Fiji 'aiga in Wailekutu, Navesi and Suva, I dedicate this book. They almost, but did not despair.

To my wife Eileen, her amazing stickability nourished and nurtured me, and my children through the night.

While theirs is the kingdom, the power and the glory, they are not to be blamed for any of my shortcomings.

Auckland, 1987.

GLOSSARY OF NON ENGLISH WORDS

'aiga : family

'aiga potopoto: extended family

'Aiga-i-le-tai : Family-of-the-sea.

'aitu : deity

'aluga : pillow

'ava, le alofi : piper methysticum

'ie toga : fine kilt

'ifoga : Samoan ceremony of abject submission

'ula : red parrot feather used to decorate the 'ie toga

a'oa'o fesoasoani : lay preacher

a'oga aso sa : sunday schools

draunivua : war canoe

drua : Fijian seafaring double canoe, journey and naval combat

fakasamoa : Tuvaluan term for Samoan language or Samoan behaviour

fa'a 'aiga : to relate as a family kin

fa'a Samoa : Samoan way, in practice, the way Samoans behave

fagogo Samoa : Samoan tales

fa'alupega : traditional greeting reference

faife'au : Samoan Protestant pastor

failauga : orator

fala : sleeping or floor mats

fale : Samoan house

faleiva : group of nine orators in A'ana capital of Leulumoeaga

faletua : wife of an ali'i (titular chief)

Fautua : Advisor

feagaiga : tamasa and ilamutu denote the sacred relations of the chief's sister and her descendents who stand in a relationship to her brother and his descendents which is governed by strict norms; term also applied to faife'au.

fesoasoani : Samoan Catholic catechist

Fijian leqa Samoan fa'alavelave : critical stages of life crisis

fono a le nu'u : village council meeting

Fono a Faipule : the Western Samoan Legislative Assembly

Fonotele : the Congregational Christian Church Assembly

gafa : genealogy

Galuega fa'a Misionare : Overseas Mission Outpost

hangi : New Zealand Maori cooking method in the earth oven

i tokatoka : house sites

ikou : Rotuma cooking method in the earth oven

kai vai also kai wai or gonedrau also gonedau : the sea people

kati : common game of cards played in Fiji

kie Hamoa : Tongan term for the Samoan 'ie toga

Komiti o le Oti : the Samoan Bereavement Committee

kula : Fijian terms for 'ula (Phigys solitarius),

lauga : the oratory

lei : necklace

Lotu tamaiti : Children's Sunday service

lovo : Fijian method of earth oven cooking

malaga : a prepared journey

mana : great power, sacredness

- masi, or siapo : fine striped and chequered bark cloth
- matafale : Samoan term for the face of the house
- matagaluega : church district organisation
- matai palota : matai created to increase success at election
- matai : general term for Samoan chief
- matai sau : carpenter clan in Lau
- matai Lemaki : Lemaki carpenters in Lau
- matai ali'i : titular chief
- mataisau : hereditary line of craftsmen
- matanivale : Fijian term for face of the house
- matanivanua : executive officer or Fijian chiefs herald
- matapule : spokesman for a Tongan chief
- mea fa'amatai : things of, or the matai system.
- meauli : black boys
- namuasua : smokey flavour or taste of food
- nu'u : Samoan village polity
- pale'ula : red crown headdress from Fijian parrots
- palusami : Samoan dish of young taro leaves and rich coconut
cream
- papa : titles, Tuia'ana, Tuiatua, Tamasoali'i and Gatoa'itele
- papalagi : Europeans
- Pisin, Hiri Motu : Papua New Guinea official local language
- pulega : church sub district organisation
- pulenu'u, pulenu'u fesoasoani : village mayor and assistant mayor
- sa'otama'ita'i : titled woman
- saofa'i : Samoan title-bestowing ceremony

- sefulu maila : Samoan term for a settlement location in Fiji
- sorovakina : Fijian term for pardon or show of mercy
- ta'ovala : Tongan mat wrapped around the waist
- tabetebete : type of Fijian drua
- tabua : whales teeth
- tafa'ifa : `the four in one' single holder of four papa
titles in Samoa
- tamafafine : Samoan female descendants
- tamasa : sacred son, a reference to man's sister's son (his
maternal nephew) special privileges, support and access
to property in respect of his mother's brother
- tamatane : Samoan male descendants
- tapa le ipu : impromptu matai ceremony
- taukei : native inhabitants of Fiji
- taule'ale'a : an untitled person known by first name
- taupou : village maiden
- tausi : wife of an orator chief
- tauvu : literally sharing the same god, a relationship
described as `what is mine is yours and what is yours
is mine', allowing for great liberties in access to
property as well as personal relations (eg, jocular
abuse) which would not otherwise be tolerated
- tufuga : boat building craftsmen, particularly the 'alia, kalia
- tuka : fishing with nets
- Tukutuku Raraba na Yavusa : Officially documented oral accounts
of Fijian land owning units

- tulafale : Samoan orator chief
- turaga ni koro : Fijian village headman
- tusigaigoa : Samoan fundraising by registering family members
- uluvoki : a Lauan chiefly bed spread
- umu : Samoan term for earth oven cooking
- umukuka : Samoan outside kitchen shelter
- Va'a-Nofoa-tolu : three seated canoe representing the three
lineages of Aiga Taua'ana, Aiga Taulagi and
Aiga Satunumafono
- vakaturaga : general term for Fijian ceremony of welcome
- vale vaka Tonga : Fijian term for a type of Tongan house in Lau
- vasu : Vasu is a common Fijian term for any nephew
- Vasu taukei : a vasu whose mother is a lady of the land in which
he is born
- Vasu levu : one born of a woman of rank, and having a first-
class Chief as father
- vesi : hardwood
- Vitian kaka : Fijian red-breasted Musk-parrot (Prosopieia
tabuensis)
- yavu-ni-vale : Fijian house foundation site
- yavusa : Fijian clan groups or village clan
- yavusa vanua : land clan
- yavusa turaga : chiefly clan

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1. Background

Samoa and Fiji have different cultural traditions, but some common origins are recorded in oral traditions. My study of the acculturation of Samoans in Fiji uses genealogies, legends and myths, life experiences, family histories, documentation, current conditions and indirect connections through Tonga and other Pacific Islands.

A significant series of studies on Pacific Island resettled communities has emerged over the past 12 years. These include Ali¹, Chandra², Fonua³, Kuva⁴, Halapua⁵, Lal⁶, Meleisea⁷, Naidu⁸, Rogers⁹, Simpson¹⁰, Subramani¹¹, Tapu¹², Tom¹³, Yee-Narsey¹⁴, Crocombe and others¹⁵, the last on the experiences of Indian settlers in each Island country. Many more have been done in the Pacific rim countries. There are probably 10,000 or more people of Samoan ancestry in Fiji and my study adds to this series of resettled Pacific island migrant communities within the central Pacific.

One of many pervasive themes in these studies is personal, social and cultural identity of resettled communities.¹⁶ A renewed interest in the identity issue is related to the emergence of plural societies, known also as multi-ethnic, multi-racial, multi-religious and multi-cultural societies. In Fiji, its former Prime Minister Ratu Mara recently stated that his country does not have a single face, as many, like him, originate from multiple ancestry and cannot completely identify as Fijians.¹⁷

There are obvious advantages in maintaining ties with the country of origin but they are very expensive and highly selective. So for many resettled migrants, personal and cultural identity with the country of origin diminishes with each generation. Within a migrant context, I am trying to identify which aspects of life change in what way and due to what causes. The changes are more than simply individuals attempting to make personal, psychological adjustments in their own lives. The changes and the choices which they embody occur within structural contexts. The political and economic contexts of these decisions are important. To the extent that migrants take these into account, these decisions are strategic decisions and reflect acquired perceptions of the world and their place within it.

The fact that Fiji's 1970 constitution defines ethnic Fijian in terms of paternal line only and without accounting for ancient and recent migrations, compounds a complicated problem related to personal and national identity. Racial intermixing and arbitrary classification has made the identity issue one of critical concern in developing a national identity for contemporary Fiji.

Thus, there is little gain in retaining a Samoan ethnic identity as a powerless migrant community within a dominant Fijian cultural tradition when the non Fijian ethnic elements despite cultural similarity are neither constitutionally recognised nor redressed in legislation. Many people of Fiji Samoan ancestry not only face cultural obliteration but also long term constitutional stultification. Effective ways of unravelling

the mysterious conflicts between the western oriented constitution and Island culture are yet to be found. One immediate option is to pursue their interests through constitutional measures not so much as ethnic Samoans but as citizens of Fiji. This option has profound consequences for the persistence of a distinct Samoan identity among resettled Samoans in Fiji.

1.1.Objectives and concepts

The general objective of this study was to record the facts and analyse the principles of Pacific Islands migration and resettlement in the Pacific Islands. The specific objectives were to identify and analyse the cultural, social, economic and religious influences on the ethnic identity among the successive generations of a migrant community in a Pacific context; and to identify the various problems and options for small Pacific Island communities and the ways in which these are shaped by the constitutional, economic, social and political factors of the host country.

Throughout, key concepts used include migration, community, relocation and settlement. By migration is meant movement by individuals without outside intervention of an agency.^{1*} By community is meant being shared or held in common; fellowship, a community of interest. Implying an organised political, municipal or social body of people living in the same locality with common religion, profession or historical circumstances such as an

immigrant community which acts as a unifier of its members. A community centre, providing social, recreational and educational facilities for a neighbourhood; a community spirit is a feeling of membership of a community.¹⁹ By relocation is meant 'planned movement of a group of people, whose destination is determined by some outside agency.'²⁰ Settlement implies those who establish themselves in a new tract of land or a new colony²¹ and refers to a process by which a number of culturally homogeneous people from one locale come to live together in a different locale. To the extent that people form an identifiable community - identifiable to themselves as well as to the observer, we can describe it as a resettled community. In this context, community implies a commune of people with an assumed social order on newly settled land.

1.2. Some central questions and issues

This thesis sets out to provide answers, albeit tentative, to the following questions; what links movement and identity? why is personal and cultural identity so important? does cultural identity persist among migrants and how is this embodied in symbols, images, and social organisation? What symbols and images do they identify with in the host community? To what extent are cultural and ancestral ties maintained with the country of origin and can they offer any alternatives toward improving race relations and enhancing regional cooperation in the Pacific.

2. Sources

I have relied on documented oral traditions by the early missionaries and colonial administrators for the pre contact and colonial period from 1874 to 1970. For the post colonial period, I have relied on interviews, observation and experience as a participant in community affairs within the Fiji Samoan community.

2.1. Genealogies

I have collected family genealogies and recorded narratives of migrants. The record of genealogies of the period concerned with myths and legends was noted by a marked similarity. In consulting the genealogies recorded by Kramer (1902), such as rights to succession, privilege and property, and interpretation of genealogy, insignificant differences appeared in comparison to the gafa (genealogy) of the 'aiga potopoto (the extended family). In comparing the recorded accounts of Kramer and that of several family genealogies, the distinct possibility of collaboration among all sources could not be completely ignored.

The sources were family genealogy books, mainly in Samoa, and interviews with family members as well as from submissions made before the Lands and Titles Court in Mulinu'u. Here, as far as seemed possible, genealogical information submitted by different parties before the court were compared. Individual interviews with family members and collective family discussions were made in Samoa and Fiji (in Samoan and English) with updates by members of the migrant community in Fiji.

I also had access to Samoan genealogical data at the Institute of Polynesian Studies, Brigham Young University, Laie Hawai'i, the Genealogical Society Library at Salt Lake City, other materials on resettled Samoans in Hawai'i and the mainland, and discussion with Dr Gubler, a specialist in Samoan genealogy, provided further genealogical material.

3. Methodology

I had access to sources of family genealogies in Fiji and Samoa and the genealogical evidence from Fiji was cross referenced with information obtained from interviews in Samoa. Many unstructured interviews with surviving elders in the Samoan migrant community have been conducted. Some church and archival research in Samoa and Fiji was also undertaken. Method and procedures for acquiring data include some use of questionnaires, case studies, sketch maps, drawings, diagrams and participant observation. Data is presented in genealogical tables, figures, population pyramids, maps of settlement locations etc. The layout of the paper will include a table of contents, lists of figures, etc; major and minor headings, glossaries of non-English words and meanings. A comparison of results will be made with similar studies of migrant communities, theories, models etc.

The surveys of the relatively small communities in Navesi Sefulu Maila (Ten Mies) and Wailekutu were conducted mainly in English, Samoan and a patois of Fijian. The questionnaire was in English. Important factors in establishing an early rapport and

overall efficiency in completing the survey were that both parties (the researcher and the researched) had prior knowledge of each other. While all respondents could read, write and speak in fluent English, the oral introductory reciprocal greetings were almost always in Samoan and Fijian. In soliciting answers on sensitive issues such as employment, earning, land and leadership, not surprisingly, I found myself substantiating points and getting unreserved responses in Samoan. A tremendous asset in field surveys is having prior knowledge of key members of the community and cultivating a rapport in the languages in which the respondents feel most at home.

3.1. The research site and research relationship

In my research role as a Samoan, I became party to some of the court cases upon which I drew on as a researcher. This is declared in view of any future claim to research 'objectivity'. The multiplicity of roles acquired by the researcher during the period of research makes for separate study. The origin of this study are briefly outlined here. Like many others during our first years at USP, I was struck by the racial mix of Fiji's population and surprised to find a significant number of Samoans living in Fiji, including some almost forgotten and long lost 'aiga from my mother's side in Western Samoa. In addition, I lived, studied and worked at USP campuses in Suva, Fiji and Apia, Western Samoa from 1974 to 1986 and married a Fiji citizen of Chinese, Samoan, Cook Islands and Danish ancestry adopted by a

Gujrati-South Indian man and his Fiji-born Samoan wife. Reinforced, it was only a matter of work and time before my interest would be realised. Initially haphazard, I collected information on the Samoan church, community socials, meetings, family genealogies, intermarriages and 'aiga connections in Fiji's and plural society. My interest on Samoan 'aiga, or families grew to other parts of Fiji, their history, origin, cultural lifestyles, language and rights in the constitution, education, their children, their future. This also led to other relocated migrant communities within the Pacific. While I had the time and resources to do something about it, they did not. And as my interest grew with encouragement of supervisors at Universities and elsewhere, theirs did too. Through this study, I gained a better appreciation of, and respect for the complexity of the human condition under multiple processes of change. The right to information is fundamental in discussing future options of the Fiji Samoans. This study generated a collection of basic information, family genealogies and life histories, which is readily available and accessible to anyone interested in Pacific migrant groups. While the initial focus is the Samoans, the study also relates to other migrant situations in Fiji and elsewhere, and allows migrants to review their cultural and constitutional situation in terms of rapid change in Fiji. It is to them and to future studies of migrant communities that this small work is dedicated.

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4. Building a Pacific community

On the theme of 'Development, the Pacific Way', on 26 March 1980, Fiji's former Prime Minister Ratu Mara noted that a Pacific Community had been in existence for at least two and half thousand years. Though he claimed it to be a community, it was largely scattered, though organised and specialised with specialists in religion, housebuilding, agriculture, navigation, the arts and so on. If we were to build a Pacific community, he felt, we should try to build upon the Pacific community which already exists.²²

Epeli Hau'ofa²³, advances the very different view that the Pacific community is very recent and somewhat different from that depicted by Mara:

... there already exists in our part of the world a single regional economy from which has emerged a South Pacific Society, the privileged groups of which share a single dominant culture with increasingly marginalised local sub-cultures shared by the poorer classes.

Both people draw on their own particular communities in reference to 'Pacific communities' but fail to show the existence of such communities in their composition, character and evolution. Both speak of building or rebuilding a Pacific community upon a supposedly existing structure.

In studying a migrant community, I am trying to identify which aspects of life change, in what way and due to what causes. If by culture is meant 'systems of meanings embodied in symbols',

then surely, the greatest effort must be to provide maximum decentralisation of these systems of meanings to minimise the marginalisation and isolation of the poor. The rich tends to see the poor as the problem, but not themselves as part of the same problem. The problem is two way. According to the Archbishop of Suva, 'The scandal of the rich in the gospels is that their very wealth gave them a false security and a false little world of their own which was essentially divisive. The way out of that is to face also the problem of the rich and not only to try to solve the problem of the poor'.²⁴

According to Kavaliku, the aspirations of the Pacific island countries are generally independence and the setting of directions for a lifestyle symbolised by the 'Pacific Way', a life-style which is modern but distinctively their own, and in which they can take pride.²⁵

Developing distinctive lifestyles and ideas for cooperation in the midst of diversity obliges us to monitor to some extent the Pacific diversity and work out some future options. The experience of migrant communities in resettled locations afford us a wonderful opportunity to do just this.

5. Overview of Pacific Island migrant communities

Resettled Pacific Island communities are found in all major Pacific regions of Melanesia, Micronesia, Polynesia and the Pacific Rim countries. Depending on the particular circumstances leading to migration and resettlement, these communities can for

convenience be broadly categorised into two main areas; voluntary and compulsory migrations.

5.1. Voluntary resettlements in the islands

5.1.1. Voluntary alternative to subordination as a result of Conquest: Recent pre-contact Pacific immigrants include the settlement of Uvea or Wallis by people from Tonga, and Futuna by people from Samoa. Both Uveans and Futunans have traditional links with Tonga, Samoa, Tuvalu and the Lau Islands of eastern Fiji.²⁴ There are Uvean settlers in the Western Samoan district of Falealupo, and an old Fijian settlement site lies in Fagamalo, Savai'i.²⁵ Uveans also settled in Ouvea, New Caledonia, as well as in Anuta and Rennel in the Solomon Islands. There are Futunans in Sikaiana, Solomon Islands as well as in an island which bears their name in Vanuatu. One recent example of settlement by conquest in Fiji occurred when Tongan raiders assumed control in Lau during the nineteenth century under Tui Lau Ma'afu.

5.1.2. Purchases due to land shortage and/or access to new centers: Land shortage led to I-Kiribati moving first to Phoenix Islands in the 1920s and then to Solomon Islands in the 1950s; (e.g. Wagina and Titiana) and the Polynesian Tikopians of Solomon Islands to Nukufero in the Russell Islands. For similar reasons, the Kapingamarangi settled in Pohnpei in the now Federated States of Micronesia; and the South-west islanders from Fana, Sonsorol and Pulo Anna to Babelthuat in Palau.

The Atiuan people of the Cook Islands, in 1868 purchased a

suburb at Patuto'a i o te Atiu in Tahiti, collectively owned and many still live there. The Mangaia people also bought a suburb but they later sold out.²⁸ Also in Tahiti is Rapanui land at Pamata'i, purchased in the last century from the Catholic Church.²⁹ Similar land purchases were made in Fiji by Micronesians and western Polynesians. The Vaitupuan of Tuvalu bought Kioa Island, the Banabans of Ocean Island bought Rabi island and the I-Kiribati received land allocation in Naboro and Caqiri in Nasinu.³⁰ In greater Suva area, settlement pockets include, Tongan, Samoan, I-Kiribati and Tuvaluan communities in Veisari and Samoans in Wailekutu.

5.1.3. Labour trade: This was by far the most important single causal factor in resettlement pattern in the Pacific region from the mid 1800s. Some returned but many chose to remain. They include Solomon Islanders in Wailailai, Levuka, Matata, in between Lami and Suva, and Wailoku not far from Suva; Wallisians and Futunans in Vila Maria Tamavua,³¹ ni-Vanuatu in Malekula and Newtown, and Rotumans in many suburbs particularly in Vatukoula. In Kiribati after independence, some Tuvaluans who had lived there for years took Kiribati citizenship but others went to Tuvalu. An estimated 11,000 Polynesians from the French Territory of Wallis and Futuna live outside, most of them live in New Caledonia.³² In Tongatapu, Fijians and Solomon Islanders live in Lomaiviti and Mataliku Fisi settlements.³³ In Western Samoa, there are Rotumans in Fatipule,³⁴ Niueans in the 'A'ai o Niue, a Melanesian community consisting of descendants from Bougainville

and Malaita of the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea in Sogi.³³ Other Pacific Island settlements in Apia include Tuvaluans in Elise fou, Tokelauans in 'A'ai o To'elau, Fijians in 'A'ai o Fiti behind Vaimoso, Tongans in Tumaua and Vaipuna and various others. The impact of European and Asian migrants in the Pacific is immense and are referred to in specific cases. In many respects, these experiences have been extensively covered by Europeans and Asians themselves.³⁴ Recently, Asian workers were introduced to copra plantations and nickel mines of New Caledonia, and mainly Vietnamese as tradesmen for Vanuatu and Tahiti, and to a lesser extent, Indonesians to New Caledonia, and Chinese everywhere.³⁷

5.2. New labour migration to the Pacific Rim

Reasons related to ecology, employment, and education have led many Pacific Islanders to live as permanent residents in Pacific rim countries. There are more than 3 times as many American Samoans living in Hawai'i and the United States than in American Samoa, (almost as many Western Samoans in these same places as in Western Samoa)³⁸, 4 times more Niueans living in New Zealand than in self-governing Niue, and twice as many Tokelauans in Samoa, New Zealand and the USA than in Tokelau. The number of Cook Islanders living in New Zealand and Australia now double those back home. And as we go on, there are more Norfolk Islanders in Sydney than in Norfolk, more Guamanians in mainland United States than on Guam itself.

5.3. Forced resettlements in the islands

5.3.1. Slave Labour: Examples include Melanesians for the Queensland cane plantation,³⁹ and Polynesians and I-Kiribati as mine and plantation workers in Chile.⁴⁰

5.3.2. Natural Disasters: Volcanic eruptions led Savai'i villagers to resettle in Le'auva'a and Salamumu Upolu, Western Samoa; a 1946 volcanic eruption in Niuafo'ou, Tonga led to the evacuation and subsequent return resettlement of many Niuafo'ou islanders,⁴¹; similar circumstances led to the movement of Maat villagers from South East Ambrym first to Epi and finally to Vila, Efate.⁴²

5.3.3. Atomic Tests: Evacuations included Bikinians of the Marshall Islands to Kili Atoll and the inhabitants of Muroroo and Fangataufa atolls in the Tuamotu group of French Polynesia.⁴³

5.3.4. Transmigration: Recent examples include the mass resettlement of Indonesians in West Papuan New Guinea (Irian Jaya) and French nationals in New Caledonia. These state-backed migration schemes will make the indigenous Melanesians, minorities in their own countries. Many from Irian Jaya are already seeking refuge elsewhere in West Papua New Guinea.

6. Circumstances of resettlement

In addition to employment, mission education opportunities led many Tuvaluans and I-Kiribati to settle in Samoa around the turn of the 20th century. While ancient ties exist between Samoa and Niue, a large number of Niueans in Samoa are descendants of

Niuean migrant labourers who worked the copra and cotton plantations owned by the German company Godeffroy and Sons in the mid 1800s. Tapu describes the history of the Solomonis community on 11 acres in Wailailai and their move to Wainiloka when the lease expired.⁴⁴ Halapua gives a critical account of the Solomonis of Matata near Suva.⁴⁵

Fijians and Solomon Islanders worked as labourers for plantation fields and other semi-skilled work in Tonga around the turn of the nineteenth century. Most of the Fijians were hired as seamen. Many of them worked for 4 pounds per annum for an initial period of three years. The men married Tongan women and lived in Lomaiviti and Mataliku Fisi settlements outside Nukualofa in Tongatapu.⁴⁶

In the Marshall islands on March 1946, the Bikini Islanders were persuaded by U.S.A. after the second world war to move in the belief that their atoll home would be used for peaceful research. They were resettled first on Rongerik only to be found starving two years later. They were then moved to Kwajalein. Seven months later in November 1948, they were once again moved to Kili atoll. They have not given up hope of returning to their atoll home that was freely given.⁴⁷

For the Vaitupuans of Tuvalu, buying Kioa Island in Fiji was due to land shortage, a growing population, loss of resources during the second world war, and the opportunity to save money working for US forces.⁴⁸ For similar reasons in addition to extreme isolation, natural disasters, malaria and other

introduced diseases. Tikopians were resettled in Nukufero, Russell Islands during the mid 1950s.⁴⁷

7. The Fiji context

In Exiles and Migrants in Oceania, Lieber poses an interesting question. Must the two processes of resettlement (relocation and migration) yield categorically different results. From the data reported in the book, the answer is, it depends. Silverman draws attention to a system with a scale much larger than that of the indigenous communities under immediate analysis. He describes the terms of analysis as the 'microsystem-macrosystem problem' - the articulation of the local structures to the larger structures of which they are part.⁵⁰ This larger system outlines our parameters and provides the big picture for small migrant communities to draw its present and future sustenance. As Chapman⁵¹ points out, the patterns of mobility of small migrant communities only make sense (to us or to the community) in terms of some larger system of which that community is a part. Community mobility focuses our attention on ascending levels of the larger system in which movements of people occur; the neighbourhood, the village, town, city, district, island and colonial territory. Each type of resettlement - relocation or migration - can make a difference in the history of a community insofar as it reflects a certain relationship which exists between the community and the larger system.⁵² In addition, there are obvious advantages in maintaining ties with the country of

origin but they are very expensive and highly selective. So for many resettled migrants, personal and cultural identity with the country of origin diminishes with successive generation and the host country naturally becomes the new focus of personal, national and cultural identity.

In my study of a migrant community, Fiji as the host country is the macro system. As the country in which minority migrant groups including the Samoans, must operate in, an appreciation of some of its salient features is necessary; nationality and citizenship in terms of the constitution, the paramountcy of ethnic Fijians in terms of land, education and sponsorship, aid and commercial incentives, and race relations.

7.1.Nationality and citizenship

The term Fijian is a creation of linguistic chauvinism namely English, Tongan and Lauan pronunciation. It is a corrupted version of Viti (as pronounced by the Lauans),²³ the native term for the indigenous inhabitants of some of these Islands. When Cook was in Tonga, he saw some dark skinned people there and asked the Tongans where the Vitians came from. The Tongan pronunciation at the time having no equivalent of the v in their orthography, told Cook that they came from Fisi. From there Cook took up the name Fiji which academics and others then applied to indigenous people living on the land.

Fiji's 1970 constitution defines three kinds of people who qualify for citizenship; (i) Fijians are those who can trace

their Melanesian ethnicity along the father's line from "indigenous inhabitants of Fiji or any island in Melanesia, Micronesia or Polynesia", (ii) Indians are those whose ancestry originate from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh or Sri Lanka, (iii) 'Others' are those who are neither Fijian, Rotuman or Indian are categorised,⁵⁴ which also include those granted citizenship by application.

The Fiji 1976 Census report however defines indigenous Fijians as "those descended from the native people who inhabited the islands when they were ceded to the United Kingdom (in 1874) and includes all those persons who are eligible for record in the Register of Native Lands, and therefore, entitled to a share in the land owned by their respective mataqali and/or yavusa".⁵⁵

The constitution clearly states that Fijians are those who can trace their Melanesian ethnicity along the father's line from "indigenous inhabitants of Fiji or any island in Melanesia, Micronesia or Polynesia". The census definition of Fijian is silent on people of Polynesian, other Melanesian or Micronesian origin.

Selected cases will show that some of these 'indigenous inhabitants' described by the census and 'Melanesian ethnicity' described by the constitution included 'Fijian descendants' whose ancestry originated from Samoa and elsewhere. The oral traditions of Rotumans and Waya in the Yasawa for example profess they originated from the wandering Samoans, which later fused with the imperialistic Tongans. Present-day Fijian descendants in Lau and

Vanua Levu include Tongans and Samoans who contributed to Fijian warring parties through their strategic naval expertise. In more recent times, Bauan chiefs inter-married with Samoans whose bloodlines were fused by rank-conscious Fijians. For the Samoans, while there is in some degree cultural similarity with the ethnic Fijians, they are constitutionally treated in the same light as Indians and Europeans for some purposes but not for others. Long established Samoans in Fiji to a substantial degree recognise and observe Fijian customs and traditions, but they are not constitutionally recognised in terms of land, education sponsorships and commercial opportunities. As a result they remain culturally and constitutionally subservient to the Fijians.

The constitution provides for equal opportunities on all things, it also makes clear that there shall be no discrimination in terms of race.⁵⁴ In such clauses as that "no person shall be treated in a discriminating manner by any person by virtue of any written law or in the performance of the functions of any office or any public authority."⁵⁷ Although the 1970 constitution was abrogated by the military coup on 14 May 1987 and no new constitution is likely until 1988, in this thesis, I refer to the 1970 constitution as that which shaped conditions in the period under discussion. But constitutional rights and guarantees are only one factor, and perhaps more importantly is the implementation of the law, generally by Fijians, who also have control of the Senate and those of key legislations by the extra Council of Chiefs representatives, reserved enactments and

various other advantages and thus understandably are even more biased against migrant people like Samoans.

Three separate electoral rolls are maintained for election purposes; a Fijian roll, an Indian roll and a roll for voters who are neither Fijian nor Indian including migrant Pacific Islanders.³⁸ Everyone has three votes; a vote for the ethnic community, a national vote, and one for the General Electorate. Each must therefore identify 3 nominations based on 3 supposedly different ethnic lines.

By contrast, descendants of indentured migrant labourers in Tonga, originating from Fiji and Solomon Islands, are classified as aliens unless nationalised and thus generally have no vote. Migrants can apply to be naturalised after a period of residence of 5 years or more, but many have not done so. Moreover, once naturalised, they are '... not ... entitled to the rights of hereditary tax allotments',³⁹ being the eight and a quarter acres to which every Tongan male over the age of 16 years is entitled (but does not always get).⁴⁰

7.2. Land and Fijian paramountcy

Under the protection of the constitution, Fijians have direct access to 83% of the land as native reserve land but not for crown and freehold land. Native reserves is divided into two kinds of reserve, 1) native reserve and 2) non-reserve land. Native reserve is open for leasing to Fijians only and non-reserve is available to Indians, non-Indians as well as to the

Fijians. More than 50% of the population get access to 17% of land by purchasing freehold or taking out a crown lease. But the crude figures are misleading. The 83% owned by the Fijians is mainly poor quality land. Most of the freehold land was owned by Europeans but 80% of this has been re-sold to Indians; and about all the crown land is leased by Indians. Samoans, as a minority group operating under cultural conditions similar to the populous Fijians constraining acquisitiveness, capital and confidence could generate neither the capital nor the expertise to buy or lease land. Most Pacific Island migrant communities, including Samoans, are thus effectively marginalised either ways.

7.3. Education and sponsorship

The government's policy for awarding educational sponsorship is based on race, with 50% allocated for ethnic Fijians and the remaining 50% allocated to 52.6% Others. In terms of population percentage, 50% (plus \$3.5 million grant) is allocated to 46.2% 'less advantaged' Fijians and the other 50% to the combined categories of Indians and 'others' comprising 52.6% of total population. In the latter category are all Pacific island migrant communities including Samoans. Ethnic Fijians have since 1985 an additional educational grant of \$3.5 million for allocation by the ministry of Fijian Affairs for Fijian scholarship assistance. Fiji's former Prime Minister, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara justified this in terms of 'justice and future harmonious race relations'. The sponsoring system, in particular, the criteria of scholarship

awards by the Fijian Affairs has been criticised by Fijians themselves including the immediate benefactors. Favouritism and nepotism have been alleged. Hon. Filimone Nalatu, a Fijian Member of Parliament claims that these scholarships have been awarded in favour of the more prestigious provinces, who have inherited traditional significance through historical Fijian politics, at the expense of other provinces which have missed out because of their lower social order.⁴¹

The preferential system based on race is supported by the 1969 Education Commission which felt that there was an urgent need to bridge the educational gap between Fijians and non-Fijians. But as recent meetings of the Fijian Councils of Chiefs have shown, the stated aims of the 50-50 scholarship policy has not achieved any significant reduction in the educational gap between the Fijians and other races.⁴²

The majority, the 54% of the total including Pacific island migrant communities, compete for the other 50% of the scholarship allocation, and have no access to the additional special funds. In this competition, the island migrants are much less advantageously placed than Indians due to the cultural factors which constrain acquisitiveness, individual achievements and confidence. Unlike the Fijians however, these cultural constraints are not recognised and redressed in official assistance, legislation and government policy. Whereas Indians are represented politically, in law, commerce, technology and other centers of power where Fijians were not, the Samoans and other

Pacific Island migrant communities have in many cases become a category of disadvantaged fringe dwellers.

7.4.Aid and commerce

In negotiating for foreign aid, the former Prime Minister claimed that the country as a whole is a 'less advantaged country'. On the international front, Fiji, the country is less advantaged. On the national scene, only a certain section of the population is so classified and receives benefits which other sections of the population do not. In sharing this aid, the Fijians gets preferential treatment in terms of more education and commercial incentives than Indians and other races. He claims that if the people of Fiji could accept overseas aid by virtue of Fiji being a less advantaged country, then there should be no criticism of the education policy of helping the Fijians who are the 'less privileged' in Fiji.⁴³

Special institutions such as the Business Opportunity Management Advisory Service (BOMAS), the Native Land Development Corporation (NLDC) concerning loans from the Development Bank have been established to promote commercial ventures for Fijians.

8.The political significance of minorities

In Fiji, the large number of people of migrant origin complicates the identity issue. Indians and 'Others' combined outnumber the 'indigenous' Fijians. Of 714,548 total population, the combined 347,445 Indians (48.6%) and 36,662 Others (4.0%)

outnumber 330,441 Fijians (46.2%).⁴⁴

Precise population figures of minority 'races' in Fiji are difficult to find as both the constitution and the population census remain silent on separate categorisation of Fiji's minorities. The arbitrary categorisation of Fiji citizens on ethnic grounds ignores the substantial and natural degree to which racial integration has been and continues to evolve among different Island groups including Europeans, Chinese and a few Indians. No exact figures exist for Fiji citizens of Samoan ancestry although they have been roughly estimated at over 10,000 throughout Fiji with relative concentrations in Lau, Waya, Levuka, Suva, Lautoka and Bau.

A person of mixed ancestry typically no longer falls into a neat ethnic category. The concept of the taukei Fijians as 'native inhabitants, living on the land at the time of cession in 1874', makes the corporation of an ethnic Fijian a marvelous mystery, if not a misnomer. Non-ethnic categories are the order of modern societies.

Samoans and minority groups genuinely desire to identify with the nation but the constitution determines arbitrary racial categories within which discriminatory practices pertaining to land rights, scholarship allocations and commercial opportunities are officially condoned and work against the groups. Small, scattered and powerless Pacific Island people of migrant origin such as I-Kiribati, Solomon Islanders, Samoans, Tongans, Tuvaluans, ni-Vanuatu and Wallisians are lumped together in the

constitution by the dubious omnibus term of "Other Pacific Islanders". Their perceived identities are imprisoned between incompatible systems of meanings; Fiji as a nation state and the cultural symbols of the indigenous Fijians representative of their Island ancestors. My study of Samoan identity in Fiji shows one aspect of this dilemma in identity.

Former Prime Minister Mara expressed strong reservation about proposed repatriation of Indians by the chauvinistic Fijian Nationalistic Party. This is undoubtedly due in part to the recent external origins of many of Fiji's minority populations such as the Solomon islanders, Samoans and Wallisians in many parts of Fiji, Banabans in Rabi, Tuvaluans in Kioa and Tongans in Lau, and the fear that such a policy could next turn on internal minorities like Lauans, and on people of mixed ancestry such as the former Prime Minister and almost all of his cabinet.

9. Inter-community relations

Multiple ancestry ideally minimise barriers of racial prejudice and ignorance. What constitutes a national Fiji identity remains unresolved among Fiji citizens. Intermarriage between Fijians and Indians is assumed to unify people of different races but despite over 150 years of christian teachings, this has not happened.

Fiji's National Development Plan IX for the period 1988 to 1992 identifies as one of its main objective;

the promotion of tolerance and goodwill among communities

with different ethnic and cultural background,... The education system and mass media as well as community development and religious organisations will be expected to play a vital role in fostering a greater inter-ethnic understanding and awareness of the different culture, custom and traditions.⁴⁵

While offering a lot of hope for national unity and rhetoric about its achievement, the document as a guideline for national development in the next five years offers little practical action to achieve the goal of a national cohesion and identity, nor is there evidence of official support for public discussion of it.

In addition, the report of the Constitution Review Committee recorded a great number of submissions expressing concern about the state of race relations either revealed or caused by the military coup of 14 May 1987 and argued that measures aimed at improving race relations were urgently required. Generally, the Review Committee advocated an education campaign aimed at promoting greater understanding among the races by teaching everyone the history and values of the respective roles played by the various races.⁴⁶ This study has been inspired by previous attempts to record some of those Pacific values and traditions, and aims to decentralise one historical aspect of the Pacific system of meaning.

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61. Quoted by Mr Akuila Tuiqilaqila Masikerei in the Fiji Times, 24 November 1986.
62. Fiji Sun, editorial, 12 October 1986
63. Fiji Times, 26 November 1981.
64. Fiji Times, 9/10/86.
65. Ministry of Economic Planning and Development. 1985. Fiji's Development Plan 9.

66. Report of the Constitution Review Committee, July/August 1987,
Appendix I, para. 9.

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1. Early European theories of origin

The oral traditions and contemporary European history of Fiji and Samoa parallel each other in their intricate relationship and with other island groups, particularly Tonga. Archaeology, botany, and linguistic sources point to South Asia and the Malay peninsula region as a common departure point for Austronesian Pacific Islanders. Such agreement however is a novel phenomenon and the debate on the origin of the Polynesians continues.¹ Some early Ethnologists believed it was India,² others, based on physical features, language, and custom, assert the Persian Gulf.³

According to the Indian theories, the Polynesians lived between 500 and 400 B.C. in the Ganges valley and were, of mixed ancestry due to invasions of Aryans, Tibetans, and Mongolians from the north, and intrusion of Arabs, Egyptians and Hebrews from the south which eurocentric academics described as Polynesians. Smith stated that about 450 B. C. there was formed in India (Atia-te-Varinga-Nui) a vast confederation ruled by a great king named Tu-te-Rangi-Marama, and long before the early Christian era, they populated Malaysia and East Indies. From Java (Avaiki-te-Varinga) they moved eastward into the Pacific (Moana-o-Kiva).⁴

The Persian theorists⁵ claim that Polynesian words and customs can be traced to Semitic customs such as circumcision, rules of taboo and time reckoning. These seafaring people learned the art of ancient navigators, shipbuilding, astronomy, marine lore, and seasonal wind patterns from the Arabs. They sailed down

the east coast of Africa, trading and colonising Madagascar. In similar fashion, they sailed to India and to the East Indies.⁴ In successive waves, these early colonisers were believed to have moved from the southern coasts of Asia and China reaching Papua New Guinea through Indonesia and continuing further east.⁷ These theories receive little academic credence today.

Several philologists identify Pulotu with Buruto (or Buruto), some ruins of which still exist in Mesopotamia. Another legend relates that the Arave, one of their large migration ships was in danger of being swallowed by the 'Palata', an enormous sea-monster. An even wilder speculation has the origin of this Palata as the mouth of the Euphrates, which the Arabs called Pharat. If this assumption is correct, it would point to Mesopotamia of the Persian Gulf, as being one of the cradles of the complex culture area we now call Polynesia.⁸

In American Samoa, the catholic priest Henry and his specialists in Samoan oral traditions, Tofa and Tuiteleapaga⁹, record that the oral traditions of the Samoans do not reach as far as back as those of the Maoris, Rarotongans or Marquesans. In an amusing story, the New Zealand Maori anthropologist Te Rangi Hiroa solicited a typically ethnocentric response from the Samoans on their perceived origin. They believed in an underworld called Pulotu, the gathering place of the souls, situated far to the west in their original home of Hawaiki. Henry concluded that the immediate home of the ancient Polynesians was somewhere in the south of Asia, but we do not know exactly the origin of Hawaiki, if there was one. Archaeological, genetic and linguistic

evidence, however, makes it probable that they came from the southeast rather than from the southwest of Asia. The aristocratic leadership system could be derived from the common source with that of Malaysia.

Evidence of carbon dating the Lapita pottery and linguistics have led some ethnologists to assert that some ancestors of the present Fijians arrived more than 3,000 years ago and that these early Fijians were possibly the first proto-type Polynesians.¹⁰ Based on archaeological searches by Best in Lakeba, Gravelle confidently asserts that the people of Fiji, Tonga and Samoa were all one three thousand years ago, speaking the same language and having a single culture.¹¹ According to Howard, while it is clear there were frequent interactions and that at least some aspects of it had common origins, it seems unlikely that there was a unified culture.¹²

But neither the archaeological nor genetic or other evidence is known to Fijians or Samoans whose earliest evidence is from oral tradition. The pre contact world of many Pacific Islanders extended only to near-by islands inhabited by people with similar social and cultural attainments. Samoans, as European theories suggest may have been intrepid navigators, but latterly, at least, their relations with other islands owed more to the initiative of neighbours such as Tongans. Europeans saw few ocean-going canoes in the possession of Samoans and those they did were double canoe of a Lau Islands design, apparently supplied to them or built for them by Tongans.¹³ For Pacific Islanders, much of their theories and history of migration have

already been committed to memory and vested in oral tradition.

If our contribution to the study of small Island societies is to be worthwhile, it should be rooted in our Pacific identity and our own individual personality.¹⁴ Germane to an understanding of our cultural roots is the preservation and transmission of our Pacific values and tradition in our own environment, as a springboard to better understand and deal with new influences. By preservation, I do not mean the museum statics but the salvaging, revival, borrowing, modifying and incorporating of new influences with our cultural traditions.

At the risk of ethnocentrism, we need Pacific cultural folklore to restore some balance from the heavy doses of middle east testimonials, Grimms fairy tales and Peter Pans regulated with the crushing weight of one and a half century of christian, colonial and commercial tutelage. Whatever the origin and version, oral folklore form the basis of much contemporary understanding and will be the foundation stones for future generations of Pacific Islanders. The point is not whether these traditions are right or wrong, but because they constitute what the Pacific Islanders believe to be true, mythical or otherwise. Learning to deal with these beliefs, under conditions of rapid change ~~themselves~~ quickly, with minimal interference is critical.¹⁵

At a fundamental level, oral traditions with a rich store of selected memories stirs the keen minds of young Pacific Islanders, a potent chemistry for dynamism, shaping their thoughts and translating them into relevant actions. We either

propagate and perpetuate cultural dependency as more and more of our young people go overseas and grow up there, or we strive to preserve and transmit their own values and traditions here in their own environment, at least until they have achieved the degree of maturity which enables them to adapt to other influences, without losing their identities.¹⁴

2. Tala o le vavau i le va o Samoa ma Fiti: Oral traditions linking Fiji and Samoa

Oral tradition links Samoa and Fiji with an early association to the position of the Tui Manu'a through whom further linkages are claimed to Tonga, the Cook Islands and Tahiti. According to these popular myths, an early Tui Manu'a was from Fiji, who in the early dawn of known history raided Samoa and having firmly established himself in Manu'a, styled himself as Tui Manu'a Samoa-atoa and commanded tribute from all-of-Samoa.¹⁵ His name Samoa-atoa implied territorial jurisdiction over Fiji, Tonga, Cook Islands and Tahiti. The Rarotongan ancestor Karika (Ari'a in Samoa) was reputed to have originated from Manu'a in Samoa (as the deposed Tui Manu'a) about 1200 A.D.¹⁶

Assuming that the main area of Samoa was settled from Fiji possibly via Tonga, it is likely that parts of the Pacific further east were in many cases settled from Samoa. The findings of the Lapita pottery highlight this possibility of influence via Fiji through Samoa thence further eastward.¹⁷

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The following oral traditions between Samoa and Fiji, like

most Samoan tales (fagogo fa'a Samoa)²⁰, are simply related with a historical style and establish the origins of institutions (tattooing), material culture ('ie toga, canoe building), oratory (alaga'upu) and place names of villages and districts.

3.Tala tu'u: Legends connecting Fiji and Samoa

3.1.Tui Samoa and Tui Fiti

Samoan oral tradition recorded by the missionary George Turner said that the first Tui Samoa came from Fiji and lived in the sub district of Falealili. Though the name has fallen in abeyance, it is regarded as a matai title. Tui Samoa's house is said to have been built in the Fijian manner with one post - pou tagi, the name of a prominent village in Falealili.²¹

In northern Savai'i, Tui Fiti is the acknowledged 'aitu deity of Fagamalo village in the Matautu sub district. The ritual practice of placing food in the interior, commonly referred to as the togaifi (bushes of Tahitian chestnuts), is ceremonially maintained today. The left over food are apportioned to the participants.²²

The implicit symbolic ties between Fiji and Samoa was reestablished in May 1978 when the then Governor-General of Fiji, Ratu Sir George Cakobau, was conferred a high ranking honorary matai title, Pesetamanaia, by the village of Matautu while on a state visit to Western Samoa.²³

3.2.Taema and Tilafaiga - Fijian goddesses of tattooers

In the legend about siamese twins called Taema and

Tilafaiga, the goddesses of the tattooers (o aitu o le 'au ta tatau), Samoans acknowledge the introduction of tattooing from Fiji.²⁴ Before their sea journey to Samoa, the twins were told to sing "tattoo the women, but not the men". On arrival, their song had changed to "tattoo the men but not the women". Before it suffered a major set back in the mid 1800s with the advent of Christianity, tattooing became an important initiation for adulthood for both sexes.

The customary art has been compared to the Thracian practice among the ancient Greeks which held that a man was not worthy of respect until he was tattooed. In Samoa, unless tattooed, a male was considered a minor. He could not think of marriage and was exposed to taunts and ridicule, being poor and of low birth, and having no right to speak in the society of men. By being tattooed, he passed into his majority, and considered himself entitled to the respect and privileges of more mature years.²⁵

3.3.Chief Fuluolela

Fiji is credited by one Samoan oral tradition as the possible origin of the 'ie toga or the fine kilt. The Fijian chief Fuluolela, in search of a chiefly husband for his daughter, introduced gifts of native cloth and scented oil including a fine mat, which we may suppose to be 'ie toga. In addition he also gave pandanus and paper mulberry plants for making mats and native cloth²⁶. In the village of Muamua in Vanuabalavu, Lau, a fine mat is also found and referred to as the uluvoki, which is used "...as a kind of bed-spread for high chiefs".²⁷

A small mat, the Tuiga-ula used for headdresses, and pale worn by person of rank either in war or in dances is made from the Fijian parrot.²⁸ The Fijian (also found in Tonga) parrot²⁹ is known to the Samoans as the Sega Ula and prized for its perfect crimson and scarlet feather which also ornaments the lower border of the 'ie toga. Although the birds are not to be seen today, according to the traditions, they were imported from Fiji, kept in captivity and plucking the feathers for use as required.³⁰

3.4. 'Ava Yaqona - Piper methysticum

Fiji is also credited by the Samoans with the introduction of the kava plant or as variously known in Samoa as 'ava Samoa or more formally as le alofi. A Samoan woman married to a Fijian returned to Samoa bringing to Savaii the first kava plant which "grew with exceedingly great luxuriance and spreading over all the islands".³¹

3.5.0 le Nifo Loa - The long tooth

The god of a disease known as the Nifo Loa originated from Fiji and made its home on the southern side of Savai'i. Grattan refers to it as a vindictive long-toothed demon whose bite cause death and whose social influence is not yet a thing of the past.³² People and property becomes the media by which the disease spread and those affected either die or suffer a painful illness.³³

3.6. Tao i se umu - Roast it in an oven

Literally, roast it in an earth oven; usage in modern context implies blatant insult and refers to the bygone practice of cannibalism. Although widespread in Samoa, Tonga and Fiji, oral traditions in Samoa refer to Fiji as the place of origin.³⁴ The practice of slaying women and children in warfare and violating the temple as a place of sanctuary is also thought to have been introduced from Fiji.³⁵

3.7. Apa'ula and Vaea

Early contacts between the Samoans and Fijians, which indicate mutual awareness and intimacy, are recorded by Kramer in great detail. One well known illustration is the legend about a Fijian lady, Apa'ula and a Samoan chief, Vaea.

Tui Fiti's children, Aloiva'afulu, Tauaputuputu, Aioufitunu'u, Tauatigiulu and their sister Apa'ula, set out for Samoa. When they arrived, they beached their boat at Safune, a village of Toamua in the district of Upolu. During the night, the chief of the place called Vaea went down to the beach and lifted the boat on top of the trees, and threatened the Fijians. The Fijians pleaded with Vaea offering their sister for his wife.

The chief agreed and when she became pregnant the Fijians returned for Apa'ula so that she could give birth to the baby in Fiji. Vaea's wish that the child be called Tuiosavalalo, after the stone he was standing on, was granted. On the voyage, Apa'ula gave birth and named him Tuiosavalalo. The wild fishes nursed and cared for the boy and he grew up living entirely at sea riding the sea waves, never venturing in-land or inside a house.

When the boy had come of age, Apa'ula's brothers instructed her to prepare him for the kava ceremony, at which he was to be killed and eaten. Apa'ula went to her son and lamented her state of affairs.

Tuiosavalalo, leave the waves. If the sea breaks white, then you are loved; but if it breaks red, then I know you are lost.

The sea broke red and the boy said to his mother, 'why have you come?' 'I came to take you to a kava meal', she replied. Then Tuiosavalalo lamented,

'... ah! the moon is now full, it shines on Vaitele, Taufa'apu'e and Magele, over Vaiafe'ai and Mutiatele. Apa'ula, let yourself be captured for your own sake, but I the stranger (referring to his Samoan father) would like to live'.³⁶

Apa'ula led her son to the kava meal and asked for his head. With his head returned went to Vaea in Samoa with the hope of avenging their son's death. But when she arrived, Vaea's body had changed into a mountain and only his head remained.³⁷

4. Alaga upu fa'a Samoa - Proverbs linking Fiji and Samoa

Proverbial expression is a common device for the tulafale or orator chief in his communication trade. Many expressions derived from legends show considerable evidence of contact not only between Fiji and Samoa but also among other island countries. The following examples show the Fiji-Samoa connection:

4.1. 'O le a se'i moea'itino Va'atausili

From the legend of Apa'ula of Fiji and Vaea of Samoa recounted above, the proverb refers to the revenge of their son, Tuiosavalalo. When Apa'ula returned, except for his head, Vaea had turned into a mountain. He instructed her to go to his brother Va'atausili in Savai'i. But before Va'atausili could go with her to Fiji, he first had to sleep. The proverb refers to the body of Va'atausili having to sleep. When Va'atausili woke up, his growth burst the cave.

4.2. Ua atoa tino o Va'atausili

Also derived from the above legend, the phrase means the body of Va'atausili has fully grown and refers to an undertaking which has been fully prepared or a meeting well attended.³²

4.3. Fiti-aumua, Fiji the foremost

According to Manu'a traditions, the name Fiji-the-foremost came into prominence through a Fijian warrior whose conquest of Samoa came after having subdued other islands. He received tributes from all over the group, from whence Manu'a became known as Great Manu'a. While no specific place exist today, in a contextual sense, orators use it as an esoteric reference in their craft.

4.4. 'O le faiva o Fiti ia lililo

This proverb means, let the Fijian method of fishing remain a secret. The reference is to the Tuifiti, and his two sons, one

of a Samoan mother, the other of Fijian mother. One day the two boys went fishing for their father. The Fijian fished with a bow and arrow and his Samoan brother fished with a spear. The Fijian met with failure but the Samoan caught many fish. On their return they decided to tell their father that both used the spear. The phrase, o le faiva o Fiti ia lililo, means to conceal a certain matter, such as the commission of an injustice.³⁹

4.5.Ia natia (ifo) i fatu a lavai

This proverb means may our fault be hidden in fatu a lavai, a traditional stone. According to one legend, pigs were plentiful in Fiji and a ban was imposed on sending live ones to Samoa. A Samoan went to Fiji to smuggle one to Samoa. He baked a big pig and instead of stuffing it with stones, 'he put a small pregnant sow in its cavity'. However, according to Schultz the Fijians believe that pigs originated from Samoa and spread to Fiji and Tonga.⁴⁰

4.6.Ua mana'o i le ufi, ae fefe i le papa

Meaning, one desires the yam, but fears the rock. Various versions exist explaining this proverb. The one connecting Fiji and Samoa goes like this. In Fiji there were people who could fly. They were known as the Winged Fijians (Fiti apa'au). One day they went to Samoa and plundered the plantation of Malietoa at his village in Malie. Chief Fanuanuatele of Fagaiofu in Falelatai informed Malietoa. They gave chase but the Fiti apa'au had changed into pe'a, flying foxes. Malietoa's attendant, Le'apai

went to Pulotu to recover the yams but found the entrance blocked by big rocks. This predicament is referred to in the proverb, 'e mana'o i le ufi ae fefe i le papa', he desires the yam but fears the rocks.⁴¹

4.7. Ua maua 'ula futifuti

The proverb means the (or we have) plucked feathers and refers to the shredded feathers and hence to carelessness and wastage. The sons of the Tuimanu'a went to Fiji to obtain the red parrot feather called 'ula with which to decorate the fine mats, 'ie toga. On their way back from Fiji they plucked the feathers and these were blown away by the wind.

4.8. Ua o e pei o le malaga i 'Olo'olo

Meaning it is like the journey to 'Olo'olo. A Fijian couple, Futi and Sao went with their daughter Sina to Savai'i and landed in Safotu. After spending the night in a sandy cave, they went inland and climbed a high hill. On reaching the top, they realised they had forgotten Sina's aluga or pillow of soft mats in which they had wrapped two valuable lei or necklaces of whale's teeth. They returned the next morning to the beach. Next morning the decision to return was postponed until finally nothing came of it. The proverb thus refers to an undertaking that has been long in the making and resulted in nothing. The sandy bay is called Fagalei, the bay of the whale's teeth, and the hill is called 'Olo'olo.⁴²

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4.9. Tigilau⁴³ of Samoa and Sina of Fiji

Tigilau of Samoa and Sina of Fiji were secret admirers and longed to be together. Sina decided she could stand the separation no longer and made off for Samoa. When Tigilau saw her, he at once fell in love but as a test of his love, she decided against revealing her true identity. Tigilau's love for the unrecognised stranger evaporated and his thoughts once again returned to the unknown Sina in Fiji at the expense of his newly arrived wife. He travelled to Fiji in a fleet of many ships to present her with a dowry. They travelled in separate boats and when they reached Sina's island they scattered to look for the boat entrance. And to prevent an accident, Sina called out:

A iai ni ou alofa fou i Futu : If you love me steer to the passage of Futu.

The Samoans obeyed and the whole fleet went safely through the lagoon. Once inside, Sina in a song revealed her true identity. Tigilau hearing of her song was filled with joy and immediately enjoined her.⁴⁴

4.10. Se'i muamua le moa le futia ma le talo le valua

Meaning literally, first the unplucked fowl and the unscrapped taro. Tigilau of Samoa heard of the beauty of Tuifiti's daughter called Sina and longed to marry her. Sina was told this and she also longed for Tigilau. Being unable to contain herself she finally went to Tigilau in Pata, in the village of Falelatai, Upolu. When she appeared, Tigilau's attendants Uluseleatamai and Uluselevalea wondered whether she was an aitu, spirit or a human

being. So they prepared some peeled taro and some unpeeled fowl and presented these to her. When she chose from the properly prepared food, the servants knew that she was human. The term is referred to presenting an unimportant thing first, followed by one of importance; for instance the complimentary phrase of a visitor followed by the real purpose of the visit.⁴³

4.11. Ua uma ona ta logo a Masefau

Meaning the props for Masefau's boat have been cut. Sina of the village of Tuana'i in Samoa was courted by the Tuifiti and Tagaloalagi. Sina preferred Tuifiti and made plans to go with him to Fiji. Masefau, her brother fearing Tagaloalagi's anger tried in vain to change her mind. Sina and Tuifiti left, pursued by Masefau. However, Tagaloalagi turned them all into rocks. The reference is to Masefau's endeavours at mediation to assure the safety of his sister and is applied to a person trying to prevent misfortune.⁴⁴

4.12. Ia tulituli matagau le ufi a Maina

Meaning to follow the direction of the yam of Maina. Three brothers named Fuialeao, Ma'oma'o and Pili had a sister named Sina who lived in Fiji married to the Tuifiti. When they heard of a famine in Fiji they went to her assistance. As two of them were in the form of birds, and the other a lizard, they felt ashamed to show themselves. So they planted a palai yam, and directed its growth towards Sina's house. When Sina saw the yam, daily she broke a piece off until the shortened branch finally led her to

the root and her waiting brothers. Another reference meaning taken from this proverb is to strive for higher aspirations and not to allow one's self to be distracted.

5. Gafa-Genealogies linking Fiji and Samoa

The works of Kramer and Turner⁴⁷ include genealogies pointing to marital alliances between Samoa and Fiji. Two well known chiefly ones are briefly described; the Sanalala genealogy of Safata and the genealogy of Laufafaeotonga. These have been chosen partly for its significance in the apex of Samoan hierarchy and partly because of its historical links to Tonga and Fiji.

5.1. Sanalala

The Sanalala genealogy daughter, named Sina, of a Fijian couple Futi and Sao. Sina married Lauifia resulting in a son Masautele. Masautele's union with Sinalalotava, a daughter of So'oalo of Samauga resulted in a son, Samoa-na-galo. Travelling to Samoa from Fiji, Samoa-na-galo was driven onto an island inhabited by the legendary lizard, Sanalala, whose name Samoa-na-galo later assumed. Sanalala married Gatoa'itele and became the most important ancestor of the Tuia'ana and Malietoa lines.

5.2. Laufafeotonga

This genealogy shows the complexity and extent to which marital alliances were forged among Samoa, Tonga and Fiji in addition to giving birth to many place names of villages and

district. Laufafeotonga was the daughter of the Tongan king, Tu'itonga. Tupa'ilelei of Samoa married Laufafaetoga and when her labour pains began, she returned to Tonga. Adverse winds drove the canoe to Fiji where the child was born and named, Va'asiliifiti, meaning the canoe drifted to Fiji. The sons of Va'asiliifiti, Funefe'ai and Lafai, figure prominently in the folk lore of Savai'i. Funefe'ai founded the Falesafune, house of Fune, a lineage group widely scattered in Savai'i. These places are known today as Safunetaoa, Safune Vaiafai in Iva, Safune Vaisala in the important centre of Asau and Safune in Sili, Palauli. From Lafai derive the ancestors of the important Tonumaip'e'a title of Savai'i which, according to Kramer, united all the lineages of Savai'i to form the Falesalafai, or the collective union of Lafai.

A Tongan-Fijian union was also made when Laufafaetoga subsequently married the Tuifiti. The children were 'Ututauofiti, Tauaofiti, Lega'otuitoga and Fotu-ai-i-samoa, sometime referred to as Samoauafotu and from these Tongan-Fijian children originate the names of prominent villages in Savai'i such as Matautu from 'Ututauofiti, Sataua from Tauaofiti, Salega from Lega'otuitoga and Safotu from Fotu-ai-i-samoa or Samoauafotu. The last of these three came to occupy the pule status or political centre of Savai'i and later became the Tongan headquarters under Tala'aifei'i during their sporadic occupation of Samoa in the seventeenth century. These names and their place of origin suggest extensive contact and exchanges among these early Pacific islanders.

6. Mafua'aga o alalafaga ma afio'aga: Place names linking Fiji and Samoa

In a brief review of the Samoan oral traditions, a surprising number of Samoan villages and districts attribute their origin to migration waves from Fiji. Turner is perhaps the earliest recorder of these early movements.⁴⁸

6.1. Fiti-i-uta, Fiji in the mountain

In Manu'a, Holmes records an oral tradition by the village Fiti-i-uta saying its name is from Fiji. A brother had gone to Fiji to visit a distressed sister married to a Fijian chief, and during the course of his visit, certain plants and food crops were said to have been relayed between Fiji and Samoa.⁴⁹

Turner records that in Fiji, Moiu'ule'apai, a daughter of Tangaloa married the Tuifiti and afterward was sent to the woods. Her brother Taeotagaloa came from Samoa and cultivated a large plantation of yam, banana and fruits. The Tuifiti heard of it and made matters up with his wife and named the fertile spot Fiti-i-uta. When Taeotagaloa returned to Manu'a he changed the name of the village Aga'e, meaning breathing hard from the hard breathing at its birth of a child of rocks and earth, to Fiti-i-uta.⁵⁰

6.2. Manono ma Apolima

The two small islands lying between the closest tips of Upolu and Savai'i are referred collectively as the 'Aiga-i-le-tai or family-of-the-sea. They are renowned for superior

craftsmanship in boatbuilding, navigational skill and naval prowess. It was here that at the turn of the nineteenth century, the cannibal chief Leiataua Tamafaiga tyrannised Samoa before his assassination by people of A'ana.³¹ Traditions invariably refer to Fiji as the point of origin of the two islands. One version says they were dragged to Samoa by a chief Nono and another says they were first swallowed in Fiji then vomited out in Samoa.

6.3.Fasito'otai and Fasito'outa

Fasito'otai and Fasito'outa are separate villages located in northern A'ana district. Turner records that one To'o'au (or Tapa'au) arrived in Samoa from Fiji on a walking stick or an orator's staff called a to'oto'o. He landed in the village of Leulumoega and gave birth to two sons. When they grew up, he divided the to'oto'o in two and directed one son to live in Fasito'otai, the side nearest the sea, and the other to live in Fasito'outa, the side facing the interior.³²

6.4.Falelatai and Falese'ela

Falelatai and Falese'ela are neighbouring villages situated in southern A'ana. Latai and Se'ela were Fijians and these villages owe their name from them. Latai settle in Falelatai and Se'ela in Falese'ela.

6.5.Savai'i

Some of the main villages and districts in Savai'i originate from Fijian movements.

6.5.1. Le Itu o Taa, also known as Itu o Tane.

The northern spread of Savai'i was originally known as le Itu of Taa, or the Itu o Tane, meaning the side of men. The contemporary political division refers to this as Gaga'emauga and Gagaifomauga. Turner records that the original name Taa referred to a chief of Fijian descent who took up residence in the area under whose name the area is known.

6.5.2. Salega

Salega embraces a considerable portion of the south-west of Savai'i and includes some villages whose names originate from Fijians, such as 'Utu, Taua and their sister Lega.⁵³

6.5.3. Seu-i-le-va'a-o-lata, steer to the canoe of Lata

As if to distinguish it from the side of the men in the north, the southern side of Savai'i is referred to o le Itu o Fafine or the side of the women. On the side of the women are two hills representing the petrified double canoes of a shipwrecked Fijian called Lata. The story recorded by Turner, is that Lata lived on the island bearing his name in the neighbouring vicinity of Sala'ilua village. He constructed two large canoes in Fagaloa, Upolu but died before he could complete the deck uniting the two canoes. The construction method of uniting two canoes with a deck to form the double canoe is attributed to Lata.⁵⁴

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7. Summary

What is the significance of oral traditions? Drawn mainly from Samoan oral tradition, this chapter connects Fiji with Samoa showing Fijian influences on Samoa. While all the Fijian sources have yet to be explored, including the Tukutuku Raraba na Yavusa, the oral accounts of each land owning unit before the Fiji Lands Commission in the mid 1900s, as well as visits to Waya, except Waya and Lau materials recounted above, little recorded oral tradition material is available showing Samoan influence on Fiji.

The Samoan story teller, fagogo, the tulafale deeply rooted in his Samoan tradition, their social, economic, religious and political bearings are cued to things that are sourced by the Samoans themselves, their oral traditions. This is not to denigrate the contributions of outsiders. On the contrary, the Europeans were also responsible. The written word, the tusi pa'ia (bible), 'Tusi Fa'alupega', the cryptic license to fa'a Samoa in the preamble of the constitution of Western Samoa, while it has certainly reduced fa'a Samoa, has also tended to convey a distorted impression of fa'a Samoa in contemporary monetised society.

While many Samoans are aware of European theories of early Polynesian migration, in the array of fa'a Samoan oral tradition, their external bearings are restricted to Fiji, the Tui Fiti and Tonga, the Tui Tonga.²⁵

And while many foreign dignitaries are being honoured with matai titles and Samoan orders (British Queen with the order of Vailima), these are couched according to the dictates of fa'a

Samoa. While language is only one key factor to loosening the cultural constraint on fa'a Samoa, the extent to which Samoan oral traditions can creatively incorporate European theories of origin remains to be seen. Samoan language and fa'a Samoa in the context of the Samoan migrant community is taken up in chapter 9.

Notes

1. Henry 1978:14.
2. Smith 1904; Fornander, 1878 and 1885; and Tregear, 1891.
3. Cowan, 1910; Nelson, 1923.
4. Henry 1978:14.
5. Henry Op cit, quoting from Cowen 1910 and Nelson 1923.
6. Henry 1978:14-5.
7. Crocombe, 1983, Barrau et al.
8. Quoted by Henry 1978:15.
9. Henry, Tofa and Tuiteleapaga, 1978.
10. Gibbons, J., and Clunie, F., 1986. 'Sea level changes and Pacific prehistory: new insight into early human settlement of Oceania', in JPH, Vol XXI No.2., 58-82.
11. Gravelle 1979:5-7 based on Best's Lakeba excavations.
12. pers. comm. Alan Howard, Suva, March 1987.
13. Gilson 1970:65.
14. Hereniko, Vilsoni, 1986:vii, 'Introduction', Pacific Artists.
15. 'Maori view of prophet', New Zealand Herald, 3 November 1987, Section 1, p.18.
16. Dr Maraj, Vice Chancellor of the University of the South Pacific, 1975-1982.
17. Turner 1884:224; Kramer 1902, Fraser, Watson 1918 and oral information from Tuvalu Polu, Poloa 1977.

18. Maretu, Cannibals and Converts, Radical change in the Cook Islands, translated, annotated and edited by Marjorie Tuainakore Crocombe, 1983:85.
19. Bellwood, 1978:303-328.
20. Moyle, R. M. 1981. Fagogo: Fables from Samoa in Samoan and English, Auckland, Auckland University Press and Oxford University Press.
21. Turner 1884; Malua, 1915:64.
22. LMS 1977 and Meleisea 1982 Unpublished MS.
23. Fiji Ministry of Information, Suva, 1985.
24. Turner 1884:55.
25. Ibid, 88.
26. Turner 1884:123.
27. Fiji Times, 2 August 1986.
28. Stair 1897:117 and 193.
29. Turner 1884:123 and Stair 1895: 99-131.
30. Grattan 1948:167.
31. Churchward 1887:48-9.
32. Grattan 1948:131.
33. Turner, Op cit, 41.
34. Watson 1918:24.
35. Waterhouse 1866:56.
36. Kramer 1902.
37. Kramer 1902:268.
38. Ibid, 99-100.
39. Schultz 1980:16.
40. Ibid, 55.
41. Ibid, 57.
42. Ibid, 78-79.

43. Also called Tinilau.
44. Schultz 1980:91-2.
45. Ibid, 191.
46. Ibid, 100.
47. 1902 and 1884.
48. Turner 1884:224.
49. Holmes 1958:29-30.
50. Turner 1884:224-5.
51. Gilson 1970.
52. Turner 1884:248.
53. Refer also to legend on Va'asiliifiti.
54. Turner 1884:262-4.
55. Kramer 1902, LMS 1977, Moyle 1981 and Tu'i 1987.

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1. Samoa-Tonga-Fiji connections

One significant pre contact Fiji Samoan connection is that through Tonga via the northern Lau islands of Fiji. Based on recent archaeological searches by Best in Lakeba, Gravelle confidently asserts that the people of Fiji, Tonga and Samoa were all one three thousand years ago, speaking the same language and having a single culture.¹ According to Howard, while it is clear there were frequent interactions, at least some aspects of it had common origins.² This early Samoa-Fiji connection cannot be fully understood without awareness of Samoa-Tonga and Tonga-Fiji connections. Based on a literature survey and interviews of Samoan derived Lauans, this chapter sets out the early trade links that developed between Samoa, Tonga and Fiji for the sega ula, the parrot feathers for the kie hamoa, the 'ie toga, (fine kilts), the search for the vesi hardwood, and through it the process of ethnic integration, through material contributions as shown by the Manono clan of Lemaki, into the Lauan hierarchical polity.

1.1. Tongan influence and spouse exchange in Samoa and Fiji

The peak of Tongan influence in Samoa was during the ^Ufourteenth century until they were driven out by two brothers Tuna and Fata, sons of Leatiogie. From this Tongan departure is derived the Malietoa;

Malie tau, malie toa. Ou te le toe sau i le ao pouliuli ae
o le a ou sau i le ao folau.

Bravely fought brave warrior, when I come it will not be by night but by day.

Volumes of legends and genealogies tell of a time long before the papalagi came of common traditions and frequent intermarriages among Samoans, Tongans and Fijians. Kaeppler sets out this marital relationship in an article 'Exchange Patterns in Goods and Spouses: Fiji, Tonga and Samoa'.³ From her considered Tongan point of view, she sees Fiji and Samoa as 'spouse givers' to Tonga. While each is culturally distinct, Fiji, Tonga and Samoa form a larger social system, or in another way, cultural boundaries are not social boundaries. One reason for this was the Tongan view of the sanctity of the body of certain chiefs which necessitated the services of foreigners for tasks which no Tongan may perform.

In many marriages between Tongans and Samoans, the reference to the Tuitonga is very common. One Tuitonga married Vaetoeaga, the mother of Salamasina, who is reputed to be the only Samoan lady to have successfully accumulated the four papa (highest) titles, Tuia'ana, Tuiatua, Tamasoali'i and Gatoa'itele to become the sole holder. For this, one was known as the tafa'ifa, or loosely 'the four in one'. This same Tuitonga also married Taupoimasina, the daughter of Muliagatele Lefano of Amoa. A daughter of this Tuitonga married Fano of Falelatai village and founded the maximal lineage, 'Aiga Taua'ana.⁴ Another Tuitonga, Niutamato married Leutogitupa'itea, a daughter of Lafailapa-itagato from the nu'u of Vaisala. Le'aumoana, a descendant of the

Tuitonga Puipuifatu in Samoa was the son of Maupenei, a daughter of La'ulunofovaleane. Furthermore, Tuitonga Puipuifatu's father, Tuitonga Vakafuhu was married at different times to Popoai and Taufaito'o from the family of Leali'ifanovalevale. The families of Tiimalulilomaiava, Tuita'alili and Tuimaleali'ifano are descended from these unions.

In the early 1800s, a holder of the To'o'a title of Manono, Tuia'ana Sualauvi of the 'Aiga Taua'ana married a Tongan lady, and four generations later, the father of the current Tuimaleali'ifano appointed in 1977 is also Tongan.

In addition, there were many marriages between the children of the Tuitonga and Samoans. The mother of Sanalala of Safata for example was the Tuitonga's daughter. Sanalala as noted is an important ancestor of the Tuia'ana and Malietoa lines.

In Samoa, a very important title, the Tonumaip'e'a, is said to have been brought to Savai'i by To'osega or Fa'asega, the son of Tuitonga Niutamatou and Leutogitupa'itea.² And in Tonga, one of the royal titles, Tu'i Kanokupolu is said to have originated from Upolu in Samoa. According to Tongan tradition, two sisters, Tohu'ia and Fa'onenu'u, daughters of Ama of Samoa were married to the Tongan Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mo'ungamotu'a. From Tohu'ia, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mo'ungamotu'a issued four sons, Fotofili, Vaoloa, Halakitaua and Ngata. From Fa'onenu'u he issued one son Motu'apuaka. Ngata was made king of Hihifo and became the first Tu'ikanokupolu in Tonga. A descendant of this union, Ma'afutuitonga became Tui Lau in Fiji. Halakitaua is today known

as Niukapu (Ni'uapu in Leulumoea, Samoa), chief of Falele'ounga, Vaoloa became Nuku, chief of Kolonga and Fotofili became chief of Niuafu'ou in northern Tonga. Their cousin Motu'apuaka became guardian to Tu'ikanokupolu Ngata and today is one of the leading matapule for the Tongan king.⁶

1.2.Early trade

With travel and admixture, the exchange of goods and services accompanied the exchange of ideas.⁷ Intra-island trade between Fiji, Samoa and Tonga is evident in the finely woven kilts, called 'ie toga in Samoa and kie hamoa in tonga. The fine kilts worn by both Samoan and Tongan chiefs were adorned with brilliant feathers from Fijian parrots which formed the Fijian articles of trade with the Samoans, who wove the scarlet feathers into the 'ie toga and other decorated mantles for chiefs on ceremonial occasions. Green feathers were woven into the headdresses by the taupou, the village maiden. So keen was the demand that the Samoans kept the Fijian parrot in captivity plucking an annual crop of feathers from the live birds.⁸ Stair says that the articles for the Samoan pale'ula, the red crown headdress or coronet symbolising the insignia of rank, were from Fijian parrots. Similar feathers were found in Samoa but the most prized were from Fiji and Tonga.⁹

The highly prized kilts worn by Samoan, Tongan and some Lauan chiefs were edged, as in this case, with feathers of the endemic Vitian kula lory (*Phigys solitarius*), or of the Vitian

kaka, or Red-breasted Musk-parrot (*Prosopiea tabuensis*), a trade in parrot feathers having persisted between Viti, Tonga and Samoa since ancient times, only dying out this century, when it was banned by colonial authorities in the interests of nature conservation. Certainly the red feather trade was thriving in the eighteenth century, Captain Cook mentioned how Tongans he met in 1774 sometimes ventured in 'skirmish' with the Vitians 'on their own ground; and carry off red feathers, as their booty, which are in great plenty there, and ... are in great estimation among our Friendly Islanders.' Back in Tonga three years later, Cook confirmed that parrot feathers on Tongan chiefly regalia 'all come from Fidgee, as also some of their finest striped and chequered [bark] cloth, the masi, or giapo, and a few other articles'. The demand for red feathers was 'so great that it frequently occasions quarrels for if the people of Fidgee refused to trade, the others rather than go without will fight for them'. 'Carriage of the feathers to Samoa depended on Tongan seafarers, who returned home with finely woven Samoan kilts', 'ie toga or kie hamoa bordered with some of these same feathers. Only a handful of glimpses into the Vitian end of the trade exist. Thomas Williams, writing on Taveuni in 1844, mentioned that:

Nasea is a place rather famous for the supply of red or scarlet feathers, kula, obtained from here for a species of parroquet. The Tonguese used to visit it in former days to procure these feathers which they conveyed to Samoa and exchanged for the fine mat dresses of that people. The

article of trade which the Tonguese repaid the Nasea people comprised small articles of European iron ware, yagona bowls, cut at Lau (Lakeba and its dependencies), and the use of their wives, sisters and daughters for a night or two.

The birds are captured by means of nets.¹⁰

Williams was harking back to the trade of the late 1700s, rather than that of this own day, his reference to 'small articles of European ironware' tying in with comments made by William Mariner, who lived in Tonga from 1806-1810. He voiced Tongan complaints about a rising Vitian awareness of the quality of metal tools following the onset of sandalwood trading there. In the good old days the Tongans could get much in return:

...for a few nails, but now they demand axes and chisels, and these, too, of the best quality, for they have gradually become judges of such things... what renders the matter still worse for them, is, that the Fiji people, demanding a greater number of axes and chisels for a given quantity of the wood [sandalwood, for which the Tongan chiefs were as greedy as the white traders, wanting it to scent their coconut oil], these implements are growing very scarce at the Tonga islands, and plentiful at Fiji.

Red feathers may have died out at Nasea in the early 1800s, but continued elsewhere in Viti, Richard Lyth noted how at Lakeba in 1853 'Sisilo Tui'ipelehake is preparing to go to Somosomo and Bau - his principle object is to obtain red feathers for Samoa!'

Red feathers were as much a symbol of chiefly and priestly

status in Viti as they were in Polynesia, both priests and chiefs wearing headbands made of a pandanus leaf strip to which was glued a myriad of red, sometimes green and blue, parrot feathers. It is tempting to speculate whether Captain Cook, in obtaining Tongan regalia embellished with Vitian parrot feathers specifically to trade with the chiefs of Tahiti, might not have been following in the wake of an infinitely more ancient trade'.¹¹

2. Lau

One of the greatest diffusions of people and culture in Fiji during the pre-European period was that between Tonga and Lau. While the influence from Tonga was proportionately significant, according to Lauan oral tradition, a distinct element of this was Samoan in character.¹²

With the arrival of European missionaries and scholars, information systems of selective oral traditions were quickly reduced to writing. One of the earliest documentary sources is a diary entry by Rev William Cross on 20 March 1836 stating that of the thirty-one adults baptized in Lau, one was a Fijian, another was a Samoan man and the rest were Tongans.¹³ The ethnographer, Hocart, in 1909-1912 mapped out the i tokatoka or house sites of the Lakeba village of Tubou. This showed the effect of external influences that were brought to bear upon Lakeba, Lau. Manono and Samoa were names of i tokatoka. Others of more recent origin were called Niu Kini, Ta'iti, Wanganui and Niu Silandi. In Moala,

Sahlins traced the descent of certain Fijian kin groups to Tonga and Samoa.¹⁴

2.1. Leiataua Lesa and Lema'i in Lau

Writing about settlers from the east, Archie Reid quotes sources which claim that along with the continuous flow of Tongans from the east in search for canoe building materials, notable amongst them were two Samoans called Leha and Lemaki¹⁵. A Samoan descendant in Lau, the school teacher Tajini, told Laura Thompson in the 1930s that two Samoan matai came to Fiji about eight (including his own) generations ago. Following the precedent established by Grimble and Maude of allowing twenty five years per generation, the departure date either from Samoa or Tonga is placed about two hundred years before Tajini, then living in the 1930s. According to this calculation, departure would be 1730-1740, about the time the Dutchman Jacob Roggwein first set eyes on Samoa in 1722 and a good one hundred years before any form of western inspired missions arrived in the central and western Pacific.

According to oral traditions, the first port of call of Leha and Lemaki was Lakeba where the two matai took up residence with the nobles of Lakeba.¹⁶ Lemaki became a master builder to the high chiefs of Lau, leading to the eventual establishment of a hereditary line of craftsmen, the mataisau, in carpentry, architecture and construction experts. This hereditary lineage scattered throughout Lau and as far north as Taveuni.¹⁷ In

Southern Lau, from Lakeba southward, five yavusa or clan groups are said to have descended from different mythical ancestor or group of ancestors. One of these is recorded by Thompson as the matai Lemaki. The five are yavusa vanua (land clan), yavusa turaga (chiefly clan), matai sau (carpenter clan), matai Lemaki (Lemaki carpenters), kai vai (also kai wai) or gonedrau (also gonedau), the sea people.

Two Manono matai, Leiataua Lesa and Lema'i, are also known as Leha and Lemaki in Tonga and Fiji¹⁶ today. In Samoa, the former is of high titular rank and the latter an orator chief. In Tonga, they are ranked as matapule.¹⁷ In Manono, their specialised skill was tufuga, boat building craftsmen, particularly the 'alia, kalia or Fijian drua, the seafaring vessels, capable of long journeys and naval combat. They were seeking vesi hardwood for their craft and its availability in southern Lau led to the spread of the line to Moala Matuku, and beyond. Much later, the Tui Nayau, Tevita Uluilakeba had three daughters from Raikoro of the Lemaki family in Lekutu, Lakeba.

2.2. Leiataua Lesa and Lema'i of Manono

It should be obvious from the names, Lesa-Leha and Lema'i-Lemaki, that these are cognates and are symbols; in that time, travel and space has had little effect on the perpetration of the names. But there are difficulties, for it is possible that while the symbols remain the same, the players enacting those symbols may have changed. The oral traditions of Lau in Fiji and Manono

in Samoa both point to the island of Manono as the original home of Lesa and Lema'i. Because of its position between the two main islands of Upolu and Savai'i, its strategic importance far exceeded its relative size. With its sea fortress Apolima alongside, its canoe building expertise, and navigation skills, Manono provided the naval armada for ambitious leaders bent on playing a pivotal role in the polity of Samoa. It's alliance was crucial to any aspirant with designs of grandeur. Because of its importance relative to size, it is easy to draw parallel with the influence of Bau over the national polity of Fiji.

2.3. 'Aiga i le Tai

The ceremonial reference to Manono and Apolima in the context of national polity is 'Aiga-i-le-Tai, literally, the Family in the Tide, Sea or Ocean. Manono, being the larger of the two comprises the nu'u Apai, Lepuia'i, Salei'ataua, Salua and Mulifanua. Mulifanua and extensions of the other nu'u are situated on the main island of Upolu, and such extensions are seen as encroachments into the domain of 'A'ana. Apolima has no other nu'u, and like other nu'u, it has its own traditional hierarchy.

2.4. Salei'ataua, Manono

Lesu is a matai title of the ali'i type. The significance of this title can be seen from the fa'alupega or traditional reference of the nu'u, Salei'ataua in Manono. First is the

reference to the village proper, 'Tulouna 'oe le 'Aiga-i-le-Tai': Greetings to you the Family-in-the-Sea, followed immediately by the reference to the most important matai of the nu'u, in this case that of Leiataua Lesa. Both names are used much like the title of Tupua Tamasese. While one is sometime used, it is commonly understood that both names are meant. Lesa may have been a taule'ale'a name like Tamasese elevated to matai rank through a prominent holder. Lema'i is also a matai title of the tulafale type. Although it is not shown in the Tusi fa'alupega, the matai title is very much in use today. Oratory on behalf of the ali'i constitute the major function of the matai tulafale. It is almost certain that Lema'i was from the same nu'u as Leiataua Lesa, and that he was the tulafale for Leiataua Lesa and retinue of attendants on the malaga or journey to Tonga.

2.5. Leiataua Lesa and Lema'i in Tonga

Exactly when the two matai left Samoa and arrived in Tonga is not known. All we know is that they had family connections with Tongan nobility. In the famous Sanalala legend, reference is made to a stopover by a Tongan canoe in Vava'u, where the voyagers included Samoanagalo, rested and received as guests by the high chief of Vava'u, named Lesa. According to one version of the legend, Lesa created the name Sanalala for Samoanagalo.²⁰

When Leiataua and Lema'i arrived in Tonga, Tonga through its cultivated network of marriage alliances over the years, was particularly influential in the Lau group. Many Tongans were in

Fiji as refugees from civil wars over titular supremacy of the Tongan group.

Organised later under the outstanding leadership of Henele Ma'afu, a close cousin of the King George Tupou I, northern Lau and certain parts of Vanua Levu and outlying islands became Tongan dependencies during the mid 1800s.

Before this, the two Samoan matai stayed with the prominent Tongatapu chief Ma'afutukui'aulahi. And it was here that they allowed themselves to be drafted to the Lau expedition to build a drua, a large double canoe for the Tongan king. After a prolonged stay in Tonga the two travelled to Lau with a Tongan contingent under the stewardship of Ma'afutukui'aulahi.²¹ From Manono, the two matai arrived in Tongatapu and, having spent some time there, set sail for the vesí hardwood resources of the Lau limestone belt which were incomparably superior to the timber available in Tonga. "... the spread of immigrant craftsmen was a portent for the future..."²²

2.6. Leiataua Lesa and Niumataiwalu

Based on the Grimble principle, Tajini's information meant departure from Samoa is about 1730-1740. Some cross referencing of approximate time period was made possible through the recorded genealogies in Samoa and Fiji. The genealogical structure of Leha's contemporary and friend, the Tui Nayau Niumataiwalu, is recorded by Reid²³ and the genealogy of Leiataua Lesa/Lema'i was recounted by Jonati Mavoa²⁴. Mavoa's information was checked

against information obtained by interviews from one of the Leiataua family in Manono,²⁵ Western Samoa. In the latter case, no information could be obtained relating to migrations to Fiji except Tonga.

<u>Line from Niumataiwalu (early-mid 1700)</u>		<u>Line from Lesa/Lema'i</u>	
Rasolo	(mid-1700)	Malamala/Manakosiale	
Malani	(late-1700)	Malamala	
Vuetisau	(1700-early 1800)	Manoa	
Tevita Uluilakeba	(early-mid 1800)	Laikini Malakai	
Finau	(late 1800s-early 1900)	Panapasa	
Mara	(1920s-1987)	Kelepi	Jonati Mavoa

Tevita Uluilakeba's second wife, Raikoro, was of the Lemaki family from Lekutu in Lakeba. From this wife, there were three girls. The vesi hardwood was still being sought for sea-faring canoes and news of its availability in southern Lau spread the Lema'i line further south. According to Moala traditions, carpenters of the Lema'i family quarrelled with a chief in Lakeba. Manakosiale settled in Navucinimasi, and later went to Vaua (or Vadra) and joined the Nakauvadra group said to be from Udolu in Fiji. The Nakauvadra have since disappeared and their place as a carpenter clan has been filled by the Lema'i descendants.²⁶ Vulivuli, a son of Manakosiale joined the Naivi faction and was killed in the civil war in Nayau. Maopo, another son of Manakosiale was reputed to have had over seventy wives and continued the Lemaki line.²⁷ Under his supervision the draunivua or war canoe for the Bauan chief Tanoa was built. Maopo lived to be a very old man and died in 1829.

Malamala, a first born son of Manakosiale settled in Kabara as carpenter to the Kabara chief. Later he was driven from

Tokalau after an incident involving the chief's wife. On the other side of the island, he was received and given a house site called Taguwai, in the old village by the chief of Qaliqali. His principal wife was Dranivasa of a chiefly clan. Another wife, Matacaji, belonged to the Boutolu clan of Namuka. A son from this union, Sekope, born in Namuka, established a hereditary line of carpenters in his mother's village of Boutolu. In Kabara, Malamala founded the matai Lemaki clan and became the first holder of the matai Lemaki title. Elsewhere, Lemaki's descendants were absorbed by local clans.²⁸ Hocart at the turn of the century wrote that for their services, the Lemaki family '... had the right to appropriate pigs, yams and to a reserve of the crop'.²⁹ As traditional carpenters and householders for the Tui Nayau, Thompson says, the matai Lemaki are '... are hired to direct islands, villages and communal activities'.³⁰

These roles were similar to the tulafale Lema'i title in Manono, including the appropriation of goods on ceremonial occasions. In Lau, other special privileges were also instituted such as exemption from the use of elaborate vocabulary and greetings as a mark of deference to the chiefs. The Lemaki carpenter may dine with the chief, drink and eat his food. In addition, the matai Lemaki may intervene with the chief in a sorovakina, on behalf of an individual or the village as a whole.

Amongst their contributions to the material culture of Lau are the multi-legged kava tanoas, and a refined tabetebete type of drua. In carpentry, they were master builders of the Tongan

type of house called the vale vaka Tonga. In fishing, they introduced the method of fishing tuka with nets.³¹

The name Lesa in the traditions of Lau is rendered as Leha, a minor change that may have been influenced from Tonga. As we have seen, both men came to Lau, but the line of Lesa seemed to have ended abruptly while that of Lema'i continued. The answer could possibly be found in Matukana, a piece of land in the island of Ono-i-Lau. It is maintained that buried there are two bodies, one that of the high chief of Lau, Niumataiwalu, the other, Leiataua Lesa, a Samoan chief from the island of Manono, otherwise known as Leha. That Niumataiwalu is one of those buried there can be no doubt. But some doubt exists over the Samoan grave. Both Hocart and Thompson assert that it is the grave of a son of Lemaki and Reid maintains however that it is Lesa.³² Another theory asserts that Lesa is the son of Lema'i, and is reason for Lema'i inheriting all that was won by Lesa.

In an oral account from Jonati Malamala Mavoa, a descendant of Lema'i, the grave belongs to Leha. His account of Lesa's fate is as follow:

Niumataiwalu and Lesa went on an excursion to Bau. By all accounts, the Lauan chief was held to be exceptionally tall and handsome. As a roving womaniser, (according to Reid), the leading lady of the Buinivuaka or Nailatikau, the first Vunivalu to move from the mainland to Bau, was among one of his conquest, causing sharpe reaction from the indignant Bauan chiefs. With a black tabua, requests were sent out

for revenge. When news got to Lomaiviti, the pair had already left. But not so in Ono-i-Lau, the plot was already well in train. A club was to be concealed inside a banana bark and at a pre determined moment, the chief's son would take the banana bark to his father. The chief of Ono received the pair with a kava or yaqona ceremony, during which the club fell on Niumataiwalu. Escaping from the house, he was seen by Lesa fishing on the reefs. Lesa ran up to Niumataiwalu and embraced him. The Ono-i-Lau chiefs offered to spare Lesa's life if he would release Niumataiwalu. He refused and the two friends fell before the club.

According to Jonati Mavoa, the clubbing place in Matukana to this day is barren and sustains no living element. Reid refers to the same place by the name Cuga. But whether the remains of the two are still in Matukana is uncertain as according to one source³³ they have been removed. According to Ono tradition this piece of land was given to the descendants of Niumataiwalu and Leiataua Lesa. In Lakeba, the grateful son of Niumataiwalu gave a piece of land called Lekutu, on the foreshore of Tubou, to the descendants of Lesa and Lema'i. Here, Lema'i settled down and was later joined by his son Manakosiale from Tonga. The current occupant of this piece of land is the Osborne family.³⁴

From this point on, the name of Lesa fades into the background of tradition. But according to the Lema'i descendants living in Naikeleaga in Kabara, Lesa left one son called

Malamala. Two households remain, one descended from Lesa and the other from Lema'i. This distinction is recognised within but in matters outside Naikeleaga, the two households are collectively referred to as matai Lemaki.³⁵

3. Summary

This section is concerned with the Samoans in Lau and their contribution during this important period securing for them a foundation not only in Fiji and Samoa but in the history of the Pacific. It is presumed that Leiataua Lesa and Lema'i left Manono in the early 1700s. That they were matai with family connections in Tonga's nobility attests to extensive marriage alliances cultivated over a long time. The recorded aim of their trip to Tonga was to procure suitable timber for their most prestigious profession of carpentry and canoe-building for which the Manono and Apolima people were well known. They spent a brief period in Tonga with kinsmen in the household of Ma'afutukui'aulahi. In the early 1700s, Lesa, Lema'i and Ma'afutukui'aulahi left Tonga for the Lau arriving in Lakeba. Hardwood appeared to be the prime mover behind their travels. Adventure, novel experiences and new opportunities of giving and taking seemed just as important. An immediate accord was struck between the two chiefs with both paying the ultimate price of high adventure and chiefly exploits in Ono-i-Lau.

The late Jonati Mavoa observes that the ritual associated with the installation of the Tui Nayau includes jumping a ridge

in Ono-i- Lau. This is apparently in memory of the fatal excursion that led to their death. This test was most recently witnessed in the installation of the Tui Nayau on Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara.³⁴

Leiataua Lesa's Samoan compatriot Lema'i and his descendants seemed to have inherited Lekutu in Tubou. The Manono chiefs gave and gained much through their own efforts and in Lauan recognition of their contribution and potential worth. Integration of Lema'i and his descendants into the Lauan and thus Fijian culture and society was complete. In Lau, they established the Matai Lemaki Yavusa, one of the five hereditary clans, recognised to this day. As craftsmen, canoe-builders, carpenters and fishermen, they left their mark on all facets of material and cultural life. In more recent time, the service of the late Jonati Malamala Mavoa, a direct descendant of Leha and Lemaki is an example of this integration. As a senior Cabinet minister holding a variety of portfolios, he also had the distinction of being the first descendant of Leiataua Lesa and Lema'i to act as Prime Minister of Fiji on behalf of Fiji's first Prime Minister, Mara, himself a direct descendant of Niumataiwalu. While the land sustains no life, the incident in Matukana underlies a fundamental bond, not only between two families, but also in the historical relations between Fiji and Samoa.

Notes

1.Gravelle 1979:5-7.

2.pers. comm. Alan Howard, Suva, March 1987.

3. Markind, 11 (1978), 246-52.
4. Henry and Tofa 1978.
5. Meleisea, Unpublished MS Ch 3.
6. Fanua, in Sika'a, 1982, 13-21.
7. Derrick 1950:5.
8. Derrick 1950:20.
9. Stair 1895:126.
10. Clunie 1986:52, and 150-151.
11. Clunie Ibid.
12. Derrick 1968, Hunt 1846, Hocart 1929, Thompson 1940.
13. Hunt 1846:83.
14. 1962:14.
15. Reid JPH, 1977:17.
16. Hocart, Op.cit.
17. Reid Op cit, : 3.
18. Reid JPH, Vol. 12, (1977), p.17.
19. Ms Taiaamoni Tongamoa, IPS, 17 October 1987.
20. Henry 1978:60.
21. Reid, Ibid.
22. Reid, Ibid:17.
23. Reid, JPH, 1977, Vol. 12, P. 1, p. 23.
24. A descendant of Leiataua Lesa in Lau.
25. Tafa Fuataga Lautusi, family of Leiataua Fatu, Manono, interviewed in Malua, May 1985.
26. Sahlins 1962:235.
27. Hocart, Op cit 55.
28. Thompson, Op cit, 34.

29. Thompson, Op cit, 55.
30. Thompson, Op cit, 3.
31. Thompson, Op cit, 34 & 52.
32. Reid, Op cit.
33. Simione Tufui and Manoa Dobui, interviewed in 1985.
34. pers. comm. Josefa Osborne, October 1986, USP, Suva.
35. pers. comm. Simione Tufui, Samabula, Fiji.
36. pers. comm. late Hon. Jonati Malamala Mavoa, April-May 1985.

Chapter 4 Waya, Bau and Lautoka	
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1. The Fijian vasu and the Samoan feagaiga

In chapter two, Samoan oral traditions documented many instances of kinship and historical ties between Samoa, Fiji and Tonga. This chapter documents Fijian oral tradition of ancient links to Waya in the Yasawa islands which links the Yasawas and Samoa, and describes more recent Samoan links in Bau and Lautoka.

According to Yasawa traditions, Samoans are vasu to people of Waya. The concept of vasu is an aspect of the Fijian kinship system whereby a man's sister's son (his maternal nephew) has special privileges of support and access to property in respect of his mother's brother. However, no specific reference is evident in relation to the man's sister's daughter. This aspect of kinship is enacted in an institutional relationship called the tauvu, literally sharing the same god, a relationship described as 'what is mine is yours and what is yours is mine', allowing for great liberties in access to property as well as personal relations (eg, jocular abuse) which would not otherwise be tolerated. Vasus cannot be considered apart from the civil polity of the group, forming as they do one of its integral parts, and supplying the high pressure power of Fijian despotism. At the highest level of traditional polity, the multiple marriages of chiefs led to the creation of multiple vasu ties beyond the generation in which the original links were established. This produced a situation in which the interests of contending parties were so entangled that consistent pursuit of political goals became significantly constrained.¹

There are three kinds of vasu; the term Vasu is a common name referring to any nephew whatever, the Vasu taukei is applied to any vasu whose mother is a lady of the land in which he is born, and the Vasu levu is one born of a woman of rank, and having a first-class Chief for his father.²

Williams noted that the political influence of the vasu was greatest when he acted under the direction of a high chief:

The Sovereign employs the Vasu's influence, and shares much of the property thereby acquired. Great Vasus are also Vasus to great places, and, when they visit these at their superior's command, have a numerous retinue and increased authority.³

The concept is also found in the kinship system of Samoa as expressed in terms of the feagaiga, tamasa and ilamutu all denoting the sacred relations of the chief's sister and her descendents who stand in a relationship to her brother and his descendents which is governed by strict norms. According to one historian of Samoan culture, the Samoan ideology of honour rests on this principle.⁴ Feagaiga is the noun from the verb feagai, which means standing opposite to one another and is a synonym for tamasa, the sacred son. Since Christianisation of Samoa, the feagaiga concept has institutionalised the relationship of priests of all denominations to their community similar to that of the sister to her brother.⁵ This sacred brother-sister relationship (o le feagaiga a le Tamatane ma le Tamafafine) is often stated in the Samoan saying;

E leai se feagaiga e sili atu lona taua i lo'o le feagaiga a le teine ma lona tuagane po'o le tama ma lona tuafafine.

No agreement is more binding and sacred than that between the brother and his sister.

The brother's successors are pledged to respect, render services and observe certain obligation to his sister's descendants.⁴ The privileges accorded to the tamasa includes goods and services from the mother's brother and their descendants. And as already noted she also enjoys tangible rights in respect of family land and mataiship.⁷ The relationship is extended to their respective descendants along these lines. A sister's brother performs special duties to his sister's descendants and his sister has a privileged relationship with her brother.⁸

When this relationship is extended to their respective descendants, the brother's sister's son becomes tamasa, a sacred son of her brother. The sister's rights includes goods and services from the child's mother's brothers and their children and in exceptional circumstance she succeeds to mataiship in her brother's family. But in practice, her brother and his descendants succeed to mataiship pledging respect and services to her and her descendants. The term Tamasa or the sacred son is the son of the brother's sister, and is sacred initially to her brother.

Among the Samoans in Fiji, critical life stages from birth to deaths allows them the opportunity to institute the Fijian

vasu or the Samoan feagaiga relationship. The basis is the marriage of Samoan men and women to Fijian men and women. The vasu however seems to apply only to the Samoan women marrying Fijian men. While the original relationship appears to be between Fijian men and Samoan women, the relationship has been extended to include Samoan men marrying Fijian and non ethnic Fijian women (and by extension to their children). The vasu applies to the Samoans of Fiji citizenry of today.

2.Waya, Yasawa

According to Derrick, the chiefs of Waya and Colo claim descent from Samoan drifts.⁹ The sources are not revealed but presumably derive from oral tradition of these two places. Waqa's interview with Ratu Serupepeli Naivalu of Waya in the Yasawa group refers to the origin of the name Waya from the Samoan legend about Vaea and Apa'ula.¹⁰ Naivalu relates that the Wayans regard the Samoans as the traditional tauvu of Waya. Mentioned also is a yavu-ni-yale, house foundation site, called Samoa in Waya. In the early 1960s, Lautoka-resident Samoans embarked on a formal malaga or visiting party to Waya during the Christmas holidays. Formal presentation included 'ie toga and the Wayans reciprocated with tabua. Information of ancestral ties between the two groups were exchanged, reestablishing ancestral links, and Pepe, a woman of the malaga remained and married a Wayan villager.

3. Bau

In Taro, Bau, a Samoan family is a direct descendant of Ratu Seru Cakobau, who with other chiefs ceded Fiji to Britain in 1874. Until her death in 1984, this Fiji-Samoan family was headed by Adi Kelera, known to the Samoans as Faioso.

Faioso was born in Fiji but lived in Samoa with her mother's family. She has connections through her mother to the Leutele family of Falefa, her grandfather was Leutele Paletui and grandmother was Faioso. In Fiji, her father was Ratu Etuate Wainiu, the son of Ratu Epeli Nailatikau, the eldest son of Ratu Seru Apenisa Cakobau. Cakobau's youngest son, Ratu Josefa Celua is the grandfather of the present Vunivalu of Bau. The implicit symbolic ties between Fiji and Samoa was reestablished in May 1978 when Ratu Sir George Cakobau, as Governor-General of Fiji, was conferred a high ranking honorary matai title, Pesetamanaia, while on a state visit to Western Samoa, by the village of Matautu.¹¹ As a direct descendant of Cakobau, the Fiji/Samoan family has a direct claim to the office of Vunivalu of Bau, one of the 4 paramount office in Fiji.

3.1.A Samoan claim to the Vunivalu of Bau

The significance of this Fiji/Samoan connection relates to the position held by Ratu Wainiu. According to Scarr, in the immediate post-session period, and particularly upon the death of Cakobau, Bauan leadership was no longer clear cut. With the lands went the title of Vunivalu to the British Queen Victoria in 1874.

The Bauan ... islet was riven with faction among the Tui Kaba. Ratu Popi, a descendant from Cakobau's youngest line was challenged by long lived Ratu Etuate Wainiu'.¹² What leadership came from Bau was Ratu Wainiu. When he died, the way was open for Ratu Popi Seniloli but without the title. With Fiji's independence in 1970, the first holder of the Vunivalu was Seniloli's son, George Cakobau from the youngest line. With the demise of George Cakobau, the most eligible contestants for the highest Bauan office today include Bauans of Samoan ancestry from Ratu Wainiu, the senior line of the original Cakobau.

Ratu Wainiu married twice, on both occasions to Samoans. After his first wife Taifalio'a'ana returned to Samoa, Ratu Wainiu married Apolonia from whom there was one daughter, named Apolonia-Telesia who married a Japanese called Shima. As they had no issue, Apolonia-Telesia is survived by her half brothers and sisters living in Fiji from her mother's second marriage to a Samoan matai, Manuleleua of Vaimoso, Faleata. The issues from this marriage are daughters Kalala and Vaiauta, and sons Sa and Ioane. Kalala married an Ah Ben of Fiji/Chinese ancestry, Vaiauta married a Lobendahn of Fiji/Sri-Lankan ancestry, and the two boys Sa and Ioane returned to Vaimoso and married Samoans. While they have no land claim in Bau, as one of the original purchasers of the Wailekutu land, Apolonia-Telesia interest's are maintained by Kalala Ah Ben's children, namely Lesina Fong.

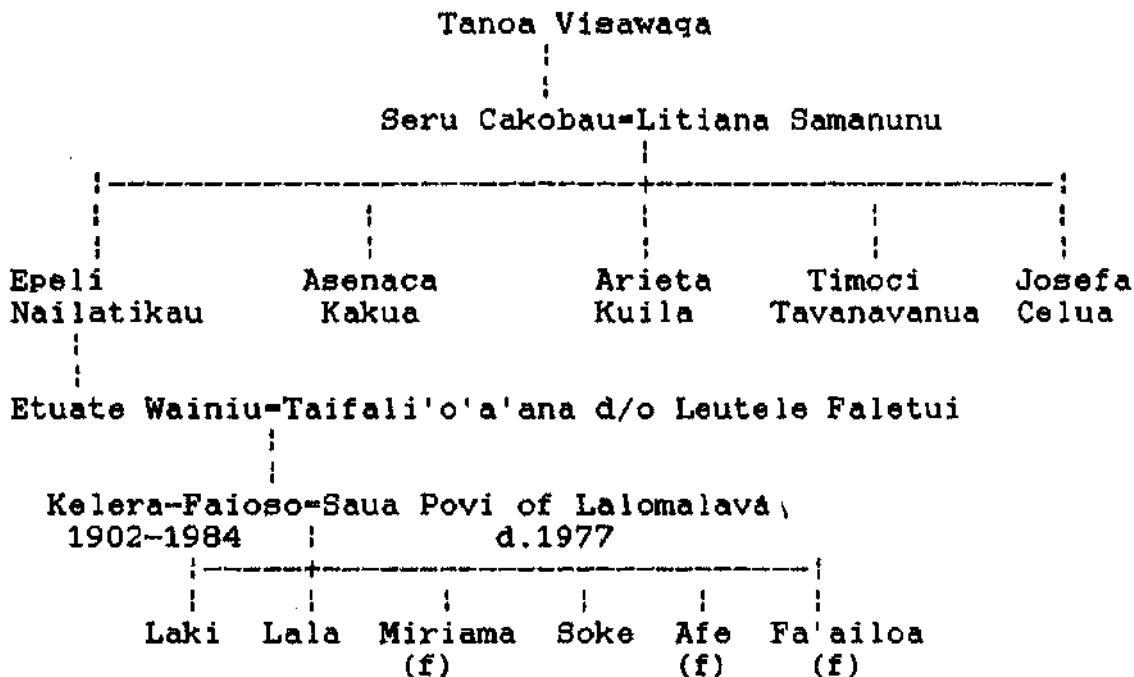
Ratu Wainiu's daughter Faioso, from his first marriage, married a faife'au, Samoan pastor Saua Povi. They initially

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Ratu Wainiu's daughter Faioso, from his first marriage, married a faife'au, Samoan pastor Saua Povi. They initially

served the Ekalesia Fa'apotopotoga Samoa, the Samoan Congregational Christian Church as missionaries in Tuvalu and Kiribati, and in 1955 volunteered to work in the mission outpost of the Samoan church in Fiji. They served until retirement in the early 1960s to Taro in Bau as farmers on land granted to them by her second cousin, the present Vunivalu, Ratu Sir George Cakobau. Saua died in 1977 and Faioso - Adi Kelera died seven years later on 12 June 1984. Both are buried in Bau.



Four of their children are married in Fiji to people of predominantly Fijian ancestry and one is married and lives at the Falealili sub district in Samoa.

3.2.Toganivalu - Toleafoa connection

In the same village of Taro is another recent Samoan-Fijian connection. In Bauan tradition, the Toganivalu family are known

as the Masau clan who, in the words of Ratu David Toganivalu initially served as the matanivanua or executive officer of the Roko Tui Bau and later the Vunivalu of Bau. During Fiji's colonial period, many of whom were said to have held the Toleafoa title; some visiting relatives, or passing through to other destinations, others based on hunches.

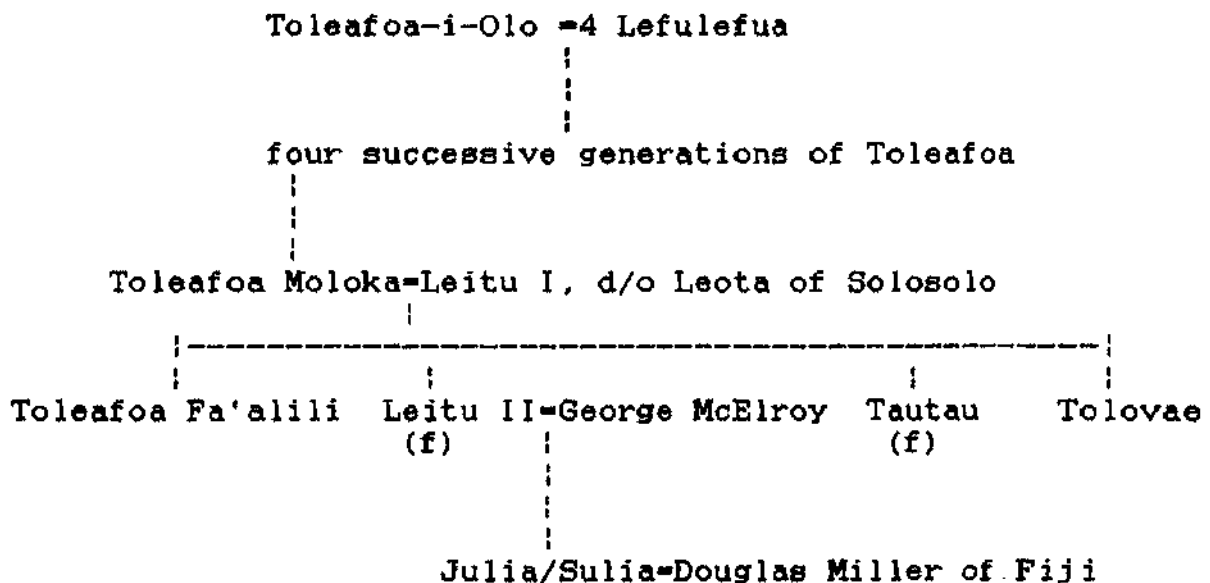
The Toleafoa family of Fasito'otai belongs to the maximal lineage of Aiga Taulagi together with the families of other two paramount titles of Fasito'otai, Afamasaga and Lealaisalanoa. The Aiga Taulagi together with two other maximal lineages, Aiga Tau A'ana and Aiga Sa Tunumafono make up the collective Va'a-nofoa-tolu, the three maximal lineages of the Tui A'ana. Their sole ceremonial function is to jointly confer the Tuimaleali'ifano and Tui A'ana title of A'ana district.

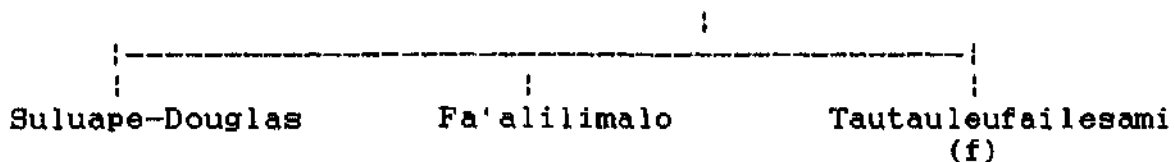
Documented oral histories of the family in Fiji and Samoa confirm a Toleafoa linkage to Fiji through a women named Lalomauga originating from Fasito'otai left for Fiji in the early 1800s. Lalomauga is descended from Toleafoa Masi'ulepa, the founder of the Toleafoa branch in Fasito'otai.

The Toleafoa connection to the present generation of Toganivalu is through a women, Alice Irene Miller of European-Samoan parentage from Savusavu whom Ratu George Brown Toganivalu married. Alice, first married a Simpson and then a Dyer, both of Fiji-European ancestry before she married Ratu Toganivalu. The offspring from this marriage include a former deputy Prime Minister, two former cabinet ministers, one of whom is a former

high commissioner and another a former member of the opposition.

Oral traditions and documented genealogies of Fasito'otai record that the first Toleafoa was Toleafoa-i-Olo. He was the grandson of the 'tupufia', or king Faumuina, and son of Va'afusuaga, an important co-founder of the 'Aiga Taulagi, a lineage of the Tui A'ana. The marriage of Toleafoa-i-Olo to Lefulefu led to Toleafoa Masi'ulepa, the founder of the Toleafoa branch in Fasito'otai. Through three successive generations from Masi'ulepa, the title was handed down to a great grandson Toleafoa Tamafa'asau whose second marriage to a daughter of Lumana resulted in Toleafoa Moloka and his two brothers. Toleafoa Moloka married Leitu who some say was a daughter of Leota from the village of Solosolo. This union resulted in two boys Fa'alili and Tolovae, and two sisters, Leitu II and Tautau. According to this version, it is from Leitu II that the Fiji branch is founded as illustrated in the following genealogy.

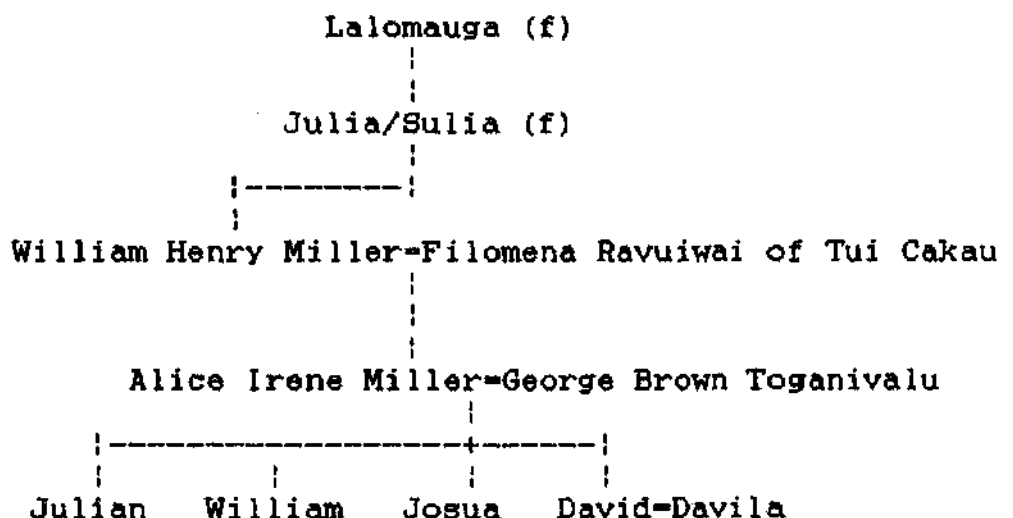




When Levuka Public School first opened in late 1800s, one of the first Samoans to attend was Julia McElroy. Her subsequent marriage to Douglas Miller of Savusavu resulted in a son William who married back into Samoan stock to Vaitolo from Solosolo, the same village of his grand mother Leitu I, in the Atua district of Upolu.

Their children Suluape Douglas, Fa'alilimalo and daughter Tautaualeufailesami have in turn produced grandchildren and greatgrandchildren. Suluape-Douglas married Ani Tupou of Tongan origin with three boys, all married in Fiji. Fa'alilimalo died without issue. Tautaualeufailesami married a Fiji citizen of European ancestry and have with all their children except the youngest daughter Canaan, migrated to Australia and New Zealand.

Bauan connection



The youngest son of Alice Irene Miller and Ratu George Brown Toganivalu, Ratu David Toganivalu in 1977, confirmed the common ancestral name Lalomauga was by the family in Fasito'otai during a visit to Western Samoa.¹³ Two matai, Afamasaga Ioane and Toleafoa Tua acknowledged Lalomauga's line in Fiji and bestowed on Ratu David Toganivalu in an impromptu 'tapa le ipu', 'ava ceremony, the title Toleafoa.

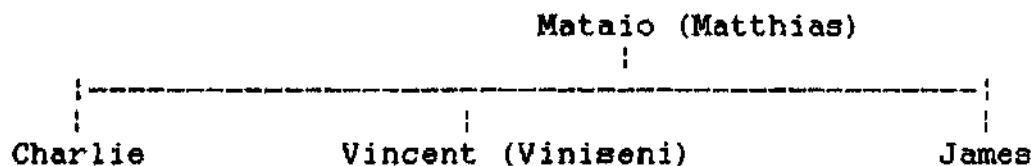
4. Lautoka connections

The first attempt to form a community among the widely scattered Samoan populous in Lautoka was spearheaded by a Samoan faife'au, Samoan pastor of the London Missionary Society (LMS) church in the early 1920s from its Suva based mission outpost. A great many Lautoka Samoans living there before joining the LMS church services were Catholics. The history of the LMS mission outpost in Suva is set out in chapter 8 and all that need to be said here is that the attempt to set up the Lautoka branch was a response to expressed religious needs of Samoans living in Lautoka.

The founder pastor of the Lautoka branch was Sanerive. His main function was to conduct services and holy communion in Samoan. This lead was followed by Loloaso Watimani (Wightman), Akeki Ieremia and Saua Povi. Services rotated among prominent members homes such Vincent (Viniseni) Matthias in Navutu and lay preacher, Mr Telefoni Yandall, who maintained continuity in the absence of the faife'au. Sanerive's Lautoka contact was

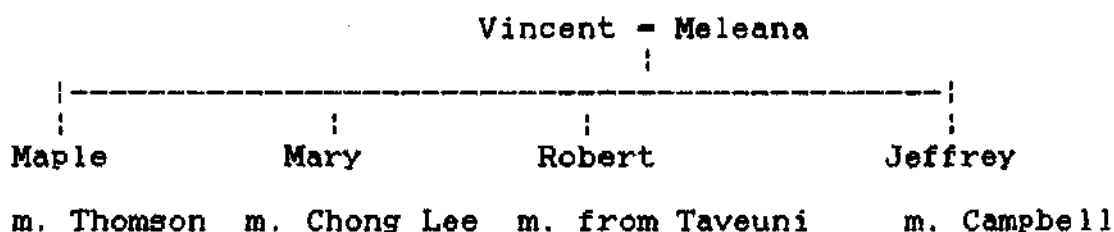
strengthened by his daughter's marriage in Lautoka to a Samoan of the Matthias family. However, when the Lautoka branch discontinued, many turned to catholicism, Assembly of God, Mormonism and other religions.

The Matthias family in Lautoka begins with Mataio, an anglicised version from about the early 1920s.



Charles's first marriage resulted in Charles II and Anne. His second marriage to Fesola'iga, a daughter of the Samoan pastor Sanerive led to more children who, of late, have become Australian citizens. Charles II married Winnie resulting in three girls, Anne, Diane and Francis.

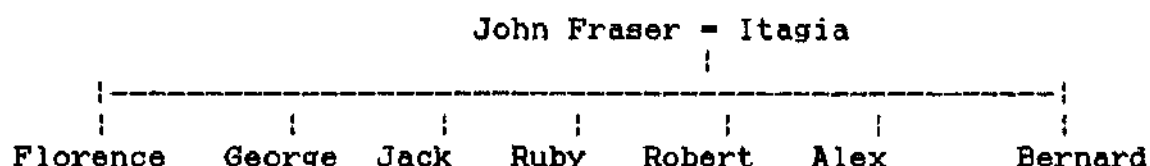
Charles brother Vincent married another Samoan, Meleana, resulting in two girls, Maple and Mary, and two boys, Robert and Jeffrey. They married Fiji nationals whose ancestry included Chinese, Europeans, Fijians and New Zealanders. At the time of interview, little was known of James whereabouts.



4.1. The Fraser family

John Fraser, of Scottish and German ancestry met and married a Samoan woman Itagia and lived in Fiji. Itagia herself is of

European ancestry with Samoan connections to Manono and Iva in Savai'i. By Pacific standards in the early 1920s, John and Itagia's family of seven children was normal, if not small. The small number was perhaps compensated by the exchanges of the overall extended family.



The eldest, Florence, married into the Stehlin family, Samoan-European family in Apia, and they are now resident in California, USA. George married a Fijian-Samoan and lives in Fiji. Jack married into the Rounds family of Fijian-Tongan-European ancestry. Ruby married into the Beddoes family. Robert married a Fiji Chinese, Amy Joy; Alex into similar mixed race marriage and the youngest, Bernard, married to Ameta Dyer of Tongan-European and Fiji blood. Itagia and John's descendants have spread across the Pacific Ocean and at the time of writing numbered about fifty.

Other Lautoka residents of Samoan ancestry include the Frost family, Crawford family (her daughter Theresa married a Hughes in Ba), the Goffin and Hicks family. The elderly Mrs Crawford, is a regular visitor to her 'aiga in Samoa, where Theresa was brought up with Mrs Laban, current matron of the Fiji School of Medicine.¹⁴ Isa, a descendant of Tufue from Levuka, was married to a Pickering and their daughter Anne is married to one of Itagia's grandsons, Dennis, in Lautoka.

Notes

1. Routledge 1985:5.
2. Williams, Fiji and the Fijians, 34, quoted by Routledge 1985:36.
3. Ibid.
4. Routledge 1982:31.
5. Horst Cain, 'The sacred child and the origin of spirits in Samoa', in Anthropos 66, 1971:175.
6. Kramer, 1902, Vol II, P.1:99, English translation.
7. Gilson 1970:35.
8. Milner 1966:238-9.
9. Derrick, 1950:6.
10. Malakai Waqa, unpublished ms for SE 383 'Advanced Pacific History', course at USP in 1977; a copy with author.
11. Fiji Ministry of Information, Suva.
12. Scarr 1980:62.
13. Toganivalu's contact was James Curry, incumbent of Su'a title of Lefaga, whose mother was also called Sulia or Julia. pers. comm. Ratu David Toganivalu.
14. pers. comm. Walter Fraser in 1984, Alafua campus of the University of the South Pacific.

Chapter 5 Levuka and Navesi

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1. Levuka

The Levuka community in the early nineteen hundreds consisted of Samoan matai, 'Aufa'i Selio and Toleafoa, and the Samoan faife'au Tufue. Some of the town's notable personalities like the Levukan warden, Mr Solomon from New Zealand, married Samoan women. His first wife, Taimane was said to have held the sa'otama'ita'i title, leading lady, of To'oa in the Sa Malietoa family. Their daughters were Lola and Teuila. When Taimane returned to Samoa, Solomon remarried Laumata, another Samoan woman.

Through kinship connection to traditional home power structure, the Samoan matai exerted their influence in the small Samoan community in Levuka. By arrangement with the British colonial power in Fiji, Malietoa Tanumafili I and his sister Fa'amusami lived with them while attending school in Fiji.¹ However, given the evolving nature of the Levuka as a multiracial community, the exercise of traditional influence as practised in Samoa could not always contain the descendants of its people whose social and ethnic make-up was radically different from the early Samoan migrants to Fiji. When Fiji's capital shifted from Levuka to Suva in 1882, many Samoans moved to Suva and rented quarters in an area that is the present site of the Fiji Government Buildings called Naiqaqi.

2. Navesi Sefulu Maila ~ Ten Miles

When the Second World War spread to the Pacific in the

1940s, many left Suva to live in Navesi ten miles from Suva, called by the Samoans Navesi Sefulu Maila (for ten miles). Many of the surviving members of the original community in Suva fled inland literally for safety from a perceived Japanese invasion.

2.1.Social organisation

From the 1940s to mid 1950s, scattered along the Queens Road ten miles west of Suva on Navesi Sefulu Maila, the Samoans found a new and temporary 'home' in land belonging to the catholic mission amongst other relocated Pacific Islanders; Rotumans, I-Kiribati, Wallisian and Futuna families.

The main family households on the sea side of Queens Road were, Lesina from Vaimoso, Vamarasi from Rotuma, Henry Williams of Fasito'o, Ana Norman Williams of Fale'ula, Lau Sale of Lotofaga in Safata, Aipopo Leauli, Sa, Loliga and Tolu. On the hilly side of Queens road lived Apa and Vincent, Fenio Smith of Tongan and Wallis/Futuna ancestry, Toma Peniata and Fa'asi'u of Leulumoega, Povi (Mary Fong) of Malie, Lafolafo, George Grey and Lola of Apia, To'aga Tuimaugapo of Fale'ula, Mua Stevens of Wallis/Futuna, a Kiribati named Peni married to a Rotuman, Tupuai Tusani (Peters) of Lefaga, Mareko of Kiribati and his Samoan/I Kiribati wife, Sifaga, Polito of Wallis and his wife Luma from Totoya in Lau, Telesia Apolonia of Bau and Vaimoso, Ulupano and Malia of Lauili'i, Solotima of Samoan/Japanese ancestry married to Soane of Wallis and the Wallisian couple Fala'i and Kalepo. On the Navua end of the settlement lived a Chinese storekeeper named

Fong and next to him lived an Indian family named Thomas. In forming a community, the Samoan language became the common medium of communication in addition to a working knowledge of Fijian, Rotuman, Wallisian, Futunan and I-Kiribati. According to most Samoan accounts, the Wallis and Futuna people were the first arrivals in Navesi. Because of their comparably larger number coupled with significant Samoan intermarriages with Europeans, Fijians, Chinese, I-Kiribati, Indians, Rotumans, Tongans, Tuvaluans and Wallis/Futunans, a distinctive "fruit salad" community emerged on a Samoan base in Navesi Sefulu maila.

With no land rights, the new arrivals settled on the goodwill of the Catholic church as 'tenants at will'. A nominal rent was paid by some individual households to the catholic mission. But without formal written agreement, the Samoan 'fruit salad' community could be evicted at will.

In the early 1950s, an unregistered survey was undertaken by the catholic church in which plans were submitted for a subdivision of its mission land. Parties involved in the Samoan settlement in Navesi include the government Land's Department, the Suva Rural Health Authority (later called the Town and Planning Authority) and the Catholic church. Each family was to be allocated the standard size of lots being 32 perches of land with a road frontage of 20 feet and length of 40-50 feet along the Queen's highway with each family issued a 10 years lease subject to renewal. However, the church sponsored project was rejected by the government on the ground that it encouraged

'strip development' and instead, the Authority proposed the subdivision of land further inland with an access road leading to the main road. According to the Rector of the Pacific Regional Seminary, Fr Hannan, this involved substantial expenses which was not available either to the church or the community.

Feeling the acute insecurity and rootlessness, efforts were made to look for an alternative resettlement site. At the same time, the catholic church developed plans for a convent school and a catechist training center. With little option, the community disbanded to some degree in the mid 1950s, and eventually the church gave notice for the community to move out.

Out of these families in Navesi, 7 moved to Wailekutu. They were Toma Peniata, Povi, Tupuai Tusani Peters, Telesia Apolonia, Mua Stephen, Lau Sale and Aipopo. All of these people have died. Of the remaining community in Navesi, Lesina died in Suva, Henry Williams, (son of Lili'a 'Aiono of Fasito'o) and his wife Laite from Vutia in Rewa moved to Suva, Ana Norman Williams and Sa died in Suva, Loliga and Tolu moved back to Samoa and their house was purchased by Mrs I Lockington. Other movements included Apa and Vincent to Naimataga, Mareko and Tite to Nasese, Sifaga and 'Aiono died in Navesi, George and Laura Grey migrated to New Zealand, and Lafolafo left for Samoa. Polito and Luma died in Navesi and Ulupano, the fesoasoani and his wife returned to Samoa, Solotima and Soane moved to Vanuatu, and Fala'i and Kalepo returned to Wallis.

2.2.Land and identity

Ceremonial celebration at its very primate level is the celebration of one's territoriality. Of its roots, being, existence, purpose of breathing, walking and living, Ceremonial celebration is the affirmation and re affirmation of one's identity, the material possession of land is a living and eternal proof of one's existence and the reminder of being alive. Celebration is celebration of home. Without lands, lease documents, and classed as 'tenants at will', the Samoan community in Navesi were constantly reminded of their unfathomable barrenness and were caught in the midst of increasing desire and the depths of landlessness with individual families paying rent for the catholic land. Inevitably, almost all in Navesi became catholics.

2.3.Religion and accommodation

The Samoan settlers had their own Samoan fesoasoani, catechist, named Ulupano from Lauili'i who served for three years. Ulupano was assisted by Viliame Raqauqau of Fijian father and Samoan mother and married to a Samoan from Tutuila. A small community chapel was built but was later removed to make way for church expansion and training centres.

2.4.Family household and movements

Of the total 29 families in Navesi, 7 moved to Wailekutu. They were Toma Peniata (Penuafa), Aipopo, Povi Fuauli Toelupe

(Mary Fong), Tupuai Tusani (Tupuai Peters) Telesia Apolonia, Mua Stephens and Lau Sale. All these people have died, some without heirs. Some families remained in Navesi such as Mrs I Lockington living in Loliga and Tolu's house, Mr and Mrs Fenio Helen Smith, and for a short while before moving to Nasese, the I-Kiribati Mareko and his wife Tite. Those who moved to urban Suva and/or emigrated overseas included Lesina, Henry Williams, (son of Lili'a 'Aiono of Fasito'outa) and his wife Laite from Vutia in Rewa, Ana Norman Williams and Sa. Apa and Vincent Purcell left for Naimataga. The Samoan catechist Ulupano, Lafolafo, Loliga and Tolu returned to Samoa. Sifaga and George Grey (of Jewish/American/French ancestry) whose father came from Massachussettes, Boston migrated to New Zealand. Solotima and Sione migrated to Vanuatu, and Fala'i and Kalepo returned to Wallis and Futuna. 'Aiono, Polito and Luma died in Navesi.²

2.5. Inter-marriage

The main principles that appear to be operating in these marriages are extrapolated more fully in chapter seven on the funeral of a migrant. But one evident pattern was the relatively free inter-marriage. Skin colour was one of a number of selective factors in the hierarchy of preferences as choices reflected considerable intermarriages with Europeans, more with European/-Polynesians, less with Chinese and Japanese, little with Fijians (though a lot with women of Fijian/Polynesian or Fijian/European ancestry) and almost none with Melanesian Solomon Islanders or Ni

Vanuatu, who were equally numerous with their Fijian descendants, and rarely with Indians.

Notes

1. Davidson 1967:80.

2. I am indebted to Fr Hannan, Rector of the Pacific Regional Seminary, Nasese, interviewed in March 1986, and Mrs Maria Nive Chiman Lal of Suva, for information on Navesi Sefulu Maila.

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1. Wailekutu : the origins in the mid 1950s

In the early 1950s, the Catholic church assisted Toma Peniata, Viliame Raqauqau and Faleofi Filipo to negotiate the purchase of 11 acres and 4 roods of freehold land with a fresh water creek in Wailekutu. The land was under mortgage and as the owners, Ram Kisun Bisun Brothers, were falling behind with repayments, the Samoans took over payments of the land in 1955.¹ Payment was by instalments of 30 pounds a month over a period of 3 years and included 6% interest on the outstanding principle. The total amount paid was 1,150 pounds.²

In 1955, the Queen's road access to the settlement was through a track which went first over a mangrove swamp, a stream and then up a hill. During the rainy season, the track became heavily bogged. The dragging and carting of rocks and soil to cover boggy areas for the construction of a more permanent track, the clearing of bushland overgrowth onto the access track, clearing for house sites, the carting of materials for houses up the river, and the carting of water from the creeks and wells up hill, depended very much on strong leadership and mutual cooperation of the first settlers. A Rotuman family, named Gibson living in Wailekutu continued to live there after the time of purchase but later moved out and their lean-to house occupied by Peniata's daughter Konoseki and her husband Hector Lobendahn.

1.1. Location of Wailekutu

The Samoan settlement in Wailekutu is approximately 16

kilometers from the Suva market and 2 kilometers from Lami town. Accessible by public transport from Suva market, it is about a 15 minutes bus ride with another 5 minutes walk on an unsealed track inland from the main highway. About 2 meters wide, the access track can carry heavy and light goods vehicles.

1.2.Names of purchasers

The first settlers were Toma Peniata, Aipopo Leauli, Tupuai Tusani (Henry Peters), Palepa-Vili-Feseta'i, Toso Stephen, Mary Fong, Lau Andrew and Lau Sale. They were later followed by Toma Peniata's daughter, Seki Lobendahn and her husband, and Pila Seipua. The remaining 3 land purchasers, Kelesia Apolonia, Kelera Moeva and Lui Tele'a Selemela did not live in Wailekutu and remained in Suva.

On 11 October 1958, the land was registered under Certificate of Title No. 8000 under 13 landowning households.

1 Toma Peniata (m), 2 Aipopo Leauli (f), 3 Henry Peters (m), 4 Palepa (f), Vili (m), and Fese'etai (f), 5 Seipua Pila (m), 6 Kelisia Apolonia (f), 7 Konoseki Lobendahn (f), 8 Lui Tele'a (m) and Selemela (f), 9 Kelera Moeva (f), 10 Toso Stevens (f), 11 Mary Fong aka Povi (f), 12 Lau Andrew aka John Andrews (m) and 13 Lau Sale (m).

Of the original 16 names listed as 13 landpurchasers, 3 originated from Leulumoega, Lefaga and Manono in the A'ana; 1 from Satalo with a Tokelauan ancestry in Falealili; 2 from Lotofaga in Falealili; 1 from Vaiusu in Faleata, 1 from

Lalomalava in Fa'asaleleaga; 2 from Fale'ula and Malie (with a Chinese ancestry) in Tuamasaga and 2 from Tutuila. Another 3 were born in Fiji of Fiji-Samoan parentage and another was adopted from a Rotuman family.

1.3.Ethnicity of purchasers

The ethnic composition of the heads of households and their spouses in 1958:

Samoans m. Samoans	2
Fiji/Samoan m. Samoan	1
American Samoan m. Western Samoan	1
Samoan/Sinhalese/Dutch m. Samoan	1
Samoan m. Futuna/Wallisian	1
Samoan/Tokelauan m. Samoan	1
Samoan m. Chinese	1
Samoan m. Samoan/European	1
Samoan m. Samoan/Tongan/European	1
Total	10

The ethnic composition of the other 3 landpurchasers and their spouses living in Suva were:

Fiji/Samoan m. Samoan	1
Fiji/Samoan m. Japanese	1
Samoan m. Samoan	1

While the extent of Samoan ethnicity of the early Samoan settlers were not specifically sought, as almost all have died, many of their offspring, in connection to their own ethnicity, recollect without being precise, other ethnic connections through their parents.

1.4.Occupations of purchasers

The occupations of the 13 family households who undertook responsibility for repayments were 1 fisherman, 2 farmers, 2 carpenters, 4 hospital wardens, 1 cafe proprietor, 1 housewife

and 2 plumbers. During the time of repayments, 8 purchasing families moved to live on the land. The 5 remaining purchasers worked in Suva where they had accommodation and only two moved in later in the later 1950s. So of the 13 land purchasers, only 10 moved in and built on the settlement. The remaining 3, Kelesia Apolonia, Kelela Moeva and Lui Tele'a - Selemela did not. The actual name of the latter landowner is Kalala Fe'augati but her claim was registered under Lui Tele'a and his daughter Selemela. The relationship between Fe'augati and the registered claimants was not clear at the time of this study. They moved in for a short while and later left.

Wailekutu community is officially classified as a settlement and hence unlike Fijian villages, the office of a turaga ni koro or village headman, is officially absent. However, the principle elements of social structure as the basis for village organisation are apparent in the settlement. The matai became the major focus of social organisation. There were already matai in Fiji at the time and 4 resided in Wailekutu and it became natural for them to exert a leadership role in the community. One matai was nominated as the trustee on behalf of the 13 land purchasers and he became the main organiser of fundraising and social events.

1.5.Matai influence

In the absence of alternative forms of leadership in the 1950s, the settlers adopted their leadership system in a new

environment. According to the oral testimonies of the elderly members of the present community, the influence^{of} the Samoan matai was already felt in Navesi Sefulu Maila and this carried over to the social organisation of Wailekutu. This is not altogether strange as there were obvious similarities between the chiefly systems of the Fijian vaka turaga and the Samoan fa'amatai. Matai are the traditional leaders in Samoan villages and initial power lies with the matai at two levels. First, the matai as leader and head of the extended families or 'aiga, and secondly, the collectivity of matai in the village assembly or the fono a le nu'u. Among this collectivity, the fono, there is a distinct order of precedence with yet another collective order accorded to it by the fa'alupega³ at the district and national level. Such orders are jealously maintained and judiciously manipulated within the rules of power struggle. It is perhaps not surprising that this highly complicated and decentralised system of elite political process in the mid nineteenth century was not well understood by Europeans.

The matai were recognised as community spokesmen and decision makers and their influence was generally felt beyond Wailekutu by other Samoans in Suva. Amongst the original settlers in Wailekutu were 4 matai of tulafale rank. Two held the Lau title from Lotofoga village in the sub-district of Safata, one held the Penu'afa title from Vaitapu, Leulumoega in the A'ana district and another held a title from Tutuila.

1.5.1.Penu'afa of Leulumoega

Penu'afa is a tulafale title of the ali'i So'oa'emalelagi of Vaitapu, Leulumoega which at the time was held by Emeresone. According to oral testimony of Wailekutu, Toma Peniata was conferred the tulafale title of Penu'afa in a gaofa'i, title-bestowing ceremony in Wailekutu. Peniata took a leading role in the community together with Viliame Raqauqau and Faleofi Filipo. With the departure of the latter two, the responsibility for land payments remained with Toma Peniata.

As a direct relation of So'oa'emalelagi Emeresone, Toma held strong claim to all the family titles and his appointment to the Penu'afa was thus appropriate. Travelling by steamship from Samoa via Fiji to Tonga, the conferring party consisted of Leilua Pilia'e Iuliano, Kamisi, Keke and Lote, daughters of Pilia'e and Kamisi. The conferring matai, Iuliano held the titles of Leilua, a high ali'i title from Safotulafai and the Pilia'e title from Leulumoega. Kamisi later held the Faletagoa'i title of the Sa Va'a family.⁴

According to Davidson, Leilua Pilia'e was one of the senior members active in the political affairs of his country and well versed in Samoan traditions. He represented the district of A'ana as an associate member in the 1950 Commission to Enquire into and Report upon the Organisation of District and Village Government in Western Samoa, was a Member of the 1953-4 Working Committee and 1954 Constitutional Convention and represented Western Samoa in the 1965 Commonwealth Parliamentary Association meeting held

in Wellington.⁵

There are however two immediate issues concerning Penu'afa'a installation; one is the right of the conferring party to confer the Penu'afa title and the other is whether the title was registered with the Land and Titles court in Mulinu'u.

Through his tenure of the Pilia'e title, Iuliano represented the Sa Pili family, one of the faleiva or group of nine orators in the A'ana capital (tumua) of Leulumoega. At Penu'afa's installation in 1958, Kamisi was a taule'ale'a, an untitled man. He was later elected by his family to the Faletagoa'i title, an affiliate to the Sa Va'a, another orator family of the faleiva. While the two men are close kin relations through the Sa Pili and Sa Va'a titles, both have no kin connection to the So'oa'emalelagi family to which the Penu'afa is affiliated. The basis for their installation of Toma Peniata to the Penu'afa title is not clear. The Penu'afa title was not registered in the Land and Titles court in Mulinu'u. While the conferring party may have sought the So'oa'emalelagi's blessing in advance, it is more likely that Pilia'e leaned on his personal standing within the faleiva and A'ana district in soliciting complicity from Penu'afa's 'aiga potopoto in terms of a portent for future relations between the 'aiga in Fiji and Samoa. With minimal Fiji contact, the non registration effectively removed any possible dispute from within the family. Saofa'i held outside of Samoa are recognised by the 'aiga potopoto but since the early 1970s not by a law which was specifically designed to curb the proliferation

of matai palota, or ballot matai.⁶ Under this law, matai titles not conferred in Samoa are not registered by the Land and Titles court in Mulinu'u. However, the fact that some of these saofa'i, including that of Penu'afa, were held in the late 1950s, before the law came into effect, remain valid.

1.5.2.Lau of Lotofaga

Both Lopeti Sale and Sione Andrew apparently held custody of the Lau titles before their arrival in Fiji. According to Lui Seipua, his father Seipua also held a matai title from Tutuila.⁷ While almost all Fiji-Samoans are descended from matais, the practice of conferring matai titles from the mid 1900s has fallen into abeyance. To a certain degree, transmission of matai titles by the 'aiga potopoto or extended family in Fiji is determined by the supply and demand of people and services. Except for limited contract employment in the Suva based regional organisations, vigorously regulated by Fiji's immigration policy, increasingly, Samoan overseas migration bypasse, and sometimes overfly Suva and Nadi. The perpetration of mataiship is thus constrained to a small pool of Samoans with irregular contacts to the authorised 'aiga potopoto in Samoa. In addition to the economic demands of maintaining kin and social contacts, there is also the difficulty of verifying the Fiji conferred titles in the Land and Titles court in Mulinu'u. The main migrant destinations are New Zealand, Australia, Hawai'i and US mainland resulting in the perpetration of the fa'amatai, or matai system. Those

installed in Samoa are registered in the list of matai held by the Land and Titles court while those installed outside are not.

2. Wailekutu in the 1980s

2.1. Households and heads of households

As Nayacakalou observed, the significance of houses for the persons who live in them goes far beyond their mere utility as shelter. One identifies with and is in turn identified with the 'face of his house' or matanivale. The house is the physical embodiment of one's idealisation of one's own place within the family household and the village framework of life.²⁴ Right to village participation is based on membership of the matanivale.

This applies to the Wailekutu community. The corresponding matanivale term in Samoa is matafale, literally the face of the house. Of the 17 households, 12 lived in their own houses, 3 rented and 2 lived as house caretakers. With the help of families and relatives nearby, 13 built their own houses. Except for one house with a concrete floor and external walls, all other 16 are made of corrugated iron roofs, with either iron walls or sawn timber framework. Many have separate bedrooms and kitchen and outside cooking shelter or umukuka.

The major characteristic of all the households was that they are furnished with 'European' furniture such as beds, sofa, settees, carpets, coffee tables and dining tables and chairs in various quantities according to the earning power and size of each family.

At the time of my survey, each family determined its head of household first by sex and secondly by their economic capacity for the family keep. In two households, the beneficiary rights to the settlement land were traced through the female spouses, but in both cases, the female spouses regard their husbands as the head of household on account of these other criteria. Only in one household is the female the head of the household because of separation from her former husband. This latter household lives in the settlement as a tenant to an absent landowning beneficiary. Where the male head of the household was unemployed, the female gender still regarded them as the head of household. There was no household which had the female spouse as the bread winner.

2.2. Population and out migration

Based on the 10 families that moved from Navesi and elsewhere into Wailekutu, and the number of children born averaging about 3 children per family at the time, the population of the settlement in 1958 was approximately 50. At the time of study 29 years later, the population had only grown to 97, almost doubled over a period of nearly 30 years.

The relatively small growth is attributed partly to a high rate of emigration and partly to a steady death rate. At the time of his death in 1983 at the age of 80, the direct descendants of Tupuai Tusani (the father of Henry Peters) numbered almost 50⁰. Yet in 1987, only his youngest son and his 3 grandchildren were

living in Wailekutu. Similarly, at the death of Toma Peniata in 1978 at the age of 92, his descendants also numbered almost 50¹⁰, with 15 living in Wailekutu. As a consequence of emigration, the number of Samoans originating from Wailekutu live outside is 3 times more than those living inside. As already noted, 2 families returned to Samoa. Assuming that all the original settlers were alive, then the total population would approximate to about 10 families with an average number of 50 descendants in 1987. The total would be about 500 inhabitants.

By 1987, the population of the 10 households living in Wailekutu numbered 69. An additional 6 households lived outside the settlement numbering 40. Of the 10 households inside the settlement land, 2 are landowners, 6 are descendants of the original settlers, 2 pay rent and 3 live on the goodwill of the landowners.

The 4 family households living outside the settlement boundary maintained close communal ties with the Samoan community because of their common ethnic origin. For this reason, they were included in the survey totalling 17 households. Two other households, a European and an Indian living outside the boundary of the Samoan settlement were also interviewed. But they retain a separate identity and are not included in the overall study unless otherwise stated. The total population of all 19 households living in Wailekutu numbers 109. The survey however focussed on the 17 households totalling 97.

Pyramid graph of the Samoan population¹¹

2.3. Employment

In terms of employment, the Wailekutu population is divided in three categories; those employed in the wage earning economy, those in the subsistence economy and those either at school or at home performing domestic duties. These are broad categories and are not meant to be definitive. Many state that they are unemployed. While this is true in that they do not earn regular wages, many are involved in subsistence and the informal economy either planting, fishing, doing casual work, or selling handicrafts as middle men in Lami and Suva.

At present, 19 men over 18 years leave the settlement each day for work outside in the cash economy. But they have not abandoned the land. Thirty two men staying at home cultivating the land are classified in the subsistence/casual employment category. Forty six either attending school or are involved in domestic duties. At the time of interviewing, gross earning from all sources of finance of all 17 family households approximated almost \$60,000 a year, an average of \$352 per household. The cash amounts of earning power of the 17 households range from the highest of \$10,000 to almost nothing. The size of the average family is 5.7 based on the total population of 97 divided by the total number of 18 households.

The income per capita in Wailekutu is the total earning per year of all households divided by the number of households and

this comes to \$611 per year. In some ways, Wailekutu members have the best of both worlds - an assured weekly income, and a crop for domestic use and sometimes for sale too. This is a highly valued option in Fiji, but while their income is higher than the average for rural Fijians (about \$400) it is well below the national Gross Domestic Product per capita which is about \$1200 until the military coup of 14 May 1987 which has greatly reduced all income.

2.4. Dependency ratio

The dependency rate is calculated by dividing the total population in the productive age group, being from 18 to 55 years, over the non-productive, being from 0 to 17 added to the 56 and upward age group. In Wailekutu, 45 are in the productive age group and 52 in the non productive giving a dependency ratio of 1.16. But if we regard the productive group only as those earning regular cash (they are much better off) then it is a very high 5.1. A realistic dependency ratio would be somewhere inbetween.

2.5. Ethnicity of Wailekutu in 1987

In 1987, all current 18 head of households, (1 household contains 2 families) and their Fiji-born spouses were not exclusively of Samoan ethnicity.

The ethnicity of 4 households heads are predominantly Fijian, 3 are Samoan/Solomon Islands married to Fijians and the

remaining 11 are spread amongst an ethnic mixture of Samoan, Tongan, Fijian, Rotuman, Tuvaluan, European and Chinese. The ethnic composition of the Wailekutu community in 1987, particularly, the heads of 17 households and their spouses is as follows:

One household contains 2 families making a total of 18 household heads.

Samoan/Tongan m Fijian/Samoan	1
European/Rotuman m Fijian	1
Samoan/Sinhalese/Dutch m Fijian	1
Samoan m Samoan/Sinhalese/Dutch	1
Samoan m Fijian	1
Samoan m Tongan	1
American Samoan/Western Samoan m Fijian	1
Samoan/Futuna/Fijian m Fijian	1
Samoan/Solomon Island m Fijian	3
Fijian m Fijian	4
European/Samoan m European/Samoan	1
Samoan/Solomon Island m Tuvaluan	1
Samoan m Fijian/Chinese	1
Total	18

The spouse of the Samoan/European, who was herself of Samoan/European ancestry, had no formal training in the English language in Western Samoa.

2.6.Kinship and ethnic connections

Kinship seniority is a normal criterion in Samoan communities and underlies influence and leadership. In the Wailekutu community, no such pattern was sufficiently clear to assert with certainty that kinship seniority underpins social organisation. Among the 17 family households in 1987, 3 have no kin connection to any of the families in the settlement. The residential land site ~~main~~ provides the main common denominator for unity and (except for the 3 unrelated kin families above) a

sense of Samoan ethnic origin. Among Fijian kin connection, one exist through the Fijian spouses of 2 Samoans and a tenant with Kadavu origin. Three families are connected through Toma Peniata, 5 through the Zinck (one by marriage) and another 3 households, which by kin factors are distantly connected, but are closely related through residential proximity.

An important ethnic element is the Fijian connection emanating from Kadavu. Three household heads are from Kadavu and the spouse of Toma Peniata's son is also from Kadavu. She stated to me that the 3 families share a certain affinity within the community stemming from the Kadavu links. Through her, one Kadavu household came to live in Wailekutu.

2.7. Community hall: an emerging community focus

Since June 1987, the community has been meeting in an empty house formerly inhabited by Emilini and her father Leauli Aipopo. Emilini and her Fijian husband from Lau were living in Lau at the time. When she left, she reportedly stated that she would not return. Because of its central location, the house was converted to a meeting house. However, despite her making a similar statement on a previous occasion, she always returned. Emilini lived in the house built by her father for her grandmother Aipopo. The community had never had a central meeting house, with meetings usually rotating around family houses. It is anticipated that Emilini will return and claim her house back. Another issue is that living on the same plot of land are 3 other households,

Johnny Leauli, Thomas Wilson and Sisilia Drau, a relative of Emilini's husband with all claiming rights to the same piece of land. At a recent community meeting in September 1987, it was unanimously agreed that a community hall be built.

2.8. Water, sanitation, energy, communication and transport

No one in Wailekutu is quite certain who was responsible for the laying of the water main pipe. Some claim that it was an oversight by the Public Works Department, others claim that it was done at the request of their Fijian Member of Parliament, Mr Tomasi Vakatora. The water main does not run to all of the houses. Eight houses have tap water located either near or inside the house and 9 remain dependent on the creek or river for water supplies.

Only 1 household has a flush water cistern and the rest use toilet pits.

For electricity, 2 households have portable generators. In addition, one has a solar panel recharging car batteries which in turn provides electricity for his family as well as a personal video deck used for weekend community screening at a nominal fee. He also provides lighting for community functions during the late evenings. The rest of the 15 households use either kerosene or benzine lanterns for lighting.

Letters are either collected from the Lami post office, through place of work or a family relative. Telephone communication is similarly arranged, but many also use a telephone

located in the front of the settlement and owned by an Indian business proprietor.

For 15 households, the bus is the main mean of transportation, mainly to and from Suva. Only 1 household head has his own private transport which is a motor cycle. Another has the personal use of a medium-size company truck which he uses freely to take the Suva-bound morning and the Wailekutu-bound afternoon traffic on his way to and from work.

2.9. Samoan umukuka

The terms umu and lovo describe the Polynesian method of earth oven cooking. Umu is also used by Tongans, I-Kiribati, Cook Islanders and some Micronesians. In Rotuma it is called the ikou, lovo in Fijian and the hangi in New Zealand Maori. Milner describes the umu as a stone oven consisting of a shallow cavity lined with stones on which a fire is lit and cleared away before the food is laid on the hot stones. An efficient person skilled in the making of an umu is regarded as an asset to any village.¹² The principle cooking in the umu is simply the transformation of heat from burnt firewood to the stones to the food. While the method varies resulting in differences in taste and flavour, the principle remains the same. Cooking on white hot stones under the cover of broad leaves has a similar effect of a pressure cooker.

All except 3 households have, in addition to kerosene primuses, separate umukuka, Samoa kitchens shelters, abbreviated to umu. The umukuka consist of small cooking shelters for

preparing the Samoan earthoven or umu. One household has custody of the community umu for functions involving the entire community. This household was chosen because the owners volunteered and because of its proximity to the community hall. All Samoan households stated, with apparent pride and enthusiasm, that they prefer the Samoan umu as distinct from the Fijian lovo. This Samoan preference is because of their parents conditioning and their conviction that it is easier, faster and tasty compared to the time consuming and labour-intensive Fijian method resulting in food with a distinct smokey flavour or namuasua. However, one Fijian household head stated depending on his preferred taste at the time, he alternates between methods. Another statement of obvious pride was their ability to cook the Samoan palusami dish of young taro leaves and rich coconut cream.

When the Western Samoan Rugby team played in Suva in 1987, the Community hosted a reception at which over 300 palusami, 70 middle size taro, a large pig and chickens were consumed. All items including yagona were purchased from the market. The preparations involved the making of 3 separate umu. The young men of Wailekutu were supervised by two elders. Helpers included Fijian youths and Fijian spouses of Samoan descendants. It was on this occasion that the community decided to have a community umu.

3. Wailekutu community organisations : 1987 and beyond

3.1. Common languages of communication

The dominant language is English, with Fijian a close second

followed by a patois of Samoan. Many also have a working knowledge of Tongan, Hindi, Rotuman, Cantonese and Tuvaluan. English and Fijian are spoken in all 17 households and only 13 claim some understanding of Samoan. In one household, with the children present, English is spoken in family prayers. But when the head of household of Samoan/Solomon Islands/African ancestry and his Fijian wife are by themselves, their prayers are in Fijian. Eight families have a sound understanding of Hindi. In the household of a Fiji born Samoan, who married twice to Tongan women on separate occasions, the dominant spoken language is Tongan followed by English, Fijian and little Samoan.

Samoan is spoken when visitors such as Samoan staff and students attending the Pacific Regional Seminary, the University of the South Pacific, the Fiji School of Medicine and similar institutions visit Wailekutu. During a visit by the Western Samoan Rugby team to Suva in 1987 they were invited to the community. As the team officials held matai titles, the community naturally assumed that they would accompany the team players.

During the community preparations, the question of the format and language of formal reception clearly illustrated the extent of a divided loyalty between their wish to maintain the Samoan rhetoric and ancestral traditions and the practical reality of their life in Fiji. They clearly wanted to perform the best for them and the best was perceived as the Samoan way, the formal language and reception. When it came to appointing the failauga or orator to perform the lauga¹³, the welcoming oratory

and the presentation of the 'ava ceremony, none volunteered. As the only expatriate Samoan present at the preparatory meeting, on the assumption of oratorical skills, I was asked to perform the lauga on their behalf. As an outsider, I replied that it would be inappropriate for me to do it and suggested that if they could not receive the team in the Samoan way, then they should conduct it in the way they know best. It was then discussed and agreed that this was the Fijian vakaturaga. The Samoan community from Suva was also expected to participate and it was felt that if they wanted to perform the welcome in Samoan then they should do it but every effort should be made for them to do it in the Fijian way. Everyone agreed and preparation got under way to welcome the team in the Fijian vakaturaga and for a Fijian matanivanua for the Samoan team should they wished to reciprocate in the Fijian way. The matanivanua for the Samoan community was a Fijian married to a Samoan and the matanivanua for the team was a Fiji born Samoan/Solomon Islander married to a Fijian.

When the team arrived, the Samoan community from Suva decided that the welcome should be performed in the Samoan way, meaning in the Samoan language with a formal lauga of welcome, and a Samoan expatriate attending catechist training in Suva could do this. The lauga was followed by words of welcome in non esoteric Samoan by the eldest Fiji Samoan male, Faleofi Filipo of the host party. As there were no team official or matai accompanying them, their captain, a taule'ale'a, replied in Samoan without embellished oratory.

The problem with this service was that very few of the Samoan community in Wailekutu could understand, including the Samoans from Suva, the esoteric Samoan language and its archaic references used by the catechist trainee. Those who had prepared for the Fijian ceremonies of welcome looked disappointed and felt dejected. I felt this way too and asked the community elders from Suva that Wailekutu should make the farewell speeches.

Entertainment was in Samoan and Fijian. The Samoan team performed items in Samoan while the Wailekutu community performed items in Fijian, Samoan and a special Tongan item for a Tongan member in the Samoan team. The Wailekutu spokesman farewell the team in English and the farewell national songs were the Samoan 'Lo ta nu'u' and the Fijian 'Isa Lei'.

At the inaugural meeting of the Fiji Samoan association held at Wailekutu on October 1987, in stating their views about its establishment, speakers spoke in Samoan, English and Fijian, but mostly in English and Fijian languages. This pattern set the tone of the meeting enabling greater opportunity for Samoan connected participants, from diverse ethnic and social backgrounds to air their feelings in the language they felt most comfortable in. Indeed, many spoke in more than one language chosen from Samoan, Fijian and English. This topic is discussed further under the chapter on language and fa'a Samoa in a migrant setting.

3.2.Levels of community education

The level of education attained was recorded and categorised

according to those who neither attended school or were not of age for school (which included those eligible for pre-school tutelage), those who had either reached or were attending primary levels, those who either reached or were attending secondary levels and those who had attained or were attending tertiary levels. Those who had never attended any formal school because they were under age numbered 22 (11 of whom were eligible for pre-school attendance having reached 3 or 3 1/2). Those who had reached or were presently attending primary levels numbered 41 and those who had either reached or presently attending secondary levels numbered 31. Only one had reached tertiary levels and one other during the colonial period had taken a correspondence course in England. The only person attending a tertiary institution from Wailekutu was a Fijian and the one who had taken a correspondence course was a European/Samoan.

3.3. Komiti Samoa - the Bereavement committee

One of their most important institution today is the Samoan Committee, invariably known as Le Komiti Samoa, o le Komiti o le Nu'u, Komiti o le Tupe, Komiti o le Oti, all commonly referred to the Samoan community committee which began in Wailekutu. Because of his matai status, age and sex, Penu'afa Toma Peniata from 1958 until his death in 1978 became the community leader and initiated the Committee whose main aim was to assist bereaved Samoan families with funeral expenses. Others who assisted included Viliame Raqauqau, of Fijian Samoan ancestry until he

left for Pagopago and Faleofi Filipo.

As Samoans died in Fiji, those with inadequate family resources and Fiji connection were disposed to the indiscreet actions of the Fiji government.¹⁴ Faleofi Filipo, the 1987 committee chairman recollects that dead Samoans were used for hospital clinical practice and medical research. While this may serve a universal humanitarian need, to the Samoan mind, such an act constituted a basic violation of the human body, his culture, his sacredness and mana. It showed up the callousness of Samoans in Fiji resulting in public shame to the memories of the living relatives particularly among the Samoan community to whom a Samoan looked to for personal identification in Fiji. This cultural violation of the dead reflected not only on the dead persons relatives but also their social rank and socio-economic conditions.

To overcome the problem, the elderly organised a communal social welfare fund to defray some of the expenses to the Samoan families who 'owned' the dead, hence the widely applied name, o le komiti o le oti, the death committee. However, as the original members passed on, the benefits of the fund appeared to be restricted to paying members and their families. Organisation of the money collection, about \$5 per family per year, became more burdensome as member families dispersed all over Suva and beyond. Regular communication and contact became difficult and posed a major challenge to the present day Fiji Samoans.

The fund also contributed to funerals of prominent national

figures such as Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna, Ratu Sir Edward Cakobau and more recently to the funeral of the former Governor General's first wife, Adi Davila Ganilau in 1985, (the Committee probably did not realise when he died that Jonati Mavoa's ancestry originated from Leiataua Lesa and Lema'i of Manono, so they did not contribute).

The committee organises fundraising and community related activities. Membership is ethnically oriented and consists of the families of members. The founding members were Penuafa Toma Peniata, Malama Aull, Faleofi Filipino, Telesia Apolonia and Va'aua Nautu. Today, its senior members are Faleofi Filipino as Committee chairman, Mualeao Ah Koy as secretary, Lesina Fong as treasurer, Suli Aull, Va'aua Nautu and Robert Zinck as members. At the moment, only Robert Zinck lives in Wailekutu and the others are scattered over Suva. The Komiti still exists but its effective power and control remains with the Samoans resident in Suva and the Wailekutu representative is not a land purchaser nor a trustee.

The name of the committee lends itself to misinterpretation by the younger members of the Fiji Samoan community. They maintain that if they are expected to contribute to the fund the name of the committee should be changed to something less morose, than the literal committee of the death. They prefer a name conducive with modern trends such as a 'Samoan Development Fund' without excessive changes to the original objectives. Another name that was coined at one of the regular Sunday meetings in

Wailekutu was the 'Samoan Bereavement Committee' which is more meaningful and relevant to modern Fiji Samoans living in a highly urban environment. However, the elderly members reject this argument claiming that the younger generation lack the sincerity to appreciate the intention of the committee. An interesting recent development is the creation of the post *turaga ni koro* and assistant *turaga ni koro*, used interchangeably with the Samoan term pulenu'u and pulenu'u fesoasoani. These posts were created at a regular community meeting on 13 September 1987 and are to be elected annually by the Community. They are responsible to the Community for such duties as the maintenance of peace, offering advice and counselling, organising work tasks and keeping the settlement clean and tidy.¹⁵

3.4. The influence of religion in community activities

The 10 Samoan families that moved to Wailekutu during the mid 1950s from Navesi and Suva were Catholic converts. In 1987, of the 17 family households, 13 families totalling 71 are Catholics, 2 families totalling 11 are Methodists, 1 family totalling 6 belongs to the Assembly of God and 1 family totalling 9 are Latter Day Saints. This dominant catholic position remains today except for one family of Samoan descent who married a Fijian Methodist. Another Fijian tenant family belongs to the Methodist church and another Fijian tenant family belongs to the Assembly of God. A Fijian/Chinese/Samoan family living outside the settlement boundary belong to the Mormon church.

The position of the Catholic church is further strengthened through the provision of free education. Almost all of the children attend catholic schools, the Lami Marist Brother's Convent School in Lami town or Cathedral and Marist Brothers Secondary schools in Suva. Of the 13 families with children attending schools, the school fees of the children of 3 families are paid by the church and the parents pay an annual sum of \$20 toward the school building fund and \$6 per child for the children's school books. Nine families pay for their children's fees and 1 family had the fees of its children paid for by a deceased relative. The children of 4 families are not at school age.

Most of the families are regular church attendants ranging from at least one mass every Sunday to once a month. Three heads of households stated their attendance is sporadic throughout the year, occasioned by the main christian calendar events.

All parents with children at school stated they attend the Parents and Teachers Association regularly. One parent is a Committee member.

The 2 main social activities in the Wailekutu community revolves around religious gatherings. Regular Bible Study meetings are held on Monday to Wednesday evenings from 7:30 and the Rosary every Friday evenings from 7:30, followed by a bowl of yagona and the weekly talanoa around the tanoa until about 10:00PM. While not all attend the Bible study gathering, there appear to be more attending the Friday rosary sessions.

Community meetings are preceded and closed by prayers in the Catholic format. A Samoan Catholic community in Suva usually meet once a month for a mass service conducted by a priest fluent in the Samoan language.

Community fundraising also revolves around religious activities, almost always Catholic. Methodist, Assembly of God and LDS families contribute to fundraising activities for the Catholic church. For purposes of fundraising, the Catholic parish is divided into sectors and the Wailekutu community forms one sector with a set annual target. Over the past years, \$750 has been their target and this amount has been consistently achieved through family donations, kati (cards), video screening, sales of kava and cigarettes.¹⁴ In 1987, the annual target was achieved in July 1987 through social dances at a dance hall in Walu Bay.¹⁷

In addition to participating in fundraising activities of the Catholics households, the Fijian Methodist families at times attend Catholic services at the Lami parish. While church attendance is regular, the once regular visits by the parish priest to the elderly members of the Samoan community has become irregular.

Other social activities which various members attend outside Wailekutu include the Catholic masses in Suva held separately by the Samoan and Tongan communities. One family household head represents Wailekutu on the Samoan Bereavement committee as well as being a national representative on the National Council of Blue Army of Fiji. Another belongs to the Union as well as a

social and sports club at the place of employment, another attends a Women's club in Suva. An elderly couple were once regular members of the General Electors Association, a constituent body of the Alliance Party.

3.5. Wailekutu Womens committee

A women's organisation was created in July 1987 with the support of Ben Teusia, one of the 2 trustees. The main purpose is to learn ways they can contribute to the improvement of the community by developing skills in sewing and learning how to make smokeless stoves from a YWCA resource person in Suva. The committee also prepare food, the community hall and entertain in community functions for visiting students and rugby team from Western Samoa and the inaugural meeting of the Fiji-Samoan association held in September 1987. Many also wish to see the introduction of day care centre for their children and grandchildren at pre-school level, offering themselves, in rotation, as teachers until they acquire the resources for a professional teacher. The club had a membership of 11 in August 1987, organised with positions of president, secretary and treasurer. The club meets weekly on Wednesday morning at 9:00 to 11:00 and membership is open to all women of the community.¹⁰

3.6. National politics

All 18 head of households and most of their spouses voted in the Fiji general election in April 1987. Many also voted in the

1982 general election. Nine household heads stated they were members of a political party and another 9 stated they were not. Of the 9 identified with a political party, 6 were Alliance, 1 Labour, 1 National Federation Party and 1 Fiji Nationalist Party.

In the 1987 general election, the Alliance party drew 6 1/2 votes, the Labour-National Federation Party drew 9 1/2 and the Fijian Nationalist Party drew 1. Except for the pocket political meetings held in Wailekutu during the lead-up to the general elections, all heads of households stated they do not normally attend political meetings. When asked how often do they see their elected Member of parliament, all stated only once, during electioneering campaigns, and then only the Fijian candidates. These parliamentary members make no visits to the community other than election times. The community receives neither assistance nor visits from government officials or any other political figures.

3.7. Internal dispute settlement

When asked about the main forms of community offenses and how they were settled, 3 responded that though infrequent, these focussed on youth drunkenness and consequent brawls. Dispute settlement was left entirely to the youth and very seldom has a full community meeting been called. Some recalled many community meetings, or fono which concentrated on fundraising but also served as a forum for sorting out disputes. Three of the household respondents claimed that in recent times, whenever a

dispute arose, reconciliation^{was} exercised through the Fijian method of soro, the Samoan equivalent of the 'ifoga. Both can be defined as submission or admission of guilt by proffering yaqona or tabua to the injured party and seeking forgiveness and reinstatement.¹⁹ In Wailekutu, 3 respondents state that the soro is simply expressed through a public apology and by giving yaqona and cigarettes to the offended party. In all cases recollected, the offerings were accepted as a sign of reconciliation.

3.8.Land and subdivision

Peniata as a matai commanded an influence unparalleled in other Samoan communities and his role as a matai over Wailekutu family households appeared to approximate that of a Samoan village. One exception was that contrary to actions of Samoan matai in Samoa, Peniata attempted to subdivide the land with the aim of giving all family households proper titles to their allocated portions.²⁰

After the departure of the initial land purchasers such as Toma Peniata (died in 1978), Viliame Raqauqau (died in American Samoa), Faleofi Filipo (still living in Vatuwaga), Tupuai Peters (died in 1983) and others, the survivors assumed rightly or wrongly that everyone was entitled to equal rights. Coordinated community spirit and effective leadership became lacking and frequent internal acts of violence became common, much of it due to misunderstanding over land.

Many became disillusioned about their exact rights to the

land and moved out without building. Although the settlement is on freehold land, the leadership provided by Toma Peniata was that of a village chief with authority over the land including the 12 landowning families. Many like Mary Fong moved out to Suva. Very little development resulted over 20 years under this type of one-man leadership. The major questions remain unanswered. Who holds what rights to which land?. Who decides on the criteria and method of land allocation?. What happens to the land of deceased and absentee landowners?.

Many have openly expressed the wish to sub-divide the land equally among the 13 landowning families. They wish for the normal provision of services available to other settlements. But legal clarification is needed on the estates of the 11 deceased landowning members. According to the records in the Registrar of Titles no one left a will nor legally appointed an heir. No record exists at the Register of Probates by any one of the deceased as having issued their next of kin or beneficiary with a letter of administration as executor of the property. This includes Toma Peniata, Aipopo Leauli, Vili and Feseta'i, Kelesia Apolonia, Lui Tele'a and Selamela, Kelera Moeva, Seipua, Toso Stephen, Mary Fong, Lau Andrews and Lau Sale.

3.9. Leadership and trusteeship

The position from the mid 1950s is that the land is held in trust by a trustee appointed by the 13 original family landowners on their behalf. Toma Peniata was the first sole trustee until he

died in 1978. According to the 1958 Trust Deed, the land was transferred to him as trustee for the purchasers. In holding the land in trust for the purchasers, the Deed specifies that he

'...will at the request of the purchasers convey the land to such person or persons at such time or times in such manner or otherwise deal with the same as the purchasers shall direct or appoint'.

Apparently, in his will, without consulting other land purchasers, Peniata appointed a younger daughter, Mrs Fagaomapusaga Heritage, as trustee. Again without consulting others, she in turn appointed her son, Mr Ben Teusia as joint-trustee when she migrated to Australia. The legitimate claim to leadership roles must naturally remain with the 2 surviving landowners from the original 13 landowners living in Wailekutu. They are Henry Peters and Konoseti Lobendahn, as all the other 11 landowners have either died or left Fiji. Henry Peters and Konoseti Lobendahn are in their mid-fifties and can provide effective joint community leadership in consultation with other senior members of the community, given the appropriate guidance, opportunities and support. Both have definite ideas about developing a strong community spirit and to realise some of the more urgent community needs. Having inherited the confused state of land affairs many of the potential young people have followed the footsteps of many of their parents by opting for the urban and metropolitan lifestyles. Without a clear statement of their rights and long-term obligation to the community, there remains little, if any,

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desire to return. While the next generation includes young people with formal tertiary education and are in the professions, they live outside Wailekutu. One of them is the current trustee Ben Teusia, and many of the first settlers grandchildren. Many prefer to have little to do with the Samoan community in Wailekutu given its long history of uncertainty over land tenure and lack of basic living amenities. Ways of cultivating self confidence and effective leadership skills and opportunities has yet to be created.

Notes

- 1.pers. comm. Faleofi Filipo, 27 August 1987, Suva.
- 2.pers. comm. Ben Teusia, letter of 29 July 1987.
- 3.A formalised set of salutary greetings reflecting rank and status of matai in a contextual setting. See Tusi Fa'alupega, 1977, LMS.
- 4.Tusi Fa'alupega, 1915:10 & 48.
- 5.Davidson 1967:69-71, 201-2, 268, 392fn.
- 6.pers. comm. Dr Cluny Macpherson, 3 November 1987, Auckland.
- 7.pers. comm. in Wailekutu 24 August 1987.
- 8.Nayacakalou 1978:2.
- 9.Calculated in July 1983.
- 10.Calculated in September 1978.
- 11.See separate sheet attached.
- 12.Milner 1966:301.
- 13.Tu'i 1987. Launga, (sic) Samoan Oratory.
- 14.pers. comm. Faleofi Filipo, chairman of the Samoan Community Committee, September 1987.

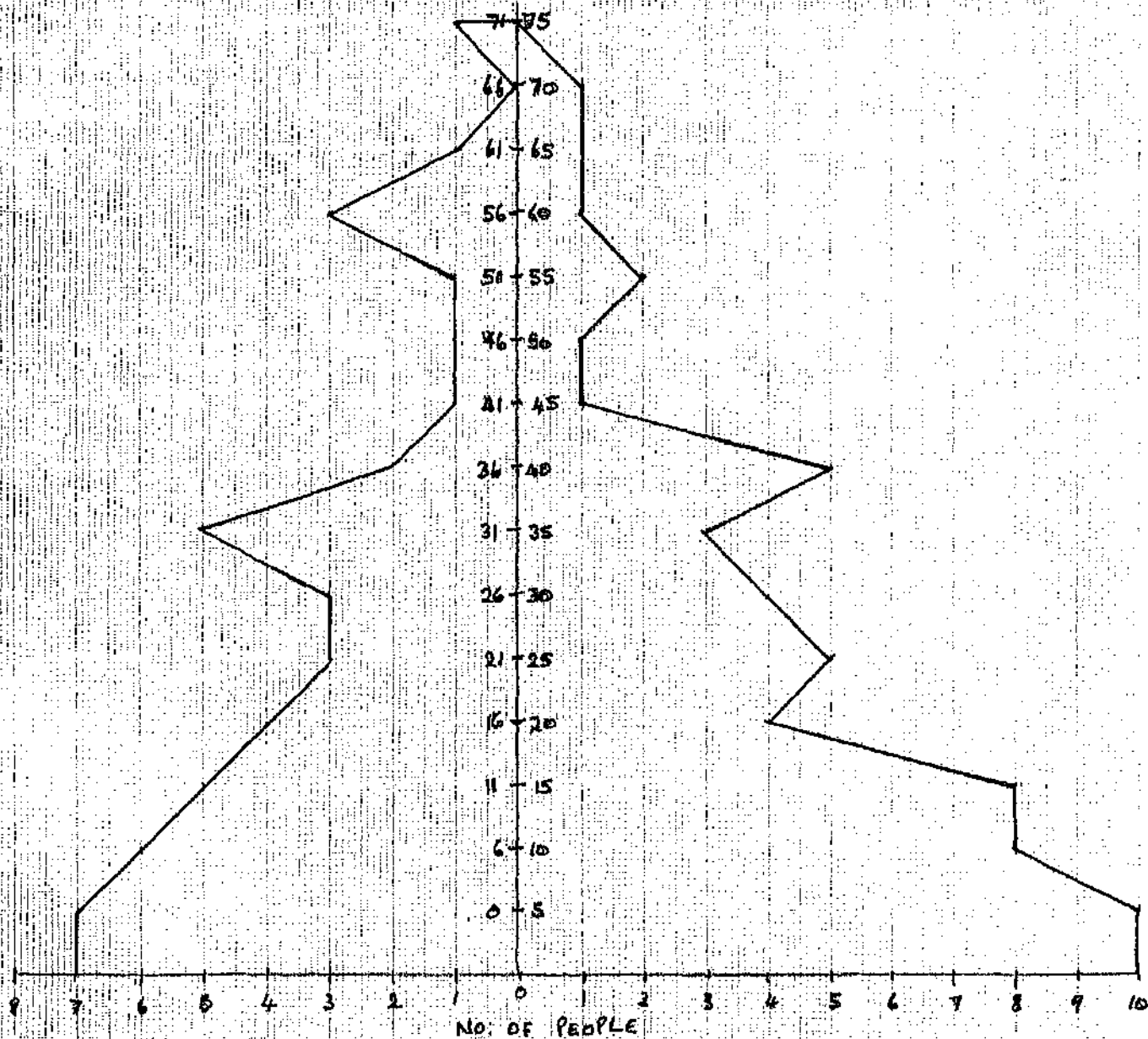
WAILEKUTU : POPULATION PYRAMID : BY SEX AND AGE

(AS AT SEPTEMBER 1987)

MALE

FEMALE

AGE



15.Minutes of the Samoan Settlement meeting, Wailekutu, 13 September 1987.

16.Circular letter dated 17 December 1986 by Mike Peniata, 1986 Sector leader.

17.pers. comm. Walter Zinck on 27 August 1987, 1987 Sector Leader.

18.pers. comm. Mala Peniata on 27 August 1987, president of the Womens Club.

19.Ravuvu 1983:120.

20.pers. comm. Ben Teusia letter 27 July 1987.

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Mauss (1966) in his famous study The Gift, showed that exchanges in non-Western societies consist not so much of purely economic transactions as of reciprocal gifts but that these forms of exchange constitute 'a total social fact'; having a significance that is social as well as religious, magic and economic, utilitarian and sentimental, jural and moral.¹ Reciprocal gift-giving of this kind provides considerable opportunity for the recognition of rank and cooperation among ethnic groupings. In two fundamental levels; the giving is manipulated according to the social significance of the event itself but also to the status of groups involved.² While kinship defines, motivates relationships, and prescribes patterns of cooperation, gift exchanges without actual kinship ties are played according to the rules of kinship. The case study examines this kin-like aspect of contributors connected to the sponsors without actual kinship ties.

Traditional political units were small, tenuous and in constant flux. In such minute island societies, trade, commerce and communication networks are closely monitored by ethnic and blood relations. Kinship in Polynesia provides a significant part of both the infrastructure and superstructure of social relationship with reciprocal exchange 'embedded' in social relations. Much of the redistribution of resources is patterned by kinship connections, both real and contrived.³ These central links provided the inner power circles of systems relating to inheritance, honour, property and 'foreign relations'.

1. Genealogy in Samoa and Fiji

Land in pre contact Pacific had no absolute ownership but only rights to it. Land was closely connected with kin identity as defined by kin relations and related to perceptions of need. One important aspect of this man-land relationship was the central importance attached to family genealogy. The Oxford dictionary defines genealogy as an 'account of descent from an ancestor by enumeration of intermediate persons, ... an investigation of pedigrees....'

Within the Pacific, there is reason to suppose some variation in the importance attached to kinship. For example, genealogical traditions are common to both countries but seem much more established in Samoa than Fiji. The basic unit of Fijian society is the yavusa or village clan, all members of which in theory claim descent from a legendary founder. Nayacakalou (1978) noted that most Fijian genealogies are very shallow. 'On top of the basic social unit, another two further orders of grouping could form. Primarily as a result of political processes, prestige, or mutual protection against the predatory designs of ambitious neighbours, the yavusa combined into vanua or grouping of villages. This was achieved by recognising the chief of the largest, or otherwise most significant yavusa, as head of a vanua. In Fiji, no line is drawn, as in the Gilberts, to distinguish the divine from the human record and according to France (1969), Fijian genealogies rarely extend beyond ten or

twelve generations, and by this stage, may have linked up with the gods.⁵ This is reflected in the fact that in Fiji, there were many specialists; chief's henchmen, spokesmen, priests, warriors, carpenters, fishermen, foodbearers and house servants, but no genealogists.

Seniority of descent and political dominance in Fiji are the main criteria for leadership. Because there is a lack of emphasis on genealogies, according to Nayacakalou, this makes possible 'relative adaptability'.

In Samoa, the 'aiga almost always claims descent from a chiefly ancestor. Gilson (1970) states that Samoan genealogies cannot be regarded as complete or accurate representations of relations among people who lived in the remote past. While genealogies provide real possibilities of kinship affiliations, there are limits in connecting the remote past. Discounting the more obvious mythical elements, little of what remains should be taken as historically correct in the strictest sense. The Samoan language had no written form in pre contact time and genealogies and other lore had to be remembered and passed along by word of mouth, leaving considerable room for manipulation and deliberate distortion.

These latter differences persist until the contenders settle their disputes, forget or suppress information which has been shown up as 'incorrect'. Thus, the chief importance of genealogies lies not only in their value for historical reconstruction, but rather, in the way they expound former

relationships and ties which, actual or not, conform to and validate relations among chiefly titles and descent groups in the present and recent past.⁶

Furthermore, irrelevant or unimportant events, such as the dying out of lineages and the reactivation of titles, are seldom recorded in the genealogies, except with regard to recent generations. Nevertheless, according to Davidson, fundamental to understanding the balance of power in Samoan village politics is understanding the gafa, genealogy.⁷

Where the branches of a family were established in different villages, the holder of the senior title inevitably ceased to have any control in ordinary matters over his geographically dispersed 'aiga. He did, however possess an added standing - important in political matters - the extent to which the seniority of this title was recognised. But as generations passed, conflicting claims to seniority tended to develop. The form in which the genealogy was expounded in one branch came to differ from that in which it was expounded in others. On some occasions, the ties linking together the members of the original 'aiga might still be invoked for political purposes; but, on others, the branches might act as separate families and find their associates through other connections that they had acquired. The character of Samoan social structure, and the complexity of Samoan politics, can only be understood in relation to these processes of progressive segmentation and of consolidation

through the creation of new family linkages. The combined effect of these two processes was to create a considerable range of choice for any group in relation to any particular situation.

In Samoa, the interaction and cross cutting of principles of kinship and locality, among others of lesser importance, produced within Samoa, a complex pattern of associations, obligations and alliances, many of which conflicted, with the result that Samoans, in contemplating or undertaking political action, were often torn by opposing claims and loyalties.

2. Inter-ethnic marriages and genealogical connections

Samoans generally discourage intermarriage but not intermarriage with prestigious groups such as Europeans. In the early 1900s, the main issue in Samoa was not so much economic competition but intermarriage. Because Chinese workers did not bring their wives with them, many cohabitated with Samoan women. Their offspring were often well integrated into Samoan life through Samoan mothers. However, opposition to Samoan-Chinese intermarriage came from Samoan quarters. Mata'afa and the Fono a Faipule, the Legislative Assembly were concerned with the 'purity' of the Samoan race and brought about legislation such as the Samoan Act of 1921 forbidding intermarriage between Chinese and Samoans. No such legislation was enacted for intermarrying with Europeans, Tongans and other Polynesians and Micronesians. No laws were necessary to prevent intermarriage with Melanesians

which were socially condemned. Needless to say, the law preventing Samoan-Chinese intermarriage was ignored.⁹ Mata'afa's successor, Mulinu'u II produced two children from a Chinese woman. Both made no claim to their father's title in the mid 1970s. If intermarriage has occurred despite legislation and social norms in Samoa, it has occurred far more among migrant Samoans overseas.¹⁰

A case study of a Samoan funeral in Fiji reveals the extent of intermarriage of Samoans in Fiji and the way in which this is reflected in the infusion of new ethnic elements in the celebration of this life crisis. A funeral is only one situation where kin-based reciprocity is most important. While a death certainly constitutes something of a crisis, it is much more. A funeral rolls from a visit of condolence to an exchange of commodities, a family reunion, reinforcing of family ties, feasts, sightseeing, news spreading and so on. The occasion acquires a significance that is at once, 'social and religious, magic and economic, utilitarian and sentimental, jural and moral'.¹⁰

The funeral of a Samoan migrant examines the nature of the sponsoring and the contributing units and the extent to which ethnicity and the family gafa, are maintained. Two specific issues related to the concept of reciprocity in a Samoan death are discussed;

- 1) the nature of the units involved, and,
- 2) the extent of the ties that connect contributors to the

sponsors.

For discussion purposes, the sponsoring units are distinguished from the contributing units with the contributing units divided into two units, one based on kin ties and the other on non-kin associations. Kin units based on birth, marriage and adoption were again split up into two groups, the immediate and distant kin and the non-kin associations were identified in terms of ethnicity, education, employment, and neighbourhood.

In this case study, the genealogies have been divided up into two sections, first the section on Samoa followed by the Fijian. The Fiji section is straightforward and is based on the narratives of first and second generation descendants of the old man Tupuai Tusani Peters.

3.A Samoan funeral in Fiji

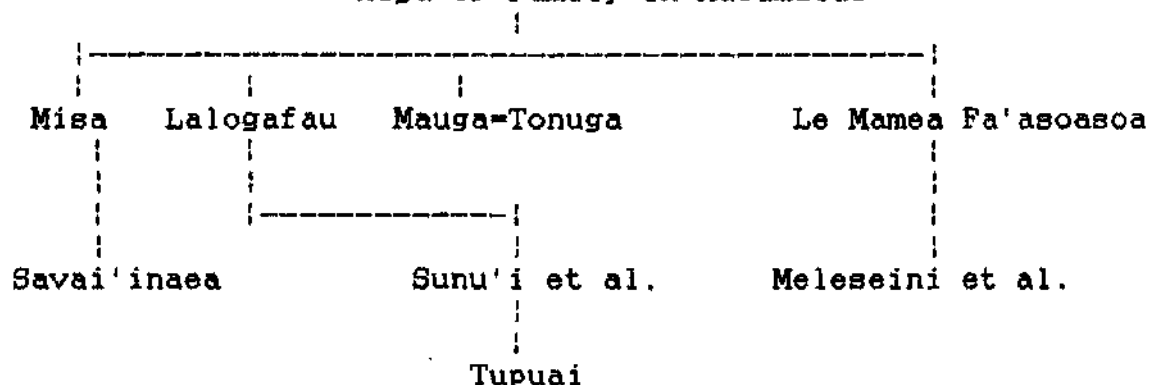
The death occurred on Sunday night 5 June 1983 at the Colonial War Memorial (CWM) hospital in Suva of Tupuai Tusani, also known as Tupuai Peters. At his funeral service, his age was given as 85 years. When I interviewed him before he died, he gave 1922 as the year of his arrival in Fiji when he was between the age of 25 and 28 years.¹⁴ Although his precise birthdate remains in doubt, he was visibly very old. His Fiji citizen descendants from first, second and third generation Fiji-Samoans, numbered no less than seventy. Many, particularly from the second generation, have migrated to Pacific rim metropolitan countries but rarely to Samoa.

Despite his Samoan origin, his Fiji family did not think it necessary to notify relations in Samoa. He did not hold a matai title. With little communication from either Samoa or Fiji, coupled with continuous residence in Fiji for just over sixty years, family ties between Samoa and Fiji were broken. The funeral gathering was held in Suva at the house of his foster granddaughter who is married to a Samoan living in Suva. Not without some justification, another granddaughter complained that the body should have been taken to her place as she had looked after him before his death at the hospital.

3.1. The Samoan origin of Tupuai Tusani

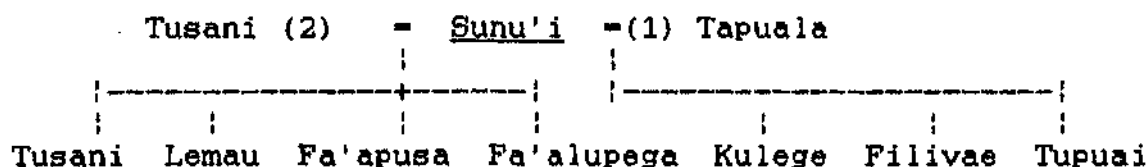
Unlike many families in Samoa, Tupuai's family did not keep a Book of family genealogy. Before his death in 1983, he related his genealogy on his mother's side Sunu'i. He could only relate one side of his genealogy two generations back from his own.

'Aiga or Family in Malamatai



Tupuai's mother Sunu'i was the daughter of a tulafale of Lefaga village, titled Lalogafau. In her two marriages, she first married Tapuala, holder of a tulafale title of Faga¹² village in

Savai'i, and then a holder of the ali'i title Tusani of Olofa village¹³. By her first marriage to Tapuala was born Tupuai.



He gives the following account of his coming to Fiji.

I came with a malaga, visiting party to Fiji in 1922 on the Union Steamship Company's Tofua. I was bringing young Togaifi, to his parents Fa and Melea who worked in the laundry in Naiqaqi, Suva. Togaifi was previously adopted by a Siainiu and Fa'ai'u in Samoa. Our malaga consisted of matai from Lefaga. They were Su'a Soloi, Afu'ie Pusaloa, Manu'a Tuisavailu'u and Faumuina Tuata. Faumuina Tuata was once a faife'au or pastor in the village of Avao in Savai'i and then served as secretary to Alipia Tualau Fa'ase'e. On the same ship were Faumuina Pa'ueli and Moe visiting Fuatino, sister of Tofaeono Siolo. The malaga returned in the same year but I remained in Suva. I was the only taule'ale'a or untitled male of the party.

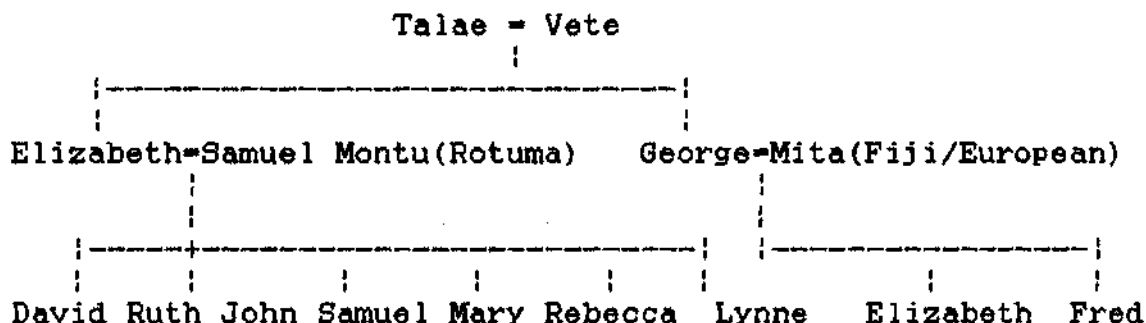
As Tupuai states, all of the malaga excepting him and Togaifi were matais, the ali'i of Su'a, Faumuina and tulafale of Afuie and Manu'a all from Lefaga, a sub-district of of A'ana. An interesting feature was the relaxed immigration policies of the colonial governments, the relatively cheap boat tickets and apparent mobility of Pacific Islanders.

He came from Samoa as a member of the Samoan London Missionary Society church (LMS), now known as the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa. The LMS was established in Suva in the early 1900s but Tupuai and his family lived in Ba and Lautoka on the western side of Viti Levu before moving to Suva. In Navesi, he was converted to Catholicism by Ulupano, the Samoan fesoasoani and baptised as Peters and Samoanised to Petero. Peters became his childrens' surname and they received their early education

from the Saint Thomas mission school in Lautoka.¹⁴ The matai names of Tusani and that of his biological father Tapuala were dropped from his family in Fiji.

These name changes were symbolic of the colonial era. The identity transformations were influenced partly by Tupuai's religious conversion and partly by a calculated decision to play on the preferential educational and economic opportunities accorded by the colonial administration and missionary schools to Europeans and part-Europeans as distinguished from Asians and Pacific Islanders by their anglicised surnames.

In Fiji, Tupuai's first liaison, and unproductive one, with another Samoan, Solifai. He later married another Samoan, Talae. Talae was previously married in Fiji to another Samoan, Vete and they had a daughter and son.

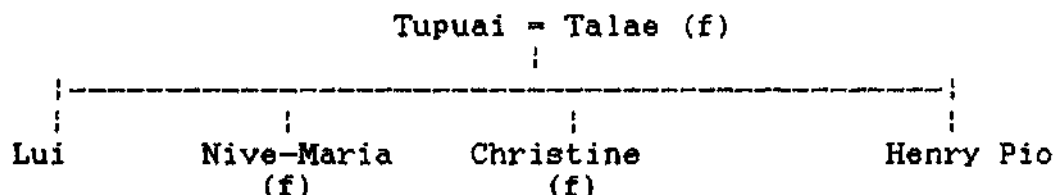


The spouses of their children and of their grandchildren include people whose ancestry extend beyond Samoan-Tongan-Fijian-Rotuman to include European-Indian-Chinese. Elizabeth married a Rotuman and George a Fijian. From among their children, David, the eldest boy married a Fiji citizen whose ancestry includes Samoa and Tonga and they live in New Zealand.

Ruth, the eldest girl married a Fiji Chinese and currently

operates various retail stores in Fiji. John is married to a New Zealand nurse and lives there. Samuel is married to a Fijian, and Rebecca to a Rotuman in the employ of the Salvation Army. Mary is employed as a Counsellor at the University of the South Pacific in Suva. Lynne is married to a Fiji citizen of European ancestry, but raised by a Tongan-Samoan parents.

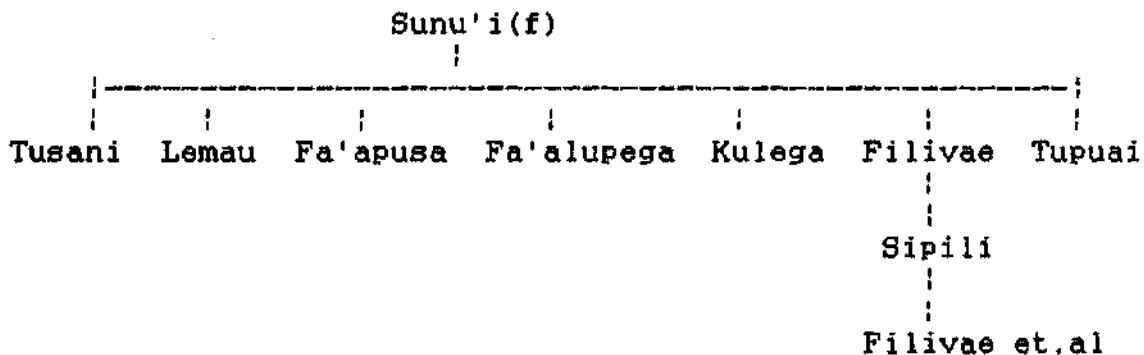
George's first marriage to Mita, of Kiribati ancestry, resulted in two children, Elizabeth and Fred. When George died, Mita married a New Zealander in the employ of the NZ Air Force based in Fiji, and later migrated to New Zealand where her daughter Elizabeth married. Tupuai and Talae married and had four children shown below.



These children again married into different ethnic groups, a Fijian/American, Gujrati-Indian, Samoan and Tongan. Tupuai's elder son Lui married a woman of European-American/Fijian ancestry. His elder daughter Maria-Nive, married a Fiji-born Indian man of Gujrati-South Indian ancestry, the younger daughter Christina married a Samoan from Sapapali'i in Savai'i and his younger son, Henry-Pio married a Nuku'alofa-born woman from Tonga.

3.2.Sipili Molia's life history

Tupuai's brother, Su'a Filivae of Gagaifo-i-le-Vao village, had a son called Sipili who left Samoa for Fiji in pursuit of his uncle Tupuai because he was not happy with his step mother. On his way to Fiji, Sipili changed his name from Sipili Su'a Filivae to Sipili Molia, as he puts it, 'to minimise detection' by his 'aiga. By the time he made contact with his uncle, Sipili had married a Rotuman woman in Rotuma with Molia as the registered surname of their seven children and subsequent grandchildren.



All are married to persons of different ethnic groups in Fiji and none to a Samoan.

4. The sponsoring units

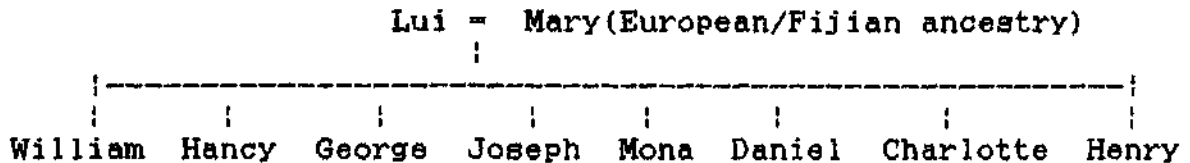
The sponsors of Tupuai's death ceremonies consisted of the families of his 4 children and married grandchildren. In this section, we shall discuss the nature of the sponsoring units in terms of intermarriage and the ancestry of their spouses. All his 4 children and their spouses, with the exception of the Samoan and Tongan spouses, are Fiji born.

- 1 Lui Peters and Mere Hicks in Vatukoula,
2 Nive Peters and Chiman Lal in Suva,

3 Christina Peters and Va'aua Nautu in Nadera, Nasinu.

4 Henry Peters and Aida Filimoehala in Wailekutu, Lami.

4.1.Lui's family



At the time of interview, six of the eight children were married. Except for the eldest son married to a Fijian of part-European ancestry, all are married to people of Fijian ancestry from Kadavu, Tailevu, Rakiraki and the Yasawas. At the time of interview, the number of children from these six marriages totalled 24; William (4), Hancy (4), Mona (5), Daniel (4), Charlotte (5) and Henry 2.

4.2.Nive's family

Nive and her Sigatoka born South-Indian/Gujrati husband have no children of their own but fostered 1 daughter of a distant aunt and 2 children of her sister's sons. The daughter is of Chinese/Samoan/Cook-Islands/Danish ancestry and the two sons predominantly Samoan.

4.3.Christina's family

Her first union was to a Lauan of part European ancestry resulting in her eldest daughter. Christina's children from her Sapapali'i husband, numbered ten, bringing the total number of

children to eleven. Her eldest daughter from her Lauan/European union, married five times, first to a Frenchman, second to a Chinese followed by another Chinese, then a Rotuman and of late an Australian, the latter two unions being unproductive while her previous unions were all productive. Christina's eldest daughter from her Sapapali'i husband is married to a European/Samoan in Samoa. The eldest son is married to a European/Rotuman woman in Fiji; a daughter married to an American Samoa in Tutuila; another son married a Fijian and then a Rotuman; another daughter married a Fiji Muslim and lives in Australia, and the youngest daughter lives with her Tongan foster mother in Ha'apai, Tonga.

4.4. Henry's family

Henry married three times, first to a Fiji citizen of Samoan-European ancestry resulting in one child; second to a Tongan from Ha'apai, (and as they were without children they adopted Christina's youngest daughter mentioned above); thirdly to another Tongan woman from Nuku'alofa, resulting in four children. A daughter from his first marriage married a Fijian of European ancestry.

5. Contributing kin units

With the contributing units, a wide range of individuals contributed. These can be first classified as kinship and non-kinship units, and again distinguished between immediate and distant relatives.

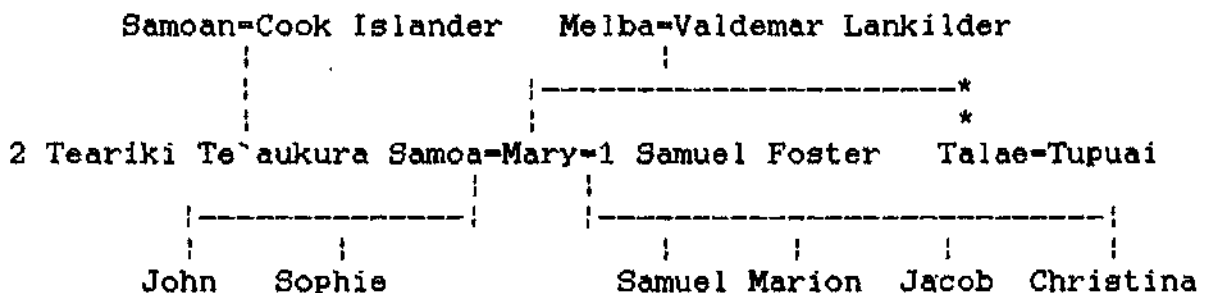
5.1.Immediate kin relation

The Cakau family

A monetary contribution was made by the Cakau family on behalf of his daughter married to Henry, son of Lui Peters and grandson of Tupuai Tusani.

The Foster family

Two contributions were made by the children of John Foster who is connected to the sponsoring family through the principal's wife. In the Cook Islands, a Cook Islander and Samoan couple had a son, named Teariki Te'aukura Samoa. The details of birth and place of origin remain obscure at this stage. Teariki went to Samoa and married Mary Lankilder, a Samoan/European woman of Danish ancestry whose previous marriage to an Englishman, Samuel Foster, resulted in four children named Samuel II, Marion, Jacob and Christina. Teariki and Mary themselves had two children.



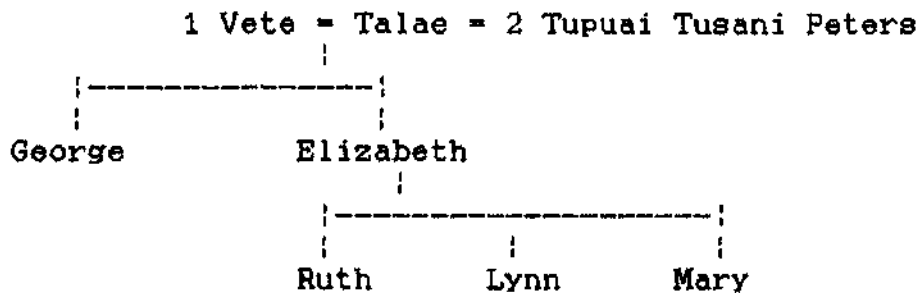
The Molia family

A contribution was made by Filivae Molia on behalf of his father, Sipili, a nephew of the deceased. As noted above, Sipili under his surname Molia left Samoa in search for his uncle Tupuai

in Fiji.

The Wong family

A contribution was made by the children of Elizabeth, a step-daughter of Tupuai and daughter of Talae from her first marriage to another Samoan, Vete.



5.2.Distant kin relations

Tauma'oe Alfred: A monetary contribution was made through a connection to the mother of the deceased.

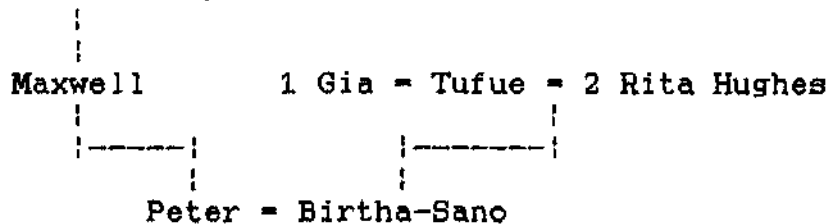
MacGoon family: A contribution was made through the wife of Henry Peters, youngest son of the deceased.

Tupou family: The contributor are kin relations of Aida, the Tongan wife of Henry Peters.

The Peter Wendt family: The Fiji side of the Wendt family is descended from a German ship captain, Otto Wendt whose union with a Wallis/Futuna woman resulted in Maxwell. His grandson married BIRTHA-SANO, a Samoan woman in Fiji whose father, TUFUE, was previously married to GIA, a woman of the Tusani family in Lefaga. Tufue's first marriage to GIA resulted in four children and his second to Rita Hughes of European/Samoan ancestry resulted in BIRTHA-SANO, the leader of the contributing party. BIRTHA's grandmother, MALIA, of the ANAE family in Falelatai.¹⁵

An 'ie toga signified the kin element in Lefaga as well as an indirect connection through Malia.

Otto Wendt-Futuna/Wallis



6. Contributing non-kin units

We are concerned in this section with the nature of the contributing units from non-kin groups in terms of Samoan ethnicity, association via education, work-employment and neighbourhood. We mean by Samoan ethnicity those who identify themselves in one way or another as ethnic Samoans.

6.1. Samoan ethnicity

O le komiti o le oti - the Bereavement committee

As noted in the Wailekutu chapter, the main decision-making mechanism of the Samoan community is the Bereavement committee, whose function is to assist Samoan families defray some of the funeral expenses. The unstated criterion for membership is Samoan ethnicity and hence its category as a Samoan ethnic group although with the exception of the chairman and a son-in-law of the deceased (Va'aua Nautu), all are of mixed ancestry. When the Committee was formed in the early 1950s, the original members were Penuafa Toma Peniata, Malama Aull, Faleofi Filipo, Telesia Apolonia and Va'aua Nautu. Each family household was required to pay \$3 annual subscription to a Trust Account controlled by the

Committee. This amount was increased in 1980 to \$5.

Committee structure

Ta'ita'ifono - Chairman, Faleofi Filipino (representing the Samoans living in Vatuwaga and Laucala Beach Estate).

Failautusi - Secretary Mualeao Ah Koy, (representing the Samoans in Raiwaga).

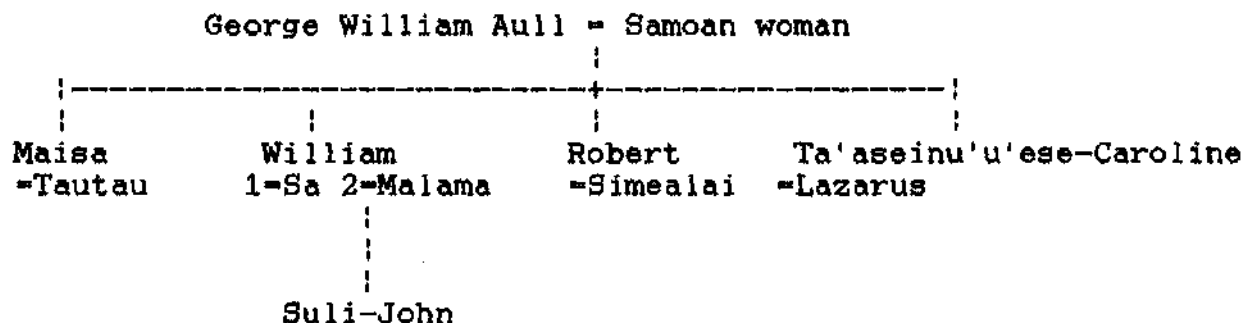
Teutupe - Treasurer, Lesina Fong (representing Suva and Flagstaff); members: Suli Auli (representing Samabula), Va'aua Nautu (representing Nasinu), Robert Zinck (representing Wailekutu). In addition to presenting the collective contribution from the Samoan community, some Committee members made separate contributions as either kin or non-kin associations to the deceased. With two exceptions, the Committee members constitute people of diverse ancestry of which Samoan ethnicity forms an increasingly small part. The two Committee members who assert themselves as complete ethnic Samoans, are the chairman Faleofi Filipino, born in Mulivai of Safata district and Va'aua Nautu from Sapapali'i in Savai'i.

The ethnic background of the rest of the Committee is as follows. Suli Auli, of German/Samoan parenthood was born and raised in Safune, Savai'i and Solosolo in Upolu. Mua Ah Koy was born in Samoa, has worked and lived in Fiji for most of her life. She is married to a Fijian of Chinese ancestry and they have six children. Sina Fong is a daughter of Telesia Apolonia, one of the original settlers in the Wailekutu settlement. Robert Zinck is of

Samoan/Solomon Islands/African/German ancestry.

The Aull family

The family originates from the Bernbach principality of Hesse in Germany. George William Aull arrived in Samoa as a member of the German armed forces during the German Pacific expansion from 1888 to 1914. He married a Samoan woman and like many other European migrants in Samoa established a merchant store in Matautu, Apia. In the 1920s, the family moved to Levuka, Fiji, where all of their children were born. All the sons married Samoans in Levuka and their only daughter married a Fiji-European. The brothers worked as engineers for the government Public Works Department and played a notable part in the building of the Rewa Bridge in Nausori.



The contribution from Suli Aull was in recognition of his association with the Samoan Community. Unlike the rest of his brothers and sisters, Suli received his early education and socialisation in Western Samoa and is more at home with Samoan custom than with his European side. When he returned to his natural parents in Suva, he took an active part in the activities of the Fiji-Samoan community. At the funeral, he was only one of two non-kin contributors to present an 'ie toga, the most prized

traditional item for presentation.

The Filipino family

Faleofi Filipino, born in the village of Mulivai, Safata Western Samoa and married a Chinese/Fijian from Naduri, Macuata, is a direct descendant of Leota Su'atele Filipino, the first Samoan chief judge appointed under the German regime in the 1890s. Like Suli Aull, Faleofi Filipino presented an 'ie toga as a non-kin contributor.

The Purcell family

Kesi Lau Purcell is descended from the Purcell family of European/Samoan ancestry in Malaela, Aleipata district, Western Samoa, Fiji born and married to a Fiji-Lauan of Samoan ancestry.

The Peniata family

Sonny Peniata, born in Fiji married twice, both times to Fijians. One of them was from Visoto, Levuka and the present spouse is from Tavuki in Kadavu. His father Toma Peniata, was born in 1886 came from Leulumoega in Western Samoa. He died in 1978 in the Wailekutu Samoan settlement.

The Lobendahn family

Raphel, a grandson of Toma Peniata was born in Fiji. His father, Hector Lobendahn is of Samoan/Sri Lankan/Dutch ancestry married to Peniata's Samoan born daughter, Konoseti. Raphel is married to a Fijian.

The Sanerive family

Tuisavailu'u Sanerive is a son of a former pastor of the Samoan Congregational Christian church in Suva. He was born in

Safa'ato'a village in Lefaga and was previously married in Suva to a Samoan/European. When she died he married a Fijian.

The Trail family

The Trail family is of European/Samoan/Fijian ancestry. Lola is a sister-in-law of Tuisavailu'u Sanerive and was married to a Fijian.

The Zinck family

Robert Zinck was born in Fiji as noted above of a Samoan mother and Solomon Islands/African father and married to a Fijian.

6.2.Education and employment associations

Two contributors were connected through the deceased man's foster granddaughter in whose place the funeral gathering was held. The first was from fellow workers of the Extension Services of the University of the South Pacific and the second, through association from early school days, from a Fiji born Chinese married to a University staff member of Irish ancestry.

6.3.Neighbourhood

Two were through association with the foster granddaughter of the deceased and one through his youngest daughter, Christina.

7.Analysis of ethnicity of the contributing units

Almost all Fiji born, the contributing units represents a divergent cross-section of the multi-cultural society that Fiji

leaders and public speakers love to point to. Ethnicity within the category of close kin contributors, included Fijians from all over Fiji, American-Fijian, Rotuman-Samoans and Fiji-Chinese. The pattern re-emerges in the category of distant kin contributors. Tauma'oe Alfred, a Fiji born Samoan is married to a Tuvaluan, the families of McGoon and Tupou of European-Tongan ancestry, and Birtha-Sano, a Samoan married to a German-Wallisian/Futunan.

Similarly, within the category of non-kin associations, of the 8 contributing parties representing the Samoan ethnic community, 6 are Fiji born and 2 born in Samoa. The latter 2, both ethnic Samoans, are Faleofi Filipino and Tuisavailu'u Sanerive. Non-kin in the immediate neighbourhood of the foster granddaughter's house who contributed were a Samoan/European married to a Rotuman, and a woman of Chinese/Gujrati/Samoan ancestry who was married to a European in Fiji. At an early age, she was conferred the To'oa Sa'otama'ita'i title of Taga village by Toilolo and some members of the Samoan community at a formal ceremony in Suva.¹⁴ In this same category, one of the contributor lives in Nadera, the neighbourhood of Christina's family. Their ancestry includes Rotuman and Wallis/Futuna. Even at this neighbourhood level, the criterion of ethnic Samoan becomes fused with neighbourliness.

Other contributors categorised under work and close friends and acquaintances from school days include the naturalised Fiji/Irishman married to a Fiji born Chinese, and the ethnically diverse group from the Extension Services of the University of

the South Pacific, at the Laucala Bay Campus.

8. Analysis of relations expressed by the 'ie toga

Among the gifts were 3 'ie toga or fine kilts, the most significant items of Samoan material culture. It is important to note other operating factors in the way these 'ie toga were presented. All 3 'ie toga were presented on the basis of Samoan ethnicity although all contributors were clearly not full ethnic Samoans. All 3 were born in Samoa. One was of German ancestry, the other English and although the parents of the third contributor were both Samoan, his wife was from Macuata of Chinese father and Fijian mother. Two of the 3 contributors were from ethnic Samoans under the category of non-kin associations and 1 under the category of distant kin relation. Only one contributor, Birtha-Sano Wendt was directly related to the deceased as stated above. When the 'ie toga was presented, another link was formally announced, that through the marriage of the adopted grand-daughter of the deceased to a Samoan from a maximal lineage of Falelatai,¹⁷ the village of the contributor's maternal grandfather, 'Anae 'Aimasi. The second contributor is related to the deceased through non-kin association. John Suli Aull made his contribution through two non-kin links; one through his association with the Samoan Congregational Church in Suva, and the other as a member of the Samoan ethnic community of which he is a long standing Committee member. Through these avenues he is closely associated with a son-in-law of the deceased man,

Va'aua Nautu and the husband of the deceased adopted granddaughter, Morgan Tuimaleali'ifano. The third contributor of 'ie toga, Faleofi Filipo is indirectly related to the deceased through a combination of kin and non-kin relations. His daughter, Sera and the adopted grand-daughter of the deceased are long standing school mates, while Faleofi himself through his parents is a close kin to her Samoan husband.

9. Reciprocity planning

For the enjoyment we people get out from celebrating these critical events, it seems to me a little strange to regard these events as a 'crisis'. When we hear of a life crisis in terms of a Fijian lega or a Samoan fa'alavelave, I submit that the Samoan fa'alavelave, the crisis lies not so much in the actual death and burial, for digging a hole and backfilling is not too difficult, but rather of planning and managing reciprocal exchange of giving and receiving, or in demonstrating caring and sharing, under conditions of time ratios and rapid change.

The belief in predestination compounded with one and a half centuries of christian and colonial tutelage among Pacific Islanders is another long standing cultural element defeating planned development. Fatalism has not only tempered individual self-determination but also discourages ambition, confidence and a progressive outlook. Although this can be psychologically satisfying in justifying under-achievement and failure in life, it provides a ready rationale for doing that which is immediately

needed without extra work or going as it were, the extra mile. Such fatalism discourages the accumulation of wealth and overemphasises the sharing of wealth in the hope that if one gives more now, one is promised greater compensation in the future. To minimise potential communal disapproval many families run up large funeral expenses with the burden of the costs borne by a minority of more resourceful family members. For example, when I wrote to my close kin to propose opening a Savings Account in anticipation of a family death, discussion broke off on the rationalisation of possible supernatural consequences. As a result, we ran into severe and embarrassing debts. Because of the fatalistic belief that such things are beyond our power and control, many normal life events, of critical importance in any society, turn into something of a daily calamity. We fail to plan for them instead of leaving them to the fatal last minute.

The development of a managerial perspective toward critical life events has not kept up with our chosen urban life styles. Many demands are made upon limited resources. We want an informative and healthy environment for our children with family socials, schools, comfortable homes, efficient transport services, communication networks. But time, energy and limited material resources for these in a monetized economy compete depressingly with our communal obligations. Many Samoans are fond of saying at funeral activities,

- a le tele mea'ai, e leaga le aso o Pa'i,

Meaning if there is not enough food, the day of the person

honoured is scorned upon. The single reference to food implies two managerial elements; one is the accumulation and mobilisation of material presentation, the other is the equitable and efficient distribution of the resultant resources. How much freedom do we have to give or withhold the resources?

As Crocombe observes, "...many give more because they feel obliged to do so for social and supernatural reasons, both of which are based on fear. Many fear lack of favour from God if they do not (or hope for reward if they do), as well as fear from what their neighbours and leaders will say."¹⁶

Obviously, a balance should be struck. And both sides of the coin should receive equal consideration in terms of planning of the normal events considered of critical importance though not necessarily of crisis proportions. Simpson, in a study of the part-European community in Fiji remarked that the community lacked a clear identity in relation to other major ethnic groups. They are without an effective leadership structure for its young people to be guided by and aspire to. In addition, there is little sense of direction towards clear long-term goals.¹⁷

The emerging marital pattern of successive Fiji-Samoan generations is one of marriages outside ethnic lines. While Samoan ethnicity is preached as the ideal marital combination, the practice is quite different. This is due in part to the shortage of the pool of 'pure' Samoan marital partners and in part to the increasing importance placed on educational, employment and economic opportunities.

Among successive generations of Fiji Samoans, many regard being 'Samoan' as past history. While they are Fiji citizens, their social status in the wider community remains uncertain. While links exist through intermarriage with Fijian and other communities, they have not capitalised fully on these links. If nothing else, this is an opportunity for the young people to search and establish an identity from a range of inter-connecting ties. For a small resettled community, an insignificant degree of political leverage exists for a power base and for political action. While the opportunities exist, much depends on how they are used.

The funeral provides an opportunity to state and restate Samoan connections, and to affirm and reaffirm specific real and fictive relationships in conspicuous gift giving. Each funeral discharges outstanding obligations and creates a new set.

Notes

1. Mauss, 1966. Levi-Strauss, 1969:52.
2. Belshaw 1965:37-38.
3. Evans-Pritchard, Introduction to Mauss's book, The Gift, 1966:ix.
4. Oxford Dictionary, 1976, (6th ed).
5. France, 1969:10.
6. Gilson 1970:41.
7. Freeman 1964:555-6.
8. Sin Joan Yee 1974:22.
9. For Samoans in Pacific Rim countries, see Ablon (1970) for the west coast California, Pitt and Macpherson (1974) for New Zealand.

10. Hocart, A. C., 1970. "Kings and Councillors", in The Comparative Study of Human Society.

11. Sipili Molia differ saying he himself arrived during this year, well after Tupuai.

12. pers. comm. Va'aua Nautu in Suva, 1984. Tapuala and Laufiso are the highest ranking tulafale in Faga. LMS 1915:12.

13. Tusani is also an ali'i title of Savaia and Tafagamanu in Lefaga. LMS 1977:54.

14. Lui, the eldest son went to Levuka Public School.

15. 'Aiga of Anae 'Aimasi, Matautu, Falelatai.

16. pers. comm. Va'aua Nautu and Suli Auli.

17. Gilson 1970:117f/n and LMS 1977:54.

18. 1983:65.

19. Simpson 1974:7.

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The Pacific 'Ulysses of Protestantism' John Williams, led the first successful westward expansion of the London Missionary Society (LMS) from its stronghold in Eastern Polynesia. After introducing Christianity to the Cook Islands in the 1820s, he set sail for Fiji, Vanuatu and Samoa where he hoped to land Polynesian teachers from Aitutaki and the Leeward Islands. En route to Tongatapu, however, he received discouraging news of the perils of Melanesia, so he cut short his voyage to Fiji and headed straight for Samoa.¹ However, before he headed for Samoa, at the request of a Fijian from Lau, some LMS teachers went to Fiji aboard a trading schooner, establishing what was to become one of the most significant Fiji Samoan links in contemporary religious history.² The advent of LMS Tahitian teachers to Lau, though indirect, was the first religious connection which have linked Samoa and Fiji for the past 140 years.

1. Tahitians in Oneata, Lau

No one would dispute the main evangelical drive dates from the landing of the first European missionaries at Lakeba on 12 October 1835. But there were in fact local initiatives conducted by Islanders for Islanders long before 1835.³

While Williams and Barff were at Nuku'alofa, Captain Henry, a son of an LMS missionary in Tahiti, informed them that during a visit to Lakeba, he was assured by the Lakeba chief Malani that any teachers left there would receive his protection. Henry and a Fijian, Takai from Lakeba, had brought one teacher, called

Jacaro⁴ from the church of John Davies at Papara in Tahiti and requested 2 more from William's party. Yielding to the Fijian call, Williams detached 2 teachers in his party⁵, named Hatai from Morea and Fa'arurea⁶ from Tahara'ato. With Henry and Takai, the 3 teachers were received by the Lakeban chief Malani.⁷

While professing interest in the missionaries, Malani was not prepared to receive them on his own initiative and had first to call a council of his island leaders to decide whether to accommodate the new religion. Pending this, the missionaries could take off for Oneata where they began their work.⁸ Hatai, Fa'arurea and Jacaro arrived in Oneata after first stopping at Tubou, Lakeba in July, 1830 on the Alpha with the intrepid Lauan traveller Takai. According to Gunson, the 3 teachers had been forced to leave Lakeba about 1832, but had been quite successful at Oneata.⁹

Rejected on Lakeba, the Tahitians and their message proved acceptable to Oneata and their chief Bola. Here they built the first house of Christian worship in Fiji; the first building to be plastered and whitewashed with lime made from coral in the fashion adopted by the LMS in the Society Islands. After a successful second approach was made to Lakeba, they were allowed to establish the Tahitian church at Tulaki, a headland on the east coast of Lakeba between the mangroves where the Oneata canoes could beach. Here they built another meeting house with lime-plastered walls and held services which attracted the inhabitants of the nearby towns, but the rate of progress alarmed

the cautious Roko Taliai and the teacheres were sent back once more to Oneata.¹⁰

In accordance with William's instruction, the Tahitian teachers prepared the way for the Wesleyans and cooperated with Cross and Cargill on arrival in 1835.¹¹ The Tahitian Jacaro fades out in mid 1830s while Hatai and Farurea lived in Oneata until 1846.¹²

Fiji's strategic location and racial admixture between the cultural areas of Polynesia and Melanesia would have been an ideal LMS base to penetrate both western Polynesia and the western Pacific. The news which discouraged Williams came not from Fiji but Vanuatu, and it is not clear why the Fiji possibility was not advanced. William's familiarity with the Cook Islands Polynesian and his contact with a Samoan who had been living in Fiji and Tonga for ten years may have contributed to his decision in favour of the Samoa option¹³. The first direct religious linkage between Fiji and Samoa occurred only 4 years later when Samoan missionaries were brought to Rotuma by Williams.

2. Rotuma

According to a Rotuman, Reverend Jone Langi, before Rotuma in April 1845 came under the influence of Wesleyans in Fiji¹⁴, the first missionaries to Rotuma were 2 Samoan missionaries Leiataua and Sa'u from Manono of Samoa.¹⁵ With John Williams, they came on the 'Camden' arriving in 'Oinafa on 13 November 1839

and were received by a Rotuman chief Tokainiua. However, except for 2 Samoan residents in Rotuma, there appeared to have been limited success due to the chiefs' reluctance to accept Christianity. But according to Langi, the main obstacle appeared to be the lack of communication, mainly because of the language barrier.

In 1840, Leiataua and Sa'u returned and were replaced by 3 missionaries Sako, Reatau and Sakopo also from Samoa at the request of chief Maraf, who appeared to be one of the paramount chiefs on the island.¹⁶ The 3 teachers lived with Tokainiua and Kausiriaf, another paramount chief of `Oinafa, and generated much interest in the church until the Wesleyans from Tonga took over in 1845.¹⁷

3.Kioa

The mission outpost church in Suva was not the only place in Fiji serviced from Samoa. On Vaitupu in Tuvalu and the resettled Tuvaluan community in the Fiji island of Kioa, the church constitutes an important and influential institution. The earliest missionaries came from Samoa in the late 1800s and used the Samoan language, bible and hymns. Students from Vaitupu went to the theological colleges in Samoa. One reason the Vaitupuan preferred Samoans was because it minimised nepotism among the closely related Vaitupuan families. Samoa was looked upon as the main source of both religious and secular knowledge and this generated an affection and awe of, fakasamoa, or how the Samoans

behaved. At one time, feverish and lengthy preparations preceded the annual visits of church inspection groups from Samoa.¹⁹

In 1959, a Samoan faife'au Tima from Tutuila¹⁷ came direct from Vaitupu replacing the first Vaitupuan faife'au in Kioa. White noted that when the Samoan faife'au returned for leave in Samoa, the LMS decided against retaining its jurisdiction over its members in Fiji. The faife'au left Kioa in Sept 1962.²⁰ At that time, the two options were for Kioa to join the Methodists or, if possible, retain the LMS membership, but as an isolated independent congregation attached to the London headquarters. The Samoan faife'au indicated that he would return if LMS membership was retained. The Fiji Methodists offered to absorb the congregation, but the majority of Kioans, especially the older members, refused to contemplate any change of affiliation. During the absence of the Samoan faife'au, a Kioan lay preacher performed the pastoral duties.²¹ The deep division has led factionalism; the younger members comprise one faction conceding to Methodism and the older members maintaining a historical, yet isolated, loyalty to the LMS.²²

4. Mission outpost in Suva : 1880 - 1987

Before Fiji's capital shifted from Levuka to Suva in 1882, the small but distinctive Samoan community in Levuka conducted church services in their homes. Little documentary information exists on the church in Levuka in the late 1880s. Elderly Samoans recall their parents congregating in family homes for worship

with a lay preacher, the a'oa'o fesoasoani in the absence of a preacher. One of them was an elder called Tufue who served as faife'au in Savaia village in the sub-district of Lefaga in the 1920s before migrating to Suva.

Church services were conducted in the Samoan language usually at the residence of a well known Samoan woman married to the warden, or mayor, of Levuka, a New Zealander named Solomon. On separate occasions he married Samoa women, first Taimane and later Laumate. Notable figures in the congregation at the time included the elder Tufue from Nofuoli'i, Tufue Morris and the orator chief, tulafale 'Aufa'i Selio. The community played host to many Samoan visitors, some of whom came for education such as the young Tanumafili I, who later became one of the first Samoan fautua, or Advisor during the New Zealand mandate over Samoa immediately after the First World War (and his sister Fa'amusa-mi). His son, Tanumafili II, (one of the first joint Head of State) also came to Fiji for education and for a short time lived with Samoan women named Sulu and Ioana, one of whom was married to a Caines from Europe. Tanumafili II had a short spell in the Saint Columbus Catholic school in Suva Street and because of his age, he was sent to attend St Stephens, a Maori college for boys in Auckland.

With the shift of Fiji's capital to Suva, many Samoans also moved and congregated around rented quarters in Naiqaqi. This area is the present site of the Fiji Government Buildings and plans for building a Suva church got under way.

On 10 January 1903, a three-quarter acre piece of land in Naiqagi was purchased from an Australian for 250 pounds by Samoan pastors Alama, Esene, Moli, Uili, Levi, Sa'aga and Otinielu under the auspices of the London Missionary Society in Samoa. At that time, the chairman was John Marriot, and the secretary John W Hills. The papers were registered under their names with the Fiji Registrar of Land and Titles on 11 February 1904. The land was purchased for the Samoan congregation living in Suva, and the first church was built in 1904. Many have been forgotten but amongst the others were Aneru, Taufaga, and Fineaso (who later held the Leiataua title from Manono). Friendly relations developed with the neighbouring Saint Andrews Presbyterian church situated at the corner of Goodenough and Macgregor streets with a presentation of a harmonium organ to the Samoan choir in 1904.²³ Eighty three years later when a third church building for the Samoan congregation was being built under contract to J S Hills Limited (with a distinct Samoan fale exterior), the hourly Sunday services were held in the afternoon at Saint Andrews.

The Samoan church came under the church assembly as the galuega fa'aMisionare, or overseas mission outpost whose jurisdiction at that time included Tuvalu, Kiribati and Papua New Guinea. Today, the Samoan Overseas Missionary Committee contributes missionaries to Aboriginal settlements in Australia²⁴, Jamaica²⁵ and Zambia in Africa²⁶.

Appointments of the faife'au, travel and accommodation remain the responsibility of the Overseas Mission Committee under

the umbrella of the Church assembly, the fonotele. There is no consultation with the Suva members. These arrangements began with Kuresa, the first substantive appointment in 1900 continuing to the faife'au in 1987. A basic salary was set from the 1950s with the appointment of Maeli. According to Waga, men of proven dedication and church involvement were appointed. In addition to spiritual maturity, village and field experience, fluency in English was also an important factor. Some were called while waiting in their villages and some were selected while working in other parts of the Pacific. Initially no limit was imposed and some served for almost 20 years. But in the 1950s, acting on the recommendation of the Suva congregation, the Overseas Mission Committee limited service to six years.²⁷

When I first worshipped in the Suva mission outpost as a student in 1974, I expected to see Fijians and Indians but there were only a handful of Fiji Samoans and Samoan students attending tertiary institutions in Suva. Likewise, I have never seen a Samoan in a church predominated by ethnic Indians or Fijians. At the time, the missionary outpost meant, for me at least, the conversion of foreigners to a church that was Samoa in origin, orientation and organisation. Crew members of the 'John Williams' and former LMS members from Tuvalu and Gilberts used it as a stopping point before proceeding to Kioa and Rabi. Since the mission began 84 years ago, there is little evidence of converts from ethnic Fijians and Indians who make up 95% of Fiji's population.

5. Achievements of faife'au

Kuresa, the first faife'au, established the foundation church building in 1904 and for almost 20 years, he organised church fundraising events in Suva. When he returned to Samoa, he left the ministry and his family elected him to hold the I'iga tulafale title of Fa'asalele'aga. In Suva, his successor, Poloie, built the first mission house. His wife returned to Samoa in 1918 and he followed in the early 1920s. The third minister, Sanerive, began to expand the church with regular visits to recruit members in Lautoka. Many recall him as a successful fundraiser who achieved a sharp increase in church attendance. While factionalism within the mission was not uncommon in the church organisation the extent of acrimonious representations to Samoa (in respect of petty jealousies among those related to Sanerive and those not) resulted in the Overseas Mission deciding that the term of services of Suva appointments be limited to six years. The next appointment, Loloaso Watimani (Wightman), of mixed Samoan/European ancestry, was the first and only appointment from American Samoa. Energetic, ambitious and progressive, he made changes including the use of younger preachers to supplement the older ones. A crucial factor in his appointment was his command of the English language. However, his ideas fell on conservative soil of the dominant gerontocracy. This time, instead of making appointments, the Overseas Mission called for volunteers particularly from those already in the missionary fields. Saua

and Faioso Povi, with several years of mission work in Kiribati and Tuvalu (Gilbert and Ellice Islands) from 1920 to 1942, were among the volunteers. Their experience made them one of the most successful missionaries to Fiji. They built a larger church on the same site, extended the minister's house, and were greatly helped with building constructions through Faioso's Bauan connection. The Daku people of Tailevu are the mataisau to Faioso's father's family, Ratu Wainiu. Through this association in the early 1950s, Ratu Emosi and Daku villagers build the second church for which they received 5 'ie toga (fine kilts), 500 pounds in money, siapo, clothes and fala (mats). When Maeli succeeded Saua and Faioso, the Samoan LMS became an independent entity with a name change to the Samoan Congregational Christian Church. Despite this, the organisational structure of Suva remained intact as a mission outpost. Maeli began organising social activities and drew large numbers of Samoans from other denominations without necessarily 'converting' them to the Samoan church such as the Samoan catholic population in Veisari and Wailekutu. Participation increased in national events such as Hibiscus Festival and Cession Day (now Fiji Day). Activities centering around Samoan material culture encouraged many to join in social and church fundraising as well as reviving an element of Samoan culture. Maeli was succeeded by Afamiliona Manuo. He was also ambitious and was the first to own a car. He maintained a constant visitation schedule and enhanced church membership. His personal and pragmatic approach made him very popular among

the Samoan students attending regional tertiary institutions in Suva. Many remember him as a natural storyteller, especially from the pulpit. When he sensed restlessness among the congregation, he would tell a comical story to liven the congregation, much to the delight of his student audience but to the disgust of the older conservative members. In this way, he maintained a high rate of church attendance among the young and more numerous part of the congregation.

A list of the serving a'oa'o fesoasoani and faife'au in Suva is given below.

- | | | |
|-------|------------|---|
| 5.1. | 1880-1890s | Deacons and lay preachers, Aneru, Taufaga, Fineaso (aka Lei'ataua) |
| 5.2. | 1900s | Kuresa and Fa'aalima, Lealatele |
| 5.3. | 1910s | Poloie, Avao, Matautu. |
| 5.4. | 1920s-30s | Sanerive and Fa'asi'u, Faleatiu |
| 5.5. | 1930s-40s | Wightman (Watimani Loloaso) and Mine, Pagopago |
| 5.6. | 1940s-50s | Akeki Ieremia, Fagaloa |
| 5.7. | 1953-54 | Suli John Aull, Suva |
| 5.8. | 1955-60 | Saua Povi and Faioso, Lalomalava |
| 5.9. | early 1960 | Fiaola Tekevei and Fa'amuli, Nanumea, Tuvalu |
| 5.10. | 1960s-70 | Maeli Rimoni and Fuapepe, Poutasi, Falealili |
| 5.11. | 1970-74 | Afamiliona Manuo and Malo, Lufilufi |
| 5.12. | 1974 | (i) Sione Tamali'i and Tavila, (EMS) Satapuata
(ii) Galuefa Aseta and Talalelei, Lefaga; |
| 5.13. | 1975-80 | Iona Levi and Rosita, Safotu |

- 5.14. Dec '80-Feb '81: (i) Ionatana Tanielu and Lonise, Malua
 (ii) Faigame Tagoilelagi and Iolesina, Tutuila.
 (iii) Samu Amituani'i and Ianeta, (EMS) Sala'ilua
- 5.15. '81-May '82 Urika Saifoloi and O'omi, Apia
- 5.16. Jun-Dec '82 Suli J Aull, Suva
- 5.17. Jan-Jul '83 Bruce Deverell and Gwenn, (PTC) Suva
- 5.18. Aug-Dec '83 (i) Ueta Solomona and Joyce (USP),
 (ii) Fa'asemata O'Brien (Nabua);
- 5.19. Jan '84 - Faitala Talapusi and Tausala (PTC),
- 5.20. Nov '84-Jan '85 Ueta Solomona and Joyce, (USP)
- 5.21. Dec '85-Jan '86 (i) Ueta Solomona and Joyce (USP)
 (ii) Faleniu Asaua and Tenimane (USP)
- 5.22. Feb - April 1986 (iii) Faitala Talapusi (PTC)
- 5.23. Aug 1986-present (1) Alosina Vavae and Otaota

The congregation of the Suva mission over its history were frequently forced to look elsewhere for assistance in the absence of Samoan faife'au due to overseas leave or pending a new appointment on the return home of the previous faife'au.

These gaps, sometimes lengthy, were filled by Fiji resident lay preachers and faife'au attending studies at the Pacific Theological college in Nasese or on contract employment at the Pacific Council of Churches in Suva. They included Toma Vavae, Posenai Musu and Galuefa Aseta of the Congregational Christian church and Samoan Methodist faife'au such as Sione Tamali'i and Samu Amituana'i. European ministers included Bruce Deverell (Teveli, who had been for most of his life as a minister in Samoa) from the neighbouring St Andrews Presbyterian Church, Winston Halapua from Tonga, Aleni Reed and Talalelei Tapu from

Samoa of the Anglican Church, the Principle of PTC, Ilaitia Tuwere and other Fijians from the Methodist church in Fiji. During these short absences of Samoan faife'au, a distinct multi-religious element surfaced in the church services. While Samoan in outlook, the services assumed a much wider community focus reminiscent of the 1950s when services were conducted in Tuvalu, Kiribati, English and Samoan, the languages communities of the LMS sphere of influence. At that time too, Tuvaluans and I-Kiribati students in Suva also attended. In mid 1982 the faife'au and his family departed on leave for Australia leaving responsibility to Fiji Samoan lay preachers. The faife'au did not return as he set up a separate congregation in Melbourne. The monthly communions were conducted by invited ministers from neighbouring churches.

6.Membership and organisation in the 1980s.

Membership of the congregation is made up of four main categories: Fiji resident Samoans, Samoans on contract employment, students attending regional tertiary institutions and Samoans in transit attending sport fixtures, seminars, meetings and conferences.

In the early 1950s during a visitation by two commissioners of church land and property, Ioelu Tapeni and Le'iato, the Fiji resident Samoans included Saua and Faiozo, Sose and Mina Williams, Malama Aull and her son Suli, Se'ese'ei and Vete, Va'aua Nautu, Mani Tufue, Pepe Tapeni Gock, Migimigi, Sepola, Moe

Holland, Sila Taule'ale'a and the Tuvaluan faife'au Fiaola Tekevei.

Mainly due to death and emigration, those remaining in the 1980s are Suli J Aull, Va'aua Nautu, Oneone, Meafatu Lobendahn, Miriama Saua, Tauma'oe, Kanesa, Amelia and Ake Balawa, Lemalu Toso. In 1985 the figure was 9 and 2 years later dropped to 3.

From 1985 to 1987, Samoans on contract employment with the University of the South Pacific, the South Pacific Bureau for Economic Cooperation and the Pacific Theological college number 9. Those at the USP include Ueta Solomona, Va'asiliifiti Faleniu Asaua, Tualevao Ruby and Amituana'i Nemaia Va'a, Ali'imuumua Esekia and Violeti Solofa, Malama Meleisea and Penelope Schoeffel, Iosefa Maiava, Louni and Folole Mose. Attending from the SPEC include, Afamasaga Fa'amatala Toleafoa (1975-77), Ala'ilua Sale'imoa Va'ai (1978-81), Koroseta To'o (1982-84), Misiolo Sofe (1985-87). From the PTC were Ioritana La'au and Lonise Tanielu, (1979-80), Faitala and Tausala Talapusi (1984-mid 1986). However, the main body of the congregation consists of students from USP, Fiji School of Medicine, Telecommunications Training Center, Fiji Institute of Technology, Pacific Theological College and the South Pacific Commission. One main reason given by students for attending church is that it provides a meeting ground to meet other Samoans and to experience things fa'a Samoa.²²

One interesting aspect of the Samoan church in Suva has been the way it has drawn on Samoans appointed to church-related

employment in Suva for conducting services and to act as caretaker pastors. Samoans employed in regional organisations include Vavae Toma, the first general-secretary of the Pacific Council of Churches (PCC) in the early 1960s and Posenai Musu as education director from 1975 until his death in 1977 in Suva. He was succeeded by Galuefa Aseta from 1976-1979 and again followed by another Samoan, Faigame Tagoilelagi from Tutuila in 1979 until 1981. Samu Amituana'i from the Samoan Methodist church employed with the PCC also assisted during the interim period when the substantive Suva appointment Iona Levi returned to Samoa.

In 1982, a Presbyterian minister accepted the role of a caretaker minister to replace a faife'au who failed to return from leave in Australia. A working committee was convened by the European faife'au, lay preachers and deacons to oversee the church developments. One of the most important decisions made in this restructuring of the church's organisation was the agreement that the faife'au was not to hold any committee office to ensure his neutrality. He was solely responsible for pastoral duties. Under this arrangement, office bearers would be rotated among committee members. In 1982, the chairmanship, secretary and treasurer were held by Samoans on contract employment with the European minister retaining a separate responsibility for communion and pastoral needs. This constituted a departure from the form of organisation operating in Samoa. In Samoa, the faife'au assumed the major role as chairman.

The lines of communication for Samoan churches in Samoa, New

Zealand, Australia, Hawai'i and America were through sub district or pulega and district or matagaluega organisation. However, because of the missionary nature of the Suva church similar to Papua New Guinea, the mission outpost was directly responsible to the Samoan Missionary Committee, le Komiti mo Galuega Fa'amisionare, of the Church Assembly, le fonotele. The appointment of the Suva faife'au is made by the Missionary committee in Samoa and not by the Suva congregation nor in consultation with them as is the practice in Samoa. The line of reporting is thus directly between the faife'au and the committee in Samoa. The Suva 1982 structure which restricted the chairmanship to deacons and lay preachers, threatened the relationship of the faife'au and his line of communication with the committee. In any case, the creation of ex officio positions by the Suva congregation had no standing in the organisational structure of the Missionary Committee.

A Samoan faife'au, Faitala Talapusi, was appointed to a lecturing post at the Pacific Theological college and was asked by the Missionary Committee in Samoa to also oversee the pastoral role of the Suva mission. When he appeared almost two years later, and contrary to the 1982 agreements by the committee, the new faife'au, in addition to his pastoral role almost immediately assumed chairmanship of the working committee. The previous chairman, a deacon, became the treasurer while the secretary position remained with another deacon. At the subsequent annual general meetings in July 1985, 1986 and 1987, the chairmanship of

both the committee and congregation has been assumed by the church minister.

7. Church building, attendance and use effectiveness

One often hears among the Samoans the argument that because churches are built for the glory of God, then they should be longer, wider, larger than is needed merely to seat the congregation. This argument would make sense if one can be convinced that the main motivation is for the glory of God. But a much stronger motivation in building oversize churches has been the glory of the community at the expense and humiliation of neighbouring communities with smaller churches. Many of the churches are ugly and reflect the greed and conceit of their builders.²⁹

The question of building a new church or renovating the existing structure has polarised opinion among the Samoan church members. Those arguing for a new church building advance it on the basis on the building being outdated and old. The group favouring renovation argue on the basis of cost effectiveness, and that a new building is not justified on the basis of low church attendance. The renovationists say that the money can be better used for outstanding debts on the six-storey John Williams building in Western Samoa. When students return for holiday vacation, and staff complete terms of contract employment, church attendance is reduced to less than a half a dozen Fiji resident Samoans. And this number is confined to adult members only, as

most of their children and non Samoan spouses attend other churches. Nevertheless, it was decided to build a new church on Samoan traditional design and it will be opened later in 1987. I will refrain from analysing the complex motivations of Samoans in going ahead with building the new church.

Since the two Fiji military coups of May 14 and September 25 in 1987, the 50 resignations of senior University staff from a total of 250 at the University of the South Pacific include a small but significant number of church attendants.³⁰ The Western Samoan government also announced the withdrawal of 22 student places from 1988 previously reserved for the University of the South Pacific. Furthermore, with the continuing uncertainty over the future of the Fiji School of Medicine, Western Samoa is likely to send its medical students to the University of Papua New Guinea from 1988.³¹ While not all staff and students regularly attend church, nor are they necessarily affiliated to the Samoan congregational christian church, the reduction of student intake in Suva based tertiary institutions must naturally have a bearing on church attendance and the influence of the Samoan language and orientation as they constitute the bulk of the congregation.

7.1. Schedule of services since 1977

Due to declining church attendance in 1977, the number of church services dropped from two to one every Sunday, presently a morning services at 10.00 for the normal one hour duration. This

practice began from the time of Iona Levi and continues to the present time in 1987. Church attendance has not increased to a level which would warrant a departure from the present position.

7.2. Use of the church building

The effective use of church building can also be measured by the church's responsiveness to the community. It is used once a week for the 1 hour Sunday service, or 4 Sundays a month, or 48 Sundays in 12 months of the year. If Easter, Christmas, New Year and the extended lotu tamaiti, or Children's Sunday service are added, the time that the church building is effectively used approximates to about 50 hours a year, or just over 2 full days for the whole year. After 10 years of one hour Sunday services, the maximum amount of time in which the church building has been used adds to 480 hours or 20 out of 5,360 days.

Over the 2 year period in which this study was being conducted, only two deaths occurred among members of the congregation. Both deaths occurred in New Zealand (one while seeking medical treatment, the other while on holiday) and related to wives of Samoans on short term contract employment in Suva. On both occasions, the deaths were taken to Western Samoa for the burial services. The church funded the return trip of the faife'au as well as presenting F\$500 and supplies of 'ie toga on both occasions. There have been no weddings or the popular tusigaigoa, an popular fundraising event among the Samoans of registering all of one's family members. Baptism is minimal and

confined to children of young couples attending tertiary institutions such as Pacific Theological college and the University of the South Pacific. While several attempts were made to institute the A'oga Aso Sa, Sunday schools and religious instructions, these did not last. Sunday schools usually lasting about 40 minutes, began in mid 1985 but discontinued at the end of that year due to the transit nature of its organising members. The pastor's house was used in addition to the church building. As in almost all cases, the main body of the choir and Sunday school instructors were drawn from students attending regional tertiary institutions based in Suva such as the University of the South Pacific and the Pacific Theological college.

7.3. Other uses

Annual Geetings Meetings of the church began in 1983 and Committee meetings of Deacons and lay preachers began in 1985 inside the church hall. Prior to this, meetings were conducted at homes of committee members. Church choir practices were also held once a week as well as Sunday school classes. Extraordinary meetings rarely occur but one was held during an inspection tour from Samoa in 1985.

8. Church and education

Waga recorded that some faife'au achieved a sound education for their children while in Suva. Kuresa's son, Ielu, became the first Samoan graduate from the Suva (later Central) Medical

School in 1927. He was probably the first medical graduate in Samoa's history. On his return to Western Samoa, he founded the chain of Womens' District Committees ably assisted by his sister Momoi, one of the first Samoan qualified nurses. Dr Kuresa founded about 40 village committees between 1933 ... and his premature death in 1936 while setting up a Women's committee in the Aleipata district.³² Despite his Fijian childhood, according to Schoeffel, Ielu had an excellent understanding of the Samoan polity and the first committees he established were in important traditional centres. The initial structure was to appoint the wife of the catechist or village pastor as president of the committee, the main reasons being that they were usually the most educated and secondly, they appeared politically neutral. Once the leading chiefs, their wives and sisters accepted the new structure, other villagers quickly followed.³³ Another son, Sauni (Malotuto'atasi) Kuresa became the country's first national composer and composed Western Samoa's national anthem in 1962.

Sanerive's children also received a sound education. Notise graduated from the Central Medical School and became a medical doctor for the Suva Health Center. Tuisavailu'u rose through government service to become Government Printer and was honoured with an OBE. Another son, Uili returned to Western Samoa to be the family matai Talimatasi in Faleatiu.

Tualaulelei Mauri Tapusalaia from Si'umu and Vaito'omuli attended mission schools in Suva, gained prominence as a cabinet minister and contested the Prime Minister's post in the late

1950s.

While the church is a member of the Fiji Council of Churches, it is associated more with Samoa than with the religious circles of Fiji. It has its own land and is controlled from Samoa. While concerned primarily with religious affairs, the church's role extends to national and cultural affairs of Samoa, upholding things of fa'a Samoa. It has great potential as a classroom for adult education and things fa'a Samoa as its history shows. Over the years, a Samoan women's fellowship was founded with assistance by two women, Sisavai'i and Tiresa. Through her association with the YWCA, Sisavai'i obtained funds for its initial establishment. Tiresa (now Tuala Falenaoti of Le'auva'a) worked at the University of the South Pacific as its Director of Extension Services in 1970-75. Under her guidance, the fellowship became a member of the Fiji National Council of Women. Given the transit nature of the Samoan church congregation, control and membership since the late 1970s has shifted to the resident Fiji Samoans, most of whom are belong to the Samoan Catholic community in Suva; Adele Muller as president, Joanna Laumata Dutta secretary/treasurer and Lesina Fong, Sera Raymonds, Thyra Griffen, Tomasi Low and Ake Balawa as some of its more active committee members.³⁴

Some of Western Samoa's better educated people are employed at regional tertiary institutions (USP, PCC, PTC, TTC, FSM, SPC and Fulton college) based in Suva. With regular and well placed contacts in government, church and families in Western Samoa, the

expatriate Samoans dominate church affairs in Suva. They are mobile, with daily telephone contacts and regular home trips, and command a strategic grip on the traffic and dissemination of relevant information relating not only to church administration, but government scholarships, employment opportunities and further studies. Being in constant contact via incoming and outgoing traffic places them in an ideal position to monitor the public and private lives of the elite circle.

The Fiji - Samoans are not so privileged in both Fiji and Western Samoa and are not in any position to influence the administration of the Suva church via church headquarters in Samoa. Except for sporadic family contact, most have little connection with Samoan officialdom in church and government. Furthermore, many have lost the ability to communicate effectively in the ornate formal fa'a Samoa that allows people to dominate top heavy church bureaucracies.

9. Summary

What began as an institution catering for the religious needs of Samoans residing in Suva in the early 1900s had by the 1970s become obsolete. Had it not been for the unexpected injection of Samoan students and staff as a result of Suva's growth as a hub of regional and international organisations, the church would have been for all intents and purposes a spent force and would have been closed down as were Samoan missions in Papua New Guinea, Tuvalu and Kiribati. While the church was initially

set up for the Samoans in Fiji, the Committee for Overseas Missions under which the Suva church was administered could do little to maintain any religious momentum. First, the Suva church came under the Committee's charge purely as an administrative convenience. No active missionary campaign could be undertaken in Fiji because the early Samoan LMS harboured no religious ambition in Fiji. The fact that a church was established in Suva was due mainly to the internal pressures from Samoans in Suva and not from Samoa itself. Under a controversial agreement in the mid 1830s between John Williams and John Barff of the LMS, Nathaniel Turner and William Cross of the Wesleyans, the central Pacific was carved up between the two missions for administrative convenience. At a purported meeting in Nuku'alofa, the LMS missionaries came away with the understanding that the LMS was to confine its operation to Samoa and the Wesleyans to Fiji and Tonga. Fiji was never in the LMS books as far as Samoa was concerned. Suva was never taken seriously. Despite the availability of education and employment to Samoan families, the numbers continue to decline. Among these Samoan families were two families of former faife'au, Sanerive and Saua. Almost all have turned to other churches in Fiji. Today, there are more Catholic than Congregationalists among Fiji resident Samoans, the reverse of 30 years ago. Of the many Fiji resident Samoans, only 2 out of 4 remaining members attend church on a regular basis. The families of these members do not attend the Samoan church.

The early LMS missionaries in Fiji and Rotuma were there as

long as they were needed before the Wesleyans set up its operations. Today, the future of the Suva mission rests entirely in the hands of the expatriate Samoans in Fiji and their connection to the church headquarters and government in Samoa. A new chapter has begun in which the church, if it can be given practical support and encouragement, has the tremendous potential for building and reinforcing foreign relations, officially idle but alive and vibrant informally for almost a century. This theme will be further elaborated in chapter 10.

Notes

1. Gilson 1970:69.

2. Ibid. f/n.

3. Reid, JPH, 1979, Vol IV. P.3, p. 154.

4. A C Reid, 1979. JPH, Vol. 14, 3-4, p. 158.

5. A H Wood, 1975. Overseas Mission of the Australian Methodist Church, Vol. 1, Tonga and Samoa, Aldersgate Press, Chapter III, p. 261-6, 'The Wesleyan LMS controversy'.

6. Spelt as Farurea by A C Reid, Op cit.

7. Wood 1975:30.

8. K T Mara, 1980. Pacific Island Development Keynote Address, East-West Center, 26 March, in the proceedings of the Pacific Island Conference, 'Development, the Pacific Way', Honolulu, Hawai'i, pp. 71-2.

9. N Gunson. 1978. Messengers of Grace, Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas, 1797 - 1860. Oxford.

10. Reid, Ibid. p. 158-9.

11. Wood 1975:264.

12. Reid, Op cit.

13. Op cit.

14. Langi, unpublished thesis for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity presented to the Pacific Theological College, 1971:23.
15. Also 1985 Fiji Times article on the 100 years celebration of the Methodist mission in Fiji and Rotuma referring to LMS missionaries from Samoa.
16. Langi, 1971:25-28.
17. Langi Op cit, 29-30.
18. White 1965:103.
19. pers. comm. Fiaola Tekevei of Veisari, interviewed 18 September 1987. According to Tekevei who in served in Kioa from 1969 to 1979.
20. Lifuka/Koch 1978:81.
21. White 1965:46.
22. Interview with the Veisari based Tuvaluan pastor Tekevei in September 1987. But more research is needed to establish the position since the late 1960s.
23. W Cooper, 1983:23.
24. Samoan missionaries in 1985 were Litara Tuimaua and Poka Maua.
25. Samoan missionaries were Peniamina Vai and Alosina Vavae in 1985.
26. Samoan missionary, Nu'uausala Siaosi in 1985.
27. Malakai Waga, unpub. ms. with the author, p. 13.
28. See also Pitt and Macpherson, 1974. Emerging Pluralism: the Samoan Community in Urban New Zealand.
29. Crocombe 1983:65.
30. NZ Herald, 30 October 1987.
31. Radio Fiji's regional news roundup, 4 and 11 October 1987. Tonga has cut back on new scholarships for USP from 1988. NZ Herald, 30 October 1987.
32. Schoeffel, 'The Modern Village Women's Committee', Journal of Pacific Studies, Vol 3. 1977:14-5.
33. Ibid.

34. From attendance at their functions and inaugural meetings of the Fiji Samoan association in September and October 1987.

Chapter 9 Language maintenance and fa'a Samoa	
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1. Language maintenance

Linguists and cultural anthropologists widely hold that language is the vehicle of culture. The specific concerns of this chapter are; under what circumstances does the language of migrants survive in the host country?, and if so, to what extent? Is there a need for it? If so, what can we do to keep it?

The extent of language maintenance in Island migrant communities is first overviewed under the three Pacific sub-regions of Melanesia, Micronesia, Polynesia as well as from studies of Island communities in the Pacific Rim countries.

^Race, culture and language need not and often, in fact, do not coincide. Each develops its own history as biological stocks split and separate, each branch going its own way mixing with others, changing its culture and language either moderately or drastically.¹

However we define culture,² without a medium for transmission (oral, written or both), very few cultures can survive. The history of human migration and resettlement shows how languages die or are absorbed.

Pacific languages emerged from centuries of migration and resettlement involving very small numbers of diverse people, and reflected in the fact that almost six million people of Melanesia speak over 1,000 languages. These pre-European migrations include movements to Tikopia, Ontong Java, Anuta, Duff, Rennell, Bellona, Sikaiana, Ndai, Taku, Kilimailau, Nissan in the Solomon Islands, Tanna in Vanuatu, and Ouvea and Futuna in New Caledonia, and more

recent Polynesian migration include Tongans in the Lau group of Fiji. In Micronesia, they include Nukuoro and Kapingamarangi.

While there is considerable recent movement from Polynesia to Melanesia and Micronesia there appears to be little corresponding movement from Melanesia and Micronesia into Polynesia. These movements explain the considerable impact of Polynesian settler languages in Melanesia without much evidence of reciprocal influence, and the extent to which the Polynesian migrant communities and their languages remain as significant identifiers as in the Vila area of Vanuatu or the Tongans in Lau, Fiji.

Language maintenance in migrant communities and the extent to which it survives is discussed in terms of its relations to power, the relative size of the speech community and spatial distribution of its members.

If Melanesia is the source of all Polynesian and Micronesian language, recent pre-European migrations reflect a return to the land and language of origin.

1.1.Melanesia

In Vanuabalavu, Fiji, a Tongan migrant community was established by conquest in the village of Sawana by the Tongan chief Ma'afu Henele Tu'itonga. He subsequently conquered all of the Lau group in the mid-nineteenth century creating the Tui Lau title through which a major strategy was devised to conquer all of Fiji. This would have been realised were it not for European

intervention.³ The Tongan language is spoken to this day and reinforced by regular contacts with Tonga through church missions and teachings in the Tongan language.

Aided by relative insulation, the Tuvaluan language in Kioa Island is still used but there is some evidence to suggest that this is also under threat.⁴ The original Banaban language of the Ocean Islanders resettled in Rabi Island is virtually extinct with the passing of the migrant settlers, and has been replaced by the very closely related Kiribati as the lingua franca.⁵ Though little data is available, it can only be a matter of time before out marriages and the intensive influence of the dominant local languages changes this. The Solomon Islanders in Wailailai (Levuka), Matata (between Lami and Suva), and Wailoku (just outside Suva) show much more marked features of language attrition owing to their small numbers, isolation, low social status, distance from home country and absorption into the dominant host community.⁶

The Rotuman Island community constitute a distinct political entity with an Island council. They move freely between Fiji and Rotuma maintaining traditional land rights, congregate in larger numbers, are represented in the national power structure through the Senate, Parliament as well as the major church organisations. They intermarry much more with non-Pacific Island Europeans, Chinese and are employed in self-selected areas. They enjoy a higher social status than other migrant communities and hence retain much of their cultural identity and language in Fiji.⁷

However, signs of language attrition in Rotuman are becoming noticeable among the present generation living in Fiji. The pattern is apparent in many other Pacific Island resettled communities in greater Suva; I-Kiribati and Tuvaluan in Veisari,⁹ Wallisian in Vila Maria Tamavua, Tongans and Samoans in Navesi and Wailekutu. The migrant language is under stress by the dominant languages of Fiji. The same pattern appears in the French territories replacing not only the languages of the Polynesian migrants from Wallis and Futuna and French Polynesia but also the indigenous Melanesian languages of the Kanaks in New Caledonia.

Some common features of language attrition are illustrated in Yee-Ting's⁷ study of the Kiribati Community in Veisari, Fiji. Fluency was strong among the original migrants but has since phased out among successive generations, particularly in aspects of pronunciation and sentence patterns which correspond more to the local dominant languages. A mixture of Fijian, Kiribati and English, varying according to the type of social interaction becomes the norm.

While research material is not immediately available to me, the extent of language maintenance among successive generations of some resettled Island migrants is at best speculative. English and Pidgin languages of the Solomon Islands threatens the language of the Polynesian Tikopian colony in Nukufero,¹⁰ Russell Island. Fluency in Kiribati has declined considerably over the 30 year absence from the Kiribati speech community among the

Kiribati settlement in Titiana, Solomon Islands. Education and employment opportunities are serviced in the more prestigious English and Solomon Islands Pidgin English and few Solomon Islanders learn to speak the Tikopian dialect or Kiribati as it is of little use to them. The Government Printer, who migrated from Kiribati as a small child, no longer speaks much Kiribati himself and does not use it at all to his children.¹¹

1.2.Micronesia

With independence, many Tuvaluans employed in Kiribati during the colonial years chose to become Kiribati citizens. Under British administration, the colonial government was headquartered in Tarawa, Kiribati. The language became the official one, second only to English. Among the Tuvaluans in independent Tuvalu who used to be senior civil servants in Kiribati, frequent conversational digression into the Kiribati language is common, reflecting the prestige language of the colonial era.

Whether Tuvaluans who are Kiribati citizens maintain their Tuvaluan mother tongue depends much on the extent to which land and property rights in Tuvalu are maintained (and perhaps, their perceived long term interests in Kiribati). If rights in Tuvalu are maintained, enforced with frequent contact, then language will be maintained. But if they remain in Kiribati as absentee land owners and marrying into a speech community that is non-Tuvaluan, then fluency in Tuvaluan is likely to decline.¹²

Prospects for successive generations of Tuvaluans exercising land and property rights in Tuvalu remains doubtful owing to the increasing land shortage there. In many cases retention of ancestral land rights does not necessarily require strict fluency in Tuvaluan. Absentee land owners are facing pressures from other socio-economic forces, such as increasing demands from those using and living on the land, intensifying over time with population increase and scarce resources.

Dual citizenship is not allowed, but if permitted in both Kiribati and Tuvalu, inter-island movement between the two Island countries will maintain mutual ties under the colonial period, hence enhancing the respective languages of both speech communities. Many senior Tuvaluans living in Tuvalu are fluent in Kiribati and freedom of movement can only be of mutual benefit to the promotion of their respective speech communities and minimising duplication in English officialdom. With the expressed desire of parents to have their children around during their old age,¹³ cultural identity and language will be determined by the dominant local Kiribati influence.

In Nauru, migrant workers from Kiribati, Solomon Islands and Tuvalu remain fluent in their respective mother tongues. There is little incentive to speak Nauruan. They are not allowed to intermarry with the local Nauruans, are not permitted citizenship and can only stay as contract workers in a segregated settlement. It is therefore obviously not in their interest to abandon the languages of the countries to which they will have to return.

These official regulations aim to discourage any dilution of Nauruan phosphate royalties. Almost all inter-marriages between Nauruans with non-Nauruans take place outside Nauru. It is mainly in these very few cases that any Nauruan language is learned by outsiders.

Natural disasters like prolonged droughts led to the resettlement of Kapingamarangi people in Ponape, and South-West Islanders from Fana, Sonsorol and Pulo Anna to Babelthuap, Palau.¹⁴ Little data is available on the maintenance of migrant languages in these communities. Lieber in 1968 reported that more than half of the population under twenty-one years of age of the Kapingamarangi community spend six to eight hours a day in Kolonia in schools with Micronesian children. Their teachers are American and Micronesian and the languages of instruction are Ponapean and English.¹⁵

Early last century, the Carolinian Islanders from the south migrated to Northern Marianas. In addition to speaking the dominant Chamorro language, later generation Carolinians have maintained to some extent the use of their own Carolinian language despite the colonial influences of the Spanish, Germans, Japanese and Americans. Bilingual education has been established as a policy ensuring the survival of both languages.¹⁶ But even in Guam, where Chamorro is a spoken, rather than a written, language with only a few books printed in Chamorro, there is disagreement about the spelling of many Chamorro words. Already, few Island children speak Chamorro fluently and it has become

common practice to speak English in the home mixed with a few Chamorro phrases. The introduction of a new alphabet in 1978 separates the Chamorro spoken on Guam from that in the Northern Marianas and changes the spelling of numerous common words.¹⁷

The Bikinians resettled in uninhabited Kili Atoll, Marshall Islands, maintained their language in addition to speaking English as the language of their international campaign against the annihilation of their native Bikini community by the US government.

1.3. Polynesia

A land purchase in 1868 by the Atiuan inhabitants of Cook Islands led to the establishment of a settlement in Patuto'a, Tahiti held by the Atiuans under a Deed of Trust and Lease.¹⁸ Purchasing a ship enhanced inter-island movement and greatly assisted in maintaining Atiuan cultural identity and language. In Tahiti, the Patuto'a community continue to derive considerable prestige and security through cultural and language congruence with Tahitian.¹⁹ Their continuous presence in Tahiti as a small minority with no major difference of religion or culture over 100 years inevitably affected their language. As Atiuan and Tahitian are closely related eastern Polynesian languages, learning the dominant Tahitian language was easy. As the settlement is administered from Atiu, the rate of language attrition was probably slower than would otherwise be if it were controlled by the local Atiuans and their descendants living in Tahiti. But

much the opposite has happened - Tahitian is a prestigious language for Atiuans, whereas the Atiuan language is not for Tahitians. The Atiuan elders who go to Tahiti for negotiations on land matters in fact speak Tahitian. It is the lack of French - the real power language in Tahiti - that is the real problem. Perhaps this partly explains why the most influential person in Patuto'a is a woman who speaks all languages - which few do fluently.²⁰ McCall reports of a Rapanui settlement in Tahiti at Pamata'i, purchased in the last century from the Catholic Church, but nothing is said about language maintenance.²¹ But there is little reason to believe that it could be much different from the situation with the Cook Islanders. On a personal level, continues McCall, there are more marriages today between Easter Islanders and Chileans than there are between Islanders.²²

In the early 1920s, Arthur Grimble reported a strong tendency among the Tuvaluans, (then Ellice Islanders) whose language is closely related to Samoan and Tongan) to migrate to Samoa, chiefly for mission education.²³ In addition to a Tuvaluan settlement in Elise Fou, there are Tokelauans, Niueans (A'ai o Niue), and Tongans in Tumaia and Vaipuna in the Apia environ, also settlements of Fijians (A'ai o Fiti), and Rotumans in Fatipule²⁴ near Vailoa, all of whose languages are closely related to Samoan as western Polynesian languages. Therefore it was easy to learn as the dominant and prestigious language, as many did at the expense of their own language. By contrast, very

few Samoans learnt to speak Fijian, Niuean, Rotuman, Tokelauan, Tongan, Tuvaluan or Wallisian and Futunan. The few that do speak them, use them very sparingly and almost not at all in social circles. The language of the Melanesian settlement in Sogi descendants of indentured labourers from Malaita of Bougainville, Solomon Islands and the Bismarck Archipelago of Papua New Guinea, has racial overtones, being associated with the language of the meauli or 'black boys'. The low prestige languages die with depleting numbers and extensive inter-marriage to Samoans over time.

Although contacts between Kiribati and Tuvalu prior to the arrival of the Europeans were very limited, oral traditions record one important contact which left its mark as evidenced in a Kiribati dialect spoken in the island of Nui.²⁵

From the Melanesian (Fijian and Solomon Islands) settlements of Lomaiviti and Mataliku Fisi in Tonga,²⁶ while some Fijian is retained, the Solomon Island languages is barely surviving. The difference being due to some similarity of Tongan and Fijian languages, proximity, frequency of contact, prestige and power. And Danielsson (1974) writing about resettling the inhabitants of Muroroa and Fangataufa atolls affected by the atomic tests, notes that only minor dialectal adaptation is called for within the Tuamotu Islands, and within French Polynesia as a whole, Tahitian is universally spoken.

1.4. Pacific languages in the rim countries

By a combination of employment, education and residential opportunities an increasing proportion of Pacific Islanders resides permanently in Pacific Rim countries. More than three times as many American Samoans live in Hawai'i and the United States than in American Samoa, four times more Niueans in New Zealand than in self-governing Niue, more than twice as many Tokelauans in Samoa, New Zealand and the USA than in Tokelau, double the number of Cook Islanders in New Zealand and Australia than back home, more Norfolk Islanders in Sydney than in Norfolk, and more Guamanians in other parts of the United States than on Guam itself. A recent study also shows a Melanesian community of indentured labourers descendants in Queensland, Australia.²⁷

In her discussion of the Samoan language among Samoan migrant communities in New Zealand, Fairbairn-Dunlop²⁸ observes a noticeable difference in language maintenance between Samoans and New Zealand Maoris. The reasons for the stronger position of Samoan as against Maori are complex but she suggests it involves the facts that Samoans only started coming to New Zealand after the social attitudes in the wider community towards vernacular maintenance had changed. Perhaps most important are the facts that the Maori are a tiny minority in a nation in which for the last five generations, all significant forms of power are held by non-Maoris, and in which Maoris have been outnumbered about ten to one by Europeans and others. In that context, Maori has not been a very useful language. In addition, the New Zealand Maoris in general do not provide attractive models for achievement to

Pacific Island migrants. Maoris appear powerless in almost all fields of endeavour and are despised by Pacific Islanders for allowing European dominion over them. Such sensitive issues, firmly entrenched in the country's colonial history, surface regularly at the annual celebration of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. While attitudes may have modified, policies have not, as reflected in the fact that very few Maoris and Pacific Islanders are fluent in each other's language. The Samoans generally maintain strong connection with Samoa through contribution to family fa'alavelave or critical life events, maintaining rights to land, matai titles with such rights being exercised on their behalf by relatives. This is a powerful factor in retaining the language. In the early 1960s, the Samoans recognised the decline of Maori culture and language and were determined that this would not happen to them.²⁷ Any likely change in adopting Maori as an official language of New Zealand is expected to be slow. A report on a submission by the New Zealand Federation of Labour and the Combined State Unions argues that 'bilingualism and biculturalism increases the self-esteem of Maori people'. Equality is associated with the assimilation of minority groups into the dominant culture, which in the case of the New Zealand Maori and Pacific Islanders means the western oriented pakeha culture. The submissions advocate a bilingual education system whereby both Maori and Pakeha people will have the option to have their children tutored in English, but may if they wish, elect to place them in the Maori option. The

submission continues that Maori should be used wherever and whenever English is used now, in dealings with Government departments, privately owned businesses, with the legal and justice system, and extended to the publicly owned bilingual television and radio broadcasts.³⁰

Through the 'aiga or family network and the church community, Samoan language was maintained in the home, many first generation New Zealand-born Samoans often grow up fluent in both Samoan and English despite the pressure exerted from English through the media and the education system, neighbours, workmates and school peers. The immigrant Polynesians of various groups living in New Zealand generally follow the dominant life styles and languages of the New Zealand Europeans and to a lesser but increasing degree, the Chinese and other Asians. And unlike Samoans and Tongans, Maoris do not have another homeland where they are the majority and with significant powers held by them. The Maori proportion in New Zealand is thus more comparable to the migrant population in Samoa, Fiji and Tonga.

In his study of the Melanesians in Mackay, Queensland, Australia, Moore observed that while the Melanesians were greatly assisted in maintaining their language(s) by the Christian missions - with many becoming multi-lingual- many did not pass this quality to their children. Some couples had no common language other than Kanak Pidgin English some children refused to learn. But most parents reasoned that in a white man's world it was most important that their children learnt English. While a

few of the older Islanders can still speak or understand a Melanesian language, the most common things they can remember are childhood rhymes, lullabies, greetings and a few words for foods or spirits. Only a few Europeans learnt to speak a Melanesian language, except for a few government agents and missionaries. Nor would it have been useful to them given the variety of Melanesian languages for a small speech community. The general policy amongst Europeans was to foster the use of Kanak Pidgin English, to lessen intergroup tensions, to make the Melanesian easier to control and generally to ease the Melanesian-European communication problem.³¹ In the light of the principles that emerge from the above varied experiences of resettled islanders, we now turn to the language experience of Samoans in Fii, looking first at the cultural context.

2. Constitutions as framework for linguistic developments

The constitutions, provide a framework of action for any likely future directions that local and migrant Pacific Island languages might take. For almost all Pacific Island countries, independence is the product of colonialism and so are constitutions and their languages. The official and legal languages of the colonial powers are now established, in many cases by the constitution. It is no coincidence that none of the languages of Pacific Island migrant communities are recognised as official and national languages in any Pacific Island host country. Very few Pacific Island legislators and law makers were

born in England or in English speaking countries. Yet, almost all the Constitutional governments of Island nations legislate a migrant language, a non-Pacific minority language, to serve these national purposes, as the language of education, mass media and of national administration, in addition to the local language. As an externally imposed concept, written Constitutions are externally oriented requiring foreign oriented knowledge for their application. All Pacific countries except Niue treat local translations as inferior versions, by clauses which state that whenever there is a conflict between the local and English version, the English version shall prevail. In many other countries, the translations of the Constitution into the officially recognised local languages have not yet begun; Fiji, Nauru, Kiribati, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu, are only a few examples. It is not surprising therefore that many Pacific Island communities, migrant and non-migrant Islanders remain unaware of the existence of these constitutions, let alone their contents.

In Western Samoa, despite the fact that it was the first to gain independence, and that its Constitution is available in the Samoan language, in village and district council meetings it is the Samoan Tusi Fa'alupega, (this too is a product of colonialism in terms of introduced writing and publication by the missionaries) which maps out village hierarchy and power which effectively guides council proceedings. This is easy to understand, since it is written in Samoan and available to every person. The Constitution, however provides the guideline for the

national structure: the parliament, cabinet, courts, government departments, land etc, but the public is not aware of it. Samoan language is becoming, in effect, like other national vernaculars, the language of parochial trivia. The big deals, whether in politics, government, business, scholarships, post graduate studies, conferencing, international relations are in English.

The constitutions of Western Samoa and the Marshalls Islands²² demonstrate that the value of these local languages (of which these are only two examples) is being lessened in their own societies. In the Cook Islands, while Parliamentary debates are conducted in both Maori and English, record keeping in Maori is very limited. In Western Samoa, while parliamentary debate is conducted in Samoan, its future leaders are instructed to think in English. Because many Samoan teachers were educated overseas, they tend to want Samoan education to approximate to their own experience as closely as possible. The government high school for the most gifted children, as late as 1972 banned the use of Samoan in the school grounds.²³ Since 1970, Fiji's constitution has been in English with no translation in Fijian or Hindustani until the May 14 military coup in 1987. Fiji's parliamentary debate is conducted solely in English. Hansard records of parliamentary proceedings are kept solely in English. Although any member can use either Fijian or Hindustani, none choose to do so. In Tonga, if in the trial of any foreigner, "it shall appear that there is a difference of meaning between the law published in English from that published in Tonga, the case shall be tried

according to the English version of the law'. Niue was the only exception which not only allows for both English and Niuean in all Parliamentary proceedings but also stipulates that both versions of any record of proceedings 'shall be equally authentic'. The Cook Islands has recently legislated similar provisions, more of political posturing than indications of oral use. In both cases English is overwhelmingly the language used and is becoming more so. In fact a number of the most prominent politicians in the Cook Islands are not fluent in the vernacular.

2.1. The languages of power

The American anthropologist Paul Bohannon (1980) predicted that widespread bilingualism in the year 2000 will result in the nationally approved goal of biculturalism.²⁴ But the potential decline of English in the world is irrelevant to Niueans or Tikopians and does not necessarily imply a growth of Pacific languages. Japanese and Chinese, for example, are being taken much more seriously, but few are likely to devote much time or resources to the languages of origin of tiny isolated minorities in the fringe of Pacific port towns.

Culture and language are interdependent variables. The history of human migration and resettlement shows how languages die or are absorbed. As Goldman notes, 'race, culture and language need not and often, in fact, do not coincide. Each develops its own history as biological stocks split and separate, each branch going its own way mixing with others, changing its

culture and language either moderately or drastically.³³ The experience of Melanesia's almost six million speakers of over 1,000 languages is instructive, the particular lesson of Pidgin to the contextual setting of relocated minorities, like the Fiji Samoans.

2.2. Pidgin Samoa based on power languages

Pidgin is not simply a random collection of ways of putting together sentences, but rather a system that allows its speakers to constantly create new sentences they have never heard before.³⁴ This has important relevance for migrant languages (and perhaps Pacific regional co-operation). Most pidgins are based on European languages for the simple reason that pidgins usually arise as by-products of trade and colonialism. It is a new language that is not the mother tongue of any of its users (though today it is for many young urban Melanesians) and it usually survives only so long as members of diverse speech communities are in contact. The merit of Pidgin is that it belongs to no one and is described as a language stripped of certain grammatical features. Pidgin provides a verbal bridge between speakers of the 105³⁵ or so languages of Vanuatu, the 83 of the Solomon Islands and more than 700 of Papua New Guinea.³⁶

Pidgin languages developed in the Pacific particularly in association with the labour trade in Melanesia. In the absence of a common Melanesian language, a variety of pidgin English developed in Queensland as a contact language among people who

have no other language in common.³⁷ Moore observes that while pidgin is discouraged among the Melanesian descendants in Queensland, because a large number intermarry within their group and also with Australian Aborigines, a new form of pidgin spoken by the children of these marriages evolves as a result of this new mixing.⁴⁰ A pidgin language, therefore, is a strategic response to a social situation. Today, pidgin provides a common medium of communication which is not readily available either to the Polynesian or Micronesian states. Whether pidgin is capable of articulating major issues at the international level as opposed to its potential as a unifying medium of Pacific wide communication is an open question. Much depends on the occasion, those in power and the achievable aim.

If a pidgin Samoan develop as I believe it has outside Samoa, in the USA (perhaps 100,000 in all, especially in Hawai'i,⁴¹ California, Utah), British Columbia, Australia, Wailekutu in Fiji and the USP campus, Samoan Suva mission outpost, Theological colleges at Pacific Theological College and Pacific Regional Seminary, its future depends on its intrinsic communication value and role in the speech community.⁴²

Many pidgins simply die out when the need for them disappears, but some others expand when the social situation calls on the language to perform a role greater than minimal communication.⁴³ With the eventual de-colonisation of the French territories, New Caledonia, French Polynesia and Wallis and Futuna, coupled with the emergence of Melanesian dominance, a

major language of regional co-operation in the year 2000 could very well be some form of Melanesian Pidgin based on the colonial languages but Melanesian in structure and form. English pidgin is spoken by many more Melanesians than there are Samoan speakers.⁴⁴ In Papua New Guinea, all persons and governmental bodies (do) endeavour to achieve universal literacy in Pisin, Hiri Motu or English, and a local indigenous language. In addition, eligibility for citizenship by naturalisation requires the applicant to 'speak and understand Pisin or Hiri Motu, or a vernacular of the country, sufficiently for normal conversational purposes'. In Vanuatu, the national language is Bislama, the official languages are Bislama, English and French, while the principal languages of education are English and French.

English, and French to a lesser extent, are likely to continue as the power languages in the Pacific. But as the center of power shifts toward the Melanesian bloc countries, so will the emphasis on language to Pidgin, based on the previous dominant languages, but adapted to the Melanesian context of Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu. Migrant languages in other parts of the Pacific will not be a major feature. But with the increasing power of the Pidgin speech communities, there will be a sudden but temporary interest in Melanesian ancestry and language among Melanesian descendants in the Pacific. An increasingly important status criteria for migrant Samoans will be Melanesian ancestry, particularly, among those who maintain contact with and have retained some knowledge of Pidgin. Among

the Polynesians, speaking only one language (whether Samoan, Tongan or whatever) will no longer be prestigious but considered too restrictive.

3. Fa'asamoa

The term fa'asamoa, fakasamoa, or the Samoan way appears frequently in almost all studies concerning Samoa. Its broad and deep meaning escapes simple definition largely because it is pervasive, situational and subject to adaptation. Fa'a Samoa is literally, 'the Samoan way', but in practice, it is "the way of Samoans". There is a significant difference. "The Samoan way" would imply that this is a pattern of behaviour characteristic of Samoans, which indeed it is, but in the unlikely event of it being adopted by another community outside of Samoa, it would still not be fa'a Samoa in its fullest sense. Moreover, as the behaviour of Samoans changes - as it continues to do - the fa'a Samoa, which is simply a term which summarises behaviour which Samoans recognise as characteristic of themselves, is thereby changed.⁴⁵ Fa'a Samoa, necessitates the Samoan language as distinctive behavioural characteristic and is a vital characteristic of Samoan cultural identity.

Fa'a Samoa, the way Samoans behave, is recorded by early European missionaries in Papua New Guinea as a characteristic mode of reaction among the Samoan missionaries to certain demands and loyalties incompatible with any other way known as fa'a Samoa.⁴⁶ A historian of the LMS noted that "not all Samoan

missionaries made good, and there were periods when it was feared that failure would occur not only for reason of the difficulties and temptations that beset all missionary work, and to which Europeans have succumbed, but on account of characteristics peculiarly Samoan". He refers specifically to the fa'a Samoa as "an unwritten body of tradition but chiefly, it refers to something still more subtle and indefinable; a characteristic mode of reaction to certain demands and challenges, the persistence of ancient loyalties, standards and beliefs which remain incompatible with any other way".⁴⁷ This same characteristic mode of reaction led W G Lawes of Papua New Guinea, to advise the Samoan District Committee that he was considering returning all his Samoan helpers on account of characteristics in which he included 'suppishness' as the most offensive. Seven years later, W E Goward of the Gilbert Islands relieved his feelings in the following protest:

Hard work is a degradation. Eating, speechifying, sleeping, magnifying office and attending to functions, these are placed first. Samoans are not honest and conscientious to that degree which should obtain with native Christian ministers. They are not zealous but lazy. No man dare be true to that which is best in him. He is a slave of fa'a Samoa, one of a clique.⁴⁸

Among other things such as attending celebrations, opening clubs, conferences, parliaments, commemorating anniversaries of social-political events, these are considered the most

prestigious activities in the fa'a Samoa. In the Suva mission, the two essential elements: language among a large populace and land for maintaining fa'a Samoa, are lacking. The Suva Samoan mission in trying to maintain these traditions acquires for them an identity among a multicultural setting is inclined to cater more and more to the Samoans from Samoa and less and less to the Fiji Samoans. As temporary workers in Fiji they rely for promotion and trips on the Samoan church headquarters and are reminiscent of the former European colonial administrators who saw an island posting as a stepping stone to further promotion back home.

If fa'a Samoa is seen as the way Samoans, whoever they may be, behave, rather than a mythical characteristic peculiar to the Samoans, then the concept can be defined more clearly.

It is perhaps not so surprising that the Samoan church is characterised by the assimilation of religious doctrines into Samoan idiom rather than indoctrinating Samoans into christian principles. The church became more and more Samoan while the Samoans became more and more westernised.

3.1.Fa'a Samoa, the language

The missionaries, in contrast to colonial rulers, were perhaps the first to recognise that learning the language was the key to getting the christian message across. Getting the colonised to learn the colonisers' language reinforced colonial rule. According to Langi, the main obstacle faced by the Samoan

LMS missionaries in Rotuma appeared to be the lack of communication through the Samoan missionaries not knowing Rotuman and the Rotuman not knowing Samoan. Nor is there much similarity between the two languages. Samoan missionaries failed to make any Rotuman converts, apart from two Samoans, because they failed to learn Rotuman. Considerable headway was made by the early Samoan missionaries in Tuvalu, because Samoan was similar to Tuvaluan, and in Kiribati and Papua New Guinea because they learned Kiribati and the Papuan lingua franca, Motu.

In Fiji, very few Samoan missionaries have learnt Bauan or Hindi. Church services in Levuka were conducted in the Samoan language. From the 1930s, a crucial factor in the appointment of Samoan faife'au to the Suva mission outpost was their ability to command the English language. But by the mid 1950s, while the congregation remained Samoan in outlook, the services were conducted for a much wider community focus. The services were conducted in Tuvalu, Kiribati, English and Samoan, the languages communities of the LMS sphere of influence.

Loloaso Wightman and Mine are remembered well by the elderly Samoans because of their usage of different languages. Both Samoan and English were used in church services and facilitated communication across a greater number of family members and led to greater understanding and cooperation. Also remembered well are Saua and Fiaola. Saua had served in Tuvalu and Kiribati in the early 1950s and because of his fluency in Tuvaluan, I-Kiribati, Samoan, Fijian and English, he proved to be an

effective pastor among all these language communities in Suva as well as the Samoans and Tuvaluans in Veisari. Saua's wife was part Fijian from Bau and solicited assistance from Fijian families in building a second church in 1953. Fiaola, the Tuvaluan faife'au from Nanumea conducted services in Samoan, Tuvaluan, Kiribati and English. He was born in Nanumea, Tuvalu, graduated from the Malua Theological college in Samoa and from 1946 to 1953 he and his wife worked as missionaries in Saroa Hatch, Dagona and Dirinomu in Papua New Guinea. He spoke fluent Motu. He returned in 1953 to Veisari, Fiji, and with his wife Fa'amuli served in the Samoan Suva church in the early 1960s in between Saua and Maeli. Fiaola's father had served in the Fijian police force at the turn of the twentieth century and bought land about 7 miles outside Suva in Veisari.⁴⁹

Today, Samoan is the sole language of church services. Since the majority attending are expatriate Samoans in employment or studying in Suva, this is natural. More importantly, the faife'au is appointed from Samoa and, until recently, is not in touch with Fiji resident Samoans except for a small few. While the regular Sunday services are conducted in Samoan, the Radio Fiji broadcast services contain a mixture of Samoan and English. The hymns are in Samoan but the reading and sermon is in English. This is natural in the national broadcast for Fiji. But it is not practiced in the normal church service. With their Samoan friends, students from other Island countries with the LMS tradition sometime attend with natural curiosity to learn of the

Samoan LMS mission outpost in Suva. However, with the services almost totally in Samoan, there is little cultural or religious room for them and so many turn to the neighbouring Presbyterian church which is the closest church with English as the spoken language.

The Fiji - Samoan resident community at the mission outpost church in Naiqaqi face's an uphill task to retain the Samoan language. With irregular ties back in Samoa, there is little opportunity to learn the language in Fiji and most have little connection with Samoan official circles in church and government. Among the Fiji Samoans, Samoan is no longer a universal language in their homes. All are bilingual, including those born in Samoa but who have lived in Suva continuously for years. Furthermore, many have lost the ability to communicate effectively in the formal Samoan language and feel inadequate in church conferences and meetings with visiting church officials.

4. Will the Samoan language survive in Fiji?

The extensive battery of studies on resettled Islands communities undertaken by the US based Oregon University team unfortunately took little interest in migrant languages as a major area of investigation. One assumes that the languages of the home country will inevitably be replaced by the host languages. The studies found that the language of instruction in the educational curriculum was that of the host community.²⁰

A significant factor in language maintenance is the

relationship between power and language, specifically the extent to which a language is used by the power elite. When in 1492 the Spanish queen was presented with a copy of the first grammar book on any modern European language, language was stressed as 'the perfect instrument of empires'.⁵¹ One cannot divorce language from people. It is easier to oppress people using the medium of their language.⁵²

This single power factor has a bearing on the survival of any language. The Rarotongan ancestor Karika (Ari'a in Samoan) was reputed to have originated from Manu'a, as the deposed Tui Manu'a, Samoa about 1200 A.D. and landed in Rarotonga.⁵³ During the ensuing struggle for power, the Samoans were swamped by migrants from Raiatea and earlier Marquesan settlers. This particular oral tradition is confirmed by the archaeological records. The Samoans were absorbed and their language subordinated. Had the Samoans been successful, current Cook Island Maori language would have borne the imprint of this Samoan migration.

Without power, resources and limited contact back home, the languages of small Pacific Island migrant speech communities tend to die out. Even in the relatively insulated Island speech communities of Kioa and Rabi, the new generations are using their own languages less and the dominant languages of Fiji more, especially English, Fijian and to a small extent Hindustani as there are Indians in that part of Fiji, and Indians do not have significant power.

The Tongan migrant community in Lau has maintained its language because of its close and continuous association with both Fiji's power structure and Tonga. Having transplanted their leadership, culture and language into Lau, Tongan is reinforced by church and mission teachings with a Tongan minister regularly appointed from the Methodist Church of Tonga. In contrast to the other population sections of Fiji, the Lauans wield overwhelming influence in terms of education, government appointments in proportion to their size. About 5% of the population are Lauans but until April 1987, they dominated the cabinet, permanent secretaries, ambassadorial posts and other senior civil service posts. In terms of a special fund set aside for ethnic Fijian education, it has been alleged that 'Lau was getting more than its fair share of a special fund set aside for Fijian Education'.⁵⁴ Between 1984-86, Lau received \$1,348,942.23. A breakdown of scholarships funds showed that Lau used up \$528,099 compared to Serua \$11,415, Namosi \$6,932, Bua \$51,913, Ra \$52,036 and Macuata \$53,205. Every Member of Parliament whether Fijian, Indian, General Electorates or the national seats, from the Lau/Rotuman/Cakaudrove constituency, have been in Cabinet. For the Fijian communal seats, Jonati Mavoia and Filipe Bole, for the Indian communal seats, Vijay Singh and Ahmed Ali, and for the General Electorates seats, Edward Beddoes and now Charles Walker for the 1987 election. The mixed ancestry of these politicians include Tongan and Samoan, European and Indian.

Since the creation of the Tui Lau by the Tongan Henele

Ma'afu, the titleholders have included Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna and Ratu Talanoa, both of whom were also Land Commissioners. The current titleholder, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, also originate from this migrant Tongan community and was Fiji's Prime Minister for 17 years. Both of his deputy Prime Ministers, until April 1987, were related either by blood or by marriage to the Tui Lau as former Prime Minister, one is a brother-in-law and the other is a son of junior chief from the former Prime Minister's village. Ratu Mara and Charles Walker, another very senior cabinet minister (who has previously acted as Prime Minister) are first cousins; their mothers are sisters from Sawana, Vanuabalavu.

In regional affairs, the appointments of Pacific Islanders to a supposedly regional institution such as the Pacific Island Development Program at the East-West Center have all come from the Lauan constituency; Macu Salato, James Makasiale and Filipe Bole.

Among the resettled Samoans in Fiji, formal community gatherings are held in Samoan interspersed with English and to some extent Fijian. A Co-ordinating Committee, consisting of migrant and first generation Fiji born Samoans, function as the formal organisational arm of the widely scattered community in Suva. Its constitution, business and record keeping and proceedings are conducted in Samoan. English is used for concepts that are not adequately expressed in Samoan and then back to Samoan. While the parents speak Samoan among themselves, very few speak it to their children, speaking instead English, Fijian and

Samoan in that order. In the Samoan community in Wailekutu, successive generations of Samoans do not speak Samoan nor do their parents actively encourage them to use it. All have resorted to either English or Fijian, (or both) and one family uses Tongan. Schooling is all in English, Fijian or Hindi; radio likewise (very few listen to broadcasts from Samoa). There are no newspapers, films, videos or books in Samoan, and there are very few other Samoans in the wider community to practice on.

With minimal Fiji-Samoa contact (the most recent visit to Western Samoa by a Wailekutu Samoan was through Leauli, a first generation Samoan who died early in 1986) the speakers consist mainly of Samoans studying or working in Fiji (the Pacific Seminary and Theological College, the University of the South Pacific and the Fiji Medical School in Suva), all of whom are fluent English speakers. The only setting for formal Samoan is the Samoan Congregational church in Suva. The Samoan appointed faife'au, usually for a three year term, has always been either a graduate of the Malua Theological College or the Pacific Theological College. Samoan is used in all services, Sunday Schools (when available) and congregational meetings. Over the years, the number of Sunday services was reduced to one hour morning service every Sunday, mainly on account of declining church attendance. A distinct feeling of inferiority is associated with local Samoans. Compared to the transient Samoans, the migrant and early generation Samoans are inferior in terms of Samoan and European education, employment, and social mobility.

This is reflected too in the lack of fluency in the 'high' chiefly language of Samoan ceremony. Social distance is also reflected in the fact that the transient Samoans dominate church offices, discussions of local policy and administration and maintain contact with the church headquarters in Samoa. Samoan is the language of policy, preaching, instruction and power in Samoa. The church constitution, annual general assembly and parliamentary debates, minutes and records are kept in Samoan. It is therefore in their interest as transient Samoans (who have to return someday to Samoa) in Fiji to retain the Samoan language. But not so for the Fiji-Samoans. In Fiji, Samoan is not an official language. The linkages to education, government, goods and services and mass media is through English, Bauan Fijian and Hindustani, the languages in which their future lies.

The experience of other minority languages is instructive for Samoan. The 'Wai' language of the North Malaitan Solomon Islanders is no longer used for everyday communication and is almost extinct in Fiji because it is underused.⁵⁵ While the parents may speak the dying language to each other, they do not to their children.⁵⁶ The Tuvaluan language of the Tuvaluan community in Veisari, Fiji⁵⁷ shares a similar fate, as well as, but to a lesser extent, the Tuvaluan language in Kiribati.⁵⁸ Many no longer regard the home country of their parents and grandparents as their home. Instead, they regard the adopted country as their home, being either born in the country, educated and employed and in many cases intermarrying with local people.

Opportunities can be easily perceived and achieved, but are doubtful about the home country of their parents.³⁹

In immigrant communities, the utility of the mother tongue is reduced and, therefore, it is often deliberately not transmitted to the children.⁴⁰ Children become 'semi-speakers' or imperfect speakers of a dying language. It is unlikely in the foreseeable future that the minority migrant language of Pacific migrant communities will be adopted as the national language of the host community (with the possible exception of French in New Caledonia, Indonesian in Irian Jaya or English everywhere). Moreover, with political independence, much effort is spent in developing the dominant local vernacular as the national language, in concert with the colonial language as the international language. Even in Lau where the migrant language is the spoken language of those closely associated with national power structures, this language is not the national language and will remain confined to one particular locality. But as power balances change, language interest in maintaining Tongan will change too.

5. Conclusion

Farb points out that the languages of the minority are 'scorned upon by those in power positions in establishing a national language'.⁴¹ Each speech community considers its own tongue superior to (or more useful) than its neighbours or the speech community it colonised. The strategy of oppression of

minority tongues by the state has not been totally successful. In fact, no nation on earth has achieved complete linguistic uniformity, nor is any likely to.⁴²

The most important factor in the survival of any language is power. Europeans were a minority group in the Pacific but because Britain was the world power then, English became the dominant language of all its colonies even after independence. Likewise, Tonga became the main language for the Lauans in Fiji owing to the close association of its speech community with the central power structure. But this is likely to change in the not too distant future. Tonga was for a hundred years the model as the only independent nation in the Pacific, prosperous, best educated population and most respected. None of these factors apply any more. And the Lauan hegemony in Fiji is likely to fade out in the 1990s, with the Tongan language in Lau becoming an unattractive anachronism. The young will not want to acquire it and it will fade into oblivion.⁴³

The dearth of Pacific Island studies of migrant languages is reflected in the social position of Pacific Island migrants in various host countries. While more studies are needed on the extent to which the home language is maintained in the host country, the few available show that a lot of the Pacific Island languages die off with the passing of the first migrants and replaced by the host language. The Report of the Conference on the Future of Pacific Languages recognised the need for undertaking surveys of language maintenance, teaching and programmes of

research under the control of indigenous people themselves.⁴⁴ And the question still needs to be asked, do we need 1,200 languages. If so, which and for what reason. The language of a small migrant community surrounded by a much more prestigious language and larger speech community will naturally die out. This is not altogether bad in a context where all significant powers and privileges are gained through the use of another language. Retention of an idiosyncratic minor language could lead to permanent marginalisation and subordinate status. There are considerable problems for the policy of multiple languages at home, let alone 'providing for the indigenous language needs of expatriate Pacific Island groups in the host country'.

Maintaining a migrant language can be beneficial for both the migrant and host communities. Greater freedom of movement between the original and host country in the languages of different speech communities. Dual citizenship for Tuvaluans and I-Kiribati, with common colonial history, and retention of land and property rights in each other's country has the great potential of maintaining the languages of both communities. Samoans, Niueans and Tokelauans living in New Zealand move freely between their original and adopted countries and there is less apparent significant loss of language fluency in the foreign environment.

The present efforts by independent Island nations to promote their indigenous languages are congruent with the need for national identities, but not so unilaterally with national

development goals, which involves higher education, more mobility, international communications etc.

From a global perspective, all Oceanic languages are endangered species. Heinz Kloss argues that in the long run, most languages currently spoken by fewer than 50,000 speakers are 'doomed' because of the forces of urbanisation and communications networks favouring the stronger languages. This means that among the Pacific languages, only four Polynesian languages, namely Maori, Samoan, Tongan and Tahitian, including Fijian, which is closely related to the Polynesian languages, have a fighting chance of survival in the modern world.⁴² But that is Samoan in Samoa. It's survival chance among Fiji-Samoans seems short-term at best.

Notes

1. Goldman 1970:xxiii.

2. A.A. Moles, Recherche, Pedagogic et Culture, No.28, April, 1977:28, quoted in The UNESCO Press. 'Some Regional Experience', Cultural Development, 1981:42-43.

3. Davidson and Scarr 1978; also Lessin and Lessin 1970.

4. pers. comm. Crowley letter of August 1986.

5. pers. comm. Christine Teinnang and Maraea Alexander, USP December 1986.

6. Siegel 1986.

7. Howard in Lieber (ed) 1977.

8. Yee-Ting n.d.

9. Ibid.

10. Larson (1966) makes no mention of the Tikopian language.

- 11.pers. comm. Crocombe December 1986.
- 12.Ne'emias n.d. 'Tuvaluans in Kiribati', p.10.
- 13.Ibid:11.
- 14.Lieber et al. 1977.
- 15.Lieber 1977:53.
- 16.J Taitano, 'Report on the Conference Pacific Languages'. 1984:16.
- 17.PIM, December 1978, 53.
- 18.Tangatapoto 1984.
- 19.Ibid.
- 20.pers. comm. Crocombe, December 1986.
- 21.McCall, Grant, 'Easter Island, a de-mystified dot on the tourists' map', in PIM, March 1978, p.15.
- 22.McCall in PIM, March 1978, p.17.
- 23.Ne'emias, Ibid,6.
- 24.pers. comm. Sipili Molia November 1986.
- 25.Ne'emias, n.d. Ibid.
- 26.Fonua 1987.
- 27.Moore 1986.
- 28.Report of the Conference Pacific Languages: Directions for the Future, 1984:22.
- 29.Media coverage in Maori and Pacific Island languages through New Zealand's radio and television is too recent a development to comment at this stage. (November 1987).
- 30.New Zealand Herald, 'Bilingualism Call', 7 November 1987.
- 31.Moore 1986:303.
- 32.Alfred Capelle in the Report of the 1984 Conference in Vanuatu, p.14. Also Lyndon Conelius for Kosrae, p.15.
- 33.Benton 1982:90.
- 34.Bohannon, 1980:516. 'You Can't Do Nothing'.

35. Goldman 1970:xxiii.
36. Farb, Op cit, 139.
37. pers. comm. Siegel, December 1986.
38. Crocombe 1983:40-1.
39. Moore 1986.
40. Ibid.
41. New words used in formal conversatoion include; aksikegi or asikegi for accident, kolo for call, and polo (stressed the o's) for promise.
42. Farb Op cit.
43. Farb Op cit, 140.
44. E Wolfers, pers. comm. September 1987.
45. Crocombe 1987:2, Fa'a Samoa, miscellaneous notes.
46. D Wetherell, "Pioneers and Patriarchs, Samoans in a Nonconformist mission district in Papua, 1890-1917", in JPH, Vol. 15, P. 3, 1980:130-54.
47. Norman Goodall, 1954:378-9. A History of the LMS, 1895 - 1945.
48. Ibid.
49. pers. comm. Fiaola Tekevei. 18 September 1987, Veisari.
50. Lieber et.al 1977.
51. Farb 1973:131.
52. Robert Underwwood, Chamorro in Guam in PIM, December 1978:53.
53. Maretu, Cannibals and Converts, Radical change in the Cook Islands, translated, annotated and edited by Marjorie Tuainakore Crocombe, 1983:85.
54. Fiji Times, 12 November 1986.
55. Siegel 1984:33.
56. Siegel 1984:1 also 1984:33 quoting Dorian.
57. Yee Ting, n.d. 'A Marooned Community : I-Kiribati in Veisari'. 9-11.

58. Ne'emias n.d.

59. Yee Ting, n.d.

60. Siegel, Op cit.

61. Farb 1973 See chapter on 'Linguistic Chauvinism', Word Play: What Happens When People Talk, Coronet Books. 131-154.

62. Farb 1973:133.

63. pers. comm. Crocombe.

64. Report of the Conference on Pacific Languages, pp.35-36.

65. Benton 1981:171. Quoting from Heinz Kloss's article 'Ten types of Language Planning' in B. P. Sibayan and A. B. Gonzales, ed, 1977.

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1. Building a Pacific community

Building a Pacific community is seen as the lifeblood of the Pacific and the world for the 21st century. In the Fiji Samoan community, I am trying to identify which aspects of life change in what way and due to what causes in the context of wider patterns of change in the region through a study of a small migrant community in a plural society.

According to Tokuyama, the Managing Director of the Tokyo based Nomura Research Institute, the 21st century will focus on the Pacific as a center of world economy and industry. Quoting Arnold Toynbee's history of civilisation he reminds us that a civilisation rises and falls in cycles of about 800 years, with the Occidental and Oriental taking turns. The Greek and Roman civilisations from the fourth century BC to the fifth century AD were followed by the Far Eastern civilisation that blossomed in the fifth to thirteenth centuries. The succeeding European civilisation in the thirteenth to twentieth centuries is in turn to be followed by the Asian civilisation in the twenty-first to twenty-eighth century. Where the Pacific Islanders fit exactly in this scenario remains to be seen. Another reason lies in the historical consequences of changes in the world's economic prime movers after the Industrial revolution. The British period of 1775 to 1895 based on the steam engine and the Bessemer steelmaking process was replaced by advanced technology such as cars, aircrafts and computers of the American century.¹ The coming Pacific century will be based on advanced electronic

communications and '... if we see the present as a stage towards the emerging globalism, the concept of the Pacific century will become clearer'.² Japan's Prime Minister stated that the two major civilisations represented in the world today are the Occidental and the Oriental.³ History shows that different civilisations attract each other, and come closer together, just as in physics positive electric charges repulse each other but positive and negative charges attract each other. The 21st century he believes will be a grand and romantic stage focussing on the Pacific for enactment of the great drama of creating a new world-civilisation through the convergence of these two civilisations.⁴ If present trends continue, it is clear that the multinationals will play a dominant role in the Pacific. Separating the national and regional interest from global interests will need careful monitoring with the frenetic flow of people, goods, capital and technology.⁵

The role of Pacific Islanders in this grand global design and the extent to which their future will be shaped and indeed dominated by emerging globalism has yet to be defined precisely. The longer the defining process takes the less likely they are to benefit. The biggest benefactors will be the industrial countries, in particular Asia and Japan.

Case studies of migrant communities point to the existence of Pacific communities and this study argues that the development these intra-Pacific ties can be seen as part of the rebuilding effort. A Pacific Community has been in existence for at least

two and half thousand years but the ties which bind it together are shaped the modern realities of Pacific societies.

The Marxist view insults the intelligence of Pacific islanders by merely restating the obvious. To say that the world is divided on the basis of property, privilege and class is simplistic. To some degree it is. No one denies this, least of all the have nots. Even among them, there is a keen competition to have, to hold and to own. There is also the aristocratic poor. Being without is the essential motivation to acquire. The rich see the poor and not themselves, as the problem. The rich are just as much the problem as well as the condition of the poor. If by culture is meant 'systems of meanings embodied in symbols', then surely, every effort must be made to decentralise these systems of meanings to the marginalised, the isolated and the poor. A Marxian interpretation/analysis prevents work by those who can do something about it as well as keeping the structures of higher education inaccessible.

The Pacific islands can make a useful contribution first to themselves and to the global community in distinctive lifestyles, ideas for co-operation, development, peace and unity in the midst of diversity. The expected shift of the world's economic base in the next century from Europe to the Asia and Pacific oceanic region enhances the region's opportunities in the wider global economic polity. Techniques ensuring that their participation is more than mere gatekeepers has yet to be worked out. Some indication of the ways these alternatives might take can be seen

in the ways in which communities within communities in the Pacific relate to one another. The case of the Samoans in Fiji is a case in point.

Samoans have adapted themselves in Fiji at the expense of their distinctive fa'a Samoan culture and language. They have adopted ways of life predominant in Fiji identifying and maintaining selected behaviours and symbols which they perceive as being important to their Samoan identity. Recent events in Fiji have heightened Samoans' awareness of their status as a minority within a plural society which is undergoing rapid change. It has provided both opportunity and motive to review and consider various options available to them. This chapter outlines some future options available to the Samoans in Fiji as Fiji citizens.

2. Pacific Island migrants and party politics

The political platform of the Alliance Party professed multi-racial and multi-cultural policies. Membership and leadership were drawn overwhelmingly from the Fijian ethnic group. While the party professed, multi-racial and multi-cultural policies and image, its strongest stand was for the paramountcy of the Fijian interests, in terms of land, education sponsorship and business opportunities. A platform that remained silent for 'others', in particular, the other Pacific Islands migrant communities, whose only citizenship right is a vote. During national elections, almost all tend to vote for the Fijian

dominated Alliance Party; the reason being the only alternative have been the Indian dominated National Federation party and the ethnically chauvinistic Fijian Nationalist party. The surviving Samoan household heads are registered as General Electors but are not party membership.

One of the routes out of this tangle is education, to loosen cultural constraints, modify attitudes facilitating greater social mobility, job satisfaction and more different perceptions of identity and interests.⁶

In plural societies such as Fiji, to identify completely and solely with any one ethnic group is a step backward. One denies oneself an ideal opportunity, indeed, the obligation, to discover the common and universal denominators from multiple origins.

As political power is transferred to independent Island nations, the prestigious foreign ethnic elements, mainly European, are replaced by a new amalgam of incorporated ethnic elements. Europeans and to some extent the Asians (the Fiji-Indians in particular) are reassessing their identity as Pacific Islanders.⁷ Irrespective of ethnic origin, it is a question common to all, indigenous and non-indigenous Pacific Islanders. As a common heritage, we all live in and are sustained by the Pacific.

A Pacific identity, however defined, constitutes an imprecise and flexible term. It includes aspects of the original indigenous cultures, elements drawn from the brief colonial background, and what constitutes the local, national and regional

'self' of a Pacific islander. To what extent and by what criteria are European and Asian residents Pacific Islanders? Of equal significance and relevance is, to what extent are Pacific Islanders European or Asians? In the Pacific from Fiji and elsewhere, most Pacific Islanders are partly so genetically, and all are to a significant degree culturally.

2.1. Toward a national identity: primary/secondary/tertiary identities

Why can't Fiji born children identify and integrate with the land of their birth irrespective of the ancestry of their parents and grandparents? The basic criterion of ethnicity, residence and birth are all there but the 17 year old, now abandoned, constitution has failed to establish a common identity. Key Fijian customary practices and language unified the different interests of indigenous Fijians. I submit that if the indigenous Fijians can practice this on themselves, custom obligates it for the others. The Constitutional Review Committee (August 1987) was urged to formulate a constitutional policy to promote a distinct national identity to integrate all citizens of Fiji. But in practice it is unlikely, in fact the majority report recommended widening the gaps. Where the old constitution said anyone born in Fiji whose ancestry was from any part of Polynesia, Melanesia or Micronesia was Fijian, the new recommendation is that this criterion be scrapped and that only those of direct Fijian descent in the land owning units, and registered in a clan's

land, be accepted as Fijians.

Samoan communities show they generally value the Samoan link but as a secondary or even tertiary ethnic identity. Some elements of Samoan identity are still maintained despite the dilution of their Samoan 'genes' through intermarriage. The Samoan Congregational mission outpost, the Catholic Church, the Wailekutu community, the Mother's Fellowship and the planned formation of the Fiji-Samoan Association are all elements of Samoan identity which may strengthen now that Fijian nationalism is asserting itself so strongly.

3. Constitutional inadequacies on a national identity

A common national name and identity for Fiji citizens has been debated ever since independence in 1970. Sixteen years later, the then Prime Minister Ratu Mara stated that Fiji is without a face, as many, like him, originate from multiple ancestry and cannot completely identify as Fijians.² But this perhaps rhetoric, he is very representative of the modern Fijian in this way.

The Fiji Times summed up the debate well:

There is, and always has been, a good case for a common national name.... Just as the Dutch, Indians, Chinese, Vietnamese, Arabs, Jews, Russians and Patagonians living in the United States are all Americans, so must we in Fiji aspire toward a common unifying name.³

The issue was so totally opposed by the Fijian Great Council

of Chiefs, who said that such a move would mean immediate civil war. The Labour Party adopted a similar position in 1986, but, the Alliance Party, in view of its serious rebuff 15 years earlier reversed Mara's earlier stand by stating that Fiji citizens should retain their indigenous identities, as Fijians, Indians, Europeans, part-Europeans, Rotumans, Chinese, Banabans, Tuvaluans, Samoans, Tongans and others within the nation of Fiji.

With independence in 1970, the key to nation building in Fiji focussed on developing the three senses of the self; self respect, self confidence and self identity. It was popularly assumed that a national identity would emerge through the constitution. Over 17 years, the now abandoned constitution has failed to cast a die for a common national identity for all its citizens. Belonging or identifying with the land and people is an issue that can be appreciated at two levels. Firstly, at the national level as a country and at the racial level as ethnic grouping. Choosing the criteria for citizenship at the national level is fairly straightforward. One applies after fulfilling the residential requirements, or if a women, marry the sex that is not discriminated against in the citizenship clause of the constitution, usually the male.

Citizenship at the ethnic Fijian level is not so straightforward. Citizenship is qualified along the male line. The foreign wife of a male Fiji citizen is allowed citizenship and is referred to as a Fijian. Their children are generally recognised as indigenous Fijians and may inherit rights to their

father's village land; but not so for a Fijian women who marries out.

The Fijian constitution, has forged a national identity for the different sections of indigenous Fijians but not for the other races. For example, if a European, Tongan, Samoan or Chinese male has a child from his indigenous Fijian wife, is the child a Fijian? Citizen, yes, indigenous Fijian, no.¹⁰ Is the child, a Fiji citizen, then an indigenous European, Tongan, Samoan or Chinese?. No.¹¹ From the child's point of view, why should he identify as an indigenous Fijian or a European, Tongan, Samoan or Chinese?.

The Fijian customary practices have given a sense of national identity for the indigenous Fijians. The same customary practices can show us a way of integrating the other races into a distinct national identity. While the opportunity was there for the Constitutional Review Committee, this possibility was rejected. Even the Minority Report did not, for it merely asked for the return to the 1970 constitution.

4.The strength of customary practices

The 1986 debate over a distinct national identity clearly showed a Fijian sense of ambivalence about the authenticity of an indigenous Fijian. In other words, who is an indigenous Fijian?.

It is documented that the term Fijian originated from a Tongan mis-pronunciation. In Tonga, Captain Cook enquired about the origin of the 'dark skinned Melanesians'. His Tongan hosts

informed him, from 'Fisi' or Feejee. Cook literally translated this term to Feejee, and presto, Fiji. These 'Fijians' included Tongans and Samoans in Lau and across Vanua Levu. Their maritime expertise were predisposed to warring Fijian parties. They introduced some of Fiji's finest material culture and through handsome intermarriages, produced some of Fiji's modern statesmen in Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna, Ratu Sir Edward Cakobau and Hon. Jonati Mavoa. 'Fijian' ethnicity like all other Pacific societies is imbedded in both blood and land. Through time this 'Fijian' identity encapsulated, for some purposes but not for others, all people living in Fiji including Tongans and Samoans. After colonial rule, today it includes Rotumans, Rabi, Kioa islanders, Wallisians and Futunans. There are probably 10,000 or more people of Samoan ancestry alone with similar numbers for Tongans and other Pacific islanders in Fiji.

4.1.Samoan land rights in Fiji

Oral traditions of Rotuma and Waya in the Yasawa Islands suggest initial colonisation from Samoa establishing what probably constituted the first form of Samoan land rights in Rotuma and Fiji. Secondly, through personal friendship of Manono and Lauan chiefs, land rights were granted to Samoans and their descendants in Lakeba. This soon spread into other parts of Fiji when local chiefs took advantage of Samoan naval craftsmanship in their bid for political supremacy during Fijian civil wars. Thirdly, land rights were acquired by Fijians of Samoan ancestry

through marriage to Samoan women. In Bau, Ratu Etuate Wainiu, a grandson of Ratu Seru Cakobau, the Vunivalu of Bau, and Ratu David George Toganivalu, of the masau clan, chose Samoan wives.

In recent times, Samoans have purchased freehold land. The Samoan Congregational Christian church, as the London Missionary Society, in 1903 purchased land in Naiqaqi, Suva for its mission outpost in Fiji. In 1958, a group of Samoan migrants living on Catholic land in Navesi, 10 miles, purchased 11 acres of freehold land in Wailekutu, Lami. Many individual Fiji-Samoan descendants as Fiji citizens with private local interests have acquired either freehold or leasehold land in all parts of Fiji.

Like other living organisms, migrant communities including the Fiji Samoans need food and shelter, money, property, and self esteem. Their pattern of behaviour and social organisation is the result of competing precedents and perceptions between the home and host country. In many instances the contest between these perceptions, as expressed in social and cultural terms inhibits growth and forces them into subordinate relationships within the host country.

Thus, there is little gain in retaining a Samoan ethnic identity in the face of a dominant Fijian cultural tradition when the non Fijian ethnic elements despite cultural similarity is not recognised in the constitution. People of Fiji Samoan ancestry not only face cultural obliteration but also constitutional stultification. Ways of effectively untangling the bind has yet to be found. One immediate option is to pursue their interests

through constitutional measures not so much as ethnic Samoans but as Fiji citizens.

5.Fiji Samoan Association

Suva has become both by design and by accident, the base for many organisations whose primary purpose is to serve the South Pacific countries in a broad spectrum of areas.¹² The heavy traffic from Samoa has increased Samoan awareness and identity among the Fiji Samoan community with Samoa. Various calls have been expressed on the need for a national body to amalgamate the different branches associated with Samoa.

In Wailekutu for instance, as a result of frequent student visits from the Pacific Regional Seminary, the University of the South Pacific and other centers of higher learning, as well as visiting sport teams, the need has been expressed more frequently at its community meetings.¹³ Matters of general interest to all Fiji Samoans, such as the entertainment of visiting Samoans and sport teams, are usually organised by individuals or a particular group of Samoans. The Samoan Suva community, the Mothers Fellowship and the Wailekutu community have agreed to meet to form the association.

The name of the association must be simple, clear and without confusion. The name must acknowledge the land and country of birth of its members, upon which they live and depend for their daily livelihood. This country is Fiji. The name must also identify the main element uniting all its members. This is its

common heritage, which is Samoa, meaning both Western and American Samoa.

The name Fiji Samoa Association conveys a meaning associated with Fiji as a whole and all those of Samoan ancestry living in Fiji. I think all of us are proud, not only for the fact that we are associated with Samoa and being called Samoans but equally for also being called Fijians. Fijians, not necessarily because our parents and grandparenst are ethnic Fijians but that for most of us, Fiji is the country of our birth, upbringing, association, education and employment, marriage and that of our children. We believed in it as a country holding the future of our children and grandchildren. We are, in this special sense, then neither completely Samoans nor completely Fijians. We are in a unique category. We are both Samoan and Fijian with an inborn capacity to identify with both Samoa and Fiji. We are Fiji Samoans and there is nothing to be ashamed about. For example, when we watch a rugby match between Samoa and Fiji, no one really gets upset as to who wins. What matters is that both sides maintains good relations on and off the field. And may the better side win. And whoever the better side is determined not on blood, but on skills, fitness and confidence. For whether it is a Fijian or Samoan side, it is still the same blood found elsewhere.

The name Fiji Samoan Association thus recognises people of Samoan ancestry born either in Samoa or Fiji and living in Fiji, and has the potential to facilitate cooperation at the international level between Fiji and the two Samoas.

To call it the Samoan Association in Fiji would imply the exclusion of other races and the downplay of a much wider potential that the association can harness in bringing about mutual cooperation at an international level.

5.1. Structure of the Association

The constitution was prepared with the aim of assisting the Fiji Samoan Community unite and control its affairs at a national level. The Fiji Samoan Association will be concerned with pooling community resources, maintaining social exchange and communication with each other for the mutual welfare of all its members. The principle aims are to foster unity and cooperation, bring about better understanding and community co-operation through personal contact, community and social/cultural and sporting activities, promote the interests of members through community development projects, by debating and pronouncing an opinion on any matter concerning the educational, social, economic and political welfare of its members and, if need be, present a united submission to the Government of Fiji.

Two options are under immediate consideration for the initial formation of the association;

OPTION 1

Based on existing structure but extended to include all major organised branches of Samoan organisations. The existing structure of the Samoan Community Committee should be extended to

include other branches of other Samoan organisations and the name shall be changed to the National Council of the Fiji Samoan Association.

The Council shall include representatives of the Samoan Community in Wailekutu, the Samoan Mothers' Fellowship, the Samoan Catholic Community in Suva, the mission outpost of the Samoan Congregation Christian Church, the 'Aiga a staff at the University of the South Pacific, the Samoan Students Association at the University of the South Pacific, Pacific Regional Seminary, Pacific Theological College, Telecommunication Training Center, Fiji School of Medicine, Fiji Institute of Technology, South Pacific Commission, Fiji Forestry Training Centre and other tertiary organisations.

Membership on the National executive shall be chosen from the Presidents of these organisations. The president of the national body shall be rotated among the presidents of these organisations in alphabetical order. A simple working constitution can be agreed upon to see if the organisation works over the next 6 months after which time another meeting shall be called to review the situation.

Meetings should be bimonthly and a quorum set at the third of the national body. The council shall decide on the system of annual meetings, budget arrangements and a fundraising strategy.

OPTION 2

The other alternative is to form a completely new

association. This would involve a meeting of all Samoans in Fiji and drawing up of a constitution, and electing office bearers.

6.Fiji-Western Samoa foreign relations

Fiji has generally been seen to dominate Pacific regional cooperation. This is viewed with much resentment by Pacific leaders, particularly the younger statesmen. (Note Tupuola's government stand on refusing accreditation to foreign embassies located in Fiji)

Fiji, particularly in Suva, has over the years, both by design and by accident, become the location for over 80 years of regional and international organisations whose primary purpose is to serve the needs of the South Pacific countries in a broad spectrum of areas. These include the South Pacific Bureau for Economic Development (SPEC), the secretarial arm of the South Pacific Forum for all Pacific heads of government (incorporating new bodies such as the EEC/ACP office), the Community Education Training Center of the South Pacific Commission, the South Pacific Board for Educational Assessment, the University of the South Pacific, the Pacific Tourism Council, the Pacific Island Chambers of Commerce, the Regional Weather office in Nadi, most of whom receive financial support from Western Samoa. Samoan students attend the Pacific Theological college, Fiji School of Medicine, the Pacific Telecommunication Centre, the Pacific Regional Seminary, Fulton College, the Fiji Technical Institute, and so on, all of which are within close proximity to Suva.

Many international agencies have their Pacific regional headquarters in Suva; the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Fund for Population activities, the Pacific Regional Advisory Service, EEC, ILO, WHO, CCOP-SOPAC, and so on. Many countries are represented in the Pacific region through a Suva office; the USA, India, Malaysia, Papua New Guinea, Tuvalu, United Kingdom, China, France, as well as Nauru, Tuvalu and Japan. Kiribati is negotiating with Fiji government for a Mission in Suva.

6.1.Costs and benefits

The central position of Fiji in the South Pacific and its relatively easy accessibility to other Pacific capitals, together with the location of regional/international organisations on its soil makes it a logical host for a number of important regional/international meetings. Major agreements signed between members of the South Pacific Forum and major donors are sometimes channelled through the Forum Secretariat in Suva. The breakdown, implementation and distribution of member shares are executed in Suva's many conference venues. These attract not only potential investors and bankers, but more importantly, the bankers of information. Much of the overseas impression of the Pacific region are based on contacts and information gathered from Suva.

6.2.Missionary outpost and a diplomatic office

Relations between Fiji and Western Samoa are intimate, often

highly personalised, but not necessarily uniformly friendly and are of primary significance to Western Samoa. The intimacy arises more from history, culture and communications, including the movement and intermarriage of private persons, more than formal, inter-governmental relations. The significance to Western Samoa of relations with Fiji and the absence of a foreign mission in Fiji owes quite a deal to the intimacy of personal rather than official relations. Fiji also has a Roving Ambassador to the Forum countries.

Before the military coup of May 14, a Suva mission would be in Western Samoa's long term interests than a Fiji mission in Western Samoa. The missions main purpose would be to take advantage of the presence in Fiji of the number of regional/international institutions in order to enhance Western Samoa's benefits from these organisations. Greater use should be made of Fiji Samoan residents in this regard. The Samoan migrant community in Fiji would also benefit from direct access to these facilities, first as a migrant community without the advantages that normally accrue to Fijians, and secondly through useful contacts with Samoa establish joint ventures of mutual cultural and commercial benefit to both migrant Samoans and to Western Samoa. One possible venture for consideration is the missionary outpost of the Congregational Christian Church and the Government to join forces in establishing a diplomatic office on the present church site with the government paying the church headquarter a rental fee for office space in Suva. A recommendation has been

made to this effect to Western Samoa's High Commissioner to Fiji; namely that 'the executive arms of the Congregational Church and the government of Western Samoa consider the immediate prospect of establishing a Diplomatic office in Fiji with the aim of enhancing the influence and services, useful information and other resources of use to the Samoans and with the view to utilising existing resources currently under-used in Suva'.¹⁴

7. Fiji Indian Samoans

While Samoans interaction is mainly with Fijians and other minorities, it also involves the Fiji Indians, who as an ethnic category, is the largest community in the Pacific. They outnumber the population of every Pacific country except Fiji, where they are the largest ethnic category, and Papua New Guinea, though Pacific Indians greatly outnumber any Papua New Guinean language group. The Indian communities tend to be skilled, active, innovative and ambitious. They have much to give and to gain.¹⁵ No perception of the Samoans in Fiji is at all adequate unless it contains an understanding of the present place and likely future role of the Indian communities in it.

According to Philips, Indian traders from Fiji seeking business opportunities in Western Samoa were discouraged both before and after independence in 1962 'to prevent racial tension and suspicion'.¹⁶ A more practical explanation is that both maintain negative opinions of each other, commonly based on different custom, diet, language and religion, with skin colour

added. The darker Indians from southern India are more prevalent in the Pacific than the fair northerners.

In Fiji, while Indians enjoy Fiji citizenship, they are not generally accepted by indigenous Fijians as Fijians or Fiji nationals. Overseas, Indians usually refer to themselves as Fijians or Fiji Indians. However, the minority mixed populations of Polynesian, Melanesian, Micronesian, European and Chinese origin are regarded by Fijians as Fijians but only to some degree and for some purposes. Implicit in this notion is the realisation that as long as they constitute a minority they pose minimal if any threat. 347,445 Indians comprising 48.6% of Fiji's population outnumber the indigenous Fijians.¹⁷ As Hindus, Muslim, Sikhs, Gujratis, many are farmers, particularly sugar cane growers, but an increasing number are in technical and professional roles.

Indians have not achieved significant political or military power in Fiji since they began arriving in 1879, partly because most of them came as unskilled workers and their preferred cultural isolation. Residential separation, occupational specialisation, different religions (most are Hindu, Moslem and a tiny minority are Christian), the use of Hindi and other languages, and their generally conscious wish to isolate themselves socially from Islanders, have led to the Indian communities being probably the most socially isolated in the Pacific.

Indian economic dominance and growing political influence is openly resented by Fijians. While Fiji Indians in isolated rural areas have absorbed much of the culture of their indigenous

neighbours, the more influential and economically powerful middle levels remain more focussed on Indian culture through the continuing inflow of it through films, video and radio programmes, publications and information direct from India. But the higher income and higher educated families are much more oriented to the West.

Inter marriages between Fijians and Indians are rare in comparison to incidence of Fijians and Indians inter marrying Europeans, Chinese, and other Pacific Islanders.

And distinguishing intermarriages by sexes, many times more Indian men marry Fijian women than vice versa. This generalised pattern appears in intermarriages between Indians and Samoans, all cases known to me being of Indian men marrying Samoan women. Of the total 17 households in the Wailekutu Samoan community, there are no Samoan/Indian intermarriages except in 2 related households, a father and son. The father's father is of Sinhalese/Dutch ancestry and mother a Samoan. The father married a Samoan and the son married a Fijian. In Levuka, Veisari and Suva, all known cases of Indian/Samoan intermarriages comprise Indian males and Samoan females. The Indian partners are not exclusively from any one particular Indian sector but are representative of the Indian community; Muslim (eg, Koya family), Christian-Hindus (eg, Rama-Edwards), Gujratis (Himmat and Chiman Lal) and Sri Lankan (Samuels and Lobendahn). The only known cases of Samoan males marrying Indian women are found at regional institutions of tertiary education. Five Samoan male students

studying in Fiji; two at the Fiji School of Medicine and three at the University of the South Pacific married Indian women. The FSM male graduates hold matai titles from the same village in Lefaga and their Fiji Indian wives are accorded the respect due to wives of matai, the faletua in line with the social rank pertaining to their husbands. Incidentally, all 5 Samoan males are from the district of A'ana. There are no Fiji Indian females attending Alafua campus of the University of the South Pacific, but two out of 12 Fiji Indian males graduating in the Bachelor of Agriculture programme from Alafua campus married Samoans.¹⁶

Genetically, Pacific Indians also form a diverse ethnic mix. But culturally, even though some would find the thought distasteful, their life style now has more in common with European culture than with Asian or any indigenous Pacific Island culture. Migrant Samoan communities are also patterning their lifestyles according to European culture and constitutions. While Fiji/Indian/Samoans have generally classified themselves as Pacific Islanders, together with the Fiji Samoa residents, they face the dilemma of cultural assimilation with the Fijians but educational and economic annihilation by the western constitution.

Soon after the Fiji coup d'etat on 14 May 1987, many Fiji Indian businessmen sought the possibility of migrating to Western Samoa and establishing businesses. The Western Samoa Government rejected them saying they had no provisions for 'refugees'.¹⁷ While the Government is naturally concerned with any future

ethnic polarisation, the Government need not be paranoid about Indians. Instead, the country as a whole can capitalise on much needed Indian business experience and expertise, on a simple quota system with an inbuilt review while giving much needed relief to a tense situation in Fiji of a people facing a problem not entirely of their creation.

Trade from Fiji to Samoa is significant, mainly in small local manufactures; biscuits, soaps etc, as well as sugar and cement. Trade from Samoa to Fiji is minimal, mainly 'ava and wine. But the middlemen are neither Fijian nor Samoan, but Indian traders and large international firm with branches in both places like Burns Philp and Carpenters.

In early 1987, the Western Samoa Government of Va'ai Kolone appointed a non-resident High Commissioner for Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, Tonga and Tuvalu. The announcement created a favourable impression among the Fiji Samoan Community and revived community ties with Samoa. The High Commissioner visited Fiji and presented his credentials to the Governor General of Fiji in March 1987. Understandably, because of high costs the High Commissioner operates from Apia. The effectiveness of an appointment based in Apia compared to the locally resident foreign diplomatic missions has been raised among the Fiji Samoan residents in contrast to locally resident foreign diplomats missions which are visible and accessible to the Government of Fiji and the Samoan Community for instant source of information.

This has prompted some senior members of the Community to suggest the appointment of a Consul General or Consul Officer as a local point to focus enquiries rather than to wait and see if the High Commissioner will return. If the Government is interested in cost saving, it would be worthwhile to utilise in a positive manner, Samoan personnel based at many of the regional organisations such as the University of the South Pacific, SPEC, the religious organisations as well as the countless local Samoans resident whose accumulated knowledge and local expertise through government, commerce, church and community service should be of intimate value to Government in deepening relations among its Pacific neighbours.

Notes

1. Macrae, Norman, associate editor of The Economist, quoted by Jiro Tokuyama in PIM, Sept, 1978, 43.
2. 'Pacific Century on the Way Up' in PIM, September 1978, p. 43.
3. Yasuhiro Nakasone in Ottawa on January 13, 1986 speaking on Japanese Canadian relations.
4. 'Prime Minister Nakasone Speaks on Pacific Cooperation' Pacific Cooperation Newsletter, Spring 1986, No. 8:6.
5. 'PECC Conference on Trade Policy II', Held in San Francisco, Conferences and Symposia, PECC Spring 1986, No. 8:3
6. Fiji Times 22 August 1986. Editorial.
7. R G Crocombe, 'Options for the Pacific's Largest Ethnic Community', in Pacific Indians, Profiles from 20 countries, the University of the South Pacific; also 'The Pan Pacific Person', in Pacific Perspective, Vol 12, No. 1, 1985.
8. Tourism Convention, Fiji Times, October 1986.
9. Fiji Times, 17 March 1986.

10. Fiji Sun, editorial 'Who is a Fijian?', 10 July 1987.
11. Letter by M P Williams on 'Indigenous Fijians', Fiji Sun, 11 July 1987.
12. Register of Regional Organisations, Institute of Pacific Studies, USP (2nd edition in press).
13. Minutes of Wailekutu meeting held on and 27 September 1987 and Minutes of Samoan Suva community held on August 1987.
14. Letter by author dated 21 March 1987, referred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
15. Crocombe et al, 1981. Pacific Indians.
16. Ibid.
17. Fiji Times, 9 October 1986.
18. USP Calendars, 1979 to 1982.
19. pers. comm. Samisoni Pareti of FBC, 15 October 1987.

Chapter 11 Conclusion

The observation that the patterns of mobility of a community only makes sense to us or to the community, in terms of larger systems, has been borne out in the case of the Samoans in Fiji. Community and social mobility focuses our attention on inter related levels between small and large systems in which movements of people occur. In addition to the neighbourhood, the village, town, city, district, island and region, special interest groupings are constantly recreated on such issues as ecology, language, health and the future etc. Each makes a difference in the history of a community insofar as it reflects relationships and linkages among multiple systems.

More questions are raised in this study. To what extent does the requirement of pulling together provide an opportunity to create a new cultural and social identity which transcends traditional sources of tension? To what extent does new identity generate new sources of interpersonal and intergroup tension.

Images of Pacific Community

Various claims has been postulated in creating images of Pacific unity. Mara's (1980) claim is that some shared cultural sub structure exists and provides the basis for Pacific communities. Hau'ofa's (1987) claim is that a shared regional economy provides the basis for a limited South Pacific Society which stratifies and thus divides societies. Kavaliku (1984) echoes the continuing tension between the ideals of national

independence and the broader concept of the Pacific Way.

Even if some community can exist in very general terms at a high level for political purposes, the day to day reality for most is a sense of identity which links people to family, village and nation before it links them to the Pacific Way. Objective and subjective dimensions of Pacific Way differ markedly. Even in relocated and resettled communities which have a more direct experience of Pacific Way, there is an attempt to construct and/or maintain an ethnic identity. Their experiences in resettled locations afford us a wonderful opportunity to study how identities change.

Just as one had to prove one's self righteousness, one also had to work equally hard to prove one's fallacious assumptions. On the basis of Samoan oral traditions, ancestral links between Samoa and Fiji can be simply joined through genealogies, but the rhetoric has been rebutted by realities of life. While the evidence of interest was certainly apparent, the contrasting sets of historical circumstances of relocation and resettlement had left its indelible mark on the present condition. Without understanding first the contrasting sets of historical circumstances, any action aimed at changing their conditions would be presumptuous and immature. We had all gotten acquainted through the Samoan concept of fa'a'aiga, to relate as a family. But the need to come to grips with the historical facts of life in Fiji and elsewhere, was equally important if not more so.

While oral traditions and genealogies may enhance our

understanding of peoples' pedigree, it forms only one tiny part of understanding people and their lives. The genetic admixture of Fiji Samoans ranges from the fully integrated in the cultural milieu of Waya in the Yasawa and Lau to more recent generations in Levuka, Lautoka, Navesi Sefulu Maila, Wailekutu and the greater Suva area. The contrasting historical facts in which people have lived out their lives are far more complicated than mere genealogies suggest. They are reflected in the interplay of fact and fiction; legends and myths, life experiences, family histories, documentation, current conditions, indirect connections through Tonga and other Pacific Islands, improvising with the languages of, and participating in the social events of dominant speech communities. In other words, it is identifying change over time, the past, present and future. And as realities changes so will identity. To the extent of perceived gains, the management of identity is the management of change.

The pervasive theme in this study is identity; identifying the many and changing facets of one's personal, social and cultural identities. In no other context is this brought out more clearly than in the circumstance of resettled and relocated communities. The identity issue is particularly revealing with the emergence of plural societies, known under various labels as multi-ethnic, multi-racial, multi-religious, and multi-cultural societies. Within such a context of multiple ancestry and conditioning, one does not have a singular face or identity. One has a multi faceted life. The problem is not identity itself, but

the management of one's multiple identities based on a wide range of traditional and emergent criteria. As people confront the common problem of identity management, loyalty to one set of identity often appears at variance with another form of identity.

The host community is the immediate source of power, political and economic. Maintaining ties with the home country thus becomes selective and restricted to specific purposes. Despite observing mutual cultural norms to both Fiji and Samoa, as a minority in the host community, there is little gain in retaining a Samoan ethnic identity. They are neither constitutionally recognised nor addressed in legislation. Many people of Fiji Samoan ancestry not only face short term cultural obliteration but also long term constitutional stultification. Ways of effectively unravelling the complicated mysteries between culture and constitution has yet to be found, even among the Fijians. The most viable option for the Samoans is to pursue their interests in the host community as citizens of Fiji as laid down by the law and the constitution. With their constitutional rights firmly understood, their multiple personal and cultural identities can be better utilised with confidence in modern Fiji. They will have achieved the degree of maturity which enables them to adapt to other influences, without losing their identities.

The links between movement and identity are complex. But they can be explained in terms of a person's multifaceted career. When one cannot reconcile one's history of identity, from the immediate past to the present and future, the more one is likely

to be torn among multiple and contrasting worlds. Both personal and cultural identity are important because they are interdependent variables. Among a migrant community, a cultural identity unites and symbolises common and familiar images. Failure to reconcile the old symbols of meanings with new ones in the host country leads to marginalisation and isolation of migrant communities such as Pacific Islanders as fringe dwellers.

The extent to which cultural and ancestral ties with the home country is maintained is related to the extent to which the migrants and the host community integrate their purposes into a common wield. Different types of resettlement - relocation or migration - can make a difference in the history of a community insofar as it implies that a certain relationship exists between the community and the larger system.¹ This forces us to focus our attention on the levels of larger systems in which movements of people occur; the neighbourhood, village, district, island, the nation and region; or the school, church and government.

The immediate and crucial question concerning their living conditions meant approaching head-on the question of land rights, trusteeship and leadership. All of which has enhanced mutual cooperation and confidence. While some of this started with key people poles apart, together we found a common way through it.

The extent of the researcher's involvement in the affairs of the community, like sport cannot be definitively delineated from politics. One check on this, is the researcher's personal integrity which, in theory ought to develop instructively with

study interests. Further studies, is another check particularly by those studied; to study themselves and build on what has begun with expanded opportunities and confidence.

Notes

1.M D Lieber, 'Conclusion: The Resettled Community and it's Context', in Lieber et. al., 1977:343.

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