

HISTORICAL *MAMANU*:
A RELATIONAL APPROACH TOWARDS THE
HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN SAMOA
BETWEEN 1830 AND 1900

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ABSTRACT

Before the arrival of the London Missionary Society in 1830, the pattern of education in Samoa was gained through traditional systems; these were informal processes whereby people acquired skills and knowledge from childhood onwards by a practical oriented and dialogical method. The memorising and observing were crucial skills in the Samoan traditional knowledge system in perpetuating and sustaining our *aganuu* (culture) values which are enacted and manifested in the *faasamoa* (way of doing things in life).

The establishment of schools in 1840's initiated by the London Missionary Society (LMS) made great changes to the Samoan traditional knowledge system. This study explores the introduction of 'formal education' by the missionaries from 1830 to 1900¹ using the Samoan concept of *mamano* (patterns or designs of an artwork) as a framework to navigate and highlight the historical issues pertaining to this dimension of the history of the LMS. Integral to this exploration is to interrogate and investigate potential contributing factors that were associated to the devaluing of the traditional knowledge system. Changes in the education paradigm concerning the mode of delivery, content of lessons and the rationale of education are the three main objectives of this undertaking.

The 'relational' nature of *mamano* as a method is authentic to this task appealing for a recognition of the traditional system as an integral portion of the modern academic spheres. Drawing on similarities and differences between the two systems afforded a *faia* (relational) space to design an aesthetic *mamano* of education. In that way it creates a relational pattern that acknowledges both the traditional and the foreign as

¹ The first schools established by missionaries 1844 (Malua Theological College and Leulumoega Fou College) to the last school in 1910.

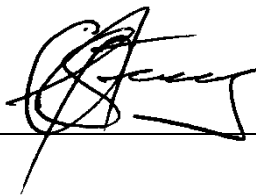
equally important in nurturing and moulding a Samoan child. Hence, it encourages the Congregational Christian Church Samoa to revisit, rethink, re-orient its mission in encouraging a relational educational system in Samoa.

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that this thesis, which is 34,093 words in length (excluding the bibliography and front matter), has been written by me, that it is the result of work carried out by me, and that it has not been submitted, either in whole or in part, in any previous written work for an academic award at this or any other academic institution.

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

Name: Clarke Tusani Stowers

Signed:  _____

Date: 18th September 2019

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to Rev. Elder Poka and Faletua Malo Maua for their great and valuable contribution in paying my school fees throughout my Secondary and Tertiary level of education. Without your award as part of your ministry in Savaia and Tafagamanu, I would not have been able to come this far.

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List of Abbreviations

- LMS - London Missionary Society
- CCCS - Congregational Christian Church Samoa

Introduction

The history of the London Missionary Society (LMS) within the Pacific definitely underscores the efforts of the missionaries not only to convert heathens to Christianity but to introduce the missionaries' own culture in its secular aspects upon the people as well. Education was momentarily utilised to accomplish both the conversion and the replacement of the indigenous epistemological systems. The history of the Church in Samoa is both a history of the establishment of church and a history of changes made by the missionaries to the educational system both theological and secular.

Charles Forman, in his book *The Island Churches of the South Pacific Emergence in the Twentieth Century*, declared that education was a significant vehicle of converting the heathens process by the LMS in Samoa. For example, a strategic set up began with the theological college situated at "Malua to transform pastors and missionaries" of the local people, while at "Leulumoega Fou a schooling institution was set up for teenagers", who could be influenced to transit into the Malua theological college as potential pastors, and further on in "Papauta village a similar establishment was prepared for young girls from American Samoa" to groom them as potential missionaries' wives of pastors to create and ensure a sustainable pool of prospective missionaries to fulfil LMS mission and culture (Forman 1982, 23). Education was not limited to young people. It also involved the training of those who would support and continue the mission of the LMS. The missionaries offered a totally new way of acquiring and communicating knowledge. The new way was welcomed and received with great support from the Samoan people.

To the islander there was something mysterious about conveying sounds and ideas through marks on a page, and at the same time the church showed such interest in reading and writing as to suggest that these might be part of its sacred mysteries. Almost the first thing that a mission representative would

do upon becoming established in a village was to begin a school (Forman 1982, 182-185).

In a similar vein, the enthusiasm poured into collaborating willingly this new way of teaching and instructing Samoans was echoed in Murray's records of the LMS missions where it is stated that:

On Saturday, the 11th of June, we had our meeting with the chiefs. We had before them, through Mr Wilson, the object of our mission – viz., that we had come as teachers of religion; that our first and great business would be to *instruct* them in matters pertaining to that, and that everything else would be strictly subordinated to that (1876, 22)¹.

These scholars offer convincing evidence of the role and contribution the missionaries had in the development of the 'formal education' in Samoa. The writings also show how missionaries perceived their work of Christianising the Samoans. In this context, the missionaries became the pioneers in initiating formal educational as manifested through establishing these schools.

It must be stressed, right at the start, that this thesis studies education, which is one of the many patterns introduced by the LMS missionaries, in fact, modified Samoan society. The task of this research is to historically explore the thought system of Samoans and the ways they used to acquire and sustain knowledge. Exploring the pre-history of Samoa through '*talatu'u*' (oral traditions) accentuates the relational notion of our own indigenous epistemological system which appeared to recede during the missionary's era.

¹ According to Murray, this meeting was for the commencing of Malua in 1844. The meeting was held at Fasitoo Uta in 1837.

Chapter 1

Interweaving the Problem and Approach

1.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the problem in education in Samoa as well as the desired approach that this thesis will employ. This will be done in four stages. First, I discuss various patterns of learning taken from my own upbringing to demonstrate where and how I am situated within this research. Second, I propose *mamanu* or Pattern as a conceptual framework which governs how the following chapters of this thesis will unfold. Third, I put forth *mamanu* as an analytical method of inquiry. This method puts forth an alternative way of analysing the history of education in a non-condemning and relational way. Fourth, I identify the specific aspects of the problem that this thesis intends to deal with.

I must concede that I am a product of these educational patterns and designs which were introduced by the LMS missionaries. This leads me to start by sharing my educational experience as it not only formed my perception of educational aims and purposes; it also highlights some important aspects of education which have motivated and inspired this undertaking.

1.2. My Educational Experience and Worldview

The enthusiasm to explore the patterns in the development of education in Samoa is from an emic perspective. It is a lived experience of the contribution of European missionaries inherited and continued by the Congregational Christian Church Samoa (CCCS) ministers. As someone who grew up in a rural area, I experienced a lifestyle that was shaped by various patterns of instructions in nurturing our skills and

knowledge. I begin with the ontological positioning of my *faasinomaga* - the place of knowing from within the immediate family where the basic cultural values and the process of the acquisition of knowledge, skills, and beliefs were first learnt and gained.

Explicitly, I remember how my parents taught me how to demonstrate the values of respect. This is to lower myself in front of elders, visitors, or guests by bowing my head and say *tulou* (excuse me) when walking in front of people. These were the etiquettes of behaviour we continue to perform, *o tu ma aga* or norms of what is the appropriate *faasamoa* way to conduct ourselves even to foreigners. This is the respecting the relational space or *va* (sacred space) between my being in the presence of others.

I was taught the values of being polite. That it was not to intrude or talk when elders *talanoa* (converse). I was taught that stretching my legs when facing a person, and eating and drinking while walking or standing were very disrespectful habits. I was taught to speak politely to, and in the presence of, elders; and that I had to sit down and speak using the appropriate addresses or honorifics of '*susuga*' and '*afioga*' (for the high chief or the *faiifeau*).

Central to these informal instructions is the essence of '*va fealoa'i*' (mutual respect). There is a Samoan saying '*E iloa oe i lau tu, savali, tautala*' (your character is expressed by the way you stand, walk and talk).¹ A Samoan child needs to be taught about his/her basic cultural values to understand the significant quality of *faia* (relationships). So, the way he/she stands, walks and talks must reflect *va fealoa'i* (mutual respect). A well-instructed Samoan is identified by showing these basic cultural values. The aim and purpose of being well- instructed by parents in these

¹ In ordinary parlance, whenever someone misbehaves in public, people tend to question how his/her parents carried out their duties in the home in instructing him/her. There was this Samoan song that was usually sung when someone misbehaved: "Soo se mea lava e te faia mafaufau lelei I le ata o lau toeaina" (Whatever you do reflects the picture of your father).

cultural values is for us to respect and acknowledge our *faia* with others; knowing our place as a child, as a *taule'ale'a* (untitled man) and as an *auluma* (unmarried girl) within the community. In fact, to know our place explicitly defines our roles and responsibilities and all other values such as *alofa* (love), *faaloalo* (respect), *va tapuia* (sacred space), *va fealoai* (mutual respect) *uiga talafeagai* (expected behaviour and attitude) which are certainly crucial in fashioning one's character. Moreover, of these basic cultural values, the most important reminder is to respect the evening curfew² when we all gathered in the *fale* (house) for our *lotu afiafi* (evening prayer).

The first formal education³ I came across was the *aoga a le Faifeau*⁴ (pastor's school). Although we were the only Roman Catholic family in our village we were not excluded from the (CCCS) minister's ministry. At the *aoga a le Faifeau* we learned to memorise the alphabet, in both the Samoan and English languages. We also learned some simple arithmetic. These lessons came before we learned how to read the Bible. The predominant intention behind being educated, as stressed by our pastor when we came to the end of a tutorial each day, was: '*work hard in school in order to get a good job and earn a lot of money*'.

Patterns continued to evolve within my educational life. It was a transition from learning basic cultural values at the *aiga* (home) to an environment where we started to experience a teacher-student relationship, a blackboard and chalk, Bible and books with a new aim and purpose of being educated. I still remember being taught in these tutorials about the rhyme called the *Faitau Pi* (Alphabetical order): 'A' stands for *ato*

² Aiono Fanaafi claimed this Samoan tradition of evening prayer called (Fanaafi o faamalama) was adopted by the missionaries. See Motugaafa 1996, 7.

³ Formal education from the Pacific understanding refers to schooling within classrooms and informal education or traditional ways of learning. For instance, planting, fishing, weaving and so forth.

⁴ Prior to the establishment of these schools, the missionaries had started with the home tutorial. Gunson further elaborated this by saying that "in order for people to learn how to read, the Bible became the core of these tutorials" (Gunson, 1978).

(basket), while 'E' stands for *elefane* (elephant). Aside from the fact that I had never seen an elephant in my whole life, this animal was still instrumental in my learning of the Samoan alphabet. It was from this experience where I started to answer basic biblical questions such as '*O ai na faia oe?* (Who created you?) *O ai lou Faaola* (Who is your redeemer?). I also learned by heart the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, of which, the most commonly used was the fifth one '*Ia e ava i lou tama ma lou tina, ina ia faalevaleva ai ou aso i le nuu o le a foaiina atu e le Alii lou Atua ia te oe*' (Exodus 20:12). At that stage, my learning patterns started to either parallel my earlier experience or contradict it. These are interesting patterns in the educational life which contributed to who I was before I started primary school where more patterns were imposed.

At primary school level, I noted the important contribution of church ministers to the development of education. The *Faifeau* (church ministers) used to carry out a morning household inspection of our village to make sure the children who were supposed to be in school were in attendance. The minister also supported the financial contribution that families had to make in terms of schools fees. As children, we used to collect ten coconuts each per day. These coconuts would be roasted as dry copra by the church minister, with the help of the youth and church members, to pay for our fees. What is important to note was the effort of the *Faifeau* to encourage the children of our village to be educated. Furthermore, our *Faifeau* also awarded a prize for the top student at the year eight level and would pay for that student's secondary school fees.

At secondary level, I was educated in a Roman Catholic mission school, Chanel College, with my fees paid by the CCCS minister. I then spent ten years teaching in a Catholic mission school. I always treasure this experience. What I have observed over the years was that the *Faifeaus* were anchors, if not pioneers, of education in villages.

Their efforts were to some extent aided by the conviction that church and state worked in tandem in the development of education in Samoa.

When I entered Malua Theological College in 2014, especially as someone from a different denomination (Roman Catholic Church), more new patterns were introduced. Spending four years in Malua as a student was a turning point in my life. There was a shift which certainly questioned and redesigned all the different levels of patterns of experience of life. I observed that the content of the educational pedagogies in Malua focussed on three aspects of life; namely Academic, Discipline and Extracurricular activities. These pedagogies articulated the purpose of education. For instance, the academic dimension required patterns that were designed by the secular schools (primary and secondary) in terms of reading and writing in English and Samoan. These patterns guided us in understanding the Bible, doctrines, theologies and, most importantly, church history. Secondly, the discipline aspect accentuated our family and village patterns where our cultural values of '*va fealoa'i*' were very important. It was a part of the learning strategy which fortified and informed a future minister and his wife about the significance of their values as role models and as spiritual designers within the ministry. Learning the Bible and theologies was not enough for the minister to cope with the mission. Hence, it is the design of '*va fealoa'i*' that can support and transport the theological and biblical knowledge and so strengthens *faiā* (relationships) which is the relationship between the minister and the people and the relationship between the minister, the people and God.

Lastly, the extracurricular activities (preparing Samoan food, farming, cleaning, fishing); central to this aspect gave rise to the notion of self-support and *tautua* (service). The ideal notion of being a church minister is not to be served but to serve the people in both their spiritual and bodily needs. The recollection of patterns (cultural

values, *Aoga a le Faifeau*, primary and secondary Schools, university level and teaching career experience) to design one's character for Malua Theological College is the most important dimension of this case.

1.3. Thesis Scope

As seen from my educational experiences, there are many overlapping and underlying learning patterns worthy of note. However, due to reasons of scope, I can only look at three overarching patterns of education throughout this thesis, namely *the mode of delivery, the motivation to be educated and the content of the lessons*.

Regarding the delivery of lessons, the focus of the following chapters will be on the systematic processes where the only right answer is given by the teacher and the textbook. I assumed that perhaps respect guided or governed this kind of approach; the one-way teaching-learning relationship. Cultural values were certainly emphasised in schools. Teachers were to be respected and obeyed without question. Teachers were always right. In contrast, we had the pattern of an open dialogue at home in family meetings, after or before evening prayer. Also, at bed time, my mother told us a *Fagogo* (storytelling about myths and legends) and we often interrupted by asking questions about a character or a place. These home patterns started to fade at primary and secondary levels. (More will be said in Chapter 2).

Regarding the rationale behind why education is important, there was an inherent shift from '*va fealoa'i*' (which I have learnt at home and the '*aoga a le Faifeau*') to a more competitive emphasis. The essence of 'sharing' (from cultural values) in terms of knowledge during class disappeared. There appeared the need to be ahead of or to be better than the rest due to the prize giving at the end of the year. Consequently, the element of dualism was introduced; those who got more prizes versus those who got nothing, the capable versus the incapable.

Regarding content, the patterns of cultural values continued to lose importance in the content of lessons at the tertiary level and during my teaching experience. The idea of compartmentalising subjects restricted us from taking other courses. For example, only the students who were majoring in Samoan were able to take the Samoan language course. Yet, it appeared that those who opted to take the Samoan course were less capable than those who took English or Art (Geography and History) or Science. As a teacher majoring in Science and Mathematics at the secondary level, my knowledge was predominantly confined to theories and formulae given by text books. Consequently, my acquired scientific understanding of earth and ocean, both non-living things, seemed so inadequate or unfulfilling. It opened my eyes to personally see how much my tertiary education underestimated our own values and epistemological systems. Inevitably, the power of money in terms of salary rise for getting higher grades for students in a course became the impetus propelling my teaching career. I knew the way our indigenous navigators read the moon and the clouds during sailing. Unfortunately, why bother teaching these indigenous methods of navigating when they are not part of the Physics curriculum.

Sharing this educational experience explicitly situates my situation within this task. I have chosen the establishment of schools by the LMS missionaries for two important reasons: (1) according to history, the first ever formal schools on the soil of Samoa were put up by the LMS missionaries and (2) the scope of this paper does not allow me to discuss later schools put up by other denominations. This paves the way for my core motivation in investigating the history. Based on my experience as both student and teacher, I want to retrace the history of education in Samoa to find evidence or examples of Samoan learning and teaching strategies that are comparable or even compatible with the strategic educational system introduced by the missionaries. This

investigation should give a better understanding of some of the factors that led to the devaluing of our indigenous knowledge and thought systems and hopefully will give birth to a more multifaceted and interwoven pattern of education.

In the next section, where I develop a *mamanu* hermeneutical model, the multidimensional learning experiences of my upbringing to my various encounters with formal education are assumed. These learning patterns are not only pivotal in the lead-up to my present situation as an *a'oa'o* (theological student) of the CCCS, but they are also instrumental in shaping who I am today.

1.4. *Mamanu* as a Relational Framework and Thesis Structure

The term “*mamanu*” is defined as patterns in figure work in cloth (*tapa*), clubs, sinnet or body (Samoan *Sogaimiti*). It also refers to the architecture used by Samoan builders for houses. *Mamanu* changes the appearance of something. The beauty of an art work is enhanced by the variety of patterns yet interrelated. It is for this reason that I start with my cultural perspective and worldview. They are relational and throughout this thesis the Samoan term *'faia'* will be used. The term relational as it will be used in this task adopted Upolu Vaai's definition that “The ‘relational’ embraces the uniqueness of both individuality and communality, unity and diversity, visibility and invisibility, male and female, top and bottom, secular and sacred, heaven and earth, God and the world, rich and poor, tangible and intangible” (2017, 11). Significantly, what is unique to this experience is that no pattern in life is less important in fashioning who I am today. It depicts how *mamanu* will be utilised in this task as both framework and methodology. It is not the purpose of this undertaking to create an ‘either or platform’ between indigenous and foreign *mamanu* but to generate an alternative countenance of a more complementary *mamanu*. In that sense it is the nature of *mamanu* that the modifications in the appearance of the final form of an art work are always pleasing.

Traditionally, each particular *mamanu* was usually drawn from Samoan religion, environment, customs, and everyday life while expressing the interconnectedness of everything in nature in the life of a Samoan, the land, sea and humanity. According to Albert Wendt, *mamanu* of the Samoan tattoo (both female and male tattoo) are not just for decoration(s): they are scripts/texts/testimonies which to do with relationship, order, and form (1996, 9). In that sense, *mamanu* designed on a body, mat, club and even the architecture of the Samoan *fale* articulates relationships between one's present context and the lifestyle of the ancestors; they are scripts which allow the past to speak to the present. What is important to note at this point is that *mamanu* from a traditional perspective sustained and perpetuated our history, our stories. It was a medium in which they displayed (through Samoan tattoo, houses, canoes) and bridged our past to the present before our history was transformed into papers. Nevertheless, what we have before us today as our history are the *mamanu* which were designed by the foreigners for us. From a relational perspective of *mamanu*, how can we reorient and reconstruct these dominant foreign with our indigenous *mamanu*? This perception or philosophy of our people about *mamanu* requires the task of re-reading the history of education in Samoa using a suggested lens. It is an approach aims to create space for the indigenous *mamanu* to be part of, and acknowledged as a useful design within the broader picture of success. In that way it may reflect how *mamanu* from both ends (indigenous and foreign) work collaboratively for the consciousness in life of the community as a whole, yet provides an alternative understanding of history of our *itulagi* (side of heaven).

In utilising *mamanu* as a framework in this work I have divided *mamanu* into three interrelated stages, namely:

1.4.1. *Mamanu o le Anofale (Patterns within)*

The term *anofale* is made up of two words; ‘*ano*’ means crater, inner space, hole and the term ‘*fale*’ is a house. Therefore, the word ‘*anofale*’ simply means the inner space, or the space inside of a Samoan house. In fact, the *mamanu* of the *anofale* articulates relationships because the variety of designs reflects the special knowledge and skills of the *tufuga* (carpenter). Hence it makes us ponder how the skills and knowledge passed on from one generation to another since there were no special institutions like the Samoa Polytechnic as what we have today. Take, for instance, the circular or oval shape of the Samoan *fale*. It is one of the common *mamanu* of traditional *fales* which reflects the notion of *fealoa’i* (face to face) whilst reflecting the wisdom of the *tufuga*. Functionally the *fale* is predominantly a meeting place for families and village where they discuss the development and postulate future progress for the betterment of all members. Its openness depicts the culture of hospitality and social relations. Furthermore, the *fale* is not standing in a vacuum. It considers the contribution of nature through the piece of land ‘*tulagamaota*’ (*tulaga* means position and *maota* is a respectful word given to the house of the extended family)⁵. Significantly, what is distinct to the *mamanu o le anofale* are ‘*faia*’ (relationships), the connectedness of the *tufuga* and the structure of the *fale*, the *faia* of the *fale* and the family; the *faia* of the family to the land constitutes life for all.

The significance of the ‘*anofale*’ at this stage of the work situates the context of chapter two. As spelt out by the meaning of the word *anofale*, the space within the *fale*, chapter two therefore seeks to explore the pre-history, so to speak, of the indigenous educational *mamanu* that was used by our ancestors. The educational patterns (delivery modes, content and purpose of being educated) will be scrutinised according to the

⁵ In any Samoan family there is always has a special place for the extended family’s house which belongs to the whole family.

socio-political structure of *aiga*, *nuu*, (village) and district in relation to Samoa as a whole. Predominantly, the pre-history of Samoa is entrenched within our *talatuu* (oral tradition); *fagogo*, poems, chants and songs which are basically the sources for chapter two. The argument about myths and legends as historical evidence will be discussed in the introduction of chapter two.

1.4.2. Mamanu mai Fafo (Foreign Patterns)

The word '*mai*' is a Samoan preposition which means '*from*' and '*fafo*' means '*outside*'. Chapter three utilises this phase to investigate the foreign materials and influences that were introduced into our normal patterns of education (indigenous epistemologies) in terms of delivery modes, motivation and the content of lessons. Unique to this chapter is the transition from the pre-missionary era to the time of the missionaries' encounters. As the *mamanu o le anofale* attempts to investigate, the indigenous epistemological systems simultaneously seek to deliberate the worldview of the Samoans before the arrival of the missionaries. Hence *mamanu mai fafo* enumerates the transitioning patterns which metamorphosed or transformed the mind-set of our people about education.

1.4.3. Mamanu Talafeagai (Complementary Patterns)

Talafeagai is made up of two words, '*tala*' means '*story/ies*' or '*tale/s*', '*tala*' also can mean, the '*side/s*' of a Samoan fale. The term '*feagai*' means '*face to face, mutual, related, appropriate, fitting*' or '*joint*'. So, the *mamanu talafeagai* is the reconstruction and redesigning phase of the *mamanu* framework. In chapter four, *mamanu talafeagai* aims to weave the local patterns (*anofale*) with the foreign patterns (*mamanu mai fafo*, the second phase of *mamanu*) and thread them together so that the concept *talafeagai* is evidently respected in the merging of the two patterns.

In this aspect, history is related to active life. As Wilhelm von Humboldt in the book named “The Hermeneutic Reader” states:

If one mentally scans even only one human life, one is seized by the various moments through which history stimulates and captivates, and in order to resolve the task of his enterprise the historian must assemble events in such a manner that they move the spirit in a way similar to that of reality itself (2000, 109).

Mamanu is aware of the fact that no matter how compatible the *mamanu* model is in integrating the different strands of *mamanu* to create a new pattern there will nevertheless be strands that can never merge. It is conceivable that the new pattern will have *mamanu* both in and outside the space or ‘*va*’. Therefore, instead of blending those together in order to meet the pattern of ‘in between’ a space is created where they can co-exist. This is not to avoid tension but an alternative that will embrace both indigenous and the imposed educational strategies.

1.5. *Mamanu* as an Alternative Research Methodology

The *mamanu* as a research method is used in this undertaking as the departure point for the task of analysing the history of education in Samoa. It is commonly understandable that academic history writings are contingent to facts which must represent a worldview that underpins local people’s knowledge, values, and beliefs. Worldview is derived from the German etymology of *welt*, the world and extended to *weltanschauung* which is defined as a ‘comprehensive conception or apprehension of the world especially from a specific standpoint’ (Merriam-Webster, 2019). As this research is promoting the Samoan holistic positioning, it is imperative that a Samoan worldview as part of the Pacific approach warrants recognition. *Taufeulungaki* suggests that:

[t]he role of Pacific research is not only to identify and promote a Pacific worldview, which encompasses identifying Pacific values, and the way in which Pacific societies create meaning, structure and construct reality, but

complementary to these is the need to also interrogate the assumptions that underpin western structures and institutions that we as Pacific peoples have adopted without much questioning (2000, 29).

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) also stipulates that we must decolonise methodologies to promote by reviving, reclaiming and revaluing cultural and local way of knowing and being when conducting research. In doing so, we must also put on a critical lens in order to ensure our voice represents our knowledge in an authentic, credible and valid ways (2012, 44). *Mamanu* is symbolic of the Samoan worldview positioning. The *mamanu* process requires an art of interrogation and questioning of these foreign structures is where *mamanu* as a framework considers the *tufuga-taliau* (*tufuga* is the *designer*⁶ and *taliau* is the *wearer*) relationship. The carving of *mamanu* on a particular object connotes *faia* (relationships); the relationship between the *tufuga* and the wearer, the connectedness of the wearer⁷ to his/her family, identity (land, family title, ocean, gods) which are articulated by the *mamanu* of the tattoo, and the relationships between the variety of *mamanu* themselves. This assimilates the depiction by a historian according to Humboldt "... the historian in his depiction is able to attain to the truth of what has taken place only by supplementing and connecting what was incomplete and fragmented in his direct observation," (2000, 98). Accordingly, *mamanu* as the research method of this task does not isolate the researcher from these relationships in dealing with facts. David Bebbington has claimed that the analysis of facts is often influenced by the cultural, political and religious values a historian holds (1979, 5). In that sense the development of the three stages for *mamanu* approach aims to create a neutral position of the author which will aid the analysis and avoid bias of the writer due to the above influences.

⁶ The word Tufuga in Samoa is a title given to the carpenter, tattooist, canoe maker, artist.

⁷ The same notion of relationship is applied to the carpenters, tapa maker, canoe builders with regards to the *mamanu* of the canoe, fale or tapa.

Various researches had been done in developing the art of analysis in research. The thrust of such undertaking encourages the researchers to create methods that show an intimate interaction between the researcher and the researched documents. (Hodder 2002; Rose and Gurvenor 2001). In such a way the Comparative and Contrastive analysis stages of the methodology intended to create this interaction between the writer and documents that will be used in this task. In relation to the *mamanu* as discussed the three stages is extracted from task of a *tufuga* (carpenter, artist, canoe builder, tattooist) within their trade in comparing, contrasting and sustaining the connections (*faia o mamanu*) of the job done (tattoo, *fale* or canoe) to the reality of life of the society as a whole. As already mentioned, though my educational view was moulded by various patterns, they have all contributed in forming who I am today. They are patterns which have laid my foundation as a Samoan and as a Christian. Hence, as the *tufuga* (researcher) of this paper, the devaluing of one pattern over another is not the aim. I have taken seriously the ideas of Spivak who advised that it is the task of a researcher to “... dismantle the metaphysics and rhetorical structures which are at work, not in order to reject or discard them, but to reinscribe them in another way” (1974, xxv). Therefore, *mamanu* intends to research and resurrect the wealth of our own indigenous epistemological system in relation to the introduced *mamanu* of education introduced by the missionaries. I will be using three important stages as interpretive tools in investigating, monitoring and interpreting the facts.

The three stages of the *mamanu* method are:

1.5.1. *Faatusatusa Mamanu* (Comparative Analysis)

The word *faatusatusa* (compare) deals with the similarities or sameness of particular *mamanu* on an art work. While no two patterns are identical, the comparative analysis used in this thesis employs what JW Davidson connotes as not being wholly

concerned with drawing conclusions from certainties but rather an assessment of probabilities or informed guesses (1969, 23). The *mamamu* method of *faatusatusa* assesses the probabilities (education in Samoa) by identifying the similarities or the patterns that are consistent to both systems in relation to the context of both the historian and the event.

The repetitive nature of *mamamu* is integral to this stage of the method because it identifies the similarities of the designs (*manutasi* where *manu* means *pattern* and *tasi* means *one*). In one way or another, the frequent appearance of one particular pattern can be for some reasons. It can either mean that the *tufuga* favours a particular design or the origin of the pattern signifies its significance within the art work as a whole. The same idea applies to the analysis of history from the *mamamu* lens. It considers the relevance of a given fact in relation to the social, political and religious influence of both the author and the event itself. This is guided by questions like: What makes the sources similar? How is the pattern of facts coherent?

The researcher is conscious that chapter two will specifically be focussing on the patterns within the so-called pre-history of Samoa; the period concerned with oral tradition. However, quite a number of sources of the pre-history of Samoa have been written by outsiders like George Turner, Fred Henry and Norman Goodall. The list continues. Only recently have local sources surfaced, mainly in the writings of Tuiatua Tamasese Efi (1980s), Malama Meleisea (1980s) and Albert Wendt (1970s), to name a few. The consistency of points of view of the outsiders in comparison with the local writers will be the most important task of the *faatusatusa* tool in tracking evidence about the Samoan indigenous learning and teaching strategies.

1.5.2. *Eseesega o Mamanu* (Contrastive Analysis)

The term *eseesega* comes from the root word ‘*ese*’ meaning different or dissimilar. Traditionally, each particular *mamanu* was usually drawn from Samoan religion, environment, customs, and everyday life; all expressed the interconnectedness of everything in nature in the life of a Samoan. The differences of the origins of these *mamanu* simultaneously express the diverse significance of each particular *mamanu* contributing to the beauty of a piece of work in its final form. This aspect is central to this part of the model, which is the identification of the inconsistencies of testimonies. Thus, seeking to discover the difference(s) of the *mamanu* enables this undertaking to locate *mamanu* that led to the conflicting patterns within either the written history or the historical process itself.

This is the uniqueness of the *mamanu* as a method in investigating history. *Mamanu* goes beyond the final form of the art work. *Mamanu*, as a multidimensional approach, takes into consideration miniaturised relationships which also contribute to the beauty of the countenance. In fact, discrepancies and conflicts within historiography and historical processes are sometimes treated as minor issues or even ignored because they either distract the flow of a chronological sequence of history or most probably were influenced by the social and cultural forces of a certain period. Peter Munz claims that the writing of the history of the non-European society is part of a process of interaction between two cultures (1971, 7). This interaction between two cultures is problematic as viewed by the *mamanu* model because what we have noted with the existing history is simply one-sided (*manutasi*). It is influenced by the social and cultural values of the outside historians. Significantly, these discrepancies within history under *Eseesega o Mamanu*, must be carefully studied because they are not unimportant to us who are trying to define who we are.

1.5.3. *Faia o Mamanu* (Relational Analysis)

The word *faia* is defined as bridge (Pratt 1911,126); it depicts a notion of relation or connection. The definition given by Pratt articulates the significance role of the bridge in connecting two separate pieces of land. In this aspect it accentuates the cause of the separation of the two pieces of land, hence enabling us to consider the significance of the bridge in connecting the gap in between. Upolu Luma Vaai and Unaisi Nabobo-Baba regarded *faia* as relational (2017,11). It underscores the multidimensionality of relations of a person to both his/her past and present situation, hence enabling us to acknowledge the present as a product of the past. Furthermore, Fatilua Fatilua suggests that “*Faia*...signifies the existence of an interconnectedness that holds everything together for better or for worse” (2018, 32). In this point of reference, the appreciative and creative notion of *faia* is reflected. Therefore, *faia* is not just to connect or relate two separate parties, it goes beyond to interrogate and acknowledge all microcosmic relations hence contributed to the success of an existence.

Faia o mamanu, in this undertaking, attempts to reconstruct and reorient discrepancies and similarities obtained from the *Faatusatusa and Eseesega o mamanu*. It is a reweaving process of *mamanu* which exhibits inclusiveness, a complementary history that acknowledges whilst scrupulously investigating both strengths and weaknesses of patterns which contribute to the development of the history of education in Samoa. As claimed by Bebbington:

The (history) discipline itself is not a matter of reading, but researching. It entails calling accepted views into questions on the basis of freshly discovered or freshly interpreted evidence. History demands a critical frame of mind (1979, 4).

For this reason, *faia o mamanu* is not intending to romanticise facts for the sake of the *mamanu* but it is a task that encompasses an honourable investigation of our own history, stories and narratives, hence avoiding the stagnancy of interpretation. Thus, in