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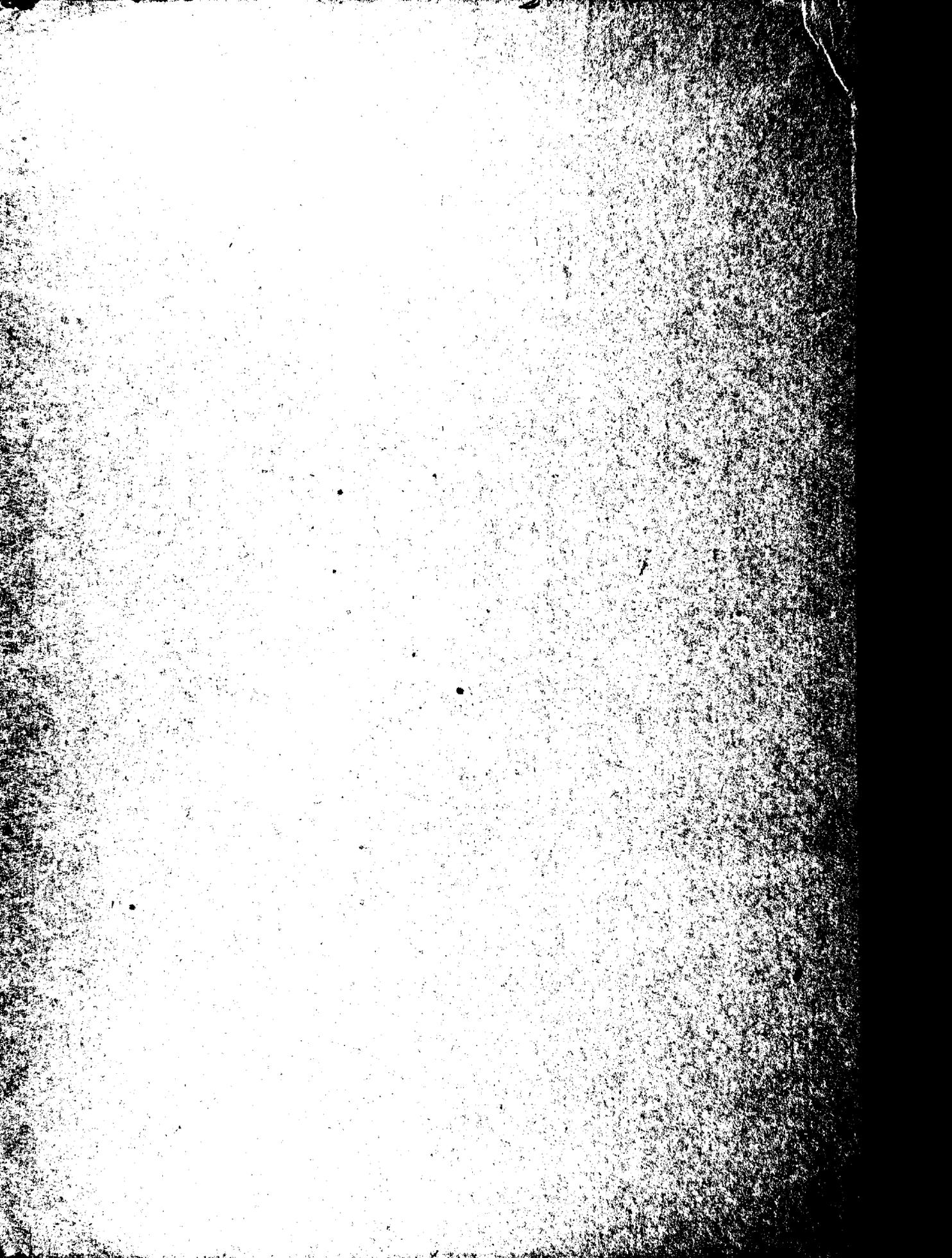
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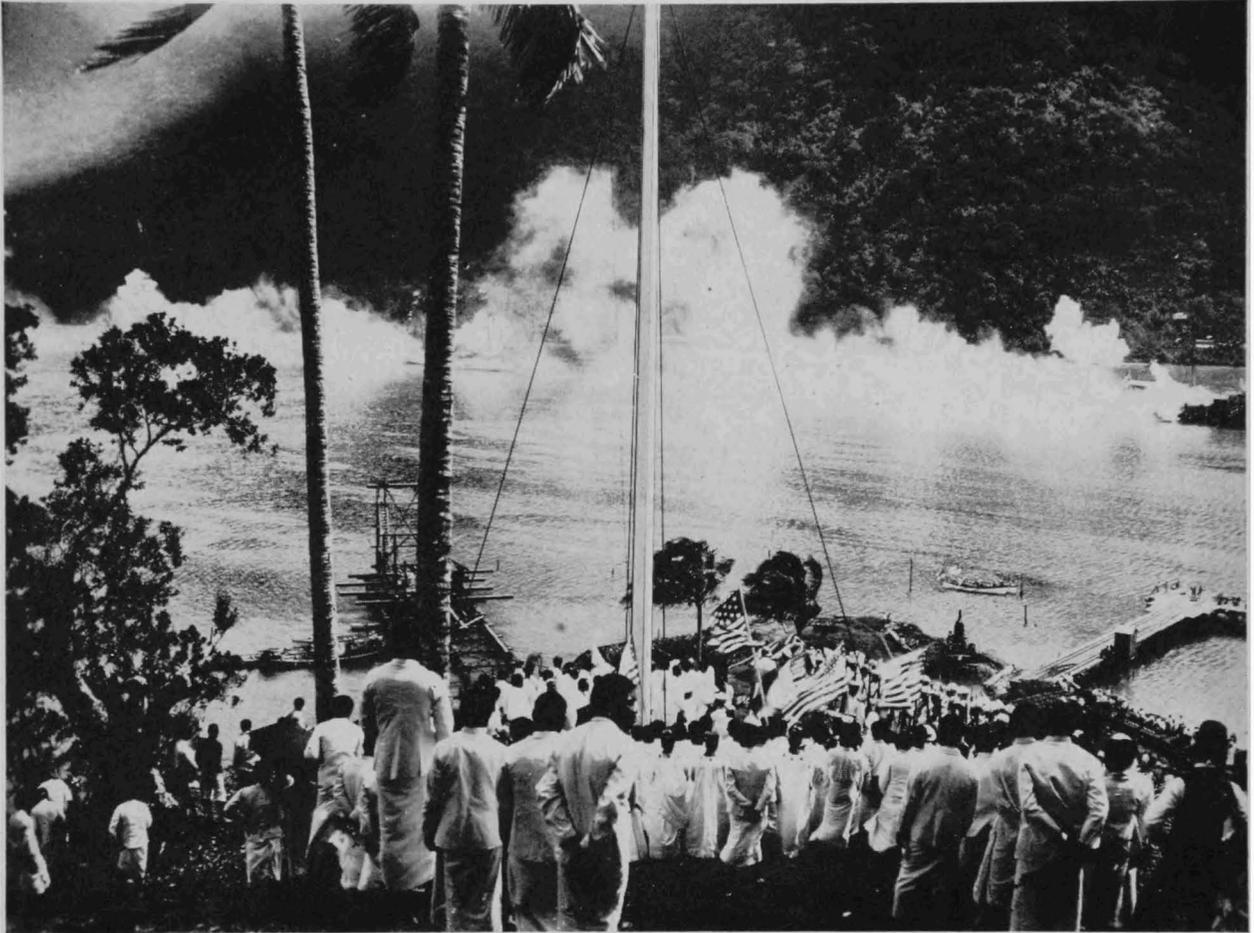
of the

GOVERNMENT OF AMERICAN SAMOA

APRIL 17, 1900—JULY 1, 1951



Revised
By
Capt. T. F. Darden, USN (Ret.)
"



The first Flag Day in American Samoa, April 17, 1900. It was on this date that the High Chiefs of Tutuila voluntarily ceded the islands of Tutuila and Aunu'u to the Government of the United States.

FOREWORD

The responsibility for the administration of American Samoa passed from the Department of the Navy to the Department of the Interior on July 1, 1951. That date marked the end of a 51-year task which the United States Navy was pleased to perform. This story of the naval administration of American Samoa has been recorded by Capt. T. F. Darden, U.S.N. (Ret.), the last Naval Governor, and by Lt. A. M. MacQuarrie, U.S.N.R. They were greatly assisted by the heads of departments of the Naval Government of American Samoa on duty at the time of the transfer of administration, by the Island Governments Division of the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, and by Mrs. C. D. Stearns, who contributed generously of her knowledge of Samoa and its peoples. Credit should be given, also, to Lt. Comdr. H. J. Gimpel, U.S.N., of the Division of Naval Records and History, office of the Chief of Naval Operations, who read the manuscript and prepared it for publication.

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INTRODUCTION

The United States Navy has been interested in Samoa ever since 1838, when Lt. Charles Wilkes, U.S.N., made a survey of the islands during his famous exploring expedition. It was not until March 2, 1872, however, that Commander Richard W. Meade, Jr., U.S.N., commanding the U.S.S. *Narragansett*, concluded an agreement with the Samoan chiefs of the island of Tutuila, giving the United States Navy exclusive rights to the harbor of Pago Pago. This agreement, while never ratified by the President of the United States nor by the Congress, actually formed the beginning of the Navy's interest in what was to become American Samoa and, more specifically, in the harbor of Pago Pago on the Island of Tutuila.

This occurred during the era of active colonial expansion by the great powers, among which the United States was not included. The European nations, through their local naval representatives, were maneuvering for position and attempting by every means possible to obtain property rights and trade advantages with the native people in the South Pacific.

Our naval representatives on the spot, by centering their attention on Pago Pago Harbor in their negotiations with the Samoans and representatives of other interested countries, displayed shrewdness, a high order of forensic qualities, and commendable prescience. Anyone requiring proof of the important position of Pago Pago Harbor in the South Pacific can read it in a glance at today's strategic charts of the Pacific Ocean. They show lines of communication radiating from Pago Pago Harbor in greater density than from any other port in the Pacific except Honolulu. With singleness of purpose our naval representatives concentrated their negotiations on Pago Pago Harbor, recognizing it as the "pearl" of the South Pacific and a strategic naval base for the United States, which it proved to be in the half century to follow.

On their part, the Samoans at this period were acutely conscious of the unhappy fate of other branches of the Polynesian race in the Pacific islands. They could observe these neighboring races vanish as they lost title to their lands and as they were forced into competition with the white man

and his highly developed individualism and his survival-of-the-fittest way of life. The Samoans were therefore anxiously and actively seeking the aid of some trustworthy power willing to help in their struggle to prevent a similar fate befalling them.

It was against this background that Commander Benjamin F. Tilley, U.S.N., commanding the U.S.S. *Abarenda*, concluded a treaty with the leading chiefs of Tutuila on April 17, 1900, at Pago Pago. By this treaty the islands of Tutuila and Aunuu were ceded voluntarily to the United States along with the necessary authority to obtain land for, and to exercise control over, all necessary facilities for a naval base and coaling station for American ships. In return, the United States agreed to establish a good government and to protect the traditional rights of the Samoan people. Thus was marked the beginning of United States administration over American Samoa, exercised by the Secretary of the Navy under Executive Order.

* * * * *

On June 18, 1947, a document of momentous import to the inhabitants of American Samoa was signed in Washington wherein the four Secretaries of State, War, Navy, and Interior recommended to the President that responsibility for the administration of American Samoa, as well as for Guam and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, be transferred from the Navy Department to the Department of the Interior at the earliest practicable date.

On February 11, 1948, the President declared his intention to designate the Department of the Interior as the civilian agency with general supervision over civil administration of those islands, upon approval of organic legislation for the islands, subject, however to the proviso that designation of the Department of the Interior "will be without prejudice to study and determination, based upon further study or long-range plans for administration of United States territories and possessions."

Subsequently, by letter of May 14, 1949, the President directed the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of the Navy to develop plans for the transfer. On August 31, 1949, the two Secretaries submitted a memorandum of understanding, recom-

mending that the transfer take place on or about July 1, 1951. The President, by letter of September 23, 1949, approved the memorandum and fixed July 1, 1951, as the date for transfer, which was completed according to schedule.

After the fashion of individuals terminating a long period of service, it is inevitable that the Navy should survey the 51 years of its uninterrupted administration from 1900 to 1951. The purpose of this brief history is to highlight the conduct of the naval administration of the tropical isles of American Samoa. No attempt is made to set forth a history of American Samoa except insofar as it affects the techniques and methods of administration used by the Navy. An attempt has been made to present some of the past and present problems of the island administration and to tell how the problems were met as objectively and factually as possible.

The Setting

When Commander Tilley, commanding the U.S.S. *Abarenda*, received orders to additional duty commanding the Naval Station Tutuila, it must have been with feelings of misgiving. It is doubtful that his training at the Naval Academy or his experience as a naval officer had ever given him the idea that he would have supreme authority for administering the affairs of a remote Pacific Island people. He inherited the leadership of islands which had a discouraging history of local wars, bloodshed, and dissension, not only among the Samoans themselves but also involving the three powers with interests in the area, the United States, Great Britain, and Germany.

Chief interest of the United States was the maintenance of the naval station in Pago Pago Harbor, rights to which had been secured in 1872. The United States Navy was not a stranger in American Samoa; therefore, when the Treaty of Berlin¹ was signed between the United States, Germany, and Great Britain December 2, 1899, with ratifications exchanged February 16, 1900, it was logical for President McKinley to place the administration of the islands in the hands of the Navy.

Presumably reasons of expediency and prudence

¹ By the terms of this treaty, among other stipulations, Germany and Great Britain renounced in favor of the United States all rights and claims to the Island of Tutuila and the islands of the Manua group. Reciprocally the United States renounced, in favor of Germany, all rights and claims to the islands of Upolu and Savai'i. The sovereignty of the islands of Upolu and Savai'i, known as Western Samoa, thus passed to Germany and later, as a result of World War I, to New Zealand under a League of Nations mandate.

also entered into the President's decision. The Samoan Islands were in a remote area and had a troublesome history. For the time being, therefore, it was deemed wisest to leave the government in the hands of well-trained military men of proven loyalty to the interests of the United States and equipped with a disciplined organization already in being and on the spot.

The United States Congress had previously appropriated \$100,000 "for the purpose of permanently establishing a station for coal and other supplies for the naval and commercial marine of the United States." Surveys were immediately made of Pago Pago Harbor under the supervision of Rear Admiral Kimberly who recommended, as the most suitable site for the proposed station, a tract of land on Pago Pago Bay containing about 121 acres.

Commander Tilley had arrived at Pago Pago on August 13, 1899, with buoys for moorings and other requisite material and stores aboard his ship. On December 6, 1899, he wrote to High Chief Mauga of Tutuila announcing the partition of the Samoan Islands between Germany and the United States and Great Britain. He asked, as senior naval officer of the United States in Samoan waters, that this news be disseminated, that the native chiefs continue to maintain good order, and that the population in general settle down to peaceful pursuits in order that prosperity and peace might be brought to Tutuila. There was no longer danger of war. The United States would suppress any disorder and would uphold the dignity and authority of the chiefs.

Commander Tilley happily wrote to the Navy Department that "so far as I can learn, every inhabitant of Tutuila is delighted at the prospect of the United States assuming the governing of the islands. I am also informed that the prospect is also pleasing to the inhabitants of Manu'a."

However, he appeared to show concern for his status in the eyes of the Samoans, when he wrote to the Navy Department on February 23, 1900, that it would be better "if the officer charged with this responsibility has the explicit authority of this government and knows its wishes."

In those days of slow communications, Commander Tilley had not yet learned that 4 days before, on February 19, 1900, the President had already signed an Executive Order supplemented by an order of the Secretary of the Navy, in which would be all the specific authority he would receive. The rest was up to him.

The Presidential order read:

The island of Tutuila, of the Samoan group, and all other islands of the group east of longitude 171° west of Greenwich, are hereby placed under the control of the Department of the Navy for a naval station. The Secretary of the Navy shall take such steps as are necessary to establish the authority of the United States and to give to the islands the necessary protections.

The Secretary of the Navy on the same day issued an order that, "The island of Tutuila, of the Samoan group, and all other islands of the group east of longitude 171° west of Greenwich, are hereby established into a naval Station, to be known as the Naval Station, Tutuila, and to be under the command of a Commandant." On February 17, 1900, Commander Tilley was assigned additional duty to command the Naval Station, Tutuila; he received his orders with a copy of the President's Executive Order on April 4, 1900, at Apia, Western Samoa. This lack of specific authority was to trouble all successive governors.

On April 1, 1900, twenty of the highest chiefs of Tutuila wrote to Commander Tilley, "Acting Governor for the United States of America at Tutuila":

We rejoice with our whole hearts on account of the tidings we have received, the conventions of the great powers are ended, their declarations are thus: "Only the Government of the United States of America shall rule in Tutuila and Manu'a, other foreign governments shall not again have authority there."

. . . we now, rightly appointed according to the customs of Samoa to be the representatives of the different districts in Tutuila, we confirm all things done by the great powers for Tutuila, and we also cede and transfer to the Government of the United States of America the island of Tutuila and all things there to rule and protect it. We will obey all laws and statutes made by the Government or by those appointed by the Government to legislate and to govern.

. . . Let good and useful laws be made, let the foundation of the Government stand firm forever.

On April 17, 1900, the High Chiefs of Tutuila voluntarily ceded the islands of Tutuila and Aunuu to the Government of the United States. With appropriate ceremonies the American flag was hoisted at Pago Pago on the same day and, ever since, April 17 has been proclaimed and celebrated on Tutuila as Flag Day.

The more conservative Manu'a Islands consisting of the three smaller islands of Tau, Ofu, and Olosega, lying 60 miles to the eastward of the main island of Tutuila (and traditionally the highest ranking islands in the Samoan group, including Western Samoa), were less eager to act. When com-

mander Tilley proceeded to Manu'a with all the High Chiefs of Tutuila to extend to the people a cordial invitation to join, he found the Manu'ans hesitant and not eager to change their government. Commander Tilley wrote of his visit with Tuimanu'a the "king" of Manu'a:

Tuimanu'a addressed me very courteously, giving me a very hearty welcome to Manu'a, but at the same time giving me plainly to understand that he did not wish any interference with his "kingdom" by any outside power.

Not before July 16, 1904, was the deed of cession signed at Tau, Manu'a. July 4 is now traditionally celebrated as Manu'a Flag Day. And not until February 20, 1929, did the United States Congress accept the cession under a joint resolution which provided that all civil, judicial, and military powers be exercised under the direction of the President until the Congress should provide for the government. In 1930 full information had been furnished to Congress but no legislation has been passed to date providing for a government.

By a joint resolution of Congress approved March 4, 1925, the sovereignty of the United States was extended to Swains Island, which lies 210 miles to the northward of Tutuila, and the island was made a part of American Samoa.

* * * * *

Taking stock of the area, under his jurisdiction, Commander Tilley found the Samoa group of islands to be of volcanic formation and mountainous. The total land area of all islands was only 73.1 square miles. Because of the rugged terrain, except at the foot of the mountains along the coast and a broad fertile plain in the southwestern part of the island of Tutuila, there was very little level land. He had Pago Pago Harbor at his disposal, the best in the South Pacific. The climate was tropical but mild and the rainfall heavy. The southeast trade winds, strongest from May to November, helped reduce the debilitating effects of high humidity and heat. Nights were cool. All in all, it was beautiful in Samoa, abounding in flowers and heavy vegetation.

Looking over the people, he found a population of approximately 5,700.² The Samoans are a Polynesian race closely akin to the people of Hawaii, the Tongans, the Tahitians and the Moaris. Immediately he discovered that they were a friendly,

² The census of 1950 indicated a total population of 18,602; an increase well over 300 percent in 50 years.

generous people, a handsome race of splendid physique.

However, it did not take him long to observe that their life, their language, culture and customs were far removed from anything American. He must have correctly reasoned that their socio-political organization had developed over a period of a thousand years or more, in complete isolation and lacking the background of the Greek and Roman civilizations and the Magna Carta, upon which our representative form of government is based; that our concept of private ownership of property was therefore somewhat strange to them; that the Samoan way of life was ideally suited to an environment in which a bountiful nature amply provided for everyone's daily needs, but would break down when exposed to the individualistic, competitive, society of the western world.

Commander Tilley also observed that Samoans might be termed lazy by western standards but, when the occasion demanded, they were capable of performing physical feats and possessed a physical endurance our western civilization could envy. Since nature provided for the needs of each day with a minimum expenditure of effort, he observed that there was neither need nor incentive for the Samoans to provide for the needs of tomorrow. These observations revealed to him the reasons underlying their apparent lack of incentive, and the many other fundamental differences between the Samoan way of life and ours which he had to take into account in forming a government.

In the Samoan society, the village, composed of 30 to 40 households, represented the basic social political unit. There was no apparent central governmental machinery, no written law, no predominant political figure exercising leadership over the whole of the area defined as American Samoa. Characteristic of each village community was its political, economic, and social independence from its neighbors. There were no larger political units, among the Samoans. It was apparent to the Commandant that he would have to start from the beginning in developing a political sense among the leaders. In 1900, and to a large extent in 1951, government, instead of being concentrated mainly in the hands of political specialists, was the concern of family and community leaders—the hereditary chiefs, acting individually and in group councils.

The leadership among the Samoans was in the hands of chiefs, known as *Matais*. Within each family unit a system of collective economy pre-

vailed. Members of related families lived together under the *Matai* leadership, rendering service to him and supplying him with food and materials which he in turn administered for the benefit of all those belonging to the family group.

Since 1900 the original powers of the *Matai* have been somewhat reduced, largely due to the introduction of economic individualism and to the spread of education and ideas of equality before the law; however, he still remains the basic integrative force in society. The Commandant observed that there were many grades and ranks of *Matais*, within individual families, groups of families, communities, and villages. Precedence, etiquette, and ceremonial observance dominated their life. The observance of a traditional custom was often more important than good deeds. Jealousies among the leaders as to precedence, land disputes, feuds, gossip, and lack of unity were prevalent. Yet withal, the Samoans were gracious and hospitable, and enjoyed games, feasting, dancing and singing.

Samoans were also intensely religious. The missionaries had found them fertile ground for conversion. The majority of the Samoans were literate in their own language, thanks to the missionaries. They were great church-goers and the church was closely woven into their daily life.

* * * * *

These were the people, beset at this particular period with vague fears and a feeling of helplessness against the encroachment of the white man, whom Commander Tilley was to administer. He had no established government, no written body of laws, and little precedent to help him. He realized that adjustments would have to be made in order to provide a government that the Samoans would understand and support. He was conscious of the persistency of Samoan custom and culture and must have also realized that too sudden or drastic a change would only doom his regime to failure.

The new Commandant of the Naval Station, Tutuila, must have looked in vain for a clear-cut statement of policy, in lieu of expediency, as a guide for his new administration. In the year of 1900 it was difficult to find anywhere a sound philosophy of colonial administration.

As we have seen, the presidential executive order of February 19, 1900, and the order of the Secretary of the Navy on the same date were couched only in general terms. The only general guide in matters of policy was the following clause in Commander Tilley's orders:

While your position as commandant will invest you with authority over the islands in the group embraced within the limits of the station, you will at all times exercise care to conciliate and cultivate friendly relations with the natives.

This clause has occurred in the orders of every naval governor of American Samoa. Furthermore, Tilley was informed that "a simple, straightforward method of administration, such as to win and hold the confidence of the people, is expected of you by the Department."

In actual fact, the Instrument of Cession of the Chiefs of Tutuila to the United States Government on April 17, 1900, presented the naval administration with a practical set of objectives for the Government of American Samoa, when they ceded their land to the United States, for:

- (a) The promotion of the peace and welfare of the people of Tutuila.
- (b) The establishment of a good and sound government.
- (c) The preservation of the rights and property of these inhabitants.

The instrument of cession of Manu'a contains similar provisos.

Twenty of the leading chiefs of Tutuila on April 1, 1900, also stated to Commander Tilley their ideas of the objectives and functions of the naval government:

"Our whole desire is to obey the laws that honor and dwelling in peace may come to pass in this country. We depend on the government and we hope that we indeed and the government will be prosperous, that the government will correctly guide and advise us in order that we may be able to care for and guard well and uprightly our different villages and also our districts."

The above statement might well be kept before all administrators as an ideal goal for the admini-

stration and the people alike in the conduct of government affairs in an island administration.

As a result of the desire of the naval administration to meet the desires of the Samoan people as expressed in these instruments, the following basic policies evolved:

- (a) Nonalienation of Samoan lands.
- (b) Preservation of Samoan customs.
- (c) Nonexploitation of the people and their resources.
- (d) Promotion of public health and education.
- (e) Samoa for the Samoans.

The following clear and concise statement of the mission and objectives under which the last two naval governors and the present civilian governor have conducted their administrations since early 1948, follows the pattern set out above in the instruments of cession.

- (a) The early establishment of self-governing communities.
- (b) The institution and maintenance of an adequate program for public health and sanitation.
- (c) The establishment of a general system of elementary education adapted to local environments and designed to assist in the early achievement of the objectives enumerated herein and the facilitation of vocational and higher education, including training on the professional levels.
- (d) The protection of the local inhabitants against the loss of their lands and resources and the institution of a sound program of economic development of trade, industry and agriculture along lines which will ensure that the profits and benefits thereof accrue to the inhabitants.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Maintenance of Law and Order

One of Commander Tilley's problems in organizing a government after the cession of the Island of Tutuila on April 17, 1900, was to establish a means of enforcing law and order. To accomplish this he conceived the idea of forming a law enforcement group from among the Samoans themselves. One of his first acts was to ask the Navy Department for a force of 50 men to serve as an organized guard, "fit for use in the bush." He recommended that this guard of Samoans be enlisted in the Navy as Landsmen to serve in American Samoa. As an alternative plan, he suggested that the Samoans might be enlisted as Marines.

He planned that enlisting Samoans in such a guard would aid in the organization of the government of the islands, and that the training of the men would be valuable to them. He also felt that the employment of such a force would do away with the necessity of having a similar American force, and would help win loyalty and allegiance to the United States. Furthermore, in the event of war, our government could rely upon them to defend the shores and passes of the islands against the enemy.

Accordingly, on July 6, 1900, the Commandant was authorized to enlist 58 Samoans as "Landsmen" in the Navy. They soon came to be known as the "Fita Fita Guard and Band." The idea of enlisting Samoans as a security force was farsighted, for throughout their history they have been a dependable body of men who have helped develop a strong tie between the Navy and the people. For over 50 years, Samoans serving in the Fita Fita Guard and Band have performed their duties loyally and faithfully, and have gained the respect and admiration not only of their own people, but of all our Armed Forces serving with them in American Samoa.

Appointments to the Fitas were eagerly sought since the Navy gave them practically the same status as enlisted men in the Navy. Their colorful, skirted uniform, their excellent band, and their perfection in marching and drilling were well known in the naval service. Given proper incentive, it followed naturally that the Fita Fita Guard and Band

should attract the very best young men, including the young chiefs.

While Commander Tilley was awaiting a reply from the Navy Department, he gathered together on Tutuila and Manu'a a force of 36 Samoans to form a guard, for he considered it necessary to have a small organized force on shore to enforce the law. The group was thoroughly drilled by noncommissioned officers from the U.S.S. *Abarenda* and served without pay or promise of pay and with very little food from the government. The Samoans were much pleased with the idea of enlisting as landsmen in the Navy and soon after the Navy Department had approved the organizations of the Native Guard, 19 were enlisted and others came in from various parts of the islands. The original group was selected with care and this policy of selecting applicants for enlistment in the Fita Fita Guard and Band was subsequently followed.

It remained a privilege and distinction in American Samoa to be a member of the Fita Fita Guard and Band. Two of the Samoans in the Guard held a chief's title in their own right and among those who have retired from the Fitas are a district governor, a county chief, and a village chief.

Because of his background, daily association with naval members of the Government of American Samoa, and relatively large income, the Fita was respected in his community and other residents of his village often sought his advice. In accordance with the Samoan custom of communal living, Fitas contributed to the support of many members of their families, and their total income, approximately \$266,000 annually, has been an important factor in the economy of American Samoa.

Soon after receipt of authorization for a Native Guard, enlistments of landsmen and musicians were completed, and a barracks was constructed with the help of members of the Guard. Ordnance material was requisitioned, including revolvers and cutlasses for petty officers and musicians, and drills and training were begun. That the organization was developed successfully is evidenced by impressions made upon the Commander in Chief Pacific Squadron who visited the islands in the fall of 1901. He expressed surprise at the soldierly appearance and

proficiency of the Native Guard at the station and thought that their marching, manual of arms, and bayonet drills, the latter conducted by a native sergeant, would have done credit to any infantry organization.

The uniform selected, which had undergone only a few minor changes, was unique and colorful and recognized by the Samoans as a symbol of law and order. Since 1923 the Fita uniform has consisted of a head turban of naval issue red muslin, a waist sash of red muslin folded to a width of 4 inches, naval issue white undershirt, and lavalavas (loincloths) of white and blue. The lavalavas are worn wrapped around the waist from right to left, with the lower edge 15 inches from the ground, and are held in place by the waist sash. Rating designations are the same as for the U. S. Navy and are worn on the lower left corner of the lavalava just above the top stripe. The work uniform for Fitas was naval dungarees. Shoes were worn with the dungaree uniform, and sandals were authorized for guard duty. However, no shoes or sandals were worn for drills, parades, or ceremonies.

The first Fita Fita barracks was a one-story structure near the harbor beach. A later barracks, dedicated on Flag Day, April 17, 1910, was a large two-story structure with wide, pillared porches around the entire building. The first deck was of concrete, it was kept spotlessly clean and painted white. The second deck was made of wood with screened porches on all sides. This was one of the strongest and most beautiful buildings on the naval station and was situated on the southeast side of the *malae* or parade ground. Due to the strong concrete construction of the lower deck, this part of the building is still designated as a refuge for all hospital patients during hurricanes.

The original allowance for four landsmen to act as musicians was soon considered inadequate and in August, 1902, Captain Sebree, U.S.N., then Governor and Commandant of the Naval Station, asked for an additional allowance of musicians and band instruments. The Commandant realized that Samoans are very fond of music, that many of them are musically inclined, and that an organized band would be helpful in governing the people. The Navy Department approved his request and authorized the formation of a band consisting of 1 Navy bandmaster, 1 Navy musician first-class, and 14 native musicians.

In December 1902 the first two Navy musicians arrived in American Samoa to select and train Sa-

moans for duty with the band. Since that time, the Fita Fita Band has been a popular institution in Samoa and has been an important factor in the musical life of these islands. Under the direction of a Navy chief bandmaster, the band performed at ceremonies and parades, presented concerts several times a week and attended morning colors with the Guard.

The most colorful ceremony of the Fita Fita Guard and Band was their Sunset Parade which was staged in the *malae*. Normally the parade was reviewed by the Governor, with all off-duty naval personnel attending in white uniform. When naval officers were under orders for detachment from the station, the Sunset Parade was given in honor of the departing officer as a *Tofo* or Farewell Parade. The parade was reviewed by the departing officer, after which the band and guard formed in front of the reviewing stand and "*Tofo, Mai Feleni*" (Good-bye, My Friend), was played and sung by the band and guard. This song was composed by Fa'atui of Salagi, with the help of his brother, as the result of the cordial relations which had sprung up between the sailors and the Western Samoans after the hurricane of 1889 had wrecked so many American, British, and German ships in the harbor of Apia. This song was gradually adopted by the people of American Samoa with a few variations and eventually was rearranged by a former Navy chief bandmaster and became the official song for the Farewell Sunset Parade.

During the years, the duties of the Fita Fita Guard and Band have been many and varied, but the principal duty at all times has been the security of the naval installations. In 1902, Fitas were serving as members of the crew of the station ship, assisting in handling freight on incoming vessels, manning the Governor's gig, and doing their own housekeeping in barracks and mess. In addition, they performed guard duty and furnished details for official parties visiting outlying localities to take one or two boat crews of Fitas to do the boating and landing through surf. On these trips the Fitas took their own rations and usually slept ashore in the village during overnight stops.

Fitas were also assigned special duty in the power plant, telephone booth, and on the steam launch. Several were serving with the Medical and Public Health Department as Medical Fitas, acting as interpreters for doctors treating or examining Samoan patients. During the war years, they served with the regular Armed Forces on lookout and gun sta-

tions located on Tutuila and were employed as guides, messengers, and interpreters.

Later, Fitas were employed on guard duty, as prisoner guards, radio operators, yeomen, hospitalmen, commissary men including cooks, bakers, butchers, and mess cooks, fire fighters, chauffers, truck drivers, stewards, orderlies, enginemen, boat crews, and various other duties. In most of these tasks, they performed "duties" which otherwise would require regular naval personnel or civil police. The Fire Department, consisting of three fire trucks and auxiliary equipment, was manned by Fitas and provided fire protection for naval installations as well as for the civilian communities.

Fita personnel were subsisted in the Navy general mess and served the same food as regular naval personnel. However, they enjoyed their own kinds of food and often ate at home when off duty. There they had bananas, taros, breadfruit, coconuts, and fish, which, along with salt beef from New Zealand, formed the principal and favorite components of the Samoan diet.

Fitas were given access to purchasing and recreational facilities provided by the U. S. Navy. They were members of the Enlisted Men's Club which was operated for Navy personnel on duty in American Samoa. Most of the Fitas were good in some sport. For several years they represented the South Pacific Command in the All-Navy Softball Tournament, participating in the playoffs in Hawaii. Cricket and rugby were two of their favorite sports.

Religion is a major factor in Samoan life, and Fitas attended church regularly. Services were conducted on Sunday mornings in the Fita barracks and the men off duty attended services in their own villages. Many of the Fitas raised large families and early in life their children were taught obedience, religion, Samoan customs, and the necessity for work.

Members of the Guard and Band ranged in age from 22 to 50, and their length of service ranged from slightly less than 4 years up to 21 years. Since the Guard and Band was first organized, only three Fitas remained to complete a full 30 years for retirement, as most of them had transferred to the Fleet Reserve after 16 or 20 years' service. The last group of Samoans was accepted for enlistment in the Fita Fita Guard and Band in January 1947. The majority enlisted for 6 years; however, they were permitted to reenlist and extend the enlistments for the same periods as provided for the regular Navy.

Many events of historical interest have occurred during the past 50 years in which the Fita Fita Guard and Band have participated. Few of these have been placed on record but those events, as well as the Fita Fita Guard and Band, will be long remembered by the people of American Samoa. But as the memories of the Fita Fita Guard faded into the past, its remaining members were welcomed by the United States Navy to continue their Fita careers as members of the regular Navy. Those of the Guard and Band who have not completed 20 years' service for transfer to the Fleet Reserve prior to July 1, 1951, have volunteered 100 percent for enlistment and their applications were accepted for enlistment some time prior to the withdrawal of the Navy from American Samoa.

As the men of the Fita Fita Guard and Band marched on into history, with the withdrawal of the Navy from American Samoa in June 1951, there was again occasion, as in 1889 in Apia, for a fond *Tofa* or farewell, for service well and faithfully done.

Authority for the Government

It became quite evident that the Navy Department was leaving the formation of a government up to the discretion of the Commandant. When approval of the Navy Department was asked for station regulations already promulgated, the Commandant was informed on June 12, 1900, that certain of the regulations had been the subject of consideration, but that the Department was not then disposed to make formal approval. For the time being, owing to the novelty of the situation and the distance from Washington, it was considered prudent to permit matters to continue as they were.

In 1902, the Navy Department further informed the Commandant, on September 15, that:

The Department does not consider it necessary to give formal approval to the station regulations that have been issued from time to time, preferring to indicate such as need amendment. This will be necessary until such time as Congress shall see fit to legislate for the islands.

The Navy Department, to the final day of its administration, did not give its approval of proclamations, executive orders, or amendments to the Code issued by the Governor.

This apparent lack of legal authority for acts of the Commandant continued to trouble succeeding Governors. In 1902, the Commandant, Capt. Uriel Sebree, USN, recommended that the Navy Depart-

ment take steps toward establishing some form of government with a legal standing. He felt that he could not be certain as to what authority he had outside of the land owned by the United States Government at Pago Pago. As commandant, he was performing the duties of Governor without any direct orders, appointment, or commission as Governor. He concluded his recommendation by urging that the Assistant Secretary of the Navy visit Samoa to look into the question of our duty as a Nation toward the islands.

Pursuing the same line of thought, Governor Graham stated in the annual report to the Secretary of the Navy in 1928, that inasmuch as Congress had never legislated an organic act for the establishment of a government in American Samoa, it was difficult for successive administrations to follow a continuity of purpose. Consequently, he felt that the local island government should be assigned a mission from which he might derive his policies.

Although the United States Congress considered organic legislation in 1926, 1931, and 1948-50, no legislation passed. Therefore, the basic authority for the Government of American Samoa throughout the period of naval administration was the Executive Order of February 19, 1900, and the original instruments as ratified by Congress in 1929.

Problems of Administration

It would be well at this point to orient ourselves to the turn of the twentieth century. The U.S.S. *Abarenda*, which Commander Tilley commanded in Samoan waters, was a converted collier displacing about 5,000 tons, mounting 4 three-pounders and having a complement of only 9 officers and 60 men. In the wardroom there were the executive officer, the chief engineer, the first lieutenant, the boatswain, the gunner, the carpenter, the paymaster, the surgeon, and not more than one or two additional watch officers. Commander Tilley did not have as many assistants as were needed and did not have qualified specialists in law and other fields. Radio communication was not available at that time. Yet his first orders, issued immediately upon assuming his new additional duties and setting up the government of American Samoa, reflect his ability to cope with the situation.

Between the lines of these first orders one can faintly discern the bargaining processes which preceded the cession and the heavy stress placed by the Samoans on the protection of their communal or Matai lands, their customs, and their culture.

As will be noted later, several of the Commandant's first orders deal with this subject primarily, their very language appearing occasionally in the Code of American Samoa in effect today.

Commander Tilley was at once faced with the same basic conflict which have since plagued successive Governors, in diminishing degree for half a century. On one hand there was the obligation to form a "Good Government." Good government to any American means one thing — representative government as developed by our western civilization over the centuries. On the other hand, there was the conflicting obligation to protect the rights of the Matai over the communal lands and to protect Samoan customs and culture which contain many elements not in accord with the governmental principles which long since had come to be taken for granted as the heritage of every American.

In its approach to this fundamental problem, the Navy, throughout its administration of American Samoa, has applied a full measure of realism. The policy has been one of guiding the people, primarily by means of education and personal example, to a gradual familiarity with and adoption of many of our institutions. This process has been slow, and many aspects of the old Samoan way of life persist today.

As a good naval officer, Commander Tilley knew that he would have to do the best he could with the tools of government he could improvise from the means at hand. He planned to stabilize and protect the existing local political, social and economic system until a more positive form of government could be established in response to increased knowledge and familiarity with American forms of self government. He therefore set up protective measures to help guard the Samoans against certain elements of western civilization to which they were unaccustomed such as regulation of land transactions and the sale of liquor. The first five regulations issued by the Commandant were as follows:

No. 1, April 24, 1900: Regulation for promulgation of laws for Tutuila and Manu'a.

No. 2, April 24, 1900: Notice concerning temporary customs regulations.

No. 3, April 28, 1900: An ordinance to prohibit the supply of intoxicating liquors to natives.

No. 4, April 30, 1900: Regulation to prohibit the alienation of native land in Tutuila and Manu'a.

No. 5, April 30, 1900: A declaration concerning the form of government for the United States Naval Station, Tutuila.

As Commander Tilley wrote on May 1, 1900:

The Government which I propose to establish for these islands is a government of the chiefs, who are to receive additional appointments to their positions from the Commandant of the Station.

Under the form of government established by Commander Tilley in 1900, all purely local matters were left in the hands of the traditional chiefs (Regulation No. 5). Basically under this method of administration known as "indirect rule," the central government was rarely called upon to interfere in village, county, or district affairs. In the event of disagreements, the Governor stepped in and made decisions when necessary. The Samoans thus, to a large extent, governed themselves. In general, the naval government to the end carried on its administration with this principle in mind in accordance with the provisions of the instruments of cession.

By these instruments of cession, this method of administration was presented to the United States, namely, that the chiefs of the village should retain their individual control of the separate towns, if that control should be in accordance with the laws of the United States applicable in Tutuila, "and if not obstructive to the peace of the people and the advancement of civilization of the people, subject also to the supervision and instruction of the said government." However, "the enactment of legislation and the general control shall remain firm with the United States of America."

The local government was divided into three administrative districts, the Eastern and Western Districts of Tutuila, and the Man'u'a District, each of which was administered by a Samoan District Governor appointed by the Governor. These districts corresponded to Samoan political districts which had existed from early days. The districts were divided into a total of 14 counties, each administered by a Samoan County Chief appointed by the Governor. The counties were also ancient political divisions. Each of the 52 villages had a village chief or *pulenu'u* (mayor), selected annually by the Village council and appointed by the Governor if approved. The *pulenu'u* and the village council had general charge of local affairs in the village. The village councils were composed of the *Matais* (heads of families) in each village, and were presided over by the village chief, except on occasions of the selection of the village chief when the village magistrate presided. This structure of the local government remained with little change to the end

of the naval administration of American Samoa.

Under the form of government set up by Commander Tilley, measures were taken to further insure the traditional authority of the chiefs by making them local leaders of the administration, by making them members of a central advisory council, and by making them village chiefs (*pulenu'u*), county chiefs and judges. This policy was continued under the naval administration. In some instances, chiefs of the highest ranks, according to Samoan custom, were not appointed to the highest political government positions. Difficulties often ensued under these conditions.

It did not take the Navy long to discover that the highest ranking chiefs by Samoan custom were not always the most capable men for a political appointment. This, however, is a constantly recurring problem in most non-self-governing areas. Wherever possible, the naval administration tried to make appointive positions in accordance with the relative rank of the chief *faa Samoa* (by Samoan custom). With the spread of education, young people became eligible and trained for important appointive government positions even though they had no chiefly rank. Although this created additional problems for the administration, it was a part of the education of the Samoan people in the conduct of their political life.

In the 1920's there occurred a strong movement for autonomy among the Samoans called a "Mau," literally translated "opinion." As might be expected because of the close relationship between Western and American Samoa, the movement arose in both areas during the same approximate period. The Mau, which supported the idea of transfer to a civil form of government, arose in April 1920, and continued until the early 1930's. Initially, two naval officers and a civilian were involved by engaging in strenuous efforts to create a feeling of opposition among the Samoan leaders to the Governor and the administration. The Mau had a disastrous effect on the life of the islands in that a committee of chiefs met in interminable sessions, resulting in an almost complete cessation of economic activities such as copra cutting and tending plantations.

The Navy Department ordered a court of inquiry (Capt. Waldo Evans, U. S. Navy, President) which arrived in Pago Pago Harbor on November 5, 1920, aboard U.S.S. *Kansas*, only to find that the Governor, Commander W. J. Terhune, had committed suicide at his home at noon 2 days before. Governor Terhune had tried to compromise with the leaders

of the Mau which they took to be weakness. Despite this handicap, the court made a thorough investigation into the legal, political, and financial condition of American Samoa and found that Governor Terhune's administration "since April 1920, while financially honest, lacked tact and firmness, due to his mental and physical condition, as indicated by his failure to correct the feeling of unrest and discontent by immediate and effective action." As a result of the inquiry, one naval officer was court martialed and dismissed, another relieved from duty at the station, and an American civilian deported. The Samoan leaders were exonerated as having been misled.

Captain Evans became Commandant and Governor on November 11, 1920. He took firm action and disbanded the Samoan committee. On July 1, 1921, he was able to report to the Navy Department that conditions were normal and the Samoans satisfied.

The trouble had started when charges were leveled against the Governor and his officials regarding the finances of administration. Governor Evans and succeeding Governors met this situation by constructive and sympathetic measures to meet the grievances. For example, an auditing board was established with Samoan representation to supervise the government finances, and set up a more up-to-date school system.

Additional trouble occurred when a Mr. Sam S. Ripley, a part Samoan, arrived at Tutuila in August 1921 but was not permitted to land. Shortly after this, 17 chiefs were seized and found guilty of a conspiracy to kill the high chiefs who had signified their loyalty to the Governor, and of conspiring to start an uprising. They were imprisoned, sentenced to hard labor and deprived of their *matai* titles. They were paroled in 1924.

These and other troubles continued. The Mau, however, once it discovered that there was no opposition from the government, came out in the open and the Governor even attended some of the meetings in the later 1920's. "Citizenship and civil government for the Samoans" took on esoteric values and became the slogan of the day in Samoa as well as among certain elements in the United States.

The increasing interest in American Samoa was reflected in the acceptance by Congress of the cessions of Tutuila and Manu'a on February 20, 1929, and at the same time authorizing a Congressional Commission on which Samoan leaders were to be represented. In 1930 the Commission held hearings

for 11 days in Honolulu and American Samoa and listened to a great deal of testimony. The recommendations of the Commission were embodied in the draft of an Organic Act, providing American citizenship for American Samoans, setting up independent executive and judicial branches of the government, and providing for an elected legislative body. However, the bill failed of passage in the House of Representatives in February 1933.

With the imminently expected passage of the Organic Act in the early 1930's, the Mau movement died a natural death when succeeding Governors adopted many of the recommendations contained in the report of the congressional hearings and in the proposed organic legislation.

Executive Control

The Naval Governor, the head of the Government of American Samoa, derived his authority not only from his commission as Governor of American Samoa but also from his orders as Commandant of the Naval Station. The legislative power of American Samoa was vested in him with the proviso as stated in the Code that the Annual Fono (legislative meeting) may make recommendations to the Governor. The Governor's authority was supreme, subject to orders from the Navy Department, and in comparable form, this will probably continue until organic legislation providing a constitution and form of government under which the Governor will operate is passed by the United States Congress.

This concentration of power in the hands of one man caused sincere anxiety to many Governors succeeding Commander Tilley. Governor Graham in his annual report to the Secretary of the Navy in 1928 commented:

The Governor is clothed with too great discretionary power. Insofar as any restriction placed upon the Governor is concerned, he may change every law in the codification, even that which changes the form of government. It is true that any act of the Governor may be nullified by the Secretary of the Navy, but in the meantime great mischief may have been done. The Governor exercises the sole legislative functions unguided and unrestricted by a constitutional instrument, presents an unusual principle of government.

It is true that the Governor has had the authority to amend the Code. He could also issue executive orders, although the Code provided that the number of such orders should be kept to a minimum. Even as early as 1903, Capt. Uriel Sebree, Commandant, in his annual report urged that the next session of Congress enact laws for these islands. "The Gov-

ernment is not on a firm basis. The Commandant can undo or alter proclamations and regulations at his own discretion."

In practice, however, every Naval Governor has leaned heavily on the Samoan people in the exercise of his powers. Most decisions were referred to his Samoan advisors. Wherever possible, the intent has been to execute the Governor's responsibilities in a manner consistent with the Samoan viewpoint. There were also certain unwritten restraints on the Governor: public opinion in the United States, the authority of the Secretary of the Navy, and democratic traditions of the United States under which the Governor and his staff were brought up. A further restraint on the Governor today is the increased experience and education of the people of Samoa in political ideas. They can now quickly detect an autocratic administration.

By Executive Order No. 4125 of January 12, 1925, under authority of Section 28 (e) of the Immigration Act of 1924, the Governor of American Samoa and the Governor of Guam were vested with consular powers. This power remained with the Naval Governors throughout the naval administration.

It was not until 1905 that the title of Commandant was changed to Governor. As early as 1902, Captain Sebree pointed out to the Navy Department that his orders designated him as Commandant of the Naval Station, Tutuila; by Executive Order this comprised all the islands of the Samoan group under United States sovereignty. Thus, as Commandant, he performed all the duties of a Governor but had no order, appointment, or commission, as Governor. He requested specific orders so as to publish it to the Samoans and to inform his German counterpart in Western Samoa, Governor Solf. The Commandant, Commander E. B. Underwood, U.S.N., made the same recommendation in 1904. This was a matter of prestige in the eyes of the Samoans as well. When the Commandant went to German Samoa, for example, or received visiting ships, he was not due the number of gun salutes which he would receive if he had a commission as Governor.

Accordingly, beginning with 1905, each Commandant, upon nomination by the Secretary of the Navy, was given a commission as Governor by the President of the United States. Until 1912, the commission was made out to the "Governor of Tutuila," Manu'a being ignored. On June 6, 1905, the Secretary of the Navy informed the Governor that the commission appointing him Governor of the island

of Tutuila gave him jurisdiction over all possessions of the United States in Samoa.

The Executive Departments

At the time of its termination, the operation of the executive branch of the Naval Government was departmentalized to carry on the specialized tasks of finance, public works, police, education, public health, agriculture, and local Samoan administration. In addition to the executive branch, the administration of the Naval Government was divided into the judicial and legislative branches.

In 1900, Commander Tilley had a simple organization consisting of a customs officer, and a health officer of the port of Pago Pago. The former, Mr. E. W. Gurr of Apia, was a local barrister familiar with the Samoan language, who acted also as judge and legal advisor. The latter was Assistant Surgeon E. M. Blackwell, U. S. Navy, surgeon of the station ship.

In 1903, Captain Sebree pointed out to the Navy Department the shortage of officers on his staff. Not only was he Commandant of the naval station and commanding officer of the station ship, but he was also the head of the local government. A ship's officer was on duty ashore as customs officer and captain of the yard, in charge of the Fitas Fitas, building operations and laborers. As previously mentioned, the ship's surgeon was also the public health officer. This left fewer officers for full-time shipboard duty.

It was quite obvious, therefore, that the bulk of the work and relationship with the Samoans had to be left in the hands of the Secretary of Native Affairs, Mr. E. W. Gurr, a British subject. It was fortunate that a man of his experience was available at the time. Mr. Gurr was a barrister practicing before the Supreme Court of Western Samoa and was familiar with the Samoan language. His wife was a daughter of Seumanutafa, the High Chief who rendered such valuable assistance to our sailors at the time of the hurricane at Apia in 1889. He had been Samoans' Advocate before the Land Commission when the government was under the Berlin General Act, between 1890 and 1899. Mr. Gurr's abilities, experience, and knowledge of the Samoan language and customs enabled him to handle the Samoan affairs in a commendable fashion, and were largely responsible for building up the prestige of the office. His connection with the island government was severed in 1908 under a cloud, because of a shortage in his accounts.

In 1903 Commander Underwood, the Commandant, recommended to the Navy Department that the position of "Secretary of Native Affairs" be established at \$2,500 per year. The incumbent would, as interpreter, have charge of supervision and inspection of the work of all Samoan government officials, make reports, accompany the Commandant on inspection trips and act as district judge. In 1904 the Commandant recommended that the job of interpreter be made into a separate position at \$1,200 per year.

By 1930 the position of Secretary of Native Affairs (SNA) had grown until it included these additional offices and duties: Secretary to the Governor, district judge, registrar of titles; supervision and inspection of all work of the district governors and chiefs, judges and magistrates, and the preparation of regular reports thereon to the Governor. In other words, he was the intermediary between the Governor and the officials and people of American Samoa. The SNA also administered the copra industry of the island, collected the taxes, signed all passports and travel passes, and visaed foreign passports, supervised the Samoan police department and acted as sheriff, was in charge of vital statistics, and was a member of many boards and commissions.

So many duties were concentrated in this office and so many were connected with legal matters as the administration of the government became more complex, that on September 18, 1931, the position was split up. The Office of Attorney General was created absorbing the duties of the Secretary of Native Affairs and a Chief Justice was appointed to conduct the Judicial Department.

The first departmentalization of the government was attempted by Governor Stearns on September 6, 1913, when, by Executive order, he reorganized the administrative set up and established the following departments: (1) Judicial, (2) Treasury, (3) Interior (Customs), (4) Agriculture, and (5) Public Health. The Public Works Department was added on November 15, 1919.

The first Attorney General was a naval officer, Lt. Comdr. F. L. Lowe. Until the spring of 1951, naval officers filled this position with the exception of a brief period during World War II, when the position was held by a Marine Corps colonel. The duties of the Attorney General were as follows:

- (1) Prosecute felonies.
- (2) Represent the government at law where the government has an interest.

- (3) Supervise the work of the native officials.
- (4) Act as custodian of the archives.
- (5) Attend the annual fono and record its proceedings.
- (6) Collect taxes.
- (7) Record births and deaths.
- (8) Register titles.
- (9) Issue passports.

In the same manner as in the old office of Secretary of Native Affairs, a considerable concentration of power came to be lodged in the office of the Attorney General. His prestige and authority as law enforcement agent made it easier for him to perform these duties. In 1951 for example, we note that in addition to the above duties the Attorney General managed the Copra Fund and the ship *O. S. Manu'a Tele* chartered by the Island Government, was responsible for law enforcement and penal administration (police and the prison), was chairman of the board of directors in the Department of Samoan Industry, was legal officer of the naval station performing such legal duties as drafting deeds, contracts, and leases, and handling veterans' affairs; and in addition was a member of numerous boards and commissions.

An effort to lessen the burden on the office of Attorney General was made in 1951 with the advent of the first civilian governor when the copra fund, management of the ship *Manu'a Tele* and chairmanship of the Department of Samoan Industry were turned over to the newly created Department of Administrative Services.

In 1948 the Department of Agriculture was recognized by inclusion in the Code of American Samoa for the first time.

The organization of the executive board of the government in March 1951 consisted of the following departments:

- Attorney General,
- Treasurer,
- Public Works,
- Education,
- Public Health,
- Customs,
- Agriculture,
- Samoan Industry.

In addition to the departmental type of organization, each governor established a system of advisory boards and commissions in which Samoans were members. On April 15, 1914, Governor Stearns established the following series of committees in order

to work closer with the Samoan people for mutual cooperation in the administration of the government:

Committee "A"—Executive Committee (consisting of District Governors).

Committee "B"—Committee of the Samoan Hospital (3 members from each district).

Committee "C"—Auditing Committee (to give fullest publicity to the statement of government accounts).

Succeeding Governors continued to add boards and commissions until by 1951 the following major commissions included:

Board of Education,
Public Improvement and Planning Commission,
Board of Directors, Samoan Industry,
Alcoholic Liquor Control Board,
Auditing Boards,
Land Commission,
Supplemental Land and Claims Commission,
Budget Board,
Prison Board.

In its 51 years of administration the Navy has primarily used naval personnel for the top governmental positions. Increasingly, however, as the job of administration became more complex, especially in the years following World War II, civilians were employed for billets in the government where specialized training was desirable, particularly in education, banking, public finance and public works. In some instances, it was possible to utilize the services of Naval Reserve officers on active duty who had such specialized training.

The Legislature

Under a form of government in which the power of the Governor was absolute, the establishment of a legislative body which would reflect the wishes and needs of the Samoans was a difficult one. The Governor enacted the basic proclamations and regulations which became, in effect, the local constitution or code. Enactment by direct promulgation was the easiest way to make laws.

A legislative council was suggested by the Secretary of Native Affairs as early as 1903, inasmuch as "the Commandant finds in many cases that it is difficult to draw up laws that shall be just, and at the same time shall meet the varying and sometimes conflicting needs of the entire community of American Samoa."

With this thought in mind, and consistent with

the principles of representative government, the Governor, Commander C. B. T. Moore, U.S.N., made an attempt to institute elections by having a representative assembly elected by secret ballot for a meeting on October 20, 1905. A delegate from each village was to have been elected in addition to the village chief who was to have been a delegate ex-officio. However, elections were conducted by Samoan custom (*faa Samoa*) and confined to heads of families only (*matai*). The delegates were all men who by Samoan rank and custom rule the people. In other words, the attempt ended exactly as if no election had been held. Little if any difference would be found in 1951.

The leading chiefs thus demonstrated that they had no desire that any power be taken away from them and there seemed to have been no move among the local population to change the current political conditions. In fact, in 1908, eighteen of the highest ranking chiefs of the islands, including the three district governors, representing the Samoan people by Samoan custom, petitioned the President of the United States:

That the system of administration of the islands which was introduced upon the annexation of the United States of America be continued until such time as a majority of the Samoan people can understand and realize the system in vogue in the United States of America.

Although this theme has been a frequently recurring one, the Samoans gradually began to show an increasing interest in having a voice in the affairs of government. The Governors' presentation of many official matters to an advisory legislative council was an effective method of obtaining popular opinion and gaining support for new administrative measures.

Thus grew up the Annual *Fono* (general meeting) to which all communities of the islands send delegates. It became customary for the Governor to issue a proclamation calling the *Fono*. Each district then had preliminary meetings in which matters to be presented at the Annual *Fono* were discussed, and in which petitions were prepared. At the *Fono*, matters of general interest were debated, new laws or changes in existing laws recommended, and information asked and given regarding all matters connected with the administration of the government.

The Annual *Fono* was presided over by the Governor and it served in an advisory capacity to the Governor on matters affecting the welfare and development of American Samoa and its inhabitants. In general, the unicameral form of the *Fono* con-

tinued until 1948.

On the recommendation of the *Fono*, approved by the Governor, Capt. Vernon Huber, U.S.N., the Code of American Samoa was amended on February 24, 1948 to provide a bicameral organization, the House of *Alii* and the House of Representatives, to be known as the Legislature of American Samoa instead of the Annual *Fono*, and which continued for the remaining period of naval administration. This body consisted of 54 members of the House of Representatives selected biennially by the permanent residents of American Samoa. Of these, 52 members represented the Samoan people living under the *Matai* system and were selected in open meetings held in accordance with Samoan custom, on the basis of 1 member for each of the 52 Samoan villages. However, these members did not have to be *Matais*, although in practice they have been. The remaining two members represented the permanent residents of American Samoa who did not live under the *Matai* system and have been elected at large by the registered adult population in that category voting by secret ballot. The House of *Alii* (chiefs) was composed of 12 chiefs holding certain ranking titles in American Samoa. The presiding officer of the House of *Alii* was known as the chairman, and in the House of Representatives he was known as the speaker.

In November of each year, the members of both Houses were convened as a Committee of the Whole to consider resolutions to be taken up by the legislature at its next regular session. Such resolutions were submitted to the Governor for such comment as he might wish to make. The Governor's comments were then forwarded to the Speaker of the House of Representatives for transmission by him to each member of the legislature.

The regular session of the legislature was convened annually in January. At that time, the Governor's comments on the resolutions adopted by the Committee of the Whole were considered, as well as any other resolutions or resolutions which the Governor might wish to submit on behalf of the Government.

The need for a legislative body functioning continuously during the year was considered in 1924 by the Governor, Capt. E. S. Kellogg, U.S.N. He contemplated having the representatives of the Annual *Fono* organized into a permanent body, separate and apart from the appointed Samoan government officials. However, the Secretary of Native Affairs advised against it and recommended instead

an organization of the district governors and county chiefs as a vehicle by which the government could obtain the support of the Samoan population. Such a body functions at the present time on a monthly basis. It is, however, an organization of the executive rather than the legislative branch.

Along these lines, during the 1924 Annual *Fono*, a chief of the Manu'a District introduced a proposal to establish a body of two *Faipules* (representatives) from each county to serve for 2 years, to attend to all district matters, and also to attend the Annual *Fono*. However, the proposal was voted down by the other two District Governors.

Again in 1935 High Talking Chief Tuiasosopo of the Eastern District proposed Resolution Number VI "To form and to establish a legislative body and to be known as the *Fono*." He felt that it would be a good plan if the *Fono* as constituted at the time should remain in being between the dates of the Annual *Fonos*, and that in the event of legislative questions of policy the Governor should call a special session, each member to receive no pay, but to be furnished transportation.

Chief Justice H. P. Wood pointed out to the Governor the delay and disadvantages of a large consultative body and suggested a small consultative body, a legislative council, to consist of two members to be selected from each district and one member at large, for a total of seven members. The term would be for 1 year and the council members would speak for and represent their districts during the year. This was the beginning of the effort to establish a representative legislative body which culminated in the establishment of the new body in 1948.

Between sessions the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Chairman of the House of *Alii* may call an executive committee consisting of seven members from the lower House, and three members from the upper House to consider matters brought up by the Governor, but not of such importance that would require the calling of a special session.

Thus, the legislature, although advisory, is organized somewhat along modern lines and, with the passage of organic legislation, should be prepared in time to assume additional legislative responsibilities.

As an example of the capabilities of the legislative body in American Samoa, the following general subjects considered by the Annual *Fono* in 1946 upon which resolutions were passed will indicate

that the Samoan leaders have been capable of thinking in terms of broad matters of policy:

- Handling of copra.
- Public schools.
- Hurricane funds.
- Limitations upon sales of land.
- Alcoholic liquor.
- Status of American Samoa as a possession of the Government of the United States and American citizenship.
- Enlistment status of Fita Fita Guard and Band.
- Electric power.
- Public roads.
- Samoa Hospital, presence of aigas (relatives).
- Poll tax.
- Term of office of department heads.
- Department of Samoan Industry.
- Monthly meetings of district governors and county chiefs.
- Increase in salary of *pulenu'us*.
- Increase in salary of Samoan nurses.
- Price controls.
- Reduction in water transportation fares.
- Amendments to the Code.
- Rotation of district judges as members of the High Court.
- Legislative power and form of government.
- New *Fono* Building.
- Attendance of public upon fono sessions.
- Cigarette and other additional taxes to be levied.

It will be noted, however, that some of the subjects considered above were functions of the executive rather than the legislative branch. This is characteristic of the Samoan legislature, brought about by the function of the *Matais* in local government politics who by Samoan custom made executive, legislative, and judicial decisions.

The Judiciary

As in the case of most small islands in formative days of their government, one individual held the office of "judge" as well as many other positions simultaneously.

Mr. E. W. Gurr, already mentioned as the Secretary of Native Affairs, was the first judge in American Samoa. He was also legal advisor to the Governor. This meant that he performed administrative and executive as well as judicial duties. Most significant of all, it meant that he was both

prosecutor and judge. Furthermore, as Secretary of Native Affairs, he also acted as sheriff controlling the civil police force. This situation continued until 1931 when in response to criticism both from outside sources as well as from incumbents of the office and as recommended by the Bingham Congressional Commission of 1930, the Governor, Capt. G. S. Lincoln, U.S.N., on September 18, 1931, separated the functions of the two officers. A civilian was appointed Chief Justice by the Secretary of the Navy to administer the judiciary and a naval officer was appointed Attorney General.

As early as 1903 the Commandant recommended the creation of the office of Chief Justice at \$3,500 per year, the occupant to be head of the judiciary, registrar, and legal advisor to the Commandant. One clerk-typist was also recommended for the judicial organization at \$1,200 per year.

Regulation No. 5 of 1900, establishing the form of government, provided that the judicial power be vested in a high court, district courts, and village courts, and defined the jurisdiction of each. As first constituted, the Governor was a part of the membership of the high court and he or someone designated by him presided over its deliberations. With the appointment of the first Chief Justice in 1931, the judicial organization was established as an independent branch of the government, with the Chief Justice responsible to the Secretary of the Navy. Since 1931 the Chief Justice has been appointed by the Secretary of the Navy, at the direction of the President, except from early 1942 to February 1946 when, during the period of military government, the Chief Justice was a naval officer.

In 1951 the jurisdiction of the system extended to naval personnel with respect to civil matters. In many criminal matters in which naval personnel were involved, the Navy Department permitted such personnel to be tried in the civil courts in American Samoa.

Initially, regulations were enacted regarding the registration of births, marriages, and deaths, playing cricket, traveling on organized journeys, health, sending children to school, bestowal of titles, cutting copra, paying taxes, searching for beetles, and other phases of Samoan life. With the spread of education and increase in population, the form of government became more complex. As the material benefits of western civilization came to American Samoa in the form of such innovations as automobiles, electricity, and roads, the body of laws also became more complex.

It finally became necessary to codify the laws. The first codification of the Laws and Regulations of the Government of American Samoa was completed on April 17, 1917, primarily due to the efforts of Judge Stromach. The next codification was made in 1921 by Judge A. M. Noble and printed for the first time in bound separate volumes in both Samoan and English. A revision of the code was made in 1937 and was the last published until the revised Code in 1948.

The High Court has dealt mostly with land and *Matai* title disputes. It was partly the pressure of the number of land title cases (38) that influenced Governor Parker in 1909 and succeeding Governors to recommend that a Chief Justice be appointed.

Offenses within the jurisdiction of the village and district courts have always been along the same pattern and chiefly comprise acts of physical violence, burglary, larceny, sex offenses, desertion, failure to pay debts, taxes, traffic offenses, trespass, nonsupport of wife, disorderly conduct, and like offenses.

In this brief sketch the curious anomaly existing in the administration of the law can only be touched upon. In reality there existed from the beginning of the naval administration what often amounted to a conflict of laws, namely, the unwritten Samoan laws derived from custom, and the statute law, or law imposed by the American concept of how a society ought to behave. Dr. Felix M. Keating, in his splendid book *Modern Samoa* (London; George Allen & Urwin Ltd., 1934) points this out clearly in the following paragraph.

The native Samoans can be pictured as in a considerable state of bewilderment and disturbance as the shadow of western law loomed over their lives. The old judicial ideas and institutions had to be modified so as to allow for the new codes and courts, for the impersonal machine of white justice with its traditional mummery and fixed precedents often requiring esoteric exposition by the bench and by lawyers. Two kinds of delinquency emerged, the one comprising deviations from the correct patterns of Samoan behavior, the accepted standards of the native community, the other deviations from the alien and superimposed rules of conduct.

For example, laws were made under naval administration which tended to strike at the roots of old Samoan authority and custom, removing from the *Matai* all power of coercion. One such law reads as follows:

If any person, or persons, shall impose on any other person any Fa'a Samoan (Samoan custom) fine, whereby anything whatsoever of value is obtained from said person on whom said fine is imposed, the person or persons, so imposing said fine shall be fined not more than \$50.00 or imprisoned not more than six months, or both.

The purpose of such a regulation, of course, was to prohibit the exercise of judicial powers in the native community outside of the officially constituted courts. It is interesting to note that a resolution to repeal this regulation was introduced in the 1951 session of the legislature and received considerable support in that body.

There are numerous Samoan customs for breach of which the formal law has provided no redress. It was the policy of the naval administration to let as many as possible of these matters rest with the local authorities by relying on the common sense and experience of village leaders. For example, when a land dispute arose, every effort was made by the Secretary of Native Affairs to settle the matter out of court between the parties involved. Chief Justice Arthur A. Morrow, who in 1951 had more than 9 years' experience in American Samoa as Chief Justice, gave litigents every opportunity to settle their disputes among themselves, even after they had come to court. In other words, he felt that a settlement by the Samoan parties themselves would be more readily acceptable in Samoan society than one imposed by American-made law. The solution, then, lay in striking a balance between protecting the old power of the *matais* and enforcement of the new codes so as to bring Samoan behavior increasingly in line with that of western society.

The tendency of the naval administration since World War II has been to return some of the old powers to the *Matais* by permitting them greater latitude in the conduct of village affairs, with greater concentration on the more essential matters by the central government, such as public health measures, and registration of *Matai* titles. It has been felt that this method of administration had the advantage of giving a greater degree of self-government to the leaders and permitted them to set their own pace in adapting their local government to modern times. In this fashion, the naval administration fully recognized that it was neither desirable nor possible to supplant Samoan culture with American culture too abruptly.

MEDICINE AND PUBLIC HEALTH

On April 17, 1900, E. M. Blackwell, Passed Assistant Surgeon, U. S. N., Ship's surgeon of the U. S. S. *Abarenda*, stepped ashore at Pago Pago with black bag in hand and set up shop under the nearest coconut tree. Thus began the Public Health Department of American Samoa, and the long but eminently successful war against disease and the practice of "bush" medicine in those islands.

Dr. Blackwell observed a healthy, rugged, people, used to an outdoor life, living in a comfortable climate and environment and eating plenty of simple food. At the same time, however, he noted many extreme cases of filariasis, skin diseases, especially yaws, sores and ulcers, conjunctivitis and a prevalence of bronchial troubles during the rainy season. He also noted an abnormally high rate of infant mortality but an equally high fertility among the parents, thus preserving a balance of population.

Dr. Blackwell was faced with the problem of revolutionizing Samoan thought and custom concerning health and disease. The practice of "bush" medicine was prevalent. The scourges of filariasis, yaws and a high infant mortality rate had come to be accepted as natural and unavoidable factors in their daily life, because physical well being and illness had a deep traditional interpretation of life to the Samoan, bound up with religion and superstition.

These conditions prevailed in spite of the excellent work done by the missionaries who, some 50 years earlier, had just begun to introduce the latest techniques and methods of administering to the sick. Great credit is due them for their constructive work carried on against such heavy odds.

On June 13, 1900, Commander Tilley forwarded to the Navy Department two letters from Dr. Blackwell together with requisitions for medical stores for a dispensary for the free medical treatment of the Samoans. The Commandant heartily approved his recommendations for the establishment of a dispensary at Pago Pago and commended Dr. Blackwell "for his offer to give his services to the treatment of the suffering natives." There was not a single practicing physician or surgeon in the islands and the death rate was high.

Unfortunately, due to lack of funds, the request

for a dispensary was disapproved. However, within a year of his arrival, Dr. Blackwell set up a three-bed dispensary in a building formerly occupied by an island trader. In 1904 a Samoan *fale* (house) was added, bought with island government funds and erected as an adjunct to the naval dispensary, for he found that "the natives thrive best in a house of their own style." In the same year, 1904, the Commandant requested the Navy Department for an appropriation of \$5,000 for a suitable naval hospital but this was not granted. On May 9, 1906, the Surgeon General of the Navy authorized the medical officer to continue to expend Navy medical supplies for the Samoans.

A matter of considerable importance to the Samoans at the time was the discovery of hookworm in American Samoa by Surgeon P. S. Rossiter, U.S.N., in November 1909. Investigation indicated that 85 percent of the Samoans were victims, including 72 members of the Fita Fita Guard and Band. In an effort to obtain the cooperation of Samoan leaders in matters of health and sanitation, a special general *Fono* was held January 25, 1910, to consider this health problem. A humorous twist was lent to the occasion by the statement of one of the District Governors:

What we are here for is to talk business; in the years past many of our people have died, and when we have inquired as to the cause, we have been told "pains in the stomach," "pains in the head"; but we did not know anything about hookworms. The effect of this sickness is to make us lazy and sleepy, and we all know now why we have been so sleepy and why we have been so lazy. It will be in order for us to decide upon something to give us good health, and to have this sickness removed from our colony altogether.

The Governor, Commander W. M. Crose, U.S.N., established a Board of Health on December 31, 1909, and a code of regulations was set up in regard to public health and sanitation; a textbook on hygiene was produced for use in the schools in English and Samoan, and the government gazette *O Le Faatonu* was used to further the spread of health education. The board showed signs of great activity in 1910 and 1911, especially with regard to the building of latrines and general sanitation.

It should be noted that free medical care was not always available for the Samoans. Early in the course of naval medicine in American Samoa, there arose a controversy over fees for medical services to civilians. Under naval regulations of the day, a naval medical officer was entitled to charge for consultations which were not in line of duty and which were not demanded on humanitarian grounds. This matter was finally settled in 1921 when the Governor directed that thereafter all medical care was to be free to American Samoans. This policy prevailed during the remainder of the naval administration.

In response to requests from the various Governors, the Navy Department, on April 4, 1911, granted permission for the construction of a Samoan hospital on U. S. Government land, without expense to the United States. Accordingly, a Samoan hospital fund was created May 25, 1911, for the construction and support of the hospital. Its sources were a small charge for medical care and drugs. The first Samoan hospital, completed September 1, 1912, consisted of a wooden central administration building paid for by the island government, costing \$2,284.94, and containing an examining room, dispensary, lavatory, and dressing room, with an outbuilding for kitchen, baths, latrines, and storeroom. To provide flushing water, a windmill was built to pump harbor water up the hill. Later, small *fales* were added as accomodation for high chiefs who might enter as patients with their entourages.

Samoan custom regarding the care of the sick was observed. Each patient was accompanied to the hospital by *aigas* (relatives or fellow clansmen) who undertook to supply food and nursing care. A further aspect of this custom required that a member of the family keep in close touch with a sick member, and that at least one member of the family be present at the death bed of the aged so that any family secrets which the dying member wished to impart could be passed along. This plan was so deeply rooted in Samoan culture that it was not eliminated until 1943. Writing in 1943, Commander C. S. Stephenson, M.C., U.S.N., stated:

It is indeed unfortunate that the present system of hospitalization was ever started in Samoa or anywhere else for that matter. . . . With all these supernumeraries in the hospital, bedlam breaks loose. . . . A careful study has been made of the costs to the individual family in the Samoan hospital. In addition to the necessary cost of rations, is the necessity for providing a feast for the patients who are able to partake of this feast, as well as of the other *aigas* present. These feasts may cost as little as five dollars, but

known instances have occurred when the cost was as much as seventy-five dollars. . . .

The most successful step taken to combat this custom was the erection in 1948 of the *Aiga Fale* (relatives' house) in which nursing mothers of infant patients and relatives of patients on the serious list were privileged to reside. However, the custom of the feast persists.

Built on a steep hillside and constructed of wood, the expenses of maintenance and upkeep of the first hospital increased year by year until in 1938, 10 percent of the departmental plant upkeep budget was spent on the hospital alone. Annual reports of the Governors to the Secretary of the Navy contained strong statements to the effect that the hospital was outmoded and inadequate.

The end of World War II brought a welcome solution of the problem of an adequate and well-equipped hospital. Renovations were made on four two-storied buildings formerly used by the Marines as barracks. The buildings were joined by connecting passageways and a central building housing administrative, clinical, and commissary facilities was constructed. Work began on the new hospital in April 1945. It was completed and opened for service on March 18, 1946. Allocations of \$131,158 were made for its construction, of which \$71,158 was appropriated by the Navy.

The present hospital is a modern 224-bed general hospital including delivery suite, nursery, and air-conditioned operating room, and is even equipped with an elevator. The eight wards include one compartmented contagious ward and a ward for tuberculosis patients. The hospital also contains classrooms, offices for the Nurses' Training School, clinic rooms, and an X-ray suite and laboratory. It has become the outstanding institution of its kind in the South Pacific area.

* * * * *

From the earliest days of naval medical activity in American Samoa, the need for a central hospital was apparent. However, prior to World War II, transportation in Tutuila was limited and the inhabitants of the Manu'a Islands, 60 miles from Tutuila, presented a special problem in getting them to Tutuila for hospitalization. To meet the problem, branch dispensaries were built in Ta'u, Manu'a, and Leone, Tutuila in 1915. Other dispensaries were added at Ofu Island and Amouli, Tutuila in 1923.

Whereas district health officers who operated the

outlying dispensaries used to be chief hospital corpsmen or senior hospital corpsmen of the Navy, beginning with the year 1950 they were replaced by Samoan medical practitioners.

In 1933 the first young Samoan was sent to the Central Medical School at Suva, Fiji, for training as a medical practitioner. In the following year, 1934, Paul Godinet began his medical training. This training was one of several projects sponsored by the Frederic D. Barstow Foundation of Honolulu which paid all the expenses of educating the students. Subsequently, a number of other youths were sent to that school or to the U. S. Naval Medical School for Medical and Dental Assistants, Guam. Paul Godinet was the first SMP from Suva to return and was employed in the Samoan Hospital in 1939. He is now the senior practitioner in the hospital. At present, 13 Samoan medical and dental practitioners are employed by the island government in the hospital and the branch dispensaries. Five more are in training at Suva and one more will probably return to school after having missed 1 year because of illness. The practitioners themselves are being given increasing responsibilities.

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Since 1914 the training of Samoan nurses has been a strong factor in the public health system in American Samoa. In 1913 Governor Stearns informed the Navy Department that he planned to establish the Samoan Nurses' Training School for both young men and women. The Surgeon General of the Navy, with the approval of the Secretary of the Navy, issued this order on August 26, 1913:

A school is hereby directed to be established in American Samoa for the purpose of training native Samoan women in the principles of nursing with a view to their making use of this teaching in their own country, and among their own people. For this purpose two members of the Nurse Corps, United States Navy, will be ordered to Samoa, who, together with the medical officer of the Navy attached to the station will give the necessary instruction.

Two Navy nurses arrived in October 1913, and on February 14, 1914, the training school for Samoan nurses was opened with three Samoan girls, well known to the Samoans as Pepe (now Mrs. Max Haleck), Initia (now in New Guinea), and Feiloaiga, popularly known as Winnie (now chief Samoan nurse). The first class was graduated February 22, 1916. In the fiscal year 1923-24, the 2-year course of training was increased to 3 and in 1930 to 4 years.

The Department of Public Health has depended greatly upon these trained Samoan nurses, using them not only in the hospital but as visiting workers in the villages. In 1951 the school had 236 graduates with 52 student nurses enrolled.

The use of Samoan medical practitioners and trained Samoan nurses has been a great factor in the long-term program of educating the Samoans in health and sanitation matters. They appear to have gained steadily the confidence of the people. Among the nurses, the quick turnover of personnel due to marriage raised a replacement problem but, their influence continued inasmuch as a retired nurse exercises her training and her knowledge in the villages among her friends and relatives.

* * * * *

Sanitation in American Samoa chiefly revolves around efforts to improve the water supply, methods of sewage and garbage disposal, and rat and insect control. Survey teams including trained research teams in filariasis, rodent control and techniques of preventive medicine, have been sent to American Samoa by the Navy Department. Throughout the naval administration, the latest techniques and methods in sanitation were applied and taught. In May, June, and July of 1951 a tuberculosis research team, appointed by the South Pacific Commission, conducted a survey in American Samoa, an outgrowth of the Navy's administrative policy of working in close cooperation with regional organizations.

In the matter of popular education, however, it must be pointed out that for 51 years, although the Department of Public Health has preached the "clean village," the concept in 1951 was not fully understood nor accepted by the Samoans. It was the opinion of the Public Health Officer in his annual report of 1950 that this was due to the generally low level of Samoan education: "The uneducated mind grasps with difficulty, if at all, the role of insects and rats and the concept of micro-organisms as vectors of disease."

Although the problems of mass education in sanitation and health matters have not been fully solved, there is no doubt that sanitary conditions have considerably improved in the past 51 years, although not to the degree desired. After all, in 1915, on the subject of rats, insects, and garbage, the Public Health Officer stated that unless something was done the islands would be overrun and

health conditions would become appalling. Substantially the same statement can be made in 1951. Yet the birth rate is constant at about 40 per 1,000 and the death rate is decreasing. Visitors returning

after absences of a number of years report that flies and mosquitoes are substantially less than formerly. It takes time to reach the point of optimum sanitation.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

General

It is difficult to conceive of any nation gaining economic or financial benefit from American Samoa. Its only export, aside from handicraft, is copra, the maximum production of which is 2,000 tons annually, an insignificant quantity in world production. The island resources have no potential. Due to the terrain, the geographic isolation of the area and its sparse population, opportunities for commercial development are limited. In fact, the limited resources of American Samoa provoked such a lack of interest at home that it took the United States Congress 29 years to acknowledge the cession of Tutuila and resulted in practically no direct Federal appropriations specifically for the naval administration.

Although Tutuila had the "finest harbor in the Pacific," it was not especially attractive to traders or planters. In the early days before 1900, Apia in Western Samoa was of economic and commercial importance, and it was only when the naval station was developed in Pago Pago that Tutuila became worthy of note. The naval station dominated the whole bay area increasingly with the years and to the end of Naval administration by far the major part of the island income stemmed from the operation of the naval facilities.

With this in mind, the basic economic policy of the Navy Department for the administration of the Pacific Islands under its jurisdiction was promulgated on January 15, 1948. The directive was a crystallization of policies developed in 48 years of administration and provided in part as follows:

Indiscriminate exploitation of the meager natural resources of the area is to be avoided. Trade and industry should be encouraged along lines which directly benefit the local inhabitants by providing for their physical needs and material well-being and which are of a nature and on a scale such that ultimate ownership and management can be transferred to their hands. The establishment for the profit of aliens, of enterprises which tend to maintain the native economy at the level of cheap labor and those which do not permit the local inhabitants to enjoy the full benefits of their own labor and enterprises shall not be tolerated. No rights . . . shall be granted to non-local private individuals, companies, or associations without prior approval of the Secretary of the Navy.

The life and customs of the Samoans have a bearing upon the economic development of the area. As in all areas throughout the world, the Samoan adjusted his life over a period of hundreds of years to his surroundings, i.e., a tropical climate, plentiful food supply from the sea and the soil with minimum physical effort, and isolation in a small land area. As Dr. Keesing expresses it in *Modern Samoa*, "The economic system has a central ideal a minimum of effort, in contrast to white ideals, such as maximum production and efficiency." There is little desire as yet for the Samoan to accumulate wealth. His prestige among his fellow men depends upon the extent to which he distributes his wealth. Under the communal system it was practically impossible for a Samoan to save money since goods and possessions passed from person to person. Members of the Fita Fita Guard and Band earned large sums of money under the local economy, yet almost to a man they were out of funds within a short time after each pay day. Only firm refusals on the part of naval authorities prevented wholesale withdrawals of "special pay" in advance. Under this system, if a Samoan earned \$1 or \$500 a month, he would have no more at the end of the month. Where these conditions exist, there is little incentive to work except for what is needed to meet the daily needs.

Agriculture

The basic agricultural policy, although substantially followed in practice in American Samoa from the beginning, was not enunciated by the Navy Department until January 15, 1948. It contained the following statement concerning agricultural development:

In those areas in which the inhabitants are agriculturally minded, they should be encouraged and assisted in bettering their methods of agriculture and in increasing the yield. In other areas where the people are not agriculturally inclined, consideration shall be given to the importation of trees and plants which, while requiring little cultivation, will effect an augmentation of the food supply or will provide materials for local construction and handicraft. The establishment of "industrial" agriculture by outside owner-management which offers only employment or farmer-tenancy to the local inhabitant will not be permitted. Every encouragement will be given to agricultural development

along lines which will assist the area toward self-subsistence and which will assure the individual the maximum returns from his efforts.

The carrying out of this policy has been difficult due to the factors of culture and tradition and to the limited natural resources at hand. However, the Naval Government made continuous efforts to try to develop agriculture, although little outside help was received.

On March 18, 1902, the Commandant, Captain Sebree, requested the Navy Department to interest itself in the agriculture of the islands, and asked for seeds. He also pointed out that the government owned 4½ acres of land on the north side of the harbor and suggested it as an ideal place for the Department of Agriculture to establish an experimental station. The Commandant was advised by the Navy Department that the Department of Agriculture had stated that it had no funds for this purpose. Help was offered in the form of a small supply of orange and lemon seeds for trial. Captain Sebree, however, received more than this, and was able to forward to Tuimanu'a District Governor of Manu'a on June 3, 1902, 27 different varieties of vegetable seeds, 19 kinds of flower seeds, and 3 brands of tobacco seeds. As might be expected, with no chance for supervision, Captain Sebree had to report little success with the vegetable seeds. The tobacco, however, must have interested the Manu'ans as the results were somewhat more promising. The Commandant made efforts to obtain other types of seeds such as rubber, ginseng, nutmeg, and coffee, but little success resulted. Governor C. B. T. Moore received a supply of vanilla cuttings in 1904 and in 1905 the Governor reported the cooperation of the Hawaiian Agricultural Experiment Station in endeavoring to obtain suitable highland bamboos for planting in Tutuila.

In 1914 Governor Stearns recommended establishment of a United States Experimental Station. The Department of Agriculture made an earnest effort to obtain an appropriation of \$5,000 from the United States Congress in 1913, to begin an experimental station, with the understanding that a larger sum would be needed. No action was taken by the Congress; however, the Governor was able to report to the Navy Department that much experimental work had been done with seeds and plants imported through the U. S. Department of Agriculture and from the Philippines and Hawaii. A considerable correspondence was carried on at this time between the Governor and the Department of Agri-

culture. On September 6, 1913, the first Department of Agriculture was established by Governor Stearns' order and a plot of ground to the rear of the Fita Fita barracks was set aside for a local experimental station. Seeds were obtained from the United States and planted.

Requests for an experimental station and for an agricultural expert to be assigned to American Samoa recurred frequently in official correspondence. In 1927, in response to an urgent request by Governor Bryan, the Chief of Naval Operations by wire stated that the Department of Agriculture had advised that the Bureau of the Budget had authorized the submission of legislation for an appropriation of \$10,000 to establish an agricultural station; to submit such legislation the Department of Agriculture needed technical supporting information. Governor Bryan pointed out that that was exactly what was needed, a technician who could supply such information. Thereupon he suggested that the Hawaiian Experiment Station send an expert down to make a scientific estimate.

More emphasis was given to the Department of Agriculture in October 1932, when a naval officer was appointed as "Aide for Agriculture." This title persisted until after World War II. Considerable emphasis continued to be placed on agriculture during the remainder of the thirties and up to the beginning of the war. Governor Landenberger in 1933 repeated in a report to the Navy Department what his predecessors had stressed, "The development of agriculture is probably the most vitally essential need of American Samoa today." A program was developed and seeds and plants of practically every kind which would grow locally were obtained. An experimental farm of 25,000 square feet was established in 1932 in the same spot as Taputimu where the present Government Farm is located. The agriculture program was then linked up with the education program. This was regarded as a forward step, since improved agricultural methods are primarily dependent upon a long-term program of education.

The new department was organized for the purpose of introducing new tree and field crops, additional root crops, and useful hardwood trees. It was also intended to improve the quality of local fruits and increase the copra output by introducing better methods of handling and improving the conditions of the plantations. The basic plan included the establishment of school plantations to teach agriculture to the children and form a definite

planting program for the various villages.

The program was slow in getting started. No expert was available and there was no inclination on the part of the Federal Government to subsidize an agriculture program. Thus, with limited funds, it became necessary for the Island Government officials to undertake the task with the personnel and materials available.

In 1936, somewhat discouraged, Governor Milne wrote the Navy Department that "Outwardly the Samoans display little interest in intelligent cultivation of plantations and to them the expenditure of funds on a government experimental farm is a waste of money." Nevertheless, work continued to be done at the Experimental Farm with local and garden-type vegetables including experiments in pest control.

By 1938-39 the Department of Agriculture had made a good start and was able to define its aims and objectives as follows:

- (a) Develop Samoan agriculture.
- (b) Encourage the Samoans to develop their lands for agricultural purposes.
- (c) Aid each village in apportioning its land to crops that will be of the maximum benefit, as best benefits the Samoan customs, tastes, and diet.

To promote these aims, the Department carried out its policy of rendering assistance to villages through the medium of instructional pamphlets and close liaison with the Department of Education regarding the curriculum for elementary agriculture subjects. New crops were tried, including Chinese bananas, a short, stocky, hurricane-resistant variety, and tree seedlings from Honolulu for mixed hardwood trees.

After the hurricane of 1936, from which a serious food shortage resulted, the Department of Agriculture was anxious to find a hurricane-resistant crop. It tried the edible canna with some success. However, the Samoans never took to this crop and the effort was dropped during the war. In fact, recurrent food shortages had been the cause of some concern of the administration. The causes differed from year to year but were usually due to severe wind storms and floods. The Samoans usually will not anticipate the shortages by prudent planting during a season of plentiful supply.

During the year 1939, Mr. Paul Guest, an agriculturalist from the University of Hawaii, made a complete agricultural survey of American Samoa.

His report also included a survey of useful plants and trees of American Samoa.

In 1940 further experiments were made with papaya, cocoa, and tobacco. The administration also worked with the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association on sugar cane. The local variety was infested with the Fiji Disease, a potential menace to sugar cane in Hawaii. In August 1940 two entomologists came down from Honolulu to visit the Experimental Farm and make observations in order to estimate the degree of resistance of four Hawaiian varieties to the Fiji Disease. On conclusion of the study, recommendations were to be made to the Governor proposing a definite program.

On November 29, 1940, the Government of American Samoa took over the Mormon plantation in accordance with the terms of an agreement between the Mormon Mission and the Island Government. The plantation was rich in grass and coconut trees. The agreement also included transfer of 14 horses, 1 jackass, and 200 head of cattle.

In 1941 Governor Wild decided to alter the emphasis of the agricultural policy to include the growth of more western type vegetables on the farm because of the extensive defense program which had just begun. The advent of the war put almost a complete stoppage to agricultural development. The defense projects drained most of the available labor. Copra cutting came to a standstill and the work of the Department of Agriculture was merged with that of the Department of Education.

In late 1945 efforts were begun again on the farm to make it as self-sufficient as possible. In December 1945, with the arrival of 25 milk cows and 2 bulls from Christmas Island, a new dairy was placed into operation on the Mormon valley property at a cost of \$5,000. Because of lack of trained personnel, however, results were not successful in 1946 and 1947 and little headway was made.

To remedy this situation, the department was finally organized into its present form in August 1948 after the arrival of a trained agricultural expert, experienced in work in the Pacific Islands. The Department was given the dignity of being recognized by the Samoan Legislature and, at its recommendation, now occupies a place in the Code of American Samoa.

The duties of the Director require him to form long range plans and to organize projects to improve the agricultural economy of American Samoa. In addition, the Director manages the Island Government Dairy and Experimental Farm. Much of the

work of the present Director is in coordination with the Director of Education, especially with relation to the vocational agricultural school and the high-school farm project. One of his biggest problems is building up the respect and confidence of the Samoans in the activities of the department and overcoming the natural apathy and disinterest in agricultural development.

Recently a forestry survey was made and the possibilities of making American Samoa self-sufficient in its lumber requirements is being investigated. A survey has also been made to explore the possibilities of a frozen papaya industry but, so far, transportation difficulties and reefer space are major obstacles.

Ownership of Land

The subject of ownership of land can be touched upon only briefly in this survey, and the problem merely set forth. In the years before 1900, especially in Western Samoa, it became apparent that unless some definite action were taken concerning land owned by the Samoans, the best land would be bought up by the non-Samoans. Because of ill-feeling between the two groups, a Land Commission was established in Western Samoa and started work in 1893. The important decisions of the Land Commission set the policy followed by the naval administration.

Thus, in 1900, any alienation of land in Tutuila and Manu'a other than to the government and the missions was prohibited although provisions were made for leases up to 40 years. In 1901 another regulation required all non-Samoan land owners in the area to file claims for registration of their properties in the land records of American Samoa. The regulation also gave the new high court the authority to adjudicate conflicting claims, disputes about which arose as a result of the findings of the Land Commission. A great deal of the time of the high court was taken up in settling these claims. The Commandant felt that problems of land ownership were "most vexatious." Misunderstandings, controversy, ill-feeling, and long-drawn-out litigation had resulted.

These original land measures, although amended to some degree, continued to form the basis for the policy of the naval administration. By these measures concerning land, the naval administration provided legal security to the Samoan landowners for the utilization of their land for the welfare of the Samoan people.

One of the main problems facing the government has been the ownership of land by the mixed bloods. For many years prior to 1948, it was forbidden to alienate any lands (except freehold lands) to any person who had less than three-quarters Samoan blood. In 1948, after years of repeated pressure, this provision was relaxed to include those of one-half blood. However, even these people must be born in American Samoa, must be descendants of a Samoan family, live with Samoans as a Samoan, have lived in American Samoa for more than 5 years, and have officially declared their intention of making American Samoa their home for life.

As might be expected, these measures had the popular support of the Samoans. This subject was being thoroughly discussed both by the Samoans and by authorities in Washington in connection with organic legislation for the Samoans. There is some feeling in the United States that the above restrictive policies concerning land violate provisions of the Constitution relative to discrimination against persons due to race, creed or color. The Samoans feel strongly that protective provisions should be provided in any organic legislation. This viewpoint had support of President Truman who, in a letter of February 19, 1951, to Governor Phelps on the occasion of the latter's inauguration on February 23, 1951, stated: "In particular, I want the people of Samoa to have my personal assurance that their traditional rights and lands will be protected while, with their help, the civilian administration finds ways to promote their political, economic, and educational advancement." This personal assurance of the President signified a continuation of the Navy policy against alienation of lands to non-Samoans.

Commerce and Industry

The production of copra and handicraft are the only two industries in American Samoa that produce for the people. Studies have been made looking toward the production of coffee, pineapples, frozen papaya, vanilla, papain, cocoa and others, but unsuitable terrain, the isolation of the islands and lack of interest on the part of the Samoans have always thwarted such projects. Perhaps with the closing of the naval station and the withdrawal of the Navy on July 1, 1951 and the consequent reduction in some of the sources of income of the island, the Samoans will become more interested in other income-producing activities.

Since 1903 the naval administration has handled

the copra on a cooperative basis. Each year the *Fono* traditionally requests the government to market the whole copra crop. This consolidation of effort, making possible more efficient output and marketing, is also utilized in the selling and marketing of Samoan handicraft. Before 1934 the chief sales of handicraft were made locally to visitors, tourists, and the naval station personnel. Having observed the benefits of the government-sponsored copra cooperative, the Naval Governor on October 2, 1934, by Executive Order No. 5, 1934, established a Department of Native Industry for the purpose of providing the Samoans with a means of selling and marketing their products at a fair return. Consequently, in 1935, the department was placed under the direction of the Island Government Treasurer. In the ensuing years the annual income from exports often exceeded \$50,000.

During World War II the department was allowed to lapse because of the war effort. However, pursuant to Resolution No. 2 of the Annual *Fono* in 1945, the Department of Samoan Industry was established April 26, 1945, under the direction of a board of directors and a Samoan manager. The initial capital was \$2,500, later increased on July 1, 1947, to \$12,500 by a loan from the Government of American Samoa. The loan has since been paid back from the operating profits. As presently constituted, the purpose of the department is to serve the people of American Samoa as a cooperative marketing agency for local products, including but not limited to laufala mats, purses and curios distinctly the product of American Samoa. The department has also been authorized to prescribe fair-trade practices and inspection regulations designed to improve the quality of Samoan mats and curios and to secure a fair price for such products for the Samoan craftsmen.

At various times during the naval administration the Samoan people formed their own cooperatives. Small shipping companies, the Manu'a Cooperative Co., the South Pacific Co. and others between 1900 and 1930, were unable to continue in operation. In 1914 Governor Stearns pointed out that the Samoans, due to their communal way of life, were not able to manage their own financial affairs. In the formative years the Governors tried to encourage the formation of cooperatives. Continually, however, the owners were forced to come to the government for help. One Governor himself kept the books on one cooperative at the request of the owners. Governor Stearns in 1914 recommended that private

cooperatives either be wiped out or run by the government alone. In view of the success of the government handling of copra and the government sponsored Department of Samoan Industry, the Samoan people, as indicated by their legislature, have strongly approved participation by the government in these activities. Although not wholly consistent with the principles of free enterprise, it nevertheless fits the needs and wishes of the Samoan community. The actual work of carrying on these activities is done by the Samoans themselves.

At this point reference should be made to the basic policy of the Navy concerning the protection of the economic interests of the local inhabitants of areas under naval jurisdiction. In his letter of January 29, 1948, to the High Commissioner of the Trust Territory and the Governors of Guam and American Samoa, the Secretary of the Navy outlined the naval policy governing the right and entry into and the licensing of private enterprises within certain areas under Naval jurisdiction. The Navy Department has discouraged the immigration of traders and alien merchants and has endeavored to limit the licenses issued to new enterprises owned by non-Samoans in order to encourage the participation of Samoans in private enterprises for their own benefit.

This basic policy letter declares:

Under the authority of the Executive Orders which charge the Secretary of the Navy with responsibility for the Government of . . . American Samoa . . . the Secretary is empowered to deny or to revoke the right of entry into the territory concerned to any persons whose presence therein is detrimental to the public interest. He is empowered to grant, withhold or cancel permission to engage in commercial or industrial enterprises where such enterprises are detrimental to the public interest or inimical to the interests of the local inhabitants.

This power has been invoked several times during the period of the naval administration and the policy of protecting the economic interests of the Samoans against outside exploitation and the establishment of additional enterprises has received the full support of the Samoan people through their legislature. Where licenses have been granted to outside firms, the interests of the Samoans have been well protected.

In 1948, for example, Navy property was leased to a cannery, Island Packers, Inc., for the purpose of conducting a fish cannery, using Samoan labor. The contract between the Navy and the company fully protected the interests and welfare of the Sa-

moan in such matters as wages and salaries, importation of outside labor, sale of the canned products, and limitations upon ownership of land.

During its 2 years of operations the firm based its vessels in the Fiji Islands with plans to deliver the quick-frozen fish to the cannery for processing. An annual output of 125,000 cases of tuna was planned by the company for the first year, with an estimated capacity of 350,000 cases. It was anticipated that the operations of the company would be beneficial to the Government of American Samoa in making available wages and compensation for the local population and would also provide an additional source of food for the civilian economy. The company was incorporated in Delaware with an authorized capital of \$2,000,000 and a subscribed capital of \$1,600,000.

Had it been successful, the project would have employed about 150 people the first year, at wages totaling approximately \$135,000. This figure would have been doubled with the plant running at full capacity. Unfortunately, the company was forced to cease operations in 1950 because of a shortage of fish for processing. The assets of the company were purchased recently by Wilbur Ellis & Co.

Bank of American Samoa

The Bank of American Samoa was established on May 19, 1914, under official control of and with a capital of \$5,000 subscribed entirely by the Government of American Samoa. It is the only bank in American Samoa and has served the banking needs of the community in a highly satisfactory manner.

One of the primary objects of the bank was "to induce the natives to save money." As has been pointed out already, it is not in the Samoan character to save for a rainy day, and it was believed that by encouraging small savings accounts in a local bank, at least a dent would be made in this deeply rooted national trait. On reviewing the accomplishments of the bank in this respect, after 37 years of operation, the casual observer might be inclined to record no progress in cultivating a sense of thrift in the Samoans. Fortunately this is not entirely the case, for the bank has attained great prestige in the eyes of the Samoans. They have learned to entrust their money to it without question and, most important, they now invariably recognize that their financial obligations to the bank have precedence over any other such obligations.

From time to time special dividends have been declared and paid out of earnings, which for the

most part were reinvested in the bank by the purchase of additional capital stock. In 1951 the bank was capitalized at \$50,000 with a surplus of \$65,000, and with undivided profits of \$16,399.32. The ratio of the capital accounts to the total liabilities compared very favorably with banks in the United States.

The business of the bank grew steadily year by year, along with the activities of the Government. For example, assets increased from \$179,331.73 in 1936 to \$183,329.50 in 1940. Net earnings for the corresponding period increased from \$1,687.18 in 1936 to \$2,954.81 in 1940.

The war, with its resultant construction boom and tremendous influx of military personnel, brought a meteoric rise in the assets of the bank. The following comparative statement will indicate this increase:

30 June:	
1940	\$183,229.70
1941	309,768.27
1942	992,956.28
1943	1,253,780.70
1944	1,762,569.00
1945	1,804,280.70

Following the war and the subsequent shrinkage in the island economy, the assets of the bank diminished as follows:

30 June:	
1946	\$1,607,672.53
1948	1,569,858.49
1949	1,503,307.77
1950	1,478,750.09
1951	1,309,883.87

Net earnings in 1949 were the highest in history: \$18,646.39; 1950 earnings were about 20 percent less: \$15,051.05.

It is interesting to note that all the personnel of the bank, with the exception of the manager, are Samoans. In 1951 one Samoan was spending a year in training at one of the correspondent banks, the American Trust Co.—a forward step in personnel training and management.

PUBLIC FINANCE

The financial activities of the government, its accounts, and control of its expenditures and receipts was a source of constant concern to the early Governors. The first custodian of the island funds was the customs officer, Chief Boatswain Henry Hudson, U. S. N. In November 1901, Assistant Paymaster E. E. Goodhue, U.S.N., attached to the U.S.S. *Abarenda*, became the custodian, and the custom-house officer was directed to transfer to him, at the end of

each month, all public money in his custody. No money was to be paid out except by order of the Commandant. As of December 31, 1901, the island accounts consisted of "Customs"; "Native Tax," mostly paid in copra; "Licenses," used at the discretion of the Commandant, for such purposes as feeding of prisoners; "Clothing," started in 1900, used to buy clothing (uniforms) for the Samoan officials. The first uniforms were furnished, but later the officials were required to purchase them.

The establishment of a "budget" system for handling the finances of the various departments of the island government was considered in 1913. At that time the moneys of the island were in five funds: Native Tax, Customs, Judicial, Samoan Hospital, and Clothing. The Naval Supply Officer recommended that they be reduced to two: Native Tax and the General Fund. The Native Tax was to remain unchanged, to permit the independent and proper handling of the copra contract surplus, and the "General Fund" was to include the remainder of the funds. But the Supply Officer was 37 years ahead of his time. In fiscal 1951 the Treasurer of American Samoa made a similar proposal and has now streamlined the accounting system. In 1913 the Supply Officer had also proposed a "budget departmental accountability system" on a monthly basis but the change was not made.

The first positive forward step in public finance was made in 1923 when Governor Pollock called a meeting of island government officials to discuss the best method of handling the finances and the departmental work of the various districts. During the years previous to that time there had been recurring requests made by the Samoan Chiefs to participate in audits and inspections of government accounts.

Accordingly a budget was inaugurated in October 1923, and was so successful that it was permanently adopted in January 1924. The setting up of the budget was a painstaking task and each department had to justify thoroughly its requests for funds. To complete the financial system, the Office of Comptroller was established on November 1, 1925. In 1927 the plant account was first established, the property of the government inventoried and appraised, and a system of accountability put into effect.

The laws regarding taxation and customs duties which affected everyone alike often offended the Samoan customs whereby the highest ranking chiefs received special prerogatives. However, under the

new system, status as leader of a community did not provide exemption from taxation.

In the early years, by choice of the Samoan leaders, the taxes for the support of the government were to be paid in produce to be sold by the government for the benefit of the taxpayers. Based on these recommendations, by Ordinance No. 21 of 1900, signed by the Commandant, it was stated that the revenue raised under the ordinance should be used in payment to Samoans only for services rendered in behalf of the government. The latter point is one which is often pressed by Samoan leaders. The amount to be required by the government for 1901 was fixed at \$7,500, this amount to be paid in to the Treasurer, and the surplus returned for the people and distributed through the chiefs under government supervision. About \$10,000 was collected and 40 percent of that amount was returned to the villages in cash. After numerous recommendations made from 1914 to 1920, the system of paying in copra was changed in 1921 to an annual poll tax to be placed into the Native Tax Fund.

As might be expected, there was little enthusiasm among the Samoans for paying their taxes. In the year 1926, for example, after a severe hurricane, the chiefs pleaded that they could not pay their taxes because of destruction to their plantations. However, as Governor Bryan carefully noted, the hurricane did not interfere with their making an unusually large (in view of the situation) annual contribution to the London Missionary Society in November of that same year. The records are studded with the strenuous exhortations of the Governors that the people pay their taxes. Many delinquent taxpayers were offered stevedoring employment, carpentering and other jobs to afford them an opportunity to pay their taxes. In isolated instances the salaries of civil officials were suspended until all taxes were paid. Although perhaps not in accord with the best methods of enforcing of tax collections, the latter proved effective in some instances as a last resort, and it was not entirely without precedent in Samoan custom.

The presence of the naval station in Tutuila and its intimate association with the administration of government affairs traditionally made separate financial accountability a difficult one. The Navy Department as early as 1902 recognized the need for a distinction between expenses for purely naval functions, as distinguished from the island government. The outbreak of hostilities in 1941 did a great deal to make the distinction more difficult due

to the fact that during the war there resulted an almost complete cessation of Island Government activities. Practically all Island Government buildings and facilities were used by the Navy and Marine Corps, and roads, quarters, and automotive equipment were maintained and improved by naval funds.

With the cessation of hostilities and the beginning of the return to more normal conditions in 1945, Governor Hungerford felt that the financial system then being used was inefficient. Each of the nine departments of the government collected and disbursed funds for the conduct of department business including their own separate payrolls. To consolidate the financial activities of the government, Governor Hungerford recommended to the Navy Department that a naval supply officer be sent down to "assume all the financial functions of collection and disbursement of Government of American Samoa funds, such as a city or state treasurer."

This was the beginning of the system whereby an experienced civilian specialist was employed by the Island Government as treasurer, in whom all collection and disbursement functions are centralized. He has full financial control and, by means of consolidating all accounts into the general fund (except a revolving account kept with a purchasing agent in San Francisco), can tell at a glance the financial condition of the government.

Island revenues grew from approximately \$1,800 annually in 1900 to more than \$407,000 in 1950. The effect of the war upon this rise can be shown in the following comparison of the net worth of the Island Government general fund.

1941	\$87,330.58
1942	163,361.00
1943	336,436.13
1944	798,680.11
1945	1,046,430.65
1946	1,144,300.76
1949	1,215,500.71
1950	1,620,636.37
1951	¹ 1,525,000.00

More than 60 percent of this net worth was invested in U. S. Government securities in a long-range investment program. The remainder represented the plant account which grew from an estimated \$280,000 in 1944 to \$800,000 in 1950. In addition, the Government of American Samoa occupied two Navy-owned buildings valued at \$223,665, the maintenance and operating cost of which was

borne by the Government of American Samoa.

The plant account of the Government of American Samoa has been further increased by over \$1,300,000 with the departure of the Navy on July 1, 1951, necessitating a further increase in the cost of operation of the Island Government. With this increase in plant account, the Navy has made available to the local government over \$300,000 worth of naval stock account supplies, including over a year's supply of petroleum stock, thus lightening the burden of the transfer. The Island Government had an investment portfolio, as of June 30, 1950, of \$808,800 in U. S. Government bonds and \$50,000 in the capital stock of the Bank of American Samoa. Thus the Government of American Samoa at that time was one of the few in the world with no debts.

However, the war-time balance has since been reduced. Since the war, expenditures have considerably exceeded receipts, due primarily to the policy of expanding the public education and health programs, an ambitious public works program, and added expense of maintaining a larger plant account. It was felt by the Naval Government that the expansion in the fields of education and public health has been so essential to the well-being of the Samoan people as to justify tapping the reserves. In the fiscal year 1950, for example, expenditures amounted to \$606,426.46, while revenues amounted to \$407,713.26, a deficit of \$198,713.20.

The main sources of revenue are the poll tax, store taxes, taxes on personal vehicles, fees from license, and customs duties, which are responsible for more than one-half the gross revenues. A further source of income has been an allotment from the Navy since 1947 of \$55,000, chiefly for public health and for the salaries of the chief justice and the clerk of the high court.

Communications and Transport

The subject of roads figured strongly in the minds of the Samoans and the operations of the government. Rarely an annual legislative session passed without mentioning the roads. It was the earnest desire of the whole population that all main roads be paved; the increase in vehicular traffic raised a considerable amount of dust in the villages and, unless properly maintained, dirt and coral roads deteriorated rapidly in heavy rains. Successive Governors from the beginning attempted to obtain Federal funds to build and maintain roads. There was little success until the war, when the Navy and Marines widened and extended the road system.

¹ Estimated.

The roads were indeed important, not only to the people but also to the administration. As the Governor, Commander C. B. T. Moore, U.S.N., pointed out to the Navy Department in a letter dated June 23, 1905, requesting Federal assistance, "roads are an important factor in the advance of the people by reason of increased facility of bringing the outlying villages under the civilizing influences of the government." Good roads were also largely responsible for better attendance by the Samoans at the Samoan Hospital for necessary treatment.

One of the first official acts by the Navy was an ordinance issued by the Commandant, September 3, 1900, establishing a public highway around the bay area. The Samoans were quite willing to work, but had no experience or tools. The tools were provided. On November 26, 1901, the Samoans were ordered to build three principal roads, providing the labor themselves. During that fiscal year approximately 15 miles of road were built. However, since no island funds were available, all hands joined in, including the high chiefs. The government assisted with the difficult parts where blasting was needed.

Progress was so slow, however, that the Commandant, Captain Underwood, requested a state-side engineer and bridge builder who arrived July 1903, with 16 contract personnel. With his arrival the work was speeded up and island funds were used.

The roads were originally intended for pedestrians and horses. With the introduction of carts in 1911 and automotive vehicles after World War I in a steadily increasing number, further extension and improvement became necessary.

The chiefs made so many continued requests concerning roads that Governor Poyer in 1918, aware that the free labor system often was not successful, sharply told the *Fono*: "American Samoa has about the worst roads in the world; the only way to secure good roads is to subject yourselves to road taxation as has been done by all the people in the world having good roads." To improve the organization for road maintenance, a Public Works Officer of the Naval Station was appointed by the Governor in 1918 as engineer to supervise the roads.

It soon became apparent that the system of using free labor for road maintenance and repair meant in many cases uneconomical and inefficient expenditures of island government funds. Too often, road foremen, trucks and equipment would go to some designated location and find that the full labor force was not there to report for work. Consequently, in 1927, the Public Works Officer recom-

mended a permanent road crew of 12 men for the skilled labor and also recommended that the villages cooperate by keeping the road ditches and drainage clear. This is essentially the system used today except that village roads, apart from main roads, must be maintained by the individual villages themselves.

During the war a tremendous impetus was given to the road-building program. In 1948-49 an extensive road-building program was begun on which \$26,872 was spent during fiscal 1949. In 1951 there were 3.5 miles of paved roads, 38 miles of improved roads, 28 miles of secondary roads, and 50 miles of trails.

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In many respects American Samoa benefited materially from World War II. However, shipping conditions in the postwar period were worse than before the war. In 1951 freighters of the Matson Line were calling at Pago Pago six to eight times a year on their southward passage, but approximately only once a quarter on their northbound passage. The gradual withdrawal of the Navy and the closing up of the naval station have made it unprofitable to call at Pago Pago more often. The freighters carry virtually no passengers for American Samoa. Air mail is delivered via the roundabout route between Suva, Fiji Islands, and Apia. There is no passenger travel direct to the United States and the Island Government must rely on the overtaxed New Zealand Airlines Corp. for air transportation from Apia to Suva for its government employees, with consequent delays due to bottlenecks and resultant increase in travel expense.

This situation in regard to contact with the outside world is reminiscent of the period between 1904 and 1912 when the Ship Subsidy Bill failed in Congress, and United States shipping to Samoa virtually ceased. In his annual report to the Secretary of the Navy in 1908, Governor Moore stated that the failure of the bill "can be considered nothing less than a calamity to this Island Government, both in matters of mail communication and of revenue." In 1907 Governor Moore also complained of discontinuing service of the Oceanic Steamship Co. and deplored the necessity of the United States depending on foreign lines of communications." Fortunately the Oceanic Steamship Co. (Matson) resumed operation July 2, 1912.

Transportation improved steadily until just before World War II when American Samoa was served by the Oceanic Steamship Co. 13 times a

year. Practically all imports and exports came and went by these steamers. However, bulk shipments, diesel oil, kerosene, gasoline and lumber were received twice a year on tramp steamers and the fuel requirements of the naval station and station ship were furnished by a collier. Furthermore, the Oceanic Steamship Co. utilized two passenger vessels which made travel between American Samoa and the United States relatively easy. These two liners, the *Mariposa* and the *Monterey*, discontinued their run during World War II.

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During World War II and until June 20, 1950, except for a brief period, American Samoa was served by planes of the Naval Air Transportation Service and the Fleet Logistic Air Wing, at intervals of 1 to 2 weeks. Army and Navy cargo vessels also served the islands until July 1, 1950, when, with the beginning of the withdrawal of the Navy, the service came to an end. In August 1950 the last naval station ship, the U.S.S. *Sharps (AKL 10)*, departed.

Adequate and regular shipping is essential in order to export the mats, curios, and copra of the islands. The lack of regular transportation between Tutuila and Honolulu has hurt the export trade and it is the earnest hope of the new civilian administration that adequate transportation can be resumed.

From the beginning of the naval administration, interisland transportation was carried on by small, privately owned schooners which transported copra and carried passengers. Official transportation to and from the outlying islands of Manu'a and Swains was provided by ships of the naval station.

At present, transportation between Aipa and Tutuila is carried by the *M. V. Samoa*, owned by the Steffany estate, which makes occasional interisland trips within the American Samoan group. She is a schooner, of 180 tons displacement, launched July 19, 1941, and built entirely by Samoan craftsmen. During the war she was acquired by condemnation proceedings by the military government for the use

and benefit of the war effort. She was operated profitably by the government Samoan Navigation Co. during the war and returned to her original owners in 1947, after she had been completely overhauled and placed in substantially the same condition as when taken over by the government.

To fill the requirements for official transportation brought about by the withdrawal of the Navy station ship, the government of American Samoa chartered from the people of Manu'a a privately owned vessel, the *O. S. Manu'a Tele*, a former United States minesweeper. Although expensive to operate, since she was in poor condition when chartered by the government, some form of official interisland transportation is necessary in order properly to discharge the obligations of the administration toward the outlying islands.

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The U. S. Naval Radio Station maintained excellent communication service on a 24-hour basis with the outside world and also handled all classes of messages as a service to the local civilians. Small radio stations maintained on the islands of Ta'u and Ofu have been in commission since 1926; Swains' has been operating since 1938. The operators were Samoans medical practitioners.

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From this brief economic survey it is obvious that American Samoa has little commercial importance, nor is it an area for the potential settlement of people from more crowded regions. The new civilian administration is faced with problems which include a rapidly increasing population with limited resources, an urban bay area that is too crowded in relation to the outlying areas, an educated younger generation seeking employment which may not be forthcoming, and the adjustment of former Navy civil-service employees to lesser Island Government salaries. Last, but not least, it is faced with the necessity of obtaining from Congress a heavy subsidy in order to fill the income gap formerly provided by the operation of the naval station.

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Historical Outline

In 1900 Commander Tilley found a greater degree of literacy among the Samoan people in their own language than among Americans in the United States in the English language. The missionaries had pioneered in furthering education in Samoa for the purpose of training native pastors and they had made the people literate in their own tongue. However, the naval administration, from the beginning, adopted the policy of establishing a secular public school system. In addition to the work of the mission schools, the Commandant, on July 6, 1901, requested that the Navy Department allot money for the purpose of establishing a primary day school in Fagatogo at the naval station. This was the start of many urgent appeals from Commandants and Governors for Federal assistance to establish public schools in American Samoa. Other petitions for Federal assistance included one to the Navy Department on July 11, 1903, by non-Samoan, mixed-blood and Samoan residents of Tutuila; to the President of the United States, in 1903, from Tui-manu'a (District Governor of Manu'a); and in 1908 the chiefs of the western district asked the Secretary of the Navy for \$5,000 for building a schoolhouse for a school already established.

In response to the plea that Federal assistance be provided for administration of the local government, the Secretary of the Navy, on September 14, 1922, wrote: "Government aid should be discouraged as far as possible and the people encouraged to do more for themselves." This was the general policy of the Navy Department with regard to direct appropriations for the conduct of the Island Government. On this point Governor Crose wrote, on December 24, 1910, in connection with an agriculture experiment station:

The Governor will not ask Congress for an appropriation for any purpose. Repeated requests for money to establish public schools have so far met with only silence. The most necessary expenditure on the part of the Government, outside of purely naval affairs, will be for a public school system.

On April 11, 1904, as a result of a circular letter sent out November 20, 1903, by the Commandant, a public school was opened in Fagatogo at the naval

station, to be used as a primary school for boys and girls and paid for from the customs fund. Due to teacher shortages, it had a difficult time staying open. Furthermore, as a result of the disinterest of the Samoans in schooling for girls, it gradually became a boys' school, with an enrollment of 40 to 50 pupils from 6 to 15 years old. The difficulties of travel from the Manu'a and the western districts tended to restrict the use of the school to those living in the immediate vicinity of the naval station, a cause of some annoyance to the chiefs of the western district. This was probably the main reason for their petition of 1908 to the President requesting funds for the construction of a schoolhouse in their district.

There were four important landmarks in the history of education in American Samoa. The plan of this brief survey is to introduce these landmarks historically, and discuss them in terms of their development, aims, organization, physical plants, curriculum, vocational efforts, together with the scholarship programs of the Department of Education.

The first landmark in education developed under the regime of Governor Crose, who took a great interest in educational matters. In 1911 the Governor tried to unify the somewhat disconnected elements of the educational efforts in each district by establishing a board of education and by encouraging the missions to teach English in their schools and to produce some cooperation among themselves. Governor Crose also supplied all the nonsectarian schools with textbooks, stationery, slates, and other supplies, from the customs funds. The first organized effort continued into the administration of Governor Stearns who attempted to organize a public school system in 1914 but efforts were not productive until 1921.

January 1921 is significant as the second landmark in education when Governor Evans, at the request of the Samoans, determined to set up a public school system. An organization was finally developed but was continually handicapped by lack of money and an inadequate supply of trained teachers. Nevertheless the number of schools and pupil attendance continued to increase during the twenties.

The congressional hearings of 1930 gave both Samoans and non-Samoans an opportunity to air their views on education and brought about the third landmark in education. Sufficient interest was aroused in the educational system in American Samoa for a complete revision in the Samoan educational program through the establishment in 1932 of a private foundation in memory of Frederic Duclos Barstow, a young man who before his death had been interested in the Samoan people. A large sum of money was made available for educational purposes in American Samoa, and a representative committee established to oversee the expenditure of funds. A "Committee for Educational Reorganization" was sent to American Samoa in 1933 to formulate a modern program of education. The completely new set of objectives and practical plan of action developed by this committee were followed by the naval administration in later years. The program laid out by the Barstow committee is still largely in effect.

The education system improved steadily up to World War II. However, because the full attention of the Samoans was channeled into the war effort, educational development was interrupted and curtailed after December 7, 1941, and the policy was established that "education will be continued as practicable not to interfere with defense." In many instances school buildings were actually occupied of necessity by the Marines. A number of teachers volunteered for the Marine Corps Reserve and others went to better paying jobs in government or contractors' offices. School buildings fell into a state of disrepair and in several instances were actually demolished or removed as was the Poyer School. Many older students accepted labor employment instead of attending school.

The year 1946 is a fourth landmark in the history of education in American Samoa. Naval Reserve officers still on active duty, who were experienced in the field of public education, were detailed to direct the Department of Education. This was the first official recognition that the Navy chaplain who had heretofore been responsible for the department was a much overworked individual and not specifically trained or qualified for the job of Director of Education. A civilian from Honolulu, experienced as a teacher and administrator, was also employed. Primarily, through his efforts, the level of education was raised from the 10th grade to the 12th grade and the first high school along American lines established. The budget for education was

soon quadrupled.

So much time, money, and effort of the Department of Education was directed toward the high school, at the expense of elementary education, that the present Director of Education, an experienced and well-qualified educator, has set forth a policy of strengthening the elementary system in order better to prepare students for entry into the high school. It was necessary to pare down the high school budget in order to accomplish this objective.

Aims and Policies

The need for establishing a set of objectives before laying out a positive plan for a desirable system of education was recognized clearly by Governor H. F. Bryan. At the annual *Fono* held November 14-15, 1927, various resolutions were introduced calling for drastic reductions in the number of public schools and teachers. There were plain indications that the people of American Samoa were not satisfied with the results obtained by the schools. The Governor prevailed on them to withdraw their resolutions.

However, the Governor himself had many misgivings about public education. As he stated:

So much depends on the ultimate aim with regard to the Samoans in determining whether it is desirable to attempt to give all children education in English language in the public schools patterned after American schools. Before the establishment of the present school system the Samoan people were almost 100 percent literate in their own language and educated sufficiently for conditions in which they pursued a happy existence.

From this statement the basic educational thinking of naval administrators in American Samoa can be discerned. It was not the aim of the Navy to train large numbers of white-collar workers among the natives. Such a course would be of small benefit and lead to labor maladjustment and dissatisfaction with the humble and necessary pursuits to which they had long been accustomed. The measure of success or failure in avoiding this pitfall marks the degree to which our educators adapted western educational training to Samoan needs.

The lack of continuity in administration from one Governor to the next was perhaps nowhere more apparent than in the educational program. One of the first statements on policy, made by the Acting Commandant in 1901 was: "There should be a school system established under governmental control and all children should be taught to speak English." The naval administration early planned on

adopting a secular public school system on American lines.

It had become apparent, however, that rapid Americanization was not working out. In 1927, when the *Fono* desired to pass resolutions curtailing education, two main factors influenced the thinking of the chiefs; first, the unsettling influences on the pupils caused by new knowledge and behavior in the schoolroom and the tendency of the students to follow the example of the alien teachers, with a lessening of respect for their own culture and responsibility to the Samoan society; second, the unconscious contravention of local customs by the schools in such matters as using chairs and desks instead of sitting cross-legged on the ground, standing in class when speaking instead of sitting as one does in the presence of elders in the Samoan custom, and the introduction of coeducation in the schools. In other small but important ways the Samoans felt that they were losing contact with their children. Although the schools were not wholly responsible for these conditions, they were associated with the schools by the Samoan leaders.

Recognizing this situation, Governor Lincoln started a new trend of thinking when he stated his conception of education in a letter to the Board of Education on November 6, 1929:

It seems reasonable that the children should be taught Samoan and Samoan history that perhaps Samoan customs should be taught at home; the objectives stressed in the schools should be to help their own people learn agriculture and how to improve it, rather than to get a government job. It is not the object to educate the youth so that they feel they are too good for agriculture and must have an office job.

This tendency toward adapting the school more to the local Samoan setting and helping to develop the children to solve Samoan problems in their own locale evolved rapidly with the radical change in emphasis instituted in 1933 by the committee of educators sent from the University of Hawaii by the Barstow Foundation. This committee consisted of Dean Benjamin O. Wist, and Profs. Robert Faulkner and William McCluskey from the University of Hawaii. The objective they set for the school system was "to produce minds trained to deal critically and effectively with the economic, social, and ethical, religious, and other issues within the setting in which the persons concerned are to live." Dean Wist says in this regard: "Education must be a means of making life today richer and more adequately lived. Education must work from

what it is, for the first steps of the road. Hence it must have a respect for existing cultures. But nothing is to be depended on as permanent. New generations will reshape things to meet their own needs. Ours is a philosophy of immediate needs, not of final ends."

Thus ample room is left to the student to choose the type of life he wishes to lead, whether wholly Samoan, wholly alien, or a mixture, rather than letting the teacher attempt to force American ideas and behavior on him.

As a result of the study made by this committee, the Department of Education revised its objectives and policy. The following statement has been adopted as the official educational policy of the Government of American Samoa:

It is recognized that much in Samoan ways and life is good in itself and is admirably adapted to the people of these islands, but that American Samoa is undergoing change, especially through the influence of western civilization. In view of this changing condition, which is likely to go much further as time goes on, . . . the objective of education is to conserve the best of Samoan culture and at the same time to give acquaintance with the intellectual tools and social concepts and institutions of the West, to the end that Samoans may maintain respect for their native heritage and skill in their traditional arts and crafts, and at the same time may learn to meet on equal terms with other peoples the conditions of the modern world.

With these enlightened aims in mind the Navy Department, in a basic policy letter of January 15, 1948, outlined the following official objectives:

The type and extent of educational facilities will vary in different localities according to local needs and the native capability for assimilation. The primary consideration is a progressive development of each community along lines which will raise the native standards by improvement in health and hygiene, by betterment in methods of food production and in the nature of food supply, and which will equip the local inhabitants for the conduct of their own government and the management of their trade and industry.

Education programs shall foster and encourage instruction in the native language and history and in native arts and crafts. Instruction in the English language for inhabitants of all ages is a prime necessity but this is not to be construed as discouraging instruction in native languages and culture. Vocational training in trades, skills, agriculture and homemaking as suited to the particular local should be included in all curricula. Tests and educational material should be appropriate to the local environment, should be geared to the capacity of the inhabitants to absorb and should be calculated to effect the aims of the system as enumerated above.

Maximum employment shall be given to local teachers and programs for their progressive training and for the training of additional native teachers shall be continued.

Organization

With practically no funds and no organization for education there was, to all intents and purposes, no government-sponsored education until 1921, and education remained primarily with the missions.

Unsuccessful efforts were made in the formative years to obtain financial aid from the Federal Government for the employment of trained administrators. In 1911 a Board of Education was appointed but did not function effectively because there was no administrator to coordinate the program. A State-side teacher was employed in the government school (Poyer School, named in honor of Governor Poyer, at Fagatogo, which was transferred across the bay to its present site in 1914), but teacher turnover was so rapid that the school functioned ineffectively. In 1920 the Samoans requested the Governor to widen the opportunities for their children. Accordingly, Governor Evans energetically set himself the task of organizing a system of public schools throughout American Samoa. He appointed a Navy chaplain as Superintendent of Education and a Board of Education, including three Samoans, one representing each district, was made responsible for overseeing the educational activities, and making recommendations to the Governor. A Director of Education was appointed as technical adviser to oversee the school system, including the organization and inspection and training of teachers. Primary schools to grade four and intermediate schools to grade eight were established. The schools were entirely secular and separate from the mission schools, although the Brothers and Sisters' nonsectarian schools at Leone and the Mormon school at Mapusāga were by mutual agreement incorporated in the school system.

Tutuila was divided into 15 school districts and Manu'a into 4, the purpose being to establish a graded school in each district and to change Poyer School ultimately into a high school.

The Samoan people gave hearty support to the Governor's plan for a public school system. At the end of the calendar year 1921 there were 18 public schools in operation, and by February 13, 1922, when the Fitiuta School (Tau) was opened, the school system as planned was complete. Poyer School provided courses up to and including the eighth grade, Leone Boys School to the fifth grade, and all remaining schools courses through the fourth grade.

By June 30, 1922, there were 19 schools, 29

teachers (5 American), and 1,567 pupils enrolled. The twentieth school of the system was opened at Maséfau in March 1924.

By 1930, 21 government schools were in operation, 2 went through the eighth grade, 6 went beyond the fourth grade, and 13 went to the fourth grade. Two thousand and forty-four children were enrolled and 49 teachers employed. Sixty percent of the students were in the primary classes, 31 percent in the first four grades, and only 9 percent in the fourth to eighth grades. The system required a budget of \$20,000 a year. In 1933 the Barstow Foundation, as we have indicated, gave great impetus to the educational development.

The general over-all organization of the school system, however, did not radically change through the years from 1921 to 1951. The Governor continued to be the head of public education and was advised on policy matters by the Board of Education consisting of eight members, five department heads serving as ex officio members and three Samoans appointed by the Governor to represent their respective districts. The administrative staff of the Education Department consisted of an American Director of Education, a Samoan Assistant Director of Education, a Samoan Superintendent of Elementary Education, an American High School Principal, an American Vocational School Director, and an American Elementary Curriculum Supervisor. The high school staff, in addition to the principal, consisted of a Samoan assistant principal and 15 American teachers. The elementary schools were staffed by 140 Samoan teachers.

In 1951 the number of schools had grown to 50, the public elementary school enrollment was 3,498, and private school enrollment 1,175; reflecting the rapid increase in population.

Following World War II, a positive move was made in the direction of advanced education with the establishment of the first high school of American Samoa, which opened on October 7, 1946, with 110 pupils. A period of intensive effort followed, in an endeavor to place the high school on a State-side basis. New teachers were hired from the United States, modern textbooks and equipment were ordered, and buildings obtained from the Navy Department.

The budget for the high school alone was \$60,800 for the fiscal year 1951, almost three times as much as the expenditures for the whole Department of Education for the fiscal year 1940, and rose to

\$71,960 in fiscal 1952. From the start the high school was received with considerable enthusiasm by the Samoans.

It became apparent, however, that only a few Samoan students were capable of assimilating the high school courses, primarily because of their lack of reading comprehension in English. Efforts were made to compensate for this by introducing a preliminary "preparatory" course of 1 year in an effort to make up the deficiencies in the student's elementary education. At present efforts are being directed at strengthening the elementary school system to prepare students better for high school work of state-side standards. The first class graduated from the high school in 1950.

School Buildings and Facilities

Traditionally Samoan schools were built along the lines of Samoan houses (*fales*), with thatched roofs of sugarcane leaves and coral floors. As the years went by an increasing number of schools were equipped in the higher grades with desks and benches.

The postwar years brought a marked change in the style of the schoolhouses. Village after village began to request *palagi* (American) style schoolhouses. The job of conversion was made easier by salvaging buildings abandoned by the Marines for use as schoolhouses. A large percentage of the village schoolhouses are now low-slung, screened, frame structures with corrugated iron roofs and, incidentally, are more expensive to maintain.

During the 1930's the Navy Department endeavored to refuse requests to build frame structures in various villages for several reasons: the Samoan type of structure is cooler and more comfortable; it is less expensive to build and maintain; and it can be built of materials already in the villages. In addition, the cost of maintaining frame buildings is high and a burden on the government Public Works Department. These arguments still hold true, but to many Samoans frame buildings are considered a mark of progress and prestige. As of June 1951, there were 56 elementary school buildings belonging to the local school districts. Twenty of these buildings were of Samoan construction and 36 were the American-type frame structures. There were three central junior high schools, one in each of the three political districts. In July 1948 the high school moved to a new location into large frame buildings formerly used as barracks by the Marines.

Curriculum and Language Instruction

We have already observed that from 1900 to 1932 the primary emphasis in education was upon the teaching of English in the schools as an important part of the program of Americanization. The question of policy as to whether teaching was to be in the Samoan language or in English was a fundamental one, directly related to the question of whether the objective should be to Americanize the Samoan rapidly or to enable him to live in his own community happily and yet adjust himself to changing conditions.

The adoption of the plan of reorganization of 1933, described in previous pages, stressed the teaching of English. However, encouragement was given to the pastors' school as a means of providing elementary education in the Samoan language. The policy became one of adapting the school to the village community life rather than trying to teach alien ideas and customs.

The school system developed a compromise in the use of the language of instruction beginning with 1938. At the present time, the primary grades are taught in the Samoan language with English as the secondary language. In successively higher grades, additional emphasis is placed upon the English language as the learning processes of the pupils become more developed. Upon reaching the high school the English language is the primary language used in school work. In this manner of teaching the impact of a new language and the acculturation processes incident to learning the new language are not impressed upon a child before he is ready to understand western ideas.

In the formative years of secular education the subjects were the usual three R's with an American emphasis and many of the textbooks used illustrations inapplicable to Samoan experience. Also, visiting instructors from the University of Hawaii often prepared theme outlines which were poorly adapted because the visitors had no background or knowledge of Samoan culture or direct contact with field conditions. For example, one group of teaching instructions recommended that the children improve their English by talking over the telephone and listening to the radio, and urged the children to read newspapers and magazines at home and tell the stories to their brothers, sisters, and parents. One theme outline even advised the teachers to have the children answer the door bell at home as a means of helping their parents. This, in a civilization whose indigenous culture and possessions do not include

radios and telephones and most of whose houses do not even have doors, much less door bells!

Mimeographed text materials were produced in the latter 1930's. Some of the Marist Brothers of the Catholic schools put out good local text material. Such material improved with the years, and is considered to be satisfactory for local use.

The course of study adopted in 1933 provided for a 9-year cycle of teaching with a theme for each year. Theme topics assigned for each year as outlined in the 1933 plan of study were:

First: Home and Home Life.

Second: Community Life.

Third: Foods and How They Are Obtained.

Fourth: Clothing and Shelter.

Fifth: Transportation.

Sixth: Communication.

Seventh: Polynesian Environment.

Eighth: Government.

Ninth: Nations and Neighbors.

The theme is the key subject from which most of the other subjects are developed. A daily "topic" is discussed during the first period in the morning and plans are made to correlate all other subjects for the day. For example, in teaching the theme, "Homes and Home Life," perhaps a topic might be "Mats in the Home." The class, under the guidance of the teacher, discusses the use of mats in the home. A simple story, which will constitute the day's reading lesson, is developed on the blackboard as a result of the discussion. Certain new words from graded vocabulary lists introduced into the stories from time to time provide the spelling and vocabulary lesson. Copying the story into a notebook serves as writing material. The health lesson may stress the way in which mats contribute to good or poor health in the family. The arithmetic class will have problems about mats. The agriculture class will have a lesson in growing and caring for laufala, while the crafts will make some article from cured and prepared laufala.

Thus, under the new policy adopted in 1933, the elementary work was fitted closely to the life in the village in which the majority of pupils would continue to live. The usual three R's were supplemented by history, hygiene, and geography; with additional effort directed to the Bible and morals in the mission schools. The academic program was varied by handicraft work and oftentimes by work in a school garden or plantation. Additional attempts were made to increase the number of schools so as to decentralize the education system and focus

the children more closely to village life.

Facilities are provided in the high school for teaching science, agriculture, and some woodwork. Commercial subjects, including bookkeeping, typing and shorthand, are also taught.

Recently the local school authorities have encouraged the high school students to present plays, a new form of entertainment in the Samoan culture. In an effort to teach the student respect for his own way of living, courses in Samoan culture were taught, and in 1951 an exhaustive study of Samoan culture adaptable as a school course was being made by a panel of educated Samoans selected by the Director of Education.

Vocational Education

Before the war little effort was made in the direction of vocational education. However, in 1941, rapidly changing conditions created new local needs and opportunities for Samoan youth. The defense effort required additional structures and equipment and needed men skilled in carpentry and related shop activities. Likewise a demand arose for typists. In the old way of thinking a typing course was not considered justified, in view of the limited opportunity for employment. It was considered that the schools should train the students for life in the Samoan village rather than for white collar jobs in the naval station or in the Island Government. The war, of course, changed this concept, and the 300-odd Samoan veterans of the Marine Corps Reserve were given an opportunity by the Veterans' Administration to enjoy the benefits of the G.I. bill of rights. In 1948 the Board of Education recommended that the Governor authorize the organization of a vocational school of the government of American Samoa in which the veterans could obtain a vocational education under the G.I. bill. Some previous groundwork for classes in automotive repairs, electricity, woodworking and metal shop had already been laid in 1947, and the school was started in January 1949.

In September 1949, under the impetus of a new administrator (now the Director of Education), the vocational school was reorganized for the fiscal year 1950 and approved by a representative from the Veterans' Administration who had been sent to American Samoa to assist in the satisfactory reorganization of the school along lines approved by the Veterans' Administration.

In 1951 organized, reasonably well-equipped, and well-staffed courses were conducted for about 250-

odd veterans in agriculture, auto mechanics, and woodworking, with academic subjects taught in order to round out the veteran's education.

Scholarship Aids

In 1912, at the request of Governor Crose, three boys were accepted by the Hilo Boarding School in Hawaii at the expense of the Government of American Samoa. This was the first experience of the naval administration in providing scholarship aid for Samoans in education higher than could be furnished in American Samoa.

In 1933 two Samoans were sent to Honolulu on a scholarship basis under the auspices of the Barstow Foundation. One of these is now assistant to the Superintendent of Education in American Samoa and has been working for the Department of Education for 31 years.

In 1947, in an effort to aid the Samoans in obtaining further education, the Navy Department adopted a policy which provided free transportation to Hawaii or the mainland on a space-available basis for 20 students per year who could qualify for and profit by such study. Free transportation was provided by the Navy for all veterans enrolled in Hawaiian or state-side schools accredited by the Veterans' Administration. Twenty-four such students were being furnished transportation to Honolulu and the United States in June 1951. This privilege ended as of July 1, 1951, with the withdrawal of the Navy.

The Training of Teachers

Aside from limited funds, the greatest problem of the public school system in American Samoa had been the lack of trained teachers, both Samoan and non-Samoan. Even as late as 1945, the Director of Education found the Samoan teachers' lack of knowledge of English "appalling." In general, the majority of the teachers at that time had no idea of their responsibilities and needed more supervision, a condition largely caused by the war's disrupting effect.

Valiant but unsuccessful efforts were made at intervals during the first 33 years of the naval administration to provide teacher training, but local funds were simply not available. The Frederic Duclos Barstow Foundation, to which the people of American Samoa owe a large debt of gratitude, started afresh in 1933 with a practical approach to the teacher problem. The distinguished group of educators quickly recognized that the lack of quali-

fied teachers was the most serious handicap in the educational development of American Samoa.

Accordingly, the first extensive Teachers' Training Institute in American Samoa was held at Poyer School in 1933, a 10-week course from December to February, all expenses borne by the Barstow Foundation. Sixty were enrolled, including Samoan teachers, of whom six were women. To assist in the teachers' institute, the Barstow Foundation Committee selected Dean Wist, and Profs. Robert Faulkner and William McCluskey of the University of Hawaii to assist the Superintendent of Education and the Director of Education in revising school laws and administration. Books and maps worth \$1,500 were provided. The work of the institute marked a new epoch in education in American Samoa and was the first positive effort to help the Samoans adjust to the problems introduced by Western civilization.

From 1933 on the teachers' institute was conducted annually with the assistance of the Barstow Foundation. Improvement in morale was apparent and the quality of instruction steadily improved. Reports of the Governors indicate that the establishment of the institute was the biggest single factor in improving the quality of teaching between 1933 and the outbreak of war.

After the war the annual teachers' institute courses resumed their important place in the educational program. There were a sufficient number of state-side teachers in the school program to conduct the Teachers' Training Institute without outside assistance.

Missions and Private Schools

It has already been noted that until 1921 the mission schools provided the main basis for education. During that time certain of the Governors, notably Governors Crose and Stearns from 1911 to 1914, attempted to establish a secular system, but funds, teachers, and equipment were unavailable.

The basis of the mission school education is the village pastor school, in which instruction is given in the Samoan language and in which religious instruction predominates. Since 1921 the pastor schools have operated outside of school hours, usually early in the morning before the beginning of public school hours. After the government established the public school system, some of the Samoan leaders were concerned lest the religious schools be forced out of existence, but Governor Evans reassured the members of the *Fono*:

“ . . . in starting this school system it was done with no idea whatever of putting the different denominational schools out of existence, nor was it with the intention of trying to put the pastor schools out. The idea of the public schools is to provide for the teaching of English. That is the intention of the schools: to enable the children to write and speak English. I want the pastor schools and the denominational schools to continue to teach arithmetic, reading and writing, etc.; in fact everything that they can teach them.”

It was apparent that the Governor recognized that the Government had neither the money nor the facilities to match the quality of education provided by the private schools.

In 1900 when Commander Tilley arrived in Pago Pago, he found four main parochial schools in existence: The London Missionary Society School at Fagalele, the Atauloma Boarding School for Girls, the Boys School at Papatea (Manu'a) and the Catholic Convent School for girls at Leone, established in 1897 by the Marist Sisters.

In April 1906 the Order of the Marist Brothers established the Leone Boys School and late in 1909 the Marist Sisters Girls' School, in which all instruction was in English, was established at Atuu. In the same year a religious boarding school for girls was established at Lepua and in 1915 the Marist Brothers set up another boys school at Atuu.

With the establishment of the public school system in 1921, it became the policy of the Island Government to take over the facilities of some of the denominational schools as they became available. In 1921, at the request of the Island Government, the Leone Girls School became a public school for all the girls of the district and was placed under the direction of the Department of Education. The contract of the Western District with the Order of the Marist Brothers was taken over by the Government of American Samoa and the Leone Boys' School was incorporated into the public school system. A similar arrangement was made for a period with the Mormon School at Mapusaga which the Government helped support with the payment of \$50 per month for one state-side teacher. No religious instruction was to be given in the denominational schools during the regular school hours.

The Leone Girls School was turned back to the Catholic Church in 1944 by mutual agreement and the Leone Boys School became what is now the Leone Junior High School for the Western District. The Boys' School at Manu'a Papatea, is now the Ta'u Junior High.

In 1933 the policy was adopted of permitting pri-

vate schools to continue only if they met government requirements and were placed under the supervision of the Department of Education.

One of the most important and interesting of the many contributions to education made by the Barstow Foundation was the establishment of an experimental school, the Frederic Duclos Barstow Memorial (*Feleti*) School, which offered education beyond the elementary level. The objective of the school was “to educate a selected group of young men of American Samoa in both Samoan and American ways of life, so as to prepare them for leadership of their people.” Enrollment was not to exceed 18 and two non-Samoan instructors, man and wife, and one Samoan were to be in full-time residence for the school. It was to be a cooperative venture between the Government of American Samoa, the chiefs, the people, and outside groups and individuals. The chiefs and the people were to furnish the site for the schoolhouse and land for a plantation for growing food. The school was to be conducted as an experiment for 5 years and was to be maintained from the income of the Barstow Foundation at no expense to the Government of American Samoa. It offered a 3-year course in English and Samoan subjects and modes of living to selected graduates of the ninth grade of the public school system. General policies of the school were supervised by the Governor of American Samoa and the Superintendent of Education. Eight students comprised the first class which graduated on June 16, 1937.

In May 1937 the Governor, Capt. M. Milne, U.S.N., found the school so successful that he recommended to the Barstow Committee that the school experiment be continued for 6 years under an American educator. The Governor further stated that he approved the use of the bilingual method of instruction in use at the Feleti School and expressed the hope that it become a part of the public school policy.

The advent of World War II necessitated the closing of the school in May 1942. In the spring of 1945 two members of the Barstow Foundation, Dr. Peter Buck and Mr. Frank E. Midkiff, visited Tutuila and made arrangements for its reopening in September 1946 under the name of Feleti High School. However, continued administrative difficulties in the school and the resignation of the principal, combined with a high cost per pupil, caused the Board of Education to recommend that the school be closed. Furthermore the establishment

of the public high school in the fall of 1946 overlapped the work of Feleti School. The funds from the Barstow Foundation are now used for the payment of salaries of certain state-side teachers designated as "Feleti Memorial Teachers."

Education in the Future

The fiscal year 1951 found a reexamination of the objectives of education. Under the current long-range plan, vocational training rather than the academic aspect of education is stressed. High schools try to teach the student to make a living in his own community and to develop skills which can be used locally, instead of training him solely for a government job. The Samoans are primarily an agricultural people and courses in the schools are

designed to increase interest in working the soil and to direct the attention and ambitions of the students along agricultural lines. Through the medium of the Parent-Teachers Association and adult education, Samoan parents are becoming acquainted with the new types of learning absorbed by their children. It is also planned that special attention will be given to the gifted and exceptional students to enable them to progress to higher education.

Great impetus has been given to the educational program since the war by increased expenditures and employment of additional state-side teachers. With intelligent direction, the new civilian administration under Governor Phelps should be in an excellent position to make an outstanding contribution to the political, social, and economic development of the Samoan people.

TEMPORARY DUTY COMPLETED

By the transfer of American Samoa from naval to civilian administration July 1, 1951, the President has given notice that the "temporary duty" given to the Navy in 1900 has now been completed.

* * * * *

During the last 51 years American Samoa has been the object of many investigations, commissions, surveys and studies. These have been conducted by men and women of national recognition, many of them outstanding in ethnological, educational, political, literary, or scientific fields. Their advice and criticisms have been constructive, objective, and well motivated, and were of inestimable value to the naval administration in conducting the affairs of American Samoa. Unfortunately American Samoa has also been subjected to a host of pseudo-scientists, do-gooders-for-a-salary, reformers, professional agitators, and the merely curious, many of whom recorded the observers' preconceived ideas. They have usually produced storms of criticism against the Navy, very often confusing and misleading the Samoans. This criticism varies widely in severity and even more widely in substances, but conforming however to the following general pattern and ranging between the following familiar extremes:

- (a) By a policy of overprotection, the Navy has made the Samoan a permanent ward of the Federal Government,

or

The Navy has not been sufficiently alert to the need of protecting the Samoan.

- (b) The Navy artificially supported an anachronistic feudal social order, the *Matai* system, by the recognition and perpetuation of a hierarchy of Samoan chiefs,

or

The Navy has gone too far in undermining the authority of the chiefs, thus sabotaging Samoan custom and culture to the detriment of the people.

- (c) The Navy has pursued too idealistic, paternalistic, and patronizing policies for the Samoans' own good,

or

An autocratic Navy, exercising authority

through an all powerful and merciless Naval Governor, has ground the iron heel of the military into the poor Samoan.

- (d) The Navy has repressed and retarded the Samoans by failing to indoctrinate them along Western democratic ideals,

or

The Navy has introduced Western culture too rapidly, causing deterioration of the Samoan way of life.

Final appraisal of the Navy's record in Samoa must be objectively and exclusively based on the extent to which the Navy has achieved the objectives stipulated in the Deed and Cession of April 17, 1900:

To establish a good government.

To respect and protect the individual rights of all people to their lands and property.

The promotion of peace and welfare of the people, for the establishment of a good and sound government, and for the preservation of rights and property of the inhabitants.

And later in the deed of cession of 1904, ceding the Manua group,

That the rights of the chiefs in each village and all people concerning their property according to their customs shall be recognized.

The following indisputable results eloquently record the judgment:

- (a) More than 99 percent of the land remains in the hands of Samoans of one-half or more Samoan blood.

- (b) The living standard of the people is as high as, or higher than, that of any of their indigenous neighbors in the South Pacific area.

- (c) An increasing number of Samoan students are attending schools and colleges in the United States.

- (d) The health program has nearly wiped out endemic diseases, the population has almost doubled every 25 years since 1900, and the Samoan Hospital has become the outstanding institution of its kind in the entire area.

- (e) The majority of the positions in the Government are filled by capable and trained Samoans.

- (f) A legislative body patterned after democratic lines is functioning in an advisory capacity.
- (g) A healthy respect for law and order, comparing most favorably with that of any other country, is firmly implanted in the people.
- (h) The Samoans have been preserved as a race; Samoan customs and culture persist as a part of their everyday life.
- (i) Poverty as we know it does not exist—a reward could safely be offered for the detection of any Samoan, including the aged and infirm, who does not have food, shelter, and clothing sufficient to his daily needs.
- (j) The fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution apply to the Samoans and are in force.
- (k) The Government is solvent and without debt.

* * * * *

As the last sizable naval contingent moved out of Pago Pago Harbor June 25, 1951, aboard the military transport U.S.S. *General R. L. Howze*, the last scheduled naval transportation, work had already begun on the demolition of the traditional land-

marks of Pago Pago Harbor, the gigantic 450-foot naval radio towers. Removal of these great monuments was symbolic of the passing of an era.

It is fitting, at this point, to echo the sentiments of the legislature of American Samoa as expressed in the printed program on the occasion of the departure of the last naval Governor, Capt. T. F. Darden, U.S.N. (Ret.), and the inauguration of the first civilian Governor of American Samoa, The Hon. Phelps Phelps, on February 23, 1951:

By means of the ceremonies set forth in the pages of this program, The Fono, in behalf of the people of American Samoa, wishes to place in the record of history the significance of the termination of 51 years of naval administration. Mutual respect, understanding, and cooperation has been the keynote of our long relationship. Our appreciation for the guidance and leadership of the Navy in helping American Samoa to move forward is deep-seated and everlasting.

Turning its head to the past, Samoa is sorrowful to bid farewell to a good and loyal friend, the Navy. At the same time, turning its head to the future, Samoa bids welcome to the new administration under the Department of the Interior, and offer its loyalty, cooperation, and obedience with bright hopes for the future. May God grant strength, wisdom, and success to the new administration in its endeavors.

APPENDIX I

In so brief a history it is regretted that there is insufficient opportunity to cite the names of all those who have played their part in making the history of American Samoa during the period of naval administration, 1900-1951. Any such list of naval officers and men, Samoan families, and civilian employees would be long.

However, as this is a history of naval administration, the following list of naval governors is included as part of the record:¹

- Commander B. F. Tilley, U. S. Navy, Commandant, February 17, 1900–November 27, 1901.
- Capt. U. Sebree, U. S. Navy, Commandant, November 27, 1901–December 16, 1902.
- Commander E. B. Underwood, U. S. Navy, Commandant, May 1903–January 30, 1905.
- Commander C. B. T. Moore, U. S. Navy, Governor, January 30, 1905–May 21, 1908.
- Capt. John F. Parker, U. S. Navy, Governor, May 21, 1908–November 10, 1910.
- Commander W. M. Crose, U. S. Navy, Governor, November 10, 1910–March 14, 1913.
- Commander C. D. Stearns, U. S. Navy, Governor, July 14, 1913–October 2, 1914.
- Commander John M. Poyer, U. S. Navy, (Ret.), Governor, March 1, 1915–June 10, 1919.
- Commander Warren J. Terhune, U. S. Navy, Governor, June 19, 1919–November 3, 1920.
- Capt. Waldo Evans, U. S. Navy, Governor, November 11, 1920–March 1, 1922.
- Capt. Edwin T. Pollock, U. S. Navy, Governor, March 1, 1922–September 4, 1923.
- Capt. Edward S. Kellogg, U. S. Navy, Governor, September 4, 1923–March 17, 1925.
- Capt. Henry F. Bryan, U. S. Navy (Ret.), Governor, March 17, 1925–September 9, 1927.
- Capt. Stephen V. Graham, U. S. Navy (Ret.), Governor, September 9, 1927–August 2, 1929.
- Capt. Gatewood S. Lincoln, U. S. Navy (Ret.), Governor, August 2, 1929–April 3, 1931.
- Capt. Gatewood S. Lincoln, U. S. Navy (Ret.), Governor, July 18, 1931–July 8, 1932.
- Capt. George B. Landenberger, U. S. Navy, Governor, July 8, 1932–April 10, 1934.
- Capt. Otto Dowling, U. S. Navy, Governor, April 14, 1924–January 15, 1936.
- Capt. MacGillvray Milne, U. S. Navy, Governor, January 20, 1936–June 3, 1938.
- Capt. Edward W. Hanson, U. S. Navy, Governor, June 6, 1938–July 30, 1940.
- Capt. Lawrence Wild, U. S. Navy, Governor, August 9, 1940–June 5, 1942.
- Capt. John G. Moyer, U. S. Navy, Governor, June 5, 1942–February 8, 1944.
- Capt. Allen Hobbs, U. S. Navy, Governor, February 8, 1944–January 27, 1945.
- Capt. Ralph W. Hungerford, U. S. Navy, Governor, January 27, 1945–September 3, 1945.
- Capt. Harold A. Houser, U. S. Navy, Governor, September 10, 1945–April 22, 1947.
- Capt. Vernon Huber, U. S. Navy, Governor, April 22, 1947–June 15, 1949.
- Capt. Thomas F. Darden, U. S. Navy, Governor, July 7, 1949–February 23, 1951.

¹ When dates are not consecutive, the governorship was filled by the senior officer present during the interim.

NOTE—The first civilian Governor, Hon. Phelps Phelps, was inaugurated on February 23, 1951.



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