

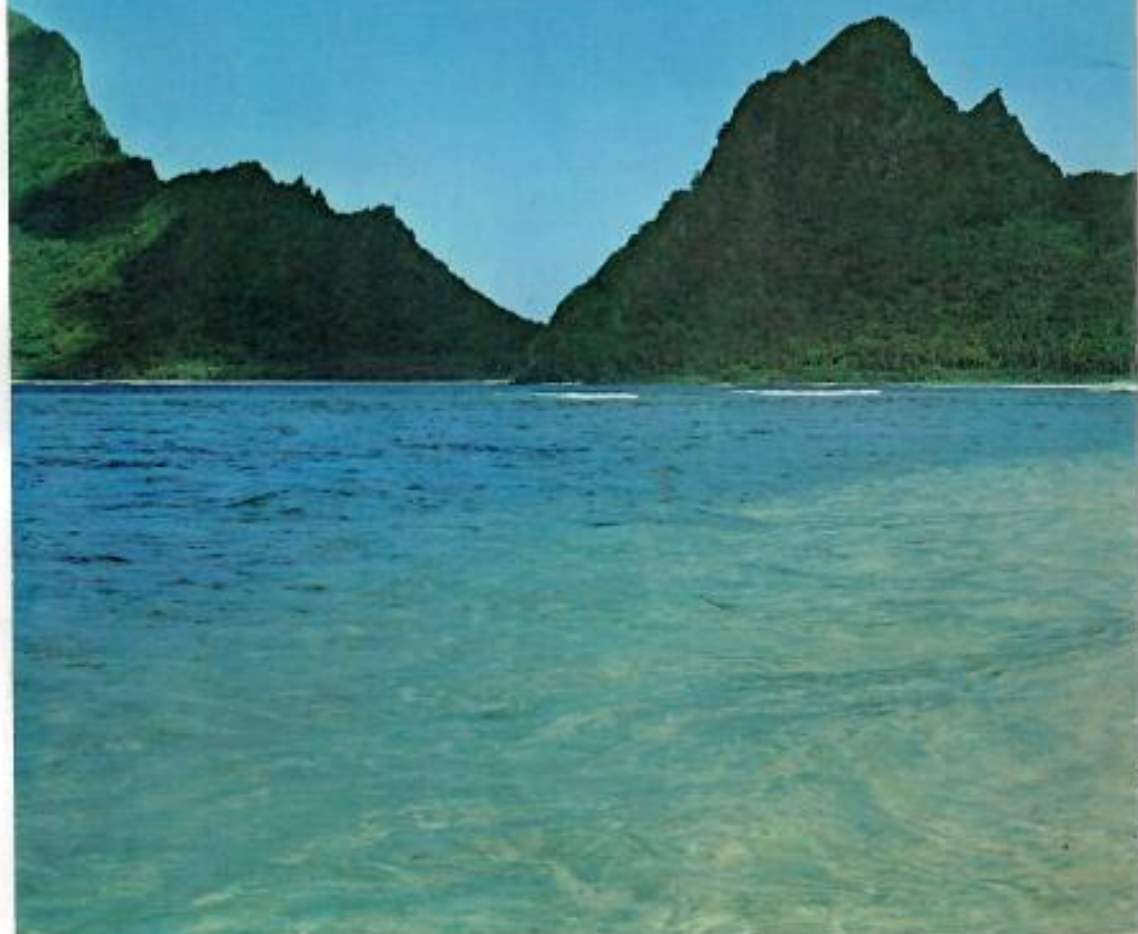
A photograph of a traditional thatched-roof hut on a sandy beach. The hut has a steep, conical roof made of dried palm fronds and is supported by several wooden posts. It is surrounded by palm trees and lush greenery. The ground is sandy and there is a low stone wall in front of the hut.

AMERICAN SAMOA

in the south seas 1973

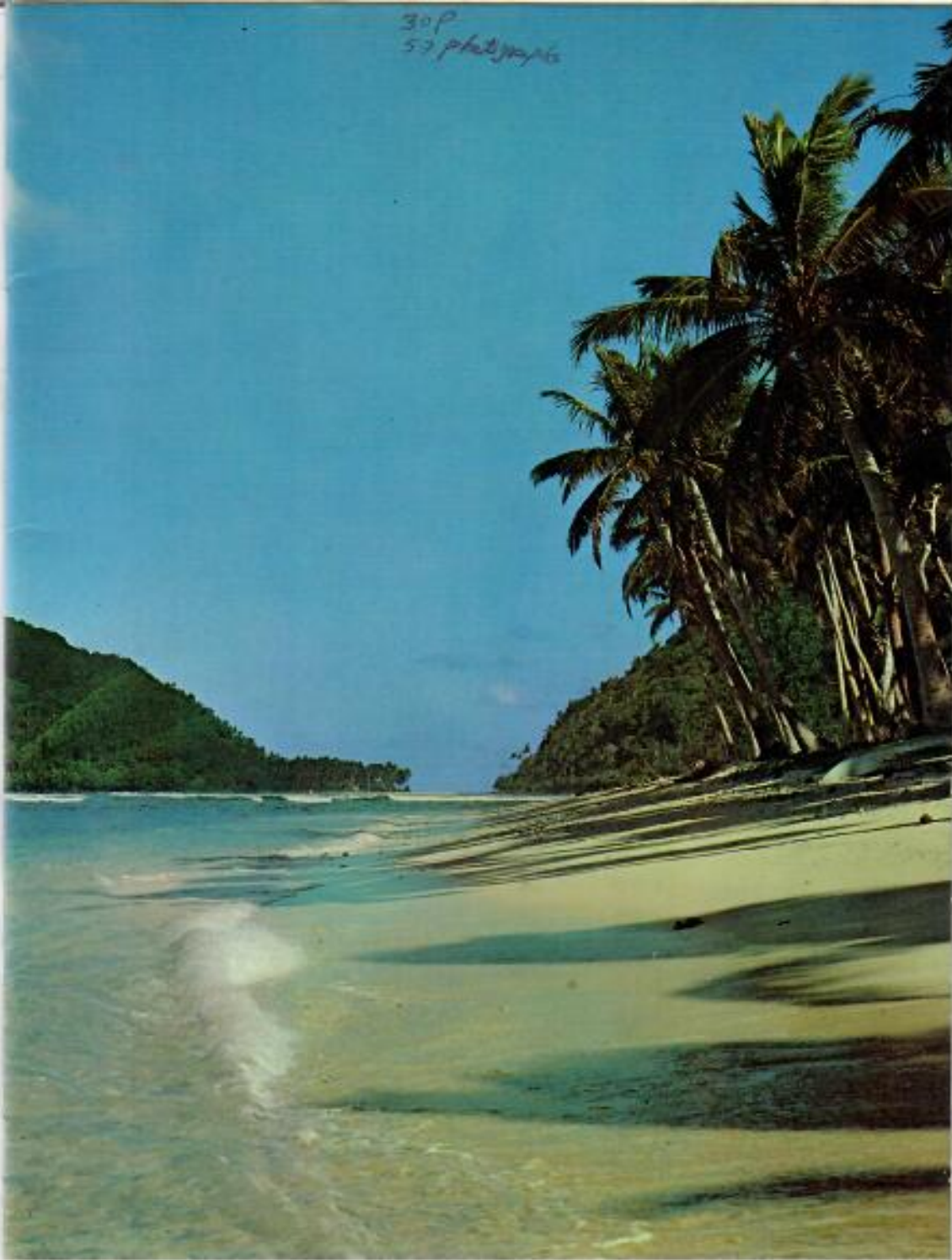
BY CHRIS CHRISTENSEN

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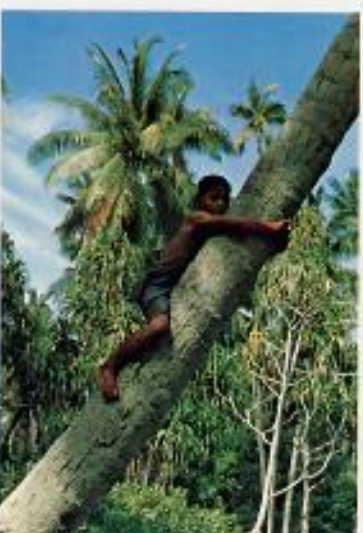


Samoan shoreline waters remain forever warm with temperatures that seldom dip to 75° or climb higher than 85° the year round. Annual air temperatures range from 70° to 90° in this picturesque tropical climate.

30P
57 photographs



Intense Sunshine is relieved by rapidly changing cloud cover and sudden downpours. Steep volcanic slopes covered with rain forests dominate the terrain. The people are Polynesians living mostly along the shore.



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American Samoa

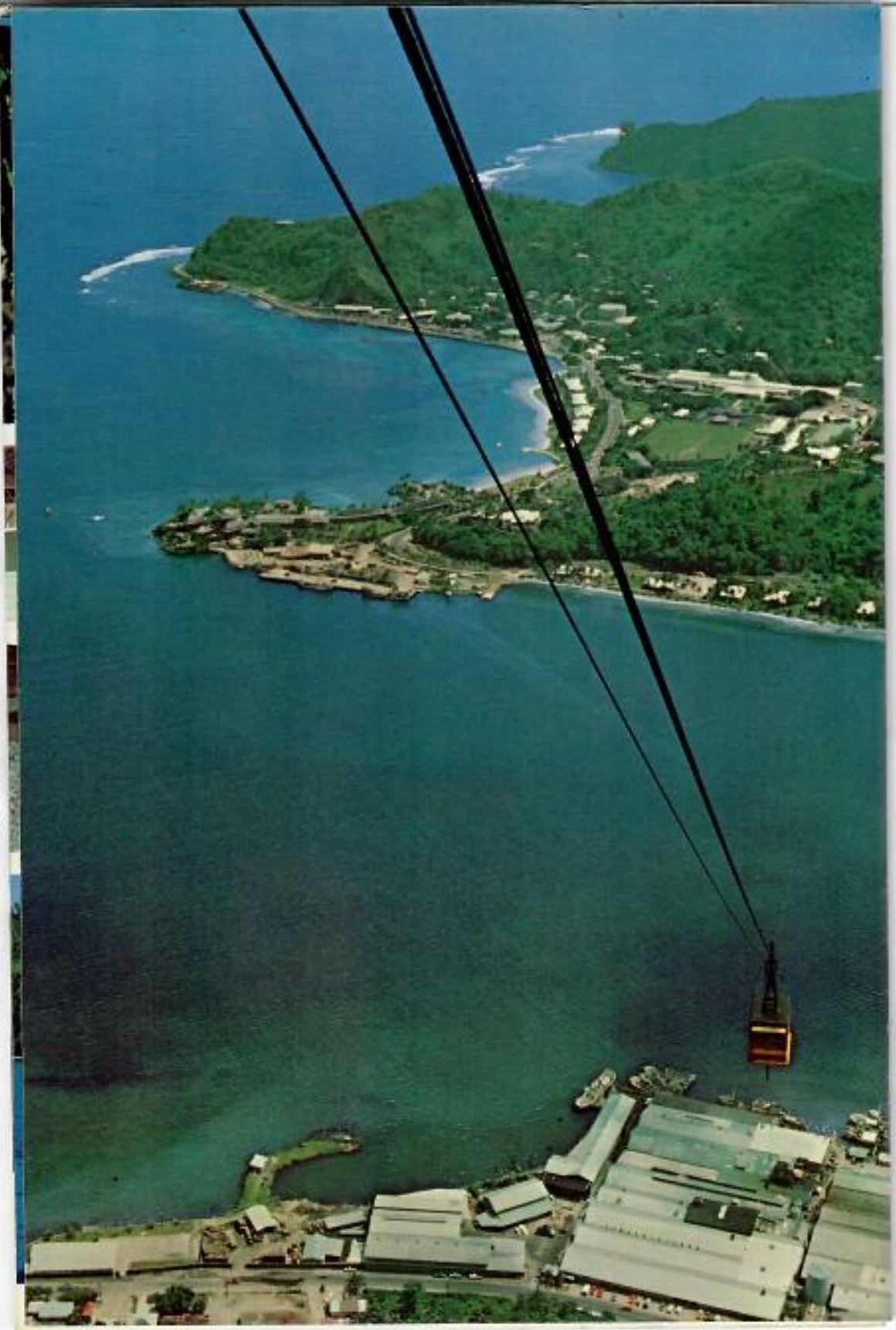
Officially designated as an Unincorporated Territory Of The United States, the seven islands of American Samoa are located in the central region of the South Pacific, about 860 nautical miles below the Equator, at approximately 14° South Latitude and 170° West Longitude, near the International Date Line.

The main island of Tutuila lies half way between Honolulu and Sydney. Regular air service links American Samoa with Hawaii, Australia, New Zealand, Tahiti, Fiji and the nearby Independent State Of Western Samoa. Passenger ships and freighters call frequently at Pago Pago Harbor, the biggest and safest natural anchorage in the South Seas.

Geographically tiny but remarkably beautiful, American Samoa has a total land area of only 76 square miles for all seven islands. Five of them are high masses of eroded lava, including the largest island of Tutuila (52 square miles) and its close neighbor a mile away, little Aunu'u Island. The other three isles of volcanic composition stand roughly 65 nautical miles east of Tutuila. Their names are Ta'u, Olosega and Ofu. Together they comprise the Manu'a Group.

Even more remote are two low coral atolls. Swain's Island, located 200 nautical miles north of Tutuila, is the northernmost point of the Territory. Almost forgotten Rose Island lies 78 nautical miles east of Ta'u. Because nearly all Rose is awash, except for a few hundred yards, it remains the only uninhabited island of American Samoa.





Colorful Pago Pago Harbor

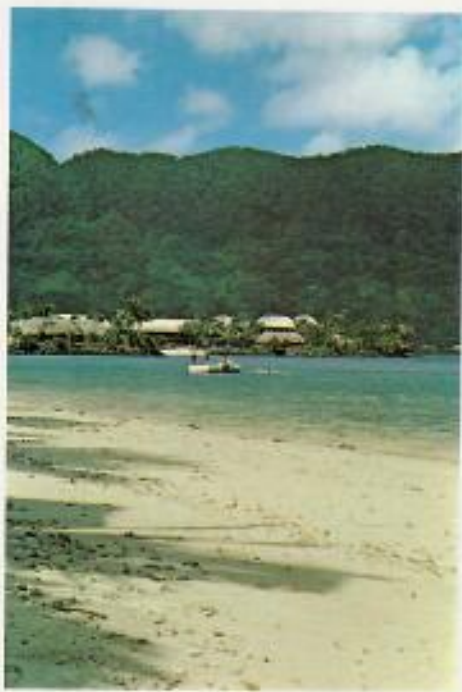
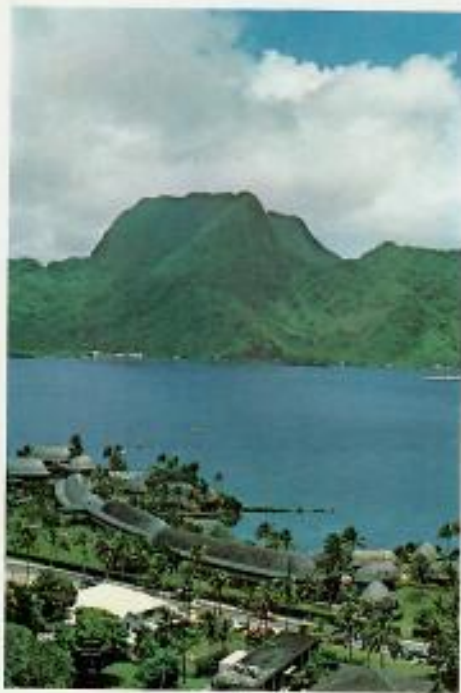
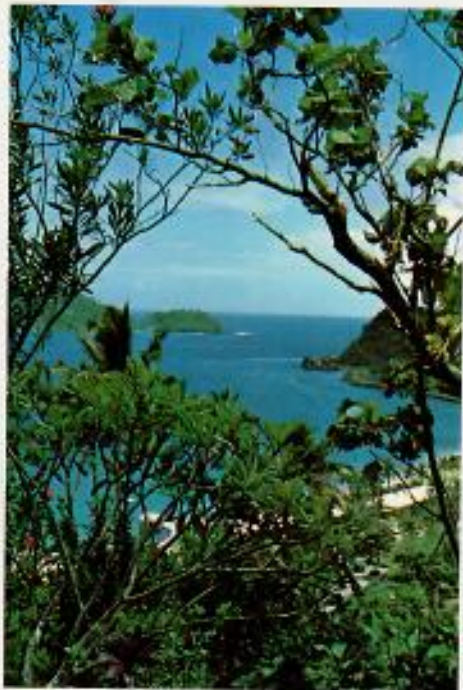
The exotic name of Pago Pago became well known over fifty years ago when the gifted author William Somerset Maugham used this locale as the setting for his masterful short story *Rain* inspired by a brief visit here in 1916. Later the tale appeared as a successful stage play, still occasionally performed, and Hollywood has produced popular film versions. Ever since *Rain*, the harbor's notoriously heavy rainfall has continued averaging 200 inches annually, thereby perpetuating its own literary tradition.

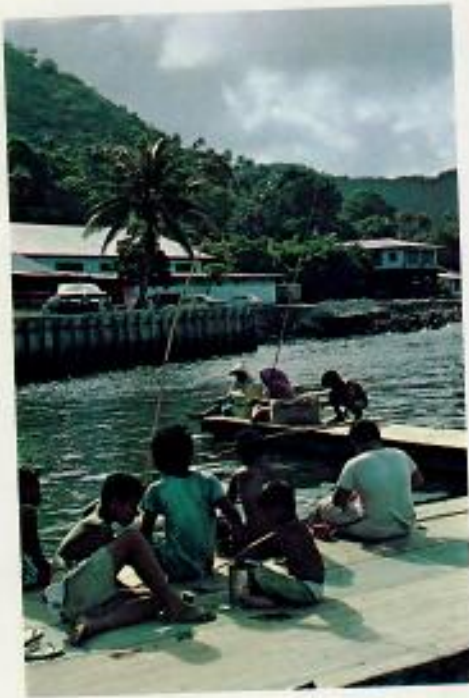
Rain or shine, much of the bay area's local color is generated by the leading industry of the Territory, tuna canning, which involves an ocean-going fleet of nearly 200 Asian fishing boats, employing thousands of Oriental crew members who spend most of their time at sea.

Perhaps the most exciting attraction for visitors is the world's longest single-span aerial tramway built during 1964-65 at a cost of \$165,000. The lower terminal is anchored into 190-foot Solo Hill on the west side of the bay. From here the cable car crosses high over the water, on a steel strand more than mile long, to the summit platform atop 1,600-foot Mt. Alava at the harbor's east side. Upon this lofty, cloud swept ridge the Government has installed electronic equipment and transmitter towers for the extensive educational television system that serves public schools throughout American Samoa. Thus, the cable car passengers include television technicians and tourists alike. It often stops directly above departing cruise ships, saluting them with showers of bright flower petals.

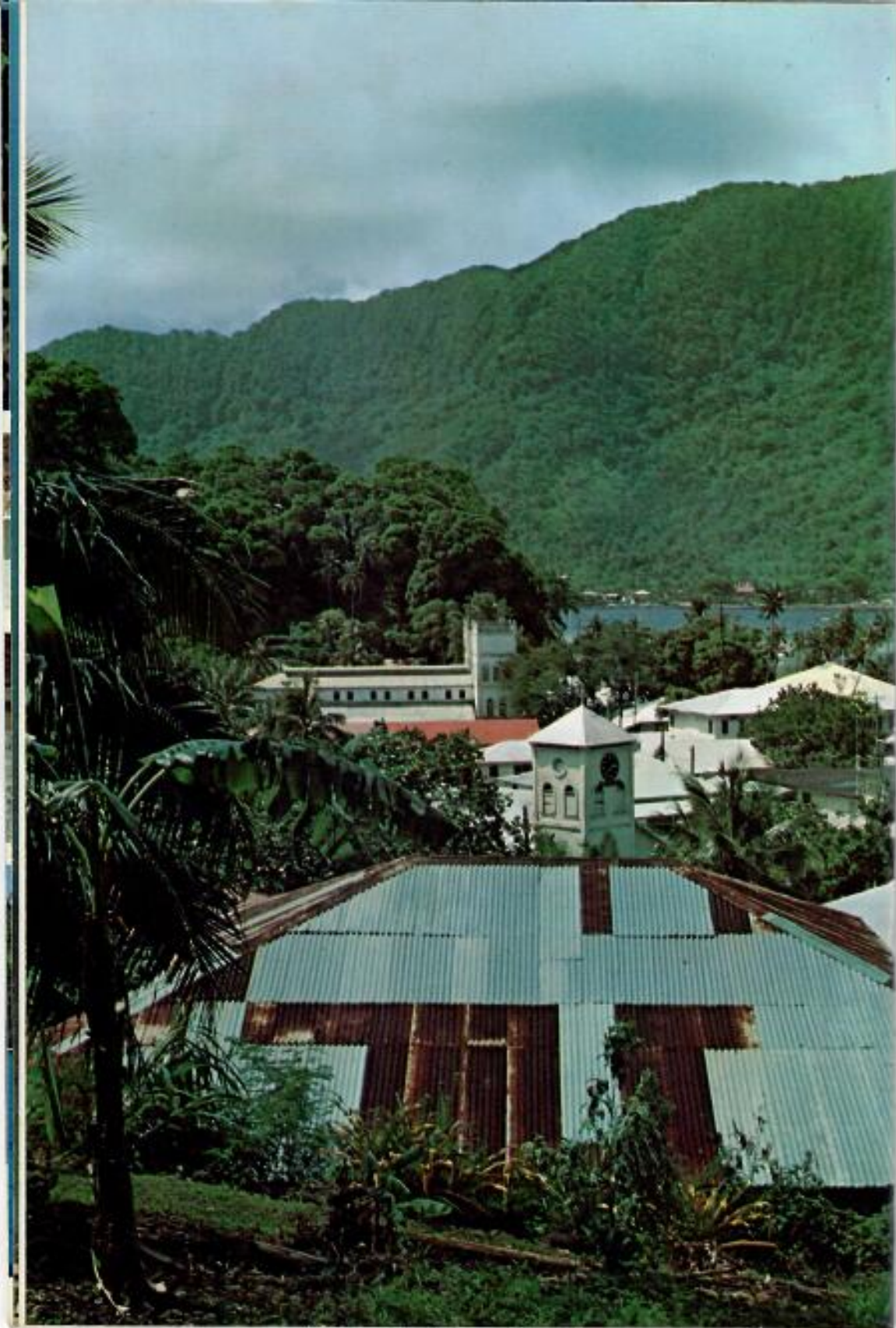


Flower Pot Rock stands adjacent to the harbor entrance, together with the dramatic wreck of a fishing vessel resting on the reef. The main hotel and public beaches view Mt. Pioa (1,717 feet) called *The Rainmaker*.





Anglers with slender bamboo poles catch bay fish while a seafaring Samoan marine engineer rests in port. Tuna fleet activity converges on two east bank canneries. Cargo and passenger ships moor at west side docks.



Fagatogo Center

Commercial hub of the Territory, the Fagatogo area is a helter-skelter jumble of the new, the old, the rickety, and the downright dilapidated. Its main produce market doubles as the central terminal for a bizarre assortment of Samoan jitney buses. Saturday mornings are liveliest, with overflowing exchange stalls crowded from dawn till noon.



Beautiful Tutuila Island

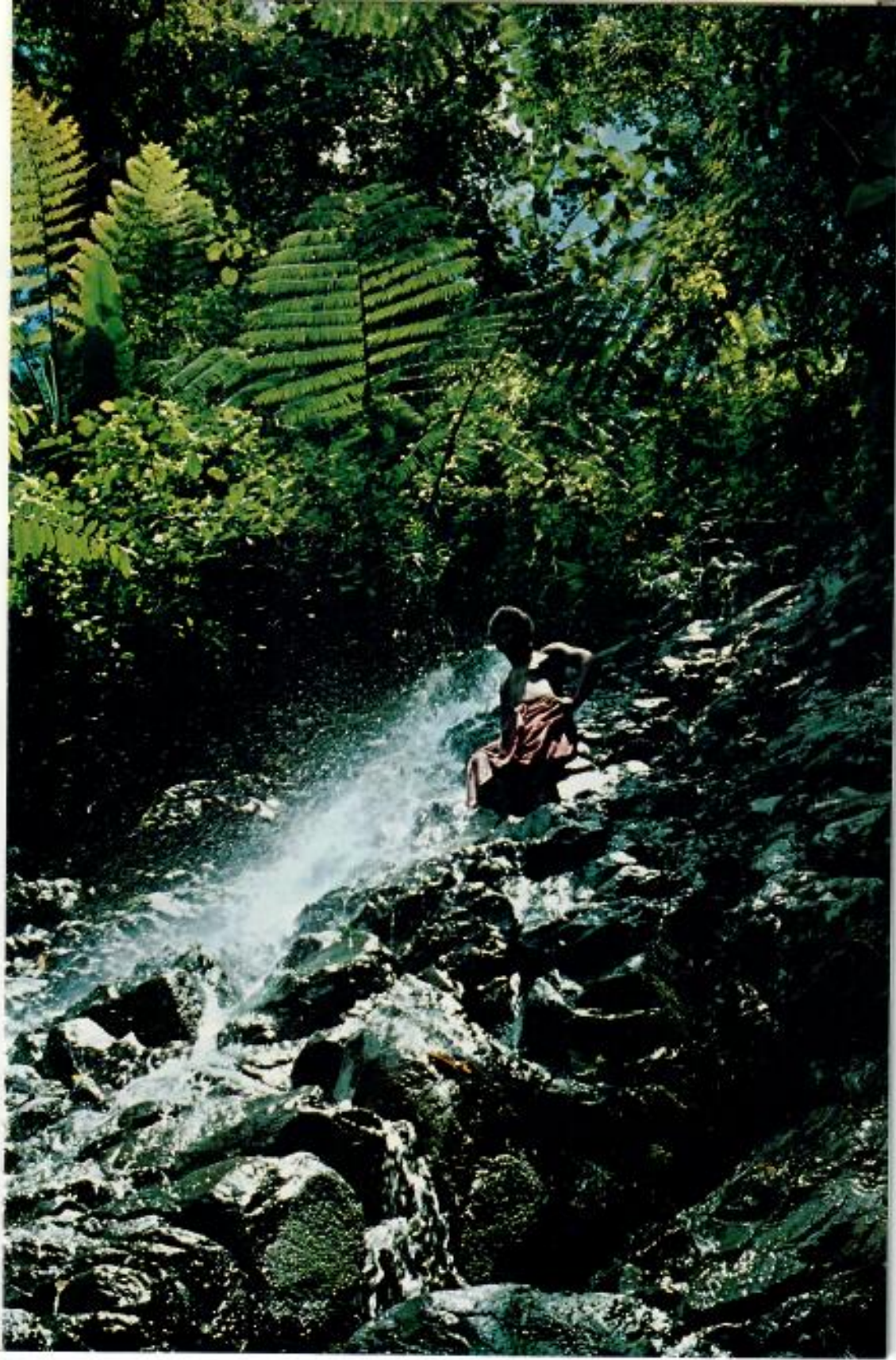
Misty green mountains in a rambling range eighteen miles long produce the lovely silhouette of narrow Tutuila. Its maximum width is no more than six miles. Rising abruptly from the sea, the peaks run east to west and reach their highest elevation of 2,141 feet at Mt. Matafao.

Both sides of the island are deeply cut with fertile valleys, and there is relatively little level ground. An irregular shoreline presents a magnificent variety of cliffs and coves and beaches and fanciful rock formations, while the upland terrain is characterized by humid forests of mighty trees and giant fern, with rushing streams and plummeting waterfalls.

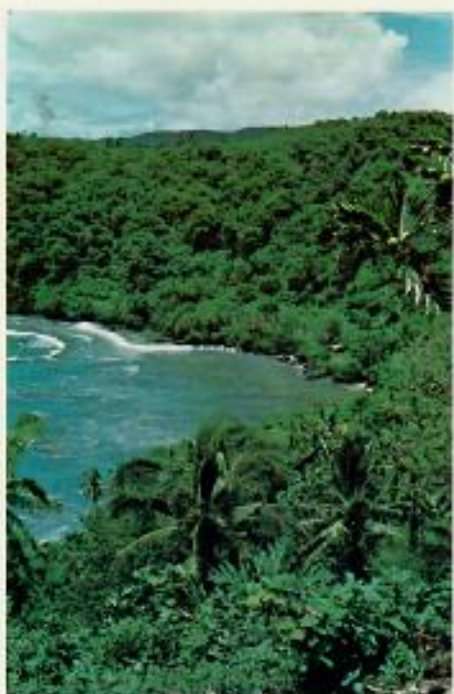
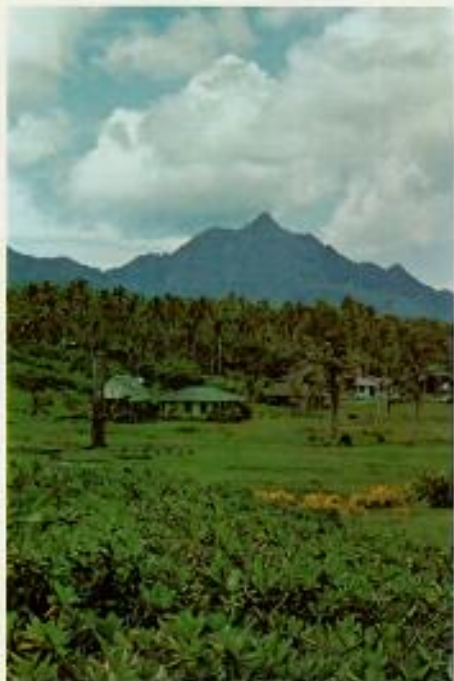
The outstanding feature of the south shore is Pago Pago Bay which nearly cuts the island in half, dividing it into eastern and western districts. South shore villages contain the bulk of American Samoa's total population estimated at almost 30,000. The rugged north shore is rather sparsely populated, and not many people reside on the islet of Aunu'u, a small circular crater 275 feet high, located a mile off the southeastern end of Tutuila. Aunu'u can be seen in the picture below, taken from Vaitogi Village situated in the southwestern district.

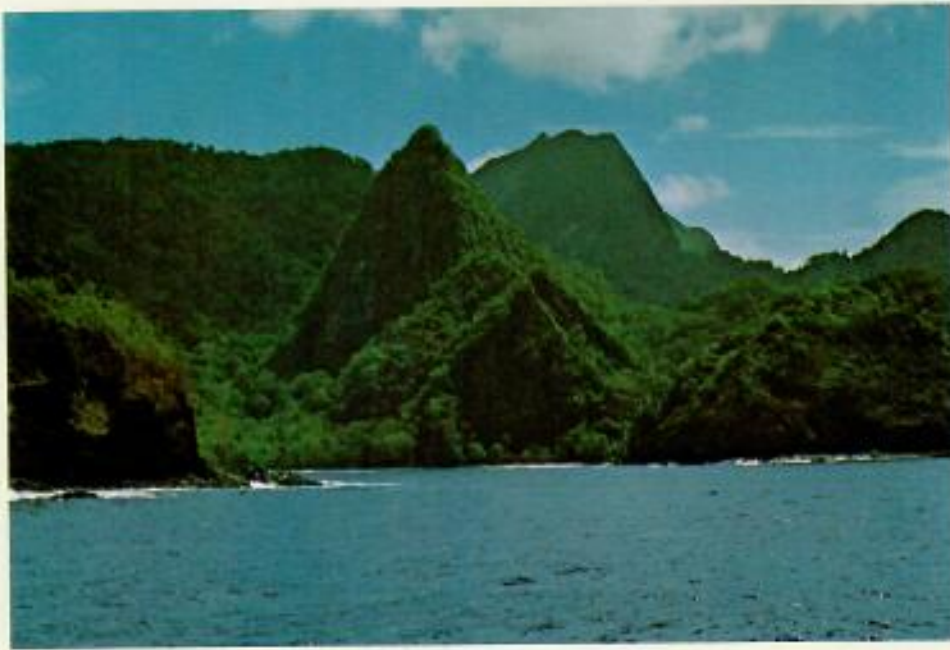
Vaitogi is close to the airport which is about eight miles by winding road from the central harbor. Commercial jets take 5½ hours between sultry Samoa in the South Pacific and subtropical Hawaii in the North Pacific. Over 50,000 visitors land at Tutuila annually by plane and ship. The majority are Americans touring the only inhabited United States possession below the Equator.



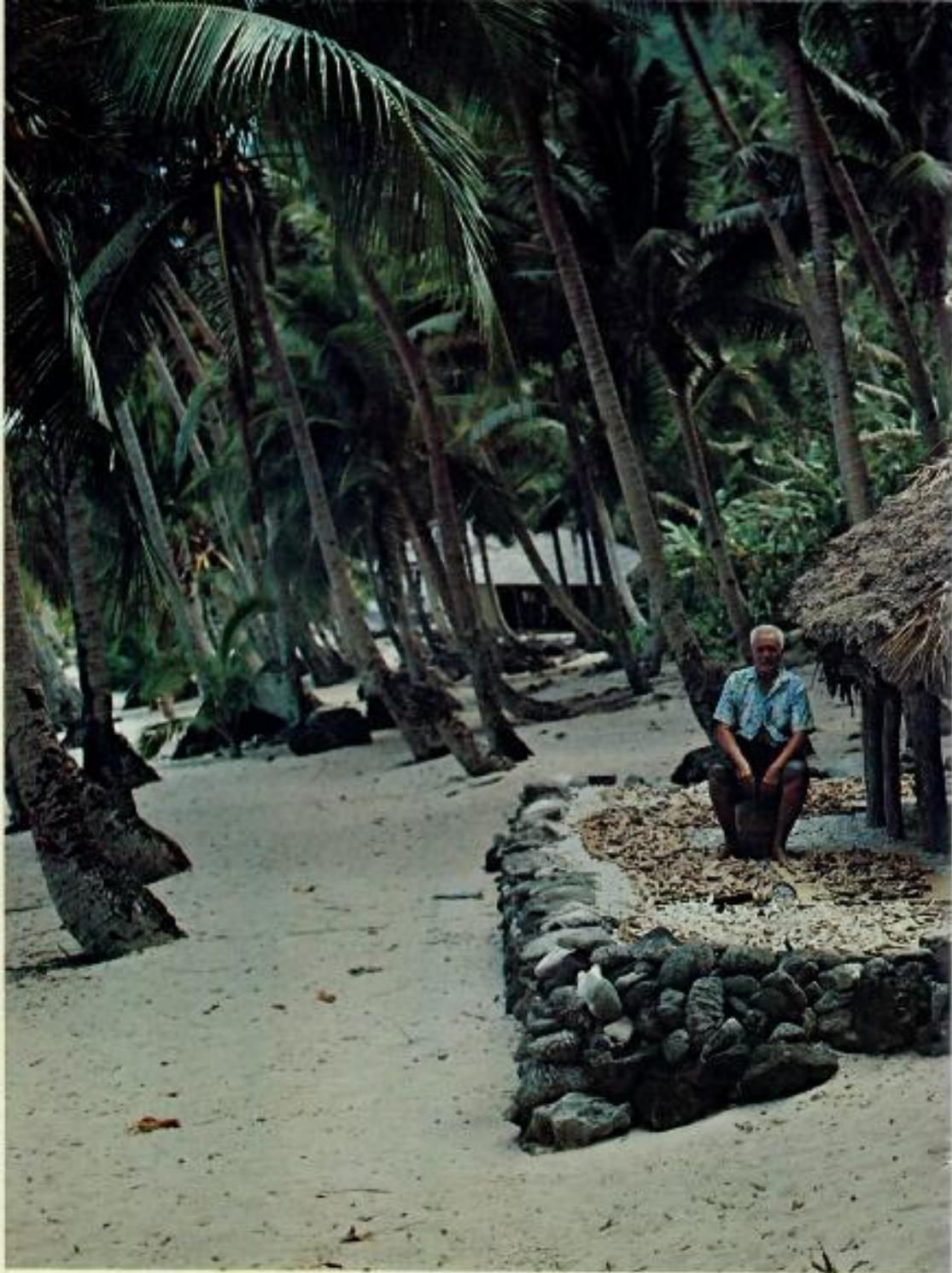


South shore villages are easily reached via good roads. Secondary roads and trails lead to banana and taro plantations cultivated by agricultural workers on the edge of the forest. Pathways link peaks and coves.

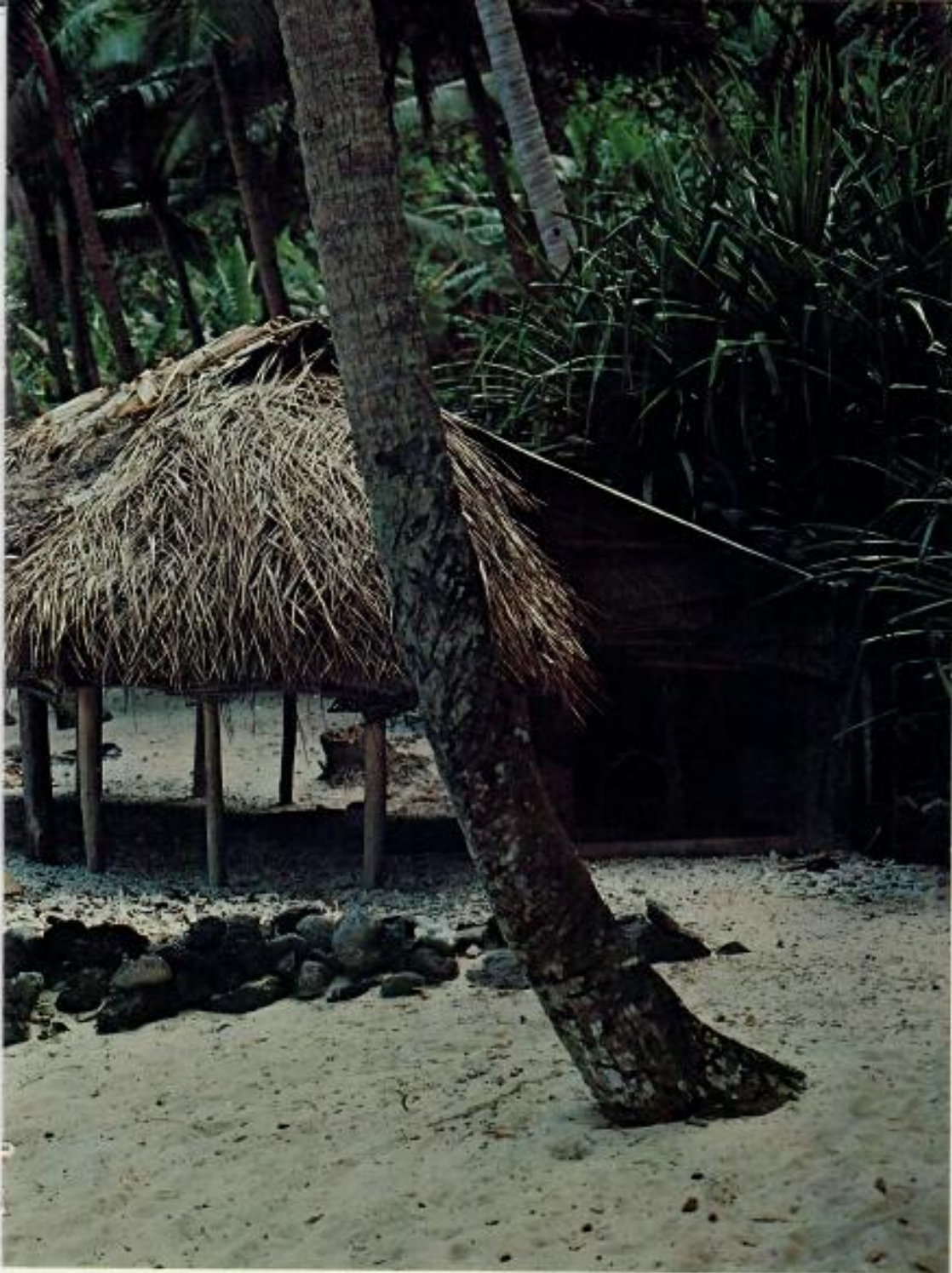




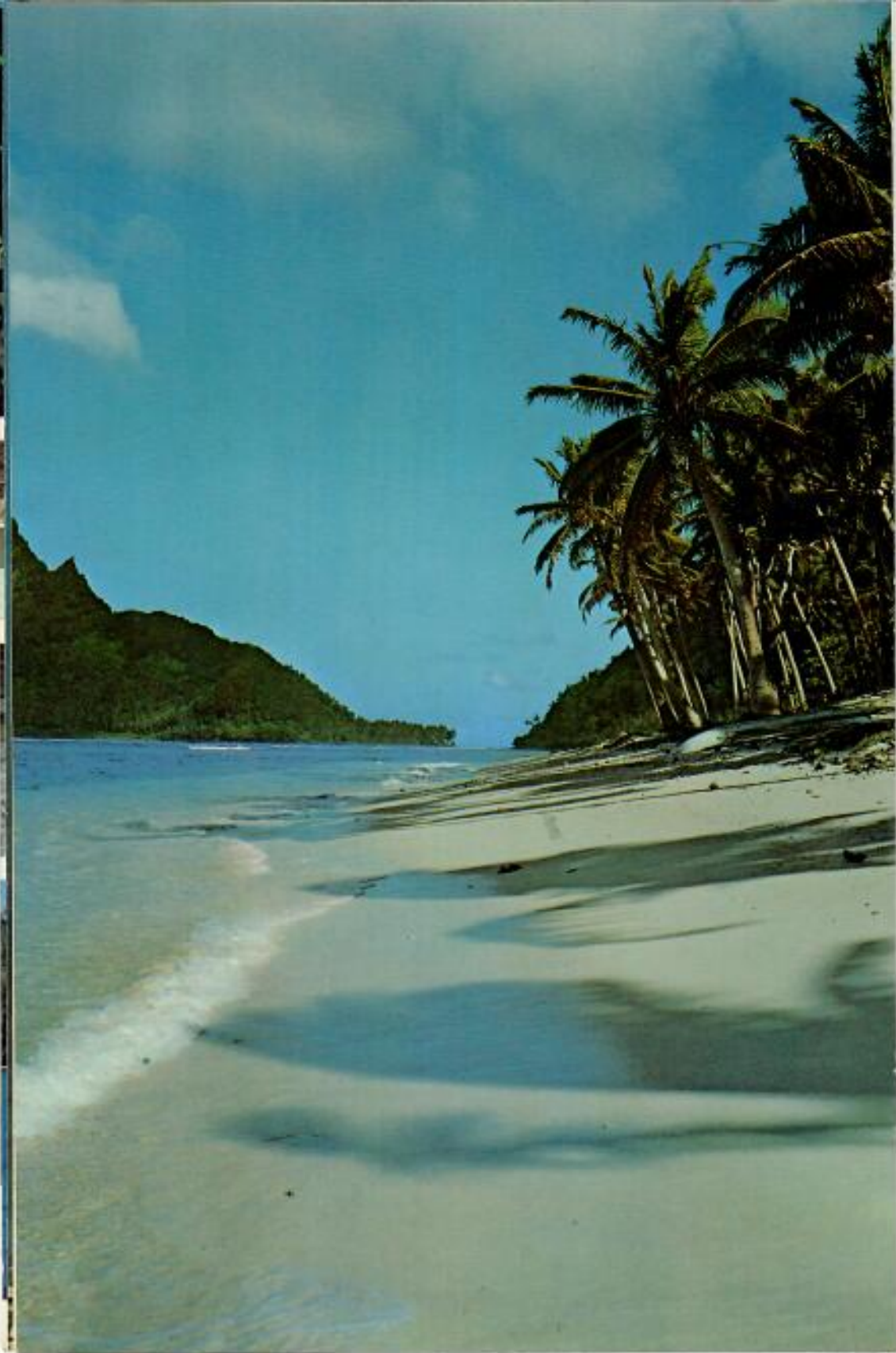
North shore settlements are isolated by jungle clad hillsides, and only a few places are accessible by road. The more remote spots have regular Government boat service. Precariously balanced outrigger canoes ferry passengers and supplies ashore.



An Elderly Gentleman with tattooed knees tends his copra shed. Copra is the dried meat of the mature coconut. Placed on mats, the shrunken strips must be exposed to the sun and protected from rain.



The Raw Copra will be cold pressed to extract its natural vegetable oil for various household uses. Today copra is of much less economic importance than formerly when the coconut yield had significant trade value.



The Manu'a Group

Few people journey to the three small islands of Manu'a located approximately 65 nautical miles east of Pago Pago. Although outsiders are welcome to have a look, there are presently no facilities to accommodate them. The combined area of Manu'a is 18 square miles. Ta'u is the largest island with 14 square miles and an elevation just over 3,000 feet at Mt. Lata, the highest point of American Samoa where all the volcanic peaks are the tops of undersea mountains that rise three miles from the ocean floor.

Seven miles west of Ta'u, the twin isles of Olosega and Ofu stand so close together that you can wade between them at low tide. (Both pictures have Olosega on the right, Ofu left.) Olosega is almost 2,100 feet above sea level, and Ofu's Mt. Tumu rises over 1,600 feet. Olosega and Ofu each have populations under 500, while Ta'u has well over 1,000 inhabitants. It was at Ta'u that the renowned anthropologist, Dr. Margaret Mead, gathered material for her classic book *Coming Of Age In Samoa*, a study of Polynesian girlhood published in 1928.

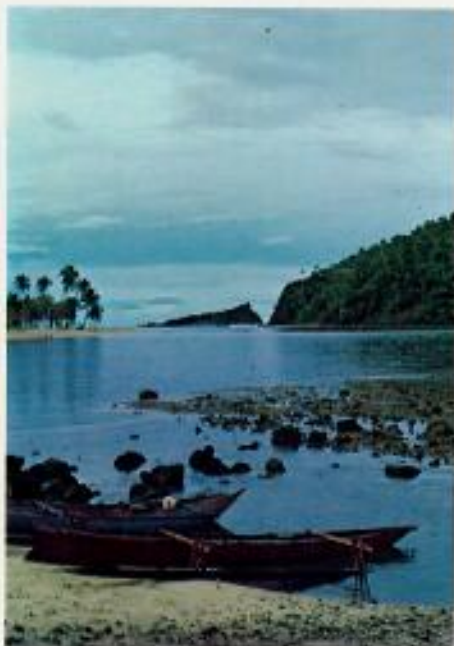
Electrical power came to Ta'u in 1971 and to Olosega and Ofu during 1972. Modern conveniences may be arriving, but old Manu'a longboats are still the rollicking, hazardous means of landing and departing. And regardless of progress, the Samoan weather keeps its perennial pattern. December averages only two degrees warmer than July. A rainy season prevails during the months of November through April. The "cool" months are May through October with pleasant southeast trade winds.



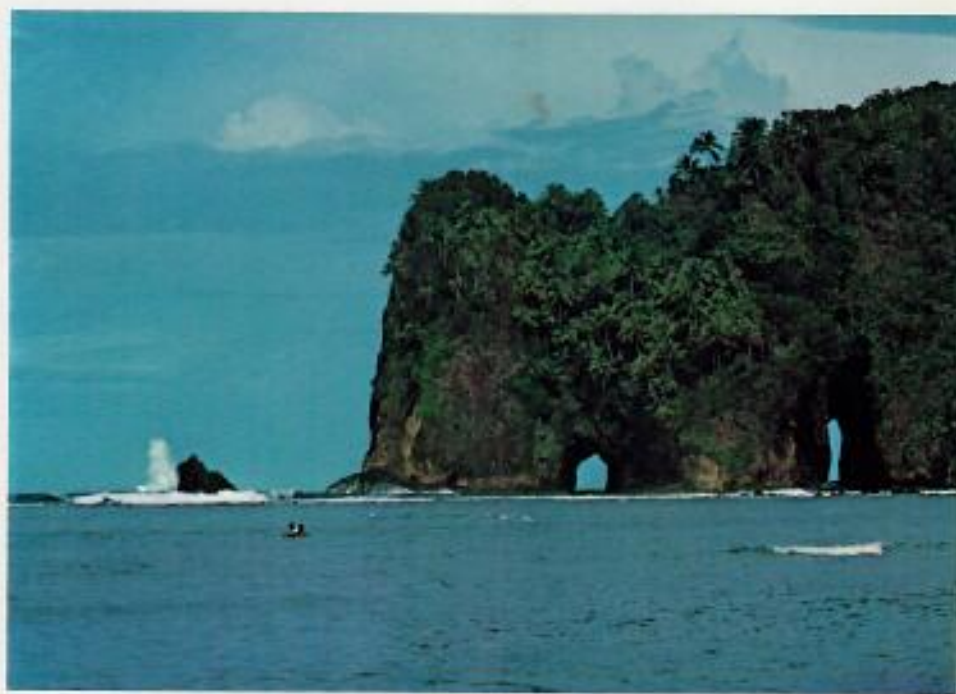


The Twin Isles: Olosega (right) and Ofu (left) merge into one turquoise profile floating on the horizon. A conspicuous Ta'u church, visible for miles at sea, is abandoned due to structural cracks. Manu'a longboats often carry astonishing loads.





Ofu Island has more outrigger canoes along its tranquil lagoon than vehicles for the solitary roadway. Ofu's only village is fronted by sheer sided, palm crowned Nuutele Islet pierced by sea arches that waves thunder through.



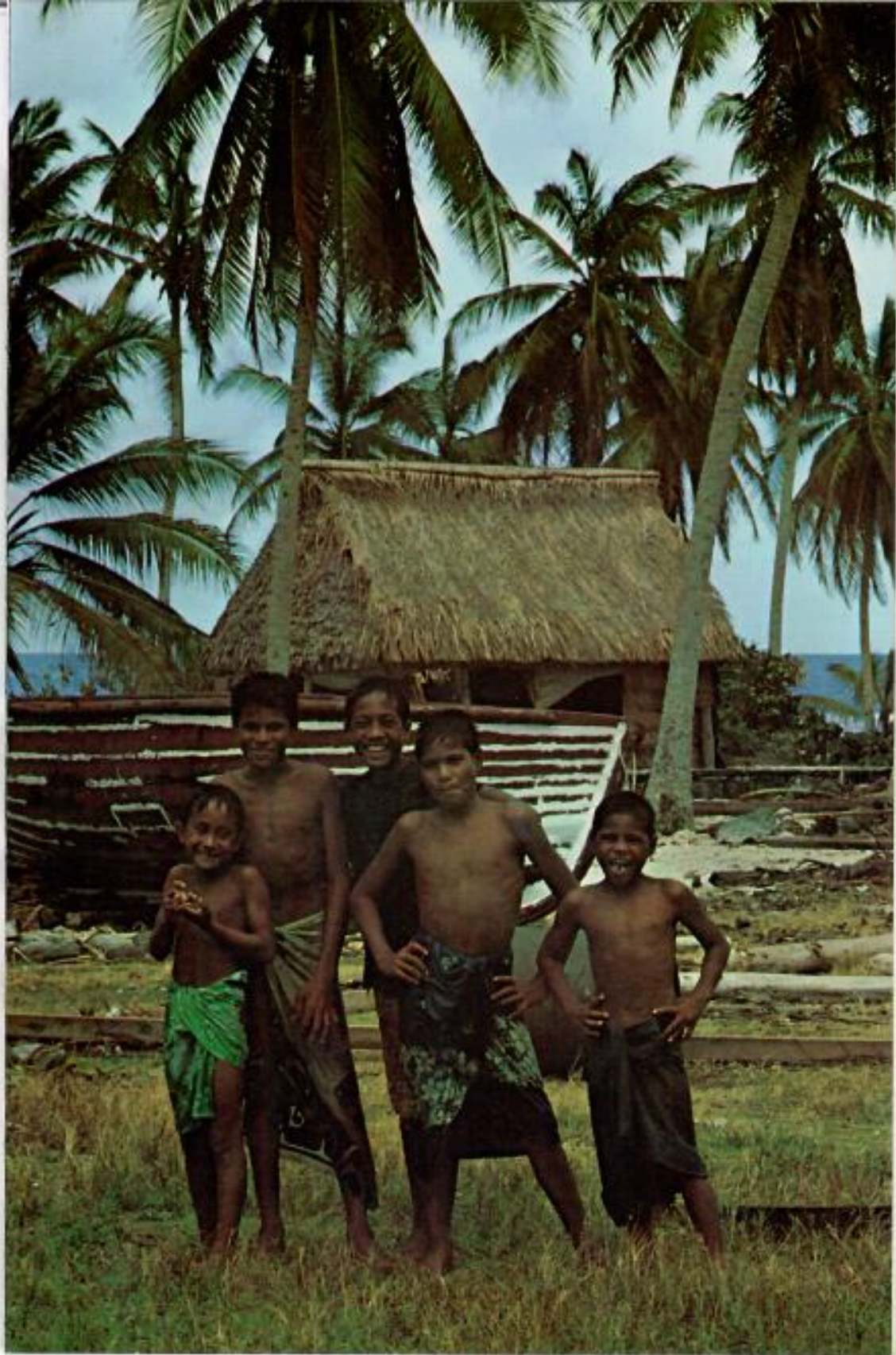
Swain's Island

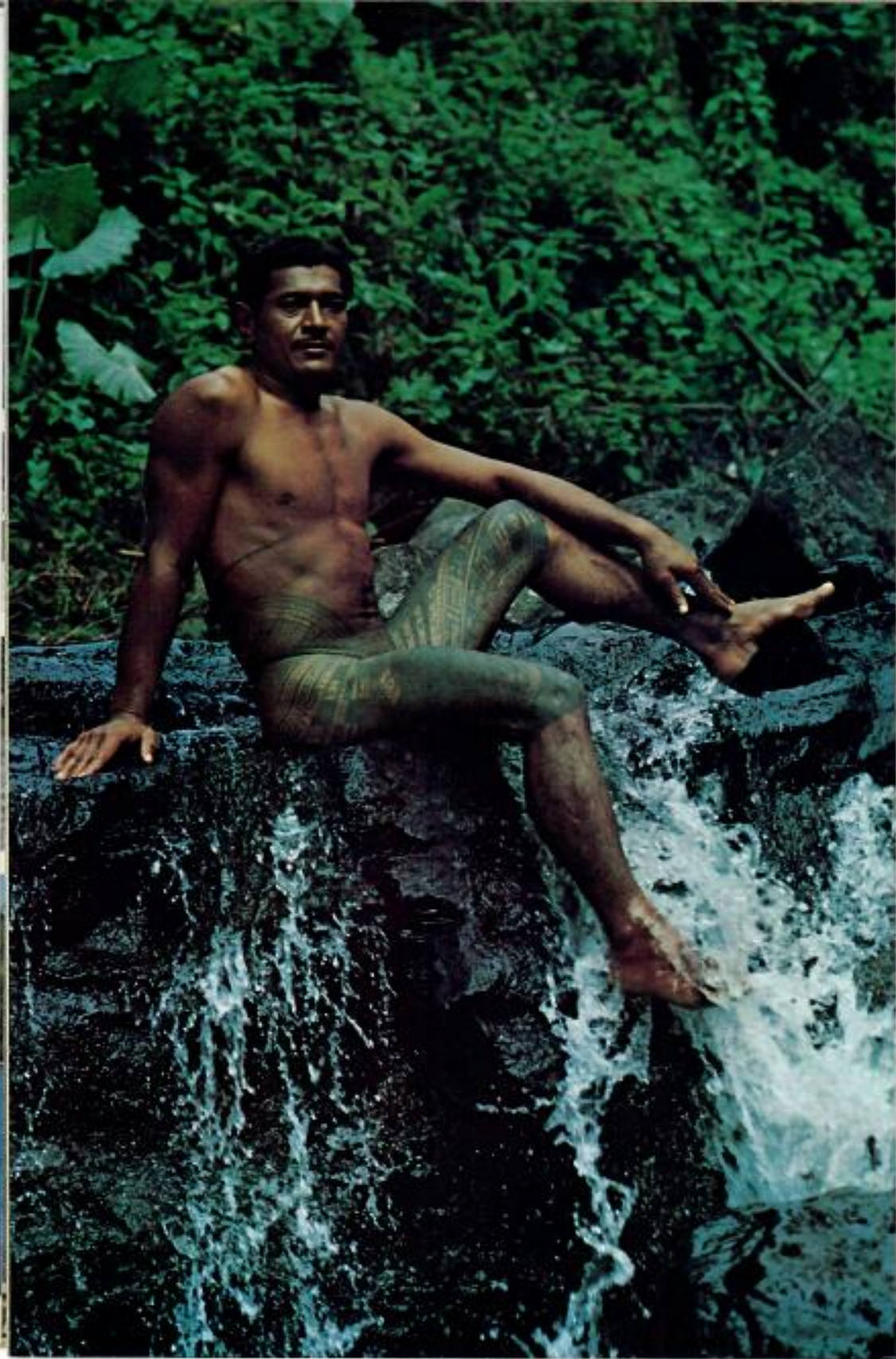
Named after W.C. Swain, the captain of a New England whaling vessel that happened upon this atoll during the first half of the 19th Century, privately owned Swain's Island has belonged to the Jennings family since 1856. The hot and humid atoll is geographically part of the Tokelau Group, but in 1925 it was placed under the jurisdiction of American Samoa.

A mile and a half long, Swain's is an unbroken oval of coral and sand, with a central lagoon of brackish water. The total land area is about 800 acres, at no point higher than twenty feet, densely overgrown with mixed vegetation, mostly coconut palms which are no longer harvested.

The settlement of about fifty persons at the west end has an open barn-like copra shed, a chapel, and some native dwellings built in the Tokelau style. An aluminum skiff powered by an outboard motor is used to bring supplies through a tricky channel in the reef. Fuel drums and lumber are floated ashore by strong swimmers and collected by men and boys on the beach.







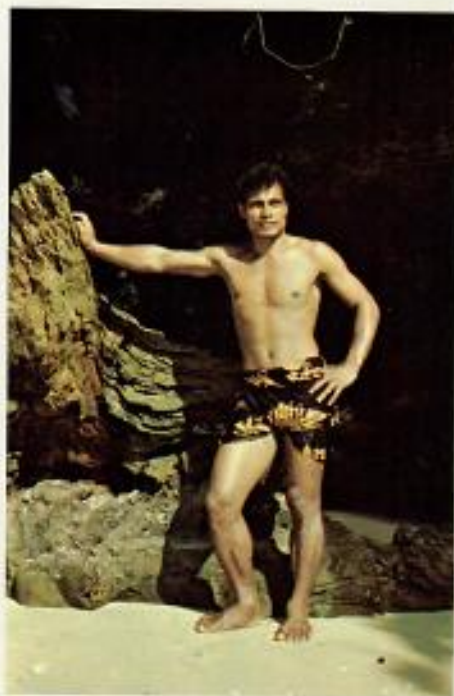
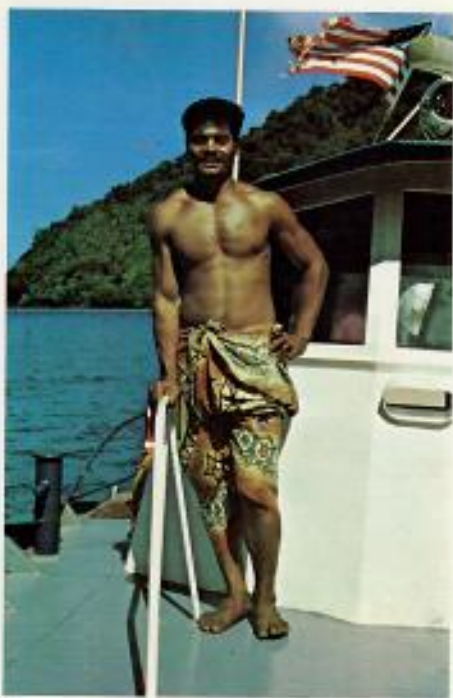
Tattoos and Lavalavas

Among the often perfectly proportioned men of Samoa, a massive tattoo extending from the waist to the knees is a symbol of manhood. This custom is believed to have been acquired from the Fiji Islanders centuries ago. Samoans are the only Polynesians who perpetuate the same tattoo patterns used by past generations. These traditional designs have a conventional arrangement that is highly complex and refined.

The decorative operation is typically undertaken during late adolescence as a means of attaining adult status. It is performed upon the youth by a skilled artisan using implements made of sharpened boar's tusks that are dipped in a candlenut soot dye, placed against the skin, and tapped with a mallet which drives the pigment into the flesh. The task can be done in a few days, but usually requires a month or more.

Extensive tattooing is a painful and exhausting ordeal. It requires exceptional endurance to withstand the swelling and scabbing and ever present danger of infection. Hence the finished bodily adornment remains throughout life as a permanent mark of masculine superiority over the untattooed.

With or without an impressive tattoo, nothing is better suited to the striking muscular development of some Samoan males than their native costume, called *lavalava*, a single piece of cotton cloth, commonly printed in strongly contrasting colors, wrapped around the hips with a deft twist and a tuck. Most *lavalavas* hang to the calf or ankle, and sometimes they are hitched up into an abbreviated version for swimming and climbing.



The Simple Life

In these far away isles where winter never comes, the Samoans have developed their own style of house. Basically, it is a thatched dome supported by sturdy posts of native wood. The whole structure is ingeniously bound together with a rough, reddish twine made from the inner fiber of coconut husks. This extensive interweaving often creates intricate geometric patterns that are aesthetically pleasing. There are no interior walls and no sides, but hanging screens woven of palm fronds are lowered against wind and rain. The floor is composed of pebbles or smooth pieces of coral covered with pandanus mats. Bathing and laundry are done at a community pipe nearby.

Many families also have "European style" houses with walls, doors and glass windows. These are usually meagerly furnished, for most of the people are still content to live in the leisurely Polynesian fashion, using sleeping mats instead of beds, and cooking their food on the hot stones of outdoor ground ovens. They can thrive on a steady diet of bananas, taro, breadfruit and coconut, all grown on private plantations, while seafood is obtained from the surrounding ocean. Since hereditary lands are needed for growing food, Samoan property cannot be purchased by outsiders.

The primary social unit of American Samoa is the extended family. This group frequently includes hundreds of individuals, presided over by a chief who manages their communal property and oversees their economic and domestic affairs.





Naked Boys mark themselves with chunks of clay, and girls decorate their fingernails with red flower petals. Big green cooking bananas are peeled before boiling, and utility baskets are woven from palm fronds.

A brief history of Samoa

Culturally and historically, Samoa is linked with the island groups of Tonga to the south and Fiji to the southwest. A background sketch of American Samoa could not be given without mentioning the adjacent Independent State Of Western Samoa that possesses the largest number of pure Polynesians in the world today. This unique nation has a population of about 150,000 people concentrated on the two biggest islands of the Samoan chain, Upolu and Savai'i, which have a combined area of over 1,000 square miles. There are 80 sea miles between Pago Pago and Apia, the capitol of Western Samoa, located on the northern coast of Upolu Island.

From east to west, the ten major islands of the 290-mile long Samoan Archipelago are: Rose Atoll at the easternmost tip; Ta'u, Olosega and Ofu, comprising The Manu'a Group; centrally located Tutuila and its satellite isle, Aunu'u; Upolu, Manono, Apolima and Savai'i, the four main islands of Western Samoa.

Because the Samoan people originally had no written language, their early history was transmitted orally in folklore. Around 1000 A.D. the older mythology gives way to more substantial legends that indicate the supreme hereditary figurehead of all the islands was called *Tui Manu'a* who resided on Ta'u.

About 1200 A.D. the Tongans invaded Samoa, and for 200 years the Samoan people were ruled by five successive kings of Tonga whose forces occupied the whole chain except Ta'u. After the Tongans were ejected from the major islands, the small Manu'a Group kept itself politically aloof for several hundred years, taking little interest in the intrigues and alliances of powerful families that frequently plunged others into civil wars.

Samoa was discovered on June 13, 1722 by Commodore Jacob Roggeveen, a Dutch mercantile explorer sailing westward across the Pacific. When his two ships came upon Ta'u, he lowered a boat off the western coast. Excited villagers set food offerings along the shoreline, and some natives brought their outrigger canoes through the surf to inspect the strange vessels, boarding briefly.

The European newcomers did not make a landing at Ta'u, but sailed directly for Olosega and Ofu, a few miles west, lowering their boat into the southerly bay formed by the junction of these twin islands. Since fierce looking warriors congregated on the beach, the visitors were uncertain about landing. Soon their small boat was met in the water by a war canoe containing The High Chief and his village virgin wearing her ceremonial finery. Greetings were exchanged and then the Dutch West India Company ships departed.

Almost half a century passed before Manu'a was again visited by two more ships from the east. They arrived in May, 1768 under the command of the French circumnavigator, Louis Antoine DeBougainville. Although he made no landing, baskets of fruit were taken aboard at Ofu and Olosega. Bougainville then continued sailing westward, sighting Tutuila and Upolu.

Late in 1787 another pair of French ships, the LaPerouse expedition, sighted Ta'u and approached Olosega for some offshore trading with the friendly inhabitants. Proceeding to the island of Tutuila, they anchored along the north side and Europeans landed on Samoan soil for the first time. The date was December 10, 1787 and the next day two parties went seeking water, one group at Fagasa Village and the other a few miles west at A'asu Village. That day LaPerouse himself caused a native to suffer punishment for attempting to steal an iron spike from the boat ashore at Fagasa. The next afternoon at A'asu an estimated 1,000 Samoans took their revenge by stoning the French watering party, killing twelve.

Four years after this massacre *HMS Pandora* called at Tutuila, searching for mutineers from *HMS Bounty*. Captain Edwards and his mariners aboard the *Pandora* enjoyed good relations with the Samoans. But when they sailed past the island of Upolu, the natives at Falelatai Village launched another stoning attack from their outrigger canoes, whereupon the ship's gunners blasted some Samoans from the water, thus bringing to a close the white man's visitations to Samoa during the 18th Century.

The first Christian missionaries arrived in 1830. Traders and shippers also began establishing themselves at the same time.

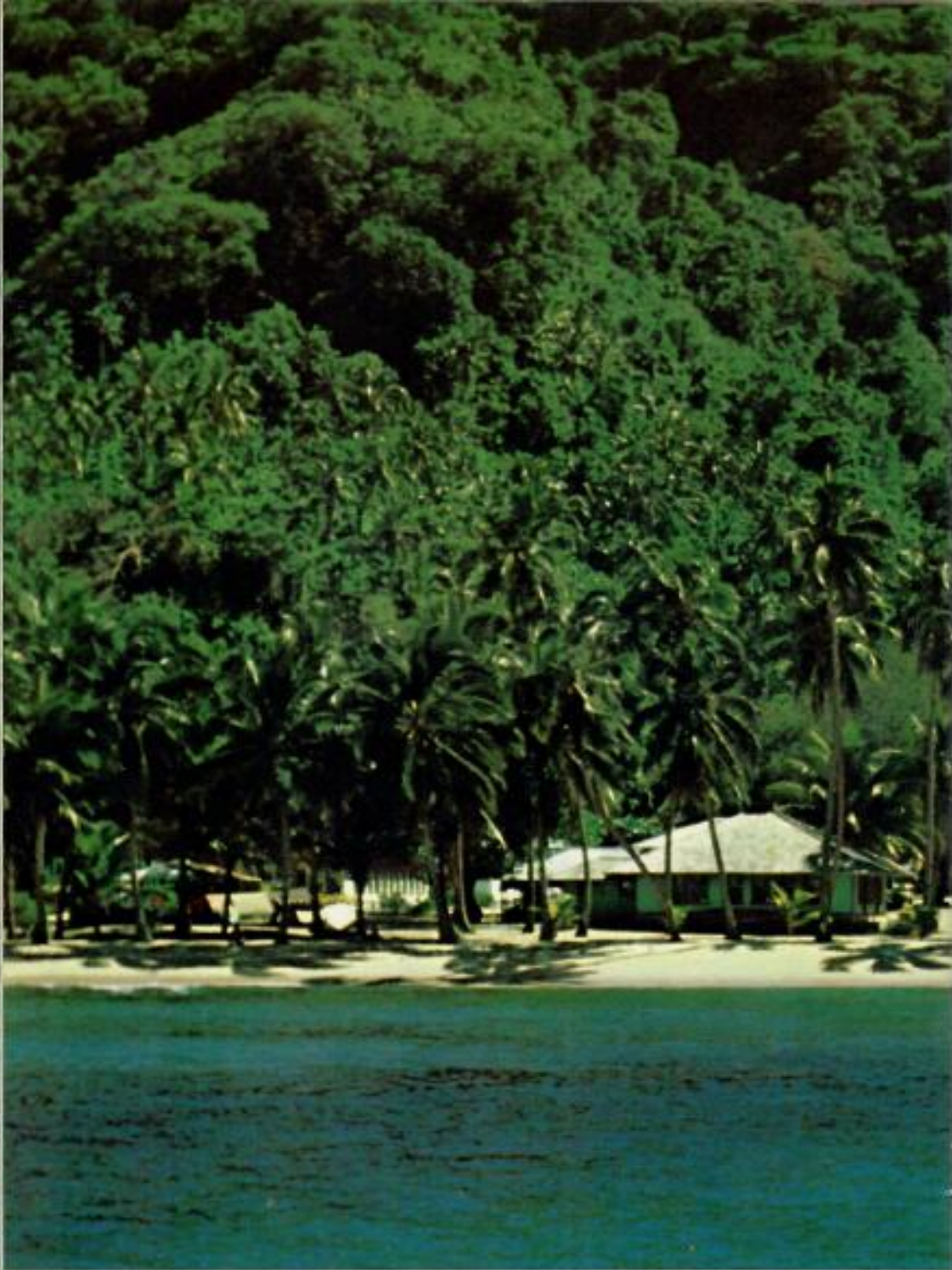
Samoa's earliest American caller was Commodore Charles Wilkes, USN, who stopped at Pago Pago in 1839, commanding a corps of scientists participating in the official United States Exploring Expedition. Over thirty years later, during 1872, a formal agreement with High Chief Mauga of Pago Pago gave the United States the right to build and maintain a naval coaling station at Tutuila's deep and sheltered bay.

Native wars and rebellions, together with conflicting interests that involved the three foreign powers of Germany, Britain and the United States, kept the island government generally unstable throughout the second half of the 19th Century. Eventually a pact of 1899 placed the four islands of Western Samoa under German control, and Britain withdrew all claims in Samoa. The High Chiefs of Tutuila willingly ceded their island and Aunu'u to the United States on April 17, 1900. Four years later The Manu'a Group came under the American flag.

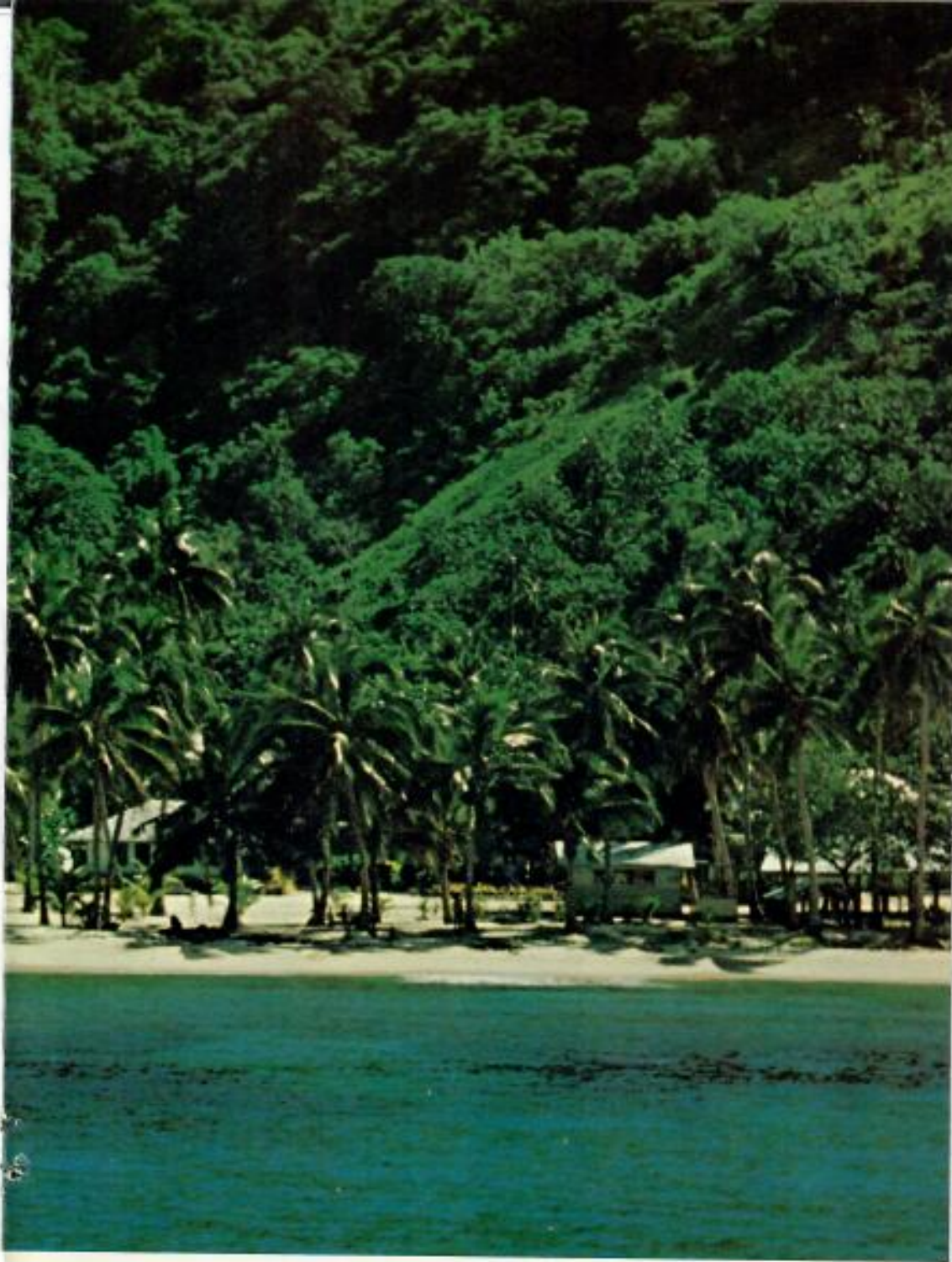
During the First World War, Germany lost Western Samoa to New Zealand forces without any fighting on August 29, 1914. New Zealand continued as protectorate until January 1, 1962 when Western Samoa became an independent Polynesian nation.

For the first fifty years of the 20th Century the administration of American Samoa was delegated to the U.S. Navy Department, and the outpost proved to be a strategic possession during the Second World War. By executive order in 1951 the Territory was transferred to the Interior Department. Today a governor is appointed by the Secretary Of The Interior, while a Samoan Legislature passes local laws according to a Territorial Constitution approved in 1960 by the Samoan House of Representatives and Senate.

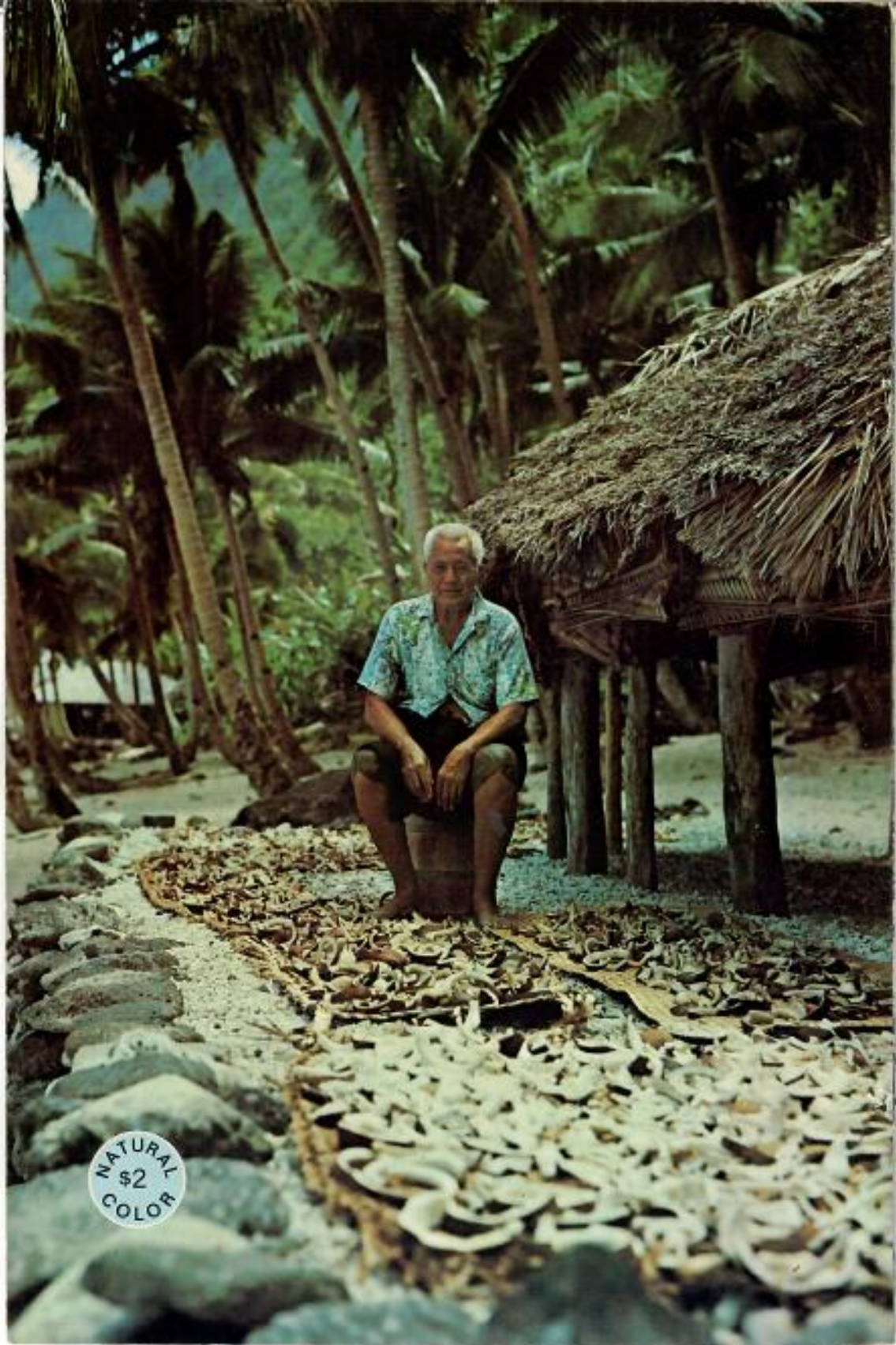
The people of American Samoa are United States nationals, although they do not vote in Stateside elections. They have free access to America, but must apply individually for full citizenship. Their common speech is still Samoan, and English is understood as a second language.



Vatia Village on the north shore of Tutuila Island looks like a serene dreamland under the midday sun. All the pictures for this publication were taken during Samoa's "wet months" from November through April.



The Rainy Season has many periods of clear weather, besides occasional storm winds of hurricane force. Samoans are secure in residences called *hurricane houses* built of concrete with heavy shingle roofs.





**VISITOR'S
INFORMATION AND
GUIDE TO
AMERICAN SAMOA**
Gateway To Polynesia



Swain's Island

THIS IS AMERICAN SAMOA



Manu'a Islands



1. Leone
2. Semaona
3. Faga'itua
4. Manu'a

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------|
| 1. Swain's Island | 15. Mafu-o-Alava |
| 2. Taputapu | 16. Aua |
| 3. Faganelo | 17. Lual'i |
| 4. Alafua-Lua | 18. Alaga |
| 5. Leone-Widdiff | 19. Mafefu |
| 6. Sili'aga | 20. Alafu |
| 7. Aua | 21. Oloaone |
| 8. Pava'ia'i | 22. Manu'ua |
| 9. Lufelele | 23. Aunu'u |
| 10. Marulele Tausala | 24. Ofu |
| 11. Le'alele | 25. Oloaga |
| 12. Paga Paga | 26. Faleasao |
| 13. Fie Ilea | 27. Fiti'uta |
| 14. Matafao | |

«AFIO MAI»



**MISS AMERICAN SAMOA
1980-1981**

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PHOTO (Front Cover) A High Chief's Guest Maota (F.

PHOTO (Back Cover) Inter-Island Transportation

TALOFA!

"AFIO MAI" is a whole hearted talofa greeting to each and everyone of you who will visit our small but beautiful island. We in Samoa enjoy the privilege of welcoming visitors to our shores. We share with our new friends the thrill of discovering new sights, new customs, new traditions, and most of all new experiences. The Samoa "motto" is to make your visit memorable when you return to your homes. Come to Samoa to share our treasures.

We have prepared this guide to aid you to plan your visit to American Samoa, "The Gateway to Polynesia".

Soifua,

This Visitor's Guide was prepared by:

The Office of Tourism
American Samoa Government
Post Office Box 1147

Pago Pago, American Samoa 96799

LOCATION AND POLITICAL STATUS:

American Samoa consists of seven islands located 2,300 miles southwest of Honolulu and 1,600 miles northeast of New Zealand. It is administered by an elected Governor and a Lieutenant Governor. The Territory's relations within all branches of the United States Government are handled through the Office of Territorial Affairs in the Office of the Secretary of the Interior.

Legislative power in the Territory is vested in the Legislature of American Samoa, composed of a Senate and a House of Representatives. Members of the Legislature or Fono, as it is called are selected in one of two ways: Members of the Senate are selected in accordance with Samoan custom by the county councils, while members of the house are elected by popular vote in each District.

The Judicial authority of the Government is independent of the Executive and Legislative powers and is exercised under the direction of the Chief Justice of American Samoa, who is appointed by the Secretary of the Interior.

The seat of the Territorial Government is at Fagatogo and Utulei on Tutuila Island.

The seven islands comprising American Samoa are Tutuila, Aum'u, Ta'u, Olosega, Ofu and (collectively known as the Manu'a group) Swains, and Rose, the last two being coral atolls. The land area of all seven islands is only 76.2 square miles, of which over 96 per cent is owned communally and is regulated as to occupancy and use by Samoan custom.

Tutuila is the main island. It runs east and west and is almost bisected by famed Pago Pago Bay, recognized as one of the best natural harbors in the South Pacific. Governmental operations and



THE RAINMAKER HOTEL

LOCATED IN THE PAGO PAGO HARBOR

much of the commercial activities of American Samoa are located in the Bay Area.

Aunu'u lies about a mile southeast off Tutuila, while TA'U, OFU and OLOSEGA the Manu'a group is located about 80 miles north of Tutuila, Rose Island, which is uninhabited, lies approximately 250 miles eastward of Tutuila. According to the 1974 U.S. Census Bureau figures, the population of American Samoa is 31,000. The people of Samoa are the last remaining true Polynesians. The Samoan social structure centers around the aiga (pronounced "eye-inga") an extended family which may encompass as many as several thousand relatives. At the head of the aigas are matai (pronounced "muh-ties") or chiefs, who guide the communal economy which still exists to a great degree. The matais are responsible for control of family lands and property. And it is their responsibility to care for the well-being of their aigas and to represent them in the county and district councils. Although a Samoan language exist and is the common language of the home, English is the official language and is understood throughout the territory.

United States exploration of what is now American Samoa began in 1839 when a vessel commanded by Lt. John Wilkes made the first American stop on what was then Eastern Samoa. In 1872 the need for a coaling station in the South Pacific brought the U.S.S. Narranasett to Tutuila, where Cmdr. Richard Meade entered into an agreement with High Chiefs of Tutuila. The agreement was never ratified by the United States Senate, but it did serve to prevent other nations from making claim on Pago Pago Harbor as International competition for bases in the South Pacific increased.

Following the failure of a PACT-TEN years earlier, the United States, Great Britain, and Germany signed a convention in 1899 whereby the U.S. retained Eastern (American) Samoa, but gave up all claims to the Islands of Upolu and Savaii, which now comprise the independent state of Western Samoa.

Upon ratification of this convention, President McKinley, on February 19, 1900, directed the Navy to establish United States authority in what is now American Samoa. As a Naval Station was being built in Pago Pago Harbor, a series of deeds of cession was negotiated with the Chief of Tutuila on April 17, 1900.

Four years later, the King of the Manu'a chain ceded his islands to the United States. These and other agreements provided that the Samoan Chiefs would continue to govern so long as they did not violate United States Laws or Act to obstruct the advancement of civilization. Swains Island was settled in 1856 by American Trader Eli Jennings and his Samoan wife. Although it has been linked historically to the Tokelau Island chain, Jennings, U. S. citizenship tied it to American Samoa. The island officially became part of American Samoa in 1925.

The Naval Government of American Samoa remained in effect until June 30, 1951, when administration of the territory was transferred to the Department of the Interior by Executive Order. In 1960, the Secretary of the Interior ratified and approved the first Constitution of American Samoa. A revised Constitution, approved by Constitutional Convention and a majority of the voters of the territory in the 1966 election, was ratified and approved by the Secretary of the Interior on June 2, 1967, and became effective July 1, 1967.

CLIMATE AND TOPOGRAPHY:

American Samoa enjoys a tropical climate. Temperatures range between 70 and 90 degrees farenheit, while humidity average about 80 per cent. Rainfall varies from year to year and from place to place in the Territory, but some sections of American Samoa record as much as 200 inches of rain annually. Most of this occurs between December and April, the wettest time in the islands. Except for Swains and Rose Islands, which are coral atolls, the Islands of American Samoa are volcanic in origin. Tutuila is mountainous, with a spiny, jungle covered range running from one end of the island to the other. Tropical forest abound, and coconut palms are profuse. Breadfruit and taro grow with little attention. Semi-wild pigs exist throughout the islands, and Samoan waters are abundant with a variety of fish.

AMERICAN SAMOA TODAY:

American Samoa today is a land of contrasts, standing on the threshold of a new era in its history. It is still one of the garden spots of the earth. Though the advances of the modern era have been introduced, they have been tempered so as not to destroy the rich cultural heritage of the Samoan people. Neither east nor west, ancient, nor modern, American Samoa today is a blend of space and time. Its Government and its people seek to acquire those advances of contemporary society that can improve upon a rich and treasured past. In this goal, American Samoa has had, and continues to receive, the active support and encouragement of the Department of the Interior. American Samoa offers a wide range of opportunities for the tourist, businessman, or professional person. Famed for its beauty and way of life, American Samoa attracts an increasingly growing number of tourists each year. Good accessibility to most parts of the island enables the visitor to enjoy scenery unparalleled in its magnificance and sample the

varied aspects of life among a people known for their friendliness. American Samoa's free port status enables visitors to the territory to return to the United States with up to \$600.00 worth of duty free goods. American Samoa does not grant permanent resident status to non-Samoans. However, under a carefully administered program, the Government of American Samoa encourages the introduction of investment capital. Although a general policy of "Samoa for Samoans" exists, business investment, large or small, which serves to bolster the Samoan economy and provide job opportunities for the Samoan labor force, is encouraged. Favorable Samoan tax laws add to Samoa's attraction as an investment opportunity.

VISA REQUIREMENTS:

There is no visa required for entry into American Samoa for thirty days or less. For an extended visit, permission must be granted by the Immigration Board or the Attorney General.

VACCINATION:

American Samoa does not require smallpox vaccination for people arriving from the mainland USA, Hawaii, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and all the islands in the Pacific Basin. American Samoa only requires a valid smallpox, cholera, yellow fever vaccinations if the person/persons have been in areas where these diseases are endemic and arrive here within fourteen days period.

WHAT TO WEAR:

Comfortable informality is the guide to dressing in the islands. Cotton and other light washable clothes may be worn the year round. It is a good idea to take a light weight plastic raincoat as a precaution against sudden showers. Cotton and other light washable and raincoats are available in local stores all over the island. Samoans, however, do have a clothing standard of their own and you should be careful about what you

BANKING AND EXCHANGE:

The United States currency is legal tender in American Samoa. Bank services are provided by the Amerika Samoa Bank, Bank of Hawaii. These two banks are located in the heart of town. The Federal Credit Union, Development Bank are controlled by the American Samoa Government.

MEDICAL SERVICES:

American Samoa offers excellent medical, dental, pharmacy services. These services are provided at the LBJ Medical Service Center, and it is considered one of the finest hospitals in the Pacific.

SURFACE TRANSPORTATION:

Bus service between the center of town and the outer villages are provided by aiga buses (family buses). They run very frequently and it is an ideal ride for the adventurous visitors and its fare is very low. There are plenty of taxis and the fares are Governmental controlled. Car rentals are also available.

HOTELS AND LODGING:

There are selective types of accommodations available in American Samoa, the Raimaker Hotel, Herb and Sia's Motel, Niunata Motel, Vaoto Lodge, Ta'u Beach Cottages and the Home Stay Program. To contact any of these accommodations see their mailing address and telephone numbers listed on pages 18 + 19

RESTAURANTS AND FOOD:

There is a restaurant and snack bar in the Raimaker Hotel, also other famous place are Soli's Restaurant, Airport Restaurant, Mike Bird's Restaurant, Joe Fuavai's Restaurant, John Fiu's Restaurant, Golden Dragon Chinese Restaurant.

wear when entering a Samoan village. While bikinis and short shorts are worn around the hotel, they are not considered proper to wear into a village, the town area, or on the public streets.

WEATHER

Cooled by the gentle southeast trades, climate in Samoa is sunny and pleasant. There are, however, two distinct seasons: Dry and rainy. June through September are the driest months, with strong, gusty tradewinds. December through March the climate is warm and moist, often times with heavy rainfall. It should be noted that even during the rainy season, there are long periods of extended sunshine on a daily basis.

AIR SERVICES:

The Continental Airline provides five weekly flights from Hawaii and the mainland USA to American Samoa and make connections to Australia and New Zealand. The Air Pacific makes connections between Fiji and American Samoa, twice a week. Local scheduled airline services between Tutuila (main island) and Manu'a Islands is provided by South Pacific Island Airways (SPIA) daily flights except on Sunday. SPIA and the Poynesian Airlines, provide daily flights from Pago Pago to Western Samoa and Tonga.

MAIL, TELEPHONE, AND TELEGRAPH:

The U.S. postage rates and stamps are used in American Samoa. The main Post Office is located in the heart of town. There are also postal branch in the village of Leone, (Western District) Paga'itua village (Eastern District) and one in Ta'u village, Manu'a islands. Post Office provides the same services as it is in any U. S. Post Office in the U.S.A. The Zip Code for American Samoa is 96799.

EVENING DINNING AND ENTERTAINMENT:

There are plenty of fun, music and dancing in Pago Pago. Most places offer a happy hour with special prices for drinks between 4:30 p.m. and 6:30 p.m. Samoan fiafia (Feasts) are offered at Hotel Raimaker Dinning Room and Herb and Sias. Samoan fiafia can be arranged through the local travel agents. This is included through a Kava Ceremony, which is the traditional way Samoans welcome the visitors to their villages. Samoan authentic food are served such as breadfruit, taro, banana, roast pig, fish, and palusami, a delicacy made from coconut cream wrapped in taro leaves and cook in the umu or Samoan ground oven.

HOLIDAYS AND SPECIAL EVENTS:

All United States National Holidays are observed in American Samoa. In addition, there are three other special days observed in the territory:

Flag Day, April 17th., this is the best time to visit American Samoa, the commemoration of the raising of the First American Flag in Tutuila, American Samoa. The long boat raising highlights the celebration, other famous sports competition are, colorful display of village dancing, singing and floats. Other competitions such as fire making, coconut husking, basket weaving and many others.

White Sunday: Second Sunday of the month of October each year, the children lead church services, served special foods, and receive gifts. This is a big and very special day to the children.

Palolo: Swarm of the palolo, in October and November of each year when the moon and tide are just right, a sea annalid known as the palolo emerges



FIAFIA
NATIVE FEAST

from the reef to begin its annual reproductive cycle. Samoans, who consider the palolo a great delicacy, turn out in force with nets, cheese cloth, and gas lanterns to scoop up the caviar of the Pacific. A great carnival like atmosphere sweeps the islands as hundreds of Samoan wade out with visitors on to the reef. This is a real opportunity for visitors to go native.

RECREATION:

Opportunities for the outdoor oriented individual. There are golf, tennis, volleyball, batman, or even join the Samoans in their national game of cricket.

Water Sports - Swimming, surfing, you will find snorkeling and scuba diving are excellent, the water clarity is often over 100 feet, with marvelous views of coral formations and all kind of tropical fishes.

DUTY FREE:

American Samoa is a duty free port. There are many interesting buys to be found in American Samoa. Special items to look for are handicraft items and hand blocked Samoan tapa print materials.



TAPA BOARD CARVING



HANDICRAFTS DISPLAY
DURING CRUISE SHIP ARRIVALS

BRIVASKE TAN

PLACES OF INTEREST:

- KVZK TV STATION
- GOVERNOR'S MANSION
- LAVA LAVA GOLF COURSE
- CABLE CAR
- SAMOAN CHURCHES
- MUSEUM OF AMERICAN SAMOA
- VAN CAMP SAMOA
- STAR KIST
- BLUNT'S POINT
- BREAKER'S POINT (WORLD WAR II LOOK OUT POINT)
- LBJ MEDICAL CENTER
- SADIE THOMPSON HOTEL (PRESENTLY HALLECK STORE #3) ("RAIN" SOMEREST MAUGHAM)
- FAGASA PASS
- AFONO TRAIL (BATS' CAVE)
- RAINMAKER MOUNTAIN
- SOLO HILL
- PAGO PAGO INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT
- MATAFAO MOUNTAIN
- SHARK AND TURTLE, LEGEND
- LEONE VILLAGE, FIRST CAPITAL OF TUTUILA
- JOHN WILLIAM MONUMENT (FIRST MISSIONARY ARRIVED IN SAMOA IN 1830)
- PCLOA PASS
- RED LAKE AND QUICK SAND IN AUNU'U
- KING TUIMANU'A'S TUMB ON TA'U ISLAND
- KING TUIMANU'A'S SECRET WATER ON TA'U ISLAND
- COURTHOUSE OF AMERICAN SAMOA
- FELETI PACIFIC LIBRARY
- HANDICRAFT CENTER
- AERIAL TRAMWAY
- THE LEGISLATIVE ("FONO") BUILDINGS
- THE HOUSE OF TAPA MAKING



PAOFAO CANOE RIDING



MAT WEAVING

MASSACRE BAY (WHERE EXPLORER LA PEROUSE LANDED
IN DECEMBER 11, 1787, 11 OF HIS FRENCH
CREWMEN WERE KILLED BY ANGRY NATIVES)
FARMERS, MARKET
AUNU'U ISLAND
MANU'A ISLAND
TERRITORIAL TREE
TERRITORIAL PLANT

THE TERRITORIAL PLANT:

Kava, (*Piper methysticum*) or Ava as it is known to Samoans, plays an important role in ceremonial as well as everyday life in Samoa. From this plant came the only other drink in pre-European Samoa besides water and coconut milk. Visitors will most likely have a chance to taste kava if they participate in a Kava Ceremony. The Medical profession today recognizes the medicinal properties of kava, and if enough quantity is taken, kava can become a soothing tranquilizer while not causing intoxication.

TERRITORIAL TREE:

Paogo tree (*Pandanus*) or laufala as it is more commonly referred to by Samoans, has a number of important uses in traditional Samoan culture.

Seeds from the plant are string together to make an ula, or necklace, which are worn by Samoan chiefs. The leaves of the tree are used by Samoans to weave a large number of useful daily items such as floor mats, baskets, sails, fans and, hats.



**A SAMOAN GERMAN
AND
MEXICAN YOUNG BOY**

THE MANU'A ISLANDS (PART OF AMERICAN SAMOA)

The Manu'a island was ruled by King Tuimamalu until 1904, when he decided to cede his islands to the United States, which was four years after the first American flag raised on Tutuila Island in 1900.

The Manu'a group lies about 80 miles east of the main island of Tutuila, consisting of Ta'u, (the largest) Ofu and Olosega islands. Ta'u island was the site of Margaret Meads' Anthropological study which resulted in her book *Coming of Age in Samoa*.

Manu'a is believed to be ancient Samoa and great majority of original history, legends and stories that make up the basis of oral traditions and formal ceremonies of the Samoans are based on incidents that occurred on Ta'u island.

While it is still a matter of debate whether the first Polynesians lived in Manu'a or Savaii, it is conceded that the Tuimamalu (the King of Manu'a and the only King in the entire Samoa) was in fact one of the strongest and most powerful leaders in Samoa.

It is common belief that Tuimamalu had both super-natural and human characteristics. To make your visit to American Samoa, a visit to Manu'a is highly recommended.

For more information on Manu'a Islands write to: Talofa Tours and Travel (specialized on Manu'a island tours). Post Office Box 1583, Tutuila, Pago Pago, American Samoa 96799.



LAVALAVA GOLF COURSE



TA'U BEACH COTTAGE

WHERE TO WRITE:
GENERAL INFORMATION:

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
AMERICAN SAMOA GOVERNMENT
TUTUILA, PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

DIRECTOR
OFFICE OF TOURISM
AMERICAN SAMOA GOVERNMENT
P.O. BOX 1147, PAGO PAGO
AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

HOTEL AND LODGING:

RAINMAKER HOTEL
P.O. BOX 96
PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

HERB AND SIA'S MOTEL
P.O. BOX 430
PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

NIUMATA'S MOTEL
TA'U, MANU'A ISLAND
PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

VATO LODGE
OFU, MANU'A ISLAND
P.O. BOX 1809
PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

TA'U BEACH COTTAGE (MANU'A ISLAND)
P.O. BOX 1583
PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

HOME STAY PROGRAM (STAY WITH A FAMILY)
TALOFA TOURS AND TRAVEL
POST OFFICE BOX 1583
PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

IMMIGRATION OFFICE:

P.O. BOX 7
PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

CUSTOMS:

DEPARTMENT OF PORT ADMINISTRATION
AMERICAN SAMOA GOVERNMENT
P.O. BOX 1539
PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

PAGO PAGO INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT:

MANAGER
AMERICAN SAMOA GOVERNMENT
TUTUILA, PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

LRJ TROPICAL MEDICAL CENTER

DIRECTOR
AMERICAN SAMOA GOVERNMENT
PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

POLICE DEPARTMENT:

COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC SAFETY
P.O. BOX 1086
AMERICAN SAMOA GOVERNMENT
PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

U.S. POST OFFICE:

POSTMASTER
PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

SNORKELING AND SCUBA DIVING:

DIVE SAMOA
SOUTH SEAS CURIOUS
POST OFFICE BOX 3927
PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

VOCABULARY

Talofa	Hello
Fa'afetai	Thank you
Manaia	Beautiful
Tama	Boy
Tama	Father
Tina	Mother
Sau	Come
Alu	Go
Alofa	Love
Ioe	Yes
Leai	No
Manuia	Good luck
'Ai	Eat
Inu	Drink
Teine	Unmarried girl
Fafine	Married woman
Tamaloa	Married man
Äo	Day
Po	Night
Siva	Dance
Pese	Sing
Afio Mai	Welcome to our island
Vai	Water
Sami	Salt Water (sea)
Tofa	Good-bye
Ta'avale	Car
Igoa	Name
'Oe	You
Timu	Rain
Ia	Sun
Pua	Flower
Ia'au	Tree
Fale	House



A SAMOAN DANCING GROUP

TALOFA
 FA'AFETAI
 MANAIA
 TAMA
 TAMA
 TINA
 SAU
 ALU
 ALOFA
 IOE
 LEAI
 MANUIA
 'AI
 INU
 TEINE
 FAFINE
 TAMALOA
 ÄO
 PO
 SIVA
 PESE
 AFIO MAI
 VAI
 SAMI
 TOFA
 TA'AVALE
 IGOA
 'OE
 TIMU
 IA
 PUA
 IA'AU
 FALE

HELLO
 THANK YOU
 BEAUTIFUL
 BOY
 FATHER
 MOTHER
 COME
 GO
 LOVE
 YES
 NO
 GOOD LUCK
 EAT
 DRINK
 UNMARRIED GIRL
 MARRIED WOMAN
 MARRIED MAN
 DAY
 NIGHT
 DANCE
 SING
 WELCOME TO OUR ISLAND
 WATER
 SALT WATER (SEA)
 GOOD-BYE
 CAR
 NAME
 YOU
 RAIN
 SUN
 FLOWER
 TREE
 HOUSE

AIRLINES AND TRAVEL AGENTS:

CONTINENTAL AIRLINE

P.O. BOX 280

PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

AIR PACIFIC

P.O. BOX 400

PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

POLYNESIAN AIRLINES

P.O. BOX 280

PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

SOUTH PACIFIC AIR WAYS (SPIA)

P.O. BOX 400

PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

SAMOA TOURS AND TRAVEL

P.O. BOX 727

PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

SAMOA HOLIDAY AND TRAVEL

P.O. BOX 968

PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

TALOFA TOURS AND TRAVEL

P.O. BOX 1583

PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

LOCAL NEWSPAPERS:

SAMOA NEWS

MR. JAKE KING

P.O. BOX 57

PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

THE NEWS BULLETIN (GOVERNMENT PAPER)

DIRECTOR

OFFICE OF SAMOA INFORMATION

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA. 96799

CRUISE SHIPS AND FREIGHTERS

KNEUBUHL'S MARITIME

P.O. BOX 39

PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

POLYNESIAN SHIPPING

P.O. BOX 1478

PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

BURNS PHILP SOUTH SEAS COMPANY LTD.

P.O. BOX 1057

PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

INTER-ISLAND SURFACE TRANSPORTATION

SALAMASINA

c/o BURNS PHILP SOUTH SEAS COMPANY LTD.

P.O. BOX 1057

PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

INTER-ISLAND TRANSPORT

MR. S. STEFFANY (MANAGER/OWNER)

P.O. BOX 507

PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

COMMUNICATIONS:

COMMUNICATION - DIRECTOR

AMERICAN SAMOA GOVERNMENT

PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

WVUV RADIO STATION (PRIVATELY OWNED)

MANAGER, POST OFFICE BOX 2567

PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

TAUPOU

A VILLAGE PRINCESS



SAMOAN GIRLS

TEACHING AND OTHER EMPLOYMENT:

DIRECTOR, MANPOWER RESOURCES
DEPARTMENT OF MANPOWER RESOURCES
AMERICAN SAMOA GOVERNMENT
PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

TOURISM:

DIRECTOR
OFFICE OF TOURISM
P.O. BOX 1147
AMERICAN SAMOA GOVERNMENT
PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

BUSINESS INVESTMENT:

DIRECTOR
OFFICE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING
AMERICAN SAMOA GOVERNMENT
PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

LEGISLATURE:

FONO
AMERICAN SAMOA GOVERNMENT
PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

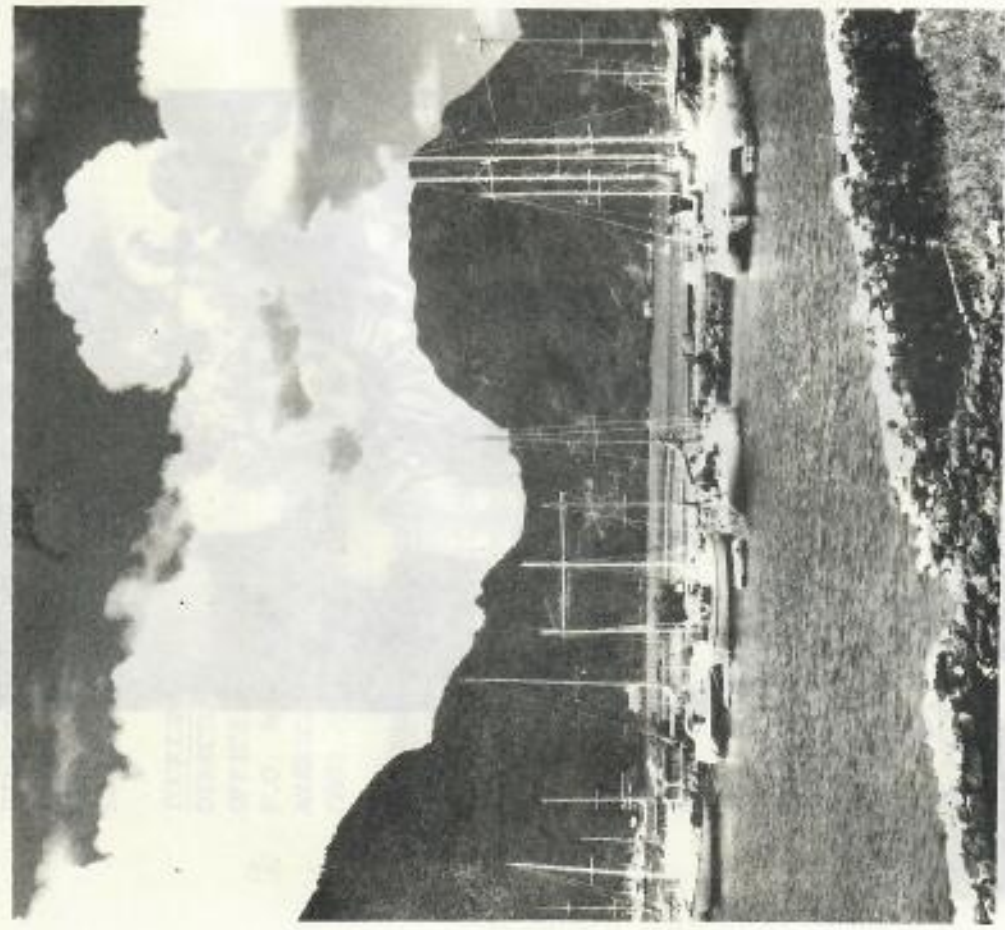
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE:

DIRECTOR
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
AMERICAN SAMOA GOVERNMENT
PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA 96799

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH:

DIRECTOR
LEJ TROPICAL MEDICAL CENTER
AMERICAN SAMOA GOVERNMENT
PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA

BOAT
A LITTLE BOAT
BOAT



PAGO PAGO HARBOR

BOAT



A SAMOAN CHINESE GIRL
AND
A SAMOAN MAN

LEARN WINDSURFING



DO IT.
WINDSURFER
We earned it all.

Everybody's Windsurfing.
Fast, exciting.
Speeds to 20 knots. No fuss.
No trailer—just cartop to the nearest water and do it.
Get a Windsurfer sailboard. Do it today!

ISLAND WINDSURFING

Samoa

PRIVATE TWO HOUR LESSONS -
\$60.00 (2 LESSONS)

2 1/2 HOUR GROUP LESSONS -
\$40.00 (2 LESSONS)

We assemble the group (you may come as a single).

ALL EQUIPMENT INCLUDED:

- Windsurfer*
- Simulator

ISLAND PRINTING CO.

P. O. Box 340

Pago Pago, American Samoa 96799

REGISTRATION

Pre-registration is necessary at Island Printing Company located in Fagatogo, near the overseas telegraph office.

CANCELLATIONS:

If wind conditions are not suitable classes will be re-scheduled.

EQUIPMENT RENTALS

If you have passed the Basic Windsurfing Course and have a Certification Card then you may rent from the shop.

*\$100 for weekend (Friday after 3:00 pm until Monday by 4:00 pm)
*150 for one week.

A \$2000 damage deposit for all Certified Windsurfer sailors and a \$200 deposit for all non-certified sailors.



Meet people and share
the challenge of racing

Phone
633-4444

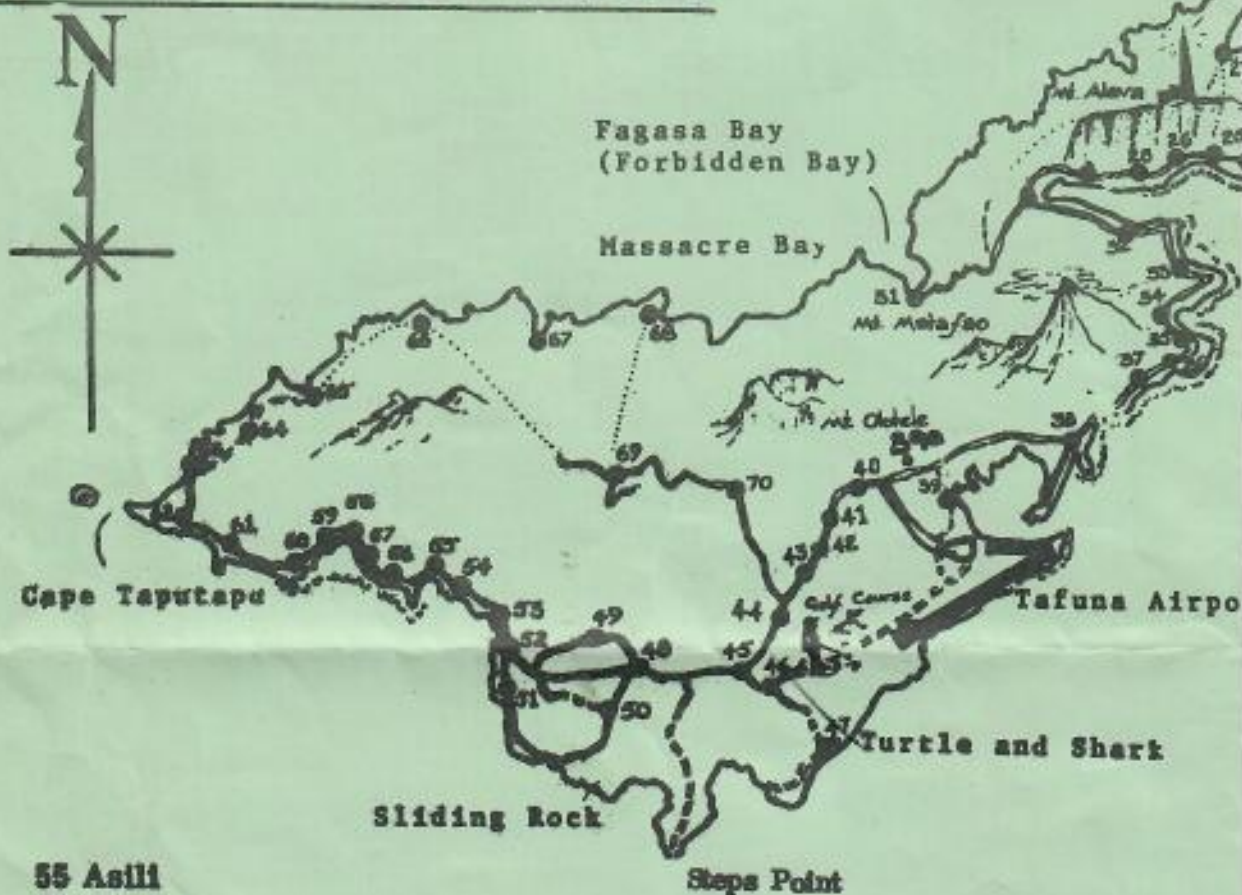




**THE ANTONIO INTER-ISLAND
TRANSPORT**

AMERICAN SAMOA

TUTUILA ISLAND



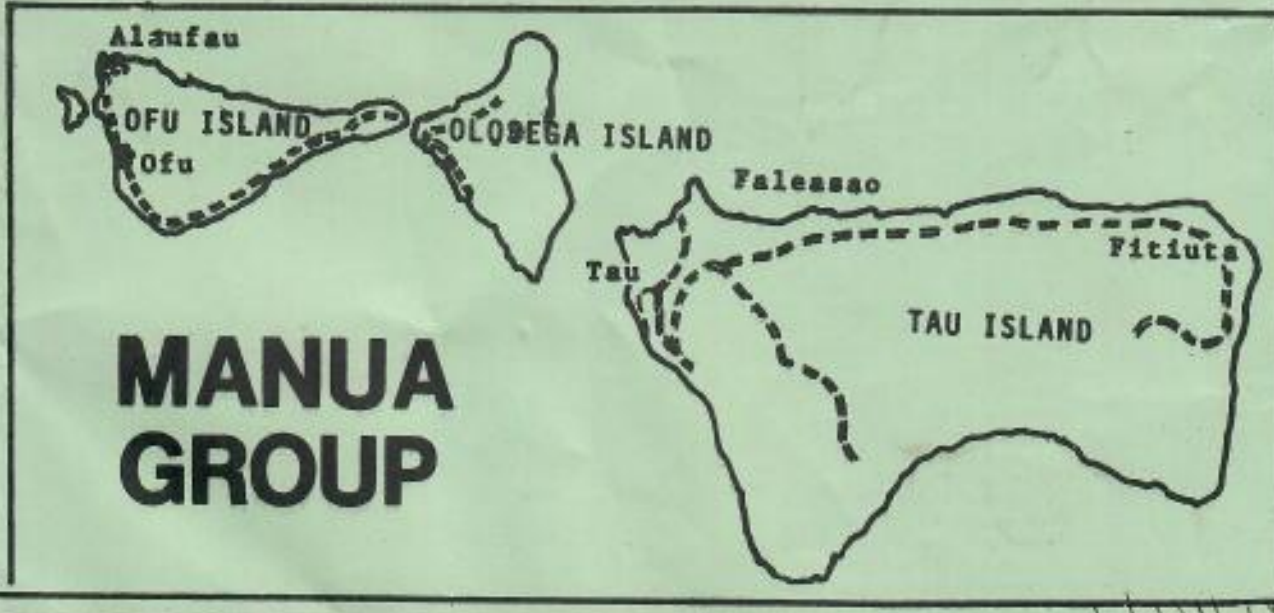
- 55 Asili
- 56 Afao
Atauloma School
- 57 Nua
- 58 Seetaga
- 59 Utumea
- 60 Agugulu
- 61 Fa'ilolo
- 62 Amanave
- 63 Poloa
- 64 Fagali'i
- 65 Maloata
- 66 Fagamalo
- 67 Aoloau Tuai
- 68 Aasu
- 69 Aoloau Fou
- 70 Mapusaga Fou

- 48 Paspua
- 49 Malaeloa
- 50 Taputimu (Gov't
Farm)
- 51 Vailoatal
- 52 Fagalele
- 53 Leone
- 54 Amaluia

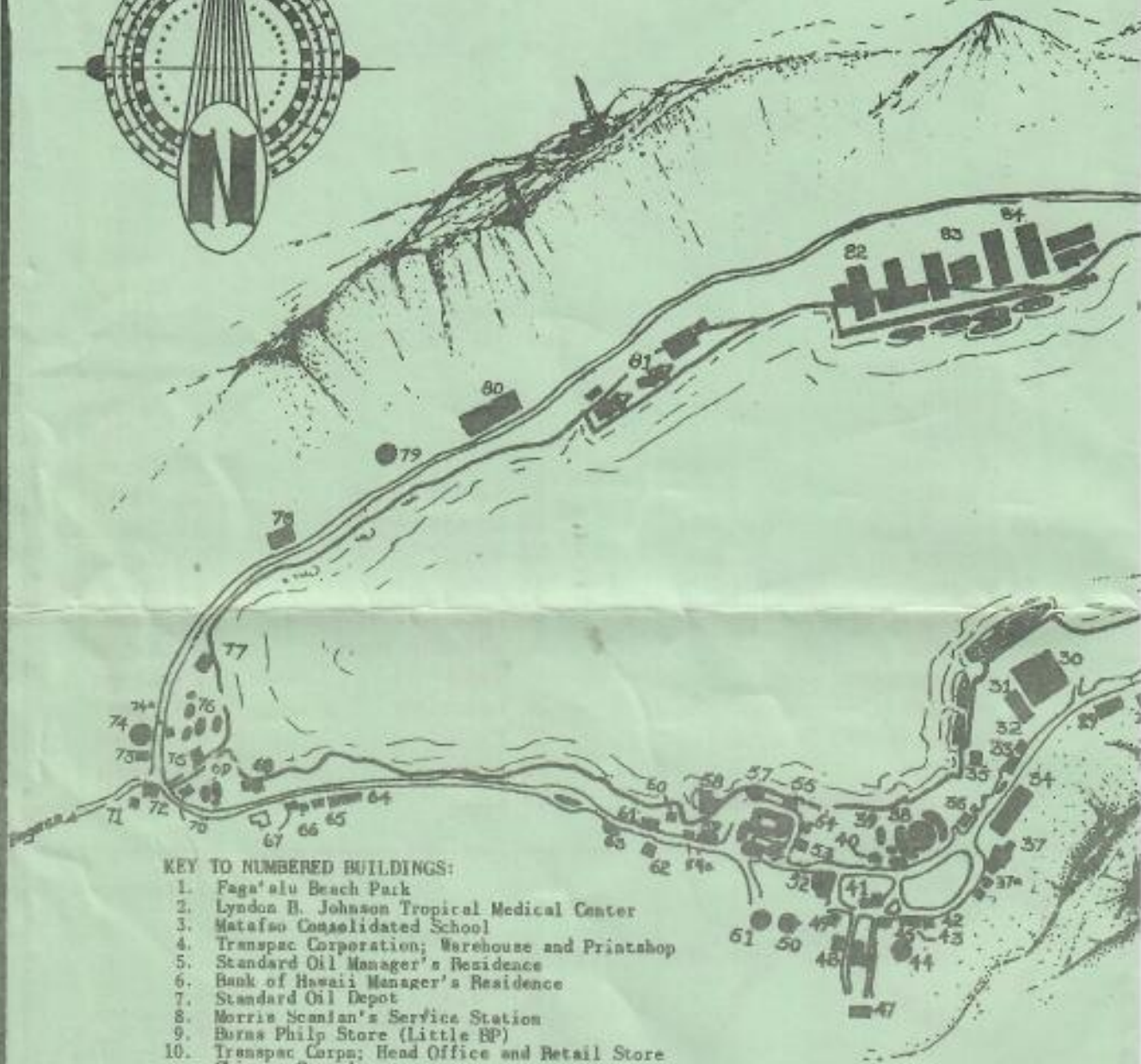
- 40 Malaelimi
- 41 Mapusaga (College)
- 42 Mesepa
- 43 Faleniu
- 44 Pava'ia'i (Theatre)
- 45 Futiga
- 46 Iiili
- 47 Vaitogi (Shark &
Turtle Legend)



- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|---------------------|
| 30 Pago Pago | 21 Laveli'i Fou | 1 Tula |
| 31 Fagasa
Evalani
(Cabaret) | 22 Anasosopo | 2 Alao |
| 32 Fagatogo | 23 Afono | 3 Utumea |
| 33 Utulei
Tramway | 24 Aua | 4 Auasi |
| 34 Fagaalu (Hospital) | 25 Lepua (Catholic
Mission Parish
Hall) | 5 Amouli |
| 35 Fatumafuti (Flower Pot) | 26 Leloaloea | 6 Aoa |
| 36 Matu'u | 27 Vatia | 7 Onenoa |
| 37 Faganeanea | 28 Atu'u | 8 Mampua |
| 38 Nu'uuli (Coconut Point) | 29 Anua | 9 Sailele |
| 39 Tafuna (Gov't housing)
Airport | | 10 Massusi |
| 39a Nu'uuli Shopping Center | | 11 Alofau |
| | | 12 Fagaitua |
| | | 13 Amaua |
| | | 14 Masefa'u |
| | | 15 A'oto |
| | | 16 Avalo |
| | | 17 Alega |
| | | 18 Visa |
| | | 19 Aumi |
| | | 20 Laveli'i
Tuai |



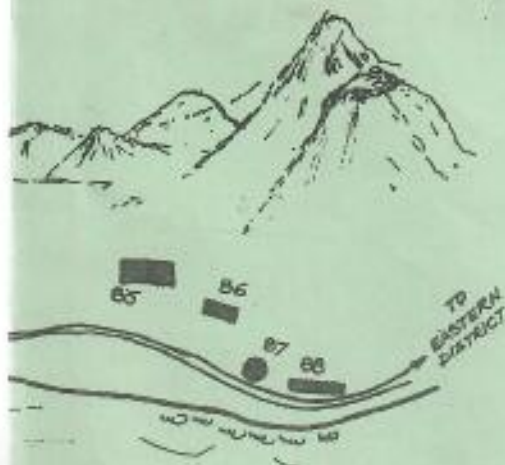
MANUA GROUP



KEY TO NUMBERED BUILDINGS:

1. Faga'alu Beach Park
2. Lyndon B. Johnson Tropical Medical Center
3. Matafao Consolidated School
4. Transpac Corporation; Warehouse and Printshop
5. Standard Oil Manager's Residence
6. Bank of Hawaii Manager's Residence
7. Standard Oil Depot
8. Morris Scanlan's Service Station
9. Burns Philp Store (Little BP)
10. Transpac Corps; Head Office and Retail Store
11. Chinese Consulate
12. Government Print Shop
13. Government Apartments
14. Government Administration Building
15. Manpower Resources/Personnel Training Center
16. Library
17. Special Education
18. Sanoana High School
19. Government Housing
20. Lee Auditorium
21. Utulei Beach Park
22. TV Studio (KVZK-TV)
23. Department of Education
24. Pago Pago Rainmaker Hotel
- 23a. Office of Tourism & Convention Center
24. Governor's House

BAY AREA



25. Cable Car Terminal
26. Pacific Library
27. Early Childhood Center
28. Tennis Court
- 28a. Samoa Sports Store
29. Development Bank/Book Store/Samoa News
30. Customs Receiving Building
31. Inter-Island Shipping
32. Fire Department
33. Museum of American Samoa
34. Lualaba'i Building: Bank of Hawaii/Post Office
Air New Zealand/Pan-Am
Polynesian Airways/Samoan
Holiday and Travel Center
35. Water Transportation
36. Bank of Amerika Samoa
37. Police Department
- 37a. Liquor Store
- 37b. Drug Store
38. Fono Building (Legislative Buildings)
39. Samoan Fales Handicraft
40. Samoa Tours and Travel
41. Communications/Samoan Affairs
Immigration Office/Attorney Generals Office
42. Bamboo Room
43. South Pacific Island Airways (SPIA) Head Office
44. Catholic Church
45. Pago Bar
46. Helge's Beauty Salon/Fashion House
- 46a. Mike Birds Restaurant
47. Herb and Sia's Motel
48. South Pacific Traders
49. Island Printing Company
50. Congregational Church
51. Congregational Church of Jesus Christ
52. Judicial Building
53. Milovalc's Drive In
54. Te'o's Bakery
55. Star of The Sea Fish Market/Sweet Shoppe
56. Produce market
57. Marine Resources
58. Marine and Small Boats Harbor
59. Nia Marie's Store
- 59a. Tropic Isle's "Icewich Fale"
60. Seaside Garden (Bar)
61. G.H.C. Reid Company Store and Offices
62. Marcel Grissard's Store
63. Valupac Store (Sadie Thompson's Guest House)
- 63a. Duty Free Shoppers
64. Burns Philp
65. Haleck's Store
66. Dominique Marine Sales
67. Pila Patu's Store
Royal Samoan Handicrafts
68. Soli's Restaurant
69. Senior Citizens' Handicraft Center
70. Triple A. Gymnasium
71. Sawyer's Hardware Store
72. Spencer's Store
73. Victoria's Sports Palace (Gymnasium & Work Out Center)
74. Pago Mormon Church
- 74a. Hillside Variety Store
75. Pago Pago Bowl
76. Pago Pago Handicrafts ("The Tongan Fales")
77. Korea House
78. Golden Dragon Restaurant
79. Bahai Center
80. Power Plant
81. Marine Railway
82. Star Kist Samoa
83. American Can Company
84. Van Camp Sea Food Company
85. Marist Brothers School for Boys
86. Sisters School for Girls
87. Catholic Church
88. Lepus Parish Hall (Movie Theater)

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CHAPTER I
Introduction

THE TERRITORY OF WESTERN SAMOA, defined in Imperial Orders in Council as the area situated between the 13th and 15th degrees of south latitude and the 171st and 173rd degrees of west longitude, comprises the two principal adjacent islands of Upolu and Savai'i, the small but politically important islands of Manono and Apolima in the straits between Upolu and Savai'i, and the smaller uninhabited islands of Fanuatapu, Namua, Nu'utele, Nu'ulua and Nu'usafe'e. New Zealand lies approximately 1,600 miles away slightly west of south on the other side of the International Date Line, so that a day is lost or gained on trips between the two countries; Samoan Zone Time is 23 hours behind New Zealand Time. Upolu and Savai'i, about 45 and 46 miles long respectively*, lie in an axis with Eastern Samoa running approximately north-west and south-east; Upolu is over 400 square miles in area and Savai'i 700 square miles, while Manono and Apolima total less than two square miles together. The principal town and seat of administration, Apia, located on a bay opposite a break in the reef which can scarcely be dignified by the name of harbour, and nesting under Mount Vaea, the burial place of Robert Louis Stevenson, lies about half way along the northern coast of Upolu. The wreck resting on the inner reef of the harbour is all that remains of the German gunboat "Adler", driven ashore during the famous hurricane of March 15th to 16th, 1889, when the British "Calliope" was the only warship of seven then in the roadstead to make her escape to the open sea.

About 70 miles south-east of Apia lies Eastern or American Samoa; the principal island of Tutuila is 18 miles long and is the site of a United States Naval Station. The

* The distances are variously stated as anything from 45 to 47 miles for each island. Existing lithographs, issued in 1922, are inaccurate and out of date, and cannot be corrected until coastal traverses are completed.

administrative centre, Pago Pago, is located on a fine sheltered harbour on the south coast. There is a small adjoining island, Anu'u, and 50 miles eastwards a group of three islands, Ta'u, 'Ofu and Olosega, known collectively as Manu'a, and a small uninhabited atoll 75 miles further east called Rose Island. The approximate area of American territory is stated by various authorities to be from 60 to 73 square miles. The small atoll, Swain's Island, north of Samoa, was annexed to American Samoa in 1925.

All the islands except Nu'usafe'e and the Rose Atoll are rocky and volcanic. Upolu, Savai'i and Tutuila have high ridge areas inland rising in Savai'i to peaks of 6,094 feet, in Upolu to 3,608 feet, and in Tutuila to 2,141 feet. Population is confined mostly to the coastal areas, there being only 11 inland villages out of a total of 192 in Western Samoa. Plantations extend in most cases for only a few miles inland. The interior is heavily forested and many parts have not been properly explored although many crater-lakes and waterfalls of particular beauty are known. Tutuila is stated to be the oldest formation geologically, Upolu being next in geological age and Savai'i comparatively recent. A serious eruption of the volcano *Mataveau* took place on the north coast of Savai'i between 1905 and 1911, covering several villages and ruining many square miles of rich and productive land. The people rendered homeless by this disaster are now located in two areas on the north and south coasts of Upolu at Leauva'a and Salamumu.

The climate is tropical, the atmosphere humid, the rainfall heavy and the range in temperature, especially at sea-level, small. The latter fact, together with the high humidity, although tempered to some degree by the south-east trade-wind that blows during the drier season roughly from April to September, is undoubtedly the most trying feature of a climate that, while described as mild and equable, is not ideal for people, especially women, born in more temperate regions. The entire Group, although considered by modern meteorologists to be within the hurricane belt, has fortunately experienced very few hurricanes of the degree of severity termed "destructive".

The Apia Observatory, founded in 1902 by the Society of Natural Sciences of Göttingen for the purpose of taking observations simultaneously with those of an Antarctic Expedition, is located at the end of the Mulinu'u peninsula, a low sandy spit only a few feet above sea-level. The climate there is thus more of the maritime or oceanic type

than that on the true mainland or in the foothills only a short distance away. This fact has a practical and personal significance for residents on the peninsula, but should also be borne in mind by the reader in any critical consideration of the figures quoted in the following paragraphs.

Observatory records over many years show that the average temperature was 79.29 degrees, the mean daily maximum 84.7 degrees, and the mean daily minimum 73.8 degrees. The record maximum shade thermometer reading is 93 degrees and the minimum 63 degrees. All figures quoted are on the Fahrenheit scale. Residents of long standing in the Territory find temperatures approaching the minimum stated above decidedly cool.*

Temperature figures quoted are computed from observations taken in standard meteorological screens. These wooden structures with double-louvered sides and ventilated bases are not designed to reproduce all the features of European living conditions, which are frequently more trying than meteorological records would suggest. Temperatures taken in the open at grass level show a greater range.

The recorded hours of sunshine average approximately 2,500 annually.

The mean relative humidity during the day is about 79 per cent, rising to higher than 90 per cent nearly every night. Some observations have been recorded showing a humidity of 99 per cent.

The average annual rainfall for the last 55 years is 111.63 inches.† The greatest fall in twenty-four hours is recorded as 15.95 inches and in one hour 3.36 inches. During the wettest month on record a total fall of 59.57 inches was recorded at Mulinu'u, while Tapatapao, 1,000 feet above sea-level, registered 52 inches of rain in 48 hours in the same month.‡ The average rainfall is distributed in the

* One is here reminded of the fact that even temperature has a relative value. In the course of a Government expedition in 1929 through the interior of Savai'i, a temperature of 53 degrees F. was recorded one rainy night at a level of approximately 5,000 feet. A member of the party, born in Samoa, was heard to exclaim, "It can't possibly be as cold as this in New Zealand!" There are natives in Africa who sleep on the top of clay bank furnaces when the temperature falls below 70 degrees F.

† The average annual rainfall of Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin is 60, 48, 36, and 37 inches respectively.

‡ It is interesting to note that in this month in the following year only 3.3 inches were recorded. The normal for the particular month in question is 17.74 inches.

proportions of about 78 inches from October to March, and 34 inches from April to September. Thus, although there is a seasonal distribution, there is nothing approaching a true dry season as in some other countries, although in some years the precipitation during the drier part of the year may fall below the normal. There is, however, a noticeable difference in the amount of rain in different parts of the country. Observations at Sogi, merely one mile from the Observatory on the neck of the Mulinu'u peninsula, show that the precipitation there is 9.1 per cent higher, while at the Hospital, 145 feet above mean sea-level, one mile from the beach and a little over two miles south-east of the Observatory, where Dr. Buxton in 1924 and 1925 took special observations for nineteen months,* his figures show that the rainfall is 16 per cent higher. In the mountains the annual precipitation can rise above 200 inches. At one mountain station, Afiamalu, height 2,296 feet, an annual fall of 248 inches has been recorded, while the yearly average for this station is 197 inches. Any part of the country presenting a southern or south-eastern aspect and thus facing the prevailing wind has a correspondingly heavy rainfall. Pago Pago on the south coast of Tutuila, American Samoa, placed among mountains at the head of a deep bay, has a remarkably heavy rainfall of about 200 inches annually, even though it is at sea-level. The influence of locality and the effect of the prevailing wind should be noted because the Observatory is situated both on a peninsula and on the lee side of the island. Rain can frequently be observed in Apia while the Mulinu'u peninsula or the seaward half of it is dry; it is interesting sometimes to see the wet and dry areas marked on a road as plainly as if a line had been drawn across it.

As the temperature and humidity are always high and steady, it is clear that man's comfort depends largely upon the movement of the air either by day or by night. This problem resolves itself substantially into a question of locality of residence and housing ventilation, the latter point having been admirably solved in the construction of Samoan houses. It does not always receive adequate attention in European housing. One effect of living in the foothills or higher in the mountain ranges is that greater variations in temperature and much cooler nights with land breezes are experienced, with a consequent beneficial effect

* This is, of course, too short a period on which to base sound scientific conclusions.

on the health and energy of residents in those places. Buxton's observations and conclusions in this connection are of more than casual interest and seem not to have received the attention his careful studies warrant.*

The lower rainfall and cooler conditions between approximately April and September, and particularly in June and July, make that period the more pleasant part of the year. Summer in the southern hemisphere brings to Samoa a higher rainfall and more cloudy weather with a lower and more irregular range in temperature; it is the winter season, with a more regular and higher daily temperature range, bright sunny days tempered by the trade-winds, and clear, cool nights with land breezes, that visitors from temperate countries find attractive. As Buxton has pointed out, under Samoan conditions a difference of a few degrees in temperature minima may make all the difference between a good and a bad night's sleep.

The Mulinu'u peninsula referred to above, the site of the Apia Observatory and the Department of Native Affairs, has been the scene of many stirring events in Samoan history during the last hundred years. It has been both an armed fortress and the seat of a Samoan Government. It is the burial place of some of the leading Samoan figures in the recent history of the country, and also of British, American and German sailors who lost their lives in action in 1888 and 1899.

There is no malaria in Samoa, but filaria, which is the early stage of elephantiasis, may be contracted from the attentions of a particular species of mosquito.† There are very few venomous creatures: no venomous snakes, of which there are two harmless and far from common varieties, large and small centipedes, scorpions, hornets and bees. The stings are painful and unpleasant, but except possibly in the case of young children, not dangerous.

The flora and fauna are interesting. Samoa is a very fine field for the botanist and entomologist; between 1893 and 1895 Reinecke found 567 botanical genera and 1,224 species, and among these, 142 were new. Of the 52 kinds of birds,

* P. A. Buxton and G. H. E. Hopkins, *Researches in Polynesia and Melanesia*, Vol. I, Parts I to IV, London, 1927.

† It rejoices in the name of *Aedes Scutellaris* var. *Pseudoscutellaris*.

‡ Both Stair and Williams relate that Samoan girls used to twist live snakes about their necks as adornments while dancing.

weights. The mass was then allowed to ferment and was ready for use in about a month, fruit being added to replace portions that were used and the leaves being also changed regularly to prevent rotting. Such conserves could be kept for upwards of a year, but the practice is not now greatly resorted to. It was previously useful to provide for times of expected shortage of food, or to store a surplus. In preparing *masi*, portions were shaped in the form of cakes or biscuits and then cooked in the earth oven. Another method was to wrap it in leaves with the addition of grated coconut or coconut cream. In the simple form, it emerged hard and biscuity, and by reason of its keeping qualities, it must have been valuable in the past on long canoe voyages. Another old fruit preserve, not now made, was *sai fa'i*, ripe peeled bananas dried in the sun. Packets of these were made up in banana leaves and bound tightly with continuous turns of coconut sennit, the final appearance being similar to the present-day *sai* of Samoan tobacco.

Fresh fruits are consumed casually rather than at regular meals. Pineapples, mangoes, *nonu* (the Samoan apple) and *vi* are all eaten in season. Bananas and *esi* (papaya) are eaten casually, especially by young people working in plantations; but the ceremonial banana referred to above is important on more formal occasions. Sugar cane often has a place in feasts and at other times is eaten particularly by children who tear off the rough, outer skin with their teeth. Samoan children are much addicted to eating mangoes and *vi* in their green state, a practice that is due in part at least to the fact that flying-foxes attack the ripe or nearly ripe fruit. Lemon, lime and orange drinks and prepared cordials are all coming into increasing use, especially in entertaining visitors, Samoan taste in this matter, as in regard to the use of tea, cocoa and coffee, leaning towards heavily sweetened liquids. The Samoan diet contains more than a sufficiency of carbohydrates without sweet drinks and it is perhaps significant that the people are beginning to recognise an illness that they correctly term *masi saka*, the sugar sickness, or diabetes.

Pigs are usually killed by strangling immediately before preparation for cooking by the pressure of a wooden bar across the throat. The blood and abdominal and intestinal fat are carefully collected and cooked in banana leaves over hot stones, and are greatly prized as a delicacy. Other internal organs such as the heart, liver or kidneys, are sometimes chopped up, dressed in banana leaves and cooked similarly. There is a common but incorrect impression among

Europeans that Samoans prefer pork poorly cooked but this overlooks the fact that large animals are partly cooked for presentation and facility in ceremonial division with the intention that the distributed portions should receive additional cooking later. After killing, the pig is scalded with hot water and scraped clean of hair. The insides are then removed and the whole carcase placed in the oven after the abdominal cavity has been filled with mango, *fav* or *o'a* leaves and hot stones to assist the cooking process.

Samoans eat poultry but not the eggs, although there is a growing practice of eating the latter, which are used freely enough in any case for the baking of cakes. Fowls may be boiled in the European fashion, cooked in a Samoan oven, or grilled direct over the hot stones. Pigeons are extremely popular in season and are cooked in the same way as fowls, except that many portions of the entrails are cooked with the bird and consumed, being considered to be "clean". Pigeons in a good season can become so fat that on hitting the ground after being shot, they frequently burst.

Samoans term the turtle (*asamei*) a fish, although some recognise the technical difference.* The turtle has high ceremonial significance, being termed an *i'a sa*.† Before cooking, the entrails are drawn, and the turtle is then placed on its back over the hot stones. The blood is carefully saved and with the fat and certain of the organs and entrails is made up into packets in banana leaves and cooked in the oven. Any developing eggs found within a female are treated likewise. Hot stones are placed inside the carcase from which the abdominal or ventral plate is not removed, to assist the cooking process as in the case of the cooking of pigs. The intestines are carefully cleaned and also cooked. During the cooking process a gravy collects in the

*The turtle is, of course, a lung-breathing animal belonging to a sub-class of reptiles, the meat rather resembling a coarse beef. The choice portions for Europeans, if they are properly cooked, are fillets from the fore-flippers. The well known turtle-shell of commerce is taken from sections of the carapace of a particular species, the hawk-billed turtle (*Chelone subricincta*). The commoner variety is the green-back, but both are edible. Turtle eggs, which are laid only in a few localities, are deposited some hundreds at a laying, and resemble soft greyish-white billiard balls. A peculiarity of the turtle egg is that the white, or albumen, does not solidify on boiling. The heart of the turtle continues to beat for some hours after it is taken from the body, even against the pressure of a closed fist. Turtles are caught in large nets, generally as the common effort of an entire village or village section, working with a considerable number of canoes.

†See Chapter VIII, Ceremonial Presentations of Food.

shell of the turtle; this is the reason why it is placed on its back. The gravy is much relished while hot and is dipped out with coconut shell cups.

The sea-foods are very popular with Samoans, fresh fish being that form of flesh which is most inexpensively obtained and commonly consumed. Small fish, unseasoned and uncut, are wrapped in banana or breadfruit leaves, and the bundles termed *afi*, while large fish in the same condition are plaited into coconut leaf dressings termed *lasi'a*; both are placed in the oven in that form. *Afi* may also have coconut cream added to prepare *fasi'a* or fish *fasi'a*. These words, *afi* and *fasi'a*, are the terms employed in describing the fish in any ceremonial presentation. Certain varieties such as the bonito, the mullet, the flying fish and the *atale* are enjoyed in a raw state, sections of the fish being served in coconut cups of sea water mixed with a little blood, coconut cream or lemon juice, and then consumed. Fish that are consumed raw may also be cooked if desired, and the *sisi* sauce, *pe'ep'e*, to which sea water or perhaps lemon juice has been added, is also a favourite flavouring for foods other than raw fish. Fish are cooked uncut because certain of the cleaner parts of the entrails are also consumed. Octopus, crayfish, lobsters, shrimps, fresh-water and sea eels, oysters, many kinds of crabs, *faisia*, (a variety of Tridacna), smaller shell-fish and cockles are all popular. The entrails of other marine animals are greatly relished, particularly sea. Octopus, lobsters, crayfish and crabs are cooked but other sea-foods are consumed in the raw state. Sea-eggs and an edible mud worm (*ipo*) are eaten raw, and the famous *palolo*, a coral worm that rises to the surface for breeding purposes on only a few mornings in the year, is cooked in leaf "dresses." Crabs, lobsters and crayfish may be boiled in European fashion but may also be placed in a Samoan oven in the upper levels of the leaf coverings, not too near the hot stones.

The *palolo* (*Eusice viridis*) is an edible annelid, a segmented sea worm that lives in the crevices of coral reefs. At dawn eight days after full moon, in October or November, the rear portion of the worm, perhaps three quarters of its length, breaks off from the head, and, full of egg-cells or sperm-cells, bursts or breaks into fragments in the water. The swarming is therefore a wedding journey during which the cells are fertilised; the male is reddish brown in colour and the female bluish green. The head portion, of which the average diameter is about one-sixth of an inch, remains in

the coral and grows a new body which is much finer, not exceeding in diameter one third or one quarter that of the head. The total length of the worm before it divides and bursts is from 9 to 18 inches. The body is cylindrical, tapering slightly at both ends, divided into many hundreds of nearly equal joints, each of which has a small tuft of gills on either side. There is a periodical internal change in the worm when it becomes reproductive and restless, and in a manner that is not yet clearly understood, this is somehow connected with external changes, especially the time of year, the phase of the moon, and the sunrise. Each segment in the rear free-swimming portion of the worm bears on its abdominal surface a prominent pigmented spot, an abdominal eye, and it has been suggested that the swarming may be due to thermotropic or heliotropic influences on that organ.

The *palolo* is not peculiar to Samoa; it is known also in Fiji, Tonga, the Solomons, Gilberts, New Hebrides, Moluccas, Banks Islands, New Britain, New Ireland, the Trobriand Islands, Bermuda, the Malay Straits and Japan. It may be found other than at the prophesied times in Samoa by breaking off sections of the coral rock in places where it normally swarms, and it is a local peculiarity that the major risings in the islands of Upolu and Savaii usually occur at intervals of four weeks.

A checked list of edible Samoan fish, which is probably far from exhaustive, totals 265 varieties. A dozen or so others are either poisonous in whole or in part, and either in certain localities or different times of the year, or stages of growth. It is claimed that some fish are poisonous in certain localities because of the local prevalence of the *ava*, a small coral-like seaweed on which the fish concerned are stated to feed. Others are not eaten from a feeling of repugnance derived from their habits, and the dolphin goes free for traditional reasons.

Shark, cooked in the usual manner, is a popular food as well as being a fish of ceremonial significance, although in common with other types of fish prepared in that fashion, it is a little dry to European palates. This great fish of ill repute is caught from a canoe; by a system of lures and changed baits at different stages it is induced to enter a rope noose which is drawn tight in the region of the dorsal fin. The shark is then allowed to tow the canoe until exhausted, at which stage it is drawn half out of the water and clubbed on the nose, which is the region of the nerve centres.

Another seasonal delicacy, although not restricted to

always constitute the same degree of offence against custom as in the case noted specially above.

We will examine first in detail the general group of food presentations to visitors.

The highest form of ceremonial food presentation under this heading at the present time is that associated with the *ta'alolo*, in which an entire village or even one or more districts may take part in order to show a special degree of respect to a distinguished visitor or visitors. A *ta'alolo* is always performed during the hours of daylight and from its nature must always take place in the open, never within a house. The village or district concerned assemble out of sight, the visitors awaiting them either within a house or on one side of the *mafae*. The concourse then approaches, not in a line or procession but in a close crowd, singing the appropriate songs, and led by *taupo*, *manaia* or chiefs arrayed in all the dignity of the traditional head-dress or *twiga** of bleached human hair, embellished with the modern addition of small mirrors. The *taupo* will probably be dressed in a fine mat (*'ie toga*) and an upper garment of leaves and flowers made especially for the occasion. The arms and legs of the *taupo* and the torso of the *manaia* or the chiefs will be agleam with Samoan oil; some or all may be armed with a typical hooked Samoan knife or an axe, and all will advance and retire in front of the slowly approaching village assembly with the queer jerky little hops and steps that are the traditional mode of progression for the leaders of the *ta'alolo* on these occasions. The leaders are sometimes accompanied by clowns or buffoons, old men or women who inject a light note into the proceedings, and who act as foils to the formality and dignity of the leaders.

The right to wear a *twiga* and to lead a *ta'alolo* are jealously guarded privileges restricted to properly appointed *taupo*, *manaia* and certain well-known chiefs of the villages or districts concerned. This is an aspect of custom sufficiently important to warrant a petition to the Native Land and Titles Court if a dispute arises and if satisfaction can be obtained in no other way. That Court has jurisdiction to hear evidence and make pronouncements on all such questions of Samoan custom.

While the *ta'alolo* is approaching, young men attached to the visiting party lay down coconut fronds for the

*The wearing of the *twiga* is a very painful business, the composite parts being tightly bound about the forehead. This accounts for the strained expressions frequently seen on the faces of leaders of a *ta'alolo*.

CHAPTER VIII

Ceremonial Presentations of Food

It is perhaps natural enough in a society where so much of ceremony is combined or concludes with feasts that the highest forms of traditional respect should become associated with the ceremonial presentation of food. In communities like the Samoan, it is the simple things of life that become invested with formality and dignity for ceremonial purposes.

Presentations of food fall into two broad categories which are not, however, clear-cut or distinct. The first embraces presentations by a group, either a district or a village, or by a family, for the purpose of showing respect to unrelated visitors; the second covers instances of what may be termed domestic respect, either to highly placed relatives or resident dignitaries, where a family or village habitually acknowledges the status of a particular leading chief either of a village or district by the regular presentation for his personal consumption or distribution of food grown or reared by them or of certain types of fish or other produce of the sea whenever taken. The first comprises a group of observances and a form of courtesy, the non-observance of which could well cause dissatisfaction; but it merely involves the goodwill of people who may concede or withhold a courtesy as they wish. The second involves in some cases at least a rather more rigid aspect of custom and what may be termed traditional rights. To withhold the presentation of certain prescribed things of the sea, for instance, to the individuals or groups whose rank entitles them to such acknowledgment as of right would constitute an insult in Samoan custom. For purposes of convenience we may also include under this second heading the practice of presenting certain first fruits of the land to the chiefs and orators of villages, to the heads of families or to any other individual with whom a special relationship of respect exists, and certain other customary courtesies of a similar nature, although the omission of these latter would not

reception of the food, and then sit down on the grass to take charge of any eggs or poultry that may be brought. An orator of the party may also seat himself there to thank and congratulate the village for their generosity. The thanks at this stage are short and informal and other titled members of the party seated behind him may also join in.

The village or district is thus led by *tanpou* and others to a point on the *malae* opposite the house where the visitors are waiting, frequent pauses being made to allow the leaders to advance and dance with the characteristic twirling movements of knives or axes. With a final acclamation the village then advance and young men will deposit before the visitors on the grass or the terrace of the house the cooked pigs or turtles prepared as a respectful offering. Turtles are especially significant for this purpose but pigs are more usual because they are easily bred and available when they are required. Live fowls may also be presented. A pig that is so big that it must be transported on a litter is particularly well received and will be referred to later by the visitors in special terms of respectful appreciation. The bulk of the village will deposit busked drinking coconuts in a pile alongside the other offerings and while the *tanpou* and chiefs in head-dresses shake hands with the visitors, the people of the village will retire to the opposite side of the *malae* and seat themselves on the grass or sand.

At a convenient moment later in the proceedings young men attached to the visitors' party will open a supply of the drinking nuts presented and the guests will partake to show their appreciation.

Before the concluding acclamation and presentation of fowls or coconuts, there is generally a final pause for dancing. If an important chief who has taken part in the *ta'atolo* joins the leaders and himself dances in this final phase, that is a high and unusual compliment to the visitors.

Where a gathering comprises a whole district, they may present one *ta'atolo* on behalf of all jurisdictions represented, or alternatively, a separate *ta'atolo* may be decided upon by each village. If the entire function concerns only one village, they may arrange one massed *ta'atolo* as described, or they may prefer to bring separate offerings from distinct groups in the village. Thus the chiefs and orators, the Ladies' Committee and the schools may all make separate presentations, and in such a case will approach from different directions one after another, led if possible

by at least a *tanpou*. The titled group would probably present pigs or a turtle if they have been fortunate enough to secure one, and the ladies and the schools, poultry and eggs and perhaps even fans, baskets or other gifts. On special occasions, fine mats and bark cloth are also included.

No *ta'atolo* is complete without a speech, and the orators either of the village or the district rise and stand forward in a row, usually unclad above the waist and with bark cloth girdled about them, with their staffs (*so'oto'o*) in their right hands and their long fly-whisks (*fae*) over their shoulders, for the purpose of taking part in the ceremony of *fa'ataw* described in an earlier chapter. As this speech is delivered on the *malae*, the ceremony of *fa'ataw* and the subsequent speeches on both sides are conducted standing. The orators engage in this preliminary discussion in the same way as during a *fesilafesiga*, and one by one those who wish to do so drop out of the line and seat themselves with others of the village or district. The orator who remains then stands forward facing the visitors and commences his speech, his feet apart, his *fae* draped over a shoulder, one hand behind his back and the other clasping his staff, the tip of which is placed firmly on the ground before him. There it must remain during the speaking, although the upper part of the staff may be moved to and fro. It would be highly improper for the orator to raise it from the ground and gesture with it. In the course of his remarks, he generally asks the visitors to excuse the inadequacy of the food that he now formally presents, and makes such other statements of a respectful nature as are most calculated to please the guests, being prompted from time to time by the orators seated behind him if they consider that he is likely to overlook any point of importance. This, of course, is done as unostentatiously as possible. On completion of his speech, he retires and sits down, usually a little in advance of the other orators.

If the visitors are Samoan, an orator must then stand forward and make a speech in reply thanking the hosts for their courtesy and expressions of respect. If the visitors are European, one of their number should speak. Where the visitors are seated in a house and even though they be European, no speaking in reply must be done from within the house or even from the eminence of the terrace. The speaker representing the visitors should step forward on to ground level outside the house and be careful also to stand aside if necessary so that neither food nor people intervene between him and the hosts while he is speaking. He too must

be provided with a staff, and he addresses the orator who has spoken first and the other dignitaries present. If no proper staff is available, a walking-stick will suffice. If speeches are expected to be long and there is no natural shelter from a hot sun, attendants may cut and plant saplings or hold them in position to provide some protection.

A *ta'atolo* may be presented by people of either sex or both, and may include titled and untitled people; but in another ceremony, *lan/antasi*, or *avatacao*, as it is often termed by the orator in charge of the proceedings, the food is presented only by titled males, that is, chiefs and orators, usually on the day before the visitors are due to depart. This is a very important method of demonstrating respect for visitors because every family in good standing in the village must contribute. Baskets of cooked food containing whatever has been decided upon by the chiefs and orators in council are gathered together on the side of the *malae* opposite to the visitors, the donors seating themselves round about the food. The baskets may contain a cooked chicken, taro, large and small fish or other produce of the sea wrapped in leaves, or tinned meat or fish. On rare occasions the *ai'i* and *fai'pule* may even decide that each basket shall contain a small cooked pig, in which case the form of presentation is known as *ava'atiki*. The method of presentation is as follows. An orator of the village or district stands forward and baskets are brought to him in succession in order that he may display and announce whatever each one contains. He calls out the name of the family concerned, lifts up the food to display it, and refers to it in ceremonial terms.* The food is replaced in the basket which is then carried forward at a run across the *malae* by young men of the village and placed before the visitors, who from time to time call thanks across to the donors. If several villages have assembled in order to present a *lan/antasi*, the work of one orator in announcing and displaying would be unduly prolonged, and so perhaps three or four may undertake this duty. In that case they call out together loudly and there

* Fowls (*moa*) are referred to as *ta's fa'otas*, literally, "to wander about the house pavement." Packets of fish are termed *af* or *lasi'a*, according to the size of the fish, and taro are *fauait*, literally, a taro shoot, a term that must be most strictly employed in Falealili, where the title of one of the leading orators is *Talo*. A cooked pig, presented during a *ta'atolo*, is always alluded to respectfully by the recipients as *masa'ata*, "an animal on a litter," suggesting that the offering is of such proportions that it cannot conveniently be transported in any other manner.

is a constant coming and going of the young men who hurry forward the baskets with an air of goodwill and pleasant bustle. Although a *lan/antasi* has as its serious purpose an intention to convey respect, there is a tradition of humorous licence about this ceremony of which the announcing orators are permitted to take full advantage. This often takes the form of pleasantly derisive comments on the nature of the food contributed. Fowls may be referred to as *skiany*, or taro as very poor specimens. A cooked pigeon may be held up and described jokingly as a rat, or as something that was found dead under a tree in a bush. Other orators may praise the food effusively and wave it about until laughing thanks are called by the visitors across the *malae*.

A *lan/antasi* on the *malae* may be associated with a *ta'atolo*, in which case it will precede the speeches, and all the food presented will be placed alongside the pigs or other gifts that formed a part of the earlier ceremony. A *lan/antasi* can also be presented during the day or after dark within a house following a welcome ceremony. In that case an orator sits in the back of the house where the visitors are assembled and the baskets are brought to him from the rear of the building. He calls out the names and displays the food before the guests.

Whether the ceremony is conducted on the *malae* or within a house, young men sort the different kinds of foods into separate baskets; thus all the cooked fish will be placed together and the taro and other foodstuffs will be treated similarly. This is done in order to estimate quantities and to facilitate the distribution.

Before the food is distributed, it must be acknowledged and proclaimed according to custom by the recipients. An orator of the visitors or an untitled member of the *malaga* party therefore stands forward and announces in loud tones the numbers and kind of all gifts of food received, the language employed being always on these occasions that of ceremony and courtesy. Others of his party who have counted the food will prompt him as required. There is a pleasant tendency also to exaggerate to some extent the numbers of fish, taro and other similar things presented, although the count of important items like pigs is rather more careful. This feature of Samoan custom termed the *fa'afalaga* ensures that all people within hearing are duly apprised of the generosity of the hosts. If the presentation is made within a house, the public acknowledgment takes place just in front, whether by day or by night.

The proceedings close with the distribution of the food presented, a stage in which Samoan custom operates to demonstrate mutual regard and respect. In theory, food presented to the visitors could be retained by them, but it is invariably apportioned by a visiting orator in such a manner that every group present, including both the hosts and the guests, receives a share. Particular attention is always paid on these occasions to allotting a share to pastors of all denominations. As the shares are announced they are carried away by the boys and presented to those entitled to receive them. The distribution of food is a duty that is always discharged by orators.

Without going into details at this stage, it may be mentioned that food like pigs, turtles and certain fish are divided in a very particular manner, the portions of chiefs and orators being different and certain parts having a peculiar value for the purpose of showing respect. Before the distribution can proceed, the correct divisions must be made by the young men, who require to be well versed in this aspect of their work lest ineptitude give offence.

The practice requiring all families in a village to contribute to the entertainment of guests and to provide when called upon to do so a basket of food for a *lawāntasi* or other food presentation is referred to as the *monotaga*. All families recognized socially in the village are expected to make this contribution, and any failure to do so would bring down on them the dissatisfaction of the chiefs and orators and the imposition of whatever fine was considered proper in the circumstances. Any family which is for the time being excluded from village affairs would not offer such a food contribution, and would not be allowed to do so even if it wished. Indeed, such an offer from a family excluded from village affairs would be regarded as an impertinence. Even if a family has no *matai* and the family title is for the time being vacant, it is still incumbent on the members of the family to maintain the *monotaga* and so preserve their right to participate in village affairs. So also if a *matai* should be absent for any length of time from his home village, he usually arranges for other members of the family to remain in occupation of the family land, and to be most careful to maintain the *monotaga* in his absence. No rights can be claimed in Samoan society unless proper attention is also given to the corresponding duties that society imposes.

A *ta'atolo*, whether or not it is followed by a *lawāntasi*, usually concludes with dances contributed by various groups in the village or district, either the schools, the girls or the

young men. A full description of Samoan dances will be found in a later chapter. Where such dances are organized for the entertainment of guests following a *ta'atolo*, they precede the distribution of the food.

There are certain other food presentations which in some respects at least bear a resemblance to a *lawāntasi*. Baskets of food containing whatever has been prescribed by the village authorities, brought by the young men and girls to guests within a house at night just before the time of the evening meal, constitute what is known as an *arava*. This is in effect a night *lawāntasi* presented by untitled people. An orator announces the contents of each basket as in the case of a *lawāntasi*, and the food gifts are then counted and proclaimed in front of the house before distribution.

When guests of the village are seated within a house and a meal-time approaches, a line of ladies, bearing woven coconut leaf eating mats (*lawāu*), may enter and place a mat before each guest. This method of serving a meal is termed *si'iāntasi*. The mats will be heaped with all types of ordinary Samoan foods, together with any of the special delicacies for which the district may be well known. The meal commences without formal announcement or proclaiming of the food. The *si'iāntasi*, however, is occasionally seen in a more ceremonious form to show a special degree of respect, in circumstances in which it includes some at least of the features of a *lawāntasi* presented by ladies. A food offering brought to the members of United Nations Mission to Western Samoa in 1947 during a week-end stay in the district of Falealili furnishes a good example of this elaboration of a *si'iāntasi*. One hundred and thirty wives of chiefs and orators and members of the Ladies' Committees of the district assembled on the Sunday morning, dressed uniformly and each bearing a *lawāu* on which was placed taro, fish, *palausami*, *fai'ai*, tinned fish and meat and husked coconuts. Two ladies in the rear carried a cooked pig suspended from a pole. The long line circumambulated the village to display the food and on return the pig and the platters were deposited on the platform of the house in which the members of the Mission were seated. The food was presented in a few simple, informal words and acknowledged as quietly. It was then counted, proclaimed in a very low voice, and distributed in a decorous manner. It demonstrated a form of *lawāntasi* presentation that is very appropriate for a Sunday with its prohibition of noise and bustle and public joking.

The ladies of the village, either the wives of *matai* or

younger people of different social status, may combine to present an offering of fowls and taro during the daytime to guests who are seated within a house. Each lady carries a taro, and certain of them will present fowls to the number that has been decided upon. The fowls and taro may be cooked or uncooked as arranged. The food is presented without anything elaborate in the way of formal speeches and then the ladies mingle with the guests within the house. This presentation is termed *talotasi*; and is made by the ladies of the village to the men of the visiting party.

A presentation of a similar nature termed *taliga* may be made by the boys and untitled men of a village to the ladies of a visiting party.

Both these presentations are rather more characteristic of days when entire villages would decide to visit another village, than of the present day when *malaga* parties on such a large scale are not so common. But they may still sometimes be seen when large groups from one part of the country visit another village, say for the purpose of attending a wedding.

The pig has a general significance for the display of respect even apart from its formal importance in ceremonies like the *talalo*. The host or a Government official with whom the guest may have a special relationship, may at any period of the stay, but usually on the first day before the evening meal, present a cooked pig without formality beyond a bare announcement. The pig is a most valuable animal for such purposes since it is always available at short notice for use when required.

Brief reference has been made in a previous chapter to the practice of presenting food to departing guests to sustain them as far as their next stop. Considerable quantities of food are usually presented at a *lanlaniasi* on the day before departure, and from these gifts sufficient may be reserved to provide the *talaso*. A special *talaso* of raw food is sometimes brought just before the party leaves and this can be taken to the next stop to assist the new hosts or conveyed to the home village if it is not too far away. It would be niggardly, however, to convey it beyond the next stop. These presentations may be made by the entire village or merely by the family with whom a *malaga* party has been billeted. The term *oso* is also applied to food taken by a person from his own family or village to help his hosts in the village where he proposes to stay.

A food presentation of very high ceremonial importance, which is not often seen at the present day and which is

difficult to fit satisfactorily into either of the two principal categories specified at the beginning of this chapter, is known as *talapa'ia*. This was characteristic of the times of the ancient Samoan kings and the Samoan Government during the latter period of the last century, and was seen also early in the German regime when the leading chiefs were in residence at Mulinu'u with their bodyguards and retainers. An entire district or districts owing allegiance to such a king or chief would decide to go *en masse* and present food in ceremonial form to assist in the maintenance of the retainers and to demonstrate their continued support and respect. Large baskets of uncooked taro always figured in this presentation, together with cattle or pigs, possibly one of the latter from each *matasi*, and other foods such as fish, fowls, *palusami* and *fa'asi*. These were presented in a form similar to that of a *talalo*, led by *lanpou* and chiefs in head-dresses and full ceremonial regalia.

Food presentations of the type of the *talalo* or *lanlaniasi* are brought by large groups like villages or districts, or assemblies like schools or a group of pastors of various denominations. There is another type falling into both categories of domestic respect and that accorded to certain visitors, and known as the *sua*, *sua tase* or *sua fa'i*, which is presented by a smaller group or unit such as a family. One form of the *sua* is a respectful food presentation to a distinguished visitor who is connected by blood to the particular family concerned. It has the double object of showing respect to the recipient and of demonstrating relationship to an important chief. A *sua* is made more usually to a chief, but occasionally also to an orator chief or the class of orator known as *tu'ua*, if the latter's social or political status warrants that distinction. It consists of a cooked pig, a cooked fowl, a coconut in which one eye-hole has been pierced, a taro or yam cut in pieces and cooked in banana and breadfruit leaves, and a fine mat or bark cloth (*siapo*) worn by the girl, possibly a *lanpou*, who leads those carrying the food. Occasionally a boy heads the procession. It is only to a high ranking chief and as a mark of unusual respect that a fine mat is presented. More usually it is a piece of *siapo* only. The gifts presented are symbolic of the respectful service tendered by the family, that is, food, drink and clothing.

A *sua* may be presented to the chief seated either inside a house or on the *malae* during the day, or within a house at night. A girl draped in a fine mat or a *siapo*, and carrying a busked, pierced nut, leads the procession of those

bearing the food. She halts before the chief, removes the *siafo* from about her, kneels sideways and hands over both the *siafo* and the drinking nut. The chief's orator seated nearby will probably take charge of both. The lady then retires. Another girl or boy then brings forward a *lasi*, and or woven food mat, on which are arranged the fowl and taro or yam. This is placed before the chief but not too near. Finally, the pig is brought in by another bearer. The chief and orator give thanks, briefly and not too formally, to the *matas* of the family making the presentation, who will attend during the proceedings.

The nut is drunk by the orator by the sucking method which is essential if one is to consume the liquid of a nut in which only one hole has been perforated. The empty nut is then cracked open on the stone foundations of the house and the pieces flung outside. This is a noisy advertisement of the dignified ceremony that is proceeding within. The pig is divided by the orator according to custom, and the fowl and taro are set aside for later consumption as required. There are no formal speeches. It is usual for the chief's orator to receive the *siafo*, and if he is fortunate, he may even receive the fine mat if one has been presented, but that is for the chief to decide.

As in the case of a *ta'alo* and a *lan'antasi*, the food presented in a *sua* is announced loudly from the front of the house in which the presentation has taken place. This duty is usually discharged by the orator, who, if he has been given the *siafo*, will wear it draped about him. He must then publicly acknowledge the gift of the *siafo*, which he does by calling loudly three times with a peculiar intonation the name of the donor. This form of acknowledgment is termed *atitao*.

An important guest visiting a village and accompanied by only a small party would, if he were related to families in the village, receive a *sua* or various *sua* rather than a *ta'alo*, but if his party should be a large one, the whole village would be likely to combine to present a *ta'alo*. Even in this latter case, however, the related families in the village would probably not be content until they had presented a *sua* to show personal relationship.

A wish to show particular respect or to pay a compliment may be expressed in the presentation of a *sua* even where there is no actual blood connection. An unrelated chief of high status in a village that is entertaining a distinguished visitor may also bring a *sua* to show goodwill and to associate himself personally with the arrangements

made to entertain the guest. A Samoan official acting as host to a European official who has come to assist him in his work could correctly present a *sua*. The large *sua* presented at Lepea in August, 1947, to the members of the United Nations Mission was of a special character, for in addition to the three main presentations of pigs and fine mats, it included also extra *lasi* (cooked chickens, taro and drinking nuts) from the large concourse of chiefs and orators present.

As mentioned above, the *sua* comes also within the category of a domestic food presentation, and demonstrates the difficulty of drawing precise or exclusive distinctions in explaining some aspects of Samoan custom. It is the question of relationship that is important in this ceremony, whenever or wherever it is performed, although as already explained, there are some exceptions to this rule. It may therefore be presented to important chiefs from time to time by families or individuals connected to him in his own village, and in cases where a chief enjoys unusual social or even political pre-eminence, with relationships to many other families, this may become a regular or even a weekly show of respect. In respectful parlance it is customary to term any meal of a high chief a *sua*.

A chief who has just assumed an important title will probably in the course of his *seofa'i*, or election feast, receive a *sua* from his family as indicative of their acceptance of him as head of the family. If his title is so important that many other *matas* connected to him have gathered together to take part in the proceedings, it is courteous for him and his family to prepare a *sua* to the visiting chiefs. A new appointee who omitted that courtesy would deal a blow to his own dignity and give an impression that he was perhaps not the most suitable person to hold the title.

A chief who is obliged to enter either the main hospital at Apia or any of the outstations will be presented with *sua* by his relatives during the progress of his illness, and if he is to undergo an operation, they will congregate on the day appointed to show their sympathy in a practical manner. The chief and his family must reciprocate by providing good food for those who have come to see him, and for this reason it is a heavy expense for an important person with many connections to enter hospital. The present system, incidentally, requires members of the family to enter hospital with the patient to cook for and attend to him. Orators or others who enter hospital will be tended

similarly by members of their families, and relatives will visit them from time to time. It is not customary to go empty-handed, whatever the status of the patient may be. Their offering generally takes the form of a *tassi*, a cooked chicken, taro in banana leaves and a coconut, which is termed on this occasion a *tauga* if taken by members of the family, or *atiga* if taken by others. There are various forms of *tauga* for different purposes. There is *tauga o le ma'i*, described above, food taken to the sick. Food presented to a doctor or a pastor, either on a visit to him or in receiving him in one's own home, is also *tauga*, with descriptive words added defining the circumstances. Food presented in such cases as these is not given straight into the hands of the recipient. The donor should send a member of his family to convey the food to its destination. It is not absolutely essential that food be given on such occasions, but if there is sufficient available, one's own store of good things may be shared if desired.

Food taken by a young man just before the time of the evening meal to the family of a girl he is courting is also *tauga*, but with this difference: he would be badly received if he went with empty hands, and what he does take must be better than ordinary food. If his offering is refused, he judges that his suit is not prospering; if it is accepted, he is encouraged to continue. His gift may include something he has grown or caught himself, but tinned goods purchased at a store, and designed to tickle the palates of the girl's parents, are also correct on such occasions.

Somewhat similar was the *tauga* taken by young men who visited the *asatama*, the daughters of the chiefs and orators who were accustomed in the past to live together in one of the principal guest houses of the village. Here again the food gift was obligatory if the boys hoped to be well received.

Matasi visiting a village on business that concerns all the chiefs and orators may meet them duly assembled for the purpose of discussing it, and if the business is prolonged, families are often instructed to prepare a basket of food and send it to the place of meeting. The assembly then takes a meal together and continues the discussion. Even domestic gatherings of the village itself may share a common meal in this fashion. All food prepared for such occasions is *tauga*.

One other instance is the food taken by chiefs and orators of a village to show respect to a head carpenter constructing a house for one of their number. This will help to keep the artisan in a good humour, a service that

will not be forgotten by the *matasi* most concerned when he entertains the carpenter and the village on completion of the building.

When a chief or orator has been away from his village for some time, or if he has actually been absent from the Territory, custom requires that on his return he should acknowledge the assembling of the village to greet him with a suitable presentation of food. This at the present time frequently takes the form of tinned biscuits, fish or meat, or kegged salt beef. Probably the person concerned will also make such arrangements as his dignity and status dictate for his family to provide either pigs, bread, taro or other foods. The food that he brings with him is termed the *fa'oso* or *oso* and the assembling of the village to welcome him back is the *usuiga*. In the case of an important chief, his return to his own village and district may cost him and his family anything up to £100 or more. Again the purpose of such a lavish distribution of food is two-fold, both to show respect to those awaiting the return, and to demonstrate personal and family chiefly status. A high chief on return to his village after an absence would receive presentations of *sua*.

It is usual for land lying behind a village and extending as far as the central ridge of the island to be under the control either of the village or of families in the village. Bush land may be recognised as land of a particular family, but if it is not, the village will meet and decide upon how it is to be allotted when this is required. Certain areas may be made available for cultivation by the *'asimaga* or the untitled men of the village, who work under the direction and control of the head *taitale'a*. When it is decided to plant a new *masimaga*, or taro patch, the *'asimaga* will work together and the setting out of the taro heads will proceed day by day until a sufficient area has been planted. A *masimaga* that is common property in this sense is termed *talolosa*. The area decided upon will be determined by expected events in the village during the period of six to nine months hence, since taro is not a crop that can be stored either in the ground or after it has been harvested.

Whenever new land is brought into cultivation in this fashion or land that has been lying fallow is replanted, it is proper in Samoan custom for the first fruits to be taken with some ceremony and presented to the authority in whom

*Note that this word has two meanings, namely, that given here and its significance in the kava ceremony.

ultimate control of the land is vested. When the taro is ready for lifting, the *asamega* will notify the chiefs and orators, and on the day appointed, each member will bring the number of taro roots they have agreed to present, together with various imported goods from the local store if possible, in order to provide a feast for the chiefs and orators of the village. The ceremony of bringing first fruits in this instance is termed *salomua*. Thereafter, each *las-le'ale'a* may take taro from his own section for the use of his own family.

In any case where the *matas* of the family has apportioned land for the use of its various members, it is proper for such people to present to him with some ceremony the first fruits from the planting of that land, quite apart from the regular offerings of produce which they should later bring as part of their normal service to the *matas*.

We pass now to the question of the *i'a sa*, the sacred or forbidden fish, which no fisherman may retain for his own private or family use without risking the grave displeasure of the local ranking chief and of the whole community; such an offender would be punished as custom provides either by a heavy fine of foodstuffs such as pigs and taro, or even by banishment for a time from the village. Such *i'a sa* are the turtle (*lasmet*), the shark (*masi'e*) and the *sisae* which is the name applied to the *malaxi* when it is full grown.* When the personal catch includes any of the *i'a sa*, these must be set aside and presented formally to the leading chief for distribution by the orators to the whole village as represented by each family. Where a title of a great chief has status in the whole of a district, any *i'a sa* caught in that district should be taken formally and presented to him. He or his orators will probably then direct that the fish be apportioned in such a manner as to make suitable acknowledgment to the village to which the successful fisherman belongs. When a ranking chief is absent

*It is a Samoan practice to apply different names to fish at various stages of their growth. For instance, the common gray mullet, *asee*, which when full grown does not usually exceed a foot and a half in length, is known by five different names before it attains its full size. The *fi'oa*, perhaps three feet long when full grown, is also known by five names at different stages of its growth, and the *sisae*, which can attain a length of about six feet, has a similar plurality of designation. There are many other instances of fish being known by three or four different names. In Samoan custom it is important to adopt a nomenclature that defines size, just as it may be useful to us to be able conveniently and intelligibly to refer to an animal as a colt, a yearling or a two-year-old.

from his village or district, *i'a sa* must still be presented to the village when caught rather than retained for personal use by the fisherman or his family. Frequently turtle or shark fishing is arranged as a village activity and then the catch is divided amongst all the families concerned.

The ceremonial divisions of food may now briefly be referred to. The portions can be understood satisfactorily only with the assistance of diagrams, or, better still, by seeing the divisions in the actual flesh, but a statement of the method of division and the allocation must suffice here.

Foods which are divided ceremonially and distributed to specified individuals or groups include the pig, fowl, occasionally the pigeon, turtle, shark, bonito, *malaxi*, *sisae* and generally speaking any other large fish.

The ultimate number of portions into which a pig is divided for respectful distribution depends upon the number of groups or individuals present to whom special deference must be shown. There are, however, certain principles to apply both in cutting up the carcase and in distributing the portions. The cooked animal is turned on its back and the forequarters (*alaga'itua*) and hindquarters (*alaga'vae*) excised with deep cuts that penetrate to the shoulder and hip joints; when the flesh is severed the legs are twisted out. These are then laid aside on coconut leaves or in baskets, as no distribution takes place until the cutting up is complete. The barrel of the carcase is divided with three cuts, one across the neck, another across the rump in front of the clefts from which the hindquarters were removed, and the third which separates the saddle over the shoulders from the portion in the rear of it. These are termed respectively the head (*uisa*), the saddle (*o'o*), the prime portion from the back or loins (*tuata*) and the rump (*sofo'i* or *masi*). All these cuts are carried straight across the carcase, bones being severed with a chopping action of the heavy knife. In preparation for cooking, the belly flap (*alo*) has already been removed and it is not included in any public ceremonial presentation.

These are the basic divisions of the carcase which often suffice to permit the display of respect to embrace all present, since in many instances respect shown to a group satisfies all the individuals within that group. It sometimes happens, however, that the distribution must be on a wider basis than the above division provides for, in which case it always presented complete. The legs, however, are made at the back of the severed head, taking off a portion

termed the 'ivi *masi* *uisi*. The *o'o* and *tuaiā* may both be cut in half along the sides, leaving the upper half circle including the vertebrae complete, but neither of these two portions which are termed respectively 'ivi *o'o* and 'ivi *tuaiā*, may be divided further. The other halves that remain, called respectively *isi mea tele o le o'o* and *isi mea pale ass o le tuaiā*, may be presented whole or cut again into as many portions as are required. Finally, the rump or *wofoi* may also be divided further as circumstances dictate. It has already been explained in the previous chapter that the heart and entrails are usually removed before cooking and presentation, but occasionally in the case of a very large pig, the heart may be cooked in half sections with blood in an 'ofo and termed the 'ofo *o le fa a'aleolo*.

We may now consider the distribution of the various portions. The most important is the *tuaiā*, or where it has been divided further, the 'ivi *tuaiā*, which is allotted to the highest chief or chiefs present, or possibly to a pastor or pastors if it is desired to show them special respect. Next comes the *o'o* or the 'ivi *o'o*, apportioned similarly. Chiefs or orators may be allotted the *alaga*, the hindquarters ranking higher than the fore-legs, and then the under portions of the *o'o* and *tuaiā* respectively are next in order of importance. These and the rump and the 'ivi *masi* *uisi* may be divided and distributed as circumstances may require. The *alo*, or belly flap, is removed when the animal is being prepared for the oven. That part is cooked and presented earlier, apart from the ceremonial distribution, to the ladies of the village or perhaps the *awaiāma*. The head, if the function concerns only one village, is usually allotted to the cooks, or 'awmaga, for their trouble in preparing the animal. Occasionally, however, if the gathering is a very large one that concerns the whole country, the heads of the two largest pigs may be apportioned to the two important political districts of *Aiga-i-le-Tai* (The Family in the Sea) and *Va'a-o-Fonoti* (The Ship of Fonoti), the areas from which the fleets were maintained in the times of the old Samoan wars. Finally, the large heart, prepared in the form of 'ofo *o le fa a'aleolo*, is produced at the Sunday morning or another conveniently-timed meal of the important visitors or the chiefs of the village.

It is thus seen that the parts of the pig regarded as important for ceremonial presentation to show respect are the *tuaiā*, the *o'o*, all the *alaga*, and very occasionally, the head; but any one who is allotted part of a formally presented pig should be satisfied, provided no deliberate affront

or ill-considered distribution has figured in the ceremony. Cutting up of pigs takes place either on the *malae* or in the back of a house.

Fowls or pigeons are always divided with the heads. They are presented whole in the course of functions and distributed similarly, never in portions. The division is required only when a meal is being prepared. There is only one respectful portion of a fowl or pigeon, that is, a leg with the part that carried the tail feathers (*no'o*) attached.

As already indicated, the turtle is so important as a food presentation that individuals may not use it personally when it is caught. The major divisions in cutting up are the head (*uisi*), the forequarters (*segamua*), the hindquarters (*segamusi*) and the rest of the carcase (*isa*) that remains. If it is not cooked before being presented, it will be cooked before it is divided and distributed. The important parts are the flippers (*apa'apa*) from both the forequarters and hindquarters, presented to the chiefs. The head is allotted to the *taupo* and the *awaiāma*. The remaining parts of the forequarters and hindquarters, together with the rest of the carcase, are divided and distributed amongst the chiefs and orators. The juice (*suapea*) that collects in the shell during cooking is highly prized, being dipped out and consumed by the chiefs and orators or divided amongst all the families of the village.

When the heads of bonito and *uisa*, the full-grown *malau'i*, are removed, strips of flesh may be removed along the back and sides, and then divided further if that is necessary. The heads are *uisi*, the strips along the back to *isa* and those along the sides *io alo*. The tail is *i'u*. The back and side strips are the most important and are allotted to chiefs, the heads to the orators and the remainder as is convenient.

The shark is treated differently. There are two portions which are important for the purpose of showing respect, first, the tail (*i'u*) and second, the part with the dorsal fin attached (*gogo*). These could be presented either to individuals or groups to pay a compliment. Both the stomach and the liver are prized as delicacies, and may be presented specially in the course of the distribution. A large fish like a shark is divided and distributed before cooking, each family in the village receiving a portion. Smaller fish of substantial proportions are usually presented cooked and whole in plaited wrappings of coconut leaflet.

In the *palolo* or *inaga* seasons, and if there have been

good catches, it is the custom to send baskets of cooked 'ofu to friends or relations in other parts of the country where these delicacies are not available. Cooked portions of bonito are often despatched similarly. Such food gifts as these are called *gapiá*, a term that also covers fish brought back by a member of a family returning from a *malaga*, if he has been fortunate enough to pass through or be staying in a village when good results have attended their fishing. In those circumstances, the term *fa'oso* could also be applied to food carried back to the home village.

There are certain other food presentations that have not yet been discussed that are mostly economic rather than social in their significance. It is not proposed to refer to them in detail here since such a discussion belongs more properly to an examination of other features of Samoan custom, but for the sake of completeness they may be briefly referred to. Some of them are feasts rather than food presentations.

A chief desiring to open negotiations with a house or boat builder will either go himself or send an orator to interview him. In either case he must provide a pig, termed *fa'aga*, or possibly a fine mat to open the discussions. Certain stages of the building are also marked by special food presentations, and when the work is completed there is a final lavish feast, termed an *amasaga*, which friends and relations are invited to attend. Such guests are expected to contribute either fine mats or cash to help to pay the carpenters.

Election feasts to titles have been discussed in previous chapters, and meals and feasts connected with Church functions will receive attention in a chapter to follow. At a Church opening, or *fa'aula/alega*, beasts are sometimes presented alive to assist in the entertainment of all who attend. Live presentations of animals, either pigs or cattle, are called *ta'io/a*; in the past a very large living pig was the form it usually assumed. Large groups from one village visiting another could in this manner be presented with something by way of a *fa'oso* which would be useful on return to their own village and which did not require to be immediately consumed or shared with the donors.

A brief discussion of property exchanges associated with Samoan weddings will appear in a later chapter. It will suffice to state at this stage that food presented by the bridegroom to the family of the bride at the time of the wedding is called 'ai. A very large wedding *malaga* will be

received with the show of respect and food presentations appropriate in the particular case, including probably a *malautasi* on the day before departure; but if the wedding is that of a member of the family of an important chief, other *malasi* of the village will bring baskets of food to assist him, somewhat in the manner of a *malautasi*. The presentation on such an occasion is termed *talifanfan*.

It is customary to celebrate the completion of all types of village community fishing nets, either of the string or bag type, in a feast termed *avasa*. *Loloitolo* often figures in such a celebration to which the whole of the village contributes, and all participate, the groups of different status, *malasi*, women, or young people eating separately in different houses. An unusual feature of Samoan custom in a feast of this kind is that none of the food left over is held for a later meal or passed on to anyone else. It is collected and thrown into the sea.

Any attempt to draw too rigid a line in regard to some of the principles relating to food presentations and their distribution enunciated in this chapter may possibly lead one into error. Cases and principles sometimes shade into one another, and practices vary occasionally in different parts of the country. Sometimes one finds a conflict of opinion as to the allotting of certain portions when divided. But it is a common feature in most cases that when food is presented ceremonially it is shared at once in such a manner as to include the donors, who have shown adequate respect by relinquishing control of valuable food or property. Apart from cases which involve the surrender of *s'a sa*, obvious exceptions to this rule include live presentations or those clearly offered for the purpose of being taken away.

An outstanding fact in regard to what might at first appear to be a very humble tuber is the importance and high significance attaching to taro both as an ordinary and as a ceremonial food. It is correct for so many ceremonial occasions and is also so highly regarded as an habitual article of diet that Samoans who have left their own country often have it sent to them abroad. Many of them claim that they feel weak if deprived of it for any length of time.

189pp.

~~N. L. H. Krauss~~

AN INTRODUCTION TO SAMOAN CUSTOM

BY
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By Their Children

Preface

IN this book I have attempted to record the history of American Samoa and of the United States Naval Administration in the islands. By continental standards, the story of some 20,000 Polynesians living in remote South Pacific islands amounts to little more than village lore, but it is the story of a people whose way of life was old when Columbus discovered America, and who have caught what the late James Truslow Adams called "The American Dream." It is also the story of a little-known activity of the United States Navy. Both deserve to be better known.

The book begins with a brief account of aboriginal Samoa and of the events which followed the incursion of the white man in the nineteenth century. The major concern is with "Amerika Samoa," or "Eastern Samoa," and the United States Naval Administration established there by President William McKinley. It was originally intended to conclude with the transfer of administrative responsibility to the United States Department of the Interior by President Harry S. Truman, but the passage of a number of years since that time has made it desirable to add a concluding chapter to bring the story up to date, even if briefly. I regret that time and distance have not permitted a definitive study of events in recent years which would do full justice to the accomplishments of the civilian administration.

Western Samoa, the major branch of the Samoan tree since 1900, enters into the narrative only when events there had important repercussions in the American islands. The history of Western Samoa, with its four times greater population, is far more complicated and merits a separate account.

In telling the story of nineteenth century Samoa, I have tried to accord equal dignity to the Samoans, part-Samoans, and the several groups of outlanders who became involved in the cultural and economic wars of the era. Likewise, in telling of the Naval Administration, I have tried to accord the Samoans the respect they deserve, and to

show that the opponents of the Naval Administration were, by and large, simply individuals who wanted to introduce free enterprise into the islands and were frustrated by the Navy's rigid insistence that Samoa be preserved for the Samoans at all costs.

In conclusion, I wish to acknowledge my debt to Professor Felix M. Keesing for a stimulus he gave me many years ago, and for a number of helpful suggestions, particularly bibliographical, in connection with the preparation of this book. Also, I wish to thank the Library of Congress and the Library of the Navy Department in Washington, and to the New York Public Library and the Library of the University Club in New York, for the facilities they extended. Especially am I indebted to The Archives of the United States in Washington, and to Dr. N. M. Blake, Mr. K. F. Bartlett, and other members of its staff, who made available tirelessly the pertinent files of the Navy Department.

J. A. C. GRAY

New York, 23 March 1960

Foreword

THE author of *Amerika Samoa* has performed a valuable service in bringing together into a compact and highly readable volume the essential information for understanding the United States territory of American Samoa, in the South Pacific, and particularly the role of the United States Navy in administering its affairs from 1900 to 1951. Captain Gray was the Senior Medical Officer for the government of American Samoa during the final period of Navy control prior to the transfer of the territory to the Department of the Interior. His continuing interest in Samoa and the Samoans has culminated in the writing of this general work, clearly a labor of love as well as of sound scholarship.

The writer of this foreword had the pleasure of getting to know Captain Gray personally and became aware of his professional work when doing anthropological research in the territory during 1950-51, and also while acting as the senior commissioner for the United States on the six-nation South Pacific Commission, which has health matters in the territories as one of its chief concerns. These contacts included some visits together to Samoan communities on outlying islands, where Captain Gray was inspecting the work of his Samoan medical and nursing personnel. Even to the layman it was obvious that he combined to an unusual degree the talents of medical administrator, doctor, and researcher. At least equally important was his ability to get along with the Samoans, to move among them with authority as their own chiefs do, to win their respect and confidence, to talk and to listen. Captain Gray devoted special effort to training his Samoan medical practitioners and nurses not only to carry out their professional duties but also to have self-respect and self-confidence. He knew that they could give leadership and interpret Western medicine to their fellow Samoans more effectively than could an outsider. His interest in putting his Samoan experience on record showed at that time in an official report which was a fifty-year survey of the medical and disease picture in American Samoa. This report still

stands out in memory as a masterly survey for laymen as well as for medical researchers. He also encouraged his Samoan medical practitioners to write up their work, and guided an article by one of them to appropriate publication.

To cover the story of American Samoa, comprised of the small eastern islands of the Samoan archipelago, the author has had to deal selectively with the rest of Samoa, that is, the larger and more heavily populated western islands, which in modern times have been under German, and then New Zealand control. This applies particularly to the affairs of Samoa prior to its division in 1900: the troubled days of the Samoan "Kingdom," marked by attempted joint supervision by Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States; the earlier period of initial contacts with European voyagers, missionaries, and traders; and back of that the old Samoa and the migrations which brought the original canoe loads of settlers to these islands. Captain Gray has chosen to present as Part One of his study this general background of Samoa and the Samoans, fitting the story of the eastern islands, so far as records exist, within the meaningful larger whole. Then, reaching the twentieth century, he concentrates in Part Two on American Samoa, with only occasional references to the western section of the group. Rightly, he leaves in other hands the complicated record of affairs in the latter territory: the German colonial period to 1914; military occupation by New Zealand forces; the establishment of a Mandated Territory of Western Samoa administered by New Zealand; the transmutation of this system of international supervision into a United Nations Trust Territory; and, in recent years, step-by-step moves toward the status of an "independent" country under New Zealand protection and tutelage. Compared to this kaleidoscopic political sequence and the stresses and breakdowns which have marked its crucial points, the political story of American Samoa is fairly straightforward, even though marked by a relatively sharp break between Navy and Department of Interior Administration.

The book is a timely one for Americans in that they need to be informed on the affairs of such offshore territories under United States control. Small as these may be, they are carefully watched by other nations, some of them deliberately searching for weaknesses and mistakes in the United States record here as elsewhere. The an-

nual reports of the territories go before international bodies for scrutiny, under the terms of the United Nations Charter. What we profess as desirable goals for economically underdeveloped countries and non-self-governing territories are here being put to the test in terms of our own programs.

In the case of American Samoa, the political situation is currently in a notably dynamic state. The territory, though a sovereign United States possession, has, even after six decades of locally organized administration, no organic act as other territories have to define its political status. Its Samoan residents are United States "nationals," but not "citizens." Draft bills for an organic act have been placed before Congress several times since 1930, but there has been either a failure to reach agreement among the interested governmental groups in Washington, or else the Samoans have drawn back in the fear that protective safeguards to preserve their land rights and social system would not be included. The Samoans have also wanted local self-government, but under forms which would take respectful account of their traditional leadership and family organization. Captain Gray's record shows vividly the historic play of these external and internal forces in the development of the distinctive government of American Samoa.

In Western Samoa, meantime, the New Zealand authorities have recently been moving constitutionally toward the establishment of a separate Samoan state, comparable with the nearby Kingdom of Tonga, which is linked to the United Kingdom administratively by a "Treaty of Peace and Friendship." A legislature has been formed in which a minority of "European" members are elected by regular suffrage, but the Samoan majority has a traditional stamp: members must be chiefs, and they are named by chiefs on behalf of families and districts. Recently, a Samoan prime minister and a cabinet of Samoans and Europeans took office. This leaves as the principal remaining step the establishment of a Samoan head of state, either one of several "royal" chiefly personages who are traditionally rivals, or else a multiheaded authority. Along with this, the continuing relationship between the government of Western Samoa and New Zealand has to be worked out by way of what is being called a "Treaty of Friendship," together with the presumed cessation of the United Na-

tions Trusteeship on which other nations hold the definitive votes. As with Tonga, such a small "independent" state will need to have the larger nation handle foreign affairs, defense, and even various continuing administrative responsibilities until local inhabitants can be trained to perform them effectively. Moreover, all these matters have built into them delicate problems of financial responsibility and at least indirect subsidization by New Zealand.

With roughly four-fifths of the Samoan people traveling at such speed in this new political direction under their aristocratic leaders, how is the remaining fifth in American Samoa being affected? The writer ventures here to go somewhat beyond Captain Gray's firm record by offering a few impressions of the alternatives facing the American Samoans, and also the policy makers in Congress and in the responsible executive departments.

First, only the observer who runs the furrow of inquiry deep can realize how very extensively the American Samoans, along with holding selectively to much of old custom, have been Americanized and look at even their Western Samoan kinsmen with American viewpoints and loyalties. The half century of close contact with Navy personnel, and the intensive give-and-take during World War II, when thousands of American troops were based in the territory, have been followed by a period in which many hundreds of Samoans have moved to Hawaii and to the American mainland. Recently, with bi-weekly air flights out of the territory, and a seat for any Samoan who can put down a first installment on the fare to Hawaii, or whose relatives States-side will do so, well over a hundred Samoans a month have been flying north. Many are young people heading for high schools, colleges and universities; some are joining kinsmen who are in United States Navy service; others are scattering out in industrial and other jobs, especially in urban San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Diego. At such centers the Samoans have organized themselves into active societies which have meetings, dances, weddings, and other busy doings such as would go on in a village back in the islands. Already the alarm is being sounded that American Samoa, in losing so many of its younger people, will end up by having a population limited to the elderly and very young—though the exceedingly rapid rate of Samoan population increase as shown by Captain Gray seems to be

making at least a race of it. Moreover, the down planes have their loads of returnees heading back at least to visit. Such emigration, indeed, has become virtually a necessity for a population with already crowded, tiny island homes, and which is currently expected to double its numbers within twenty years.

For American Samoans to renounce their United States allegiance and join the incipient neighbor Samoan state would make them citizens of that state, as defined by a recent act of the Western Samoan legislature. Being then foreigners in terms of American immigration laws, the present door to entry would be closed to them, and States-side opportunities for earning and for education cut off. No comparable opportunities exist in the copra-cocoa-banana economy of Western Samoa, or in New Zealand, even if the present closely regulated migration of Samoans to that country were to be permitted to continue.

On the socio-political side, there is undoubtedly ambivalence, and considerable parleying has gone on between the chiefs in the two territories as Western Samoan self-government has progressed. American Samoans have rightly felt pride that kinsmen with whom they visit back and forth across the ninety miles of sea between the two capitals have been moving toward autonomy. At the same time, in the traditional hierarchy of district and chiefly elitiness, the western islands contained the great power centers, and the eastern islands were lowly or at least off from the main currents. Under United States control, as Captain Gray's account will show, leaders in the latter area rose up to independent power and prestige. In a combined Samoa, their titles would necessarily revert more or less to their former position, especially in the face of the great "royal" titles of Western Samoa, from which top leadership comes. In governmental terms, too, the largesse of American-type medical benefits, schooling, economic aids, and other heavily subsidized services would have to be cut back to fit the sparse and rather uncertain budgets of the new state. American Samoa would inevitably lapse into a marginal geographic position and role. When in late 1959 the Secretary of the Interior and other top federal officials visited American Samoa, spokesmen for the Samoan Senate and House had plenty of complaints, as any vigorous American community does. But they also

asked that it be made clear to the President and Congress that their people had "no desire for a Union with Western Samoa."

Two contingencies could possibly lead the American Samoans, even in the face of such circumstances, into the newly emerging state. One would be the passage of legislation by Congress arbitrarily undercutting the present protective devices in the Code of American Samoa, which prevent outsiders from buying Samoan land and which bolster the Samoan social system. The Samoans are well aware that such protective provisions were eliminated by Congressional committees when the organic act for the Pacific island territory of Guam was being readied for the legislative action in 1950 which made the Guamanians full citizens. Their greatest subsequent fear has been that, unlike Indian citizens who have their local constitutions and reservations, or Hawaiian homesteaders who have confirmed rights to their land, they may be pushed aside by an influx of white Americans. Pressed hard enough in what to them are matters imbued with sacredness—land holding, the chief and family system, the integrity of their village communities—they might elect to safeguard their basic way of life by voting union with the new Samoan state.

The other contingency is that policy makers in Washington might decide, apart from American Samoan opinion, that it would be a good thing to unify Samoa into a single whole, under New Zealand supervision. The justification here could be crassly budgetary, so as to cut off the need for annual subsidies; it could be generated by the difficulties of administering a small territory off by itself; or it could be sentimental or ethnic-centered, a judgment that Samoans would be better off united than divided. While some informal talk of the pros and cons of such a move has gone on within and outside government circles for years, it might be presumed that if the matter were seriously raised, the opinions of American Samoans would be fully canvassed. It is the writer's personal view that bilateral consultations between representatives of the two Samoan jurisdictions, such as have always gone on sporadically, are valuable to provide some common direction to policies and to coordinate technical services where such actions are mutually beneficial. But the shape that the United States has given to American Samoa and its people is so distinctive, and the responsibilities generated to date for welfare and development are so great, that

except as the American Samoans might come to want the change, a transfer of sovereignty seems unjustifiable. The materials presented by Captain Gray appear to confirm the view that this small but vigorous population aspires to assimilation, citizenship, and local self-government within the multi-ethnic milieu of American life, rather than moving toward separatism and political independence.

In the light of these problems and issues, it becomes evident that the information which Captain Gray has assembled on the territory, its administrative affairs, and the character of the Samoan inhabitants, is of more than casual interest. It provides a solid background record from which interested Americans and others can become properly informed, policy makers can see the larger context of alternative lines of action, and public opinion can be shaped with reference to facts, rather than casual views. Not the least significant readers should be educated American Samoans, who have a particular responsibility in relation to vital choices which their people will have to make. The chapters speak for themselves as to the amount of painstaking labor which has gone into their construction from scattered scientific, historical, and administrative sources. Yet the author's vigorous pen, and his constant concern with identifying actual persons and concrete episodes rather than offering vague generalized statements, makes the record a vivid and highly readable one. To put the results in terms which Captain Gray might use in his medical work, the operation has been very difficult, but can be counted a complete success.

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off A'asu. He was near enough to see the abandoned boats, but could not get in close enough to bombard the place. On the third day he accepted his losses and made off.

The evidence which seems to exonerate the A'asuans from responsibility for "The A'asu Massacre" consists of the fact that, after the fighting, the inhabitants of the village buried the French dead with honors and preserved their graves intact.

There is an unconfirmed tale that a French youth survived at A'asu and lived on in Tutuila.

After leaving A'asu, LaPerouse went west and passed the village of Falelatai in western Upolu three days after the massacre. French survivors there claimed that they recognized some of their assailants among the crews of the outriggers which came out to inspect the passing Frenchmen.

Four years passed before the Samoans again encountered white explorers. The next visitor was Captain Edwards, commanding HMS *Pandora*, sent out by the British Admiralty to find and apprehend the mutineers who had seized HMS *Bounty*. Edwards lay off Tutuila long enough to permit some of the islanders to visit his ship. He found them so friendly that he had to post sentries to keep the women above decks, for his ship's company was just recovering from an outbreak of "the venereal disease" (gonorrhoea) which they had fetched away from Tahiti. The *Pandora* endured a good deal of pilfering, but there was legitimate trading as well, and the Samoans were so enthusiastic that when a breeze came up and the ship put to sea, many of them lingered and had to be forced to jump over the side and swim for it.

Later that night, when the *Pandora* passed Falelatai in Upolu, a horde of men in outriggers attacked the ship with stones. When the ship's guns blasted some of the assailants out of the water, the surviving Samoans looked on incredulously, not understanding how death had been brought to some of their company by invisible missiles.

The *Pandora* brought the last of the eighteenth century visitors to Samoa. Soon after 1800, the arrival or passage close by of sailing ships became fairly frequent as scientists, whalers, and commercial sailors began to travel the South Seas in increasing numbers. For the white man, the era of discovery had passed; for the Samoans, isolation was over.

2

The Samoan Islands and People

THE Samoan Islands lie spread out from east to west, overlapping the fourteenth degree of south latitude. They may be readily located upon a map of the Pacific Ocean area by drawing a line from Hawaii to New Zealand, upon which they will be found about two-thirds of the way down. The island chain is 290 miles long and, in round numbers, is 2,200 sea miles from Hawaii and 4,500 from San Francisco. The nearest island neighbors are the Tokelau Group, 200 miles to the northeast.

The islands, nine of which are inhabited, are the peaks of a largely submerged chain of volcanic mountains, which rises three miles from the floor of the Pacific. Except for Muliava (Rose Island) eighty miles east of Ta'u, the volcanic origin of the islands is everywhere apparent, and in Savai'i, the largest and westernmost of the group, there has been volcanic activity twice within the present century. Rose Island is an atoll, presumably resting upon the circular rim of a hidden peak.

All of the islands, again excepting Rose, have common characteristics. They consist for the most part of precipitous mountains, and flat land makes up a relatively small part of their surface. Upolu (area 430 square miles) offers the greatest agricultural advantages and is capable of supporting many times its present population. Savai'i (703 square miles) is larger, but much of its surface is barren due to lava flows and the extreme porosity of its soil, which allows rain water to drain off rapidly. Manono and Apolima, between Upolu and Savai'i, are small but historically important. Tutuila, with its satellite Aunu'u, and the three islands in the Manu'a Group, together make up the inhabited American islands. The largest of these, Tutuila, is about twice the size of Manhattan Island, and their total area is about 76

AMERIKA SAMOA

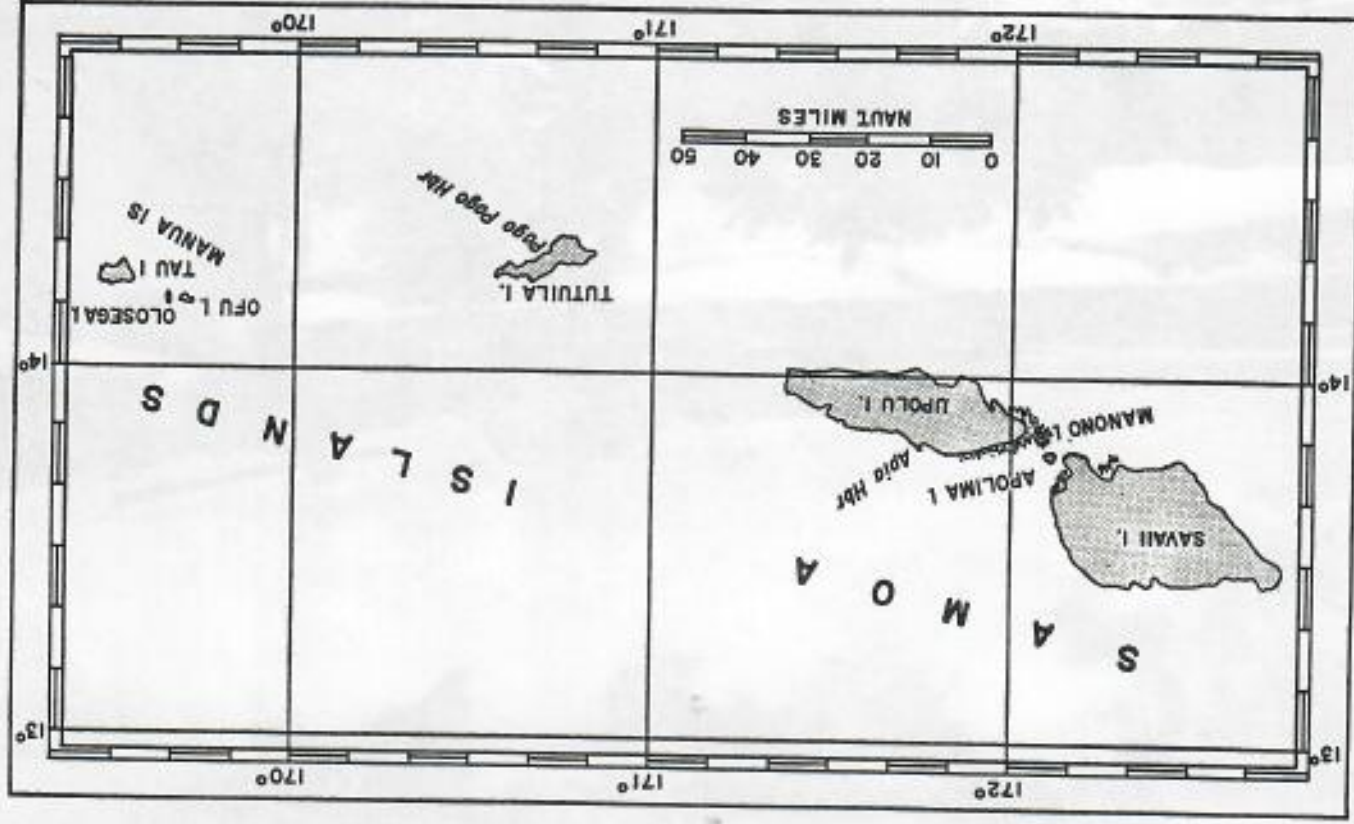
square miles. Arable land is scarce, and the population subsists mostly on a narrow fringe between the mountains and the sea.

Were it not for the coral reefs, there would be little space for human habitation in these smaller islands. Where the mountains do not rise too abruptly from the sea, the coral animals have built the shelves which, for the most part, surround each island. By definition, most of these reefs are "barrier reefs," standing some distance offshore, where they break the force of the waves and enclose shallow lagoons between themselves and the shore line proper. In many places, however, the reefs are no more than narrow, projecting shelves attached to the mountain sides, and hence are classed as fringing reefs. Between these two types there are all degrees of variation. On the perpendicular parts of the coast which are devoid of reef protection, the lava rock is battered directly by the ocean and is slowly losing the battle, as the sea, finding the faults in the rock, gnaws the land away.

Upon all the land, mountainous as well as flat, there grows a dense, green vegetation. Trees, bushes, and creeping plants bind the soil upon the slopes, save where hillside farming denudes the ground and permits erosion. The soil will support almost anything planted. Fence posts, unless chemically treated, will sprout.

The climate of Samoa is that of the warm, moist tropics. The temperature and humidity depend upon the surrounding ocean. The average sea-level temperature at Apia, in Upolu, over a fifty-seven-year period was 79.45 degrees Fahrenheit. The highest temperature on record was 91 degrees, the lowest, 61. For practical purposes, a range of about 15 degrees may be expected during the year, from about 73 to 88 degrees. At altitudes above 1,000 feet, the thermometer may register 5 or 10 degrees less than at sea level. The coldest part of the day comes just at dawn, when the chill in the air causes the sleeper to pull up a sheet or even a light blanket, although the actual temperature may be 76 degrees. There is little appreciable difference in temperature from one day to another throughout the year, although it is a matter of record that the month of December averages about 2 degrees warmer than July.

The Samoans recognize two seasons, the fine and the rainy. The trade winds, which usher in the former, begin in April and last into November. They are, for the most part, strong winds which raise



AMERIKA SAMOA

enough sea to make considerable surf, bend the trees before them, and dissipate most of the discomforts of the rainy season. Even in the latter, however, life is far from unbearable, for land-sea air currents, masses of cool air sliding down mountain sides, the evaporation of rain-water, and miscellaneous vapors produce a natural circulation of air and provide reasonable comfort.

Although statistically, as well as traditionally, there are a wet and a dry season, the difference in rainfall is scarcely appreciated on the spot and is not nearly so obvious as are local differences in rainfall. The winds pass over the warm ocean and become saturated with moisture, and when they impinge upon mountain barriers they are deflected upward and cooled at higher altitudes. Condensation of moisture follows with precipitation. Since the winds of Samoa come from the east during most of the year, most of the rain comes from that direction. The area about Pago Pago Bay is one of the rainiest places in Samoa due to the location of the 1,700-foot mountain, Pioa (The Rainmaker), which is the bay's landlock. Warm winds slide up Pioa's eastern slope, rain clouds form, and rain pours down upon the bay region to the west. Over a fifty-year period, the precipitation at Pago Pago averaged 199.4 inches per year. Away from such mountain barriers, however, it is less. At Taputimu, eight miles west of Pago Pago, it is about three-fourths as much, and at Apia, about one-half.

While the rainfall is enormous, it is seldom depressing. There is ample warning of an impending shower. The inhabitant of the Pago Pago Bay area keeps an eye upon Pioa, and when the clouds form, he prepares himself. The downpour can be heard as it approaches, beating down upon the leaves of the trees and the water of the bay with almost the quality and at least the volume of sound created by a rapidly approaching railway train. Men and animals scuttle for shelter, for there is no covering which will ward off the rain completely. Usually the showers last a few minutes at a time and pass as quickly as they came, to be succeeded by sunshine, which dries everything out in about half an hour. Water rushes down the hillsides in freshets but the porous soil permits little puddling. Exceptionally, six inches of rain may fall in one day, or there may be a succession of rainy days, but on the whole the inhabitant thinks of his home as a hot and sunny place, subject to transitory showers. Rain or no rain, the relative humidity varies from 40 to 90 per cent.



The south coast of Tutuila.

The Samoan people are readily identified as members of the Polynesian Race by their language, physical characteristics, culture, and mythology. Students of the Polynesians have various opinions on their racial origins. Peter H. Buck considers the Polynesians to be Europeans for the reason that they have none of the physical characteristics which identify Mongoloids or Negroids. Felix M. Keesing believes they show a combination of the physical characteristics of white (Caucasoid), Asiatic (Mongoloid), black (Negroid), and Australian aborigine (Australoid) peoples. On some islands he feels the Caucasoid traits are strongest, and on others the Mongoloid. He thinks the Negroid and Australoid strains to be minor. A. Kraemer points out that there are pure Samoan types, part Tongan types, and part Fijian types, an observation which can be repeated any day.

Most anthropologists believe that the original Polynesian settlers came into the Pacific from southeastern Asia, a conclusion challenged by the raft voyages of Heyerdahl and Willis from South America. Formerly the Polynesians were thought to have come first to Samoa, and to have spread out thence to the other islands. A view that has been popular, however, holds that they travelled via Micronesia to the Society Islands, where Raiatea became the hub from which the various branches of the race migrated to the other island groups. All students agree that there was more than one migration, and that the process of settling the islands occupied several hundred years.

Like the Tongans, the Samoans have lived so long in their islands that they have no clear memory of their ancestors' pioneering voyages, although there are hints of these travels and of other lands in legend. They appeared to the early European discoverers to be aware only of Tonga and Fiji, with which they were in regular communication, but the facts that mythologically the mosquitos which infest Aunu'u came from islands to the east, and that there are frequent, planned or accidental voyages in small craft between island groups hundreds or thousands of miles apart in the present century, support Kraemer's doubt of this isolation. "One can confidently assume," he wrote in his *Die Samoa Inseln*, "that when the Samoans began to reckon time about six or seven hundred years ago, all Polynesia was united, or at least the several island groups were well aware of the existence of the others. Later the knowledge seems to have been lost."



An outrigger canoe landing at Tula, Tutuila.

The Polity of Manu'a Tele and Tutuila

16

IT is now necessary to examine in some detail the polity of the Samoan islands entrusted to Commander Tilley to make the situation in which he found himself understandable to the reader. And since, as Tui Manu'a Eliasara pointed out to Tilley, there was no political connection between his islands and Tutuila, it is further necessary to describe the organization of Manu'a and of Tutuila separately.

Happily for the student of these matters, there lived in Samoa from 1897 to 1899 a German naval medical officer, Stabsarzt Augustin Kraemer, who investigated the social and political organization exhaustively. Typical of the best German scholars of his day, Kraemer had read all of the available literature concerning the islands before he went to Samoa, and after his arrival he learned the language rapidly. He travelled about as much as his duties at Apia would permit, listening, sifting, and recording, for he feared that all traces of Samoan culture were about to be swamped by the invading white man. Unfortunately for present purposes, the least definitive part of Kraemer's account is that which concerns Tutuila. He spent six days in Manu'a, but if he visited Tutuila at all, it was in passing, and his knowledge of that island was gained perforce from conversations with the Tutuilans who visited him at the German Naval Hospital at Apia as patients or at his hospital home as guests. Undoubtedly, therefore, what he learned of Tutuila was colored by his informants, chief among whom was the High Chief Lei'ato of his day. Nevertheless, Kraemer's account of Tutuila at the turn of the century is the most complete extant, and there are few qualified to take exception to it. Adherence to Kraemer has one further advantage: the outlander who does so cannot be accused of partiality by his Samoan friends.

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The polity of Samoa was not based upon geography, although the Samoans of course used place names, but upon the *fa'alupega* of the given community, that is a set of honorific titles referring to either personages or to sacred objects or to both, to which the member of the community owed his allegiance, much as the Briton owes allegiance to "The Crown" or the American to The Constitution of the United States, which all officers of the federal government are sworn to uphold and defend.

Heretofore Manu'a has entered little into this narrative for the reason that prior to 1900 its inhabitants, although not personally isolated, remained politically aloof from the main current of events in the rest of Samoa. Not long after the first ventures of missionaries into its area, Wilkes recorded the presence of renegade white men at the time of his visit in 1839. In 1860, Herr Weber bought the right to attempt to establish a coconut plantation on Muliava (The End of Reef), commonly called Rose Island, which belonged to the Tui Manu'a, and he actually stationed a caretaking Samoan family there for a few years. Blackbirders visited Ta'u about the same time, but were defeated by an English trader named Parker, who forewarned the inhabitants of the slavers' intentions and enabled them to rally and to kill some of the raiders, and to drive the rest over the cliffs into the sea. In the eighteenthies, a German trader made up a constitution for Manu'a and set taxes, which were unnecessary in the opinion of the then United States consul, Sewall. The Manu'ans devised a flag for their kingdom which depicted a hen, symbolizing the Tui Manu'a, whose family name was Moa (chicken), sitting upon three eggs, which represented respectively the three islands of Ta'u, Ofu, and Olosega. The absurdity of this device penetrated even into Manu'a, and caused it to be replaced by a flag with one white, one red, and one blue stripe with a single star.

After the feeble, old gentlemen who served as Tui Manu'a at the time of Wilkes' and of Steinberger's visits, one Fanoa held the title, and after him came Matelita, daughter of the part-Samoan, Arthur Young, the bored, seventeen-year-old girl who acted as hostess when Robert Louis Stevenson visited her domain in 1893.

The *fa'alupega* of Manu'a are indicated in the following table, translated from Kraemer:

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The Fa'alupega of Manu'a

The Tui Manu'a	The sacred house built by Tagaloa
The Falecula	
The Fine Mats and Sleeping House of the Tui Manu'a	Sacred because of their contact with the Tui Manu'a
The Tufele	High Chief of Fitiuta
The Tui Olosega	High Chief (King) of Olosega
The Misa	High Chief of Ofu
The Laolagi	High Chief of Sili, Olosega
The Vaimegalo	High Chiefs Sotoa (of Luma) and Lefti (of Siufaga), advisers to the King
The To'oto'o	The Talking Chiefs ("House of Three")

This table indicates that at the apex of authority sat the Tui Manu'a, supported by the Tufele, Tui Olosega, Misa, and Laolagi, directly advised by the Sotoa and the Lefti, and assisted in administration by the important talking chiefs.

The Tui Manu'a was hedged about with an etiquette which was almost Byzantine in its elaborateness. Only his *taupou* (entitled the Fa'ana) could make his bed, and his food had to be cooked separately. He was fed by his wife, for his person was so sacred that he would contaminate any edible he touched. (How this problem was solved during the incumbency of the girl, Matelita, is unknown.) Death was the penalty for eating any of his unconsumed food, and his garbage could not be fed to pigs or dogs. When he walked abroad, he had to be preceded by two talking chiefs blowing upon conches to warn all within earshot to prostrate themselves upon pain of death. Any dog,

chicken, pig, or other animal which ignored his progress was summarily slain. The sacredness of his person extended to everything he touched, for which reason his fine mats and his house were worthy of inclusion among the *fa'alupega* of his community.

On the western coast of Ta'u lie the conterminous villages of Lumā and Siufaga, commonly called jointly Ta'u Village. The Tui Manu'a resided in Lumā. Probably because of their proximity to the King, High Chief Sotoa of Lumā and High Chief Lefti of Siufaga were his direct advisers. When he wished to consult with them, he had Talking Chief Tauanu'u summon them to his presence. At such conferences, they sat outside the Tui Manu'a's *fale* with their backs toward him, listening to what he had to say and offering their comments. They alone had the right to oppose him when he wished to go to war, but on the other hand, also probably because of their proximity, their own stature was somewhat limited, and neither the Sotoa nor the Lefti had the right to have a *taupou*.

At the northeast corner of Ta'u lay Fitiuta, the most ancient village in Samoa, where High Chief Tufele presided. The Tufele possessed the full complement of high chiefly honors, and his position was so important that there was ancient rivalry between his house and that of the Tui Manu'a.

There is a house of the Gnaisoa which claims to have ruled originally in Fitiuta and which still asserts its primacy in the village, but the intervening years have so solidified the Tufele in the place, if indeed they did not always occupy it, that the Gnaisoa claim is, for practical purposes, an historical pretendership.

The antiquity of these titles is indicated by the fact that the current Tufele is the forty-ninth holder of his title, but he admits that the title of the Tui Manu'a is eleven generations older.

The third unit of Ta'u was the village of Faleasao, just over the mountain spur from Lumā on the north coast, from whose cliffs the souls of departed Ta'uans plunged into the deep waters to begin their journey to Pulo-tu, the next world. The high chief is the Asoau, and the other notable is the Matagi, who is at once a chief and a talking chief. Politically, Faleasao customarily sided with Lumā and Siufaga against Fitiuta.

In Olosega, the Tui Olosega directed affairs at Olosega Village on

the southeast coast, and the Laolagi at Sili on the north. There appears to have been good adjustment between them, and the rivalry of the island as a whole was directed toward Olosega's twin island, Ofu.

Although larger than Olosega, Ofu has but one general community known as Ofu Village, itself somewhat subdivided. At one time, there was probably a Tui Ofu, but the primacy has long been vested in the Misa, whose role as guardian of Manu'a has been mentioned. Ofu enjoys the distinction of providing the abode for the evil spirits of Manu'a at Toaga, a spit of land with a narrow saw-toothed mountain spur which extends to the gut between Ofu and Olosega.

Elsewhere in Samoa the Tufele, Tui Olosega, Misa, Asoau, Laolagi, and the Vaimegalo, the Sotoa and the Lefiti, would be no more than village high chiefs, but their rank is definitely of county grade due to the antiquity and enormous prestige of Manu'a in the *fa'asamoa*.

Since the lines of authority in Manu'a were clearly implied in its *fa'alupega*, it was always relatively easy for outlanders to obtain a decision when doing business with the Manu'ans.

Unlike Manu'a, Tutuila, with Aunu'u, was not a political unit prior to 1900. The Upoluans regarded it as a subordinate district of sorts, and as such it was represented in all-Samoan affairs by the village Fono of Falealili in Atua. There were no high chiefly titles in Tutuila comparable in rank to those of the Tui Manu'a, the Tui A'ana, or the Malietoa, and power was divided between two aggregates known as the Sua ma Vaifanua in the east and the Fofu ma Itulagi in the west.

The Sua ma Vaifanua comprised the counties of those names, and it adhered Sa'ole, Fagaloa, and Itu'au ma Nofoa counties. The binding force of the Sua ma Vaifanua was their common high chief, the Lei'ato, who resided at Fagaitua in Sua County, where his house, known as Luafaga (Double Bay) was situated upon their common *malae*, Lalofileone. His personal talking chief was the Talauega. The Lei'ato had all of the attributes of a high chief, and Kraemer considered his the senior title in Tutuila. Sua County was represented by Talking Chiefs Pele (correctly, Mulitauopele) and Aulava of Laulii village, and Vaifanua by Talking Chiefs Tuasosopo and Masani of Vatia. The signature of the Pele on the Deed of Cession on behalf of the eastern half of Tutuila suggests his precedence.

Sa'ole County consists of the islet of Aunu'u together with its foothold upon the mainland of Tutuila at Alofau and Amouli. The county high chief was the Faumuina, somewhat junior in status to the Lei'ato.

The original name of the area about Pago Pago Bay was O le Fagaloa (The Long Bay), but rhetorically it was also called O le Maputasi (The Single Chief's House) in compliment to the Manga, who was senior to all of the other chiefs in the area, and who lived at Gagamee in Pago Pago village at the head of the bay. The name Maputasi has gradually displaced Fagaloa, and has come to be used officially to designate the county.

Like the Lei'ato, the Manga was a high chief, second, in Kraemer's opinion, to the Lei'ato. His precedence perhaps became exaggerated in the minds of outlanders, since they generally landed at Pago Pago and his was the first Tutuilan authority with which they came into contact. The Manga possessed the peculiar right of participating in the affairs of both the Sua ma Vaifanua and the Fofu ma Itulagi. His talking chief, the Tuosolo, was unique in that his voice equalled the voice of a county in all-Tutulian affairs.

West of Maputasi lay the county of Itu'au ma Nofo, commonly called Itu'au, divided into northern and southern parts by the highest part of the central mountain range of Tutuila and peculiar in that it had no county high chief. The Manga exercised some ceremonial but probably little practical hegemony. In the south, at Nu'uuli, power was divided between Village High Chief Savusa and the Four Chiefly Houses of the Soliai, Tago, Levu, and Alega. In the north, at Fagasa, leadership was shared by the Alo and the Tupuolo. The physical division of the county by the mountains and the lack of a high chief left the county without firm leadership and made it a battleground (*itu'au*) in ancient times, and especially susceptible to divisive political influences more recently.

The Fofu ma Itulagi occupied roughly the western half of Tutuila, with headquarters at Leone, where High Chief Tuitele presided. In his home, there was a sacred stone, and his ancestor is said to have entertained the god, Pili, when the latter stopped off during his long swim from Ta'u to Savai'i. If it was the Leone people who derided Pili's skill as a fisherman and thereby caused him to go to the west in dis-

gust, they do not admit it. While Kraemer considered the Tuitele junior to both the Lei'ato and the Mauga, it should be pointed out that his ranking is open to question, for in 1950, when the Tamasese and the Malietoa, in the presence of the Mata'afa of the day, presented a fine mat to Tutuila on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the raising of the American flag, they chose the Tuitele to be its recipient.

Also in Leone dwelt the Fairivae, a high chief whose home had the distinction of constituting a place of refuge or asylum, analagous to the *heiau* of the Hawaiians.

The Fofu extended from Leone along the southern coast of Tutuila to the western extremity. Itulagi, also with its seat at Leone, reached eastward to the Itu'au ma Nofo, subdivided into Tualatai on the south and Tulautia on the north. High Chief Satele presided over the former at Vailoa, and High Chief Letuli over the latter at Iliili. Finally, on the north coast lay Leasina County, with its High Chief Fuimaono resident at Aloao.

The talking chiefs of the Fofu ma Itulagi were the Olo and the Leoso, of whom the latter, like the Pele in the east, appears to have been the senior, since he signed the Deed of Cession on behalf of the aggregate, and his house at Leone was known as O le Faitelele i Sisifo (The Great House of the West).

While the *fa'atupega* of Manu'a approximate an organizational diagram, it is impossible to construct such a scheme to represent the seats and lines of authority for Tutuila. Originally it may have been that the Pele and the Leoso acted as the executive officers of the village Fono of Falealili in their halves of Tutuila respectively, but, by 1900, any such arrangement existed in tradition only. The experiences of the outlanders and the wars in the island in the nineteenth century show that it was divided and that authority rested in the high chiefs, whose relative weight varied from time to time in the *fa'aSamoa* and often in accordance with outlander interventions. The basic fact was the division of the island into the Sua ma Vaifanua versus the Fofu ma Itulagi, which Commandant Tilley recognized when he equated these ancient divisions to political districts.

17 The Island Government

THE authority of a commandant within a naval station is military in nature, and Commandant Tilley faced the problem of governing several thousand Samoans humanely and justly within a military jurisdiction. At the start, he decided to employ existing Samoan authorities and to save for himself the regulatory power. "The government I propose to establish" he said, "is a government of the chiefs who are to receive additional appointments by the commandant."

Before he could establish his government, however, certain preliminary matters demanded attention, the first of which was internal communication. The islands were served largely by word-of-mouth transmission of the news by a line known colloquially as "The Bush Telegraph," along which news travels as fast as a man can walk, row, or paddle. Tutuila is so small that an event occurring in one place in the morning is likely to be common knowledge in the most remote community by nightfall, but Manu'a received the news more slowly in 1900, since it had to cross sixty miles of ocean. Tilley's first ordinance, therefore, was a tacit recognition of "The Bush Telegraph," when it announced on 24 April 1900 that official notification would be accomplished by posting notices on the bulletin board of the Naval Station in Fagatoga.

To provide funds for the civil, as contrasted with the military, establishment, he issued a "Temporary Customs Regulation." The Germans had already imposed a 10 per cent *ad valorem* duty upon all imports into their islands, and Tilley's was a more modest 2 per cent. This charge was arbitrary, and when it was found that it produced only about \$150 a month for the treasury, it had to be increased. Tilley's third regulation forbade the sale of liquor to Samoans.

His fourth, known as the Native Lands Ordinance, which forbade the alienation of land, stands as the most important single act of the

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by

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