USE OF THESES

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In an earlier chapter, it was shown that from the age of about ten onwards, Samoans are socialised to avoid and respect their siblings of the opposite sex. To explain the basis of this relationship and the importance it has in the social structure, requires examination of Samoan philosophy concerning the basis of social order.

The interpretation that I will develop here is like that developed by Louis Dumont (1970) explaining caste in India in terms of religious belief. Like him, I have found that materialist-historical explanations of the origins of status inequality in Samoa are inadequate bases of understanding. These factors only acquire significance in the context of Samoan ideology. Through attempting to understand the fundamental premises and the system of values which give society order and coherence, I hope to be able to show why certain values and relationships have persisted despite the changes and adaptations that have occurred since the Samoans adopted the Christian religion in the mid-nineteenth century.
I will consider firstly the feagaiga relationship and the notion of complementary statuses implied in the term. This could be seen as mere mystification; a set of ideals which disguise inequality. So lest my approach appear to be excessively and uncritically emic, I would remind the reader that inequality of rank and status, and economic inequality, are by no means necessarily interconnected either in contemporary Samoa, or, as far as I can tell, in pre-contact Samoa. As Dumont observes:

... in every concrete whole we find the formal principle at work, but we also find something else, a raw material which it orders and logically encompasses but which it does not explain, at least not immediately and for us. This is where we find the equivalent of what we call the relations of force, political and economic phenomena, power, territory, property etc. Those data which we can recover thanks to the notions we have of them in our own ideology may be called the (comparative) concomitants of the ideological system. Certain authors select them for study without noticing that the devaluation which they undergo in the present case alters them profoundly. The specialist steeped in modern ideology expects everything from these phenomena, but here they are bound by the iron shackles of a contrary ideology. .... they must, in our opinion, be set in their place and related to the ideology which they accompany in fact, it being understood that it is only in relation to the totality thus reconstructed that the ideology takes on its true sociological significance.

(Dumont 1972:75)
Marx himself acknowledged that: "Religion is the general theory of this world, its encyclopaedic compendium, its logic in popular form, its spiritual point d'honneur, its enthusiasm, its moral sanction, its solemn compliment, its general basis of consolation and justification". (Bottomore and Rubel, 1963:41). Whatever the origins of Samoan culture, the social structure as it was in the mid-nineteenth century, and as it is today, is only intelligible in terms of its ideological underpinnings. Scholars who in the past have neglected to give an account of Samoan society in its own terms, who have portrayed it in terms of preconceived theoretical constructs which classify it comparatively to the social structures of other societies, present a monochromatic abstraction, a list of rules - each of which may be challenged and argued about by other scholars as well as anthropologists. This Chapter is an attempt to thread a path through that maze of complexity and to understand Samoan behaviour in terms of its own system of logic.

The relationship between a sister and brother in Samoa is described as feagaiga. The first Samoan Dictionary, compiled by the Rev. George Pratt (first published in 1862) offers the following definition of the term:

FEAGAIGA, s. 1. an established relationship between different parties, as between brothers and sisters and their children. Lota tuafafine le feagaiga. Also between chiefs and their tulafale. 2. An agreement, a covenant. A lately adopted meaning. "O la la feagaiga.

(1911:128)
Milner (1966:8) places Pratt's second definition in first place, showing that "the lately adopted meaning" of 1862 had a century later, become its principal meaning:

feagaiga n. 1. Agreement, contract, treaty, 'O le sainiga o le : the signing of the . 2. Special relationship (a kind of perpetual kinship) between two kin-groups (tamafafine and tamatane) of greater or lesser extent, who regard themselves as being the descendants of a woman (in the case of the tamafafine) and of her brother (in the case of the tamatane). 3. Descendants of a woman (from the point of view of her brother or of his descendants). 'O la'u : My sister's children (or father's sister's children etc.) 4. Covenant, testament. O le fou: The New Testament. 5. Polite usage (i) Pastor. (ii) R.C. Catechist. O le a le nu'u: The of the village. 6. a le sa'o: Polite term for 'tamafafine'.

Since I consider that this term is crucial to the understanding of Samoan social philosophy, I will explore its etymology further. The term feagaiga derives from the term feagai: "to be opposite to each other, to correspond to or dwell together cordially, to be on good terms; as a chief with his people, or a minister with his flock". (Pratt, 1911:128). "Face, be opposite. ... Happen at the same time as, coincide with. ... Be faced with, be up against. ... Be in accord (in agreement). ... Be fit, fitting, appropriate. ... Agree, fall in with". (Milner, 1966:8)
While Pratt emphasises the notion of the relationship inherent in the term, Milner emphasises the contractual aspects of the term. The term is used in contemporary Samoa most commonly in the sense Milner has given it but its ancient meaning in terms of a special relationship, as Pratt has emphasised in his definition, is still understood today.

Feagaiga expresses the idealised principles by which order exists in Samoan society at all levels of organisation. It contrasts sacred, moral ideological principles with utilitarian, functional or "profane" human actions, in a social contract by which the former imposes order and dignity upon the latter.

The relationship transcends that which Levi-Strauss has described as a symbolic opposition of "nature and culture" precisely because, as Durkheim perceived, the force of the contractual relationship between them is based on a concept of the supernatural power possessed by the "sacred" party to the contract. This supernatural power is used by the party in the "sacred" category to sanction and control the actions of the party in the "profane" category. This notion is extremely pervasive in Samoan philosophy.
To give an example an everyday level; it is considered polite to say from time to time to a person who is paddling a canoe or driving a car "mālō fa'auli" - "congratulations on your steering", whereupon the dignified response will be given: "mālō tapua'i" - "congratulations on your spiritual encouragement". This exchange emphasises the notion that secular action requires moral support. Another example may be provided from ancient Samoa; a group of tulāfale known as the Alataua were responsible for military strategy, while another group, the Itu'au had the duty to seek supernatural support from the gods and spirits for their success in battle (3).

The notion of sacred power complementing secular actions, as we shall see, is one of the essential ingredients of a feagaiga relationship. But first let us consider how Samoans conceptualise sacred power. The term for it is mana and while mana was intimately incorporated in the pre-Christian religious system, it was not strictly confined to ritual activity nor was it even thought of in exclusively religious terms.

According to a commonly told myth, mana was transmitted to humankind by Tagaloa'alagi, (Tagaloa of the skies) the creator deity. Tagaloa'alagi did not give mana to all human beings; this Samoan story of creation relates that he caused

3. While the Itu'au and Alataua no longer exist they are still ceremonially referred to in Samoan oratory.
humans to be brought forth from a creeper in the form of worms which grew into men and women. *Mana* was transmitted to the descendants of the human women whom he took as his wives and their demi-god progeny were the ancestors of the paramount chiefly lineage of Samoa. Thereafter, *mana* was diffused through society through the marriage of the members of these chiefly lineages to lower ranking people. An elaborate descent structure was thus created, represented at the apex by the *ali'i pa'ia*, the sacred chief who traced direct descent from the gods through female ancestors. A graded hierarchy of chiefs represented the sub-lineage of the maximal descent groups, and their rank too, was dependent upon matrilineally inherited *mana*. The maintenance of rank depended on the non-dilution of ancestral *mana*, thus it was essential that the incumbents of high chiefly offices be born of high ranking mothers.

As stated in Chapter One, there are two orders of chiefs in Samoa, if we are to translate the term *matai* as "chief". The distinction between *ali'i* and *tulafale* is not necessarily that of high and low rank; certain *matai* who are *tulafale* have, in the context of the village council of chiefs, higher rank than certain *matai* who are *ali'i*. But the distinction between them in terms of "sacred" and "profane" is very useful.
Rank in Samoa may be calculated in various ways, every individual has personal rank which is determined by matrilineal ancestry. He or she also has the rank ascribed to him or her according to their status in the household, which is based on age and sex. The rank position of the incumbent of a matai title is ascribed by the fa'alupega of the village (see Chapter two) which defines his rank in relation to the other members of the village council.

Rank may be "achieved" - there are a few instances in which certain matai have elevated the rank of their title by altering the order of the fa'alupega of the village by political manoeuvre.

A title has its ascribed rank in these fa'alupega, however, the incumbent of that title has his own personal rank derived from matrilineal descent and mana. Certain matai titles have particular functions attached to them, especially tulafale titles, it may be that of principal orator of the village, or that of a master builder for example. Thus, when such titles are vacant, a successor will be chosen with an eye to his skills as well as his rank in terms of descent. Accordingly, a person of low rank may hold a high ranking title or a person of high personal rank may hold a low ranking title, but it is usual, when the office is an ali'i title, for the personal rank of the candidates for succession to be extremely important and for their genealogical qualifications to be stressed.
In the case of *tulāfale* titles, which are usually associated with a particular function, personal ability may be a more important qualification in terms of succession than personal rank.

In ceremonial contexts, *ali'i* represent *mana*, sacredness and *mamalu* honour and dignity, thus not only the rank of the title but the rank of its incumbent is of concern to society. The *tulāfale* wins esteem for his kin group, his village and the *ali'i* he represents through his skills in oratory and politics, secular, profane categories of action. When the village, the basic political unit, faces other villages with which it is in competition for prestige, its esteem depends on the high personal rank of the *ali'i* complimented by the talent for oratory and politics of the *tulāfale*.

"What is a *tulāfale*, no matter how skilled, without a high ranking *ali'i* to dignify his action? He is no more than an *ali'i* who has no clever *tulāfale* to make allusions to the dignity of his title and the greatness of his ancestry while speech-making".

This was the way one elderly *matai* described interdependence of the *ali'i* and *tulāfale*. It also provides a perfect expression of the reciprocity of sacred and secular attributes which are the essence of *feagaiga*. 

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Before I consider the central matter of this Chapter, which is the feagaiga of sister and brother, I will briefly consider the adaptation of Samoan philosophy to Christianity, or perhaps, more accurately, the adaptation of Christianity to Samoan philosophy. The acceptance of Christianity by Samoans in the mid-nineteenth century resulted in a re-definition of traditional categories of "sacred" and "profane", rather than their abandonment.

Ministers of religion, initially European missionaries, were placed in the same conceptual category as ali'i, since they were considered agents of the mana of the Christian god. (The terms "grace" and "divine power" are translated in Samoan as "mana").

Protestant Pastors and Roman Catholic Catechists, are referred to in polite speech as "lau susuga o le feagaiga" and Roman Catholic priests and nuns are addressed as "lau afioga". The ceremonious prefixes ("your excellency", "your highness", approximates their meaning) differ, as the first high chiefly Protestant and Catholic converts happened to have different forms of address associated with their titles, which they bestowed upon the missionaries.
The term *feagaiga* used of the clergy refers to the "contract" between a clergyman and his congregation or parish. This is based on the understanding that the clergyman will be treated as though he was the highest ranking *ali'i* of the village and that his congregation will serve him, care for his needs and obey him in spiritual matters. It places a reciprocal obligation upon him to remain aloof from village politics, other than those of direct concern to his ministry. A clergyman (*faife'au*) may not sit in the village council without special invitation from its members. Thus, with regard to the *faife'au* of the village, the *ali'i* are placed in the category of the "profane" or secular sphere. With regard to all the members of his congregation, the *faife'au* represents the sacred.

The sacred status of the *ali'i pa'ia* declined as the old gods were rejected in favour of Jehovah. Chiefs whose persons were sacred, who had supernatural powers of life and death over their inferiors in rank, became in the religious sense, ordinary mortals. It is possible that some of the bloody struggles for political supremacy in Samoa during the second half of the nineteenth century were in some ways related to the loss of the sacred attributes of the *ali'i pa'ia* as the struggle was concentrated on the acquisition of four ceremonial titles,
These titles (referred to as \textit{ao}) were conferred upon the representatives of the paramount lineage by two powerful orator groups, the \textit{Tumua} of the districts of A'ana and Atua and the \textit{Pule} of the districts of Tuamasaga and of Savaii.

These titles, two of which originated from males and two from females, conferred titular and ceremonial supremacy over the districts with which they were associated, and a chief who held all four was recognised as paramount in rank throughout the islands of Samoa. These titles had customarily been bestowed in recognition of an individual's sacred status acquired through the \textit{mana} of high birth.

The removal of the sacred attributes of the titles associated with the paramount descent lines, must have made the ceremonial prestige of the \textit{ao} titles attractive political prizes. This is, of course, an unorthodox historical interpretation on my part, but I consider it to be relevant to the understanding of ideological changes which were taking place at the time.

Another consequence of the ideological adjustments to change brought about by the acceptance of Christianity is the rather more egalitarian functioning of the chiefly system in contemporary Samoa. High rank is rather more ceremonial than sacred in the direct religious sense in modern Samoa and thus there is a greater tendency for
succession to high ranking chiefly titles to be based on
a combination of achieved characteristics with appropriate
genealogical qualifications. Less emphasis is placed on
the parity of rank of mother and father as the inheritance
of mana through women is no longer an essential ingre­
dient of high rank.

The Christian prohibition of arranged marriages between
men and women of high rank and upon chiefly polygeny (which
assured each chief of a number of high ranking descendants)
made it less easy for high rank according to strict
genealogical criteria to be maintained. Whereas once
the tulafale who were experts in genealogical knowledge
and political calculation would arrange the marriages of
great chiefs to the daughters of their peers with a view to
the maximisation of rank among their heirs, in modern Samoa,
free choice in marriage is frequently dictated by other
concerns.

But the feagaiga of the ali'i and tulafale has preserved
much of the traditional philosophy on which the hierarchical
ordering of society was based. Samoans interpreted the
Bible in much the same way as did the medieval Church of
Europe, which acknowledged the divine right of kings and
which considered that God gave rulers a sacred or moral
right to exercise secular authority. Thus in contemporary
Samoa there is little division perceived by the people
between Church and State. The authority of God over

4. The term feagaiga is not used by a tulafale to refer
to an ali'i, although according to Pratt (1911:128)
this may have once been the case. The term is one
of comparison to the feagaigaof sister and brother.
humankind is as that of the *matai* over his household or the council over the village. The divine guidance which is given by God to ministers of religion is the source of their authority over their congregations, and so is the *mana* (although somewhat secularised) of the *ali'i* his source of moral authority over the secular activities of the *tulāfale*. Although the term *feagaiga* is no longer used to refer to the relationship between *ali'i* and *tulāfale*, the contractual relationship itself, based on the regulation of profane action by sacred power continues to flourish.

III

Another aspect of Samoan society which must be clarified before the sister-brother relationship can be discussed is the concept of *mamālu*. If *mana* is the sacred essence of society, *mamālu* is its qualitative expression. There is no direct equivalent term in English, but it might be glossed as having connotations of honour, dignity, esteem, virtue and morality. It is used most characteristically to refer to the standing of the group; the family, the lineage, the village, the entire nation, or of the representative of the group in any of these dimensions.

The term is most consistent with Durkheim's view that what is sacred is humankind's representation of itself in society.
The *mamalu* of a group or its representative is acknowledged through behaviour which is referred to in Samoa as *fa'aaloalo*; politeness, courtesy, respect. The "chieflly language" of the Samoans can be best understood in this context, for while it is most elaborately used in gathering of *matai* on formal occasions, it is also used in formal interaction between people of all status categories. It is not in any sense a separate language, but rather relies on the substitution of dignified euphemisms for common terms when addressing another person, and the use of common terms to refer to oneself.

The elaborate etiquette of the Samoans is similarly observed at all social levels and between persons of all status categories, depending on the context in which interaction takes place. This emphasis on polite restraint mitigates the authoritarian and hierarchical aspects of Samoan society. For, although each member of a group has a hierarchically determined position, and although groups also form hierarchies, courtesy and mutual respect are essential between individuals and groups. Samoans believe this to be the basis of social order, and consider themselves as being potentially violent if the rules of politeness are ignored.

A Samoan chief was invited while visiting Papua New Guinea, to attend a sitting of Parliament. Parliamentary debates in Papua New Guinea are conducted in the style of their former colonial rulers, Australia. Thus speeches are blunt
and forthright and opposition members interject, laugh sarcastically, make mock applause during the speech of a government member, and practice other forms of fairly good natured mutual harassment. The Samoan visitor was appalled. Such conduct in a Samoan fono, he remarked, would lead to murder.

The value that is placed on restraint and the association it has with the maintenance of morality and order are such that in the whole eighteen months period in Samoa I only witnessed two incidents in which adults publicly showed anger.
Case Study No.10 - Loss of Control as a Political Tactic

The 'aumaga of Nu'u were building a new cooking house for the village Pastor. They were being supervised by Sano who was at the time claiming a high-ranking ali'i title, his claim having not at the time been dismissed by the Lands and Titles Court. Sano is an expert carpenter, and on this occasion he was walking around, watching the youths and men working, when he began to yell at them. Something had not been done correctly. The reaction of the workers was to become confused and one youth fell against the scaffolding causing it to collapse. Afterwards, some boys who had been present commented on Sano's behaviour. They told me that if he was "a real matai" (i.e. if he was really a high ranking person) he would never have behaved like that. They were angry and humiliated by the incident and said that the building was not well made because of the way the matai had behaved.

Sano provoked another incident during the formal Sunday luncheon at the Pastor's house, which was attended by the Deacons of the Church and their wives. Most of the Deacons are senior matai of the village. On this occasion Sano spoke rudely to the wife of the senior ranking ali'i of Nu'u accusing her of financial mismanagement of women's committee funds. She answered him angrily, and he began to shout at her "Where
is the money? Where is the money?" The area around the Pastor's house had been deserted, but at the sound of an upraised voice, people appeared out of nearby houses and gathered around outside the house.

The high chief pushed his teacup away violently and raised his voice as he replied to the Sano. He told him to "shut his mouth". Sano continued to shout, stating that the high chief's wife was a nobody from nowhere. The chief got up and strode from the house, calling to his wife to come and leave "these fools". There was a hush in the room. All present looked quite panic stricken except Sano.

The Pastor, a young man, began to speak. His voice slow and gentle, his eyes on the floor in front of him. He used the most polite words, he referred to God, to the dignity of the village, the honour of the matai. His speech had no particular content, it was more or less a set of polite platitudes but it was very effective in diffusing the extreme tension which had permeated the gathering. He spoke for about ten minutes and when he concluded, the men and women present looked more relaxed. The high chief's wife, who had not followed her husband, made a speech apologising for her lack of control and expressing shame that such an incident could have occurred in the Pastor's house.

Sano also made a speech of apology and the meeting ended peaceably.
The whole incident had been a calculated attack by Sano on the high chief, for breaking the rules of courtesy, he had managed to provoke them into an undignified response and loss of control. In this respect he had achieved a tactical victory. His tenuous claim to his own title is well known in the village, and his success in influencing the course of events in the village is, according to a number of male informants, based on his ability to intimidate other matai who are accustomed to a more polite and regulated political game. He had apparently chosen the Pastor's house to provoke the incident, hoping to gain a tactical advantage in a dispute regarding the women's committee's control of a large capital sum, part of which was Church funds, which had been simmering away under the surface of village politics for over a year.

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When the rules of courtesy are suspended, as both incidents illustrate, people are likely to become confused or to lose control of their feelings. Such incidents also engender strong resentment. Like the boys in the first incident, the chief who had left the Pastor's house was angry and humiliated. It was difficult for him to be able to deal directly with the situation without further loss of face, so what he did was to remain in Apia for a month afterwards (he is a government official) without following his usual custom of spending weekends in the village.
Violation of the normal rules of politeness is a political tactic which can rarely be used effectively because ultimately it threatens the whole basis by which order is maintained. Politeness and formality is a strategy of interaction which tempers an extremely hierarchical set of statuses by giving recognition to the fact that every matai, and every descent group, regardless of rank, has intrinsic worth. This worth is expressed through the proper performance of roles, the observation of formal etiquette and the subordination of self to the interests of the group. If the game is played by the rules, no status or rank category is denied respect or honour. A low position in the rank hierarchy does not therefore mean a lack of esteem, self respect or respect from society.

It is in this way that the feagaiga relationship is the metaphorical basis of the ideological structure by which order is maintained. If the price paid for order is the repression of individual drives, the reward is collective self-esteem, which is maintained by a careful balance between the moral and the secular order or the noble and ignoble aspects of human behaviour.

VI

The most important relationship to which Samoans refer as feagaiga is that between sister and brother. Other social contracts might be considered metaphorical extensions of
this relationship: as a sister is to her brother, so is a female descent line to a male descent line when their respective lineages originated from a sister and brother pair. As a sister is to her brother, so is a minister to his congregation or an ali'i to a tulafale.

It is not an accurate reflection of Samoan values to argue as Mead has done (1928:84) that the honour of female co-descendants is only of consequence to high ranking descent groups. As I have argued in the previous section of this chapter, females are associated with mana because of their agency in its transmission. Mana is diffused through society by marriage alliances, women are given as wives to link important descent lines, or to increase the mamalu of lower ranking descent lines through the mana acquired from a high ranking ancestress. Thus every 'āiga, no matter how low its rank in the village hierarchy, has a sense of its own sacred aspects and the value of its gafa, the genealogical record which links it with the principal lineages of Samoa. The males of every 'āiga value their sisters as they value their collective honour.

My discussion of adolescent socialisation in Chapter three stressed the avoidance between cross-sex peers within the household. This avoidance is not merely a device to avoid incest any more than it is in certain Melanesian societies where male and female adolescent avoidance is derived from the concept of female pollution. It may be putting it
too strongly to suggest that in Samoa this avoidance is based on a concept of male pollution, but something of this notion is involved. Traditionally, a boy was not supposed to touch his sister's personal possessions, particularly her clothing or the mat upon which she slept, this rule is still observed by some Samoan households and it is certainly recognised if not enforced, by most older Samoans. The notion behind this avoidance was traditionally that intimate contact between brother and sister has supernaturally dangerous consequences\(^5\) to both.

Incest prohibitions in Samoa are extremely broadly defined: One may not marry anyone to whom one is related by kinship, affinity or adoption. Since practically all Samoans may, if they are sufficiently well informed, find that they have common genealogical links, this statement of the rules expresses an ideal state rather than actual behaviour. In practice, one does not marry persons with whom any kinship links are recognised within approximately four ascendant generations.

Shore (1976) has written with great insight on the manner in which incest prohibitions in Samoa derive from the symbolic opposition of qualities associated with sister and brother:

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5. See Chapter Eight for further discussion of this belief.
... incest prohibition in Samoa is best analysed from the perspective of communication theory, in terms of the maintenance of a culturally defined code for relationships within the 'āiga, particularly between brother and sister. The question of exogamy in Samoa, however, is best approached from the viewpoint of inter-'āiga alliances, which present a group of problems at least partially independant of those bearing on incest.

... the status of the incest prohibition as a phenomenon explicable in relation to the fundamental principle of opposed types of power which have been called formal and instrumental. It might be said that the incest prohibition reflects consideration of the formal power of the woman in relation to her brothers, while the prescription to marry out to form political alliances, reflects consideration of the instrumental power of one descent group against another. In this sense, the incest prohibition and the rule of exogamy may be said to share a common ideological idiom of power relations, but differ in the type of power that each stresses.

(Shore, 1976:295)

I am in substantial agreement with him on many points but his focus on power and its association with gender is rather different to my own. The terms "formal" and "instrumental" power do not, in my analysis, accurately describe what I consider to be the essence of social contract of the sister-brother or those relationships which both Shore and I agree, are metaphorically derived from it. Whereas Shore perceives two kinds of power, I perceive only one, in which moral aspects regulate secular aspects producing a unity of power which I would describe as "formal".
Nor do I concur with Shore in his association of "female" with "formal" power or "male" with "instrumental" power. It is certainly the case that in the context of the descent group, sisters represent moral authority and brothers represent secular authority. However, in other relationships, moral attributes and secular attributes are represented by two status categories of males, or females, for instance ali'\text{'i} and tulafale, or sister and wife. To separate them into symbolic male and female categories is in my view, analytically misleading.

VII

The aspects of power represented by youthful sister and brother dyads are largely symbolic since youth is formally powerless in Samoa. The attributes of the moral authority of the sister are represented by her observation of an ideal code of behaviour which includes an expectation that she will remain a virgin, since the biological fact of female sexuality is not socially acknowledged in female co-descendants. The attributes of secular authority are represented by brothers through their defense of their sister's chastity and their descent groups (in previous centuries, through the role of warrior) and through their economic services to the matai.
The interaction of the moral authority of a sister and the secular authority of a brother is more observable in terms of power when they are middle-aged adults. Few females take matai titles, and this is due to the fact that ideally speaking, a man's sisters marry out and reside away from the 'āiga with the 'āiga of her husband, creating an alliance for her brother by doing so. But wherever a sister resides, or whatever her marital status, she retains formal membership of her 'āiga. In the various decision making processes undertaken by an 'āiga potopoto all adult members have the right to participate and it is in this sphere that the interaction of moral and secular authority may be most readily perceived. I will give an example of the process of decision making undertaken by an 'āiga potopoto in order to illustrate this interaction.
Case Study No.11 - The Power of Sisters in the 'āiga Sā Ese

A maximal descent group which I shall call the Sā Ese originated from an ancestress who, according to the genealogy of the descent group, lived sixteen generations ago. She was the sister of the holder of one of the four paramount title-holders of Samoa, thus linking her descent group to the highest in the land. She had no children and bestowed her personal name as an ali'i title upon one of her brother's sons who was thus the direct founder of the descent line.

In about 1900 the holder of the Ese title traced his descent from the original male holder of the Ese title through predominantly male links (in two generations the title passed through a female). When he died, the 'āiga potopoto decided that the two mature sons of his first marriage to a woman of high rank were the most suitable heirs to the title. One had gone to theological college for a time but had not been ordained as a minister. He had worked in clerical employment for a firm of merchants and was considered by the standards of the time, an educated and worldly man. His elder brother had not been educated but was highly regarded in terms of his traditional skills, knowledge of tradition and good character. It was decided to give the Ese title to his younger brother, however, because of his knowledge of the modern world. His older brother was later given a title belonging to one of the junior ranking branches of the same descent line, one which had certain prestige in the village but lacked the high, nationally recognised rank of the Ese title.
When the holder of the Ese title died in the late 1960's, the 'āiga potopoto convened to make the preliminary decision as to which of the various sub-lineages associated with the title would provide an heir to the vacant title. The former Ese had in many ways failed to realise the expectations of the earlier 'āiga potopoto who had bestowed the title upon him. He had not distinguished himself in the modern sphere of commerce or politics, nor had he played a particularly notable role in village politics, it was felt. But his elder brother, also deceased, had given faithful service to his younger brother all his life, had earned a distinguished reputation in the church and in traditional village and district affairs. He had made an excellent marriage to a lady of an important descent line of Savaii and they had fourteen children. The decision reached followed the suggestion of the surviving sister of the two brothers; that the title should be given to one of the children of the eldest brother, rather than to the descendants of the previous holder of the Ese title.

It then remained up to the fourteen children of the elder brother to decide among them who would take the title. Because of death or emigration, only five of them were represented in the 'āiga potopoto, two brothers and three sisters. The eldest member was a sister: she was married to a high ranking ali'i in another district and had sixteen
children. She was offered the title first by her siblings but she declined it as the responsibilities it entailed would conflict with her responsibilities to her husband and children, she had not resided in the village for over twenty years and felt in some ways out of touch with its concerns, although she had always taken an active interest in the 'āiga.

That left the two brothers (the other two sisters were young unmarried women). The elder brother had resided in New Zealand for sixteen years and had returned in the hope of obtaining the title when he heard of the decision of the 'āiga potopoto that the title should go to one of his father's children. He was married to a woman who was of equal rank to himself and had five children of who the eldest were permanently resident in New Zealand, which left him with no immediate labour service group.

His younger brother had not lived abroad, was aged about forty and was a man of average attainments in the village, married to a woman from the same village of lower rank than himself. He had nine children, a potentially large labour service group, and had been very devoted to his father while he was alive.

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6. Because she had contributed to family ceremonials and given service to the group, but they did not really expect her to accept.
Both of the brothers were firmly convinced of their own superior claims to the title and were deadlocked on the issue which meant that it was up to the sisters to make a choice between them. This they found difficult to do as they felt both had advantageous and disadvantageous qualifications. The older brother was wealthier and more educated in the western sense, but they were aware that, as the recent history of their family had shown, this was not necessarily relevant to being a good matai. His wife was of high rank but the sisters disliked her, considering her a selfish woman who thought only of her children overseas and contributed little to the extended family in Samoa. They also felt that the older brother had little knowledge of the finer points of Samoan politics, having been away so long.

The sisters respected the younger brother's service to their father, his lifelong residence in the village and his knowledge of village politics, but felt him to be somewhat lacking in industry and personal initiative. Although his support group was larger, because in addition to his own young children he had foster children from his wife's family, they were all too young to be of an real use in terms of labour, whereas the older brother's absent children in New Zealand may be a useful source of cash contributions to family ceremonial obligations, and high status in terms of their career prospects.

7. While in modern times titles are often split and conferred upon two heirs in different branches of an 'āiga, titles may not be split and jointly held by two heirs in the same branch (itiupaeipae) of an 'āiga.
They finally agreed that the elder brother should be the one to take the Ese title. The younger brother was infuriated and refused to accept their decision. For the next two years, because a total consensus is necessary in an 'āiga potopoto, the title remained vacant. Finally, the eldest sister called another family gathering. She asked her husband to accompany her, since he was extremely knowledgeable in the legal aspects of Samoan title succession. She pointed out to her brothers that the children of their father's brother, the former Ese, may take advantage of the stalemate and claim the title themselves, now the last representatives of the ascendant generation who had made the decision in favour of Ese's brother's children, were dead. She also told them that they were lowering the esteem of their 'āiga in the village and that it was essential that a firm decision be reached and that a saofai be held to confer the title.

Once again, the younger brother held out in favour of his own claims, so in anger, the elder sister left the family gathering (which had been held at the home of her younger sister). The older brother and his wife visited her at her own home and begged her, at one stage weeping and kneeling at her feet, to go ahead with the saofai regardless of the younger brother's intransigence. She refused, saying that there must be unity within the 'āiga.

8. She did not want the title to go to them as this could reduce the chances of her own sons of gaining the title.

9. Her prediction proved correct and the title was contested by the descendents of the former Ese in the Land and Titles court in 1978. The courts decision upheld the earlier decision of the 'āiga potopoto to allow a descendent of Ese's elder brother to hold the title.
particularly considering the younger brother's long term residence in the village and the potential power he had for stirring up factionalism and discord which would undermine the standing of the Sā Ese.

A month later, the elder sister returned to her house from a women's committee meeting to find the younger brother sitting at the back with a roasted pig and a large basket of cooked food. He had come, he said, to beg her forgiveness, he would abide by her decision in favour of the elder brother and would relinquish his claim to the title, permitting the five siblings and their respective affines to go ahead and collect property for the *saofai*.

His change of heart, it transpired, was brought about because several days after he had angered his older sister by holding out against her wishes, an insect had flown into the eye of one of his young children. An infection had developed and the child's eyesight in one eye was in danger. He decided that this misfortune had arisen from his sister's anger and to avoid any further disaster befalling his family, he must make his peace with her.
This case history illustrates three aspects of the moral authority of a sister. Firstly, the high rank of the lineage originated with the creation of a title by a female who gave her own name to one of her brother's children. Although the father of this man was the holder of one of the paramount titles of Samoa at the time, he was not his father's heir but the heir of his father's elder sister, who was of higher rank than his father. Although she bore no children herself, she is still counted as the ancestress of the descent group. In addition, at two points in the genealogy of the lineage, the title passed through a female, in one case a daughter of the previous title holder, who bestowed the title on her son, and in another case, through a sister of a holder of the title whose son took the title.

Secondly, the decision in the last two generations of the lineage as to who would be heir to the title was made by the eldest sister of a sibling group. Thirdly, when the wishes of a sister are disregarded or opposed it is believed that supernatural punishment may result. The power of a sister's "curse" is referred to often in the literature on Samoa, however as I understand it, there is no need for her to actually verbally or formally curse her brother in order to bring misfortune upon him. It may result almost involuntarily, from her feeling anger as a result of being disregarded. That these are aspects of moral authority is
consistent with the way that I have defined the distinction between moral and secular authority above. The sisters in this case history were not expected to be concerned with their own immediate prospects for exercising secular authority, but with the esteem, the honour, the rank of the 'āiga through ensuring that its representative was appropriate to his office.

I am not suggesting of course, that sisters do not make these kinds of choices with complete lack of self-interest. On the contrary, I think self-interest is probably a major consideration in the way females make any decision. What I am saying is that the role they play in the decision-making process of the 'āiga, is conceptually that of guarding its esteem through validating the office of the most appropriate representative. A sister's moral authority in this sense is reinforced by the belief in her sacred or supernatural power to exert negative sanctions in the case where secular authority is not validated by the moral authority which she represents.

Stuebal (1976) gives an account written by Meisake, the interpreter to the German Consul in 1890 of an incident which occurred at Palealupo on Savaii, at that time. Meisake and the German Consul and their party were received by the ali'i sili, Tonu'maipea Saivaese (one of Samoa's highest ranking titles and formerly an ali'i pa'ia) who had authority over the whole district as its paramount chief. His rank
subordinates were required to present him with certain species of fish and animals which were sacred to him. Turtles and pigeons were also required to be presented to high chiefs in many districts, in this case it was a shark. Tonumaipea was informed by a visiting tulafale that a family of another village of the district had caught a shark which they had cut up and distributed among the village without informing the high chief. Tonumaipea sent for the tama'ita'ai mat.ua (the elder lady) of his family and asked her opinion. She responded by ordering the offending family's possessions to be occupied and destroyed as punishment for their insult. This incident illustrates the use of sacred authority. Certain species were held to be sacred by all Samoans in a district in which they were associated with a paramount chief, either because they were aitu (spirits) of his lineage or because of some other mythological association. To break these kinds of sa (taboo) was to impugn the sacred honour of the high chiefly lineage. In post-Christian times the consumption of sacred species was permitted but where they were associated with a high chiefly lineage, the chief had rights of disposal over them. Meisake's account of the event was significant because Tonumaipea was entertaining a distinguished guest, making the non-observance of the custom even more of an offence. That Tonumaipea requested the senior lady of the family to make the decision regarding the punishment of the offence exemplified the fact that the senior female members of the lineage were the guardians of its sacred, moral authority and this is what had been denied by the family which disposed of the shark.
VIII

The complimentarity of a ffeagaiga relationship also existed traditionally between o le nu'u o tama'ita'i, the "village of ladies" and o le nu'u o ali'i, the "village of the gentlemen". As I will discuss in Chapter nine of this thesis, the emergence of women's committees, dominated in most villages by the wives of matai, has eroded this division. However, in important traditional political centres such as Leulumoega, Le Falefā, Safotu and others, the aualuma of tama'ita'i have retained much of their traditional role and prestige.

The tama'ita'i of Leulumoega are known as "o tei 'o So'oa'emalelagi - "The younger sisters of So'oaimalelagi." The origin of this name derives from the following tradition (as told to me by one of the ladies of Leulumoega.)

(10) When Salamasina was residing at Nu'uausala with some of her women attendants, the village girls (teine) made a lot of noise near her house. Salamasina asked who it was who was making the noise and her attendants told her that they were young girls, offering to chase them away. Salamasina said "No, make them welcome, they can be my younger sisters". She gave them the name "the younger sisters of So'oá'malelagi" because So'oá'malelagi Levalasi was her father's sister and adoptive mother. Leulumoega was the village of So'oá'malelagi.

10. Salamasina was a female ali'i who was the first to hold the office of tafa'ifā which conferred supreme rank in all Samoa. The tafa'ifā was the name given to the incumbent of the four papa or paramount titles of Samoa's four principal districts, they are Tui'ana (A'ana), Tuiatua (Atua), Gatoaitele and Tamasoali'i (Tuamasaga and Savaii). The two latter titles originated from women.

11. A village near Nofoali'i, both formerly pitonu'u of Leulumoega.
The Tei of Leulumoega are, as a group, independent of the authority of the matai and have the right to disregard decisions made by the fono when the honour, dignity or reputation of the village is threatened by an action or decision taken by the matai.

An example of a decision taken by the matai that was overruled by the Tei occurred, according to my informant, some years ago when a high chief of the village died. Because of a political dispute which had existed between him and the other matai of the village before his death, the fono made the decision not to accord him the usual ceremonial honours shown by a whole village when one of their high chiefs die.

The Tei had a meeting, and decided that such an omission would degrade the honour of the village in the eyes of the world. Accordingly, they set about making the preparations and collecting the ceremonial goods for the funeral. This caused the matai to change their minds and the usual respectful funeral observances were made by the whole village.

IX

A feagaiga between the descendants of a sister-brother pair is a relationship which is calculated from a given time to a particular relationship and does not automatically exist
between all descendants of all sisters and brothers. To be tamafine in relation to a particular title does not mean that you have necessarily descended through a recent female link, it implies that you are descended from the sister of a particular holder of that title or of the male ancestor of the lineage. Both tamatane and tamafafine groups comprise male and female members, who treat one another as though they were brother and sister respectively.

There is a particular category of matai title known as ma'aupu which refers to a title created for a sister's son by his mother's brother or father. In the case of a ma'aupu title and that of the title of the founder's mother's brother, there is a feagaiga between the incumbents of the titles. There is also a feagaiga between two lineages which originated from a brother-sister pair in which the names of the sister and the brother have become the titles of the two lineages.

These feagaiga between tamatane and tamafafine do not give members in either group the right to claim the title of the other. What is characteristic of the relationship is an enduring reciprocal duty to contribute to the ceremonial obligations of each title. There is particular emphasis on the duty of the title in the tamatane category to contribute fine mats to the title in the tamafafine category when the holder of the title is celebrating a funeral, wedding, title-conferring ceremony or some other important occasion.
The holder of the *tamafafine* title is always treated with ceremonious respect by the holder of the *tamatane* title, even though in terms of the village or district hierarchy, the former may be of lesser rank.

Traditionally, the holder of titles which were *tamafafine* in relation to titles that were *tamatane*, had special sacred and ritual duties on ceremonial occasions, particularly on the occasion of a funeral. This symbolised the duty of an older sister to preside over the funeral of her brother if he was a high ranking chief.

A nineteenth century custom has been described by Stuebal which prescribed that when a chief was dying, he would instruct his sons to give the *titi* (a skirt of leaves) of their sons' wives to his sister and her sons. This was apparently designed to symbolise the transmission of the *feagaiga* between the chief and his sister to their respective descendants (Stuebal 1895:110).

In terms of economic reciprocity in the nineteenth century, the *feagaiga* between sister and brother distinguished between two types of property. This first was that of portable wealth: food, tools, woven articles, fine mats, tapa and so on. The second was that of immovable goods: land, houses and the *matai* titles associated with them. The former type of property circulated among, and was accessible to, all the adult members of the 'āiga and was subject to the discretion of the *matai* who was the official custodian of all property.
The latter property only operated to the advantage of the residential core of the 'āiga in the locality in which the title was effective and the land accessible. The greatest asset of 'āiga membership from the point of view of the individual, was the possibility of being elected to hold a matai title or of having this honour bestowed upon his or her son.

It was in this respect that there was a substantial difference between the rights of brothers and sisters. The descendants of males, who did not marry out, had privileged access to titles and thus to the control over the lands of the 'āiga. The descendants of females, who did not marry out, had privileged access to food and valuables, which if denied by agnatic kin, put them at risk of supernatural retribution.

The increased frequency of prolonged uxorial residence in contemporary Samoa, in comparison with the situation which appears to have prevailed in earlier times where village endogamy was less frequent and virilocality was stressed, has modified the complimentary but distinct rights of a sister and brother and their respective offspring. Thus the clear distinction in rights between tamatane and tamafafine must have always been predicated by the women marrying out and bringing their children up in the household of their fathers.
Turner mentions another interesting and now extinct custom concerning sister and brother.

The general rule is, for the husband to give away his child to his sister. She and her husband give in return for the child some foreign property (ʻoloa) just as if the adopted child is viewed a "ʻofoa" and is, to the family who adopts it, a channel through which native property (or "ʻofoa") continues to flow to that family from the parents of the child. On the other hand, the child is to its parents a source of obtaining foreign property (or ʻoloa) at the time of its adoption, as long as the child lives (1861:179).

What is not clear from Turner's account is the preferred sex of children given in adoption by a brother to a sister. Turner also reported that a brother had a duty to provide the supplementary women given as secondary wives on the occasion of the marriage of a taupou (the daughter of a high ranking 'ali'i) if she were his sister's daughter.

12. Father Deihl, a Catholic missionary in Samoa, reported that a brother had the right to take in adoption the first born male child of his sister. (Deihl, 1932:24)
It may be that female children were thus given in adoption rather than males since this would be less disruptive of the ideal reciprocity of the *feagaiga* relationship, however, if male children were given, this places the inheritance rights of adopted children in perspective, since adopted children had property rights of the same secondary order as that of heirs on the *tamafafine* side.

In the Samoan system, cross cousin marriage was and is prohibited, unlike that of the Tongan system where in chiefly ranks marriage was permitted with mother's brothers' daughter. It is possible that the pattern of adoption which I have quoted above was a Samoan substitute for brothers giving their daughters to their sister's son in marriage. The *feagaiga* between *tamatane* and *tamafafine* perpetuated the brother-sister incest taboo over many generations, but the device of a sister adopting her brother's child and raising it as a sister or brother to her own children would tend to reinforce the relationship between sister and brother both in the parental and the children's generation.
Radcliffe-Brown (1952) has argued that the function of feagaiga-like relationships in Tonga and among the Thonga of South-east Africa, where the focus is largely upon the descendants of a sister and brother and particularly upon the MB-ZS relationship, is largely one of compensation. Women marry out and bear the sons of other men, who, barred from rights of inheritance to fixed assets such as lands and offices in their mothers' descent groups are compensated by rights to make demands upon the portable property of their mothers' brothers. The mother's brother is also representative of the kin group to which a man is bound by ties of affection rather than of obligation, accordingly a man's relations with his matrikin are less formal and strained than those with his patrikin. This analysis may be of value in explaining an emphasis on the opposed rights of cross-sex siblings and their descendants in societies in which there is a clear ideology of patrilineal descent but is less satisfactory in terms of Samoa. Here the feagaiga demarcates the area in which sisters and brothers and their descendants have power and stresses the need for mutual reciprocity which, I have argued, involves a combination of moral and secular authority which is perceived as fundamental to order in society. Unless the Samoan emphasis is interpreted as a survival from an earlier and more clearly patrilineal order

13. See also Goody (1959) who criticises Radcliffe-Brown's emphasis on affection but emphasises the compensatory rights of matrikin.
of things, a less legalistic exploration of the subject is called for. Even in patrilineal Tonga, Rogers (1977:157-181) perceives that the focal point of cross-sex siblingship there is that of FZ-BS, rather than MB-ZS. I will return to this point below.

An essay by Hocart, written in 1923, (Hocart, 1970:195-98) suggests that *vasu*, the Fijian custom which permits a sister's son to make demands upon the portable property of his mother's brother, has a religious origin. He cites Junod's explanation that among the South African Thonga, a similar indulgence towards sister's sons derives from the belief that they are held to be living representatives of the dead. Thus they have licence to eat the offerings to the dead but are ritually pursued and pelted by the living. Hocart compares this to the ritualised fighting he observed in Fiji between cross-cousins, which occurred despite the right of 'the uterine nephew' to help himself to the property of his mother's brother. This was explicitly supported in some parts of Fiji by the belief that supernatural sanctions upheld the rights of *vasu*. Hocart's speculative assertion was that cross-cousins represented "gods or ghosts" to one another (presumably those of the matriline *vis a vis* those of the patriline to which it was attached).
Rogers, after a detailed consideration of Tongan social structure and ideology, argues that mystical powers are passed down a matriline and exercised over a patriline to which it is attached. Males inherit mystical powers in Tonga, he argues, but cannot transmit them to their own offspring. (Rogers, 1976:177). Mabuchi (1964: discusses the spiritual predominance of the sister in Ryūkyūan culture and society and distinguishes between Ryūkyūan ideology and that described of Polynesian societies in terms of the focus of the relationship upon a sister and brother pair, rather than upon their descendants. In the Ryūkyū islands, a sister has ritual superiority over her brother for she is the personal representative and medium of the potent spirits of matrilineal ancestors. Mabuchi's distinction is less valid in terms of recent studies which indicate that in Tonga and Pukapuka (Hecht: 1977) it is precisely the same principle that underlies the superior formal status of sisters vis-a-vis their brothers.

In Samoa the force of the feagaiga between sister and brother focuses upon a man and his elder sister and to a lesser extent between all cross-sex siblings. It does not necessarily involve the descendants of brothers and sisters unless there is a formal relationship of feagaiga between them deriving from their common descent from an ancestral sister and brother pair. Where this is the case the relationship focuses upon the two matai of the fraternal and sororal descent groups, and which accords higher rank to the representatives of the
sororal line irrespective of the ascribed rank of the titles in the local or national hierarchy. Thus the ancestral sororal title of the alo o Fānene, Leilua, is of higher rank than the fraternal title, Meleisea, on the ceremonial occasions of rites de passage of either of their 'āiga - despite the fact that in the political sphere of the falefita, Meleisea is of higher rank than Leilua.

Two kinship terms recorded for Samoa by Mead (1930:133), ilamutu and tamasa, deserve further investigation: Mead translates the former tentatively as "elder sister" and the latter as "sister's child" in the context of the 'āiga of an ali'i of high rank. While I was doing field work, most people claimed ignorance of these terms. Meleisea Folitau told me that he understood the term ilamutu to refer to a female ghost, while another elderly woman who practices as a traditional healer and spirit medium said that ilamutu are the spirits of important female ancestors. At the funeral of an ali'i, she explained, old women sometimes mysteriously appear among the mourners and take a seat in the most honoured part of the house. When this happens it is believed that they are the ilamutu, representing ancestresses of the deceased. My informant claimed that she herself represented the ghost of a female ancestor, a widely feared ghost in Samoa, and she told me that when she went to the village in which her ancestress had once lived, the people living there treated her with great respect.

14a. See Chapter Two.
even though they were only very distantly related.\(^{(14b)}\)

Cain (1971:173-181) offers a most illuminating discussion of the term *tamasā*, in which he points out that some of the most potent ancestral spirits of chiefly lineages in Samoa originated from an incestuous union between B-Z, MB-ZD or MBD-FZS. The term *tamasā* (sacred child) Cain shows, is clearly associated with ancestral spirits (*aitu*) born in the form of a clot of blood - *'alu'alutoto* (abortions) as a result of incest between parties to a *feagaiga* relationship, which took various human or semi-human forms subsequently as a powerful *aitu*, giving great power to the lineage from which they emanated.

The suspension of normally strict incest prohibitions in great chiefly lineages has been recorded by many authorities on Polynesia. In terms of Samoan beliefs, the divisions of forbidden (and in a sense sacred) and permitted, orderly sexuality are opposed in the following manner:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sister-brother</th>
<th>husband-wife</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>girl/lady</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>virgin</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shared blood/mana</td>
<td>exchanged blood/mana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forbidden sexuality</td>
<td>permitted sexuality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>incest (15)</td>
<td>marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abortion/sterility</td>
<td>procreation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>supernatural beings</td>
<td>descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>supernatural power</td>
<td>alliance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14b. See Chapter Eight for discussion of contemporary Samoan *aitu* beliefs.

15. The traditional punishment for incest between brother and sister was their parent's curse which caused sterility thereafter in both parties.
Genealogy of Salamasina

- **TSAMOA (M)**
  - **GUAIFALEAI (F)**
  - **TOTOGATA (F)**
  - **GATOITI (F)**
  - **GASOLOAIAOOLELAGI (F)**

- **MALIETOA LA'auli (M)**

- **MALIETOA UITUALAGI (M)**

- **TUITONGA (M)**
  - **TUITOGA FAFINE (F)**
  - **Nafo'ua (F)**

- **SANALALA (M)**

- **TONUMAIPA (M)**

- **LALOLVIMAMA (M)**
  - daughter of **TUJATUA**
  - son of **TUJANANA**

- **VAETAMASOA (TAMASOALI) (F)**
  - **LEATOUGAUGATUITOGA (F)**

- **LEVALASI SODAIALELAGI (F)**

- **TUJATUA (M)**
  - **MATU'UTIA (M)**

- **TUJANANA TAMALELAGI (M)**

- **SALEVALASI (MATA'AFA)**

- **TAUATAMA (M)**
  - **FOFOIVAOESE (F)**

- **TAPUMANAIA (M)**

- **Salamasina (F)**

- **TUMAMAIA (M)**

- **SALEVALASI (MATA'AFA)**

- **TAPUMANAIA II (M)**

- **LEATAVUA (M)**

- **FAUMUNA (M)**
  - **FANENE (M)**
  - **FUIMAONO (M)**

- **FONOTI (M)**

- **MUAGUTU'I (M)**

- **SA TUPUA (TAMASESE)**

- **SATUIMALEALI'IFANO (M)**
  - **SAMALALU (F)**
    - **LILOMAIAVA (M)**
    - **GALUMALEMAKA (M)**
    - **TAMAEANA (M)**
  - **SA TUPUA (TAMASESE)**

**CHIEF TITLES**

- ORDINARY NAMES
--names which are
- Ghosts or spirits

**ADOPTION**

- descent from ghosts or spirits

**DESCENDANTS**

(TUIMALEALI'IFANO)
A set of interlocking genealogical traditions draw a portrait of Samoan history of successive phases of unity and disunity over the centuries. The first period of unity was in mythical time under the rule of the Tui Manu'a, first descendant of Tagaloaalagi, whose descendants either populated or conquered the big islands to the west. Then came a period which ended about thirty-five generations ago, when Tongan chiefs were paramount in the Western Islands. The last era of unity appears to have occurred about sixteen generations ago with the creation of a new focus of paramount rank, the *tafa'ifā*; four honorific titles which confer ceremonial supremacy in the main political centres of the western islands when held by a single incumbent. I will conclude this Chapter by briefly reviewing the main genealogical points of the set of traditions connected with the origins of the *tafa'ifā* in order to demonstrate the importance of female rank and the supernatural potency of incestuously generated *aitu* that were invoked to validate this new focus of paramount rank, which Routledge (1977) has suggested, created an alternative centre of sacred power to that of the traditional centre, Manu'a, for the more populous islands of the west.
The set of traditions begins in mythical time with the story of the siamese-twin sisters, Taemā and Tilafaiga, daughters of the sister of Saveasi'uleo, ruler of the Samoan hades, Pulotu, who had the form of half man, half sea-eel. The twins fell into the water and separated then swam to Fiji from whence they brought the instruments of tattooing. In one version, the sisters became confused and upon reaching the shores of Samoa, called out that men are to be tattooed and not women (in Fiji the custom was the reverse). Another version says that they declared that men should be tattooed as women must endure the pain of childbirth. Taemā went to Tutuila where she is still acknowledged as a widely feared aitu and patron of tattooing experts.

Tilafaiga went to Pulotu which is said to be the west, off the shore of the village of Falealupo and married her mother's brother, Saveasi'uleo.

From this union was born the female aitu Nafanua, in the form of a clot of blood (abortion). She assumed the form of a grown woman and led a war which established the Sā Tonumaipa as the mālō or ruling power in Savai'i.

The Sā Malietoā lineage was founded approximately thirty-five generations ago by the warriors Tuna and Fata who

(16) Saveasi'uleo was also born as a "clot of blood" (Stuebal 1896:151).
drove out the Tongan rulers with the aid of the supernatural power of their sister's son, who accomplished their imposed task of moving a huge stone out of the ground. The title Malietoa originated from the legendary farewell of the conquered Tui Tonga, who cried from his canoe "well fought brave warriors" (malie tau, malie toa).

A descendant of this lineage, Malietoa Uitualagi had foisted upon him an illegitimate son of his wife, who was sired by her own brother. This foster son, La'auli, outdid Malietoa's son, his own half brother by winning the daughter of Tuisamoa, Gauifaleai and her younger sister, Totogata, as his wives. When Malietoa Uitualagi coveted these women, La'auli asked them to offer their sexual services to his putative father, to which Totogata agreed. Malietoa, gratified by his son's generosity, bestowed upon him the Malietoa title and made a prophesy that all the ruling titles of Samoa would be brought together in his descendants. Gauifaleai and Totogata gave birth to daughters, respectively they were Gatoaitele and Gasoloaiaoolelagi, who both become the wives of the handsome manaia(17) Sanalala, a descendant of the Tui Tonga Fafine (daughter of the paramount chief of Tonga). Gatoaitele was barren (perhaps because she was the true daughter of La'auli, or perhaps as her punishment for refusing to marry Folasaitu of Faleata, a powerful chief with whom her marriage had been arranged) however

17. Manaia is the son of a high ranking ali'i.
Gasoloaiaolelagi, (whom we assume to be the daughter of Malietoa Uitualagi by Totogata) bore a son, (who married the daughter of Tuiatua) a daughter (who married the son of Tuia'ana) and another daughter who married Tonumaipe'a - the chief of Falealupo whose power comes from his ancestress, the aitu Nafanua, referred to above.

The grandsons of Sanalala and Gasoloaiaolelagi were Tuia'ana Tamalelagi, who married a daughter of the Tui Tonga, and Tuiatua Mata'utia, who married his father's sister's daughter, the daughter of Tonumaipe'a, So'oaimalelagi Le Valasi. Their union resulted in an abortion, which became the aitu Tuimavave of the Sā Mata'utia. Tuia'ana Tamalelagi and the daughter of Tui Tonga had a daughter, Salamasina, who was given in adoption to So'oaimalelagi Le Valasi.

A war erupted between a rival claimant of the Tuia'ana title of the Sā Malietoa in Le Falefa, in Tuamasaga, and Tuia'ana Tamalelagi of Leulumoega. So Levālasi So'oaimalelagi sought assistance for her mother's sister's son from the warrior goddess Nafanua, her ancestress through Tonumaipe'a. Nafanua won the war for Tuia'ana and demanded in return authority over the titles Tuia'ana and Tuiātua and the two newly created titles, Gatoaitele and Tamasoāli'i, (these titles derived from the names of the childless sister, Gatoaitele and her sister's daughter, Vaetamasoa).
Nafanua, represented by Levalasi So'oao malelagi, bestowed the four titles upon Salamasina, who through her ancestors descended from Tui Fiti (through Tui Samoa) Tui Manu'a and (through Tui A'ana) Tui Tonga (through her mother) thus giving her equality with the paramount lineage of Tonga and Fiji and Manu'a; and who, through the four titles the tafa'ifai, heke'ala paramount rank in all the districts of the Western islands. The paramount title of modern Samoa, Malietoa, Tamasese, Matāafa and Tuimaleali'iifano and all the major lineages of Samoa and their titles descend from, or intersect through marriage with, the descendants of Malietoa Lauuli thus fulfilling the prophesy of Malietoa Uitualagi (18).

This set of legends and the genealogical sketch which accompanies it illustrates the sacred significance and structural importance of a number of key female ancestresses in Samoan chiefly genealogies. It strongly supports my argument that females were the agents of mystical power and offers an explanatory background to the Samoan belief in the superior rank of sisters in relation to their brothers. The supernatural importance of female ancestors in modern Samoa is still emphasised in contemporary folk beliefs, as will be shown in Chapter 8.

18. This account is a synthesis of a large number of versions of oral traditions recorded by Kramer (1903, 1921), English translation by De Beers (1942) and Herman (1949). Also by Stuebal (1896), (English translation by Herman published in 1974) also from contemporary oral versions recorded and translated by Malama Meleisea.
CHAPTER SEVEN

WIFE GIVERS AND WIFE TAKERS
CHAPTER SEVEN

Wife Givers and Wife Takers

I

In pre-Christian Samoa the sexual dilemma faced by young people in contemporary society which forbids open contact between members of the opposite sex while at the same time expecting them to find marriage partners, was at least partly resolved by an institution which now exists as only a shadow of its former self. This was the fairly constant round of visiting parties which moved in and out of Samoan villages referred to in Samoa as malaga. These visits were embarked on for various reasons, a marriage feast in another district, a fa'le tautu or aumeoga (courting party) sent to seek a chief's daughter as a wife for another chief, to return an earlier visit from the aualuma or 'aumaga of another village, to seek political support for a cause, or simply because the village had a shortage of food, possibly incurred through the reception of too many outside malaga. It was amongst the malaga parties that young people of lesser rank found husbands and wives.

A malaga travelled by land or by sea, often covering great distances and stopping over in many villages overnight on route to their ultimate destination. In a time when Samoa
lacked modern communications it was a major means for passing on information and maintaining links between territorial and island divisions. It acted as a trade substitute in that it facilitated the redistribution of surplus food and specialist products but perhaps more than anything, it provided the opportunity for feasting, dancing, games, oratory, political machinations, ceremonials and courtship, social enjoyment.

Robert Louis Stevenson offers the following charming account of the custom:

But the special delight of the Samoan is the malanga (sic). When people form a party and go from village to village, junketting and gossiping, they are said to go on a malanga. Their songs have announced their approach ere they arrive; the guest house is prepared for their reception the virgins of the village attend to prepare the kava bowl and entertain them with the dance; time flies in the enjoyment of every pleasure which an islander conceives; and when the malanga sets forth the same welcome and the same joys expect them beyond the next cape, where the nearest village nestles in its grove of palms. To the visitors it is all golden; for the hosts, it has another side. In one or two words of the language the fact peeps slyly out. The same word (afemoeina) expresses "a long call" and "to come as a calamity"; the same word (lesolosolou) signifies "to have no intermission of pain" and to "have no cessation, as in the arrival of visitors" and soua, used of epidemics, bears the sense of being overcome as with "fire, flood or visitors". But the gem of the dictionary is the verb alovao, which illustrates its pages like a humorous woodcut. It is used in the sense of "to avoid visitors", but it means literally "hide in the wood". So, by the sure hand of popular speech we have the picture of the house deserted, the malanga disappointed and the host that should have been, quaking in the bush.

(Stevenson 1892:13)
A *malaga* was often led by either the *taupou* or *manaia* together with their respective escorts of young girls and youths, and their orators. Sometimes the leader of a *malaga* was the high chief of a village, in which case the *taupou* accompanied him as an adjunct to his rank.

The parties varied in size depending on the occasion and the duration of the *malaga*. The visitors would be dressed in their finest mats and tapa cloths, their skins perfumed, wearing flowers and ornaments, their orators primed with the history and traditions of the host villages and both visitor and host would set out to make as fine an impression on each other as possible.

If the two sides considered that closer ties between them were desirable, a *poūla* was held. The *poūla* or "night dance" was a custom which appears to have earned the Samoans a reputation, in the eyes of nineteenth century European observers, for sexual licentiousness. The subject in fact is hastily passed over in most sources accompanied by the statement that it was banned among Christian Samoans.

The behaviour expected of a *manaia* (the son of a high ranking *ali'i*) on *malaga* was precisely the opposite of what was expected of the *taupou*, for while her chastity and honour were vigorously guarded by her attendants, the duty of the escort of the *manaia* was to sing his praises and act as go-between for him and as many young ladies as possible. Unless

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1. I have quoted the description of John Williams of a Poūla in Chapter 4.
the *malaga* was principally bent on a mission of courtship (*aumoega*) with the object of obtaining the *taupou* of their hosts as a wife for the *manaia* or the *ali'i*, the young men sought to obtain secondary wives for the *manaia* from among the lower ranking girls of the host village. Even a temporary secondary marriage alliance between a girl of lesser rank and a *manaia* was acceptable since the union may produce an heir in the higher ranking lineage and create a prestigious alliance for the descent group of the girl.

In the process of ostensibly courting girls on behalf of the *manaia* young men were able to attend to their own romantic interests and to obtain wives for themselves. Samoans still joke today about the expectation that young men would return from *malaga* with wives. The *poula*, then, appears to have been an occasion on which the normally strict rules surrounding sexual behaviour were temporarily suspended. The dance commenced, as with most Samoan dancing parties, with guests and hosts seated at opposite ends of the house and taking it in turn to entertain one another with songs and dances. But, as the evening grew late, after the *taualuga*, the last dance performed as a rule by the *taupou* the unattached people remained in the house to continue dancing. They would lower the house blinds and dance with greater abandon, sometimes naked, in a highly charged sexual atmosphere, which would lead to youths and girls of the two sides pairing off for sexual intercourse.
There is also some evidence that the discarded or separated secondary wives of high ranking ali'i who were living in their own villages and who did not have sufficiently high rank to risk offending their former spouse by re-marrying, were permitted to form temporary sexual liaisons with visiting males (Pritchard, 1866:133).

The practice of malaga was strongly discouraged by the German administration after 1900. German officials regarded malaga as frivolous, wasteful and dissipating. A similar attitude existed among New Zealand officials, who succeeded the Germans as the administrators of Western Samoa after 1921.

Malaga are certainly less frequent today, one of the reasons being that improved communications such as roads and motor vehicles make it possible for a malaga to visit another village and return home on the same day. On very major ceremonial occasions, such as church openings and the weddings of very high ranking people, Samoan villages host guests overnight sometimes for several days, but it is less common than it was in earlier times and most of the ceremonial aspects: the presence of the taupou and the manaia and their escorts; the round of festivities and the "sinful" poūla, have virtually disappeared.

Nowadays most malaga are associated with church festivals and with inter-village sporting events. It seems to me that the decrease in malaga has removed an extremely vital avenue of inter-village courtship. The severe interpretation of incest rules and a feeling of disapproval regarding
intra-village marriage, coupled with the normally strict chaperonage of single women, makes it more than a little difficult for persons of the opposite sex who are not related and not from the same village to meet each other, let alone to initiate courtship with the intention of marriage.

II

I have referred briefly in previous chapters to the taupou, but I have reserved discussion of her role for this Chapter, for the institution of taupou was the focal point of the traditional or the pre-Christian system of creating alliances between villages and, more importantly, between high ranking descent groups.

Taupou marriage took place exclusively between the male and female members of high ranking descent groups and since people of this rank were a minority of the population, it was not the only form of marriage. Formal, though less lavishly celebrated matrimonial alliances were negotiated between men and women of lower rank but then as now, most people began their marriages with an elopement (Kramer,1903: 39).

I have used the term "taupou marriage" intentionally, for males of particularly high rank formed secondary marriages with young women of intermediate and low rank with little
formal ceremony (Pritchard, 1866:135, Turner 1861:189)
In addition, they acquired secondary wives along with the
*taupou*, apparently as part of the dowry given along with
her (Turner 1861:330). The most elaborate and the
largest scale ritual and ceremonial observances attended
the marriage of *taupou*, and it was primarily for this
occasion that the *taupou* office existed.

The greatest changes to Samoan marriage customs have occurred
at the highest ranking and most formal levels of society,
and it is these customs which I will reconstruct and
analyse in order to trace the changes which have occurred.

In pre-Christian Samoa, marriage was the principal means by which
rank was maintained. While marriage created territorial
and military alliances and provided a venue for large scale
exchanges between groups, it also functioned to affirm the
rank of certain high ranking *ali'i*. This was accomplished
through the ceremonial transfer of high ranking women and
of women of lesser rank by their male relatives and the
political leaders of their villages, to high ranking males
with whom they wished some form of alliance.

The rights which high ranking males acquired over women
through marriage depended on the rank of the woman herself.
If she was of superior or equal rank\(^2\) to him, his rights
were to have sexual intercourse with her in the hope of
producing a child. These rights only endured as long as

\[2\] I use the term rank here both in the sense of personal
rank and also of the respective ascribed rank of
their titles.
the woman wished to remain with him. If she were of lower rank or if she were of equal rank but from a village that was politically and militarily weak, his rights over her lasted as long as the inequality between their respective sides endured. Such women could leave their husbands and reside with their own kin, but their husbands continued to have rights over their sexual services in perpetuity. These rights did not compel women to have sexual intercourse with their husbands, but rather prohibited other men from having access to them.

Marriage in the chiefly ranks was thus not a transfer of women as such, but a transfer of certain rights over their sexual and reproductive faculties. One of the measures of a great chief was not the number of wives with whom he lived, but the number that he had married, had deflowered and had thus obtained prior opportunity to make pregnant. Dr Schultz-Eworth (1926:91) noted that a chief of Leone village on the island of Tutuila (Eastern or American Samoa) had married fifty times before reaching the age of forty-five years.

The central figures in this system were the taupou. Chosen at around the age of puberty on the basis of their rank and their appearance and intelligence (for despite their youth they had to be adept in conversation and traditional knowledge as they represented their villages ceremonially). They were usually the daughters of the highest ranking ali'i
of the villages or the ali'is' sisters' daughters. They held office in pre-Christian times for only a few years and during that time, courting parties would come from other villages and districts on behalf of ali'i or manaia (the sons of ali'i) to seek them as wives. A final decision in the matter would usually be made by the principal tulafale of her village. Their choice would be made on the basis of the rank of the prospective husband, or the political strength and wealth of his village and district. In this regard, Kramer notes:

"Treaties of mutual assistance ... generally they were brought about not by the marriages of great chiefs but by the marriages of their daughters, granted that their daughters' mothers were also of noble descent, with the chiefs of those villages". (1902:1-14)

Thus the giving of a girl of high rank in marriage was the means of creating an alliance.

Women were not exchanged. A chief who gave his taupou in marriage to another chief did not receive (then, or later on) a woman in return. Marriage linked two sides in a kinship relation which lasted as long as the marriage did, and linked them perpetually if children were born of the union, and survived to bear children themselves. Persons of any rank in Samoa who consider themselves affines may not engage in any further intermarriage.
Chiefly marriage did not merely involve a man, a woman and their respective 'āiga, but their whole villages and their resources. It was a focus for a large number of political, economic, social and religious transactions and it is clear that the framework of the marriage within which these transactions were enacted had profound symbolic significance. Before this can be explored, it is necessary to present a summary of the events of a chiefly marriage.

The customary proceedings\(^\text{(3)}\) in negotiating a chiefly matrimonial alliance were:

1. **Fa'a soa: The Intermediation**
   
   Interest was expressed by an ali'i, his son (the manaia) or their tulāfale in a certain taupou for reasons of her rank, the wealth and importance of her lineage, her beauty and fame or the wish to obtain some link with the polity with which she was associated. An exploratory mission was embarked upon by the orators (tulāfale) of the ali'i after they have discussed the merits of the match in a fale tautū (a consultation of those who represent the interests of the ali'i and the village). This mission was undertaken in order to ascertain

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3. The account that I have here is summarised from the writings of Turner (1866:184-188), Prichard (1866: 132-136), Stair (1897:171-176), and Kramer (1902:1, 34-38). The following sets out the sequence of events which are generally agreed upon by 19th Century observers as those characteristic in the marriage of a taupou of one village and a high ranking chief or the son of such a chief from another village. These alliances were often made by parties living on different islands and thus separated by
rank and the virtue of the girl, the state of affairs in her village and to discover if she was available for marriage and if so, what the chances of the suitor were likely to be. The intermediary was known as a *soa*.

2. **Fale Tautū: The Courting Party**

If a favourable response was met with, a formal courting party, an *fale tautū* was arranged. The village or *pitonu'u* of the *ali'i* contribute food and pigs to be taken along as a gift. If this gift was accepted, then this was regarded as a sign that the match was acceptable to the representatives of the *taupou*.

Before accepting the gift, the side of the *taupou* would have discussed amongst themselves the merits of the match. (Kramer indicates that the wishes of the *taupou* were taken into consideration, however, missionary sources such as Turner and Stair considered that she had little say in the matter).

A *fale tautū* whose offering was rejected might have returned with a larger gift if it was an alliance they really wanted. (Kramer says that a really massive offering backed by the entire resources of a village was difficult to refuse).
3. **Umu tausama'aga: The Betrothal**

Once a match was arranged a betrothal feast took place between the parties, the *umu tausama'aga*. Then the suitor's party returned home to prepare for the wedding which was held in the village of the husband. A *tulafale* was left behind to guard the girl and to make sure that no further courting parties arrived to try to win the girl before her marriage to the party he represented.

4. Of this competition for a *taupou*, Stair writes:

"It sometimes happened that the messengers of three or four rival candidates were permitted to remain and struggle for the prize, thus, at times, causing many amusing scenes, as the messengers not only sought to influence the lady herself, but also strove to gain aid from her attendants, in their favour. The several suitors also came in person, and endeavoured to make themselves attractive by every means in their power. Political and family interests were mixed up in the question and many consultations were held by the family as to which of the offers held out the greatest inducements. This rivalry continued for some time amidst much coquetting on the part of the fair one, until at length she formally announced her choice, leaving the messengers of the disappointed ones to withdraw, chagrined at their failure...."  

(Stair 1897:172-173).
4. **The collection of toga and oloa.**

The entire village of the bridegroom set about collecting food, pigs and goods for the wedding presentation. The goods given by the bridegroom were called oloa and consisted of "male" goods, that is, the products of men: food, livestock, weapons and carved ornaments, canoes, tools, even houses formed part of the bridewealth.

The bride's village also participated in raising the dowry of the bride. This was called toga and comprised "female" goods, or products of women. It included 'ie toga, 'ie sina, 'ie 'ula, the three most valuable classes of ceremonial mats used as clothing by high ranking women)

Siaipo (tapa) perfumed oil and dyes, floor mats and sleeping mats and other items of this kind.

A stone house platform (paepae) was constructed by the village in which the couple was to reside after the marriage (customarily that of the groom unless for some reason concerning the nature of the alliance itself, a chief's son was to be established in the village of his wife).

5. In modern Samoa, 'ie sina and 'ie 'ula are no longer made. In the toga or malo, as it is now usually termed, fala lau 'ie (mats woven of the high quality soft white pandanus used for 'ie toga) and fala su'i (sleeping mats embroidered in wool) have replaced these items.
5. *Fa'aiopoipoga: The Wedding*

Kramer records that important weddings took place over three days. On the first day the bride was ritually deflowered in a public ceremony (*fa'amaseiau* - to rupture the hymen by digital insertion). On this day the *toga* was presented to the groom's side. On the second day, the groom's side presented the *'oloa* to the bride's side. And, on the third day, the bridal party presented a *ta'alolo*\(^6\) to all the other guests present at the wedding.

The sources do not agree as to the venue of the wedding ceremony. Stair considers it was held in the village of the bride while Turner and Pritchard state it was that of the bridegroom. It would seem to me consistent with Samoan attitudes to rank that if the rank of the bride was paramount: that is, if she were the *taupou* of one of the *ali'i pa'ia* (sacred chiefs) or *ao* (paramount chiefs of a district), then she would be married in her own village, while if the rank of the bridegroom was superior to the bride's (in an alliance where political considerations were uppermost) then the marriage would take place in the village of the bridegroom.

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6. *Ta'alolo*- a ceremony in which a party representing the entire village presents food and other valuables to their guests.
In important weddings, the *taupou* was accompanied by one or more girls who were given as additional or secondary wives. Turner reports that a brother was obliged to provide his own daughter as an additional wife to be given along with his sister when she was the *taupou* (This obligation was enforced by fear of the anger of the "household god", Turner said). If her brother had no daughter to give, the bride's mother's 'āiga supplied the supplementary women. (Turner, 1861:189).

Just from his brief summary of events the marriage can be seen as incorporating various levels of transaction:

1. **Political:** The negotiations of the respective *tulafāle* were an arena for each to display their political accomplishments and the traditional skills of negotiation, oratory and knowledge of esoteric lore. The decision to seek a particular *taupou* could be based on a number of considerations, but in each case, it would be a strategic negotiation by two political groups in which both sought to maximise their advantages.

2. **Economic:** The series of exchanges which took place from the courtship to the final *ta'alolo* had the function of redistributing surpluses in an arena in which the amount and the quality of what was being given was measured in a highly competitive spirit.
3. **Social:** The opportunity for feasting, visiting, sport and dancing was both pleasant to the participants and also allowed courtship to take place among those of lower rank, thus creating, at a lower level, further alliances between the two polities.

4. **Genealogical:** The express and overt function of these marriages was procreation, the hope or expectation that the union of a high ranking woman and man would result in a child which would unite the two lineages.

The political and social functions of Samoan marriages have been described and considered in considerable detail by Gilson (1971) I will therefore focus on the less explored areas of the religious elements and upon the *rite de passage* which marriage was for women.

**III**

In most pre-Christian Polynesian societies there appears to have been a considerable ritual emphasis on female virginity. For example, in eastern Polynesia, including the Maori of New Zealand, a girl's puberty was celebrated by the ceremonial rupturing of her hymen. Buck notes that in Tongareva this was done before a girl had her first menstruation and was done, according to his informants, to clear the way for menstruation, when her first pubic hair appeared. After the ceremony, the girl had to wear a skirt and could no longer go naked. This ceremony was performed in the presence of a "priest". He notes that girls after this age were permitted sexual freedom until
they married, but comments that they were reserved in
the granting of their sexual favours. (Buck 1932 'a':32-33).

In Rotuma (Churchward 1940:326) and Tikopia it
was reported that certain women pledged (or were pledged
to) lifelong virginity and it would seem that such women
were those of the highest ranks of these societies.
This custom has been reported in the greatest detail of
Pukapuka (Beaglehole and Beaglehole, 1938). In a recent
study (Hecht, 1977:183-205) Hecht observes a cultural focus
in Pukapukan oral tradition and social structure upon the
complementarity of husband and wife rather than upon brother
and sister. She suggests that the mayakitanga (sacred
maid) of Pukapuka, being the firstborn female in a chiefly
line was consecrated to the gods, for were she to marry
and bear children, their sanctity would threaten the status
of the male line.

Virginity was also esteemed by the Tongans and girls of high
rank had their legs tied together before they slept, in
order to avoid their being surreptitiously raped (Gifford,
1929:129). However, ritual defloration was not an
essential part of the Tongan marriage rites according to
Mariner who recorded the wedding of the Tui Tonga to the
daughter of the high chief Finau, reported a small girl of
about five years old and four "young virgins of about
sixteen years of age" were given along with her. (Martin, 1818:134)
He also comments that a Tongan chief, Moegagogo, returned from about five years residence in "Hamoa" (Samoa) accompanied by six canoes (of which one had been lost at sea) and a party which included a large group of Samoans of whom two were his wives. On his return, Mariner noted, Moegagogo married two girls which had been set aside for him by his father. The ceremony was "for the most part according to the Hamoa custom" however it omitted two parts of what Mariner understood to be Samoan custom: the giving of bride wealth by the groom (the girls were thickly wrapped in mats according to Tongan custom) and the public testing of the brides' virginity. (Martin, 1818:160-166). Gifford (1929:194) reports that a husband took his wife's virginity in private, however old women were appointed to inspect the white tapa cloth of the marriage bed for blood, having been awakened by the expected outcry of the bride. If blood stains were found, they raised a cry which, when heard by the father of the bride, motivated him to "raise the entire community".

The mandatory public defloration of the bride appears to have been an exclusively Samoan custom, although there is abundant evidence that women given as the wives to chiefs in other Polynesian cultures were expected to be virgins. The term *taupo'ou* was used to refer to consecrated virgins in Fortuna, Rotuma and to all virgins in Tonga, and the term *taupou* was used of a ceremonial village virgin in Vaitapu (Koskinen, 1960:53). However, it appears that the formal titled office of *taupou* was peculiar to Samoa.
Freeman (1978) considers the "cult" of virginity in Samoa to be one which expressed male dominance and that for males of high rank, prior access to women of all ranks was an essential element in the public demonstration of their rank, and in competition with other high ranking males for prestige.

Koskinen (1960) carried out an exhaustive review of source material on Polynesian cultures and is of the opinion that the valuation of virginity in females, particularly those of high rank, was related to the overall Polynesian theory of rank; that purity of descent must be ensured by an assurance of paternity in high ranking males; females were kept virgin in order to assure their husbands that the children they bore were their own.

I would disagree with neither of these interpretations; nor that by consecrating virgins of high rank, the emergence of a female descent line of higher rank was avoided. I consider these interpretations to have considerable explanatory value but I believe that in Samoa the defloration ritual was one of highly condensed meaning and that it incorporated additional meanings. I consider the defloration ritual in Samoa had elements of sacrifice, and status transition: a "rite de passage" for chiefly women. All the great genealogical traditions of Samoa go back to
Tagaloa'alagi, "Tagaloa of the sky", who in many traditions is manifested as the sun, the apical ancestor of every chiefly lineage, who marries a woman of the earth. As I have mentioned in the previous chapter, Tagaloa'alagi caused human beings of both sexes to be brought forth in the form of worms from a vine after he had created the lands. The origin of all things after Tagaloa'alagi's original act of creation according to Samoan traditions, occurs through the marriage and synthesis of things: the rocks, the stones, the earth, and the plants and trees. The worms of the vine are given form by Tagaloa'alagi as human beings, but these were commoners, not chiefs.

Another tradition described the origins of the first female; an autochthonous being who is born of "the rock and the hollow rock", who goes among men in search of a husband and fails with the first two men she encounters as she has no vagina. Finally, she meets with Masa, who cuts one for her with a shark's tooth. According to this tradition, she is the ancestress of a series of powerful aitu who are associated with the underworld and with war and tattooing, not of human descendants. This tradition may have some significance to the defloration ritual of marriage.

The great genealogical traditions tell of Tagaloa'alagi giving mana and chiefly rank to men through his marriage with human women. Thus the human ancestor of every great lineage is female. There are a number of traditions.

7. The legend, (Kramer, 1902) does not explain who these "men" are since the synthesis of things referred to in paragraph one, above precedes the creation of human beings from the worms of the vine. They may have been supernatural beings or personifications of natural phenomena.
involving a woman called Sina (Hina in many other Polynesian myths). In one myth, Sina is the daughter of Tagaloaalagi and his son, Pili, is her brother, who transforms himself into a lizard and deflowers Sina with his tail. For his sin, he is cast down upon the Manu'a group of islands of Eastern Samoa, and begets children by women in all the islands of Samoa. His children found the principal political districts of the Samoan archipelago. Another myth which is widely known in modern Samoa is similar to the above. It casts Sina as the virgin daughter of a chief. She tames and raises a small eel, but one day while they are swimming in a pool, the eel deflowers Sina. Angered, she flees and the eel chases her across Savai'i. Her kinsmen finally kill the eel, and dying, the creature bequeaths its head to Sina, telling her to plant it in the ground. This is the origin of the coconut palm.

Themes of supernatural phallic power run strong in Samoan myths, as does the theme of chiefly women who introduce kava, the coconut palm, chiefly rank, tattooing and warfare among the Samoans through their union with foreign chiefs or supernatural beings. Two themes emerge: the god gives mana to man through sexual intercourse and procreation with a human woman which leads to the origin of chiefly titles, high rank, social order and human sacred power. In the second theme, a brother or supernatural being (who may also be a kinsman) illicitly or forcefully has intercourse

8. See the preface to this thesis for a story of Sina.

9. Versions of these myths are given in Kramer (1903, 1921) and Stuebal (1896, 1976).
with a sister or high ranking female which produces supernatural beings, *a'itu*, which are also associated with a number of chiefly lineages but which represent sacred power of a more ambiguous and destructive kind (death, the after life, illness, victory in war).

The message of the myths is that women are the vessels of sacred power and that the defloration of women is an act which has godlike dimensions. The reservation of women, their obligation to perpetual virginity which I have cited above in Rotuman and Pukapukan culture, reserved them for the gods, as vessels for the potential transmission of further supernatural power, or by their non-use by men, an offering of their sexual services as a sacrifice to the gods.

In Tonga, where the emphasis on patrilineal inheritance was greater than that of Samoa, the sister of the Tui Tonga, the Tui Tonga Fafine could only formally marry foreign chiefs, but she could take lovers and bear children from Tongan men. Her children were of high rank, though they did not succeed to the Tui Tonga title. If she had a daughter, the girl became the Tamaha, who, according to Tongan custom, outranked the Tui Tonga himself. Like Tui Tonga Fafine, she could not marry a Tongan and according to a personal communication from G. Cummings, there are Tongan traditions that she was marooned on a small island with servants to care for her, to ensure she had no children.
In Samoa, the women of the highest ranking lineages were able to marry serially, choosing their husbands according to rank. The sons of such unions were eligible to inherit in either their mother's or their father's line, but since such women usually outranked their spouses, their sons were counted as heirs of their father or founded new lineages in the village or district of their father.

According to the Reverend Stair (1897:69) there were only sixteen ali'i pa'ia in the early nineteenth century in Samoa. Contemporary sources disagree, saying that there were more and that Stair's list was incomplete. However many there were, Samoa was in contrast to Tonga, where there was a recognised paramount title, and three slightly lesser ranking but politically supreme titles, who intermarried with the Tuitonga line over the generations. The rank structure of Tonga was thus more rigorously stratified than that of early nineteenth century Samoa.

Tongan marriage reflected the hierarchy, marriage was hypergamous, chiefs at the bottom gave their daughters to their rank superiors, right up the line to the Tui Tonga who gave his sisters to no man in marriage, since no man outranked him. Accordingly, they married foreign chiefs or took lovers. According to Mariner (Martin, 1818:160-166), subsidiary women were given with chiefly women and enormous quantities of mats and tapa in which the women were wrapped.

(9b) It is possible that this was not the case in pre-Christian Samoa when religious sanctions, or sanctions of rank may have permitted even the highest ranking women one formal marriage.
until they resembled human cacoons. Such women were a form of tribute to higher ranking males, and this would explain why Mariner regarded the giving of bride wealth as a Samoan custom rather than Tongan. There was no need for them to be ritually and publicly deflowered, as the daughters of political inferiors to their husbands, they could simply be discarded or retribution could be exacted upon their fathers if the fathers had committed the lese majeste of offering used goods.

In contrast we have Samoa where as all accounts tell us, the defloration of the taupou was the central rite of the wedding. The following account is from Pritchard:

"...the old duennas ... slowly paraded her (the taupou) naked and trembling before the silent gaze of the multitude, then she was seated with her legs crossed in the centre of the square or malae. There the chief approached her and silently seated himself also cross legged, close to and directly facing her. Then was the critical moment, though perhaps a thousand spectators looked on, of all ages and both sexes, not a sound or a word was heard. Then, placing his left hand on the girl's right shoulder, the chief inserted the two forefingers of his right hand into the vulva, while the old duennas held her round the waist from behind. In a moment the chief's arm was held up, the two fingers extended, when her anxious tribe watched eagerly for the drops of blood to trickle down - the sight of which was the signal for vehement cheers, which proclaimed the honour of the tribe and the dignity of the chief unsullied".

(Pritchard, 1863:64,325).
The earliest description in the literature is that of a beachcomber known variously as John Jackson, "Cannibal Jack" and William Diapea. His account was apparently of the marriage of the Tui Manua, (who in ancient Samoa was the highest ranking ali'i in all Samoa, being the first descendant of Tagaloaalagi).

"A man with a piece of white tapa in his hands walked up, keeping step, side by side with the cupbearer. At the moment the king lifted the cup to his lips, the man with the white tapa performed an office which decency forbids to describe".

(Erskine, 1953:414)

Another early account of a marriage was recorded by Williams in his journal of 1832. In this account the defloration was performed digitally by the husband after which the aualuma of the bride smeared themselves with the blood, the husband having drawn a smear of blood across the upper lip of the bride. (10) Williams' account refers to the fear and reluctance of the bride who was often dragged forward for the ritual. (11) In both the accounts of Williams and of Turner the aualuma of the bride beat their heads with stones "in sympathy with and in honour of the virgin" (Williams, 1832) "as a mark of respect" (Turner 1861:187).

10. Freeman (personal communication) points out that the black marks worn by taupou and manaia on their faces (one on each cheek and one on the upper lip) are probably symbolic of this ritual action.

11. In Williams' account the bride is led forward by her brother. Samoan informants of mine consider this to have been most unlikely, so it is possible Williams was mistaken as he was on a number of other points in his journal - such as that women were bought and sold, that female status was 'degraded' and so on.
Stair gives an account of the same behaviour by members of both sexes on the occasion of the death of a high chief.

Numbers crowded around the dying chief to receive a parting look or word from him, whilst in front of the dwelling might be seen men and women wildly beating their heads and bodies with large stones and inflicting ghastly wounds from which the blood poured as an offering of affection and sympathy to their departing friend.

(Stair 1897:181)

The aualuma, whose duty it was to protect the virginity of the taupou were clearly deeply moved by the defloration rite. Their charge was proved intact, and the honour of their village was proved, but the bride was no longer a taupou, but a woman and wife, her hymen had been the object of sacrifice by the village and its chiefs, and for women, the rite represented the loss of the highest ritual and formal status a woman could have.

From the male point of view, to have a high ranking girl set aside and ritually deflowered on their behalf gave chiefly husbands a rather god-like dignity. Virgins in Samoa were not set aside and dedicated to the gods, but reserved for the first access of high ranking men. However, there are added layers of complexity to the custom which would explain the emphasis on ritual defloration in Samoan chiefly marriage.
The institution of *taupou* may have existed primarily for the purposes of marriage alliances between chiefs, villages and political divisions, but marriage served this function in other parts of Polynesia as well without a *taupou* institution.

In societies such as Tonga the more clearly demarcated chiefly hierarchy incorporated marriage into the system of tribute but in Samoa, the divisions of rank were not so well established. Every village existed as a political unit but individual villages or groups of villages recognised the title of a particular chief as having supreme rank in the locality, each district accordingly recognised one or two or more chiefs as paramount in rank in the territory, but it was not clearly established that one outranked the other.

The relations between the chiefs of different polities was competitive and each chief sought to establish himself as being of higher rank than his peers. I have referred to Stair's assertion that there were sixteen *ali'i pa'ia* in pre-Christian Samoa, and it is possible that this indeed did represent the number of chiefs who were regarded of paramount rank at that time. Below the ranks of the *ali'i pa'ia* were the holders of many chiefly titles which were supreme in particular villages and districts, and between whom the distinctions in rank were by no means clear.
In oral tradition, there are at least two accounts of wily tulafale kidnapping male infants born of high ranking women sired by the holders of ali'i pa'ia titles. The object of the kidnapping was to bring the high ranking child up in their villages in order that the village would have a high ranking and important chief when the child came of age. The rank of the chief of a village or cluster of villages relative to other chiefs was thus a matter of highly competitive concern to all the members of the village.

We can assume accordingly, that relatively few taupou marriages were hypergamous but that most were between parties in which the respective rank of the title represented by the taupou, on the one hand, and the husband, on the other, were approximately equal, or at least were considered equal by the wife giving side.

The balanced exchange between the two sides thus begins to have significance to the argument I am developing here: by giving two distinct categories of goods, the toga of the wife givers and the 'oloa of the husband givers, competition was minimised as the categories were complementary. However, since the system favoured agnatic descent, the likelihood of the children of the union going to the male side, and because the wedding took place in the village of the groom, by most early accounts, there was a degree of inequality.
Again, balance was introduced by the fact that *toga* (female goods) are more prestigious than *'oloa* (male goods) and the woman being offered, stood as the representative of the *sisters* of every male on the wife giving side, and as we have seen, females as *sisters* have higher rank than do males as brothers.

Thus, the ceremonial gift of a "sister" who is valued for her chastity which represents the honour of her side and the ritual sacrifice of the hymen which is the biological evidence of her chastity, gives the wife giving side the higher status (a structural point emphasised by Levi Strauss (1969) as characteristic of generalised exchange).

Thus we get more sense out of Kramer's remark quoted above. Treaties were not brought about by the wife taking side, but by the wife giving side. It was *they* who had given what could not effectively be repaid and thus their position was the stronger in any alliance arising from a marriage. Even when the side represented by the *taupou* was of lower rank, in marriage to an *ali'i pa'ia*, for instance, the wife givers had the upper hand.

The politics of rank and the integral role of marriage in the creation of political alliances affected the matter of re-marriage. The *taupou* given in marriage had a strong consciousness of their own rank, thus once a subsequent union had been arranged for their husbands to another
taupou, they left and returned to their own village again.

If the marriage had been contracted merely for the sake of the property and the festivities of the occasion, the wife was not likely to be more than a few days or weeks with her husband. With or without leave she soon found her way home to her parents (Turner 1861:190).

It was rare, Turner tells us, to find a chief with more than two high ranking wives living with him at one time.

Williams wrote:

"It is common for the young chiefs and manaias, or dashing young men, to have six, eight or ten wives, but the steady middle-aged, respectable chiefs seldom have more than two or three. In case, however, a chief wishes to have a respectable young woman in marriage, she in the first place ... immediately the proposal is made ... demands that all the other wives should be turned off, which the applicant seldom or ever refuses to comply with ..." (12)

"A great chief belonging to the settlement of Satupaitea, he had put away his eight former wives, expended fifty or sixty hogs with a proportionate quantity of other property to obtain a female on whom his affections were placed. He succeeded, but in a few days after having obtained the object of his desires she ran away, and he could not, although he exhausted his means, induce her to return to him". (Williams, 1832).

12. Lilomaiava, a very high ranking ali'i.
Williams appears to believe that such marriages were contracted for personal desire on the part of the husband and also that women were purchased and sold, apparently ignorant of the reciprocal toga which they brought to a marriage. However, his account illustrates clearly the right of a woman to leave her husband. Most nineteenth century sources considered that the frequency with which these marriages were entered into by chiefs, despite their often fleeting access to the wife they had acquired thus expensively, was motivated by the greed for fine mats among the tulāfale who arranged the marriages.

In addition, Kramer thought that the secondary wives given along with the taupou, (who, according to Turner, should include a daughter of the taupou's elder brother) were a device by the wife givers to attempt to fix the interest of the chiefly spouse. Williams offers the same opinion (1832). I consider that these motives, on the part of the tulāfale and the taupou had further dimensions. A tulāfale as we have seen in Chapter Six derives his status in a very real sense from the ali'i who he represents politically. Toga, was not merely a product of women but was symbolic of women; the flow of toga, which the tulāfale received large shares from the ali'i were analogous to the flow of women with which the tulāfale arranged marriage for the ali'i and his sons. The number of women married and the
toga acquired along with them was the mark of a chief's prestige and also of his tulāfale and his village.

A chief who made many marriages enhanced his status and furthered his competitive bid for recognition of his superior rank throughout the islands. If he was able to acquire wives of higher rank, then there was the chance that he would obtain a son of higher rank than himself, and if such a son inherited the title, then the rank of the title may be elevated, or a new and higher title might be created for the 'āiga.

Wife givers may have considered that the giving of additional virgins with the taupou was a device to hold his interest but this is doubtful, since it was not the chiefs who planned and negotiated marriages but their tulāfale. It is likely that the additional women were firstly to increase the munificence and the prestige of their gift, and secondly they maximised the chances of obtaining a child of the marriage. Secondary wives, as well as former taupou whose rank was inferior to that of their husband, could not remarry after leaving their husband. A common cause of early nineteenth century warfare and inter-village feuding arose from one chief taking the wife of another. An examination of nineteenth century written sources and oral tradition by Meleiseā (1975) suggests that many wars arose from a chief seeking as a wife, a woman who had been given originally as
a *taupou* to another chief, as well as cases involving adultery with the wife of a chief who was residing together with her husband. Thus the chances of a *taupou* remarrying would depend upon her rank relative to that of her former husband and her future husband, and the respective political power and military strength of the three groups.

According to Kramer, older chiefs did not send courting parties, but sought wives of high rank who had been married before. He cites Stuebal, who recorded a custom called *fa'aloaapoina*, in which a *tulafale* sought a formerly married woman as the wife of his chief and presented her, if she consented, with a bundle of red feathers. (Kramer 1902:1, 38-40).

The Samoan system of marriage differs from most other recorded systems of polygamy in which high ranking males acquire harems of women, or numbers of wives which formed part of their productive labour resources as well as the producers of their children to add to their support group.

It was a system by which high ranking males competed for prestige with their peers through gaining control of the sexual and reproductive services of women and acquiring the mystical ancestral powers of the woman for their heirs. Whether or not they continued toavail themselves of her services was immaterial, for each woman over whom they continued to have, if nothing else, the rights of withholding her sexual services from other men, they also retained political and economic alliances with her village or her descent group.
The rights of women within this system depended on the woman's own rank. As Kramer observed:

Women of high rank, of important lineages, enjoyed great prestige, they had great influence over their husbands and relatives and also through them.

(Kramer, 1902, 1:39-40)

Women of lesser rank might remain bound for life to their first husband with whom they might only have briefly cohabited. Such women retained their high status however, as in their own village they resided with the auluma and participated in the festivities and ceremonial life of the village, and no doubt enjoyed sexual relations with male visitors to the village, although not without risk from their spouse. (11)

The marriages of tulafale and untitled men, and women of lesser rank were without binding force and restrictions concerning remarriage. Arranged marriages, exchanges of toga and oloa and private tests of virginity were practiced by people of intermediate rank.

11. The high incidence of induced abortion reported by Turner, (See chapter 5, VII below) was probably a consequence of the system.
...But there were many marriages without any such ceremonies at all. If there was a probability that the parents would not consent, from disparity of rank or other causes, an elopement took place and if the young man was a chief of any importance, a number of his associates mustered in the evening and walked through the settlement, singing his praises and shouting out the name of the person with whom he had eloped. This was sometimes the first intimation the parents had of it, and, however mortified they might be, it was too late. After a time, if the couple continued to live together, their friends acknowledged the union by festivities and an exchange of property.

(Turner, 1861:188-189)

Williams reported that young women of lesser rank were commonly deprived of their virginity, unconnected with marriage, in a public ritual similar to that of a marriage ceremony by "young and respectable chiefs".

This is considered an honour and no person objects to marry a young woman who has been thus treated. The chief who ruptures the hymen will frequently give the young women a great name which will gain her respectability, but I suspect the reason why this singular system prevails is that the young females are tired of submitting to the restraints their virginity imposes upon them and by being thus honourably deprived of their virginity, they have full liberty to gratify their wishes and also escape the disgrace of being looked upon as common prostitutes.

(Williams, 1832)
Kramer reported that even in elopements, (āvaga), girls who were virgins were ritually deflowered in the house of the boy or man's relatives in a small ceremony called a Tui, and that this was followed by a feast the following evening (Kramer 1903, 1:39-40).

The defloration element in common marriage and elopement suggests that the act was a great source of male prestige and also of pride to the girl in being able to prove her adherence to what was regarded as the formost value associated with women of rank, an intact hymen.

Leviratic marriages occurred occasionally in Samoa, in order that a man's descent group might retain rights over his young children. The obligation to return a widow to her own kin after the death of her husband was only commuted if she consented to marry a brother or another male agnate of her husband.

The marriage of women of rank may be best understood as a system which gave men genetrical or progenitive rights, that is rights to the fertility of their wives, rather than uxorial rights to their services as sexual partners and helpmates.
This distinction clarifies what rights were being transferred by a woman's kinsmen at her marriage - her brothers made a gift of the genetical services of their sister to another man and his descent group - a gift most explicitly symbolised by the defloration ritual. The *feagaiga* between brother and sister denied men the right to bestow their sister's uxorial services, this being a woman's own prerogative, and therefore denied husbands a right to demand their wives uxorial services. In marriages which were freely chosen by both parties, such as those of people of lesser rank, there was apparently no transfer of rights from a woman's kinsmen to her husband and his kin, but simply a mutually negotiable arrangement, such as is characteristic of marriage in contemporary Samoan society.

IV

The greatest sexual restrictions seem to have been upon low ranking young men and high ranking young women. The former suffered most from the rights to prior access and rights to restrict access to many women, by high ranking males. The latter were restricted by the requirement that their virginity be retained for the marriage ritual, or first access by high ranking young men.
MALE

Young, high ranking
Initiation: tattooing, sex with older women.
Sexual freedom until title inherited.

Middle ranking
Initiation: tattooing, sex with low ranking women.
Sexual freedom limited by prior right of access by higher ranking males.

Low ranking
Initiation: tattooing.
Sexual access to women restricted.

High ranking aliʻi
Initiation: tattooing.
Sexual freedom circumscribed by obligation to contract serial marriages to women of high rank.

FEMALE

Young, high ranking
Initiation: ritual public defloration at marriage.
Sexually restricted at all times.

Middle ranking
Initiation: defloration by husband.
Sexual freedom limited by status requirements of rank position.

Low ranking
Initiation: defloration ritual by high ranking male without marriage.
Sexual freedom after defloration and before marriage.

Mature peers of high ranking aliʻi
Initiation: ritual public defloration at first marriage.
Right to choice of subsequent husbands.

12. According to a number of older informants, it was once considered a feat among sexually experienced, unattached women to be the first to have sexual intercourse with a youth after he completed his tattoo.
Thus, whereas high ranking males had the greatest amount of sexual freedom and high ranking females the least, the order was reversed for low ranking males and females. Women of low rank married their peers or else became secondary wives for men of higher rank, but were permitted sexual freedom once they had been ritually deflowered by *manaia*, until they married.

Warfare may have interfered with the hierarchical order of access to women and orderly transfer of rights to their genetrical services. Even in war, rank was respected but women were spoils of war and it is possible that as such, their rank was immaterial to their captors, although this seems unlikely.

In 1830, on his first visit to Samoa, John Williams arrived in the midst of a large-scale war between forces in Savai'i and forces in the A'ana district of Upulu. Williams noted in his Journal that he was shown a basket of stones kept in a shrine on the small island of Apolima which lies in the straights between Upolu and Savai'i, near the island of Manono. Each of the 127 stones represented a battle fought in the area. (Apolima and Manono had great strategic importance in wars fought between districts on Upolu and Savai'i.)
This historical source material relating to mid-nineteenth century Samoa relates that the winning side in a battle was known as the *ole itu mālō* and held the losing side, *a le itu vaivai* (the side of the weak) in a subordinate and tributary condition, until the situation was redressed in another war. When a battle was won, the *mālō* destroyed the property of the *vaivai*, which often resulted in the abandonment of a settlement, at least temporarily, as the means of subsistence were destroyed.

The women, both wives and sisters, of the losers were taken as spoils of war. Pritchard (1866:61-62) says that they were well treated and that they accepted their capture with equanimity, becoming wives of their conquerors. There would have been a considerable incentive for young men to become warriors, since this appeared to have been one way in which low ranking males could obtain wives for themselves.

Those villages which had given support to a conquered party during a war were also counted among the conquered. Williams (1832) says that such villages, upon learning that a malaga was arriving from a *mālō* party, would hide their valuables, since these could be demanded by their guests. He also noted that such a party had the right to demand the services of the women of their hosts during their stay without reciprocating; the normal arrangement being that sexual relations at a *poūla* took place between males and females of the host side and the visitors.
Women were treated as neutrals in war. Williams observed that they were excluded from all discussions relating to war, although not those pertaining to other matters. (Williams, 1830). Since women married "out", their loyalty was divided between their spouses and sons and their own kinsmen if hostilities arose between them. Women did not join in battle. It was customary for the taupou to march at the head of a war party going into battle as their ceremonial leader, the representative of their honour, but it was considered a particularly dreadful insult to kill her (Although Williams records that one of Malietoa Vainupou's daughters was killed in such circumstances).

According to Pritchard (1866:60-62) women often accompanied their husbands into battle and looked after the wounded and that while a war was going on, women were permitted to move across the lines drawn between the combatants with impunity when they were related to both sides; fulfilling the role of intermediaries and bearers of news. Similarly, those men who were related to the enemy through their mothers could claim the immunity and neutrality of females without shame.
Williams found that in the war of Eastern Savai'i and Manono against the district of A'ana which was in its final stages when he arrived in Samoa in 1830, Malietoa Vainu'u the leader of the Savai'i side, had a son and a daughter on the enemy side. The son was holding a chiefly title of his mother's lineage and living in her village, while his daughter was married to an enemy chief. Warfare was therefore an additional means through which women were "transferred", through a process which was the negation of the orderly system of transferring women through the system of rank. In this orderly system, wife givers asserted superiority over wife takers, but in warfare the process was reversed, the wife takers asserted their superiority over the male kin of the women who they took as wives without ceremony and sometimes, too, without respect for rank.

The importance of marriage in creating alliances is illustrated in the schematic representation of a Samoan gafa on the following page. (Fig 5.).

The numbered squares represent the holders of the gafa title of EGO and his relationship to another title marked A, which is presently held by EGO's sister's son. The shaded square represent other important titles which EGO acknowledges by contributions to their major ceremonial affairs.
FIG 5.

Schematic Representation of a Samoan Gafa

1. Title of Ego
2. Important lineages
3. Additional ancestral title of Ego

1 = 1
2 = 2
3 = 3
4 = 4
5 = 5
6 = 6
7 = 7
8 = 8
9 = 9
10 = 10
11 = 11
The institution of taupou marriage and chiefly polygamy was deeply disapproved of by the missionaries, in fact along with warfare and traditional religious beliefs it was the institution which they were most determined to abolish. Incorporated in it were so many customs which they found abhorrent; polygamy, public defloration, arranged marriage, night dancing, and what they believed to be the exploitation and degradation of women. Nineteenth century English Protestant missionaries believed strongly that "civilisation" must be imparted along with the Christian gospel, and by civilisation they meant the social standards of middle class nineteenth century Britain. The natural estate of women, they believed to be that of "helpmates and companions" to men, living in family environments and caring for their husbands and children.

It was distasteful to the missionaries to see women being used as pawns in political alliances, being subjected to what they saw as the humiliating and degrading rite of defloration, and for many, to live out their lives as the separated wives of chiefs, residing apart from their households in the company of other women. But the missionaries' aim was not merely to destroy taupou marriage, but to build up family life and to do that it was necessary for them to introduce divorce. Not the traditional "divorce" in which husbands and wives simply separated and remarried, by mutual consent, but the introduction of a code of divorce by which women who were bound to live permanently as single
women because they had been married to a chief, could be 
liberated from that obligation and made free to enter 
into a Christian marriage with a husband of their choice.

This did not happen overnight. Between 1840 and 1900, 
Samoa was wracked with civil warfare and chiefs who had 
espoused Christianity found it necessary to make political 
marrages regardless of missionary protests, in order to 
make alliances in the traditional manner. Arranged taupou 
marrages continued to occur but with declining frequency 
until the early 1900's, but once Christianity was widespread 
and Christian teaching was accepted, by the late nineteenth 
century, high ranking males were unable to sustain rights 
over more than one woman at a time.

As Keesing (1937:1-13) has shown, once chiefly polygamy 
began to die out, so too did the ceremonial installation 
(13) of taupou. Today, respectful and deferential use of 
taupou titles is still accorded to high ranking women, 
but the custom of ceremonially conferring taupou titles 
upon young girls, with its accompaniment of large scale 
redistribution of goods and feasting, is very rare. The 

13. The last such installation occurred in Tutuila, 
American Samoa in 1977. The ceremony is the same as 
that in which chiefly titles are bestowed. The ceremony 
of bestowal (sa'ofā'i) varies from one title to another 
although a Kava ceremony is always an important part 
of the proceedings.

14. The highest ranking individual in Western Samoa is 
To'o Salamasina, the elder sister of Malietoa 
Tanumafili II. To'o Salamasina has never married 
and is related to all the paramount lineages of 
Samoa by descent.
acting British Consul, William Churchward, who served in Samoa between 1881 and 1883, noted that the high chief Leiataua of Manono offered his daughter in marriage to both Churchward and his travelling companion, an English doctor. Apparently the decline of serial chiefly marriage by this time had made it difficult for certain women to find husbands of equal rank to themselves. (Churchward, 1887:334).

Although arranged *taupou* marriage is an extinct custom respect for the status of sisters and for virginity remains. This strongly indicates that this respect is founded upon something more than the usefulness of women as the primary currency of alliance and does, I believe, support my contention that women were and still are perceived to be the repositories of mystical power or *mana*.

The *taupou* was more than simply a tool for the negotiation of chiefly matrimonial exchange and alliance. She also symbolised the ideal attributes of women in their aspect as sisters, of "the village of ladies" and the *mamālu* of her village ritual and ceremonial activity even to the extent of her leading warrior parties into battle. Keesing's (1937) argument that the decline of the *taupou* as a social institution was a result of the abolition of chiefly polygamy must be qualified by the recognition that it was not only chiefly polygamy which was a focus of missionary reform but also religion and traditional roles and statuses of Samoan women. The following chapters examine these reforms and their outcome.
CHAPTER EIGHT

HEALERS AND GHOSTS
CHAPTER EIGHT

Healers and Ghosts

I

In this chapter I will discuss the leading role that Samoan women play in the maintenance and transmission of folk beliefs concerning illness and its treatment and the emphasis placed on female ghosts in contemporary popular ideology. I will present an argument that the role of women in folk medicine in contemporary society, although traditionally an aspect of sacred female attributes and a traditional pre-Christian female role, has been reinterpreted in the last century as a result of religious, social and political changes.

Samoans have an eclectic approach to both the theories about the cause of illness and to the way in which illness is cured. Most Samoans have heard of the "germ theory" of illness and that filariasis (which is endemic in Samoa) is transmitted by mosquitoes. It is also widely understood that polluted water causes gastro-intestinal disorders and that attention to village sanitation reduces the likelihood of sickness in the community. This knowledge has been acquired through public health programmes administered by district nurses, doctors and sanitary inspectors employed by the Health Department. There is also a large body of popular medical knowledge derived from missionaries and other Europeans in the nineteenth century and Samoans are familiar with medical treatments such as poultices, enemas, steam inhalations and heat treatments designed to induce
sweating. These remedies have been incorporated into Samoan folk-medicine and are used to treat a variety of symptoms. Western medical services have been widely available to the Samoans since the 1930s, and most people consider Western medical treatment to be efficacious for many ailments.

Samoans also believe that illness can be caused by the anger of certain categories of people, by wrongdoing or bad deeds, and by hostile thoughts and wishes. Supernaturally caused illness may originate from the ill wishes, or anger, of a person in a sacred category, a sister's "curse" for instance. In earlier times when a chief became ill, his sister was sent for in order that she might ritually rinse her mouth with coconut water (pupuga) in case she had caused her brother's illness by critical words or angry thoughts. It is believed that men who are unfaithful to their wives bring illness upon their children, presumably through the aitu of the woman. No ill effects are caused to children by the adultery of their mothers, however.

The traditional oath taking ritual (tautoga) by which wrongdoers were detected seems to be regarded with some scepticism today. This rite was also founded on the belief that wrongdoing, unconfessed and uncompensated for, would cause illness and death. However, tautoga are still held occasionally in Samoan villages. If a major theft
occurs, everyone who might possibly have been guilty is required to take an oath upon the bible (formerly upon a token of the village guardian spirit) that he or she was not responsible. Like the belief that ultimately drives girls and women carrying an unborn illegitimate child to confess the name of its genitor, the fear of suffering and death resulting from lying in a *tautoga* usually obtains a confession.

Illness or death may also be caused by *aitu*. This term is used of both the ghosts of known identifiable formerly living people or of unknown, unidentifiable disembodied spirits. In contemporary usage however, it most commonly refers to ghosts who may manifest themselves as non-human living creatures or in human form, or whose presence may be sensed but not seen.

Illness or misfortune caused by *aitu* is considered to require the assistance or mediation of an expert practitioner who has either learned special skills in this regard, or who has inherited special powers in dealing with *aitu*. Many such specialists are only considered to have competence in dealing with a particular ghost who is ancestral to them while others are attributed with or claim for themselves special powers that enable them to deal with all *aitu*. 
Samoans also use a wide range of herbal preparations to treat illness. Perhaps the two most commonly used are Cordyline (*lau ti*) leaves and a lotion of coconut oil in which the leaves and flowers of as many as six aromatic plant and tree species are infused. These are used for massage which is a standard medical treatment for most ailments. Some plants, species of ferns, creepers and other leaves are gathered in the forest. Others are grown around the household area, wild oranges, candlenut and Cordyline for instance. Many plants commonly used by Samoans as medicine or for massage are imported species, the guava and frangipani are two of these. Turmeric is prepared by some female specialists and is used as a tapa dye, a cosmetic for dancing (to tint the skin) and as a treatment for sores.

Some plants are considered to possess physical properties which are curative, others are regarded as being supernaturally potent in treating certain kinds of ailments. Fragrant substances are valued for medicinal uses as they are thought to have supernaturally potent effects in relieving symptoms of illness. (See Appendix D for a list of plant species used in medicine and Samoan oil by Poutasi women).
When people become sick, they usually discuss their symptoms with their relatives and it may be decided to treat them within the family, to take them to a traditional Samoan healer or to take them to the outpatients clinic at the district hospital or the central base hospital in Apia, (or at Tuasivi in Savai'i). Unless the ailment is only minor, most Samoans will do all three. When western medical treatment fails to produce prompt results, the patient and his or her family will usually decide that the problem is a specifically "Samoan" illness, and as such, is not amenable to western treatments.

The illness of adults of high rank and particularly high chiefs can be extremely expensive to their 'āiga as many visitors come to offer their opinions regarding treatment, and their support and goodwill to aid recovery. These must be fed, accommodated and rewarded for their concern (1).

"Samoan" sicknesses are of two categories, those which are considered unique to Samoans and thus outside the area of competence of western-trained medical practitioners, which may or may not be of supernatural origin, and ma' i aitu, ghost sickness or ghost possession. These two categories overlap, for while ailments in the first category may be of supernatural origin, they are not necessarily so, whereas the latter are of specifically supernatural origin.

1. An excellent account of the ceremonial obligations of chiefly illness has been written by Dr. Ielu Kuresa and is quoted in Lambert (1942:219-21).
Diagnosis of a condition is usually not made until after an illness has responded to a particular treatment. Samoans appear to have two classificatory sets of symptoms and appropriate treatments. The first are a set of ailments which are given the prefix mūmū, a term which comes from mū - "burn" and might be glossed in this context as meaning "inflammation". These are characterised as "sosolo" or spreading sicknesses and are associated with symptoms of swelling, redness, burning, fever, rashes and pain. They are variously treated with herbal infusions using the plants aloalo tai and fuefue sina, massage with cordyline leaves and cold water and where there are skin eruptions, with smoke from a piece of smouldering cloth which is waved over the afflicted parts.

Herbal remedies are used by non-specialists as well as specialist healers, but specialists are thought to have more esoteric knowledge of herbal medicine.

Some ailments are treated with incantations. For instance puna a swelling in the groin, may be treated by pressing a smooth stone on the swelling and saying:

"Puna ā, puna sē, puna fanau, puna sosolo"

"Swelling, lost swelling, reproducing swelling, creeping swelling".
Another incantation is used by experts to treat a kind of headache which is felt on one side of the head, known as *fe'e* (octopus). A stick is sharpened at both ends and pointed at the patients eyes while the following is recited:

"Fe'e pō, fe'e ave valu; oso tu le ulu, tu le niu, oso tu le puna".

"Octopus of the night, eight tentacled octopus; jump onto the breadfruit, onto the coconut, jump onto the coral". (2)

The symbolism of the treatment is obvious, the constricting pain is likened to an *octopus* grip, a sharpened stick is used in extracting octopus from the reef. "Octopus of the night" refers to a spirit octopus, while the command for it to jump into the breadfruit, coconut and coral refers to three objects which are like the human head in shape and size.

The second set of symptoms and treatments are those which are described as *o'ono* or constrictive - such as localised pains, hard swellings and asthma. These are often treated by a technique called *segi*, a cigarette or fine cinder is used to make a small burn in the appropriate part of the body (according to an expert's diagnosis).

2. Compare these incantations which I recorded in Poutasi in 1977 to those recorded by Moyle (1973:155-179) which use similar formulae to treat differently named ailments.
Ma'ī aitu or ghost illnesses take various forms. There is Nifoloa, which is said to be caused by a male ghost or spirit of the same name (sometimes also identified as the ghost or spirit of Moso, a male aitu of Western Savaii). It is said to first appear as a swelling of unknown cause that fails to respond to pālagi (European) medicine. A specialist treats it with herbal compounds and covers it while the patient sleeps. When he awakens, the swelling has ruptured and a thing comes out of it like a tooth. This proves it was Nifoloa, as this ghost is said to have one long, sharp tooth with which he inflicts fatal bites, unless a specialist intervenes.

Fasia is another form of ghostly affliction. The word means "to beat" and the victim is said to be assailed by an invisible being who leaves bruises and red marks on his face. Fasia is specifically attributed to one of two female ghosts, Le Telesā or Saumaiafe. I will discuss these ghosts in more detail below. Still another form of ghost illness is possession, in which a ghost is believed to inhabit the body of the victim and to speak through him or her. All ghost illnesses require the

3. Appendix D includes a list of diagnoses, symptoms and common traditional cures for a variety of "Samoan" ailments ranging from sores to ghost possession.
attention of traditional specialists, which I will discuss below. Many western trained Samoan medical doctors, and Samoan ministers of religion accept the validity of most categories of supernaturally inspired "Samoan" illnesses and the efficacy of Samoan treatments for them. Explanations for these phenomena have been somewhat uneasily incorporated into Samoan Christian eschatology in terms of diabolically inspired evil spirits. I say "uneasily" because in fact, many of the ghosts who are identified as afflicting the living are those of deceased relatives and few Samoans wish to acknowledge that their relatives are not in heaven. Turner (a British Missionary who spent many years in Samoa from the early 1840's onwards) records this belief among pre-Christian Samoans:

It was supposed that these spirits (of the dead) had power to return, and cause disease and death. In other members of the family. Hence all were anxious, as a person drew near the close of life, to part on good terms with him, feeling assured that, if he died with angry feelings towards anyone, he would certainly return, and bring some calamity upon that very person. This was considered a frequent case of disease and death, viz., the spirit of a departed member of the family returning and taking up his abode in the head, or chest, or
stomach of the party, and so causing sickness and death. The spirits of the departed were also supposed to come and talk, through a certain member of the family, prophesying various events, or giving directions as to certain family affairs. If a man died suddenly, it was thought that he was eaten by the spirit that took him (Turner, 1861:236-237).

Contemporary Samoan beliefs have changed very little from these beliefs described by Turner. Christianity replaced the Gods and spirits at the top of the hierarchy of supernatural beings as well as the belief in personal tutelary spirits.

Of these, Turner records:

At his birth ... every Samoan was supposed to be taken under the care of some tutelary or protecting god, or aitu, as it was called. The help of perhaps half a dozen different gods invoked in succession but the one who happened to be addressed just as the child was born, was marked and declared to be that child's god for life. (1861:238)

Every village had its god and everyone born in that village was regarded as the property of that god. I have got a child for so-and-so, a woman would say on the birth of her child and name the village god. There was a small house or temple also consecrated to the deity of the place. Where there was no formal temple, the great house of the village, where the chiefs were in the habit of assembling, was the temple for the time being, as occasion required. Some settlements had a sacred grove as well as a temple, where prayers and offerings were presented. (1861:240)
Both village and tutelary spirits or "gods" manifested themselves in the form of living species, animals and plants, and village gods were occasionally represented by man made objects or natural formations such as stones. The tutelary spirit of an individual was respected by avoiding eating or other contact with the species in which the spirit was held to manifest itself, while certain species sacred to a whole village were held as taboo (or in Samoan, sa) to the whole population and often associated with the highest ranking ali'i of the village or district.

The symbolic rejection of the old religion by Samoans did not involve the burning of idols as in other parts of Polynesia, since deities were only occasionally represented by idols. Instead converts to Christianity ceremoniously repudiated their aitu by eating them.

The formal, ritualised and politically significant aspects of traditional Samoan religion have been replaced by the Christian Churches but the informal, experiential and personal aspects of the old religion are still present, and, as I will show, have been elaborated upon.

II

Samoans use a number of words to refer to the practitioners of folk-medicine, but the most commonly used is the term fofō, which means to massage, or to give medical treatment. It is similar in meaning as the term fōma'i, however, this
term is now most commonly used of doctors and nurses who have been trained in western medicine.

In pre-Christian times, just as there was a hierarchy of supernatural beings, so also was there a hierarchy of religious specialists. The word for them was *taulāaitu* while the polite word for the same specialists was *taulāsea* (the latter term is still a polite form for "doctor" and is used politely of a *fofō* as well).

*Taualaitu* means "ghost or spirit medium". The *taulasea* of pre-Christian Samoa were often the holders of *matai* titles. Women were also the *taulasea* of important 'aitu. Williams (1832) noted that the despotic and supernaturally powerful chief of Monono, Leiataua Tamafaiga, was to have been succeeded after his assassination by his daughter "unless Christianity gains full sway ... women can and do hold such offices; on neighbouring island several Englishmen almost sacrificed by female Tamafaiga" (sic, 1832).

The Rev. John Stair observed that *0 taulā-aitu-o-ainga* (síc) (anchors of gods of families, or priests of families) summoned the aid of various gods, such as Moso, Ita-nga-ta, Sepo-malosi, 0 le alii-tu-mau ga, 0 le Tamafaiga. This office was also sometimes held by the head of the family or his sister. If held by the former, it gave him great power and authority over the different branches of his family...

(Stair, 1897:222-223)

4. According to legend, the "goddess" Nafanua, after having been offered by the *auluma* of Leulumoega, withdrew her support from them and entered into the body of Leiataua of Monono, who had treated her graciously. Her powers in war were said to belong from that time to the holder of the Leiataua title.

5. Next page
The quasi-Christian Siovili or Joe Gimlet cult of the 1820's in Samoa had a male prophet, but the spirit medium for "Siso Alaisa" or "Jesus Christ" was an elderly woman who eventually assumed control of the cult. (Turner 1861:106-107). Turner also refers to "a woman of the sacred craft" in reference to the testing of mothers milk after an infant's birth. (Turner 1861:176).

Between May, 1976 and December, 1977, I recorded the existence of 48 practitioners of Samoan folk-medicine, through people telling me about them, through meeting them or through members of the household in which I lived and their kin, who were consulting fofō for various ailments. Of these, only seven were males and two of these males were married to women who were also fofō.

Both these males held matai titles and another male, while not a fofō, was the taula‘sea for the ghost of one of his ancestresses who is known throughout Samoa as a particularly powerful ghost. Of 41 female fofō, 33 are elderly women and the remainder were over the age of 30. Three of the younger women were childless. This data suggests that most fofō are elderly women and that the profession is dominated by women who have no young children. (6)

5. By "female Tamafaiga," I assume that Williams meant a female member of the 'āiga of Lei‘ataua. Missionaries tended to use the name "Tamafaiga" as a title, when in fact the title was Lei‘ataua.

6. Moyle (1973:155-179) refers to several male fofō, however most of the practitioners to whom he refers appear to be females. It may be that since my research concentrated upon women, I have under reported the incidence of male practitioners.
## TABLE 8: Chart showing patients and fofò mentioned to me between May 1976 and December 1977.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case No.</th>
<th>Fofò</th>
<th>Patient</th>
<th>Ailment</th>
<th>Village of Fofò</th>
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<td>backache</td>
<td>Poutasi</td>
</tr>
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<td>x</td>
<td>MAu</td>
<td>fits *</td>
<td>Saleimoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>MI</td>
<td>fever *</td>
<td>Poutasi</td>
</tr>
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<td>headache *</td>
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<td>Aai Nuie</td>
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<td>faint *</td>
<td>Vaiala</td>
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<td>F*</td>
<td>weight *</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>FI dreams? *</td>
<td>Mālua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Fm possession *</td>
<td>Auckland</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>Gagaifo</td>
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<td>Fm asthma</td>
<td>Vaisala</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>Matāautu</td>
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<td>MAu</td>
<td>boils/abcess*</td>
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</table>

**Abbreviations**

* supernatural cause attributed
MAu male adult, untitled
MAt male adult, matai
(e) elderly
Fy young woman
Fm middle aged/elderly woman
FI female child
MI male child
Pss possession
I talked with fourteen women who were *fofō* and of these, eight were also traditional midwives. All but one said that they had learned their skills from either their mothers, mother's sisters or other female relatives. One said that she had been instructed by an *aitu* who had possessed her for some time while she was in her thirties and with whom she still regularly communicated. The *aitu* was female and was a distant ancestress of hers.

I was able to interview only one male *fofō* who said that he had learned most of what he knew from his wife. However I was told of two male *fofō* who have inherited powers as *taulāsea*.

While the standard plants used in Samoan folk-medicine are well known to most adults, many *fofō* have secret compounds known only to themselves, and some use combinations of herbs and patent medicines bought from shops. Some *fofō* use only massage to treat people, using no medicines other than Cordyline leaves, cold water and a coconut oil-herbal lotion. Others use such non-traditional devices as cards, table-tapping and "magic bibles" as aids in divining illness. (As far as I was able to ascertain, a "magic" bible is one which has been given supernatural power by a *taulāsea*, so that when it is randomly opened, a course of action is suggested on the page before the reader). One woman *fofō* was of Melanesian extraction (her father was from West New Britain and had been
recruited to work in Samoa by the Germans). The common Melanesian practice of sorcery is well known in Samoa, and is regarded with fearful respect. The part-Melanesian fofo was rumoured to have special Melanesian supernatural powers.

There are no ritual practices in Samoa corresponding with those of Melanesian sorcery, nor is witchcraft known, other than in the belief that certain persons have mystical powers of both good and evil.

Although European medical practitioners have been long opposed to Samoan folk-medicine, and with good cause in some cases, most Samoan doctors and nurses are much more sympathetic towards it. Many of my principal informants were district nurses, mainly middle aged women, who live in their own villages and provide infant and maternal health care, supervise hygiene and teach the principles of health care and first aid to women in the surrounding district. These women in fact provide the bulk of effective health care at village level because they are in regular communication with and have personal knowledge of the people in their area. When I asked them about folk-medicine, most of them were initially critical of it, feeling that this was what I expected them to say. However I learned that most of them see value in it, and use, or even practice it themselves when it is appropriate to do so.
With their basic training in western medicine, they are aware of its limitations in treating serious ailments and are likely to advise seriously ill people to see a doctor. They are also sceptical about the abilities of traditional midwives as they themselves have had more scientific training in this regard. But district nurses mostly share the belief of the majority in supernatural causes of many illnesses and (covertly) approve of the role of fofō in treating these disorders.

Information about fofō, according to my observations, is mainly relayed between women. Samoans are always interested to learn of new fofō and their methods. The family that I lived with consulted twelve different fofō during my fieldwork period. The majority of these were in the Apia town area, residing in peri-urban villages. When a woman of the family heard of a fofō who had a reputation for curing a particular ailment to which a relative was prone, she would pass it on to the sick person's wife, mother, sister or sister-in-law, who would suggest that the person go and seek treatment. Information about fofō in Apia was relayed to women in the village by the women of this family and on several occasions I was delegated to drive someone from the village to Apia, or to another village, to seek the services of a newly discovered fofō.

7. Two members of the family suffered from chronic ailments for which western medicine offered no absolute cure.
Information about one woman *fofō* who lived in an urban village created great interest in the village of my hosts. She claimed to receive inspiration regarding the diagnosis and treatment of illness from ghosts, often the ancestors of her patients, by telephone.

A family which has a chronically ill member will constantly be seeking some kind of final cure from *fofō*, so female relatives and friends make sure that such families receive news about any new practitioner or interesting method of treatment. Samoans will rarely accept a western medical verdict that a particular condition (epilepsy or diabetes, for instance) is incurable, and can only be alleviated by continuous medication or diet. Samoan traditional medicine thus offers a continual hope that a complete cure may be found.

III

Although I have met very few Samoan men who disclaim belief in ghosts, men seemed, on the whole, to find the subject an uncomfortable one. This was in contrast to most women who seemed to find it an absorbing topic. The subject was often discussed during the informal aftermath of a women's committee meeting. Stories about encounters with ghosts were exchanged, the origins of the supernatural ailments of relatives and friends were speculated upon and stories of
remarkable cures by fofō related. If I asked women informants questions about ghosts or ghost illness, they would readily tell me stories from their own experience to show me that ghosts did indeed exist and that Samoan folk medicine was effective in curing many ghost illnesses.

It has been reported of other Polynesian societies such as Tokelau and Tahiti that women are considered to be particularly vulnerable to supernatural attack, due to their ascribed inherent weakness. (Huntsman and Hooper, 1975:420) and Levy, 1973:196). This raises some interesting questions with regard to Samoa. Women in Samoa are also ascribed weakness (vaivai). This ascription refers to both their subordination to males as wives and to their inferior physical strength relative to that of males. While women are not associated with warlike or physically aggressive behaviour, they are associated with supernaturally aggressive behaviour. I have already discussed the belief in the supernatural sanctions which sisters are considered to have with respect to their brothers. And I have mentioned that it is possible that the supernatural danger to children from the sexual infidelity of their fathers may be caused by the anger of their mothers. Levy says that Tahitian women are believed to have supernatural power to bring harm to their husbands:

Ordinary curses are a type of taho'o, a work which means in general "dirty trick" but which also has in certain usages the meaning "to get even". They are said to be brought about
almost entirely by women and are usually directed toward people with whom the women have intense personal relationships, particularly their husbands. The tāho'ō curse usually follows a serious argument in which the wife, enraged, says, "You will see what will happen to you now". (1973:158)

However, although Tahitian women have supernatural powers attributed to them, Levy does not specify whether Tahitian ghosts and spirits are considered to be predominantly male or female, although he states that Tahitian specialists in magic and ghost mediumship are predominantly male. Huntsman and Hooper make the same observation concerning Tokelau.

Wherever these aitu powers lie, whether in ghosts of the deceased, connections of the living, or in unrelated malicious beings, they seem to be channelled through women, manifest in women but not under the control of women. As far as we can determine, all the most renowned Tokelau curers, those who deal with aitu, are or have been men. They are relatively few in number, but the significant point is that it is male curers who are able to control aitu whereas their patients, predominantly females, cannot. (1975:120-121).
As I have shown, in contemporary Samoa, women seem to be in the great majority as healers and ghost mediums. When I asked Samoan women if women were more susceptible to ma'iti aitu they denied that this was the case (they also tended to say that there was no difference in the number of male and female fofō). My data suggests that women are more frequently to be considered the victims of aitu and that women consult fofō more often than men do.

I will return to this point below, but will first consider some contemporary beliefs in ghosts and spirits and the form, circumstances and consequences of ghostly manifestations.
Case Study No.12 - Samoan Ghost Stories

The following accounts are eight ghost stories which I have selected from the many that I recorded as being typical of a genre.

1. A youth was crossing a bridge when he saw a beautiful girl standing upon it, combing out her hair. He greeted her as he walked by and she replied angrily "how dare you speak to me". When the youth reached his home he lay down to sleep and when he woke up he was ill with a fever. A woman of his family went to fetch a fofō to massage him and as she was returning from the house of the fofō she saw a lady standing on the malae near the sea. The lady was wearing a blue dress and the woman had never seen that lady before. When the fofō came, the boy told her about the girl at the bridge, and the woman remembered the strange lady on the malae. So then we knew who it was. The fofō massaged the boy with lau ti and he recovered afterwards.

2. Account told at women's meeting : same speaker.

One evening I went to bed as I usually do, and when I awoke, the house was dark but I was standing fully dressed, my hair up in a comb, and I had even put on some lipstick. A lady had come into the room as I slept and had told me to get up and dress and come with her. But my husband awakened and saw me dressing, although he did not see the lady. Before I could leave the house, he asked me "where are you going?" and then I came to my senses.

3. Told to me by a woman in her thirties.

A boy of my family was having an affair with a girl, and because the two of them wished to keep the matter a secret they would go to the graveyard (in Apia). One morning the boy woke up and found he could not stand up properly, his back hurt him. Although he
went to the hospital and saw doctors and physiotherapists, they could not cure him. So our family took him to see a fofo. She asked him what he had been doing before he got sick and he told her about going to the graveyard. Her opinion was that this was the cause of his illness, and she advised that the family should leave some food on the tomb where he had been. This was done and the boy recovered.

4. Told to me by a nineteen year old married girl.

My husband's brother's wife's mother came to visit us. She is a fofo. After everyone had gone to sleep the dogs barked and barked and woke us up. There was nobody to be seen outside, but the old lady went to the front door of the house and opened it, then she asked the girls of the family to spread out some mats in the front room. When this was done the old lady closed the door again and we all went back to sleep. After that night, mats were spread out each night as long as the old lady was with us. We did not see anyone, but the mats were for the aitu who are the friends of that old lady.

5. Told to me by a twenty-three year old married woman

A woman of the family who lives in the house next to mine invited me to play cards with her. When we were getting the cards, an old lady who is a relative of the woman who's house it was, came in to visit. She joined us in playing cards. When I went home she was still there. The next day, the woman told me that after the old lady left, her relatives came to inform her that the old lady of the family had died that morning, just before we had seen her.
6. Told to me by a thirty-two year old untitled married man

My wife's mother told me of this. A girl was walking along the road in front of our village (the speaker resides uxori-locally) in the evening and she was attacked by someone, something that she could not see, who struck her across the face. When the girl returned to her family she was talking in a mad way and she had red marks on her cheeks. Her family took her to the fofo who lives in the next village. The fofo massaged the girl and talked to her, but it was not the girl that she was speaking to but a ghost who talked through the girl's mouth. This girl had brown hair and the ghost said that she did not like girls who had hair this colour. This is because the ghost has hair like that too. The girl had been walking about at night with her hair loose wearing a sei (a flower behind the ear) and this had made the ghost angry. The fofo instructed the family of the girl to cut off her hair. When this was done, the girl recovered.

7. Same informant as above.

Some girls were cleaning a church and as they worked two of them became very sick. They could not walk. The family of one girl took her to the hospital but the doctors could not help her, so she was taken to doctors in New Zealand. The family of the other girl took her to the matai at (a certain village) who is a taulasea. This girl was cured but the girl who went to New Zealand is still an invalid.

8. Told to me by a twenty-seven year old married woman

My uncle (speaker's father's sister's husband) a matai suffering from insanity was not a good man. He was cruel to his wife (unfaithful to her) and he was also a crook (misused public money). When he was younger, some of his
children died when they were small and one of his children is deformed. Now the family go from one fofo to another looking for a cure for him, but nothing works. They have tried things like moving the grave of one of his ancestors back to the place where it was before (the grave had been moved in the past for some reason) and many other things. The fofo who advises these things do not know the truth about him, this is why they can't make him better. (This speaker may have been implying that the old man's wife, who died some years ago, is the cause of his illness).
These accounts represent eight common themes in accounts of supernatural events:

1. A boy speaks to a beautiful girl who is described as "combing her hair" and becomes ill. In variations of this theme, a beautiful long haired girl is said to visit a youth in his sleep and have intercourse with him. When he awakes he is red-skinned and feverish and ill. The ghost is often said to have been seen in the vicinity at the time by other people.

2. Ghosts sometimes try to lure away the living bodily. This kind of story, when related of oneself may be interpreted as a bid for public esteem, as in most of the well-known stories of this ilk, the victim is a young girl of high rank.

3. "Sex out of place" is often punished by ghosts. In these kinds of stories people who have sexual intercourse in sacred places (graveyards or haunted places) or people who have sex with their relatives may be made ill, or in the latter case suffer sterility and abortion.

4. Some people have the power to see and communicate with ghosts who are invisible to others.
5. The living are sometimes visited by the recently dead just after they have died.

6. Girls with long hair and especially with brown hair are liable to ghostly attack if they walk about in public with their hair loose (regarded as flirtatious or provocative behaviour). Such stories are similar to those in theme (1) since they refer to the same category of beautiful, jealous female ghosts.

7. People are often inexplicably attacked by unknown ghosts which causes illness which is unresponsive to western medical treatment.

8. Bad deeds are often punished by ghosts or by the curse of a living person which may affect the wrong-doers's children or the person themselves.

In four of these stories the ghost was specified as female and in one, it was hinted that the ghost was female. Six were related by females and two by a male, although in one of these accounts the male who related the story to me had heard it from a female. The victims or witnesses of the ghost in each story were two young men, one old man, three young women and four mature or elderly women, a ratio of three males to seven females. Where the sex of the fofō (in those stories where a fofō was mentioned) they were female in four out of five cases. Clearly, it would
not be feasible for me to give details of all the ghost stories told to me in Samoa. Also, there may be some bias in that the majority of my informants were female. However, I would be prepared to generalise to the extent of saying that the supernatural in contemporary Samoa is thought of in terms of predominantly female ghosts controlled by predominantly female healers and mediums. Victims may be of any age or sex, but my data suggests that the least vulnerable category of persons to ghostly ailments are mature males (neither youthful or elderly) with matai titles. This was not stated by Samoans, it is based on my own observations and the stories that I was told. I heard of only one story in which the victim of a ma'ito aitu was a mature titled man, and in this account he was said to have suffered from nifoaloa - which is inflicted by a male ghost and is, as far as I know, treated only by male specialists. This affliction is well known and often discussed, but during my time in Samoa, this was the only instance of it that I heard of. The relative invulnerability of high status males in the prime of life to supernatural affliction, is I think most significant and I will return to this point later in this chapter.
Aitu, in the opinion of Horst Cain (1971) are the spirits of ancestors and the greater their importance, the higher the rank and the political and social influence of the lineage to which they are ancestral. This view fits in well with my own experience and case material. The aitu of individuals, of lineages and of villages, manifested themselves in living species and were held sacred to individuals or to groups. The Samoans had an ancient custom whereby a funeral was held for an individual who was lost at sea or who's body had been destroyed in war. A tapa cloth was spread out and the first living creature which alighted upon it was regarded as a manifestation of the spirit of the deceased and ceremonially interred. (Stair, 1897:184). In contemporary Samoa, the ghosts who are most often mentioned and who are most frequently cited as being the cause of ma'i aitu are Le Telesā and Saʻumaiafe. Le Telesā (lit."the very sacred") was, according to contemporary accounts, originally a taupou of the Sa Faumuina lineage of Lepea village. The title Faumuina was one of the ali'i pa'ia of old Samoa and is still one of the highest ranking titles in the land. Le Telesā is said to have been kidnapped by aitu at a spring on the estate of the Faumuina family, several generations ago, and to have been transformed into an aitu herself.8

8. There are certain aitu which correspond to the notion in western European folklore of "fairies" or "little people". There is a cave somewhere in Samoa, I was informed by several people, where tiny footprints are embedded in rocks, evidence of these aitu.

Cain has cast doubts on the historical validity of this well known contemporary account of the origins of Telesa. He quotes a version of the genealogy of Faumuina given by Kramer (1902:26)

"The first couple were according to this Uluao and his wife, Li'ivao, who had a daughter called Letelesa, or without the article, Telesa. Here the following note is made: 'va fe'alofa'i Pili ma Sina. Ona ita ai lea 'o Tagaloaalagi ia Pili ma alu'i Manu'a. Pili and Sina committed incest, whereupon Tagaloaalagi was angry at Pili. Pili was chased away and went to Manu'a.

(Cain, 1971:178).

Cain considers that Telesa is the aitu of the sa Faumuina the supernaturally potent offspring of a sister and brother. 10

There are various accounts regarding the origin of Sauma'iafe. According to a version recorded by Stuebal between 1884 - 1894, Sauma'iafe was the daughter of Sami of Alamutu, Saleimoa, and an aitu who Sami slept with on a visit to Savaii, mistaking her for a real woman. An account published in the Samoa Times in June, 1918, says that she was a girl of Saleimoa village who disappeared at about the age of 13, leaving behind only her lavalava, and that her subsequent reappearance when sickness, death or other not able events occurred in the village, indicated that she had been taken by the spirits. She is said to appear as a young girl or as an old woman in both versions.

10. See my discussion of the origin of spirits and cross-sex siblingship with further reference to Cain's theory in Chapter 6 above.
According to the version recorded by Stuebal and the versions I was given orally, Sauma'iafe pursues handsome young men of high rank and is jealous of beautiful girls. She causes illness and death to young men who resist her and girls who compete with her. She is said to have long reddish brown hair.

Characteristics which according to Stuebal (1896) Kramer (1902) and Von Bulow (1895) were associated with Sauma'iafe are nowadays also associated with Le Telesā, who according to earlier traditions was only thought to punish those who created disturbances on the malae of Lepea.

In terms of contemporary beliefs, whatever the traditional origins or distinctive attributes of the two ghosts, both are believed to have shared characteristics, beauty, youth, brown hair, to seduce young men, and to be vengeful of immodesty, beauty and attention-seeking behaviour in young unmarried women.

While there are special haunts attributed to one or the other in various parts of Samoa, the two are said to travel all over Samoa together. I heard several accounts that told of the two sauali'i (a polite word for aitu) travelling up and down at night on the road between Lepea and Saleimoa (the villages with which they are associated).
in an invisible motorcar driven by a male ghost from the village of Leulumoega. They are said to drive all over Samoa in this way when the fancy takes them, and their vehicle can be heard, although not seen. They appear in American Samoa\(^{11}\) and New Zealand as well, in fact anywhere where there is a sizeable Samoan community.

Most people who claim to have seen Sauma'iafe or Le Telesā describe both in the same terms, frequently mentioning that they were combing their long brown hair. Others claim to have seen the two ghosts as huge dogs, odd-looking cows, white owls, cats and other animals.

The motif of hair in accounts of these ghosts is of interest. Gifford gives an account of a Tongan "deity" who he said was still believed to appear as an apparition in Christian times. Known as Felahuni, the "deity" is androgenous, appearing to males in female form and to females in male form.

To Felahuni are attributed strong sexual desires. If a handsome man attracted the deity he took female form and slept with him, after which the man died. A similar fate overtook any beautiful woman in whom the deity became interested.

(Gifford, 1929:293)

The three accounts which Gifford gives of modern encounters with Felahuni portray her as female. In the first she has her head in her hands and is combing the hair. In the second she is described as being very beautiful, and in

\(^{11}\) On Tutuila, American Samoa, the attributes of Sauma'iafe and Telesā are also accorded to a female aitu named Taema (See Chapter 6, X).
the third she has ankle-length hair. I have cited Gifford in this regard because I think that the motif of long, unbound hair in dangerous female in Polynesia in pre-Christian times. It was customary for males to wear their hair long and for females, on reaching puberty, to cut theirs short. In Samoa, Fiji and Tonga, virgins kept one or two long locks of hair and in Samoa shaved parts of their heads. Males were expected to let their hair hang loose in the presence of a person of higher rank. Firth, commenting of Hallpike's (1969) association of long hair with lack of social control, comments:

"But what about Tikopia where ... men traditionally wore their hair long and women wore theirs short: can one really suggest that men there were less subject to social control than women?"

(Firth, 1973:297)

Firth notes that Tikopian men wore their long hair free except when it was tied back for convenience. But in the presence of their chiefs or on ritual occasions men loosened their hair.

"So there was equation between physical constraint on the hair and freedom of movement in work, and physical freedom of the hair and constraint in ritual observance. This conceptualisation, tacit only, as far as I know, seems to have been that lack of constraint of hair indicated an openness, to direction or control a submission to authority - of a chief or patron god
as opposed to a man's own exercise of control in binding his hair. To loosen one's hair for a formal occasion was a symbolic gesture of submission.

(Firth 1975:283)

Such was the case in pre-Christian Samoa as well yet in my view one can indeed suggest that men were less subject to social control than women.

In the case of Samoa, the analysis of hair symbolism by both Leach (1958) and Hallpike is highly relevant. The social control which was exercised over women had to do with the control of their sexual and reproductive faculties. Young men were "outside society" in terms of their prolonged status as jural minors in relation to matai. Females, as I have shown in previous chapters, were formally regarded as either non-sexual beings, as sisters, or as sexual beings as wives. In both of these aspects they were subject to social restriction with regard to sexual expression. The short hair of women in pre-Christian Samoa was thus highly symbolic of social control and sexual restriction, while loose unbound hair was symbolic of male sexual freedom. It is true that chiefs also had long hair, but on ritual and ceremonial occasions titled males wore their hair bound in topknots.

12. Untitled males were expected to loosen their hair from a topknot in the presence of a person of superior rank, probably symbolising their relatively marginal or subordinate social status.
With the advent of Christianity in Samoa, males cut their hair as an external sign of membership of the Christian church, while women, following the example of European missionary wives, grew their hair long. In modern Samoa short hair on males is considered symbolic of social order and the recent fashion for long hair on males is regarded with strong disapproval by older Samoans. In most Samoan villages there are local laws against wearing their hair long, which is enforced by stiff fines. Women wear their hair long, but drawn tightly back in a bun. It is regarded as sexually provocative for women to wear their hair loose in public.

The motif of long hair in the apparitions of Le Telesā and Sauma'iafe is thus one of condensed symbolic meaning. Both aitu are conceptualised as virgins, yet they are considered to have insatiable sexual appetites for handsome young men. Their male victims become ill or even die. Yet in many accounts they also cause illness and misfortune to males who speak to them. They allure and repudiate men in what seems to be a most inconsistent manner.
They are attributed with strong feelings of sexual jealousy; a young man who is believed to have been possessed by Le Telesā or by Sauma'iafe will be feared by eligible girls for is is believed that a girl who has a love affair with, or who married such a young man will be killed by the ghost.

The ghosts are believed to be extremely punitive towards sexuality in young unmarried women, a girl who permits herself to display her sexual attractions by drawing attention to herself by dressing up or by wearing her hair loose in public is considered a likely target for supernatural retribution. Brown hair occurs naturally in a small number of Samoans and is considered extremely attractive. In the nineteenth century both sexes used to bleach the hair to this shade using a coral lime paste. Thus in both the ghosts and in young women, hair of this colour is associated with sexual attractiveness.

The long, unbound hair of Sauma'iafe and Le Telesā symbolises in both the contemporary and the pre-Christian contexts, lack of restraint, the state of being outside society and social order, and uncontrolled female sexuality. At the

13. I have details of one young man whose epilepsy is attributed to Sauma'iafe and who, 'though handsome and well born, is avoided by girls.
psychological level, their propensity to both seduce young men and to punish their advances represents social anxiety about incest, the fear that males will become sexually attracted to their sisters who are forbidden to them. In contrast, the punitive behaviour of Sauma'iafe and Le Telesā to young unmarried women represents social anxiety about the sexuality of females at a time when they are formally prohibited from sexual activity and yet are sexually mature and ready for marriage. I consider that the focus of popular attention on these two ghosts in contemporary Samoa can be understood in terms of the symbolic and psychological elements which are incorporated in the set of beliefs about them. Sexual anxiety and antagonism surround young Samoans in late adolescence because of the dilemma surrounding the transition of sisters becoming wives and brothers becoming husbands. Incidents of illness, attack and possession in young men and, more frequently in my observation, young women, are attributed to Le Telesā and Sauma'iafe because they represent the paradox of female sexuality which is most likely to cause psychological stress in young men and women in the period of courtship. There also seems to be a strong element of projection of repressed desires and anxiety with regard to sister-brother incest.

A woman who is a fofō and specialises in treating illness which is attributed to Sauma'iafe said:

A lot of girls who they bring here to see me have a lying sickness (ma'i pepelo), not a ghost sickness. They tear their clothes off, some of them, and say strange things and tell people that they are the lady (Sauma'iafe) but it is a lie, the truth is that they are angry with somebody.

She claimed that she could tell genuine cases from those feigned by girls seeking attention, because as she said, "I know the lady very well and I can tell if it is she".

Another male fofō whose wife specialises in treating possession by both ghosts in Auckland, New Zealand, made a similar observation:

"A lot of these people who come here with ma'i aitu have a sickness that I call 'conscience'. It is like this, a woman comes to us with her family and they say she has ma'i aitu because she has been acting strangely and saying bad things. And (my wife) tells me secretly that the woman is lying. So I make medicine for the woman instead of (my wife) and I strike the woman and speak to her, as though I am speaking to the ghost. I ask 'What is wrong? Why have you come?' And then the woman cries out that she is so angry with her husband because he is having girl friends. It is conscience, you see? (Informant spoke in English)."
These two accounts indicate that victims of "ma'ī aitu" frequently resort to this strategy to focus the attention of others on some grievance which they find difficult to express in a more direct or explicit manner. Possession and other vaguely defined symptoms of illness are an excellent means of gaining attention and sympathy. Samoans are very considerate and attentive to the sick; normally reserved and formal interaction is suspended and a sick person becomes the focus of interest and concern.

This would explain why mature, titled males are so seldom affected with supernatural illness, for of all the members of a household, they are the least likely to be overlooked, offended or neglected by others. They have, relative to other members of the household, the greatest amount of freedom of action and expression, and their behaviour is least likely to be censured by others.

Young people and young married women, on the other hand, are the most subject to criticism and restriction and have the least freedom to express their feelings. In the case of young married women this is especially likely to be the case if they are the virilocally resident wives of untitled men. Similarly, young unmarried females are more likely than males to be restricted and censured, because of the different expectations which society has of unmarried women.
To evince symptoms of ghost sickness is more effective as an unconscious strategy than claiming some more mundane affliction, because it permits the victim to air grievances, make accusations and express anger in a setting in which she or he is not held responsible for what has been said. It is the ghost who is speaking rather than the victim, the anti-social actions of the possessed are attributed to the ghost, and the fofō in most such cases acts as an intermediary in isolating the grievances of the afflicted.

Samoans rarely discuss ghost sickness in these terms, but I believe the tacit acceptance of folk-medicine by medical doctors, ministers of religion, nurses and other educated elites in Samoa, reflects their perception of the social function it has. The hierarchical structure of the household places the greatest emotional burden on those at the bottom of the ladder. Children can throw tantrums and express aggression when the restrictions of low status become too oppressive; adolescent boys can express pent up feeling in rowdy adventures with their peers, young men can go out and get drunk, go off fishing by themselves, or even beat their wives and children. In contrast, young women, whether single or married, are surrounded with restrictions and have the least opportunity to express anger, resentment or aggression. Women past the age of forty or thereabouts, as I have shown in Chapter 5, have high status in the household, they have adolescent children to order about, they have usually settled into comfortable
egalitarian relationships with their husbands, and they have reached an age where they are influential in the affairs of their own descent group. At this age, then, women are more likely to be the mediators of the supernatural rather than its victims.\(^{(15)}\)

Lewis (1971) has developed a theory that a variety of religious phenomena which focus on spirit possession and shamanism which he calls "ecstatic religion" exists in the form of marginal cults below the surface of a more formal religious framework. The adherents of cults of this type tend to be persons of low or ambiguous status and there is special prominence of women in them. Using historical and cross-cultural ethnographic sources, Lewis argues that such cults are often demonstrations of protest by the oppressed. In cults where women act as shamans, their power is often contained by witchcraft accusations by those whose formal authority is most threatened by the cult's activities.

Lewis's study has great relevance to the Samoan situation, but it raises a number of problems as well. The focus on the ghosts Sauma'iafe and Le Telesa among Samoans has many aspects of a cult although it has no organisational structure, communal rites or official leaders. I have shown that victims of ghostly possession in Western Samoa tend to be those members of society who are the most restricted or who have the lowest status, and of these,

15. Also since the role of fofó is not one which a woman derives from her status as a wife, it is an occupation open to widows, even those who continue to reside virilocally after the death of their husbands.
young women are in the majority. However, the mediums by which supernatural forces are controlled are predominantly females of the least status category, that is, women who are past the age of sexual restriction, or to put it another way, women whose sexuality is no longer a matter of social concern.

The social status of individual female fofō varies, but the majority of those I encountered were of low or intermediate rank in terms of the social standing of their own descent groups, or of those of their husbands. The very few high ranking women fofō known to me are those who are members of the lineage with which either Sauma'iafe or Telesā are associated as ancestresses. Furthermore, many women who claim to be fofō for either or both ghosts are controversial figures, most Samoans say that in fact the only women who have the formal right to act as mediums for these two ghosts are the oldest living female members of the descent group. In the case of Le Telesā, the woman who now has this right is well known, while in the case of Sauma'iafe, there are several women who claim this right, and I was unable to find any consensus as to which of them had the most genuine claim. However, they are all residents of Sale'imoa, the home of Sauma'iafe.

At the same time, there are other women whose ancestral connection to either ghost is debatable, or non-existent, but who claim for themselves special powers of communication and empathy with the two ghosts. Their continued
success depends on the efficacy of their treatment, in contrast to the few women who are acknowledged as being real descendants of one or other ghost. The latter, if they fail to produce a cure, are not held responsible, their rights in respect of the ghost are unchallenged. Sometimes the family of a victim of ghost sickness will seek as an alternative, someone who has "acquired powers" of mediumship, rather than someone with inherited rights to the role, if the latter fails to effect a cure.

The Christian churches have largely excluded Samoan women from any significant religious offices, there are no female ministers of religion in the main Christian sects of Samoa (although there are a few in some of the minor evangelical sects), and very few women hold office as deacons. Apart from Catholic nuns, women's participation in the Christian church is restricted to such activities as cleaning and decorating the church, raising funds for the church and providing the household necessities of the Pastor or Catechist.

The role of fofō offers middle-aged Samoan women who are denied an important role in the Church, and who lack the esteem of high rank, an arena in which they may acquire prestige and power. One fofō told me that she expected little payment from her patients. I was rather sceptical about this as she had many patients and Samoans normally reward a fofō with "gifts" of money and food, during the course of a treatement and at its completion. If a

16. The Christian Congregational Church has, in recent years, permitted women to become Deacons. This office is only offered to widowed or unmarried women.
course of treatment is successful, the *fofo* is rewarded with 'ie toga. There is no specified fee for a *fofo*'s services, the matter is left up to the client whose 'aiga will always give generously if they consider a cure has been effected. What this particular *fofo* did stress was the gratification she experiences from treating important people, or members of the families of important people. I heard the same account of another *fofo*; one of my informants was telling me of her visit to a woman healer in Apia and said that before treatment was commenced, the *fofo* gave her a long and detailed account of the names and ailments of her various well-known or high ranking clients.

Established and successful *fofo* have considerable prestige and, far from posing a threat to the established order, they perform a function which supports and validates it. Society has no need to contain the activities of *fofo* through accusations of witchcraft or other sanctions, because it is the *fofo* who effectively contain the protests of the oppressed by divining the "wrong actions" of the afflicted, thus reinforcing the rules while allowing those oppressed by the rules a socially sanctioned form of psychological release.

The role of the *fofo* in treating ailments which are not necessarily attributed to supernatural origins is similarly efficacious in containing the expressions of psychological
distress. A person who feels unwell, and whose illness has psychosomatic elements obtains no comfort from sitting in a hospital queue for hours to await the brief and impersonal assessment of his or her condition by a busy doctor or nurse. But a visit to the fofō, the lengthy and intimate discussion of symptoms, the concern and interest of the relative who accompanies the patient, the soothing massage and the requirement that they return for many subsequent treatments, provides comfort and psychological reassurance. The role of the fofō is an important social institution in terms of the hierarchical structure and individual repression in Samoan society. The predominance of women in folk medicine provides women with a form of self-expression and an avenue for status as well as a means of expressing protest and distress at the restrictions placed upon them in youth.

The sacred aspects of women in their role as sisters, is effectively utilised by women in contemporary Samoan society and is dramatised through their perpetuation of the informal aspects of pre-Christian religious beliefs in compensation for new political and religious structures which have either excluded them or accorded them peripheral importance.
There has been an intensification of certain aspects of the pre-Christian belief system, specifically the emphasis which is placed on Saumā'iafe and Le Telesā. The popular belief that they were virgins kidnapped by ghosts is not supported by the genealogical traditions recorded last century, although this is irrelevant now, since it is what people believe to be true which matters in this analysis.

Further evidence of the elaboration and efflorescence of certain pre-Christian beliefs in recent times is the large number of fofo who practise in the Apia urban area. Traditionally, each aitu had its own taulāsea who held the office by genealogical right or formal ascription. This is still the case in many villages, but there has been a growth in the number of fofo who are prepared to deal with any and all manifestations of the supernatural, and this is a characteristic of many of the fofo who practise in the peri-urban villages of Apia. Other urban fofo specialise not so much in ghost mediumship, but in magical curing without reference to ghosts, still others practise time honoured Samoan healing methods based on massage using the traditional Cordyline leaves and coconut oil, segi and other standard cures.

The urban fofo obtain their clients from all over Samoa, not merely from Samoans living in the urban areas. Now Samoans travel from the village to town not merely to shop, go to market, and see the movies, but to consult fofo
or to collect *fofō* to be taken out to the villages to treat elderly people who cannot travel. The syncretic processes at work in Samoan folk-beliefs are alarming to some doctors, especially when techniques or medicines borrowed from western medicine are combined with traditional Samoan practices. But most older Samoan doctors tend to modify their criticisms, understanding the psychological needs which are being met by *fofō*.
CHAPTER NINE

LADIES AND WOMEN
PLATE 17 - An aualuma in the 1860's (George Brown Collection, reproduced by courtesy Mitchell Library, New South Wales)

PLATE 18 - (Below) Christian women in the 1860's. (George Brown Collection, courtesy Mitchell Library), New South Wales.
Ladies and Women

My discussion of women in Samoan culture and society in the nineteenth century has been partly based on published works written in the nineteenth century in the English language or translated from German. These works present problems of interpretation, firstly because they cover a period from 1830 to 1900, in which rapid changes had taken place and secondly, because they were written by European men. Thus, their writing reflects their culturally conditioned ideological and conceptual framework, and the writers were attempting to reconcile an unfamiliar reality with their preconceived model of what are "natural" roles of male and female universally.

A note of surprise occasionally intrudes into the writings of Victorian males by whom women were perceived as essentially the wards of men. The following account is from the memoirs of William B. Churchward who was acting British Consul in Samoa from 1881 to 1884.

"During the evening we had an instance of the observance of rank in women, not by any means general in the Pacific. We were in the course of a conversation when a lady of middle age arrived to call, upon which everyone left the house, even the chief to whom it belonged.

The visitor was the highest in the district by birth, being, as was said, descended from the ancient gods; however she was

1. From Churchward's account it seems highly probable that she was the sister of Tuimaleali'ifano of Falelatai.
earthly enough for us, and chatted in a very lively manner for some time. She was accompanied by some eight or ten native women, who, as with the chiefs and their talking-men, did almost all the talking for her, one of them acting the part of buffoon, and perpetrating the most untranslatable jokes. She expressed herself as much annoyed at our not having come to her house, and ashamed at our reception; and making us promise that we would shift our quarters in the morning, she stalked proudly away, followed single file by her string of attendants.

When she had left, our host returned, and told us that it was etiquette for him to go out, even though it was his own house, from respect for her high rank; but if she had desired it he could have remained.

(Churchward, 1887:324)

Similar surprise about the status of Samoan women is expressed by John Williams. In 1832 he visited Amoa, on Savaii where he was received by the chiefs and orators who showed him a chapel they had constructed. Afterwards he sat and talked with them, and he writes:

"... just as this conversation terminated our attention was arrested by the approach of about seventy females, bringing gifts, and following each other in goose-like procession ..."

"... we perceived that the principal woman and her daughter had seated themselves by the two chiefs, one of whom she requested to be her spokesman. Through him she stated that they had heard of my intention to come to Amoa; but as the Christians of her settlement were only females, they could not expect to receive a visit from so great a chief as myself[3] and had therefore come to pay their respects ..."

2. Anai of Falelatai.

3. Taufa'ase'e - a courteous form of flattery combined with self deprecation.
"This was a novel and interesting event, and before replying to her address, I asked the teachers what they knew about her and her female friends. "Oh", said they, "We know her well, her settlement is five miles away, and some time ago she came and resided with us for a month, during which she was exceedingly diligent in her attendance on our instructions. She then returned, collected all the women of her district, and so interested them by her statements, that very many have been induced to follow her example, and renounce their heathen worship."

(Williams 1837:447)

Williams was informed that the women had built a place of worship and that "this female chief" conducted the services herself if the mission teachers were unable to come. Williams exhorted the delegation of women to be "particularly circumspect in their conduct, 'that by their chaste conversation they might win their husbands' to Christ."

Williams assumed that these women were the wives of the men of the settlement, but his description of the manner in which they were attired and in which their hair was dressed, suggests that the leading woman was a sa'o tamai ta'i and the younger woman (whom Williams says was her daughter) was a taupou. The body of women escorting them was undoubtedly the aualuma of the village.

4. The leader wore a 'iqula, a reddish dyed shaggy woven garment worn by women of high rank who had been married, the younger wore virgin locks and a 'iegina, a bleached white shaggy garment worn by virgins of high rank.
Published nineteenth century sources contain very little information about women other than in reference to marriage customs and practices associated with childrearing. It may be that much of what they observed of women they considered either inappropriate or indelicate to record in their published works.

This no doubt reflects the fact that male European missionaries confined themselves to the instruction and supervision of Polynesian male missionary teachers who were initially from Tahiti and the Cook islands and later Samoa. Their interaction with Samoans, as was appropriate to the high chiefly rank ascribed to them by Samoans, was with high ranking Samoan males. It was their wives who dealt mainly with the wives of the mission teachers, instructing them in their duties, both in the domestic sphere and also in the study of the bible, and reading writing and arithmetic.

The non-Samoan Polynesian teacher's wives encountered initial difficulties with their Samoan sisters. Gutch, in his biography of John Williams culls the following anecdote from Williams' unpublished journals:

"Apparently the teachers had a difficult time with the Samoan women. They started teaching them hymns, but had found that they were singing the hymns at their dances, which were far from being a suitable accompaniment. The teachers' wives had tried to teach them how to make white cloth, but they were so idle that they made no progress. They had also tried to persuade them 'to cover the upper part of their persons, of which they were excessively vain'. Not only had they not succeeded, but the Samoans retaliated by trying to induce the teachers' wives to give
up the European style of dress and adopt
the Samoan fashion of wearing nothing
but a mat around the waist and a row
of blue beads round the neck". (Gutch, 1974:97)

On the occasion of William's first visit to Samoa in 1830,
the pioneer missionary presented his host, Malietoa
Vainnūupō, with presents of blue beads, knives, scissors,
axes and other highly valued, and at that time extremely
rare, goods. He was somewhat disconcerted to discover
that his host had used these goods "to purchase a handsome
young wife". He describes the wedding ceremony and
concludes his description with the observation that he
"saw nothing in the performance worthy of admiration, save
the absence of everything indelicate - a rare omission in
heathen amusements" (Williams, 1878:350)

Williams, having been informed that chiefs' wives were
purchased and that a prospective wife had no right to
refuse an alliance if the price given for her was sufficient,
was moved to comment:

"I prayed that, by the blessing of God upon
our labours, the day might speedily arrive
when these interesting females should be
elevated from this terrible degradation(5) and,
by the benign influence of Christianity, be
raised to the dignity of companionship with
their husbands, and occupy that status in the
social and domestic circle which the females
of Tahiti, Rarotonga, and the other islands,
have attained since the introduction of the
Gospel. (Williams 1838:351-52)

5. Gutch also quotes Mrs. Hardie, the wife of an
English missionary, who in 1837 wrote,"the females
of this island are indeed in a very degraded and
deprecated state; addicted to habits of indolence,
ignorance and lasciviousness - the very incarna-
tion of every foulsome and debasing vice".
(Gutch, 1974:126)
It is clear from nearly all the accounts of the Missionaries working in Samoa in the nineteenth century that they perceived a great need to elevate the status of women. Though they were aware of the existence of high rank in women of chiefly lineages and of the high status of such women, they were troubled by the absence of stable marriage, by chiefly polygamy and by the low status which was attributed to women as either wives or "concubines". The teaching of St. Paul regarding wives as subjects of their husbands was balanced by the reciprocal duty of husbands to care for and protect women. That women were used in transactions between men and lacked the right of choice in the matter seemed to be a heathen custom requiring reform. Clearly, they did not give any thought to the custom of royal dynasties in Europe where the same custom, based on the same considerations of preserving aristocratic bloodlines, existed.

These emissaries of a culture which recognised and respected women only as wards of men, despite their reigning Queen, who preached a religion which honoured women only as the subordinate wives of men, despite the virgin mother of their Deity, and who equated Christianity with the acceptance of their own Patriarchal values, were hardly likely to accept so very different a philosophy regarding gender as that of the Samoans.
Gunson has commented:

Early voyagers and missionaries believed that Polynesian women were regarded as inferior, but most of the customs which suggested this were based on Polynesian beliefs concerning fertility and the maternal function. The condition of women in general varied considerably throughout Polynesia. Whereas Tongan women were privileged and protected from arduous work, Tahitian women were the principle food collectors. In Tonga, however, the royal women such as the Tamaha of Tongatapu, although they were of a particularly sacred character, had a carefully fixed place in society, and marriage alliances were regulated to preserve the apparent patrilineal descent of the highest titles.

In Tahiti, the situation appears to have been more complex. Indeed the more one looks at the place of women of high rank in Tahitian society, the more one is inclined to agree with Robert Briffault's observation that 'Queens were born but kings were made'. In looking at what evidence we have of ancient Tahitian society one is impressed by the fact that it is the Great Women who seem to decide many of the issues, who appear to be of unrivalled influence, and who make many of the royal claims. It is almost as if they functioned as a kind of college of Queens from whom the 'divine king' was to be selected. It is only the Great Women who dare break the strictest of the rahui (food taboos) decreed for claimants to the supreme chiefly title. Even the Ari'i Taimai acknowledges the peculiar role of women in Tahitian history.

(Gunson, 1964:55-56).
In Samoa, as in the rest of Polynesia, the high rank of women was based on descent and as the co-descendants of males in high ranking lineages they had equal or higher rank. As wives they had subordinate status to males, which would explain why Samoan women of high rank rarely formed permanent marriage liaisons, preferring once they had created a marriage alliance, to reside with their own descent group among whom they occupied a place of greater honour.

Misunderstandings of the nature or even the existence of high female rank in any other context but that of chiefs' wives is widespread in missionary writings. It seems unlikely that a man such as the Rev. George Turner, who spent so many years in Samoa, did not realise that Samoan women had independent status and rank, but it is very likely that he disapproved of it. Writing of A'ana district, Turner refers to discussions with a congregation concerning their Church contributions.

"Another, and rather amusing scheme of the cheap religionist order was that the women pay the teacher one year and the men the next!"

(Turner, 1861:161)

While such an arrangement may have amused Turner, and he records that he forbade the scheme, it was quite consistant with the Samoan concept of "the village of the ladies and the village of the gentlemen". It is a common arrangement in contemporary Samoa for the matai and the aumaga to divide
a project equally between themselves and the *tama'ita'i* and the *komiti* (women's committee), or for the male and female sides of the village to take turns in fundraising in a spirit of competition.

It is uncritically assumed by most writers on Samoa that Christianity did much to elevate female status. There was no such concept of "female" status in itself in Samoan culture, the status of females as sisters is quite distinct from their status as wives, each having it's own role attributes and rank in relation to males with whom they interact as either co-descendants or affines. That the latter status was upgraded by missionary influence is undeniable although in certain respects, it was accomplished at the expense of the former status which has always accorded females importance, dignity and esteem.

The missionaries, with their perception of female degradation inherent in the fragile pre-Christian marriage bonds, wished to strengthen the institution of marriage and to teach Samoan women the notion of wifehood as an honourable estate. If the missionaries attempted to weaken the powerful role of females as co-descendants or sisters, and to deny women their traditional role as spirit-mediums or "priestesses" while permitting them only derived and peripheral status in the Christian Church, they provided women with a new source of influence and power by recognising the right of women in the "wife" status-category to participate in village affairs, particularly those associated with the church.
In pre-Christian Samoa almost every village had a society of women known as the *tama'ita'i* or the *aualuma*. I will use the term *aualuma* to refer to the pre-Christian institution and *tama'ita'i* to refer to the society in post-Christian times. Membership in the *aualuma* was restricted to unmarried women; that is women who were living apart from their husbands, widows and girls who had not yet married. These women were also the representatives of the female side of each localised descent group or 'āiga of the village, thus as a group they were the sisters and daughters of the village.

The leaders were the *sa'o tama'itài*, the older women members of the highest ranking 'āiga of the village who had often been *taupou* in their youth. The *aualuma* resided together in the *fale tele*. These were large, circular, beautifully constructed buildings which were used by guests of the village, for *fono* worship and on other ceremonial occasions. The only group who used the *fale tele* as a dwelling house was the *aualuma*.

Girls joined the *aualuma* when they reached puberty, at this time their hair was cut short, leaving two long locks to signify their virginity, and their 'āiga presented food to the *aualuma* to mark their admission. In the case of a girl of high rank there was a more formal celebration.
including the redistribution of 'ie toga. Girls remained with the aualuma until their marriage, and rejoined its ranks if they left their husbands or were widowed.

The aualuma were guarded at night by the sons of the tulāfale who were associated with the ali'i whose fale tele it was.

The guards were necessitated by the fear of rape or moetotolo by youths from other villages. The rape of a taupou or any other high ranking virgin was an act of provocation similar to that of killing a chief. There are many oral traditions which tell of enemies stealthily killing a chief while he slept, as there are many accounts of the rape of the taupou.

The magnitude of the offence lay in the nature of the representative status of the taupou rather than the value of the girl herself - for once deflowered illicitly, a taupou lost her value in matrimonial alliance which required ritual confirmation of her virginity. In addition, she represented the honour and the dignity of her village, thus the act of raping a taupou was a powerful challenge - and one which the warriors of the village were often unable to avenge if they were unable to discover the identity or the village of the assailant. If it was known (as it was in cases where the taupou eloped with the man) he would be hunted down and killed, and sometimes so would she be.
PLATE 11.

The aualuma of Poutasi enters the Pastor's house in procession to serve guests of the village.

An aualuma group performs a siva for guests of their womens komiti.

PLATE 12.
The aualuma were fed by the village, each household or 'aiga contributing on behalf of their female members who were living in the fale tele. They received shares of the best food available, a significant mark of their high status, as food has always been a most important indicator of social importance.

The aualuma performed many functions. One was the education of young girls who learned songs and poetry (solo), dancing, etiquette and special skills such as weaving 'ie toga. They also learnt about taking care of the guests of the village, decorating the house for their reception, preparing their bedding of mats and tainamu (tapa mosquito curtains), and entertaining them in conversation, preparing their kava and performing dances and songs which were reciprocated by the taupou and the aualuma of the visitors. The frequency of visiting parties and the high value that was placed on the quality of hospitality suggests that the aualuma had an important role in maintaining the reputation of the village in this regard.

The aualuma also formed a work party for collective village undertakings. If a new house was being built, for instance, the aualuma would go as a group to carry cane leaves and weave thatching sections and blinds for the building, and carry baskets of pebbles for the floor.

The aualuma also formed a "court" for the taupou, the elder members instructing her and the younger waiting upon her.
The members of the *aualuma* took the role and status of the *matai* of their *aiga* in their formal meetings, thus, the *taupou* and the daughters of the *ali'i* sat in silent dignity as did their fathers while the daughters of the principal orators spoke for them as *tulāfale*, and the daughters of the untitled men served the food and sat at the back of the house as did the *aumaga* (the society of untitled males) to the *matai* of the village. This would explain Mead's puzzlement regarding the manner in which females learned oratory. Referring to a visit she made in the company of Talala, who was a *matai* in her own right and the mother of Tufele (the high chief of Manu'a) to the village of Fitiuta, she writes:

> The second day all the ladies of the village - the wives of the chiefs and talking chiefs - came to do us homage ... Without hesitation or embarassment they threaded their way through all the baffling intricacy of the ceremonial language. And this is the more amazing because the principal speakers were chosen not for their speaking ability, but because they were the wives of talking chiefs of a certain rank. Their husbands had been selected to become talking chiefs with prayer and meditation from among all the available young men in a large family connection to hold a title which demanded the eloquence of Demosthenes. But the wives had been trained after marriage. And the young girls sat outside and listened.

Daughters of *tulafale* not only heard oratory but practiced it at an early age in the *aualuma* as did their brothers in gatherings of the *aumaga*. The *taupou* and daughters of the *ali'i*, while they did not orate on formal occasions, were none the less expected to be familiar with formal and ceremonial linguistic usages. The fact that Samoans of all ranks and statuses are so familiar with oratory is a major reason for the appreciation of orators in the culture, particularly when it is done exceptionally well. Accordingly, it is not very surprising that the wife of a man chosen to hold an orator title, should be fairly accomplished in this regard herself.

It was the custom for certain members of the *aualuma* to take set roles while accompanying the *taupou* on a visiting party, some acting as her orators, some as her jesters and so on, and these roles would derive from the role associated with the title of their *ʻāiga*.

II

Because each member of the *aualuma* took her role and status from the *matai* title of her *ʻāiga* does not mean that their status was derived from males. The status of a married woman was customarily always derived from a male and in contemporary Samoa this is generally still the case. For
example, some churches now appoint Deaconesses, but a married woman is rarely appointed to this office unless her husband is a Deacon, or unless she is widowed.

Similarly, a woman is rarely elected to hold a matai title if her husband is untitled. If a family had a vacant title without a suitable male heir, they would be more likely to award the title to the husband of a female heir if he were untitled. Thus he would be holding the title on her behalf and on that of her children. They would confer the title on the woman herself however, if her husband already held a title of equivalent rank.

In the case of matai titles, each title had an ascribed status and rank, rather than an ascribed gender. Some titles originated from the given name of a woman, although the heirs to the title in the lineage she founded might all have been males. Important titles in the order of ali'i had associated with them a number of additional titles over which their lineage held rights of bestowal. These included a taupou title, a manaia title, and additional titles of lesser rank whose incumbents had an obligation to serve the ali'i, taupou and manaia of the 'āiga who bestowed the titles upon them.

A titled man derived his rank and status from his title, which prescribed his demeanour, relationships with other matai, his rights and his duties.
A matai title defines the rank and status in the community not only of the incumbent of the title but also of the immediate members of the 'aiga to which it belongs - the sons, daughters and wife of the incumbent of the title. Only that of his wife is truly a derived status, for she is not a member of the 'aiga but an outsider to it. The eldest untitled son of the highest ranking ali'i in a Samoan village is the Sa'o'aumaga, the eldest unmarried daughter the Sa'ofaualuma - each taking the highest ranked position in their status group because of their relationship to the title as heirs to that title.

It is possible for there to be a fono without ali'i; a number of villages were said to have been made up entirely of Tulafale and their 'aiga. In such villages where there were no taupou, no sa'o tama'ita'i there could be no aualuma, since the aualuma was a setting for the highest ranking persons of the village; the sisters and daughters of the ali'i and it was their presence which gave the aualuma its honourable estate. In Poutasi village the aualuma was temporarily disbanded by Meleisea and Tuatalagaloa in the early 1960's because neither of them had daughters or sisters present in the village at the time. They felt it highly inappropriate that the most honoured group of the village was being led by the daughters and sisters of their inferiors in rank.
The status of the members of the *aualuma* was not "derived" from male statuses for another reason: the concept of "the village of the ladies" and "the village of the gentlemen" reflects the relationship of *feagaiga*, of complementary opposites; sacred and moral authority and secular action. Now as I have argued, *ali'i* have both attributes; their titles invest them with sacred and moral authority, while their membership of the village *fono* invests them with secular authority. However the contrast between the *aualuma* and the *fono* is that of sacred and secular in the overall village context. The *aualuma* were the "village of the ladies" and represented an aspect of the dignity of the title held by the *matai* of their *'āiga*.

The role of members of the *aualuma* in preparing kava is of interest. In gatherings of the *fono* and when the *fono* entertained parties of visiting *matai*, the *taupou* chewed and mixed their kava. At the household level, when the *matai* of the *'āiga* partook of his evening cup of kava or when he entertained chiefly visitors, the *aualuma* member of the *'āiga* who was a virgin performed this office. Kava had important religious overtones in pre-Christian Samoa. The preparation of kava is attended with great ceremony and girls refrain from preparing it when they are menstruating. Kava is not consumed by women except in certain contexts; when the *aualuma* entertain another *aualuma* group for example. It is not prepared by males, except in certain contexts: a "King's kava" or *'ava fa'a tupu*. In this elaborate ceremony, pieces of kava root are chewed by a number of high chiefs and dropped into a kava
bowl where they are then mixed by a taupou or a manaia (male). The normal pattern is that kava is mixed by a virgin and consumed by a titled male.

Like Leach (1972) in his analysis of the Kava ceremony and myths of Tonga (7). I consider the principal symbolic meaning of the Kava ceremony to be that matrilineal rank sanctifies patrilineally inherited offices. The overt function of the kava is to illuminate and reinforce the hierarchical relations between matai of various ranks. The preparation of the kava by a virgin appears to symbolise the relationship of rank and secular authority with the sacred aspect of women as sisters. This status is maximised when they are asexual, as in the case of young girls or elderly ladies. It may also explain the menstrual taboo. There is little emphasis on female pollution in Samoa, I only learned of two other taboos (one that females should not climb coconut palms lest the nuts turn bad, the other, that females must not touch Bonito canoes lest they drive away the catch), which might indicate the existence of the notion. The injunction that a girl may not prepare kava while she is menstruating might therefore be best understood as an avoidance of biological femininity which is inimical to the ritual purity otherwise symbolised by the taupou.

7. "By the ritual drinking of kava the titleholder concerned reaffirms his aristocratic status, he assimilates to himself once again the magic matrilineally inherited potency of his divine ancestors" (Leach, 1972:272)
The etymology of the term *aualuma* is probably *au* - a treasured or cherished thing or person, *a* - of, *luma* - front. (This may explain why the polite chiefly term for penis is also *aualuma*!) The front, as we have seen in earlier chapters is the place of honour in a house and front (roadwards or seawards) has higher rank than back (towards the bush or the inland area).

The term is not used exclusively of a female grouping however. In Poutasi village the high chief Meleisea is ceremonially addressed as *o le sa'o aualuma*. This confused Kramer (1903) who translated the *fa'alupega* as "the leading woman" supposing Meleisea to have been a title originating from a female. In fact, the reference is to the original Meleisea who came to Saga - he was the leader of the untitled men, the *manaia* of Tuisamo Fanene. In this context *Sa'o aualuma* referred to his status as a leader of untitled men, for confusingly, some villages use, or once used, the term to refer to the *aumaga*, while they referred to the female group as *sao tama'ita'i*. In one village of Safata district the *aumaga* is still referred to as the *aualuma*. This is unusual, but I have been told that there are a few other villages which have the same custom.

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8. A possible explanation for the *fa'alupega* of Meleisea may be that it is through the *female* ancestors of the first Meleisea that the title is linked to the highest in the land. There may be a similar explanation for the male *aualuma* of Safata.
A tulafale who escorted a youth group to Tafitoalo village Safata, a cricket match in 1976 did not realise that the aualuma of the village was male until after they had arrived. He had chosen a boy to make the speech for their side in reply to the speech of welcome of the leader of the host aumaga. When he learned that the "aumaga" was referred to as the aualuma, he quickly chose a girl to make the speech in reply. The boys of the team were angry and asked him afterwards why he had done so curious a thing. He explained to them that if they were addressed by the leader of the aualuma then the speech in reply must come from their aualuma, which was, as is usual, female. The use of aualuma to refer to the untitled men's society must have some particular historical explanation in terms of the traditions of that particular village, however I was not able to discover what it was.

The composition of the aualuma in terms of age structure may have been predominantly young unmarried women and older widows. However, the fragility of the pre-Christian marriage bond suggests to me that women between the ages of adolescence and middle age would have been fairly numerous, since a woman on leaving her husband or being
discarded by him returned to her own village and was readmitted to the aualuma again. In contemporary Samoa, there is a greater number of elderly women and adolescence girls in most aualuma or tama'ita'i, (as they are now commonly called) groups, except in those villages in which there is a high incidence of uxorilocal marriage.

A woman who married within her village, (which I believe to have been an unusual state of affairs in pre-Christian times), is expelled from the aualuma and joins the wives group of the appropriate status category. This might reinforce the notion that all female statuses are male derived, ie: that a woman upon marriage to a man of the same village is re-classified from the status of her matai to that of her husband. Indeed, this was my own analysis during the first year which I was living in a Samoan village. But when I advanced this interpretation to a number of older Samoans both male and female, I was corrected emphatically by them. This is not the reason for dismissing girls and women who marry within the village from the aualuma, I was told. While such marriages were
indeed a source of structural ambiguity, and even, though very frequent nowadays, undesirable for this reason. But the real reason, I was told, was that a woman may not belong to the same group as her husband's sister as this is a breach of the *feagaiga* of sister and brother. A woman who is the sexual partner of the brother of another woman who is his sister, cannot therefore belong to the same status group, the right of the sister group taking precedence over that of the wife of a brother. As one *matai* put it:

"When women are together they like to joke and do things that might be rude or suggestive. But if the sisters and their brothers' wives are together when this kind of thing is going on, then they are ashamed".

A certain amount of ribaldry does take place among women when both sisters and wives are present in the same house, but this is not a matter of great concern, especially when the younger women of both groups are not present. What is important is that the conceptual distinction between the two categories of women are maintained. The only village that I know of where girls who marry within the village continue to be accepted as "*tama'ita'i*" is a village in Lefaga where there is no high ranking *ali'i* in the
village and no sa'o tama'ita'i. Thus the status of the aualuma or tama'ita'i is fairly nominal, the members being respected because they are the sisters and daughters of the village 'āiga but having no really high ranking women as a focus of their importance. (9)

III

The preconception of European missionaries that in "savage" societies the status of women was degraded, led them to promote a number of innovations in Samoan social organisation which have gradually produced a number of major structural changes within Samoan society.

The association of the traditional women's group, the aualuma, with a number of institutions of which the missionaries strongly disapproved, caused them to take a stand against the aualuma itself. The aualuma was a pivotal institution in the chiefly marriage system, the malaga and sinful night dances, the means by which unattached women lived independently of their 'āiga or former husbands, and the Taupou system. In as much as the missionaries understood the role of the aualuma, they wished to see it replaced by a form of women's association more familiar to them and more consistent with a Christian conception of women's role and status. Women were not

9. That an ali'i and taupou are essential to a village which aspires to be recognised as a centre of political importance is exemplified in oral traditions which tell of the establishment of high chiefly lines in the villages of Salani and Fasitoo through kidnapping the sons of high ranking women.
PLATE 13.

A *fa'aevaevaga* at Malie Village; the *tama'ita'i* display 400 newly woven *ie toga* - the result of several years work.

PLATE 14.

A *fa'amati* at Poutasi Village. The annual gift of sleeping mats and household goods to the Congregational Church Pastor is displayed by the *komiti*. 
permitted to hold formal offices in the Christian churches except as the wives of village Pastors and Catechists and of leading laymen\(^{10}\). But they formed women's groups and led the female members of the congregations in a range of practical activities associated with the needs of the church. Each church women's committee had the duty to raise funds for the church, to clean and decorate the church each Sunday, to weave mats for the Pastor's house, and also to hold special women's Bible study groups and prayer groups at certain times of the year.

The structure of the London Missionary Society, (now the Christian Congregational Church of Samoa) is based on a series of pulega or circuits, each pulega comprises a number of village congregations. Within a pulega, the oldest and longest serving Pastor of the region encompassed by the pulega is the senior presiding Pastor or faife'au toeaina, and his wife is the leader of the Pastor's wives. Each congregation chooses a number of representatives (depending on the size of the congregation) from the Deacons and the Deacon's wives.

When the pulega holds a joint meeting, four groups convene, the Pastors, the Deacons, the Pastors' wives and the Deacons' wives. Each group has distinct duties and areas of concern which are discussed in separate meetings, but at some point,

\[\text{10. Deacons, elders or other leading church laymen are usually selected from among the matai of the congregation or parish, although occasionally untitled men of mature age are permitted those offices. Women have only been made Deacons in recent years in the Christian Congregational Church of Western Samoa.}\]
the Pastors and the Deacons meet together and the Pastors' wives and the Deacons' wives also. Usually for purposes of mutual consultation and discussion and for prayers. The L.M.S. held an annual meeting at the old headquarters of the church at Malua, the *fono tele*. Representatives of the four groups of each *pulega* would be elected by the *pulega*, to represent them at this meeting.

This annual meeting of the Church is responsible for reviewing the church's activities over the past year and it's needs for the year to come. At Malua, the Church's headquarters and Theological College, each *pulega* has a large house, constructed from permanent materials and often of imposing dimensions. Most of these houses were financed, and the building supervised, by the Deacons' wives and the female members of each congregation within each *pulega*. For most of the year these are occupied by students of the Theological College and their families, but on the occasion of the annual meeting, they are used by the representative Pastors, Deacons and their wives of the *pulega*.

I have mentioned this in some detail in order to make the point that the public role of women as wives dates back to the mid nineteenth century and is not entirely associated with the introduction of modern village women's committees. The strength of women's committees and their rapid acceptance originated from two factors, firstly the traditional precedent of the *auluma* for women's groups, and secondly the eighty or so years of female participation as wives in church women's auxiliaries.
The first modern women's committee was started in Vaiala village in approximately 1923-24 by the wife of the United States Consul, Mr Quincey Roberts. Dr. Roberts was a doctor of medicine who had served with the American army in Europe in the first world war. During the war she met Roberts who had been injured and who, when the war ended, was appointed Consul in Apia by the United States government. They married there in 1923. According to those who remember Dr Roberts, she was a woman of strong and decisive personality.

In 1921, New Zealand had taken over the reigns of government from the Military Administration which in turn had wrested Samoa from German rule in 1914. During the period of military administration, Europeans, part-Europeans and a few select Samoans of high rank mixed socially. But after 1921 racial lines were drawn by the new caste of civil administrators. This gave considerable offense to the most prosperous members of the part-European community and it appears that Dr Roberts chose to continue to mix socially with these, some of whom held United States citizenship.

Since Dr Roberts was unable to practice her profession due to her husband's diplomatic status, she became, through her friendship with leading part-Europeans such as Mrs O.F. Nelson, interested in helping the Samoan people in a voluntary capacity.
The consular residence was at Vaiala, a *pitonu'u* of Apia village which had been overrun by the rapid development of the Port town of Apia during the nineteenth century. Village settlements, however, were interspersed among the commercial and residential urban developments, thus Dr Roberts lived on the edge of a Samoan village. She saw room for improvement in the health and sanitary conditions of the settlement and decided to organize a village clinic through which she could train the women in modern methods of hygiene and health care.

Through Mrs. Nelson, Dr. Roberts met a number of other prominent part-Samoan women whom she urged to use their influence and education to get women's committees going in villages where they had family connections. It appears that these women were interested in Dr Robert's ideas, however, before they were able to take any substantial action the *Mau* movement or rebellion against New Zealand rule had begun to gain momentum.

The *Mau* rebellion grew out of a number of disparate feelings of dissatisfaction with New Zealand's administration of Samoa. The first was the desire of Samoans to govern themselves according to Samoan custom and traditions, this desire had emerged in the early nineteen hundreds after Germany annexed Western Samoa. The second was the sense of resentment felt by prominent part-Europeans at their exclusion from not only the social life of the colonial officials, but also from any role in government to which they felt that their mixed ancestry, education and wealth entitled them.
The New Zealand government at first attempted to dismiss the movement as the agitation of half-caste malcontents. But between 1926 and 1929 the movement escalated; the Samoans passively refused to be administered and had formed their own counter-government. In 1926, New Zealand police opened fire on a procession of unarmed Samoan men who were engaged in a protest march. One of the Paramount chiefs of Samoa, Tupua Tamasese, was among those killed. New Zealand then sent warships with troops, which prompted hundreds of Samoan men to seek refuge in the interior of the islands to avoid arrest.

The Mau protests were continued by the women under the leadership of Mrs Nelson and other part-Samoan women, and the wives and sisters of a number of high chiefs who were leaders of the movement.

The women's Mau had been active from the beginning and its major role had been that of fundraising. In all those villages in which there was strong support for the Mau (about 90%), the tama'ita'i and the faletua and tausi led the women of the community in raising funds for the Mau. The women, like the men, wore a Mau. uniform (a purple lavalava and white top), held meetings, played cricket and were active in all aspects of the movement except protest demonstrations. But when the leading men were driven from the villages, the women conducted the meetings, held cricket matches and went on protest marches as all of these activities were banned for males.
One incident was recalled with delight by the daughter of one of the leaders of the women's Mau. The women formed a procession and, wearing their uniforms, marched down the main street of Apia, as they usually did, but on this occasion the police turned firehoses on them. At a signal from the leaders, the women turned their backs on the police, and hoisting up their lavalavas, they all with one accord bent and bared their bottoms at the police.

This gesture is a particularly female insult and regarded by the Samoans as one which is totally humiliating to the recipient but implies no impropriety to the one who is so provoked as to do it. In Samoan eyes the dignity that is associated with women makes the gesture a particularly gross insult as it is in such sharp contrast with the ideally restrained conduct of women, in their capacity as sisters.

Keesing has made much of the implications of the women's Mau in terms of its creating a precedent for female political participation. He implies that the women's committees pioneered in the 1920's laid the basis of the later women's Mau movement:

in teaching the women of the Samoan communities and enlisting them in the task of actually changing traditions and customs, of working together for the public welfare, the authorities were indeed loosing one of the most potent forces for the modification of the native life.

(Keesing, 1934:394).
Keesing spent eight months in Samoa in 1929. He reported that Dr Roberts "experiments" had been taken up and promoted by the New Zealand administration and the committees had spread over most of Samoa producing immediate results which were reflected in the lowest known death rate and highest natural increase in the year 1926-27. (Keesing, 1934:382)

Keesing's facts are disputed by a number of Samoans who were junior employees of the health department at this time. According to them, the women's committees were confined mainly to the urban areas, most of the European medical officers and nurses worked in the Apia area and effective extension work in the villages was limited by the inability of qualified medical officers to speak Samoan, and the lack of roads and communication.

Lambert, an expert in tropical medicine, who played a major role in the establishment of the Fiji School of Medicine visited Samoa in the 1920s. He reported that in 1926, in four districts, the death rate had fallen from 30 per 1000 to 20 per 1000, and that between 1921 and 1931 the New Zealand administration spent between twelve thousand, five hundred pounds and fourteen thousand pounds annually on health extension work and medical services, a sum which did not include public work projects such as piped water from reservoirs and catchment tanks in rural areas. The main thrust of the work seems to have been a yaws eradication
campaign which was successful in greatly reducing the incidence of infection. However, Lambert makes no mention whatsoever of village women's health committees during this period and in fact quoted the high Chief Faumuina as saying that the official neglect of women (11) was a major factor in fermenting revolt against New Zealand rule. (Lambert, 194:215).

Accordingly, I have reservations about Keesing's claim that women's health committees were established prior to the Mau by New Zealand, and particularly his assertion that it was this innovation which resulted in the active role played by women during the Mau. I have quoted evidence from Williams in 1832 above, that women had sufficient independence to allow them to initiate a major change in the early 1830's - their independent creation of a Christian church in a village near Amoa. There are doubtless other and unrecorded instances of such female inspired innovations. Secondly, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, women played a powerful although secular role in church affairs, the business of fund raising and other practical endeavours being a role that Samoan women have made particularly their own.

11. A key incident in the Samoan case against the administrator, Brigadier Sir George Richardson, according to Lambert, was when he refused to delay his annual malaga around Western Samoa to allow a medical officer to attend to a woman dying in childbirth. (Lambert 194:215).
Those Samoans who have had long careers in the Department of Health consider the real pioneer of village women's committees was Dr Ielu Kuresa. Among the earliest graduates of the Suva Medical college, Dr Kuresa established about forty pioneer women's health committees between 1934 and the time of his death in 1936. He had the encouragement of the senior medical officer, Dr Turbott and the principle of the L.M.S. girl's school at Papauta, Miss Towns, who started the first baby clinic in the school grounds.

His sister, Momoi Kuresa was a nurse from the early 1930's and was public health nursing supervisor for about twenty five years prior to her retirement in 1974. She recalls that her brother's strategy was to get committees started in the most important traditional political centres of Samoa - villages in which innovations were likely to be emulated by those in the surrounding districts. He laid the ground for the formation of the committees by holding meetings with the women of such villages and pointing out to them the important role they could play in public health and village sanitation, and by convincing the matai of these villages of the desirability of encouraging women to form committees.
Dr Kuresa died in Aleipata in 1936 in the course of establishing a women's committee there. Although the cause of his death was pneumonia, senior Samoan doctors recall that it was wondered in villages at the time whether he may have been struck down by the Almighty for telling the women it was more important to build latrines than churches.

Effective use was made from the thirties onwards of the trained nurses who had married and returned to live in the villages. These women were employed by the public health section of the Health Department to supervise the work of village women's committees.

These early committees were known as *Komitijtumamā*, Hygiene committees. Like the committees of the 1920's, their first organisational structure was that of an executive group of the *faletua* and *tausi* under the leadership of the wife of the village Pastor or Catechist. In those days the wives of clergymen were likely to be the most educated women in the villages in terms of western ideas about hygiene and domestic skills. However their ascendancy was short lived. By the 1940's every Samoan village had its women's committee and the *faletua* and *tausi* indicated to the Health Department that they considered it more appropriate that the leadership structure of the women's committees follow the leadership and rank hierarchy of the village. Thus it became the norm for the wife of the highest ranking *matai* to be eligible for the office of
president (*pelesitene*) if she wanted it, and for the
secretary (*failautusi*) to be the wife of the senior
ranking *tulāfale* or to be elected from among the wives
of the various *matai* of this rank. The custom of wives
holding an office in women's affairs equivalent to that
of her husband was, as I have mentioned above, the
typical organisational mode followed by the Christian
churches.

In the 1960's the Health Department, through the district
nurses, attempted to persuade the women's committees to
adopt a democratic leadership structure. It was felt that
a democratic structure would give the younger and more
educated women an opportunity to exercise a leadership
role in the village, regardless of their husband's rank.
While Health Department officials assured me that this was
now the practice in most women's committees and that some
committees were now being led by the wives of untitled men,
I have not seen any instance of this although I visited
randomly selected women's committees all over Samoa.

The contemporary women's committees have grown out of a
traditional precedent for a female group in village
organisation, the *aualuma*. While this institution was
considerably weakened after the introduction of Christianity,
women gained new status as wives and new roles in auxiliary
work for the Church.
PLATE 15.
Elderly ladies of Samoan families spend their days weaving mats.

A blind woman prepares pandanus for weaving papa floor mats.

PLATE 16.
A woman works on an 'ie toga.
Fundraising became the particular business of women as the earliest form of donation to the church was predominantly coconut-oil, a product of women's work. When it became a major commercial commodity men also assisted to manufacture coconut oil, but women's rights in new economic activities were already established. The majority of goods given as a stipend for the village Pastor or Catechist in the nineteenth century were also produced by women:—floor and sleeping mats, mosquito curtains, tapa cloth, 'ie toga; or purchased through sales of coconut oil to traders.

Fundraising was one of the major concerns of the women's Mau, but Samoan women also deputised for their men politically when hostilities erupted between Samoans and New Zealand officials.

The women's health committees which became established in most villages in the 1930's gave women yet another community role; that of supervising village sanitation. These committees have also brought the three traditional female status groups, the tama'itā'i, the faletua and tausi and the āvā taule'ale'a together in a single institution.

Since the 1930's, women's committees have extended their activities to include traditional women's activities such as falelalaga, mat weaving "bees", and receiving and entertaining village guests, and a number of new economic activities such as vegetable production, dairy cattle and poultry production and management of district facilities such as hospitals and school buildings.
The historical influences of Christianity, foreign settlement and colonialism resulted in a shift of emphasis in women's corporate activities from the sacred and ceremonial to the secular and utilitarian. Women's groups once dominated by the sisters of high chiefs are now dominated by their wives in most villages today, and although the importance of the aualuma is still acknowledged, for the most part it has been subsumed into the komiti. The distinct identity of the aualuma is today most noticeable on major ceremonial occasions when the group decorates the guest houses and receives and entertains the guests of the village.

In many other parts of the Pacific, churches and colonial administrations have tried in the past to introduce "mothers clubs" and women's health committees but nowhere have they succeeded as they have in Samoa. The explanation lies in the traditional Samoan precedent for female corporate groups beyond the level of kinship in village organisation which encourages corporate activities by male and female groups.
CHAPTER TEN

THE HOUSE AT THE FRONT AND THE HOUSE AT THE BACK
The Samoans have a well known proverb: *e au le inailau a tama'ita'i ae le au le inailau a ali'i* - "the ladies row of thatch was completed but the gentlemen's row of thatch was uncompleted". The proverb is often quoted to refer to the greater efficiency of a women's working group or collective undertaking in comparison to that of men. The folk-tale from which the proverb originates was given as follows by Gatoloai Peseta Sio. 

Tautunu was a chief of Falealupō (a village in western Savai'i). His father was Afia, who lived inland on an area of land between Falealupō and the next village to the east called Tufutafoe. 

Tautunu asked the people of Falealupō to build a residence (*maotā*) for him. This was done and when the whole body of the house was completed, the builder (*tufuga*) ordered that both the men and the women of the village (the *aumaga* and the *aualuma*) should thatch the house. 

Both parties set to work and they started together. (The thatches being fastened to the ribs of the roof frames in rows). The ladies' row of thatches reached the top of the house first, completing their side. The men's side took a long time as the men did not work hard. 

Tautunu became very angry with the men, and laid a curse upon the building, turning it to stone. Then Tautunu returned inland to the home of his father Afia.
This legend may be understood at a number of levels. Tautunu a supernaturally powerful ali'i was denied the service (tautuā) due to him from the untitled men, but received it from the ladies of the village, whose work it was to make the thatch pieces, but not, according to the contemporary division of labour at least, to attach them to the roof frame. Yet the legend tells of how, when asked to perform this service, the ladies did their task better than the men. Thus the story is one of role reversal, of the 'au'maga, the work force of the village, whose job it was to attach thatch in building, to serve their chiefs willingly, failing in the proper performance of their role. The aualuma, who normally only performed sedentary tasks indoors, such as weaving and making the thatch pieces, were asked to thatch one side of the house. Even though this was men's work, they completed their side quickly and successfully.

Tautunu, denied the service of the men, cursed the house and withdrew his sacred presence from the village, thus weakening the "nu'u o ali'i" - the male side of the village.

It may be interpreted also as evidence of a belief that females may turn their hand successfully to tasks normally considered to be that of males. Shore has argued (personal communication) that while Samoan women may do the work of men, when the occasion calls for it, men may not do the work of women. This is only partly true - as I have shown in Part One, Chapter 2, above, the domestic work of women; cleaning, weeding, indoor cooking, sewing and washing, is often performed by
adolescent males, as is the domestic work of men by adolescent girls. However, in the area of manual skill, women are never carpenters or woodcarvers, nor men weavers. The skilled crafts of males and females were transmitted not in the domestic sphere, in traditional Samoan society, but through membership in the *taumaga* or the *aualuma*.

The principal manual skill of men was that of carpentry, the construction of the elegant *fale tele* buildings which offered scope for artistry in the finish of the interior of the roof with elaborately patterned sinnet bindings and carving on the cross beams. The art of women was in the weaving of *'i e toga* and *'i e'sina*, which like the *fale tele* followed prescribed forms with varying decorative finishes.

Women had, however, one art form which allowed each woman scope for individual creativity. These were the traditional tapa stamps used to apply a decorative motif to a finished *siapo* (tapa cloth). Each stamp was fashioned from twine sewn to a banana leaf base to form an intricate pattern. These were pressed onto traditional dyes prepared also by women, and stamped onto the paper mulberry cloth. In the early nineteenth century, steel tools were widely acquired by Samoans and men began to carve *upeti*, hardwood boards with an engraved design. These were placed by the women under the cloth and rubbed with dyes to produce a block design, onto which finishing touches were later hand painted.
These later designs lacked the delicacy and variety of the earlier stamp imprinted designs of the women.

Other innovations in the nineteenth century also created shifts in the traditional division of labour. For example, cooking was traditionally the work of men, both daily staples of taro, banana, breadfruit and yam, with *Lu'au* (taro leaves and coconut cream) together with fish and other seafoods, were prepared by the youths of each household. The *aumaga* collectively prepared special dishes which were served to guests and to adults of high rank, dishes such as *taufolo* - breadfruit dumplings in coconut cream, *fa'ausi* - taro pudding, *fai'ai* - baked coconut cream and *vaisalo* - a custard of arrowroot or sago starch cooked in green coconut flesh and juice. All men's cooking was done in an *umu* - an oven of hot stones. But missionary wives, taking over the instruction of young girls from the *au aluma*, taught women baking, and the techniques of preparing food by boiling, stewing and frying, adding cooking, or at least the preparation of non-traditional dishes, to the repertoire of women's work.

The shame which Shore believes to be attached to the performance of women's work by men, is less associated with a person of one sex performing work appropriate to the opposite sex, but rather associated with the performance of work outside one's status. For example, elderly *matai*
will sometimes weed the *paepae* - the stone house platform, a task normally done by his daughters and sisters. There is no shame in this, it is light work associated with a dignified status group. However, if an able bodied young man chose to weed the *paepae* when there were women available to do the work, he would be considered lazy, for the appropriate work for his status is heavy, onerous work through which he demonstrates his strength and spirit of service.

The traditional division of labour emphasised the following oppositions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>male</th>
<th>female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>heavy</td>
<td>light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outdoor</td>
<td>indoor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dirty</td>
<td>clean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aggressive</td>
<td>passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utilitarian</td>
<td>ceremonial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subsistence goods</td>
<td>exchange goods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bush/ocean</td>
<td>village/lagoon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since the nineteenth century, innovations in economic activities have tended to follow this division of principles related to work. However men who are very old or incapacitated sometimes perform "feminine" tasks without shame, while adolescents of both sexes and the wives of untitled men often perform tasks of the opposite sex when the occasion demands, *ali'i* of high rank are also expected to refrain from the most arduous forms of men's work.
Visitors to Samoa may drive around the islands and notice that every mile or so along the way, they pass houses with floral decorations on each side of the front entrance: usually frangipani and hibiscus blossoms threaded onto coconut leaf ribs stuck into a green pawpaw fruit attached to a short post or suspended from the eaves of the house. These are the women's committee (komiti) houses, houses communally built for the village women's committees from funds they have raised as a group. These vary from modest thatched buildings in the traditional open-sided style, to imposing houses of permanent materials complete with kitchens and bathrooms.

As well as these, each village with a communal bathing pool or fresh water spring, will have a small fale, similarly marked with a floral decoration, on the edge of the pool. These are guard houses (fale leoleo) in which an appointed section of the village women's committee sit and weave and talk while keeping an eye on the pool to ensure that it is kept clean, that the women's and men's sides of the pool are sacrosanct and that people behave themselves while bathing there. Each district hospital has a fale leoleo too, where representatives of the village committees in the
district take turns in guarding the hospital premises, collecting fees from patients, ensuring that the "sā" or period of silence during morning and evening prayers is respected, assisting the hospital staff when necessary and keeping the grounds of the hospital clean and tidy.

Although village women's committees were only established widely from the mid-1930's, they are now a major institution in the faasamoa - the Samoan way of life.

Each village has its own unique political structure and when the political structure of the *fono* is different to that of the women's committee, there will be a political history and explanation for the divergence, but with the exception of new settlements in the Apia area which lack a traditional political structure, all women's committees will have certain constant features. These are:

a. Tripartite organisation:

Each committee has three distinct sections.

i. *Tama'ita'i*: This group corresponds to the traditional *auaulumafagai*grouping. The strength and prestige of this group will depend on the rank of its senior members. In those villages where the daughter or sister of the highest ranking *ali'i* of the village is a member of the *tama'ita'i* and when these women are of mature years, (but
not extremely elderly), the *tama'ita'i* will tend to have much of its traditional prestige and authority in women's affairs.

When such women are not present in the *tama'ita'i*, the grouping will usually still be given precedence in seating and the serving of food, but will have a role of ceremonial importance rather than any direct authority.

ii. The *faletua* and *tausi*, the wives of the *ali'i* and *tulafale*. In most villages these control the executive offices and are the executive group of the committee. Most village committees appoint the wife of the highest ranking *ali'i* resident full time in the community as *pelesitene* (president). If the village has several *ali'i* of senior but approximately equivalent rank, the oldest able-bodied of their wives is chosen. Similarly, the *failautusi* or secretary of the committee is usually chosen from among the wives of the leading *tulafale* of the village according to her age and capacity. The other wives of the *mataitake* precedence in the deliberations of the committee depending on the ascribed rank and status of their husbands' titles in the *fa'alupega* of the village.
iii. The ōvā taule'ale'a, the wives of the untitled men. Although I have heard of women of this status holding executive offices in the women's committees, I have observed only one instance in which the wife of an untitled man was the secretary to the committee. It was explained that none of the faletua or tausi in this particular committee wished to hold this position as the demands of the office were too time-consuming. My own opinion was that in this particular village the political struggles going on in the fono were such that the election of the wife of an untitled man to this office spared the committee from becoming entangled in this power struggle. By electing her, the committee avoided the necessity of making a choice which may have been interpreted by the men as partisan in terms of the village factions.

In the great majority of committees this group has only indirect influence on the affairs of the committee. That is to say that they can make their views known to the leading women informally through private communications, non-attendance as protest, withdrawal of services and support. In most villages it is compulsory for all adult women to belong to the committee and a woman who regularly fails to attend is liable to be fined by the committee. However, when the leadership of a committee is not to the liking of significant numbers of women of lower status, they can influence the decision making process in the ways cited above.
The services of the āvā taule ale'aare essential to the activities of the committee and they are usually the most numerous group. They cook the food for the higher ranking women and serve it, and carry out the greater part of the labour connected with the ceremonial and economic activities of the committee. This role in the "village of the ladies" corresponds with that of their husbands in "the village of the gentlemen".

b. Hierarchical Structure:
The rank hierarchy of the women's committee is expressed in the seating arrangements during formal meetings, but differs from the seating order of the fono. In the fono each matai has a post allocated to him which expresses his rank and status in the village, in general, the ali'i take the posts at the end of the house and the tulāfale those in the front and the back. The seating arrangements of the committee tend to depend on the composition of the committee. In general, the senior members of the tama'ita'i take the posts at one end of the house and the wives of the highest ranking ali'i at the opposite end of the house. In some villages the ends of the house are exclusively taken by the tama'ita'i if their group is strong and influential. The wives of the senior ranking matai and the office bearers take the posts in the front of the house and the wives of the junior matai the post at the back. The wives of the untitled men sit behind and between
The faletua sit at the front of the women's komiti house while the āvā taulele'a (below) crowd at the back, eating the food left over after serving their superiors.
the posts at the back, or outside on the houseplatform or in the kitchen at the back of the house.

In most villages the women's committee has its own meeting house and these are rarely the traditional round shaped *fale tele*, but shaped like oval dwelling houses, or in the modern rectangular design with a kitchen and store at the rear.

**c. Formal Meeting Procedure:**

Meetings of the women's committee are conducted with the same dignity and formality as the meetings of the *fona*.

But unlike the *fona*, a *kava* ceremony is only rarely, if ever, held to begin the meeting. The meetings begin with prayers, and each speaker in formal discussion uses polite and chiefly language. Strict priority of rank and status is observed with regard to who speaks first, who replies to that speech and so on.

Speeches tend to be as lengthy as those of the *fona*, and the women have the same appreciation of oratorical style, using all the traditional motifs of Samoan oratory (proverbial allusions to oral traditions, and genealogical and biblical references).

Women who are good orators are both esteemed by their committee and by men on such occasions that they speak to mixed gatherings. Although the wives of *matai* are "outsiders" to the village, as representatives of their husbands, in the "village of the ladies", they share the right to speak, within their sphere, on public occasions.
This is in great contrast to Huntsman and Hooper's account of Tokelau:

"At public gatherings and at meetings of decision making bodies it is men who make formal and measured speeches, with frequent repetition of familiar phrases and homilies. The more adept speech makers, usually elder men, show a certain erudite cleverness by coining new adages, using clever turns of phrase and making appropriate reference to fragments of estoterica. When disagreements arise, male councils should conduct their arguments logically and unemotionally, and the outcome should be a wise resolution of the conflict. Feminine valivat "weakness" implies that women are emotional, vulnerable and erratic, that they are unable to control their feelings and are prone to express themselves without caution. Female gatherings do not in fact maintain the decorum of their male counterparts. Inevitably bickering breaks out, tempers flare, quarrels erupt and tears flow. The only really effective means of dealing with these situations is for the accomplished "clown" to take centre stage. Dancing, mimicking, grimacing, she quickly diverts attention from the issue at hand. Shrieks of laughter drown out the vituperations and eventually the combatants join in the general hilarity and the dispute is forgotten, at least for the moment. The "Clowns" intervene to pacify the situation by substituting laughter for hostility. Their erratic behaviour is the very antithesis of that of the dignified male orator and conciliator, and their actions do not resolve the issue at hand, which inevitably, will come up again.

(1975:419).

I have quoted this detail because it raises some very interesting contrasts in the behaviour of Samoan women, who belong to a culture which is closely related to that of Tokelau. However Tokelau lacks a hierarchical and rank conscious social structure, and despite a
set of metaphorically analogous relationships based upon cross-sex siblingship, Tokelau had no traditional institution comparable to the aualuma.

Formal meeting procedures in the women's committee is designed precisely to avoid the kind of conflict and emotionalism which the authors of the above describe. In two years of attending women's meetings in various parts of Samoa, I never witnessed any of the stereotyped "feminine" behaviour noted by Huntsman and Hooper.

In one village I attended meetings of the same committee on a weekly or twice weekly basis over a period of several months, and carefully followed the concerns of the committee in terms of the setting of village politics. Although there were severe political tensions present in the village, and the women as much as the men were involved in the various factions, I never once witnessed any overt controversy.

The clowning behaviour described by the writers of the above is also favoured by Samoan women and is characteristic of the communal repertoire of interaction among women, but such behaviour never takes place during a meeting, or at least not during the part of the meeting in which formal procedure is followed. But after a meeting was concluded, in which solutions to problems were reached and decisions were taken, and after the women had eaten in order of rank
(the tama'ita'i and the faletua and tausi, served by the avā taulealea who ate afterwards at the back) then dancing, clowning and joking took place. As Hooper and Huntsman observed, this functions to dissipate tension and hostility and rivalry among the women, but it does not serve as a substitute for decision making or conflict resolution, but rather as a means of release and diversion once a matter has been settled.

As with men, long speeches were often used to smooth over conflict; a member of the executive would occasionally speak endlessly and persuasively in order to gain the support of the gathering. When conflict emerges that cannot be resolved in the formal setting, it is likely that a defeated or injured protagonist will boycott the meeting for some time. The same occurs among the matai.

Perhaps the most striking departure from the model of rank and status set by the fono of matai is that the faletua speak more than any other status group, in most of the committees I observed. This is in contrast to the ascribed status of the ali'i who is expected to speak infrequently and to be represented verbally by his tulafale.

In the committee, the faletua do not derive their husbands' sacred status which enjoins upon him a demeanour of silent and profoundly dignified reserve. She is, to the tama'ita'i of the committee, as the tulafale is to the ali'i, representing the active, utilitarian and secular principle of the brother to the passive, ceremonial and sacred principle of the sister.
d. Autonomy versus Subordination:
The women's committee can be viewed in one sense as an institution which is subordinate to the fono of matai. This is certainly so in the structural sense, as the majority of committees have an executive made up of the wives of the matai. As wives they are "outsiders", they take their status from their husbands and they are lesser rank in the village to their husbands. If a matai is dismissed from the fono for some breach, his wife will leave the committee. But a woman may be expelled from the committee without her husband being required to leave the fono.

In villages such as Leulumoega, Afega and Malie, however, the executive body of the committee is drawn from the tama'ita'i, thus the executive is made up of "insiders". These committees are structurally autonomous as they are led by persons who are, in a formal sense, of higher rank than the leading males of the fono.

It is interesting to note that the tama'ita'i of these villages have effectively won back their traditional prestige as the early committees were based on leadership from the wives groups. The tama'ita'i put this matter in its proper perspective by excluding the outsider wives from all formal women's affairs except the monthly baby clinics. The wives of the matai are the untitled men
do meet together for the affairs of the various churches and for *falealaga* (weaving bees) but they are excluded from matters which concern the whole village, the female side of which is managed by the *tama'ita'i* and the wives, regardless of the rank of their husbands, are permitted to participate only as assistants.

Although the majority of women's committees are structurally subordinate to the *fono*, they are effectively autonomous as the activities marked off by the women as their own are almost always respected by the *matai* and left to the women to handle without advice, direction or intervention. Occasionally the women will boycott a particular activity which they are customarily responsible for.
PLATE 21.

Preparing lau ‘ie (fine bleached pandanus) for weaving fala lau ‘ie and ‘ie toga.

PLATE 22.

A pile of newly made thatch pieces.
Case Study No. 13 - The Autonomy of the Komiti

The Catholic congregation of Poutasi was presenting their annual gift of household effects to their Catechist, consisting of floor mats, sleeping mats, decorative mats, sheets, towels, cups, plates, glasses, spoons, a jug, a cooking pot, and a primus stove.

The Catholic Church have borrowed the custom of the Congregational Church (which was influenced by Samoan custom) the practice of sending malaga or visiting parties of clergy and laymen and their wives around the church district to inspect these annual offerings.

The Catholic women of the Poutasi women's committee had manufactured or purchased the goods for the gift, but the entire committee was organising and contributing the food for the visiting party. This took the form of serving afternoon tea followed by an evening meal which was followed by an aiavā. This is a ceremonial presentation to guests, in which each 'āiga of the village presents in the name of its female members and in-marrying wives, a set amount of food, in this case one taro and one luau (leaf package of taro leaves baked with coconut cream), a baked fish and a tin of meat or fish, for each woman in the committee. In addition, the tama'ita'i of each 'āiga presented a packet of sweet biscuits. The 'aiavā was to be followed by dancing in which the committee would take it in turns with the guests to dance and sing.
The Catholic Catechist had, for some time, been voicing the opinion that the Catholic women of Poutasi should form a separate committee of their own. The size of the two congregations in Poutasi, Catholic and Congregational were of approximately equal size. However, the highest ranking ali'i and tulafale of Poutasi were Congregational, thus the leaders of the women's committee were non-Catholics. The Catechist thought a separate all-Catholic women's committee would confer more status and autonomy on the wives of the Catholic matai and divert more resources for the use of the Catholic Church.

In addition a number of Catholic matai were in conflict with some of the Congregational matai and were enthusiastic at the prospect of having their wives in a separate committee, rather than taking a back seat to the wives of their opponents.

The pelesitene of the committee was angry at the suggestion of the Catholic Catechist that the committee be split. Such a step would weaken the village and the standing of the Poutasi women in the district. They had achieved a reputation for outdoing all the other committees in the lavishness of their hospitality, their gifts to their Pastor and Catechist and the utilities they provided for the village and district. Thus the pelesitene was watching for a chance to retaliate.
Her chance came when the wife of the Catholic Catechist abused one of the youngest members of the *tama'ita'i* during the serving of the afternoon tea. The girl had eloped with a boy from a nearby village but had been fetched home again by her parents. She had apologised to the committee for her behaviour and the president had asked that there be no talk or ridiculing of the girl. However, the Catholic Catechist's wife mentioned the girl's elopement and called her a *pa'umutu* (a fallen women) and chased her away from the house.

When the president heard this she ordered the youngest of the wives of the untitled men to finish serving the afternoon tea and summoned all the *tama'ita'i*, *fale'ēua* and *tausi* to the women's meeting house.

The matter was discussed at length and the women agreed that they would not serve the evening meal nor present the *aiava* although the food was available to them.

A group of *matai* then came to the women and asked them to change their minds. The *pelesitene* wept and told them that the honour of the village had been impugned by the Catechist's wife and after several hours of debate, the women agreed that they would serve the guests on condition that the Catechist and his wife were dismissed from the village by the Catholic congregation. This was solemnly agreed to by the *matai*. 
In the event, the Catholic Catechist never was dismissed but he quickly dropped the matter of a separate Catholic committee. During the discussions, the wives of the dissident Catholic matai were asked if they supported the executive of the committee, and they hastily affirmed that they did.

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Now while this case study illustrates another move in a very deep game of factional village politics in Poutasi, it also illustrates the right of a women's committee to withdraw their services at a critical and embarrassing moment in order to get their own way, or that of their leaders.

Most matai whom I discussed this issue with agreed that the women's committee was quite autonomous from the fono on the functional level, and a number commented wryly "How can we control them when they have all the money?". (A reference to the fundraising skills of most village women's committees).

Political controversies in Samoan villages are often reflected in the women's committee rather than in the fono, for the leadership structure of the women's committee is more flexible, and is at least in theory, more amenable to democratic processes. Many women told me that they felt that although democratic selection of committee leaders, as advocated by the Public Health section of the Health Department (1) officials, was, ideally speaking, a good thing. In practice, adherence to the political and rank hierarchy of the fono was a more workable model. Their reasoning was that if the leaders of the committee were the wives of senior and highest ranking matai, there was less likelihood of the fono attempting to intervene in women's affairs.

1. This was suggested in order to allow the most educated women opportunity to lead village women, even if they were the wives of untitled men.
The wives of the major political figures of the village would be able to gain their husbands' support in any controversy and thus, avoid conflict arising between the mens' and the womens' groupings in the village.

e. **Multiple Functions:**

The introduction of women's health committees (*komiti tumamā*) brought together the sister and daughter group, the *tama'utāi* and the two wifely status groups, the *faletua ma tausi* and the *āvā taule'ale'a* in a single institution, the village women's committee. By doing so, the health committees rapidly evolved into multi-functional institutions which combined the role of the traditional *aualuma*, the role of the church women's auxiliaries, the roles taken up by women during the *Mau* (fund raising for secular purposes) and a large number of health extension activities promoted by the Department of Health. As I have said, most villages have their own women's meeting house. In contemporary Samoa, these are increasingly lavish in their size and cost. In the wealthy cocoa producing villages of Savai'i some of the women's houses have, in addition to a large meeting room, a kitchen, bathroom, medical cupboard, store room and delivery room for women in childbirth.
PLATE 23.

Village women's *komiti* meeting houses. These were built and are owned by *komiti*.

PLATE 24.
Many of these houses are, next to the Church and the Pastor's residence, the most imposing buildings in the village; iron roofed, cement floored and fully equipped with plumbing and kitchen equipment and eating utensils. In villages where the women's houses are small and modest, the women told me that their long term goal was to build houses like this for themselves.

Since women are not food producers on any significant scale in Samoa, it might be wondered how they get their hands on so much money. Their principal strategy is target production. If a decision is taken among the women to construct a concrete bathing pool, to get piped water for the village, to build a church, to buy a piano for the church, to build a new ward for the district hospital, to install water seal toilets in the village, to build a women's house, or a new house for the Pastor, to put a concrete path through the village, to buy a generator for the Pastor's house or any other projects on behalf of the Church, the village or the district, they will work out costs and set about raising money. The following strategies are all common:

i. Agricultural projects: These receive the encouragement and assistance of both the Agricultural Department (who see this as encouraging productivity) and the Health Department (who see them as improving nutrition or living standards).
The projects which I saw in Samoa between 1976 and 1978 included vegetable projects, cattle projects, banana projects, poultry projects. In many villages, these projects were being encouraged by the committee and extension work by government officials was being carried out through the committee but was being done on a family basis. That is to say, the women of each 'āiga had a vegetable garden or a flock of hens, or a few head of cattle in their charge. In villages where these kinds of projects were being run by the committee collectively, there was almost always some financial goal behind them, the women applied for a loan from the government or the development bank, pooled their labour for the running of the project and pooled the profits from the venture for the target fund.

ii. Contract Production: The easiest and most available type of contract production is copra making. The women make an agreement with a trader that he will purchase a large quantity of copra for an agreed price. Then the women of each family in the village contribute an agreed upon quantity of dry coconuts from the estate of their own or their husbands' 'āiga (which they may collect themselves or get the younger members of their households to collect). Once each woman has produced her quota of nuts, the nuts are stacked and the women convene to husk them and cut the copra, which they then dry in the sun or in a village copra
drier, or sell cut but unprocessed to the trader who uses his own drier to process it. The fibre from the nuts is reserved for the men to make sinnet and the women burn the shells for charcoal which they also sell (at the town market - it is used as fuel for irons and for cooking). The women also follow the same procedure for making contract thatches, blinds, brooms, and a variety of handcrafts such as baskets, mats and ornaments.

iii. Entertainment: The provision of entertainment is a very profitable avenue for fund raising and when done in the Samoan style is particularly successful. In the 1960's the most popular method of fund raising was for the women's committees to put up concerts. These concerts follow an established pattern; fairy-tales or Bible stories populated with as many kings, queens and other exotic characters as possible. The women enact both male and female parts wearing the most fanciful costumes which are usually derived from illustrated Bible stories, and more recently from Hollywood. These plays are interspersed with Samoan style dancing and singing in which the audience participates. No admission is charged to these concerts (konisetī), a table is set up near the performers, manned by the village Pastor or some other respectable person, who keeps the cash box and an account book. The audience then donates money which is read out at each of the many intervals during the lengthy performance.
In true Samoan spirit, every person and every family in the audience competes to see who gives the most (the same method is used by the Churches to raise donations from the congregations). If a minor chief makes a large donation, his higher ranking brethren must give more or lose esteem.

A concert, once successful in the village of the players, is often taken on a malaga, the committee descending upon a number of other villages with which they have contacts through their leading members. This fund raising scheme became such a financial burden on many villages in the 1960's, that a great many villages have banned performances of outside concerts in their midst. A number of enterprising women's committees in the Apia area have organised contracts for themselves to perform concerts of Samoan dances and songs for tourist parties, being paid a set fee or percentage of the take by tourist companies.

Another method of fund raising is to give a dance, this follows the same style of giving as the concert. An audience is invited and they compete with donations. Other strategies are bingo and card playing evenings (banned among the Methodist and fundamentalist sects) which are held in the village of the committee on a weekly basis until everyone (except the committee) is broke or the target sum has been raised.
This list by no means exhausts the ingenious schemes by which Samoan women raise money for target funds, but covers the most common schemes.

iv. Savings Schemes and Loan Societies: In addition to the raising of target funds, most women's committees have savings accounts which are maintained continuously and out of which the women finance their own feasts (often at Christmas or New Year) and contribute to village ceremonial affairs, weddings, funerals, church festivals, inter-village cricket matches (in which both sexes play) and funds to help their own members in times of emergency (such as the hospitalisation of a member of their family). These savings accounts are funded by annual fees levied against each woman in the committee, fines (which will be discussed below) and loan societies.

Loan societies are a fascinating institution which, to my knowledge, have not received attention from any economist who has studied Samoan village economics. (In fact most such studies have completely or almost completely ignored the significance or even the existence of the economic activities of the women).
In Poutasi village, the women of the Congregational Church started their loan society in the early 1960's with two tālā (about Aust $2.20 at the current exchange rate). At the end of 1977, this fund totalled $1,800 W.S., a sum which had been raised from the interest on the original $2.00 W.S. and from which funds had been withdrawn for the Church on several occasions.

The system is that every second Saturday evening the women members of the Congregational Church assemble at their meeting house and borrow money (the limit is normally $10.00 W.S. except in special cases) or repay what they have previously borrowed. The interest rate is 10% per week; thus a woman who borrows $10.00 W.S. repays $12.00 W.S. the following fortnight. Normally only small sums are borrowed, that is, amounts under $5.00 W.S., this rather staggering institution of usury is quite accepted and similar loan societies are run by committees in various parts of Samoa. In Poutasi, most of the women were continuously in debt to their loan societies (the Catholic women also have one) but none of the women were interested in disbanding the society or lowering the interest rate. They saw it as raising money for the women's disposal and at the same time making available to them small sums of money (most often used for church donations, school fees and bus fares) when needed.
It should be mentioned that a lot of the *matai* had very mixed feelings about the society. Some thought that their wives borrowed too much or that it gave their wives too much financial independence, while others, looking enviously at the profits of the society, thought that it ought to be under the control of the men. I asked one *matai* why the men did not start their own and he said (jokingly?) that the men are not to be trusted with large sums of money. This comment in fact seems to reflect the truth, since the various financial ventures by both the *matai* and the *aumaga* in Poutasi have ended in unpaid debts to stores in Apia or to Government Departments and many recriminations among the men.

f. Dispute Settlement and Social Control:
Most Samoan villages have a set of laws, which exist independently of the law of the land and which are enforceable only within the boundaries of the village and by the *matai*. In the nineteenth century, punishments such as banishment or temporary exile, and physical sanctions such as beating, ordeals or even death, were used by the *matai* to enforce order.

Under Western law since 1900, such punishments are forbidden except that of temporary exile (banishment may be permitted after a hearing of the case in the Lands and Titles Court).
Since that time, the most common method of enforcing village law has been that of economic sanctions. Any transgression against villages' laws are discussed in the *fono* until a consensus of opinion is reached regarding the appropriate fine.

Fines are paid in cash, food and livestock, and are divided up and distributed among the *matai* of the *fono* who in turn take their share of the fines home to their *'āiga* after consuming part of it during the *fono*. (Once the fine is brought in, it is either cooked by the *'auumaga* and served or is spent at the store on food, and the surplus is divided). Thus even the *matai* of the guilty party (through whom the fine is paid) gets a share of the fine.

The women's committees have instituted their own set of laws and most of these centre around the *asiasiga* (this term means "to visit" but in the context of the committed means "to inspect") and the *leoleoga* (to guard).

i. *Asiasiga*: The *asiasiga*'s origins are somewhat mysterious but probably go back to ancient times when the *aualuma* held the *fuataga* and *fa'aevaevaga* - the displaying of newly made *'ie toga* in which each mat was inspected to check its size and quality of workmanship, them ceremonially paraded through the village.
The custom was elaborated in post-Christian times when the women of each village made their annual contribution of mats and household goods to the village Pastor or Catechist. One inspection is made by the women of the village and those women whose contribution is below standards of workmanship set by the women's committee or whose contribution is less than the quota that they have been given, are fined by the committee. The second inspection is carried out by the representatives of the other congregations or parishes within the church's district, circuit, synod or pulega (depending on which sect it is).

A new series of asiasiga grew out of the women's health committees in the 1930's. These include monthly inspections of household effects in which women have to produce household utensils, mats, or linen such as sheets, towels, pillow cases and mosquito nets. The committee, in consultation with the district public health nurses, will nominate what is to be produced and the inspection will be made after the monthly baby clinic in the presence of the district nurse. Those who fail to produce the new items stipulated are fined by the committee. This custom was introduced by the first district nursing staff to raise the standard of living in Samoan households. Annual inspections of houses are also made to ensure that the women of each household have the required number of chests for storage, food safes and cooking equipment. Fines are levied against those who have fallen
Asiasiga: Above a district nurse checks a Komiti member's chest of household linen. Below: She inspects kitchen and dwelling houses for cleanliness.
behind in the standards of household equipment(2).

Another kind of asiaga is the sanitary inspection which is supposed to be carried out weekly in all villages by the women's committees, or a sub-committee chosen from its ranks. The inspection team tours the village and inspects every household for such sins as unweeded lawns, mosquito-harbouring or fly-attracting rubbish, inadequate cooking facilities, leaking thatched roofs, dirty houses and messy gardens. Latrines and water supplies are also inspected. This inspection is more rigorous in some villages than others.

I noticed that in 1977, a lot of committees had lost interest in this activity because the government had decided to place the matter under the control of the pulenu'u (a village mayor elected from among the matai and responsible for liaison between the village and the Central Government). The new government had given each pulenu'u a substantial salary increase in 1976. In addition, the public health department was increasing all male staff of village sanitary inspectors. These developments were regarded with great resentment by the district nurses and the women's committees. They argued that since the 1930's they had been responsible for, and had made great contributions to, village sanitation and now the whole thing was under male control while they were still expected to do most of the maintenance work.

2. This type of asiaga has been largely transformed into a ceremony in which each woman competes for esteem by the goods she displays.
There is, I believe, a real danger that the effective health extension work done by women for the past fifty years will be dropped by them because of the insensitivity of the central government to their contribution and non-recognition of their efforts.

ii. Leoleoga. Duties of leoleoga (guarding) are allocated to all women in the committee who do not have small infants to care for. The village leoleoga requires that senior members of one of the three sections of the committee sleep in the women's house overnight for a week. The task is rotated on a weekly basis between the three sections. This gives them the responsibility of cleaning the house and looking after its contents, and of dispensing medicine from the committee supply to anyone in the village with minor ailments, of assisting the village midwife in delivering babies (many villages which are distant from the district hospital require all births to take place in the women's committee house), of fetching the district nurse or rounding up transport for the critically ill to be taken to the hospital and of looking after the village water supply or bathing pool.

The other leoleoga is that of the district hospital. Most of the district hospitals were substantially financed by the committees of the district and are maintained by them in terms of keeping their lawns cut, the wards clean, the premises guarded and maintained.
The women also collect fees from the patients which are placed in the district committee's safe keeping and used for purchasing equipment and maintaining the hospital buildings.

Each hospital district has a committee which is made up of women from the executive of each village women's committee. This committee has a women's house inside the hospital grounds. Each village committee has the duty of looking after the hospital on a rotating weekly basis. It is the responsibility of each committee to decide which of its members will go there each day and which will sleep there overnight. Those remaining overnight are only the senior married women and a minimum number of about ten are expected to be there each night. They have the job of awakening the nurses when patients are brought in, and of helping the nurses attend to the needs of the sick, during the night. The women enjoy this work very much, however, those women who fail to turn up without reasonable excuse are fined. Some husbands, particularly younger men, often dislike the many demands which leoleoga and asiasiga and other committee activities place on their wives, although the majority of women love the committee activities because of its social aspects. When a man prevents his wife from performing her share of committee duties, either the wife of his matai is fined on his
Womens Komiti fale leoleo.  
(Above) A house for guarding a village bathing pool.  
(Below) A guard house built jointly by the komiti of the area served by a district hospital.
behalf, or if he is a matai himself, the fono is appealed to by the executive of the committee.

The fono will almost always enforce the rules of the women's committees by fining men who prevent their wives from attending. Although many Samoan men have mixed feelings about women's committees, particularly their financial power and independence, most of the senior matai value their contribution to the village and support the women on most occasions. And then of course, nearly all Samoan matai have wives in the committee and their wives use personal influence over their husbands to get their support for the committee.

Many women's committees have other laws enforceable among their members as well. In Poutasi one of these is that which forbids slander. Any woman who considers that another woman has slandered her or any member of her family may take the matter to the women's committee and it will be discussed fully. If it is decided that there is a case to be made, the guilty woman is fined.

The committee also levies fines against those women who breach the moral conventions of the village. Cases of adultery, rape and illegitimacy are usually dealt with formally by the fono of matai, however, in cases where a
woman has acted immorally, that is when it is established that she has encouraged immoral action, she is dealt with and fined by the committee.

g. Uniform Dressing:
Most women's committees have several uniform outfits which are worn for formal meetings, ceremonial occasions and on *malaga* to other villages or to Apia. Following the national style of formal women's dress, a *lavalava* worn ankle-length under a short dress top or matching hip length blouse, committee uniforms are designed by the executive of the committee and made in the same prints and colours. Variations in uniform are often used to identify the three sections of the committee, with the *tama'ita'i*, *faletua* and *tausi* and the *āvā taule'ā*e'a* each wearing a different combination of coloured top and *lavalava*, or print.

The money for committee uniforms is usually raised by the whole committee, the materials purchased by the bolt wholesale, and the outfits made up by a professional tailoress. Important occasions often require new uniforms, the last time the Poutasi committee got new outfits was for the wedding of the daughter of Meleiseā. These consisted of green and yellow printed *puletasi* (matching top and *lavalava*) for the wives of the *matai* and the *tama'ita'i* and orange tops with black *lavalava* for the *āvā taule'ā*e'a*. In addition to these, all members of the committee have white
blouses and black *lavalava* for special church functions involving the committee, and for funerals, red and white print tops worn over blue *lavalava* for meetings and *leoleoga*. Committee members may be fined, irrespective of their rank, for omitting to wear the uniform designated for particular occasions.

Committees sometimes invite the committee of another village to visit for a cricket match, these are also occasions which require new uniforms, since the reception of guests is an opportunity for a village to demonstrate its wealth, dignity and the quality of its hospitality. *Samo*ā cricket bears little resemblance to its staid British parent: any number may play on a side as long as the sides are equal. Nor do sex and age debar participation to any willing player, unless the match is expressly a challenge between two sides from the same status group, the "aumaga of one village to another, or of one committee to another. Inter-village cricket matches are probably the closest thing in contemporary society to the traditional *malaga*. They begin with formal meetings of kava ceremonies, speech making, the presentation of *sua* (presentations to a visiting chief or *taupou*, of a baked pig, a green coconut, a *'ie toga* and a package of cooked taro). A large meal is served and during the ensuing match each player who is bowled out dances for the spectators. The match ends with the losers entertaining the victors with singing and dancing.
after which the victors reciprocate with a performance of their own.

I refer to this as it illustrates the continuity of the traditional role of the aualuma in inter-village hospitality and is probably the origin of wearing uniform costume. A number of elderly women said that even before committee uniforms were adopted, groups of tama'ita'i devised uniform costumes for malaga, using both imported and traditional materials. Only the taupou dressed distinctively, and a great deal of work and thought went into devising uniform attire for the aualuma.

h. Infant and Maternal Welfare Clinics:
Every committee has the monthly responsibility of organising an infant and maternal health clinic for the village. In some villages, mainly those in the peri-urban area of Apia, rapid expansion of population, title splitting and the resulting difficulty of maintaining a cohesive community structure have undermined the cohesiveness of the women's committee. In such cases, splinter committees are formed by the women of large 'āiga or members of a particular village church. The total disappearance of committees in these villages has been avoided by the necessity to organise infant and maternal health clinics. In other large villages, the population size is such that committees are split into local groups which organise the clinics, although the committee functions as a village-wide unit for their other responsibilities.
Monthly clinics are organised by the executive of the clinic and are presided over by the district public health nurse. They commence at about 8.00am when the nurse arrives and is received by the executive. Prayers are said and formal speeches of welcome and reply are exchanged between the executive and the nurse.

Between about 8.00am and 12.00 noon, all women in the committee with children and infants of four years of age or younger, and all expectant mothers, present themselves for a check-up by the district nurse who keeps records on each woman. After these have been dealt with, the nurse attends to first aid cases and hands out basic medications to those who require it. Committees which are distant from the district hospital receive replenishments for their medicine and first-aid cupboards.

By 12.00 noon the roll is called by the committee secretary and the names of women who have not attended are noted and they are subsequently fined. Further discussion then takes place concerning village sanitation, vegetable projects and other relevant matters, and the nurse receives the report of the committee on their work over the past month and, every few months, carries out a household inspection.

During the morning the junior ranking women of the committee will have cooked lunch. Most committees have an 'aiavā in which every member contributes a set amount of food which is ceremoniously announced and subsequently served for lunch.
Mothers and babies await a check up from the district nurse at the monthly clinic organised by each village komiti. Below: A district nurse checks village primary school children.
The committee executive and the district nurse are served by the junior ranks of the committee, who eat afterwards at the back of the meeting house, or in its kitchen.

After lunch the district nurse conducts an *asiasiga* of either *mea samo*a ("Samoan things" such as mats, blinds, handicrafts) or *mea pālagi* ("imported things" - household goods) which was specified at the previous meeting. After *asiasiga* she gives a lecture on nutrition, first aid, family planning or sanitation and answers questions and following this, after more formal speeches of farewell, she leaves. The committee usually spends the rest of the afternoon at the women's committee house discussing arrangements for the following month's clinic or business arising from the day.

District nurses are mainly middle-aged women who live in one of the villages of the district to which they are assigned with their husbands and families. They operate from a base at the district hospital and work under the direction of a supervisor based at Health Department headquarters in Apia or in Savai'i, at Tuasivi. The four district nursing supervisors are responsible to the Public Health Matron who is responsible to the Public Health Section director. Most of the district nursing supervisors have been promoted from their former duties as district nurses.

(2b) Many district nurses reported that they were unable to give talks on family planning since committees may comprise his wives and sisters of village men. The topic would breach the desired taboo of the fa'amatai.
It appears that there is a new, and in my opinion highly undesirable policy to appoint supervisors from nurses who have had overseas nursing training and are more formally qualified.

The particular value and efficiency of the Samoan public health nurses was, in my opinion, their familiarity and identification with fa'a samoa. Most nurses were the wives of matai, and mature age who were, in their own villages, active committee members. They combined their competence in modern medicine with a sympathy and understanding of village life, and rural women's problems and interests. Most district nurses expressed dissatisfaction with their low salaries, transport problems and inservice training problems. With regard to the latter, they objected to the use of English as a language of instruction and to the lack of appropriate texts, handbooks and visual aids and lecture material for use in instructing village women in the Samoan language.

It appeared to me that an apparent desire for modernisation and efficiency in the Health Department of Western Samoa was in danger of undermining the foundations of the administration of public health in Western Samoa, which rests upon the women's committees and district nurses.
In 1953, a Central Women's Committee was formed. The founders were Lady Eileen Powles, wife of the New Zealand Administrator, Masiofo Nouē Tamasese and Masiofo Lili Malietoa, the wives of the joint heads of state, and the matron-in-charge of the National hospital. They called a meeting of the executive members of the women's committees of every village from each district of Samoa, at which the Central Committee was formed.

Lady Powles was elected president and Mrs Laumatau Phineas, a prominent worker for charitable causes in Apia, was elected secretary and district women's committee leaders made up a central committee of women.

The constitutional arrangements of the new state of Western Samoa enfranchised only the registered holders of matai titles and a small roll of mixed-race voters without traditional representatives. Although women may hold matai titles, in terms of percentages, few do. The new constitution thus effectively disenfranchised "the village of the ladies". In many Samoan villages where the
tama'ita'i retained their traditional prestige through the leadership of the sisters and daughters of high ranking ali'i, although they lacked secular authority, they held traditional rights to veto or to disregard the decisions of the fono. In all Samoan villages, women's committees are a major element in the administration of the village and in the decision-making process, although they are not invested with the formal authority of matai. Under the new national constitution, although intended as it was to embody Samoan political traditions, no avenue existed whereby the distinct sphere of interest and influence of Samoan women, which had been theirs for centuries, could be formally expressed or recognised.

It would appear that the framers of the constitution of the National Council of women, as it was renamed in 1966, were aware of this lack, as Clause V of Section 2 of the Council's constitution states that one of the aims and objects of the council is "to be the official channel of communication between its members and the Government and any other appropriate authority". The constitution, however, was not formally framed nor the council incorporated until 1966, under the leadership of Masiofo Fetaui Mata'afa.

The earlier expressed aims of the Council were to promote the existing public health work being done by women's committees and attempt to coordinate their activities and

3. See Appendix C.
make representations to the Health Department where necessary. Another aim was to promote the manufacture and sale of handicrafts as a source of income for rural women. Still another was "to promote friendship" between women.

In practical terms the Council declared a goal of raising funds to build a Mother's Centre in Apia. The idea was to provide premises with shower and toilet facilities, and where food could be purchased economically, or cooked, so that women visiting Apia from Savai'i or rural villages of Upolu could rest and shelter with their children while awaiting their buses or boats to return home.

The founders had their eyes on a government building near the small ships wharf, which was leased by the Returned Servicemens Association as club premises. The suggestion was firmly opposed by Apia's leading merchants, civil servants and politicians for whom the club was a mecca, its attractions apparently enhanced by the fact that during the Colonial period, it was forbidden territory to most non-white Europeans (part-Samoan and Chinese, designated "Europeans" as a reflection of their marginal status in Samoa were seldom permitted membership).

A group of women, led by the founders, actually staged a protest march at one period during the early years of the Council to protest at the non-support of government leaders for a Mothers Centre, and the denial of the R.S.A. premises as its venue.
In 1964 the new president of the Central Committee, Masiofo Fetaui Mata'afa, wife of the then Prime Minister, together with the executive, decided to take action in getting the Mothers' Centre built. Committee leaders in several districts had become disillusioned with the early promise of the Council and had withdrawn their active support, although a considerable sum of money had been raised at that stage. The problem of acquiring a piece of land in a central location in the town appeared insurmountable. But finally the Executive of the Central Council approached Bishop Pearce of the Roman Catholic Church for help (the Church having considerable land in the Apia area). The Church agreed to present the Council with a piece of land on the main street of Apia, which was at the time leased to Burns Philp and Company. The Council appealed to Burns Philp to terminate their lease, which they agreed to do.

Having acquired a property, the Central Committee was renamed the Western Samoa National Council of Women, equipped with a formal constitution (See Appendix B) and legally incorporated. A new organisational structure was also adopted.

President
Vice President
General Secretary
General Treasurer
Representatives of Districts
All members

The First Council
The Executive Council
The Central Committee
The National Council
This structure was more hierarchical than that of the Central Committee, concentrating authority in the hands of the First Council and the Executive Council. The members of these two bodies were appointed from the wives (3b.) and sisters of the tama’aiga and other high-ranking men, (although this was not stipulated by the Constitution), and these ladies, although in some cases deriving their status from their husbands, included a number of powerful, highly educated and articulate women.

The Mothers Centre building was designed by a Samoan architect, Mrs Leilani Wilson who donated her services to the Council. It consisted of a hall with a stage and galleries. A kitchen and dining room and a two-storey block of offices.

In 1966 when work commenced the Council had funds of ten thousand pounds and needed an additional estimated thirty thousand pounds to complete the building. This was raised before the building was completed by the women of Samoa, who also contributed food and ie toga for presentation to the builders. The hall was decorated by Samoan craftswomen who panelled the walls and galleries with traditional tapa patterns fashioned from sea-shells. The centre was named Maota o le alofa - the house of Charity.

(3b) " Sons of the families" - The term refers to the chiefly titles Malietoa, Mataafa, Tamasese and Tuitamaaliiliifeao of Samoa's Paramount Lineages.
Two offices were occupied by a firm of solicitors, an agreement reached when the premises they sub-leased from Burns Philp was removed to make way for the new building. The council managed a luncheon restaurant in the dining room/kitchen section and a handicraft shop at the front of the building. The hall was also available for hire for public functions. In addition the N.C.W. obtained a franchise to operate a snack-bar and handicraft store at Faleolo airport.

The Foundation for the Peoples of the South Pacific funded a home economics teaching centre which was housed in the building and paid the salary of the manageress of the centre, Mrs Suia Petana (sister to the new President) who was assisted by a female Peace Corps volunteer. Two offices were set aside for the executive of the Council, the manageress and her assistant. Plans to establish a family welfare clinic at the centre were eventually withdrawn by the Health Department.

A small Samoan fale in the courtyard was constructed for the leoleoga, which was supplied on a rotating basis by those districts who had retained their affiliation to the National Council of Women. They had a small room available to them for their meals, equipped with shower and toilet facilities. Each group of fafine leoleo (guardswomen) had the duty to keep the centre clean.
The new organisational structure and the lack of the promised rest facilities for ordinary village women alienated many of the committees who had enthusiastically given their financial support to the project.

One Pelesite explained to me that she had withdrawn her village committee from the district committee supporting the council as she saw no benefits to her committee from the centre, only continuing demands for financial support. She also objected to the authority structure which gave power to a small number of women whom she felt to be out of touch with the rural women's committees needs. When she and her committee had done work at the centre, she complained that a member of the First Council had blown whistles to summon them for assembly. "It was undignified - we are not school children," she said.

By 1977 the Mothers Centre had departed even further from the functions envisaged by the founders. The Centre's restaurant, which had catered mainly to office and shop-workers and tourists, closed down as it was running at a loss. The restaurant premises were leased to a private operator. The handicraft shop was moved to a small upstairs office and the front of the centre leased to a pharmacist, who used the space which had been occupied by the fale, to build a chemist shop onto the front of the centre. The
hall was also leased to a private operator who used it to show Kung Fu films. The women's fale is now tucked away at the back of the centre out of sight. The solicitors' offices have now been leased by a member of the First Council as a showroom for her dress design business.

The home-economics teaching centre still operates from the Mothers Centre but is having problems with funding.

The Council President, Masiofo La'ulu Fetauimalemau Matā'afa, who has been in office since 1964, expressed disappointment at the necessity to further commercialise the centre, however, she pointed out that the centre lacked government financial assistance and had been denied the originally planned government-run family welfare centre which would have enabled the centre to operate for greater public benefit. The leasing out of the major portion of the centre was necessary, she explained, in order to maintain the building, for which the support of the district committees' annual subscriptions were inadequate.

In terms of the other functions originally envisaged for the council it would appear that these have also failed to achieve their earlier promise. The council meets infrequently and has not been known, in recent years, at least, to address itself to any national issues of significance to women.

4. She was elected to the National parliament in February 1979, standing as La'ulu of Lotofaga electoral district.
The failure of the Central Women's Committee in terms of its original aims may be traced to a number of factors. The principal one, in my analysis, is that the structure of the National Council of Women adopted in 1966 was too complex and centralised for effective communication between the district committees and the centre.

The notion of having the First Council made up of the wives and a sister of tama'āiga was entirely consistent with Samoan custom. However, the notion of an apical group of high-ranking representatives at the centre has been, throughout modern Samoan history, effective mainly in ceremonial terms and has tended not to work when actual authority has been invested in those of paramount rank.

Each village polity is in a very real sense, an independent principality and while ceremonial links outside that principality are cultivated and respected, authority in the sphere of internal village administration and external political relations is jealously guarded by the village.

The women's committees are, in functional terms, agencies of village administration concerned with practical objectives. Thus, a central committee linking all the district committees in a centralised structure would require an organisational basis as a confederation of equals if it were to function usefully at the district level. A parallel ceremonial structure to that of the National Parliament, incorporating the wives and sisters of Samoa's paramount title-holders
would have considerable value on occasions of national celebration, such as the hosting of overseas guests, Independence Day and so on, but as an organ of practical administration and co-ordination of district women's committees, it would be of very limited value.

Thus the National Council of women, by adopting a structure which invested executive authority upon the First Council and the Executive Council, relegated the Central Committee representing the districts to a subservient position. Although the Central Committee elects the higher councils and may bring any matters they choose before them, it precludes the kind of lengthy 'round-table' process of consultation, debate and collective decision-making which might prove most effective. The meeting procedure of the N.C.W. places the First and Executive Council at the front of the Central Committee. Individual committee leaders are highly unlikely to challenge office-bearers in these councils for leadership, since according to Samoan custom, (for which the N.C.W. constitutionally declares its support) most of the members of these councils have precedence of rank. Nor are they likely to offer any strong challenge to the councils for such would be regarded as tautalalaititi.

The structure and function of the National Government offers an instructive example of an effective separation of ceremonial and executive authority. For the first fourteen years after independence, the Prime Minister elected by Parliament was the holder of a paramount title.
However, in 1976 a Prime Minister was elected whose title was of modest rank, (although the incumbent himself is of high chiefly descent). The selection of a low-ranking premier did not challenge the chiefly traditions of government in Western Samoa in any significant respect, as the constitution provides that the tama'aiga may hold the office of Head of State, and members of the council, Deputy Heads of State. This provides for continuity of formal ceremonial offices to be held by persons of paramount rank, while permitting a degree of democratic competition in the parliamentary executive.

In my analysis, the weakness of the National Council of Women is precisely that it lacks effective separation of ceremonial and executive offices. Given the major role played by women in Samoan village administration and their increasing exclusion from formal chains of communication between villages and the central government and bureaucracy, I believe that a major restructuring of the N.C.W. together with strong financial backing from the Central Government is needed.
According to Mead (1977:52) there was in 1926 only one female matai in Western Samoa. In 1977 I attempted to count the number of females who were registered matai, but was unsuccessful since the registry of titles does not record the sex of the incumbents. I was able, with little effort, however, to identify ten Samoan women holding matai titles. These women had one common characteristic, all had achieved prominence in a particular field of endeavour:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Attainments</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. New Zealand Certificate of Nursing plus extensive additional in-service training courses.</td>
<td>Matron of the National Hospital of Western Samoa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. B.A. and M.A.in Education (N.Z.)</td>
<td>Principal of Western Samoa Teachers Training College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Attainments</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Diploma of Education (N.Z.)</td>
<td>Lecturer, Teachers Training College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. B.A., Diploma of Education (N.Z.)</td>
<td>Lecturer, Teachers Training College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. New Zealand School Certificate</td>
<td>Village Trader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. B.A. (New Zealand)</td>
<td>Former Member of Parliament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>President of the National Council of Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. New Zealand School Certificate. Certificate in Secretarial Training</td>
<td>Former Member of Parliament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Private Secretary to a Minister of State</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All these female *matai* are either widowed or divorced, married to foreigners or married to *matai* of equivalent or senior rank. Most hold titles which have been split, and which are jointly held by males from other branches of the *āiga* which conferred them.

There are a great many other women holding responsible positions in Government and private enterprise who do not have *matai* titles, and it does not follow that women of outstanding attainments are automatically awarded titles by their *āiga*. Yet the remarkable increase in recent decades of female *matai* is clearly related to the success of a significant proportion of Samoan women in attaining higher educational qualifications. The list above emphasises that the career attainments of Samoan women cluster around those fields traditionally open to women in Western society; education, secretarial and clerical work.
and nursing. Colonial rule and overseas education has produced the same perception of appropriate career choices for educated women as that which has been the case in the West until the present decade.

The fact that few women have obtained professional qualifications or executive positions in administration, medicine and agriculture may be regarded as disadvantageous for village women and for rural development programmes in Samoa generally. The roles of the committees in rural Public Health administration and in agricultural projects have remained much as they were in the period of New Zealand's colonial administration and in fact, the leaders of some women's committees consider that they receive less support from the Health Department in the 1970's than they did in the colonial period.

V

The 1971 Census of Population and Housing \(^{(5)}\), table 39, offers a classification of the female population of Western Samoa by type of activity, age and region. According to this data, 5,189 women are classified as "economically active". Of these, 3,928 women are described as "working primarily for money" and 1,261 are described as growing, gathering and catching food to eat. In the classification of "not economically active", aside from children and school girls, 24,807 women are described as "home makers".

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5. Prepared by the Department of Statistics, Government of Western Samoa.
This demonstration of bureaucratic ignorance is surprising in view of the fact that such data is a fundamental instrument in national planning and policy making. To classify 24,807 Samoan women as "home makers" and therefore as being "economically inactive" is a misrepresentation of reality. Aside from the multitude of economic and service activities which the majority of Samoan women perform through their village committees, every rural Samoan "home maker" produces a variety of goods which are essential to the subsistence economy. These almost universally include sleeping and floor mats, food mats (laulau - woven coconut leaf mats which when covered with a clean banana leaf, serve as food plates) house blinds, thatch pieces, brooms, fans, coconut and kava strainers, coconut oil, herbal remedies, green vegetables and fruit, sewn garments and household linen using imported cloth, gathered reef seafoods, poultry and eggs and processed pandanus strips for handicrafts manufacture.

There has been some attempt by government agencies to utilise the productive potential of women's committees. For many years a nutrition program has been promoted by the Public Health Section of the Health Department. This has sought to promote the knowledge of nutritional principles and has encouraged women to grow vegetables such as cabbage, beans, cucumbers and tomatoes for subsistence. Since the late 1960's this program has received support from the Department of Agriculture which supplies district nurses and committee presidents with vegetable seeds and seedlings.
Most district nurses and committee presidents with whom I spoke complained of the lack of agricultural extension work to teach rural women the correct techniques of cultivating vegetables. However, where adequate water supplies and suitable land is available close to village settlements, women do grow vegetables and increasing numbers of women are producing crops to sell at the Apia market.

In 1965 the Agriculture Department commenced a program of establishing small dairy herds in rural villages, supplying the nucleus of the herd at subsidised costs. Le'upolu (1973) reports that the program commenced when three women's committees in Savaii started dairies. In 1973 thirty-three dairies had been developed. Twenty-seven were run by women's committees, four by village 'aumaga groups, one by a village Boys Brigade and one by a retired Samoan doctor. The original issue of 75 dairy heifers, of which some were in calf, resulted in a total herd of 213 in 1973. The average number of milking cows to a herd was 3.4 per dairy unit, while the average farm size was 8 - 9 acres. As a group project, Le'upolu reported that about twenty men or women were involved in running each dairy unit, while milk yields varied from 0.5 to 1 gallon per cow per day. Each herd was fed with cut fodder and water fetched from some distance away, thus requiring considerable labour input.
A komiti parades a prize-winning dairy heifer at the annual agricultural show. Below komiti members display cabbages picked for display at the show.
Each year at the National Agricultural show, women's committees consistently take the prizes for the best yields per cow, the best village bull and the best vegetable entries.

In 1977 the women's committee of Luatuanu'u No.2 village in the Apia district, requested assistance through the Rural Development Section of the Prime Minister's Department (established in 1976) for a $9,834.15 loan from the Rural Development fund to establish a poultry farm. The feasibility of the project and cost analysis was worked out by the Department of Agriculture with consultative advice from the U.S.P. School of Agriculture at Alafu'a, Western Samoa. This amount was almost twice that requested by the men of the same village for development of a banana project and piggery. I left Samoa before this project was commenced, and was unable to observe its progress, however, I was informed by an officer of the department responsible that it would be regarded as a trial as many similar requests for finance for major development projects have been received from village women's committees.
Female subordination in Samoa cannot be explained in terms of the exclusion of women from the public sphere. Samoan women, like women almost everywhere, have limited opportunity to exercise political authority or to represent themselves effectively in national decision making processes. To balance this observation, it must be pointed out that Samoan women are highly influential politically. Although relatively few Samoan women hold matai titles, and those who do are predominantly educated, urban dwelling elites, every Samoan woman has by right a strong and respected voice in the affairs of her own āiga particularly in the bestowal of titles. This affords women opportunity to wield āiga political influence over male kin.

In addition to the formal rights of sisters with respect to her own descent group, most Samoan women of mature years have considerable influence with the āiga of their husbands, although formally they have no right to do so. The majority of Samoan women are strong-minded, self-confident individuals who have a keen interest in āiga, village and national politics and will seek to influence events wherever and whenever they are given the opportunity to do so.
Given the efficiency and utility of most village women's committees, it is surprising that such limited use is made of them in rural development planning. My research indicates that many government departments are well aware of the potential of women's committees as agencies of rural development yet there have been surprisingly few attempts to make use of them. Most of the projects to date that have involved women's committees have been tentative and experimental and it seems to be that those that have been successful were those in which the initiative came from the committee leaders rather than from government officials.

The present government is strongly committed to a programme of rural development, working through traditional village institutions. As part of their programme, they have greatly increased the salary and official status of the village pulenu'u. The pulenu'u is a village representative or "mayor" who is elected from among the matai by the fono to act as an intermediary between the village and the central government. Thus economic planning at the village level is channelled through the pulenu'u to the fono and back again to government officials. No corresponding recognition is offered to the president of the women's committee, nor do direct channels of communication exist between government planners and rural women's committees except theoretically through the pulenu'u. Plans and projects are developed which impinge upon women's sphere of
influence such as village sanitation and water supply projects, district hospital development, agricultural projects, marketing schemes and so on. However, women are rarely consulted or even informed about such plans and are often presented with projects which require their co-operation as *fait accompli*.

This is characteristic of rural development planning in many other poor countries where women have important productive roles, because whatever economic and public roles are undertaken by women, if those activities come to be classified predominantly as "women's work" they will be regarded as less important, less prestigious and more "domestic" in character than whatever activities are performed predominantly by men. The universal tendency to "peripheralise" women's activities is reflected in development planning as much as it is a reflection of prevailing societal attitudes. This is strikingly illustrated in Western Samoa, where women's associations are usually well developed in comparison to most other poor countries.

In conclusion, I have outlined the process through which women's associations changed from traditional institutions admitting only the "ladies" of the village into modern, functional institutions which are mainly under the authorities of women in the wife status category. Since wives are classified as outsiders in the community and lack formal authority in the husbands 'āiga, it is consistent with
Samoan values and social structure that the women's committees, despite their considerable economic value to the community, have not been accorded a formal political role in terms of participation in the decision making process at levels beyond their own organisation. Instead they are thought of as auxiliary institutions and as a service group to the village and this respect have less formal status than the traditional aualuma institution. The nature of the change since 1830 has been a transition from a high status and largely ceremonial institution to a lower status and largely utilitarian institution. The aualuma grouping reflected, in the public sphere, the status of Samoan women as sisters. Sisters and brothers were associated with a set of opposed attributes for example, ceremonial versus utilitarian, dignity versus action, purity versus pollution and moral authority versus secular or political authority. Wives derive their status from that of their husband. Thus a woman in the context of her own family has the ascribed status of "lady"; dignified, pure with moral authority and a ceremonial status which entitles her to deference from her brothers. But in the context of her husband's family she is a "woman" deriving active utilitarian, role attributes from her husband and in a symbolic or metaphorical sense, "polluted" by her sexual role. She lacks the potential secular authority that her husband might exercise as a matai, however she may rightfully deputise for him or act on his behalf in village affairs.
The missionary efforts to "elevate" the status of women in the mid-nineteenth century succeeded in elevating the status of wives at the expense of the status of sisters. The emphasis on the female role in the public domain became, in most villages, to be associated with that of wives. Female leadership roles came to be the prerogative of the wives of leaders, so the authority of the women's committee is perceived as being derived and conditional. As a result, women's activities tend to be classified as domestic because they are seen as auxiliary to those of men, rather than because of the nature of the activities in themselves.
CHAPTER ELEVEN

SISTERS AND WIVES
One of the most persistent and universal themes in myth and ritual is the idea that the universe may be conceptualised in terms of complementary masculine and feminine principles. The distinction between these principles is based not so much upon the biological differences of sex as upon the culturally ascribed meaning of these differences. The convenience of gender as a metaphor for the construction of dual oppositions is obvious both to the participants in many cultural systems and to anthropologists seeking to interpret them. The opposition of masculinity and femininity could be perceived as fundamental to the Samoan concept of duality in the social structure. Indeed, this has been implied by Shore (1976) when he links the opposition of ali'i and tulafale and sister and brother to the opposition of female and male or rather of feminine and masculine qualities. I have developed a thesis that masculinity and femininity are not opposed qualities in Samoan thought, because divisions of gender are modified considerably by ascriptions of status and therefore a focus on gender classification can be analytically misleading. Unmarried Samoan girls, particularly those of high rank, are conceptually classified with ali'i: such a classificatory mode does not suggest that virgins are regarded as masculine, or conversely, that ali'i are perceived as being feminine.

Similarly, the casting of high ranking adolescent unmarried girls in the role of Christ in Bible plays reflects Samoan perceptions of the shared attributes of purity, dignity,
chastity and gentility rather than gender. There is greater contrast between the female statuses of sister and wife than there is between the male incumbent of an ali'i title and the female incumbent of a taupou title, or between the femininity of an unmarried girl and the masculinity of Christ. Furthermore, married women derive their own status from their husbands' status vis a vis his 'aiga and village. The division of labour between husbands and wives is far less clear-cut than that between brothers and sisters. Married women commonly assist their husbands in a variety of "men's" work, and undertake the more utilitarian aspects of "women's" work. It would be meaningless to derive from these facts the assertion that the status of wives is perceived as being more "masculine" than that of sisters. Such an assertion could only be made if one were to argue that Samoans define all sexuality as "masculine" and chastity, celibacy and asexuality as "feminine".

The Samoan dance taualuga features two dancers, or two groups of dancers, who actions, through contrast, enhance one another. This contrast between vigorous, aggressive, comical and sexual movements and expressions on one hand, and graceful, elegant, dignified and restrained movements on the other hand, has often been perceived by Westerners as contrasting masculine and feminine attributes. But to Samoans it contrasts the sacred and the secular (or profane), which are essentially linked together, enhance one another, and are the foundation of the social structure and social order. Thus the sex of the performers is of no concern, but rather the status and attributes they represent in the dance.
Ortener (1974) has raised the question of whether the apparently universal subordinate status of women in relation to men can be understood in terms of a universal perception of women as being closer to the classification of "nature" and men with that of "culture". Her argument certainly has explanatory value in understanding the subordinate status of wives in relation to that of their husbands (when they are not uxorilocally resident, however) but raises problems with regard to the evaluation of the relative status of brothers and sisters. In this context, it could be argued that the feagaiga between them would classify sisters as being closer to "culture" and brothers closer to "nature".

However, Ortener's argument focuses upon the definitive characteristics of women being their reproductive functions:

"Woman's body seems to doom her to the mere reproduction of life; the male in contrast, lacking natural creative functions, must (or has the opportunity to) assert his creativity externally, "artificially" through the medium of technology and symbols. In so doing, he creates relatively lasting, eternal, transcendent objects, while the woman creates only perishables - human beings".

(Ortener, 1974:71)

We have the evidence of Samoan linguistic usage that women; "fafine" are by definition wives - sexual partners and child-bearers. Un-married women, whether young girls, formerly
married women or widows are not referred to as women but as girls "teine" - a term which assumed that they are celibate, neither sexually active nor child bearing. Moreover, even married women are referred to as "girls" or "ladies" by their own 'āiga, a courteous recognition of their status as co-descendants, distinct from their wifely status amongst outsiders. Samoan culture dichotomises females according to their sexual and non-sexual aspects - women/wives are distinguished from girls/ladies/sisters/consanguineal kinswomen. Samoan culture also dichotomises males, not as husbands/brothers, but as title-untitled, matai as opposed to taulele'a, and also within the category of matai as ali'i/tulafale. The focus of distinction here is one of status and rank rather than of sexuality.

The rank of females is ascribed by birth with regard to their own 'āiga. As a female co-descendent she is ideally, at least, born into an honoured status, modified in the eyes of the wider society by the rank of her 'āiga, and this status is hers throughout her lifetime, and often even after death as an aitu or if she is of high rank as an ilāmutu.

Males are also ascribed rank by birth in terms of the rank of their 'āiga but they enjoy no enduring ascribed status of honour from birth. This must be achieved, in most cases, by earning the esteem of their co-descendants in order that they may be awarded matai status at some time during their
adult life. For most males this recognition and change of status is only given in middle age and they spend the greater part of their lives in the low status category of tau'ule'a.

The alteration of male status at marriage is slight; marriage confers upon the male the recognition that by assuming the responsibility for a wife and children he has taken an important step to adulthood which is only fully recognised by the acquisition of a matai title. After marriage, males are no longer "boys" (tama) they are "men" (tamāloa).

For the first time they enjoy recognised formal authority over other people - their wife and children, no matter how tenuous such authority is in fact. Thus the lives of men follow a single series of status progressions, from boy to man, from tau'ule'a to matai. For many males the ultimate stage of matai status is never reached or is reached only in old age.

Although the status transformation of women at marriage is profound, it does not involve the loss of one status in exchange for another, but acquisition of a distinct additional status vis a vis their husband and his 'āiga, which is held simultaneously with the status of sister in their own 'āiga.

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To return to Ortener's discussion of the relationship of male and female to culture and nature, it is evident that the Samoans conceive of sexuality as belonging to nature. As sexual beings, both males and females might therefore be classified as being closer to nature. The disorderly, uncontrolled and sexually aggressive attributes of young men, together with their correspondingly low status, have clear metaphorical associations with the notion of wildness and nature. This does not diminish the analytical force of Ortener's argument, for it explains persuasively why it should be that females, born as they are into a sacred status category belonging to the domain of "culture", should be transformed by marriage, with respect to their husband's 'āiga and village, to a status category associated with "nature" by virtue of their sexuality. I would add to Ortener's analysis that the devaluation of women in their aspect as wives is certainly related to their sexuality, but is also linked in an important sense to their status among their husband's people as "outsiders". A wife's 'āiga become allies through the conjugal link, but it is an alliance surrounded with ambivalent feelings, particularly in the early and less stable years of marriage. Samoan marriage is an arrangement which does not bind couples or their 'āiga into any lasting mutual set of obligations. Should a woman leave her husband and return to her own people in anger, they will share her anger and she will not be permitted to return
unless her husband or an emissary of his 'āiga comes to request her back with appropriate gifts. Allies made through marriage are also potential enemies, and this is translated into the metaphorical association of in-marrying women with potential disorder, disruption, hostility and the uncontrolled forces belonging to the domain of "nature".

II

The acceptance of Christianity by Samoans in the mid-nineteenth century has blurred the distinction between the status of sisters and wives as it has the distinction between the tamatane and tamafafine or the uterine and agnatic descent lines. It has not eradicated these distinctions, but rather created an area of ambiguity or confusion which can engender conflict.

Christianity, as it was propagated among the Samoans after 1830, emphasised that women existed to become the "helpmates of men", junior partners in marriage as it were. Christian marriage, the missionaries thought, would rescue women from their "degraded" traditional status since its emphasis was upon ties of affection and individual choice of partner. The degraded status of women in "savage" societies appeared to be assumed by all nineteenth century missionaries.

Williams's account, (1832) derived from a short time he spent in Samoa, of the women of a village near Amoa founding their own church, independently of the men and of the "female Tamafaiga" - a female heir to the sacred Leiataua title - failed to modify his perception of female status as "degraded" in Samoa. Such apparent contradictions may be explained in
terms of the missionaries own conceptual framework - the "pagan" or "heathen" religions of the Pacific Islanders whom they sought to convert were also believed by them to be "degraded". According to Biblical teaching, the Polynesians were descendants of Noah as were all men, but a combination of diabolical influences and long isolation had degraded their original knowledge of God. That Samoan women were accorded the right to hold certain sacred offices and were attributed sacred status as co-descendants would therefore in no way have altered missionary perception of the status - it was simply an aspect of their degradation. For the missionaries the only honourable estate for women was that of wife and mother, an evaluation at great variance with traditional Samoan attitudes. The model which both Protestant and Catholic missionaries offered to the Samoans of Christian marriage and family life was that of the village pastor and his wife, (since the ordained Catholic clergy lived celibate lives). This model was one in which the division between husband and wife followed a formal/informal division of roles, or to put it another way, a division of Public and Domestic roles.

"Domestic", as used here, refers to those minimal institutions and modes of activity that are organised immediately around one or more mothers and their children; "Public" refers to activities, institutions and forms of association that link, rank, organise or subsume particular mother-child groups. Though this opposition will be more or less salient in different social and ideological systems, it does provide a universal framework for conceptualising the activities
of the sexes. The opposition does not determine cultural stereotypes or asymmetries in the evaluation of the sexes, but rather underlies them, to support a very general (and, for women, often demeaning) identification of women with domestic life and of men with public life".

(Rosaldo, 1974:23-24)

This opposition of roles already existed in pre-Christian Samoa, at least among those of lesser rank among whom marriage in the sense of co-residence was less transient than it was among the highest ranks. What the missionaries sought was to dignify the opposition of male and female roles in terms of a Public/Domestic division at all levels of society, including ministers of religion and high ranking couples. The office of taupou and the institution of the aualuma provided an alternative focus of female status to that of wifehood but it was not so much on this ground that they offended Christian precepts, as by their role in maintaining the polygeny of the ali'i. The taupou was the focus of chiefly marriage. The missionaries, in order to circumvent both of these functions, offered the home of the pastor as an appropriate Christian alternative; the daughters of Christian families would find a more appropriate role model in the person of the pastor's wife, and in addition learn from her the more appropriate feminine pursuits of needlework and cooking.
The transformation of Samoan female roles through Christian teaching was partially successful - formal installations of taupou are now extremely rare, the aualuma no longer exists as a residential unit and most Samoans no longer have a widely understood and coherent theory as to why sisters exceed their brother in rank even though it is generally acknowledged that they do.

The focus of women's collective activities is now the komiti, which in most villages operates under the authority of the wives of the matai rather than their sisters. While in functional terms, the komiti belong to the public domain, they are in terms of Samoan culture, and relative to the work of men, conceived of as being private, domestic and contextually peripheral. The komiti is not o le nu'u o tama'ita'i - the village of ladies, but rather an adjunct to o le nu'u o ali'i, assuming at village level those duties which are extensions of the domestic work of the household. Some villages still have powerful "villages of the ladies" in their midst but it is noteworthy that in such villages, the aualuma clearly distinguishes itself from the komiti and actively excludes in-marrying women from formal, public roles in the community in order to maintain their own autonomy.
The diminished formal status of female co-descendents - "sisters" - in the "Public" sphere has been coupled, in this century with an increased incidence of women who have been elected to hold matai titles by virtue of their achievements in education or prestige wage employment. There also appears to be in contemporary Samoan society, a far higher incidence of females who assume the role of fofō, traditional healers and mediators of those supernatural forces which are outside the perceived sphere of influence of the Christian Church or of Western medicine. Samoans still consider that the role of fofō is one which is not sexually specific and indeed some people told me that there were probably as many male practitioners as there were female, this however is quite contrary to my own observations. What seems to have happened is that as the recognition of traditional formal female roles and status has declined, Samoan women have gained (or have sought for themselves) recognition in the masculine sphere of formal political authority, as in the case of female matai, or in filling the gap which exists between introduced and traditional moral, philosophical, and eschatological beliefs, as in the case of the female fofō.

I would also extend this argument to the decreased emphasis on distinctions between agnatic and uterine descent categories in modern Samoa. The traditional right of the tamatane was to elect the holders of matai titles from amongst themselves whereas the right of the tamafafine was to veto that selection, rather than an equal right to support a candidate from their own ranks. This distinction is now acknowledged by some
Samoans but denied by others. During the course of my research I found that it was this point, rather than any other aspect of the social structure on which people disagreed most strongly. While some informants considered that this distinction was true of all sets of uterine and agnic descendants, some insisted that it was true only where a formal feagagia existed between two descent groups, and others denied that any such distinction existed in terms of inheritance rights. Such disagreement often reflected the genealogical claims of my informants - for example, those whose claims to a particular desired title were traced through their mothers or grandmothers, tended to be the most insistent about the equality of inheritance rights between tamatane and tamafafine. What quite commonly occurs in Samoa is that women will strongly promote the claims of their sons to titles in their own 'āiga, rather than those of their brothers' or brothers' sons. The power of sisters to promote their son's inheritance claims is strengthened by economic changes that have taken place since the nineteenth century. Traditionally, there was a clear distinction in the categories of goods exchanged between fraternal and sororal categories of kin, and between wife-takers and wife-givers. This distinction has been modified by the fact that cash may be used as a substitute or supplement in either category. This enables a sister to channel large amounts of cash to her own 'āiga, drawn from the earnings of her own children and their spouses, in order to create a claim of service (tautua) to particular titles on their sons' behalf. The belief in the power of sisters to exert supernatural sanctions to support their
legitimate rights was cited by a number of informants as strengthening a sister's claim on her son's behalf. These informants regarded service, in the form of extensive cash contributions by a sister over the years, as legitimating her claims on her son's behalf. However, the following speech made by a matai at an 'āiga potopoto convened to discuss a title to which he was the feagaiga(a descendent of a sister of an earlier holder of the title) puts the matter in it's traditional perspective. He said:

"... I thank your sisters who are with us today. They are good sisters, they have not spoken but have listened to the old man (their eldest brother) nor have they put forward their own children. They have behaved honourably".

His audience appreciated the point that he was making, for with regard to his own 'āiga title, to which other members of the gathering at which he spoke had no claim, there had been a longstanding dispute between the tamatane (led by himself) and the tamafafine (represented by one of his sisters) over the title he held. His sister had opposed his election in favour of her own son, but without success. As a result she was antagonistic to him and rather than recognise his right to speak on her behalf in 'āiga matters, often spoke on her own behalf, and that of her children, at gatherings of the 'āiga.
The right which a sister maintains through service to her own 'āiga is the right to veto a candidate elected by her brothers and kin who are tamatane to the title if she feels that the honour and dignity of the 'āiga would be compromised by their selection. According to the ideal tenets of feagaiga her right of veto ought not to be exercised in order to further the claims of any member of the tamafafine for this would add a political dimension which is formally precluded by the feagaiga. It is for this reason that Samoans speak of their uterine descent lines as itū vaivai - their "weak side" and of their agnatic descent lines as itū malosi - their strong side. The relative weakness and strength refers to claims to matai titles.

What appears to be happening in contemporary Samoan culture is that the gradual decrease in emphasis upon the specifically sacred, moral authority of sisters is being accompanied by an increase in their claims to exercise secular and political authority in 'āiga affairs. In consequence there is apparently a greater rivalry between agnatic and uterine co-descendants and confusion of their respective rights. This tends to be compounded by the conflict between traditional and modern achievement criteria as a basis for selecting from among a number of heirs a suitable person to hold a vacant matai title. In contemporary Samoa regular wage employment, experience and savings acquired overseas, or a tertiary education leading to a position in the civil service are frequently perceived as more desirable qualifications, than traditional forms of service to the 'āiga such as subsistence agricultural production.
The duty of the *tamafafine* to ensure that an appropriate choice is made by the *tamatane* is complicated by the question concerning qualification for *matai* status in terms of choice between these criteria. Samoans are ambivalent as to whether or not *tautua* in the traditional sense of labour service and deference to the *matai* is morally superior to material success and the achievement of high status in non-traditional occupations - which often entails an extended period of minimal service to the immediate needs of the *matai* and 'āiga.

III

The relatively high degree of autonomy possessed by Samoan women does not accord well with the historical materialist (ie: Engels, 1972), proposition that a decline in female status can be directly correlated to the degree of inequality which exists in a given society in terms of access to and control over the means of production. Overall, female autonomy in stratified Samoan society was and is considerably greater than that of "egalitarian" Melanesian societies. Power relations in Samoa did not directly depend upon access to or control of resources, as prior to this century the Samoan archipelago was fairly sparsely populated and offered abundant subsistence resources accessible to all its inhabitants.
The scarcest and most valuable category of goods were those made by women and they were exchanged and redistributed primarily along the paths created by matrimonial alliances. The only utilitarian value of these goods was as ceremonial apparel for high ranking persons. Their value may well have been enhanced by the considerable amount of female labour that was devoted to their manufacture, but it was also enhanced by the fact that they were produced by women in the "sister" rather than the "wife" status category. In a symbolic sense 'ie toga represented the value of women. Precious 'ie toga were given, as were precious sisters, to create alliances among men. Both as sisters and wives Samoan women lacked secular political authority but their moral authority as sisters safeguarded their personal autonomy to a very great extent. This personal autonomy was most severely restricted at the period of women's lives when they were of greatest value to men, as young girls of marriageable age, in order to ensure the virginity that was the focus of their value - both in the eyes of their brothers and their potential husbands (although for different reasons). Political offices (pule) were primarily inherited through males, but the mana of high rank was inherited through women, thus the gift of a woman was also in a sense, gift of the rank of her 'āiga and their mana, to their heirs she bore her husband. As the conduits of the mana of their descent groups women represented the sacred moral attributes of their 'āiga and control over her procreative powers was essential.
To return to the problem of gender classification with which this chapter began, the logic of placing women as sisters together with ali'i in the same classificatory category of sacred power and moral authority, opposed to the relatively profane status and secular authority of men as brothers and tulafale becomes clear.

Ali'i titles, unlike tulafale titles, were titles given to the sons of high-ranking mothers by their fathers or their fathers' political supporters, in order to link the mana he inherited from her to the political unit; the village or district of his father.

This was even done in cases where the father had no direct connection to a particular polity, as the two stories of "kidnapped" ali'i in the genealogy of Salamasina suggest. The first told the story of how the tulafale, Ape and Tutuila of Fasitootai and Fasitoouta, stole the infant son of the high ranking woman, Vaetamasoa, from Safata. They took him to a location between their two villages, which was named Leulumoega (the resting of the head) and named him Tamalelagi (son of the sky). This story explains the origin of the village of Leulumoega, which at the time of European contact was the principal village of A'ana district, and whose orators have the right to bestow the Tuia'ana title.

1. See Chapter 7.
In the second story, the tulafale, Ofoia and Talo of Falealili stole the infant son of Salamasina and took him to Salani; this story explains not the origin of the village, but the origin of its political importance in the district. It is clear that it was the mother's rank that was important, and the mana that passed through her that was coveted, rather than that of the father of each child, because although both were the sons of high ranking men, it is not their genealogies but those of the mother, which these emphasise.

Sisters were the conduits of mana, but ali'i were the objective realisation of mana - sacred power combined with political authority. Although the ideal model is of the ali'i playing a political role that is relatively passive in comparison to the tulafale, it also attributes the power of veto to the ali'i - no political action or decision may be taken without his sanction. Furthermore, Williams (1830, 1832) made references to Leataua Tamafaiga whose sacred status (acquired through possession by a war goddess) was coupled with despotism and tyranny, and to Malietoa Vai another ali'i pa'ia who was leading his supporters in war. In Falealili I recorded a number of traditions in which despotic ali'i are referred to. The silence of the ali'i in the midst of political debate by tulafale should not be misinterpreted as political impotence.
Each 'āiga "imported" mana for the next generation through the matrilineal descent of the women who married in, and "exported" the mana which they inherited from their mother through the out-marriage of the sisters of each generation of men.

This was clearly the logic behind the installation of taupou. The taupou was the most attractive and the highest ranking member of the immediate 'āiga of an ali'i but she could be either his daughter - in which case it was the mana of her mother that was being given ceremoniously in marriage, or it could be his sister's daughter, in which case the mana inherited from his mother was to be given. The interest of the tulafale, on courting missions in the genealogy of each taupou was thus focussed upon the female matrilineal ancestors of the girls.

These considerations modify Keesing's (1937:1-14) argument that the incidence of ceremonial installation of taupou declined in the nineteenth century as a result of the corresponding decline in chiefly polygeny because of missionary prohibitions. Each ali'i could still have legitimately bestowed one taupou title during his period of office and have married her off advantageously, without violating Christian teaching - yet this was not done.
The institutional changes that have led to the abandonment of the formal installation of taupou are a product of changes in belief about the origins of rank, and the secularisation of the Samoan political system during the nineteenth century. The notion of mana exists as an "underground" idea in its traditional sense, the term is now formally given the meaning of "God's Grace" in the Christian sense. There is no longer any coherent, formally recognised set of beliefs concerning the matrilineal inheritance of sacred power, Samoans do not stand up in the Land and Titles Court and tell the judges, "Your Honour, A is clearly the most suitable heir to title B, for while A is descended from a former holder of this title in the male line, he is the most qualified of all his fellow heirs for he is the son of C, who was the daughter of the great chief D who married the daughter of E who's mother was F. Without the sacred power that has come to A through his female ancestors, the authority of title B will be weakened". Yet the notion is there, acknowledged by those who have extensive genealogical knowledge, or who know versions of pre-Christian myths, legends and historical traditions that have filtered down to the present. It is still reflected in the contemporary acknowledgement, of the rank and the rights of sisters in relation to their brothers, although this principle is much weaker now than in the past.
In the field of women's studies there has been a disagreement between scholars whose theoretical premise is that the status of women is universally subordinate or in some sense culturally devalued relative to the status of men, and those who reject this premise. Those who assume that the former is the case, seek to develop explanations which can be applied cross-culturally which will account for this phenomenon, while rejecting those explanations which postulate female subordination as an effect of genetically programmed male dominance. (ie: Rosaldo and Lamphere, 1974).

One scholarly rejection of this premise argues that in the most primitive "stages of human social and economic evolution, men and women were equal (Engels, 1972) or enjoyed equal measures of autonomy in a sex-based division of labour and authority (Leacock, 1978). Another popular but less academically acceptable argument follows Bachofen (1861) in asserting that matriarchal rule once obtained in ancient societies, one which has, in my view, been elegantly demolished by Bamberger (1974). Others seek to show that in particular cultures women are less subordinate to males, or less culturally devalued than early observers supposed them to be (ie: Weiner, 1977). The problem, as Leacock (1978) Weiner (1977) and Tiffany (1978) have all noted, is that of evaluation. How does the social scientist evaluate the
relative status and cultural judgements accorded to males and females in exotic cultures, without being misled by their own ethnocentric preconceptions or by androcentric male informants? Ardener (1971) first raised the question of the possibility that emic models which devalue women and are formulated and articulated by males may not be shared by females of the same culture, who may have a model of their own which positively values the same crucial aspects of their roles which are negatively valued by males.

I have shown that Samoan women held two simultaneous adult statuses which accorded them value and ceremonial precedence with respect to their co-descendants but which both devalued and subordinated them in the formal sense with respect to their husband and his co-descendants. I have shown that historical influences, the most important being that of the Christian Churches in Samoa, have devalued the status of sister by eroding the ideological underpinnings upon which it was based, while at the same time according a greater value to the status of wife than had been the case in pre-Christian Samoa. I am strongly tempted to let my case rest there. As I stated in my introduction, the central concern of this thesis was to explain the status of Samoan women in terms of Samoan values. To fully discuss the question of whether women are universally devalued relative to men and whether my data and analysis of it supports or weakens the case that this is so, would require another thesis. However, I will conclude with a brief consideration of this problem.
The dual status of Samoan women is essentially one of contradiction for that which on one hand accords women her sacred status, her power to transmit sacred power through reproduction, is on the other hand the source of her devaluation. The focus of transformation of her status is her sexuality - it is as though Samoans separate the sequence of sexual intercourse, pregnancy and childbirth from regeneration itself. Such thinking is of course familiar to us in the Christian denial of the sexuality of Mary, the mother of Christ, and stems from a reluctance to associate that which the Graeco-Judaic tradition regards as profane (human heterosexual sexuality), with the realm of the sacred; the transmission of divine power from God to man through the vessel of woman.

The Samoans also associate sexuality with the realm of the profane but in a positive sense - it is celebrated for its own sake, even after 150 years of imported Christian prudery. The devaluation of woman through the expression of her sexual and procreative functions stems from the exogamous principles of Samoan marriage, and the passive-active dichotomisation of female and male sexuality. The act of sexual intercourse and fertilisation is regarded by Samoans as one of male conquest and dominance of the female. This notion is again familiar to us cross-culturally as an ideal, even where it is modified by male fears of polluting and seductive female sexuality. The gift of a woman in marriage is one which cannot be fully
repaid since it involves the transfer of sacred power from one political unit to another in terms of traditional Samoan beliefs. Furthermore it involves the transfer of something of great value - the woman - to potential enemies, men of other villages and political interests. Through the transfer of a woman from one group to another, "they" conquer "us" through sexual intercourse, even though "we" achieve moral superiority over "them" by giving that which cannot be repaid.

A wife who cohabits with her husband is thus objectified as a conquered being by her husband's people, and the sacred power which she transmits through procreation is only valued in her children who have the physical substance of their father and the mystical substance of their mother. She remains an alien in their midst.

Political authority in Samoa must be exercised though the judicious balancing of the sacred and secular aspects of power and Samoan women are, ideally, excluded from formal political processes. As Father Deihl observed:

"Women seldom if ever succeed in attaining titles that involve political control. There is one woman living today who is very powerful and who is of high position yet, try as she will, she cannot make the chiefs recognise her. The men feel it would be a disgrace to give this title to a woman. This particular woman has great influence in her immediate family, but very little in the political life of her village".

(Deihl, 1932:24)

I observed several Samoan women in recent years who have faced the same problem, even though there are many more women with titles in Samoa today than there were in the past. No district in Samoa has elected a female matai to parliament for more than one or two terms and those few who hold political offices seem to inspire an unusual degree of resentment from people who are not their immediate supporters. Those Samoan women who achieve political office do so in spite of vehement male prejudice against female participation in formal political processes.

Weiner writes:

"... we have accepted almost without question the nineteenth century Western legacy that had effectively segregated women from positions of power. We have subjected early missionary and travellers' documents to a careful evaluation of their bias toward the "native". But have we equally considered the effects of their bias toward women? We have allowed "politics by men" to structure our thinking about other societies; we have led ourselves to believe that if women are not dominant in the political sphere of interaction, their power remains at best peripheral. We unquestioningly accept male statements about women as factual evidence for the way a society is structured. We argue the problem of emic and etic, but not with reference to women's perception of their roles. From this view, since we compared women to men in the context of politics, we should not be surprised that we arrive at the almost universal notion that women's status is secondary to that of men".

(Weiner, 1977:228)
I have shown that Samoan women have power, which like the power of Trobriand women identified by Weiner, although exercised in a very different manner, is associated with the transmission of sacred ancestral essence. Yet I do not accept her implication that if women have power, even though it may be different from the power which men have, it is therefore ethnocentric to argue that they have secondary status. In pre-Christian society, ambitious high-ranking women may well have been compensated for their exclusion from the exercise of formal political authority by their sacred power which could be brought to bear directly on the actions of men, and which allowed them an autonomous sphere of action in their own villages. High-ranking women had far more power than did low-ranking men. But now that sacred power operates covertly, and even the most powerful women can influence events only through men - the "power behind the throne" perception of female influence is well known in Samoa. In what society is this not true? This puts the argument on a different basis then. One may say that women are well satisfied with the knowledge that both as sisters and wives they may manoeuvre within those areas in which they have power to attain their desired ends. This appears to be the model that most Samoan women have of their capacity to exercise power and which they regard as legitimate.
Some years ago, a well known Samoan woman politician, the widow of another political leader was asked during a press interview in New Zealand what she thought of the western "Womens Liberation" movement. She replied that she saw no need of it in Samoa, for Samoan women, could influence events by influencing their husbands and brothers.

The reaction to her statement by a Samoan Cabinet Minister with whom I had a conversation, was one of outrage. It was clear to me that he recognised the truth of what she had said, but his reaction was that this should not be so, that it was illegitimate for women to manipulate political events through men.

Samoan women and men share the same model which contrasts formal male authority with informal female powers of persuasion, but whereas Samoan women approve of this political asymmetry, men are ambivalent about it and appear anxious to contain the extent to which women may exercise such power. They will, for example, tacitly approve of their mothers, sisters or wives manipulating events in order to suit their interests as sons, brothers or husbands, while vehemently condemning these tactics by other women on behalf of other men.

Women as a social category, are almost universally denied the right to exercise formal political authority whether this be through cultural codes which expressly exclude them, or whether such exclusion is more covertly founded in the
socialisation of girls in order that they will learn to perceive a conflict between the exercise of formal political authority and their feminine gender identity. In most cultures there are a few women to be found who succeed in the predominantly male sphere of formal politics, but this is often in spite of a strong prejudice from both sexes against their doing so.

The subordination of women is founded upon their peripheral participation as a social category in formal political decision-making processes in almost every society, and if this is to be changed our theoretical concern must be focused upon the origins of this phenomenon. In Samoa, I consider that the devaluation of woman and the perceived need to exclude her from the affairs of man has its origins in the process in the adolescence of every Samoan male, whereby he must establish his masculine identity by defining it in negative terms, as Chodorow (1974:50) points out, by repressing whatever he takes to be feminine in himself, by denigrating and devaluing whatever he takes to be feminine in the outside world and eventually, by appropriating to himself particular social and cultural spheres from which women must be excluded. It is surely because of this fundamental process that the statuses of sisters and wives are dichotomised in Samoan social structure, and that it is perceived as necessary to distinguish that which is so undeniably female, a woman's sexual and reproductive capacity, from that which all men share with women:- common descent.
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GLOSSARY OF SAMOAN TERMS
Glossary of Samoan Terms:

'aiava: A prestation of food to the guests of a village in which all the members of a particular status group contribute a prescribed portion of the total to be presented.

'āiga: Family, descent group or kinship in all its dimensions.

'āiga potopoto: A gathering of the consanguineal members of an 'āiga in order to decide upon matters of mutual interest.

'aiuli: A dance which complements the performance of a siva expressing a contrast in status between themselves and the person or persons performing the siva.

aitu: Spirit or ghost.

ualuma: Society of unmarried, widowed or separated women who are consanguineal members of the groups comprising a village. Attendants to the taupou.

'aumaga: A society of untitled men, an institution in every village.

auamoega: A courting party seeking a girl as a bride. This is sometimes carried out alone by the man concerned.

afafine: Daughter, father speaking.

ali'i: One of the two orders of matai, a "high chief" as opposed to a "talking chief" or orator. Also polite word for men - gentleman, gentlemen.

ali'i pa'ia: A sacred chief.

'alualutoto: Clot of blood: used in mythologies referring to aborted babies.

asiasiga: Inspection of stated items eg: mats, sheets, etc; visiting, in group or individuals.

atali'i: Son, father speaking.

āvā: Wife.

āvaga: Elope.

'av a fa'atupu: "kings" kava. Ceremony is performed outside on the village malae.
āvā taulele'a: Group of women in a village who are the wives of untitled men.

'ie: Cloth, finely plaited, or woven fabric.

'ie'ula: A 'ie sina which has been dyed a reddish colour worn by high ranking women who had been taupou prior to marriage.

'ie sina: A finely plaited cloth of bleached hibiscus fibre in which loose ends form a shaggy surface on one side; worn by taupou and now very rare in Samoa.

'ie toga: A finely plaited cloth of bleached pandanus fibres bordered with red feathers. Varieties of 'ie toga are named according to their size and quality or to the purpose for which they are given. Usually called "fine mats" in English, although they are not mats.

ilāmutu: The spirit or ghost of a female matrilineal ancestor.

ità: Side.

ità malosi: Paternal āiga one's agnatic kinsfolk (literally the strong side).

ità vaivai: Maternal āiga, one's uterine kinsfolk (literally the weak side).

'oloa: Dowry; that category of goods presented by the wife-getters at a matrimonial exchange and redistribution of property. Traditionally it consisted of food and valuables made by man.

ua mā: To be shamed or "shame on you".

'ula: A garland, traditionally of red pandanus fruit. Also a term for red.

umu: Oven of hot stones on which food is baked or steamed, these have small fale over them to shelter them from the rain.

umusaga: Redistribution of wealth in celebration of the completion of new dwelling places, public buildings, road, etc.

umu kuka: Kitchen, usually a small fale separate from dwelling houses.

'upeti: Board with pattern (either carved or stuck on) used for printing tapa.
uso: Sibling of the same sex as speaker.

ususū: A challenging cry or "war cry".

fa'aaloalo: Respect, respectful.

fa'aevaevaga: Public display of newly made fine mats.

fa'aiopoipoga: A formal wedding, marriage celebration requiring the redistribution of property.

fa'auluufalega: Opening of a new church, requiring the redistribution of property.

fa'ausi: Taro pudding cooked in an umu.

fa'afailelega tama: Redistribution to celebrate the birth of a first born child.

fa'afaine: A male transexual.

fa'alavelave: Colloquial term for all rites de passage and other occasions requiring the redistribution of property. (Literally 'trouble').

fa'alupega: A formal expression of recognition or greeting associated with a matai title. Each village and district has a set of fa'alupega which act as a constitution by expressing the rank of each title.

fa'amālosi: Rape.

fa'amase au: Defloration ritual.

fa'a Samoa: The Samoan way, Samoan Custom, or "in the manner of Samoans".

fa'atama: A "tomboy" or "boyish" girl or woman.

fai'ai: Undiluted coconut cream pudding baked in an umu.

faiava: Husband, with reference to those men residing at their wives' families, also "to take a wife."

faife'au: A village pastor.

faife'au toea'ina: Most senior pastor in a pulega both in age and service.

failautusi: Secretary.

fafine: A married woman cohabiting with her husband.
fala: A mat or mats.
fala lau'ie: Finely plaited mat of bleached pandanus used as a house decoration.
fala lili'i: Sleeping mat.
fala su'i: An embroidered fala lau'ie, or fala lili'i, used to decorate beds.
fale: A house, building or shelter.
fale afolau: Large oval-shaped dwelling houses (same as fale umi).
fale o'o: Small dwelling or working house (oval shaped).
Falefitu: A group of tulafale in the villages of Poutasi, Saleilua, Vaovai and Matautu. Also used as a collective term for those villages.
falelalaga: Weaving bee; when women get together to do nothing but weaving (plaiting) all day.
fale leoleo: Guard house, (usually located next to hospitals and village bathing pools).
fale pālagi: Building with enclosed walls using permanent material.
fale tautū: A courting party which is sent to seek a high ranking girl as a bride for an ali'i or his son.
fale tele: Large round houses. Build only for matai as a guest or meeting house. Also referred to as fale fono (Council House).
faletua: The wife of an ali'i, also a polite usage for any married woman.
fānau: Offspring, to give birth.
feagaiga: Covenant between a brother and a sister or between descendents of a brother and his sister. Used of ministers of religion, referring to the covenant between the minister and his congregation (also used in the sense of a contract).
fesoasoani: Catholic catechist.
fofo: Traditional healer or masseur.
fo'oma'i: Healer (refers more to Western trained doctors or Medicine nowadays).
fono: Council; meeting of village matai.
fono tele: Annual general meeting of the Christian Congregational Church (formerly L.M.S.).
fuataga: An open display of fine mats at a ceremonial redistribution of wealth.
gafa: Genealogy or pedigree, also refers to the consanguineal members of 'āiga - blood relatives.
lagi: The sky of "heaven" (in the Christian sense). lagi was the abode of Tagatoaalagi, the creator deity.
lau'ie: A type of pandanus from which the fine white fibres for ie toga, fala lau'ie and fala su'i are obtained.
laufala: Pandanus leaves used to weave (plait) mats etc.
lau ti: The leaves of the Cordyline plant used in massage healing treatments.
lama: Candle nut; traditionally burnt for black dye. Used in herbal preparations, a purgative.
lavalava: Cloth wrapped around the waist.
leoleoga: Guarding, to guard.
ma: Shame.
ma'i: Sick, sickness.
Mau: Anti-colonial movement in the late 1920's and 1930's in Western Samoa.
mafaufau: Wisdom or judgement.
malae: A village square or public gathering place, the central area of a village.
malaga: To visit, visiting party.
mālo: Government, conquerors, victors, rulers. Also used of guests and of a collection of ie toga at a ceremonial redistribution of property.
mamālu: Dignity, honour, esteem.
mana: Sacred or mystical power, inherited matrilineally.
manaia: The son of an ali'i; his "heir apparent".
matai: A political representative of an 'āiga who holds a title bestowed by that 'āiga; custodian of land and property of that 'āiga. A chief. There are two orders of matai, ali'i and tulafale.
mata'ifale: Incest, (literally 'to look into the house').
matua: Elder, person senior in age.
mātua: Parents.
moetotolo: "To sleep crawl", refers to rape or indecent assault in which a man steals into the house of a sleeping girl. Moetolo: a 'sleep crawler'.
moli: An orange.
nifoloa: A supernaturally inflicted ailment or ma'i aitu in which a male aitu (Nifoloa) bites his sleeping victim with his long fang.
nu'u: Village; the maximum enduring political and administrative unit in Samoa prior to 1900.
nofotane: Woman residing with her husband's 'āiga, also "to take a husband".
paepe: A stone foundation.
paolo: Affines.
pa'ū: To fall.
pa'umutu: "Fallen woman"; a girl who has illicitly lost her virginity or who is sexually promiscuous.
pālagi: European.
pelesitene: President (of a womens komiti).
pitonu'u: Sub-division of a village.
pōula: A licentious night dance.
pule: Formal political authority; the fight to command.
pūleaga: An administrative district of the Christian Congregational Church.
pulenu'u: A government representative elected from among the matai of a village; (initiated during the German administration - 1900-1914).

Sā The maximal span of an 'āiga identified with a particular matai title. Also means forbidden or 'sacred to'.

sa'o aualuma: The highest ranking members of an aualuma.

sao. aumaga The highest ranking members of an aumaga.

saofa'i: The ceremonial conferral of a matai title requiring the redistribution of property.

sa'o tama'ita'i: The daughters and sisters of the highest ranking ali'i of a village or district.

sauali'i: Ghost or spirit, a polite term for an aitu.

sasa: To smack, beat or hit something or someone.

segi: To raise a small blister by burning, a traditional medical practice.

siapo: Tapa, a cloth made from the beaten bark of the paper mulberry tree.

suli: An heir or claimant to a matai title.

suli moni: A true or genuine heir to a matai title. One whose claim is without question.

susu: Milk or breasts.

ta'alolo: Formal presentation of food to a malaga.

ta'amū: Giant taro. (Alocasia macrorrhiza).

tae: Excrement.

ta'inamu: Mosquito net, traditionally a tent of siapo.

tauāiuga: A final dance after a performance in which the highest ranking person present takes the central role.

taufolo: Mashed cooked breadfruit served in coconut cream.

taulāitu: Spirit or Ghost medium.
taulāsea: A polite term for fofō or taulāitu.

taulele'a: An untitled man (plural: taulele'a).

taupou: Titled office bestowed by high ranking ali'i upon an adolescent female member of his 'āiga. Also means a virgin.

tausaia: A girl of high rank, also refers to ideal qualities of manner and deportment in an unmarried girl.

tausi: The wife of a tulafale.

tafa'ifā: "The four in one" applied to the holder of the four Paramount ceremonial titles Tuia'ana, Tulatua, Gatoaitele and Tamasoali'i which conferred paramount rank in the land.

tafao: An aimless excursion for amusement's sake.

tama: A boy, youth or unmarried man. Also used of any child regardless of sex.

tamā: Father.

tama'āiga: "Sons of the descent groups" applied nowadays to the holders of the paramount ranking titles Mata'afu, Tupua, Malietoa, Tuimaleali'ifano.

tama'ita'i: "Lady"; specifically used of women who are co-descendants in an 'āiga or consanguinal members of the 'āiga of a village. (the aualuma). May be used politely of any woman.

tamafafine: Uterine descent line.

tamāloa: A married man.

tamatane: Agnatic descent line.

tamasā: The first born male child of the sister of a high ranking ali'i.

tapito: Decorative pandanus mats.

tei: Younger sister.

tei o "The younger sisters of So'oa'emalelagi" So'oa'emalelagi: name given to the aualuma of Leulumoega village.

teine: Unmarried girl, a female child.

tinā: Mother.
tipoti: "Teapot", euphemistic term for male genitalia.
titi: A skirt of leaves or fibres.
to'alua: Spouse.
toga: Dowry; that category of goods presented by the wife-givers at a matrimonial exchange and redistribution of property. Mainly referred to in modern times as mālo. It consists of valuables made by women, particularly ie toga.
tuafafine: Sister (brother speaking).
tuagane: Brother (sister speaking).
tufuga: A specialist in one particular important skilled craft.
tufuga tafaga: Expert in circumcision.
tulaga maota: House site.
tulāfale: Orator chief.
vaisalo: A mixture of green coconut juice and flesh cooked with starch.
vaivai: Weak, soft, watery.
komiti: Village women's committee incorporating three status groups, the aualuma or tama'ita'i, the faletua ma tausi and the āvā taulele'a.
komiti tumāmā: Village women's health committees responsible for village cleanliness and hygiene.
koniseti: Concert.
Sample of interview schedule administered to individual respondents at monthly clinic held by women's committee at:

1. Age:
2. Marital Status:
3. Village of Residence before marriage:
4. Husband's village:
5. Present Residence (if H and W from same village) virilocal or uxorilocal:
6. Age at first marriage:
7. Number of full-term pregnancies:
8. Number of live births - males, females:
9. Number of children now living - males, females:
10. Age of eldest child:
11. Age of youngest child:
12. Status in Women's Committee:
13. Husband's status (if respondent a married member of the tama'ita'i):
14. Husband's age:
15. Husband's occupation (self-employed - wage employed):
16. Use of Contraception (traditional, pill, I.U.D., Depo-Provera injection, Tubal Ligation, Condom, Other unspecified, nothing):
17. Attitude to artificial contraception (ie: other than traditional post-partum abstinence during lactation) Positive? Negative?
18. Number of children given in adoption/fosterage:
19. Number of children taken in adoption/fosterage:
Households of Poutasi

Household No. 1: Matai - Meleisea Folitau

The head of this household is Meleisea Folitau and his faletua Soloia who is from Leulumoega. They have fourteen children. Meleisea is Judge in the Lands and Titles Court in Apia where he resides during the week. He comes to Poutasi every Friday afternoon and remains in the village until Sunday evening.

Residing permanently in the village are one married son, a teacher, and his wife and three daughters, and one married daughter, a teacher, her husband and two sons. He also has an unmarried adult son and an untitled adult male relative (from his secondary 'aiga in the village of Sapunanoa) residing in the village, who grow taro, coconuts and raise cattle on his estate.

On weekends he is accompanied to the village by four of his daughters, one of whom attends agricultural college, two who are in secondary school and one who has completed secondary school and is looking after her parents. He is also accompanied by his second youngest son, a secondary school student.
Living elsewhere are his eldest son, married, a Pastor on the Island of Savai'i; his second son, married, a customs officer in Apia; his eldest daughter, married a cannery worker in American Samoa; his third son, married, a university lecturer in Fiji; his fifth son, married, a plumber in New Zealand; and his youngest son, adopted by a doctor in Apia.

The household dwellings consist of two *fale tele*, one *fale 'umi* with enclosed walls kitchen and bathroom, and one *fale 'umi* and two *fale o'o*. It is sited on the traditional *maota* of Meleisea near the *malae*.

**Household No. 2: Matai – Meleisea Politau**

The head of the household is untitled, Seti Meleisea aged 40 and his wife Mata'imanu aged 35, who is from the neighbouring village of Vaovai. Seti is a subsistence farmer, cultivating the estate of Meleisea. He is a descendant of a former holder of the Meleisea title. Mata'imanu teaches at the Poutasi Primary School. They have seven children, three daughters and four sons, ranging in age from ten months to twelve years. The children over five attend the village primary school.

The household dwellings consist of two *fale o'o*, one large and one small. It is sited near the household of the matai but operates as an independent economic unit.
Household No. 3: Matai - Tuātagaloa Te'o Fetu

The head of the household is the matai, Tuātagaloa Te'o Fetu, aged about 45, and his faletua, Paugata, aged about 40. Tuātagaloa is a Member of Parliament and has a large coconut plantation and herd of cattle in the neighbouring village of Saleilua, and a smaller estate in Poutasi. He also has land attached to his other title, Te'o, in the village of Satalo. He has five daughters at school in the village and one daughter at secondary school in Apia. His two youngest sons are of pre-school age.

In addition he has three older unmarried girls in his household; two are from his 'āiga at Satalo, and one is from the 'āiga Asa'asa in Poutasi. The girls help in the house and in his store. He has three boys, also from his Satalo 'āiga, one is going to school in Poutasi, while the two elder boys work on his plantation. He also employs the matai Tamamasui, a widower, who lives in Tuātagaloa's household. Tuātagaloa has two household dwelling areas. One, consisting of a fale tele, a fale pālagi and a fale o'o is unoccupied at present as he lives with his family at the store, which belongs to his wife's family. Paugata is the step-daughter of Lee Hang, a Chinese merchant. She and Tuātagaloa took over the management of the store after his death in 1970. The store consists of a wooden building with a residence at the rear, copra sheds, a billiard playing shed and a storage shed.
Household No. 4: Matai – Tuātagaloa Fa'amoana
The head of the household is Tuātagaloa Fa'amoana, who is about 80 years old; and his faletua, Tulei, who is about 76, is from the 'āiga Lupeomanū of Poutasi. They are cared for by their eldest daughter Apiseka, aged 43, and her husband Laki, aged 47, who is from Palefa. Apiseka and Laki have eight sons of whom three are attending junior high school at Poutasi, one is at teacher's college in Apia and two are helping their father raise taro, bananas and a few head of cattle. The eldest son is away working in American Samoa. Apiseka has adopted three daughters, one from her brother, one from her sister and one from her mother's sister's daughter. Two are attending the village school and one is staying with Paula and Sau of the Si'a 'āiga.

Household No. 5: Matai – Tuātagaloa Fa'amoana
The head of the household is Tualogo, son of Tuātagaloa Fa'amoana, an untitled man of about 36. His wife is Soloao from the neighbouring village of Vaovai. She is a primary school teacher at Siumu. They live on land bordering Poutasi and Saleilua villages with their twelve children – seven daughters and five sons. The eldest daughter is at secondary school in Apia, seven children are at the Poutasi school and one daughter of fourteen attends school at Siumu, where her mother is teaching. In addition, Soloao's mother's sister, aged about 65, is living with them, as does Tualogo's sister's son, who attends junior secondary school at Poutasi. They have one dwelling house, a fale pālagi. Their
household is located on the roadside some distance away from the main village settlement.

Household No. 6: Matai - Tuātagaloa Fa'amoana

The head of the household is Ma'i, son of Tuātagaloa Fa'amoana. He is about 40 years old and is blind, but works as a subsistence farmer, with help from his wife Keise, who is also about 40 and is from Salielua village. Keise has six children from her first marriage to a man of Matautu. They all stay with their father's family, except one daughter, Tiresa, who is attending junior secondary school in Poutasi. Ma'i and Keise have five daughters, of whom four attend primary school and one is of pre-school age. They have one dwelling house, an old two-storey wooden house on the far side of Salielua village, on what is counted as Poutasi land since it is under Tuātagaloa Fa'amoana's authority. (This was originally the home of Tuātagaloa Fa'amoana when he was younger, he ran a store and bus service there).

Household No. 7: Matai - Ai'ī

This is the largest household in Poutasi. The head of the family is the holder of the Ai'ī title, but because he is incapacitated by age, his son was elected to hold the title jointly in 1978. Ai'ī Fatu is about 45 and his faletua, Senetenari, comes from Vaovai.
Old Ai'i, a widower, is looked after by his daughter Mouga, aged about 38, and her husband Va'a, who comes from Vailima village. They have three daughters and two sons, all at school locally. One of Mouga's sister's daughters also lives with them, an unmarried girl of about 20.

Ai'i Fatu and Senetanari have nine children. Their eldest daughter has eloped with a man from the 'āiga Alofa, but her illegitimate infant has been left with her mother. Another daughter is at secondary school in Apia and two others attend the village school. The two eldest sons have left school and help their father grow taro and bananas and raise cattle. They have two young brothers at school in the village. In addition, Senetenari's brother, Ai'i Fatu's son from a previous marriage and two of Ai'i Fatu's sisters' sons, all young unmarried men, work with Ai'i. Ai'i's mother's sister's daughter, aged about 33 and unmarried, has an illegitimate infant.

An adopted son of old Ai'i is Pene, an untitled man aged about 50. He was brought from Ai'i's 'āiga at Sapunaoa as an infant to live with Ai'i. Pene's wife is Etevise, who is from the 'āiga of Tūmanuvao in Poutasi. Pene and
Etevise have fourteen children, twelve daughters and two sons. Their eldest daughter, Katalina, aged 30, lives with them with her husband Filo from Aleipata and six children, none of whom attend school. Two other daughters are married and live with their husbands' 'āiga, one with Si'a 'āiga at Poutasi and another at Lalovaia. Another adult daughter has left her husband and has one legitimate and two illegitimate children, all pre-schoolers, also two illegitimate infants of another daughter are looked after by Etevise while their mother works in Apia as a domestic servant. Another six daughters, ranging in age from 3 to 20 years, are at home, and one daughter attends school at Sapunaga, where she is fostered by their father's 'āiga. The eldest son, aged 17, is at junior high school and the youngest, aged 11, is at home.

Old Ai'i's sister's daughter Oneone, aged 45, is widowed and blind. Her son and daughter live in New Zealand, and she is looked after by one of Pene's daughters.

Tili, another son of old Ali'i, is about 40. His wife Faiupu is from Saleilua. They have seven children - two infants, two daughters at school locally, one daughter living at Saleilua with her mother's mother, and two sons at secondary school in Apia.
The dwelling houses of Ai'i's household consist of one fale palagi, one fale tele, two fale umi, three fale o'o and one fale 'apa.

**Household No. 8: Matai - Pauga**

The head of the household is Pauga, who is 78. His second faletua Paufa is 50, and she comes from Vaovai. They live with Pauga's daughter's son, who is about 24, and his wife and two young children and their daughter's daughter, a school girl. Another married son of Pauga, and his wife, are residing with them with their three young children, but this couple intends to set up their own household elsewhere on Pauga's estate.

**Household No. 9: Matai - Pauga**

The head of the household is Rosa, a daughter of Pauga from his first marriage. She is 47 and married to Tanu from Fagaloa, an untitled man. They have ten children. Their eldest daughter is married to a man from the 'aiga Tumanuvao and they live with Rosa and Tanu with their two young children. An elder son is in New Zealand, another is in American Samoa and another lives with Pauga as does one of their adolescent daughters. They have three daughters and a son at school, and another daughter who had been staying at home recently eloped to Lotofaga with a boy from that village. A nineteen year old son is at home helping Tanu grow taro, make copra and raise pigs.
Tanu's elderly mother, who comes from Fagali'i, lives with the couple and two of Tanu's sisters' daughters and a sister's son also lives with them. One of these had two small children with her. The dwelling houses of the household consist of a small *fale pālagi* and a *fale o'o*. Until four years ago they had lived in Pauga's household, but moved to a site up on the road because of the size of their family, a lack of a suitable building site near Pauga's house, and because Rosa's daughter-in-law was available to look after Pauga and his wife.

Household No. 10: Matai - Luāfutu Tekoa Wulf

Luafutu has only recently received his title. He is 59 years old and of part German ancestry, owning a small portion of freehold land on the border of Poutasi and Vaovai which he inherited from his German grandfather. He raises copra and has a small dairy herd. His *faletua*, Itema, is a public health nurse. They have six children, of whom two daughters are overseas, one in the United States living with Luāfutu's sister, another working in New Zealand. Their eldest son, unmarried, helps Luafutu and operates a small fishing business. Their eldest daughter, her husband from the *'āiga Meleiseā* of Poutasi, and their eleven children
live with them. Of these, one is at school in Apia, six attend village school and four are infants. Another of Luafutu's daughters is retarded (Down's Syndrome); she gave birth to an illegitimate child in 1976 but it died. Luafutu and Itema have two foster children, one young man from the 'āiga of Alofa(1) in Poutasi and another adolescent school girl from the 'āiga Tamamasui of Poutasi. Their household dwelling consists of one fale pālagi.

Household No. 11: Matai - Tuitapā

The head of the household is Tuitapā, aged about 70, and his second faletua Fa'alātauaua, who comes from Sale'aula, Savai'i. The couple both have children from former marriages living in Lotofaga, Matātu-Lefaga and New Zealand, and one of Tuitapā's sons lives in his own small household up near the road. Co-resident are Tuitapā's brother Oi, aged about 50, and his wife Alafaga from Lotofaga. They have thirteen children, four sons and nine daughters. The eldest son and two adolescent daughters live with relatives in Apia; the son is employed as a carpenter and one daughter attends teacher's college. Six children attend village school and three are infants at home. The household is near to the malae and consists of one large fale o'o and two small ones.

1. The 'āiga Alofa lives at the branch store of O.F. Nelson, where Alofa is the manager.
Household No. 12: Matai - Tuitapā
The head of the household is La'ulima, an untitled son of Tuitapa, aged about 30, a subsistence farmer. His wife Sefulu is from Safune, Savaii. They have four children—three daughters and a son, all under seven years of age. One child attends school. Their household has one dwelling house, a small fale o'o and is located inland from the main road behind the village.

Household No. 13: Matai - Lupeomanū
The head of the household is the matai Lupeomanū, who is aged 67. His tausi is Mele, aged 59. Their daughter Mafa, aged 36 is a divorcee—she was formerly married to a son of Pauga. She has six children from that marriage and has subsequently had two more illegitimate children. Her eldest son attends school in New Zealand, four others go to school in Poutasi and three are infants. Lupeomanū and Mele have another married daughter residing in New Zealand. They have three adopted sons, the eldest being the illegitimate son of Lupeomanū's sister's daughter. He grows taro for Lupeomanū. The two younger boys are Mele's sister's sons. One is at school in Poutasi and the other has emigrated to New Zealand. They also have an adopted daughter, the child of Lupeomanū's sister, a girl of fourteen. The eldest boy was married until recently to a daughter of Tupuola, but the couple separated after the birth of their first child.
Lupeomanū's sister Salema, 45, and her husband Eliu from Vaovai, belong to this household. Salema has four daughters from three previous marriages, who are married and living in other villages. From her marriage to Eliu she has three sons and two daughters. The two eldest sons are adults. One was married but separated after a year. The other has not married. The eldest daughter has left school and their younger son and daughter are at school in the village. Salema has a foster daughter, also at school, her eldest daughter's child.

The third family group in Lupeomanū's household is his sister's son Tulaga, aged 37, and his wife Eseta, who is from Sa'anapu. They have six children – two sons and a daughter are at school in Poutasi and two infant sons and a daughter at home.

The household comprises four dwellings; a faile umi and three faile o'o.

Household No. 14: Matai - Lupeomanū/Te'o

The head of this household is the matai Te'o Viane, but the land on which he lives belongs to Lupeomanū, who is his wife Faupepe's mother's brother. Fuapepe is 47 and Te'o is 45. They have nine children. Their eldest daughter has an illegitimate baby boy, and their eldest son is married to a girl from an āiga of Malaemalu. She has New Zealand
citizenship and her husband is expecting to leave for New Zealand in the near future to join her and their twin sons. Another son, having recently left school after failing his school certificate examination, has eloped with a girl of the 'āiga Si'a, and is now living with her family. Another adolescent son lives with the 'āiga Toelupe in Poutasi, having also failed to pass Form Five examinations. Three other sons and a daughter are attending village schools and an infant daughter is at home.

The household has two dwelling houses, both fale o'o, located on the road side.

Household No. 15: Matai - Lupeomanū
The head of the household is Aimiti, an untitled man who is Lupeomanū's sister's son. He is about 32 years of age, and his wife is Gase from Lepa, Aleipata. They have recently returned from New Zealand with their five children, where Aimiti had lived for sixteen years. The two eldest, a son and a daughter, are at school in Apia, and the youngest daughter and two sons are at village school. Aimiti is growing taro and bananas as a cash crop. His house is a small fale pālagi without windows, doors or ceiling. The house contains a large freezer and other electrical appliances, although the village has no electrical supply.
Household No. 16: Matai - Nofoagatotoa

The head of the household, Nofoagatotoa, aged 75, also holds a title from Lufilufi village on the north coast of Upolu. He also has a household at Lufilufi and alternates his residence between the two households. His tausi is Pa'upusi, from Lufilufi. They have eight children, six of whom live in New Zealand. The permanent residents of Nofoagatotoa's Poutasi household are his daughter Aitogi, aged 50, and her husband Tusa, from Lufilufi. Of their eleven children, two married daughters live in New Zealand and one daughter has been taken as a foster child by Nofoagatotoa's sister in Savai'i. Two sons are farmers in the village and there are two sons and three daughters at village schools. The youngest boy, an infant, is at home. They also have a 26 year old foster son from Lufilufi (no relation to either Aitogi or Tusa). The household dwellings comprise one fale 'umi and two fale o'o. These have been recently constructed - when Nofoagatotoa decided to build a new house not on the maota of his 'āiga near the Malae, but on a portion of his estate bordering the main road.

Household No. 17: Matai - Tupuola/Nofoagatotoa

The head of the household is Tupuola, aged about 40. His title is from Siumu where he grew up. Tupuola is related to the 'āiga Tumanuvao of Poutasi, but his household is on the estate of Nofoagatotoa, the matai of his wife's 'āiga. She, Su'ega, is the daughter of the former holder of the Nofoagatotoa title.
They have seven children, four sons and three daughters. Their eldest daughter was married to a youth from the 'aiga Lupeomanū, but returned to her parents after the birth of her first child, a daughter. Their three eldest sons have left school and are unmarried. A younger boy and two girls are attending village schools.

The household comprises two fale o'o, one of which is very small, and is sited on the edge of the main road.

Household No. 18: Matai - 'Auseuga
The head of the household is the matai 'Auseuga and his tausi, Tinae, who is from the 'āiga Lupeomanū of Poutasi (sister to Tūlei, wife of Tuātagaloa Pa'amoana). 'Auseuga is about 80 years old and his wife is in her seventies. They live with their son Alatasi, who has recently been given the title Seumaāli'i by 'Auseuga. He is 46, and his wife, Leuta, is from Tauese in Apia. They have eleven children, seven sons and four daughters. Two of the eldest boys have left school and help Seumaāli'i grow taro and make copra. Their eldest daughter is at school in Apia. Five children attend village schools and three infants are at home with Leuta. The son of 'Auseuga's adopted daughter (who is married and living at Afega) is also staying with Auseuga. The household has four dwelling houses, the largest, a fale 'apa is set aside by 'Auseuga as a Seventh Day Adventist Chapel. (Auseuga recently converted from the Congregational Church to the S.D.A. Church). There are three smaller
fale o'o. A large electric washing machine brought by a relative from New Zealand stands in one of these, unused, as the village has no electricity.

Household No. 19: Matai - Toelupe
The head of the household is Toelupe, the matai who also holds the office of village Pulenu'u. The Pulenu'u is a minor salaried official who acts as go-between for the central Government and village Government. He is elected from the village council (fono) of matai. Toelupe is 57 years old and is married to Lemapu, who is from Salesatele. They had seven children; two sons died, one in infancy and one in adolescence. Their eldest surviving son is in New Zealand. Another son in his twenties is living in the village and helps Toelupe grow taro, bananas and coconuts. Another two of their children are mentally retarded (Down's Syndrome), a girl of 22 and a boy of 20. Their youngest daughter, aged 19, was attending teachers' college in Apia, but has now been expelled because of an illegitimate pregnancy. Toelupe and Lemapu have an adopted son, who is attending primary school in the village. The child is not related to either Toelupe or Lemapu, but is from the 'āiga Auseuga. Another boy from the 'āiga Te'o lives with them as a foster son. The senior member of the household is Mataiumu, aged about 68. She is the youngest sister of Toelupe's mother. (The Toelupe title was succeeded to by its
present holder through his mother's 'āiga). Mataiumu has never married and has no children.

The household comprises two dwelling houses, a fale tele, a fale o'o and a partially completed fale 'apa. It is located on the traditional moata of the 'āiga Toelupe on the coast.

Household No. 20: Matai - Fa'alētonu

The head of the household is the matai Fa'alētonu, aged about 55. He is the only matai of Poutasi who is not monotaga to the village. He does not attend the fono, nor his wife the I'omiti, and he neither attends nor contributes to the church nor to any village activities. His second wife is Fa'aleaga from Sapoe. Faaletonu has two adult sons and two adult daughters from his first marriage. Both daughters live with their husbands 'āiga, while both of his sons are residing with other 'āiga connections through their mothers. Fa'aleaga has six children, four sons and two daughters, all adult and living in the village of Sapoe. Since Fa'alētonu married Fa'aleaga (about five years ago) the couple divide their time, residing alternatively with Fa'aleaga's 'āiga at Sapoe, and Fa'aletonu's 'āiga at Poutasi. Fa'alētonu has an adopted daughter, Mo'o, aged 15. She is the daughter of his former wife's sister, who is married to the matai Seuseu of Poutasi.

Fa'alētonu's sister's children comprise the other adult members of the household. The eldest is Fofoga, aged 40,

2. See Chapter 1.
who lives there with her husband Tavai from Lauli'i and their seven children; two adolescents, a boy and girl, who are at home helping their parents, and two girls and a boy at village schools, and two infants.

Her brother Fia is aged 36. He is separated from his wife, who has returned to her village of Matautu near Apia. She has two of their children with her, while Fia has two of their sons living with him. One is seven and attends school, and the other is an infant. Fia's sister Tilale is 30 and is also separated. Her husband was a man from Sinamoga, near Apia. Tilale has two sons. One attends village school, and the other is an infant.

The household comprises three dwellings, a fale 'umi and two fale o'o with iron roofed kitchens and sleeping quarters attached to the rear. Faaletonu's maota on the coast is abandoned and the household is sited on part of his estate bordering the main road.

Household No. 21: Matai - Suavai Otto

The head of the household is the matai, Suavai Otto, aged 56. He is the brother of Luafutu. His tausi is Lina from Lepea village. They have eight children. The eldest daughter is living in New Zealand, where she is employed as a laundress, and the eldest son works as a clerk in Apia and lives with his wife's family at Alamagoto. Their second

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3. The other holder of the Suavai title has his household in the neighbouring village of Saleilua.
son has left school and helps his father to raise pigs, cattle, taro, loa, bananas and copra. Another daughter has been sent to live with Suavai's and Luafutu's sister in the United States. Four younger sons and daughters attend village schools.

The household comprises one dwelling house built in the oval Samoan style but of poured concrete with an iron roof, and sleeping quarters, a bathroom and a kitchen at the rear.

Household No. 22: Matai - Si'a

The head of the household is Mēlina, the mother of the matai Si'a and widow of the former holder of the Si'a title. Mēlina is from Falefā. Si'a lives in New Zealand, where he has been employed for the past ten years, with his Tokelauan wife and three children. Mēlina is about 55 years old. She has twelve children, four of whom are resident in New Zealand. Another three daughters reside in their husband's villages. Two unmarried daughters and a son are employed in Apia, the girls in a bakery and the boy as an apprentice carpenter. They live with Melina's ʻāiga at Lotopā.

The household at Poutasi comprises Melina, her son Ulu, aged 23 and his wife Tumema, who is from the ʻāiga Ai'i of Poutasi, and their infant son. Mēlina's youngest son Lio is attending village school.

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4. *Bixa Orellana* or Anatto, the seed pods contain a red dye for which there is an export market.
The household comprises two dwellings, a *fale pālagi* and a large *fale o’o*.

**Household No. 23: Matai - Si'a**

The head of the household is Paola, aged 37, the eldest daughter of Melina and older sister of the *matai* Si'a. She lives with her husband Sau, who is from Salani. They had ten children, two of whom have died recently, one through suicide (the eldest boy) and another in infancy. Their eldest daughter was in Form Five at the junior high school, but eloped with a youth from the 'āiga Te'o. The young couple are now living with Paola and Sau. Another son and daughter have left school and help their parents. Sau is managing the model piggery belonging to the junior high school, and he grows taro and coconuts. Two other children attend school and the youngest is an infant. Paola has a foster daughter from the 'āiga Tuātagaloa Fa'amoana, aged 15. The household comprises one large and one small *fale o’o*. The larger has an iron roofed kitchen at the rear.

**Household No. 24: Matai - Asa asa**

The head of the household is the *matai* Asa asa, the brother of the Tuitapā, aged about 70. His wife is Leiloa from Sa'leilua. They have no children, but are cared for by Si'usiu, a daughter of Leiloa from a previous marriage.
Asa Asa also has children from previous marriages in other villages. Si'usi'u is 42 and is married to Naini, aged 31 (the brother of the matai Tūmanuvao). They have ten children. Their eldest son is the foster child of Asa asa's daughter, who lives in Savai'i. Their eldest daughter is at home helping Si'usi'u, four sons and a daughter attend village schools, and they have three infants at home. Si'usi'u is also a foster parent to three of her brother's children, all of whom attend school in Poutasi.

Household No. 25: Matai - Tamamasui

The head of the household is Fa'alau, the untitled brother of Tamamasui (Tamamasui, a widower, lives with Tuatagaloa Fetu. His only child lives with his wife's brother at Sa'aga). Fa'alau is aged about 40. He is separated from his wife who came from Sapapali'i and has five of the children of the marriage living with him at Poutasi. The eldest daughter is 19 and has left school and three younger girls are at village schools. The youngest son, aged 10, has not been sent to school.

Also resident in the household are three of Tamamasui's sisters. The eldest is Aituivi, aged 56. She is married to Fano, who is from the 'āiga Meleisea (brother of Seti and Fa'aumu) and they have six children. The eldest son is in New Zealand and another adult son resides in his wife's village at Matutu, Apia. One son is attending teacher's
college in Apia and two sons and a daughter are at village schools.

Another sister of Tamamasui is Fa'aleo, aged 47. She is married to a son of Auseuga, who has recently been given the title Tualagi, by his father. They have nine children. Their eldest daughter is Fuifui, aged 27, a teacher in the junior secondary school. She is separated from her husband and has one child from the marriage and two illegitimate children, all infants. Their oldest son works as a bank clerk in Apia and lives with his wife's family at Alamagoto, and another son attends teacher's college in Apia. One daughter died in 1975, aged 15. They have a daughter and two sons attending village schools and another son has been adopted by the 'āiga Toelupe.

Tamamasui's youngest sister is Sepa, aged 32. She is unmarried and has three illegitimate children, two boys and a girl. All attend village schools. Sepa is employed in Apia on weekdays by the 'āiga Tuatagaloa, as a domestic servant.

The son of another of Tamamasui's sisters (residing in Va'ovai) has been taken as a foster son by Tamamasui and lives in the household. He is 17 and helps with farming and fishing. The senior member of the household is Fa'asese, the mother of Tamamasui and widow of the former Tamamasui. She is blind and incapacitated.
Household No. 26: Matai – Tūmanuvao

The head of the household is the matai Tūmanuvao, aged 43, and his tausi, Telesia, who is from Taufusi. They have eight children. Their eldest son lives with his wife's family at Malaemalu and another son has left school and helps Tūmanuvao grow taro, bananas and coconuts. Four daughters and two sons attend village schools.

Tūmanuvao's brother Mareko, aged 31, and his wife Kalameli are also members of the household. They have only one child, an 11 year old schoolboy. Their other three children died in infancy. Tūmanuvao's younger brother, Moimoi, aged 21, has recently married a girl from Lotofaga. They have no children.

The senior members of the household are Ioana, aged about 60, and her husband Ta'ale, from Saleilua. Ioana is Tūmanuvao's father's mother's sister. Ioana's sister Maiu'u also lives in the household. She is now incapacitated by age. Ioana and Ta'ale have nine children, only one of whom resides in Poutasi – their daughter Kiona, aged 22. She is married to Ula, aged 47, from Vaiusu. They have three children, all infants.

The household comprises one fale 'umi and one fale o'o. It is situated near the malae of Poutasi on the sea shore.
Household No. 27: Matai – Seuseu

The head of the household is matai Seuseu, aged about 45, and his tausi Pele, who comes from Vailoa. They have six children. Two adolescent girls live at home and two younger girls and a boy go to school. One of their sons, aged 10, has been taken as a foster child by the Roman Catholic Catechist of the village. Seuseu's mother, Tuafale, aged about 70, also lives with them.

The household comprises one fale o'o and is located on land near the road.

Household No. 28: Matai – Seuseu

The head of the household is Lemau, the elderly widow of the former Seuseu. (The present holder of the Seuseu title is her husband's brother's son). Lemau comes from Luātuānu'u but has no 'āiga there to whom she feels close. She has chosen to stay in Poutasi with her son Fa'apale, aged about 40, his wife Kaisa and their five sons. The eldest son is attending technical college in Apia and a younger boy aged 15 helps his father. Three younger boys are at village schools.

The household comprises two dwellings, both very small fale o'o.
CONSTITUTION OF THE WESTERN SAMOA NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN (INCORPORATED)

1. NAME: The name of the Council shall be "The Western Samoa National Council of Women" (Incorporated) hereinafter called the National Council and which shall be referred to in an abbreviated form as the W.S.N.C.W.

2. AIMS AND OBJECTS:

The aims and objects of the National Council shall be:-

1. To promote the general welfare of women, children and men in Western Samoa.

2. To create and foster good and friendly relationships between women of Western Samoa.

3. To uphold and maintain true Samoan tradition and custom.

4. To uphold and maintain the rights and privileges of the members collectively and individually.

5. To be the official channel of communication between its members and the Government and any other appropriate authority.

6. To take such action as the National Council considers advisable in the interests of its members.

7. To co-operate with the Government and instil in its members a sense of service and responsibility towards the government.

8. To develop in its members a sense of loyalty to true Samoan tradition and custom.

9. To unite the women of Western Samoa and enable them to work together harmoniously for the benefit of the home, family, village and country.

10. To uphold and maintain the Christian tradition of Samoan society.
11. To create opportunities whereby women of Western Samoa meet and consider questions peculiar to womenfolk and take action which best expresses their role as women.

12. To provide an outlet for social stimulation and cooperation.

13. To make provision for better and fuller education of women and children and to create opportunities in which instruction and training in all branches of social welfare, public health hygiene, domestic science, agriculture and handicrafts take place.

3. OFFICERS:

(a) The Officers of the W.S.N.C.W. shall be the:—
President
Vice-President
General Secretary
General Treasurer
Representatives of affiliated District Committees of health and social welfare as provided in Paragraph 7(a) of this Constitution.

(President )

(Vice Presidents)

(General Secretary)

(General Treasurer)

(Representatives of Districts)

(All Members )

(The First Council)

(The Executive Council)

(The Central Committee)

(The National Council)
(b) The President, the Vice-President, the General Secretary and the General Treasurer shall be elected by the National Council at its Triennial General Meeting. They shall not take office until the rising of such Triennial Meeting and they shall remain in office until the rising of the Triennial General Meeting at which their successors are elected unless of course they are re-elected.

(c) In the event of the President being away from the country or being indisposed, the Central Committee shall elect one of the Vice Presidents to hold the portfolio until the President returns or resumes duty or until the next ensuing Triennial General Meeting whichever comes earlier.

(d) Should a vacancy occur in the office of President before the next Triennial General Meeting, the Central Committee shall elect one of the Vice-Presidents to fill the position until the next ensuing Triennial General Meeting.

(e) In the event of the General Secretary or General Treasurer being away from the country or being indisposed, the Central Committee shall co-opt a member to hold the portfolio until the elected member returns or resumes duty or until the next ensuing Triennial General Meeting whichever comes earlier.

(f) Should a vacancy occur in the offices of General Secretary and General Treasurer before the next Triennial General Meeting, the vacant office or offices shall be filled by election by the Central Committee.

(g) Any officer desiring to resign must give notice in writing to the General Secretary. If the General Secretary is not available, it shall be given to the President.

4. THE FIRST COUNCIL:

(a) The First Council shall consist of the President and the Vice-Presidents.

(b) Each member of the First Council shall be eligible for the office of President.
(c) In the event of acute differences and disagreement within the Central Committee the First Council shall consider such differences and disagreements and take such action so as to bring about appeasement and reconciliation.

Any decision made in these respects shall be considered by the Executive Council before referring it back to the Central Committee for further consideration and ultimate agreement. If no agreement is reached, the matter shall be presented for consideration by the National Council. The decision made by the National Council shall stand.

(d) In the event of acute differences and disagreement within the National Council as a whole, the Central Committee shall consider such differences and disagreement and take such action so as to bring about appeasement and reconciliation. However, if the Central Committee fails in bringing about such appeasement and reconciliation, the matter shall be taken up and considered by the First Council. The First Council shall, within its rights and privileges, and upon its wisdom and upon the provisions of these rules, take such action so as to bring about relief and appeasement.

5. THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL:

(a) The executive shall be in charge of representations in respect of the National Council.

(b) Shall determine what public statements shall be made on behalf of the National Council and how they shall be made.

(c) Shall conduct the day to day business of the National Council.

(d) Shall consider all matters which are to be brought before the Central Committee and ultimately the National Council.

(e) Shall report to the Central Committee and if necessary to the National Council.

(f) Four shall form a quorum at any meeting.

(g) Any Executive Officer shall have the right to require that any matter be brought before the Executive for consideration.
6. ADMINISTRATION:

The administration of the National Council shall be vested in:

(a) The First Council
(b) The Executive
(c) The Central Committee.

7. COMPOSITION AND ELECTION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND NATIONAL COUNCIL:

(a) The Central Committee shall consist of The First Council, The Executive and two representative members of each of the affiliated District Committees of health and social welfare, being one voting and one honorary member plus the Matrom of the hospital or her representative. The honorary positions shall be restricted to one member per district. They shall be elected on grounds of long and active service. They shall have no vote but shall take part in deliberations and planning.

(b) Representation of District Committees shall be based on the current Samoan political constituencies.

(c) Certain members may be elected to be life-members of the W.S.N.C.W. if the National Council approves. Nominations for life-membership shall be handed to and considered by the First Council, the Executive Council and then the Central Committee before presenting them to the National Council for approval. Life-membership shall be determined on grounds of loyal, sacrificial and outstanding service to the National Council. Nominations must be signed by at least three active and loyal members of the National Council and shall also have the approval of the nominee. These life members shall become bona-fide members of the Central Committee and shall vote. Life members shall not be liable for any subscription.

8. THE NATIONAL COUNCIL:

The National Council shall consist of The First Council, The Executive, The Central Committee and individual members of all affiliated District Committees.
THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE:

(a) The Central Committee may meet at such time and place as may be determined by the Executive.

(b) The Central Committee shall formulate policy but in the event of acute differences and disagreement, the matter shall be referred to the First Council and then to the Executive for deliberation and consideration before bringing it back to the Central Committee for further consideration and ultimate agreement. If no agreement is reached the matter shall be presented for consideration by the National Council. The decision made by the National Council on the matter shall stand.

(c) Should vacancies occur on the Central Committee the respective districts would elect new representatives to fill the vacancies.

(d) Any Central Committee member shall have the right to require that any matter be brought before the Central Committee for consideration.

(e) Representatives of districts on the Central Committee shall be responsible for the notification of their respective Committees in regard to matters discussed and decisions made at each meeting of the Central Committee. They are also to be regarded as liaison officers between the Central Committee and the District Committee.

(f) Twelve members shall form a quorum at any meeting of the Central Committee.

(g) The General Treasurer shall present a Financial Report at any meeting of the Central Committee.

(h) The Central Committee shall have power to levy from each affiliated district committee and each member at any time and for any period such subscriptions as it thinks fit.
10. THE NATIONAL COUNCIL:

(a) Meetings of the National Council shall be convened not less than three times a year at such time and place as may be determined by the Central Committee. Any General Meeting may be called by a Notice in the Savaii or any other newspaper published in Western Samoa or over the radio or by written notices to Secretaries of Affiliated District Committees and notices by them to the Secretaries of their Affiliated Committees.

(b) In every three years a Triennial General Meeting shall be held not later than thirty-first May. The Executive Officers shall be elected at this meeting.

(c) Before each General Meeting of the National Council is held, the Central Committee shall meet and decide on important issues which need to be brought before the National Council for its deliberations.

(d) At each General Meeting of the National Council and at the Triennial General Meeting, the General Secretary shall present a report stating activities and matters dealt with since the last General Meeting and the last Triennial General Meeting.

(e) At each General Meeting, the General Treasurer shall present a financial report.

(f) At the first General Meeting of the financial year and at the Triennial General Meeting the General Treasurer shall present the Annual Balance Sheet and financial Statements. She shall produce any books of account or statements of accounts as may be required by the National Council.

(g) One or more Auditors shall be appointed annually by the National Council to audit the accounts. The auditor shall be paid such remuneration as may be approved by The National Council upon recommendations by The General Treasurer and The Central Committee.
(h) A Special General Meeting may be called at any time on two day's notice by radio to discuss and consider any important matter/matters which may arise and warrant the convening of such a meeting. At least fourteen days' notice shall be given of any other General Meeting.

11. DUTIES OF OFFICERS:

The President or, in her absence, one of the Vice-Presidents (as elected by the Central Committee) shall preside at all meetings of the Executive, The Central Committee and the National Council. The President shall have a casting as well as a deliberative vote.

12. (a) The General Secretary shall attend at and record the Minutes of the Executive Council, the Central Committee and National Council Meetings, keep the records, conduct the general correspondence of the National Council as a body, prepare reports for the Central Committee and the National Council and carry out such other duties as may be allotted to her by the First Council, the Executive, the Central Committee or the National Council.

(b) The General Secretary shall prepare and keep a register of Affiliated Committees and members and such register shall include such details as the First Council, the Executive Council or the Central Committee may from time to time direct.

13. (a) The General Treasurer shall attend the meetings of the Executive, the Central Committee and the National Council. She shall prepare the Annual balance sheet and financial statements and shall supervise the receipt and expenditure or investment of all moneys on behalf of the National Council. She shall produce any books of account, bank books or statements of account as may be required by the First Council, the Executive, the Central Committee, the National Council or Auditor/s.

(b) She shall keep in safe custody the titles to all investments and other property of the National Council.
14. (a) The funds and property of the National Council shall be vested in the National Council. The funds shall be invested in such manner as the National Council or the Central Committee from time to time direct.

(b) In the event of the winding up of the National Council the funds and property shall be disposed of as decided upon at the final meeting of the National Council.

15. All money received by any person on behalf of the National Council by way of subscriptions, donations or levies or from any other source, shall be paid to the General Treasurer and shall be lodged by her in the Bank of Western Samoa or The Western Samoa Post Office Savings Bank - whichever is decided upon by the National Council or the Central Committee to the credit of the General Fund of the National Council. The National Council or the Central Committee may authorise particular money to be lodged to the credit of a separate account.

16. (a) Receipts for all moneys paid to the National Council shall be given upon numbered National Council receipt forms.

(b) Payment of one pound or more shall be made by cheque and all smaller payments to be made by cheque or by cash, out of petty cash, kept on the imprest system.

17. Should any person fail or refuse to remit to the General Treasurer the subscriptions, donations and levies collected, or should it be known or suspected that there is any intention to apply such funds otherwise than provided by these rules, the National Council or the Central Committee or the Executive shall take all necessary steps to compel such remittance or prevent such misappropriation.
18. At the close of every financial year, which shall be the 31st March, the General Treasurer shall prepare a statement of account and balance sheet which, after being audited shall be presented to the First General Meeting of the National Council each financial year - together with an estimate of expenditure for the year ending on the following 31st March.

19. The National Council shall approve at its first General Meeting of the year, the amount to be allocated for general expenses, salaries and honoraria, and the method of allocation. In cases of urgency the Central Committee shall determine and approve these. Any such resolutions shall be included in the Report of the General Treasurer presented to the National Council at its next ensuing meeting.

20. All expenses in connection with the general management of the National Council shall be paid, subject to the limitation of the rules, out of the General Fund.

21. All cheques or moneys drawn on behalf of the National Council shall be signed by any two of the three Executive Members authorised to do so - these being the President, the General Treasurer and the General Secretary.

AFFILIATION AND MEMBERSHIP:

22. (a) Any health or social welfare committee within a district may affiliate with its district committee and by virtue thereof shall be indirectly affiliated with the National Council of Women.

(b) Each member of a Health or Social Welfare Committee which is affiliated in a District Committee shall on that District Committee becoming affiliated with the National Council, automatically become a member of the National Council.

(c) All the respective District committees which are already affiliated by the time these rules come into force shall be regarded as having been affiliated. Any district committee which may wish to affiliate with the National Council after these rules have come into force, shall be required to pay the affiliation subscription of five pounds sterling.
CESSATION OF AFFILIATION AND MEMBERSHIP

23. (a) Any health or social welfare committee which has affiliated itself with the W.S.N.C.W. but has for a period of one financial year failed to co-operate with and be active in the affairs of the National Council shall be deemed to have severed its affiliation with the National Council and its name and the names of its members (except life members of the National Council) be expunged from the register. It shall no longer be entitled to the privileges of the National Council and any right in property as an affiliated Committee shall be forfeited. The privileges of the National Council shall include:

(i) the holding by any of its members of any honorary office in the National Council;

(ii) representation on the Central Committee.

(b) Any District Committee which has ceased to be affiliated with the National Council but wishes to reaffiliate shall be required to pay a re-entrance subscription of two pounds ten shillings and shall also be required to pay any subscription or any other money owing by it to the National Council before being affiliated once again.

ELECTIONS

24. (a) In any election, there shall be one ballot only, and those candidates, not exceeding the number of vacancies to be filled, who have received the highest number of votes shall be elected. An election shall not be necessary if there is only one candidate nominated and seconded for the position.

(b) When two or more nominations are brought forward for the position of President, or General Secretary or General Treasurer, a secret ballot shall be held forthwith. The President shall be elected first, then the General Secretary and then the General Treasurer.

(c) Each affiliated District committee shall have one vote except that in districts which have more than 200 members, two votes shall be given. Districts which have more than 500 members shall have three votes.
(d) Suitable members shall be elected to act as scrutineers for each ballot. All proceedings shall be conducted before the National Council and the Chairman shall at the end of each election declare the results. The National Council shall confirm the appointment of each elected officer for the next three years.

(e) The appointing of Vice-Presidents shall be confirmed on the voices.

25. No member of the National Council shall take individual action which shall affect the National Council and with regard to the affairs of the Western Samoa National Council of Women other than in execution of the functions of the office she holds, without the authority of the First Council, the Executive Council, or the Central Committee.

26. Common Seal

There shall be a common seal of the National Council which shall be in the custody of the General Secretary and shall be affixed to documents by direction of the First Council, the Executive Council, the Central Committee or the National Council. It shall in every case be attested by the President and the General Secretary.

27. Amendments to Constitution

This Constitution may be altered, added to or rescinded by a unanimous vote of all affiliated district committees at a Triennial General Meeting. Notice of any proposed alteration shall be given to the General Secretary at least six months before the Triennial General Meeting. No alteration, addition or rescission shall take effect until the same has been registered with the Registrar of Incorporated Societies.

* * * * *
APPENDIX D

The following is a list of medicinally useful plant species known to most of the women in the Poutasi women's committee.

Lauti (Cordyline terminalis)
Fuefue sina (Ipomoea alba)
Aloalo tai (Clerodendrum inerme)
Lau'usi (Euodia hortensis)
Lau pua (Plumesia or Gandenia taitensis)
Fue manogi (1) (Hoya upoluensis or Piper graeffi)
Matalafi (Psychotria Samoana)
Lau auta (Polypodium powelli)
Lau feti'iti'i (2) (?)
Moli Samoa (Wild orange: Citrus hystrix)
Ava'ava aitu (Piper tutuilae)
A'atasi (Nasturtium Sasmentosum)
Lega (Turmeric: rhizomes of Curuma longa)
Nonu (Morinda citrifolia)
Lama (Aleurites moluccana)
Fu'a fu'a (Kleinhovia hospita)
KuaVæc (Guava: Psidium guajava)
Filimoto (Flacourtia rukam or Xylosm Samoese)
Aloalo Vao (Citronella Samoensis)
Moegālō (Lemon grass: Cymbopogon citratus)
Togo (Centella asiaticai)
Fuānīnu (Flower of coconut palm)
Lau gatae (?)

1. Botanical names of Samoan named plants from Pasham (1972:1-149) where two are given, it refers to the fact that Samoans identify two species by that name and I don't know whether only one or both species are used medically.
2. Query indicates that botanical name not given by Parham.
Plants commonly used in the preparation of Samoan oil:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plant</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Popo</td>
<td>(ripe coconut flesh from which oil is collected by heating in the sun or through boiling the expressed 'cream')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laga'ali</td>
<td>(Aglaia samoensis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tigāmoni</td>
<td>(Cinnamomum zeylanicum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mumuta</td>
<td>(Cypesus rotundus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ifìifiì</td>
<td>(Inocarpur fagiferus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aloalo</td>
<td>(Premna taitensis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moso'oi</td>
<td>(Ylang-ylang: (Anaga Odorata)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Commonly known diagnoses, symptoms and remedies from Poutasi village.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diagnosis</th>
<th>Symptoms</th>
<th>Remedy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ea'ea</td>
<td>mouth sores</td>
<td>sea water rinses, preparation of lega, nonu and coconut flesh for holding in the mouth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'atiloto</td>
<td>external mouth sores, skin eruptions anywhere on the body.</td>
<td>ointment of lega and Samoan oil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaipala</td>
<td>internal pains of the trunk (constipation)</td>
<td>infusion of bark of lama, massage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lipi</td>
<td>sore throat or neck, swollen neck glands.</td>
<td>infusion of moegālo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'i mata</td>
<td>sore eyes</td>
<td>infusion or paste of the white flower of nonu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaetupa</td>
<td>swelling of filariasis</td>
<td>massage with lautī, Samoan oil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diagnosis</td>
<td>Symptoms</td>
<td>Remedy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
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<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma’i aitu</td>
<td>possession by ghost or spirit</td>
<td>massage, incantation address to ghost.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mūmū tatau</td>
<td>night sickness with fever, pain or other discomfort. (infants who cry for a long time in the night are often thought to be afflicted)</td>
<td>chopped leaves of fuefuesina or aloalo tai or pua massaged on body. Infusion for drinking from fuefue sina and water.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lafa</td>
<td>ringworm, scaly patches on the skin.</td>
<td>paste of ashes and kerosene. Lau fai lafa herbal (?) preparation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuafua</td>
<td>pimples, acne, eruptions and rashes of the face</td>
<td>paste prepared from the flowers and fruit of nonu and the coconut palm, and leaves of nonu and lau gatae.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Aituivi</td>
<td>pain in the legs and in the lower back</td>
<td>massage (fofo, lomilomi, milimili).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tulita</td>
<td>frequency of urination with pains</td>
<td>massage of stomach using feet, infusion for drinking of fuefue sina.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ila</td>
<td>discomfort, greenish faeces in children and infants</td>
<td>for infants: child laid on a mat and pulled about the house. For children and adults: an infusion of leaves (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osofā</td>
<td>bloated abdomen with pain</td>
<td>Kava drunk as medicine, also infusion of moli and kuava bark. Massages with Samoan oil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diagnosis</td>
<td>Symptoms</td>
<td>Remedy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
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<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>silavlagi</em></td>
<td>abscess or painful swelling.</td>
<td><em>segi</em>: burning with a lighted cigarette or small cinder to raise a blister.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sela</em></td>
<td>shortness of breath, croup, asthma.</td>
<td><em>segi</em> massage with <em>lauti</em>, Samoan oil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tigā</em> (pain)</td>
<td>chronic pains of indefinite origin. Swelling or arthritic conditions of the hand.</td>
<td><em>tatau</em>: tattooing of the wrist in a traditional bracelet design.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fa'e</em></td>
<td>pain on one side of the head</td>
<td>recitation of special incantation and pointing a sharpened stick between the eyes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>puna</em> (puga)</td>
<td>swelling in the groin</td>
<td>recitation of incantation while pressing flat stone to the afflicted area, tying a string around big toe of the opposite leg to the side which is affected.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mo'omomo'</em></td>
<td>aches and pains, sudden fits.</td>
<td>recitation of incantation while dancing with two sticks of the fuafuaf tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ma'i aitu</em></td>
<td>red mark on side of face; &quot;strange&quot; behaviour.</td>
<td>massage, recitations of incantation, address to ghost afflicting patient cutting off of hair (in the case of females) divination of wrongdoing by afflicted person.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fasia</em> (ghost or spirit illness with beating from spirit)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diagnosis</td>
<td>Symptoms</td>
<td>Remedy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mumu</td>
<td>generic term for inflammations, particularly filariasis fevers and swelling.</td>
<td>various, according to variety of mumu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mumu afi</td>
<td>red patches on the skin with sores, mainly in children and babies</td>
<td>paste of lega and oil, smoke from smouldering fabric waved over affected area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mumu asoafi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mumu lele</td>
<td>reddish skin, sudden fever said to spread from feet towards the head. Belief that if fever reaches the head patient will die.</td>
<td>massage with cold water and Samoan oil massage downwards from head to feet, punching the head with downward massage of the spine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(burning mumu)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(flying mumu)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>